

An exploration of how British South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse make sense of their experiences

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A thesis submitted to De Montfort University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Faculty of Health and Life Sciences



November 2018

Author's declaration

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Abstract

Despite the existence of long settled South Asian communities in Britain, there is a dearth of research on child sexual abuse. Moreover, most of the existing literature considers the experiences of women. This study aims to explore the phenomenon of child sexual abuse among British South Asian male survivors and to understand how they make sense of their experiences.

A three phase approach was utilised consisting of semi-structured interviews with six service providers working in a sexual abuse counselling organisation; two single gender focus groups with members of British South Asian communities who had not experienced child sexual abuse; and semi-structured interviews with eight British South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse. Their accounts were analysed separately using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA).

Superordinate themes from the service provider interviews included: what stops survivors disclosing abuse, the effects of child sexual abuse on survivors, the impact of culture, and being a man. Themes gleaned from the focus groups were culture and community, gender differences, generational differences, izzat and sharam and attitudes to counselling. Themes from the survivor interviews included disclosing child sexual abuse, masculinity and sexuality, the impact of culture and experiences of counselling.

Through the lens of masculinities theory, the study argues that the way British South Asian men construct and understand experiences of child sexual abuse is largely determined by cultural and societal expectations of 'being a man'. Cultural imperatives of shame and honour when contextualised within the masculinities framework were shown to be crucial to South Asian men's experiences of child sexual abuse. Experiences of counselling were on the whole positive, but service providers had largely homogenized views of South Asian communities, mirrored in the focus group discussions, where a distrust of service providers was expressed, as well as concerns around the cultural ignorance of some service providers.

On the basis of the findings, recommendations for service providers include discreet forms of community based support, online counselling, greater outreach work with British South Asian communities and improved equality and diversity training. For policymakers, it is recommended that more funding is allocated for sexual abuse support services, and best practice guidelines are developed for agencies working with male survivors of abuse. Future research directions include the application of intersectionality theory to British Asian survivors' experiences; more research focusing on abuse across different faith groups; documenting the experiences of survivors who have not yet disclosed to agencies, and gathering the perspectives of counsellors and service providers from a more diverse range of ethnic backgrounds.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my two supervisors, Professor Rob Canton and Professor Julie Fish. I thank you for your guidance, support, tremendous patience, feedback and motivation. You are inspiring academics and I am grateful to have had you on this journey with me.

My parents, my husband, my siblings and my son all kept me sane through this process, and have made it all worthwhile.

This work would not have been possible without all the research participants who kindly took part. Thank you for sharing your stories.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

British South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse face a twofold problem in the domains of research and service provision. Firstly, male survivors of child sexual abuse have traditionally been marginalised in favour of female survivors of abuse, who form the basis of most academic research and are catered for by the majority of counselling and support services currently operating in the UK (Collin-Vezina and Gagnier, 2016). The centrality of women's experiences, although equally crucial to understanding survivor experiences of childhood sexual abuse, has somewhat cast a shadow over those of male survivors. Secondly, despite the highly multi-cultural terrain of the UK population, people from ethnic minority backgrounds still experience institutional forms of racism, entrenched in service provision and research practices, leading to racialized and Eurocentric perspectives and practice (Bagguley and Hussain, 2016; Hall, 2005).

This study seeks to contribute towards and expand on the existing body of literature on male child sexual abuse. More specifically, the study seeks to illuminate the experiences of male survivors from British South Asian communities, providing a much needed voice to a critically under-researched group. Using interpretative phenomenological analysis, the study aims to bridge this gap in knowledge whilst documenting the lived experiences of British South Asian men in the form of rich and nuanced narratives.

This chapter discusses the significance of this study and some of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks that make up the contours of the research. The chapter begins by setting the context for the study-the social climate in which the study emerged; what is meant in this study by 'South Asian communities'; exploring concepts of culture and ethnicity; acknowledging cultural essentialism; the theoretical underpinnings of the study; the aims of the research and the structure of the rest of the thesis.

1.2 Child sexual abuse: a different point of view

When this study first commenced in the latter part of 2011, it was impossible to anticipate that crucial issues relating to child sexual exploitation perpetrated by Asian men would emerge and dominate political and social narratives. The prosecution of Asian men who had raped and sexually exploited young white girls across Rochdale made headlines in 2012; similarly, the Rotherham abuse scandal uncovered that at least 1400 children were sexually exploited by a network of Asian men across Rotherham. The Jay report (2013) highlighted multiple failings on the part of the Metropolitan Police and the local authority for failing to act on vital information that they had received regarding child exploitation in Rotherham as early as the late 1990s. Reportedly, a contributing factor for the lack of a vocalised response to the crisis was a fear on the part of authorities and the Metropolitan Police that they would face accusations of racism (Jay, 2013). This was also cited as a reason behind the fractured and slow-progressing case to be built against the abusers. Indeed, issues of racism and ethnicity became so pertinent to the Rotherham scandal that they have become synonymous with the scandal itself (Clapton, 2015). An inevitable consequence of this is that British Asian men, Muslim men in particular,

have been subjected to negative and broad brush stereotyping, mobilising prejudices that have been brewing since 9/11. Husband and Alam (2016) note that “*many young Muslim men find themselves being represented as a quintessential expression of oversexed and over assertive Asian machismo*”. This, coupled with a negative portrayal of Asian communities in Britain as being affiliated with arranged marriages, honour based violence and cultural breakdown has led to a demonization of young Asian men as the new ‘folk devil’ (Alexander, 2000).

Although the scope and severity of crimes carried out by Asian men in the Rotherham and Rochdale scandals is reprehensible, it has overshadowed the experiences of Asian male survivors of sexually abusive crimes and rendered them invisible. To date, no studies have been carried out examining the experiences of South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse, which leaves lingering questions around the potential reasons behind this. Black and Minority Ethnic communities have often been labelled ‘hard to reach’ a highly ambiguous and contested term used by various agencies to describe communities that they have difficulty accessing (Flanagan and Hancock, 2010). The irony of using the term hard to reach is that in attempting to tackle inequality across the board, including healthcare, education and academic research, it serves to perpetuate stereotypes of ethnic minorities as problematic and reluctant to be reached (Parnez, 2015).

This study therefore attempts to uncover the hidden ‘victims’ of child sexual abuse and illuminate the lived experiences of British South Asian men as survivors of abuse.

