Power and the Historic Abuse of Children in Care

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Abstract

This thesis advances understandings of the historic abuse of children in care through an exploration of power and also offers new insights in relation to conceptualising power within the field of social work. Drawing on interviews with victims/survivors of historic abuse from Scotland, this thesis will argue that understanding power within the context of historic abuse is central to advancing both social policy and social work practice in this area. Furthermore, despite the existence of a plethora of knowledge on the topic of power, an exploration of power specifically in relation to the historic abuse of children in care, allows for theoretical advancements in conceptualising and understanding power within the social work context.

Through an analysis of the data derived from interviews with victims/survivors of historic abuse, three key findings are presented. Firstly, it is evidenced that power in relation to the historic abuse of children in care is exercised on three interrelated yet distinct levels, namely that of the individual, professional and structural. Whilst secondly, it is shown that the exercise of such power may impact individuals in limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive ways. And thirdly, it is argued that the prevailing dichotomy which features so centrally in theoretical conceptualisations of power within social work as something 'good or bad', 'positive or negative' and 'productive or limiting' is essentially false, and that power also needs to be recognised as something which may impact in a dualistic way; and therefore a new framework for "Power Informed Practice" is offered. As a result of these findings, it is imperative that those concerned with the historic abuse of children in care, are mindful of the workings of power in how practice and policy responses are shaped.

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Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

In recent years, the historic abuse of children in care has become a matter of increasing concern for Scotland as well as for other nations, however it remains an area which has not been adequately explored by researchers and policy makers. Reactive policies have been developed both within the United Kingdom as well as elsewhere globally in attempts to 'redress' the matter, but such initiatives have largely been the result of petitions to Governments, and less informed by empirical research, which may have advanced understandings in order to better inform such policy development. However, this is gradually changing, as there is growing interest both in terms of research and policy, not only in Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom, but also internationally in this field. The historic abuse of children in care is both topical and contentious, with academic focus and debate on the subject increasing concomitantly with the rise of public awareness and scrutiny towards the matter, to the extent that it has become a phenomenon which necessitates further exploration on both a theoretical and practice level within Social Work.

Social work was and has, increasingly become bound by its duties to protect children (Davies & Duckett 2016), perhaps even to the extent where it now has a limited and narrow focus on child protection (Parton 2014). Nevertheless, the protection of children and indeed vulnerable individuals generally, remains of paramount concern for the profession. Respectively, legislation such as the Children Act 1989 and 2004 reiterate this concern, stating that children's welfare is and should remain the paramount focus for professionals involved in decision making for children, including duties to protect and ensure children remain safe. In the present day, when children are exposed to harm, it becomes the responsibility of social work professionals to accommodate them in order to fulfil this duty, although the protection of children generally remains a responsibility for all individuals (Scottish Government 2017).

Historically, since the 1872 Infant Life Protection Act (Ball 2014), there have been legislative changes which have meant that children's protection has increasingly become a national imperative, as well as a widely understood social responsibility within the UK. Therefore in the context of the historic abuse of children in care, which gained prominence as a cause for concern at various points during the 20th century (Kendrick & Hawthorn 2012), such

responsibilities upon professionals, including social workers were in theory at least, arguably similar to what exists in the present day. Based on this premise, the role of social workers both historically and currently, is integral to the care and protection of children, making the historic abuse of children in care a matter which needs to be addressed within social work theory and practice. Furthermore, being conversant with the poorer outcomes for children who experience care (Who Cares? Scotland 2016), means that this responsibility is further accentuated for the social work profession.

Within social work, it is widely understood, that "*child abuse is the abuse of power*" (Davies & Duckett 2016, p1), yet a critical investigation into the intricacies of how power manifests in relation to child abuse is somewhat surprisingly unavailable, despite the significance of understandings of power being present in social work theory and practice (see for example Adams 2008, Dominelli 2002b, Smith 2008). In a broad sense, the significance of power is highlighted in numerous ways in relation to the abuse of children. For example, it is noted that in many abusive situations, children may develop beliefs that those who abuse them have *"absolute or even supernatural powers"* (Herman 1992, p100). Also, the notion of power has been referred to in relation to the abuse of children in care (Green 2001; Barter 1997) as well as to the historic abuse of children in care (Carr et al. 2010; Wolfe et al. 2003). However, how power actually manifests in relation to the abuse of children either in or out of care is relatively absent from academic discourse, whilst more acutely, an in-depth exploration of power in relation to the historic abuse of children in care at present does not exist.

An understanding of this context is useful for the purpose of framing the findings of this thesis and for highlighting how this research emerged. It is argued that researchers, along with their values, bring their own experiences and histories to research endeavours (Creswell 2013), which was certainly the case for myself in relation to this study. Having worked as a social work professional for a range of statutory and voluntary sector organisations, I often worked very closely with children who were in care. During my employment, the enormity of the decisions being made by myself and others in attempts to ensure that children were protected from harm remained of the utmost importance, as I was aware of the potential impact of those decisions in altering the life trajectory of the children I worked with. Indeed, some of what I witnessed in practice resonated with the

literature on children entering the care system and being further disadvantaged (Jones et al. 2011), despite the initial decision to remove them from their families being based on the professional duty to protect children from harm. And the more I read, the more it transpired that studies were predominantly highlighting negative outcomes, i.e. how children in care were more susceptible to behavioural, educational, physical as well as psychological difficulties (Meltzer et al. 2003; Wilkinson & Bowyer 2017). Feeling somewhat despondent regarding these outcomes that I was unwittingly involved with on a practice level, prompted me to investigate whether there was a contribution I could make around advancing theory and knowledge in order to ultimately enhance practice in relation to children in care.

It was with these thoughts in mind that I applied for the advertised University of Strathclyde research project which was to be focused on transitional justice and the historic abuse of children in care. Although I was unfamiliar with notions of transitional justice, the focus of the research was children who historically, had what could be described as some of the most difficult experiences whilst in care. Therefore, the project aligned with my concerns regarding the experiences and outcomes for children in care, as well as with my hopes to contribute to advancing knowledge and practice within the field. The PhD was funded by the University of Strathclyde and therefore, the direction and focus for the research had already been decided. The context of the research, which had been set, began with a focus on 'transitional justice' to which I added notions of 'forgiveness'; as transitional justice was becoming increasingly recognised in relation to the historic abuse of children in care (Skold 2013), whilst forgiveness was a factor considered significant in relation to transitional justice (Inazu 2009).

Consequently, interview questions for participants had been developed to explore the impact of the abuse which individuals had experienced, as well as to explore what they needed from redress stemming from a transitional justice framework. However it was only after the completion of interviews and at the stage of data analysis that it became evident that rather than hearing about transitional justice, I was hearing about power. I was hearing about the abuse of power and the impact it had on the lives of victims/survivors, I was hearing about the legacy of the abuse and how individuals had attempted to regain a sense of control, as well as hearing about what they needed from the processes which could or have been set up to respond to their experiences.

Examining the literature on transitional justice then, it became quite clear that power within the transitional justice field was also significant and contentious, as the field continues to struggle with the challenges of power (Rooney & Ní Aoláin 2018). A critical clash in paradigms is noted within the literature, whereby it is suggested that mechanisms that are central to transitional justice, which aim to share power between victims and those responsible, are likely to interfere when meaningfully responding to the injustices of the past (Vandeginste & Sriram 2011). Multidirectional power relationships exist, whereby even the recognition afforded to victims is enmeshed in the complexities of power (Oettler 2017). Due to these contentions, it is argued, that before mechanisms for redressing the past are considered, an exploration of power is essential. In relation to the historic abuse of children in care therefore, transitional justice as a lens may well be relevant, but only after we are able to examine the exercise and impact of power.

It was at this point, and relatively late on in my research journey where my position on the approach to data analysis was shifted and indeed the predefined 'lens' of transitional justice was removed and an exploration of power in the context of the historic abuse of children in care began. In some ways, despite my own awareness of the fact that the exercise of power is significant in relation to the abuse of children, I had overlooked the theoretical significance of the matter, until its importance was emphasised by both the narratives of participants, but also by the literature on transitional justice and child abuse more widely. As a direct result of this realisation, this study therefore sought to explore two pertinent research questions in relation to the historic abuse of children in care and power:

- At what level is/was power exercised in relation to victims/survivors of historic abuse in care?

- And what is/was the impact of such exercises of power upon victims/survivors of historic abuse in care?

As I sought to construct a holistic understanding of power in relation to the historic abuse of children in care, these research questions allowed for the past, present and future to be considered. With this, I knew I had embarked on a challenging journey, perhaps in part due to the known difficulties present in being able to understand power due to factors such as the broadness/narrowness of definitions, the term being value laden and the cited

preoccupation with the measuring of power rather than an understanding of its meaning (Bar-on 2002). But also in addition to this, my apprehension stemmed from the awareness that what I would be seeking to do would not only attempt to unravel the contentious nature of power, but do this in relation to a very sensitive area of social work; that of the historic abuse of children in care. Nevertheless, it was of paramount importance, that the narratives of participants led the way for analysis rather than being led by a framework which had been preconceived. As a result, an analytical framework of power was developed in order to frame the findings of this research, which it is hoped, contributes to developing academic thinking within the field of historic abuse, as well as the field of power within social work.

In answering the aforementioned research questions therefore, this thesis will make three key arguments. Firstly, victims/survivors of historic abuse were, and in some instances continue to be, subject to the exercise of power on three relatively distinct levels, which are defined as the individual, professional and structural level exercises of power. Secondly, it is argued that victims/survivors have already, or will in the future experience limiting, productive or simultaneously limiting/productive impacts of exercises of such power. Whilst thirdly, the insights which this research offers should also catalyse reflections in social work practice more widely, as theoretical conceptualisations of power within social work which consider power to be exercised in ways which are 'positive or negative' or 'productive or limiting' (Thompson 2016; Smith 2010; Tew 2002, 2006; Dominelli 2002b) are insufficient in capturing how power can impact in a dualistic way. As a result, not only do these findings question the legitimacy and appropriateness of the responses to historic abuse within Scotland and elsewhere, as redressing past harms increasingly becomes the focus for Governments (Skold & Swain 2015), but also help us to reframe our understanding of power within the social work context.

Thesis Structure

Chapter two outlines the policy context and explores the way in which the historic abuse of children in care has come to form part of the national agenda in Scotland. Functionally, the context for this study is set and the way in which historic abuse has been responded to on a national level is examined in order to frame the significance of this research in the present

day. The examination of the policy landscape within this chapter also evidences the gap in terms of how power as a concept has failed to be recognised or addressed within policy responses. In essence therefore, the chapter articulates the increasing importance of historic abuse as a matter of concern within the Scottish policy context whilst demonstrating an acute absence of power informed policy responses to the historic abuse of children in care.

Chapter three moves on to analyse academic literature on the subject of the historic abuse of children in care both within Scotland as well as internationally, by initially analysing exactly what is meant by key terms. Following this, it is suggested that the literature on historic abuse is particularly focussed on two key themes. Firstly, there is the presence of academic discourse which contemplates and debates the extent of the prevalence of historic abuse, whilst secondly, much more academic focus centres on the way in which historic abuse is being responded to by nations across the world. It is recognised, that rather than responses to historic abuse being grounded in theoretical knowledge or stemming from best practice, state responses have predominantly been reactionary and more the outcome of media exposure and campaigning in relation to the phenomenon. The chapter concludes with highlighting the need for academic enquiry to be undertaken in order to offer theoretical advancements in understanding how better to approach responses to the historic abuse of children in care. It also offers a rationale to frame this research in explorations of power in the context of the historic abuse of children in care which is recognised as a gap in terms of the academic knowledge base.

Chapter four describes the methods used within this research and the epistemological underpinnings of this study. It also considers the theoretical as well as ethical issues which were raised in the undertaking of the project. As the data collection of this research was undertaken via interviews with victims/survivors, some of the challenges which arose from this methodological approach are also explored. The way in which this study originally stemmed from a focus on transitional justice, but evolved into an exploration of power is duly discussed in light of the way in which victims/survivor narratives led this change in trajectory and the value of this is reflected upon, in order to ultimately give 'voice' to their perspectives. The chapter critically reflects upon the adoption of these methods and

explores to what extent it achieved the desired outcomes, whilst offering greater clarity as to why a consideration of power within this research is particularly important; both in terms of the overarching focus, but also in relation to methodology.

Chapter five moves on to critically engage with theoretical knowledge on power in order to inform the framework through which the findings of this research were analysed. This is achieved through a preliminary exploration of sociological theories of power which contribute to the 'family resemblance concept' of power (Haugaard 2010), whereby it is argued that each conceptualisation adds value to the overarching understanding of power. The chapter continues by rooting the ensuing development of an analytical framework within social work paradigms of empowerment, by which existing frameworks of analysing the exercise and impact of power are critically assessed. Following this, the development of a "Power Informed Practice" framework is offered and its relevance is explained. In conclusion, the chapter identifies how considering power on an individual, professional and structural level that may be exercised in limiting, productive or simultaneously limiting/productive ways is the most appropriate framework for the analysis of the data which was collected from interviews with victims/survivors during this research.

Chapter six is the first of three findings chapters, and begins to answer the two central research questions: At what level is/was power exercised in relation to victims/survivors of historic abuse in care? And what is/was the impact of such exercises of power upon victims/survivors of historic abuse in care? This chapter offers an exploration of the individual exercise of power and the ways in which it can and has been exercised in limiting, productive, as well as limiting/productive ways from the perspectives of victims/survivors. In the first instance it is highlighted how the limiting exercise of individual power is particularly aligned with individual actions and inactions. The analysis of the productive exercise of power then moves on to examining the way in which individually proactive and reactive strategies were employed by victims/survivors themselves. Whilst finally, the limiting and concurrently productive exercise of power is shown to be captured by an examination of individual coping mechanisms, as well as individual attempts to prevent further harm. The chapter concludes by highlighting the importance of exploring the individual exercise of power and its relevance for victims/survivors of historic abuse.

In further answering the research questions and building on these themes, chapter seven examines the professional exercise of power and what this means in terms of the limiting, productive and limiting/productive impact it may have. The professional limiting exercise of power is shown to be concerned with limiting professional cultures and structures. On the other hand, the productive exercise of professional power is explored via a reflection on notions of professional enablement. Thereafter, the limiting/productive exercise of professional power is articulated in terms of professional decision-making. Subsequently, the chapter demonstrates the relevance of considering the professional level of power and its significance in relation to the historic abuse of children in care.

The last of the three findings chapters (chapter eight) examines the importance of structural exercises of power and their impact in limiting, productive as well as limiting/productive ways in relation to the historic abuse of children in care. The limiting impact is explored with reference to limiting social attitudes and social systems, whilst the productive structural exercise of power identifies historic as well as contemporary policy developments as key themes. The chapter ends by reflecting on the simultaneously limiting/productive exercise of power through an analysis of media and state responses to historic abuse in recent years.

Finally, chapter nine offers the overall conclusions of this research, ultimately evidencing that understanding power in the context of the historic abuse of children in care is of critical importance. The chapter reflects on the findings by way of summation, and also offers further synthesis by reflecting upon the intersectionality of exercises of power. Whereby, the action or inaction and interrelated actions and inactions across the individual, professional and structural domains are evidenced to be of additional consequence for victims/survivors of historic abuse in care. And finally, the discussion ends with the theoretical, methodological, policy related and social work practice implications of this research.

Chapter Two: Historic Abuse in Scotland

Concerns regarding the historic abuse of children in care have reached heightened prominence within Scotland, particularly over the last decade; being epitomised in some ways by the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry being launched on the 1st of October 2015 with a view to investigate past abuses. The launch of the Inquiry was neither a coincidental nor impromptu phenomenon, in fact it was preceded by a range of developments and initiatives which ensured that historic abuse remained on the political agenda, ultimately leading to its inception. Here therefore, the series of events which triggered the Inquiry as well as the remedies offered through the years are examined, with a view to explore how the historic abuse of children in care has emerged and evolved over time within the Scottish context. Not only does an exploration of these developments set the scene for the significance of this research at this present time, but also serves to evidence the gap in terms of how power as a concept has failed to be recognised or addressed within policy responses.

Growing concerns around the abuse of children in care are by no means unique to the 21st century. Charting the recognition of such abuse within the literature, within the media and through inquiries from the 1930's onwards, Kendrick and Hawthorn (2012, p33-53) offer a comprehensive account of how historically, concerns have been noted. Some inquiries were focussed on particular geographical areas, for example the Edinburgh Inquiry (Marshall, Jamieson & Finlayson 1999) whilst others focused on specific institutions (Frizell 2009). Such concerns regarding the historic abuse of children in care have arguably developed in parallel with the shifting recognition of what constitutes cruelty towards children, as definitions of child abuse continue to be socially constructed (Stainton-Rogers 2001) and meanings around what 'abuse' actually is, have shifted over time (NRC 1993; Ferguson 2004; Parton 2006). The current policy landscape is therefore undoubtedly informed by understandings of thresholds of harm, which are considerably lower than what they once were (DoH 1995; Jenks 2005); as well as wider advances in the fields of child protection and social work (Smith, Cree & Clapton 2012). As such, present concerns relating to child abuse may well be traced back to the 1960's (Abrams 1998; Hendrick 1997; Powell and Scanlon 2014).

The reduced power held by children as compared to adults was present throughout the twentieth century (Abrams 1998), with children seen to be dependent upon the adults in

their lives (Stein 2006). Beginning from a focus on abuse within the family context, the latter half of the twentieth century brought with it changes in the way that children were both understood as well as responded to within the UK (Elsley 2017), addressing some of these power imbalances. Pivotal to this shift were developments such as the feminist movement (Whittier 2009), legislative reform (Children Act 1989), a new understanding of children's rights (UNCRC 1989; Bell 2011) and the media (Powell & Scanlon 2014).

The feminist movement drew attention to the physical and sexual abuse of children during the seventies and eighties in an unprecedented way (Delap 2015; Whittier 2009) whilst the Children Act 1989 offered a new comprehensive framework for the protection and care of children within the UK (Aldgate & Hill 1995). The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which was endorsed by the UK in 1990 (UNCRC 1989) articulated children's rights, whilst the media were instrumental in bringing the issue of child maltreatment to the public domain (Powell and Scanlon 2014). The increasing recognition of child abuse shifted from the family context to children who were cared for by the state during the 1990s (Colton et al. 2002), and within the UK, the Cleveland Inquiry (Butler-Sloss 1988) as well as the Orkney Inquiry (Clyde 1992) highlighted the failings of professionals in their duty to protect children. And more specifically, improvements needed within children's homes were identified during investigations into residential care (Skinner 1992), which paved the way for further reform (Aldgate & Hill 1995).

It is recognised that up until the mid-80s, victims/survivors of abuse often encountered difficulties in articulating their experiences due largely to the culture of silence around abuse, along with the absence of a framework for thinking through or speaking of their experiences. Following the media exposure of child abuse as a social problem however, a space was created whereby victims/survivors of abuse could now voice their experiences (Kitzinger 2004). It is argued here, that alongside the impact of the media, the combination of social and policy advancements offered children greater power, allowing for these very voices not only to be heard, but to be listened to. And so, victims/survivors of historic abuse were enabled to speak out in ways that had previously been impossible due to the milieu. Foucault (1980, p83) argued how, *"each society has its regime of truth, its general politics of truth"*, and within this framework, societies define who and what is to be considered true

dependent upon the accepted discourse. The shifting discourse around children and their rights, as well as policy developments, ensured that the UK, had reached a point by the turn of the century, where the 'truth' of the historic abuse of children in care, could now be spoken, in a way it could not have been previously (Karim 2017).

Petition to Scottish Government

Located within the broader spectrum of social and legislative developments which have been highlighted, and also due in part to support groups for victims/survivors of historic abuse emerging in the 1990s (Hawthorn 2015), a noted trigger for the current national focus on historic abuse emerged during 2002 (Kendrick et al. 2015), when Scottish victim/survivor Chris Daly submitted petition 535 to the Scottish Parliament (Daly 2002) urging them to:

"(a) Make an inquiry into past institutional child abuse, in particular for those children who were in the care of the State under the supervision of religious orders and

(b) Make unreserved apology for said State bodies and to urge the religious orders to apologise unconditionally."

In response to this, the Public Petitions Committee undertook a range of measures in order to respond to the issues raised. This began with a consultation by the Scottish Executive and the Cross-Party Group on Childhood Sexual Abuse, which highlighted that the Scottish Executive was considering an Inquiry into the matter in question; however they did not provide any definitive scope or timescales by the first half of 2004, which prompted the Petitions Committee to request an urgent response from the Executive. This resulted in a meeting between themselves and the Minister for Education and Young People at the time, Peter Peacock. Following this in December 2004 a debate was held in the Chamber – where a public apology was made by the then First Minister, Jack McConnell for the abuse children had experienced in care whilst in Scotland (Scottish Parliament 2005).

National Apology

The national apology was essentially the first public measure undertaken by the Scottish Government to acknowledge the historic abuse of children in care across Scotland. Scotland's First Minister Jack McConnell extended the apology by saying:

> *"I offer a sincere and full apology on behalf of the people of Scotland to those who were subject to such abuse and neglect and who did not receive the level of love, care and support that they deserved, and who have coped with that burden all their lives…and that we will do more to support them in the future than we have ever done in the past".* (The Scottish Parliament, 1 December 2004)

The apology itself echoed the sentiments of Taoiseach Bertie Ahern whom apologised to victims/survivors of child abuse in Ireland some years earlier during 1999 (Brennan 2010), therefore the Scottish apology was not unique in its formulation. Nevertheless, the apology from the Scottish Government provided the first of a range of national initiatives which would respond to the issue of the historic abuse of children in care. Marrus (2007) identifies four key components of a true apology which includes the acknowledgement of wrongdoing and harm caused, the acceptance of responsibility for the wrong and harm caused, regret which is expressed and either an implicit or explicit commitment to reparation. The apology from the First Minister certainly captured all four elements, however any commitment to reparation needed to be tangible and so the wheels were set in motion for action to be undertaken in order to redress past harms. Apologies are noted within the literature to facilitate an exchange of power between the offender and offended, however this exchange can be considerably overestimated (De Grieff 2008). Therefore, as Shaw (2007, p1) recognised, more needed to be done, because although an apology is important, it is:

> *"…but the beginning, not the end, of the process of addressing wrongs. The process needs to involve us all as we strive to meet the needs and entitlements of those whose cries for help were ignored in the past."*

Some of the victims/survivors who participated in this study, recognised that the apology was the catalyst for the ongoing initiatives, which have sought to support and respond to

the needs of victims/survivors of historic abuse ever since. These responses included the implementation of a national strategy for victims/survivors of sexual abuse.

The National Strategy for Survivors of Childhood Sexual Abuse

The second initiative which was implemented to address the historic abuse of children in care in Scotland came from the parallel process being facilitated by the Cross Party Group for Survivors of Childhood Sexual Abuse (CPG). This was first set up in 2001 with an aim to evidence the need for a government strategy to address issues concerning those affected by childhood sexual abuse. This initiative, alongside the petition to the Scottish Government contributed significantly to bringing about the National Strategy for Survivors of Childhood Sexual Abuse, which was officially launched in 2005 by the Scottish Government (Scottish Executive 2005).

The strategy's aims were essentially to: raise and improve knowledge and awareness of childhood abuse; ensure joined-up working in mainstream services; improve the lives of victims/survivors and to develop training and skills for frontline workers. The implementation of the strategy was tasked to 'Survivor Scotland', who remain engaged with the work to this day. In some ways, the development of a national strategy alongside the national apology, offered a new national focus towards the historic abuse of children in care across Scotland, consolidating its recognition, whilst highlighting the need to further investigate the matter nationally.

Historical Abuse Systemic Review

The 'Historical Abuse Systemic Review' offered one means of further investigating the historic abuse of children in care on a national level, with the review being directed at the regulatory frameworks governing residential care institutions in Scotland (Kendrick et al. 2015). The review had been triggered by the petition to the Scottish Government, as a consequence of which the Public Petitions Committee sought an inquiry into past institutional child abuse. The matter was debated within the Scottish Parliament in December 2004, resulting in the commissioning of an independent systemic review, led by independent expert, Tom Shaw. The focus of the review on residential schools and

children's homes in Scotland, whilst excluding foster care, was defined by the Scottish Government. And although the parameters of this particular review were limited to a focus on residential care facilities, the scoping exercise on children in care, which was later commissioned by the Government, included a focus on foster care, in order to provide an overview of abuse and neglect within Scotland between 1930 and 2005 (Kendrick & Hawthorn 2012).

The outcome of the Historical Abuse Systemic Review was the production of a report which was released during 2007. Within it, for the first time publicly in Scotland, the importance of issues pertaining to power within the context of the historic abuse of children in care were raised and reflected upon. The issue of power was frequently referred to within the report; however the focus related to the power within legislation, with institutions, and that which was held by key professionals such as the Secretary of State and managers of children's homes. Children were only alluded to in terms of their perceived powerlessness, in light of framing a discussion on social attitudes towards childhood through the course of the review. Therefore although the review acknowledged the existence of power, the proposed remedies did not incorporate notions of power in any meaningful way. Even where the report emphasised the importance of giving voice to the experiences of those who were abused, reflections on power were not present:

> *"Those who experienced abuse in the past need to be heard; they need to know that society supports them in speaking out and that their experiences, however distressing, are recognised and addressed"* (Shaw 2007, p1).

Without including any detailed reflections on power, the review made recommendations on current provision, to ensure the welfare and safety of children who were presently under the care of Local Authorities, whilst considering the needs of former residents as well as issues relating to children's records. In relation to the needs of former residents, Shaw suggested that the government, in partnership with statutory and non-statutory organizations should set up a centre with a role that might include supporting former residents with accessing advocacy, mediation and counselling. Recommendations also included that further research should be conducted into children's residential facilities, a resource centre with general relevant information on children's residential services should

be set up, a database of children's residential establishments in Scotland should be maintained, whilst finally, an index for locations where records of services are held ought to be developed (Shaw 2007, p12). The Shaw review also identified an urgent need to facilitate easy access to records. As a result, the Scottish Government requested a review of legislation relating to public records. The review resulted in a report (National Archives of Scotland 2009), which offered the foundation for the implementation of the Public Records (Scotland) Act 2011. The aim of the legislation was to improve record keeping, as well as to enable individuals to trace their records with greater ease (Kendrick & Hawthorn 2012).

In drawing its conclusions, the review did not consider justice for former victims/survivors of abuse in care. This was due to the fact that the purpose of the review was not to instruct on how to compensate the wrongs that had previously occurred, but instead, to highlight systemic discrepancies and make suggestions on how to improve experiences for present and future children in care. The review succeeded in bringing to light the systemic failings which were manifest in protecting vulnerable children historically within residential schools and children's homes and the recommendations made, were accepted by the government (Kendrick et al. 2015). The review offered one means of consolidating concerns which had been previously identified around children's experiences within care (for example Skinner 1992; Clyde 1992). And perhaps due to the fact that the investigation had been commissioned by the government itself, its findings necessitated further action nationally, in order to respond to the needs of victims/survivors of historic abuse.

Dumfries and Galloway

The attempt to respond to victims/survivors needs within one Local Authority, namely Dumfries and Galloway, prompted justice in an unprecedented way within Scotland due to how payments were willingly made to victims/survivors by the council, despite several attempts to sue them being dismissed by courts previously. Peter Harley, the manager of Merkland Children's Home in Dumfries and Galloway from 1977 to 1982, was jailed for 15 years in April 1996 for abuse against boys (Marshall 2015). In 2009, it was announced that all victims/survivors affected by the abuse within the Local Authority run residential home in Dumfries and Galloway would receive £20,000 each in ex-gratia payments and an apology. The council reiterated that the financial redress being offered was not a legal requirement,

however it felt like a *"moral imperative to do the right thing"*. Council leader of the time, Ivor Hyslop made a localised apology by announcing:

> *The council therefore apologises unreservedly and publicly to those individuals and their families and gives its commitment to providing them with such assistance and support as is needed to find closure*" (Duffy 2009).

The apology was localised to the overseeing council, and hence was more specific than Scotland's national apology by Jack McConnell in 2004. However, despite the presence of moral imperatives and recognition for redress being present, the very real issue of power which is very much at the core of abuse remained unreached. The need for a response to the historic abuse of children in care in Scotland was in some ways emphasised by the actions of the Dumfries and Galloway local authority, which garnered substantial media coverage (Marshall 2015; The Scotsman 2009). The steps undertaken by the Council were both unprecedented and ground-breaking within their own right. However, it was limited in the sense that it addressed only the abuse experienced by former residents of a single children's home. More remained to be done in order to progress the recommendations of the Historical Abuse Systemic Review (Shaw 2007) on a national level. The council responded within the jurisdiction of their own local authority, yet it was recognised by the Scottish Human Rights Commission (SHRC 2013, p9) that the initiative offered, "*an interesting example from which lessons can be learned*", in order to inform an action plan for victims/survivors more widely across Scotland.

The 'Time to be Heard' Pilot

The next wave of responses from central Government to address the historic abuse of children in care more directly, followed the Shaw Report, and began with the introduction of a pilot confidential forum. The Scottish Government commissioned the pilot named, 'Time to be Heard' (TTBH) in 2010. The TTBH forum went some way towards emulating the setup of the Confidential Committee in the Republic of Ireland (CICA), but without its legislative foundation. The forum provided opportunities for former residents of the Quarriers Children's Homes to communicate their experiences of residential care, with 98 former residents being involved in the project. The report on the pilot (Shaw 2011) explains

how TTBH was part of the Survivor Scotland Strategy developed by the Scottish Government, which aimed to raise awareness of child abuse and work towards responding to the matter. The strategy also aimed to improve services as well as the health and wellbeing of victims/survivors of child abuse (Kendrick & Hawthorn 2011). It makes sense therefore, that the TTBH initiative for victims/survivors was located within the overall strategy of Survivor Scotland, as the aim of the pilot was, "*to serve both as a means of acknowledging their past and a context in which they could find some release from their suffering*" (Shaw 2011, p5).

The report on the TTBH pilot incorporated quotes from the personal narratives of participants, sharing their experiences within the homes. In doing so, there were three significant themes which emerged from the analysis of the information shared by victims/survivors, which were that of *"poor communication, lack of respect and inadequate preparation for leaving care"* (Shaw 2011, p7). In addition to this, the TTBH review highlighted three key issues with regards to how it was set up, the first concern of which was that it should have been independent of the Government. Secondly the forum highlighted, that within itself, it possessed no powers to investigate allegations and recommend compensation for those participating. And the third key issue raised around its implementation was the Government's decision to restrict participation in TTBH, to hearing only from former residents of Quarriers Children's Homes. The author of the report was also clear in explaining how,

> *"Our observations and recommendations focus solely on our experience of piloting the Confidential Committee and should not be interpreted as a conclusion that nothing else - for example an investigation or redress committee - is required."*
> (Shaw 2011, p9)

In doing so, the report was able to position itself as a focussed piece of work with no jurisdiction on matters external to its prescribed locus.

The overall experience of participants however, was noted to be positive within the report published, both in terms of the experience of being part of the TTBH initiative, and also in terms of the effect of this participation on the individual's sense of self-respect, self-

confidence and endeavours towards a sense of closure. This response was said to affirm the results of the individual evaluation which was carried out by Hawthorn and Kendrick during 2011. Consequently, the recommendation was made, that such a confidential forum be made available nationally across Scotland. It was also recommended that the basis of any future forum was established on a statutory basis, in a similar fashion to the Irish example, so that within its formulation, it would be equipped to provide protection for professionals and participants alike.

A further recommendation made within the report, was for any future forum to be inclusive of individuals who had been in all forms of care, including those for example who were 'boarded out', in foster care or those who resided in long stay hospitals, youth justice facilities and school based provisions. The report went on to highlight the benefits of acknowledgement and how the TTBH process was potentially therapeutic in contributing to healing processes for victims/survivors (Hawthorn & Kendrick 2011).

Despite two separate and overall positive evaluations (Kendrick & Hawthorn 2011; Shaw 2011), the TTBH initiative inspired dissonance within the academic world. During 2012, Smith, Cree and Clapton offered a dissenting perspective on TTBH and more widely, on the Scottish Government's response to historic abuse. The argument made was that there were epistemological and conceptual flaws present in the response, which in turn were considered to contribute to the construction of a negative discourse around care institutions, with damaging consequences for current staff and residents. It was argued, that the experiences of children in residential care were actually reflective of societies views on modes of acceptable discipline, and that abuse was no more prevalent for children residing in care in comparison to other contexts. It was also suggested that an alternative conclusion to the findings of the report may have been that, *"it was remarkable, given Scotland's approach to children, that almost a third of those who took part in the forum reported no physical abuse* (Smith, Cree & Clapton 2012, p17), even though two thirds had. The article went further, to suggest that the evidential basis for policy formulation is clouded by ideology and emotion, rather than scientific enquiry, highlighting how the TTBH report capitalises on this in order to evoke an emotional response.

The argument presented by the authors is a valuable counter-narrative, because as we know, differing perspectives are an important ingredient in the assessment of the way reality is constructed, with professional knowledge being embedded within power relations (D' Cruz 2004). However, if there is risk present in over emphasising one perspective, the equal and opposite risk is present in focussing solely on another. Hawkins and Briggs (1997) highlight this risk, in asserting that whilst the awareness of the abuse of children in care is being raised, there may be movements to set the problem into deeper levels of denial. The substance of the argument offered by Smith and others is further examined in Chapter Three, where the prevalence of historic abuse in Scotland is explored.

The Restorative Justice Toolkit

Restorative justice is typically understood to be a theory of justice which moves away from notions of retribution towards more reconciliatory methods, which may include counselling and/or mediation between victims and perpetrators (Pavlich 2005). The Restorative Justice Toolkit was developed alongside the TTBH pilot in order to do just that, as it was felt by Scottish Ministers that there was a need to incorporate restorative processes as offering one way in which institutions could demonstrate acknowledgment and accountability (Johnstone 2011). Victims/survivors participating in the TTBH forum were thus offered access to a Restorative Justice process delivered by the Scottish Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (SACRO), an umbrella organization who provide various services in relation to safeguarding in Scotland. The restorative justice scheme was piloted with victims/survivors who had historically resided in the Quarrier's homes for children, whereby they were offered the opportunity to meet with the organisations representatives. The meeting was intended to collaboratively explore the facts and consequences of what happened, as well as to determine a future way forward (SACRO 2011).

McAlindon and Naylor (2016) suggest that in terms of the historic abuse of children in care, a restorative justice approach may well facilitate better outcomes for victims/survivors than those facilitated by typical justice processes. On the other hand however, Daly (2002) reflected upon the 'myths' of restorative justice, stating that any claims which suggest that restorative justice could be expected to produce any significantly positive shifts for those involved, were unfounded assertions to make. The final report on the pilot highlighted the

relatively small interest generated by the restorative justice initiative (as compared to the level of engagement with TTBH), with only five victims/survivors engaging with the process by attending an actual restorative meeting. Despite the apparent low levels of engagement with the pilot, SACRO continued to assert that restorative justice processes had 'great potential' (SACRO 2011, p4) in the ongoing work to support victims/survivors of abuse. However, the pilot perhaps ended any future hopes for restorative justice processes to form part of any official responses to the historic abuse of children in care, arguably because in this instance at least, restorative justice failed to serve the justice it likely intended.

Aside from the low levels of engagement, the reasons behind the diminished impact of the intervention are unclear. The final report however, does concede that from the very outset, three distinguishing features of the restorative justice process had been omitted or adjusted for the purposes of the pilot. Primarily, the fact that the abuse was historic rather than recent (despite the effects being very much present) made this particular process different to what would usually be considered the remit of restorative justice processes. Secondly it was also unique in the sense that it was the representatives of the organisation, rather than those who had perpetrated the alleged abuse that were present within the meeting. And thirdly, financial compensation/redress which is often an outcome of restorative processes, was specifically excluded as an option in moving forward (SACRO 2011, p2). Based on this, it could be surmised that the application of restorative justice mechanisms in the context of this particular initiative were flawed from the outset. Another argument which is also worth considering is that perhaps restorative justice and its value in responding to the needs of victims/survivors of abuse was overshadowed by the emphasis and engagement with a human rights approach to justice.

The 'Framework for Justice and Remedies for Historic Abuse of Children in Care'

Running concurrently, another significant development in the process of responding to historic abuse within Scotland stemmed from the Scottish Human Rights Commission (SHRC), who developed a framework for remedies which was published during February 2010. The SHRC was established within Scotland in 2008, as a commission independent of the Scottish and UK Governments. The work that they undertook in developing a framework to address historic abuse, used a human rights approach to seek *"effective*

access to justice, remedies and reparation for all Scottish survivors of childhood abuse" (SHRC 2010, p6). During 2010 the SHRC published their *"Framework for Justice and Remedies for Historic Abuse of Children in Care"* (the SHRC Framework). Arguably, the most critical element of its work was to call upon the Scottish Government to address several issues in relation to the historic abuse of children in care. The issues which the Scottish Government were called upon to address consisted of:

1. *"Ensure full and effective participation of survivors and others whose rights are affected in all decisions on the means of realising the rights of effective access to justice, effective remedies and reparation;*
2. *Ensure accountability for human rights violations including through effective official investigations, or a mechanism capable of determining State liability, and prosecutions where appropriate;*
3. *Consider further the role for accountability in the successor(s) to the Pilot Forum, in particular considering the inclusion of investigatory powers sufficient at least to establish a record of the truth, and to identify where reasonable grounds exist for effective official investigations, as well as supporting survivors to identify and access effective remedies and proportionate reparation according to their needs and wishes;*
4. *Ensure effective access to justice through identifying and addressing barriers which survivors of childhood abuse face in practice in exercising this right, making necessary adjustments or developing new mechanisms as required;*
5. *Develop as effective as possible a reparations programme for survivors of historic childhood abuse. This should include restitution, adequate compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition. The reparations for individuals should be appropriate for each individual, and based on the principles of proportionality (according to the nature of the violation and the harm done) and participation (of survivors to identify their needs and wishes);*
6. *Consider the development of legislation to facilitate apologies by institutions;*
7. *Make available each of the elements of effective access to justice, effective remedies and reparation to all survivors of childhood abuse without discrimination;*

8. *Develop a comprehensive communications and outreach strategy to raise awareness of past and present childhood abuse, the human rights of all of those affected and the remedies available;*

9. *Explore with survivors and others, support which would enable them to participate effectively in the Pilot Forum and its successor(s), including advocacy and psychological support, protection and alternative means of testifying, taking reasonable steps to provide necessary support to participation."*

(ibid p. 6-9).

Of particular note, is that the recommendations proposed by the SHRC were based on a broader analysis of international human rights law as well as taking from the experiences of other nations. The recommendations were also constructed in light of views elicited from victims/survivors themselves as well as incorporating the views of other stakeholders. This level of transparency which explains who and what information contributed to the formulation of the framework certainly helps to contextualise what is being sought. For example, the government is being asked to make "guarantees of non-repetition", which may otherwise have been difficult to request. However, from a human rights perspective all children are entitled to be protected from harm under Article 19 (UNCRC 1989), making it a viable demand to make under the framework for justice for victims/survivors of historic abuse.

Nevertheless, the calls made to the government were and remain contentious. For example, calling for the government to develop an effective as possible reparations programme for victims/survivors of historic abuse is too simplistic, as who is to define what exactly we mean by the term effective? And arguably in this context, constructs of effectiveness are subjectively determined, and can appear in different forms depending on who exactly is seeking reparation for past harms. The idea of introducing notions of power in relation to victims/survivors of historic abuse then, could arguably have formed part of the framework and helped to unpick some of these contentions, especially when we consider the importance of power in the context of human rights (Odysseos & Selmeczi 2015), whereby human rights are recognised to be intertwined with the distributions and exercises of power (Gilabert 2015). Yet, despite the detail offered within the framework of justice for

victims/survivors of abuse, power was not identified or captured in any meaningful way. The recommendations do allude indirectly to a sense of power through recognition of the need for empowerment (Kendrick et. al 2015; SHRC 2012) yet it is not considered definitively. For example within the fifth recommendation, if reparation is to be fair and proportionate, then we would expect that reparation would be mindful of impact. And if reparation did consider impact then there is the potential for this to open up a dialogue on power within the context of human rights and justice for victims/survivors of historic abuse.

The context within which the work was undertaken by the SHRC is also significant in framing an understanding of its contribution to developments. Although the project was carried out independently, the SHRC (2010, p4) had been financially contracted by the Scottish Government to undertake the work and the autonomy of such underpinnings may well call into question the actual objectivity of the task being undertaken. As we know, any given institution is located within the political and social order, and their functioning is interdependent on their power relations with other bodies (Olsen 2009).

Nevertheless, following the publication of the SHRC report in December 2011, the Scottish Government committed to developing an Action Plan to implement the recommendations of the framework by means of what became known as the 'InteraAction' process (Kendrick et al 2015); intended to be a 'facilitated negotiation' embedded within a Human Rights approach to develop an Action Plan to implement the recommendations from the SHRC Framework. The "Action Plan for Justice for Victims of Historic Abuse of Children in Care" (SHRC 2013), was the end product of the InterAction process which had facilitated meetings spanning the course of approximately two years.

The 'Action Plan for Justice for Victims of Historic Abuse of Children in Care'

The SHRC worked with the Centre for Excellence for Looked after Children in Scotland (CELCIS) and were supported by the University of Strathclyde to deliver a series of 'InterActions' with the intention of developing a way forward on justice and remedies for victims/survivors of historic abuse of children in care. Stakeholders including victims/survivors of historic abuse, representatives of key organisations such as the Catholic Church and public as well as private sector care providers were invited to take part in

discussions to reach consensus on a way forward (Kendrick et al. 2015). The InterActions were prepared in 2012 and held between February and October 2013. The process consisted of the main InterAction meetings as well as what later became known as 'Mini InterActions', which focussed upon particular elements of developing the Action Plan. Other elements which were incumbent to the process were open events, facilitated support meetings for victims/survivors as well as meetings of the Reference Group.

The *"Action Plan on Justice for Victims of Historic Abuse of Children in Care"* (SHRC 2013) was created by means of the process and submitted for consultation and review, before being forwarded to the Scottish Government with a request for implementation. The Action Plan was focussed around two main outcomes, framed around notions of acknowledgement and accountability (see figure below). Firstly, it concerned itself with wanting to achieve acknowledgement for the historic abuse of children in care and due apology. As despite the national apology by the Scottish Government previously, it was deemed essential that organisations and/or individuals who were allegedly responsible for the abuse also acknowledged and apologised for any abuse which was perpetrated. The second desired outcome was based on accountability, including access to justice for victims/survivors alongside appropriate remedies and reparation.

 The Action Plan identified four key themes which were considered as being pivotal to the way in which historic abuse was responded to within Scotland. These identified themes consisted of acknowledgement and apology, reparation, inquiry and access to justice for victims/survivors of historic abuse. These key themes were consequently interpreted into particular commitments which were required in order to fulfil the desired outcomes of acknowledgement and accountability.

Action Plan on Justice for Victims of Historic Child Abuse
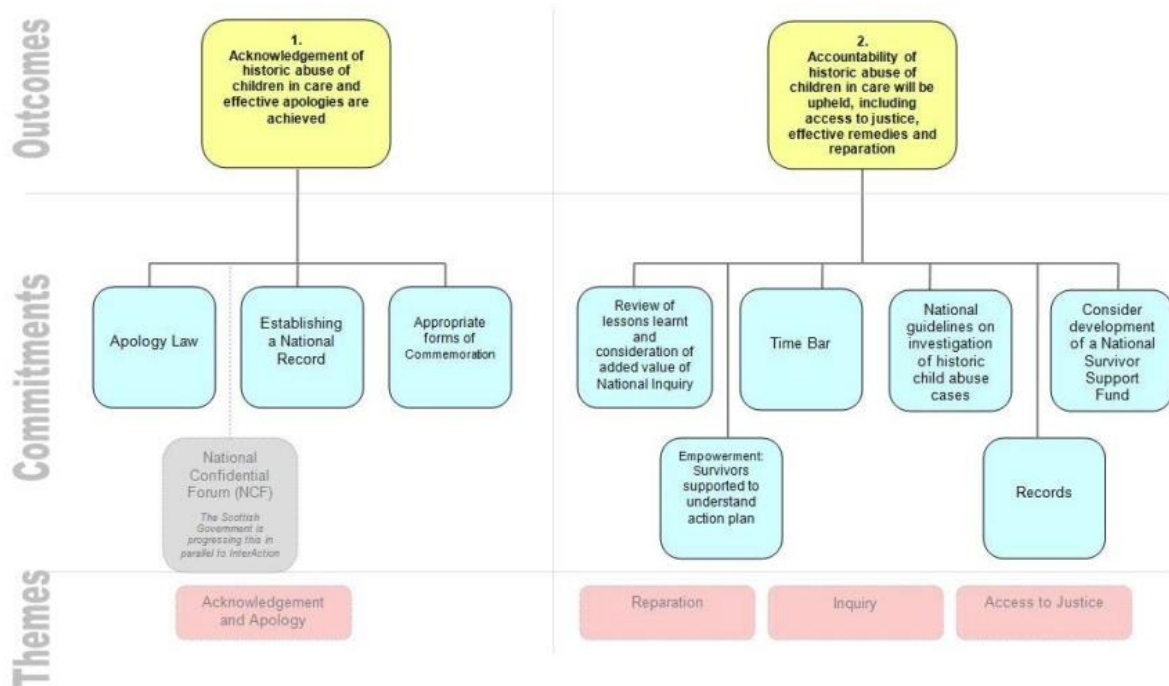
The commitments which were required to fulfil the desired outcomes within the Action Plan in 2013 suggested a range of initiatives which could be implemented. These included: the establishment of a National Confidential Forum; the enactment of an Apology Law; the removal or lifting of the time bar limitation for civil damages cases; consideration of the potential development of a national survivor support fund; consideration of the value of holding a National Inquiry; commemoration; national guidance for the investigation of historic child abuse; access to records; establishing a national record and support for survivors to understand the action plan (SHRC 2013, p3). These initiatives have since been progressed in various ways (Hawthorn 2015) and the progress to date is summarised in the discussion ahead.

National Confidential Forum

The National Confidential Forum (NCF) was one of the ten commitments articulated and sought within the action plan (based on the TTBH pilot), as a mechanism to address the historic abuse of children in care. Before the Action Plan had reached its final conclusions, progress was already underway with the development of the NCF. Provisions to establish a National Confidential Forum, as part of the Victims & Witnesses (Scotland) Bill, was

introduced to the Scottish Parliament in February 2013, and after Parliamentary processes, received Royal Assent during January 2014. The establishment of the NCF, as part of the broader Survivor Scotland Strategy, followed on from the recommendations of the pilot confidential forum with a remit to provide an opportunity for those who were placed in institutional care as children to recount their experiences of being in care (Victims and Witnesses (Scotland) Act 2014).

Established in July 2014, with the Forum going live during February 2015 (NCF 2015), the NCF was set up primarily as a space where individuals from Scotland who had experienced abuse within institutional care settings could share the testimony of their experiences. The nature of its confidential status however, meant that the testimonies of victims/survivors were not preserved as part of the national record; but instead destroyed, whilst a report produced annually by the forum would reflect the collective experiences of those participating (NCF 2018). This may well be considered a major limitation of the forum from the outset, especially because the maintenance of records is highly important to individuals who have been in care (Goddard, Feast & Kirton 2007; Biehal et al. 1995).

Secondary functions of the NCF included signposting to appropriate support services in relation to: accessing records; the Criminal Injuries Compensation scheme as well as legal matters. In being clear on what its purpose was, the NCF website also explained what stood outside of its remit:

> *"The job of the Forum is not to investigate allegations against specific individuals. We are not able to follow up on individual allegations about abuse; however, we will help anyone who wants to report allegations about abuse to the police. This is when you say that you think someone has committed a crime against you or against someone else. No individuals or institutions will be named in any reports unless their names are already known to the public."* (NCF 2015, n.p.)

In this way, the NCF was clear regarding its scope, with how its purpose was not to follow up on individual allegations and in the broadest sense, what was shared would be confidential. However, within its legislative foundations, (Paragraph 13 of Schedule 1A of the Mental Health (Care and Treatment) (Scotland) Act 2003 as amended by the Victims and Witnesses

(Scotland) Act 2014) the duty to maintain confidentiality was not absolute. The forum maintained the right to disclose any information solely to the police if there were safeguarding concerns for a child presently or if the information shared would prevent the future abuse of children (NCF 2015, p16).

But what of the perpetrators who were no longer perceived as a threat? Or those who had passed away? The fact that individuals affected by abuse within care were coming forward to share their experiences but that nothing to address the allegations of abuse could be done was contentious in its own right. And although the forum stated that support would be provided for individuals to report allegations to the police, this would be a process where they would have to repeat what had already been shared. As problematic as such issues remain, the acknowledgement and potential therapeutic benefits which were present for victims/survivors when accessing the NCF were of significant value. It is noted by the Forum, that overall, most individuals who had spoken, *"were relieved and feeling positive immediately after giving their testimony"* (NCF 2016, p21).

Apology Law

A second remedy which was sought via the 'Action Plan on Justice for Victims of Historic Abuse of Children in Care', was that of the enactment of the Apology Law. The Apologies (Scotland) Act 2016 received Royal Assent in February 2016, and legislated for official apologies by institutions/individuals in all civil proceedings (with some exceptions) to be made without raising concerns around incurring liability (Scottish Government, 2016). The purpose of the Act was essentially to ensure that:

> *"In any legal proceedings to which this Act applies, an apology made (outside the proceedings) in connection with any matter—*
>
> *(a) is not admissible as evidence of anything relevant to the determination of liability in connection with that matter, and*
>
> *(b) cannot be used in any other way to the prejudice of the person by or on behalf of whom the apology was made"*

The legislation also defined an apology as being:

> "… any statement made by or on behalf of a person which indicates that the person is sorry about, or regrets, an act, omission or outcome and includes any part of the statement which contains an undertaking to look at the circumstances giving rise to the act, omission or outcome with a view to preventing a recurrence."

It was also recognised, that:

> "While it cannot undo what has already been done, a sincere and effective apology can provide some redress for anyone who has been wronged and this can provide significant comfort to those affected or their loved ones."

(Scottish Government 2016, n.p.)

Whether the legislation has been a means of offering victims/survivors, 'significant comfort' or not remains undetermined with a lack of available evidence to base any conclusions upon. The legislation resembles similar policy developments which have been implemented within the UK (see the Compensation Act 2006) as well as those which have been implemented within other nations such as Australia (Civil Liability Act 2002) and Canada (Apology Act 2009). However, the enactment of the Apologies Act in Scotland is said to be unique to the Scottish context, as it is claimed that the impact of historic abuse on victims/survivors has been integral to the development of the legislation (Scottish Government 2016).

It is noted that, *"the politics of apology is as much a practical-moral activity as it is a technical-rational one"* (Simonsen & Petterson 2015, p123), and apologies remain contentious in the way they stem from and may well contribute to further discord (Harris et.al 2006). It is argued, that the matter of apologies as a human process does not lend itself to legislation because they may be offered or regarded as a tokenistic gesture, they may be rejected and may not be a means of forgoing litigation despite being offered (Irvine 2013).

The Act does not assume or consider notions of forgiveness as being part of the interaction which plays out between those offering an apology and those receiving it. This point is of

interest, particularly when we compare it to common experiences of receiving apologies for wrongs that are done; are they offered unilaterally in such a way where the hoped outcome would not be forgiveness? And although The Apologies Act has been inspired and motivated by hopes to respond to the historic abuse of children, the remit of its application is wider, and it remains to be seen whether the legislation serves as means of adding value to the experiences of victims/survivors of historic abuse and to the Scottish people at large.

Time Bar

The lifting of the time bar for civil court cases offered another response to the Action Plan, and was a pivotal step in securing an avenue for victims/survivors of historic abuse to access compensation in 2017. Historically within Scotland, victims/survivors of child abuse were required to make any applications for civil damages within three years of becoming sixteen; which was known as the 'time bar' on applications. In order to address this, the Scottish Government enacted the Limitation (Childhood Abuse) (Scotland) Act in October 2017. The Act removed "*the limitation period for actions of damages in respect of personal injuries resulting from childhood abuse*"; and was therefore very directly responding to the plight of victims/survivors of historic abuse.

The removal of the time bar was and remains contentious however, as it does not allow for individuals who experienced abuse prior to September 1964 to make an application for civil damages. The legal issues surrounding the law of prescription, *"proved too difficult to overcome"* (Scottish Government 2015, p4), because legal issues as well as human rights legislation, *"made it impossible to establish a sustainable way forward."* (Swinney 2016, n.p.) As a result, any victims/survivors who experienced abuse prior to 1964 continue to be in a situation where they cannot make a claim, with very few exceptions. Exceptions may only occur in instances where there is evidence to suggest that the abuse continued post 1964 or where previous litigation occurred (Scottish Government 2017).

The lifting of the time bar was welcomed by victims/survivors of historic abuse (Naysmith 2016), however, the impact of the legislation is presently unknown. The validity of the Act will undoubtedly be measured via its level of effectiveness, i.e. how many cases which were excluded prior to its implementation have now lead to successful prosecutions. This may be

problematic as the arguably necessary 'safeguards', for defendants may limit the prosecutions which are possible. The safeguards for defendants include a clause which states that the Courts will not allow a case to progress for two reasons. Firstly, a case will not be progressed if a "fair hearing" is not possible, whilst secondly, the same will apply in any situation where a defendant can evidence that they would be "substantially prejudiced" against if litigation was undertaken (Scottish Parliament 2017, p40). The actual terms "fair hearing" and "substantially prejudiced" are not defined within the legislation, which means that interpretation remains fluid and will likely be a matter of debate in the future.

National Survivor Support Fund

The 'In Care Survivor Support Fund' (ICSSF) was established in September 2016, being renamed 'Future Pathways' during February 2017. Yet again, this initiative responded to the commitments sought via the Action Plan, whereby a request was made for a support fund to be developed for victims/survivors of historic abuse. The purpose of the fund was to assess and offer support to individuals who had historically experienced abuse or neglect within a care setting. Here, the term 'care setting' referred to residential or foster care, long term stays in hospital, boarding school or youth offending institutions. The support fund was designed to facilitate and in some instances finance support in the form of therapy, access to records and also support with work and education. Also, the service offered additional support in relation to housing and benefits advice.

The latest statistics show that thus far 575 people have registered and monthly referral rates remain high for the service. A total of £791,297 has been spent to offer material support to 244 individuals, which has included money going towards victims/survivors having a safe and comfortable place to stay, transport, and a range of trips (Future Pathways 2017, p4). Although not officially noted, conversations with victims/survivors of abuse since the initiation of the fund actually highlighted some criticisms to the initiative; whereby the fund was understood by some as a means by which the state may be able to avoid introducing fair compensation through a financial redress scheme. As it transpired however, (and which is discussed ahead), the government did commit to a financial compensation/redress scheme in 2018; with the support fund continuing to provide practical support to victims/survivors in the interim.

National Inquiry/Establishing a National Record

The Action Plan had also requested that the Scottish Government consider the value of pursuing an Inquiry into the historic abuse of children in care across Scotland. The Scottish Government agreed with the recommendation and so the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry was set up during October 2015. The terms of reference highlighted that the remit of the inquiry was to investigate the abuse of children in care within Scotland. The Inquiry has been reflective of how there have been international inquiries into the historic abuse of children elsewhere (Skold & Swain 2015). However, besides considering the extent and nature of the abuse, the Inquiry was mandated to "create a national public record" (Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry 2018), which was implemented in light of the findings of the consultation which was undertaken with victims/survivors prior to the launch of the Inquiry (Kendrick & Shaw 2015).

Throughout the consultation, victims/survivors were clear that all forms of abuse should be considered as part of the Inquiry's investigations (ibid, p37), therefore the view to investigate the emotional, physical, sexual abuse and neglect of children was duly incorporated into the terms of reference (Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry 2018). In this way, the remit of the Inquiry was similar to certain international examples (see Government of Ireland 2009), however it differed from others which solely focussed on historic child sexual abuse (see for example Decker & Grietens 2015; Wright, Swain & McPhillips 2017). Although the remit of the inquiry was extended to encompass the aforementioned four forms of abuse, some victims/survivors requested that the medical, spiritual, systemic abuse of children should also be considered, as well as the abuse of child migrants. The Inquiry terms of reference only concurred with this to a limited extent, in that the Inquiry will be *"entitled to consider other forms of abuse at its discretion…but these matters do not require to be examined individually or in isolation"* (ibid n.p.). This evidences how the wishes of victims/survivors in the establishment of the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry were considered, but not always fulfilled.

Although the Inquiry had initially been time limited, by 2018 the Inquiry was indefinitely extended (Marshall 2018). The issue was recognised and in some ways perhaps pre-empted by the SHRC (2015) who suggested that although the proposed time frame for an Inquiry should be reasonable, the opportunity to extend this should be made available. The fact

that the Inquiry process has taken considerable time is also not unique to the Scottish context, for example the Irish Inquiry was initially set up with a view to conclude its work within two years, *"but the power to extend the time limit by Order was exercised twice"* (Brennan 2010, p249). One of the consequences of the extension to the Scottish Inquiry however, is certainly apparent in fiscal terms. To date the inquiry has cost almost nineteen million British pounds (Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry 2019). The cost is by no means the highest paid for an Inquiry, despite the costs seeming outwardly high, for example the Australian Inquiry into child sexual abuse was allocated half a billion Australian dollars (Wright, Swain & McPhillips 2017).

At the time of submission, the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry is ongoing and therefore the overall costs, duration as well as impact are undetermined. The findings of the Inquiry will lead to the establishment of a public record as a result of its mandated obligation to do so, however any recommendations which stem from the findings more generally may not lend themselves to significant reform. Wright, Swain and McPhillips (2017) highlight how within the Australian context, the Royal Commission which inquired into historic child sexual abuse held wide ranging power, but this power was not extended to the enforcement of recommendations. So although the Scottish Government recognises that *"in due course the Inquiry will publish its final report and will make recommendations to improve legislation, policy and practice* (Swinney 2018, n.p.), as an ad hoc initiative, the inquiry will cease to exist as others have internationally and therefore whether reform comes to fruition in light of any recommendations made, remains to be seen.

National Guidance for the Investigation of Historic Child Abuse

The Action Plan highlighted that there was a need for national guidance to be developed for professionals who work with victims/survivors of historic abuse. In response to this, during May 2017, a knowledge and skills framework was jointly published by the Scottish Government and the NHS, in order to support developments in trauma informed services for victims/survivors of historic abuse. Part of the broader Government strategy to respond to adverse childhood experiences, the national guidance lends itself to the Government progressing support for victims/survivors of historic abuse. The NHS Education for Scotland was commissioned to deliver the project as part of the Government's Survivor Scotland

strategic outcomes and priorities. The overarching goal is to support the strategic planning and delivery of training for those who have contact with victims/survivors of trauma across all parts of the Scottish Workforce. To achieve this, a three-year training program was suggested, and in June 2018, the Scottish Government confirmed financial investment of over one million pounds in order to publish the training package (NHS Education for Scotland 2017). At the time of submission, the training package remained in the phase of review and development, and no literature was found in relation to the scheme, therefore the impact of the initiative could not be assessed.

