



Raatevaara Kristiina

“I abandoned that small boy...I had to abandon in order to survive “: the disclosure of child
sexual abuse by a male survivor

Master's Thesis

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“Hylkäsin sen pienen pojan... mun piti hylätä selviytyäkseni”: lapsena koettu seksuaalinen hyväksikäyttö miesselviytyjän kertomana (Kristiina Raatevaara)

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Lapsen seksuaalinen hyväksikäyttö on perusteellisesti tutkittu ilmiö; tutkimusta esimerkiksi hyväksikäytön vaikutuksista on runsaasti. Vähemmän tutkimusta on kuitenkin siitä millä tavoin koetusta seksuaalisesta hyväksikäytöstä kerrotaan ja millä tavoin se on paljastunut. Suomalaisessa kulttuurissa esiintyvä suhteellisen suppea maskuliinisuuskäsitys voidaan nähdä eräänä hyväksikäytön paljastamista estävänä tekijänä, joten on mielekästä tarkastella miesselviytyjien kertomuksia heidän kokemasta hyväksikäytöstä sekä sen paljastamisesta. Tämän lisäksi kulttuurisen kontekstin ja sekä uhrin että tekijän sukupuolen merkitys korostuu; naiset ja tytöt voidaan asettaa herkemmin passiivisen uhrin asemaan, kuin miehet tai pojat. Tässä tutkimuksessa on selvitetty yhden henkilön kertomuksen kautta lapsena koetusta seksuaalisesta hyväksikäytöstä kertomista, sekä kertomiseen liittyviä suurimpia esteitä. Tutkimuksen osallistuja on käynyt läpi valtavan matkan omaan traumaattiseen kokemukseen, osittain mielenterveyden ammattilaisten ja muiden auttavien tahojen kanssa, ja osittain yksin. Tutkimuksen näkökulma on ammennettu postmodernista feministisestä perinteestä, jonka avulla erityisesti pääkäsitteet, kuten hegemoninen maskuliinisuus, nousevat keskiöön.

Narratiivista aineiston analyysia käyttäen kävi ilmi, että erityisesti hegemoninen maskuliinisuus on yhteydessä koetusta hyväksikäytöstä kertomisen viivyttelyyn tai sen välttämiseen. Tämän lisäksi häpeä näyttäyty kertomisen estävänä tekijänä. Myös perheympäristö näyttää vaikuttavan hyväksikäytöstä puhumiseen: haastava, väkivaltainen ja kompleksinen perhesysteemi voi estää tai hidastaa hyväksikäytöstä kertomista. Lapsen seksuaalisen hyväksikäytön verhoutuminen tabuun myös kulttuurisella tasolla voi vaikuttaa hyväksikäytön kokemuksen käsittelyyn, mikäli aiheesta ei haluta puhua, tai selviytyjä vaiennetaan. Tässä tutkimuksessa yhden osallistujan tarinan kautta hyväksikäytöstä kertomisen vaikeus ja prosessimaisuus kävivät ilmi.

Avainsanat: Lapsen seksuaalinen hyväksikäyttö, paljastaminen, väkivalta, hegemoninen maskuliinisuus

University of Oulu
Faculty of Education

“I abandoned that small boy... I had to abandon in order to survive”: the disclosure of child sexual abuse by a male survivor (Kristiina Raatevaara)

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Child sexual abuse is a relatively well-researched subject; there exists plenty of research on, for example, the effects of child sexual abuse. However, less research exists on how the experienced child sexual abuse is spoken about, and how it is disclosed. Masculinity in a Finnish cultural context can be seen as rather rigid, so it might also work as an inhibitory factor in disclosing, which is why it is important to hear the narratives of disclosure and abuse from male survivors. The significance of the cultural context and gender, of both the victim and the perpetrator, is also of great importance; girls and women are more easily seen as passive victims.

In this research, the disclosure of child sexual abuse by male survivors and the different barriers for disclosure are explored through one male survivors' story. The participant in this research has gone through a tremendous journey into their own traumatic experience alone and with the help of mental health professionals and by turning to other assisting services. The point of view of this research stems from postmodern feminist tradition in which the main concepts, such as hegemonic masculinity, are focused on. By using a narrative analysis method, the surrounding hegemonic masculinity was found to be connected with non-disclosure or the avoidance of disclosing. Also, shame appears to be an inhibitory factor for disclosing child sexual abuse. Another factor is the family environment: a challenging, violent, and complex family system may inhibit or delay disclosing. If child sexual abuse is enshrouded in taboo in a cultural level, it can effect the disclosures by survivors if they are silenced or dismissed. In this research, through the story of one survivor the difficulty and the processual nature of disclosing were found.

Keywords: Child sexual abuse, disclosure, violence, hegemonic masculinity

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1 Introduction

In contemporary culture the subject of child sexual abuse is unsurprisingly common, as its taboo nature may create a great interest in it. There exists literature, movies, and TV-shows that portray the evil, disgusting acts by which children are victimized. Sadly, separating fiction from reality may be impossible for some children and adults, as these acts happen in real life as well. Even now, at the time of writing this (November of 2020), there is a fresh news article describing a man who is suspected of sexually abusing over 40 children between 2018-2020 (YLE.fi, read 4.11.2020). More and more media coverage is focused on child sexual abuse, which might suggest that more crimes are reported than before. The main reason for conducting this research is to try to shed light on the male survivors' experiences, as boys are victimized like girls and non-binary children.

In this thesis, the interest stems from the taboo nature of child sexual abuse, a phenomenon that exists and is "out there", but simultaneously is largely hidden. In Finland, research on child sexual abuse has been conducted through quantitative and qualitative research methods, but more information on the sexual abuse experiences of boys and men is needed. Also, there exists little research on the disclosure experiences by boys and men in Finland. The main focus of this thesis is on the disclosures of male survivors of sexual abuse. In other words, the experiences of telling someone of having been abused sexually as a child can be beneficial to the survivor, and it might lead to some healing, but the obstacle that one has to overcome in order to receive help and healing may not be as simple as one might think. In the news article referred to earlier, all (over 40) children were boys. Boys as survivors of child sexual abuse are underrepresented in most previous research, as well as in the societal atmosphere, leaving them in the margins.

According to previous research on the matter, if a child does not disclose, the sexual trauma follows them into adulthood (see Alaggia, 2005), and male survivors have been found to take over two decades to disclose their experiences (see Easton, 2013).

There may exist different barriers and facilitators that either hinder or promote disclosure, likely stemming from environmental factors. In this thesis, the disclosures of male survivors are examined through a feminist viewpoint, meaning that the surrounding atmosphere of hegemonic masculinity is understood as a hindering factor, as male survivors may be marginalized through their gender: a man may not fit in an accepted category of a survivor of child sexual abuse.

The theoretical framework of this thesis is rooted in feminist theories on masculinity, power and violence. Other theories and previous research have been read and interpreted from a feminist viewpoint. As Alaggia and Millington (2008) point out, patriarchy is "just as harmful for men as it is for women" (Alaggia & Millington, 2008, 272). It is important to hear the stories of male survivors, and to give a voice to the silent and possibly silenced group of survivors, in order to understand the complex process of disclosing child sexual abuse.

For this research, one participant was successfully recruited. The data was collected by conducting a semi-structured interview. The interview was transcribed, after which the data was analyzed with a narrative analysis method, by categorizing the themes that were derived from the interview. The selected analysis method is especially beneficial because there was only one participant willing to discuss their experiences.

In this thesis, the different factors that promote and prevent disclosing are examined. Another research objective is to examine the cultural and gendered context of victimization and their relationship with disclosing, as well as trying to find out that who is disclosed to, if disclosure had occurred. As disclosing child sexual abuse can be beneficial to the survivor, it is important to ask survivors, that how could disclosing be made easier, or even possible, by taking environmental and individual factors into account.

1.1 The structure of the thesis

In the second chapter, the phenomenon of child sexual abuse is described and defined. The prevalence rates of child sexual abuse around the world, and specifically the Nordics, are examined. When examining child sexual abuse as a phenomenon, its effects are explored in order to provide some information on the complex effects that have been

previously found through research. The sexual abuse of children happens somewhere, in a certain time and place, and these environmental factors are taken into account.

In the third chapter, the theoretical framework for this thesis is provided. Some different frameworks are examined before moving on to establishing a framework for the current research. The main concepts are gendered violence and power, and they are interpreted from a feminist viewpoint.

In the fourth chapter, the theoretical framework is expanded by adding the concept of masculinity into the equation. Staying silent may be connected to the constructed masculinity, and these gender specific factors are examined by focusing on the gender-specific shame, "male shame", that is presented in order to question the construed category of a man. The concept of hegemonic masculinity is also presented in the fourth chapter, as it is one of the main concepts of the research.

The fifth chapter is focused on the disclosure of child sexual abuse, which is understood as a process. The different facilitators and barriers of disclosure are examined through previous research on the matter, focused largely on male survivors.

In the sixth chapter, the methodological standpoints are described, including the research design, objectives, and an in-depth description of the ethical considerations. As the subject of this research is sensitive, responsible science was carefully planned together with the research supervisors. A permit from the Ethical Committee of the Faculty of Education (University of Oulu) was applied for, and received, in order to carry out the research as planned. In the methodology-chapter, the methods used for collecting are described.

In the seventh chapter data analysis is examined. The analyzed data is also presented through different themes that were drawn from the data by the researcher.

In the eighth chapter the main findings of the research are presented through different categories and the findings are discussed with the previous research on this topic.

In the last part of this thesis, some suggestions for future research are presented. The validity and liability of the knowledge generated in this research is also critically evaluated in the last part of the thesis.

2 Child sexual abuse

Child sexual abuse can be defined in different ways; the definition can be derived from the surrounding society and legal system, or on the moral unjustifiability of child sexual abuse. For the purposes of this thesis, a comprehensive definition is adopted from the WHO Consultation on Child Abuse Prevention in 1999, in which it is defined as the following: “Child sexual abuse is the involvement of a child in sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend, is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared and cannot give consent of that violates the laws or social taboos of society. Child sexual abuse is evidenced by this activity between a child and an adult or another child who by age or development is in a relationship of responsibility, trust or power, the activity being intended to gratify or satisfy the needs of the other person. This may include but is not limited to:

- the inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity;
- the exploitative use of a child in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices;
- the exploitive use of children in pornographic performance and materials”

(WHO, 2003, 75).

For this thesis, the definition by WHO (2003) is applied, because it is more comprehensive than many other definitions: the social taboos of society are mentioned, the existence of power is mentioned, and the complexity of the phenomenon is addressed. While the focus of this thesis is on the disclosure of male survivors of child sexual abuse, it is necessary to point out that, as in WHO's (2003) definition, child sexual abuse includes sexual activity, but also the exploitation of the child in "pornographic" materials. Summarizing, in this thesis child sexual abuse defined as sexual activity involving a child who cannot give consent, and who is in the position of an object of the perpetrators sexual desire, and in which the power dynamics between the child and perpetrator are unequal. Child sexual abuse is also defined as a form of gendered and sexualized violence, which will be further expanded later.

However, considering the context of this thesis, it is necessary to examine the Finnish laws on child sexual abuse. In Finland child sexual abuse is defined as performing a sexual

act towards a child (under 16 years old), harming the child's development (Finlex 2020, 20.5.2011/540, Chapter 20, Section 6). Also the Finnish law has another section for aggravated child sexual abuse, where the abuse is extremely humiliating or the victim is seen as particularly dependent on the perpetrator, or the perpetrator is seen as violating the trust of the child (Finlex 2020, 20.5.2011/540, Chapter 20, Section 7).

Also, considering child sexual abuse there is a certain criterion for acts which are seen as abuse; suggestive speech, showing genitalia to a child or watching a naked child, exposing the child see masturbation or penetration, touching the child (genital area or other) or making the child touch the perpetrator's genitalia... (Ojala, 2012, 92). Child sexual abuse has also been approached from different standpoints, some focusing on the child, some on the perpetrator, and some on the societal factors involved. In this thesis, the focus is on the survivor of child sexual abuse, but the cultural context of the abuse is also taken into account. Different approaches on child sexual abuse are examined later. The prevalence rates of child sexual abuse are expanded in the next section.

2.1 The prevalence of child sexual abuse

Different studies on child sexual abuse report different prevalence rates; for example, in the United States and Canada incidence studies report decreasing rates of child sexual abuse, while systematic reviews and meta-analysis report "concerning" rates of child sexual abuse (Alaggia et al. 2019). According to Alaggia et al. (2019) child sexual abuse prevalence rates also differ when focusing on gender; the highest rates of child sexual abuse for girls is 21.5 percent in Australia. For both girls and boys, the lowest rates are reported in Asia (girls 11.3 % and boys 4.1%) (Alaggia et al. 2019). According to Pereda's et al (2009) study the highest prevalence rates were reported in South Africa (43.7% female, and 60.9% male), and the lowest in France (0.9% female, and 0.6% male). In the USA, the prevalence rates for women is 25.3 percent and for men 7.5 percent (Pereda et al. 2009).

It is necessary to point out that child sexual abuse does not exist in a vacuum, and cultural factors may well impact the prevalence rates. Not all cases are reported to the police,

doctors, or other officials. The study design could also affect the prevalence rates, since the participants may not identify themselves with "certain questions asked" (Pereda et al. 2009).

In the Nordics, the prevalence rates also differ. According to Antikainen's (1994) study, in Sweden the prevalence rates for child sexual abuse for girls was 7 percent and 1 percent for boys. In Denmark the prevalence rates for girls was 14 percent and 7 percent for boys. The low prevalence rates might stem from the research design: the participants were asked to define themselves if they experienced child sexual abuse (Antikainen, 1994, 26). In Kloppen's et al. review (2015) on Nordic countries, the prevalence of sexual abuse by a relative is 0.1-5.5 percent for boys, and 0.7-15.2 percent for girls. In Lahtinen's et al. study (2018) 2.4 percent of their sample (11,364 children) reported "having had sexual experiences with someone at least five years older", including 13 percent of children who had had more than 10 experiences of child sexual abuse. The prevalence of child sexual abuse has decreased in Finland (e.g. Lahtinen et al. 2018), but in interpreting the statistics it should be noted that there may exist different possible barriers of disclosure. In 2007 there were 1025 cases of child sexual abuse that were reported to the Finnish police. During 1986-2005 12 people were convicted of intrafamilial child sexual abuse. In Finland, the most common scenario is that the perpetrator is a man, and the victim is a girl (Haapasalo, 2008, 177). However, boys and non-binary children can also be victims, and more research on the subject is needed.

In Finland a comprehensive study on child sexual abuse is Sariola's (1990) study that was conducted via an anonymous questionnaire given to 9th graders (aged 15-16). The sample consists of 7 349 responses, and according to Sariola, it is representative of the whole country. The prevalence rates of child sexual abuse for girls was 7 percent and 3 percent for boys. Considering incest (father-daughter or stepfather-stepdaughter), the prevalence rate was 0.47 percent. Three boys reported experiences of intrafamilial sexual abuse (Sariola, 1990, 8, 87, 93).

Another Finnish study on child sexual abuse is Antikainen's (1994) study that focuses on cases that came to the knowledge of welfare and health professionals during 1987-1991. While Antikainen's study focuses more on professional orientations in child sexual abuse

cases, it does reveal some prevalence too: in all cases of reported child sexual abuse, 47 percent were defined as "possible" and 30 percent were defined as "certain cases". However, Antikainen points out that professionals report about a half of all child sexual abuse cases to child protection services, and that even in so called "certain cases" only every other case is reported (Antikainen, 1994, 170, 232). Even though both Sariola's and Antikainen's studies were conducted almost 30 years ago, they are still of importance because of the complexity of child sexual abuse; for example, as Antikainen (1994) points out, not all cases are reported to professionals. According to Ellonen and Sariola (2008) 8 percent of 9th graders reported having had sexual experiences with an adult; in 1988 the prevalence was 13 percent. Ellonen and Sariola point out that experiences of intercourse have especially decreased; for boys, in 1988 4 percent and in 2008 1 percent of boys reported experiences of intercourse with an adult (Ellonen et al. 2008, 88-89). Some more recent data is provided by The Finnish Institute for Health and Welfare (THL) (2019). According to THL, 10-13 percent of 8th and 9th graders (girls) and 4 percent of boys reported experiences of sexual violence.

An important finding in THL's report is the notion that girls tend to disclose their experiences more often than boys (THL, 2019).

2.2 The effects of child sexual abuse

In addition to prevalence rates, it is necessary to examine the effects of child sexual abuse (CSA). There exists a relatively large body of research considering the matter, and one of the most comprehensive and influential articles is Finkelhor and Browne's review on the effects of CSA (1986). In Scopus, the article has been cited 1876 times, and one cannot research CSA without coming across the article. Finkelhor and Browne divided the effects into initial effects and long-term effects. The initial effects of CSA include disturbances in sleeping and eating, phobias, shame, anger, behavioral problems, anxiety and depression. The long-term effects include depression, anxiety, feelings of isolation, possible re-victimization, and problems in sexual functioning (Finkelhor & Browne, 1986).

A more recent study on the effects of CSA by Cujatar et al (2010) had a sample of 2,688 CSA victims. Their mental health problems were examined, and paired with a control group the findings confirm the increased risk for psychiatric disorders (Cujatar et al. 2010). Looking at (especially) the long-term effects, and the supporting empirical evidence, it seems clear that child sexual abuse is a serious threat to one's mental health (Finkelhor & Browne, 1986; Polusny & Follette, 1995; Fergusson et al. 2013).

The different effects of child sexual abuse can also be seen in self-harming behavior, such as suicidal behavior and self-mutilation (Polusny & Follette, 1995). Additionally, child sexual abuse has been linked to substance abuse: according to Rodriguez et al. (1992) one third of their sample reported daily alcohol intoxication, and over a quarter of their sample reported daily drug intoxication during some period of their lives (Polusny & Follette, 1995).