1.3 Race, ethnicity and culture

Race, ethnicity and culture are concepts that are often conflated and used interchangeably (Ali-Khan et al, 2011). Race involves the identification of groups on the basis of phenotypic differences, most notably skin colour, and is widely accepted to be a socially constructed way of categorising people according to these differences (Phinney, 1996). Clarke (2008: 518) notes that *“race is associated with a dangerous assumption that the world is split into distinct dichotomies, and that there is more than one human race, thus ignoring the wealth of cultural and ethnic diversity”*.

Definitions of ethnicity vary in that they can include racial as well as cultural similarities between a group of people (Phinney, 1996). Phukon (2002:1) defines ethnicity as *“an organizing principle used by a group of people in order to differentiate themselves from other groups in terms of race, kinship, language, customs, mode of living, culture, religion and so on.”* Hylland-Eriksen (2015) states that ethnicity is both relational and situational in that it refers to the relationship between groups rather than within them.

Culture has been defined as a *“socially constructed constellation consisting of such things as practices, competencies, ideas, schemas, symbols, values, norms, institutions, goals, constitutive rules, artifacts, and modifications of the physical environment”* (Fiske, 2002: 85). This definition describes a wide range of components that build a picture of culture as something dynamic, and most importantly, something that is socially constructed. Culture can be broadly understood from two perspectives: a descriptive, essentialist understanding of culture views it as a fixed and delimited aspect of society (Dahl, 2014). More simply

put, this perspective dictates that culture is something we have that has been passed down to us from older generations. Another understanding of culture is from a constructivist approach, and is premised on culture as something we do, influenced by our surroundings and shared experiences, with values negotiated for different members of a group from time to time. Dahl (2014) criticises the constructivist perspective of culture deeming it inadequate in explaining people's behaviour, calling for a consideration of broader factors such as social status, context and power to understand people's actions.

For Parekh (2000: 143) culture is a "*historically created system of meaning and significance*" which is constantly evolving, static and never settled. This indicates a perception of culture that is fluid rather than fixed, constantly subject to change and ultimately, it challenges essentialist views of culture that suggest ways of life that are homogenous. Parekh (2000: 158) goes on to say that "*human beings are neither determined by their culture, nor are they transcendental beings whose inner core or basic nature remains wholly unaffected by it*". Parekh emphasises that although culture has an impact on individuals, it does not define them, which points to an anti-essentialist stance on culture. Cultural essentialism assumes that people that belong to a particular culture are bound by fixed and non-negotiable rules, presenting a false homogeneity of cultures and denying agency to members of racially minoritised groups (Culley and Hudson, 2009). South Asian communities, like other cultural and ethnic groups, are not homogenous, with differences in beliefs, values and behaviours depending on religion, language, country of origin, social context of the 'host' country and individual experiences (Shariff, 2009). Phillips (2010) in her discussion of cultural essentialism points to the example of a study carried out by Baumann (1996) which looked at five religio-ethnic groups in Southall,

London: Sikhs, Muslims, Hindus, African Caribbeans and Whites. Baumann's own critique of this categorisation was that it reduced and denied the complexity of new identities that emerged during the process of the study, including a new 'Asian' identity that cut across distinctions between Muslim, Hindu and Sikh.

As this study is examining the experiences of South Asian men, it is important to take into consideration not only the binding commonalities between South Asian men from different communities, but cultural differences that very often stem from differences in ethnicity. An anti-essentialist stance is therefore necessary in order to avoid an over-generalisation of South Asian people's experiences and reflect the diversity across South Asian communities.

1.4 South Asian communities

Although South Asian migration to the UK is widely believed to have taken place during the postcolonial era post-1947, there is evidence as far back as the 17th century documenting South Asian presence in the UK (Visram, 2002). However, significant migration and settlement of South Asians in the UK took place between the 1940s, when India gained independence and the 1960s after the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962) was passed. The majority of migration from South Asia during this period was from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, explaining the large presence and settlement of these three communities in the UK. According to the 2011 Census, more than half of the ethnic minority population in the UK is of South Asian origin (Office for National Statistics, 2012). South Asians include people from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka (Mathews, 2000).

The South Asian diaspora is unique in that it consists of widely differing sub-communities who possess distinct characteristics culturally, religiously and

ethnically. These distinguishers allow South Asian sub-communities to maintain autonomy as well as an individual identity; this is however, juxtaposed by shared, cultural features which form a common thread that unites South Asian sub-communities. There is a danger of homogenising the many communities that make up the South Asian diaspora (Reavey et al, 2006) and so it is important to stress that the term will be used primarily for pragmatic reasons in this study.

Some of the cultural similarities that have been noted within and across South Asian communities include family relationships, respect for age, social interaction and behaviour, decision making, communication style and family expectations of success (Mathews, 2000). With family relationships, the commonality across South Asian communities tends to be a hierarchical family structure; this involves a patriarchal hierarchy where a male authority figure is responsible for making decisions concerning the family and household (Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman, 2015). The family is considered a primary unit and individual family members secondary in importance (Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman, 2015), with a strong sense of obligation to the family as a whole to maintain wellbeing. A patriarchal 'joint family' which consists of multigenerational households including fathers and sons plus their wives and children is also a characteristic of many South Asian communities (Wilson, 2013). Although some South Asian families still retain a similar structure, there is evidence to suggest that modernity and acculturation into Western society have caused a shift towards a more nuclear family structure, greater equality between spouses and smaller family units (Karis and Killian, 2011).

Respect for age is another feature that has often been associated with South Asian communities. Bearing in mind the previous assertion on the hierarchical structure of many South Asian families, power and privilege tend to ensue with gender and age

frequently determining one's power within the family (Das and Kemp, 1997).

Younger family members tend to turn to older family members for advice and support in a crisis, such as marital conflict, with a belief that older family members possess greater maturity and knowledge (Karis and Killian, 2011).

Decision making across South Asian communities has traditionally been in the hands of parents, even when their children reach adulthood (Mathews, 2000). Decisions regarding choice of spouse and arranged marriages for example, have been a common practice amongst South Asians living not only in the Asian subcontinent but after migration to the West. However, this practice is witnessing significant change with second and third generation Asians increasingly making their own choices regarding romantic partners (Uddin, 2006). The struggle for choice by young British South Asians and the unquestioning compliance expected by family elders signals the changes that have occurred between different generations of South Asians (ibid). Uddin (2006) goes on to argue that a rigid attitude remains among older generations of Asians demonstrating an unwillingness to accept the changes taking place. Attempts by younger generations of South Asians to make independent choices are seen as a sign of rebellion against family, cultural values and traditions (Modood, Beishon and Virdee, 1998).