Access to Records

Another initiative sought via the Action Plan, is that of the implementation of the Public Records (Scotland) Act 2011; thereby placing an obligation upon public, private and voluntary organisations to implement record management plans. The legislation was intended to improve the standards of the records held by organisations, whilst inadvertently improving services (SPICe 2010). The changes in legislation were first inspired by the Shaw Report (Shaw 2007), which had recommended that there should be a review of public records legislation. Therefore although the legislation was not able to alter the state of affairs for previously destroyed or poorly kept records, what it has served to do is legislate a framework for record keeping in the future; consequently addressing the Action Plan's (2013) objective to consider improving record keeping relating to children in care.

Financial Redress

Whilst it is often true, that researchers bring their own experiences and histories to research (Creswell 2013); research can also often determine future trajectories for academics. As such, during the latter part of 2017 I became involved with the work on financial compensation/redress for victims/survivors of historic abuse in care with the Centre of Excellence for Looked after Children in Scotland (CELCIS). The work in some ways for me, was my contribution to being part of the response to one of the biggest financial commitments (alongside the Inquiry) sought via the Action Plan. My work on the project spanned over a year and the process offered the opportunity to make a practical/policy

related contribution to the ongoing developments in Scotland relating to the historic abuse of children in care.

The consultation on financial compensation/redress stemmed from the announcement made by John Swinney, the Deputy First Minister of Scotland, during November 2016, that there would be a formal process of consultation on the matter of financial redress for victims/survivors of historic abuse in care. The work undertaken consisted of three strands, which included the consultation via questionnaire with victims/survivors themselves, engagement with care providers and other relevant stakeholders, and a reflection upon international redress schemes (CELCIS 2017). The findings of the consultation were very clear in that the vast majority of victims/survivors who took part were of the view that a compensation/redress scheme should be implemented in Scotland (CELCIS 2018).

In response to the consultation, the Scottish Government responded to the recommendations of the final report by stating:

> *"So, Scotland will establish a financial redress scheme for survivors of abuse in care, and it will be open to all in care survivors regardless of when that abuse took place. We will progress, without delay, to detailed design of a redress scheme, ensuring we learn lessons from other countries and, subject to Parliamentary approval, the legislation will be passed by the end of this Parliamentary term."*

> (Swinney 2018, n.p.)

A commitment to establish a compensation/redress scheme for victims/survivors of abuse in care was thus made by the Scottish Government. It was further noted within an update offered by the First Minister (Swinney 2019) that a full public consultation would take place during 2019, with a view to having the necessary legislation implemented to offer a framework for the scheme to be established before the end of the Parliamentary term in 2021.

The delay between the commitment to and initiation of a redress scheme is not unusual, especially if we consider the legislative requirements as well as design, development and implementation work which is involved. For example, the findings of the consultation

highlighted how the majority of individuals felt a combination payment would be part of the preferred scheme structure (CELCIS 2018), therefore if a combination scheme is to be implemented then the complexities of this would need to be addressed. The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) in Canada offered a similar combination approach to payments, whereby blanket compensation was awarded through the Common Experience Payment, whilst an Independent Assessment Process was also offered (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada 2017; IRSSA 2006). The agreement was announced by the Canadian federal government in May 2006 with implementation during September 2007 (IRSSA 2006). However, due to the fact that a further public consultation has been promised, the delay may indeed be greater for Scotland than was the case for Canada. The implementation of an advanced payment scheme for the elderly and ill becomes of greater consequence in light of this. In addressing concerns around possible delays, within his update in January 2019, John Swinney also offered a commitment from the Scottish Government to progress the implementation of an advanced payment scheme for those 'who may not live long enough' to apply due to ill health or age related factors (Swinney 2019).

At the time of submission, the financial compensation/redress scheme had yet to be consulted upon and designed within Scotland, with it being likely, that the process will take several years before an actual scheme becomes operational. If the IRSSA Canadian example is comparable, the likelihood is that once established, the scheme will be ongoing for a number of years. The Canadian scheme was implemented during 2007 and the application deadline for payments was September 2012 (Valcourt 2013), as such it remains to be seen what exactly the time duration for a Scottish Scheme will be. Furthermore, what experience victims/survivors have when they make an application and engage with the scheme is also yet to be determined. Perceptions of the Canadian IRSSA payments being a form of "shut-up money" are described within the literature, with anger, despair, anxiety and distrust being highlighted by individuals (Reynaud 2017, p201). Furthermore, the inequalities of power relations present within redress scheme processes (Sköld, Sandin & Schiratzki 2018), may also become a point of contention. Whether such similarities emerge within the Scottish context will offer further insights pertaining to the successes and failures of financial compensation/redress, in responding to the historic abuse of children in care.

Commemoration

The one commitment sought by the historic abuse action plan for Scotland lacking any substantial progress to date is the element of commemoration. Comparably, in Ireland, although a memorial for victims/survivors had been agreed five years ago, and a design was selected, the final decision on how to memorialise victims of institutional child abuse has still not been made (Murray 2018). Perhaps due to the fact that commemoration activities relating to the historic abuse of children in care are understood to be last in terms of priority in Scotland (Kendrick and Shaw 2015); the matter has not been progressed tangibly to date.

It was noted within the consultation preceding the inquiry (ibid, p38), that some victims/survivors felt that commemoration may well serve to remind them of a past they did not want to remember, whilst others explained how they remembered what they had experienced quite vividly and a form of commemoration would add nothing to this. On the other hand, some victims/survivors did express that a commemorative space or event would be something that would demonstrate acknowledgement of their experiences, so would be a welcome initiative. Nevertheless, commemoration for the historic abuse of children in care remains part of the Scottish Government's commitments towards victims/survivors since October 2014, when Scottish Ministers set out their commitments to address the points articulated in the Action Plan (Kendrick and Shaw 2015, p3), with the outcomes of this commitment yet to emerge.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to explore how to date, the historic abuse of children in care has developed within the Scottish policy context in order to highlight just how complex and multi-faceted responses have been; with notions of power only superficially or unwittingly emerging through processes. The developments in this area have been fraught with competing demands and indeed competing perspectives, which have made for often disjointed initiatives to emerge in response to historic abuse, particularly in the first decade since the petition to the Scottish Government in 2002. For example, there was a national apology, but only redress present through local authority initiatives, whilst we also witnessed a theoretical shift from a restorative justice framework to a human rights

perspective. The 2013 SHRC Action Plan however, finally made it possible for responses to historic abuse to become aligned, as key stakeholders came together to inform its development. Since then a range of measures have been implemented on a national level across Scotland in order to respond to the needs of victims/survivors of historic abuse, which although aligned, remain complex.

The Action Plan called for the Scottish Government to address a range of concerns which included focus on the NCF, the Apology Law, the time bar, a survivor support fund, a national Inquiry, access to records, commemoration and national guidance for the investigation of historic child abuse (SHRC 2013, p3). And in order to address these demands, the Government had to intervene on both legal and institutional levels whilst investing large sums of money to fund initiatives. Although the Action Plan had not overtly sought monetary redress for victims/survivors, the increased liability opened up through the lifting of the time bar, as well as the ongoing evidence being presented to the Inquiry, perhaps made it virtually impossible for the Scottish Government not to commit further resources to financial redress as a distinct initiative in the present day.

Collectively, these developments within policy highlight the increasing importance of historic abuse as a matter of concern within Scotland, and also emphasise the significance of this research. Despite the practical progress made in responses to historic abuse in Scotland, it is theoretically at least, unclear what has shaped them in the form they are presented in. Power was evidently present throughout developments, right from the individual power which was exercised by Chris Daly when he approached the Government with the petition to request that both inquiry and apology be made in relation to the historic abuse of children in care, right through to the structural power being exercised in responses by the state ever since. And although notions of restorative justice, as well as human rights, appeared within discourse relating to historic abuse within Scotland, they seem to have virtually disappeared as policy and legislative developments have taken precedence. As such, the paradigm from which such developments stemmed from, have been submerged with competing knowledge which has succeeded in achieving dominance.

It is argued, that underlying such competing knowledge, is the very real issue of power. Power, if it had been considered in any depth through developments may have served to

offer a consistent framework across competing agendas. This is because power is just as critical to human rights (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink 2013) and to restorative justice (Miller 2011), as it is to policy development (Arts & Tatenhove 2004). As we know, the Action Plan for victims/survivors of historic abuse was formulated by key stakeholders including victims/survivors themselves, and understandably therefore offers a very practical response when outlining what victims/survivors need. On the surface, this would suggest that the collaborative input via the InterAction deduced that encapsulating notions of power was not relevant to policy development. However this would be a naive view to hold, as we must remember that it would not be in the remit or scope of key stakeholders to consider theory in such depth in the course of their recommendations. Instead this would be a matter for academics to contemplate, offering theoretical insights in order to contribute towards the practical advancements underway. In respect of this, it will become evident through the course of this thesis, that notions of power are, on the contrary, very important to victims/survivors of historic abuse, even if they have not been articulated as such. And this research evidences how the policy landscape connects very directly to the theoretical innovation present within this thesis about power.

The idea of power within the context of the historic abuse of children in care and the responses to the phenomenon, have therefore not been explicitly considered as policy has been shaped. The omission of constructs of power it is argued is exactly that, an omission, and therefore a gap in the way in which responses towards the historic abuse of children in care have been framed within Scotland. It remains the case, that power is omitted, despite the fact that it is widely recognised how, *"one of the most troubling aspects of child abuse is that at its core is the abuse of power"* (Hoare, Boswell & Kail 2016, p11). In light of this, the ensuing chapter considers historic abuse more specifically within academic thinking and delves into the academic literature, making the relevance of power in relation to child abuse clearer in order to draw these separate yet intertwined themes together.

Chapter Three: The Historic Abuse of Children in Care

Having explored the policy developments in relation to the historic abuse of children in care over the last decade or so in Scotland, and evidencing the relative absence of any meaningful consideration of power within such initiatives, the ensuing chapter examines the academic literature on the historic abuse of children in care more broadly. It will be evidenced through the course of the literature review that notions of power remain relatively absent within scholarly thinking on historic abuse, in similar ways to its absence within policy developments. For this purpose, the chapter is essentially formed of two parts. It begins with an attempt to define exactly what is meant by the 'historic abuse of children in care' by deconstructing these terms. This is achieved by firstly looking at legal definitions of child abuse before moving on to consider definitions of historic abuse of children in care more specifically, in order to ultimately define the terms within the context of this research. The second part of the chapter follows with an analysis of the available academic literature on historic abuse in the present day. Academic discourse within the field of historic abuse is noted to be loosely based on two key themes: primarily there is academic debate around the prevalence of historic abuse whilst secondly, there is a growing body of literature which contemplates how the historic abuse of children in care is, and has been responded to internationally. The chapter concludes by highlighting that although the historic abuse of children in care is increasingly becoming recognised amongst academics, the conceptual framing and analytical understanding of historic abuse as embedded in diverse power structures is something, which has not been critically analysed.

Defining 'Abuse' and the 'Historic Abuse of Children in Care'

Our ability to truly understand the historic abuse of children in care is questioned conceptually, due to the innate difficulties present in defining what the terms 'abuse' and 'historic abuse' actually mean (Hawthorn 2006; Smith 2008). It is also argued, that due to the absence of a universal definition or consensus on what is meant by these terms, the true nature and extent of the prevalence of historic abuse is difficult to measure (Smith 2008). However, if our overall objective is to meaningfully explore the historic abuse of children in

care, an analysis of what is meant by the terms within the context of this research, becomes essential despite the complexities present in attempting to achieve this.

In an attempt to define 'abuse' within the British context, a seemingly obvious starting point would be to investigate legal definitions of what constitutes abuse. The United Kingdom is legislated as a whole, with the implementation of guidance and additional legislation being ratified on a devolved parliamentary level; which is introduced at the discretion of the individual nation where devolved state powers exist. In the UK therefore, we find definitions of abuse present both within legislation and statutory guidance. The overarching legislation related to the protection of children within the UK historically began with Chapter 44 of the Cruelty to and Protection of Children Act 1889 (n.p), which attempted to define the abuse of children:

> *"If any person who has attained the age of sixteen years and has responsibility for any child or young person under that age, wilfully assaults, ill-treats, neglects, abandons, or exposes him, or causes or procures him to be assaulted, ill-treated, neglected, abandoned, or exposed, in a manner likely to cause him unnecessary suffering or injury to health… that person shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and shall be liable."*

After a series of developments legislatively over the course of the century (including the Children Act 1908, Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children Act 1920 and the Children and Young Persons Act 1933), the Children Act 1989 built upon existing definitions and related the notion of abuse to the concept of harm. Harm, under Section 31 (9) of the Children Act 1989 is defined as *"ill-treatment or the impairment of health or development"*. Following on from this, Section 120 of the Adoption and Children Act 2002 (n.p.) states: *"… including for example, impairment suffered from seeing or hearing the ill treatment of another"*.

In interpreting the legislative definition, statutory guidance within England and Wales in the present day defines abuse as:

"A form of maltreatment of a child. Somebody may abuse or neglect a child by inflicting harm, or by failing to act to prevent harm. Children may be abused in a family or in an institutional or community setting by those known to them or, more rarely, by others (e.g. via the internet). They may be abused by an adult or adults, or another child or children." (DfE 2015, p92)

Similarly, in translating the legislation within Scotland, the National Guidance for Child Protection in Scotland 2014 (p11) states that:

"Abuse and neglect are forms of maltreatment of a child. Somebody may abuse or neglect a child by inflicting, or by failing to act to prevent, significant harm to the child. Children may be abused in a family or in an institutional setting, by those known to them or, more rarely, by a stranger".

Finally, within the UK and in terms of Northern Ireland, according to the Irish Safeguarding Board (2012, n.p.); in answering the question, what is abuse? It is related that:

"Child abuse occurs when a child is neglected, harmed or not provided with proper care. Children may be abused in many settings, for example, in a family, in an institutional or community setting, by those known to them, or more rarely, by a stranger. There are different types of abuse and a child may suffer more than one of them."

By examining the legislation, two significant points are evidenced in relation to the understanding of abuse within the UK context. Firstly, we are able to identify that 'power' does not exist within definitions or related guidance on abuse; whilst secondly we are able to determine that anything which may be harmful to children is considered abusive. The complexity however, arises by virtue of the fact that what is considered as being harmful to children, has shifted in meaning through the course of history. Meanings around what is, or what is not acceptable for children to be exposed to have been legislatively as well as socially constructed and reconstructed throughout Britain over the last century. Legislatively for example, it was Section 1 of the Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children Act 1920 (n.p.) which first stated that *"no child shall be employed in any*

industrial undertaking". And it was only within the Adoption and Children Act 2002 where definitions of abuse incorporated the notion of children witnessing abuse as being abusive. Therefore although the ill treatment of children was legally prohibited since the enactment of the Cruelty to and Protection of Children Act 1889, what was acceptable for children to be exposed to has been altered over the course of history.

Socially, the concept of abuse remains subjective and relative (Stainton-Rogers 2001) and has changed in meaning over time (Ferguson 2004; NRC 1993; Parton 2006). Respectively, these ambiguities may be located within broader ethical considerations of moral relativism and absolutism with reference to the often complex and contradictory views on the status of children within any given society (King 1999). This complexity is further exacerbated by the increasing awareness of how understanding 'abuse' is inextricable from the cultural context within which it is located (Korbin 2002; Fontes 2005; Corby, Shemmings & Wilkins 2012). And within social work practice, defining what constitutes abuse is further complicated by the shifting understanding around what is to be considered appropriate or inappropriate behaviour by professionals in positions of power in their obligation to protect vulnerable individuals (Tew 2006).

The physical abuse of children offers an acute example of how the socio-legal quagmire around what constitutes abuse has manifested, due to its relationship with the concept of physical chastisement. Questioning the acceptability of specific forms of abuse historically, Smith (2008) highlights how what was considered everyday practice twenty years ago is now considered abusive, particularly in relation to what falls within present understandings of physical abuse. Physical chastisement has remained contentious over the last century, as thresholds of acceptance have altered regarding this practice. To evidence this, writing during the 1970's, Gill (1975, p352) recognised that, *"the use of force toward children is widespread in our society on the institutional and family levels"*. And to this day, an 'appropriate' degree of physical chastisement remains acceptable within British Common Law. However, Section 58 of the Children Act 2004 limited the defence of 'reasonable chastisement', so that it could no longer be used to defend cases where individuals were charged with offences against children where for example there has been bodily harm or charges of cruelty against a child. The widespread use of physical chastisement over the

course of the last century was therefore curbed and clearer parameters regarding the degree of acceptability were offered. The 1889 Act had been clear that the wilful assault of children was prohibited, yet the discrepancy in simultaneously allowing for acceptable levels of physical chastisement, created ambiguity. The legislation it seems, was based on intent rather than impact historically, but was amended to consider the recognised level of harm being caused during the latter part of the twentieth century. Such shifts across the policy landscape, resonate with the way in which historic abuse (as discussed in Chapter One) has evolved across the policy sector but has not done so in line with academic discourse on the subject.

The legislative shift in focus from intent to consequence, in relation to defining what constituted the physical abuse of children has problematized the way in which historic incidences are being considered in the present day. On the one hand, we can argue that in terms of physical chastisement, what occurred previously was acceptable (Smith 2008); whilst on the other we can debate that although the use of force towards children was widespread historically, it remained an unacceptable practice (Gill 1975). For this reason, the matter of what was or was not acceptable practice and whether historic acts of abuse, as per modern day definitions should be considered abuse remains a contested matter. The danger present is,

> *"…the increasing versatility of the concept of child abuse—its ability to pick out more and more types of wrong done to children—has only been purchased at the cost of its increasing vacuity…on the other hand, allowing the concept of child abuse to fall into desuetude might risk a failure to notice a distinctive class of harms to which children are subject"* (Archard 1999, p67).

If we base our response to this quandary legalistically, rather than moralistically, we know that criminal law cannot be introduced retrospectively according to Article 7 of the European Convention on Human Rights (Herring 2017). Therefore one cannot be punished for a historic crime during the present which was not considered a crime at the time of the offence. Yet because the impact of historic abuse is understood to be very much present for individuals throughout their lives (Horwitz et al. 2001), the question arises, (and will likely remain) as to whether a perceived sense of moral imperative should lead the way for impact

rather than intent to become punishable in the present day. Whilst more specifically, the question of whether specific forms of 'historic abuse' should be considered abuse at all, comes to the fore (Smith 2008).

The question is not one that can be answered definitively, nor is it appropriate to attempt to do so, as it is not the purpose here to definitively review the legal and moral imperatives to deconstruct the level of complexity as well as subjectivity present in reaching such conclusions. However, in our attempts to make sense of the debate, we must also be mindful of how historic practices may well have been part of the ideology of child care at the time, for "*it would be quite wrong to suggest that systematic abuses of children were part of the norms of good practice*" (Ferguson 2006, p136). Perhaps at best therefore, we are able to reach a position regarding the phenomenon, which is synonymous with the positioning of scholarly debate around the prevalence of historic abuse which is explored further ahead. In terms of positioning, this research does not claim to be a historical inquiry, nor a social anthropological study, but rather an investigation into the historic abuse of children in care which is located within modern day social work theory and practice. In relation to defining abuse therefore, perhaps the best we can endeavour to achieve is a definition based on current understandings of what is harmful to children, based on current legislation and statutory guidance. Historically we know, (as outlined above), how Chapter 44 of the 1889 Act clearly outlawed the 'ill-treatment and neglect of children', leaving no room for doubt regarding the prohibition of abusive behaviour towards children. And although there have been shifts regarding what constitutes abuse, the essence of the term remains similar through the course of the years. Aligned with present understandings, for the purposes of this study therefore, the abuse of children is understood to fall within the four domains of the physical, sexual and psychological/emotional abuse or neglect of children (Scottish Government 2014; DfE 2018; Corby, Shemmings & Wilkins 2012).

With some understanding of an overarching definition of what 'abuse' is within the context of this research it is also important to understand what more specifically, 'historic abuse' has come to mean; in order for there to be further clarity regarding potential differences from more generic definitions. Writing in 2006, Hawthorn noted that the term 'historic abuse' is value laden and imprecise, situating it as a term which becomes difficult to define.

The situation has become notably clearer as time has progressed, because rooted within the National Guidance for Child Protection in Scotland, historic abuse within the Scottish context is defined as:

> *"… allegations of neglect, emotional, physical and sexual abuse which took place before the victim was 16 (or 18, in particular circumstances) and which have been made after a significant time lapse. The complainant may be an adult but could be an older young person making allegations of abuse in early childhood. The allegations may relate to an individual's experience in the family home, community or whilst a looked-after and accommodated child in a residential, kinship or foster care setting."*
> (Scottish Government 2014, n.p.)

Whether the clarity offered by virtue of the definition could be considered an improvement, in terms of contributing to our understanding of historic abuse, remains open to debate. The fact that the definition suggests that 'allegations' of abuse denote the existence of historic abuse may well be contested, because modern day understandings of abuse do not lend themselves as easily to the notion of something which is solely alleged. We are more likely to use terms such as 'alleged abuse' to denote a potential abuse which may have occurred but remains unconfirmed. Therefore suggesting that allegations of past abuse are demonstrative of and embody what is meant by historic abuse is overtly contentious.

That aside, the above definition is also problematic in that it does not fully reflect the essence of what this particular study explores. This is because, within the Scottish Governments definition, the 'allegations' which are referred to being made 'after a significant time lapse' does not stand true to this research and those victims/survivors who participated. The narratives of victims/survivors are considered to be synonymous with disclosures of abuse, rather than allegations; which were actually made by some victims/survivors at the time of the abuse, yet were often inappropriately responded to at the time, thus rendering them historic disclosures in the present day (Karim 2017). As a consequence it would be more fitting to suggest that historic abuse refers to those disclosures of abuse, which are 'brought to the fore' after a significant time lapse, as opposed to 'being made' following a time lapse.

Adding further complexity to the layers of meaning, it is essential to understand why the term 'in care' has been used as opposed to 'in residential care' within this research. Kendrick and Fraser (1992) highlight that academics writing on the topic of residential care vary in their use of terminologies with regards to what 'residential care' actually is. Despite the literal meaning of residential care suggesting a prolonged stay within a residential setting, out-with the family home, within the UK currently, the term 'residential care' is increasingly being used solely to denote children's homes (see for example Audin, Burke and Ivtzan 2018; Kendrick 2008). Words such as 'institutional care' (Daly 2014a) and 'out of home care' (Skold 2013) have also been used within the context of historic abuse more widely. The interchangeability of terminologies has thus continued to add confusion in any attempts to define what exactly is meant by the 'historic abuse of children in care'.

Daly (2014a p7) provides a reductionist approach by which to define 'historic institutional abuse'. By dividing the terms 'historic', 'institutional' and 'abuse' into three separate entities where she proposes that primarily, 'institutional' refers to residential care facilities, which actually correlates with the key terms employed by the Scottish Government Inquiry into Child Abuse. Daly also asserts that the construction of meaning for 'institutional abuse' within discourse, includes the sexual abuse of children by adults in care and community settings; it also encompasses the sexual, physical and psychological abuse of children by adults or their peers in residential care facilities and more systemically, whereby its meaning is centred on the abusive environmental conditions which are manifested in residential care. She concludes her definition by stating that, *"…the literature on historical institutional abuse deals with residential institutions for children in the past, and with adult survivors seeking recognition and redress*." It is clear therefore, that there is no single definition and at best, we are merely able to offer a locally shaped meaning.

With the precursory discussion forming the foundation on which to base our understanding; the historic abuse of children in care within the Scottish context and within this research is therefore essentially constructed by amalgamating the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiries definition found in their terms of reference (2018) and the aforementioned guidance on Child Protection in Scotland (2014):

The historic abuse of children in care is the physical abuse, sexual abuse, psychological/emotional abuse or neglect experienced by children whilst residing in care settings; whereby disclosures of the abuse are brought to the fore after a significant time lapse.

Also in the context of this research, the term 'children in care', in line with the terms of reference of the Inquiry refers to children accommodated in institutional residential care settings such as:

> *"Children's homes (including residential care provided by faith based groups); secure care units including List D schools; Borstals; Young Offenders' Institutions; places provided for Boarded Out children in the Highlands and Islands; state, private and independent Boarding Schools, including state funded school hostels; healthcare establishments providing long term care; and any similar establishments intended to provide children with long term residential care. The term also includes children in foster care."* (Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry 2018, n.p.)

Having established exactly what is meant by the 'historic abuse of children in care' within the context of this study, the chapter will now move on to explore academic discourse on the subject of historic abuse in greater depth, focussing on two key themes: Primarily the debate surrounding the prevalence of historic abuse is explored, whilst secondly the growing body of literature which explores international responses to historic abuse is also considered. The chapter ultimately concludes by highlighting that although the historic abuse of children in care is increasingly being recognised amongst academics, the very real issue of power is something, which has not been adequately considered despite the occasional references to its existence within academic discourse on the topic of historic abuse.

The Prevalence of the Historic Abuse of Children in Care

Partly due to the way in which definitions of abuse and historic abuse have been debated, the actual prevalence of the historic abuse of children in care has been in dispute within the British context. On the one hand, academics argue that it is a widespread issue which has, up until recently, been largely ignored. Whilst on the other hand, an opposing view exists

which suggests that the historic abuse of children in care has been amplified and exaggerated uncritically. The argument which considers that the historic abuse of children in care has been magnified inappropriately, centres around four particular criticisms. Namely, these are: a suggested lack of evidence to support abuse claims, the suspected existence of a master narrative which predisposes us to accept such claims, the notional existence of a moral panic which has been generated around the historic abuse of children in care and also, the suggestion that financial motivation operates as a precursor for individuals to claim that they have experienced abuse. Although this argument is presented in relation to the UK, international counter positions are also included through the course of the ensuing discussion to inform a critical analysis of the subject matter. This is because academic focus on historic abuse within the UK is relatively recent and consequently therefore the literature on the subject remains sparse.

To begin with, Smith (2008, p29) suggests that in recent times, *"…residential child care practice across the English-speaking world has been shaped by an assumption of widespread historical abuse."* He argues however, that the evidence to support such conclusions is 'decidedly weak'. The validity of the evidence base is called into question on the basis of an assumption which suggests that it has been formed as a result of self-reported allegations to helplines and small-scale studies, which do not lend themselves to generalisable data on the subject. The argument presented, is that victims/survivors of abuse are the minority, however due to the intensive focus on such narratives, the voices of the majority who had positive experiences within care are being submerged (Smith, 2008).

Other academics oppose this view however, stating that the evidence base for historic abuse on the contrary, is very reliable. In most cases, approaches to determining 'the truth' of historic abuse are understood to be sound. For example, Skold (2016, p506) contends that individuals are not solely believed based on their narratives. She argues, that victim/survivor testimonies are not uncritically accepted within inquiries into historic abuse, and by employing empiricist methods within her research, she concludes that the *"…Irish, Swedish and Danish inquiries clearly demonstrated that victim narratives have been challenged by and complemented with other voices and materials"*.

The second argument presented to diminish the claim that historic abuse is a significant concern, pertains to the suspected existence of a 'master narrative' which predisposes us to accept all allegations. Smith (2008) suggests that this master narrative around the issue of historic abuse, predisposes us to accept the legitimacy of claims that abuse within residential childcare is widespread and systemic in nature. This alleged master narrative is said to be centred on notions of malicious individuals infiltrating children's care homes with ease due to lax staff recruitment policies, poor management structures and corrupt institutional cultures which either, *"failed to address or covered up reports of abuse."* (Smith 2008, p31).

Countering this, research evidence demonstrates that significant concerns have been raised around professionals allowing abusers access to vulnerable children (Cashmore and Shackel, 2014) as well as failing to respond appropriately when abuse has been disclosed (Cashmore & Shackel 2014; Karim 2017). If such practices have directly lent themselves to the creation of a master narrative around historic abuse then its existence may justifiably be considered consequential. Concerns would only be present if a master narrative had emerged in the absence of any evidence to substantiate the claims being made, which resulted in its conception. Nevertheless, divergence remains amongst academics regarding the existence of systemic issues which may or may not have contributed to the prevalence of historic abuse.

Closely aligned with the notion of an existing master narrative, the third argument offered to negate the perceived magnitude of historic abuse is based on the view that a moral panic has been generated around the historic abuse of children in care, making it seem like more of a widespread issue than it actually is (Beckett 2002; Smith 2008). It is suggested, that allegations of historic abuse and how they are responded to, metaphorically resemble a 'witch hunt'. The witch-hunt metaphor is used to describe the way in which residential care workers are unfairly blamed, leaving residential care workers past, present and future at the mercy of persecutors who perpetuate the moral panic. Smith (2008) contends that prior to the 1990s there was a degree of ambivalence towards children in care, after which ensued the onslaught of controversy and investigation into abuse within children's homes and schools, therefore *"concern for the victim cannot be seen as entirely altruistic...It is*

symptomatic of wider social trends" (Smith 2008, p37); where it is claimed that society has become almost fixated with notions of abuse.

Sen et al. (2008) counter concerns raised by Smith (2008) and also Beckett (2002) around the possibility of a 'witch hunt' and persecution of residential care workers. They highlight that post 1985, numerous inquiries have evidenced that abuse was prevalent within residential care settings. Moreover, they suggest that there have been no legal challenges to the findings of such inquiries. Pilgrim (2018) in fact points out the dangers of practitioners being influenced by such lines of reasoning, concluding that child abuse is by no means a moral panic and that public responses to it are by no means disproportionate. Furthermore, international evidence also supports the view that the focus on historic abuse more widely, does not stem from a moral panic. Having undertaken an international case study analysis, Daly (2014a) argues that the historic abuse of children within institutional care arrangements cannot be analysed as a form of moral panic, because *"A 'moral panic' analysis is insufficient for understanding responses to institutional abuse in the Canadian and Australian core cases"* (Daly 2014a, p16).

The fourth argument which is presented to suggest that the historic abuse of children in care has been amplified as a concern, is based around notions of financial gain. It is proposed, that financial motivation has predisposed individuals to make false allegations in order to secure compensation. This concern regarding the perceived prevalence of historic abuse stems from questioning the motives behind the allegations of historic abuse which are made, and may well be defended by the experience of the Nova Scotia redress scheme in Canada, whereby there was evidence to demonstrate that, *"…false and exaggerated claims were made…motivated by monetary awards being offered"* (Kaufman 2002, p42). Smith (2008) therefore, considers financial compensation as a primary motivator for some individuals to make false allegations. However, he goes on to question what a sum of a few thousand pounds will make to individuals, and whether the process would further inflame unfulfilled hopes without desired resolution being achieved. In some ways, this reflection negates the strength of the previous assertions which are made, regarding financial gain as the prime motivator for individuals claiming that they were abused.

Directly challenging the views presented by Smith (2008), that compensation is a significant determinant within many historic abuse allegations which are made, Skold (2016, p507) counters how such suspicions that *"…care-leavers testify about abuse for the sake of financial compensation, cannot be supported by the contexts in which the Irish, Swedish and Danish inquiries came about."* The Danish, Irish and Swedish inquiries into historic abuse certainly did not offer financial redress as part of the incentive for care-leavers to provide their testimonies (Skold 2016). This has similarly been the case within Scotland, whereby victims/survivors have come forth to offer evidence within the Inquiry since it was launched in 2016, at a time when financial compensation was not on the Scottish political agenda and there was no financial recourse available. Empirically this is also substantiated by the likes of Colton, Vanston & Walby (2002) who demonstrate via their study with victims/survivors; that their primary motivator to become involved with investigations was built upon the hope of bringing perpetrators to justice, rather than hopes for financial gain.

Based on this debate, the prevalence of the historic abuse of children in care is admittedly a phenomenon which is difficult to measure. In the first instance (and in reflection of the discussion earlier on in this chapter), it is intrinsically dependent upon our definitions of what constituted/constitutes the abuse of children. Secondly, our understanding of the prevalence of historic abuse is also dependent upon the summation of the arguments which have been presented above. Despite the existence of dissent amongst academics regarding this issue however, the fact that historic abuse exists and is a very real social phenomenon is not fundamentally disputed. Instead, the discrepancy in academic perspectives relates to questions around what we define as being abusive, as well as debate in relation to the prevalence of historic abuse. As a result, even those who dispute the extensiveness of historic abuse as an issue concede that there is a need to support those who make historic abuse allegations, but this should be undertaken critically in order to prevent miscarriages of justice (Smith 2008).

Sen et al. (2008), who offer an overview of evidence to demonstrate the existence (and awareness) of historic abuse within care settings suggest we present such evidence with due diligence. They are clear from the outset that despite the historic abuse of children in care being of serious concern for Scotland, this focus should not diminish the value placed on the

positive experiences of the many children who experienced care. They also highlight that the intent of their academic contribution is not to feed into any historic stigma associated with residential care within the UK; but instead serves to contribute to positive advances within the sector. This evidences the attempts by some scholars within the field to negate any adverse generalisations, which could be made about children's experience of care in residential settings. Nevertheless it is argued that the prevalence of abuse should not be totally diminished, as the, *"…denial of abuse has been noted as a key impediment to preventing abuse"* (Sen et al 2008, p418). And Hawkins and Briggs (1997) propose that even during periods when awareness is being raised around child abuse, there are movements to set the problem into deeper levels of denial, therefore care and attention is necessary to ensure that legitimate concerns are not buried and made obsolete.

The salient view amongst academics however remains that the historic abuse of children in care is a very real and present concern (Daly 2014a; Ferguson 2006; Kendrick et al 2015; Sen et al, 2008; Stein 2006; Colton, Vanston & Walby 2002; Skold & Swain 2015) and therefore necessitates further investigation, acknowledgement and accountability (Ferguson 2006; Skold 2016). It is with this in mind that the focus now shifts to the second theme emerging from the literature in relation to the historic abuse of children in care, which is based on academic reflections upon state responses to the phenomenon.

Responses to the Historic Abuse of Children in Care

In addition to the academic discourse which debates the actual prevalence of historic abuse, a growing international focus has emerged on how the historic abuse of children in care is being responded to. The historic abuse of children in care has become part of the political agenda for at least nineteen nations across the world (Skold 2013), and an analysis of social and state responses to the phenomenon have increasingly become the focus of scholarly debate. The literature on responses to the historic abuse of children in care is predominantly centred around two core mechanisms, firstly, there is a growing body of knowledge which investigates inquiries into historic abuse, and secondly, academic concern centres on mechanisms for financial redress.

It is argued, that such responses to the historic abuse of children in care across nations, have been prompted by a range of phenomenon, which include:

"…care leavers' demands for recognition, reparation and justice – sometimes resulting in major class action lawsuits, and/or widespread compelling media coverage that have eventually forced governments and other responsible bodies to take action" (Skold 2016, p492).

Similarly, Daly (2014b) identifies a cause and effect relationship between concerns around historic abuse coming to light and the responses implemented to address them. She delineates the triggers and asserts that there are differences in terms of what prompted responses to historic abuse within the Canadian and Australian contexts, but the responses remained similar. It is suggested that victim reports, media stories, campaigning by advocacy groups and processes of civil litigation brought the matter of historic abuse to light. However, despite these differences, the outcomes were similar in terms of how concerns were responded to by states and their bodies in the form of a public inquiry or an investigation of some descript. Of all the triggers however, Swain (2018, p163) argues that most significantly, *"it was left to the survivors of abuse to confront governments with their failure to care, campaigns that have led to the inquiries that have proliferated across Western countries in recent years*." As a result of this proliferation, inquiries into the historic abuse of children in care have become a focal point for academics concerned with how past harms are being responded to by nation states.

- **Historic Abuse and Inquiries**

Between 1945 and 1998 seventy public inquiries investigating the abuse of children were identified as already having taken place in the UK; with these numbers nevertheless not being deemed a precise representation (Corby, Doig and Roberts, 1998). And within Scotland, inquiries have become increasingly focused on the abuse of children within care settings (Marshall, Jamieson & Finlayson 1999; Sen et al 2008; Frizell 2009). Although such inquiries were not conducted on a national level, their existence evidences how inquiry processes exploring the abuse of children are not a new or recent phenomenon.

Internationally, large scale inquiries into the historic abuse of children began during 1995, when the Australian government launched an investigation into the forced removal of Aboriginal children. This was followed by a similar investigation in Canada, which examined the Indian Residential Schooling System. The focus of inquiries was then expanded, with further inquiries into the historic abuse of children being initiated in Austria, Belgium, England, Iceland, Ireland, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Norway and the Netherlands (Skold & Swain 2015), and the Scottish inquiry into the historic abuse of children in care commencing in 2015. Despite geographical variation and differences in remit, the similarities between inquiries into historic abuse internationally are recognised in terms of how they:

> *"…share a commitment to listening to the testimony of victims/survivors and making recommendations about redress and reparation for past harm, as well as identifying and addressing the systemic issues which allowed such abuse to persist"* (Skold & Swain 2015, p2).

Inquiries into past harms are therefore recognised as offering a range of benefits, most notably, as offering the opportunity for the voices of victims/survivors to be listened to (Doek 2011; Skold & Swain 2015; McAlinden and Naylor 2016). Children's voices have often been 'missing' in empirical research on the topic of abuse, for example, children's perspectives on abuse in care have rarely been the focus of empirical research, although these have been highlighted in government commissioned reports (Timmerman and Schreuder 2014). Also, in relation to the emergence of historic child abuse in England, it is recognised that:

> *"…the viewpoints of the children and young people who suffered abuse were persistently occluded from the public record, highlighting further the significance of very recent inquiries in prioritising the testimonies of victims and survivors."*
> (Bingham et al. 2016, p429)

The fact that children's voices have been relatively absent from the public record as well as within research therefore, means that any opportunity for the voices of victims/survivors to be heard is of great value (Wright 2017). This is perhaps reflective of wider trends, whereby

capturing the 'voice' of victims has increasingly become an academic, policy and political pursuit (McEvoy and McConnachie 2013). McAlindon and Naylor (2016), highlight the importance of inquiries in providing exactly this opportunity for victims/survivors to be heard and empowered. For victims/survivors, having the space to speak of their experiences is predominantly understood to be empowering, despite the potential difficulties which may arise through the process (Sveeass and Lavik 2000). Fundamentally therefore, offering victims/survivors an appropriate space to voice their experiences, "*helps to challenge the abuse of power which lies at the heart of abusive relationships*" (McAlindon and Naylor 2016, p288). Furthermore, inquiries may actually lend themselves to new shared narratives, if professionals and care leavers are able to demonstrate collaborative efforts through inquiry processes (Wilson & Golding 2015).

Therefore, a key benefit of Inquiry processes is the way in which they are a means of providing an opportunity for the voices of victims/survivors to be heard. It is suggested, that as a result of Inquiry processes, which capture the voices of victims/survivors of historic abuse, recommendations have and can be made which endeavor to effect change in relation to children and their protection. This may be in terms of aiming to develop child protection processes and improving multi-agency work (Corby, Doig and Roberts 1998), or offering recommendations which may result in amendments or updates to policy, practice or law (Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry 2018). Yet despite the potential for positive outcomes via inquiry processes into the historic abuse of children in care, concerns have been raised, around the dilemmas present in undertaking such inquiries, on an individual, professional and state level.

On an individual level, the potential for victims/survivors to be adversely affected through engagement with inquiry processes is raised as a very real concern (McAlinden and Naylor 2016). Brennan (2015) questions the overall legitimacy of inquiries in delivering positive outcomes for victims/survivors, stating that inquiries are inherently shaped by particular political and social agendas which do not correspond with the needs of those affected by historic abuse. As a result, inquiries may well serve to legitimise the state, rather than facilitate a sense of closure to benefit victims/survivors (Arvidsson 2015). Furthermore, inquiries are heavily criticised for their focus on what happened to children, rather than

what children did to survive, which it is suggested, actually undermines the significance of children's agency (Ericsson 2015).

Colton, Vanstone and Walby (2002) reflected on the experiences of victims/survivors who were involved with investigations into child sexual abuse in residential institutions and found amongst other things, how there were issues around power present for those involved in the inquiry process, whereby:

> *"The stories of survivors bring into sharp relief the fact that historical investigations into child abuse are finely balanced between, on the one hand, addressing harm that has been caused and, on the other hand, causing further harm."* (Colton, Vanstone and Walby, 2002. p548)

The authors therefore suggest, that individuals who participate with historic abuse investigations, may well experience further harm if they are made to feel that their experiences are not appropriately acknowledged or responded to. To reduce the likelihood of such negative outcomes, it is suggested that an understanding of abusive power will help professionals to ensure they do not contribute to another abusive experience for victims/survivors.

Although it may be understood as a reduced concern, it is not solely victims/survivors who may be adversely affected; as the potential for professionals to be harmed by inquiry processes is also noted within the literature (Corby, Doig & Roberts 1998; Smith 2008). Hostile questioning and detrimental media exposure may affect professionals, or professionals may well be falsely accused or be unfairly treated during investigative processes (Smith 2008). Furthermore, it may well be that professionals as well as their constituent organizations may be collectively discredited if organizations are named through inquiry processes. Due to this, the publishing of names of institutions and professionals who are alleged to have been involved in the abuse of children remains a contentious issue. On the one hand individuals and organizations hold the right to anonymity, whilst on the other hand there is a sense that withholding such information would essentially reinforce notions of protecting those in positions of power (Bingham et al. 2016; The Guardian 2015).

As well as the potentially detrimental impact upon victims/survivors and professionals/organizations, the potential for negative consequences for the state are raised in relation to undertaking inquiries into historic abuse. From the outset, in terms of the way in which inquiries are set up, there are challenges innate to the definition of their remit. The Australian Royal Commissions remit to investigate sexual abuse solely, rather than undertake a broader investigation of all forms of abuse which occurred within institutions for example, has resulted in disappointment for advocacy groups who called for the inquiry (Golding 2018). Also in terms of remit, there are challenges present in relation to how an inquiry may actually measure the number of children who suffered abuse, the period of time in which the abuse was ongoing and how an inquiry would identify and respond to those who are alleged to be responsible for abuse (Corby, Doig and Roberts 1998).

In addition to this, on a state level, it is suggested that inquiries may lead to unease around the 'truth' which is created by virtue of the allegations made and evidence presented which contributes to determining responsibility. Skold (2016) considers the dilemmas present for nation states as a result of the construction of uncomfortable 'truths' via inquiries into the historic abuse of children in care. She highlights, how Inquiry Commissions seeking 'truth' have led to victim/survivor testimonies being collated, but the collation of these testimonies have caused a sense of unease in democratic nations:

> *"The testimonies from care leavers who have survived harsh abuse and neglect or forced removals from their parents and kin challenge the prevailing notions of the child welfare system as well as notions of countries' national self-identity as modern, democratic, and tolerant welfare states. These are naturally insights that could be difficult to come to terms with on a national level."* (Skold, 2013 p8)

Inquiries into historic abuse therefore, continue to play a significant role in creating new perspectives and establishing new histories on the topic of childhood (Wright 2017). The construction of new 'truths' relating to the treatment of children as a result of inquiries may well be deemed problematic and may be most challenging in relation to how findings may contradict the given national identity of modern welfare states which claim to be egalitarian. The undertaking of an inquiry could therefore undermine the legitimacy of the state, rather than fulfil any desire for it to enhance notions of its legitimacy (Arvidsson

2015). As a result, inquiries may well result in a sense of unease for democratic nations (Skold 2013).

The time and cost implications upon the state are also of significant concern, in terms of funding inquiries (Wright 2017). The Irish Inquiry was initially set up with a view to conclude its work within two years, but was extended (Brennan 2010). A direct consequence of such extensions is clearly apparent in financial terms. The Northern Ireland Inquiry into Historic Institutional Abuse for example, cost the Government over ten million pounds by the time it concluded (HIA 2017). And within the context of Scotland, it is noted that the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry is set to be the costliest in Scottish history (The Herald 2016). To date the Scottish inquiry has cost almost nineteen million British pounds (Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry 2019); and until the inquiry concludes, costs will inevitably continue to rise.

In relation to the focus on inquiries, Daly (2014a, p 18) highlights how, *"public inquiries are not the only type of response to historic abuse of children. If we focus solely on them, other responses and modes of redress are overlooked."* One could argue that the focus on inquiries for the moment is an understandable one. Public Inquiries are usually sizable in terms of their nature, scope and duration. They are also (in most instances) clearly visible and susceptible to higher levels of public scrutiny. Nevertheless, this focus on inquiries does not supersede academic concern surrounding the matter of financial redress. As alongside inquiries, financial redress is considered to be a matter of concern within the literature, and inspires similar levels of reflection.

- **Historic Abuse and Financial Redress**

Debate continues around whether alleged acts of historic abuse should be publicly acknowledged and addressed, or whether they should not; due to fears that claims of historic abuse may be motivated by the intention to secure financial payment (Wolfe et al. 2003; Smith 2008). It is also argued, that any reluctance to investigate allegations of abuse, stems from anxieties around financial liability (Colton, Vanstone & Walby, 2002). It is however, essential that those involved in investigations do not collude by buying into the idea that victims/survivors only come forward to share their experiences with a view to

accessing monetary recompense, as this would undermine the legitimacy of any investigation (ibid).

Inquiries into historic abuse are therefore frequently discussed alongside financial redress, because they are often interconnected or at the very least, interrelated. For example, the SHRC Action Plan (SHRC 2013) sought for both an inquiry alongside financial redress to be introduced within Scotland, whilst in Ireland, work to develop a financial redress scheme began at the same time as the launch of the Inquiry (Brennan 2015). Further afield in Australia, limiting the Australian Royal Commission's remit to solely investigate the historic sexual abuse of children means that any associated financial redress scheme will also exclude victims/survivors who experienced other forms of abuse (Golding 2018). Therefore due to their interrelated nature, both inquiries and financial redress hold similar levels of importance for those writing on the topic of historic abuse. Financial redress schemes are also similar to inquiries, in that they inspire both support and criticism from within the academic world. Financial redress schemes are perceived to be beneficial in terms of ease of access to compensation and the potential for healing which they may facilitate. Whilst on the other hand, the remit and processes incumbent to financial redress schemes are highly criticised.

Financial redress schemes are considered to be of value for a number of reasons. When compared to civil litigation for example, the lighter burden that redress schemes impose upon applicants is an important factor in rationalising the creation of a scheme (Winter 2018). And depending on how they are shaped, there is a very real opportunity present for financial redress schemes to be a means of healing for victims/survivors. Within Canada for example, the Grandview process was implicitly therapeutic (Feldthusen, Hankivisky & Greaves 2000). The Grandview Training School for Girls was responsible for housing and meeting the needs of 12-18 year olds, operating between 1933-1976. The reports of experiencing abuse within the institution were brought forth by former residents, and by 1994 the Grandview Agreement was put in place to provide financial redress to those who had been affected. The argument proposed by Feldthusen, Hankivisky and Greaves (2000) was that any attempts to financially compensate victims/survivors of historic abuse should

be mindful of the therapeutic needs of claimants, because, *"…money alone cannot heal"* (ibid, p112).

The scope for victims/survivors to experience relief through accessing financial redress schemes however remains limited; because although academics believe financial redress to be important (Winter 2017, 2018; Daly 2014b), the potential for financial redress schemes to have a negative impact upon victims/survivors of historic abuse has also been highlighted. Financial redress schemes have consequently been critiqued within the literature and concerns surrounding their remit and process have been shared. For example, Winter (2017) offers an analysis of financial redress schemes for victims/survivors of historic abuse, and highlights that there is an innate sense of injustice apparent in two ways: firstly in terms of the remit and eligibility criteria of schemes and secondly, the level of distress that schemes may bring for individuals.

When certain abuses are included within redress schemes whilst others are not, financial redress schemes are noted to be both unjust (Winter 2017; Golding 2018) and politically unacceptable (Golding 2018). And when redress schemes combine abuses which occurred across different settings, and distinctive victim/survivor groups are merged, this is also noted to be problematic (Winter 2017; Daly 2018). For example, individuals who were abused within care as compared to those who resided at home, are considered to be intrinsically distinct due to their historic social status, therefore *"unless these group differences are explicitly recognised in guidelines for the monetary payment, care leavers will be disadvantaged* (Daly 2018, p205). Consequently it is argued, that ignoring the distinct policy landscape which framed the historic abuse experiences of children in care, actually undermines their potential to deliver equitable financial redress (ibid).

Although financial redress schemes offer a relatively easy way of securing monetary compensation (Winter 2018), there are further limitations related to the processes by which such payments are made. It is recognised that within any financial redress scheme, there will be a level of compromise between the accurate assessment of claims and the time spent in undertaking the assessment, which may result in inequitable decision making. For example, the Nova Scotia Scheme in Canada was highly criticised for contributing to a miscarriage of justice, whereby false claims were made and monies were paid out, leading

to actual victims/survivors as well as care workers being stigmatised (Cradock 2015; Kaufman 2002). In order to diminish the risk of false claims being processed, any increase in a schemes demand for evidence would inevitably result in slower processing of applications (Winter 2018), which may be time consuming for victims/survivors and also add to their levels of distress. Also, the pursuit of securing additional information to support claims may prove to be challenging for victims/survivors due to the historic nature of their abuse and ultimately lead to further upset (Simonsen & Petterson 2015)

Upset, alongside a sense of disempowerment has been a key issue for some victims/survivors who have engaged with previous financial redress schemes. To offer an example, perceptions of the Canadian IRSSA payments being considered a form of 'shut-up money' are described within the literature, with anger, despair, anxiety and distrust being highlighted within the experiences of victims/survivors (Reynaud 2017, p201). Furthermore, the inequalities apparent in terms of power relations that are present for victims/survivors who engage with redress scheme processes remain a significant point of concern (Sköld, Sandin & Schiratzki 2018). Respectively, these limitations which arise as a consequence of implementing financial redress schemes require ongoing examination in order to better facilitate schemes which may be introduced in future years.

Conclusion

Fundamentally, it is important to acknowledge that the historic abuse of children in care is a complex and multifaceted topic, which is becoming an interdisciplinary field of study (Skold 2013). At present, academic literature is focussed predominantly on the nature and prevalence of historic abuse (Sen et al. 2008; Smith 2010) as well as exploring how concerns around historic abuse are being responded to via inquiries and mechanisms of financial redress (Skold 2016; Skold & Swain 2015; Daly 2014b, 2018; Winter 2017, 2018; Wright 2017). Both inquiries and financial redress schemes as responses to the historic abuse of children in care remain contentious, and questions around the legitimacy of mechanisms introduced to respond to historic abuse have arisen (Smith, Cree & Clapton 2012; Shead 2014; Ellis & Ellis 2014; Gallen 2016; Wright 2017; Daly 2018; Winter 2018). The presence of power imbalances through processes designed to respond to the issue are also recognised (Bergin 2007; Ellis & Ellis 2014; Sköld, Sandin & Schiratzki 2018). However, although power is

referred to in this context, power remains something which has not been empirically examined to date, therefore an understanding of how power is exercised within the context of the historic abuse of children in care and what impact this has on victims/survivors remains absent from the literature.

The dangers present in not exploring power in the necessary depth in relation to the historic abuse of children in care is captured by Bergin (2007) who suggests that collusion may have been part of the Church and States responses to historic abuse within the Republic of Ireland, in order to protect their respective power and status. Furthermore, when reflecting on organizational/institutional behavior, Bergin (ibid, p480) suggests that:

"Stated attempts at explicating policy and facilitating change may be understood as doing the very opposite, that is of muddying the waters and maintaining the status quo, at least in terms of maintaining the exercise of power."

The exploration of power by Bergin however remains underdeveloped in relation to the historic abuse of children in care. And again, despite the references to power, how and to what effect, power is exercised is not empirically explored as a force which impacts upon victims/survivors of historic abuse.

Academics have long recognised the need to make improvements for future populations of children in care, in order to diminish the risk of abuse forming part of their experience (Sen et al. 2008), and such aspirations to improve outcomes should be no less important when we consider those who have already been affected by abuse historically. The range of initiatives developed to respond to the concerns relating to victims/survivors of historic abuse across Scotland (explained in Chapter One), have clearly not been aligned with the scholarly concerns surrounding the prevalence of and responses to the historic abuse of children in care. If they had, perhaps they would have gone some way to neutralising the discord present. Yet the presence of such discord also reminds us of the complex and contentious nature of the subject in question. And again, had the issue of power been recognised as underpinning the competing perspectives which are present within the literature, it may have been a means of reconciling at least some of the differences which prevail.

Essentially, scholarly thinking on the subject of historic abuse endeavours to contemplate best practice responses to the phenomenon. Questions such as, what is the best way forward? And how thoughtfully have initiatives to respond to historic abuse been introduced? Are all questions which underpin academic discourse on the subject. One of the core aims of this thesis therefore, is to address such concerns by offering theoretical advancements in understanding how better to frame responses to the historic abuse of children in care through an exploration of power.

Due to the relative scarcity of literature on historic abuse itself, and more fundamentally due to the analysis of the data collected from interviews with victims/survivors, it became critical to look more broadly at child abuse in order to determine what further understanding could be gleaned on power. And reflectively of the research journey itself, I turned to consider what the literature offered in relation to child abuse more widely in order to make sense of what the data was highlighting in relation to power in order to develop the analytical framework offered in Chapter Five. However, issues relating to the importance of power remained something I was cognizant of, even in terms of the methods employed to gather data, and the following chapter which details the methodology explores the research journey and also offers reflections on power dynamics present within research.

Chapter Four: Methods

Fundamentally this thesis is about the workings of power, and in this chapter I offer an outline of the methods employed to explore how power has and can impact on the lives of victims/survivors of historic abuse. Primarily, issues pertaining to ontology, epistemology and their interconnectedness with reflexivity are explored with reference to power. Following this introduction, the chapter is divided into two constituent parts. In the first instance, the research design of the study is considered, which includes a discussion on the undertaking of a pilot study alongside other elements. The chapter then moves on to reflect on the methodological and ethical considerations of this study before concluding with some of the key points of focus in light of the methodology. Through the course of the chapter, the transition from transitional justice as a framework, to a refocusing on power as the most appropriate framework for the analyses of data is also explained.

Ontology, Epistemology and Reflexivity

On the surface, it is often the case that research is presented as being perfectly ordered chronologically and complete; however it has increasingly been recognised how such "neat" and "clean" narratives represent a "chronological lie", in order to highlight the most successful components of the research process (Bosworth 1999, p83). The question of why exactly this need to narrate research in such ways is present for researchers is worth contemplation; is it the case for example, that if one was to recount a complex research 'story' it begins to undermine the perceived credibility of a study? Or is it something else? On the one hand, within research we understand how nothing is more damaging to credibility than 'arrogant certainty' (Booth et al. 2017), yet on the other we are reminded of how some pieces of information are easier to convince the world of than others. For example, whereby English speaking academics are prioritised over others in terms of the dissemination of their research (Green & Speed 2018). This resonates with the work of Foucault (further discussed in the ensuing chapter), in his exploration of truth and power, whereby truth is an embodiment of power and is involved in a circular relationship with systems of power. As a result therefore systems of power both create what is true and also operate in ways in order to preserve such 'acceptable' truths (Foucault 1980). A pertinent

question to be asked regarding research is therefore, whether only neat narratives of research are acceptable and thus lead to a sense of truth and consequent air of credibility? It is argued here, that this should not be the case, and the realities of research should be recounted no matter how nonlinear they may seem, leading to perceptions of a higher degree of authenticity as well as credibility, because:

> *"Regularities and standardisations are incredibly powerful tools but they set limits. Indeed, that is a part of their (double-edged) power… [there are] modes of knowing, methods assemblages, that do not produce or demand neat, definite, and well-tailored accounts…because the realities they stand for are excessive and in flux, not themselves neat, definite, and simply organised"* (Law 2004, p6-14).

Somewhat reassuringly therefore, 'neat' approaches are no longer deemed essential for those involved in academic inquiry and there is a growing body of literature, often informed by Feminist epistemologies which consider the disarray which is often present within the research process (see for example Cresswell 2013). It could be surmised, that my research journey was anything except what would be defined as 'neat'; particularly with regards to the shift in focus from transitional justice to power in terms of the analysis. Such reflexive accounts are closer to what is likely to be the truth behind research within the social sciences, and in fact offer researchers an analytical tool with which to explore individual research praxis, as well as providing an opening for others to better understand how research findings were informed.

Reflexivity is both concerned with undertaking research in new ways, whilst also exploring the power embedded within one's research (Pillow 2003). It is argued that reflexivity means a range of things in modern day research, and in essence, four uses of the term are apparent, *"reflexivity as recognition of self, reflexivity as recognition of other, reflexivity as truth, and reflexivity as transcendence"* (ibid, p181- 186). Such 'comfortable' reflexive practices have been challenged with those which may seem unorthodox and uncomfortable, by being 'rigorously reflective of the workings of power' (ibid p.188). As such, it may just be that the increased awareness of power and reflexivity is one which does not allow one to represent 'truths' which in reality may well be experiential and chronological inaccuracies.

The significance of doing research differently from previously popular forms stems from both ethical and political concerns and has particularly been influenced by the way in which feminism has questioned such traditional forms of inquiry (Pillow 2003; Oakley 1981). These alternative ways of thinking correlate with the way in which the feminist movement drew attention to the physical and sexual abuse of children in an unprecedented way (Delap 2015; Whittier 2009). Objective inquiry and its constituent elements including the likes of distancing, neutrality and views which lay emphasis on impersonality have been significantly challenged within postmodernist thinking and the growth of feminism; with such movements cutting across critical and interpretivist paradigms (Willis 2007) allowing for 'objective' inquiry to be questioned. Feminist research offers a perspective which rejects notions of the truth being an objective construct, and suggests that such thinking may in effect objectify participants, promote hierarchical and power imbalances and lead to subjective findings nonetheless (England 1994; Stanley & Wise 1993). This research was very much informed by such epistemological underpinnings, particularly with regards to the recognition of power and hierarchical imbalances that can easily, albeit unwittingly, become part of the research process.

As an introductory reflection on addressing concerns around the 'objectifying of participants', this research in its entirety refers to those who participated as victims/survivors, as these were the terms used by individuals when referring to themselves during interviews. Sometimes it was one and sometimes the other, whilst in some instances the words were used interchangeably to self-identify. Individually, the term 'victim' and its resultant status has been recognised as a mechanism of state power and the oppression of individuals (Walklate 2006); thus highlighting the significance of semantics. The term 'survivors' on the other hand, is said to hold positive connotations relating to the overcoming of the potential effect of an ordeal (Brennan, 2015). Nevertheless, such 'labels' are being defined by academics, therefore the term 'victims/survivors' is used through the course of the thesis to reflect the way in which individuals self-identified. Although we may not be able to avoid being embroiled in the relationships of power present in research (Brew & Lucas 2009), what we can do is be aware of how we exercise this power in our representations within and of our enquiry.