Some studies have discovered a relationship between eating disorders and child sexual abuse: according to Rodriguez et al. (1992) over 80 percent of their sample reported a "history of some form of behavior symptomatic of disordered eating" (Polusny & Follette, 1995). Other effects of child sexual abuse are psychiatric problems, such as dissociative experiences, the development of multiple personality disorder, the and presence of borderline personality disorder (Polusny & Follette, 1995, see also Trickett & Putnam, 1998, 50).

In addition to large samples and control groups, there are also interesting case studies on the effects of child sexual abuse. In Bogart's (1993) case study seven dreams of an adult male psychotherapy client are explored in order to uncover hidden memories and fears stemming from being sexually assaulted as a child. The client, Jim, was assaulted by a stranger when he was 8 years old, and throughout his childhood Jim was afraid that the stranger (a man) would molest him again. Jim had been abused by a homosexual man, so he had been uncertain about his own sexual orientation, which resulted in a "severe case of homophobia" (Bogart, 1993, see also Buller et al. 2020).

Jim had suffered from different, previously presented symptoms of child sexual abuse, such as depression, self-hate and feelings of guilt. He also had never disclosed the abuse to his parents. Bogart's (1993) analysis of Jim's dreams are drawn from psychoanalysis and Jungian perspectives; he sees dreams as representations of the inner world, and that dreams have the potential to reveal unresolved developmental issues (Bogart, 1993).

Jim's dreams revolved around unresolved sexual anxieties, and one "core" dream expressed fears that they themselves are gay and might molest children. During Jim's therapy process, he disclosed the abuse to his parents, and after the termination of the process "some of the pain of Jim's childhood trauma had been released, his sexual identity clarified, and balance restored" (Bogart, 1993). While it is important to note that a case study, such as Bogart's (1993) may not provide generalizable knowledge, it does provide some information on the importance of disclosure, on homophobia, and the possible hidden fears of "becoming a molester".

Another case study is Sigurdardottir's and Hallsdorsdottir's (2018) study with a childhood sexual abuse survivor, a 40-year old female, Anne. Anne's lived-experience is explored in seven interviews. Her father had begun raping her when Anne was around two to three years old, and the abuse had continued until she was around nine years old. However, Anne had also been abused by her uncle, stepfather, her friend's father, and "by more than one relative". Anne had suffered from different symptoms stemming from the abuse(s): anxiety, depression, dissociation, a broken self-image, and repeated re-traumatization. Anne had also suffered from repeated vaginal and abdominal infections, chronic pain, sleeping problems, ovarian cysts, and ovarian cancer, and many other symptoms. The case study clearly points out the different physical and psychological consequences of child sexual abuse. (Sigurdardottir & Hallsdorsdottir, 2018).

For the purposes of this thesis, it is necessary to explore some consequences that have been found in studies focused on boy survivors and the experiences of CSA. Lisak (1994) found that male survivors of CSA reported feelings of isolation, alienation, helplessness, guilt, self-blame and humiliation (Valente, 2005). On a psychobiological level, child sexual abuse has been found to effect cortisol elevation and dysregulation (Trickett & Putnam, 1998, 50). Other common emotional and cognitive findings are feelings of betrayal, anxiety, powerlessness and stigmatization (Valente, 2005). The fear of stigmatization may be connected to the non-disclosure of CSA; according to Dorais (2002) the boy has to "deny the abuse and model a most "normal" behavior" (Valente, 2005).

In addition to the different effects of child sexual abuse, it is necessary to explore the cultural factors associated with child sexual abuse.

2.3 The contexts and controversies around child sexual abuse

Cultural values and morality can be seen as being inscribed on the body (Burton, 2001, 40). According to Gil (1995) cultural issues are relevant because they contribute to family climates, they prohibit or hinder disclosure, and also play a role in seeking and accepting help and/or assistance (Purvis & Ward, 2006). Therefore, the surrounding societal factors may contribute to acknowledging the phenomenon of child sexual abuse. It is necessary to acknowledge the surrounding culture as a context for child sexual abuse, since it seems to be a worldwide problem.

Masculinity, femininity and sexuality are culturally constructed, so different factors involved in child sexual abuse can mean different things in different cultures and contexts (Laitinen, 2004, 48). This will be later expanded, while exploring hegemonic masculinity. In Finland, a research project focused on sexual deviance was conducted in 1992, and so-called "child sex" and sexual violence were defined as sexual deviance or perversion (Kontula, 1993, 80-82). However, homosexuality, sadomasochism, hypersexuality and so-called free sex were also seen as sexual deviance or perversion (Kontula, 1993, 82). The results show that especially "child sex" and sexual violence were regarded as the "most" perverted forms of sexual activity by about a third of female and male participants (Kontula, 1993, 83). Getting more information on the attitudes towards sexual deviance could provide new data on the current situation in Finland.

In any culture, one of the possible factors in effecting the attitudes towards child sexual abuse is the media. A national scandal may divide the people and their attitudes, and one example of such a case is "the Cleveland case" in England. In June 1987, several children were suspected of being victims of child sexual abuse, and during the following weeks the situation escalated into a so-called political and moral panic. The press, different experts and politicians were involved in making sense of the situation, and one of the main characters involved was pediatrician Marietta Higgs, who had diagnosed the alleged sexual abuse, together with Geoffery Wyatt. The number of possible victims quickly grew to 200 over a couple of months, and Higgs became the constructed "causative agent" in the crisis. Simultaneously, Stuart Bell, a Labour MP quickly became the other significant

character in the crisis; the two characters became to represent different "positions of symbolic significance" (Nava, 1992, 148-154). While the truth of what happened in Cleveland may remain a mystery, it is important to note that the responsibility of causing the panic has fallen on Higgs, a woman doctor, and not the male politician who could be seen as escalating the situation and pointing fingers at Higgs. Although the practices of Higgs can be seen as problematic, the narrative of the story seems to stem from fear, and the responsibility of the abuse can be seen to have shifted from the perpetrators to a symbolic figure, Higgs (Nava, 1992, 148-157).

Along with issues of the media, is necessary to address some issues considering research on CSA. In Finland, the most comprehensive study carried out by Sariola in 1990 provided useful data on the prevalence of CSA. However, in the study, Sariola has said that it is problematic to research child sexual abuse since the results may be used to "provoke misandry" (Sariola, 1990, 115-116). Although Sariola's study was conducted 30 years ago, and the Cleveland case happened over 30 years ago, they are important because the same attitudes could exist today. The media is an important contributor in contemporary culture, and the taboo nature of CSA could be maintained by media. According to Nielsen (2016) in every society the norms regarding CSA are upheld, and in many systems it is seen as the ultimate taboo (Nielsen, 2016). A more recent case of media and CSA is Natascha Kampusch's story from Austria; after 8 years spent in captivity, she is described by Nielsen as the subject to two offences, one by the capturer and sexual offender and one by the media (Nielsen, 2016). The media, as well as the public, may attribute the victim position with shame, which might affect disclosing (e.g. Nielsen, 2016).

CSA has also been in the center of discussion related to the so-called memory wars, and especially in the form of planting false memories on people (Otgaar et al. 2019). While therapists' suggestive tone and questions may actually implant false memories, focusing in the memories of the victims seems to, once again, shift the responsibility of the abuse to the victim. A collection of articles (ironically named "the Sexual Witch Hunt/Seksuuainen noitavaino" ed. Suomela & Furman, 1999) seems to consist of articles which continue supporting the narrative of possible misandry, and also focus on the trustworthiness of children's testimonies and memory (Suomela & Furman, 1999). However, it is important to note that the articles were written over 20 years ago, and the interest in social

norms in the global child protection arena has increased, particularly in the case of violence against children (Buller et al. 2020). Also, in the Finnish context, there exists some research on CSA in a religious setting; according to Hurtig the phenomenon of CSA in Laestadianism (a revivalist movement in Finland) has structural and behavioral issues. Hurtig points out, that CSA is connected to the societal processes, structures and interpretations of faith that are culturally specific to Laestadianism (Hurtig, 2012, 144-145). Religion can be seen as the "purest" form of culture (e.g. Lambek, 2013, 3), so religious societies or families could have different attitudes towards CSA, especially considering the disclosure (or non-disclosure) of CSA. These issues need to be addressed, and more research on CSA in religious settings in Finland is needed.

Interpreting and theorizing CSA from a feminist point of view is useful in giving a voice to the silenced, in refraining from speaking for others, and giving agency to those, whose agency have been taken from them. In the next section, theories on CSA are examined, as well as the concept of gendered violence.

3 Gender, power and violence in the context of CSA

Gender, violence and power are useful concepts in examining child sexual abuse and its cultural context. As noted before, child sexual abuse is a complex phenomenon that does not exist in a vacuum. The surrounding "gender climate" could effect disclosing child sexual abuse, if for example, the victim/survivor is a man. In a Finnish culture and context, it could be seen that a position of a victim/survivor does not "fit" to a boy/man;

a victim position is often considered as passive, feminine position. This will be expanded later, while examining gendered violence as a concept. However, it is also necessary to consider some other theories of child sexual abuse. This chapter consists of a summary of selected theories on child sexual abuse, gendered violence and the connections of power and violence in the context of child sexual abuse.

3.1 Theories on child sexual abuse

Child sexual abuse has been examined from different frameworks, such as the psychoanalytical, psychological and feminist frameworks. One of the most influential theories is the psychoanalytical model of child sexual abuse, which is largely influenced by the work of Freud. Freud saw that the reason for women's hysteria and neuroses was the experienced sexual abuse, the perpetrator usually being their father. Freud came to develop his theory on seduction, which was not well received by his colleagues, and which he later replaced with what came to be the famous Oedipus complex theory. In the Oedipus complex a daughter is seen as an active agent, who wants to be the target of her father's love: the father, however, is a passive and innocent object of his daughter's seduction. The daughter notices that boys and men have penises, becomes envious and realizes that they cannot receive a penis from their mother, turning their attention towards their father (Sanderson, 2002, 15-16).

The psychoanalytic model of Freud's work is highly problematic, since it basically denies the "true" nature of child sexual abuse, and shifts the blame from the perpetrator to the victim. It also does not acknowledge the victimization of other genders, or that the perpetrator could be other than a father, or even a woman. Other interpretations of Freud's work may, however, offer other explanations: according to Miller (1985) child sexual abuse is a way of fulfilling the parent's emotional and sexual needs, while ignoring the fact that a child cannot give consent (Sanderson, 2002, 18-19). One important point of the psychoanalytical model, however, is the notion from McLeod and Saraga (1988) that the perpetrator could be the object of the victim's hate and love at the same time (Sanderson, 2002, 20, see also Laitinen 2004, 113).

Another model of approaching child sexual abuse is the family dynamics model, where the entire family is seen as dysfunctional, and incest is one of the symptoms of a dysfunctional family. The perpetrators own fears, wishes and fantasies can be erupted, resulting in incest. The mother, however, is falsely seen as a "failure"; she has failed to satisfy the sexual needs of her man, and also failed as a mother being cold and distant to her children. While it is necessary to acknowledge the family and culture in theorizing child sexual abuse, seeing incest as a symptom is highly problematic, and the model also fails to explain other types of child sexual abuse, such as extra-familial abuse (Sanderson, 2002, 20-22). Also, little research exists on the perspectives of mothers in a family where father-perpetrated CSA has occurred. According to Laitinen & Väyrynen (2011) mothers take on a challenging role; they are expected to see and react to a situation that they aren't responsible of.

Some other models and theories are the psychological model, Finkelhor's model, different feminist models and theories on child sexual abuse, and social constructionist approaches (See Sanderson, 2002 and Bagley & Mallick, 1999). The feminist approach usually takes into account the power dynamics between the adult and the child; these power dynamics are also seen in a larger societal context, where the patriarchal structure of the society, masculinity and especially the socialization process of men are of importance (Sanderson, 2002, 29). However, no singular feminist perspective on CSA exist, but they are derived from different theories and a diverse group of writers (Purvis & Ward, 2006).

Sexuality is seen as including culturally formed values, emotions and attitudes, as well as biological “urges” as factors in explaining the stereotypical gender roles (Sanderson, 2002, 31). However, feminist models of child sexual abuse have been criticized for their sociological approaches, and they have been seen as ignoring psychological factors (Sanderson, 2002, 35, see also Purvis & Ward, 2006). Psychological theories and approaches have, on the other hand, "seemingly neglected the finding that most sexual offenders are male, and in this regard have failed to fully understand, analyze and explain the roles of gender and power in sexual offending" (Purvis & Ward, 2006, 310).

While different approaches emphasize internal (such as psychological) and/or external (such as cultural) factors, for the purposes of this thesis the both factors are considered important. The experience of disclosure can be a difficult process (see Brattfjell & Flåm, 2019) and the environment in which disclosure is attempted could affect the disclosure process. Also, as research shows, male survivors of CSA may experience confusion over their sexuality and they may fear and experience homophobia (such as slurs and attacks), suggesting that taking gender factors into account is justified (Alaggia & Millington, 2008).

While the psychological factors, such as motives, are important in theorizing child sexual abuse and developing new practices in treating sexually abused people, the approach of this thesis stems from a feminist tradition of theorizing child sexual abuse, because it acknowledges the gender, culture and the larger context in which the abuse happens. The following chapter will expand on the concept of gendered violence.

3.2 Child sexual abuse as a form of gendered violence

Gender is a primary category of perception in a society, and the shared cultural beliefs "act as the "rules" for coordinating public behavior on the basis of gender" (Ridgeway, 2018, 11). Gender, however, matters in examining gendered violence, and child sexual abuse as a specific form of gendered violence.

The attitudes towards gendered violence can be seen as existing "inside" the gendered culture, and they affect the understanding of sexual violence (Lidman, 2017,155). More research concerning the survival process of male survivors is clearly needed.

Gendered violence, in this setting, means not only the violent act towards an individual, but also the societal and institutional discourses as ways of making means of gender; these gendered conventions can be seen as upholding the unequal distribution of power (Ronkainen & Näre, 2008, 22). For example, as research shows, child sexual abuse is a serious threat to the child, and prevalence rates in Finland have grown (e.g. in the first quarter of 2019 417 cases were reported to the police (STAT.fi, read 12.11.2020)).

More recently experiences of sexual violence were reported by 4 percent (boys) and 10 percent (girls) of 8-9th graders in 2019. The prevalence rates of sexual violence are rising in Finland, which may suggest that reporting has increased (THL, 2019) Child sexual abuse is suggested to be underreported, because of its taboo nature and barriers of disclosure (e.g. Alaggia et al. 2019). In child sexual abuse cases, the perpetrator appears to be male more often than not, and women and girls are the usual victims (Ronkainen & Näre, 2008, 22). However, boys (and non-binary children) are also victims of child sexual abuse, but the crimes can possibly be even more underreported because of the hegemonic masculinity of the Finnish society, and even greater feelings of shame. The concept of hegemony and masculinity will be further examined later. The perpetrators, however, are not necessarily always men (e.g. Ogilvie, 2004).

Most research on sexual violence is typically focused on women as victims and men as the perpetrators of different types of violence and abuse. However, the focus in this thesis is on male survivors of child sexual abuse, and the concept of gendered violence in this setting means that the gender of both the victim and the perpetrator are taken into account. Other factors, such as the cultural context, are also of importance. In Western contemporary culture men are often represented as violent and abusive towards women, and women as the objects of violence and abuse (Karkulehto & Rossi, 2017, 12). Boys and men as victims/survivors do not "fit" the often represented narrative, so boys and men can fall into an invisible and silent group of victims/survivors. The representation of different genders in different positions, such as victim or perpetrator matters; it includes data on the way violence is articulated, presented and interpreted (see Ronkainen, 2017).

Defining child sexual abuse as a form of gendered violence makes it possible to take the surrounding culture into account: for example, so-called "bush-rapes" (puskaraiskaus) fit better to a Finnish cultural view on rape; even though in most cases of rape the perpetrator is at least the victim's acquaintance (Keskinen, 2010, 247). These views could affect the disclosing of child sexual abuse. Gendered violence and power are also tightly connected, and different forms of abuse can be interpreted as abusing one's power, and oppressing and humiliating the victim (Keskinen, 2010, 247). However, while the so-called traditional views on gendered violence stem from research on female victims/survivors, with men as the perpetrators, it is important to challenge those views when the victims/survivors are male.

Female perpetrators in child sexual abuse cases are rare, at least according to the small body of research on the matter. For example, in cases of child sexual abuse in mother-daughter-cases, it is suggested that the underreporting and underestimation includes the denial of the possibility of mothers exploiting their children, cultural images of motherhood and stigmatization (Ogilvie, 2004, 4). Also, according to Ogilvie (2004, 5) we "take it for granted that men/fathers abuse, yet we refuse to accept that women/mothers sexually abuse as well". The notion from Ogilvie is important, because most of the feminist research focuses solely on men as perpetrators and women as victims. Boys and men as victims, then, are invisible and voiceless. Also, masculinity and the concept of virility can be seen as "incompatible with the factual experience of having been a victim of sexual abuse, or of needing help following such trauma" (Dorais, 2002, 17).

Seeing child sexual abuse as a form of gendered violence acknowledges the ways that gender, power and societal structures are linked together (Laitinen, 2004, 20). Child sexual abuse is always the perpetrator's responsibility, since a child cannot give consent, and there are always power dynamics involved; the perpetrator can bribe the child, or threaten the child, using their power to manipulate or scare the child (Laitinen, 2004, 21). Intra-familial child sexual abuse is also problematic because of its invisible nature: everything might seem fine to outsiders, or even to people in the family. Different barriers of disclosure may also exist; some stemming from the perpetrator, some from the child, others from society and cultural factors. In choosing to use the concept of gendered violence in

this thesis, it is defined as a complex form of violence, in which violence, gender and sexuality are connected through cultural and structural factors, as well as factors of agency (Ronkainen, 1998, 2). The definition allows for the power dynamics to be explored; gendered violence stems from an unequal distribution and usage of power (Ronkainen, 1998, 2). Power as a factor in child sexual abuse will be further conceptualized in the next section.