Interpersonal relationships across South Asian communities are considered much more formal than those found across the West (Mathews, 2000). In South Asian cultures, it is considered important to maintain harmony with family, the wider community and society (Madan-Bahel, 2008). Politeness, including good manners, modest dress, quiet speech and gracefulness are highly valued, with the utmost consideration for the comfort of others (Mathews, 2000). Many South Asians have strong cultural, social and community bonds consisting of extended family ties,

kinship and community relations (Mand, 2006). There is great value attached to maintaining family networks and community attachments, which is rooted in early South Asian immigration to countries outside of the Asian subcontinent. When faced with loneliness, social discrimination and economic hardship, South Asian immigrants often looked for support within the wider South Asian community (ibid). Younger generations of South Asians are however seeking independence from traditional 'interdependent' networks established by previous generations (Bhalla, 2014).

Identity construction across South Asian communities, more specifically for second and third generations, is a complex process, with a clash between traditional Eastern values, cultural and familial expectations and more liberal, secular Western values. This positions younger generations of South Asians in an ongoing struggle of trying to fit into two different worlds and consequently, negotiating a new identity to accommodate for the disparity between Eastern and Western values. One perspective on the cultural differences between different societies lies in the categorisation of cultures as individualistic and collectivistic (Gielen and Roopnarine, 2004). Darwish and Huber (2003: 48) define individualistic cultures as emphasising:

"...an individual's and his/her immediate family's self-interest (underlining individual rights, not responsibilities), personal autonomy, privacy, self-realisation, individual initiative, independence, individual decision making, an understanding of personal identity as the sum of attributes of the individual, and less concern about the needs and interests of others."

Examples of typical individualistic societies include the US and Canada, the UK and Australia. Collectivistic cultures tend to emphasise:

“...loyalty to the group (while the group in turn cares for the well-being of the individual), emotional dependence on groups and organisations, less personal privacy, the belief that group decisions are superior to individual decisions, interdependence, an understanding of personal identity as knowing one’s place within the group, and concern about the needs and interests of others” (Darwish and Huber, 2003: 49).

India, Pakistan, China, Japan and Korea are examples of collectivistic societies. South Asian communities, despite established migration patterns to the West, are considered collectivistic in cultural practices. Kandula et al (2018) report that almost 90% of South Asians in the U.S. are first generation immigrants who believe that family ties and kinship are paramount, with a strong emphasis on collectivism, social control and the maintenance of group identity. This epitomises a collectivist culture, but rather importantly, highlights the importance of collectivist ideals to first generation South Asians. Lindridge et al (2007: 215) describe how Western ideals of individualism and independence often clash with *“the interdependent self, evident in eastern cultures, where individuals view themselves as actors belonging to and influenced by an all-encompassing group...valued as being more important than the individual”*. It is at this intersection of conflicting values where first and second generation South Asians begin to diverge; second generation South Asians are moulded by collectivist expectations acquired from family and community whilst simultaneously learning individualistic values from school and broader mainstream society (Kundu and Adams, 2005). The identity construction process is further complicated by first generation South Asians often having high aspirations in terms of educational and career achievements for their (second generation) children in the Western world while still encouraging a different set of norms and expectations in the

home and family life (Salam, 2004; Srinivasan 2001). The construction of identity for second generation South Asians therefore becomes “*a dialogical process that is shaped by multiple, contradictory, asymmetrical, and often shifting cultural voices of race, gender, sexuality and nationality*” (Bhatia and Ram, 2004: 228).

Presenting the intergenerational differences between South Asians and examining how difficulties may be encountered in how second generation South Asians construct their identity is an integral part of this study. It highlights some of the complexities South Asians of different generations grapple with which need to be acknowledged when researching a group as diverse and heterogeneous as South Asians. This study consists of participants from different age groups, countries of origin/birth, religion, sexuality and class. Culture forms a part of this, and the interplay between these factors all contribute towards the way in which South Asian male survivors of sexual abuse make sense of their experiences. More specifically, culture can impinge on the disclosure process, help-seeking behaviours, identity construction and the overall recovery process (Alaggia et al, 2017; Gilligan and Akhtar, 2006; Fontes and Plummer, 2010).

1.5 Theoretical underpinning: Masculinities theory

Male child sexual abuse survivors face the same social pressures to live up to the ideals of masculinity as other men (Kia-Keating et al, 2005). However, they must also deal with cultural definitions of ‘manhood’ and the conflicting experience of sexual victimisation which involves violation within an interpersonal context (Kia-Keating et al, 2010). This thesis therefore draws on masculinities theory to analyse the experiences of British South Asian men who have been sexually abused in

childhood and how abusive experiences infringe on a male survivor's sense of masculinity.

Contemporary conceptualisations of masculinities are a by-product of structural changes in post-modern societies interacting with the social and political effects of feminism (Ashe, 2007). The expansion of equality legislation, restructuring of the family, alternative sexualities and the challenges of feminism have opened up new debates around men's subjectivities and gender identities. Debates around masculinities are rooted in the notion of patriarchy, defined by Hartmann (1976: 138) as a system of:

"...controlling women's access to resources and their sexuality, which in turn, allows men to control women's labor power, both for the purpose of serving men in many personal and sexual ways and for the purpose of rearing children."

In other words, patriarchy is the domination of women by men, on a widespread scale, in both public and private spheres. Patriarchy subsumes that men are born with privileges and power not afforded to women, maintained and reinforced through the development of a masculine gender. Gender has often (and purposefully) been conflated with sex in debates surrounding patriarchy and masculinity, and holds that every person's sex is also that person's gender. It is now widely accepted that gender is a sociocultural construct and that notions of masculinity and femininity are transient, situationally and culturally specific (Lombard and McMillan, 2013).

One theory that paved the way for critical men's studies and reframed issues around masculinity was proposed by R.W Connell. Connell's (1987) conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity is essentially based upon the subordination of women, and serves to preserve, legitimate and naturalise the interests of the powerful-men.