Furthermore, as part of the consultation on financial redress that I was separately involved with since the completion of my fieldwork; I noted that the review group oversight committee wanted the terms 'victim/survivor' used together throughout the consultation process in order to reflect the difference in how individuals described themselves in relation to the abuse they had experienced (see for example Scottish Government 2017). My use of the term 'victims/survivors' offers one example of how I sought to embody the aforementioned values and refrain from objectifying participants at each stage of the research process, whilst also critically reflecting on my own thinking, practice and positioning.

It has been emphasised, that the positionality and life experiences of researchers directly affect the research task, which creates *"a dialogical process which is structured by both researchers and participants"* (England 1994, p80) and with it there comes bias. My own positioning in terms of being a qualified social worker having worked within a range of child protection as well as therapeutic contexts brought with it a set of pre-determined values which encouraged me to engage reflexively and critically throughout the research process. As a profession, social work invariably promotes social change as well as the empowerment of individuals to enhance wellbeing (IFSW 2000); whilst the social work codes of practice include recognition of the need to promote participation and challenge unjust practice (BASW 2012). And perhaps as a consequence, social work research is also recognised as playing a fundamental role in attempting to promote social justice (Mertens & Ginsberg 2008).

Based on my positioning, throughout the research process I strived to ensure interactions with participant's enhanced participation and promoted wellbeing, with issues pertaining to power and notions of empowerment being firmly embedded within my approach to academic inquiry. Principally, this was demonstrated by the way in which I actively listened to (and have ultimately reflected within this thesis) what was related by victims/survivors in their narratives; because they have not always been positively regarded by academics (see for example the work of Smith, Cree & Clapton 2012; Smith 2008, 2010) and have historically not always been believed by professionals (Karim 2017). I aimed to therefore understand the experiences of victims/survivors from their *own perspective* and explore

how they understood those experiences. Within the research context, my role was not to evaluate or judge the 'truth' of their experiences; what actually mattered was how victims/survivors constructed their own truths, and for me to be respectful of these. By approaching the research in this way, I was able to mitigate bias which may have resulted from my experience in social work practice; because within this context I was a researcher, rather than a social worker who would be required to assess and make judgments.

Ontologically speaking therefore, positivist understandings of how reality is constructed are dismissed within the context of this research, due to the way in which positivism assumes reality is driven by natural laws and mechanisms that can be accessed by researchers (Guba, 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Instead a constructivist perspective is adopted, whereby it is understood that reality is inseparable from human constructions; which may be numerous, but can be shared between groups and are locally, culturally and historically specific (Burr, 2003; Guba, 1990). Therefore in light of this, *"research…is a matter of coming into (intervening in) another(s) world of knowledge/being."* (Edwards 2001, p2)

It is within this context, that this chapter offers a discussion which reflects critically on how I undertook this research. The chapter will firstly provide an overview of the research design and research activity, before presenting a more critically reflective account of methodological and ethical issues which were present and arose during the research process. It will conclude by arguing how researchers working with individuals who have experienced historic abuse need to be highly reflexive regarding the potential impact of methodological choices and praxis, and how in turn an awareness of the power of therapeutic outcomes within research contexts can add value to the research experience for participants.

Research Design

Research Context

The PhD was funded by the University of Strathclyde and located within the School of Social Work and Social Policy; therefore the direction and focus for the research had already been predetermined. Having won a scholarship to undertake the pre-defined study, the research which had been set began with a focus on 'transitional justice' to which I added notions of

'forgiveness'; as transitional justice was becoming increasingly recognised in relation to historic abuse (Skold 2013), whilst forgiveness was a factor considered significant in relation to transitional justice (Inazu, 2009). At the time, I was satisfied with the trajectory of the research and retrospectively understand that this was based both around my position as a novice researcher and also a sense of uncertainty around the topic area. Retrospectively, I also acknowledge my limited scholarly expectations of what I would and would not be able to alter with regards to the research aims.

Because the focus and trajectory of the research had been set and I was also new to Scotland (having moved from England to undertake the study), it meant that I did not have any established professional networks and was therefore very reliant on those offered by the University. Primarily, the direction offered by my supervisors, included preliminary understandings of who would take part (both victims/survivors and supporting professionals) within the research. After receiving ethical approval from the University Ethics Committee (Appendix III), I was referred to victims/survivors who were willing to take part in a pilot study in order to evaluate the direction and focus of the research, as well as to examine the relevance of what would be asked of individuals as part of the broader study.

The Pilot Study

Due to the sensitive nature of the research to be undertaken, a pilot study was deemed essential in order to 'test' questions, which would be asked of victims/survivors as part of the broader study. It is recognised within research, how testing interview questions and structure is useful in the process of refinement with a view to addressing potential confusion or minimising the risk of eliciting limited responses from participants (Fassinger 2005). The overall aim of the pilot was therefore to establish the best possible way of framing questions whilst gauging their relevance to participants. The pilot study engaged with four victims/survivors of historic abuse, using face-to-face semi-structured interviews as a means of data collection (which is explored further on in this chapter). The pilot study was successfully carried out during early 2014, and the findings highlighted the importance of the use of appropriate language and offered guidance on the phrasing of questions.

The responses from victims/survivors during the pilot interviews were analysed to answer the following questions:

1.   How easily did participants understand the questions?
2.   How fully were questions answered?
3.   How relevant were the questions to participants?

And although these questions were answered, an unforeseen yet significant finding of the pilot was that during the interviews, despite not being directly questioned on their abuse experience, participants referred back to their abuse and in some cases spoke about this extensively. It became apparent that overall, individuals still wanted a space to talk about their abuse. Consideration was therefore given as to whether a question should directly be included on, "Would you like to say anything about the abuse you experienced?", however it was concluded that for the purposes of the research this would move away from the focus intended or would potentially cause discomfort for those who did not want to speak of the actual experience. Participants spoke on the topic of abuse in different ways, whether this was by explaining the details of events or discussing its impact. Therefore it was concluded, to acknowledge the abuse, without making it the primary focus, that a question on the impact of the abuse experience would be included.

Another significant finding of the pilot study was that it would be helpful to include a space for further comments throughout the interview. At the end of each section therefore, the question of, "Is there anything else you would like to add or share on this topic?" was included in order to provide a further opening for victims/survivors to speak about anything else they felt they wanted to say on the topic. Individuals frequently shared their views in a disorganised manner, for example by moving away from the questions to reflecting on their experiences; which may or may not be linked to any of the questions within the interview. This was recognised as being perfectly fine, highlighting the need for flexibility on the researchers part. And by adding the question on additional comments, demonstrated a degree of openness to dialogue and embodied the flexibility which was deemed essential as a result of the outcomes of the pilot study.

Once complete, interview questions were refined and adapted in accordance with the findings of the pilot, after which I had hoped to swiftly attain supervisory agreement and reapply for ethical approval for the broader research project. Following recommendations from my supervisor, simultaneously, scoping efforts were made to see if there was any international interest for the study (Karim & Kendrick 2014). At this stage I had been advised that potentially, the study may be internationally comparative and additional funding would be made available if required. After this point however, there was a change in supervisory arrangements and this impacted on the scope and timescales of the overall project. I obtained ethical approval and a new supervisory team during 2016 and it was agreed that the final year of the project would be completed on a part-time basis. However, the avenue to access potential participants directly or secure additional funding had also consequently dissipated; therefore this shaped how the project progressed. A PhD review meeting highlighted the need to focus the study and narrow its scope due to time constraints. Based on the resultant recommendations and my enhanced understandings of the topic area, the decision was made to focus the research on victim/survivor perspectives from Scotland solely; and so began the process of recruitment and main fieldwork activity.

Recruitment of Participants

Purposive sampling offers a level of control in the selection of information-rich cases for in-depth consideration (Patton 2015), and in effect a heightened degree of power over the recruitment of participants. Access to individuals who could participate in the research following the Pilot Study was thereafter purposefully facilitated by my engagement with the national victim/survivor support group: 'In Care Survivors Scotland'. The decision to pursue this avenue in order to purposefully connect with victims/survivors who may want to participate was taken, due to my understanding of the sensitivity of the topic under question, as well as recognition of the vulnerability of individuals who would take part. Indeed, within social work research, it is imperative to offer interventions which diminish the risk of harm (Mertens & Ginsberg 2008). Therefore, the fact that individuals were linked to a counselling service ensured that appropriate therapeutic provisions were in place to support their wellbeing. Contact was therefore made with the service manager, who forwarded information to their counselling staff, who then discussed the research with victims/survivors they were supporting. It is well recognised, how the role of such

gatekeepers is pivotal to accessing participants (McFadyen & Rankin 2016); and it became apparent that positive relations with gatekeepers proved essential in engaging individuals with this research.

Despite it being recognised that access to vulnerable participants can prove to be difficult (Liamputtong 2006; McFadyen & Rankin 2016), the response to the research was overwhelming, and within three months of beginning the process of accessing participants, I had successfully interviewed twenty one victims/survivors from across Scotland. In terms of gender representation within the sample, there were eleven males and ten females who were all over the age of thirty. The research interviews were on average three hours long, with the longest being five hours and the shortest duration, one hour. Interviews were held at the University where possible; however the option was provided whereby victims/survivors were offered a choice of venue. When individuals opted for a venue of their choice, predominantly they chose to be in their own homes with two exceptions, whereby an interview was held in a room booked at the local library and another at the counselling service the participant was accessing.

It became apparent that recruiting participants via the support service was of significant value. Primarily, as noted previously, individuals had counselling support which provided a safety net to address any potential trauma evoked by speaking on the subject of their abuse experience, whilst secondly; those who took part were from a range of geographical locations across Scotland. Within the context of historic abuse, much of the work undertaken to date by academics and policy makers has been within the central belt, which has made access for those residing further away difficult. Due to the way in which the option for individuals to select a preferred venue for the interview was provided, victims/survivors were able to request that I visit them, irrespective of the distance. The recruitment process therefore ensured that victims/survivors, who had not engaged in any of the developments in relation to historic abuse more broadly, were able to voice their experiences and have them heard.

But how many voices could be heard within the constraints of the research context? And indeed how many would it be appropriate to hear? The answer to this question is a methodological quagmire due to the range of views presented on the topic. Methodological

commentary offers a plethora of perspectives on appropriate sample sizes. Sandelowski (1995) notes how within the reality of qualitative research, determination of an appropriate sample size is a matter of judgement, whilst others offer specific ranges for researchers to use as frame of reference, suggesting anywhere between 5-50 participants (Dworkin 2012). Perhaps of more significance, than a focus on numbers, is a consideration of whether the size of the sample may lead to data/theoretical saturation or information redundancy (Mason, 2010).

The size of the sample for this research had been considered and set to 10 in-depth interviews per country of Inquiry. However the change in remit had meant a re-examination of this number, due to the fact that the study would be based solely in Scotland. A decision was made to endeavor to interview twenty victims/survivors of historic abuse. However, such preliminary considerations were naïve, as although this was achieved, and twenty one individuals were interviewed, there were challenges present in terms of the time taken for transcription and data analysis, purely due to the duration of interviews (which is explored in the ensuing discussions). Nevertheless, I remained satisfied that the sample size was appropriate for the intended purposes as victims/survivors were able to share their views and experiences in substantial depth and this resulted in the collection of very rich data. Smaller sample sizes are considered appropriate where intensive analysis will take place (Cleary, Horsfall & Hayter 2014); and therefore the total number of participants who were involved with this research, was adequate for all intents and purposes.

Interviews with Victims/Survivors

With the twenty-one victims/survivors interviewed, I had begun on the premise that victims/survivors would potentially experience further emotional pain from recounting their views and experiences pertaining to historic abuse (hence my focus on ensuring therapeutic support was in place), however my concerns did not come to pass. Individuals had the option of bringing their counsellors along in order to offer them support through the interview process, and only one victim/survivor chose for their counsellor to attend.

Apart from one individual, all victims/survivors expressed their positive views on 'finally being listened to', even where there were instances of tears and emotional pain present.

Individuals shared their appreciation of being invited to speak of their experiences rather than what they described as their historic experiences of not feeling acknowledged or believed (see for example Karim 2017; Skold & Swain 2015). The one individual who did find it difficult to speak about their experiences in any depth, ███████, had chosen to participate but had been unsure as to whether or not she should invite her counsellor along. ███████ ultimately chose not to invite her counsellor, but she later acknowledged during a telephone conversation that had the counsellor been present perhaps, the experience may have been easier for her. Nevertheless, overall for the vast majority of participants, the presence of pain did not negate the positive feelings which were experienced by victims/survivors who participated in the interviews; and hence my realisation of how the presence of pain and relief is not necessarily mutually exclusive. This also made me cognizant of the fact that pain or hurt during an interview does not necessarily equate to harm.

Interviews were semi-structured and were adapted in line with the findings of the pilot study undertaken, however I still considered it important for victims/survivors to know what they would be asked during the interviews due to the sensitivity of the subject and for reasons of transparency. The process of arranging interviews began with counselling staff making contact with me after having spoken to their clients and providing contact information for those who had shown an interest in participating. I then made contact either by phone or email and communicated with them directly regarding the research. Individuals were then forwarded a copy of the information letter, consent form and interview questions either through the post or by email depending on what suited them[1]. A follow up conversation over the phone was then held, whereby any questions or concerns regarding the research could be discussed, following which arrangements around the interview were confirmed. Having a dedicated phone number by which victims/survivors could make contact at any point during the research process, was highlighted as another significant factor which contributed positively to the overall experience for individuals participating in the research.

While there is a growing body of literature which includes the views and experiences of victims/survivors of historic abuse internationally (see for example Brennan 2008; Coldrey

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[1] See appendices for the information sheet, interview questions and consent form used

2001; Lowry & Duke 2012; Murray et al. 2009; Skold & Swain 2015), empirical research involving victims/survivors within Scotland is largely invisible. The interviews I undertook with victims/survivors within a research context were therefore a new experience for those involved and were very well received overall. This became very apparent and was reflected by the duration of the interviews. It had been envisaged that interviews would take approximately one hour, however during the course of the initial interview it became clear that this would likely be an insufficient amount of time. The approach I adopted towards the duration of interviews was flexible, as I enabled individuals to continue talking for as long as they wanted, with regular breaks throughout the process. When the interviews were exceeding three hours however, we re-arranged another date and time for the remainder of the interview to be completed.

Recording and Transcription

Consent was obtained from victims/survivors who participated for interviews to be digitally recorded therefore all twenty-one interviews were captured in this way, and there were no apparent hesitations present for individuals who were interviewed in consenting to this. The recording of interviews is often a preferred method as compared to note taking within research, as it limits the opportunity for potential problems related to the recollection of information and minimizes the distraction, allowing for focus on the research interview (Bryman 2016; Kvale & Brinkman 2015). Nevertheless, recording interviews also brings with it, its own set of dilemmas due to the potential it creates for technical problems to occur, as well as the additional time required to transcribe interviews. Bryman (2016) suggests how on average, one hour of tape takes five to six hours to transcribe. And having conducted interviews within my research which lasted on average three hours, the process of transcription was very time-consuming as I had made the decision that ethically, it would be most appropriate for the data to remain with me, rather than be shared with a transcription service.

Adding to the overall time taken during this phase was the method employed to confirm that transcriptions were accurate. Victims/survivors who participated were asked if they would be happy to look through the transcription in order to verify that they felt it was an accurate representation of their voices. It is noted to be desirable to allow participants to

verify the accuracy of their transcripts and clarify the data they have provided (Fassinger 2005) and all except three of the individuals who were interviewed wanted to read through their transcripts and offer feedback. The three individuals who did not want to relook at their transcription stated it was due to the fact that they had provided their 'story' and were happy for it to be used and 'trusted' that it had been captured accurately. Of the eighteen individuals who did read their interview responses, fifteen requested their transcript be sent to them via email and three requested a postal copy. By incorporating this method to the research process, additional time was required, however once the transcriptions had been seen and verified by means of a phone conversation, I was happy to begin the analysis of interviews. Retrospectively, it must be noted, that despite the time involved in undertaking this process, I would not alter the rigorous method applied. Being mindful of the sensitivity of the research interviews, I felt a deep sense of responsibility to ensure that information was captured in a way which accurately reflected the views being shared by the individuals who participated.

One difficulty I did encounter when transcribing interviews, was the emotional impact the process of transcribing had on my levels of energy as 'emotional fatigue' (Sherry 2013) crept in. The information contained within the recordings was distressing in parts, where victims/survivors discussed the abuse they experienced. In some instances, the narratives included graphic detail of incidences, which had been difficult to listen to within the interview space, and even more so in isolation as I sat to transcribe interviews independently. To mitigate this, however much was possible, I did not consistently complete transcriptions, instead I spaced out the process across several months to ensure that I regularly had breaks away from the intensity of the transcription process. Retrospectively, it may be that as a process, the transcribing of interviews was one of the most challenging aspects for me in the completion of this research. It was noted, that the in-depth collection of data lends itself to challenges, which are not necessarily predictable at the outset of the research project (Robinson 2014).

Data Analysis and Reporting

Data analysis began at the point of transcription, as hearing the recordings and transcribing them offered the opportunity to begin to document an emerging list of themes. Therefore,

although (as discussed previously), transcription was time consuming and challenging, one clear benefit was the way in which I was able to immerse myself in thinking proactively regarding what the data contained. I began from the premise that the construction of theory is said to be a process of problem solving which relies on existing ways of understanding what the phenomenon under question is (Ragin 1992; Winship 2006). Therefore my approach to analysis began with the expectation that what I would discover would fall within a transitional justice framework, as this had been my starting point in the research journey.

The interview questions for victims/survivors had very much been centered around the impact of the abuse individuals had experienced and what they needed from redress stemming from a transitional justice framework; yet what I was hearing from victims/survivors was something very different. I was hearing about power, I was hearing about the abuse of power and the impact it had on the lives of victims/survivors, I was also hearing about the legacy of the abuse and how individuals had attempted to regain a sense of control as well as about what they needed from the processes which could or have been set up to respond to their suffering in order to contribute to a sense of empowerment. It was at this point, and late on in my research journey where my views on the approach to data analysis were shifted, as I moved on to employ an abductive analysis strategy to the data, whereby theory development and analysis were linked via a simultaneously iterative process; which as Timmermans & Tavory (2012) suggest, can lead to an empirically founded construction of theory.

Attempts geared towards 'constructing theory' are often visible within the social sciences via the analysis of empirical data. This may include researchers engaging in analysis to make generalisations/connections between particular cases or identifying links between causal statements (Abend 2008), which should result in a contribution to knowledge being made. Theory construction is thus an ongoing pragmatic process of problem solving which draws upon existing ways of understanding what any given phenomenon 'is a case of' (Ragin 1992; Timmermans & Tavory 2012; Winship 2006). Grounded theory, as an approach to determining the emergence of theory from empirical data has become increasingly popular since the 1960's (Glaser & Strauss 1967) with its offer of a heuristic method and subsequent

coding schemes for the construction of theory (Timmermans & Tavory 2012). Grounded Theory suggests how, *"an effective strategy is, at first, literally to ignore the literature of theory and fact of the area under study, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas"* (Glaser and Strauss 1967, p37). However, despite the prevalence of grounded theory, its methodological application has been questioned (Wells 1995) as well as questions being raised around its aptitude at achieving what were its originally stated outcomes; the creation of new empirically rooted theories (Charmaz 2006; Snow, Morrill & Anderson 2003). It has also been argued that grounded theory has been a term employed in a loose and unauthentic sense to describe qualitative research which does not possess a clearly defined approach to analysis (Hood 2007) whilst others have rejected grounded theory as *"an epistemological fairytale"* (Wacquant 2002, p1481).

The 'epistemological fairytale' of grounded theory became unwittingly present in my research, when it emerged that my pretext for analysis was usurped by what the data was presenting. I would since argue that the grounded theory method would not have led me to the contribution this research makes to theoretical knowledge. This is because, the transitional justice framework employed to devise the questions was necessary in order for the theory to ultimately be constructed. Instead, more befitting became the process of abduction, which denotes the production of hypotheses based on unexpected evidence (Kelle 2007; Reichertz 2007; Strubing 2007). Reichertz (2004, p161-162) explains the process of abductive analysis:

> *"An order, or a rule, in this procedure must therefore first be discovered or invented – and this has to happen with the aid of intellectual effort. Something unintelligible is discovered in the data, and on the basis of the mental design of a new rule the rule is discovered or invented and, at the same time, it also becomes clear what the case is. The logical form of this operation is that of abduction. Here one has decided (with whatever degree of awareness and for whatever reasons) no longer to adhere to the conventional view of things. This way of creating a new 'type', that is the relationship of a typical new combination of features, is a creative outcome which engenders a*

> *new idea...Abduction is therefore a cerebral process, an intellectual act, a mental leap, that brings together things one had never associated with one another."*

Having 'engendered a new idea' through my initial reflections, the data was then analysed iteratively and thematically, using Microsoft Office applications to aid the process. Codes were subsequently used to formulate interpretations of the data into thematic representations of findings. An analytical framework of power informed by Tew (2006) was then applied to aid the 'sorting' of thematic representations into broader categories. Tew's analytical framework is discussed in more depth in Chapter Five, which brought with it, its own limitations. The framework was again, iteratively developed and in effect, demonstrated a further layer to the 'abductive' development of theory.

Methodological and Ethical Reflections

All research requires ethical consideration to a greater or lesser degree, however due to the sensitive nature of the research inquiry and the vulnerability of participants I became acutely aware of the need from the outset to ensure that ethics had been as fully considered as possible. Ethics within qualitative research can be understood in two ways: 'procedural ethics' or 'ethics in practice'. Procedural ethics refers to the processes of obtaining necessary permissions from relevant bodies, for example ethics committees in order to approve the research. However this is often not sufficient as ethical encounters may well emerge at any point during the research process, hence consideration of ethics in practice is also essential (Guillemin & Gillam 2004). Throughout my research I endeavored to adhere to both procedural and practice ethics with due diligence. The research adhered to procedural ethics through two stages of ethical approval, firstly for the pilot study and secondly for the main project, which were approved by the University of Strathclyde ethics committee on both occasions; whilst I also attended to and was cognizant of practice ethics on an ongoing basis. In social work research it is pivotal to remember that:

> *"…the construction of knowledge is not the sole concern. What also matter are the ethical and political dimensions of how 'knowledge' is generated and interpreted. That is, social work research is not solely or primarily conducted as a pursuit of knowledge but also has a political and ethical purpose in keeping with social work*

objectives to achieve social justice and improve the social conditions of individuals,
groups and communities."   (D'Cruz & Jones 2004, p30)

The above quote quite succinctly captures the essence of the way in which this research was undertaken. Being mindful of the sensitivity of the research topic from the outset and ensuring there were safeguards in place for individuals who participated in the interviews was integral. Alongside their regulatory function, ethics committees are known to act as gatekeepers during the research process to protect participants from harm (McCosker, Barnard & Gerber 2001). And despite the overwhelming sense from participants that they felt better for participating, there were points at which I struggled with understanding how the research itself would actually benefit victims/survivors. It was only at the point when I realised that it had a role to play in contributing to wider social work objectives to achieve social justice (Mertens & Ginsberg 2008) and improve the experiences for children in care past and present that I was able to reach a point of resolution with this; because as stated above, the construction of knowledge ought never be the sole concern in social work research.

Informed Consent

The need for ongoing ethical considerations to be salient in the minds of researchers is perhaps particularly important when undertaking research with victims/survivors of historic abuse. Primarily, whilst the support of gatekeepers is pivotal to facilitating access to potential participants, concern remains as to whether or not consent was given freely without influence or a sense of obligation. Secondly, within social work research, there is a specific duty present for researchers to inform participants of all features of the research process which may potentially impact on the desire of individuals to take part (Butler 2002).

Knowing that, "*the two main components of modern consent are understanding and voluntariness"* (Alderson & Goodey 1998, p1313), made it imperative for me to remain mindful of informed consent throughout the research process. It may be argued, that the importance of such consent became even more critical, because the research was asking individuals to share their views on experiences they had historically not consented to, and

often not understood. Therefore I undertook a number of measures to ensure informed consent was very much informed and present for participants.

Prior to undertaking interviews, I explained the purpose and scope of the research via both written and verbal communication when engaging with victims/survivors, whilst explaining and answering any questions which arose throughout. I also emphasised how if at any point during the research encounter, they no longer wanted to participate then this would not affect them in any other way and what they had shared would be withdrawn. Consent forms were provided whereby victims/survivors were explicitly consenting to the recording of interviews and to being part of the research and these were discussed and completed prior to interviews being held. Another significant step I undertook, was to maintain communication with gatekeepers. In speaking with gatekeepers, it was highlighted to me that there was one individual who had wanted to take part originally, but then had changed their mind. This went a long way to reassure me that the influence of gatekeepers was not placing victims/survivors in a position where they felt obliged to participate in the research.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

At the outset of communication with victims/survivors I was clear regarding the confidential nature of the research, with its exceptions. As is present in all professional exchanges, the guarantee of confidentiality cannot be absolute; and so it was explained to individuals how if they spoke of anything which caused me concern regarding a risk to themselves or others, the appropriate supports would be notified. I was also able to emphasise how findings would be reported anonymously with any potential identifiable details changed or omitted. It was with this in mind that I actively chose not to ask individuals their specific ages or include anything that could potentially lead to the reader's recognising who may have participated. Having lived in Scotland for some years by this point, I had become aware of how based on the use of local language by individuals, it was possible in some cases to connect them with particular regions. Therefore, victims/survivors were asked if it would be acceptable to write their narratives exchanging local dialect to a standardised written form of British English. Victims/survivors agreed to this and in some cases were even appreciative, as they were concerned that although they wanted to share their very

personal experiences and views, they did not want their identity to ever be known, particularly within their local community.

In order to ensure their anonymity further, pseudonyms were used in any written documentation pertaining to the research. Unfortunately I had not considered that I could offer victims/survivors the option of choosing their own pseudonym at the time; and it was late on in the research process where I looked back and realised that this would have been better practice. Retrospectively therefore, I would ensure that individuals were offered the opportunity to select a pseudonym for themselves if they so preferred. The pseudonyms that I did use however were given due thought and consideration. I spent some time deliberating on what pseudonyms should be used, and what purpose, apart from anonymity (if any) they could serve. It occurred to me that what made such individuals relating their views in connection to the abuse they suffered unique, was that it was something they had experienced during their childhood, but were speaking of presently in their adulthood. I understood it to be important, that when thinking about the findings of this research, that their childhoods should not be lost within any writing. Hence I selected pseudonyms of male and female characters from children's stories, to reiterate the sense of importance in understanding that adult victims/survivors *were* children who had experienced the abuse at the time, and now their present voices and what they had shared was connected inextricably to that very childhood.

Despite the majority of victims/survivors being appreciative of the anonymity present, there was one victim/survivor, ▉▉▉▉ who was not happy with confidentiality protocols, as he stated in his interview:

▉▉▉▉: Can't you say that I said this?

SK: No I can't include your name because I need to make sure that everything is anonymous.

▉▉▉▉: But what if I say I don't want it to be?

SK: It's still something I can't do because I've said I'll keep everyone's identity protected, otherwise I wouldn't be able to do this research.

▉▉▉▉: Well I don't want to be protected, I want to say who I am and what I think and tell them they need to stop wasting our time and get on with doing something for survivors.

In certain ways, the above exchange was quite difficult, as on the one hand I understood how and why ████ wanted to waive his right to anonymity whilst on the other hand I was mindful of the ethical obligations I had to maintain by ensuring that the anonymity of every victim/survivors was preserved throughout the research process. This experience helped me to reflect on how strictly adhering to codes and regulations offered by the likes of professional associations as well as ethics boards may be problematic in relation to issues of confidentiality (Mertens & Ginsberg 2008). It is increasingly being recognised that participants who want to waive their right to confidentiality and anonymity, should be able to do so (BERA 2018). However, this almost felt like social work practice again as in my mind I reflected on 'working in the best interests' of others, even if this was against their expressed wishes. The experience also made me acutely aware of power within the research process, with pre-defined rules being set and researchers holding a level of power; as was apparent in how I was able to respond to ████. I was able to reassure ████ that although no names would be mentioned, the research would hopefully result in publications which would contribute to further awareness of the issues being experienced by victims/survivors to be recognised. I however, also remained mindful of not exaggerating what the potential impact could be, as the impact of my research findings were and remain unpredictable. This helped ████ to feel more at ease with the issue of anonymity and the matter was not raised again through the course of the interview.

Social worker or researcher?

The need for an ongoing consideration of ethics was of particular importance when undertaking research with victims/survivors of historic abuse, especially in light of their experiences with professionals historically. I was mindful of the fact that I had a history of social work practice experience with the local authority and remained a registered social worker with the HCPC. I did not want to hide this information for reasons of transparency and reciprocity, but was also aware of the ethical importance of fully sharing ones identity in social work research (Padgett 2008). Therefore I had included this information on my research information sheets as well as mentioning this during the phone conversations I held with individuals prior to them consenting to take part, which highlighted several ethical issues in due time. An example of this was the way in which ████ spoke of his past experiences of social workers and how they led him to his present cognitive associations:

▮▮▮▮: So you know when you told me you were a social worker on the phone, the first thing I thought was you would be much older and I already didn't like you because I never liked social workers.

SK: I can understand and I appreciate you sharing this with me.

▮▮▮▮: To be honest I don't know if I could have told you that at the beginning, but as soon as I met you and started speaking to you I was finally like, 'yes I can speak to her and she's not like the others'.

The perception of some victims/survivors regarding my 'dual identity' brought about very important ethical reflections for me during the research process. Who was I exactly? Was I the social worker or was I the researcher in their view? I explained as and when was necessary that my role was as a researcher and although I had practiced social work, this was not what I did at present. Victims/survivors who spoke regarding social workers from their pasts during interviews were also, despite my reassurances, apologising for thinking so negatively of the social work profession, as was exemplified by **▮▮▮▮**:

▮▮▮▮: Well I'm sorry but the social workers were complete idiots and let us down. I'm sorry to say that.

SK: That's okay, this was your experience with social workers so there's absolutely no need for you to apologise.

▮▮▮▮: I know, I know but the thing is I don't want you to think I'm saying it about you because I really think what you're doing here is a good thing. Finally a social worker getting it right!

Despite my attempts to reduce the associations between myself and my social work professional background within the context of the research that I was undertaking, it largely remained. By means of this encounter, what I had not anticipated was brought to light, that my conduct within a research context, had implications for the way in which victims/survivors viewed social workers as professionals. It was reassuring to know that I had not tainted their view any further, but was I rightfully placed to inform a more positive regard towards the profession because of my empathic listening and embodiment of values? I think not, because of my positioning as a researcher rather than a social work

practitioner, but due to the fact that this was never my intention I made peace with the fact that it would be part of the unwitting impact for victims/survivors, because what they described as the impact was positive. Certainly my social work values and therapeutic training added to the ease with which victims/survivors felt able to speak regarding their understandings and experiences.

Research or therapy?

In light of the above discussion of the perception of individuals regarding me in a potentially dualistic role, it is important to highlight a further ethical dimension to the encounter pertaining to my experience of working in therapeutic ways as a social worker. This highlighted for me the real risk within research whereby the difference between a successful interview and therapeutic experience can potentially become blurred. It has been noted, that a qualitative interview process can be therapeutic and should be acknowledged as making a difference to the lives of individuals (Rossetto 2014). It has also been suggested that in some instances, research interviews can offer more therapeutic value than therapy itself (Gale 1992). As we know, talking to another person can be cathartic (Hutchinson et al 1994), as it encourages emotional release and may enhance emotional wellbeing (Doyle 2006). An example of this was how ███████, spoke of the unexpected catharsis he had experienced by partaking in the interview:

SK: So that's the interview done, thank you so much for sharing your experiences with me. So how are you feeling?
████████**:** I'm feeling good, it was really cathartic just being able to talk to you like that, I didn't expect it you know, you know I was thinking I'm going to feel upset and carry it all home with me and then feel down about things. But I don't feel like that at all. I actually feel really light.

When listening back to the exchange and the interview as a whole, I could hear how ████████ began the interview hesitantly. Retrospectively, I can even recall the physical manifestation of his anxiety as he moved around in his seat, clearly presenting the discomfort he was experiencing. I was also able to identify that it was after the point at which he had answered

the initial questions and discussed the impact of the abuse upon him that he was able to talk with less hesitation. ▮▮▮▮ perhaps highlights one of the clearest examples of where the anxiety of participating in a research interview was gradually replaced with feelings of relief. Although I did not intend what Rosetto (2014) suggests should be overtly classed as a therapeutic process, the research interview did lend itself to therapeutic outcomes for some victims/survivors who participated in the research. However, as researchers engage in sensitive research and therapeutic benefits emerge, it may be that role confusion occurs, as participants may potentially position the researcher as a therapist (Dickson-Swift et al 2006). This became acutely apparent in a conversation I had with ▮▮▮▮ after the completion of her interview:

▮▮▮▮: As soon as you walked in through my door I just got a sense of it that I was going to have a connection with you. Does that sound weird?

SK: No no not at all, there's feelings we have sometimes which are hard to explain so that's okay, as long as you're okay.

▮▮▮▮: Can I tell you something?

SK: Sure you can

▮▮▮▮: I have to confess I didn't want you to go yesterday and now I really don't want you to go because I know you're going so far away. But I know you have to but it was just so nice the way you made me feel listened to. There's one other person that I've met in my life that listened like you do – it was my therapist, but there's only been you and him.

Although the exchange between me and ▮▮▮▮ appears to be idealistic, beneath the surface the situation was considerably uncomfortable and challenging. The first part of the interview with ▮▮▮▮ was extensive and went on for several hours and a second appointment had to be arranged for the following day in order to complete the work, after which ▮▮▮▮ became quite upset at the prospect of me leaving. This left me feeling almost guilty for coming into ▮▮▮▮'s life in the first place, whereby she was able to speak to me in a way that she had only previously felt able to with her therapist. Such 'blurring of roles' presents a significant challenge, as the research encounter should not in any way compromise ethical obligations or cause harm (Dickson-Swift et al. 2006; Haynes, 2006); making it imperative that appropriate boundaries are maintained (Dickson-Swift et al.

2006). In order to respond to this during my research, I ensured I was explicit regarding my role as a researcher and the remit of the interaction with victims/survivors, nevertheless I did not dismiss the powerful unwitting therapeutic benefits of the research interviews and am acknowledging them as such.

It was not always such a therapeutic experience however, in fact ████, who had deliberated on whether or not to have her counsellor attend, and had chosen not to, experienced somewhat of a 'shutdown' during the interview process. Her answers were very short in response to the questions as compared to other participants and she was in a state of physical anxiety which could be seen. When ████ presented in this way, she was asked if she wanted to continue on in the interview and had said "I just want to get it over with". Speaking with ████ later on the telephone, she acknowledged it had been a difficult process for her and that she regretted not having invited her counsellor to the interview, because "I thought I was strong enough". ████ had experienced difficulties through the interview in speaking of her experiences, however she was able to talk through these and have them contained by her counsellor afterwards, hopefully mitigating any trauma which she may well have experienced. The importance of therapeutic care, whether it is found within the research setting or elsewhere, was therefore highlighted as being pivotal to the wellbeing of both participants and researchers when exploring traumatic experiences. In relation to this, although it is important to recognise there is opportunity for therapeutic outcomes for those participating, the risk of experiencing vicarious trauma is also present for researchers who undertake research on sensitive topics.

Voice and Vicarious Trauma

Perhaps it is befitting to offer a note of caution here, as the reading of this thesis and particularly of the data chapters may cause the reader distress, as what was contained within the interviews *was* focused upon a sensitive and distressing subject. Within qualitative research it is well known that honoring the words of participants to generate meaning and knowledge is imperative (Chandler, Anstey & Ross 2015). Yet how we do this is of course subjective and:

"although the intention is to simultaneously blend the voice of the participants with that of the researcher, inevitably, the representations of voice in dissemination efforts are reflective of the positionality of the researcher, who ultimately has the power to make choices about what to include or not" (ibid. p2).

Indeed, there are ethical and political dilemmas present, particularly in relation to representing the voices of those who are marginalised (as victims/survivors of abuse are); and there is a need to remain critically aware regarding the decisions being made as to what we represent, whilst being clear regarding our dilemmas and the net result of our gains and losses based on our decisions around representation (Aldred 2014). In reference to historic child sexual abuse and its occurrence in England for example, historians note:

"The acknowledgement and recognition of victims' and survivors' testimony and its placing at the centre of enquiry procedures is thus a very significant recent phenomenon which further highlights the problems of gaps, silences and distortions within the historical archive and, indeed, within the narratives that are based on them." (Bingham et al. 2016, p421)

It is in light of such understandings that the decision was made to reflect appropriately the abuse and trauma that was contained within victim/survivor narratives. In doing so I use the first person in reference to myself and victims/survivors, whilst also using direct quotes to acknowledge how *"the voices of researchers and those whom we research are not the same yet are interconnected"* (Gilgun 2005, p259).

 The argument could be made that the data selected to elicit key points within the presentation of data analysis and findings could have been selected, whilst being mindful of minimizing the potential impact upon the reader. This is because it is duly recognised that alongside participants and researchers, sensitive research may also impact upon other readers (McCosker, Barnard & Gerber 2001). In response to this I raise two points: firstly, the nature of the analysis was such that it explored the exercise of power, and within the context of abuse this would not be adequately achieved if reflections on the exchange of power within the acts of abuse themselves were omitted. For example if we think of the sexual abuse experiences of some victims/survivors, how can power be understood without

reference to how individuals explained their experience? The second point to be made is that in order to reflect the true experiences of the individuals who participated, the use of narrative whatever the impact, should be reflected within the accounts being presented. The 'cleansing' of data in order to 'protect' the reader, may be desirable, but would dilute the findings and go against the principle of reflecting the true experiences of those who participated, which were indeed traumatic and create impact. Therefore within the context of this research, it is hoped that the overall gain in terms of deeper understandings, outweighs any losses, which may occur for others who engage with this thesis. Additionally, the argument is made that emotions, as difficult as they may be, are important in the production of knowledge and add power to the domains of understanding, analysis and interpretation (Holland, 2007).

Being well versed in providing therapeutic support and working with emotions in a professional capacity previously as a social worker, the psychological impact of the research took me somewhat by surprise. Knowing that I would be speaking to individuals who had significant experiences of trauma should have been enough to alert me to the potential impact of secondary or vicarious trauma. However because it was research rather than intervention, a false sense of security initially prevailed and it was not until I had completed all my interviews that it became clear that I was actually undergoing a process of internalising external trauma. Somewhere along the research journey, submerged within an overwhelming sense of responsibility to ensure that victims/survivors did not experience any harm by participating, I had lost sight of my own emotional wellbeing. True to what Sherry (2013) outlines, I was experiencing what it means to be a 'vulnerable researcher' undertaking sensitive research.

I recall how after I had completed my final interview and was walking home, that as I looked around me I saw people with all their fallibility. My research had taught me that anyone in any space, irrespective of position or relationship was capable of abusing children. This experience was particularly significant, since child abuse and child protection had been the focus of my professional practice for several years. So this incident brought to light both unanticipated thoughts and feelings, which made me question, why was I experiencing this differently?

I quickly realised that what I was experiencing was 'vicarious traumatization', which is being increasingly recognised as the *"harmful changes that occur in professionals' views of themselves, others, and the world, as a result of exposure to the graphic and/or traumatic material of their clients"* (Baird & Kracen 2006, p182; see also McCann & Pearlmann 1990). When exploring the literature on this topic, I found a plethora of research and academic writing on vicarious trauma in relation to health and social care practice (see for example the Journal of Traumatic Stress). But what was comparatively limited, was the academic consideration of vicarious trauma within the context of research, with only a relatively recent focus on the topic becoming apparent (for example Jackson et al. 2013; Taylor et al. 2016) with it being highlighted how there still remains a need to bring vicarious trauma to the forefront of the research process (Taylor et al. 2016); despite the need for researchers to consider the impact that undertaking research might have on them being highlighted (Dickson-Swift et al. 2006).

It has been acknowledged within academic thinking that qualitative research in particular can be an emotionally challenging experience (Hubbard et al. 2001); especially when research is carried out on sensitive topics (Dickson-Swift et al. 2006; Jackson et al. 2013). I was also able to acknowledge the emotional challenge and discomfort that I was experiencing and realised that it needed to be addressed as a matter of urgency. Consequently I approached the counseling service at the University and informed them of my research and presenting concerns. The difficulty present was that the counseling service offered a maximum of six sessions, and due to my unprecedented request for an extension to this, I was asked to meet with the manager. During the meeting with the counselling service manager I was able to articulate the complexities involved in undertaking research with individuals who had suffered and were speaking of severe trauma. The manager was supportive and understanding, highlighting how there were insufficient measures in place within the University to ensure that there was interdepartmental communication in order to ensure that researchers were appropriately supported, demonstrating how universities are not always adept in their ability to manage risks to researchers effectively (Bloor, Fincham & Sampson 2010). I was thus offered access to the counseling service as and when required for the upcoming academic year.

The counseling service offered a means by which to process how the research was potentially impacting on me and also offered an avenue to explore ways in which to counter this. Although I did not attend counseling for the duration of the whole year, having the 'safety net' of knowing it was available was invaluable. It transpired that eight sessions of counseling spanning a six-month period were sufficient. In accessing the service I was able to reflect not only on aspects of vicarious trauma, but also the impact of what I came to understand as being the heightened level of empathy I had presented during interviews. It is suggested that in social work research there is immense value in achieving a heightened level of empathy with research participants as it is likely to increase the richness of data collected, but inadvertently may also increase researchers' vulnerability and/or distress (Davison 2004). The counselling service thus proved to be extremely beneficial and I was able to move on and appropriately detach myself from the support within six months. However I realised, that when planning for sensitive research in the future, it would be helpful to consider developing strategies to address the potential psychological/emotional impact of the research for all who will be involved or exposed to the research during the process (McCosker, Barnard & Gerber 2001), rather than focus solely on participants.

Reciprocity

> "Reciprocity involves give and take [and] examining reciprocity means we are concerned with addressing issues of power in the researcher-researched relationship" (Harrison et al. 2001, p325 - 326).

During the research process and most prominently through the interviews with victims/survivors, I behaved transparently and answered questions asked of me in an open and honest manner. These ranged from 'what did you do as a social worker?' to 'how do you feel after hearing about my abuse?' Intermittently, I volunteered information about my own family background, including information on my ethnicity and where I was from in England. In retrospect, I can see how I approached all interviews in this manner, particularly because I felt the desire to share something of myself so that it would not feel like a one sided experience for individuals. Indeed, any attempts to reduce the status differences between researchers and participants which includes an appropriate level of self-disclosure can help to avoid the 'hierarchical pitfall' (Reinharz & Davidman 1992) whilst reciprocity

may consequently also enhance the richness of data (Harrison & MacGibbon 2001; Punch 2014). It was the former, rather than the latter that I was most mindful of during the course of the interviews. And in a similar fashion to Lather (1991) my attention to reciprocity it was hoped would transcend hopes of richer data collection but rather contribute to the overall empowerment of research participants.

Indeed, several participants commented on how much they 'enjoyed' such normality in their conversations with me, for example I had contacted ████ to thank him for his contribution and he had responded by stating:

████: Thank you, but in all honesty you are truly inspirational because you are the one who listens to everyone's story. Thank you as well for telling me about you and making me feel like I can talk to you just like normal.

It certainly became clear to me that what I disclosed was intended to 'give back' as well as to create a sense of familiarity so that victims/survivors were reassured that I was also willing to open myself up to sharing. However, I became acutely aware of how difficult it was to demonstrate reciprocity when I had not personally experienced abuse as a child. The difficulties present in interpreting stories which researchers have not experienced themselves remains contentious (Harrison, MacGibbon & Morton 2001) and several victims/survivors asked if I had 'anything bad happen' to me when I was younger. At the time, it felt very difficult to say no, because I understood that this was a means by which they were attempting to connect with me on a deeper level. Yet due to the links between trustworthiness and reciprocity (ibid), the honesty in responding to such questions with a 'no', meant that the connection between me and participants was not severed, nor did issues of apathy (Trainor &Bouchard 2013) arise as a consequence for participants.

Alongside this, I recognised that I was less forthcoming when relaying my views on potentially contentious topics. As an example, when being asked 'what do you think would be a fair amount of compensation?' I was cognizant of the fact that I was ill-equipped to respond and was also not able to share a particular view due to being mindful of how what I said could result in offence. Therefore I ultimately held the view that my role as a researcher was not to make such definitive statements and answer questions which were sensitive and

contentious, but instead it was imperative for me to explore the views of victims/survivors, who were better placed to inform my understanding rather than me informing theirs.

Positionality and Gender

I would assert that my positionality, in terms of being a trained therapeutic social worker who is female, affected not only how I recruited participants, but also influenced the research process overall. In terms of the former, it is of particular significance to reiterate that all those who were interviewed were engaging with a therapeutic support service. My attention to the ongoing emotional wellbeing of victims/survivors was of paramount concern. Had existing counselling support not been available, it was still deemed important, because even within the information sheets I had created, it was explained that signposting and support would be available if so required, recognising how:

> *"Although not the intention of the study, it may well be that thinking through and talking about what happened could lead to upset and this will be worked through as appropriate."*

I also felt at ease speaking with individuals who participated even though in the majority of instances there was a very stark social distance between us and differences present. As noted previously in the chapter, I began from the premise of understanding that victims/survivors had had traumatic experiences, in potentially similar ways to the service users I had worked with, within a therapeutic context. Although my aim was not therapy (as I was positioned as a researcher), my therapeutic social work background offered a frame of reference for building relationships with victims/survivors. When it came to victims/survivors expressing deep emotional despair however, I was less equipped to work through this. I offered the highest level of containment which was possible within the space and capacity of a research interview, but was left in some instances feeling frustrated with myself when thinking that I was not able to do more. In such instances, and indeed as a matter of course, I spoke to victims/survivors to ensure they considered having the appropriate time with their respective counsellors when they needed. There was also time built-in to the end of the interview for debriefing; followed by a follow up call if consented

to, scheduled for one week after the interview to allow for any residual concerns to be addressed.

In terms of gender, Mazzei and O'Brian (2009) argue that researchers have agency to negotiate gender within the context of the research they are undertaking as a means of proactively building rapport. By drawing on notions of 'intersectionality', they explain how researchers are able to read social contexts and determine what aspects of themselves will best serve to build relationships. This was something I found myself often doing with the victims/survivors I was engaging with. Coming from the social construct of 'women as caring', coupled with the social work identity of being a 'caring profession', I offered my empathy and had conversations with individuals within such constructs. ████ and myself spoke of the failings of social work systems, ████ shared how he had been struggling in his relationships with women, ████ shared the complexities of being a successful professional yet still feeling futility and stated 'how similar we are'. By speaking of similarities, and employing gendered roles, myself and victims/survivors built a heightened level of rapport.

The notion that gendered roles are actively constructed and negotiated within research also resonates with the experiences I had with undertaking the interviews. My interviews were semi-structured and therefore I adopted a similar approach (as described previously) irrespective of whether the victim/survivor I was interviewing was male or female. I believe (but cannot guarantee) that victims/survivors responded to me in similar ways. The women I interviewed were very open regarding their views and in a similar fashion, so were the men. Even when sharing their narratives around the abuse they had experienced and the aftermath, there was in most instances, graphic detail of what had occurred as well as tears at times. I think that to a great extent, this was due to my gender and positionality. Not only was I social worker who it had been known had worked to support individuals, but I was a female social worker, further adding to the 'caring' construct which was deemed to make me better placed to empathise and understand. As ████ had remarked, *"It's good to know that at least somebody understands and cares".* Whether I truly understood or not, will remain open to interpretation, however what I did learn through the process of this research is that in terms of care, I really did and continue to. And perhaps with caring, as I

referred to in terms of the value of emotions earlier, as difficult as they may be, may well have aided the production of knowledge and added power to the domains of understanding, analysis and interpretation (Holland 2007) within this thesis.

Conclusion

Fundamentally this thesis is about the workings of power, and in this chapter I have sought to offer an outline of the methods employed to explore how power has and can impact on the lives of victims/survivors of historic abuse. Alongside this, the chapter also critically reflects on how my own 'power' relations with those who participated, the gatekeepers and the data itself, manifests. I have argued that the best way in which to gain insight into the 'construction' of 'reality' for victims/survivors is achieved by seeking their views and reflections and to share these narratives in as much depth as possible. Through this I question the role and uses of objective inquiry within qualitative research, with sensitive topics in particular, by highlighting the benefits of understanding power through the research process.

I have explained how although in-depth semi-structured interviews posed emotional and practical challenges, this was ultimately the most ethically appropriate approach with which to capture the experiences of victims/survivors of abuse. The twenty-one in depth research interviews generated rich data and included an emotional dimension methodologically, however, again, the power present within the research encounter became apparent. The practical challenges around arranging and travelling to and between diverse geographical locations, was a means of gathering the experiences of victims/survivors who otherwise did not have easy access to a platform from which they could share their narratives. Issues of power pertaining to the selection of participants in relation to this also became visibly clear. I suggest that my feminist epistemological underpinnings as well as the elimination of positivist ontologies within this research context, were integral in my attempts to include victims/survivors who were further marginalised, and the success of the project overall.

I have also argued for the need for research to be mindful of 'ethics in practice', and for ongoing attention to be paid to this, particularly when the research under question is of a sensitive nature, as was my research with victims/survivors of historic abuse. It has been

recognised, that there can be strong correlations between research and therapeutic experiences, and how researchers need to be aware of the power in relation to the therapeutic exchange which can occur. However, a distinction between the two is still important and researchers should be mindful of the wellbeing of participants and the limitations present in both their skills and remit of their role. The 'blurring of boundaries' within such contexts may naturally emerge, however these need to be managed by researchers making the distinctions clear to participants. This is why, when for example I was faced with a high level of emotional distress which I assessed to be beyond my remit, I asked for victims/survivors to ensure they made contact with their therapists and checked in on them the week after the interview was complete. Importantly, I do not suggest that the research encounter should be therapeutic, only that it may be and this is important to acknowledge in order to empower those who are 'being researched', as well as to empower the researcher in order to be aware of the potential challenges it brings. One such challenge which is noted is the impact of trauma on researchers who work on sensitive topics and the manifestation of vicarious trauma.

Throughout the project I employed a number of strategies in order to strengthen the analysis which is being presented in this thesis, for example through the verification of interview transcripts with victims/survivors who took part, by questioning my use of analytical frameworks and by adapting those very frameworks in order to reflect the data, rather than vice versa. The process of coding was undertaken and reworked several times before the presentation of data contained within this thesis was finalised. Despite being anything except what would be defined as 'neat' research, the journey undertaken was one which facilitated a deeper understanding of what was being shared by victims/survivors who participated in the study. Therefore, whilst the discussion within this chapter has considered a number of limitations to the methodological approach, I remain hopeful that the 'messy' yet authentic elements of the research experience will strengthen claims being made about my contribution to knowledge.

My contribution does not claim to speak of or to the experiences of all victims/survivors of abuse, rather, through the presentation of an in-depth analysis of the narratives of victims/survivors who participated in this research, I hope that issues pertaining to power

within the context of historic abuse will become a force to be reckoned with, by means of opening up new lines of enquiry. Power, as reflected upon methodologically links into power as an analytical framework, with the questions around the exercise and impact of power being what is precisely the focus of the ensuing chapters, which begins with the development of an analytical framework of power. Based on modern day understandings of how power is diffuse rather than concentrated (Gavanta 2003), helps make such transitions between power methodologically, to power analytically, that much easier.

Chapter Five: The Development of an Analytical Framework of Power

Introduction

It has long been recognised how, "*Power, in short, is a universal phenomenon in human societies and in all social relationships*" (Bierstedt 1950, p730). However, historic understandings of power as being something which is concentrated have been replaced with modern day understandings of power being diffuse (Gavanta 2003). Power remains important within modern social theory (Layder 2006) and also remains a significant focal point of contemporary social work; with issues pertaining to power being particularly highlighted with reference to notions of empowerment and anti-oppressive practice (Adams, 2008; BASW 2012; Hasenfeld 1987; IFSW 2000; Thompson 2016). Yet although such terms are used, power as a concept remains disputed because *"we all know perfectly well what it is – until someone asks us"* (Bierstedt 1950, p730) or , *"we are all sure we meant something by the word…but this understanding tends to fade away upon examination"* (Morriss 2002, p1). Indeed there is a lack of consensus on how exactly power should be understood (Haugaard 2010; Lukes 2005; Smith 2010) and it has therefore been conceptualised in various ways within academia. As a result, social work practice which endeavours to be mindful of power, is said to be located amongst competing and conflicting definitions; highlighting the need to be clearer in terms of what is understood of power, in order to advance practice (Tew 2006).

Since power exists in all social relationships, it may be surmised, that integral to the difficulty in reaching a unified and consensual understanding of power is the actual enormity of the subject; as such the context in which power is being considered becomes important (Haugaard 2010). Perhaps due to this, but also due to the way in which political and theoretical interests shape conceptualisations of power (Lukes 1986), 'grand' theories of power are increasingly being developed and adapted in order to provide more nuanced understandings of power within smaller and more specific contexts (see for example Smith 2010; Tew 2006; Rogers 2012 in terms of power within social work), which, according to Haugaard (2010) is the correct way forward because all conceptualisations of power may well contribute to advancing the overall knowledge base on power. The main proposition of this chapter, is therefore not to offer a new universal paradigm of power on a macro level,

as there is already much that has been asserted and contested on the topic within literature, nor is it the intention to present a wholly critical view of understandings of power more specifically located within a social work context on a mezzo level. But rather, this chapter seeks to acknowledge the existence of such broader understandings of power and address the gap in knowledge which contemplates power quite distinctively on a comparatively micro level, namely within the context of the historic abuse of children in care. This in turn, offers conceptual advancement in the way in which power has been theorised within the field of social work. Such specific conceptualisations of power can be useful, with their usefulness being determined by how well it accomplishes its relative purpose (Haugaard 2010, p426). With respect to this, the development of an analytical framework on power, will serve not only to enhance the understanding of the historic abuse of children in care (the subject in question), but also contribute to the existing understandings of power within social work.

In light of this, the present chapter offers an outline of the theoretical underpinnings of the study and reflects on the development of the analytical framework, which was informed via an abductive analysis of the data gathered from interviews (as explained in the methods chapter). The discussion around the development of an analytical framework with which to consider the historic abuse of children in care is divided into two parts. The first half is devoted to a fairly extensive analysis of the 'family resemblance approach' developed by Haugaard (2010) as well as of existing frameworks of power within a social work context. These perspectives are then used as a means of setting the agenda to frame the analysis of power in the second half, which is an analytical framework with which one may understand power quite specifically in relation to the historic abuse of children in care.

Consistent with Haugaard's understanding of power as a family resemblance approach, it is held that, power is something which can best be conceptualised within specific contexts, with every conceptualisation of power having something of significance to add to a broader understanding of power. Therefore, power is considered within the social work context, drawing on notions of empowerment as a basis upon which to explore frameworks pertaining to power relations in order to develop the analytical framework which is presented.

Power: A 'family resemblance concept'

Power is a key sociological concept, with an array of academic debate surrounding it, which offers an opportunity for a range of understandings to be considered and critiqued, since there is no consensus as to what exactly power is and how it operates (Lukes 2005; Smith 2010). Present thinking around power is said to have begun from the writings of Machiavelli and Hobbes, with later understandings being developed across disciplines in line with the influence of the likes of Marx, Adler and Nietzsche (Clegg, 1989), as such, contemporary thought on power cannot be extricated from its historical underpinnings. Amongst others, the works of Weber (1946; 1947), Dahl (1957), Bachrach & Baratz (1962) Foucault (1977; 1980; 1982), Giddens (1976; 1979; 1984) and Lukes (1974; 2005) alongside Feminist perspectives such as French (1985), Miller (1987; 2008) and Butler (1990), have attracted much attention from the social sciences and it is important to acknowledge their existence.

Power debates within the literature are said to be essentially from two differing perspectives, that which is focussed upon domination and 'power over', and the other as empowerment or 'power to', whilst attempts have been made to reconcile these by some theorists (Haugaard 2012). Overviews of developments in social theories of power are available (see for example Clegg 1989; Haugaard 2002), and such developments in theory have subsequently been more specifically analysed and applied to social work practice by the likes of Tew (2002), Smith (2008) and Dominelli (2002b), which offer subject specific frameworks for the analysis of power within a social work context. Nevertheless, differences remain in how power is conceptualised and understood amongst theorists and therefore the question which is raised is one of validity, i.e. which understanding of power is the correct one?

In recent years, Haugaard (2010) has forcefully argued that perspectives on power need not be mutually exclusive, despite Haugaard (2002) himself having offered his own theory of power previously. In his later works, he suggests how in actual fact, *"power consists of a cluster of concepts, each of which qualifies as 'power'"* (ibid 2010, p420), and therefore there need not be a singular 'best' definition of power. This reduces the aforementioned need to reach a consensus on what power is, and only requires agreement that in different contexts, power can be different things. As a result, Haugaard goes on to propose that

power is 'a family resemblance concept'. Family resemblances are typically understood as being the similarities present in the way individuals look by virtue of the fact that they are related, and so Haugaard explains the variance in theories of power as being comparable to family resemblances. This position highlights how a single theory can no longer claim to have discovered the exact essence of power, however, each theory still remains valuable for the nuanced contribution it is making to understandings of power. Haugaard is mindful of how the disparate positions of the likes of Foucault (1979), Lukes (2005) and others contribute to knowledge by describing important dimensions of power, whilst acknowledging that such perceptions cannot be melded together in a straightforward manner due to the frameworks they stem from.

In a similar way to Haugaard (2010), this thesis remains respectful of the value of disparate perspectives which describe facets of power, and it is possible to do so, without needing to subscribe to the overall theoretical frameworks from which they stem. Therefore, it is argued that one can be eclectic in their use of theory, without it detracting from the validity of its application. For instance, one may subscribe to a Feminist conceptualization of power which sees power as a resource, "*a kind of stuff that can be possessed by individual agents in greater or lesser amounts*" (Young 1990, p31), but one may not necessarily believe that this power is unequally distributed between men and women in all contexts. As Haugaard (2010) himself recognises, some theorists may not sit comfortably with such a pluralistic view of power, as it may be inferred how power is anything, yet nothing specific, hence he offers ways in which the better and worse usage of concepts of power may be distinguished. Fundamentally he suggests that:

> "*the better definition is the one that accomplishes the task the theorists set for themselves…usefulness is our criterion of evaluation, not some essence lying at the heart of a singular entity*" (p426-427).

If we understand concepts as tools therefore, the need to be judgementally evaluative is removed, instead we can assess whether the concept being presented is useful in understanding the phenomenon in question, or not. In order to create a conceptual tool 'fit for purpose', there are two particular points which are recognised as being key by Haugaard (ibid); primarily there is a need for the objective of the conceptual tool to be clearly

articulated, whilst secondly, consideration should be offered to the paradigm from which the conceptual tool stems.