3.3 Power as a factor in child sexual abuse

Power is conceptualized in WHO Clinical Guidelines (2017) as a factor in CSA as following: "sexual abuse involves the intent to gratify or satisfy the need of the perpetrator or another third party including that of seeking power over the child". Perpetrators in cases of CSA are in a "position of responsibility or trust or power over the victim" (WHO, 2017). In most feminist perspectives on CSA sexuality is seen as being strongly connected to power, gender and violence (Laitinen, 2004, 244). The unequal power positions between a child and an adult can be seen as the enabling factors of child sexual abuse, especially in intrafamilial cases (Laitinen, 2004, 107). A child cannot give consent to a sexual relationship, and therefore "every sexual contact in a situation where there is an unequal relationship, and where consequently one person has more power than the other, can be called sexual abuse" (Reynaert, 2015). In cases of CSA it is important to point out that the person abusing their power (the perpetrator) over the child is defining the boundaries and is "responsible for respecting - or disrespecting - the limit" (Reynaert, 2015). While most perpetrators may be male, power itself, is not something that all men possess over women and children, but a relational factor (e.g. Purvis & Ward, 2006). This will be further expanded on in the section on masculinity. It is also important to listen to the survivors of CSA and their experiences of power.

According to Laitinen (2004) the participants, survivors of child sexual abuse, of her study reported different experiences of being victimized by different types of power; the perpetrator is described as having had the power of controlling their thoughts, mind, emotions, words, experiences and their bodies. Power itself does not necessary mean physical power, but it can take different forms. Laitinen (2004) categories the different forms of

power as arbitrary, forcing, manipulative, compensative, seductive and love. These different categories consist of experiences, which can be scary: the perpetrator can, for example, threaten the child with violence or by threatening to send the child away from home. In cases of compensative power, the perpetrator can try to hide the seriousness of their actions by rewarding the child, for example with attention or money. The complexity of power dynamics in child sexual abuse appear clearly when examining love as a category of power: the perpetrator loves and "protects" the child, who wants to be loved. Simultaneously the perpetrator is abusing their power over the child. The position of power is on the perpetrator, and the child is left with the position of an object of their sexual desire. The justification of these unequal power positions can be derived from the myth of the parents' inherent love for their child, and from the view that children are their parents' biological property. In this mythical view, it should be impossible for parents to knowingly hurt their child (Laitinen, 2004, 68, 107, 109, 111-114). However, parents do hurt their children, and child sexual abuse does happen. Power and gender will be further expanded in the next section on masculinity.

4 Masculinity and victimization

Different factors may influence the disclosing of CSA, one of which could be the gender of both the perpetrator and the survivor. The construction of masculinity & masculinities in the Nordics may be rigid, and they might not include the position of a victim or a survivor of CSA for a boy/man. The concept of hegemonic masculinity is useful in exploring the construction of masculinity in a Western culture. Hegemonic masculinity refers to "the generally accepted patriarchal view on the male gender and sexuality" (Manninen, 2010, 60). Power is an important factor while exploring hegemonic masculinity. The unequal distribution of power can create a hierarchy, in which some men are marginalized (Manninen, 2010, 60-61).

Men who do not fit this generally accepted view of the male gender could, then, be marginalized. The culturally constructed gender roles, which often portray a binary view of gender, could affect disclosing CSA. The male survivor could be invisible in the surrounding cultural context in which CSA has been proven to exist, creating a dilemma for the survivors. It is important to expand on the concept of hegemonic masculinity and the male victimization, which includes the experienced masculine shame, in order to explore different factors of disclosure. Male survivors of CSA in Finland may be affected by the surrounding hegemonic masculinity, for example, by not disclosing their experiences out of fear of being labeled as a homosexual. The experienced shame is a common finding in most research on CSA, and being a male survivor of CSA might contradict the accepted view of hegemonic masculinity, leaving the survivor invisible and voiceless.

Masculinity is also an important factor in the context of CSA when exploring past research on the perpetrator, since most perpetrators are male (e.g. Valente, 2005, Faller, 1989). Female-perpetrated CSA may be underreported, and more research is needed.

4.1 Gender matters: the construction of masculinities

Defining 'masculinity' is a challenge; according to Jokinen (2010) in Western cultures some features that are perceived as masculine are, for example, emotion control, functionality, prominence, endurance, rationality and physical power. In contrast, features such as emotionality and a sense of community are perceived as feminine. However, this

binary view is a construction and not a natural fact; features that are perceived as masculine can be seen as constructing the category of a man. In feminist theories on gender, especially in the work of Connell (1987), the process of gender is of importance, not the fixed definitions of a gender; the most important factors are power, relationships, production and work. Masculinity, then, includes the several possible positions in social relations, and the dynamics of those positions in relation to others (Jokinen, 2010, 128-130).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity is provided by Connell et al. in 1985. Hegemonic masculinity is, according to Connell, "always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women" (Connell, 1987, 183). The concept of hegemonic masculinity means that the culturally idealized masculinity and its values are in the position of power, in a specific historical time and space (Jokinen, 2010, 131). The cultural ideals of masculinity "need not correspond at all closely to the actual personalities of the majority of men" (Connell, 1987, 184). Hegemonic masculinity, then, includes the idea of a man, which can be a symbol, such as a fictional character. In a Finnish cultural context, the representation of a mythical ideal of hegemonic masculinity can be seen, for example, in Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim (1876-1951), a Finnish military leader and president (Jokinen, 2010, 131-132). According to Connell (1987) characters such as the film characters played by Humphrey Bogart, John Wayne and Sylvester Stallone are also fantasy figures created for (and by) the hegemony. However, as Connell (1987) points out, "few men are Bogarts or Stallones, many collaborate in sustaining those images" (Connell, 1987, 184-185). So, to summarize, the concept of hegemonic masculinity is the "place" between genders, the system itself, and the ideology that normalizes the male power (Jokinen, 2010, 132).

In Finland, men are expected to do military service during the time of peace. The reasoning behind it may be derived from history or biological reasons. However, it can also be seen as a form of hegemonic masculinity. Masculinity itself is a relational, changing and a structural construction; the (male) power, although it connects men, is not distributed equally but through the hierarchies of masculinities, in a specific time and place. Masculinities that differ from the hegemonic interpretations of manhood may be marginalized or oppressed. For example, heteromascularity is interpreted as the norm, controlling and

desirable, and heterosexual men construct their masculinities by separating themselves from homosexual men (and everything that can be interpreted as "gay") (Jokinen, 2010, 132-133).

The position of a victim/survivor can also be seen as a position of non-masculinity, since it doesn't "fit" the cultural idea of manhood and masculinity. It has been suggested that men are "easy" victims, because the socialization of boys includes the socialization into violence, meaning that men are more likely to be the perpetrators of violent acts, but they are also the victims. In the socialization process, which occurs in a certain cultural context, boys learn that a man has to be able to defend himself and if he fails, the "lost honor" can't be returned by telling someone, for example, the police. It is more appropriate to stay silent, than to announce their defeat. (Jokinen, 2017, 36). The learned behavior of staying silent may affect disclosing experiences of CSA.

4.2 Gender as a factor in perpetrating

Violence and the male gender are connected, and men are most often the perpetrators and the victims of violence in Finland. Violence is a part of the construction of the male gender and masculinity; masculinity itself can be understood as a subject position, in which masculinity is produced (Jokinen, 2017, 32). In Western cultures it is commonly believed that men are the perpetrators of most cases of CSA (Fisher, 1994, 11 & Faller, 1989). Research shows that in using large samples, the perpetrators are primarily male (53%-94%) (Valente, 2005). Women (and non-binary people) are also the victims and perpetrators of different forms of violence, and in Finland, for example, women are victims especially in cases of domestic violence (e.g. Keskinen, 2010, 244). In comparing female and male perpetrators of CSA, no differences in the severity of the abuse was found in a study conducted by Rudin et al. (Rudin et al. 1995). Similar results were found by Weinsheimer et al. (2017) and no significant differences in the level of intrusiveness was found. Also, according to Weinsheimer et al. (2017) female and male perpetrators were similar in factors such as age, abuse intrusiveness, frequency, and substance abuse.

In cases of CSA, the perpetrator could be a woman, such as a sister or a mother etc., but little research exists on the subject. According to Grayston and De Luca's review (1999)

on female perpetrators of CSA, it is suggested that female-perpetrated CSA is "greatly underreported, and that the true scope of the problem is more extensive than current estimates suggest" (Grayston & De Luca, 1999, 94). It has also been reported that women can be the perpetrators in cases of intrafamilial CSA, and that the victims are often pre-school and school-age children. However, the age of the victims varies from infants to older teens in different reports. One important finding in the review is that women often have an accomplice, who is usually male. Male perpetrators, in contrast, often act alone.

According to Grayston and De Luca, some characteristics in the female perpetrator were found, such as previous victimization, psychiatric impairment, deviance in arousal and interest patterns, domestic violence and family and marital dysfunction. (Grayston & De Luca, 1999). However, it is important to note that the review was conducted over 20 years ago. Past research has also been focused on certain countries (such as The USA), and more research on the Nordics is needed.

In a review by Curti et al. (2019) 11 cases of CSA were examined, and the female perpetrators were paternal grandmothers in five cases, biological mothers in three cases, neighbors in two cases, and a nanny in one case. In the 11 cases, 72.7 percent were intrafamilial, and 27.3 percent extrafamilial. The mean age of the victims was 6.11 years, and they were most often girls, 81.8 percent (the percentage of boys was 18.2). It is suggested by Curti et al. (2019), that victims rarely disclose the abuse because of the emotional attachment towards the perpetrator.

CSA is a complex phenomenon and while the characteristics of the perpetrator are important, it is also necessary to point out that in CSA the adult is using their position of power over the child (Heikinheimo & Tasola, 2004, 18). The surrounding culture, including the atmosphere of hegemonic masculinity, may affect the recognition of the male victim or the female perpetrator; if the female gender is associated with factors such as care-taking, the female perpetrator doesn't fit the constructed category of their gender. The same principle can be applied to men and boys. One of the most common factors found in research considering CSA is the experience of shame, which is expanded on the next section.

4.3 Hegemonic masculinity and the male shame

The experience of shame has been found in countless studies on CSA (See Gilbert & Andrews, 1998; Tasola & Heikinheimo, 2004; Matthew et al. 2019; Guyon et al. 2020). Shame, along with self-blame and guilt has been associated with experiences of abuse, and it has been suggested that shame "plays a mediating role in the link between early abuse and disorder" (Gilbert & Andrews, 1998, 188). While the experiences of shame have been found generally in survivors, the surrounding culture and especially the atmosphere of hegemonic masculinity may affect the experiences of shame in male survivors.

The disempowering, confusing and so-called feminizing experiences can be especially difficult to revisit for men who have been abused; especially cases with same-sex CSA raise questions about the survivors' sexual orientation and concerns of homophobic attitudes towards them (Alaggia & Millington, 2008). The gender specific factors are explored in depth in the section on disclosure.

In Western culture, the hegemonic masculinity appears to hold on to an idea of a man who is dominant and antifeminine (Smith et al. 2015). However, a male survivor of CSA may not "fit" the constructed cultural category of a man at all, or they may exaggerate their masculinity and overplay the norms, such as in having multiple sexual partners (Guyon et al. 2020). The taboo nature of CSA is connected to the experiencing of shame, and it has been suggested that reporting CSA can connect the survivor to the taboo act itself, thus creating more shame (Nielsen, 2016). Male survivors have been described as "possessing a deep sense of guilt, shame or self-blame regarding the sexual abuse" (Sivagurunathan et al. 2019, 457).

Shame itself has been described as unbearable; humans will try to reject and protect themselves from it using different mechanisms, such as denial, different forms of addiction and self-harming behavior (Heikinheimo & Tasola, 2004, 41). Also, the experience of shame is deeply rooted in its social nature; it gives humans information on what is appropriate behavior in a given situation, and in cases of CSA the experience of disappointment and shame can be crushing, as the child grows to internalize the shame (Heikinheimo & Tasola, 2004, 42). More research on the connections of the surrounding culture and shame is needed. In the case of male survivors, being perceived as a victim by the surrounding hegemonic masculinity may affect help-seeking and disclosing the experiences of CSA.

Shame has been found to be one of the key barriers of disclosure (e.g. Sivagurunathan et al. 2019), which will be further explored in the next section.

5 The disclosure of child sexual abuse

The disclosure of CSA can be defined as simply telling someone (usually an adult) of the experience. Child survivors of CSA may also, for example, express their experiences through drawing or behaving in an inappropriate, excessively sexualized manner (e.g. Katz & Hamama, 2013; Gries et al. 1996). Disclosing CSA is not, however, a simple act. In numerous studies, stories and reports survivors of CSA tell that they have not disclosed until adulthood, or that they have tried, but no one believed or listened to them. Many participants in Laitinen's (2004, 194-195) study describe different experiences of trying to disclose, but being told that they are lying, that their imagination is out of control, or simply being ignored. Silencing a survivor could lead to more experiences of shame, and the person may not try to disclose again. It is important to explore the different factors in disclosing CSA; according to some studies age and gender are significant factors. The surrounding culture may also affect disclosing. Also, moving from macro-level to micro-level, the family dynamics may act as a facilitators or barriers of disclosure (e.g. Alaggia & Kirshenbaum, 2005).

It has been suggested that while the memories of CSA can be repressed, and disclosing those experiences may not happen until adulthood or not even then, the body remembers the abuse (e.g. Heikinheimo & Tasola, 2004, 31, Hlavka 2010). While the body is affected in cases of CSA, it has been also described as "a site of agency, resistance and control" by child survivors of CSA (Hlavka, 2010, 153). The separation of mind and body is not possible, meaning that a survivor of CSA "carries" the trauma with themselves, which often leads to the development of different coping mechanisms, such as dissociation or so-called lifelessness (Heikinheimo & Tasola, 2004, 34-38).

Disclosing child sexual abuse is needed in order to receive support, since appropriate intervention is "crucial to the child victim's full recovery" (Gries et al. 1996, 2). When focusing on child victims, Sorenson and Snow's research on disclosure found that children disclose accidentally and purposefully; especially purposeful disclosures were more common in adolescents, and accidental disclosures in younger children (Gries et al. 1996). The disclosure process itself could be very different for children and adults, since the hidden and invisible norms and rules are internalized when a child grows up and becomes a member of society. The surrounding society and culture, then, could affect negatively

(or positively?) on disclosing child sexual abuse. Some general (non-gender specific) facilitators and barriers of disclosure are explored in the next section.

5.1 General facilitators and barriers of disclosure of CSA

According to a study by DeVoe & Faller (1999) children disclose when assisted; spontaneous disclosures seem to be rarer. Age was not a significant factor in disclosing, but gender was found as a factor - girls disclosed more than boys, however, once boys did disclose, they shared more details. It has been suggested that children may have difficulties articulating their experiences in detail (Devoe & Faller, 1999). So developmental factors, such as cognitive functioning or language development might affect disclosing, meaning that professionals, such as day-care workers, should be sensitive to picking up on the child's possible disclosures. In Kogan's study (2004) on adolescent girls, immediate disclosure was found to be "unlikely" when they had a close relationship with the perpetrator. In intrafamilial CSA, the disclosure is suggested to be accompanied by a "greater sense of disruption and shame by family members" (Kogan 2004, 160). The finding has been consistent in other studies (e.g. Paine & Hansen 2002, Nereo et al. 2002, Hershkowitz et al. 2007, Brattfjell & Flåm, 2019).

If a child does not disclose, they are followed and burdened by the sexual trauma into adulthood, and it has been suggested that 30-80 percent of child sexual abuse victims do not disclose purposefully before adulthood (Alaggia, 2005). Also, Smith (et al. 2000) estimated that "close to one half (48%) of victimized girls(...) told no one for more than 5 years after the event and that 28 percent had not told anyone until the research interview" (Alaggia, 2005, 454). In David's et al. (2018) study of 398 adolescents CSA occurred in 7.5 percent of the cases and incest in 2.1 percent. Overall the disclosure rate of sexual abuse was only 34.4 percent. The main reasons for non-disclosure were feelings of shame, not believing that disclosing would help, fear of the perpetrator and not being believed. David et al. (2018) suggest that parents, too, may not be willing to report because of the stigma associated to sexual abuse (David et al. 2018).

Age has been found to be a factor in disclosing: Hershkowitz et al. (2007) found that older children (out of a sample of 7-12 year olds) tended to postpone disclosure, and that peer groups might be seen as more supportive. As children grow "in to" a society, the taboos and norms may restrict the child, leaving them to seek comfort and support from peers

rather than family members. Priebe and Svedin's study (2008) also found that victims of child sexual abuse mentioned disclosing to a friend. In a review of previous studies Alaggia et al. (2019) found patterns of disclosure considering the age of the victim; the first pattern is that accidental disclosures seem to occur with younger children, the second is that the disclosure rates increase as the victim grows older, and the third that younger children seem to be more likely to disclose when asked about sexual abuse. According to Leclerc & Wortley (2015) disclosure increases with the age of the survivor, and if they did not live with the offender, while Hershkowitz et al. (2007) found that disclosure was delayed when the perpetrator was familiar to the survivor. The findings are similar to Goodman-Brown's et al. (2003) who found that disclosing took longer in cases of intra-familial CSA.

Disclosing has been found to be more likely if penetration occurred, suggesting that the severity of the abuse could be a factor in disclosing. In Kogan's study (2004) penetration and fear for one's life during the unwanted sexual experience were found to affect disclosing in a positive or negative manner. Experiencing fear may lead to seeking support and protection, and penetration may leave signs of abuse or STDs, leading to adults asking questions (Kogan, 2004). Victims who had resisted the offense were found to be more likely to disclose in Leclerc and Wortley's study (2015). However, it is important to note that Leclerc & Wortley's (2015) study was conducted from the offenders' perspectives.

Getting more information on the different factors affecting disclosure can be useful for professionals helping survivors, but also to others. Nielsen (2016) suggests that trying to help a survivor may actually lead to tabooing, which may actually worsen the problem. The helper might, for example, ascribe the inescapable identity of a victim to a person, or they might use "too strong emotions" etc., making the feelings of shame even greater (Nielsen, 2016). Therefore, breaking the taboo around CSA is necessary in order for professionals and non-professionals to be able to confront the survivor without adding to the trauma.