According to Connell, 'being a man' involves a process of accepting and negotiating hegemonic masculinity, through compliance or resistance to prescribed dominant masculine styles. Masculine characters are not given; rather they emerge from the gender regimes found across different cultures and historical periods (Edley and Wetherell, 1996). Among these ways of being masculine however, there exist 'winning styles' and it is these with which men must engage, which is where hegemony enters the framework; this involves marginalising and subordinating the claims of alternative forms of masculinity such as effeminate or 'camp' masculinity. Male victimisation therefore poses a dilemma by challenging the ideals set out in hegemonic masculinity and failing to fit into the mould of acceptable forms of masculinity.

Many men with histories of childhood sexual abuse struggle with issues around masculinity and deal with gender role conflicts (Lew, 2004). Spataro et al (2001) for example, report that male survivors feel that it is 'un-masculine' to be labelled a victim, particularly in cases of sexual violence. These feelings are exacerbated when the abuser is male, as male survivors then contend with issues of shame, stigma and homophobia (Easton et al, 2014). Stereotypes of 'ideal' men, to be aggressive, stoic and dominant for instance, are conveyed by a hegemonic construct which is in turn underpinned by heterosexuality. Furthermore, culturally sanctioned expectations of men to reject 'feminine' characteristics, be an economic provider and have a preoccupation with sex (Kia-Keating et al, 2005) point towards an overarching system of heteropatriarchy which favours heterosexuality and cisgender males. Traditional conceptualisations of masculinity oppose behaviours which may be associated with femininity, equating it with helplessness and passivity, while homophobia and dominance prove one's masculinity (Hong, 2000). Moreover, Kia-

Keating et al (2010) emphasise how gender role socialisation encourages men to avoid emotions and vulnerabilities. As a result of this, male survivors of child sexual abuse face a direct contradiction with the core expectations of masculinity to be strong and invulnerable. Romano and De Luca (2001) argue that as a result of these expectations, male survivors of child sexual abuse can endure difficulties in developing functional identities.

Cossins (2000) highlights the binary role played by men as both perpetrators and victims of child sexual abuse, juxtaposing the prominence of men as abusers against a much less recognised role of 'victim'. This is supported by Kia-Keating et al (2009) who acknowledge a 'societal disinclination' to accept men in a role of sexual victimisation rather than sexual prowess. Eriksson (2009) discusses this positioning of men and women into two very distinct categories of perpetrator and victim in the context of a constructivist notion, 'ideal victims'. The 'ideal victim' is perceived as dependent, passive, and helpless, conforming to cultural constructions of 'child-like' and 'feminine' behaviour, while characteristics associated with perpetrators including agency, dominance, control and violence, are in line with constructions of 'adult like' and 'masculine' behaviour. An adult male disclosing a history of childhood sexual abuse is in direct contradiction of the 'ideal victim' construct, which can become an instant barrier to disclosure. Research has also found that male survivors of child sexual abuse are less likely to be recognised as legitimate victims (Petrunik and Ilea, 2010) demonstrating the power of gendered social constructs. It is the perpetuation of these stereotypes which has fuelled perceptions of how it is that men and women should behave, indoctrinating these internally through the external force of societal expectation.

The study of masculinity within ethnic minority communities is an under-explored territory, particularly within the UK. Studies in the U.S have slowly emerged looking at masculinities in relation to Southeast Asian Americans (such as Chinese and Korean), African Americans and Hispanic men (Levant et al, 2003). Purkayastha (2000) cited in Madan-Bahel (2008) is one of the exceptions to this, and looked at how masculinities are embodied within South Asian American communities. Purkayastha found that amongst Asian youths, parental gender expectations contrasted those of their peers, with expectations to be respectful, reserved and accommodating. When compared to the white American script of masculinity, these traits are considered to be effeminate, as American norms of youth masculinity prioritise competitiveness, physical prowess and aggressiveness over politeness and compassion. To overcompensate for this, some young Asian men may seek respect through behaviours that are more typical of masculine behaviour, yet find that these behaviours exclude them further from mainstream society (Balzani, 2010). This is an example of 'protest masculinity' (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) which usually affects men who are marginalised and disempowered in particular societies. Archer's (2001) work with young British South Asian Muslim men found elements of protest masculinity, and how they use this specific model of hegemonic masculinity ("powerful patriarchal") to assert their position amongst white men, African-Caribbean men and Muslim women. More recently, Gill and Harrison (2015) explored negative media representations of British South Asian men in light of the Rochdale sexual exploitation case (and similar cases that followed). They argue that media coverage on this topic reinforces misconceptions around culturally-specific notions of hegemonic masculinity in relation to British South Asian men.

Kia-Keating et al (2005) argue that racial and cultural expectations impose their weight on perpetuating masculine norms, resulting in hypermasculinity.

Hypermasculinity is the exaggeration of male stereotypical behaviour, with those classed as hypermasculine embracing physical and behavioural traits such as aggression or the development of a more muscular physique (Klein, 2008). Kalra (2009) highlights how racialized minorities, such as British South Asians, are often conceived as problematic, which has had a knock-on effect in the way in which South Asian masculinities are conceptualised and presented in mainstream media and political and academic discourse. Kalra points to the media coverage-and the ensuing narrative that emerged as a result of this- of young Asian men rioting in Northern England in 2001, and more specifically how they were perceived as hypermasculine as a result. British South Asian men have very often been viewed from the perspective of an “*assertive and deviant masculinity*” which again feeds into the idea of a hypermasculinised perception of South Asian men (Kalra, 2009: 115). Hesse (2000) asserts that there are two dominant discourses around the masculinities of young Muslim men, one that emphasises patriarchy and aggression and the other effeminacy and academicism. Hesse (2000: 337) calls for an empirical effort to “*disrupt these dichotomized stereotypes by exploring the complex, multiple and multi-faceted nature of youthful Muslim masculinities.*”

As this study will be underpinned by masculinities theory, some of the features of the theory explored here will be applied across the findings and discussion chapters.