In terms of objectives, the normative and analytical usages of power are said to create the greatest confusion (Haugaard 2010, p433). Normative uses are suggestive of how things *should* or *ought* to be, whilst the analytical usage describes what it *is* or how things *are*. The need for clarity on what the objective is, is therefore of paramount importance when providing conceptual tools with which to understand power. This is not to say that one cannot move from the analytical to the normative, however there needs to be clarity when doing so. As such, in the ensuing data chapters I explore power analytically whilst in my conclusions, there is some discussion of power in both an analytic and normative sense. By firstly explaining power analytically (in terms of what it is), it is then possible to enter the normative and discuss how such an analysis of power does not correspond with the normative principles we have relating to how we should be responding to individuals who have experienced abuse.

With regards to the paradigms from which conceptualisations of power stem, Haugaard (2010, p431) proposes how, *"the defensibility of one usage over another is also inextricably tied to the validity of the paradigm itself."* As such, the paradigm from which the understanding of power stems needs to be critically evaluated and reflected upon, in order to ensure that any conceptualisations of power are based on a valid foundation. As we know, social work as practice is enveloped by a range of historic, current and emerging paradigms (Finn & Jacobson 2003). The likes of evidenced based practice (Howard & McMillen 2003), culturally specific paradigms (Schiele 1996) and more recently, notions of the presence of a multi-method paradigm (De Monnink 2017) are but a few examples. It is argued that what remains common across the paradigms is the understanding that social work globally is inextricably linked with a commitment to social justice (Finn & Jacobson 2003; Sakamoto & Pitner 2005), and working in relation to social justice requires social workers to understand how power relations impact on practice (Finn & Jacobson 2003).

British social work and contemporary practice is no different when it comes to alerting us to this commitment. As mentioned previously, the British Association of Social Work (BASW) code of ethics certainly grounds social work practice in the UK within such frameworks, with

an empowerment approach gaining increasing momentum in recent years (see for example Adams 2008; Laird 2008; Thompson 2016). The approach offers recognition of the workings of power (Smith 2010; Tew 2006) and highlights the need to work in anti-oppressive ways (Burke & Harrison 2009; Dalrymple & Burke 2006; Thompson 2016). However a major limitation of the anti-oppressive paradigm is said to be its lack of clarity on how social work:

> *"…should entail the social worker's addressing the needs and assets of service users, challenging the oppressive social structure and, most importantly, critically challenging the power dynamics in the service-provider/service-user relationship."*
> (Sakamoto & Pitner 2005, p435)

Therefore a level of 'critical consciousness' is required in order to be acutely aware of power differentials at all levels. Others have also cautioned how the discourse of empowerment is deceptive due to the way in which it obscures the controlling power of social work practice, whereby both 'doing good' and imposing the values of society upon individuals, are seen to be present in any given exchange. Furthermore, even the fact that one is seen to be able to 'empower' another locates power with the social worker (Margolin 1997) creating power imbalances throughout. The requirement to apply notions of care as well as control is critical to this, making it difficult for social work to aspire to its altruistic intentions of solely empowering others (Dominelli 2002b), and can result in social work potentially becoming a means of exerting power in an oppressive manner, over service users. Therefore, although the paradigm of empowerment is important in social work, it needs to be advanced with caution, due to the tensions between social works paradigmatic value system and the more nefarious definitions of power.

Returning focus back to the present study, empowerment from a social work perspective is the central paradigm informing the way in which this research has been undertaken as a whole (as is discussed in greater depth within Chapter Four), with the development of the analytical framework of power being no different. In response to Haugaard's (2010) concerns regarding the validity of the paradigm in relation to the objective of developing an understanding of power I offer the following. Primarily, although social work constructs of empowerment may be duly criticised, this does eliminate the contribution they have to make in understanding how power can be used for both productive and limiting purposes

and outcomes, which is the focus of this research and is explored in the ensuing data chapters in detail. Secondly I would contend that just as power can be considered as a family resemblance concept, so arguably can notions of empowerment. The nature of empowerment therefore, need not be exactly the same across all situations and contexts. However within the context of this study, notions of the productive and limiting exercise of power are integral to understanding how empowerment (productive power) and disempowerment (limiting power) manifest in relation to the historic abuse of children in care. It is on this premise, with the objective of conceptualising power within the context of the historic abuse of children in care for analytical purposes, that the discussion moves on to exploring existing social work frameworks of power and empowerment.

Social Work, Power and Empowerment

Social Work and Power

The relevance and significance of understandings of power are present within the realms of social work theory and practice (see for example Adams 2008; Dominelli 2002b; Smith 2008). Fundamentally, the fact that Social Work professionals often have to make decisions which impact on the lives of others is one example of the way in which power is exercised and evidences its importance. The contested meaning of power however, is highlighted in social work (Dalrymple & Burke 2006; Thompson 2007) and consequently, power is considered as something which is, *"…multifaceted and diffuse, representing a complex and diverse set of influences on interpersonal transactions*" (Smith 2008, p7). Power is present in both micro and macro relations (Fook 2012) and understandably therefore, it may well be appropriate to suggest that power also manifests in all that exists between these two domains. Different contexts therefore, may actually influence the type of power and how it is exercised (Healy 2000, p43). Smith (2008) suggests that although it may be tempting to think of individuals and organisations as 'holding' power as a result of the legitimacy afforded to them by the state, this is an oversimplification due to the way in which competing sources of legitimacy interact.

The social work profession operates within a range of domains and has the breadth of micro and macro practices enabling it to influence change on various levels (Bent-Goodley 2014);

with power and its impact understood to be embedded within day to day social work practice. Attempts to encourage social workers to make links between individual praxis and wider structural factors started some time ago, (for example Bailey & Brake 1975; Corrigan & Leonard 1978). Smith (2008) considers how the legitimacy of British social workers exercising power comes from three main sources: their professional standing via the accrediting body for social work, legislation/policies, as well as personal credibility and characteristics. Power dynamics are said to be dependent upon the interaction between the social workers' identity, authority and those with whom they are interacting, predominantly service users. Smith also explains that although interventions play a substantial part of the social work task, social work is also concerned with wider forms of oppression and discrimination (see also Dominelli 2002a).

It has been highlighted how social workers not only need to understand power in terms of their ability to act, but also require an understanding of how it can be exercised based on assumptions and beliefs about given individuals (Cowden & Pullen-Sansfacon 2013). The notion of power relations has therefore also been considered on different levels within society when power is exercised to oppress and discriminate against individuals and communities (Thompson 2016). However, the exercise of power is not solely considered as something which is negative or limiting, as the positive and productive uses of power are also acknowledged within social work (Adams 2008; Tew 2002).

A range of sociological theories of power have significantly influenced how power is understood within the social work context, which has led to theoretical constructs of power within social work which describe how power is exercised in a number of ways. For example, Foucauldian thinking has influenced some contemporary social work understandings of power (see for example Fook 2012; Parton 1998; Thompson 2007). Whilst another example is the way in which Feminist thinking around power over, power of and power to (French 1985) has also influenced thinking (Tew 2002), consequently encouraging social workers to explore how power is negotiated and re-negotiated via social interactions (Dominelli 2002a). Such broader influences of sociological theory on power constructs within social work however have resulted in an additional layer of complexity, due to the issues surrounding theoretical paradigm shifts.

Thompson (2007) exemplifies the contentious nature of paradigmatic shifts when he suggests that his thinking on power is informed by the works of Foucault (1980). Thompson asserts that power is exercised on the psychological or personal, discursive or cultural and structural levels within his theory of anti-oppressive social work practice. In particular, Thompson (2007, p5) explains how the discursive or cultural model of power, *"…relates in large part to Foucault's notion of discourse, the capacity of language to create structures of power."* Whilst this may well be true, the shift here between sociological theory to social work, has occurred without any relevant insights as to why the work of Foucault was best placed to frame such an understanding. Foucault (1980) did indeed speak of power as knowledge, and how this can produce meanings which in turn become accepted 'truths' which sustain particular power relations within society, yet the reasons for a paradigm shift from social theory to social work remains absent from Thompson's work. As a result of this, the shift in paradigms may well be deemed problematic because Foucault did not explore or explain notions of discourse and power from a social work perspective, whilst secondly, Foucault's work on power enveloped much more than a focus on discourse, and it could therefore be argued that his theoretical contributions necessitated a holistic appraisal, rather than be taken out of context and applied selectively.

The fact that paradigms are shifted and used within different contexts, need not be problematic in such ways however, and issues only arise when the validity of the paradigm being employed or transferred is not clearly articulated or is unfit for its intended purpose (Haugaard 2010). Therefore, even though Thompson (2007) does not fully explain the shift in paradigms in any detail, the shift does appear to be one that is fit for purpose. This is because Foucault evidences how language is related to power, whilst Thompson is able to use this understanding to appropriately explain the way in which culture and discourse paves the way for power to be exercised in oppressive/anti-oppressive ways. Whilst what remains a limitation of Thompson's work, is the lack of depth by which he explains why the work of Foucault in particular as opposed to any other theorist is best placed to evidence the point being made. Ultimately therefore, the absence of this information may well lend itself to questions around the overall validity of the framework which Thompson presents, despite the shift in paradigm appearing to be appropriate on the surface.

Smith (2008) recognises the challenges of moving between paradigms within social work, and states how the amalgamation of perspectives is complex whilst noting how dispositional accounts are informed by psychological and philosophical positioning. Therefore although the shifts in paradigms of power into new contexts may offer its challenges, it is essential that their actual validity is evidenced via sufficient explanation on why they fulfil their intended purpose (Haugaard 2010). With this in mind, the following discussion offers an overview of the paradigm of empowerment within social work literature, before moving on to look more specifically at analytical frameworks of power which already exist in order to inform the development of the analytical framework, which is to be employed in the ensuing analysis contained within the data chapters.

Social Work and Empowerment

> *"Social work is an applied discipline, whose practice orientation is necessarily associated with issues of inequality, disadvantage and asymmetric power relationships."(*Smith 2012, p1545)

In light of the intrinsic association social work has with tackling issues of inequality, social work is a field which is often simultaneously concerned with power and empowerment (see for example Thompson 2007; Dominelli 2002b; Smith 2010); due largely to the increasing recognition that an understanding of power is critical to an understanding of empowerment in contemporary practice (Leonardsen 2007; Thompson 2007; Smith 2008). Thinking about power however, does not always sit easily with social workers. Indeed, on a practice level, social workers may feel uncomfortable with the repressive aspects of their role in intervening in the lives of individuals with the exercise of power being of an ambiguous nature (Smith 2010), as a consequence of which social workers may experience a heightened sense of antipathy when it comes to the subject of power. As a result, such *"bifurcated attitudes about power demand in themselves that social workers become better acquainted with its meaning and how it is used"* (Bar-on 2002, p997).

Difficulties in being able to understand power, are similar within social work as is the case from a wider sociological standpoint. The factors contributing to such difficulties in understanding include the broadness/narrowness of definitions, the term being value laden,

limitations in the English language and a perceived preoccupation with measuring power rather than understanding its meaning (Bar-on 2002).

> "*Social work, then, has a key role, not just as a vehicle for the articulation of power relations, but as a focal point for identifying their contradictory dynamics, and proposing more egalitarian solutions, rooted as always, in principles of social justice. Whoever is most 'powerless' should always be considered first.*" (Smith 2010, p8)

Central to the debate on how social work may play its part in offering more egalitarian solutions in order to promote social justice rest within notions of empowerment and anti-oppressive practice. Particularly with regard to oppressive experiences, it is recognised that a sense of powerlessness prevails for individuals from three interconnected sources: firstly the negative self-image individuals have due to their experiences, secondly the issues they encounter when engaging with external systems and thirdly, the way in which such external systems offer a level of hostility towards individuals. It is therefore argued that anti-oppressive practice can only be effective if these layers are effectively considered (Dalrymple & Burke 2006) therefore social workers need to be able to recognise and work with the complex power relations present in society (Leonardsen 2007).

Yet despite this layered understanding that it is only possible for social work to truly effect change if both individual and structural factors are connected and affected (Mullally 2006), it is recognised that attempts by social workers to affect change tend to be more geared towards the individual rather than structural factors (Smith 2008). Therefore acting in ways to promote the empowerment of individuals within the context of social work is not easily achieved. Indeed theorists have also recognised the pitfalls which are present in processes of empowerment. Because alongside more positive presentations of empowerment, empowerment has also come to be defined as a commodity relation (Dominelli 2000; Dominelli 2002a), whilst the potentially *"disempowering experience of empowerment",* has also been acknowledged (Fook 2012, p63). For example, simply by virtue of the fact that within social work we often identify that individuals need help, we have categorised them as being in a state of deficit, resulting in what may be considered a discrete form of disempowerment. Furthermore, because social work at its core requires actions which lend themselves to both care and control (Dominelli 2002b) it is important for social workers to

also be cognizant of the broader limiting impact of exercising power. As such, social work is duly recognised as part of society's social control arrangements (ibid) and there remain ambiguities within its agenda (Parton 1998). One example of the ambiguity present within the social work agenda is that of decision making in terms of who will or will not be helped and in which circumstance, that lead to notions of the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' (Dominelli 2002b).

Within social work then, "*Bound up with the authority conferred by legislation are a whole series of relationships and structures which incorporate, regulate and transmit power*" (Smith 2008, p73). The 'bottom-up' view of what power is therefore, may well aid our understanding of the expressions of power within the context of everyday relations and support practice (Fook 2012; Tew 2002; Healy 2000). And it is increasingly recognised how *"individuals who make the connections between their personal condition and the society in which they exist begin to make changes within themselves, within their families and community and wider social structures"* (Dalrymple & Burke 2006, p12). We see here then, that empowerment is connected to a range of contexts and recognition of such 'sites of power' is integral to social work. Perhaps this is one of the fundamental reasons why some social work theorists who consider empowerment have developed frameworks which include consideration of both the impact of power, but also the level at which it is exercised (Tew 2002; Thompson 2016; Dominelli 2002b; Smith 2010). The range of social work theories on power, add significant value, because essentially they are able to contribute specific explanations of power as a family resemblance concept (Haugaard 2010).

Social Work Frameworks of Power

Within social work literature, Thomson (2016) initially publishing his works on 'Anti-oppressive practice' during 1992 and was the first social work academic in recent times to offer a visual framework in order to depict the domains within which oppression occurs and power manifests. Although relatively simple, Thompson's (2016) PCS model offers an analytical framework which has become increasingly significant in health and social care (for example see Swain 2004; Coppock and Dunn, 2010). The framework suggests that oppression and discrimination operate on three levels, namely on the personal or psychological (P); the cultural (C) and the structural (S). Thompson argues that each of

these levels are interlinked and constantly interact with one another, although they are sometimes disjointed. The personal or psychological (P) level is concerned with an individual's thoughts, feelings, attitudes and subsequently their actions i.e. the way in which they behave. Thompson also states that this level refers to prejudice and the way in which individuals may be rigid in their thinking and beliefs which make them behave in oppressive ways. The cultural (C) level focuses on commonalities between individuals, including shared meanings and ways of practicing which are framed by discourse. It also describes the way groups of people share values as well as patterns of thought and behaviour. Finally, the structural (S) level denotes the wider socio-political context and social forces which create social structures (Thompson 2016). The following diagram visually demonstrates how each of these levels is embedded in relation to one another according to Thompson.
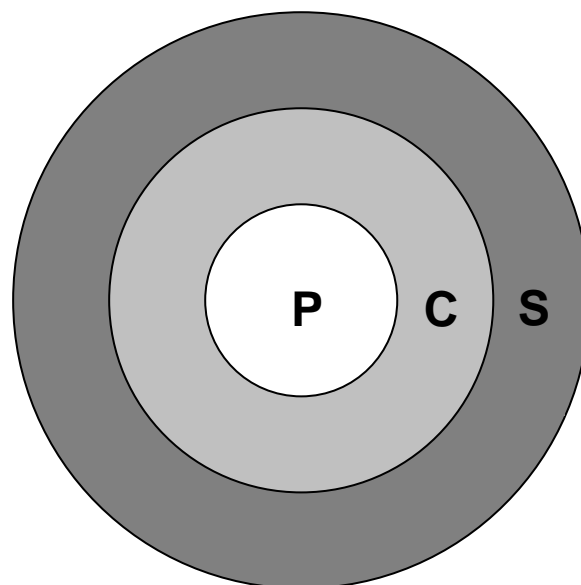
Thompson (2016): The PCS model

Thompson suggests that there is an interaction between the levels where they continually influence one another. For example, the cultural level will affect the personal level whilst the structural level will impact on the cultural level, as well as the other way around. The processes the framework endeavours to capture, are layered and contain overlap, however the framework in its depiction attempts to simplify complex phenomenon. For example, it may be that an individual behaves oppressively towards another individual due to their

personal prejudices, but these personal prejudices may be widespread and culturally sanctioned within the local environment by others. This cultural sanctioning of oppressive behaviour may then be embedded within social structures and the way in which society at large is constructed. Each of these elements however, are negotiated and renegotiated and are in fact variable.

Therefore, the model is not intended to be deterministic in the sense that all the levels directly impact all praxis, but instead, is a means by which to understand how the aforementioned levels may serve to reinforce one another. Being outwardly uncomplicated, a particular advantage of using this model is that it simply extends ones thinking beyond an individual level to consider wider contexts in which power operates because, *"Oppression does not derive simply from individual action or praxis. It can be, and often is, built into structural and institutional patterns and organisational policies"* (Thompson 2016, p40).

Essentially, *"PCS analysis shows the different levels at which discrimination operates and how these levels reinforce each other"* (Thompson 2016, p38), with ideology being understood as central to the way in which these levels are bound together. To reiterate, the personal level for Thompson denotes the thoughts and actions of individuals. The cultural level refers to the shared ways of thinking (thoughts) and behaving (actions). And the structural level is related to the socio-political domain with how certain practices are sanctioned. Thompson does not claim that cultural or structural factors cause individual action, but instead that individual action must be understood as being embedded within them. Thompson also contends that acts of discrimination can be the result of 'commission and omission', in other words, this can be likened to action and inaction, whereby he suggests that discrimination is predominantly unintentional rather than intentional. In light of this however, (perhaps in similar ways to the shifting understanding we have of what constitutes abuse) he asserts that *"…discrimination is a matter of outcomes rather than just intentions"* (2016, p39). This resonates with the shifting political and social discourse around child abuse (see Chapter Three), which has moved from intentions to impact when constructing an understanding of what constitutes abuse.

Thompson suggests that discrimination is a reflection (and a reinforcer) of structured inequalities. He proposes that in order to influence change on a cultural and structural level,

individuals must collectively take measures in order to firstly affect change at a cultural level, which in turn would allow scope for changes on a structural level. Although unstated, this thinking may well be aligned to Foucault's (1982) explanation of the significance of interpersonal exchanges of power and how they are able to lend themselves to shaping broader power relations within society.

Despite the original focus of the model in relation to oppression and discrimination, the PCS model offers a succinct articulation of the potential site or levels within which power can operate. However, due to the fact that the model stems from a particular premise i.e. thinking around the way in which the experiences of discrimination and oppression occur on different levels, it is limited. Whilst in his later works, Thompson considers how drawing on the positive elements of power allows for empowerment (Thompson 2007, p7), the focus of the PCS framework does not easily align with such observations. Therefore the positive impact of the exercise of power amongst individuals, irrespective of which level such power is exercised upon, is not sufficiently captured by the PCS model offered by Thompson. Arguably, it is clear that the model was not intended for this purpose, however what it does create is a limitation of the model in its applicability to this research despite offering a valuable reflection of power in relation to oppression.

Additionally, although fitting within the context discussed by Thompson, 'the P level' which is defined as 'personal' when being used to consider the individual manifestations of oppression is misleading, therefore it may be deemed inappropriate when translating the framework to understand power more broadly. Thompson suggests that the personal level includes the psychological and thus in essence refers to the individual and is concerned with how, "*Our thoughts, feelings and attitudes about particular groups in society will to a certain degree at least, be shaped by our experiences on a personal level*" (2016, p35) Thompson subsequently moves on to suggest that these feelings and attitudes go on to inform ones actions towards others. Theoretically here, Thompson is compounding two very distinct components, which becomes problematic. On the one hand it is being suggested that 'the P level' refers to ones way of thinking and consequent actions, and at the same time it is confused by suggestions that it is the individuals personal experiences which influence those thoughts and actions which result in oppression. Although these two concepts are not in

binary opposition, they are nevertheless distinct. The meanings behind the individual tiers therefore could also be developed to fully reflect the exercise of power on the personal, cultural and structural levels.

More broadly, in terms of defining power, the dispositional, discursive and structural are highlighted by Thompson (2007). Disposition refers to capability, discursive refers to institutionalised ideas and practices, whilst structural relations are understood to be symbolic of social divisions such as class, gender and ethnicity, whereby a power hierarchy is present in the social structure of society; alongside notions of authority and the legitimation of exercises of power (e.g. by the police). In addition to his original contribution, during his later works, (in similar ways to Dominelli 2002b) he describes four types of power, that of power with, to, over and within (Thompson 2010), again offering another nuanced understanding of power if we consider it as part of our thinking around power as a 'family resemblance concept' (Haugaard 2010).

Following Thompson, Dominelli (2002b, p22) offered a framework, with which to consider power and the layers of impact upon individuals, inferring the power of such influences. The client, family, community, national and international domains are highlighted, with the physical, psychosocial, economic and spiritual all creating influence. She highlights how anti-oppressive practice would seek to address these power relations to facilitate the self-empowerment of individuals, because empowerment cannot be 'done to' individuals, only facilitated.
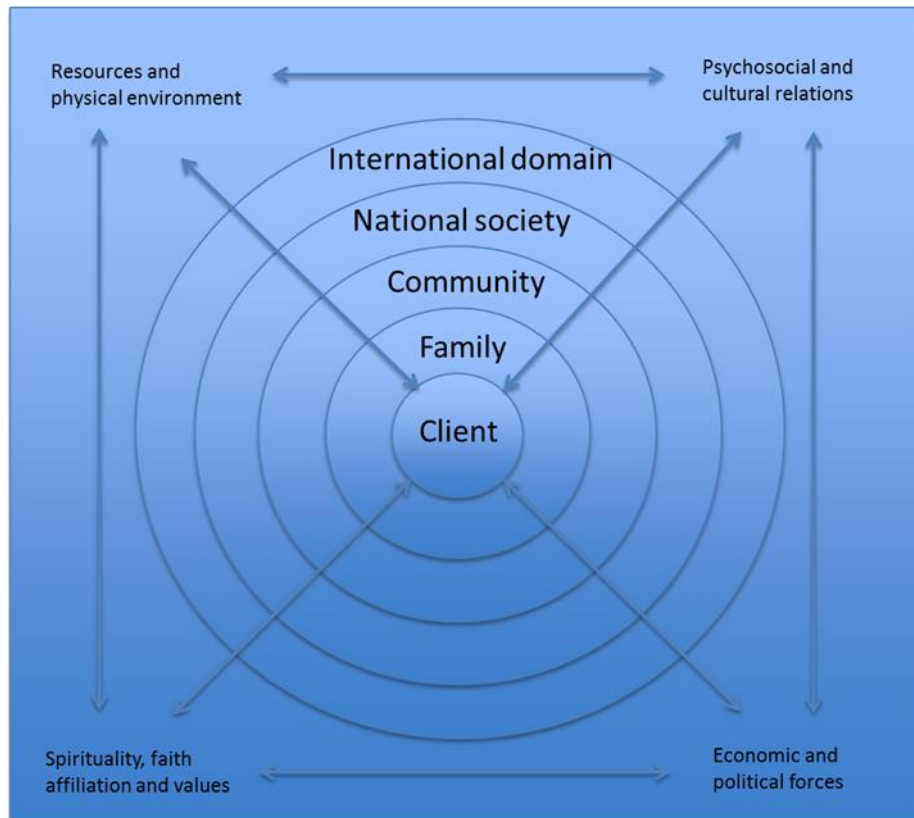
Dominelli (2002b): Multi-dimensional model of power

Dominelli (2002b) refers to French's (1985) feminist ontology of power, and makes distinctions between three aspects of power, namely that of 'power over' 'power to' and 'power of'. 'Power over' is said to be related to individual or collective notions of dominance and power over others, 'power to' is indicative of individually or collectively transformative power which may resist 'power over' in oppressive situations and 'power of' is explained as a collective endeavour to achieve any given common objective. Dominelli therefore recognises, how, *"power can be used to achieve both positive and negative ends"* (2002b, p17), in clearer ways than Thompson (2016). She also asserts, that collective action, or as Tew (2006) termed it, 'power together', remains important as a vehicle of resistance to oppression.

'Othering' as a social construct is also explored by Dominelli, which is recognised as being significant for the reproduction of power relations of dominance which in effect justify the exercise of 'power over' due to the perceived inferiority of those who are dominated (Dominelli 2002b; Smith 2008). Applied to children in care historically, we can see how such

processes may well have facilitated exclusion as well as oppression. However because identities are multi-dimensional, those who are oppressed in certain contexts, can be oppressive in other contexts, thus straddling the insider/outsider role (Dominelli 2002b, p46).

Smith (2008; 2010), in similar ways to Dominelli (2002b) emphasises how 'othering' facilitates the marginalisation of individuals and also outlines a framework to understand power within the social work context, stating how, understanding power via consideration of the representations of power, modes of power and sites of power may help reframe our understanding. Smith clearly links his work back to that of both of Thompson (2016) and Dominelli (2002b) alongside broader sociological thinking. Within representations of power, Smith proposes that there are four ways in which power is conceptualised, as potential, as possession, as process, or as a product. In terms of the modes of power, Smith makes the assertion that to consider the personal, positional and relational is most fitting within a social work context. Finally, his argument suggests that the sites of power differ therefore so do power relations in each context, which resonates with the argument made by Haugaard (2010) on how power is best understood contextually. In a broad sense, Smith (2008) differentiates between the levels at which power operates, namely the structural, organizational and service user perspectives. Yet, in a more specific context, when thinking about the realms of influence (and therefore sites of power) which impact upon children, Smith (2004) offers an alternative framework. Smith's framework is similar to that which is offered by Dominelli, but distinct in his representation of what forces impact upon domains, in light of his focus on children:
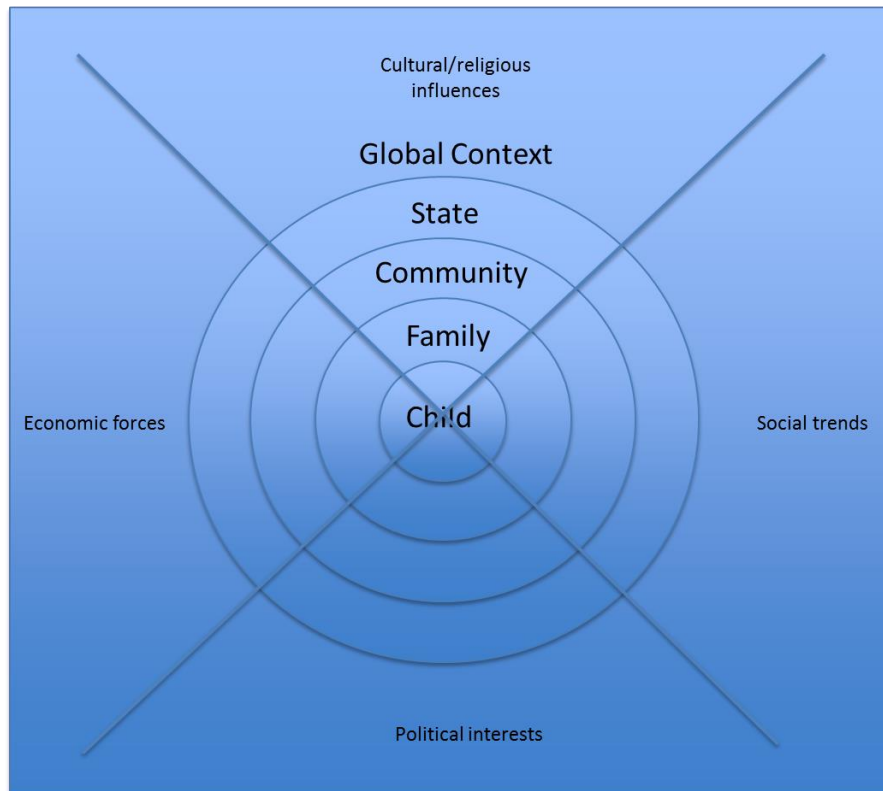
Smith (2004): Model of the child in the world

In this way, Smith is able to offer two distinct frameworks which, despite the overlap are substantially different, but nonetheless valuable in relation to the context under scrutiny; and what Haugaard (2010) would deem to be, two additional members to the family of understanding power. Both Dominelli (2002b) and Smith (2004) offer a higher level of complexity in their frameworks as compared to Thompson (2016), with a more detailed set of criteria and influences being reflected. And despite their similarities and differences, collectively, what such examples certainly do achieve is that they highlight the importance of the diversity of power relations which are present in varying contexts and consequently illustrate the value of applying an analytical framework which is able to articulate the complexities which are present when considering power in any such given context.

Tew (2002) argues how anti-oppressive frameworks such as the above, may actually be ill-equipped to fully understand and address the dimensions of power as he recognised that *"…beneath this façade, modernity has been characterised by a systematic reiteration of inequalities of opportunity, and situations of oppression and abuse"* (Tew 2002, p153). Tew's analysis of power within his writing in, 'Social Theory, Power and Practice' (2002) are based

on seemingly deeper theoretical reflections than those offered by the likes of Thompson, Dominelli and Smith. As a result of his exploration of power within social theory, Tew proposes an analytical framework to understand power within social work, which is referred to by the author as the 'matrix of power relations' (Tew 2002, 2006). The matrix is said to have been developed in order to define the ways in which social work practitioners may better understand and more effectively work with the complexity of power relations in social work practice, whereby it is suggested:

> "A multi-dimensional approach ensures that the realities of both structural and individual oppression are not forgotten, while, at the same time, offering the possibility of more lateral thinking in identifying potential directions for the productive organization and deployment of power." (Tew, 2002 p48)

In essence, what Tew proposes is that the exercise of productive power should also be afforded equal consideration as compared to the attention which is afforded to power which is exercised in limiting ways within social work practice. With this it is suggested, that as well as challenging negative forms of power, positive forms of power could be deployed in order to address power imbalances in a more mindful way by practitioners. Tew suggests that an understanding of power is not possible if we remain dualistic in our thinking around the subject/object dichotomy, which is central to modernist thinking on the subject.

The analysis of what, within human experience is subjective and what is objective has been long debated, whereby the philosophy and the human sciences have attempted to make sense of what exists as objective or subjective phenomenon (Bliss 1917). Tew suggests that understanding power as either completely objective or totally subjective is problematic. Here, Tew is referring to the often polarised views on whether power is understood within positivism as a fixed quality/status or within humanism as capability or autonomy. The hope therefore is that the subject/object dichotomy is replaced with a dualism, which makes the power dynamic understood as something that can be both fixed and also subjective. Tew suggests that power within social theory has been considered less as a matter of relations but more as an entity within itself and therefore stems from positivist thinking as opposed to coming from a humanist perspective. Although potentially true from a purely historical

structuralist perspective, referring back to by way of example, the works of Foucault, Weber and Giddens, this statement becomes contentious.

For example, Foucault makes direct reference to the power in action and power relations stemming from the infinitesimal which evidence the subjective manifestation of power. Whilst Weber, although focussing on the way in which power is held, was also concerned with the legitimation of that very power and the ways in which it was accepted and acted upon by others, hence making it relational. For Giddens also, power is relational in his contemplation of the exchanges between structure and agency. Therefore it is argued that although social theorists may not have always clearly articulated or focussed on power being relational, their works allude to a sense of this.

The multi-dimensional matrix of power relations offered by Tew (2002,2006), to address the perceived deficit in historic understandings of power within social work is depicted in the table below:

	Power Over	Power Together
Productive modes of power	**Protective Power** Deploying power in order to safeguard vulnerable people and their possibilities for advancement	**Co-operative Power** Collective action, sharing, mutual support and challenge – through valuing commonality and difference
Limiting modes of power	**Oppressive Power** Exploiting differences to enhance own position and resources at the expense of others	**Collusive Power** Banding together to exclude or suppress 'otherness' whether internal or external

The framework offered by Tew, is particularly adept at capturing and articulating the potential positive and negative exercises of power, as well as the difference in power

relations when power is either individually or collectively exercised. Furthermore, it is not limited to focussing on a specific group of individuals, as the other frameworks were. For this reason, the framework appeared on the surface at least, to be most fitting to analyse the data collected by this research.

Therefore as a direct result of evaluating the available frameworks of power within social work, the preliminary analysis of data was undertaken by applying the analytical framework of power offered by Tew, due to the way in which it captured both the productive as well as limiting deployment of power quite holistically. However, through the course of data analysis it very quickly became apparent that the experiences of victims/survivors of historic abuse did not always seamlessly fall within the four categories offered by the framework. In fact the co-existence of productive and limiting modes of power was also highlighted as being pertinent to the experiences of individuals who had experienced historic abuse. Although Tew (2006, p40) mentions how power can be both productive and limiting, when he states, *"Often the operation of power may be a double edged or contradictory process, oppressive or limiting in some respects and productive and protective in others.",* the noted co-existence is not explored in any further detail within his work. Instead, Tew speaks of the transition between the two facets of power, moving from productive to limiting, or limiting to productive. Therefore, in employing the framework for data analysis as it is, it was possible to capture the limiting and productive modes of power separately, but not simultaneously. The framework therefore necessitated further development to account for this variance.

Additionally, the concept of 'power together, or 'collusive power' were not (in their description by Tew) sufficient in facilitating the required level of analysis in relation to how the exercise of power was experienced by victims/survivors of historic abuse. This is because the narratives of victims/survivors did not resonate with notions of 'power together' or 'collusive power' in any substantive way. In fact, rather than speaking of the collective, victim/survivor narratives predominantly spoke of individuals. For example, ██████ was of the view that the individual who perpetrated his abuse was solely responsible, despite him witnessing how other members of staff had simultaneously abused other children within the home. Therefore, more often than not, victims/survivors recalled

how the abuse they experienced, as well as the views they were sharing were personal to them. And although in some instances they recognised the similarities present for all victims/survivors, they were not inclined to speak for the experiences of others. Rather, their views predominantly reflected their individual perceptions of what had occurred and what may occur in relation to them in the future.

Additionally therefore, as a result of the preliminary analysis of the data using Tew's framework, it was discovered that rather than a focus on the individual and collective, power in the context of the historic abuse of children in care may be more appropriately captured within a framework which considers power that operates on different levels (in similar ways to Thompson 2016). Alongside the data itself, reflecting the relevance of having a layered approach to analysis, was highlighted by an exploration of power and child abuse within the literature more widely. This further review of the literature highlighted how power in relation to child abuse more broadly, may be loosely organised in terms of the level at which it is being considered in relation to i.e. the individual/psychological, professional/institutional and societal/structural, rather than in a binary form of whether the exercise of power is collective or individual.

Quite critically, empirical research on the topic of child abuse did not appear until the 1990s (Timmerman & Schreuder 2014); although it is widely recognised how authors such as Gil (1975), Garbarino (1977), Finkelhor (1984) and Cicchetti and Carlson (1989) were writing on the topic long before this. The sub-themes covered by academic enquiry have tended to be focused on the reasons behind incidences of child abuse and aetiology as well as the long-term sequelae. Child abuse has historically been highlighted as an international issue requiring international initiatives to be set up to address the matter (Finkelhor & Korbin 1988). Furthermore, it has been widely accepted, that child abuse involves the use of power in inappropriate ways (Finkelhor 1984; Wolfe et al. 2003; Carr et al. 2010).

The literature on child abuse is extensive however, and this is evidenced by the scholarly focus on the subject matter and the existence of international journals such as 'Child Abuse & Neglect' and 'Child Maltreatment'. Within the context of this research, it would not have been appropriate to explore the topic of child abuse and neglect extensively, as that would detract from the focus on historic abuse and power. However, due to the relative absence

of any detailed reflections on power in relation to historic abuse, it was important to briefly consider child abuse and power more broadly, in order to develop the analytical framework employed within this research.

In exploring the literature which connected child abuse to notions of power, it was discovered that the existing literature could loosely be collated in relation to three key themes: namely that of the structural, institutional and individual levels and their relationship to the abuse of children (Gil 1975). As a result of this, the need to develop the analytical framework further, in order to capture the aforementioned domains of power became essential.

In summary, although initially Tew's matrix of power relations (2002, 2006) was useful due to the clarity it offered in explaining how power could be used in productive and limiting ways, an analysis of the co-existence of limiting and productive experiences of power was not possible via the framework (as is the case with the work of Thompson, Dominelli and Smith). Furthermore, the framework did not correlate with the way in which child abuse is framed within academic discourse on the topic of child abuse more widely, and nor did it 'fit' with what the data presented. As a result, it became imperative that a purposeful analytical framework was developed in order to analyse power in the context of the historic abuse of children in care. Because a framework in this context did not exist, its development was further informed by incorporating reflections from the literature on existing theories of power and academic explorations on the topic of child abuse and power more widely. The framework itself remains located within social work paradigms of empowerment, yet borrows from wider sources of knowledge in order to contribute what Haugaard (2010), would consider another family member to understandings of power as a family resemblance concept.

The "Power Informed Practice" Framework

In order to answer the two central research questions pertaining to how power can be understood in relation to the historic abuse of children in care, which are: At what level is/was power exercised in relation to victims/survivors of historic abuse in care? And what is/was the impact of such exercises of power upon victims/survivors of historic abuse in

care? The following framework is offered as an analytical tool with which to consider the subject in question.

The analytical framework takes on board previous considerations of power and employs them to offer what will be referred to from now on as the "Power Informed Practice" framework. Fundamentally it resonates with the frameworks offered by Thompson (2016) and Tew (2002; 2004) and builds upon the way in which power has been conceptualised broadly and offers an analytical tool more specifically in relation to the historic abuse of children in care. The Power Informed Practice framework is depicted as follows:

I	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	I
P	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	P
S	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	S

To begin with, within the framework, power is essentially understood to be expressed within human action and inaction, which may or may not be facilitated through mechanisms and processes. Although these terms are complex, social theorists recognise power in action (Foucault 1982) as well as within inaction (Lukes 2005). This is similarly the case for academics within social work that refer to both incidences of the exercise of power (Tew 2002; Dominelli 2002b). The complexities present within defining the intricacies of what constitutes action and inaction are examined by Feldmen, Kutscher and Yay (2018). However, for the purpose of this study and for an understanding of the framework of analysis which focuses upon power in the context of the historic abuse of children in care, it is sufficient to recognise, that action is simply 'to do', whilst inaction is simply 'not to do'. This is because, of greater significance within this research, is a consideration of the impact of power channelled through actions and inactions, and how these have impacted, or may impact in the future, on victims/survivors of historic abuse. Action (and inaction) is not necessarily confined to the context in which it is possessed, but can occur and manifest in unrelated contexts, even at a later stage (Galinsky, Gruenfeld & Magee 2003). And it will be evidenced, that what may or may not be done depends wholly on the level at which power is being exercised, i.e. on an individual, professional or structural level within the context of the historic abuse of children in care.

The Power Informed Practice framework depicts the ways in which power is manifested on an individual/personal, professional/institutional and societal/structural level in order to impact on individuals in productive, limiting or productive and limiting ways simultaneously. The individual/personal level here (I) refers to the very individual exercises of power on a micro level, that which is accessible to every individual who is free and able to act with choice, even if such choice is limited. The professional/institutional (P) mezzo level refers to the power exercised by professionals and institutions due to the authority which has been conferred to them by the state or community. Finally, the societal/structural (S) level denotes the exercise of power on a macro level and is informed by the socio-political dimension, which incorporates a focus on the government, law/policy and the media. This refers to the power exercised in ways that impact potentially on society at large or on particular 'groupings' within society, which extend beyond a singular institution or organisation. The following insights are offered regarding the three domains of power which have been incorporated into the framework, however these are substantially developed further in line with the experiences of participants who were historically abused in care , through the course of Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

- **The individual/personal level (I)**

The individual/personal level (I) within the framework refers to the very individual exercises of power on a micro level, that power which is accessible to each and every individual who is free and able to act with choice, even if such choice is limited. The notion of the individual here is synonymous with the idea of the personal, due to the way in which the 'personal' exists in relation to a particular person or persons and belongs very much to them individually by virtue of themselves, i.e. it is not especially conferred to them and therefore exists simply because they exist. As such, it is recognised that individuals hold a level of personal power in and amongst themselves, which they are able to exercise in relation to themselves and/or others depending upon the context. Historically, the perpetration of child abuse as a phenomenon has generally tended to be understood as *"the action of solitary, psychologically abnormal individual"* (Hawkins and Briggs 1997, p42). Therefore the individual exercise of power and how it manifests in relation to others or indeed in relation to oneself is of considerable importance. And it is argued here, that the individual and

personal exercise of power may manifest in limiting, productive or simultaneously limiting/productive ways.

Perhaps most notably, the significance of the individual exercise of power was highlighted by Foucault (1982) who understood power to be formed from the infinitesimal, rather than simply located within large-scale mechanisms of the state. Commonly understood definitions of power on an individual level are how *"A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do"* (Dahl 1957, p202) or having *"the ability to control resources, own and others"* (Galinsky, Gruenfeld & Magee 2003, p454). Within the latter definition, the notion of power in relation to what is within one's own locus or that which is situated within the locus of others is banded together. Lammers et al. (2016) deemed such banding together of concepts as problematic. They argued that a clearer way of defining power would be to make a differentiation between these interwoven meanings to separate the two components, namely that of influence and autonomy.

It makes sense therefore, that power and choice (as separate entities) are suggested to be embedded within an individual's understanding of the amount of personal control they possess, where it is said that an absence of one would increase the level of aspiration for the other in order to fulfil the presenting need (Inesi et al. 2011). For Foucault (1982), the understanding of a need for control was focused primarily on the actions of others, whereby "*the exercise of power consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome*" (Foucault 1982, p789). In relation to this, Foucault refers to the idea of 'government', whereby to govern in this sense is to influence the actions of others for a desired purpose/outcome. Building on this theory, he then moves on to suggest that government can lead to forms of self-governance, whereby individuals govern themselves for the benefit of those employing mechanisms of power. And although empirical research recognises how *"a position of power can be subjectively experienced as conferring influence over others or as offering autonomy*" (Lammers et al. 2016, p498); research findings also suggest that an individual's desire for power are predominantly influenced by a need to be in control of their own life. Lammers et al. (2016) assert that evidence from across nine

studies, demonstrates how the need for autonomy supersedes the need to confer influence over others, in exercises of power on an individual level.

The individual need for power is therefore theoretically at least, intrinsically understood as a need for control, over the self and/or others. The individual exercise of power therefore is a significant point of concern and the individual/personal level (I) within the framework which refers to this on a micro level, is important when analysing power in the context of the historic abuse of children in care. Most notably perhaps, this is due to the fact that not only was the abuse a very individually experienced event or series of events by victims/survivors, but so were the life experiences which ensued. These individual exercises of power may impact upon victims/survivors of historic abuse in limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive ways.

The limiting exercise of individual power may be experienced through both individual actions as well as inactions because, it is understandable, that abused children may perceive that individual adults in their world are either dangerous or negligent in their duties to protect (Herman 1992). Weiss (2002) considers the irony present, in how everyday individuals, who are supposed to foster children's development, can come to represent the likes of fear and submission, when perpetrating child sexual abuse. Furthermore, Rosetti (1995) suggests that for perpetrators, although outwardly, sexual abuse may be a sexually arousing act, however inwardly it is an abuse of power which allows individual perpetrators to feel increasingly powerful, therefore *"child sexual abuse is as much a crime of power as it is a crime of sexuality"* (ibid, p685). This could similarly be true for children experiencing any form of abuse by those in positions of power and authority. Although child sexual abuse often involves both emotional and physical harm, the experience of physical abuse, emotional abuse or neglect would likely impact on children's perceptions in similar ways, whereby individuals who are supposed to represent encouragement, development and growth, actually induce fear and facilitate oppression.

On the other hand, in their failure to protect children, individuals may demonstrate a limiting exercise of power via their inaction or failure to respond appropriately to alleged or witnessed child abuse. Although moves to criminalise failures to respond to abuse allegations have recently been rejected by the government (Stevenson 2018), the impact of

such failures is noted to be of significant concern (Barter 1998; Flynn & Starns 2004). Historically, children who disclosed abuse were subject to both a lack of response or an inappropriate response from the adults who they expected would serve as a means to protect them (Karim 2017). This has been shown to have manifested in a range of ways, which included (but was not exclusive to), adults knowing of the abuse but failing to act and the abuse being normalized/trivialized when it was reported (ibid). Therefore via the individual inactions and actions of people, the individual exercise of power is present within the context of the historic abuse of children.

The productive exercise of power is also apparent in relation to the individual and personal exercise of power within the context of child abuse. For example, children are noted to have reported their abuse in their attempts to resolve the issue (Rottenberg 1995; Goodman-Brown 2003; Karim 2017), despite the added risks disclosures may bring (Sauzier 1989; Goodman-Brown 2003). As such, disclosures are considered to be one example of the productive use of the individual exercise power. This is because through disclosure, children in effect, are proactive in their attempts to mitigate the abuse they are being subjected to. Whether the outcome is what they hope for or not, does not negate the fact that they are attempting to use their individual power (albeit often limited) in order to address the experience of abuse.

As we know, abuse can lend itself to a sense of powerlessness for children, which they may experience during their childhood, or continue to experience through the course of their adult lives. The impact of child sexual abuse upon individuals for example, has been identified as twofold. Primarily the experience of sexual abuse may result in psychological and physical harm which is related to an individual's sense of self and sexuality, whilst the second harm, which may be more devastating:

   "…is an ingrained sense of powerlessness. Perpetrators abuse their positions of power and unconsciously instill in victims a sense of powerlessness. They often carry this feeling of powerlessness into adulthood" (Rossetti 1995, p684).

A sense of powerlessness may therefore prevail for children, and in order to cope with such feelings of distress and powerlessness, children may blame themselves for the abuse they

suffer, rationalising how their *"innate badness is the cause"* (Herman, 1992, p103). Also, it may be that throughout the course of their lives, individuals cope with their adverse childhood experiences via the abuse of substances (Dube et al. 2003) or the likes of self-harm (Gratz 2003).

Individual coping strategies, and the individual exercise of power demonstrated through them however, remain a point of concern. During the life course, the biological, social and psychological consequences of child abuse manifests in complex ways (Coates 2010). For example, research evidences the links between child abuse and the adverse impact upon adult physical and psychological health (Arnow, 2004; Springer et al. 2003). These correlations have further been substantiated in relation to abuse experienced historically by adults in institutional care settings as children (Carr et al. 2010), which highlight a higher prevalence of psychological disorders present for adult victims/survivors who have experienced abuse in care. Research findings such as these, highlight that if individual power was indeed exercised by individuals to counter the negative impact of their abuse experiences, the methods employed may not necessarily have led to positive outcomes.

Individual exercises of power therefore, may well be simultaneously productive and limiting, solely productive or solely limiting, and the ability of individuals to exercise individual/personal power captures an important facet of power. Riscalla (1980) comments on how there is a general misguided tendency amongst professionals to believe that systems and resources need to be improved to counter the problem of child abuse. Alternatively, she proposes that the prevention of abuse requires human qualities, which reflect in our actions towards children. In ways that echo the concerns raised by Smith (2008) regarding what was deemed acceptable behavior towards children historically, Riscalla proposed that there is a 'fine line' between being helpful and being abusive in professional contexts, and abuse may well occur when these boundaries are unclear or breached. Therefore because the abuse of children is a human phenomenon, an improvement in human behavior is essentially what is required to mitigate the abuse experienced by children (ibid). Henceforth, a consideration of the limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive exercise of power on an individual level is paramount in aiding our understanding of power and the historic abuse of children in care.

- **The professional/institutional level (P)**

The professional/institutional (P) mezzo level within the framework refers to the power exercised by professionals and institutions in light of the authority which has been conferred to them by the state or community. In the first instance, it may be argued that amalgamating notions of the 'professional' and 'institutional' exercise of power is problematic due to notions around their distinctiveness. However it is argued here, that institutions did not create themselves, nor as a physical structure (if we perceive them as such) do they autonomously and unilaterally exercise power. Instead, it is only by virtue of their professional authority, that they have been created and contain within them particular practices which have been sanctioned. On this level therefore, the professional and institutional have been banded together for a very specific purpose – to highlight that professionals and their respective institutions, are able to deploy power due to the power which has been conferred to them in light of their professional status. As a result, whether the exercise of power is based on a sole individual, or collectively by many, or is the result of the systems which have been created within institutions, power in this context remains professional power. Theoretically, recognition of the professional domain of power is essential, due to the links noted to be present between institutional factors and the abuse of children in care (Gil 1975; Stanley, Manthorpe & Penhale 1999; Sen et al. 2008; Timmerman & Schreuder 2014; Daly 2014a).

Children's care establishments are noted to be located somewhere between the private and public spheres (Parkin and Green 1997), with social work having a significant role to play in the management and experiences of children within such facilities during the past and present (Cocker & Allain 2013). As a profession, social work has faced significant criticism for being authority based (Gambrill 2001), with institutional contexts playing a significant role in shaping how practice develops within the field (Healy 2014). As a result, social services have long been understood to embody the "*worst features of bureaucracies in being hierarchical, rule bound, and slow to respond to change*" (Colton 2002, p35). Jones (1995) proposed that there needs to be a greater exploration of victim/survivor perspectives regarding the nature of power relations within institutions, something which has been significantly overlooked in empirical research. In relation to the abuse of children in care therefore, it is pertinent to

consider, how professionals and their respective institutions are able to abuse their power, as well as abuse the children they were committed to protect (Wardhaugh and Wilding 1993). In order to answer such questions, the role of professional dominance as well as bureaucracy in perpetuating the abuse of children is noted to be of significant consequence (ibid).

In attempts to unravel the complexities of professionals and power, Freidson suggested that *"most of the commonly cited attributes of professions may be seen either as a consequence of their autonomy or as conditions useful for persuading the public and the body politic to grant such autonomy"* (Freidson 1970, p 135). And although Freidson's work was largely focused on exploring the impact of medical dominance on patient experiences, his work offered insights into the way in which power was legitimised within professions. Freidson proposed that the processes of dehumanisation that clients were subjected to, stemmed from both professional dominance and bureaucracy.

The work of Weber (1947) on power and authority is particularly useful in helping us to consider the way in which bureaucracy operates and how institutions are shaped and managed, with the power vested in professionals and the opportunity present for the extension of such power through institutions. The 'three pure types of legitimate authority' according to Weber were based on rational, traditional and charismatic grounds. Weber believed that irrespective of what authority type is being obeyed, the basis of the willingness to obey, *"is a belief, a belief by virtue of which persons exercising authority are lent prestige"* (Weber 1947 p350). Weber's theory on the grounds for legitimacy was further expanded, via his exploration of the concept of bureaucracy. Weber's view of bureaucracy was that of a system of power based on discipline, whereby leaders exercise control over others using the rational-legal form of legitimated authority. For the most stable bureaucratic systems, he asserted that the rational-legal grounds of legitimacy were best suited. Rational grounds for authority, rested upon *"a belief in the 'legality' of patterns or normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands (legal authority)"* (Weber 1947, p300).

Institutional abuse as a cause of concern is said to have been highlighted from the 1980's onwards (Daly, 2014a). However, the term 'institutional abuse' first appeared in the writing

of David Gil (1975) as he attempted to 'unravel' what constituted child abuse. Historically therefore it is uncertain as to whether institutional abuse had previously been amalgamated with understandings of child abuse in a more generic sense. Through his writing, Gil (1975, p348) identified institutional abuse as abuse which takes place within children's care settings whereby:

> "*In such settings, acts and policies of commission or omission that inhibit, or insufficiently promote, the development of children, or that deprive children of, or fail to provide them with, material, emotional, and symbolic means needed for their optimal development, constitute abusive acts or conditions. Such acts or policies may originate with an individual employee of an institution... or they may be implicit in the standard practices and policies of given agencies and institutions.*"

Such conclusions perhaps bring to light, the inextricable relationships between authority, responsibility and entitlement, because in some instances, *"institutional child abuse thrived because it was so well hidden by those who knew they were doing wrong"* (Ferguson 2006, p37). The professional exercise of power is therefore unique by virtue of the fact that professionals and their respective institutions are afforded power in ways which everyday individuals are not. This in turn, makes the professional exercise of power important within the (P) level of the framework which refers to the exercise of power on a mezzo level, when analysing power in the context of the historic abuse of children in care. Most notably perhaps, this is due to the way in which professionals were sometimes complicit in the abuse being perpetrated (Colton, Roberts & Vanstone 2010), as well as the way in which institutional cultures and systems could exacerbate incidences of abuse (Sen et al. 2008; Shaw 2007). Consequently, the professional exercise of power may impact upon victims/survivors of historic abuse in limiting ways, whilst professional power can also be exercised in productive and simultaneously limiting/productive ways.

Limiting professional power can be exercised in a range of ways, which includes the limiting approaches of institutional leaders as well as mainstream staff towards children via the culture of the institution. Jones (1994, p75) employed Weber's understanding of power within the context of a residential child care institution where abuse had occurred in England and concluded that *"...the capacity for the creation of opportunities to abuse,*

based on domination and subordination, are particularly great in residential institutions where leadership is grounded in a combination of charismatic and traditional authority." It is therefore suggested that discrepancies within approaches to management create the potential for abuse in residential care settings to occur (Wardhaugh & Wilding 1993; Hawkins and Briggs 1997; Colton 2002; Stein 2006; Sen et al 2008), perhaps due in part to the influence managers have over the ethos of the institution (Coates 1997). As a result, it may well be that individual staff are able to dictate inappropriate rules (ibid) or administer inappropriately sanctioned behaviours towards children.

Stein (2006) proposes the approved treatment methods towards children and the failure of managerial, organisational and inspection systems were often responsible for the abuse of children. The author explains, how certain 'treatment methods', stemming from psychoanalytic theory and behavioural psychology were conventional within social work practice historically. Their influence within social work (arguably misinterpreted and misused in practice) is highlighted as a contributing factor to abusive practice towards children. Evidence demonstrates how punitive and harsh regimes, were once acceptable and commonplace within children's care settings. For example, the Pindown Report exposed how punitive approaches to behaviour management were used within children's homes in Staffordshire (Levy & Kahan 1991) and offers one example of the types of treatment methods which were once deemed acceptable.

Alongside institutional cultures, limiting professional/institutional power may be exercised in limiting ways through inadequate systems. In some cases, the absence of appropriate complaints mechanisms for residents within children's homes has been problematic (Berridge & Brodie 1996), whilst in others, the lack, or inadequacy of vetting processes has been of concern (McAlindon 2013). Therefore, opportunities for the abuse of power for adults from within and outside of the institutions were often present for those wanting to exploit it. For example, in terms of sexual abuse, paedophiles targeting such institutions because of the access to children the settings provided has also been recognised as a significant concern (Gallagher 2000; Sullivan & Beech 2002; Sen et al 2008; Colton, Roberts & Vanstone 2010).

Not all manifestations of professional power however, are necessarily limiting, because the productive exercise of professional power is also apparent. Fundamentally, the role of professionals when working with individuals is to support and nurture their wellbeing, and professional enablement offers one way in which this can be achieved. In relation to children, professionals who did fulfil this duty were in effect, exercising professional productive power. And even when victims/survivors of abuse may have had predominantly negative experiences during their childhood, their interactions with professionals later on in their lives may have served to reframe some of their thoughts around the way in which they perceived institutions and professionals.

A substantive example of the way in which professional power can be exercised productively is available in the experiences that victims/survivors of abuse may have with therapeutic interventions offered by professionals. Research findings have highlighted the need to improve the future welfare of victims/survivors through the provision of *"evidence based psychological treatment"* (Carr et al. 2010, p488). Therefore, accessing therapy may help individuals who have experienced abuse to better regulate their emotional state (Herman 1993; Sanderson 2006). Due to the way in which research has repeatedly shown that client-therapist relationships are central to the benefits individuals experience (Grossman et al. 2017), any positive experiences may well be located within a conceptualisation of the productive exercise of professional power.

Alongside the limiting and productive, the simultaneously limiting/productive exercise of professional power is also of consequence. In particular this may be evidenced by the attempts of professionals to remove children from harm. Fundamentally, professionals who work with children (as noted previously) hold a responsibility to ensure their well-being, whilst social workers in particular are tasked with ensuring that children are removed from environments where their safety is in question (Flynn & Starn 2004). In doing so, social work professionals may well remove children from their home environments in order to attempt to fulfil their duties of protection (Flynn & Starn 2004; Zastrow 2010). On the surface, this may seem a productive use of professional power, however what may make such actions simultaneously limiting, is dependent upon where children are placed following their removal. Historically (Knapp, Baines & Fenyo 1987), as well as more recently (Hayden et al.

1999; Burch, Daru & Taylor 2018), placements for children in some instances continue to be deemed unfit for purpose and therefore inappropriate. For example, within the Irish inquiry, a number of witnesses came forth to report how inappropriate placements led to the further abuse of children (CICA 2009). Where placements are inappropriate, and/or further abuse occurs, because it is evident in some instances that *"some children who were abused at home experienced further abuse within the care system"* (Ferguson 2006, p137), then such professional exercises of power by virtue of the removal of children may well be an example of the limiting/productive exercise of professional power.

We are able to see therefore, that professional power may manifest in limiting, productive or simultaneously limiting productive ways. Amongst other things, the fact that often the abuse of children in care is referred to as 'institutional abuse' highlights the power vested in professionals and their institutions. The power exercised by professionals and institutions in light of the authority which is conferred to them by state or community sanctioned power, reflects another platform from which power within the context of the historic abuse of children in care manifests. In relation to this, it has been recognised that:

> *"If certain organisational level factors contribute to maltreatment, the focus should properly be on identifying and changing those attributes of organisations which contribute to the problem."* (Spencer and Knudson, 1992, p486)

Therefore an exploration of, the limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive impact of the exercise of power on a professional level is also pivotal to aid our understanding of power in relation to the historic abuse of children in care.

- **The structural/societal level (S)**

The structural/societal (S) level within the analytical framework denotes the exercise of power on a macro level and is informed by the socio-political dimension, and in similar ways to Smith (2008) incorporates (amongst other facets), a focus on the government, law/policy and the media. The social and structural is brought together within the framework as it refers to the power exercised in ways that potentially impact on society at large or at the very least, on groups within society which extend beyond a singular institution or

organisation. The exercise of such power can be attributed to broad social and structural mechanisms which can impact on the lives of many, if not all individuals within society in similar ways. The societal and structural exercise of power here also therefore, refers to the overarching social arrangements present within society and the way in which society is organised. These social arrangements in turn, may be reflected or perpetuated by the culture present within any given society, or the social attitudes which exist and prevail. The importance of the structural level at which power operates in the context of historic abuse, is acutely evident when we consider how social forces have influenced how abuse has been defined; with it being recognised how the concept of abuse remains socially constructed (see for example NRC 1993; Ferguson 2004; Parton 2006 and refer to discussion in Chapter Three).