Contextual factors may also affect disclosing. The context in cases of intrafamilial CSA includes factors such as the shared home with the perpetrator, but also the cultural factors,

such as values. According to Hershkowitz et al. (2007) expectations of parents' negative reactions were found to be "strongly associated with delayed, non-spontaneous and indirect disclosure to a non-parent figure" (Hershkowitz et al. 2007, 120). However, their sample did not consist of survivors of intrafamilial CSA. According to Choi et al. (2015) child negligence is correlated to CSA, meaning that the family environment is an important factor in CSA and disclosure. Children's concern for negative consequences to self and others was also found in Goodman-Brown's et al. (2003) study, which suggests that children "weigh the consequences of their actions prior to disclosing" (Goodman-Brown et al. 2003, 537).

According to Foynes et al. (2014) Asian Values (AV) are related to decreased likelihood of disclosure. AV was defined as "conforming to norms, family recognition through achievement, emotional self-control, collectivism, humility and filial piety" (Foynes et al. 2014). The findings suggest that AV affects disclosing especially in CSA (Foynes et al. 2014). Taking cultural values into account could reveal contextual barriers of disclosure, and while AV cannot be directly applied to a Finnish context, factors such as conforming to norms and emotional self-control could, especially in male survivors.

According to Brazelton (2015) in African American communities in the USA some community-level challenges exist that make the disclosing of CSA difficult; some participants of Brazelton's study described being "silenced" by other women in their family. The cultural tradition of "what happens in our house, stays in our house" reveals a possible cultural norm, and many participants of Brazelton's study encouraged the community to "move past the generational "code of silence" and work to protect the children" (Brazelton, 2015, 185). It is important to acknowledge CSA as a broad phenomenon, meaning that communities could affect the survivors, and survivors, then, could affect the communities. In Western cultures, it is also important to point out that the racialized survivor needs to be acknowledged in an intersectional matter, meaning that their experiences differ from white survivors, who may be seen as the norm. According to Okur et al. (2016) ethnic differences can increase or decrease help-seeking; membership of an ethnic minority group may inhibit help-seeking, for example, if sexuality education at home is a taboo subject. In this study a significant factor in help-seeking was found in gender role attitudes: more liberal gender roles were related to help-seeking. Not seeking help, then, was

found to be connected to a lack of trust in counsellors and not needing help, or not knowing where to seek help. While statistically significant differences between minority and majority ethnic youth groups were not found, it is still important to take cultural factors into account (Okur et al. 2016).

Some specific research on the disclosure of CSA in the Nordics exists. According to Brattfjell and Flåm (2019) disclosure is a process, which includes delaying and hindering factors and facilitating factors. For example, delaying disclosure includes lack of knowledge about body, boundaries, sexuality and CSA, rewards and later threats from the abuser, strong feelings of shame and guilt, experiences of being blamed, and repressing the memories until adulthood. Another delaying factor was protecting the family members "against the cost of knowing" (Brattfjell & Flåm, 2019, 229). Factors that promoted disclosure, then, were having someone to tell, being asked questions (such as if anything was wrong), experiencing an urgency to stop the abuse, a major life change, and feeling the need to move on. The participants also described unsuccessful attempts of disclosure, in which the hints and signs given were not successful, or that they were not heard, or that they backed out of disclosing (Brattfjell & Flåm, 2019).

In a Finnish study by Lahtinen et al. (2018) the disclosure rate of CSA (N=11,364) in sixth and ninth graders was examined, and the results indicate that most of the children (80%) had disclosed to someone: 48 percent to a friend, 26 percent to an adult, and 12 percent to the authorities. While it is positive that adolescents seem to disclose to friends, disclosing to adults is also important in order to receive support and help. The increasing of disclosing is a positive change in CSA research as it may help survivors to disclose (e.g. Lahtinen et al. 2018).

A "unique" context or environment could affect disclosing as well. In Finland Laestadianism, for example, been examined as a closed community in which CSA has been "dealt with" in a closed setting (e.g. Hurtig, 2012, 118). The religious community emphasizes the communal unanimity and love, but experiences of CSA "break the myth of a religious family's safety and goodness" (Hurtig, 2012, 118-121). The social hierarchy of a religious community can be harmful especially for the survivor of CSA, and their family. Help-

seeking can be difficult in a religious community, leaving the survivor silenced and alone (Hurtig, 2012, 122-123). More research on CSA and closed communities in Finland is needed.

5.2 Boys and men who disclose CSA

For the purposes of this thesis, it is necessary to explore disclosure experiences of male survivors of CSA. Alaggia's (2005) research on disclosure suggests that both men and women tend to delay disclosure; more than half of the sample (58%) disclosed in adulthood (N=30). Also, disclosure was attempted by indirect ways. Regarding gender differences in disclosing, men feared being seen as homosexual, as a victim, and that they would become an abuser themselves. Women were conflicted about who was responsible for the abuse, and they feared blame and not being believed. However, in Alaggia and Millington's more recent study (2008) men also reported confusion around their role, the responsibility of the abuse, and fear of not being believed or taken seriously. When looking at the barriers and fears of survivors of CSA men seem to contemplate their place in the surrounding culture as a victim, possibly even a homosexual victim (Alaggia, 2005).

According to Alaggia and Millington (2008) men "may find it harder to disclose or seek treatment because of the perceived threat to their masculinity and sexual identity" (Alaggia & Millington, 2008, 272). The role of culture and masculinity are of importance according to Sivagurunathan et al. (2019): the participants of their study reported that there exists a gender bias around CSA and that men who disclose are considered as weak or less than a man. One participant described the gender bias as following: "Societal attitudes that men are not supposed to be victims. Men are supposed to be able to protect themselves. Man, being a victim and being a man is almost like, uh, a contradiction in terms" (Sivagurunathan et al. 2019, 461). It is necessary to note that the study was conducted from the service provider's perspectives, but the same themes have been found in studies on male survivors of CSA as well.

In Easton's (2013) study on male survivors of CSA 97 percent of participants (N=487) had disclosed to someone, although on average it took them more than two decades from

the abuse to disclose. Only 15 percent had reported the abuse to authorities. The results suggest that male survivors tend to delay disclosing, which is problematic in many ways; experiences of CSA have been linked to multiple mental health problems, such as depression, and maintaining the secret of CSA for decades may further heighten the experience of shame (see Finkelhor & Browne, 1986, Cujatar et al. 2010). Shame, guilt, fear and embarrassment were found to be key barriers to self-disclosure in Sivagurunathan's et al. (2019) study on service provider's perspectives of CSA. Strong emotional reactions on disclosure and reluctance towards disclosing have been consistent in research on male survivors of CSA (e.g. Lev-Wiesel & First, 2018).

Looking at the gender differences in disclosing, male survivors may fear being seen as a homosexual (Alaggia, 2005, Priebe & Svedin, 2008). In Western cultures (and the surrounding atmosphere of hegemonic masculinity) this may create "otherness", removing the individual from being seen as a man, but as something else: a homosexual man. If the perpetrator is a man, this threat does not affect women and girls, since heterosexuality is the norm and the "most appropriate" sexual orientation, leaving men and boys to fall into a different category of victimization. In exploring gender differences in disclosing child sexual abuse, Priebe and Svedin (2008) found that boys had not disclosed significantly more often than girls, and that boys were confused with their sexuality (Priebe & Svedin, 2008, Lev-Wiesel & First, 2018, Sivagurunathan et al. 2019).

In conclusion, there clearly exists a need for more research on the different barriers and facilitators on disclosure of male survivors of CSA. Disclosing has been described as a process (e.g. Brattfjell & Flåm, 2019) and providing new information for professionals and non-professionals could make a difference in the experienced process of disclosure. Also, the surrounding culture and environment, in which gendered positions are constructed and upheld need to be taken into consideration while researching CSA. The different themes suggest that disclosing is a complex process, in which the act of disclosing and the context in which it happens is of importance. For example, trying to disclose CSA to someone but not being believed or heard could lead to different barriers of disclosure to form.

One participant in Laitinen's study (2004) summarized the Finnish culture, masculinity and environment as following: "I have never heard that anyone had told, or have not heard that anyone had spoken, or told. There exists so many taboos that are not spoken about. This man's world is still so primitive... most often sensitive subjects are not spoken about" (Laitinen, 2004, 188, translation by me).

6 Methodology

6.1 The research design

One of the most important frameworks for any research is the epistemology, and for the purposes of this thesis, a postmodern feminist position is applied. In a postmodern feminist approach, the world is seen as socially constructed. Knowledge and the understanding of the world are also perceived as constructions (McHugh, 2014, 143). When adopting a postmodern feminist approach, knowledge is never seen as value free, and the relationship between knowledge and power is heightened (McHugh, 2014, 143). The core themes of this thesis, such as hegemonic masculinity and sexual violence, can be examined from a postmodern feminist point of view in a fruitful way. In postmodern thought, knowledge and its production and distribution can be seen as constructing privilege to some, while marginalizing others, resonating with the explored themes of this thesis (McHugh, 2014, 143). Male survivors of CSA may be marginalized because of their masculinity, or they may fear being perceived as less of a man.

Also, as explored in the section on masculinity, hegemonic masculinity and gender itself are seen as social constructions, making the epistemological viewpoint justifiable. In postmodern feminist research, gender can be explored with other sociocultural categories in their intersections (Lykke, 2010, 148). Postmodern feminist research also can be applied when researching constructions that "do not fit in with binary models such as woman/man, feminine/masculine, heterosexual/homosexual (...)" (Lykke, 2010, 148). Exploring the narratives of male survivors may, then, reveal the different ways in which power and resistance are performed and generated (Lykke, 2010, 149). Using narrativity as an analytical tool could be beneficial in criticizing "the master narratives of hegemonic power " (Lykke, 2010, 149). Narrativity will be further expanded on in the chapter on data analysis.

Choosing qualitative research methods are justified in feminist research especially by giving a voice to the silenced. A male survivor may be marginalized, and the experience of

CSA and the different barriers of disclosure may be hard to reach through, for example, quantitative methods. The narratives of the survivors are important to explore in order to find out what different factors may have affected their experiences. In previous studies (see Easton, 2013, Brattfjell & Flåm, 2019, Laitinen, 2004...) the barriers of disclosure have been greatly related to masculinity, as the atmosphere of hegemonic masculinity in Western cultures can be seen as rigid. Also, while in most feminist research the focus is often on resisting patriarchal conceptualizations by grasping the power to speak for themselves, the same can be applied to male survivors of CSA, who are also marginalized (McHugh, 2014, 145). In feminist research the ethical and political factors are heightened: an objective position is seen as impossible, and the researchers' own situated perspective is expected to be acknowledged (McHugh, 2014, 145).

In this thesis, the interest on the subject stems from my previous studies on gender studies, especially on sexual violence, as well as studies on cultural anthropology, not to mention my own, personal experiences and values. The lived-in experience in a Finnish cultural context has helped me in uncovering the surrounding hegemonic masculinity, and the gendered "nature" of our culture. Sexual and domestic violence and the underreporting of such crimes have been present in my own life. The interest, as well as motivation, for this thesis stem from personal as well as educational experiences. I also completed my internship at Tyttöjen Talo, where I participated in different groups, one of which was focused on experiences of sexual violence. Hearing and reading about the silence around sexual violence has guided me to try to find some answers that could help survivors to find their voice.

6.2 The research questions

The focus of the current research is on disclosure; what factors support and prevent disclosing, who is disclosed to, and does the cultural and gendered context of victimization affect disclosing? Research on the disclosing of CSA by male survivors is needed in order to approach the taboo and silenced subject. Also, while Finnish research on CSA and sexual violence exists, more research on the male survivors' experiences is needed.

One of the challenges in designing a research on CSA is the possibility of awakening negative feelings or emotions in the participants. Such ethical aspects were taken into account from the beginning of the thesis process, and they will be further expanded on in the section on responsible science. However, the criteria for participants were the following:

- a male survivor of child sexual abuse (you identify as male)
- an adult, over the age of 18
- have had contact with a support organization or association

The research objective was to explore the disclosure of CSA by defining the following research questions:

What factors support and prevent disclosing on sexual violence/abuse experienced as a child?

Who is disclosed to (if disclosure has occurred)?

How does the cultural and gendered context of victimization affect disclosing?

6.3 Responsible science

Conducting research on sexual violence is challenging, as participation can be triggering or can cause harm to the participant. However, taking the ethical considerations into account from the beginning of the research process has helped in assessing the possible risk, as "nothing in life is risk free" (Sieber & Tolich, 2013, 20). The research subject is sensitive due to its culturally sensitive nature, as well as the risk factors involved, (Kuula, 2011). CSA is also a crime in Finland, as described before (Finlex 2020, 25.5.2011/540 Chapter 20, Sections 6&7).

The general ethical principles are provided by the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity (TENK): the researcher must respect the dignity and autonomy of the participants, the material and immaterial cultural heritage and biodiversity, and the research

must not cause harm, damage or significant risks to the participants, communities or other subjects of research (TENK, 2019, 51).

Ensuring good ethical practice has been taken into account by following the guidelines provided by TENK. Considering the sensitive nature of the subject of this thesis, a permit from the Ethical Committee of the Faculty of Education (University of Oulu) was applied for, and received (18.2.2020). The ethical considerations overall cover the participant, the researcher, the data, and the research process. Research has to be based on voluntarism, and the participant's rights cover refusing and discontinuing the research at any time. According to TENK, informed consent is a "central ethical principle in research with human participants" (TENK, 2019, 51). Informed consent was obtained from the participant, who also received an information leaflet (twice), as well as information on data protection (General Data Protection Regulation, GDPR). Also, the participants were promised confidentiality by changing the details of their identity, anonymity was promised by deleting the collected data after data analysis, and not sharing the details of their identity with others. The details of data collecting are further discussed in the next section.

It is important to acknowledge the researcher's responsibility of the well-being of the participants; it is to be made sure that participation will not cause harm to the participants. The researcher was to guide the participants to the support organization that they are familiar with, if the need to discuss the experience or other matters should arise from participating in the research. Also, throughout the entire process, the researcher has had guidance from the thesis advisors, especially because of the sensitive and difficult subject of the thesis. The ethical considerations, then, also cover the supporting of the well-being of the researcher.

It is important to point out that while planning a research thoroughly is of importance, one may find themselves in a situation where some changes need to be made. The COVID19-pandemic has affected the current research so that some alterations on data collecting had to be made. This will be further expanded on the section on data collecting.

6.3.1 Pre-considerations of the research ethics

Ethical considerations on data collecting include informing the participant of the study, obtaining informed consent, as well as the actions taken because of the COVID19-pandemic. Data containing personal information was processed by following the guidelines provided by TENK (2019) so that personal data was removed after transcribing the collected data. Ethical considerations also cover the way the participants were recruited. The criteria for the participants of the study were the following:

the participants are to be adult (over the age of 18) male victims of child sexual abuse, and the participation was to be voluntary.

Also, the participants had to have had support for their experiences, which allowed the researcher to guide the participants to receive further emotional support, if the participation were to awaken discomfort or any other negative thoughts or feelings.

The original research plan on data collecting was to interview the possible participants. However, during the spring of 2020 some alterations had to be made because of the COVID19-pandemic. Naturally, health had to be taken into account, and the method on data collecting had to be changed. In Finland, reducing close contacts was one of the ways to slow the spreading of the virus (e.g. THL.fi), so conducting an interview was deemed too risky by the researcher and the advisors. At that time, the use of teleconferences or other remote connections were not as common, so a written proposal was formed. The questionnaire was based on the original interview questions. After the first round of data collecting, more alterations had to be made, because the researcher and the advisors found that more detailed data was needed, so a phone interview was organized. The participant was asked, again, if they wished to participate in the interview, and after receiving a positive response, the interview was planned and executed. Considering research ethics, no major changes were made. The participant was, however, informed of the recording of the interview before he agreed to it. This will be further expanded on the section on data collecting.

Ethical considerations on data collecting include the methods used. Data was collected by asking the participant to write about their experiences by answering given questions, and by interviewing the participant using a half-structured interview method. The interview was to be recorded using a tape recorder.

Recording an interview is common, as it is a more accurate way to "return" to the actual words used in the interview (Paul, 2010, 46). The participant was informed of the recording (Paul, 2010), and this was implemented by telling the participant of the recording, and also by articulating it in the information leaflet. In addition, the anonymity was promised for the participant (Paul, 2010) by informing that a pseudonym will be used in the transcribed version of the interview. Before the actual interview, the participant was told that he could ask for a break, or to stop the interview whenever (Paul, 2010).

One of the main concerns was that the participation would not benefit the participants, and this was articulated in the information leaflet, as well as the form on informed consent (see Appendix 1 & 2). The purpose of the information leaflet was to inform the participant on the key aspects of the research, which helps to reassure the researcher that "at least a core of information about the research has been disseminated" (Paul, 2010, 31). Before providing the participant with the information leaflet and the form on informed consent, the research objectives were articulated in a phone call to the participant. The purpose of the first phone call was to inform the participant of the research, and to ask if they were interested in participating. After receiving a positive response, the documents were mailed to the participant. The written proposal includes information on the purpose of the study, the unstructured questionnaire, and information on the confidentiality and data handling, as well as data collecting, and information on the publishing of the thesis.

The participants were informed of the possibility to acquire a transcription of their data, and the finished thesis. Also, the participants were informed of their right to discontinue the participation at any point of the research, and that the data collected would be used in the case of discontinuing. The written proposal also includes the contact information of the researcher and the advisors. The researcher and the advisors of the thesis were under confidentiality obligation through the entire process. The identity of the participants, and any identifiable factors were included in the confidentiality obligation. Also, for the purposes of this thesis, information such as the location of the participants' home town was

not relevant. Sustainable data handling was to be taken into account and implemented. This will be further expanded in the next section.