1.6 Research aims

The overarching aim of this study was to explore how British South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse make sense of their experiences. This aim was broken down into a series of more discrete sub-aims:

- To understand the complexities around the disclosure process
- To explore how men's sense of masculinity is impacted by abuse
- To explore the significance of culture and community
- To explore men's experiences of help-seeking and the implications of this for service provision

In addition to semi-structured interviews carried out with eight male survivors of child sexual abuse, this study sought the perspectives of service providers from a counselling organisation and two focus groups consisting of British South Asian men and women. Semi-structured interviews with service providers were carried out to elicit their views regarding the disclosure process, service take-up and accessibility to counselling. Focus groups were conducted to shed light on some of the issues around culture, imperatives of shame and honour, and the general perception of male child sexual abuse from the perspective of British Asian, non-survivors of abuse.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

This current chapter introduces some of the key concepts that form the basis of the study, including a discussion around culture, South Asian communities and the theoretical underpinning of the study; the chapter also establishes the aims of the research. Chapter two is a review of the literature to contextualise the place of this

research within the existing body of literature as well as identifying gaps in knowledge and limitations of existing research. Chapter three details the methodological design of the study, with the chosen methodological framework of interpretative phenomenological analysis outlined, alongside details of the data collection techniques for the three phases of the research. The ethics applicable to the study, researcher reflexivity and the issue of rigour in qualitative research are also explored. Chapter four breaks down interpretative phenomenological analysis further to demonstrate how IPA was put into practice in this study, with evidence of each stage of the process rounded off with a reflective statement. Chapter five presents the findings and discussion for research conducted with the survivors. This chapter begins with narrative accounts of the life stories of the eight survivors who took part in this study. This is followed by a discussion in the form of superordinate themes and subthemes, interspersed with relevant literature and the application of masculinities theory. Chapter six presents the findings and discussion for phase two of the research with two focus groups. Again, this chapter consists of the key superordinate themes and their corresponding subthemes discussed in line with relevant literature, concepts and masculinities theory where applicable. Chapter seven is the findings and discussion from the research with service providers; this chapter lays out the main superordinate themes and subthemes to emerge from the IPA data analysis, and explores each one in detail with evidence from the research transcripts and supporting literature, as well as the application of the underpinning theory. Chapter eight is the final chapter of the thesis, and draws out the main conclusions from the three phases of the research to form a set of recommendations for future research and practice. Crucially, the original contribution to knowledge will be established in this chapter.

Chapter 2

Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces existing literature in the area of child sexual abuse with a specific focus on male survivor literature and research. The purpose of this chapter is to present a comprehensive overview of the issue of childhood sexual abuse and identify gaps in the literature, something this research aspires to bridge and contribute towards.

2.2 Searching the literature

There is a significant lack of literature in the area of child sexual abuse within South Asian communities, with much research reflecting the experiences of white, female survivors. One of the major challenges for this research was therefore finding literature which covered all the elements of this research: *male survivors of childhood sexual abuse in South Asian communities*. It was necessary to conduct a thorough search for empirical research and contextual and theoretical literature which would be sufficient enough to inform the research by drawing on some of the core themes. An initial search for literature was conducted in the latter part of 2011 and at regular intervals thereafter with rather broad search terms including 'child sexual abuse', 'sexual abuse in South Asian communities' and then becoming more narrow in scope such as 'male child sexual abuse in South Asian communities'. These search terms were entered into De Montfort University's E-Library online facility and various databases including Scopus, ProQuest and EBSCO. A search into Scopus for example, entering the terms 'child sexual abuse asian' resulted in

104 articles in 2011; in 2017, this increased to 165 articles. These articles included research spanning fields including psychiatry (Rahman et al, 2018), psychology (Satapathy et al, 2017) and criminology (Cowburn et al, 2015). Research articles that were relevant to this research included Gilligan and Akhtar's (2006) study into cultural barriers to the disclosure of child sexual abuse in Asian communities; Cowburn et al's (2015) research which looked at cultural dynamics and how these affect how sexual abuse is discussed in Asian communities; Reavey et al's (2009) research into constructions of culture in South Asian communities accounts of sexual violence and Kia-Keating et al's (2009) research on relational challenges and recovery processes in male survivors of childhood sexual abuse, amongst others.

2.3A brief history of child sexual abuse

Abusive acts towards children have long been documented throughout history, with de Mause (1994: 78) controversially declaring that *"the history of humanity is founded upon the abuse of children."* In Ancient Greece and Rome for example, the sexual exploitation of children was widespread but dismissed as a form of sexual expression (Hipolito, 2007). Greeks were encouraged to form relationships with adolescent boys outside of their marriages whilst Romans took advantage of young boys based on their social status (de Mause, 1998).

The first published piece of work dedicated to child sexual abuse was by the French pathologist Auguste Ambroise Tardieu in 1857, entitled 'Medical Legal Studies of Sexual Assault' (Hipolito, 2007) which recognised child sexual abuse as a legitimate phenomenon. The emergence of psychoanalysis at the end of the 1800's resulted in controversial perspectives concerning children and sexual abuse, with its founder

Sigmund Freud proposing that children were to blame for sexual assaults by adults. Freud (1914: 17) suggested that *“the sexual constitution which is peculiar to children is precisely calculated to provoke sexual experiences of a particular kind”*.

However, the turning point for these exploitative practices against children and the accepted attitudes that accompanied them occurred around the same time Freud’s theories were in circulation, with the founding of the New York Society Prevention of Cruelty to Children in 1875 (Myers, 2004). This was the first agency dedicated to upholding and promoting children’s rights, and was quickly followed by the establishment of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) in the UK and the landmark Prevention of Cruelty to, and Protection of, Children Act 1889. This was the first piece of legislation which allowed British law to intervene in matters between children and parents, and set into motion a series of legislations which included within their remit mental cruelty (1894), incestuous abuse (1908) and supervision orders for children at risk (1932) (Batty, 2004).

Currently, the child protection system in England and Wales is based on the Children Act 1989 which sets out in detail the role of local authorities and the courts in protecting the welfare of children (NSPCC, 2012). Other laws that have been passed to prioritise the safety of children include the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989); the Human Rights Act (1998); the Education Act (2002) and the Adoption and Children Act 2002. The Children Act 2004 came into existence after the death of Victoria Climbié in 2000, and after the Munro review of child protection was carried out in 2011, a more child-focused system of protection was enacted including the integration of services to children. Other legislation exists to

protect children from adults who pose a risk including the Sex Offenders Act 1997, the Sexual Offences Act 2003 and the Safeguarding Vulnerable Groups Act 2006.