Here, the work of Giddens (1984) is particularly useful in helping us to decipher how structural power is exercised. This is because within the context of the framework of analysis of power in relation to the historic abuse of children in care, social structures are not considered to be objective standalone entities wielding power in ways which are devoid of human influence. Giddens (ibid) considers the dialectic of control present in social systems whereby agency is present and both relations of autonomy and dependence coexist in social interaction. He writes on the connection between action and structure suggesting that a 'duality of structure' exists, whereby structure and agency are interdependent. Put simply, this means that people shape society but are simultaneously restricted by it, due to the way in which social structures are created through action whilst action is given meaning via social structures. By way of definition, social structures are therefore, *"…both constituted by human agency and yet at the same time are the very medium of this constitution"* (Giddens 1976, p121). As such, it is recognised that individuals use social rules alongside the resources available to them during social interactions based on their individual knowledge. Therefore people within society apply rules and resources reflexively in line with their knowledge, rather than being docile in their application. However, it is suggested by Giddens that the awareness of individuals may be circumscribed due to the knowledge they possess at any given time.

Systems according to Giddens are the activities of individuals and patterns of social relations whilst structures are the rules and resources available to individuals which recreate systems, including for example the likes of class and political structures. Structures are therefore the means and the result; they make action possible, but are also in effect, the outcome of the action. Structuration for Giddens, denotes those relations formed within a structure and their ability to exist irrespective of time and space. For example, within Chapter Four there was discussion around the fact that victims/survivors continued to associate me with the social work profession despite the fact that in my present relationship with them my role was solely to undertake research. As a result, it could be understood that despite the difference in terms of time and space, the hierarchy between victims/survivors and social workers remains a very real social relation. In its essence, structuration is therefore the process by which systems are created and recreated through the actions of individuals who refer to structural rules and resources to inform their actions. Structures are seen as being both enabling and constraining (Giddens 1984), which may be translated as structures possessing productive and also limiting qualities in relation to the exercise of power. This claim however, is not sufficiently developed in Giddens' work, unlike the greater attention given to the development of this element of theory by Foucault (1982). Nevertheless, Giddens offers the agency and structure debate as a framework for power to be considered within and explored from, which is particularly relevant within the context of this study as a means of understanding the structural and societal level factors which impact and shape the exercise of power.

The limiting exercise of structural/societal power in respect of the framework is epitomised by the overarching social relations and structural mechanisms which have impacted in negative ways in the context of the historic abuse of children in care. One example of this is the limiting social attitudes which affected the way children were treated and also responded to historically. Stein (2006), within his reflections on why the historic abuse of children occurred in residential care within the UK between the mid 1960's through to the 1980's, argues that the status of childhood and particularly the status of a child being looked after was 'diminished'. The prevalent discourse at the time surrounding children and child welfare was therefore devalued in some respects causing the marginalisation of children and their voices. Additionally, it was often considered that only 'problem' children were sent

away to institutions (Abrams, 1998, p78). These attitudes in turn, are recognised to have impacted on the prevalence of historic abuse (Sen et al. 2008; Karim 2017).

The abuse suffered by children within the UK is said to be reflective of the *"deeply embedded social attitudes and associated structures of social injustice"* (Colton, Vanstone and Walby 2002, p549). Parton (1985) also emphasised the importance of the social context and the need to consider social and economic forces and their responsibility in perpetuating issues of child abuse. Quite specifically, the matter of economic deprivation and poverty has been noted to exacerbate incidences of child maltreatment (Coulton et al 1995; Maguire-Jack & Font 2017). Whilst Bell (2011) goes further, in order to suggest that child abuse is socially constructed, via shifts in knowledge and discourse pertaining to children over time, which have resulted in child abuse becoming a key concern in the present day. It is suggested, that what was deemed 'normal' previously has therefore become 'abnormal' now; hence presenting a shift in the social construction of child abuse in the modern era. To elaborate, Bell (2011, p107) refers to how the *"belief systems surrounding child abuse and abusers are a complex set of consensually shared and culturally shaped convictions about the body and individuals."*

Taking the government as an example of an entity capable of facilitating abuse, may well be illustrated when we consider how the prevalence of child abuse could be perpetuated by the indirect impact of a government devaluing the human rights of children, whilst emphasising the rights of adults (Hawkins and Briggs, 1997). In addition to the limiting exercise of structural/societal power manifested in limiting social attitudes, it may therefore also be exemplified by the limitations present in terms of governmental structures. Evidently, the governmental exercise of power is significant in shaping social work practice, whether this is as a result of policy development or as a consequence of ministerial pronouncements and endeavours (Smith 2008). Broadly speaking, we are well aware of how amongst other things, the government regulates, sets the agenda for and finances services, including that of children's care provision. With specific regard to the historic abuse of children in care, we have thus also seen both policy developments and ministerial endeavours which are shaping the way in which historic abuse in the UK as well as more specifically within Scotland, is being responded to (as discussed within Chapter Two), both

politically and legislatively. Some of these structures, past and present, may well impact individuals in limiting ways. For example, in terms of legislation, to this day physical chastisement remains legal and so permissible within the UK context. And as discussed in Chapter Three, this has meant that a sense of ambiguity has prevailed in relation to what is, or is not acceptable in terms of our behaviour towards children. The physical chastisement of children within the UK continues to be deemed problematic by the likes of the Committee on the Rights of the Child, who monitor the implementation of the Convention of the Rights of Children (UNCRC), whereby they continue to urge the UK to, *"Prohibit as a matter of priority all corporal punishment in the family, including through the repeal of all legal defences, such as "reasonable chastisement"* (CRC 2016, p9).

Alongside the limiting exercise of structural power, there is also evidence present, of its productive deployment. Over the course of the years, the British Government has developed both policy and legislation in attempts to improve services for children (Children Act 1989; Bradshaw 2016; Dfe 2018), as well as respond to the needs of those who were abused historically. Through the course of Chapter Two, the discussion around the implementation of the historic abuse action plan (SHRC 2013) and how this has been progressed significantly within the Scottish context to date offers an example of this. The fact that the Government has taken measures to respond to the commitments sought by the Action Plan for historic abuse may well be considered a manifestation of the productive exercise of power from the perspectives of victims/survivors. Yet what makes this complex is how within the intricacies of the developments as they are shaped, the space for the simultaneously limiting/productive exercise of power emerges.

The limiting/productive exercise of power is therefore also important in relation to the historic abuse of children in care. The dichotomy of the enabling and disabling functions of the law are present, on the one hand offering legitimation of the exercise of social work functions, whilst on the other setting up constraints within which to operate: *"The law in its specifity and rigidity, seems ill-equipped to deal with the complexities and inconsistencies of human behaviour and the need to exercise flexible professional judgements in relation to it"* (Smith 2008, p93). The law, as Weber (1978) understood it, is underpinned by notions of the common good rather than individual interests. However, due to its overarching and all-

encompassing nature cannot be expected to provide detailed answers, which may inform practice in a nuanced way (Roche 2001). In the context of the historic abuse of children in care in Scotland, the Apologies (Scotland) Act 2016 offers one example of this. As a result of the Apology Act, no longer can apologies offered outside of proceedings be admissible as evidence or determine liability. On the one hand this is potentially beneficial, as it may encourage individuals and institutions to extend apologies which they would not have previously. On the other hand however, the effectiveness of the Act in terms of eliciting apologies is presently unknown. To date, there has been no substantial evidence of a cultural shift towards readily offering apologies, and even if they were offered, their sincerity may likely be undermined by the way in which they are formulated within the legislation.

Systemic issues rooted within society, as well as within the government and its governance have increasingly been featured as factors which have been connected to the issue of child abuse. On a structural level however, the power of the media is also recognised within social work contexts, whereby social work and the media have long held an uncomfortable relationship (Smith 2008), and this has been exacerbated by the negative media representation of social workers and the profession for both intervening too little (Ayre 2001) or too much (Kitzinger 2004), resulting in public inquiries (see for example Laming 2003; Laming 2007). In greater focus also, particular areas of practice, such as residential care have been represented in a negative light (Aldridge 1994). Although we understand how very little news is ever 'good news', it does create substantial negativity within public perceptions towards the profession and social work practice. However, if this in its consequence, results in power plays which lead us to reframe our thinking in order to benefit vulnerable individuals, then the media as a vehicle of power should not be perceived as entirely problematic, nationally or internationally. Despite caution being offered in terms of how the media has psycho-pathologised victims/survivors (Kitzinger 2004), such power cannot be overlooked or necessarily be deemed solely limiting (Powell & Scanlon 2014). And social work therefore should, endeavour to hold a more informed approach to understanding changes in dominant discourses (Ayre 2001), and the power such discourse holds via the media. As a result, the role of the media in highlighting the issue of the historic

abuse of children in care, may be considered another manifestation of the structural limiting/productive exercise of power.

Ultimately, the value of incorporating an understanding of structural/societal power cannot be underestimated in relation to the historic abuse of children in care, and remains as significant as the individual and professional levels at which power is exercised, because *"the key to understanding power in any one context is to appreciate how it is expressed, experienced and created by different people at different levels"* (Fook 2012, p61). The observations made, demonstrate how societal attitudes, belief systems and structural forces are intertwined with notions of power and have subsequently impacted on shaping the way the abuse of children is both understood and responded to within society. Hence it is argued, that the way in which structural power is shaped, may well lend itself to limiting, productive or simultaneously limiting/productive exercises of power in relation to the historic abuse of children in care.

As a result of the above discussion, the individual/personal, institutional/professional and the structural/societal levels at which power can be exercised in limiting, productive or limiting/productive ways, it is hoped, becomes clearer. A number of examples of how power is understood to operate within the framework on an individual, professional and structural level in limiting, productive or limiting/productive ways have been provided. These manifestations of power are further expanded upon within the ensuing data chapters, which demonstrate the symbiotic relationship between the framework of analysis and the data itself. In turn, the individual/personal, professional/institutional and structural/societal exercises of power are now considered within the following three chapters which offer an analysis of power more specifically, within the context of the historic abuse of children in care.

Chapter Six: The Individual Exercise of Power

Introduction

Although it is widely accepted that child abuse involves the use of power (Carr et al 2010; Wolfe et al 2003), an exploration of the examination of abuse holistically and its relationship to power empirically has not been the direct pursuit of researchers or policy makers. As discussed in previous chapters, this is potentially the result of the enormity of the subject matter and the complexity of deconstructing what the exercise of power entails. The exploration of power then, within the context of the historic abuse of children in care offers an avenue into a more focussed consideration of the exercise and impact of power which as well as potentially opening up further lines of enquiry, will offer new insights around the exercise and impact of power within this specific context by applying the Power Informed Practice framework which was detailed in the previous chapter in order to frame this analysis.

What makes the exploration of power in relation to the historic abuse of children in care quite distinct, is how it necessitates a reflection on power not only at the time at which the abuse occurred and in direct relation to the abuse experience, but also catalyses the examination of power far beyond this. Therefore, the analysis which is offered considers victim/survivor perspectives related to the past, the present and the future, in order to provide a holistic analysis of power stemming from their narratives. Consequently, the data raises a blend of retrospective and prospective insights into the workings of power in relation to the historic abuse of children in care from the perspectives of victims/survivors. These insights explore what individual victims/survivors of historic abuse have experienced or are experiencing, as well as highlighting how they pre-emptively understand what may transpire in the future. As mentioned previously, *"the key to understanding power in any one context is to appreciate how it is expressed, experienced and created by different people at different levels"* (Fook 2012, p61). And in light of this, the ensuing chapters employ the analytical framework which was developed via the preliminary analysis of the data in order to offer a nuanced answer to the two central research questions: At what level is/was

power exercised in relation to victims/survivors of historic abuse in care? And what is/was the impact of such exercises of power upon victims/survivors of historic abuse in care?

To answer these research questions, the following three chapters will draw together the range of data which resulted from undertaking direct interviews with victims/survivors of historic abuse in care. In its entirety, the data strongly suggests that power is exercised on an individual, professional and structural level in relation to victims/survivors of historic abuse; whilst the impact of such exercises of power is experienced in limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive ways by victims/survivors of historic abuse.

A note of caution is again offered here in terms of the content of the upcoming chapters with regards to the abuse of children in care. This is because it is duly recognised that alongside participants and researchers, sensitive research may also impact upon other readers (McCosker, Barnard & Gerber 2001). However, although the content refers to traumatic events at points (see discussion in Chapter Four regarding vicarious trauma), it is intended to facilitate an understanding of the seriousness of the exercise of power (at points by thinking through the actual abuse itself), while also engaging with the theoretical debate that the following chapters endeavour to advance. The data is perhaps most distressing in terms of the individual exercise of power in this first chapter as compared to the analysis of the professional/institutional and societal/structural considerations. This demarcation it is hoped prepares the reader and highlights where the reading of this thesis may be particularly upsetting. To frame the basis of this discussion therefore, an introduction to the individual victims/survivors who participated in this research is provided.

The Individuals

Of the twenty one victims/survivors who participated in the interviews, there were eleven men and ten women who were all over the age of thirty and resided in Scotland. Because most participants resided in a range of care placements, with various abuses occurring within them, the summary offered ahead states only the placements where particular abuses occurred. This is of importance due to the way in which the discussion in the following chapters, on the exercise and impact of power speaks to the various experiences of abuse within the range of placement settings. The type of abuse has therefore not

necessarily been linked directly to a single placement setting as this is deemed of little relevance to the discussion. Instead what is identified are the range of placement settings where abuse occurred (as identified by participants), and the overall categories of abuse which were self-identified by participants when they responded to the interview question, what type of abuse did you suffer? Furthermore, the discussion makes no attempt to quantify the number of responses which highlighted particular dimensions of power. This is due to the fact that a discussion on how power manifests and is experienced, whether it affects one individual or many, still offers insight into the workings of power, which is aligned with the objective of this analysis.

Table 1: Summary of Participant Characteristics

Participant Pseudonym	Placement Settings where Abuse Occurred	Form of Abuse Experienced
███████	Foster Care	Physical, Psychological/Emotional
███████	Local Authority Residential School	Physical, Psychological/Emotional
███████	Faith Based Children's Home and Local Authority Children's Home	Sexual, Physical, Psychological/Emotional
███████	Faith Based Children's Home and Local Authority Children's Home	Physical, Psychological/Emotional
███████	Faith Based Children's Home	Physical, Psychological/Emotional
███████	Adult Remand Centre and Local Authority Children's Home	Sexual, Physical, Psychological/Emotional
███████	Local Authority Children's Home	Physical, Psychological/Emotional
███████	Approved School run by religious order	Physical, Psychological/Emotional
███████	Approved School	Physical
███████	Voluntary Sector Children's Home	Sexual, Physical, Psychological/Emotional
███████	Voluntary Sector Children's Home and Foster Care	Sexual, Physical, Psychological/Emotional
███████	Local Authority Assessment Centre	Physical, Psychological/Emotional
███████	Children's Residential Hospital	Sexual, Physical, Psychological/Emotional

	Local Authority Children's Home	Sexual, Physical, Psychological/Emotional
	Local Authority Children's Home	Sexual
	Local Authority Children's Home	Physical, Psychological/Emotional
	List D School and Local Authority Children's' Home	Sexual, Physical, Psychological/Emotional
	Children's Residential Hospital and Local Authority Children's Home and Local Authority Residential School	Sexual, Physical, Psychological/Emotional
	Faith Based Children's Home	Sexual, Physical, Psychological/Emotional
	Local Authority Assessment Centre	Sexual, Physical, Psychological/Emotional
	Faith Based Children's Home	Physical, Psychological/Emotional

Please Note: Pseudonyms have been redacted to maintain participant anonymity.

From the overview, it is clear that participants identified with having experienced one or a combination of three specific forms of abuse, namely that of Sexual, Physical and Psychological/Emotional (definitions of abuse are available within Appendix I). Neglect, although it is widely recognised in contemporary understandings of what constitutes abuse, did not emerge as something which participants specifically identified. This may be due to the apparent overlaps between psychological/emotional abuse and neglect. For example, according to the NSPCC (2019, n.p.):

> *"Children who are emotionally abused suffer emotional maltreatment or neglect… Emotional abuse is the ongoing emotional maltreatment of a child. It's sometimes called psychological abuse and can seriously damage a child's emotional health and development. Emotional abuse can involve deliberately trying to scare or humiliate a child or isolating or ignoring them."*

Therefore the fact that participants did not make reference to neglect distinctively, does not necessarily mean that they did not experience neglect in the way that we understand neglect in the present day.

Whilst Table 1 is useful in offering an overview of the care settings within which participants experienced particular forms of abuse, it remains simply an overview. Vignettes regarding those who participated in further detail are available within the appendices and it is suggested that these are considered in conjunction with the information presented in the table above [this information has been redacted for publication in order to maintain anonymity]. The table however, is useful in that it succinctly highlights how abuse in its various forms was prevalent for individuals in a range of care placements with no particular bias being present in terms of gender, type of placement or the form of abuse which was experienced.

The focus of this chapter then, begins with an exploration of the ways in which power was exercised on an individual level in relation to victims/survivors of historic abuse and considers how such an exercise of power is experienced. It will begin with a discussion of the individual limiting exercise of power before moving onto consider what individual productive power was experienced; whilst the latter part of the chapter will conclude with a focus on the individual limiting/productive exercise of power and demonstrate how these three themes emerged prominently from the data in relation to the individual exercise of power within the context of the historic abuse of children in care.

The Individual Limiting Exercise of Power

I	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	I
P	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	P
S	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	S

Returning back to the focus on power within the context of the historic abuse of children in care, the individual limiting exercise of power was a prominent theme which emerged from the analysis of the interview data, whereby victims/survivors spoke of how individually, power was exercised. To reiterate, the Individual (I) level here refers to the very individual and personal exercises of power, and that power which is potentially accessible to every individual, irrespective of position or authority, who is free and able to act with choice, even when choices are limited. Connected perhaps, most prominently to the act of abuse itself, the first theme emerging from the data to be considered in relation to the historic abuse of children in care is that of the individual exercise of power in limiting ways.

The individual and personal exercise of power has impacted, and in some respects continues to impact in limiting ways for victims/survivors who experienced historic abuse in care. The two central sub-themes within this area were that of individuals exercising power by behaving in particular ways and exercising power by not behaving in ways that were required, resulting in actions as well as inactions being equally considered as exercises of power. Individual actions, whether they stemmed directly from perpetrators, from those who were witness directly or indirectly to the abuse, or even by victims/survivors themselves via certain actions, impacted upon victims/survivors of historic abuse in limiting ways; which is the first expression of power that is explored in the following analysis.

Individual Action

Perhaps most apparently, the actions of individual perpetrators were clearly limiting, when they behaved in abusive ways towards children. Children quite evidently did not consent to being abused, however as we know, the exercise of power does not necessarily require consent from those whom it impacts upon (Foucault 1980). Therefore in some cases, the

absence of consent did not deter the abuser from perpetrating the abuse. As ████ stated:

"For him he was getting his pleasure, he was doing what he was doing without a care in the world…"

When the individual exercise of power is motivated by a desire of fulfilling a need for control over the self and/or others (Lammers et al. 2016), it may well be that the individual exercising such power does so without any apparent care regarding what it involves or the impact it has, or so it seems in the very outward actions of individuals. From ████'s perspective it makes sense to think that there was no 'care in the world', because if there was, then how could anyone do anything which renders another so hurt and powerless? In relation to experiences of sexual abuse, ████ recounted the repetition of the abuse he experienced:

"Because it becomes a routine, you knew exactly what he wanted to do and how he was wanting to do it and what you would have to do."

████, similarly to all those who participated in the research with the exception of ████ (who shared that he had experienced abuse on a single occasion) evidences, that the individually limiting exercise of power by perpetrators was something which in most cases, children were made to experience repeatedly. In such instances (whatever forms the abuse took) where the abuse was 'routine', we see the repetitive nature of the exercise of power in limiting ways. If individuals are able to exercise power in a particular form once then it is understandable that they retain the cognitive ability to repeat such actions if they so desire. Furthermore, this sense of how such exercises of power are accessible may bring along an understanding that repetitions are distinctly possible. As such it highlights how abusive incidents were infrequently of an isolated nature, but instead were repetitive experiences. It should hardly come as a surprise therefore to understand, that the impact of such actions by perpetrators was damaging in nature and led to a heightened sense of powerlessness for those afflicted with the abuse.

Although ▮▮▮▮▮ did not speak of the abuse intensifying, others like ▮▮▮▮▮ spoke of the sexual assaults on her, stating how, *"It seemed to get worse every time, like more brutal"*. If the exercise of limiting power fulfills a particular need, then the way in which such actions may intensify is also a very real possibility. With power which is limiting therefore (as with other forms of power), there is the potential of an increased level of severity. If control for example is the ultimate goal of the exercise of power, then to increase the level of control will always remain a significant temptation for those exercising power. In relation to child sexual abuse, Rosetti (1995) suggested that for perpetrators, although outwardly, sexual abuse was a sexually arousing act, inwardly it was an abuse of power which made perpetrators feel increasingly powerful, and the impact on the victim was identified as twofold: primarily it resulted in potential psychological and physical harm on their sense of self and sexuality whilst the second impact of the abuse which was noted, was that of an engrained sense of powerlessness which continued on into adult life. The opportunity for perpetrators to render children powerless by acting in sexually abusive ways was also highlighted by Finkelhor and Browne (1985). ▮▮▮▮▮ reflected such feelings of powerlessness during his adult life with reference to the nightmares he repeatedly had, of watching himself as a child and feeling powerless to stop the abuse:

"What makes it even worse is the nightmares... so when you stand there as an adult, you think, this guy has got you on a bed, bare naked, he's bare naked and he's making you do the things that you don't want to be doing, how do you get out of this? Because in the nightmares you can watch it over and over and over again trying to shout, 'Leave him alone! You shouldn't be doing that! Let him go!' And you hear your voice shouting all these things, but when you try to listen to what the child is saying, it's almost like you're deaf."

From the interview data, we see how sexual abuse was often acompanied by physical and psychological/emotional abuse experiences. All participants except ▮▮▮▮▮ who had stated that they had experienced sexual abuse had shared that they had also experienced physical and psychological/emotional abuse when defining their abuse experiences. So what made ▮▮▮▮▮ different in her conceptualisation of the abuse and the extent to which power had been exercised? In effect, there was nothing which set her apart it appears, except the way she had separated the different forms of abuse cognitively. Because during the course of the

interview she also spoke of how when she was abused, she was subject to physical force and intermittently suffered from recurring nightmares. If understood within this context therefore, it becomes apparant that despite the extent to which we define the impact of the abuse, the consequences can be much farthur reaching. In essence, it exemplifies the way in which power, although outwardly being shaped in a particular form, is the exercise of power in more ways than the obvious. Sexually abusive actions however, were not the only explicit way in which individual perpetrators exercised power in limiting ways. Physically and psychologically abusive actions were also described by victims/survivors, which impacted upon them in limiting ways.

Physical abuse was an experience that all but two individuals spoke of. And in a similar way to ███ above, ███ was the only participant who did not speak of the coexistence of physical and psychological/emotional abuse. Yet again, ███ during the course of the interview shared how he felt afraid in the anticipation of the physical abuse, at times expecting it but then not receiving what he had imagined would be 'another beating'. On one particular occasion he recounted his experience of being called into the abusive teacher's office, having no awareness of why, therefore expecting that he would be beaten as had become routine. However, upon his arrival he had discovered that the teacher wanted to speak to him about whether he knew of an incident which had involved two of the other students at the approved school. The fear of the abuse was therefore present and psychological/emotional abuse, although ███ had not recognised it, had arguably already been perpetrated with the teacher having instilled in ███ a sense of fear and uncertainty which guided both his thinking and actions.

Sometimes the physically powerful and abusive actions were undertaken using brute force, for example, ███ explained how, *"He would assault you to the extent that, on one occasion he dragged me into a secluded area, away from kids and assaulted me",* or as ███ recalled how for her, she was physically held underwater in the bath to the point of almost being suffocated. And at other times physical abuse occurred with the aid of weapons, for example ███ shared:

"So he stuffed the gun in my face and said, 'you're gonna effing apologise now or else.'

Physical abuse was also therefore a means by which to overpower children and control their behaviour. The example of the perpetrator using a gun, violently pointing it into ████'s face and stating, 'you're gonna effing apologise', provides an example of the extreme lengths which individuals are capable of going to in order to direct the behaviour of others, and hence exercising power in limiting ways. Other makeshift weapons which were used by perpetrators in the physical abuse of children were also mentioned by participants. These aids included the likes of belts, pieces of furniture and kitchen utensils, which were all used to physically hurt children.

Alongside the sexual and physical abuse, the psychologically/emotionally abusive actions of perpetrators were described by victims/survivors as part of their experiences. This again highlighted the way in which individuals exercised power in limiting ways towards victims/survivors during their childhood. For example ████ explained:

"…he had his hand on a knife and said, 'I know people at the home so if you're thinking of telling anybody it'll get back to me, and it will only make matters worse for yourself'."

The threat of further harm, which is not dissimilar to contemporary understandings of coercive control (see for example Callaghan et al. 2016) was one such means by which perpetrators used psychological/emotional abuse to influence the actions of their victims during the time of the abuse as well as afterwards. Children were in some cases, made to feel so afraid by the thought of the recurrence of abuse or alternative consequences that they experienced a lack of power within themselves to believe, let alone live, in an alternative reality which offered them autonomy or security. ████ recalled how he would often hide under his blanket, wishing it all away, only to be reminded by the sound of footsteps along the corridor to his bedroom that he was not safe. With that came a sense of hopelessness and it was therefore particularly the psychological/emotional abuse, as well as the psychological/emotional impact of other forms of abuse which lead victims/survivors to attempt to take back control and exercise power in more damaging ways to themselves and others (discussed further in the analysis ahead).

It is important to note, that the individual exercise of power with limiting consequences for victims/survivors, in the form of sexual, physical or psychological/emotional abuse, was not necessarily experienced as a result of the actions of adults. For some, the individual abusers were peers, and therefore other children who resided within the care setting. This manifested itself in various ways within the experiences of victims/survivors, highlighting the way in which peer abuse was experienced as an individually limiting exercise of power. As we know, *"child abuse is the misuse of power and control, and children can misuse this power as much as any adult abuser"* (Kelly & Bird 2014, p19). Victims/survivors spoke of individual peer abuse in the form of psychological, physical and sexual assaults, sometimes mirroring the individual abuse they experienced through the actions of adults, either upon themselves or as something they witnessed happening to others. Therefore in some cases not only was the abuse by individual peers personally experienced, but also something which victims/survivors witnessed as happening to others. In terms of sexual abuse there was for example, *"…the sexual humiliation of boys by other boys"* ████ explained, whilst in terms of psychological/emotional abuse, ████ shared:

"You know if there was a lassie in the home who wanted to think about having a relationship with me or something like that and I would have others say to me, 'who would want to have you, you're just some ugly little fucker', excuse the language. You know, nobody's ever going to want you, you're worthless."

In some instances, the abuse being perpetrated by peers was legitimised by the abuse that peers had witnessed adults perpetrating against children, and so in effect, a mirroring of the way in which power was being exercised manifested and brought with it an added set of power differentials. Foucault (1982) recognised how 'government' can lead to forms of self-governance, whereby individuals govern themselves for the benefit of those employing mechanisms of power. In a similar manner, some victims/survivors were able to recall how members of staff had set the precedent for children to be harmed by other children. ████ highlighted this point in relation to physical abuse when he shared:

"There was one little guy who was at school with me, I don't think he had anything wrong with him but he was just a small guy. And this guy was repeatedly kicked and shoved

and repeatedly bullied by staff to the point that it was acceptable for other kids to bully him in front of staff."

The above quote provides one example of how individually abusive actions, may well inform the individually abusive actions of others creating an acceptable culture of abuse. Therefore whether it was directly experienced or witnessed as a third person, peer abuse as an individual exercise of power occurred and impacted in limiting ways on the lives of children in care. The wide-spread nature of peer abuse within care and the detrimental impact that it can have is previously known (Barter et al. 2004; Monks et al. 2009; Sekol 2016; IICSA 2018); therefore the analysis here adds to understandings of the power present in such exchanges, whereby bullying for example, within care settings may be defined as a *"systematic abuse of power"* (Mazzone, Nocentini & Menesini 2018, p110). As such, despite the abuse being carried out by peers, its impact cannot be underplayed in comparison to the abuse perpetrated by adults. The individual exercise of power in limiting ways in the form of abuse, whatever form such abuse took, or whether it was perpetrated by adults or other children, was therefore significant for victims/survivors recounting their experiences.

Whether the abuse was sexual, physical or psychological/emotional, it had far reaching consequences for victims/survivors, whereby the abusive actions of perpetrators impacted upon them in limiting ways at the time as well as in later life. This resonates with notions of how actions can, but may not necessarily have an immediate effect upon the actions of others, and may in fact manifest their influence at a later stage (Foucault 1980). Some individuals who were abused within faith based settings for example, reported losing their faith and moving away from religion and belief in a higher being; for some, as a result of the abuse they experienced, relationships with others became a source of fear, whilst mistrust more generally became an issue, influencing the behavior of individuals later on in various ways. ███████ for example, explained how the sexual abuse he had experienced influenced his sexuality, whereby he had intimate relationships with other boys out of choice after the abuse had ended. The complexity of these ideas are drawn out further throughout this chapter as we consider the way in which individual victims/survivors exercised power in relation to themselves and others.

Although individuals acting in directly abusive ways is what often comes to the fore in our understanding of what constitutes abusive behavior, the analysis moves on to demonstrate how this was not the only form that the individually limiting exercise of power took. Indeed, participants highlighted how individual inaction was also a means by which power was exercised and impacted upon victims/survivors in limiting ways.

Individual Inaction

For some victims/survivors, responsibility in colluding with the abuse lay with those who, despite being aware of its existence did not take appropriate forms of action to address the matter, hence contributing to a sense of an individual exercise of power in limiting ways. ███████ for instance shared a sense of dismay in explaining how:

> *"The people responsible are the ones who done it. And the witnesses that stood and watched and didn't stop it."*

Where children felt a sense of being powerless in the face of abuse therefore, adults who were aware of the fact that this was occurring were seen by some, to be just as culpable as the perpetrators themselves. In experiencing a situation of powerlessness, we often expect that those with power who could make a difference to the state of affairs should, and that they hold a level of responsibility to act in appropriate ways in order to address matters. When such actions are not undertaken, it is understandable that individuals may feel that the inaction of others impacted upon them in limiting ways.

Within social work the understanding is present that acts of discrimination can be the result of 'commission and omission', in other words, action and inaction, whereby discrimination is predominantly unintentional rather than intentional. In light of this however, it remains the case that *"…discrimination is a matter of outcomes rather than just intentions"* (Thompson 2016, p39). This resonates with the views of participants in this research, whereby they described how inaction from those who should have acted, resulted in the continuation of the abuse they were being subjected to, and like in ██████'s view above, were just as responsible for the abuse being perpetrated. ██████ did not state that people had 'bad intentions', nor did she refer negatively towards the individual values and characteristics of

bystanders. Instead, she raised concerns regarding the consequences of inaction, and thus demonstrated how inaction as an exercise of power impacted upon her in limiting ways. The fact of the matter is that to us as human beings, consequences in most situations are generally of far greater concern than the intentions of others in any given context. In similar ways therefore, victims/survivors were aware of the intentional or unintentional inaction of others and how such inactions impacted upon their lives, making bystanders, potentially as culpable as perpetrators in individually exercising power in limiting ways.

Generally, feelings of being let down by others alluded to the limiting impact of individual exercises of power, and such feelings were present in the narratives of the majority of victims/survivors, with one example being how, *"…it's just that, it's just that, you didn't do anything to stop it."* ▇▇▇▇ expressed his awareness of the matter, where others were physically present when he was being raped in a remand home for adults by sharing:

"Knowing that there was four other guys in the room and none of them done anything to prevent it, nobody would speak up and say anything about it."

Foucault suggested that disciplinary mechanisms served to *"…individualise the excluded, but use procedures of individualisation to mark exclusion"* (Foucault 1977, p199), which was seen by Foucault as the way in which disciplinary power was exercised. ▇▇▇▇ had been temporarily placed in a remand centre for adults, so he was excluded, as were the adults within the setting where the abuse took place. And when he was being sexually abused in the same room, the other adults present chose to take no action, which evidences the way in which exclusion can lend itself to individualisation and individualisation to exclusion. Understandably therefore, reasons behind the inaction of others, for some, lay with their feelings of being insignificant isolated individuals, as ▇▇▇▇ shared:

"Everybody knew what was going on but it was a case of it doesn't matter it's only him, he doesn't have any family he doesn't have any friends so we are not going to have family knocking on the door saying why are you letting so and so away with him."

Even when children attempted to report the abuse, there was sometimes a level of disregard to its validity and truth, *"For example me and other kids reported it, and it's in our*

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social work records but they ignored it", ▮▮▮▮ shared. This again, resonates with the individual limiting exercise of power through inaction, whereby children's disclosures were not deemed to be truthful in some cases. In his exploration of truth and power, Foucault offered a range of key insights. He suggested that truth was an embodiment of power and was involved in a circular relationship with systems of power, whereby systems of power both created what was true and also operated in ways in order to preserve such truths. Foucault argued that, *"Each society has its regime of truth"* (Foucault 1980, p133), and within its 'regime of truth', society defined what could be understood to be credible and true dependent upon the accepted discourse, the agreed means by which truth could be sought and the status of those who are vested with saying what can be counted as being true. Foucault therefore considered truth as holding power, however it was influenced by what shaped the 'truth' of any given society.

To offer an example of this, ▮▮▮▮ stated how she was not believed:

"The home is responsible, for not protecting us from it. They knew it was going on, and when you complained it was like, 'Oh grow up. The Police, because I complained a few times to them, and they said, 'Go away and grow up'."

As a consequence, ▮▮▮▮ shared how it had become extremely difficult for her to trust anyone out with her immediate family, with anything which would make her feel vulnerable. She explained how she would avoid asking anyone for help, because asking for anything meant that there was an opportunity for those responding, to hurt her further. But perhaps even more critically, she expressed her reluctance to speak of anything that was hurting her to friends, because she found it difficult to 'trust' others to respond to her distress appropriately.

It has been highlighted how victim/survivor experiences of reporting abuse historically were fraught with tension. Children attempting to report abuse historically faced barriers in reporting their abuse and also encountered inappropriate responses from adults upon disclosure. With this in mind, it is argued that for some victims/survivors of abuse, the issues related to the reporting of abuse have substantially contributed to the abuse becoming 'historic', rather than something, which was addressed at the time, where children were

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powerless; and their truth did not fall easily into the 'regime of truth' which was present in that era (Karim 2017).The individual actions of individuals making decisions not to act in appropriate ways therefore adds another layer to the way in which victims/survivors of abuse experienced the exercise of individual power in limiting ways.

Collectively therefore, the individual limiting exercise of power was defined by individuals exercising power by directly behaving in abusive ways and also through the exercise of power by individuals choosing not to act in ways which were required. The omission as well as the commission of acts which embodied the individual exercise of power therefore were significant for victims/survivors of historic abuse and impacted upon them in limiting ways. These insights, perhaps go some way to explaining individual limiting power, which is potentially accessible to all individuals who are able to act with choice, even if such choice is limited. Within the context of the historic abuse of children in care, such notions are evidenced by the act of abuse itself, as well as the inaction of those who knew of its existence. But the individual exercise of power also impacted on victims/survivors in productive, as well as simultaneously limiting/productive ways, and these facets are discussed in turn below.

The Individual Productive Exercise of Power

To reiterate, the individual exercise of power, may manifest in limiting, productive or simultaneously limiting/productive ways. Having considered the individual limiting exercise of power we now move on to consider the individual productive exercise of power, which was another prominent theme emerging from the analysis of the interview data, where victims/survivors spoke of how individually power was exercised. The individual productive exercise of power, was understandably not directly connected with the actual abuse experience, but did form part of the overall lived experience of victims/survivors, which was discussed. Many commentators have referred to the way in which power can be productive (Dominelli 2000; Rogers 2012; Smith 2008; Tew 2002; Thompson 2007) and this research empirically provides evidence to support this view, as victims/survivors did share how they themselves as well as others exercised power in productive ways. The two core sub-themes with regards to the individual productive exercise of power, were that of victims/survivors themselves exercising power in reactive and proactive ways.

Victims/survivors shared their experiences of reacting to the abuse they experienced, and described it as something which occurred before they were able to be proactive in their individual productive exercise of power. This can be made sense of, when we consider that in the immediate term, reaction was essentially a priority, due to the unsafe space children found themselves in. However, once they were in a safe place and the direct abuse had ended, it allowed them the opportunity to become more proactive in their individual exercise of productive power. Nevertheless both reactive and proactive measures demonstrated the individual productive exercise of power by victims/survivors themselves.

Individual Reactivity

In the first instance, reacting to the abuse was understandably critical for victims/survivors and is exemplified by what ▇▇▇▇ shared when stating, *"I reacted by trying to do something about it."* The individual productive exercise of power was a means by which children attempted to create safety and protect themselves from the harm that was present and immediate. For some, such an exercise of power came in the form of questioning practice where they asked questions of others and sometimes of themselves. For example, ▇▇▇▇ referred to how she frequently asked herself and other children, *"What's going on what's going on?"* With questioning of this nature, victims/survivors used the limited amount of power they had for productive purposes. Meaning making around abuse for children may well create a space to formulate appropriate responses (Aadnanes & Gulbrandsen 2017) and help individuals to adjust in the aftermath of abuse (Simon, Feiring & Kobielski 2010). Making sense, or meaning making is an *"individual process intertwined with the collective level of meaning"* (Aadnanes & Gulbrandsen 2017, p597). In other words, wider social understandings influence an individual's interpretation of their experiences as they attempt to understand their personal situation. For some, questions about what they were being subjected to, was the beginning of a realisation, where they became consciously aware that something was not right. ▇▇▇▇ for example shared how:

"I always thought that he was doing that not to show a bruise or whatever. I was already noticing that this guy was out of order."

Although for some this questioning was internal, for others this manifested externally, whereby even amidst the abuse, some victims/survivors raised concerns about the propriety of what was taking place. In similar ways to how ████, clearly questioned the behaviour of the perpetrator:

"So when I woke up in the middle of the night he had his hands down my pyjamas. I was sort of like 'what you doing?' kind of thing, 'oh sorry he says, I didn't realise, I must have been sleeping and just.'"

Another way in which questions were used as a mechanism to exercise individual productive power was exemplified when children asked if they could avoid particular situations. For example ████ asked the staff:

"'Why don't I just stay here in the detention room for the weekend?' And then I'll come out on Sunday and then I would feel safer but it was a case of no no, he's here for you, he's made plans to take you away and do this, that and the next thing. I used to think, Yeah, I know exactly what plans he's made, I know exactly what he's going to be doing."

Although on the surface, ████'s question appears to be a failure at an attempt to exercise productive power, the very fact that he was able to question demonstrates that he did in fact exercise his power, despite its limitations. This example therefore also highlights the questioning of practice, but in a more subtle way, whereby the order of things was questioned by children. Although it may seem like the exercise of productive power in this context was limited, the fact that individuals attempted to question within the parameters of what they had defined to be safe, demonstrates their attempts to take control in creative ways due to the perpetrators modus operandi and/or cultural/structural factors. Questions of this nature were more discreet in the way they connected to the abuse, however they still demonstrated the attempts made by children to exercise individual productive power in attempts to prevent further abuse.

It is recognised through the analysis, that despite the attempts of children to protect themselves via the use of questioning, the abuse usually continued. Therefore this highlights how, despite the productive use of power in this form, the impact was not necessarily one

of productive consequence in all situations. For some, the situation did improve, for others it remained the same and for some, as for example with ▮▮▮▮ who spoke of how the *"beatings got worse after that",* the situation was exacerbated. Nevertheless, the act of questioning remains a productive exercise of power on the part of individual victims/survivors as they exercised power in their attempts to actually question the abuse they were being subjected to. As ▮▮▮▮ said:

"I didn't care, they were gonna beat me anyway, so I always asked them why they did it in the hope that someday it would make a difference."

Fever (1994) who retrospectively presented a first-hand account of his experiences as a child within care highlighted how above all, the way in which children's powerlessness and consequent inability to object or access help was important. The productive power in questioning and any attempts to object therefore remains significant for individuals attempting to make sense and respond to the abusive situations they found themselves in. This is because in the context of the framework of power, individual power is understood to be any attempt to exercise power by individuals, even when the power they are able to exercise is limited. The questioning of practice was therefore one manifestation of reduced, yet productive exercises of individual power, which occurred internally for some, externally for others and both internally and externally for some victims/survivors in relation to the abuse they were subjected to.

When questions posed were not resolved and the abuse continued, in some instances, children moved on to reacting by attempting to exercise further individual productive power in the form of direct disclosure. Victims/survivors discussed how, they themselves and other children had often disclosed the abuse at the time and in later life, therefore attempting to exercise a form of individual productive power. Despite the outcome of disclosure being predominantly unhelpful (see for example Karim 2017; Rosenthal et al. 1991) as described by the victims/survivors who were interviewed; the fact that they spoke about the abuse, demonstrates their attempts to exercise individual productive power. During childhood such disclosures were intended to be a means of safeguarding themselves and others, which fits with contemporary understandings of the reasons behind children's disclosures which include 'rehearsal, recovery, rescue, redress and rehabilitation' (Jones & Taylor 2018).

Many victims/survivors recalled how they had made disclosures to the likes of social workers, police officers, teachers, managers, senior members of staff and even in some instances to family members when they were able to have contact with them. In doing so, victims/survivors conveyed a strong sense of wanting to take control of their situations and secure a means of ending the abuse they or others were suffering. When reflecting on their childhood experiences of disclosure however, it was interesting to note that at the time, thoughts around justice were not prominently defined, as later became the case for many victims/survivors during adulthood. It may be surmised that this was due to the imminent harm and danger they were facing as children, which required individuals to exercise power primarily in an attempt to remove themselves from the harm. Once the harm had been directly removed, individuals were then able to focus on what was required in terms of justice. ███████, for example shared:

"In 1999 I made allegations to the police about the historical sexual abuse which had been long term, which had happened over a period of 4 years constant."

In light of ██████ reporting the abuse he experienced, the perpetrator was summoned to court where he stood trial and was convicted of sexual abuse, which resulted in a prison sentence. ██████'s example highlights how at different times, the reporting of abuse served different purposes as an individual productive exercise of power. Despite the outcome of disclosures, the reporting of abuse at the time or in later life as an adult is evidence of the individual productive exercise of power, when victims/survivors themselves shared the abuse experiences in order for it to become something which was clearly known and necessitated further action from others. To reiterate therefore, in the immediate term, reaction was necessary, which became the point of the individual exercise of productive power in the first instance, via children's use of questioning and exercises of disclosure. However, once victims/survivors were safe from immediate harm and the direct abuse had ended, it allowed them to be proactive in their individual exercise of productive power.

Individual Proactivity

When victims/survivors were safe from the immediate harm which had been caused to them in the form of the abuse they experienced, they were better placed to be proactive in their individual productive exercise of power. Some of these processes occurred during

childhood, some when they were adults and some permeated across the years as they attempted to regain a sense of control in the aftermath of the abuse, directly challenging its legacy.

The exercise of individual productive power for victims/survivors in proactive ways was related to exercising power primarily to contribute to their own development and secondly in ways which facilitated the process of confronting the abuse experiences of their pasts. A study undertaken by Lammers et al. (2016) concluded that individual desires for power were influenced more greatly by a need to be in control of one's own life, rather than to influence others. The need for power is therefore theoretically at least, intrinsically understood as a need for control, over the self and or others. However they also assert that evidence across nine studies, demonstrates how the need for the latter, as opposed to the former precludes the desire for power. This finding, correlates with the chronological order in which victims/survivors spoke of the way in which they exercised individual productive power, whereby for most, their primary objective was to be proactive and improve the situation for themselves, following which they were able to proactively address the abuse experiences of their past. This also offers an explanation of why being reactive to respond to the immediate abuse was a primary concern, whilst being proactive in the individual exercise of productive power emerged as a secondary focus.

In order to facilitate their own development and improve their personal situations, victims/survivors spoke of the positive proactive steps they undertook in order to enhance their sense of wellbeing. These steps were most prominently focussed on enhancing their knowledge and improving their relationships – for some, both of which were damaged as a result of the abuse they had experienced. Self-education, or *"self-taught stuff",* was one means by which victims/survivors exercised individual productive power which facilitated their own development. For ▓▓▓▓ understanding and learning about his anxiety became a means of counter-acting the negative feelings he had been experiencing:

"The impact of the abuse has been that ever since I have been constantly on edge. It's only recently that I've been able to control that really through self-taught stuff."

For others, the impact of the abuse had resulted in undesirable dependencies and these were overcome via self-help. ███████ for example, overcame his alcohol dependency which had developed as a result of the abuse, in the same way by means of 'self-taught stuff' and he shared how*:*

"It's only in recent years through self-taught stuff that I've found a way through to recover from the alcoholism which was a result of what happened to me."

███████, like ███████ had not received an appropriate level of education and shared what he did to overcome the educational deficit he faced, when stating:

"And when I was 18 I had decided no, surely there has to be something so I went about and I started to educate myself."

In exercising individual productive power in such ways and using self-education as a means to address any problematic areas, some victims/survivors were able to exercise better control over their own lives and used this as a way to improve their personal life experiences. Additionally, another prominent way in which victims/survivors attempted to improve their situations was by proactively attempting to form positive attachments with others, including their families. We know that even in non-abusive circumstances, forming attachments remains important (Juffer et al 2005; Parkes, Hinde & Marris 1991) but perhaps it became particularly important for victims/survivors who had very limited positive attachments during their childhoods. The critical importance of positive childhood attachment figures was highlighted by ███████ when he shared:

"I was looking for a father figure, somebody who would appear that could help me in life and direct me in a way that I wasn't getting directed at home."

As a result of abuse, children are likely to have had very poor early attachments (Herman 1992), which in turn would impact on their ability to build trusting relationships. Understandably therefore, the mental constructs of relationships for victims/survivors had been damaged in the process of experiencing abuse. Yet some victims/survivors exercised individual productive power in their attempts to form positive attachments during their lives.

Social support is a recognised means by which adverse experiences of abuse may be buffered (Evans, Steel & DiLillo 2013). Murray et al. (2009) focused on the experience of life after leaving care for individuals who lived in Catholic orphanages as children in Australia in the period 1945-1983. Generally, the experiences described are positive, however the issues experienced around building and maintaining positive relationships intimately or otherwise are highlighted. There is potential, for it to be that the solution of the problem lies within the problem itself. Where abusive experiences occurred with children and early attachments had been insecure and problematic, forming more positive attachments to replace historic experiences exemplified a means of exercising individual productive power. Such positive attachments for the majority of participants were those formed with friends, family, colleagues and in some instances, pets.

Positive and reassuring relationships such as those with children were highlighted as being a point of strength, ▮▮▮▮ for example explained:

> "The kids know why I'm the way I am, and they're like 'ok but mum, come on.' And we now talk rather than shout which is a big change and which helps."

Forming positive relationships with partners and spouses has also been a way of replacing previous bad experiences of relationships for victims/survivors and provided reassurances, where for example ▮▮▮▮ also spoke of how reassuring it was when "…*your husband's going 'right it's okay'.*"

Related to the matter of forming positive romantic relationships, was how individuals spoke of the choices they made regarding their sexuality. This was of particular significance for male victims/survivors who were sexually abused my male perpetrators. Historically, such individuals had no choice over who they engaged with sexually due to the nature of the abuse, rendering them powerless in that situation. However, as adults they *chose* who they wanted to be intimate with and conveyed a sense of control in exacting that choice. ▮▮▮▮ for example shared that the sexual abuse he suffered meant that his sexuality was influenced and in some ways determined, because he continued to engage in sexual relations with men long after the abuse had ceased because he chose to do so and had come to accept his homosexuality. Whilst others, like ▮▮▮▮ stated that they had made a

conscious choice to be with women only. For both ██████ and ██████, their sexuality became a choice during their lives, despite the influence that the past had on its construction. The key point is however, that victims/survivors of sexual abuse went on to make conscious decisions regarding their sexual preferences which they spoke positively of. In effect therefore, being selective in terms of intimacy was also a means of exercising individual productive power for some.

For some victims/survivors also, apart from their various categories of relations with other people, the positive attachment relationships they held with their pets was significant. ██████ explained how:

"I've got my cats, they will come and give me cuddles when I need them sometimes, they don't ask me for anything except food and to be let out."

Individuals engaging proactively with processes which allow for them to form positive attachments have therefore been pivotal for some victims/survivors to aid their sense of wellbeing. The formation of positive attachments has thus been an individual productive exercise of power to address the adversity encountered as the result of abusive relationships during childhood.

Proactively exercising individual productive power, as stated previously, was not limited to the way in which victims/survivors attempted to better their own lives in a practical sense. They also exercised power productively by being proactive in their endeavors connected more directly with their abuse experiences. The narratives of victims/survivors provided an array of examples by which this manifested. Where previous questions remained unanswered, victims/survivors exercised individual power to have those very questions answered and where the abuse was not prevented for them, they exercised power in endeavoring to ensure the abuse did not happen to others in the present or in the future. Therefore the reactive exercise of individual productive power discussed previously, was transcended into a proactive individual exercise of power to address similar matters once the immediate potential of harm was removed. Interestingly, one of the consistently asked questions by Irish victims/survivors of abuse is said to have been 'Why?' (Brennan 2008,

p261), which was similarly the case for victims/survivors who were reflecting on their abuse experiences in this research. If nothing else, what this does highlight is the way in which on a human level, child abuse has raised similar questions for people irrespective of time and space.

With regards to questions which were not answered, victims/survivors taking part in interviews spoke of actively seeking to access records, asking questions of their former abusers as well as care providers and speaking of how they would want to confront them if the opportunity presented itself. Foucault's (1980) contemplation of knowledge and power supposes that power requires information and knowledge which it can consequently employ; the gathering of knowledge in this sense is seen as fuelling the exercise of power and is therefore gathered in such ways as to uphold and facilitate this exercise. In this sense therefore, by acquiring information, victims/survivors were better equipped to exercise power. Accessing care, health and other records has been highly important to the vast majority of those affected by historic abuse, and individuals' requesting their records proactively therefore demonstrates an individual exercise of productive power. Despite the recording of information pertaining to children during their time in care continuing to leave much to be desired (Goddard, Feast & Kirton 2007), accessing records for care leavers is said to help construct a *"coherent narrative of their lives that can connect past and present"* (Biehal et al. 1995, p106). ▬▬▬ explained how she had only just received her records after having made numerous requests over the years:

"So I got them yesterday and when I went through them it was explaining everything…"

For some victims/survivors such as ▬▬▬, access to records meant that important questions were finally answered. For ▬▬▬ similarly, access to her records meant she was finally able to understand why she had been removed from her family and be placed in care:

"I only found out about why I was put into care a couple of years ago when I got my records, before that I didn't know."

In addition to answering pertinent questions, some victims/survivors expressed how gaining access to their records meant that they now held documentary evidence to prove that their experiences of abuse were real, with the potential for the records to contribute to the pursuit of acquiring justice. ███████ for example shared how he felt that it was fundamental to have proof of what happened so his abuse could no longer be denied.

Although some victims/survivors did obtain their records, not all of them felt ready to re-examine the past. Nevertheless, the majority of individuals interviewed highlighted the importance of having access to records and even where they did not want to read them, possessing their 'story' was important. When individuals requested and gained access to their records, another nuance by which they individually exercised productive power, was therefore highlighted.

Care records however did not provide all the answers to the questions that victims/survivors had. Victims/survivors spoke of searching through newspapers and seeking out other information which could help them find answers to the questions that remained. For ███████, one question which remained important but unanswered was what had happened to his abuser after he himself had left the school. He discovered through media coverage how, *"…he was found beating another kid at school and he was sacked."* ███████ felt comforted by this discovery, as he felt that his abuser had been discovered and reprimanded for what he had perpetrated, thus providing ███████ with a sense of hope and relief that his abuser had not continued to abuse other children after he had left care.

Apart from such documentary records serving as a means of providing answers, victims/survivors in some instances also took it upon themselves to locate and communicate with those who had abused them in the past in order to find answers. ███████ had taken it upon himself to contact his primary abuser, a now retired nun, and shared:

> *"I spoke to her as an adult on the phone and asked her why?"*

The response that ███████ received from the nun was that she had not realised that her physically violent behaviour was causing him or the other children any harm. And although ███████ remained unhappy with this response, he did share how he felt better after having

had the opportunity to confront her and ask why. With so many unanswered questions remaining, some participants shared the sense of relief that they felt when any new insights connected to their abuse were discovered.

Discovering answers to lingering questions whatever the means, is thus an example of the exercise of individual productive power, whereby knowledge in some respects provided victims/survivors with a greater sense of power. Even when despite all efforts, questions remained unanswered for victims/survivors, they expressed the desire to confront those responsible if the opportunity ever presented itself. Victims/survivors spoke a number of times about the wish to face perpetrators or those who held responsibility for protecting them from the abuse and who in some cases, through their individual inaction had allowed it to continue. ████ who suffered physical abuse as a child, now as an adult, with an equal sense of power shared:

"I think it'd be a good thing to sit face-to-face as a grown man and not a kid who she could, you know, throw in the snow or lock in the darkened room or whatever. And I could face her as a man and say this is what you did."

In a similar light, but in relation to those who failed to protect him rather than with regards to the actual perpetrator of abuse, ████ explained:

"If it was possible to have all of those persons in this room right now I would've asked them why didn't you take steps to protect me?"

Even though these statements are thoughts of potential future encounters, they allude to a sense of individual victims/survivors wanting to exercise individual productive power in thinking through how they would face responsible individuals on an even footing as adults. In finding the answers to the questions which remained, and for some which continue to remain, and in confronting the past in direct ways where possible, victims/survivors demonstrated another manifestation of the proactive individual exercise of productive power.

Alongside the contemplations of seeking answers and confronting those who victims/survivors held responsible for what they had suffered, notions of forgiveness were

explored. Some victims/survivors reflected on how if they had the opportunity to meet their perpetrators they would decide upon whether or not they felt ready or able to forgive them. The consideration of forgiveness was a productive exercise of individual power because even where there were no other forms of resolution apparently available, individuals recognised that they had the power to at least cognitively, forgive or not to forgive.

Individuals reflected on offering forgiveness in both a positive and negative light. Some spoke of how forgiveness would help them move on whilst others felt that granting forgiveness, as ██████ thought, would mean that those responsible would be *"off the hook".* Yet the reason for such contemplations being positive was that they offered individuals a sense of power over their perpetrators. ███████ spoke of how he had found forgiveness for the nun who had perpetrated the abuse despite her lack of recognition towards the matter because *"she probably didn't know any better"*. This offered █████ a way of reaching a form of resolution with his past, in ways that he and others highlighted would impact upon them in positive ways. For example, forgiveness was seen to be beneficial in the sense that it would mean *"I no longer have to hold onto the anger and bitterness inside me",* as ██████ explained. The benefits of forgiveness are widely recognised within literature, both in terms of the physical health benefits (Van Oyen et al. 2001) as well as the psychological advantages (Holloway 2002). Individuals however, were at different stages in terms of their processes of forgiveness. Some had not considered it, some stated that they were still in the process, some said they would need to see certain conditions being met before they forgave and lastly, for some the point of forgiveness had already been reached. Nevertheless, the contemplation of forgiveness in a general sense was an example of the individual productive exercise of power on part of victims/survivors.

In and amongst, or after having made as much sense of their own experiences as was possible, victims/survivors also engaged in thinking and activities related to the prevention of harm to other children in the present and future. This was another way in which they demonstrated a proactive exercise of individual productive power. The desire and focus on protecting children from abuse was unanimously significant to all those who were interviewed. ███████ for example spoke of how:

"I don't want to see another child go through that even if it's for one day because that's one day too long."

██████ also shared how he held onto his hopes to protect other children and did this proactively by becoming involved with the education of future social workers:

"But the only reason I keep doing it is because I keep telling myself that I want to prevent another child or another vulnerable person from having to go through the same thing. And even if I save just one person, then at the end of the day it's all been worth it."

For others, the need to protect their own children became of paramount concern, where for example ██████ reflected on how, *"you're not wanting what you went through to happen to your kid so you're going to do the opposite."* The desire to protect children, with some victims/survivors engaging in activities which may lend themselves to protecting children of the future is an example of proactively exercising individual productive power. In fact, most victims/survivors who were interviewed stated that part of their drive for engaging with the research stemmed from their concern about the wellbeing of children, present and future.

Largely fuelled by the desire to protect others from abuse, individuals also therefore exercised productive power by virtue of their participation with this research. Victims/survivors made a conscious decision to become involved with this study and expressed that their motives for doing so stemmed from their desire to make a difference for others. Participating in research which explores experiences of child abuse can offer individuals a sense of being helpful to others (McClain & Amar 2013), therefore it serves to demonstrate a fundamental exercise of individual productive power. This is particularly powerful, if we consider that having choice in speaking of experiences which were inflicted on participants due to their diminished choices in the past, may serve to reconstruct the balance of power for individuals.

In summary therefore, victims/survivors spoke of their experiences, which resonate with the individual productive exercise of power via their reactive and proactive actions. The reactive exercise of individual productive power manifested in actions undertaken in an attempt to end the abuse, whilst proactive actions were related to bettering their own

situations by employing a range of strategies, and also engaging with thinking and activities which would result in better experiences for children in the future. Thus far then, there has been evidence to highlight how power within the context of the historic abuse of children in care is exercised on an individual level in limiting as well as productive ways. Following which, there is now an examination of how on an individual level, power can be exercised in simultaneously limiting and productive ways.

The Individual Limiting/Productive Exercise of Power

The individual limiting/productive exercise of power emerged as a third significant theme from the analysis of the interview data, where victims/survivors spoke of how individually; power was exercised in limiting and productive ways simultaneously. This contribution it is hoped transcends current theories on the way in which the impact of exercises of power have previously been conceptualised and counters the 'good and bad' dichotomy previously apparent in social work discourse on the subject of power. This is in light of the fact that the individual exercise of power in limiting/productive ways was significant for some victims/survivors who experienced historic abuse in care, and formed part of their overall lived experience. The two central sub-themes with regards to the individual limiting/productive exercise of power were that of victims/survivors themselves exercising power in relation to coping with existing pain, alongside individual attempts to prevent further pain.

The experience of the individual limiting/productive exercise of power for victims/survivors resonated with the need to exercise power, first and foremost in order to feel a sense of control over one's own life (Lammers et al. 2016), and manifested through methods of coping. But how effective the employed coping strategies were, for victims/survivors of child abuse is a point of concern due to how coping mechanisms can sometimes be maladaptive (see for example Hamburger, Leeb & Swahn 2008). As noted previously, research has evidenced the links between child abuse and adverse impact on adult physical and psychological health (Arnow, 2004; Springer et al. 2003), with such association having been further explored in relation to abuse experienced historically by adults in institutional care settings as children (Carr et al. 2010), highlighting a higher prevalence of psychological disorders present for adult victims/survivors of historic abuse. Due to such outcomes, the

individual limiting/productive exercise of power is such. Although at the time, victims/survivors exercised power in attempts to help their situations, the consequences of such actions were both limiting and productive as the ensuing analysis demonstrates.