6.3.2 Ethical considerations in practice

In practice, the planned ethical considerations were implemented. The original research plan, however, had to be altered because of the COVID19-situation, as mentioned before. The guidelines provided by TENK were followed in practice, and the researcher made sure to confirm with the advisors before taking action involving the participant. The participant received the following printed documents: the information leaflet (twice), the writing proposal, the form on informed consent, and the GDPR-leaflet. The information leaflet was mailed to the participant twice, once when collecting written data, and once before the phone interview took place. Also, the participant was informed of the purpose of the study, their rights, as well as the promise of anonymity before the writing proposal was mailed to them. Before the phone interview was conducted, the signed form of informed consent was received and reviewed by the researcher and the advisor the the thesis.

Data was collected twice, by asking the participant to write of their experiences by answering the given questions, and by interviewing them over the phone. The participant was willing to participate in both methods, and in fact, he was the first to suggest the phone interview. This was helpful for the researcher, because the subject is sensitive, and asking about the participants' experiences could be difficult, if the participant was not as willing to speak of them. Considering research ethics, the participant was willing to speak of their experiences, and they articulated this multiple times over the phone. When asked, the researcher informed the participant that he was the only participant in this research, which did not surprise the participant, according to him. Before conducting the interview, the participant mentioned in a phone call that he wanted to participate because he wanted to help at least someone who may have been in the same situation. The personal motivation of the participant was taken into account in the interview, and the researcher made sure to guide the to seek guidance from the support organization that they were familiar with in case the interview was to awaken any discomfort, emotions, or anxiety. This was articulated to the participant before ending the interview.

The interview was planned so that it would be recorded using a tape recorder, a mobile phone, and a recording software on the researcher's computer. This was a precaution, in case the battery was to die on the tape recorder, or some other technical problem were to occur. After the interview was completed, the copies were removed and only the recording collected via the tape recorder was kept until the interview had been transcribed, and destroyed after. The interview method used was a semi-structured interview (see Appendix 3). The methods will be expanded on the next section on data collection. However, considering research ethics, the researcher prepared for the interview by following the guidelines provided by TENK. In practice, this was implemented by articulating that the interview could be discontinued at any time, and by obtaining informed consent continuously. Also, before beginning the actual interview, the participant was informed that the interview would be recorded, and that he could ask to stop the recording at any time.

Research ethics on data handling and processing also follow the guidelines provided by TENK. In the form of informed consent, the name and phone number of the participant was collected. The form was received in the University of Oulu postbox, and stored in a locked cabinet in the University of Oulu. The phone number of the participant was stored in the private, separate mobile phone of the researcher, that was only used in this research. After the research has ended, the phone number was removed from the researchers' phone. In the transcribed interview all identifiable information, such as names and exact locations were removed. This was also articulated in the information leaflet on GDPR, which was delivered to the participant.

The writing proposal as well as the audio material was first stored in the researchers' personal cabinet, and after analyzing the data it was moved to a locked cabinet in the University of Oulu, where it will be kept for five years, and then destroyed. Other collected data, such as the home address of the participant was kept in a private cabinet of the researcher, and destroyed after the data collection was completed. Only the researcher and the advisors had access to any personal information of the participant.

6.4 Data collection

Data collection was carried out in two stages during the period of June-September of 2020: first by collecting written data so that the participant filled out a questionnaire, and after that, a semi-structured interview was carried out. Written data was collected by asking the participant to fill out a qualitative questionnaire, that was designed so that there were only open-ended questions. The advantages of open-ended questions are the following: they allow the spontaneous expressing of ideas, they are not as suggestive or guiding as closed questions, and they can add new information. However, there are some disadvantages, as well: they may be difficult to answer and analyze, they require a system to code categories so that the responses can be classified, the respondent has to have the ability to write, and the handwriting of the respondent can be difficult to read (Ayiro, 2012). The benefits of using a qualitative questionnaire are that they are cheap, they can save time, and they may reach a larger audience (Carey, 2012).

For this thesis, the original research plan had to be changed because of the COVID-19 situation, and a qualitative questionnaire was designed. The questionnaire had four sections (A-D), which included overall 26 open-ended questions. The written proposal that was delivered to Delfins Ry was valid until 3.7.2020. Delfins Ry is a support association that helps adults who have experienced CSA, neglect or violence in their childhood. Delfins Ry offers support to survivors through a helpline, chat, private meetings and discussion groups. They also offer information on CSA and other forms of abuse. Also, the people working at Delfins Ry were helpful in pointing out that the sexual abuse of boys was often given "less attention, even though boys are victimized as well as girls, not to mention non-binary people" (email correspondence with Delfins Ry, 2.7.2020, translation by me).

Even though the proposal was shared on social media (Facebook, Instagram) by Delfins Ry, recruiting participants turned out to be a challenge. One participant was discovered through this recruiting process, and contact was established by email and later by telephone.

The first part of data collection took place in July, and the written proposal was mailed to the participant. In collecting data, a prepaid telephone number was taken into use in order to communicate with the participant. In the occurred phone calls, the purpose was to inform the participant of the research and their right to discontinue at any time. The participant agreed to take part in the research, and the written data was received in July (2020). The subject of the research is sensitive, and as the participant mentioned in one phone call, male survivors may deal with great feelings of shame which could inhibit their willingness to participate in research on CSA. The collected data was, however, quite scarce, and a semi-structured interview was planned and conducted in September (2020).

The semi-structured interview leaves more room for dialogues than a structured interview, so that the interviewer can become a "a knowledge-producing participant in the process itself, rather than hiding behind a preset interview guide"(Brinkmann, 2014, 286). When comparing to unstructured interviews, the conversation can be focused on a specific theme or subject by the interviewer. Also, interviewing can be an effective method when researching personal experiences and emotions, and sensitive issues (Carey, 2012, 110). According to Brinkmann (2014), the key words for semi-structured interviews are purpose, descriptions, life world and interpretation of meaning. The purpose is to produce knowledge, the goal is to obtain descriptions provided by the interviewee, of the life world experienced by the interviewee, and these experiences are then interpreted. It is important to point out that the method chosen and used is not the only, "correct" way, as according to Brinkmann, "everything depends on concrete circumstances and on the researcher's intentions when conducting a particular research project" (Brinkmann, 2014, 286-289).

The semi-structured interview method was implemented, and in practice this meant that the interview had three sections: a background section, an open question, and a larger section that was focused on disclosure itself (see Appendix 3). Overall, the semi-structured interview had 22 themes/questions, but during the actual interview, more specific questions were asked when needed. The focus was on the narratives that the participant provided, and in some parts of the interview, the questions asked were not scripted, but they came up in the conversation. Also, when conducting qualitative feminist research, the participant is not seen as a subject, per se, but a participant, who is seen as the expert

in their own life and their experiences. The focus of this thesis is on the disclosures of male survivors, so the focus of the interview was to listen to the participant's stories of these disclosures, and ask defining questions when needed.

6.5 Data analysis

In most Western theories on social sciences, the individual has often been viewed from different categories, such as gender or race, that place their position either to the social world or leave them to the "outside". In order to view the individual from their lived experience in a certain time, social, cultural and historical setting, a personal narrative analysis can act as a window from the inside out. Personal narratives can "recognize the complex social and historical processes involved in the construction of the individual self(...)" (Maynes et al. 2008, 16). In life stories "from the margins" the reading of these stories can show how these individuals are "embedded in personal, social, and political relations that allow them to engage in meaningful social action within the constraints of their particular cultural and historical contexts" (Maynes et al. 2008, 134).

Narrative research, and analysis, has a long tradition dating back to research on literature, history, anthropology, psychology and other fields of science. Storytelling is a form of entertainment, learning, teaching and giving interpretations, or asking for them from others (Hardy & Bryman, 2004). In post-structural narratology the purpose is not to find cause and effect, but to look for connection between different elements of a narrative. That is to say that in stead of looking for laws, the focus is on patterns and regularities (Hardy & Bryman, 2004).

Considering the current research, the participant described himself as a "marginal person", suggesting that they might experience their position as "outside" of the surrounding social world. The analysis of personal narratives should aim to see the positions involved, especially in relation the larger hierarchies of power (Maynes et al. 2008, 15-16, 134-135).

According to Puusa et al. (2020) considering the surrounding social world, people or humans are understood as products, but also contributors of the social world. In conducting narrative research, the focus is on the participants' narratives as they produce, construct, and mediate reality in a certain society and the surrounding culture (Puusa et al. 2020).

In narrative research, the subjectivity of the researcher is also taken into account. According to Josselson (2011), narrative research aims to “explore and conceptualize human experience as it is represented in textual form” (Josselson, 2011, 225). These experiences are, then, captured by the researcher, as the subjectivities of the researcher and the participants are connected in a certain conceptual framework. Narratives are understood contextually, and sections are formed by using coding strategies. One important acknowledgement in narrative research is the view that there doesn’t exist a single self-representation, but that narrators are recognized as constructing “ordered accounts from the chaos of internal experience”. The narratives provided can, then, be multivocal as well as dialogical, so that they may contradict each other. (Josselson, 2011, 226).

Narratology, or narrativity, can be divided to analysis of narratives and narrative analysis. In analysis of narratives, the stories are categorized, and in narrative analysis the focus is to create a new narrative based on the stories from the data (Heikkinen, 2018). After collecting the data, the selected analysis method is applied. The analysis process is described as a creative process of organizing data by Josselson (2011). According to Josselson (2011) the researcher must piece data together, so that the invisible can become visible, while deciding what is of significance as well as linking together pieces of data that may not seem to be connected. The focus is to find stories around a certain theme, while taking the relationship of the researcher and the participant into account, and analyzing the stories received through the questions provided by the researcher (Josselson, 2011).

Hänninen (2018) suggests that the analysis of narratives should begin by reading the collected data, without any analytical tools. After that, the data is read again, and only after that should any analysis method be applied. According to Hänninen (2018) these themes can be examined, for example, through the agency of the storyteller.

In practice, the first phase of the analysis was conducted by reading the interview and searching for themes. After that, in the second phase of the analysis, the themes found were categorized into a main theme and two subthemes. Different factors that were drawn from the narratives were placed under these two subthemes. The focus of the analysis was to find answers to the research questions, but due to the complexity of the phenomenon of CSA and disclosure, the categorization was implemented by what was found to be significant by the researcher.

Before moving on to data analysis, the collected written data was purposefully left out of the analysis. The reason for this decision was that the researcher estimated that no significant data was provided in the written data, that did not come up in the semi-structured interview. The written data consisted of responses that were short, and the open-end question provided was left unanswered by the participant. The same questions were answered, though, in the semi-structured interview, which consisted of in-depth answers and stories. Overall, the transcribed interview was 14 pages long (Times New Roman, font size 12). The first step in the analysis process was to read the transcribed interview. After that, the interview was read again. When reading the transcribed interview for the third time, an analytical tool was taken into use. The tool was to read the interview and search for themes that were significant for the researcher, meaning that they either answered the research questions or that they provided some information that the researcher was not familiar with. The main theme was divided into two separate subthemes, that consisted of different factors. The main theme was abandonment in order to survive, and the two subthemes were the abandonment of the abused child and returning as a survivor. These subthemes are further expanded on the next section. Also, the citations were translated from Finnish, as the interview was conducted in Finnish.

7 The narrative analysis

7.1 The abandonment of the abused child

The participant is a male survivor of intrafamilial CSA. The abuse happened over 60 years ago, and he first disclosed about 30 years after the abuse. The different reasons for not disclosing will be explained in the following sections, as well as the complexity of his family, the surrounding culture, the atmosphere of masculinity, and the different experiences that have helped the participant survive. In the participant's story, disclosure is interpreted as a process, so it is necessary to explore the subthemes derived from the interview. The different factors that promote or inhibit disclosure are expanded on in the concluding part of the thesis, but they are also explored in the subthemes. The research questions are present in the analysis, but as the processual nature of disclosure and survival are derived from the interview, they will be further expanded in the concluding part of the thesis.

In the first subtheme, the abandonment of the abused child, the experience of CSA will be described, as well as the participant's complex and violent family system. As a child, the participant couldn't disclose his experiences, and the reasons for not disclosing are described. The different experiences raised some questions. All these experiences have happened in a certain cultural context, which is explored in this section and in-depth in the concluding part of the thesis.

7.1.1 The experience of child sexual abuse

The first factor focuses on the experience of CSA. The participant, Jack, was 11 years old when his older and physically bigger brother began to abuse him. After the major wars in Finland (Winter War and the Continuation War) were over, Jack's father returned home, and the family moved to a large house, where the family all slept in the same room. At that time, his brother and Jack had to share a bed, which was not uncommon in Finland. However, at nighttime, Jack's brother began to touch his genital area, trying to get Jack to have an erection. Jack described his experience as following:

"At night, the family was sleeping when my brother came from his friends' house or where ever he had been, and begun touching me and jerking off the little boys' willy to give an erection, but he didn't succeed, and I can't tell you if it happened ten times, or twenty times. It was like a period, that it happened for some time."

Jack describes experiencing feelings of anxiety and discomfort:

"It was always distressing, he tried to be gentle but I always turned over, and he noticed that I didn't like it."

The sexual abuse eventually ended, and according to Jack, this happened because the brother found a girlfriend:

"He started to go out with someone, and therefore he wasn't home as much, and some time after that he started his military service. When he visited home during his military service, he spent his nights at his girlfriend's house."

In Jack's descriptions of his experiences the effects of CSA can be heard. He doesn't remember how many times the abuse had occurred, only that it happened multiple times. The experienced abuse didn't end because of Jack, but after his brother found a girlfriend.

7.1.2 A violent family context

Jack's family consisted of multiple children, a mother and a father. After Jack's father returned from the war, he used physical violence against his older brother, the perpetrator of Jack's abuse. Jack himself had also experienced violence, although this was later explained to him by a distant relative:

“I was at a funeral, and some relatives came up to me, and asked me that where I was sitting. They sat down, and one of them told me a story. She said that she had visited my family often when I was little, and asked that did you know what your father did to you? My alarm bells went off, I thought that what the hell is happening, and she said that once when she was visiting, you cried and cried, and you know what, your father came up to you, and hit you so hard that she thought that he was going to kill you, and she said that she came and grabbed you away from them, and she... she patted you, and hushed you, and then you began breathing”

Jack continued by describing the realization that his older siblings knew of these violent acts, and that they feared that the secret was revealed to Jack. After that, Jack stopped visiting his father’s grave.

Physical and sexual violence were not the only forms of violence experienced by Jack in his childhood. He was also neglected by his mother and father:

"Once, before the abuse began, I experienced some dysrhythmia, and it was a Sunday, my father and mother left me home alone with my dysrhythmia, and went to visit someone. Probably, they thought that if he dies, he dies, I've never, rarely been so scared as I was then."

Another form of violence was the emotional abuse by Jack's mother. She used to call Jack by the name of the relative who was convicted of CSA, but Jack had other experiences as well:

"My mother always, in every way, used to dismiss me. I had siblings that were bigger than me, as I am just... shorter, and always, when something happened and I asked something, my mother used to say that "don't make a fuss, let the

big boys handle this", yeah, big boys... I also remember trying to buy mom to my side but it didn't work."

In another part of the interview, Jack described his mother as being blocked and emotionally unavailable:

"She was just, blocked somehow, so that she couldn't touch, for example, sitting on her lap, I don't remember, I can't say that it never happened, but I don't remember ever sitting on my mother's lap. That's not the issue, but the fact that I saw other children sitting there."

Jack's family appears to be a complex system, in which different forms of violence and neglect were used. Also, the described relationship with Jack's mother seems to have been complicated, as other children would sit on her lap, but Jack wouldn't. Being left "outside" seems to have happened multiple times to Jack in his childhood.

7.1.3 Silence and non-disclosure

When the abuse happened, Jack remembers that speaking of the abuse was not an option:

"I just, I don't know, I just realized that there is nothing else I could do, but just to survive somehow and try to use my body language to make my brother understand that I don't like this, I can't use words to say that "take your hands off me", like, first of all he was bigger than me, and the age difference..."

A significant barrier for disclosure was the experienced shame. According to Jack, the sexual abuse was not to be talked about, and that there was a lock on it. He was not to be

gotten involved in his experiences, and shame contributed to keeping it that way. According to Jack, shame did not only affect him, but his family members as well. His siblings, for example, knew of his abuse after Jack had spoken and disclosed, but no one ever approached him with any compassionate words, as Jack described, the shame was too great for them.

"It was just that "shut up", the shame kept the mouth shut. I had to survive. Especially as a child, the shame was there. I didn't know what it was, I felt it, but I didn't know what it was, I just had to go on, and that is how I survived from this."

The double function of shame came up in the interview, as shame was a barrier for disclosure, but it helped Jack in surviving:

"Shame is just... You have to get rid of it. That is the first step, the shame, that small boy was left ashamed. The shame did, though, keep me in order, like "shut up, nothing even happened"."

Shame was also connected to dissociation:

"Dissociation has protected me for dozens of years. In support groups, everyone has had experiences of dissociation. It has protected, and made sure that I survived. I didn't have explanations, ten, eleven, twelve-year-old boy, for these things, I didn't know what dissociation was."

Shame together with dissociation helped Jack survive, according to him. He kept his experiences a secret for over 30 years, and he described his survival as following:

"Later on I realized that I abandoned that small boy, the eleven-year-old, I couldn't... I couldn't be with him, I had to abandon in order to survive, and it's easy to explain this now, but it wasn't back then, I didn't know that I have to do this, it's something, some subconscious, the human brain works like this..."

One interesting form of behavior came up in the interview, as Jack described that he speaks to himself:

"I speak to myself, it's because of the brain, it wants to hear it spoken... I've been thinking that maybe, since I couldn't speak to anyone (of the abuse) I spoke to myself, I think it's possible. No one got hurt, or surprised, or yelled at or got beaten up."

These different mechanisms contributed to Jack's survival. He mentioned the possible positive function of shame, when he described that shame "kept him in order". Shame and dissociation were described in the same context, and both seemed to be significant factors in surviving. They both did, however, seem to contribute to staying silent, and not disclosing to anyone. Jack also mentioned that he was not the only one who carried the shame, but his siblings and family members carried it too.