2.4 Definitions of child sexual abuse

There have been many attempts at defining child sexual abuse, with a range of definitions trying to encapsulate what it encompasses. The Sexual Offences Act (2003) states that child sexual abuse

“...involves forcing or enticing a child or young person to take part in sexual activities, not necessarily involving a high level of evidence, whether or not the child is aware of what is happening. The activities may involve physical contact, including assault by penetration (for example rape or oral sex) or non-penetrative acts such as masturbation, kissing, rubbing or touching outside of clothing. They may also include non-contact activities such as involving children in looking at or in the production of sexual images, watching sexual activities, encouraging children to behave in sexually inappropriate ways, or grooming a child in preparation for abuse (including via the internet). Sexual abuse is not solely perpetrated by adult males. Women can also commit acts of sexual abuse, as can other children.” HM Government (2013).

This comprehensive definition considers the different manifestations sexual abuse can take and challenges the traditional notion that men are the sole perpetrators of abuse (Cermak and Molidar, 1996), with the acknowledgement that women and children can also be responsible for such offences. The definition also benefits from being inclusive of newer forms of sexual abuse which have been facilitated with the

emergence of technological advances in networking including the internet and mobile phones (Martellozzo and Davidson, 2013). As this definition is perhaps the most utilised and applied within and across legal and social work practice, it is vital that the definition doesn't place blame on the victim, which it has successfully achieved in its wording of "...whether or not the child is aware of what is happening". The definition also takes into account historical cases of child sexual abuse where there may be little or no physical evidence remaining that could otherwise work against the victim in a court scenario.

Definitional issues often arise where concepts exist as both a legal and social phenomenon, as is the case with what constitutes child sexual abuse. As the legal definition of child sexual abuse falls under the umbrella of the Sexual Offences Act 2003, it is defined under numerous subheadings, including 'rape and other offences against children under 13', 'child sex offences', 'abuse of position of trust', and 'familial child sex offences' (Turton, 2008). A strength of including child sexual abuse under such a pivotal legislative Act is that the component parts under the aforementioned categories come together to form a comprehensive criteria of what child sexual abuse may be regarded as (Davidson, 2008). Ecclestone and Owen's (2007) reservations with the defining of child sexual abuse under the Sexual Offences Act 2003 lie with the grouping of rape and child sexual abuse under one Act. They maintain that there are core differences between rapists and paedophiles, in terms of cognitive distortions, deviant arousal, and empathy deficits. With regards the social meaning attached to child sexual abuse, Bolen (2001) acknowledges that child sexual abuse is a social construct, which helps to explain the lack of consensus on the definition of child sexual abuse. Recognising child sexual abuse as a social

construct bears important application to this research, as the experience of child sexual abuse can vary across ethnic backgrounds and gender (Margolin, 1999; Feuer et al, 2001).

The World Health Organization's (1999) definition of child sexual abuse is similar to the UK legal definition with a few significant nuances:

“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, or that violates the laws or social taboos of society. Child sexual abuse is evidenced by this activity between a child and an adult who by age or development is in a relationship of responsibility, trust or power, the activity being intended to gratify 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 lawful sexual activity;*
- *The exploitative use of child in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices;*
- *The exploitative use of children in pornographic performance and materials.”*

The main distinction between the two definitions of child sexual abuse is the elaboration on contact and non-contact sexual activity in the UK legal definition. The UK definition also emphasises that the abuser can be a child, man or woman, whereas the WHO definition explicitly states that the abuse is perpetrated by an adult. Interestingly, the WHO definition mentions that child sexual abuse violates ‘social taboos of society’, which comments on the societal rejection of acts which are deemed socially abhorrent by the society in question. This ties in with the ‘shroud of

secrecy' around child sexual abuse often because the sexual abuse of children is too disturbing and disruptive to the social order (Faller, 2000).

However, to date, there is no universal consensus on what constitutes child sexual abuse, with the age of sexual consent varying from country to country and cultural sensibilities also determining what is considered child abuse. There are however, certain protocols in place that seek to establish an agreement on the condemnation of child sexual abuse practices including the sexual exploitation of children, such as the Council of Europe Convention on the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse. This treaty was effective from 2010 and is currently ratified by 34 European States, although the treaty is open to all non-European States as well.

2.5 Prevalence of child sexual abuse

Child sexual abuse is a severely underreported crime and as a result, the true extent of its prevalence is difficult to estimate with any degree of certainty. Alaggia and Millington (2008) point out the distinction between prevalence and incidence of child sexual abuse; prevalence rates reflect retrospective reporting whilst incidence rates are extrapolated from statistical measures of current cases of abuse. Radford et al (2011) in a landmark study commissioned by the NSPCC state that around 1 in 20 children in the UK have been sexually abused, a statistic deduced from a 'nationally representative sample of children and young people living in the UK.' This exemplifies prevalence. The NSPCC clarifies this further reporting that in 2012/13, 18,915 sexual offences against children under 16 were committed across England

and Wales of which 4,171 were sexual assaults against girls under 13 and 1,267 sexual assaults against boys under 13.

Asides from the paucity of information regarding child sexual abuse, there also exist inconsistencies across prevalence rates due to the varying definitions of child sexual abuse which can determine what constitutes sexual abuse and ultimately how it is measured. Kelly et al (1991) in their study of how child sexual abuse definitions had an impact on prevalence rates found large variances of 4% to 59% for women and 2% to 27% for men. Furthermore, there are methodological limitations to recording accurate prevalence rates, including retrospective accounts of abuse from survivors, which can be subject to confabulation and/or false memories which may in turn inflate prevalence rates (Pipe et al, 2007). The concept of false memories or false memory syndrome has itself been questioned regarding its credibility as a genuine psychological condition, particularly as it has not been listed in any medical manuals (Gilmore, 2001). Research which uses it to discount incidences of sexual abuse therefore needs to be approached with caution.

Overall, U.S based research has suggested that child sexual abuse rates have been steadily declining over the last two decades (Finkelhor and Jones, 2012). However, a meta-analysis of over 200 international studies between 1980 and 2008 concluded that the prevalence of self-report sexual assaults was 30 times higher than those reported to authorities (Stoltenborgh et al, 2011). To substantiate this, findings from an NSPCC (2014) report stated that there had been a sharp rise in the number of sexual abuse cases reported to its 24 hour advice line, especially during the 11 month period after the Jimmy Savile abuse scandal. Despite this increase, the

NSPCC are quick to point out that a rise in the number of cases being reported does not necessarily reflect the level of abuse being perpetrated.