Individual Coping

> *"For some survivors, coping mechanisms are about not wanting to feel anything at all, because the feelings we have inside are too overwhelming. We do anything we can to numb, drown out or try to take away the feelings, emotions and memories, for example with drugs or alcohol. Sometimes, though, our coping mechanisms are not about trying to make us feel better; they are about us trying to take back control of our lives in some way"* (Kelly & Bird 2014, p25).

During the time of the abuse or closely afterwards, victims/survivors spoke of how they coped with the existing pain by switching off their minds to what they were experiencing, through a psychological shutdown or cognitive transposition to another place. This was a limiting/productive exercise of power simultaneously for individuals as it helped to ease the immediate pain, but in effect supressed what may have been healthier responses to processing the pain. It has been argued that manifestations of self-harm emerge, *"…in the form of escape from, or avoidance of, unwanted emotional experiences"* (Chapman, Gratz, & Brown 2006, p371). For some the psychological process involved a complete shutdown, in the way in which ████ described as 'blanking out':

> *"I blanked out. I shut it away. When it was happening at the time, I just blanked out. 'It didn't happen, it wasn't me.' I just didn't deal with it. When it was happening, I just wasn't there."*

Echoing this, research shows that dissociative symptoms are common for those who have experienced childhood sexual, physical or emotional abuse (Haferkamp et al. 2015; Dorahy et al. 2015). More specifically, a recent meta-analysis undertaken by Vonderlin et al. (2018) underscored the importance of recognising the associations present between childhood experiences of abuse/neglect in the aetiology of dissociation. As a means of coping, dissociation can occur when the mind compartmentalises experiences of trauma in order to

protect individuals from pain. When dissociation occurs, individuals may experience feelings of becoming detached from reality or absent from what is happening around them (ibid). This 'blanking out ', was referred to by several victims/survivors, but so were notions of psychological escape. ███████ for example shared how the process of coping with the existing pain for him involved a psychological shift to an imaginary place, which was far removed from the reality which was present:

"It's just like, you had to build up a barrier if you like, right, I'm going away, I know what's going to be happening, switch the feelings off, become emotionless. Right, he wants me in bed naked; almost zombie like you will do what he tells you to do. And you just try to cut the feelings off, thinking 'I'm a robot, I'm not even looking'...and at the same time just let him have his pleasure without even him knowing that I was in a completely different world... For me, the fantasy during those times was my reality that was my escape that was me not wanting to do this, it was a case of I don't even know what I'm doing because I'm away somewhere else, trying to bury what's going on."

Victims/survivors noticed and spoke of the way in which they attempted to 'bury' what was happening or what had already transpired, and also spoke of the negative impact it had upon them and their behaviour. ███████ was mindful about how for example, his cognitive suppression at the time of the abuse, meant that he would lose himself both psychologically and physically at times:

"Mentally it was a withdrawal so I could blank everything out. I was known to wander when I was there. There were times when frustration would have me wander out of the door."

Echoing the findings of Chapman, Gratz, & Brown (2006) which are noted above, ███████ reflected how in his attempts to supress his feelings of hurt, psychological escapism for him became a form of self-harm:

"The pretending that it didn't hurt you is where the abuse became self-abuse."

However it manifested itself, psychological escapism was a means by which a number of victims/survivors exercised individual limiting/productive power in order to cope with the

pain of the abuse at the time. Attempts to dissociate for some, turned into physical forms of escapism, in order to cope with the residual feelings the abuse had left. However, even when the practice of psychological withdrawal around the time of the abuse was not present within the narratives of victims/survivors, this did not necessarily eliminate the possibility of future attempts to use physical means to aid withdrawal, nor did the former make the latter inevitable. Consequently, victims/survivors in some instances recognised and acknowledged their attempts to 'self-medicate' to ease the feelings of pain they were experiencing. ███████ shared his thoughts around this when explaining:

"To control the panic attacks I turned to self-medicating with alcohol and using prescribed tranquilisers like sweeties."

Most prominently, participants spoke of self-medicating as a way of coping with the legacy of the abuse after their time in care had ended. For some victims/survivors, drugs and/or alcohol became a practical aid to psychological escapism, which correlates with contemporary research findings on the increased prevalence of substance misuse amongst those with adverse childhood experiences (Dube et al. 2003; Hamburger, Leeb & Swahn 2008). ███████ explained this in relation to alcohol as he shared:

"The alcohol took the fear away and it took away the night terrors. So if you're so comatose with booze then you just don't feel, it cuts out all the emotional background."

Although for a period of time, drugs and alcohol were helpful in escaping unwanted feelings which had been created by the abuse that victims/survivors experienced, the negative effects were noted. ███████ explained how:

"The drugs were the catalyst for me to calm down, I'd been drinking alcohol quite a lot up until then; but even the drugs were another level of killing me, abusing myself. It was heroine, the strongest and worst drugs I could get because I was a desperate man, I was seeking any approach."

Social support may well have served to buffer the damaging impact of child abuse on adult victims/survivors (Evans, Steel & DiLillo 2013), however social remedies were not always available for some individuals who had experienced abuse. Feelings of becoming abusive

towards oneself therefore emerged within the narratives of some victims/survivors as they described how they had come to understand that the escapism they wanted to achieve was harmful for them in the long run, because a permanent escape was not possible, or was it? Attempting to fulfil the need to escape by what may be considered severe measures, was the way in which individuals sometimes turned to self-harm in order to cope with the pain they were feeling.

Sometimes, self-harm was taken to its limit, whereby some victims/survivors spoke of attempted suicide as, for example, ███ described how, *"I tried at least half a dozen times to kill myself."* Research highlights how attempted suicide is a significant factor which may be present for victims/survivors of abuse, for example Dube et al. (2001) found that experiences of childhood abuse increased the likelihood of individuals attempting suicide throughout their life. Moreover, research evidences how a past negative perspective, which is associated with expressions of trauma, pain and regret, is higher for adolescents living in children's homes. They are also said to be more prone to feeling helpless and 'fatalistic' in their thoughts of the future as well as more inclined to participate in risky behaviour as compared to children living with their families (Morsanyi & Fogarasi 2014). Research further evidences the substantial associations between self-harm and a history of childhood abuse (Gratz 2003), whilst studies also demonstrate the associations between childhood trauma and traits such as low emotional expressivity, low self-esteem, and dissociation as increasing vulnerability to self-harm (Fliege et al. 2009).

Again, though not always understood to be a positive behaviour, an element of control was involved for those self-harming to distance themselves from the legacy of their abuse. Victims/survivors spoke of their experiences of self-harm in various ways. For some, it began with non-suicidal forms of harm which escalated to suicidal behaviour whilst for others, self-harm did not intensify. Some victims/survivors shared how they had become suicidal as a means to escape the abuse and/or the pain associated with it, whilst others expressed how they had harmed themselves in other ways. Overall however, for the majority of individuals involved in self-harm, there was the presence of suicidal ideation even where suicidal actions were not. ███ shared what her thoughts about the abuse she experienced had led to:

"I tried killing myself when I was 13, here's the marks from the knife on my wrists...I cut my wrists and my arms and still have thoughts like that, and twice last year I was suicidal."

████ went on to explain, that her suicide attempts offered her a means of escape, and like other victims/survivors, she highlighted how self-harm offered her an avenue of restoring a sense of control. Through this ability to control pain, victims/survivors, in similar ways to ████, expressed a sense of relief and therefore self-harm in the form of injury to oneself or suicidal behaviour, resonates with notions of an individual exercise of limiting/productive power. ████ exemplified this as he explained how he always had a plan which helped him cope, because there was a way to escape if the abuse ever became too much for him to endure:

"...so I formed the idea in my head that I was going to hang myself...That wasn't the last time I tried it, I tried other ways as well. But that was the one that sticks in my mind because if I'd have eased myself off, sat in the tree and just let myself go I would have been strangled."

Children therefore sometimes found themselves in circumstances where they felt there was no escape from the abuse being experienced, and therefore the only way out was to seemingly take power back, by attempting to end their lives. Even during adulthood however, the need to escape the pain remained prominent. ████ described how he had attempted to end his life as an adult when sharing:

"I went to jump off a cliff and I couldn't jump off it, I tied a noose round my neck, and because I wasn't great at tying knots all I had was the mark. If I could have tied that knot I wouldn't be here today."

Despite the act of self-harm typically being considered a negative action, the reflections of victims/survivors on their experience of self-harm demonstrate how it was experienced in both productive and limiting ways. This resonates with more recent findings in research whereby self-harm is being recognised as a means by which ones emotional/cognitive experiences can be regulated and communicated (Nock 2009). In light of this therefore, it is

suggested that the various forms of escapism, whereby individuals attempted to cope with existing pain, including self-harming behaviours, demonstrate the individual limiting/productive exercise of power. As ██████ explained, *"We may do things to try to run away from it, but no matter how far you run... it runs with you."* Nonetheless, acts of self-harm or suicidal tendencies were recognised by victims/survivors in both a positive and negative light. It emerged that when there seemed no escape from the abuse and the pain that it had caused, self-harm was a form of escapism. As ██████ quite insightfully stated, *"For me it meant that there was always a way out".*

Individual Prevention

Victims/survivors alluded to a sense of how they wanted to minimise further pain and therefore employed a range of strategies to enable them to achieve this. These actions however were also limiting/productive exercises of power on an individual level, whereby both the limiting and productive impact was apparent for victims/survivors acting in such ways at different points during their lives. Whilst in care, victims/survivors reflected for example on how they absconded from the care setting to avoid further harm, at least for the interim. Some victims/survivors explained how absconding was a means by which to remove themselves from abusive environments. For example, *"I ended the abuse by running away"*, ██████ explained. Whilst ██████ explained how he had firmly decided that he was no longer going to be a victim of the abusive circumstances he had found himself in:

> *"I decided that the school wasn't for me and I began absconding more regular."*

Such examples of direct withdrawal from the environment where the abuse was taking place was a means of exercising individual limiting/productive power because it withdrew children from the immediate harm. It is recognised that even within non abusive situations the need for power and control are present for children who abscond from care (NSPCC 2012), therefore for those who were abused within such environments, the need to abscond was arguably intensified. However, some victims/survivors spoke of how they sometimes found the consequence of absconding being limiting due to the responses they received when they were found:

"The brothers came with the patrolman and caught us eventually and the brother punched me full force in my midriff. When we got back to the school we got the belt and the black pants came out. I'd had it once before but this was the hardest hitter at the other end of the belt if you get what I mean. So I had to get the black pants on, I remember getting to 6 and I was ok and then after that I started to cry."

In this narrative, ▮▮▮▮ was caught absconding and subjected to further abuse. This was echoed in the narratives of all victims/survivors who spoke of running away from their care placements, as they recalled the punishment they received when they were returned home. ▮▮▮▮ spoke of how he and his sister had run away from the home to escape physical abuse however when they were found and returned, the severity of abuse increased and they were subjected to being, *"battered to within an inch of our lives."*

Another reason why absconding was an individual limiting/productive exercise of power rather than just productive, was because by running away, children often placed themselves in further danger. ▮▮▮▮ described how he had run away so many times and used the railway lines as a guide, and on one occasion he had walked 18 miles with no real sense of direction as to where he was going. ▮▮▮▮ similarly spoke of how she had taken two buses with no idea where she was headed, just knowing that she wanted to be as far away from the place where she was being abused as possible. No matter how far they went however, all victims/survivors who did abscond from their placement settings, reported that they were returned home and the abuse either continued or was intensified.

Absconding in itself is comparable to instinctual 'flight' responses towards perceived threats and dangerous situations. The 'fight' alongside the 'flight' actions were also present for a few victims/survivors as they exercised individual limiting/productive power in the form of self-defence. ▮▮▮▮ spoke of how he had used both absconding and fighting as a way of protecting himself from further harm:

"Within months I was absconding, within months I was disruptive in the place, I was fighting a lot and nobody was paying attention to the 'why' he's doing this. I couldn't physically tell anybody that, that guy hitting me it's actually hurting me, it's no fun, and it's getting worse."

████ went on to try to make sense of his behaviour by sharing that it may have been his physically aggressive behaviour which had protected him from being sexually abused:

"So it's often come to me is that what didn't make me a victim of sexual abuse? I know now that other pupils who were with me in the school who were sexually abused. In one way I justify all my actions because I kept away a beast."

Whether this was true or not will never be known because ████ did not experience sexual abuse. But if we think for a moment that such abuse would have been inevitable if ████ had not used physical violence then it would be rational to conclude that ████ was successful in preventing further harm being caused to himself. The use of power via physical violence as a means of self-defence emerged in the narratives of some victims/survivors. For example, a few of the participants spoke of how they attempted to take control of the abusive situations by using self-defence as a form of protection. ████ realised over time that if she hit somebody first, they were less likely to touch her:

"And then I started getting violent, then it was, if I hit you first you won't touch me. And then that's how I dealt with it. I fought them, it helped because you get to the point where you think I hit them and I've won because they give up… It was a few years though before I learnt this way of dealing with it."

Although outwardly violent, this behavior protected individuals from abusive experiences in ways which other mechanisms were unable to, making it an individual limiting/productive exercise of power, due to its potential negative consequences for oneself and/or others. Research suggests how experiences of childhood trauma can be statistically significant in perpetuating aggressive behaviors (Sansone, Leung & Wiederman 2012). On the surface, undesirable aggressive behaviors are quite apparently likely to lead to physical injury of oneself and others, whilst the presentation of such violence may be linked to heightened levels of irritability, paranoia, diminished judgment and a reduced recognition of pain for the self and others, as a result of the maltreatment which has been experienced (Lewis 1992).

The physical manifestation of violent behavior was one extreme of the spectrum for a few individuals protecting themselves, whilst at the opposite end, the majority of participants alluded to a sense of the individual limiting/productive exercise of power in the form of self-isolation, as in, physically withdrawing from any form of contact with others in order to prevent further pain. The difference between the two forms of protection was that self-defense in the form of physical violence occurred mostly within the care setting, with a reduced occurrence after leaving care, whilst self-isolation was more often mentioned in relation to the period after leaving care, although there were some incidences of this for victims/survivors during their time in care also. In terms of self-isolation, ▮▮▮▮ shared:

> "I had what I thought was a great coping method, which was isolation. I would isolate myself from people, situations."

The physical withdrawal away from people and situations meant that individuals were able to protect themselves from further pain and hurt. Whether this was withdrawing from friends to prevent further harm, as ▮▮▮▮ highlighted:

> "I have always survived one way or other, I don't need friends and I would rather survive on my own. To deal with everything, it's almost like being in solitary confinement because I just don't have it in me so this is the best option and in some respects the only option left because then I'm not going to end up getting hurt…solitary confinement is a hell of a lot better than taking all the hits"

Or whether this was in the form of distancing oneself from particular members of the family as ▮▮▮▮ did:

> "My brother and sister were in the home with me and they never helped me either. They knew what was happening, according to my sister, 'this is what I wanted'…I don't have relationships with them, because they're not nice people, I can do without negative people in my life… [My mother] No, she's not a nice person I'm glad she's suffering I don't like her. I hope she hurries up and dies the old bastard. I've felt like that about her all my life. "

Although preventing further harm was achieved by some and on the surface at least, resonates with notions of a productive exercise of individual power, the limiting consequences of isolation cannot be ignored and therefore such practices lend themselves better to an understanding of the limiting/productive exercise of power. For example this was highlighted by what ███████ shared:

"I was now imprisoned in my house. I was now secluding myself at home. Looking back, I'd been doing this for 20 years anyway and I was still continuing to be in that same mould."

Similarly to the previous examples of the individual limiting/productive exercise of power which have been discussed, self-isolation also offered an example of the way in which victims/survivors exercised power in a dualistic way. Although self-isolation would not typically be viewed as a positive form of exercising power, it nonetheless held productive qualities which meant that it provided a means for individuals to withdraw from situations which may cause further harm. On the one hand, physical withdrawal offered a means by which to practically remove oneself from future potential harm, whilst on the other, adopting a position of mistrust allowed for some victims/survivors to practice this psychologically. The connections between childhood abuse and mistrust have historically been noted (Fleming, Sibthorpe & Bammer 1999), and such mistrust (to a greater or lesser extent) was present for all victims/survivors interviewed who had suffered abuse in care. And although a degree of mistrust is natural and commonplace for everyone, it appeared to be amplified in the lived experiences of victims/survivors. ███████ explained how she was careful about what she shared with others:

"I have found it so hard to trust people, because I'm always thinking that others would be out to cause me harm."

Whilst ███████ described mistrust in his approach to relationships where he described them as being at 'arm's length':

"I was never really able to form a proper relationship. I was always like in arm's length relationships. I would let somebody get close and then think 'what is she gonna think when she finds out about what I went through as a child and things like that."

████ went on to speak of how he recognised that the level of mistrust may have impacted in limiting ways, because it had been unfair to others and meant he had potentially missed out:

"So in some respects it's not been fair for the woman because there have been a few who did say 'we can easily settle down and start a family', and that would have been great."

Doubts around whether others could be trusted and to what degree they could be trusted were prevalent in the experiences of all participants. Individuals expressed how words were not necessarily enough and that actions which demonstrated consistency and commitment were required. For example when reflecting on ████'s example above, words alone did not suffice in providing him with sufficient reassurance to continue with the relationships he described. However, often it was a catch-22 situation because individuals did not always offer others the opportunity to prove their sincerity, by for example, keeping others at "arm's length". The limiting consequences of mistrust were also noted to have implications for family members in some situations, as ████ explained:

"I'm driving them all mental. Because of that I've impacted on my kids. Now they've got trust issues, they're feeling anxiety because I'm like that. They've learned it from me and it's not fair, they shouldn't be like that, they should be able to have their own life."

Here ████ describes the way in which there had been an intergenerational impact of the abuse, through the transference of issues around mistrust. Whereby the way in which she felt unable to trust, impacted directly on the way in which her children had learned not to. And even where individuals were married, there was not necessarily always complete disclosure of the abuse they had experienced, for example ████, regarding the abuse she had experienced stated:

"But my husband, he doesn't know everything. He just knows things happened, he doesn't need to know everything…maybe someday. "

Experiences of child abuse may well impact on marital relations and increase the risk of marital distress and dissolution (Whisman 2006), but at present, ████ remained married and considered that perhaps one day she could speak in detail about the abuse she

experienced. Research has shown, that cognitive schemas of mistrust may be elevated amongst women who have been abused (Cukor & McGinn 2006). Therefore for others, such as ███████, the idea of being able to trust did not appear to be a future possibility:

"I have no trust. You know how you see people do these trust exercises where they fall back, and for me, in nearly 30 years there's not a hope."

Regardless of the ambiguous nature of mistrust, the psychological/emotional distancing from others exemplifies a form of individual limiting/productive power in some instances. The lack of trust was propelled by the experience of abuse, however in some cases afterwards, mistrust was used as another means by which to prevent potential future harm. The resultant emotional and cognitive distancing, was similar to the way in which self-isolation physically provided a way to distance oneself from potential future harm and pain. A few victims/survivors were very clear that the mistrust was a practice which had been adopted through choice during their adult lives, however, in most instances, victims/survivors were saddened by the fact that they would never have the ability to fully trust in others again.

In summary therefore, victims/survivors spoke of the individual limiting/productive exercise of power in relation to the actions they themselves had undertaken, where an individual limiting/productive exercise of power was defined by exercising power via processes serving to cope with existing pain or aimed at preventing future potential harm and pain. Coping with existing pain involved individual exercises of limiting/productive power in forms of psychological escapism, self-harm and self-defence, whilst the prevention of future pain included actions to physically or psychologically distance and protect oneself.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to demonstrate how the individual exercise of power in relation to victims/survivors of abuse manifested itself in limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive ways. Participant accounts conveyed a wide range of nuances to the analysis of how power is exercised and impacts in complex ways for victims/survivors of historic abuse. The individual limiting exercise of power experiences involved adults or

peers, exercising power by directly acting in abusive ways by means of sexual, physical and psychologically harmful behaviour. Such limiting power was also exercised by individuals not acting in appropriate ways to respond to the abuse or not believing children as it was hoped they would.

As a second theme, victims/survivors spoke of experiences which resonated with the individual productive exercise of power. This was in relation to the actions they had undertaken, where an individual productive exercise of power was defined by exercising power through processes of reactivity and proactivity. The reactive exercise of individual productive power manifested in actions undertaken by victim/survivors in attempts to end the abuse through questioning and disclosure, whilst proactive actions were related to individuals bettering their own situations by means of self-education, building positive relationships or by acquiring knowledge by accessing records, seeking information and confronting those who were deemed responsible for the harm experienced. Additionally, the contemplation of forgiveness also offered a means by which victims/survivors were able to experience the productive exercise of individual power.

Thirdly, the individual limiting/productive exercise of power manifested in relation to the actions victims/survivors themselves had undertaken, which was defined by exercising power via processes serving to cope with existing pain or employing strategies in attempts to prevent future potential harm and pain. Coping with existing pain involved in the individual exercises of limiting/productive power manifested in psychological escapism, self-harm and self-defence, whilst the prevention of future pain included actions to physically or psychologically distance and protect oneself.

Referring back to Chapter Two, which explores the policy landscape in relation to historic abuse in Scotland, the individual exercise of power (as noted previously) manifested when Chris Daly filed petition 535 to the Scottish Government to request that past abuses should be investigated and an be apology is made (Daly 2002). The event continues to be recognised as a trigger, for the responses to historic abuse which have ensued (Kendrick et al. 2015), and therefore the importance of the individual exercise of power should be recognised. Yet despite its importance, individual exercises of power remain relatively invisible within the literature on historic abuse. In fact, the discussion in Chapter Three

highlights that the voices of victims/survivors remain quite absent, and more needs to be done in order to represent the views of individuals in order to generate collective knowledge on the subject (Wright 2017). Being mindful of the exercise of the individual exercise of power therefore, in all its guises, is essential for policy makers and academics who are concerned with the historic abuse of children in care.

The examples of victim/survivor experiences presented in this chapter demonstrate that power on an individual level, (that power which is accessible to all), may manifest and impact in a range of ways, which is best captured through a reflection upon the limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive impact of such exercises of power. The application of the Power Informed Practice framework and the resultant analysis has enabled the consideration of the nuances of power on an individual level within the context of historic abuse and has also served to evidence the false dichotomy in how historically power has been understood as impacting in positive or negative ways. As such, the same framework of analysis is also relevant when we consider the second significant location of power stemming from the data; that of professional power, which is now considered in light of its limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive impact in the following chapter.

Chapter Seven: The Professional Exercise of Power

I	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	I
P	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	P
S	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	S

The second theme emerging from the data to be considered in relation to the historic abuse of children in care is that of the professional exercise of power and its impact on victims/survivors. The Professional (P) level here refers to the professional and institutional exercises of power; that power which is potentially accessible to professionals and institutions in line with the authority they have been granted, by virtue of their positions. Unlike the individual exercises of power, the professional/institutional level of power offers an additional capacity for the exercise of power, which ultimately increases the amount of power possessed. Weber (1946; 1947) reflected such notions when he asserted that the state, formed of institutions, were actually embodiments of man dominating man, which was possible through notions of legitimacy (as discussed in Chapter 5). In this way, Weber offered the view that authority in all its forms is innately characterised by the relationship between those dominating, and those being dominated, as opposed to authority being solely and unilaterally shaped by powerful individuals. In the case of the professional exercise of power here therefore, there was a degree of consensus present more widely than the individual level, as to how power was being exercised and by whom, which resulted in its legitimisation. To explore the professional exercise of power, in a similar way to the previous chapter, firstly, the professional limiting exercise of power is discussed, followed by consideration of the professional productive exercise of power and thirdly the professional simultaneously limiting/productive exercise of power is analysed.

The Professional Limiting Exercise of Power

The professional limiting exercise of power was the most prominent theme, which emerged from the analysis of interview data, whereby victims/survivors spoke of how professionally, power was exercised. The professional exercise of power therefore impacted in limiting ways for victims/survivors who experienced historic abuse in care. The two central sub-

themes within this area were that of professional cultures and professional structures, both of which highlight the ways in which power was exercised in limiting ways.

Professional Cultures

The culture of practice amongst professionals who were responsible for the care of children, in the experiences of victims/survivors of historic abuse, meant that power was often exercised with limiting consequences for them. Significantly, British inquiries (Frizzell, 2009; Kent 1997; Kirkwood, 1993; Levy & Kahan 1991; Marshall et al. 1999; Shaw, 2007; Skinner 1992; Utting 1991; 1997; Waterhouse et al. 2000) have consistently recognised how cultures within institutions have perpetuated abusive practices. At times, such cultures of professional practice transcended national boundaries and therefore were not always characteristics of a single home in a single geographical location. This is reiterated by international findings with the presence of *"similar stories from different national contexts"* (Skold 2013, p6), where there have been international similarities in bad practice examples. ██████ described this when she shared how:

> *"If you look at the abuse that happened in different countries, you see that the abuse was similar, there was similar behaviour from these nuns in the way that they controlled children and how they disciplined children."*

Overall, there was a sense that certain institutions did not fulfill the responsibility they held for the children within their care, and this was reflected via a range of examples offered by participants. Most prominently, this was highlighted in the narratives of victims/survivors when they spoke of the ways in which members of staff colluded in perpetrating abuse; where it was not an instance of an individual independently being abusive. Members of staff 'banding together' and behaving in ways that were abusive towards children therefore highlights the exercise of power professionally in limiting ways. Within social work literature, this has also been referred to as collusive power (Tew 2002). Not only were children subject to abuse as discussed previously by individuals exercising limiting power, but they were also subject to the abuse resulting from collusion stemming from the culture amongst professionals which had been established. For example, ██████ shared:

"The master put us in the shower and all of a sudden there were four men surrounding us. We were naked, they were watching us in the shower."

Collusion in this way was not distinctly located with any particular type of organisation. If we consider the prevalence of collusive professional cultures of abuse within the narratives of victims/survivors, there were examples offered of how in faith settings, nuns were present when priests were sexually assaulting children, how in Local Authority children's homes several staff members would collectively beat the same child and so on. Due to these insights, we are able to consider how professional cultural practices became a point of exercising power in limiting ways in the experiences of victims/survivors of historic abuse. Even where there were homes which resembled a family structure, victims/survivors spoke of how practices were anything except 'family like' as ▓▓▓▓ pointed out:

"There were big Victorian institutions set up in family groups, but they were nothing like any family I've ever known. A pretty dysfunctional family with the carers going off their heads and being psychotic at times."

Apart from the very direct and obvious abuse of children perpetrated by groups of professionals, there were also more subtle forms present, which exemplify the culture amongst professionals exercising power in limiting ways. The point that discipline, rather than care took precedence in how staff responded to children was also evident, which has been noted historically (Gooch 1996; Malek 1993); with one example offered by ▓▓▓▓'s experience during his stay at an approved school:

"I reached out to a certain member of staff, looking out to an older man as a father figure, a care figure, somebody that's going to look after me. But quite quickly this wasn't the case, quite quickly you were sort of put in a line and you know, there was no stepping out of that line."

Such examples are indicative of the porosity in the boundary between care and discipline, which created almost carceral like environments for children. Stein (2006) highlighted how the approved treatment methods within certain institutions historically were problematic. The exercise of power in this context is attributed to the professional culture which

permeated some institutions rather than the professional structures which were in place. This is due to the fact that in themselves, children's care establishments were not created to punish children and the sentiment (at least on the surface in such examples) remained that children were to be cared for having been removed from their families. What happened in practice however was experienced on the contrary by some victims/survivors as professionals created the culture within certain settings, which allowed for the exercise of power in limiting ways. Such deficiencies in professional practices which fed into professional cultures were significant in professional power being exercised in limiting ways in the experiences of victims/survivors of historic abuse. These in turn formed the backdrop of the way in which children were responded to within care settings, where the culture of isolation and restraint became supplementary mechanisms for power to be exercised professionally in limiting ways.

Professional cultures of practice involving the placing of children in isolation came across significantly during interviews as a means of responding to any behaviour deemed unacceptable by staff. Isolation was something which could last from a few hours to a matter of several days and was common practice in a variety of settings. Within a faith based residential home for example, ▮▮▮▮ explained *"there was a lot of locking you away in darkened rooms…sometimes mortuary rooms where they kept coffins of the elderly."*

▮▮▮▮ spoke of his experience where:

> *"If I misbehaved I was put in a secluded area of the school which was an old chapel, which had one way in and no way out... To the extent that it kept me quiet, and they knew that, but it didn't keep me quiet because it was a quiet room, it kept me quiet because I was scared."*

There were echoes of how spaces for isolation were unpleasant and induced fear throughout victim/survivor narratives. However, apart from the fact that places where children were often sent for isolation were places which would generate fear; at times, the isolation was so acute, that children did not necessarily have any means of reaching out to anyone and were therefore isolated in every sense of the word. ▮▮▮▮'s experience resonated with this as he described his experiences of isolation:

"And again, where I had a problem was the detention room. There was no toilet facilities or anything like that, so if you needed to go to the toilet you would have to push a little buzzer type thing in the room. But they had a habit that whenever someone went into the detention room, the first thing they done was switch the buzzer off…you would be in there a day or two days."

The professional limiting exercise of power in instances of isolation, as stated previously were evident throughout victim/survivor narratives; with spaces inducing fear, with a lack of access to basic facilities or to the outside world being commonplace in the experiences of children who were subject to the practice. The practice of isolation was sometimes facilitated on an individual level (as referred to in relation to direct abuse within the previous chapter), however at other times, isolation was an accepted organisational practice, which made it a professional exercise of limiting power. The potential damage which can be caused to children is reflected in the recent Mental Health Act Code of Practice (2015, p293) which recognises how: *"Seclusion can be a traumatic experience for any individual but can have particularly adverse implications for the emotional development of a child or young person."* Isolation was not mandated by the professional structures of the organisation (although these have existed, see for example Levy & Kahn 1991); but instead came as part of the professional culture which existed and was created by professionals within certain organisations. This was similar to the way in which professional power was exercised in limiting ways through the use of restraint in the experiences of some victims/survivors.

The practice of restraint was another acute manifestation of the limiting professional exercise of power in similar ways to isolation, because victims/survivors spoke about how it was commonplace. ▮▮▮▮ for example shared how:

"…A member of staff had put me forcibly on to the settee, sat on top of me and used his fingers and his thumb to close my windpipe to stop me from breathing…I think the sitting on me by itself was pretty powerful but to stop me from breathing was to say stop talking, that was the only reason he did that."

██████ was particularly concerned that the member of staff was able to behave in such ways in the presence of other staff due to what he considered to be the acceptability of such practice. Whilst ██████ also explained how restraint was common, and staff would collectively restrain him to the point of suffocation:

"I wasn't restrained in the good old-fashioned way where they hold your arm to one side and down, no they all just jumped on you in a pile. They piled on you, they would hold your neck up they would restrain you down to the point til you were on the edge of suffocation."

The act of physical restraint up to the point of restricting a child's breathing was also described by other victims/survivors. Though it is recognised that there is a place for using restraint appropriately with children (Ziegler 2001; Steckley 2010, 2012); taking physical restraint too far, using it inappropriately, or for the wrong reasons (e.g. compliance) with children was also an example of professionals exercising power to impact upon children in limiting ways. Because as we know from research evidence, the risks associated with restraint are high and can lead to devastating outcomes (Nunno, Holden & Toller 2006).

The fact that in a few instances, such an exercise of power was collaboratively orchestrated by several members of staff acting together offers an insight into the way in which, within the professional culture, the use of inappropriate restraint became part of routine practice for professionals; thus feeding into a professional culture which facilitated the exercise of professional power in limiting ways. Restraint, alongside the various other modes of the limiting exercise of power discussed, highlight the ways in which professional power became of limiting impact for victims/survivors of historic abuse. However, alongside professional cultures, was the matter of professional structures which were a means by which the limiting professional exercise of power was also manifested.

Professional Structures

Shortcomings in professional structures were a point of contention for victims/survivors of historic abuse in their experiences, and reflected another way in which power was exercised in limiting ways by professionals. It has been recognised, that since the onslaught of

postmodernism, examining organisations has become less of an academic concern, resulting in a failure to continue to critically examine how power relations manifest within them (Davies 2003). However, the need for a far greater exploration of victim/survivor perspectives regarding the nature of power relations within institutions is highlighted in line with Weber's work on authority and domination (Jones 1994). Weber identified that irrespective of what authority type is being obeyed, the basis of the willingness to obey, *"is a belief, a belief by virtue of which persons exercising authority are lent prestige"* (Weber 1947, p350)

An example of how this manifested within the context of the historic abuse of children in care, was offered by ███████. ███████ spoke of how he knew he had no choice but to follow orders from staff despite his attempts to resist, as ultimately he knew that they would have to be obeyed because *"everyone had to"* due to the authority and status held by them. For ███████ and others, the way in which the settings within which they lived were structured, meant that there was a degree of acceptance as to what would have to be accepted, due to the power which was held by those in positions of authority. And the 'Imperative co-ordination' which was defined by Weber, *"…as the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) from a given source will be obeyed by a given group of persons"* (Weber 1947, p297), was fulfilled. Although such 'structures' were subtle in examples such as ███████'s, professional structures were also limiting in more obvious ways. ███████ summarised such limiting professional structures when sharing:

> *"I believe the institutions gave the platform for them to abuse. In the early 80s when I was in school there was no disclosures, there was no training, there was no risk assessments done or anything like that."*

In the first instance, it was highlighted that often those professionals directly charged with caring for children were not recruited or vetted in appropriate ways. Historically, the lack, or inadequacy of vetting processes for those working with children has been of concern (McAlindon 2013; Shaw 2007), whilst research continues to indicate that this remains an issue (Kay et al. 2007). The structures present within organisations were the responsibility of the professionals who worked within them, and therefore measures such as vetting processes were also within their remit, based on the professional power they had access to.

Lending to broader notions of inaction, vetting processes in place to assess who was able to have access to children were either poor or virtually non-existent in some cases. Moreover, there appeared to be a level of autonomy for staff to employ individuals or allow others to have access to children at their own discretion in some instances, as ▇▇▇▇ explained for example: *"What I noticed was that she employed women who she could control."*

In addition to staff employed to care for children not always being vetted, there was also the matter of other employees who were in the vicinity of children, not being assessed. For example, ▇▇▇▇ recalled the sexually abusive gardener in their residential estate, ▇▇▇▇ spoke of the sexually abusive cleaner and others retold of their experiences with the likes of 'handymen' and 'befrienders'. Therefore, not only did the absence of vetting processes become problematic in relation to staff who were directly or indirectly in the presence of children, it was also problematic in relation to members of the public who had access to children. ▇▇▇▇ highlighted this point when he recounted how his 'befriender' was actually allowed in by those charged with his care. It had transpired when ▇▇▇▇ had in recent years attended court and an investigation was undertaken, that the man who had sexually abused him was someone who had been known to the authorities at the time, and in fact had been on probation for similar offences when he was able to walk into a residential home with books and comics and volunteer to befriend children who had no family or friends coming to visit.

The lack of vetting and poor quality of assessing who had access to children in such ways is therefore evidence of the professional exercise of power in limiting ways, as appropriate measures had not been undertaken to ensure that those allowed access to children would not pose a threat to their wellbeing. Issues with regards to vetting have previously been highlighted (Shaw 2007) and have arguably been addressed to a greater or lesser extent in Scotland (see for example The Protection of Vulnerable Groups (Scotland) Act 2007); however historically the matter left much to be desired. At the same time as a lack of discernment regarding who had access to children, was the practice of separating and keeping children away from those who they should easily have had access to, i.e. their siblings. The juxtaposition between these two professional practices seems contrary at the very core. On the one hand we see evidence of easy access to children where there should

not have been, whilst on the other hand there is a stark contrast in relation to siblings having access to their siblings whilst in care. Such inconsistencies within practice may be referred to wider structural exercises of limiting power (discussed in Chapter 8), whereby the policy framework perpetuated particular issues in a professional context.

Although current practices encourage and promote sibling relationships and contact, there is much work still to be done (Bilson & Barker 1992; Groza et al. 2003). The situation historically however, was arguably even more problematic in terms of where siblings were placed, with the reasons for sibling separation not being as clear as they are in the present day (see Leathers 2005 discussion on limited placements and children's behavioural difficulties). ▮▮▮▮▮ felt the negative impact of being separated from her sister profoundly as she recalled how, *"we weren't allowed to see her, all we could do was stand over a fence and watch her play in the garden."* For ▮▮▮▮▮ and her elder sister at the time, being separated from their younger sister caused considerable distress. ▮▮▮▮▮ explained how after some time, her younger sister was adopted and staff shared no further information with her on the matter. It was only after leaving care many years later when ▮▮▮▮▮ was older that her younger sister at the age of 17 (following 9 years of separation) made contact and they were finally reunited. Sadly however, it was too late in so many respects for the siblings to reinitiate the close relationship they had held during childhood before being separated. ▮▮▮▮▮ went on to share how her younger sister had disclosed experiencing abuse from her adoptive father and committed suicide some years later. The consequence of the decision by professionals in separating ▮▮▮▮▮ from her sister remains with her to this day and the far reaching limiting impact of professional power is highlighted.

The importance of sibling contact has been noted in relation to both residential care (Smith 2015) and foster care placements (Mota & Matos 2015), and it is highlighted how both self-concept/identity and levels of resilience are promoted by positive engagement with siblings. For victims/survivors such as ▮▮▮▮▮, the process of being separated from her siblings created relationship difficulties for her throughout life. ▮▮▮▮▮ shared how, *"…we were taken away from the parents and put with separate foster parents over a period of 18 months or more."* And in turn then, ▮▮▮▮▮'s relationship with her brother deteriorated even when they were placed in a residential home together afterwards. ▮▮▮▮▮ had been

her siblings' primary carer prior to them being removed from their home for reasons of neglect on part of their mother; and she was never able to bridge the distance between her and her brother after their 18 months of separation. Even as an adult in the present day, ▆▆▆▆ shared that her relationship with her brother was fragmented and he never wanted to speak of what had happened when they had been removed from the family and taken into care.

The extent to which sibling separation could be detrimental was exemplified by several participants and apart from the physical divide that sibling separation caused, the emotional impact was devastating for some individuals. The fact that siblings were separated and the wishes and feelings of children were not considered in some instances, provides another example of the exercise of limiting professional power through the lack of professional structures in place to ensure that children would not have to face such adversities. The current Children and Young Peoples Commissioner Scotland (CYPCS 2019) policy recognises how siblings hold a special bond, which can be essential for promoting an individual's sense of identity, which was not adequately considered for all children in care historically. The consequent impact on children's formation of identity was therefore also a matter of concern. To add to this, in several instances, victims/survivors spoke of what may be considered a process of depersonalisation and institutionalisation which further diminished their sense of individual identity.

Within care settings historically, it has been recognised how admission processes may strip individuals of their identities as they may be compelled to dress in institutional clothing (Wardhaugh, & Wilding 1993), lending such processes to notions of the exercise of limiting professional power via the structures of practice in place. ▆▆▆▆ was very aware of how he experienced such depersonalisation, as he shared how his identity was removed when entering the residential home:

"Because when you initially went in they took all your own clothes off you and put you in shorts and plimsolls with grey school socks and T-shirts that were ill fitting. So that was basically your uniform, and so they took all your identity off you straight away as soon as you went in."

████ recalled how his mother had bought him new clothes before he had been removed from her care, and remained upset to the present day about how, *"I can actually remember my mother spending a lot of money to get me new clothes just to get taken away you know."* Being stripped of their identities was particularly emphasised by those who resided in larger scale institutions. Wardhaugh and Wilding (1993) recognised that processes of depersonalisation were amplified in larger scale institutions in order to achieve heightened levels of uniformity and control. ████, spoke of how ritualised this had become for her, because staff insisted how children's uniforms always needed to be immaculate, to the point where *"having shiny shoes were more important than our needs you know"*. In such instances, victim/survivor narratives demonstrated how professional power was exercised in limiting ways by virtue of the structures and processes in place which detrimentally impacted upon their sense of identity.

Other such professional structures which were considered to be lacking and were highlighted through the course of interviews by victims/survivors were those pertaining to the lack of provision in terms of education, reporting and record keeping. In similar ways to organisational structures which facilitated the separation of siblings, as well as the lack of vetting for those having access to children, the perceived deficiencies present within educational provision, lines of reporting and the matter of care records were therefore also raised as matters which can be ascribed to the professional exercise of limiting power.

Despite education being prescribed within British law by means of the 1964 Education Act which was enacted from 1972 onwards, for children up to the age of 16; children in care did not always receive sufficient educational input and therefore it is argued that the responsibility for this rested with the professional organisation, which had been charged with the care of children. And even to this day, it is recognised that much more remains to be done in terms of enhancing children's educational experiences within residential care settings (Brodie, 2005; Francis 2008; Maclean & Connelly 2005). Many victims/survivors shared how they struggled as a consequence of their experience of a lack of education, for example ████ highlighted:

"I was not given an education so by the time I was sixteen I was basically struggling with numeracy and literacy."

In some cases there was no educational infrastructure within institutions, for example, ██████ described how, *"When I arrived there, there was no set education, no set care, there was nothing set in place."*

Measures by which to offer children the education they were entitled to, were therefore something which were not always appropriately provided by the professional structures in place within organisations. In effect therefore, children did not necessarily receive the education which would have formed the basis for their future lives when they were able to leave care. As a consequence, victims/survivors expressed the difficulties they had faced in terms of accessing further education as well as work. The implications of the lack of education were therefore also of lifelong limiting impact for victims/survivors of abuse in some cases. The power to address such deficiencies again, rested with professionals in the make-up of their organisational structures, whilst not doing so resonates with notions of the limiting exercise of professional power.

The lack of reporting procedures for children attempting to report the abuse they were or had been experiencing also became an apparent way in which professional/organisational structures were not always fit for purpose in alleviating the concerns of victims/survivors of historic abuse; reemphasising the professional exercise of limiting power. When individuals spoke about their experiences of reporting the abuse during childhood and adulthood, several accounts referred to how difficult it was, due to the way in which there was limited support for already vulnerable individuals as well as a clear lack of reporting procedures. During childhood, the reporting experiences for victims/survivors were difficult and fraught with tensions. Individuals disclosing their abuse were often responded to inappropriately, including for example how the leaders of particular institutions did not address the concerns being raised. Furthermore, children did not always know what would happen next, therefore the fear and uncertainty surrounding what would happen once a disclosure had been made was another factor, which silenced children (Karim 2017). Children did not always know who they could turn to and how what they shared would be received, often in similar ways to ██████'s experience, *"There was no outlet to talk, there was no door to knock"*. This highlights the absence of appropriate reporting facilities available to children during their time in care, with any avenues which were present often proving ineffective.

Rosenthal et al (1991) conducted a study of reported abuse in care settings, noting how ineffective responses to the allegations of abuse were particularly due to a conflict of interest, where often the investigators were located within the same local governing body that were responsible for the placements, hence undermining their objectivity. The statistics gathered showed how in 44 % of all incidents, the decision was made to remove children and place them elsewhere, whilst 85 % of placement settings typically continued to operate despite the reports. Such research correlates with the experiences of victims/survivors of historic abuse, as they were often relocated and the response by the institution did not address the underlying concerns which were raised.

The exercise of limiting professional power here however, was not solely reflected via the experiences that victims/survivors had within their care placements. ██████ emphasised this point when sharing how there were other professionals who were also complicit. In response to the question of 'who do you hold responsible for the abuse?' ██████ stated:

> "The home, for not protecting us from it. They knew it was going on, and when you complained it was like, 'Oh grow up'. The police, because I complained a few times to them, and they said, 'Go away and grow up'."

Individuals also spoke of the way in which other professional bodies, past and present were ill-equipped to deal with the abuse they attempted to report, as ██████ shared:

> "The guy died ten years ago, so they can't pursue the matter… if they had taken all these details in 1999 then I would have got the justice for everything."

Not only therefore, were the reporting procedures highlighted as being problematic, but the delay in actioning concerns raised, also exemplified the professionally limiting exercise of power, which resulted in restricting access to justice for some. Despite the historic problems in reporting and having the allegations appropriately responded to by the police, it has been recognised that there have been significant improvements (Finkelhor, Wolak & Berliner 2001), however variations remain in the likelihood of prosecutions proceeding to court internationally (see for example Cashmore, Taylor & Parkinson 2017). Institutional structures within public services therefore also offer an insight into the way in which

professionals did not always offer victims/survivors what was needed, rendering the exercise of such power limiting. ▮▮▮▮ explained how he had experienced his police interview when providing a statement regarding the abuse he had suffered:

"…what I didn't know at the time was that you have to go into in depth detail, you have to tell everything that happened, when it happened, how it happened, how it felt and all of that. I wasn't prepared for it and afterwards there was no counselling, there was no back up no nothing in place."

Not making the necessary adjustments and failing to provide appropriate support through reporting procedures for adult victims/survivors of historic abuse, also demonstrates a specific form of the professional limiting exercise of power which is reflective of limiting professional structures. As such, the exercise of power in limiting ways has not solely been a historic experience for some victims/survivors of abuse, but remains a point of concern even in the present day as professionals respond to disclosures of abuse.

Another example of the professional limiting exercise of power which has been of historic as well as of present day significance is that pertaining to records. Historically, the professional practice of record keeping was problematic, whilst in the present day the lack of access to records has been a means of professionals exercising power in limiting ways. ▮▮▮▮ for example, shared how her records were written in such a way as to locate the blame for the abuse with her, making it difficult to consequently prove that abuse occurred. She talked of how, *"I've seen my records but it's not there. What they've done is called me a liar, a fantasist, I'd do anything for attention.*"

The issues with records provides yet another insight into the exercise of limiting professional power, which has impacted on victims/survivors through the course of their lives as well as on their attempts to seek justice. In terms of the former, ▮▮▮▮ discussed for example:

"In December 1972 the social work department had written to the local GP service asking if I could get a medical exemption from school. To which it was noted in my file, without any doctors or anybody interviewing me or anything like that - borderline

psychopathic personality disorder. And that is a label that has stuck with me right through the years."

Such acts of 'labelling' a child in official records caused more harm than benefit in some cases. Whether such reflections on the mental health of children were accurate or not, seems quite peripheral to the fact that in the longer term, such records have raised questions regarding the reliability of victim/survivor disclosures of abuse. Resonating with understandings stemming from labelling theory, once individuals have been labelled in particular ways, they are likely to encounter difficulties that arise from the reactions of others to any negative stereotypes which have been attached to them (Becker 1963; Lemert 1967). This was certainly true for some victims/survivors of abuse who encountered negative responses from others in light of being rightly or wrongly, diagnosed.

Besides the inaccuracy of records being an issue, medical and/or care records' being destroyed was also a point of concern. ███████ shared how her medical records were destroyed, making them completely inaccessible, whereby, *"My medical records were burned in a bonfire. The handyman was told to take all the old records that were in before the 70's and burn them."* The absence of medical records in particular, can have serious health implications (Burnett et al. 2011), as well as limit the access to much needed information for individuals more generally. Therefore, whether due to destruction or a failure to maintain accurate written information on children's experiences in care, the issue of records highlights another dimension of the professional exercise of limiting power encountered by victims/survivors of historic abuse. Despite the Public Records (Scotland) Act being introduced in 2011, placing an obligation upon Scottish public, private and voluntary organisations to implement record management plans, the recording of information pertaining to children during their time in care continues to leave much to be desired (Goddard, Feast & Kirton 2007).

The consequence of information being inaccurate, or in fact records being lost or destroyed in their entirety has impacted in limiting ways for victims/survivors of historic abuse. Professional structures in this sense, or the lack of them has meant that victims/survivors have often found themselves not having access to key pieces of evidence, or having their own histories being accurately reflected and/or available. This may be contextualized in the

wider work being undertaken by Inquiries to reinstate national records which offer victims/survivors another means of establishing a historical record (Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry 2018) which acknowledges their abuse experiences (discussed in the following chapter), however this does not negate how historically, the accuracy and availability of records has been problematic. The matter of records therefore, in similar ways to the lack of reporting procedures, has been of historic and present day significance to victims/survivors of historic abuse and reiterates the professional exercise of limiting power.

It should hardly come as a surprise therefore, that many victims/survivors spoke of their mistrust of professionals and institutions with all that they bring in terms of the power vested in them. Trust is highlighted as being of particular importance to children within care (Safe & Sound 1995; Southwell & Fraser 2010; Calheiros & Patricio 2014). Therefore when phrases like *"I thought you'd be just like the rest of them",* were frequently used by individuals participating in interviews when they learned of my 'professional label' as a social worker (as highlighted in the methods chapter), it hardly came as a surprise. And in light of the articulation of the professional exercise of limiting power, we are better placed to understand why such negative preconceptions exist. Historical as well as recent experiences of power have understandably provided the frame of reference for some victims/survivors who faced further power differentials in their interactions with professionals and institutions; whilst the limiting exercise of professional power has understandably left a legacy, contributing to present day concerns. Whether it was in the form of professional cultures or professional structures, the professional exercise of power was shown to have impacted on victims/survivors in limiting ways.

These insights, it is hoped, go some way to explaining why professional limiting power, which refers to the professional and institutional exercises of power and that power which is potentially accessible to professionals and institutions in line with the authority they have been vested with by virtue of their positions, most prominently relates to professional cultures and professional structures which were created. It is argued, that victim/survivor experiences of professionals and institutions, is likely to limit and/or shape their engagement with services in the future, which may in turn continue to perpetuate the legacy of abuse. However, the professional exercise of power also impacted on

victims/survivors in productive, as well as simultaneously limiting/productive ways, and these dimensions are discussed in turn below.

The Professional Productive Exercise of Power

To reiterate, the professional exercise of power, refers to the professional and organisational exercises of power. Essentially, it refers to the power which is potentially accessible to professionals and institutions in line with the authority they are offered by virtue of their professional standing. And as suggested earlier, such professional power may manifest in limiting, productive or simultaneously limiting/productive ways. Having considered the professional limiting exercise of power we now move on to consider the professional productive exercise of power, which was another theme emerging from the analysis of the interview data, when victims/survivors spoke of how professionally, power was exercised. The professional productive exercise of power however, was not as prominent a theme as the limiting power exercised by professionals; in fact it was relatively limited in comparison. This may hardly come as a surprise since the abuse experiences for individuals were acutely associated with the care settings within which they resided historically and the professionals they encountered at the time. Furthermore as mentioned previously, negative past experiences with professionals whom individuals encountered may well have also played a significant role in informing their ongoing perceptions. We may even go as far as to suggest that such experiences may have contributed to victims/survivors focusing on the limiting exercises of professional power rather than the productive. Nevertheless, the data highlighted a key focal point which is synonymous with the productive exercise of professional power, namely that of professional enablement, but that which usually occurred long after the abuse ended. Professional enablement emerged in a range of guises, from that which was hoped and expected, to that which was not. Victims/survivors shared their positive experiences of engaging with professionals and organisations by highlighting how such experiences had impacted upon them positively, thus highlighting the professional exercise of productive power.

Professional Enablement

In terms of professional enablement, victims/survivors having access to support services was critical in informing any positive views they held towards professionals and institutions. In particular, such views stemmed from victims/survivors having access to counselling support and engaging with therapy. Such services were structurally underpinned as they were commissioned by the Government, and the overall provision of counselling support was acknowledged as a positive step forward on a national level (discussed further in the following chapter). As mentioned previously, those engaging with this research had become aware of the project via the counselling support service they were accessing. For many, the journey to accessing this counselling support began with a visit to their GP where they reported their abuse experiences, for others it included a referral from the likes of occupational health, the police, and through engagement with victim/survivor support groups. ██████ shared how she had first come to know of the counselling support for victims/survivor which was available:

> *"I actually told an OT woman, who was helping me with relaxation so I could get out and about for my anxiety, so I told her, poor woman I don't think she'd heard anything like it before in her life. I feel that sorry for her yet I'm laughing. She just went away and said one minute. She said I seen this earlier, it's a leaflet and I don't know if it still exists, and that was it. She gave me the leaflet and said she'd find out if they still exist, and she came back and said you have to phone this number when you're ready and then I was in touch with my counsellor."*

It was highlighted, that not all individuals were initially aware that they could benefit from therapeutic support. ██████ shared that he had arbitrarily accessed counselling via his GP even though, *"I didn't even know I needed counselling."* Whether they knew they needed it or not however, individuals unanimously expressed how their engagement with therapy had been a means of offering them relief and support, which had an overall positive impact on their wellbeing, with phrases echoing sentiments such as, *"therapy has helped a lot",* being frequently mentioned within interviews. Such positive outcomes of therapeutic encounters is widely recognised in relation to individuals who have experienced abuse (see for example Bergin & Garfield 1994; Sanderson 2006), and overwhelmingly, the exchange that is

facilitated within therapeutic settings was referred to by all participants as being a helpful space to work through historic trauma. Research shows, that in particular, trauma-focused treatments are highly effective within this context (Ehring et al. 2014). ███████ shared how the process was not one which she anticipated would be swift, but one where she recognised the progress being made:

"I've got somebody to talk to now its fine, it's getting there, it's long but it's getting there."

Professional enablement as a mechanism for the productive exercise of power by professionals in terms of access to therapeutic support was made up of two particular elements. On the one hand, there was the provision of a service which specialised in working with individuals who had experienced historic abuse (which is discussed further in the chapter focussing on the structural exercise of power); and on the other, there were professionals who, through their skills in counselling were able to offer specialist support by means of their interventions with victims/survivors. The therapeutic process for individuals varied in form and intensity and was explained as being one that was tailored to their needs. Some individuals were receiving one to one support, whilst others participated in group sessions. The frequency of their engagement with the support service was also flexible and was available as and when needed, with a high degree of transparency between professionals and clients. Such levels of enablement through service provision were therefore of critical importance, and demonstrated the professional productive exercise of power. It was noted by several participants, that in addition to therapy, the service also offered other elements of support which were perceived as being very beneficial. ███████ summarised these elements when stating:

"So it's providing a broad range of services that survivors need, like accessing records, to advocate on their behalf, it might be to do with their benefits, it might be to do with their health, going to hospital and so on."

Of particular note, was the support individuals said they had experienced when they made attempts to access their care records. The support of the agency was seen as pivotal at this point, in not only advocating on behalf of individuals, but also in explaining processes and

being present at meetings and appointments relating to the matter. We know, how access to records is highly important to those leaving care (Goddard and Horrocks 2006), and such matters become increasingly pertinent if we consider the additional significance of records as evidence for victims/survivors of abuse and their potential to access justice. ▮▮▮▮ shared how his records offered evidence of the assaults he had experienced:

"At one point I have a report where I actually accuse him saying you've assaulted me, I want the police called and things like that. I believe this was when I was put out of the home."

Accessing care, health and other records was therefore of high importance for those affected by historic abuse (as discussed previously). And where professionals and organisations supported and enabled victims/survivors to access their records, the productive exercise of professional power was hence also apparent. Aside from records being a form of evidence which plays a significant role in access to justice, for some participants, access to records has also meant that important questions which they had not previously had answers to, were finally answered. The enablement of professionals and organisations in facilitating such processes has therefore been pivotal for victims/survivors of historic abuse.

It has been previously explained, that when victims/survivors had strived to access their records, they in effect, had demonstrated an individual productive exercise of power. However when we think of how professionals had either supported them to do this, or how the record holding care providers had such records available for individuals to access, it is synonymous with the professional productive exercise of power. It could be argued that such mandates were driven more structurally by government policies; and as true as this may seem on the surface, we already know from the previous discussion on records, how many were destroyed. Therefore it could be surmised that had an organisation not deemed it appropriate to maintain and share records, the destruction of or the denial of the existence of such records may have occurred.

Although records had been obtained by some victims/survivors, it was not always the case that they felt ready to re-examine the past. ▮▮▮▮ shared how for example:

"They're now in my home in a cupboard in the dark…I read the first two pages and thought I was going to die."

However, what had shifted for ████, was that since she now had her care records, she held a level of choice regarding whether she wanted to read them or not. She had explained during the course of the interview that she had struggled to initially locate where her care records were, but once she had established their location with the help of her support worker, she had been able to arrange a meeting with the archivist and take her records home. During the meeting she had been offered support to go through them, however she had declined the offer and made an active choice to take them home and face her history when she felt ready and able to do so in private. So despite the fact that ████ had found it difficult to read through her records, she had them with her and she now felt she had a choice as to when she would read them or what she would do with them. In effect, this enabled ████ to regain power and control, which had previously been located with the organisation when they held her records.

The enablement facilitated by professionals and organisations, in the shape of access to support as well as access to care records offers insights into the way in which professional power has been exercised in productive ways within the experiences of victims/survivors of historic abuse. Such reflections, it is hoped, offer an insight into the way in which professional productive power has been exercised. The professional exercise of power, which is enveloped by the authority referred to both professionals and organisations, has therefore not always been exercised in limiting ways for victims/survivors of historic abuse. Admittedly, the reference to anything which exemplifies the productive exercise of professional power was comparatively limited to discussions which highlighted the limiting exercise of professional power, nonetheless the professional productive exercise of power did emerge from the data. Similarly prevalent, were victims/survivors narratives which reflected the simultaneously 'good and bad' experiences they had with professionals and organisations and therefore the professional limiting/productive exercise of power.

The Professional Limiting/Productive Exercise of Power

In comparison to what was understood to be the limiting exercise of power, the limiting/productive exercise of power (in similar ways to the professional productive exercise of power), was less prominent when analysing the information shared by victims/survivors during interviews. Nevertheless the simultaneously limiting/productive exercise of professional power was a theme which came through, and was particularly connected to notions of professionals exercising power in decision making around the placement and relocation of children.

Professional Decision Making

Where professionals and organisations were vested with the authority to protect children and decision making was required in line with this, the decisions made around the placement and relocation of children to alternative placements were instances where the professional limiting/productive exercise of power became apparent. Primarily, we should be reminded of the fact that when children came into care, the rationale for this was in line with the authorities duties to protect children (Flynn & Starn 2004; Zastrow 2010) and was therefore arguably well intended. ██████ for example had been subject to severe sexual abuse at home before being taken into care, ██████ and her brother had suffered severe neglect and ██████ had been physically abused. Where there was no direct abuse present in the home setting, individuals reflected on how they became looked after because they had low school attendance, had a particular medical condition or that there was simply nobody around to care for them.

In situations where children were being abused within their home settings or there was nobody to care for them, the decision to remove children from harm or to care for them was quite evidently the best course of action undertaken by professionals. Where there were other conditions which were potentially impacting on development (whether biological or educational) the need to remove children from their homes (at least in line with present understandings) may well have been less clear cut. Nonetheless, if we consider social attitudes, as well as the policies which shaped the removal of children from their homes (discussed further in the structural exercise of power), professional decision making

in the removal of children in such circumstances can be understood. However, what the removal of children in such circumstances highlighted was the professional limiting/productive exercise of power, particularly when the placements allocated to children were not fit for purpose and did not meet their needs. ▮▮▮▮ highlighted this when she shared:

"I was classified as being mentally handicapped because I had brittle bones…so they put me into a hospital setting."