7.1.4 Arising suspicions

Reflecting on his experiences, some questions came up that were left unanswered. Jack described that in his family, a relative was convicted of child sexual abuse in the 70s. Now, after over 60 years of his own abuse, he is still wondering, if this relative abused his sister:

"I have sometimes wondered that if this relative touched my sister, and afterwards, when I remember some events, I think that goddammit, he did."

Another thing that raised Jack's suspicions was that was he the only one that experienced abuse from his brother:

"I suspect that I was not the only one."

When asked that did that mean Jack's siblings, he responded:

"I can't say about that, but maybe someone else."

Jack also mentioned, on a separate occasion, his mother, and how he felt that there might have been a possibility that his mother knew of the abuse, because sometimes his mother called Jack by the name of the relative who had been convicted of CSA. She didn't use the relatives' name with Jack's siblings:

"I just, somehow, see, I've had time to think about this, but somehow I think that my mother might have known (of the abuse), or maybe suspected something, so is that why she used that name, I never heard that she would have called others by his name..."

The different suspicions may have contributed to Jack's survival as a way to make sense of his experiences. As Jack was victimized by his brother, the suspicion of not being the only one seems to be appropriate. Also, considering the problematic family system Jack grew up in, it may not be impossible that someone knew of his abuse.

7.1.5 The cultural context of the abuse

Jack's experiences haven't happened in a vacuum, but in a certain time and place. When asked that did Jack ever remember thinking of disclosing to a friend or someone when he was a child, the answer is a direct "no".

Jack explained it as following:

"Someone once asked me, why didn't you tell your mom and dad, and I replied that what about it, at that time, if something had happened, who do you think would have been sent to an institution? I was the one who had been dreaming and imagined it..."

He continued by articulating his experiences with the Finnish culture and society through the media. CSA was not discussed in public until the 90s, according to Jack:

"At that time this was not spoken of, no one did, they were "candy men", it didn't exist, only in the 90s there were articles in magazines of this, and so..."

The surrounding atmosphere of masculinity contributes to the cultural context, as the idea of a male survivor may have been non-existent at that time. Even now, the idea of a male survivor may be incomprehensible to some people. When discussing the gendered nature of CSA, Jack mentioned that there are some people who can't understand that boys can also be abused:

"We had this support group (on CSA), and there was this big event, and I was there, and I had this ticket that got me coffee for free, and I'm standing in line, and I ask that where should put this ticket, and behind me is this man, and he's like where did you get that, and I say that well it's this, the group, I got the coffee for free, and he's like oh, you're a participant, and I say that yeah, and he's like,

are you a nurse or something, and I say that no, I was sexually abused as a child, and after that he stopped speaking to me, he just got all stiff there behind me, he just couldn't wrap his head around it, that there could be a man, and that is the thing, it's always the women who are abused, it's interesting, the man was so confused..."

Jack's childhood experiences took place over 60 years ago in Finland. Disclosing to anyone at that time might not have been possible, as Jack himself said that he would have been dismissed or accused of dreaming. The way CSA is discussed in public could possibly effect disclosing, and if the discussion is nonexistent, disclosure may be hindered. Also, the hegemonic masculinity could also effect disclosing. The cultural context and the atmosphere of hegemonic masculinity will be further discussed in the concluding part of the thesis.

7.2 Emerging as a survivor

The second subtheme is called emerging as a survivor. Surviving is interpreted as a process, and not just singular events that happened. In this subtheme, Jack has taken upon himself to find his way back to that abandoned child. Before this, he has had to investigate his life and experiences, take the position of a survivor, disclose his experiences, and eventually find the abandoned child.

7.2.1 Investigating as a survival tactic

Throughout the interview, Jack refers to himself as an investigator, who needs to find out why this happened. He describes himself as an active, functioning agent, who investigates his own life, as well as wants to help others. The investigative process sometimes happens alone, as he tends to talk to himself to make sense of things, but also with others. He describes working together with psychologists and support groups. These groups will be further expanded on the section on disclosure. The experiences with psychologists were mainly positive:

"There was this group, and a psychologist was running it, and she asked if someone wanted to discuss anything one on one, and I spoke to her, and I told her that I had something to say..."

Jack continued by describing his relationship with another psychologist:

"I had had this psychologist before, and I contacted them later again, and they said that you should be in a different city, but that they would work around it so I could continue seeing him, and we investigated this together with the psychologist."

Peer support was important to Jack. He tells an inside joke (of CSA survivors), laughs, and says that he enjoys being able to laugh at himself. Experiences of peer support includes a distant relative, and working together to investigate their experiences:

"I have a relative, who lives abroad but speaks Finnish, and she told me that her stepfather sexually abused her when she was five, and her mother didn't stop him, so you see, we have a sort of a club here... This has been investigated and investigated, and it has helped her, and the other way around."

Another investigative strategy was to ask for help from psychics:

"I have this psychic, who I used to call, and I have these questions, I had a stressful situation, so I talk to her (the psychic) and she tells me that you have been sexually abused as a child, and I'm like, wait, what do you mean by this, and she tells me that yeah, you have been sexually abused as a child, I ask her that how

do you know this, and she tells me that she saw a bare butt with hands on it, and that is the sign..."

Reflecting his own experiences, Jack described that the abuse happened, because the older brother used power over him. When asked that did he see it as his brother abusing a position of power, he said that:

"Yeah, he got his childhood taken from him, he had no say in it, so he thought that well I do have some power, and I will use it against you, and the form is this."

Considering the perpetrator, the older brother, Jack never considered any official action against him, such as reporting it to the police. He thought that it probably wouldn't have been possible, as so many years had passed. When asked if they ever considered any other action, he answered with:

"I've considered that I'll go and kick in his ribs. Anything else, no, no, I didn't even... I just that, he is a miserable person, pathetic person..."

Throughout the investigative process, knowledge on CSA is acquired. Jack, for example, described his motivation for participating in this research:

"If somehow the male side of this could be unwrapped, if this helped anyone, so that they wouldn't need to buy the Friday bottle, not to mention drugs, or suicides... There are a lot of suicides in this group, you get so tangled up that, you just, as a man, you don't want to talk... And marriage failures, and these... I had this friend, who was with men and with women, he couldn't like, solve this thing."

Another thing that Jack focuses on is his sexuality, and how his childhood experiences affected it. This will be described in-depth in the next section. Jack however, brought up the importance of consent in sexual relations:

"I've always had some relationships, and I have this image of myself, you see, that I've never touched anyone without permission. It is important, no one is touched, nothing will be torn or done without it."

One strategy used by Jack has been to investigate his life and experiences in multiple different ways. He has worked through his experiences alone and with the help of others. Jack has reflected on his own experiences as well as his brothers'. Also, by working through his own life, the knowledge around the phenomenon of CSA has helped Jack so that he felt necessary to try and help others by participating in this research.

7.2.2 Agency, taking the position of a survivor

Jack's process and his road to survival, and eventually disclosure, has not always been easy. While his experiences with psychologists have mainly been positive, this has not always been the case. He has been dismissed, mainly by other men, and he brought up one case of dismissal in particular:

"I'm involved in this (male)group, and we spoke of things there, and I told them that I have this thing to tell, I can tell it to you, so I tell them, and the psychologist even didn't even comment on it, he just dismissed it, like he hadn't even heard me, and the participants, they didn't comment on it in any way... They just dismissed it and moved on to the next thing and I just... It's not the first time this has happened, and I just thought, well fine, this isn't my problem if you can't talk about things, and here's the thing, the feeling was dismissal, and that is the worst

thing to me, I can be told to piss off, but if I get the feeling that I've been dismissed, that hurts."

Jack has taken an active role in investigating his own experiences, as well as making decisions, such as detaching himself from a harmful family system. He brought up that he was estranged with all of his siblings, and most of his relatives. According to Jack, he had felt that cliques were formed in his family, and he didn't want to stay between them, as he wasn't a part of any clique. He eventually detached himself from all members of his family. The discussion on Jack's image of himself and his gender, he explained that he didn't want to be touched by men, as women were "so wonderful":

"I am a man, I've always known it, I've never explained anything, I've just known. My manhood has not been shaken in any way, the shame didn't get a hold of that."

Jack explained that he did not feel that his manhood or sexuality had been shaken by his childhood experience. He did, however, seem to emphasize heterosexual manhood and his capabilities of sexual behavior:

"I've been told that the abuse can effect a person's sexual behavior, in these groups I mean, but once someone that was running a group told me that it doesn't necessarily affect negatively, it can affect positively, and that happened with me. I'll tell you, my ex-wife used to say "you goddamn horndog", yeah, I've liked it, I mean, lovemaking is damn good, and it's damn good to be between a woman's thighs, I'll be honest with you, if I could choose where I would die, I'd like to die between a woman's thighs, it's good to be there."

Jack mentioned that he didn't fear that he would continue the chain of abuse, meaning that he had not been scared of abusing their own children:

"No, I've never had anything, it was enough that I was touched, we're not continuing with this shame, that is not done."

The position of a survivor can be heard in Jack's description of himself. He mentions, more than once, that he sees himself as an adaptive person, a survivor, but also a marginal person:

"I don't know, maybe I am somehow adaptive, I just sort of adapt and it's like alright, that's fine, I'll make it through this."

"I am a marginal person in many ways, a lot of my life is formed by them, I mean, when I talk about this, among men, I am a marginal case, that I talk about this aloud."

Being a "marginal person" could possibly stem from Jack's childhood, as he was left "outside" by his family (e.g. not getting to sit on his mothers' lap). Jack's active functioning and applying different strategies may have helped him in his journey towards surviving, as in his current situation, Jack feels that he can talk about his experiences with anyone.

7.2.3 The road to disclosure

Disclosing didn't happen once, but multiple times, to many different people. When discussing the different possible barriers, Jack can only think of one, himself:

"I was the barrier, I didn't have the resources to open this thing, before space was created, in the brain, and when I didn't have to worry about the kids anymore, I had space to think."

The first disclosure happened after over 30 years of Jack's childhood experiences:

"There was this group, and a psychologist was running the thing, and she said that it's possible to speak one on one, and I took her up on that, and I said that I have this thing I need to tell her. Do you know how hard it is to tell aloud, for the first time ever, that I've been sexually abused as a child? You won't believe the obstacle to overcome... But it was the first time I talked about this, I spoke of other things too, but the psychologist told me this: you are the abandoned child of your family. It stuck with me, and as I've reflected on this life, I just think that she must be right."

The words of the psychologist were taken to the heart by Jack. He realized that he indeed had been abandoned as a child. This will be further expanded on the next section.

After disclosing to a psychologist, Jack disclosed his experiences to his family:

"In the 90s, you see, there was space after the loans were paid off and the children grew up, and I first told my (ex)wife. She didn't like it, she told me that she should have been told earlier, but I told her I didn't have anything to tell, now I do, and then I told the children, and I told that I've started participating in this group and that these things are discussed there..."

The third disclosure experience is a significant event in Jack's life, and according to Jack, it healed some trauma, and provided some sense of justice:

"I promised that before I reached a certain age, I would confront my brother and figure this thing out, and a couple of days before my birthday, I made up some excuse for my brother to come by, I made sure that we were alone and no one would interrupt us, he came and I started talking about all our childhood things,

what he had been through... He's like, he doesn't remember, and I tell him yes you do, you're lying to me, a person remembers maltreatment that you've gotten from your father, and all this.

He gets restless and notices that there's something else here, gets nervous and starts glancing at the clock, and then I tell him: I have one thing, why did you do this to me, as a child?

He says that you've been dreaming, I say oh yeah I do dream, but I can tell the difference between a dream and reality. He starts explaining something, and I just lost my voice then, I started screaming at the top of my voice, what have you done, what have you caused, and he tried to tell me to stop screaming, someone will hear you, I said what of it then, let them hear it! I just screamed and screamed, what have you seen and what a dick you are, and so on, and he just ran away, then."

The experience was significant, and Jack experienced many different emotions and feelings towards his brother afterwards.

"I was mad for a long time, I thought that if I were physically bigger, I'd go and kick in his ribs. It took a year or so, I had attended this group, and the feeling turned to pity. What a pathetic man, what a pathetic human, what pathetic deeds has this person done..."

"But here is the thing, when I disclosed to my brother, it did heal some trauma, that he had caused, it made it a little bit better. After a while, I felt relief, I had carried the trauma that I hadn't even understood. It was therapeutic, I had the courage to tell him what he had done. But it took two years to summon that courage."

After that, Jack only saw his brother once before he passed away:

"We only met once, after that, I saw him on the street, walking and he had just dodged me, I just asked him "What's up, dick?"

When discussing disclosure, Jack had had many experiences with different support groups, mental health professionals, and others. Women also seemed to believe his story, while Jack had experienced dismissal by men, multiple times. These experiences were explored earlier. Jack explained that disclosing was easier with women, and that masculinity was a barrier for disclosure:

"There is a significant difference in gender, women are more emphatic, because you use the right hemisphere of the brain. If I talk (about the abuse), women are sorry to hear it and ask how I'm doing, but some men say that oh what about those goddamn old things, these things happen, just move on... It's this male cowardice, it almost makes me want to ask that what might you be denying from yourself. Because there has to be this "we are men" attitude."

Jack continued by describing the models that men live by:

"It's the ego, I don't think anyone knows what it is, but ever since you're a child the ego's spoken about, and if a five-year-old boy cries, his father tells him that big boys don't cry, what kind of a big boy is a five-year-old? We live according to these models."

The multiple experiences on male support groups, as well as mixed groups were described by Jack as following:

"The male group I attended was miserable, these male groups are miserable."

"I've been to groups with ten women and me, or one other man, or someone's spouse, but they won't come. They sit in their closets so that you can hear the banging but they won't come out of them."

After discussing Jack's own experiences with disclosing, the subject moved on to the context of disclosure. Jack had previously mentioned, that CSA was not discussed in public until the 90s, and that is when he first disclosed to a psychologist. When asked that how could disclosing or talking about CSA could be made easier, he thought for a while, and answered:

"Well, the thing that can make this easier is the publicity. And legislation, of course. Legislation has to give an opportunity to speak, without anything like, oh no you're lying, that this is an insult to me, he's blaming me that I'm a pedophile... Somehow this legislation needs to be worked out, and to my knowledge, that is being done. And another thing is the atmosphere of the society, how this thing is talked about"

One of the criteria for participation was that the participant had had support, and that they had worked on their childhood experiences. Jack's experiences from the Finnish system were positive:

"I've gotten all the help I've wanted. In this society you get... For example, if I had been born into a different religious, political culture, I wouldn't have, and these groups wouldn't even be allowed, I remind people of this in the group."

After encouraging Jack to seek help if the interview were to awaken discomfort, he answered by being open for anything:

"I can handle this, handle myself. Though I never deny anything from myself, that something doesn't exist... Everything is possible. A person is quite an apparatus. They always say that there are many wonderful things in this world, the sunset, the sunrise, even now, the autumn colors, I mean even the Finnish nature, this is such a wonderful thing."

One significant notion from Jack is that the way CSA is discussed is of importance, together with the proper legislation. As a survivor of CSA, Jack has sought and accepted help from professionals, which has undoubtedly affected his journey towards surviving. Jack's comments on the Finnish system are also mainly positive, although according to Jack, male survivors may not be willing to attend groups, suggesting that perhaps other paths to help-seeking and receiving need to be established. This will be further expanded on in the final section of the thesis.

7.2.4 The search for the abandoned child

The psychologist, that Jack first disclosed to, called him the abandoned child of his family. Jack seemed to have taken that to the heart, and he begun his quest to find that small boy, who had been abandoned. He had described experiencing neglect and abuse as a child earlier, and he explained his role in the family system as the following:

"I'll describe it to you through this, when I still had some contact with one sister, I told her that you see, the boys belong to the father's side of the family, and girls to the mother's side. I asked her, did you notice that you took your place in the

boys' side, and I took my place in the girls' side? We switched places. She didn't understand what I was talking about. But that was it."

Jack's relationship and experiences with his mother came up again, as he wanted to share another story of his mother:

"I can tell you one more story of my mother. I was recovering in the hospital, as I had had surgery. One relative I still have contact with was visiting. She came to see me, and she told me that she asked for my mother to join her. My mother didn't seem to understand why, and everything, but she insisted that your child has just had surgery, you will get on a train and come see him with me. And so it happens, she came, they came. But through the entire visitation, all I could see of my mother were her ankles and knees, as I had to lay on my stomach. That's all, she didn't come near me, or ask that how was I doing or anything."

Jack embarked on a quest to find that abandoned child, as he began to realize that he himself had abandoned the child as well:

"It's this thing. I promised to talk to someone about my experiences, and later they wanted me to check the story, so they read it to me on the phone. They begin to read, and read and read, and I just started crying and crying, and they ask me if I want to take a break, I say yes, and we take a break, breathe, and eventually start again. After it was over, I wondered where that crying came from. I investigated this with this psychologist, then, and after a couple of weeks I figured it out. First of all, it was the first time I had heard these things from someone else, and then I realized: it was that small boy who cried. That, my small boy was there now, he had trouble with this, I had abandoned him, that eleven-year-old..."

"Later, after I had attended a support group, and I had figured out that it was that small boy somewhere there, I asked that who would bring that small boy back, and one participant told me that no one can bring him to you, you have to go to him yourself."

The process of survival was described by Jack through finding that small boy by taking action:

"Let me tell you one thing about this surviving. I have a family picture, taken when I was eight, and about ten years ago, I had a separate, an 8x10 picture taken from that in a photo studio. I took myself out of it, there's no one else in the picture, and I have a couple of them here at home, framed. That small boy, the boy who is without his trauma, he's there, and I see him every day, I face the boy I abandoned."

"Next step was the picture, and this, and I would argue that I have found my way back to that boy. What we have now... that boy doesn't cry any more. I've come to find that these things, there always must be some resolution. And I always start from the fact that I live here just once, I have to live so that I'm not some grumpy, 90-year-old man sitting in his rocking chair, longing for a life unlived, whose children have to draw straws that who has to visit him and listen to his whining, I've told my children that I'll try to make sure that doesn't happen."