2.6 Adult outcomes of child sexual abuse

There is increasing evidence that child sexual abuse can have detrimental consequences for adult psychological and physical functioning (de Jong et al, 2015). While many studies have examined the psychosocial consequences of child sexual abuse, few studies have looked at the consequences of child sexual abuse across a wide range of outcomes over a prolonged time period (Fergusson et al, 2013). The exception to this was research carried out by Trickett et al (2011) who studied 84 female survivors of child sexual abuse over a 23 year period. This study identified a host of biopsychosocial effects including post-traumatic stress disorder, drug and alcohol abuse, teenage pregnancy, depression, obesity and cognitive deficits. However, the study has been criticised for its female only sample and limited control over confounding variables (Fergusson et al, 2013).

Mullers and Dowling (2008) report a link between child sexual abuse and violent behaviour, usually more pronounced in adolescent males, and includes the use of weapons and fighting. These violent behaviours are more frequently exhibited by male survivors than female survivors, and are an example of an externalizing behaviour to cope with the stress of the abuse. Mullers and Dowling identified depression as another effect of child sexual abuse, often beginning from the time of the abuse through to adulthood. Dube et al (2005) add that both male and female survivors of sexual abuse are at increased risk of depression. Trickett et al (2011) found that the type of sexual abuse (touching vs non-touching; penetration vs non -

penetration) and relationship to the abuser (relative or non-relative) impacted the development and severity of depression.

Honor (2010) discusses the link between post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and child sexual abuse in children, adolescents and adult survivors of abuse. The criteria of PTSD include exposure to a traumatic event, intense fear, helplessness, horror and disorganised or agitated behaviour. PTSD also involves frequent episodes of re-experiencing the traumatic event in the form of intrusive recollections, flashbacks, nightmares and intense physiological reactions and psychological distress when exposed to cues to the trauma.

Survivors who have experienced child sexual abuse are at increased risk of suicide throughout the life span (Dube et al, 2001). Klonsky and Moyer (2008) found that survivors of sexual abuse were also more likely to engage in self-injurious behaviours (intentional damage to the body without suicidal intent). This was also reported by Paolucci et al (2001) who highlighted suicidal tendencies and self-injurious behaviours as presenting problems of child sexual abuse.

Arriola et al (2005) found that child sexual abuse was also more likely to lead to sexual revictimisation later on in life. This was also the case in Roodman and Clum (2001) who found a significant link between child sexual abuse and adult sexual victimisation. Both studies are limited in that female only samples were used; male sexual revictimisation has also been established although research in this area is limited (Postmus et al, 2012).

Numerous studies have reported the link between child sexual abuse and illicit drug use (Dube et al, 2003). The feelings of helplessness, chaos and impermanence felt by survivors of abuse means that drugs may be a way of escaping or dissociating from these feelings (Dube et al, 2003). Both male and female survivors with a history of child sexual abuse are also more likely to experience alcoholism, as well as an increased risk in marrying an alcoholic (Dube et al, 2003; Stimmel, 2014).

Relationship problems experienced by child sexual abuse survivors require further exploration due to the complex and evolving nature of adulthood and relationships (Vaillancourt-Morel et al, 2015) although some studies have found that relationship instability, dissolution and domestic violence are common for child sexual abuse survivors (Liang et al, 2006; Miller et al, 2013; Widom et al, 2014). Older literature suggests that many relationships that abuse survivors engage in during adulthood are marked by confusion, fear, shame, mistrust, aggressiveness and self-denigration (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986; Briere and Runtz, 1993). However some studies now argue that the association between poor relationship functioning and child sexual abuse is small and sometimes non-significant, suggesting that child sexual abuse survivors can go on to establish satisfying romantic relationships (Larsen et al, 2011; Watson and Halford, 2010; Vaillancourt-Morel et al, 2015).

2.7Victim or survivor?

An acknowledgement of the importance and status of victims within the criminological field was recognised by Von Hentig (1948) who is regarded as the founder of the 'victimology' discipline. Von Hentig asserted that offenders of crime received more attention than victims and went on to develop a 'victim typology' as well as 'psychological types of victim'. Although his works were criticised for lacking empirical evidence, they opened up an important realm of study for criminologists to focus on thus placing the victim and the impact of crime upon the victim into the spotlight.

The term 'victim' has been contested for the various connotations it conjures, including weakness, submissiveness and helplessness (Chadwick, 2014) and is often associated with women rather than men, forcing the term into gendered territory. The use of the term victim has also been challenged by 'victims' of crimes themselves, with alternatives such as survivor or 'victim of crime' instead being adopted to defy and evade some of the negative insinuations of the term victim and what it has traditionally represented (Nissim-Sabat, 2009).

For the purposes of this research, the term survivor will be used in place of victim; the choice of this word by the researcher was decided upon for two reasons; firstly, after many encounters with abuse survivors in the researcher's voluntary experiences, many survivors refused to be labelled a 'victim' of their circumstance. Secondly, the connotations of the term survivor imply a certain strength and control over one's identity in the aftermath of being subjected to criminal experiences. According to NAPAC's (National Association for People Abused in Childhood) chief

executive Peter Saunders, some people abused in childhood prefer the term survivor as it describes overcoming childhood trauma and being a 'thriver' who has moved on and left the pain behind (Bird, 2014).

2.8 Child sexual abuse disclosure

Sexual abuse disclosure is a complex and painful process for survivors, whether the disclosure takes place early on or in adulthood (Ahrens et al, 2010). Disclosure rarely takes place in childhood, with many survivors waiting until adulthood to disclose (O'Leary and Barber, 2008; Alaggia, 2010). Delayed disclosure and concealment of the abuse is often due to a combination of factors including fear of the abuser, social norms and personal and environmental factors (Spiegel, 2003). By not disclosing, children may be subjected to a longer and more sustained period of abuse; non-disclosure also prevents protection from further abuse and may place other children in danger of being abused by the same perpetrator (Goodman-Brown et al, 2003). Disclosure at an early stage can lead to intervention to halt the abuse, address the immediate effects of abuse and minimise the risk of negative long-term effects (Paine and Hansen, 2002). The importance of disclosure is therefore paramount for the wellbeing and safety of the survivor and others around them. This section will be broken down into the following subsections as a way of organising the literature review findings in the area of sexual abuse disclosure: barriers to disclosure; facilitators of disclosure; gender and disclosure; culture, religion and disclosure.