The Disability Employment Act of 1944 came with a promise to support those with disabilities, however such practices became marginalising as well as oppressive, and works such as Goffman (1961), recognised how authoritarian systems could exist, even to the point of being 'total institutions'. After years of campaigning eventually following the Jay Report of 1981, care in the community became the gradual way forward whereby, *"finally, the era of the asylum came to an end"* (Jarrett 2012, p40). ▮▮▮▮ in the above example had been labelled as being 'mentally handicapped' despite her condition being of a physical nature, which meant that the resulting placement within a mental health hospital setting was actually unsuitable. ▮▮▮▮ explained during the course of the interview that sometimes *"along with the others I felt like I was actually mental"*. In this way, care placements were not always fit for purpose. In some cases, placement settings were extremely inappropriate whilst in others, the needs of the children had evidently not been assessed appropriately and placements had been made in unsuitable settings.

A severe example of this was articulated by ▮▮▮▮ when he shared:

"In 1972 was my first experience of sexual abuse in a remand home. I had just turned 10 years old and I had been put in a remand home for adults who were awaiting court sentencing because they didn't have anywhere else to put me…I should never have been put there in the first place."

▮▮▮▮ had been removed from an abusive home environment and consequently been removed from harm. However, ▮▮▮▮ had then inappropriately been placed in a remand home for adults where he first experienced sexual abuse, which essentially moved him from

one place of harm to another. Although unintended, the decision making in such instances by professionals resulted in the limiting/productive exercise of power, because the impact of those arguably well intended decisions resulted in limiting consequences for ███████. On the one hand he had been removed from his family in order to protect him, whilst on the other, he was placed with adults who were in positions of power who exercised that in limiting ways towards him (discussed within the individual limiting exercise of power). The decision to place him within such a setting however, ultimately stemmed from professionals exercising power by virtue of their positional authority, making it both a limiting/productive exercise of professional power.

Another example of this was offered by ███████, who had been removed from a physically abusive home environment, yet was inappropriately placed in a List D school:

"I never had problems with attending school, I just wasn't given the opportunity so God knows why they put me in two list D schools for 9 years."

Again, although not directly abusive in the sense of how the abuse of children is generally understood, the inappropriateness of care placements became something which impacted in limiting ways for children, hence highlighting another dimension of the professional limiting/productive exercise of power within the experiences of victims/survivors of historic abuse. Also connected to the propriety of placements, was the matter of the actual number of placements that children in some cases experienced, offering another example with which to understand the limiting/productive exercise of power.

A significant point raised by some victims/survivors was the sheer number of care placements that they experienced. In the vast majority of cases, there was no consultation with the children themselves in order to inform the decision-making process which resulted in such moves. ███████ commented on how he and his siblings had lost count of how many different care settings they had been placed in, and on trying to estimate he stated, *"The number of care placements I would say were anywhere between 25 and 30."* The number of placements being high was not uncommon, nor was there any real sense of permanence or stability during their stay for some.

Victims/survivors had a range of different experiences when it came to the number of placements they were subjected to whilst in care. For ███████ it was a very high number over the course of his fifteen years in care whilst for others like ██████, although there were many in his first five years, he remained in one placement from then on. ████████ explained how he had six or seven placements over the first five years, which later settled into a single placement for a period of six years:

"I was in care from 1970, different children's homes, probably just for 3 weeks, 5 weeks, and the longest was over the summer months in a place for 3 or 4 months. So in and out, home for a bit, back out again and eventually in 1975 we went into a faith run residential home and I stayed there until 1981. So in total there were probably 7 or 8 placements during that time."

The professional reasoning behind the shifts in care placements for children was largely unknown to individuals in the majority of cases. However, ██████ did explain that he had been moved because he did not settle where he had been placed. It was only when he moved into the faith based residential home and was finally reunited with his brothers that he felt able to stay. As such, if the motive behind the relocation of children was to support their settlement, the productive exercise of professional power is also conveyed.

Although not directly considered abusive, the number and frequency of changing placements were therefore an expression of the limiting exercise of professional power. When children were being moved from place to place with a sense of uncertainty and little scope for a sense of stability, both in terms of sustaining relationships and remaining within a secure environment; children may understandably have felt disempowered and consequently insecure. This matter becomes increasingly significant when we consider how placement longevity has been recognised as a precursor for *"delivering positive longer-term outcomes for these children, irrespective of placement type"* (McSherry, Malet & Weatherall 2016, p56). Whilst, there is also a growing understanding of how children can be adversely affected by professional failures to provide children with stable placements (Jackson & Thomas 2000).

Victims/survivors, as children were in reduced power positions and therefore unable to influence the decisions being made for them in relation to where they would reside. Nevertheless it is acknowledged that in some cases, such moves were potentially necessary and intended to support the settlement of children. The limiting/productive exercise of professional power was therefore present in terms of the decision making of professionals in this regard.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to demonstrate how the professional exercise of power in relation to victims/survivors of abuse manifested itself in limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive ways. The professional exercise of power; that power which is potentially available to professionals and organisations in line with the authority they have been offered due to their professional standing was therefore experienced in a range of ways. Within the interviews, individuals offered a range of insights to enable an analysis of how power is exercised and impacts in these complex ways for victims/survivors of historic abuse.

The professional limiting exercise of power was experienced in relation to professional cultures in the form of poor practice and a level of collusion in the behaviours of professionals towards children. These included practices which affected children in limiting ways, with isolation and restraint being highlighted as two acute examples. Furthermore, professional structures were highlighted as being deficient in relation to the lack of vetting processes and sibling separation. Additionally, the absence in some cases of appropriate reporting structures for children as well as the absence of adequate education provision was also highlighted as being limiting.

The analysis then moved on to consider the professional productive exercise of power, which was less prevalent in the experience of victims/survivors of abuse, but existed when professionals and organisations were enabling. Victims/survivors shared their positive experiences of accessing support services with a particular focus on therapeutic interventions, which they felt had and continued to be of great benefit. Such professional enablement and its positive impact was also reflected in how victims/survivors spoke of

their successes in retrieving their care records, which were facilitated by professionals and organisations.

Lastly, the simultaneously limiting/productive exercise of power was considered in relation to professionals. Based on the narratives of victims/survivors, the professional limiting/productive exercise of power was related to professional decision making, whereby decisions relating to the placement or relocation of children was both simultaneously limiting and productive at times. Relating to this, individuals shared how they had been removed in line with understandings of protecting children at the time, but were not necessarily placed in settings which adequately met their needs. Also there was the case of professional decision making in terms of children being moved between placements, which although not negatively intended, did in fact impact individuals in limiting ways; rendering it a limiting/productive exercise of professional power.

In relation to the policy landscape which is presented in Chapter Two, having an understanding of the professional exercise of power is particularly pertinent to the way in which professionals and organisations deliver services. Professional enablement is possible, through state sanctioned initiatives, as it has been evidenced how professionals and organisations hold a degree of power which allows them to shape both cultures and practices within practice settings. The National Confidential Forum and how this has been implemented, offers one example of this. Despite the fact that its remit was circumscribed by the Government, the way in which it responds to victims/survivors who access the forum, remains very much within their professional power. Amongst other things, this in turn, adds to the scholarly debate (see Chapter Three) which contests the prevalence of historic abuse. Because if we move away from the dichotomy of considering what were, and were not abusive practices towards children, and refocus on professional power, we can explore whether the exercises of such power were deemed limiting by those who were affected, and whether they were professionally sanctioned, or not as the case may be. These reflections, contribute to highlighting the importance of the need for policy makers and academics alike, to be mindful of the exercise of professional power, in all its forms, within the context of the historic abuse of children in care.

Ultimately, the examples from victim/survivor experiences offered in this chapter, demonstrate that power on a professional level, (power which is conferred by virtue of professional standing), manifested and impacted in a range of ways, and is best captured by reflections on the limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive impact of such power. Collectively, the application of the Power Informed Practice framework of analysis has thus far demonstrated its relevance for the individual and professional exercise of power, however it is also relevant when we consider the third and arguably overarching significant location of power which was reflected by the data, that of the exercise of structural/societal power.

Chapter Eight: The Structural Exercise of Power

I	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	I
P	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	P
S	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	S

The third theme emerging from the data to be considered in relation to the historic abuse of children in care is that of the structural exercise of power and its impact on victims/survivors. The Structural (S) level here refers to the exercise of power on a structural and societal level, which is informed by the socio-political dimension, and in similar ways to Smith (2008), incorporates a focus on the government, law/policy and the media. Essentially, it refers to the power exercised in ways that potentially impact upon society at large or on particular groups within society, which extend beyond any singular institution. The combination of social and political factors explored within this chapter are critical for informing our understanding of the wider and arguably overarching exercises of power which have influenced and shaped the experiences of victims/survivors of historic abuse, bringing with them sociological and social policy considerations.

Giddens (1984) explains the relevance of structural considerations when he refers to the 'dialectic of control', present in social systems whereby agency is present and both relations of autonomy and dependence coexist in social interaction. He writes on the connection between action and structure suggesting that a 'duality of structure' exists, whereby structure and agency are interdependent. Put simply, this means that humans shape society but are simultaneously restricted by it, due to the way in which social structures are created through action whilst action is given meaning via social structures. Such thinking has been affirmed through reflections upon varying contexts whereby structure and agency are not regarded as dichotomous entities (see Rubin 2017; Rutar 2018) and therefore allow for a dialectical relationship between agency and structure to be possible in order to support individuals (Abel & Frohlich 2012; Roy & Sansfacon 2015).

The structural exercise of power within the context of this research is therefore not presented as a standalone entity. In fact the dialectical relationship between structure and individuals as well as institutions is recognised. In similar ways to the way in which the

previous chapter recognised how professionals/organisations were sanctioned power due to their professional standing, this chapter also recognises that the structures within society at large are formed as a result of human endeavor. Despite this overlap however, a consideration of the structural exercises of power allows us to consider another level at which power has and in some ways continues to impact on victims/survivors of historic abuse. Referring back to the central research questions of: At what level is/was power exercised in relation to victims/survivors of historic abuse in care? And what is/was the impact of such exercises of power upon victims/survivors of historic abuse in care? An analysis of the structural level of power facilitates further insights regarding the broader mechanisms by which power can be exercised and experienced. This chapter therefore begins with an exploration of structural limiting exercises of power, following which the focus moves to structurally productive power and then concludes with an analysis of how the exercise of power at a structural level impacts upon victims/survivors of historic abuse in simultaneously limiting/productive ways.

The Structural Limiting Exercise of Power

The structural limiting exercise of power, which emerged from the analysis of interview data, highlighted one way in which power was exercised structurally. The structural exercise of power in some respects therefore impacted in limiting ways for victims/survivors who experienced historic abuse in care. The two central sub-themes within this area were that of limiting social attitudes and limiting macro systems, both of which highlighted the ways in which power was exercised in limiting ways on a structural level. The structural limiting exercise of power involved the limiting social attitudes experienced, which did and continue in some respects to prevail and impact, as well as the limiting social systems which were inadequate or not present to protect children from harm, particularly in relation to the scrutiny and inspection of care services.

Limiting Social Attitudes

Societal attitudes both past and present have sometimes been experienced as limiting by victims/survivors of historic abuse. This has of course manifested in a range of ways and was prevalent within the narratives of victims/survivors as they discussed their experiences. In

the first instance, there appeared to be a level of social acceptance of what would now in the present day be considered, as abusive behaviour. ▮▮▮▮ explained this in relation to the way in which social attitudes around sexually inappropriate behaviour had shifted when she recalled:

"You know, back in the 50s and 60s a guy pinching your bum was acceptable. A guy, whistling to you in the streets in the 80s was acceptable, but it's not now. So you can't go, 'well back then he should've known better'. Well no, because back then you allowed it."

Although ▮▮▮▮ explained the inappropriateness of such behaviour, she also considered how it was socially permissible at the time, and in effect therefore, was created by social attitudes. In this light, we are able to understand that the acceptability of certain practices was essentially a construct of society's views on what was and was not permissible.

Historic associations between children in need of care and the Poor Law within the UK held negative connotations, and as Holman (1988) argued, the focus of the Law was not on promoting children's welfare, rather it was aimed to deter dependence (Shaw 2007). This coupled with assumptions surrounding how 'problem children' were sent to residential institutions (Abrams 1998), as well as control rather than care being at the forefront of treatment towards children (Parkin & Green 1997; Spencer and Knudsen 1992; Stein 2006), and wider society sharing an interest in 'difficult children' being contained at a reduced cost (Jones 1995, Steel & Simpson 2017); evidently perpetuated such ways of thinking. Another stark example of this was the way in which corporal punishment has historically been viewed in the UK (see discussion in Chapter Three). In relation to physical assault ▮▮▮▮ explained how he had experienced this during his childhood:

"When I was young, you were made to believe that if you're hurt, it's because of you that's why you got whacked, it was you and that's what it was, and that's how I took it in life that it was my fault."

▮▮▮▮ here reflects on the way in which he came to understand that any physical chastisement he experienced whilst in care was the direct consequence of what he had done, therefore 'the punishment fit the crime', so to speak. Being hurt physically was thus

understood as a normal and natural response to any undesirable behaviour from children; and even in contemporary society remains a contested issue (Isaacs 2011). Within British state schools, the use of corporal punishment was banned by the government as late as 1982 (BBC News 1982). Therefore prior to this time, it may be reasonable to suggest that in the main, social attitudes towards the matter were accepting of the practice due to the limiting social attitudes which framed the structural power which was being exercised and impacting upon children in limiting ways. Furthermore, social attitudes towards children historically within the UK perpetuated the devaluation of children's rights in comparison to the rights of adults (Hawkins and Briggs 1997) and as a result there was a strong sense of the violation of children's rights. ▮▮▮▮ highlighted this point when she shared:

"I am resentful and angry at being let down and not believed but generally disappointed that we were not treated as being human."

Victims/survivors of historic abuse in some instances therefore, were made to feel like they were not human or did not possess the rights which others did. And whether this was due to their status of being in care and/or their status of being a child, both were of consequence. Hence it could be surmised that children generally were perceived to be less entitled to those rights which were held by adults, and this is reflected in the way that the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) adopted by the UN only came into force in 1989; whilst children in care perhaps were further marginalised in respect of those rights which were held by the general population of children. ▮▮▮▮ went on to elaborate on her feelings around how her status as a child in care meant that she was treated badly.

"I don't like the way the police would not listen as we were not human just those from a home who will grow up to be in prison or dead in a ditch. I'm human, I deserved a chance at a normal life."

The social attitudes which created a sense of the structural limiting exercise of power however, were not solely confined to the past. Victims/survivors spoke of their ongoing struggles against the way in which professionals and non-professionals alike responded to them when they discussed their childhood experiences of abuse. This is particularly concerning in light of research evidence which demonstrates the detriment that such stigma

can cause, particularly in relation to child sexual abuse (Feiring, Simon, & Cleland 2017; Ullman & Filipas 2005). In respect of current social attitudes, victims/survivors spoke of the limiting social attitudes they encountered. ██████ shared how recently a work colleague he had disclosed his sexual abuse experience to, had responded:

[She said] *"'I'm very surprised, because most people in your place kill themselves.' And I thought… You know I've had to fight all my life for survival you know, that was basically like getting a slap in the face, like why are you still here kind of attitude. You shouldn't be here you know. You're breaking all the rules by being here and things like that."*

██████ went on to speak about how he had also spoken to his long-term neighbour and friend about his abuse experiences and she had admitted later that she had searched his name on the internet to see if there were any news stories on his case within the media. And when she had not found anything online she presented the view, which ██████ described as being, *"It's not on Google so it never happened."* Negative social attitudes such as these, which brought with them a sense of the limiting exercise of structural power demonstrates one way in which power was exercised in limiting ways structurally.

The abuse experienced by children historically, remains disputed in the academic world (Smith 2008, 2016) as well as within public spheres it seems by way of ██████s example. Such attitudes towards victims/survivors of abuse were experienced both in the past when they were children, as well as in the present during their adult lives. Perhaps as a direct or indirect result of such attitudes towards victims/survivors of historic abuse, participants also spoke of how they experienced certain systems, which also reflected the limiting exercise of structural power.

Limiting Social Systems

Social systems within societies are distinguished by Giddens as being different to social structures within society. Giddens (1984) explains how systems display structural properties such as the application of rules and distribution of resources but are not in themselves structures. In addition to this, he suggests that a process of structures producing and reproducing structures exists, which he conceptualised and referred to as 'structuration'.

From the outset, we are aware of how the very fact that children enter care reinforces their social exclusion (White 1999; Kendrick 2005). Furthermore, because historically children's homes were geographically isolated (Sharpe 2006), it lead to further isolation due to issues such as children being distanced from families (Millham et al. 1986), as well as mainstream society. It is further suggested that historically, professionals within children's care settings were also isolated (White 1973). Additionally, academics argue that the nature of residential care establishments over the course of history as creating isolation has been another key factor in abuse occurring (Sen et al 2008; Doran & Brenning 1996) and remaining undetected (Berridge & Brodie 1996). Perhaps reflecting concerns around such limiting social systems, ▮▮▮▮ shared how she felt, *"It was the whole system that was in place that allowed that abuse could happen and meant that abuse could thrive";* and such sentiments were echoed amongst participants as they raised the issue of limiting systems, which existed and allowed for the abuse to occur, with intense emotions on the subject permeating throughout the interviews. Not only were social attitudes of limiting consequence therefore, but so were the systems which were in place embodying the structural exercise of power in limiting ways. ▮▮▮▮ expressed his thoughts in relation to this by stating:

'Well I'm angry at the system that allowed any of the abuse to take place in the care placements. I'm angry that the authorities allowed it to happen."

Whilst, ▮▮▮▮ shared:

"So that whole system allowed that to happen. That would be certainly the former Scottish office in Scotland being at fault. I think they were complicit in it."

The government's exercise of structural power is significant in shaping the infrastructure within which social life operates. We know for example that policy developments as well as ministerial pronouncements impact directly on the delivery of social work services (Smith 2008); and thus children in care and the structures in place are perhaps pivotal to the way in which victims/survivors experienced their time in care historically. In most cases, participants tended not to articulate what exactly constituted the 'system', and often presented a tacit understanding, however ▮▮▮▮ provided some further insights into what was being alluded to by saying:

"It's the organisation, it's the whole structure, it's the way in which care placements were dealt with, the way they were overseen and given absolute authority to one individual in charge of a big group of kids in some settings".

Participants did however go on to discuss particular elements of the 'system' and its shortcomings, with one example being the lack of perceived scrutiny and inspection being present historically in relation to children's care within children's homes. In light of this ▮▮▮▮ highlighted how, *"Those in authority should have done the correct checks that children were being cared for."* It is argued therefore, that the fact that some children's placements were not subject to the same level of scrutiny and inspection that is more commonplace today, in effect resulted in the expression of power within institutions and amongst individuals via limited regulation.

"I blame the system that was overseeing it both at the local council level and those who made the placement who would be wherever the kid came from so for example the area team who were in charge, they would have been responsible for not overseeing the placement properly."

As mentioned previously, inaction as well as action results in the exercise of power in its various guises, therefore the inadequacy or lack of appropriate systems resonates with the limiting exercise of structural power. In some instances, systems of inspection did appear to be present, however even when they were, authority figures who visited placements seemed to have missed recognising that children were being abused. As ▮▮▮▮ explained:

"The Church as an institution are to blame because they had a responsibility in overseeing the care. The Canon used to come over regular."

Another view shared by ▮▮▮▮, highlighted the lack of appropriate inspection by social work professionals visiting placements:

"The Former Scottish office at the time should have thought that if these nuns are only seeing inspectors at the parlour then how are the children? They didn't even take them through to where the children were."

Participants therefore also spoke of how although social workers and others did attend the care placement, they would not always see or speak with children. In fact, within victim/survivor narratives, it transpired that in the majority of cases, children were not consulted in regards to their placement experiences. The point being raised connects closely with that which was raised previously around children's rights and the 'right to be heard' being one which was felt to be omitted at the time that victims/survivors were in care. It is argued, that the lack of focus on children's rights due to social attitudes was what framed the way in which systems for children in care were structured; creating a dualistic structural limiting exercise of power. ███ went on to explain the consequence of this lack of inspection for her:

> *"So how could they possibly assess correctly what our care was like if they didn't actually see where we were living and speak to us."*

In itself, the lack of scrutiny and inspection over care placements thus forms another example of the structural limiting exercise of power; whereby the system was not always protective and neither were individuals, who were involved in overseeing the lived experiences of children in care. Although the individual or professional limiting exercise of power may indeed have continued in the presence of appropriate structural scrutiny and inspection systems being in place, the relative absence or inadequacy of such systems was a significant factor in enabling the process from the perspectives of victims/survivors of historic abuse. Perhaps one of the benefits of hindsight is that in the modern day, structural power being exercised in the form of Ofsted and the implementation of the care standards has meant that there is now a standardised process by which to monitor and regulate care placements for children. Yet despite these, it remains unclear as to whether they are having the desired impact (Kelly 2015). Therefore, it should come as no surprise, that policy directed and legislatively ordained processes were the core of what victims/survivors reflected in alignment with the structural productive exercise of power.

The Structural Productive Exercise of Power

The structural productive exercise of power was another prominent theme emerging from the analysis of interview data, whereby victims/survivors spoke of how structurally, power

was exercised. The structural productive exercise of power was connected quite acutely to the policy initiatives and legislation, past and present, which were understood to be in place in order to offer children protection. The two central sub-themes with regards to the structural productive exercise of power were that of historic policy/legislation and that of the developments in policy legislation since the individuals' time in care, which were geared towards the protection of children.

In recent years, the Children's Act 2004 supplemented the 1989 Act and reinforced messages around the importance of organisations holding a duty to promote the welfare of, and safeguard children in the UK. Broadly speaking, we are well aware of how amongst other things, the government regulates, sets the agenda for and finances services, including that of care provision for children who are accommodated. Scotland's residential care services for example, are strongly supported by central government policy and the government continues to play a major role in the lives of children who are looked after by the state (Connelly & Milligan 2012). In some cases, the development of policy and legislation pertaining to the protection of children historically and contemporarily, as well as in relation to victims/survivors (discussed in Chapter Two), was experienced and recognised to be a means by which productive power was exercised on a structural level.

Historic Legislation/Policy

Some victims/survivors were cognizant of the protection, which was afforded to children at a time when they were themselves children, and reflected on this in a positive light. Retrospectively, they were aware that there was legislation and policy present during their childhood, by virtue of which they were protected from harm, and spoke of how this had benefitted them. For example, *"remember the various Children's Acts were in place at these times and so we were protected under the Law"*, ████ had reminded me during the interview.

████ and other individuals predominantly spoke of historic legislation/policy as having a productive effect in relation to how they had been removed from the harmful environments they were in, when with their families. As discussed previously, it is important to remember how predominantly, children were removed and placed within care, away from their

families, in order to safeguard and protect them, by moving them away from what were frequently abusive environments to places of safety away from harm. The majority of victims/survivors acknowledged this overarching form of productive structural power in their narratives.

In some cases, children were removed due to neglect, sexual and physical abuse. For ██████, there was a combination of violence as well as neglect that he was subjected to experience from an early age:

"According to the press documents and other documents I've read, I was pale, thin, undernourished and had 97 injuries during the months when the abuse took place…I wasn't dressed properly I wasn't fed properly, the bed wasn't changed, it was soiled with urine and excrement. There was no hugs, no kisses, no reassurance from them as to how they cared for me and so on."

In other instances, there was sexual abuse, and for others there was multiplicity in the forms of the abuse they were being subjected to within their home environments. Further details of why children were removed from their home environments are contained within Appendix II; however what remained the same across the narratives of victims/survivors was that a need to remove them from home had been identified. For ██████ in particular, her removal from the family home was something she retrospectively welcomed, as she explained:

"My family was responsible for me being in care. But, if I could go back in time I'd rather be in care than be with my mother, because she's an evil bitch."

Victims/survivors of historic abuse were therefore very mindful of how they had often been removed from extremely harmful home environments to be relocated to a place of safety. Therefore the protective power deployed by legislation resulted in the removal of children; which in itself was often a necessary measure to ensure the protection of children immediately. In that moment therefore, children did experience the productive structural exercise of power, because in the face of imminent harm, the removal from such harm was a matter of priority as individuals reflected back on their past experiences.

Contemporary Developments in Policy/Legislation

In tandem with historic policy/legislation, which reflected a sense of the productive exercise of structural power, was the matter of on-going developments with the measures being implemented in order to protect children. Individuals were positive and hopeful regarding the advancements in the way in which policy and legislation was being shaped in order to achieve better experiences and outcomes for children who enter the care system. ███████ shared that she was pleased with the policy/legislative initiatives which had been developed since her time in care and said:

"We need to continue to do what we have been doing…Everyone has the PVG now, which is great."

Other individuals spoke of how the protection of children was currently at the core of social work practice in ways that it had not been historically, and children were being afforded their rights in an unprecedented way. Overall there was a sense from victims/survivors that the policies and legislation which had been developed since their own time in care had improved the level of protection afforded to children. However ██████, like some others still felt there was much more that could still be improved in terms of listening to children:

"I think children should be heard and not ignored. It doesn't matter how young children are, they should be listened to. Maybe if people actually listened to what they said it wouldn't destroy the rest of their lives whatever had happened."

And others, like ███████ offered ideas on how services for children may be further improved moving forward. ██████ suggested that only people who were passionate about the welfare of children should be allowed to work within the child care sector and there should be increased service user and carer involvement with the recruitment and selection of staff being employed. Nonetheless, in the majority of cases, such suggestions were linked to a recognition of how there had been positive developments in the care as well as protection of children and how such advancements needed to continue. The developments in both policy and legislation surrounding children in care, was therefore a significant factor which

demonstrated the structural productive exercise of power, because such shifts were positively viewed by victims/survivors of historic abuse.

Another facet of the productive structural exercise of power was evidenced by the way in which generally, professional institutions were considered to be better equipped to deal with disclosures of abuse. ████, for example offered his thoughts around the way there had been institutional reform within the police:

"I think the police and all that are taking it more seriously now when people are coming across and saying that they have been abused."

Some legislative developments which directly related to victims/survivors of historic abuse were also considered in a positive light, and this was particularly highlighted in relation to the lifting of the time bar as ████ explained the progress which had been made when he said, *"I think the Scottish Government, the current administration are finally making the right move... because the Government has lifted the time bar."*

Such legislative reform which currently enables victims/survivors to pursue justice through the civil courts more easily were unanimously understood to be a positive development, suggesting again that some legislative/policy developments have been experienced as a productive exercise of structural power by victims/survivors of historic abuse. Another all-encompassing policy manifestation of productive power from the perspectives of victims/survivors was the commissioning of counselling support services by the Government. Although the positive impacts of the counselling support were analysed as productive power being exercised on a professional level (as discussed in the previous chapter), the commissioning of such services is located within the structural domain. As such, victims/survivors acknowledged the availability of counselling and therapeutic support and recognised it as a positive step forward by the Government in addressing the harms of the past. ████ demonstrated an acknowledgment of this when stating, *"It's the best thing they [the government] could have done for us"*. However, not all policy and legislative developments were understood as purely productive. In fact, most initiatives stemming from the government in terms of responding to the historic abuse of children in care were

highlighted to be simultaneously limiting and productive, as the following analysis of the structural limiting/productive exercise of power demonstrates.

The Structural Limiting/Productive Exercise of Power

The structural limiting/productive exercise of power emerged as the third, but most prominent theme from the analysis of the interview data when exploring the structural exercise of power, whereby victims/survivors spoke of how structurally, power was exercised in simultaneously limiting/productive ways. The structural exercise of power in limiting/productive ways was significant for some victims/survivors when they described processes, which both historically and prospectively were considered in both a positive and negative light. The two sub-themes with regards to the structural limiting/productive exercise of power which emerged were that of the media and governments responses to historic abuse.

Media Responses

On a structural level, the power of the media has been recognised within social work contexts, whereby social work and the media have long held an uncomfortable relationship (Smith 2008), and this has been exacerbated by the negative media representation of social workers and the profession for both intervening too little (Ayre 2001) or too much (Kitzinger 2004), resulting in public inquiries (see for example Laming 2003; Laming 2007). In greater focus also, particular areas of practice, such as residential care have been represented in a negative light (Aldridge 1994). Although we understand how very little news is ever 'good news', the media is indeed capable of contributing to creating negativity within public perceptions towards the social work profession. However, if this in its consequence, results in power plays which lead us to reframe our thinking in order to benefit vulnerable individuals, then the media as a vehicle of power should not necessarily be perceived as entirely problematic.

Despite caution being offered in terms of how the media has psycho-pathologised victims/survivors (Kitzinger 2004), the power of the media cannot be overlooked or necessarily be deemed solely limiting (Powell & Scanlon 2014). And social work should

therefore endeavour to be mindful of changes in dominant discourses (Ayre 2001) and the power they hold via the media. Therefore, in a similar sense, the value of incorporating an understanding of the media as a mechanism of structural/societal level power should not be underestimated in relation to the historic abuse of children in care.

Within the context of the historic abuse of children in care, the media has been a means by which power has been exercised in simultaneously limiting/productive ways. Quite positively, the overall media coverage and number of news stories have provided an unprecedented level of exposure to abuses of the past, and victims/survivors including ██████, ██████, ██████ and ██████ commented on the role the media had played in bringing pertinent issues to the fore. This is not dissimilar to the way in which the role of the media in raising awareness of historic abuse has been noted internationally (Daly 2014b). In the Scottish context, individuals who participated in this study shared how they felt that not only has the media highlighted historic injustices, but may also be a means of preventing the abuse of children. The prevention of future abuse therefore was also connected to the exposure the issue has had via the media, because as ██████ said:

"In this day and age you've got all your Facebook and that so I think it's more difficult for something to be sustained for such a period of time without somebody getting to know about it and take appropriate action. So as much as I don't understand technology I think that is a bit of a blessing with that even preventing one child or one vulnerable adult becoming a victim."

However what has made it simultaneously limiting is the way in which the news coverage within the media in the form of the tabloid press, social media and television, serves as a constant reminder for some victims/survivors of painful memories from the past including ██████ and ██████. For example ██████ recognised how, *"It's been on the TV all the time and you just can't get away from it."* Here, ██████ was of the view that when historic trauma exists, a constant reminder may well be unhelpful and impact negatively on those who have suffered. ██████ was therefore of the view that for some, reminders via the media may result in victims/survivors having to re-live past trauma, which would understandably cause further hurt.

Kitzinger (2000) used the term "media template" to explain how news is framed around certain events and is subsequently applied to ensuing events almost standardising reporting processes in order to create coherent narratives on social issues. The media has evidently played a key role in highlighting historic abuse as a social issue, reporting of which has now reached a point of saturation (Kitzinger 2004, p36) which may in part be due to the way that more broadly, media coverage of child abuse has at least in part been sensationalised (Franklin & Parton 1991). Therefore although the media has brought to light the historic injustices faced by victims/survivors, it has also been a means of creating unwelcome reminders of the past - thus resonating with notions of the structural limiting/productive exercise of power.

State Responses

In addition to the limiting/productive exercise of power by the media, the enabling and disabling functions of the law are also present as, *"the law in its specificity and rigidity, seems ill-equipped to deal with the complexities and inconsistencies of human behaviour and the need to exercise flexible professional judgements in relation to it"* (Smith 2008, p93). The law, as Weber (1978) understood it, is underpinned by notions of common good rather than fulfilling individual interests. Therefore, by virtue of its overarching and all-encompassing nature, the law cannot be expected to provide detailed answers, which may inform practice in a nuanced way (Roche 2001).

As previously discussed, we are well aware of how amongst other things, the government regulates, sets the agenda for and finances services, including that of children's care provision. With specific regard to the historic abuse of children in care, we have thus also seen both policy developments and ministerial endeavours which are shaping the way in which historic abuse in the UK as well as more specifically within Scotland, is being responded to (as discussed Chapter Two). When victims/survivors were asked regarding their views around structural responses to historic abuse, it became evident that they spoke about previous and proposed initiatives in simultaneously limiting and productive ways.

Responses to historic abuse on a national level first emerged in 2004 with Jack McConnell offering a national apology to victims/survivors of abuse. The public apology was in essence

the first tangible measure undertaken by Scottish Government to address the historic abuse of children in care. In December 2004, Scotland's First Minister Jack McConnell extended the apology by saying, "*I offer a sincere and full apology on behalf of the people of Scotland, to those who were subject to such abuse and neglect; who did not receive the level of love, care and support that they deserved and who have coped with that burden all of their lives*". (The Scottish Government News, 2004)

Those individuals, who had heard of the apology, reflected on the apology in both a positive and negative light. ████, along with others presented the view that although acknowledging the abuse suffered by children in care was a positive step forward on part of the Scottish Government, follow up actions were required to evidence the sincerity of apology:

"*You need a sincere apology in some way or another. If a public apology was going to be sincere... they'd have to take action to show it.*"

████ also reiterated this view when he said:

"*An apology is one thing right, and it is important, but you need to back that up with something, you've got to address survivor needs to make it tangible so it can actually have an impact on their lives. An apology, yes, but then act on the things.*"

Therefore on this basis, the national apology offered by Jack McConnell was understood to be both a productive and limiting measure undertaken. ████ was mindful of both the positive and negative views held by others regarding the public apology, however for ████ this marked a 'turning point' in the campaign for victims/survivors of historic abuse. In his explanation, he also mentioned how "*maybe the apology law coming through Parliament might address the issues around an apology*", whereby he hoped that organisations would also follow suit and extend apologies as the Apologies (Scotland) Act 2016 was implemented.

The commitment for apology law sought by victims/survivors (discussed in Chapter Two) has since been responded to by the Government, but its effectiveness in eliciting apologies remains uncertain. Certainly there has not to date been evidence of a cultural shift towards

readily offering apologies; and even if they were offered, their sincerity may likely be undermined by the way in which they are set out within the legislation itself (Irvine 2013). Nonetheless, some victims/survivors like ████, continued to feel that *"it would go a long way for people if they apologised."*

Another structural response to historic abuse which was both perceived as limiting and productive simultaneously was that of the establishment of the National Confidential Forum (NCF) in 2014. The establishment of the NCF, as part of the broader Survivor Scotland Strategy, followed on from the recommendations of the pilot confidential forum with a remit to provide an opportunity for those who were placed in institutional care as children to recount their experiences of being in care (Victims and Witnesses (Scotland) Act 2014). Established in July 2014, the NCF was set up primarily as a space where individuals from Scotland who had experienced abuse within institutional care settings could share the testimony of their experiences. The nature of its confidential status however, meant that the testimonies of victims/survivors were not kept as part of the national record; but instead destroyed, whilst a report produced annually by the forum would reflect the collective experiences of those participating. This was understood as a major limitation of the process by victims/survivors, as was the fact that there was no avenue for justice in light of their testimony being given.

There are recognised challenges in using witness testimonies as the sole form of evidence to substantiate historic abuse allegations (Burnett 2016), and as with this research (explained in Chapter Four), the aim of the forum was perhaps to acknowledge testimonies rather than determine their truth. As such, the forum was there to listen to experiences but was not mandated to act upon them. Although the forum stated that support would be provided for individuals to report allegations to the police, this would be a process where they would have to repeat what had already been shared. That is not to undermine however, the acknowledgement and potential therapeutic benefits which were present for survivors accessing the NCF, hence resonating with the exercise of limiting/productive structural power. ████ for example, spoke of how for her, it was about the expectations one had of the NCF which would result in either a positive or negative experience:

"I thought it was all right. You went in, and you said what happened to you, and you got to say it all and you got to leave it there...If you're walking in and you think, 'they're going to fix this for me, they're going to get them'. Justice or whatever, it's not going to work. But if you're walking in thinking, 'I'm just going to say what happened and that's it', you can leave it there and you can move on with your life, and that's what I did. I didn't expect anything from them."

For others, there were additional barriers present which restricted their access to the NCF making it both a productive and limiting initiative, for example ████ spoke of how she never went *"because of the distance of it and all the travelling."* Whilst some individuals, like ████ and ████ felt that they were not ready to face speaking about their abuse experiences in an official setting. For individuals like ████ however, it was other people's experiences of the NCF which shaped his ambivalence around whether the NCF was something that he wanted to access:

"I've not phoned about that because I wasn't too sure. I know a couple of people who went for it and they were having to come in and out and in and out and I was saying to myself, do I really want to go through that?"

Mixed emotions were therefore present for some individuals when they considered accessing the NCF, similarly to how they were present when participants spoke of their experiences after they had attended. On a very practical note, ████ spoke of how she had thought the NCF was well organised in parts but not in other respects when she shared:

"I think it was well put together and they really listened. At the end I just think there wasn't enough time to recover. You had to kind of leave afterwards and more time would have been better. I found the big table quite imposing and the way that they were lined up sitting together. I went alone and I got scared and I needed somebody by my side, I was quite overwhelmed."

████'s narrative alludes to a sense of professional power being present within the room and she reflects on feeling intimidated in response. She also refers to the power present in terms of the forums representatives defining the duration of the meeting. Interestingly,

██████'s research interview with me spanned across two meetings and was the longest in terms of duration. And in her comments to me following the interview (see Chapter Four) she had stated that *"I really don't want you to go because I know you're going so far away. But I know you have to"*. Therefore her comments in relation to the NCF which signify that she would have liked to have been given more time at the end, are understandable. Not only did ██████ need to feel like she was being listened to, she also needed the ending of the interaction to be facilitated by professionals accordingly, and perhaps phased out.

In terms of the NCF process therefore, individuals sometimes remained unfulfilled. In a similar manner, the matter of how transcripts of the testimony provided by victims/survivors would be destroyed, also left much to be desired by those accessing the NCF. The destruction of records resonated for some with past experiences of their care records being destroyed, and therefore the NCF's position on the matter was seen as a particular shortcoming of the process. ██████ shared his dismay on how the NCF had been mandated to destroy records of testimonies when he expressed:

> *"So I feel that the experience I had with the NCF was very positive, but I think it was very short sighted of the legislatives to say, two weeks and the information is destroyed."*

Mixed views such as ██████'s and ██████'s above, on their experiences of the NCF as well as other views which implied negative consequences of engagement with the process, undoubtedly would have influenced the views of individuals such as ██████, contributing to a sense of ambivalence regarding the process. Yet despite this, we are able to see that the NCF as a national structural response to the historic abuse of children in care facilitated both a productive and limiting impact for victims/survivors abuse on a range of levels. Whether this was due to its accessibility or the type of experience it offered, the impact in both limiting/productive ways was apparent in the narratives of individuals, thus reflecting how the NCF has been a means of the structural limiting/productive exercise of power.

Following on from the national structural level initiative of the NCF was the matter of the National Inquiry, which was again, another mechanism for the exercise of structural limiting/productive power (also discussed in Chapter Two). At the point of interviews being undertaken, the Inquiry into the historic abuse of children in care in Scotland was at its very

early stages and therefore the majority of victims/survivors had not taken part in the process. Nonetheless, they offered their views on how it was both a positive and negative step forward in offering a response to the historic abuse of children in care. The positivity was echoed in relation to the formal recognition that was being granted to the plight of victims/survivors as well as the opportunity to have their testimonies preserved (unlike with the NCF); however on the contrary, it was simultaneously seen as a waste of public funds and perceived as having limited future scope for any positive impact upon victims/survivors.

Views such as ████'s offered insights into how the Inquiry was a positive step forward, and a means by which victims/survivors could publicly speak about their experiences so that lessons could be learned. ████ articulated this when he stated:

"I think it's good to speak about this publicly and it's raising awareness. And I want my voice to go down in history and be part of the public record we have on what happened in Scotland so we don't forget to learn our lesson."

On the contrary, individuals such as ████ presented very strong views which criticised the purpose and value of an inquiry, particularly due to the expenses associated with the initiative:

"I think it's just another waste of money. A lot of money is going to go into a big public Inquiry and I don't think it's going to actually achieve anything for survivors. A lot of people make money out of the process, professionals and consultants and this and that, it's another example of where funds should be going to survivors but instead they're going towards a process that isn't going to get us anything tangible at the end of it."

████ felt very strongly about the cost implications of the inquiry, and how it would not offer any tangible benefit to victims/survivors of historic abuse. ████'s concerns around the cost, were certainly not unfounded, because as we know, the inquiry is the costliest in Scottish history (The Herald 2016), costing almost nineteen million British pounds to date (Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry 2019). Therefore for ████ at least, the cost far outweighed any perceived benefits of holding an Inquiry into past abuses. And because there were both positive and negative views present amongst individuals regarding a national inquiry into

the historic abuse of children in care, it is clear that the structural exercise of power related to its formation and facilitation can be understood to convey the exercise of productive and limiting power for victims/survivors. On the one hand it is considered a positive step forward and there are evident benefits, however on the other, its cost and impact are highly contentious matters. On a similarly contentious note, were the views expressed by individuals on the matter of financial redress for victims/survivors of historic abuse.

Although in the present day, the Scottish Government have committed to introduce a financial compensation/redress scheme for victims/survivors of historic abuse, at the time that research interviews were completed, there were no such commitments present. Nevertheless, when victims/survivors were asked about their views on financial redress, there were mixed emotions present regarding the potential benefit as well as harm that monetary payments could lead to for victims/survivors of historic abuse. This should hardly come as a surprise, since the inequalities of power relations present within redress scheme processes have been recognised (Sköld, Sandin & Schiratzki 2018).

███████ for one was quite clear that, rather than injecting large financial sums into an Inquiry process, the money should go directly to victims/survivors themselves because:

"They say that the only reason that survivors are doing all of this is because survivors want compensation yet they're the ones taking every penny. So who's the greedy bastard here? It's not us."

███████ may have raised a very significant point here, in countering some of the arguments present within scholarly thinking which suggest financial motivation may be a precursor for abuse allegations to be made (Smith 2008), as the trajectory of research activity as well as the presentation of findings is just as susceptible to such motivations. Because even within the academic world, funding for research is competitive, whilst creating research 'impact' is dominating discourse (Martin 2011), which means that research and the presentation of findings, may well be financially motivated. As such, questions around who is, and who is not actually benefitting financially when it comes to the historic abuse of children in care, remain.

Overwhelmingly, victims/survivors expressed how they felt that financial redress was an individual's right and was essentially a means of appropriate support for people who had been adversely impacted through the course of their lives as a result of the abuse that they had experienced. ███████ expressed how, *"Money is nothing to me but I do think we should get compensation."* Whilst others, such as ███████ highlighted the very practical benefits of having access to financial redress, as she approached what she understood to be the end of her life:

> *"We should get a generous amount so at least we can get a decent burial and for our sicknesses and illnesses. We don't want financial hardship and struggle. They should pay up quickly because I'm already ready to go into my grave; and I don't want to go into a pauper's grave. And I'm sick of the hardship because it's contributing to my bad health"*

███████ and others also highlighted that the time being taken by the Government in reaching a decision on financial redress was extremely problematic and impacting negatively on victims/survivors. ███████ was particularly angry, when he questioned, *"Are they waiting for more people to die before they say they will give victims money?"* It has certainly been the case that individuals participating in campaign processes to access financial redress for historic abuse have passed away during this time (see for example Naysmith 2017); therefore ███████'s question and emotional presentation is understandable during the course of the interview.

Apart from the practical support that financial redress could offer, some victims/survivors considered the symbolic value it held in relation to notions of acknowledgment. For example, ███████ shared his views on financial redress, and how perhaps it would serve as acknowledgment; but in itself would not offer a complete sense of justice:

> *"Money doesn't make you happy…I don't think it would be justice because it wouldn't solve anything. Yes it would make you financially secure and it would prove that they were in the wrong I guess, because they are giving you something to show that."*

Additionally, the matter of redress also caused significant concerns for certain individuals in terms of what the meaning of the payment would be, and this was particularly prevalent

amongst some of those victims/survivors who had experienced sexual abuse. Rather than it being a means of acknowledgement, ███ for example felt that compensation would mean that it was the Governments way of saying, *"'as a child you were a good prostitute and well this is the payment, all be it 40 years delayed, now can you please go away and not bother us anymore'"*

For some individuals therefore, financial redress was understood as being 'shut up money' and offered extremely negative symbolic connotations. Such sentiments have been reiterated in relation to similar schemes which have been set up internationally. For example, the IRSSA financial redress in Canada was also considered as being *"shut-up money"* whereby victims/survivors experienced emotions such as anger, despair, anxiety and distrust as a consequence of the process (Reynaud 2017, p201). Questions were also raised by a few participants about the inappropriateness of placing a value or a price on an individual's abuse, whilst others raised questions around the propriety of distributing large sums of money to some victims/survivors who remained in a vulnerable state. ███ raised this point upon reflection of his own historic alcohol dependency and the need he felt he had to be supported if he was to receive any large sum of money through a financial redress scheme in the future. ███ was of the view that large sums of money could actually do more harm than good in certain circumstances.

It is in light of such mixed views on redress, that financial compensation for victims/survivors is understood to be an expression of the simultaneously limiting/productive exercise of structural power, with mixed feelings surrounding financial redress also being reflected academically on an international level (Daly 2014b; Winter 2018). The impact of such endeavours, should they be implemented cannot be solely productive and this, by virtue of victims/survivor perspectives, is a view which would be a naïve one to hold. Although contentious in similar ways to the need for an inquiry, the matter which sets these two instances of structural exercises of power apart is the very tangible nature of financial redress. Perhaps due to this, the subject evoked a range of emotive responses which exemplified both the limiting and productive impact of structural exercises of power in connection with potential financial redress.

Along with the aforementioned limiting/productive structural responses to historic abuse, individuals also held mixed views regarding the potential for public monuments to mark historic abuse and the potential for a day of remembrance. ███ shared that he would welcome a memorial of some descript for victims/survivors, because, *"If you have a memorial it's a place you can go."* Whilst ███ saw this as something which would be meaningless when she explained:

"I don't know what it would achieve, you'd need to recognise individuals and there's too many who suffered to make it personal to them."

███ went on to speak of how *"I would prefer to have a day of remembrance, just to remember people like me."* And others like ███, considered that a day of remembrance could be more than just about remembrance, it could be a national charity day, similar to Children in Need day, which could be used to raise funds to help children who were in care.

Again, similarly to the idea of memorials, views regarding a day of remembrance were not consistently positive. For example, ███ was quite clear in her view of how, *"that's for the dead",* and ███ demonstrated her ambivalence when reflecting on memorialisation as well as a day of remembrance by saying *"Yes and no on that".* The mixed feelings presented by participants, are similar to victim/survivor views in Ireland, where there have also been feelings of uncertainty around the appropriateness of a national memorial commemorating those who historically experienced abuse (Maguire 2012). Therefore, *s*uch reminders of the past were understood as both positive and negative. They were understood as positive because they were a means of reflection and potentially a site for doing further good, however on the contrary they were not deemed completely appropriate due to the meaning, benefit and unhelpful reminder they could serve to become for some victims/survivors. Therefore the introduction of measures which structurally respond to the historic abuse of children in care linked to memorialisation resonated with the structural limiting/productive exercise of power, where on the one hand they could result in a positive impact, whilst on the other they could result in further harm.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to demonstrate how the structural exercise of power in relation to victims/survivors of abuse manifested itself in limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive ways. The structural limiting exercise of power involved the limiting social attitudes experienced, which did, and in some respects continue to prevail and impact upon victims/survivors of historic abuse. The limiting exercise of structural power was also evidenced by the way in which individuals described the limiting social systems which were inadequate or not present to protect children from harm, particularly in relation to the inadequacy or perceived absence of scrutiny and inspection of care settings.

As a second theme, victim/survivor narratives highlighted the structural productive exercise of power, and this was evident in relation to the presence of historic as well as contemporary legislation/policy as well as developments in legislation, which has been geared towards the protection of children and victims/survivors themselves. Historic policy and legislation was deemed a productive exercise of power as it served as a means to allow for the removal of children in most instances from abusive and dangerous family environments. Contemporary policy developments and initiatives were also understood to be positive in some respects, especially where victims/survivors noted that the situation for children in care had been improved in recent years and that the commissioning of counselling support services for themselves as victims/survivors of abuse had been a positive step forward by the government.

And finally, the structural limiting/productive exercise of power manifested in relation to the responses to historic abuse that victims/survivors had previously experienced as well as prospectively identified. Here the structural limiting/productive exercise of power was concerned with media responses to historic abuse and more prominently, the responses and potential responses of the state pertaining to redress and reparation. The limiting/productive exercise of power was most prominently reflected within victim/survivor narratives in light of the structural exercise of power; which is understandable as the mechanisms and initiatives deployed to respond to historic abuse have been introduced as large scale national endeavours.

The structural level of power is perhaps the most prominent, when it comes to reflecting upon the policy landscape (Chapter Two) as well as the academic discourse on the historic abuse of children in care (Chapter Three). The vast majority of initiatives which have been implemented across Scotland to respond to the historic abuse of children in care are large scale mechanisms which attempt to cater for the needs of victims/survivors of historic abuse collectively. And despite how large scale mechanisms, such as legislation for example, cannot be expected to inform practice in a nuanced way (Smith 2008; Roche 2001), the fact that they do manifest power in limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive ways should not be overlooked. Concerns regarding the individual experiences of those engaging with social structures and large scale mechanisms are echoed within the literature, because victims/survivors experience particular mechanisms which are geared towards responding to the historic abuse of children in care in various ways. And it is argued here, that power essentially underlies all these experiences, therefore an understanding of structural power, could serve to enhance those very experiences for victims/survivors.

Essentially, the examples of victim/survivor perspectives offered within this chapter, demonstrate that power on a structural and societal level, which may potentially impact upon society at large or on particular 'groupings' within society, and incorporated a focus on the government, law/policy and the media can manifest and impact in a range of ways. It is argued here that the way in which such structural exercises of power can be best captured is via a consideration of the limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive impact of such power. The application of the Power Informed Practice framework to analysis has previously demonstrated its relevance in relation to the individual and professional exercise of power; and within this chapter its relevance to the third and arguably overarching significant location of power, on a structural level has also been explained.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

Introduction

This thesis has endeavoured to analyse the workings of power within the context of the historic abuse of children in care, by considering what level power is being exercised on and by exploring the impact that such power has from the perspectives of victims/survivors. The narratives of victims/survivors which have been explored within the previous chapters highlight how the answers to these questions are by no means straightforward. As ▮▮▮▮ succinctly put it, *"nobody's experiences are exactly the same…lots of things have happened and are still happening in my life because of the abuse, so god knows what will happen next".* Within this final chapter therefore, I will endeavour to draw all the narratives of victims/survivors with all their similarities, differences and complexities, together to propose four critical theoretical arguments.

Firstly, while all victims/survivors experienced their abuse and continue to experience their lives in its aftermath in different ways, what brings them together is the way in which the exercises of power significantly impacted upon them. Secondly, and indeed consequentially, power in relation to victims/survivors of historic abuse has been and continues to be exercised on three interrelated yet distinct levels, the individual, the professional and the structural. The individual level denotes that power which may be exercised by any given individual (including victims/survivors themselves) who are free to exercise power, even if the ability to do so is limited. The professional level of exercising of power incorporates professionals as well as organisations, which are able to exercise a higher degree of power than the general public, due to the way in which they have been sanctioned additional power in light of their professional standing. And finally, the structural level of the exercise of power combines the sociological and political domains which encapsulate the structures present within society, providing the overarching frameworks via which power is exercised.

The third point to be made is that the complexity of the impact of power in relation to victims/survivors of historic abuse has not been adequately captured by academics or policy makers. Indeed, there has been a lack of attention afforded to both the way in which exercises of power have been experienced by those affected by historic abuse and therefore

the limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive consequences have been missed. The fourth and final point to be made, is that collectively, these insights help develop a new understanding of power within the social work context, by evidencing the dualistic impact of power, which challenges assumptions that frame power in a dichotomous way. This chapter therefore begins with individually evidencing and substantiating these critical arguments in turn. before moving on to examine the broader methodological issues which have been highlighted through this project as well proposing a way forward for policy and practice developments related to historic abuse in Scotland.

Theoretical Implications

As noted in Chapter One and Two, there have been a range of developments both in terms of policy and also within academic thinking around the historic abuse of children in care, yet what remains ambiguous is how exercises of power within this context are played out. This is perhaps especially significant, as there is a common understanding that in situations of abuse, power is important (Davies & Duckett 2016; McAlindon & Naylor 2016); yet despite this awareness, it has not previously been afforded the attention necessary. It should hardly come as a surprise therefore, that with historic abuse theoretically gaining momentum in relation to its perceived connections with transitional justice (Skold 2013), this research also stemmed from such underpinnings but evolved into an acute consideration of power.

As evidenced in Chapter Five, the exercise and impact of power at large cannot be understood in its entirety via a single theory or framework, nor should it necessarily remain the pursuit of academics (Haugaard 2010). Perhaps at best, what we are able to offer is new insights into the workings of power by the investigation of specific phenomenon, which contribute to or advance broader understandings within social work. It is hardly surprising therefore that there was no analytical framework available, which captured the essence of the exercise and impact of power within the context of the historic abuse of children in care. And even in terms of the development of an analytical framework there were significant complexities involved, due to the way in which power was reflected in victims/survivors narratives. This is fundamentally due to the fact that there is a paucity of work on abuse in care settings and moreover, there is a lack of rigorous theoretical work which manages to pull together an analysis of the complex/competing constructs of power.

████ and ████ for example, were both subject to sexual abuse by male perpetrators, yet their life trajectories were notably different. ████ had become addicted to drugs for several years before he went through rehabilitation and now worked to support recovering addicts. ████ presented in a very confident outward manner, whilst ████ presented as being quiet and anxious in terms of his outward demeanour. ████ had never used substances yet he had become withdrawn and found it difficult to work and it was only over the last few years that he had started to gradually become more socially active. The impact over the life course, as well as at the time of the abuse was internalised differently by both ████ and ████. The abuse and the exercise of power which was channelled through that abuse was therefore experienced in quite distinct and complex ways by both of them. For ████, making the choice not to be involved intimately with men was one way in which he chose to exercise his power, whilst for ████, relationships with men and an acceptance of his homosexuality was something which reflected a powerful experience for him. Victims/survivors who participated in this research and shared their narratives therefore, spoke about their experiences and their perspectives in very unique ways.

To understand such complexities in the way power was exercised, experienced and impacted upon victims/survivors of historic abuse was therefore not a simple undertaking. And it was through the consideration of the broader literature on child abuse as well as on power which is discussed in Chapter Five, in conjunction with the data stemming from the interviews with victims/survivors that the framework for analysis began to take shape. It became clear then, that the historic dichotomy which features so centrally in theoretical conceptualisations of power as something 'good or bad', 'positive or negative' and 'productive or limiting' is essentially a false dichotomy. And that power also needs to be recognised as something which is exercised on a range of levels and consequently impacts in a dualistic way.

Victim/survivor narratives clearly demonstrated that they experienced power in a range of ways and that this was manifested in relation to the individual, professional and structural levels. As examined in Chapter Six, the individual exercise of power impacted in limiting, productive and also simultaneously limiting/productive ways. The limiting impact of power on an individual level was captured by participants when they spoke of the abuse they had

experienced, whatever form the abuse took and whoever it was perpetrated by. ████ for example shared his experiences of being subjected to sexual abuse, ████ shared his recollections of being physically abused and ████ shared her experiences of peer abuse, whilst all victims/survivors either overtly or implicitly spoke about the psychological/emotional abuse they had encountered. The individual actions of perpetrators therefore demonstrated one way in which power could be exercised in limiting ways. The second way in which the individual exercise of power manifested, was reflected in participant narratives of the inaction they experienced from those who should or could have done something to help them. ████ explained this in light of the way he was being removed from the institution by a member of staff in order to be sexually abused by him elsewhere, with staff knowing that there was something amiss. For others, like ████, the reporting of the abuse was met with dismissiveness from individuals. The limiting impact of individuals not behaving in ways that they were supposed to, was therefore a significant way in which the exercise of limiting power on an individual level also manifested.

The individual productive exercise of power was captured in the narratives of victims/survivors when they shared how they themselves had reactively and proactively exercised power in order to respond to the abuse they experienced. For the majority of participants this began with the reactive questioning of practice internally, outwardly or in both ways, in order to question the legitimacy of what they were being subjected to and/or to make sense of their experiences. Following on from these questions, victims/survivors such as ████ spoke of how they had made disclosures regarding the abuse, and despite the responses leaving much to be desired, victims/survivors either at the time of the abuse or in later life demonstrated a means by which individual productive power was exercised. When the need for reactionary measures had subsided, victims/survivors explained how they had proactively taken steps which were reflective of individual productive exercises of power. The exercise of such power in more proactive ways resonated with the way in which participants described their attempts to facilitate their own sense of wellbeing. For ████ and ████ this was through 'self-taught stuff' which enhanced their psychological and physical well-being, whilst for ████ this was through educating himself in an academic sense. Other methods by which individuals exercised power in proactive and productive ways was through the formation of positive family, platonic or romantic relationships with

others. For the likes of ██████ and ██████, this was also extended to the positive attachments they had with their pets, which they recognised as being important. Alongside this, the productive individual exercise of power was reflected, when participants recounted how they had sought to find answers to the questions they had in relation to their abuse experiences. Individuals actively sought their records, confronted or contemplated confronting those whom they held responsible, whilst also being mindful of how they held power in whether they chose to forgive or not. And finally, victims/survivors being proactive in terms of their attempts to prevent the abuse of children in the present and future, offered another avenue by which to exercise individual productive power. ██████ for example shared how she did not want to see another child go through abuse, and so ██████ as well as others engaged in activities to 'do their part', which included but was not limited to their participation in this research.

The latter part of Chapter Six offered an analysis of the workings of power in simultaneously limiting/productive ways on an individual level. This contribution began what it is hoped will transcend previous social work theories of the way in which the impact of exercises of power have been conceptualised and counters the 'good and bad' dichotomy which has been prevalent within academic discourse pertaining to the subject of power (Thompson 2016; Smith 2010; Tew 2002, 2006; Dominelli 2002b). The two central propositions with regards to the individual limiting/productive exercise of power are that it manifested when victims/survivors themselves exercised power in order to either cope with existing pain, or existed in their attempts to prevent future pain. Strategies employed by individuals to cope with existing pain included how ██████ described his psychological and physical withdrawal, which resulted in him 'losing himself' in both respects. The need for escapism also resulted in self-medicating with the use of drugs and alcohol at various points during their lives by some victims/survivors, as well as the onslaught of suicidal ideation which often began with the practice of self-harm and was extended to actively attempting to commit suicide as ██████ had tried to. ██████ shared how thinking about suicide meant that for him, 'there was always a way out' and suicide was therefore understood as both a good and bad thing. Such methods employed to cope with existing pain exemplified the dual impact of individuals exercising power in simultaneously limiting and productive ways. On the one

hand, this exposed victims/survivors to further risk and harm, however, on the other hand it created a cognitive safety net, which meant that they felt a sense of control.