The resilience of Jack can be heard in his descriptions of himself, as well as the different strategies he has applied throughout his journey to find that small boy:

"I'll tell you, I can talk to anyone about this, if anyone wants to, I'm like okay let's talk. When I used to investigate this thing with this one psychologist, the one who told me I was the abandoned child, I told her all these things of my

siblings and the family ego and my father, who always wanted to be put on a pedestal, but he couldn't do it himself, so the children put him there. We talked about these things, I criticized my family and these stupid things, but she said that you are also a member of your family, but you know what happened, you took the kinship in your own hands in order to survive, and that helped you. You didn't have to focus on anyone else, you used it on yourself, and I think that may be true. I didn't have to live anyone else's life, or say that do this, it's like, the lives of others are the simplest things, but I've always focused on what's best for me."

Many of Jack's experiences with his family are difficult. As he felt that the abused child had been abandoned by his family but also by Jack himself, he has worked through his trauma and in the current situation, Jack describes that he has found that abandoned child. However, this hasn't happened only through the efforts by Jack, but also through working together with psychologists and support groups. The story of Jack may suggest that disclosure is, indeed, needed in order to heal trauma (see Alaggia, 2005).

7.3 Abandonment in order to survive

The main theme is derived from different parts of the interview, but mainly from the following sentence:

"The words of the psychologist, that you are the abandoned child... they hurt. But I adapted to it."

The different stories told by Jack portray the many different positions that he has had to occupy: he has been a victim of different types of violence, a survivor, a person capable of adapting to different situations, but most of all, he has taken a journey to find that child

who has been abandoned by his family, but also himself. In Jack's stories, the main theme derived from the data was abandonment in order to survive. Jack said it himself, and as his life went on, he worked hard on investigating and reflecting back, and eventually found his way back to that abandoned boy. Before this, he has had to carry the trauma and the secret with him for over 30 years, before "space was created", and disclosing became possible.

The main theme, abandonment in order to survive, includes both the abandonment and the survival aspect of Jack's story. As for the research questions, the subthemes (the abandonment of the abused child and emerging as a survivor) include interpretations made by the researcher, but they will be explained in-depth in the next part of the thesis. Disclosure itself is understood as a process, and therefore simple answers to questions, such as "who is disclosed to?" may not exist. Having contact with a support organization or a mental health professional has helped Jack move forward in his disclosure process, but making generalizations is not the purpose in this thesis.

The complexity of Jack's life story is explained through his family system, his personal and individual experiences, and through his navigating as a survivor in the atmosphere of masculinity. These subthemes and different factors are expanded on in the next section, where the main findings of the research are described.

8 Discussion

When conducting qualitative, feminist research it is important to point out that the analysis as well as the conclusions are not empirical facts, but they are interpretations made by the researcher. Throughout the analysis, the different themes include some major findings, some stemming from the individual and some from the surrounding environment. Jack's story has many significant events, but most of all, one important finding is that disclosure and survival are interpreted as processes, as suggested by other researchers as well (e.g. Brattfjell & Flåm, 2019).

The taboo nature of CSA can be heard in Jack's story. The environmental factors are heightened, when Jack described that these things were not visible in the Finnish media until the 90s, and that is when Jack himself began his process of disclosure. Overall, the main theme and the subthemes are discussed in the sections below. The main findings are divided into four sections:

the barriers for disclosure, the cultural factors of disclosure, the agency of the survivor, and the disclosure process.

Exploring the disclosures of a male survivor, who himself described as being a marginal person, reveals some important information on his position, as being in the margins may mean that he doesn't fit in the constructed category of his gender. Masculinity plays an important part on the disclosure and survival processes, and it will be explored in the section on cultural factors, as hegemonic masculinity is understood as a construction in which being a male survivor contradicts the accepted image of a man. The main barriers are explored in the next section.

8.1 Barriers for disclosure

There isn't one, clear barrier for disclosure in Jack's story, but multiple factors that can be interpreted as affecting the disclosure process. One of the most significant barriers is the experienced shame and dissociation. Shame and dissociation have hindered the disclosure process, but at the same time they have protected Jack, according to him. This finding is consistent with other research on CSA (e.g. Finkelhor & Browne, 1986, Cujatar et al. 2010, David et al. 2018, Brattfjell & Flåm, 2019). While shame was experienced by Jack, he also mentioned that this was shameful for his family too. This was also found in cases of intrafamilial CSA by Kogan (2004), as well as multiple other studies (e.g. Paine & Hansen 2002, Brattfjell & Flåm, 2019).

Shame has been present in Jack's childhood, even though he couldn't name it until later. Shame was described by Jack as his inner voice, who told him to "shut up", so that Jack could survive. However, the same shame helped Jack survive, with the help of dissociation. Dissociation is a psychological process in which memories, consciousness, identity, the perception of self and the environment are disrupted and fragmented, and it is usually considered a psychological defense mechanism against trauma by providing a mental escape and detachment (Ensink et al. 2017). According to Jack, most people in CSA support groups have had experiences of dissociation. Even though dissociation and shame may have hindered the disclosure process, they also have had positive functions as well, as he didn't know what they were as a child, but as an adult he acknowledges that they made sure that he would survive.

According to Jack, as a child he knew that he could not speak of his experiences. No one had told him this, but he knew it. As he described, he realized that he would just have to survive, and use his body language to signal that he did not like what was done to him. An interesting finding was that Jack talked to himself, and he still does. The experienced anxiety and discomfort correlate with previous research on CSA and its effects (see Finkelhor & Browne, 1986, Sigurdardottir & Hallsdorsdottir, 2018).

At the time of his abuse, the taboo of CSA appears to have been much greater than now. Jack's family system was complex, and he was victimized by his brother, but also by his mother and father, by different forms of violence and neglect. Non-sexual child maltreatment has been found to be associated with mental disorders, suicide attempts, drug use, and multiple other issues (Norman et al. 2012). Child negligence has also been suggested to be correlated with CSA by Choi et al. (2015). Jack's description of his relationship with his mother suggests that it was a complicated relationship, and Jack never really achieved the relationship that he wanted with his mother, even though he tried to "buy" her to his side. With his siblings, he felt that he had taken a place in the girls' group, and his sister took a place in the boys' group. Contextual factors will be further expanded on the next section.

Silence has been a consistent strategy in Jack's family, as he said that not one person in his family approached him with any compassionate words, after disclosing. Jack stayed silent for over 30 years. The delayed disclosure is another finding that is consistent especially with Alaggia & Millington's (2008) and Sivagurunathan et al. (2019) studies on male disclosures (see also David et al. 2018). One other important study is Easton's (2013) study, in which it was found that male survivors took more than two decades from the abuse to disclose, which is accurate for the current research as well. Delayed disclosure has been found to be connected to the perpetrator being familiar to the survivor in a study by Hershkowitz et al. (2007) and it is accurate for the current research as well. Jack's abuse ended after his brother started a relationship, and his military service. However, Jack was left wondering whether he victimized someone else. His brother, the perpetrator of Jack's abuse also tried to be gentle, according to Jack. Being gentle can be interpreted as being manipulative, and manipulation can be one of the ways that the perpetrator can use their power over the child, according to Laitinen (2004). Power will be explored in-depth in the next section.

Although masculinity will be expanded on later, it is important to point out that masculinity is also found to be a barrier for disclosure. The male support groups are "hopeless" according to Jack, and men in general have reacted negatively when Jack tries to discuss his experiences. Men also may have issues in dealing with their own experiences of CSA,

as Jack points out, suicides happen in this group, as well as alcohol and drug problems. Substance abuse and suicidal behavior have been linked to CSA in previous research (see Polusny & Follette, 1995). According to Jack himself, the described "male cowardice" is considered a barrier as well. However, this will be expanded on the next section.

Other questions came up on the interview as well, as Jack revealed his suspicions that his sister would have been abused too by a distant relative, and that his mother may have known something. The questions can't be answered since Jack detached himself from his family. It appears that these suspicions may exist, but nothing is done to them. Suspecting that his mother may have known of his abuse raises questions of the family system: is silence the learned way to cope with things? This is especially interesting, because Jack himself said that these things were not spoken about until later, in the 90s. Perhaps one barrier was the surrounding culture and the atmosphere of the surrounding society, as Jack's experiences took place about 60 years ago, in Finland. A possible barrier could have been the atmosphere of his family, which will be further described in the next section.

The family dynamics, as well as the surrounding culture can affect disclosing according to Alaggia & Kirshenbaum (2005), and in this research, the responses of Jack suggest that this is accurate. The supporting evidence can be derived from Jack's reply, when someone asked him that why didn't he tell his parents, as he says that who would have been sent to an institution, at that time. Jack has lived through that time, and it is important to listen to him, as he himself is an expert of his own life and experiences. For example, Jack asked the researcher, that can she imagine how difficult the first disclosure was, and continued with describing that it was an obstacle to overcome. Disclosure, then, can be interpreted as a difficult, complex process, that requires time, space, and a specific context for it to occur.

As Jack described, he named himself to be the barrier for disclosure. The disclosure process included different stages: as the experienced abuse happened multiple times, and he couldn't speak to anyone of his trauma, shame and dissociation contributed to his survival.

The silence and non-disclosure followed him well into adulthood, and he kept his secret for over 30 years. Then, after "space was created" and he didn't have to worry about his finances and children as much, disclosure became possible. This process will be expanded on the section on disclosure. However, it is important to point out that another barrier for disclosure was, according to Jack, that there wasn't "space" to disclose, and as his ex-wife asked that why didn't he tell her earlier, he replied with "I had nothing to tell, now I do". This suggests that disclosing may become possible, if the circumstances for it are favorable. The next section will expand on cultural factors of disclosure.

8.2 The cultural factors of disclosure

Jack's experiences took place in Finland, around the 60s. At that time, according to Jack, these things were not spoken of, even though people in his family knew that he had a relative who had been convicted of CSA. When asked that did Jack ever think of reporting his brother, he said no but that he did think of kicking his brother's ribs in. Reporting the acts of CSA had not occurred to him, but revenge in the form of violence has. As mentioned before, the surrounding culture can affect help-seeking (e.g. Purvis & Ward, 2006). Not seeking help until later, in the 90s when CSA was discussed publicly, combined with violent fantasies can be examined through the atmosphere of hegemonic masculinity: as Jack has been marginalized as a male survivor, reporting the crime wasn't an option, but he has had to develop other ways to navigate in the matrix of masculinity. As described earlier, it has been suggested that boys are socialized into violence, leaving them to be violent towards others, but also to be victims of different forms of violence (see Jokinen, 2017, 36). The revenge fantasy of Jack came up twice in the interview, but in reality Jack chose a non-violent path: he confronted his brother, and questioned him of the abuse. This occurred after he had disclosed his experiences of CSA, and had sought help. What is significant is that the anger towards his brother later changed to pity. This event will be expanded on the section on disclosure.

The atmosphere of hegemonic masculinity can be interpreted from multiple answers and stories provided by Jack, and as Guyon et al. (2020) suggest, the exaggerating of masculinity also came up on the interview, when Jack described his capabilities in lovemaking in-depth, and that if he had the choice, he'd die in between a woman's thighs. Male survivors may fear being labeled as a homosexual (see Alaggia, 2005, Alaggia & Millington, 2008, Priebe & Svedin, 2008), and as heteromascularity is the norm, men may have to separate themselves from homosexuality (see Jokinen, 2010, 132-133), possibly leading to over exaggerating their own heterosexuality. The description of being called a "horn-dog", and that they really enjoy lovemaking as well as the comment on wishing to die between a woman's thighs can be interpreted as a way of reassuring the researcher and, perhaps, himself that Jack is a man, who fits in to the accepted male category, especially that of a heterosexual man.

However, the position of a male survivor may leave the survivor outside of the male category, because being a survivor of CSA may not fit the constructed cultural idea of a man. Being left out of the male category, while simultaneously trying to fit in may create a paradoxical state of being the "other", while being "inside" the desired masculinity. Jack himself is critical of the surrounding atmosphere of masculinity. He is suspicious of men who react to his experiences by telling him to move on, and that these things happen, by wondering that what they might be denying from themselves. The "we are men" -attitude described by Jack also can be heard in his description of the five-year-old boy who cries, and is told to stop crying because big boys don't cry. Jack himself asks the question, what kind of a big boy is a five-year-old. Being left outside the desired masculinity can be interpreted from Jack's childhood experiences with his mother, when he was told to let the big boys handle things, when Jack was curious to know what happened. Jack appears to be an outsider in his own family, as well as the surrounding atmosphere of hegemonic masculinity, and according to Jack's own description, he is a marginal person in many different ways, one of which being that he is a male survivor who speaks of his experiences. At the same time, though, Jack describes himself as being a man, and that his experiences with shame has not affected his manhood.

In examining hegemonic masculinity, power needs to be addressed as well. Jack described his abuse by articulating that his brother used his position of power over him. The brother had experienced physical violence from his father, who abused his power position over him. The cycle of losing power, and finding a way to gain some power over others seemed to go on in Jack's family. In feminist theorizing, the perpetrator of CSA is seen abusing their power over the child (see Reynaet, 2015, Laitinen, 2004), as examined before on the section of power and CSA. The wanted position of power is consistent with the concept of hegemonic masculinity, in which power is not distributed equally, but through hierarchies of masculinities. The instrument of power, in Jack's story, was the sexual abuse. Through the acts of abuse Jack's brother may have tried to rise in the complex hierarchy, and to gain some power that he had lost. The surrounding atmosphere of hegemonic masculinity may have also contributed to Jack's silence, through the experienced male shame, as male CSA survivors have been found to possess a deep sense of guilt and shame regarding their abuse (see Sivagurunathan et al. 2019). In the interview, regarding his manhood Jack mentioned that he is a man, and that his manhood hasn't been shaken, that the shame didn't get a hold of it. In Alaggia and Millington's study (2008) men reported confusion around their role. While this was not articulated by Jack, confusion can be interpreted through the double position of being a man, but being a marginal person at the same time.

In criticizing the surrounding masculinity, Jack also referred to male survivors as sitting in their closets, so that you can hear the banging but they won't come out of them. The described male cowardice, belittling, denying, and sitting in a closet but not coming out, not to mention the negative experiences when disclosing to some men seems to suggest that the cultural factors do play a significant role in disclosing CSA. Thankfully, Jack had had male psychologists who had helped him, but he also had experienced dismissal by men, and the male support groups were "miserable", according to Jack. The motivation for participating in this research, however, was to help anyone, by unwrapping the male side of CSA.

According to Jack, CSA was not discussed in public until the 90s. As mentioned before, he described that he would have been the one sent to an institution, had he disclosed to

his family as a child. As CSA can be seen as the ultimate taboo, according to Nielsen (2016), the societal norms can maintain its taboo nature. Jack also mentioned that the discussion on CSA in the 90s began, and revolved around so-called "candy men", likely referring to a famous Finnish crime case, in which the perpetrator Jammu Siltavuori killed two eight-year-old girls in 1989. The perpetrator had previously been convicted of raping underage girls, and of other crimes (HS.fi, read 22.10.2020). The case was significant in Finland, and it may have affected the society so that children were taught not to accept candy from strangers, or to get into a stranger's vehicle. Growing up in Finland these lessons were taught to the researcher as well, as "candy men" were a real threat, especially to girls. When looking at the statistics on reported cases of CSA, in 1980-1990 the reports are rather low, around 200-400, but after 1990 they rise suddenly to about 800 reports, and after 2000 they continue to rise (Ellonen et al. 2019). While the statistics should not be interpreted as a sudden rise in CSA, but that disclosing and help-seeking may have become more acceptable. As Jack's experiences took place in the 60s, it is important to acknowledge that during that time in Finland, the discussion on CSA may have been non-existent.

The family context also contributes to the cultural factors of disclosure. In the analysis, the violent and complex family system was described in-depth, and it can be interpreted that the atmosphere of the family system can contribute to the maintaining of the secrets of the family. For example, Jack described that his older sister knew of the violence experienced by Jack as a baby, and that not a single person in his family approached him with any compassionate words, after he had disclosed his experiences of CSA. This finding resonates with Brazelton's (2015) study, in which the cultural norm of "what happens in our house, stays in our house" was found. However, it is important to point out that Brazelton's study (2015) focused on African American communities in the USA. The racialized survivor is in a different position than a white survivor, but when examining Brazelton's (2015) findings, the community aspect can be applied in this research. Jack's descriptions of his family reveal the cultural norm mentioned before, as well as the norm of staying silent. As Jack himself said, the shame was not only experienced by Jack, but his family as well.

Jack's suspicions towards his family and relatives also can be interpreted through the norm on silence and secret-keeping, as he suspects that his sister was also sexually abused, and that his mother knew of Jack's abuse. The taboo nature of CSA does not only apply in the "big picture", the surrounding culture, but also the family's own culture and community. According to Jack, cliques were formed inside the family system, and he eventually detached himself from the complex system. He also described that his sister and him switched places, as he took a role in the girls' group, and his sister took a role in the boys' group. This was not described in-depth in the interview, but it can be interpreted that it had meaning to Jack, because he chose to describe his role in the family through this. These gendered roles are interesting, as girls are often represented as victims in contemporary culture, and boys are not (see Saesma et al. 2010, Karkulehto & Rossi, 2017). Jack didn't seem to fit in with other boys and men in his family, as he described being smaller. His family members also seemed to contribute to keeping Jack "outside", for example, by telling him to let the big boys handle things, or by neglecting and ignoring him.

One important finding is the violent and complex family system. In Alaggia's (2010) research, the survivors' family systems were described as "chaotic, ruled by aggression, plagued by substance abuse, closed systems that were uncommunicative and socially isolated" (Alaggia, 2010, 37). In Jack's descriptions, all these factors, except the substance abuse and social isolation, came up in the interview. Thus, it can be interpreted that Jack's family environment has been an important factor, as it has contributed to non-disclosure. It may also have played a role in the sexual abuse itself, but finding a cause and effect is not relevant, nor is it the purpose of this thesis.