The need to control any potential future pain as well as existing pain was important to individuals. Therefore through individual exercises of power which sought to prevent future harm, victims/survivors reflected on the mechanisms they employed, which had both limiting and productive consequences. At the time of the abuse for example, the majority of participants spoke of how they absconded from the care setting to escape the abuse, but in effect placed themselves in further danger. This was either because they were at risk in terms of being alone outside the placement, sometimes with no real sense of direction, or that they were brought back anyway and in some cases the abuse would intensify. Participants also shared that they used physical violence as a form of self-defence alongside self-isolation during their lives in order to ensure that nobody was able to hurt them. Also commonplace for victims/survivors was to adopt a position of mistrust, and again although this was helpful in potentially minimising the risk of future harm, it meant that for some individuals like ██████, it is recognised that they may have 'missed out' on enjoying meaningful relationships. In light of these reflections, the limiting/productive exercise of power with respect to the narratives of victims/survivors was demonstrated. And these insights collectively, evidenced the way in which power within the context of the historic abuse of children in care can be made sense of if we consider how on an individual level, power can be exercised in limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive ways.

The professional exercise of power was also reflected by participants through the course of the interviews and Chapter Seven detailed how this was expressed in limiting, productive and also simultaneously limiting/productive ways. The limiting impact of power on a professional level was captured by participant reflections on both professional cultures as well as professional structures. In the first instance the matter of professional cultures forming a professional exercise of limiting power was depicted by the cultural practices which were sanctioned within care settings, whereby there were global similarities, as ██████ explained regarding the abuse she experienced from nuns in a faith based children's home. Other cultural practices such as members of staff 'banding together' to perpetrate abuse relocated this practice from the individual domain to the professional as a level of

collusion was present. Practices such as isolation, which took place in fear inducing ways, like 'sometimes in mortuary rooms' as well as inappropriate restraint, were symbolic of the exercise of limiting professional power. ████ explained how sometimes he was restrained to 'the point of suffocation' and the culture within the institution was accepting of such conduct; highlighting how the professional exercise of power sometimes impacted in limiting ways. Not only were professional cultures problematic, but so were professional structures, which also impacted in limiting ways for children.

████'s understanding of how 'there was no training, risk assessments or anything like that', brought to the fore ideas around limiting professional structures, which also captured the limiting exercise of professional power. The lack of vetting processes and inadequacy in ensuring that children were safe from harm within care settings was highlighted by all participants. Professional structures within care placements also meant that siblings were often separated and this had negative short as well as longer term consequences for individuals. Another expression of this was how many victims/survivors were not appropriately provided with an education whilst in the care setting, despite legal requirements for this to be in place. Reporting procedures were also highlighted as being problematic, as was the matter of records, in their accuracy as well as maintenance. Collectively therefore the professional cultures within institutions as well as structures, resulted in the professional exercise of power in limiting ways.

Although comparatively limited, the productive exercise of professional power was also noted by participants, focussing very specifically on notions of professional enablement. In particular, all victims/survivors who were accessing therapeutic support through the counselling service spoke of how professionals were working with them in order to support them through their historic trauma and its legacy. Sentiments such as 'therapy has helped a lot' were commonplace and individuals spoke of how they had really benefitted from their engagement with certain services. Besides offering therapeutic support, support service professionals were also active in terms of helping victims/survivors to access their care records, which was highly important to individuals. In some instances, the care provider organisations were also seen to be extremely helpful in allowing for the access to records to be facilitated in a supportive way. For example, ████ had described how she was offered

support by the organisations resident archivist and that she was able to bring her records home. Professional enablement in the form of professionals being supportive and delivering a high quality service in the present day was therefore the way in which the professional exercise of productive power in this context may be understood.

Again, despite being comparatively limited, the professional limiting/productive exercise of power was also highlighted within the narratives of victims/survivors, particularly in relation to professional decision making around the placement and relocation of children. Participants recognised that in most circumstances, they themselves as well as other children were removed from their families in order to protect them from harm (discussed further ahead), however what made this simultaneously limiting was when children were inappropriately placed by professionals. ████ for example had been placed in a long stay mental health hospital despite her condition being brittle bones; whilst █████ was placed in a remand home for adults for some time even though he was 10 years old at the time and had been removed from home due to severe abuse. Although such practice was not directly, or perhaps even wittingly abusive, the inappropriateness of care placements meant that children were not always in a place that would at least on the surface, be equipped to meet their needs. This therefore rendered professional decision making in terms of placing children in some instances, an exercise of professional limiting/productive power.

In a similar way, the sheer number of placements that some children experienced evidences how limiting/productive professional power was exercised. Again, the change of placement was arguably not intended to cause harm to children, and often it may have actually been necessary, yet for the likes of █████, where there were 'anywhere between twenty five and thirty' different placements, the limiting impact must be acknowledged. Professional decision making around the placement and relocation of children therefore became a means by which victims/survivors of historic abuse reflected experiences which resonate with the professional limiting/productive exercise of power. In view of these insights, the limiting/productive exercise of power in relation to the narratives of victims/survivors was offered. And altogether, these insights evidence the way in which power within the context of the historic abuse of children in care can be made sense of if we consider how on a

professional level, power can be exercised in limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive ways.

Chapter Eight allowed for the exploration of power in the context of historic abuse on a structural level which suggested that power being exercised on this level may also be considered in terms of its limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive impact. The limiting impact of power on a structural level was reflected by victims/survivors explaining their experiences in relation to the limited social attitudes which were and continue to be prevalent as well as in light of the limiting social systems they were exposed to. Participants recognised the way in which they were marginalised and poorly treated because of their status as children and more so as being children who were in care historically. Social attitudes allowed for certain abuses to occur, and this was acutely reflected in the way in which physical chastisement, which transcended into abuse, was generally regarded as acceptable across society. In the present day, attitudes such as 'if it's not on Google it didn't happen' which were experienced by the likes of ██████, also reiterated negative perceptions which exist in terms of not believing that children were abused (Smith 2016). The matter of limiting social structures was epitomised by experiences such as ██████'s, who believed that 'the whole system allowed it to happen', and therefore the Government did not always discharge its responsibility to protect vulnerable children. This included the Governments responsibility in overseeing placements, regulating access to children and also assuming its overarching duty to promote the welfare of children. Limiting social attitudes therefore, as well as limiting social systems were demonstrative of the way in which power was structurally exercised in limiting ways in the context of the historic abuse of children in care.

On a positive note, the productive exercise of structural power was also raised, where both historic as well as contemporary developments in policy and legislation were recognised as a means of exemplifying this. Participants were mindful and indeed appreciative of the fact that they had in most cases, been removed from their family environments due to the dangers which had been present for them at home, and how ultimately, their removal was possible due to the legislation which was embedded within British society geared towards protecting children. Therefore, the historic, contemporary and ongoing developments in

terms of policy and legislation also offer examples of the productive exercise of structural power. Victims/survivors spoke of how the structures and systems in place in the present day have been and continue to be significantly improved and this offered them reassurance. ████ stated for example, that 'we need to continue to do what we have been doing' and others like ██████ suggested how this could be enhanced. Policy developments in terms of offering services, particularly counselling support were acknowledged to be a positive step forward by the government, whilst legislative developments in terms of the lifting of the time bar were also welcomed. Historic as well as ongoing policy and legislative developments both aimed at protecting children as well as some which have been aimed at supporting victims/survivors of historic abuse, offered insights into the working of power on a structural level in productive ways.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the evidence to support the manifestation of the structural limiting/productive exercise of power was the strongest when thinking about power which is structurally exercised. This is likely due to the fact that when considering structural mechanisms of power, by virtue of their overarching nature and size, means that their impact is more likely to be experienced in both limiting and productive ways. For example, the structural mechanism of the law remains ill equipped to offer answers which may inform practice in a nuanced way (Roche 2001). The structural limiting/productive exercise of power in light of the perspectives of participants can be loosely divided into two areas of focus which relate to responses to historic abuse. On the one hand, media responses were important, whilst on the other, the way in which the state has and is responding to the historic abuse of children in care resonates with notions of the structural limiting/productive exercise of power. The role of the media in terms of raising public awareness on historic abuse has been extremely valuable (Daly 2014b) and this was recognised by for example, █████, ██████ and ██████. However as ██████ pointed out, sometimes it felt like 'you just can't get away from it', and this was therefore something which negatively impacted upon some victims/survivors.

Reflections on the majority of state responses to historic abuse on a structural level also evoked mixed emotions from participants as on the one hand they were seen to be productive and on the other they were deemed simultaneously limiting. The apology by Jack

McConnell was both positively and negatively regarded as was the National Confidential Forum (NCF) and the launch of the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry. Perhaps most contentiously, discussions on the matter of financial redress elicited conflicting perspectives amongst victims/survivors. Future potential to access financial redress was seen as a mode of resolution, but also symbolic of being 'shut up money', with the contentions present on the topic not being dissimilar to what we have seen internationally (Reynaud 2017) in response to similar schemes being set up. And finally, the subject of memorialisation also evoked both negative and positive understandings in terms of the impact this may have on victims/survivors of historic abuse. Collectively therefore, both the responses from the media, as well as responses from the Government in the form of developments aimed at responding to the historic abuse of children in care offer relevant insights into the limiting/productive exercise of structural power. And altogether, these insights evidence the way in which power within the context of the historic abuse of children in care can be understood when we consider how on a structural level, power can be exercised in limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive ways.

Further Reflections

As important as it is, to recognise the levels at which power is exercised in the context of the historic abuse of children in care therefore, it is also pertinent that we reflect on how certain exercises of power can inform other exercises of power. The significance of this was highlighted, through the course of the data chapters, where relationships between the various exercises of power were mentioned. For example, within the discussion of the structural productive exercise of power (Chapter Eight), the connection between the commissioning of counselling services (as a productive exercise of structural power) was related to the enablement offered by professionals in terms of the productive exercise of professional power (Chapter Seven).

Throughout the course of data analysis, power was fundamentally understood to be relational, whatever level it was exercised on. When considered in its entirety, the analysis presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight also unwittingly uncovered how relationships are present within power across domains. As such, contemplation of the relational dimension of

power, is also pivotal in informing a holistic understanding of the framework which was developed in Chapter Five. Fundamentally, the Power Informed Practice framework was developed to facilitate a thorough investigation of the exercise and impact of power in a meaningful way within the context of the historic abuse of children in care. And in respect of the above discussion, it was a means of achieving the desired outcome. However, in addition to this, the application of the framework also revealed the intersectional nature of power relations in respect of the historic abuse of children in care. As a result, the Power Informed Practice framework which was applied could be further developed to reflect this as follows:

I	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	I
P	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	P
S	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	S

The presence of the intersectional existence of exercises of power within the framework is immeasurable. With nine domains present, there is an endless array of combinations present for particular manifestations of power to inform other manifestations of power. Furthermore, if power is exercised in one way at one level and this has a causal effect at another level, which then in turn determines how power manifests on the original level – the enormity of the intersectionality of power becomes increasingly apparent. Additionally, it may also be argued that in some circumstances, an infinite loop of power exists, when power is exercised and re-exercised, because the exercise of power is not constrained to remain within any particular timeframe according to the framework. It is also important to recognise, that dependent upon where in the power process we begin, our understanding of how power is exercised is likely to be influenced. Therefore, in order to exemplify the intersectionality of exercises of power in a feasible, yet hopefully meaningful way, the following four examples, based on victim/survivor narratives, are offered:

1. The exercise of power on one level informs exercises of power on the same level in varying limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive ways:

I	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	I

████ identified that he had experienced sexual, physical and psychological/emotional abuse, which resonates with the individual limiting exercise of power. ████ then went on to explain that he had turned to drinking alcohol as a means of coping with his historic experiences of abuse, which was both helpful and harmful, reflecting the individual limiting/productive exercise of power. However, at the time of the interview, ████ had overcome his alcohol dependency via 'self-taught stuff', which exemplified the individual exercise of productive power.

2. The exercise of power on one level informs exercises of power on other levels with varying limiting, productive and simultaneously limiting/productive impact:

I	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	I
P	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	P
S	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	S

████ spoke of how she felt that she did not have any rights when she was young, due to the way in which children were allowed to be poorly treated within society, which is reflective of the structural limiting exercise of power. She attributed her experiences of abuse in care to the way in which professionals and other children were consequently able to treat her, which is synonymous with the professional limiting and individual limiting exercise of power. In her later years, ████ spoke of the occupational health professional who demonstrated the professional productive exercise of power by informing ████ of the counselling support service available for victims/survivors of historic abuse. And when ████ accessed the counselling service she was made aware of the NCF which she attended and experienced the structural limiting/productive exercise of power.

3. The 'top-down' exercise of power:

I	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	I
P	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	P
S	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	S

████ recognised how he was removed from his parents due to his need for protection as a child and this was made possible by the existence of legislation which offered protection

to children through structurally productive power. ██████ however was inappropriately placed within a remand home for adults, which on the one hand offered a place at a safe distance away from his parents, but on the other hand was not suitable for a child, which reflected the professional exercise of limiting/productive power. Once in the remand home, ██████ was then sexually abused by one of the adults present and this reflected a manifestation of the individual limiting exercise of power.

4. The 'bottom-up' exercise of power:

I	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	I
P	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	P
S	Limiting	Limiting/Productive	Productive	S

██████ sought support for his experiences of historic abuse through the counselling service which denotes the exercise of individual productive power. The counselling service in turn were recognised as being enabling in that they advocated for ██████ and others and also supported campaigning processes, which is synonymous with the productive exercise of professional power. The publicity that the plight of victims/survivors has received through the media has in part been informed by rising awareness on the issue and therefore the media have increasingly represented historic abuse. Such media publicity around historic abuse has meant that for the likes of ██████ and others, the structural limiting/productive exercise of power also exists.

The possibilities of how exercises of power in one way on one level, may shape and inform exercises of power in differing ways on another level, or indeed on the same level are extensive. Needless to say, the experience of power is subjective and relative to all individuals, despite the potential for overarching commonalities and therefore every combination possible, may in fact be possible. The examples offered it is hoped, go some way to help reframe our understanding of the original framework and add further insights into the complexity of power relations in the context of the historic abuse of children in care. However, it is recognised that further investigation is required, to inform a fuller understanding of the way that power transcends domains.

Holistically, in similar ways to how this research has drawn from a range of theoretical perspectives, these findings hold implications for a range of social work research. The key finding which may prove useful in terms of developing new lines of enquiry within social work, may be that power in certain contexts may be exercised on the individual, professional and structural levels and need not be solely experienced as either 'good or bad'; but maybe truer to the nature of power within those contexts is the existence of both the limiting and productive impact being present simultaneously. Power should therefore be understood as multi-faceted and dynamic, as something which may look very different in one context to the next, but nevertheless should be explored despite its complexities, in order to advance understandings. Indeed, as argued in Chapter Five, more could be done to add to our understandings within Social Work and contribute to what Haugaard (2010) would consider to be members of the 'power family'. By virtue of doing so, not only would the advancement of theory be possible, but also the enhancement of practice when working with vulnerable individuals which is evidently a key task for the social work profession.

Essentially, the field of historic abuse remains a contested space, yet by bringing notions of power into the arena; we may well be in a better position to underscore the differing perspectives and approaches present both academically and politically to the phenomenon. Fundamentally, power presently lays with those concerned with representing the historic abuse of children in care, i.e. 'the experts'. For example, there is power present within initiatives launched by the government to respond to the matter, in similar ways to how power exists when academics present particular perspectives on the subject. Therefore it is hoped that this thesis also draws the attention of these competing bodies of knowledge, to consider how a consideration of power in relation to the historic abuse of children in care, could serve to form the foundation of differing perspectives, to ultimately benefit victims/survivors.

Methodological Contributions

The research undertaken was small-scale and qualitative in nature and was rooted within a feminist research paradigm. Right from the very outset of undertaking this research I was mindful of how power was of central importance to engaging with vulnerable individuals whatever the context. These underpinnings stemmed from my pre-existing understanding

of the importance of empowering practice within social work, which was pivotal to the way in which I endeavoured to ensure that the relationship between myself as researcher and victims/survivors as participants was transparent, open and honest. Some of the challenges present during the process are highlighted in Chapter Four, however here I reflect on the broader implications of this research undertaken with victims/survivors of historic abuse.

Being cognizant of the methods employed as well as the relatively small scale of the study, the reflections presented in terms of my analysis are very much limited to the time and place of my enquiry. As such I do not intend to make wider generalisations, despite the findings correlating with what exists within the broader literature. It is hoped, that the relatively small-scale qualitative approach is a strength rather than a perceived limitation of the study as it allowed for an in depth exploration of power from the perspectives of victims/survivors in the context of the historic abuse of children in care. Qualitative inquiry is perhaps best suited to areas which are under researched (Miles & Huberman 1994); which the historic abuse of children in care is an example of. I also wish to suggest, that the fact that the research began on the premise that an exploration of historic abuse with reference to transitional justice would be undertaken, yet became an exploration of power; was actually a positive development. This allowed the data and indeed the respondents to ultimately shape the analysis, rather than it being restricted and narrowly defined by myself as the researcher or the powers that had previously circumscribed the focus of the research.

As a consequence, the qualitative nature of this research allowed for the exploration of power in a way which has not only contributed to the way in which the experiences of victims/survivors can be understood, but has also contributed to understandings of power more widely. Indeed, the idea that this research only speaks to this particular time and space does not diminish the impact of the findings on how research is designed and conducted. By way of example, the workings of power even within the research process have been highlighted as being of utmost importance. I would contend that the face to face meeting with individuals and allowing the space for participants to speak and feel heard added to their overall experiences of feeling empowered; in line with giving 'voice' to the experiences of victims/survivors being of great importance (McAlindon & Naylor 2016).

However, despite my attempts to give 'voice' to those who experienced abuse historically within care (as noted in Chapter Four), the voices I have been able to convey are relatively small in number. It is therefore recognised, that many victims/survivors were not reached, and their perspectives remain submerged. While this may be reflective of the broader issues around the way in which victims/survivors in Scotland are able to feel represented, I would also highlight that caution is due when speaking about findings which represent "all" victims/survivors. Furthermore, despite my best endeavours, whether I have been able to fully represent and give voice to those who did participate, is also difficult to determine.

The way in which I was able to access participants via the support service for victims/survivors to take part in the study was of utmost importance through the course of this research. Therefore it is highly recommended, that when undertaking sensitive research as this was, that appropriate support mechanisms should be present from the outset, or introduced as a matter of course without compromise. A useful direction in terms of research would therefore be to approach more than one support service in order to engage with victims/survivors of historic abuse and further explore the way in which their experiences reflect the workings of power in greater detail.

As a final point, I would highlight the challenges of working as an independent researcher when exploring the experiences of victims/survivors of historic abuse. The impact of vicarious or secondary trauma is a very clear and present risk when engaging with such sensitive research. The need to ensure that the appropriate supports were in place for myself were more of an afterthought than that which I had considered in advance for participants. The importance of thus ensuring that adequate measures have been explored and undertaken to safeguard the wellbeing of oneself as the researcher, cannot be emphasised enough.

Policy Implications

The above considerations have emphasised a number of possibilities in terms of directions for future research with victims/survivors of historic abuse. These propositions however, also have a range of implications for those involved in policy developments aimed at responding to the historic abuse of children in care

As outlined in Chapter Two, many of the policy initiatives introduced in Scotland which respond to the historic abuse of children in care have no clear theoretical underpinnings and have often been the result of campaigning and reactions to media coverage which has increased public awareness. It is therefore imperative, that those involved with the initiatives geared towards responding to the needs of victims/survivors are doing so in a more theoretically considered way, in order to improve outcomes for those who they aim to support.

Thinking 'voice'

Just as this small scale-study endeavoured to give a voice to the experiences and perspectives of victims/survivors, so should policy makers and professionals involved with initiatives that aim to respond to the historic abuse of children in care. Efforts are being made, evidenced by how for example the recent national consultation on financial redress for victims/survivors of abuse within care in Scotland received around 181 questionnaire responses. However, the number of respondents contextually remained relatively small, and did not capture the voices of the number of people who have engaged with the NCF and Inquiry for example. Therefore, the sample cannot be considered one which fully represents a collective voice of victims/survivors of historic abuse across Scotland.

So what it is that makes such initiatives inaccessible or indeed invisible to those who they relate to? Of the twenty-one victims/survivors who participated in this research, only one person was aware that a consultation on financial redress was underway at the time. The remainder conveyed a sense of surprise and some individuals requested that they be forwarded details on how to participate. This was surprising, as the launch of the consultation was advertised and made available to the public by the government and its partner agencies. To counter this perhaps, those involved in policy developments may need to do more in terms of investigating why key messages are not reaching those who are affected and would want to take part in consultation activity surrounding responses to historic abuse.

It is not suggested, that capturing every voice is possible; however what it is important to consider is that more could and should be done on a structural level in order to connect

with more individuals who policy initiatives may directly impact upon. If previous strategies are proving unsuccessful then alternative mechanisms should be sought. What is ultimately imperative is that the maximum number of victims/survivors should feel that major shifts in policy are representative of their views, and feel empowered.

Thinking 'power'

The findings of this research evidence the need for professionals and policy makers to be mindful of the workings of power when developing mechanisms to respond to the historic abuse of children in care. It needs to be recognised, that even with outwardly altruistic initiatives, the workings of power may be experienced in productive, limiting or simultaneously limiting/productive ways. Victims/survivors have experienced disempowerment historically and therefore it is only right, that any contemporary responses are cognizant of the workings of power which may further impact on individuals in limiting ways.

Although it is recognised that large scale all-encompassing mechanisms such as inquiries, national forums and state apologies cannot necessarily cater to the specific and unique needs of individuals, a level of transparency regarding the pitfalls of engaging with particular initiatives should perhaps be present from the outset. This could be achieved, by the state as well as professionals being clear regarding the potential for limiting consequences of engaging with particular processes, whilst responding to the individual needs of victims/survivors in whatever ways are possible. It is suggested, that if policy makers and other professionals who are involved with victims/survivors of historic abuse, became more mindful of the implications of power within the services developed, any potential for negative impact could at the very least be reduced.

Implications for Social Work Practice

Anyone who has worked with child victims of abuse with a view to achieving better outcomes with them will know the challenges present for practitioners in being able to appropriately support children who have experienced such trauma. Supporting adults who have historically experienced abuse therefore brings an added layer of complexity, which is

often induced by the time that has elapsed since the abuse. Adult victims/survivors have evidently had a lifetime of experiencing the impact of that very same abuse in various guises throughout the years, and practitioners need to be mindful of this.

Having quite firmly established that the exercise of power plays a pivotal role in the lives of victims/survivors, it is suggested that social workers have a duty to embed this thinking in their day to day practice when working with individuals who have experienced abuse. On the surface, this may not seem like a new idea, however it is vitally important that social workers understand the workings of power in far greater depth than simply verbally acknowledging the importance of anti-oppressive practice. This may be possible, if social workers were supported in thinking through power within assessment, intervention and supervisory processes.

Since we now know, that any exercise of power may have a limiting, productive or a simultaneously limiting/productive impact, it no longer suffices to say that social work practice can be 'empowering or disempowering, 'enabling or disabling' and 'anti-oppressive or oppressive'. With greater clarity now, through the Power Informed Practice framework, of the often simultaneously positive and negative impact of power, it is imperative that social workers reflect on their practice in more nuanced and meaningful ways. This is particularly important, if we recognise that in social work practice, we are able to exercise power by virtue of our professional standing, and for our service users at least, we epitomise the 'professional exercise of power', either in limiting, productive or simultaneously limiting/productive ways. Consequently, these are important implications for both social work education and social work practice, as we progress our endeavours to work in ways which are informed by research evidence.

Appendix I: Terminology

Terminology contained within this thesis

Term	Meaning
Approved School	Prior to 1968, children may have been placed in approved schools which were intended to provide education within a residential setting for children under 16.
Assessment centre	The equivalent of borstals – therefore a form of a youth detention centre whose purpose was to help reform young people who were perceived to be delinquent.
Child abuse	The physical, sexual or psychological/emotional abuse of children as well as neglect
Children in care	Children in residential institutional care such as: children's homes run by local authorities, faith based groups and voluntary sector organisations. It also refers to secure care arrangements such as List D schools; Borstals; Young Offenders' Institutions and Approved Schools. 'Children in care' further encompasses children who were placed in long stay hospitals or other healthcare facilities which involved long term care. The term also includes children in foster care.
Children's residential hospital	Long stay hospital settings for children who were perceived to require ongoing treatment
Faith based: children's home; residential home; institution	Church run residential care facilities for children.
Financial redress	A payment made that offers a tangible/practical recognition of the seriousness of past hurt and/or injury suffered by an individual
Foster Care	A system in which a child has been placed by statutory services with foster parent/s who are state-certified caregiver/s,
Historic abuse of children in care	The historic abuse of children in care is the physical abuse, sexual abuse, psychological/emotional abuse or neglect experienced by children whilst residing in care settings; whereby disclosures of the abuse are brought to the fore after a significant time lapse.
List D School	After 1968, approved schools came to be known as "List D schools", intended to provide education within a residential setting for children under 16.
Local Authority children's home; residential home; institution	Statutory run residential care facilities for children.
Neglect	A form of abuse, which involves individuals failing to appropriately care for another person who requires their care.
Physical Abuse	A form of abuse, which involves individuals subjecting another to actions which cause injury or trauma via bodily contact.

Psychological/Emotional abuse	A form of psychological abuse, which involves individuals subjecting another to behaviour that may well cause trauma. This term also incorporates notions of 'emotional abuse'
Redress	To remedy or to set an unfair situation 'right'
Reparation	Taking practical measures to make amends for a wrong which has been done
Sexual Abuse	A form of abuse, which involves individuals subjecting another to actions for purposes of sexual stimulation.
Voluntary sector: children's home; residential home; institution	Charities and other voluntary agencies that provided residential care facilities for children.

Appendix II: Participant Biographies

[PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHY INFORMATION HAS BEEN REMOVED BY THE AUTHOR OF THIS THESIS TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF PARTICIPANTS]

Appendix III: Ethics Form and Accompanying Documents

Ethics Application Form

Please answer all questions

1. Title of the investigation
Forgiveness, Transitional Justice and the Historic Abuse of Children in Care
Please state the title on the PIS and Consent Form, if different:

2. Chief Investigator (must be at least a Grade 7 member of staff or equivalent)
Name: Andrew Kendrick X Professor ☐ Reader ☐ Senior Lecturer ☐ Lecturer ☐ Senior Teaching Fellow ☐ Teaching Fellow Department: Social Work & Social Policy Telephone: +44 (0)141 444 8646 E-mail: andrew.kendrick@strath.ac.uk

3. Other Strathclyde investigator(s)
Name: Samina Karim Status (e.g. lecturer, post-/undergraduate): PhD student Department: Social Work & Social Policy Telephone: E-mail: samina.karim@strath.ac.uk   Name: Dr Graham Connolly Status (e.g. lecturer, post-/undergraduate): Senior Lecturer Department: Social Work and Social Policy Telephone: +44 (0)141 444 8519 E-mail: g.connolly@strath.ac.uk

4. Non-Strathclyde collaborating investigator(s) (where applicable)
Name: Status (e.g. lecturer, post-/undergraduate): Department/Institution: If student(s), name of supervisor:

Telephone:
E-mail:
Please provide details for all investigators involved in the study:

5. Overseas Supervisor(s) (where applicable)

Name(s):
Status:
Department/Institution:
Telephone:
Email:
I can confirm that the local supervisor has obtained a copy of the Code of Practice: Yes ☐   No ☐
Please provide details for all supervisors involved in the study:

6. Location of the investigation

At what place(s) will the investigation be conducted

This research involves the exploration of the perspectives of survivors of historic abuse and related professionals in three jurisdictions: Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Interviews will take place at various locations.

If this is not on University of Strathclyde premises, how have you satisfied yourself that adequate Health and Safety arrangements are in place to prevent injury or harm?

In Scotland, most interviews will take place in the Lord Hope Building, University of Strathclyde. However, in some cases alternative arrangements may need to be made for the convenience of the participants. Where possible, accommodation for interviews in other countries will be arranged through links with academic colleagues (for example, the Transitional Justice Institute, Ulster University; Trinity College/University College, Dublin)

We are satisfied that the University premises will have adequate health and safety arrangements. Where alternative arrangements are made for the convenience of the participants, we will ensure that someone is aware of the time and place of the interview and there will be a check-in following the interview.

7. Duration of the investigation

Duration(years/months) :   6 months

Start date (expected):   01 / 01/ 2016   Completion date (expected):   30/ 06 / 2016

8. Sponsor
Please note that this is not the funder; refer to Section C and Annexes 1 and 3 of the Code of Practice

for a definition and the key responsibilities of the sponsor.

Will the sponsor be the University of Strathclyde: Yes X   No ☐
If not, please specify who is the sponsor:

9. Funding body or proposed funding body (if applicable)

Name of funding body: N/A
Status of proposal – if seeking funding (please click appropriate box):
☐ In preparation
☐ Submitted
☐ Accepted
Date of submission of proposal: /   /   Date of start of funding: /   /

10. Ethical issues

Describe the main ethical issues and how you propose to address them:

This study involves the exploration of issues of forgiveness and transitional justice in the context of the historic abuse of children in care. It will involve both survivors of historic abuse and professionals involved with these issues. Given the sensitive nature of this research, a pilot study was carried out to identify the best way to approach the topic of forgiveness in the context of historic abuse, and this involved interviews with a small number of survivors of abuse to test out the best approach to this topic and a range of possible questions (UEC14/35: Kendrick/Karim: Exploring Forgiveness in the Context of Historic Abuse (Pilot Study)). This main study will take forward this research across three countries which have taken different approaches in addressing the issue of the historic abuse of children in care. This research will be completed with vulnerable participants on a sensitive topic which raises several ethical issues which will be addressed, and the survivors in the pilot study gave positive feedback on their experience of the interview process and the way in which the research had been approached.

1. Understanding and Recognizing Vulnerability: The ethical importance of appreciating the co-production of vulnerability is acknowledged from the outset. The term 'survivor' will therefore be used rather than 'victim' in relation to participants. The process of research will facilitate people with experiences of historic abuse as participants in the co-production of positive understandings and outcomes. Empowerment of the participant group is therefore duly considered.

2. Informed Consent: Due to the sensitive nature of the research, it is of utmost importance to gain explicit informed consent. This will be done via the distribution of information sheets around the purpose and scope of the study; which clearly articulates aims and objectives and includes the research questions. This will ensure that participants are fully aware of what the research involves, and consequently will be able to sign the consent form. The consent form and information sheet will provide contact details; so if there are any further questions it is made simple for potential participants to get in touch and discuss.

3. Anonymity and Confidentiality: Protecting anonymity and confidentiality is especially important, and therefore this is also addressed. The project will protect the anonymity of participants and they will be referred to by made up names. Information collected will be confidential except if

there are protection concerns. Confidentiality will be explained at the outset of interviews, making explicit that any information shared will not identify names of persons or organisations, except in the event that there are current protection concerns for an individual – in which case the information will be passed on in line with safeguarding procedures. Interviews will be recorded via a Dictaphone and this will remain in a secured place. Similarly, any transcriptions will be made secure and will be encrypted to prevent access.

4. Protection from Harm: Potential emotional dangers to which participants could be exposed through participation are considered. The topic in question is sensitive in its nature and therefore requires additional safeguards to be in place. As the interviewer, Samina will play a pivotal role in how emotional dangers are managed. She is a Qualified Social Worker having a diverse range of experiences in terms of working with vulnerable individuals. Apart from this, she is trained in counselling and psychotherapeutic approaches; standing her in good stead to talk through any issues arising appropriately and signposting for further support (counselling and support services). Participants of the research from Scotland are already known to us; participating in existing work being done around historic abuse. They are therefore already participating in conversations around the topic and contributing to forums on the matter. We are mindful of how important it is to hold the interviews in a containing and secure space. Therefore they will take place at the University in a pleasant relaxed environment which will be created in advance. All necessary measures will be undertaken to avoid causing distress to people who have suffered traumatic events, as we are aware that the process may trigger painful memories. Potential harm to self is also considered, and as a researcher I have a support network in place if required.

Participants from Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland will be accessed via the connections the Department has with Survivor organisations and networks in the given countries. Participants involved with the research will already be part of groups of individuals who are addressing their experiences of historic abuse therefore they will not be approached concerning something they have not already been facing.

5. Memory and Recollection: Due to the fact that the study relates to historic incidences, ethical consideration is given to the role of memory and recall in part. However, this should not affect the accuracy of results or analysis as the research aims to explore personal and subjective views quite intentionally.

11. Objectives of investigation (including the academic rationale and justification for the investigation) Please use plain English.

This research will consider forgiveness and forgiving in relation to historic abuse of children in care; considering what needs to be done, in order to achieve forgiveness for the injustice that has occurred. The pilot study identified the relevance of this topic for survivors of abuse and informed the development of this main study.

Historic abuse of adults who experienced care as children is a contentious and topical issue, and the way in which governments and other organizations have responded to the issue varies widely. Some countries have developed comprehensive responses with apologies, truth-telling commissions and compensation and reparation schemes. Other countries have barely acknowledged the problem (Kendrick, Hawthorn, Karim and Shaw, 2015). Research and literature on this topic, however, tends to focus on descriptions of the nature of the abuse and evaluations of practical interventions. This project will develop the theoretical understanding of effective approaches to adults abused in care as children; by drawing on knowledge and concepts from transitional justice and counselling/psychology

to apply it to the specific features of historic abuse.

The PhD research proposes to examine the attitudes of key stakeholders (survivors of abuse; advocacy services; providers of residential and foster care services; professional associations; local and national government) to current approaches to addressing historic abuse in Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland (these countries have been selected because they have either undertaken or are in the process of undertaking a pubic inquiry into historic abuse in residential care without limiting it to being an Inquiry into a particular category of abuse). We aim to explore with these key stakeholders the relevance of forgiveness in transitional justice frameworks to current approaches and to develop a deeper theoretical understanding of responses to historic abuse. In particular, the role that forgiveness plays for survivors of historic abuse.

Considering the micro level: Forgiveness is understood as being multi-dimensional and a process rather than a single action (Worthington 2005). With that in mind, in cases of historic abuse it is important that those who are accountable for the injury caused take steps in order to attempt a resolution. However in conjunction with this; the individual who has experienced the injury must be willing to work with the resolution process if it is going to be fully effective. This is on the basis that forgiveness requires reciprocity between the 'injured' and the 'injurer' (Griswold 2007). This can obviously be problematic where the injurer is unknown or not present – leading to questions of who is then deemed to responsible.

Considering the macro level: Transitional justice concerns the study of strategies employed by states and institutions to deal with the legacy of human rights abuses and to effect social reconstruction in the wake of widespread violence. The main contexts of historical injustice have been identified as genocide; wars; racial, ethnic and colonial oppression; and political violence (Barkan, 2000; Thompson, 2003). These have been categorised in terms of 'conflict', 'post-conflict' and 'non-conflict' situations (Barkan, 2012). A significant feature of most of these situations is that the experience of individuals is framed by an over-arching identity; racial, ethnic, national or political; and this can be framed as communal injustice. Other contexts of historical justice, however, consist of situations where individuals have suffered injustice and abuse, and it is this very experience which identifies them as a group. The victims of thalidomide would be one such group, as would the soldiers and civilians exposed to radiation in atomic bomb tests who are now suffering long term effects to their health.

The literature on transitional justice has identified a framework for justice which embraces acknowledgement, accountability and reconciliation. Acknowledgement involves truth-telling and survivors' testimony; apology and apology legislation; and commemorative activities. Accountability addresses criminal justice and the prosecution of abusers; compensation, reparation and redress; counseling and support. Reconciliation involves the development of reciprocal trust and relationship-building (Barkan, 2000; Marrus, 2007; Tavuchis, 1991; Thomson, 2003; Walker, 2010). Forgiveness has also been highlighted as a significant factor within the process (Inazu 2009).

The focus of this project, historic abuse in care, is a situation which may involve individual injustice (Gil, 1982) or communal injustice – where institutions have been used to strip children of indigenous communities of their culture and identity (Nagy, 2013).

The project will aim to provide a framework for those accountable and those who have been victims in terms of outlining the actions which need to be taken to resolve and move on from the abuse which has occurred. It will seek to draw parallels between resolutions to historic abuse and concepts of transitional justice and psychological understandings of forgiveness.

Definitions of what forgiveness and justice constitute within this context will be drawn from the key stakeholders via empirical research.

The specific research questions the study aims to answer are:

- What is the role of forgiveness in responding to historic abuse?
- What are the attitudes of survivors and other key stakeholders to current

approaches to address historic abuse?
- What it is justice within the context of historic abuse?
- What needs to be done by key stakeholders for resolution to be achieved?
- How relevant are transitional justice frameworks and notions of forgiveness to approaches to historic abuse in care in the UK and Ireland?

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Worthington Jr, E.L. (ed).(2005) *Handbook of Forgivenesss.* Hove:Routledge

12. Participants

Please detail the nature of the participants:

1) Survivors of historic abuse within care

2) Related professionals (advocacy services; providers of residential and foster care services; professional associations; local and national government).

Summarise the number and age (range) of each group of participants:

1) 30 survivors (10 survivors from each country)   Age (range) 30+

2) 30 related professionals (10 professionals from each country)   Age (range) 25+

Please detail any inclusion/exclusion criteria and any further screening procedures to be used:

Participants will be survivors of historic abuse in care, or professionals involved in addressing issues of historic abuse. Details of recruitment are given in Section 14

Drawing on our previous research with survivors of historic abuse in care, we will ensure that care is taken in to ensure that participants are fully aware of what is involved in this research via the Participant Information Sheet, and that they are content to take part via the Consent form given the sensitivities of the research topic. As well as this, the research interview will begin with a further explanation of the research. We will draw on Samina's experience of successfully undertaking a pilot study and the knowledge gained from addressing questions about the research to ensure this is done in a comprehensive fashion. However, we will not use any more explicit exclusion criteria or screening procedures.

13. Nature of the participants
Please note that investigations governed by the Code of Practice that involve any of the types of participants listed in B1(b) must be submitted to the University Ethics Committee (UEC) rather than DEC/SEC for approval.

Do any of the participants fall into a category listed in Section B1(b) (participant considerations) applicable in this investigation?: Yes X   No ☐
If yes, please detail which category (and submit this application to the UEC):

Potentially:

iv. - are connected to an institutional environment

14. Method of recruitment

Describe the method of recruitment (see section B4 of the Code of Practice), providing information on any payments, expenses or other incentives.

There will be no payments made.

In Scotland, individuals will be identified through existing consultancy and practice work being carried out by Professor Kendrick and colleagues in CELCIS on the historic abuse of children in care. Professor Kendrick's work involves engagement with survivors of abuse in their efforts to achieve justice and professionals who are involved in this area of work. The individuals are not, therefore, research participants. This consultancy and practice work is ongoing and the individuals are therefore interested in being engaged in new developments and projects. While this work has focused in Scotland, we have developed extensive networks with Survivor organisations and academics and professionals across the other countries in the study: Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Participants involved with the research will already be part of groups of individuals who are

addressing their experiences of historic abuse therefore they will not be approached concerning something they have not already been facing.

Professional staff will also be approached and recruited via the existing consultancy and practice work being carried out by Professor Kendrick and colleagues in CELCIS on the historic abuse of children in care, and through involvement with the international Historic Abuse Inquiry Network. While this consultancy work has focused in Scotland, we have developed extensive professional and academic networks across the other countries in the study Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.

Given, the experience in the pilot study, we do not anticipate that participants' involvement with the research will be problematic. The option to take part does not affect any other aspect of their engagement with the University, groups or events; this has been explicitly addressed on the Information Sheet- where it is stated "The study will involve voluntarily attending and participating in one semi-structured interview (approximately 1 hour in duration) in which the idea of forgiveness in relation to historic abuse will be explored. Participation is completely voluntary and if at any point during the course of the interview, individuals want to withdraw, then this is completely fine. Withdrawal or not wanting to participate will not affect any other aspects of the way in which the participant is treated within any context."The above aims to ensure that that individuals being approached for their voluntary participation will not find this problematic.

15. Participant consent

Please state the groups from whom consent/assent will be sought (please refer to the Guidance Document). The PIS and Consent Form(s) to be used should be attached to this application form.

Individual adult participants will be providing explicit consent to participate in the study. See consent forms attached. Consent forms and Information Sheets have been tailored to the different groups of participants dependent on country.

16. Methodology
Investigations governed by the Code of Practice which involve any of the types of projects listed in B1(a) must be submitted to the University Ethics Committee rather than DEC/SEC for approval.

Are any of the categories mentioned in the Code of Practice Section B1(a) (project considerations) applicable in this investigation?　　X Yes　☐ No
If 'yes' please detail:

Potentially (but not within the research's witting aims):

 i – any significant harm or serious discomfort of a physical or psychological nature

 ix - a situation where highly personal, intimate or other private or confidential information of a personal nature is sought.

Describe the research methodology and procedure, providing a timeline of activities where possible. Please use plain English.

Semi-structured interviews will be undertaken in person with survivors, and recorded. Key questions will ask about the role of forgiveness, justice and the initiatives put into place by governments to address historic abuse. Interviews will last approximately 1 hour each. I will also provide an individual

debrief at the end of each interview for participants. The research is rooted within phenomenology, as it explores structures of experience or consciousness. The consequent method of analysis will be Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis to derive themes from interview transcripts.

Other key stakeholders (related professionals) will either take part in a face-to-face interview, a telephone interview or will completed a questionnaires which have been adapted from the questions being asked of survivors. There will need to be some flexibility in the data collection methods for professionals because of issues of practicality and expense, and priority has been given to carrying out interviews in person with survivors.

What specific techniques will be employed and what exactly is asked of the participants? Please identify any non-validated scale or measure and include any scale and measures charts as an Appendix to this application. Please include questionnaires, interview schedules or any other non-standardised method of data collection as appendices to this application.

As stated previously, semi structured interviews will be conducted and recorded, which will then be transcribed and analysed. The interview Schedule is attached as an Appendix to this application. Questionnaires will also be used to collect information from some key professionals – the questionnaire is also attached to this application.

There will be some variations in the questions to tailor them to the country from which participants are from. The interview schedule includes the three versions of questions. This is because the specific measures which have been implemented to address historic abuse vary between countries.

Where an independent reviewer is not used, then the UEC, DEC or SEC reserves the right to scrutinise the methodology. Has this methodology been subject to independent scrutiny?   Yes ☐
No X
If yes, please provide the name and contact details of the independent reviewer:

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17. Previous experience of the investigator(s) with the procedures involved. Experience should demonstrate an ability to carry out the proposed research in accordance with the written methodology.

Prof. Andrew Kendrick has over 25 years' experience of carrying out research in relation to child protection, children in care, and abuse of children in care. He has extensive experience of working with survivors of abuse in care and conducting qualitative interviews with care-experienced adults.

Samina Karim is a qualified social worker with extensive experience of working with vulnerable individuals and she is familiar with discussing sensitive topics and of facilitating such processes. She received positive feedback from participants in the pilot study on the process of the research and her interview skills.

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18. Data collection, storage and security

How and where are data handled? Please specify whether it will be fully anonymous (i.e. the identity unknown even to the researchers) or pseudo-anonymised (i.e. the raw data is anonymised and given a code name, with the key for code names being stored in a separate location from the raw data) - if

neither please justify.

All data will be treated confidentially (except in the case of protection concerns). However, as interviews and questionnaires will include a range of information which could identify the participant, they will not be anonymous or pseudo-anonymous.

Participants will be referred to via pseudonyms in any writing done.

Explain how and where it will be stored, who has access to it, how long it will be stored and whether it will be securely destroyed after use:

All data collected will be treated confidentially (except in the case of protection concerns).

Interview data will be gathered on a dictaphone and will initially be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the Lord Hope building that only the chief investigator and co-investigator will have access to. Recordings will then be uploaded to my personal University h drive which is password protected and encrypted. After this is done, data from the Dictaphone will be deleted permanently. Transcript data will be stored securely for five years after the completion of the study, after which it shall be destroyed in accordance with the Code of Practice.

Questionnaire data will be emailed to Samina's university email address and once documents have been downloaded emails will be permanently deleted from the system.

Emails from participants which include information relevant to the research will be saved in text format and uploaded to my h drive. Emails will be deleted, deleted from the Deleted Items folder, and purged from the Dumpster location. The only version saved will be the txt version on the h drive and this will be stored securely for five years after the completion of the study, after which is shall be destroyed in accordance with the Code of Practice.

The Research Data Management Sharing Team will be supporting with this process.

Will anyone other than the named investigators have access to the data?   No X
If 'yes' please explain:

19. Potential risks or hazards

Describe the potential risks and hazards associated with the investigation:

Potential risks are identified and addressed in Question 10.

Has a specific Risk Assessment been completed for the research in accordance with the University's Risk Management Framework (http://www.strath.ac.uk/safetyservices/aboutus/riskmanagement/)?
Yes ☒
If yes, please attach risk form (S20) to your ethics application. If 'no', please explain why not:

20. What method will you use to communicate the outcomes and any additional relevant details of the study to the participants?

Outcomes of the research and any additional relevant details of the study will be communicated to participants via email.

21. How will the outcomes of the study be disseminated (e.g. will you seek to publish the results and, if relevant, how will you protect the identities of your participants in said dissemination)?

Participants will remain anonymous and the findings of the research will be published in journals and presented at conferences as relevant. No information which may lead to personal identification of individuals will be used. There will be no use of names, age, dates or anything else which could run the risk of the information becoming personally identifiable.

Checklist	Enclosed	N/A
Participant Information Sheet(s)	X	☐
Consent Form(s)	X	☐
Sample questionnaire(s)	X	☐
Sample interview format(s)	X	☐
Sample advertisement(s)	☐	☐
Any other documents (please specify below)	☐	
	☐	☐
	☐	☐
	☐	☐
		☐
		☐

22. Chief Investigator and Head of Department Declaration
Please note that unsigned applications will not be accepted and both signatures are required

I have read the University's Code of Practice on Investigations involving Human Beings and have completed this application accordingly. By signing below, I acknowledge that I am aware of and accept my responsibilities as Chief Investigator under Clauses 3.11 – 3.13 of the Research Governance Framework and that this investigation cannot proceed before all approvals required have been obtained.

Signature of Chief Investigator

Please also type name here: Andrew Kendrick

I confirm I have read this application, I am happy that the study is consistent with departmental strategy, that the staff and/or students involved have the appropriate expertise to undertake the study and that adequate arrangements are in place to supervise any students that might be acting as investigators, that the study has access to the resources needed to conduct the proposed research successfully, and that there are no other departmental-specific issues relating to the study of which I am aware.

Signature of Head of Department

Please also type name here   Laura Steckley

Date: 20/8/2015   **Signing in place of current HoD due to
       annual leave and time constraints – former HoD is
       Chief Investigator for this application

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23. Only for University sponsored projects under the remit of the DEC/SEC, with no external funding and no NHS involvement

Head of Department statement on Sponsorship
This application requires the University to sponsor the investigation. This is done by the Head of Department for all DEC applications with exception of those that are externally funded and those which are connected to the NHS (those exceptions should be submitted to R&KES). I am aware of the implications of University sponsorship of the investigation and have assessed this investigation with respect to sponsorship and management risk. As this particular investigation is within the remit of the DEC and has no external funding and no NHS involvement, I agree on behalf of the University that the University is the appropriate sponsor of the investigation and there are no management risks posed by the investigation.

If not applicable, tick here ⊠

Signature of Head of Department	
Please also type name here	
Date:	

For applications to the University Ethics Committee, the completed form should be sent to ethics@strath.ac.uk with the relevant electronic signatures.

24. Insurance

The questionnaire below must be completed and included in your submission to the UEC/DEC/SEC:

Is the proposed research an investigation or series of investigations conducted on any person for a Medicinal Purpose? Medicinal Purpose means: ▪ treating or preventing disease or diagnosing disease or ▪ ascertaining the existence degree of or extent of a physiological condition or ▪ assisting with or altering in any way the process of conception or ▪ investigating or participating in methods of contraception or ▪ inducing anaesthesia or ▪ otherwise preventing or interfering with the normal operation of a physiological function or ▪ altering the administration of prescribed medication.	No

If "**Yes**" please go to **Section A (Clinical Trials)** – all questions must be completed
If "**No**" please go to **Section B (Public Liability)** – all questions must be completed

Section A (Clinical Trials)

Does the proposed research involve subjects who are either:
 	
  i.   under the age of 5 years at the time of the trial;
  ii.   known to be pregnant at the time of the trial
	Yes / No

If "Yes" the UEC should refer to Finance

Is the proposed research limited to:
 	
  iii. Questionnaires, interviews, psychological activity including CBT;
  iv. Venepuncture (withdrawal of blood);
  v. Muscle biopsy;
  vi. Measurements or monitoring of physiological processes including scanning;
  vii. Collections of body secretions by non-invasive methods;
  viii. Intake of foods or nutrients or variation of diet (excluding administration of drugs).
	Yes / No

If "No" the UEC should refer to Finance

Will the proposed research take place within the UK?	Yes / No

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Title of Research	
Chief Investigator	
Sponsoring Organisation	

Does the proposed research involve:

a)	investigating or participating in methods of contraception?	Yes / No
b)	assisting with or altering the process of conception?	Yes / No
c)	the use of drugs?	Yes / No
d)	the use of surgery (other than biopsy)?	Yes / No
e)	genetic engineering?	Yes / No
f)	participants under 5 years of age(other than activities i-vi above)?	Yes / No
g)	participants known to be pregnant (other than activities i-vi above)?	Yes / No
h)	pharmaceutical product/appliance designed or manufactured by the institution?	Yes / No
i)	work outside the United Kingdom?	Yes / No

If **"YES"** to **any** of the questions a-i please also complete the **Employee Activity Form** (attached).
If **"YES"** to **any** of the questions a-i, <u>and this is a follow-on phase</u>, please provide details of SUSARs on a separate sheet.
If "Yes" to any of the questions a-i then the UEC/DEC/SEC should refer to Finance (aileen.stevenson@strath.ac.uk).

Section B (Public Liability)

Does the proposed research involve :

a)	aircraft or any aerial device	No
b)	hovercraft or any water borne craft	No
c)	ionising radiation	No
d)	asbestos	No
e)	participants under 5 years of age	No
f)	participants known to be pregnant	No
g)	pharmaceutical product/appliance designed or manufactured by the institution?	No
h)	work outside the United Kingdom?	No

*If **"YES"** to any of the questions the UEC/DEC/SEC should refer to Finance(aileen.stevenson@strath.ac.uk).*

For NHS applications only - Employee Activity Form

Has NHS Indemnity been provided?	Yes / No
Are Medical Practitioners involved in the project?	Yes / No
If YES, will Medical Practitioners be covered by the MDU or other body?	Yes / No

This section aims to identify the staff involved, their employment contract and the extent of their involvement in the research (in some cases it may be more appropriate to refer to a group of persons rather than individuals).

Chief Investigator		
Name	**Employer**	**NHS Honorary Contract?**
		Yes / No
Others		
Name	**Employer**	**NHS Honorary Contract?**
		Yes / No
		Yes / No
		Yes / No
		Yes / No

Please provide any further relevant information here:

Interview Schedule

    a)   When were you in care?

    b)   What type of abuse did you suffer?

    c)   What type of placement did the abuse occur in?

    d)   Why were you in care?

    e)   Approximately how long did the abuse continue for?

Part 1: Background

What impact did the abuse have on your life?

1. Can you describe what you went through in order to deal with the abuse you experienced?

2. Who do you hold responsible for what happened?

3. What feelings do you have towards those responsible?

Part 2: Forgiveness

1. When thinking about the abuse you experienced - How important do you think forgiveness is and why?

2. Where does your understanding of forgiveness come from? What is your understanding influenced by?

3. What do you see as the benefits of forgiving?

4. Does thinking about these benefits help you to consider forgiveness?

5. What do you see as the disadvantages of forgiving?

6. Have you forgiven those you hold responsible for the abuse which occurred?

    a) If yes then how were you able to forgive?? How has it helped you?

b) If no then could you forgive? And what would it take for you to forgive?

7. What would you think if those you hold responsible for the abuse were seeking your forgiveness?

8. How important is an apology in terms of being able to forgive?

9. There is said to be a strong connection between religion and forgiveness. Are your thoughts on forgiveness influenced by religion? In what way?

10. Is there anything else you would like to add or share on this topic?

Part 3: Responses to Historic Abuse

1. In general, what are your thoughts on Scotland's response to historic abuse?

2. What are your thoughts on Scotland's public Inquiry into Historic Abuse?

3. What are your thoughts on the National Confidential Forum?

4. What are your thoughts on Scotland's National apology by Jack McConnell in 2004?

5. Have you experienced any other apologies for the abuse which occurred? What were they and what are your thoughts on them?

6. Has Scotland's Government done enough to help you forgive what happened?

7. In terms of justice – how important are the following and why?
    a) Criminal prosecutions – Court proceedings/trials of perpetrators
    b) Financial redress – Monetary compensation/Financial support
    c) Access to support services – e.g. health services or other appropriate support
    d) Public apology – On a national level from the Government
    e) Organisational apology – On a community/group level from the organisation
    f) Interpersonal apology – On an individual level from perpetrator to the survivor

g) Physical Memorials – e.g. museums, memorials, and other symbolic initiatives such as the renaming of public spaces

h) Day of remembrance – a national named day to mark remembrance of all those who suffered

i) Institutional Reform – Changes to organisations and government policy etc.

j) Public Inquiry/Truth process – A space to publicly talk about what happened and/or to investigate and report, recommend changes etc.

k) Any Others?

8. Which of the above would you need to see happen to help you to forgive?

9. What could services and/or professionals do to help you reach the point of forgiveness?

10. Is there anything else you would like to add or share on this topic?

Part 4: Understandings of Forgiveness and Justice

1. What does the word forgiveness mean to you? Please start with the words, 'Forgiveness is…'

2. What does the word justice mean to you? Please start with the words, 'Justice is…'

3. Do you think there is a link between forgiveness and justice?

4. Do you think forgiveness can happen without justice? Please explain

5. Is there anything else you would like to add or share?

Participant Information Sheet for Victims/Survivors of Historic Abuse (Scotland)

Name of department: Social Work and Social Policy

Title of the study: Forgiveness, Transitional Justice and the Historic Abuse of Children in Care

Introduction
My name is Samina Karim and I am a qualified Social Worker currently undertaking a PhD at the University of Strathclyde. During my practice I have worked with a wide range of vulnerable individuals and have recent experience of statutory child protection and working with Looked After Children. Prior to this I have worked within the areas of learning disabilities, mental health, substance misuse, education and domestic violence to name a few.

My PhD research is focussed around addressing Historic Abuse, with a particular interest in how the concepts of forgiveness and justice may play a part in the process.

What is the purpose of this investigation?
The research study aims to explore ideas of forgiveness and justice by asking participants about their personal views on the matter; relating this back to the initiatives that have been or are being undertaken by the state and its institutions in responding to historic abuse. The research questions being asked are based on the analysis from a pilot study, which I undertook in 2014/2015.

Do you have to take part?
The study will involve you voluntarily attending and participating in one semi-structured interview (approximately 1 hour in duration) in which the idea of forgiveness and justice in relation to historic abuse will be explored. Participation is completely voluntary and if at any point during the course of the interview, you want to withdraw, then, this is completely fine. Withdrawal or not wanting to participate will not affect any other aspects of the way in which you are treated within any context. After the interview is complete, an individual debrief will take place with you where we can discuss how the process was. Also, a follow up telephone call will be made to you within one month to speak with you regarding how you are after the interview.

What will you do in the project?
As stated above, the study will involve you voluntarily participating in one interview session. Interviews will be held at The University of Strathclyde, Lord Hope Building, St James Road, Glasgow

or if required at a mutually agreed location. The dates of the interviews will be provided once you have provided consent to take part.

Why have you been invited to take part?
Because this study is focussed on forgiveness and justice in relation to historic abuse, potential participants have been identified via existing work being done with survivors around such issues, which has been led by Professor Kendrick. Due to the sensitive nature of the study and its focus on historic abuse, you will be aged over 30 to take part.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?
Although not the intention of the study, it may well be that thinking through and talking about what happened could lead to upset and this will be worked through as appropriate. Prior to undertaking research, my work involved counselling and supporting individuals in different contexts. The support of survivor services are also available to counter any negative impact, and you will be signposted to appropriate services like In Care Survivors Scotland if required.

What happens to the information in the project?
All information collected will be anonymous and will not contain any personal identifiable data. Any information which is published will refer to participants using pseudo names. Confidentiality will be explained at the outset of interviews, making explicit that any information shared should not identify names of persons or organisations, except in the event that there are current protection concerns for an individual – in which case the information will be passed on in line with safeguarding procedures. Interviews will be recorded via a Dictaphone and this will remain in a secured place within the University building. Similarly, any transcriptions will be made secure and will be encrypted to prevent access.

The information which results from the interviews will be analysed for emerging themes and conclusions. Any publications arising from the Study will maintain individual confidentiality, therefore anonymity will remain.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?
If you would like to be involved in this study, the attached consent form will need to be signed and returned to confirm this. If you do not want to be involved with the study, there is nothing more to do, and I thank you sincerely for your attention.

In relation to feedback, participants will be sent the outcomes of the research and will be contacted via telephone as a follow up to discuss any matters arising. As stated previously, participants will remain anonymous throughout, however the findings of the research will be published within journals and presented at conferences as relevant.

Researcher contact details:
Name: Samina Karim

Email: samina.karim@strath.ac.uk

Address: University of Strathclyde, Lord Hope Building, 6th Floor, 141 St James Road, Glasgow, G4 0LT

Telephone: 0141 552 4400

Chief Investigator details:
Name: Professor Andrew Kendrick

Email: Andrew.kendrick@strath.ac.uk

Address: University of Strathclyde, Lord Hope Building, 6ᵗʰ Floor, 141 St James Road, Glasgow, G4 0LT

Telephone: 0141 552 4400

This investigation was granted ethical approval by the University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee.

If you have any questions/concerns, during or after the investigation, or wish to contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed or further information may be sought from, please contact:

Secretary to the University Ethics Committee
Research & Knowledge Exchange Services
University of Strathclyde
Graham Hills Building
Glasgow
G1 1QE

Telephone: 0141 548 3707
Email: ethics@strath.ac.uk

Consent Form for Victims/Survivors of Historic Abuse

Name of department: Humanities and Social Sciences, Social Work
Title of the study: Forgiveness, Transitional Justice and the Historic Abuse of Children in Care

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.

- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.

- I understand that I can withdraw my data from the study at any time

- I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential except in situations of concern.

- I understand that no information that identifies me will be made publicly available

- I consent to being a participant in the project

- I consent to being audio recorded as part of the project

- I understand that any recordings will be destroyed after the completion of the study

(PRINT NAME)	
Signature of Participant:	Date:

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