In Jack's story, the norms of the surrounding culture can also be interpreted in his description of the "candy men", as mentioned before. In the section on CSA as a form of gendered violence, the Finnish cultural view on "bush-rapes" was described. The "candy men" view on sexual violence is also problematic, as children are taught to fear strangers who offer them candy. This suggests that the "evil" exists somewhere outside, in shady vehicles. While it is important to educate children of the possible dangers of the world, the focus is shifted somewhere "out there". As in Jack's case, the perpetrator was a member of his

family, who lived with him, slept in the same bed with him, and sexually abused him. The norms of the society need to be acknowledged in order to make help-seeking easier. Marginalized survivors may be silenced through these cultural views.

8.3 The agency of the survivor

One of the research objectives was to examine the possible barriers for disclosure, as well as the factors that may promote disclosure. According to Jack, disclosing became possible when "space was created", meaning that his children were grown up, and the financial situation was stable. He had had contact with a psychologist, and later with a support group. According to Brattfjell & Flåm (2019) factors that promote disclosing are, for example, having someone to tell, a major life change, and feeling the need to move on. In Jack's case, all of these factors can be derived from his stories. As his children grew up, Jack described that he didn't need to worry about them as much. When his loans were paid, his financial situation was not as stressful as before. These events contributed to his openness to disclose his experiences. After meeting a psychologist who was willing to discuss Jack's experiences one on one, he had someone to tell. These factors are consistent with Brattfjell & Flåm's (2019) findings on disclosure.

Jack's agency has been taken into account in the analysis, as well as the findings. Jack's story suggests that he has worked through his experiences with the help of others, but also alone. Investigating was described as a survival tactic in the analysis, and it seems that investigating has contributed to disclosing. As mentioned before, disclosure is understood as a process, which will be expanded on the next section. However, as in Jack's story, disclosure happened more than once, and as his investigations went on, Jack found that he needed to "go back" and find that small boy, who cried when he heard his own story read to him. Investigating may be seen as a contributing factor of disclosure, as more knowledge and understanding is generated, the meaning-making process could possibly make it easier to disclose in the future. According to Wright et al. (2007) some survivors

of CSA can find meaning in trying to understand the family dynamics or social environment, that had "fostered the abuse" (Wright et al. 2007, 606). Jack's investigations focused on his personal experiences, but he also described his family in-depth, and this finding is consistent with Wright et al. (2007) research. Another finding by Wright et al. (2007) is that the increased knowledge on CSA may be seen as a benefit by the survivors, which can be interpreted in Jack's descriptions as well.

As Jack is seen as an expert in his own life, the main factors that may promote disclosure are drawn from the interview. He emphasized the factor of legislation, focusing especially on the survivors' side, as he said that there has to be an opportunity to speak of the abuse without being accused of insulting someone. According to Jack, the atmosphere of the society is also a factor, as the way CSA is spoken about is important. Even though Jack eventually disclosed his experiences, he describes himself as a marginal person, partly because he is a man who speaks of his experiences. In Sivagurunathan's et al. (2019) study, a gender bias around CSA was examined. In this research, Jack mentioned that it's always the women who are the abused, and that many men may have difficulties understanding that men can also be survivors of CSA. It can be interpreted that the atmosphere of the surrounding society needs to change, so that survivors would have an opportunity to disclose, without being judged through their gendered position.

According to Alaggia et al. (2019) one factor that facilitates disclosure is the environmental and cultural context, in which open discussion of sexuality is promoted. Another factor is the dialogical context, in which there are opportunities to disclose through discussion, as well as information on sexuality (Alaggia et al. 2019). A key finding in this research is the impact of the surrounding norms and the surrounding atmosphere around the discussion on CSA. In Jack's description of the need for an opportunity for the survivor to speak without being accused of insulting someone it can be interpreted that he may have referred to his own experience with his brother. In Jack's confrontation the brother, who had sexually abused him, denied the abuse and told Jack that he has been dreaming. In Laitinen's (2004) study, survivors reported trying to disclose, but being told that they were lying or that their imagination is out of control. The same result can be interpreted from Jack's story, especially when he confronted his brother. A positive notion, however, is that in

Jack's experiences, mental health professionals have believed him. Overall considering help-seeking, Jack's experiences were mainly positive, as he described that he had gotten all the help he had wanted.

Considering previous research on male disclosures, the fear of being labeled as homosexual was not found in this research (see Alaggia, 2005, Alaggia et al. 2019). However, as discussed before, the exaggerating of one's heterosexuality and virility may be similar to the fear of being labeled as homosexual. The exaggerated heterosexuality may be a "method" used to fit in to the desired category of masculinity, as well as a way to separate them self from homosexuality. This was not, however, clearly articulated by Jack himself, but interpreted by the researcher. Thus, the barrier of being labeled as a homosexual cannot be articulated in this research. More research on the sexual self-images of CSA survivors in Finland is needed.

8.4 The way back: the process of disclosure

The different barriers and facilitators of disclosing CSA have been explored in this section, but the process of disclosure itself needs to be addressed. In the narratives provided by Jack, disclosing was interpreted as a process, which was analyzed through different themes. This was done in order to demonstrate the different mechanisms and strategies that were drawn from the interview. As Jack had to abandon the abused child in order to survive, the survival process included different strategies such as silence and non-disclosure, by investigating alone and with the help of mental health professionals, he eventually felt that he had found his way back to the child he had abandoned. The long journey had some major events, such as Jack's first time disclosing.

From Jack's story, the answer to the research question "*who is disclosed to?*" appears to be more complicated than one may think. In Jack's experiences, he had disclosed to multiple people, including his ex-wife and children, and many mental health professionals. However, according to Jack, the event that provided him with some sense of justice and relieved his trauma a little, was when he confronted his brother, the perpetrator of his

abuse. According to Jack, the event was of significance, because he felt relieved afterwards. The first time Jack disclosed was before confronting his brother, to a psychologist. According to Jack, the first time was a great obstacle to overcome, but he overcame it. Afterwards, in his current situation, Jack described that he could talk to anyone of his experiences, although he thinks of himself as a marginal person because he is a male survivor, who is willing to speak of his experiences.

The process of disclosure, drawn from Jack's story, is complex. He has had to implement different strategies, work with others as well as alone in order to make sense of his experiences. Throughout his process, some questions that may never be answered came up, as Jack became suspicious of different members of his family. The disclosure process can be understood as happening in a certain context, and for Jack, he embarked on a journey to find his way to the child his family and himself had abandoned. Disclosure seems to have a relationship with survival. In Alaggia & Millington's (2008) review, facilitating factors for disclosure may help survivors of CSA to disclose earlier, receive support earlier, as well as potentially preventing them from further victimization. In Jack's story, the process of disclosure and the process of survival appear to be linked together, as his experiences with disclosing together with his investigations and meaning-making, as well as acquiring knowledge are interpreted as contributing to his survival.

In Alaggia & Millington's (2008) review, disclosure was viewed as an interactive process. The same view is applied in this research, as the agency of the survivor has been taken into account. While disclosure may be a complex process, Jack's story provides some important information on it. As Jack described, disclosure didn't become possible until "space" was created, suggesting that environmental factors may hinder or promote disclosing. In Jack's situation, these factors were economical and familial. As for other survivors, these factors can be different. For the disclosure to become possible, contextual factors may need to be examined.

9 Conclusions

The research process has been challenging in many ways. The pandemic (COVID-19) affected the process, so that changes had to be made in collecting data. A sensitive subject, such as the current one, may be better suited for an interview conducted in person, rather than over the phone. In this research, contact with the participant was established well before the interview was conducted, which helped in making the interview more comfortable, at least to the researcher. When researching a sensitive subject, gaining the trust of the participants may be important, and considering the current research, that may not have been possible due to the circumstances. As with the current situation with the pandemic, close contact is suggested to be avoided (e.g. THL.fi), which may affect research conducted during this time.

The main findings of this research are that the surrounding hegemonic masculinity is a hindering factor for disclosing. Male survivors can be silenced by other men, and even mental health professionals. The atmosphere of hegemonic masculinity needs to be deconstructed in order to expand the cultural view on manhood, as masculinity can be understood as a construction itself. The Finnish view of a man can be harmful for male survivors of CSA, as it could heighten the experienced shame. Shame itself is another important finding in this research, as it inhibits the disclosing of CSA. Also, the family environment is of importance, as in Jack's story, the family system involved elements of chaos, violence, and silence. These learned behaviors could affect disclosing traumatic experiences. In Jack's case, through help-seeking and accepting, paired with intensive reflecting and untangling, the results speak for themselves, as Jack felt comfortable enough to participate in the research. The different notions from Jack are to be taken seriously, as he is an expert in his own life and story.

Considering the validity of this research, the data acquired was analyzed and the findings were presented in a systematic manner, meaning that the research was successful in answering the given research questions. Also, the findings are in line with previous research on the subject (see e.g. Alaggia & Millington, 2008, Choi et al. 2015), suggesting that the research has good validity. Using another method or a second researcher in data

analysis could have resulted in different outcomes, but for the purposes of this research, the methods used were effective in finding answers to the research questions especially because there was only one participant. In fact, the selected analysis method was especially efficient because only one participant was recruited. By using a narrative method, it was possible to conduct an in-depth analysis of the participants' story. With narrative analysis, the experiences of disclosing CSA and the different barriers, together with the environmental factors were categorized. This method was successfully used, as the main findings show. A narrative analysis method paired with a single participant was also beneficial because the research was conducted alone by the researcher.

Considering liability, the research was carefully planned and implemented by taking the ethical aspects into consideration throughout the entire process. After completing the research, the data handling will be executed as planned. A sensitive subject, such as CSA, should be researched with the participants' wellbeing in mind, and for this research, this was a success. While the research was successful in acquiring knowledge, some limitations do exist. A significant limitation in this research is that only one participant was successfully recruited. This may be due to the sensitive nature of the research subject, and it can be interpreted that male survivors may not be as willing to participate in such research. Other reasons may exist, as one of the requirements was that the participant was to have had support for their experiences, and recruiting was conducted through a specific support organization, so some possible participants may not have been reached through this recruitment method. Participation was also not rewarded in any way, which may affect the motivation for participating.

Also, the collected data could have been analyzed and interpreted in many different ways, but I chose the narrative method because it was the most suitable approach, because of the size of the sample as well as the subject of the research. However, feminist qualitative research leaves room for the researcher to be present in the collected data as well, as it is the researcher's interpretation that is examined. Also, a single person and their story should be understood as important as a research conducted by a large sample.

The articles referred to in this research were peer-reviewed, which adds to the validity of the research. However, some cited articles were older, but of significance. In Finland some research on CSA exists, and it felt necessary to the researcher to examine the

older, previous research before moving on to the newer data available. In order to acquire more knowledge on CSA, international research had to be taken into account. Even though the research is focused on Finland, most articles and books cited were international, as the phenomenon of CSA exists worldwide. The articles and books cited were read through a feminist framework and in some cases, even by feminist writers, women seemed to be automatically placed in the position of a victim, and men in the position of the perpetrator. Hopefully in the future, through research, these gendered positions could be deconstructed.

While the focus on this thesis is on male survivors, the importance of survivors of other genders are not meant to be dismissed in any way. More research on queer survivors is definitely needed globally. Gender as a concept might appear as a binary in this research, although it was not purposefully presented as one by the researcher. Also, more research on the environmental factors, such as the micro-, and macro-cultures, and their relationship with disclosure is needed. Considering the gendered positions of woman/victim and man/perpetrator, more research on the diversity of the victims as well as the perpetrators is needed. Also, considering future research on male survivors' disclosures, a more effective recruitment system as well as a more sensitive data collection method should be planned.

The findings in this research suggest that more research on the disclosures of male survivors of CSA is needed, with more participants. In conducting future research on the disclosures of male survivors, the family context as well as the atmosphere of masculinity should be taken into account, as the findings of this research suggest that they are important factors in disclosing. Disclosure itself is not an easy event, but a complicated process. The news article referred to in the Introduction is just one of many. The phenomenon of CSA exists, and in order to make help-seeking and trauma healing easier, or even possible for survivors, more research on the disclosures of survivors is needed.

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Appendix 1

INFORMATION ON THE RESEARCH FOR THE PARTICIPANT

3.3.2020

The title of the research: The disclosure of child sexual abuse by male survivors

The purpose of the research:

You are asked to participate in a research, in which the different factors for disclosing child sexual abuse by male survivors are examined. Child sexual abuse is a largely researched subject, for example, there exists a great body of research on the effects of child sexual abuse. However, less research exists on the disclosure of child sexual abuse, and on the way that the abuse has been revealed. Child sexual abuse is a real phenomenon, and boys are also victimized. The Finnish culture has a rather rigid view on masculinity, and this can be interpreted as a hindering factor for disclosing child sexual abuse, so it is necessary to examine the experiences of male survivors. Also, the cultural context and the gender of both the survivor and the perpetrator are of significance; girls and women can be understood as passive victims more easily, than boys and men.

We have estimated, that you are applicable for this research, because you are an adult (over the age of 18). Another criterion for participation is that you have had contact with a support organization. The estimated number of participants is 1-3.

The research process

During the research, you are going to be participating in an interview that will take place between April and September of 2020. The interview is estimated to be conducted once, and it will be around 1-1,5 hours long. With your consent, we may conduct a second interview. The interview will be recorded. You will not be paid a fee for participating in this research.

The benefits and the risks of the research

It is possible, that participating in this research does not benefit you. The research can, however, help to examine the different factors for disclosing child sexual abuse.

Because of the sensitive nature of the subject, some discomfort could arise. It is important that you are familiar with a support organization, that you can contact if you feel discomfort after the interview has been conducted.

Confidentiality, data handling and preservation

In the research, only the researcher and the supervisors have access to your identity and other identifiable information. The researcher and the supervisors are under confidentiality obligation. All the collected data and the results will be handled with care and confidentiality. The interview will be transcribed by the researcher, while removing any identifiable information. After this, the original recording will be destroyed.

During the research (estimated time: April-September 2020) the transcribed data will be kept in the researcher's computer, that no one else has access to, and as a document in a locked space in the University of Oulu. After the research has ended, the data will be kept in the University of Oulu for five years, after which it will be destroyed. The supervisor responsible of the research will take care of preserving and destroying the data. Also, the signed form on informed consent will be kept in a separate, locked room in the University of Oulu. The form on informed consent will be also destroyed after five years after the research has ended. The preservation of the material will be taken care by the supervisor responsible of the research. Only the researcher and the supervisors have access to the collected data. Your information will not be given to other parties.

Voluntary participation

Participating in this research is completely voluntary. You can decline, quit or cancel your participation without giving a reason at any time of the research. If you wish to discontinue for any reason, the data already collected will be used in the research.

Informing of the results of the research

You have the option to receive a transcribed version of your interview, as well as the finished thesis in a digital form. If other written publications are published, you also have the option receive them.

Publishing the research

The research will be published in Jultika after it has been completed. Also, the results may be reported in international and national scientific journals, conferences and seminars, in a way that the identity of the participants or the identities of the people discussed during the research will not be revealed, or that they cannot be identified.

The contact information of the researcher and the supervisors

The principle supervisor of the thesis is:

Helena Louhela, PhD, helena.louhela@oulu.fi

Supervisor:

Suvi Pihkala, postdoctoral researcher, suvi.pihkala@oulu.fi

The researcher and the person conducting the thesis is:

Kristiina Raatevaara, Bachelor of Educational Science

Appendix 2

FORM ON INFORMED CONSENT

I have been asked to participate in a research named *The disclosure of child sexual abuse by male survivors*. The focus of the research is to examine different factors in disclosing child sexual abuse. I have read the information leaflet and I have had the possibility to ask defining questions and discuss them. I feel that I have received enough information on my rights, on the purpose of the research, participating in it, and the possible risks and benefits of participating.

I am aware, that participation is voluntary, and that I have the right to discontinue at any time, without giving a reason. If I decide to discontinue participating, the data already collected will be used in the research. I am aware, that the data collected will be handled with confidentiality, and it will not be given to other parties. After transcribing the recorded interview, the original recording will be destroyed. The transcribed version will not include any identifiable information.

My information will be kept in a locked space in the University of Oulu, separately from other collected data, and destroyed after five years from the completion of the research. The anonymized data will be kept on the computer of the researcher, that no one else has access to. If the researcher wants to use the collected data after the completion of the research, separate consent will be asked from me, before destroying the transcribed interview and any data containing my information. I am aware that if needed, I have the right to ask for written information on the ways that my identifiable information will be handled.

I am aware, that the research will be conducted in a thesis, that will be published in Jultika after its completion. The research findings may also be reported in international and national scientific journals, conferences and seminars in a way that ensures that my identity or any identities of persons discussed will not be revealed, or that me or them cannot be identified.

I consent to participate in the research

Yes ___ No ___

Place _____

Date _____

The name of the participant _____ Signature _____

Phone number _____ E-mail address _____

The signature of the recipient of the consent form _____

and in print

The research will be conducted by the person writing the thesis:

Kristiina Raatevaara, kristiina.raatevaara@student oulu.fi

The supervisors of the thesis are:

Helena Louhela (the principle supervisor), helena.louhela@oulu.fi

Suvi Pihkala, suvi.pihkala@oulu.fi

This form on informed consent has been printed twice, one will be given to the participant and the other to the recipient

Appendix 3

THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

- Family, home
- Age (now, at the beginning of the abuse, at the end of the abuse)
- The duration of the abuse
- The repetitiveness of the abuse
- The perpetrator

2. Open-ended question

- How was the abuse revealed to others?

3. Disclosure

- Disclosing to others (who, age)
- Emotions, thoughts (back then, now)
- Reaction to hearing about the abuse
- Believing the story
- Arising feelings, thoughts...
- Barriers for disclosure
- Reasons behind these barriers (own thoughts)
- The emotions/thoughts/experiences after disclosing
- Harmful experiences in reacting to disclosing
- Contact with the authorities/the lack of it
- The cultural background of the experience, its effect on disclosure/attitudes towards it
- (Your) own gender and sexuality
- (Your) own background, cultural context, disclosing? Reactions? How should this be talked about?
- Having support
- *How could disclosing be made easier?*