2.8.1 Barriers to disclosure

Due to the secretive nature of child sexual abuse, disclosure is an ominous prospect for survivors, with many experiencing intense fears, becoming withdrawn, dissociated and overwhelmed with emotion (Sanderson, 2006). Survivors can face numerous obstacles, internal and external, that contribute towards this difficulty and act as 'barriers' to disclosure. The literature in this area has been categorised in the following order: concerns pertaining to self; concerns pertaining to family; concerns pertaining to the perpetrator (adapted from Paine and Hansen, 2002).

2.8.1.1 Concerns pertaining to self

Due to the hidden nature of child sexual abuse, the onus of initiating action to stop the abuse through self-disclosure falls upon the survivor, which means that the survivor can carry this burden of responsibility in addition to the trauma of the abuse (Paine and Hansen, 2002). It is not surprising therefore, that rates of non-disclosure are high, as indicated by a review that suggested that it can range between 46% and 69% (London et al, 2005). There are a multitude of reasons as to why non-disclosure rates may vary; some survivors may feel partially responsible for the abuse, especially during childhood where they may not be fully aware of what is happening. Wyatt and Mickey (1988) cited in Fontes (1995) found that children were less likely to disclose abuse if they attributed it to internal rather than external events. In other words, children's skewed perceptions of responsibility in the abusive situation may affect how quickly (if at all) they disclose. This is supported by Kluff (2011) who reports that one of the key reasons that survivors choose not to disclose is due to a misconception that they are to blame for the abuse. Some researchers

have speculated that non-disclosure and delayed disclosure may be attributed to deep-rooted beliefs held by the survivor that they have granted permission for more intrusive sexual contact after the abuser begins the process of desensitisation (Kaufman et al, 1996).

Allnock and Miller (2013) in a study commissioned by the NSPCC interviewed 60 young men and women on their experiences of childhood abuse. They found that despite research that suggests disclosure rates as high as 69% by London et al (2005) 38 of the 60 survivors they interviewed disclosed the abuse during childhood, and 66% attempted to disclose the abuse while it was happening. This study demonstrates that disclosure may not be as low as other studies suggest and that some survivors can disclose, or attempt to, early on.

Allnock and Miller go on to report that one quarter of those interviewed expressed anxieties around disclosure relating to shame, embarrassment, stigmatisation and not being believed. In psychological terms, this is often referred to as internalised victim blaming, which encompasses feelings of embarrassment, shame and self-blame, with a strong sense of responsibility for the abuse (Collin-Vezina et al, 2015). Kaufman et al (1996) found that children were less likely to disclose sexual abuse due to a fear of being negatively judged, blamed, or punished. Looking more specifically at the notion of shame as a barrier to disclosure, there is a growing interest in the relationship between child abuse and shame, with shame considered to be a mediating factor in influencing a survivor's recovery from abuse (Feiring et al, 2002). Shame has been linked to increased post-traumatic stress disorder, depression and lower self-esteem in children and adolescents who have suffered sexual abuse (Feiring et al, 2002). Many children may experience negative abuse-

specific thoughts, blaming themselves for the abuse and evoking abuse-related shame which in turn, impacts whether the survivor discloses (Deblinger and Runyon, 2005). This is supported by Fontes (1995) who argues that a child may choose not to disclose due to the personal shame he/she feels because of the sexual nature of the abuse. Lee et al (2001) relay that at its core, shame is driven by concerns about how one is perceived by others, with children often primed by perpetrators to expect the worst if they choose to disclose. This links shame with a fear of being negatively judged and ultimately, rejection and stigmatisation.

Stigmatisation has been identified as another barrier to disclosure (Feiring et al, 2009; Ammerman et al, 2005) and refers to the *“negative connotations (e.g. badness, shame and guilt) that are communicated to the child around the sexual experiences and that then become incorporated into the child’s self-image”* (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986; 635). According to Kennedy and Prock (2016) child sexual abuse occurs within a social context that shapes how survivors judge themselves and are evaluated by others. Because child sexual abuse violates social norms, survivors may feel the stigma attached to this crime, including victim-blaming from wider society and specific stigmatising reactions from those they choose to disclose to. This stigmatisation plays a crucial role in shaping a survivor’s thoughts and feelings, their risk of revictimisation and the help-seeking process.

Another reason cited by survivors of sexual abuse for delayed disclosure or non-disclosure is a fear that they would not be believed (Furniss, 1991; Summit, 1992). This fear is initially instilled by abusers to maintain the child’s silence, but is also a reality for many survivors when they choose to disclose (Paine and Hansen, 2002). Jensen et al (2005) report that many survivors in their study of child sexual abuse

disclosure expressed that being believed was a prerequisite for telling, with some survivors voicing disappointment at their confidant's initial response. A fear and anticipation of negative social reactions more generally, including a fear of disbelief, is rife amongst survivors of child sexual abuse, which may prevent them from disclosing the abuse (Lemaigre et al, 2017). A fear of disbelief is often entangled with a lack of understanding and limited or no support from a confidant (Ullman, 2002) further compounding the survivor's need to disclose. This is supported by Goodman-Brown et al (2003) who emphasise the influence of survivor's expectations about other's reactions to disclosure and their subsequent perceptions of responsibility for the abuse.

2.8.1.2 Concerns pertaining to perpetrator

The majority of research indicates that the closeness of the victim-perpetrator relationship predicts a decreased likelihood of disclosure (Alaggia, 2004; Kogan, 2004; Ruggiero et al, 2004). Perpetrators of abuse often set the stage for survivors to anticipate the worst if or when they disclose and are often primed to think that the disclosure will be met with disbelief and negative reactions (Deblinger and Runyon, 2005). This highlights the level of power that perpetrators can hold over survivors, and the way in which manipulation tactics can contribute towards maintaining the secret of abuse.

Survivors very often possess ambivalent feelings towards their abuser, and it is not unusual for them to express concern regarding the welfare of the abuser if they were to disclose (Paine and Hansen, 2002). Survivors have often reported that disclosure was hindered by the fact that their abuser may be imprisoned (Furniss, 1991) or that

the abuser has threatened suicide or other types of harm to themselves if the survivor were to reveal the abuse (Paine and Hansen, 2002).

A child's need to protect their abuser has been documented in many studies of child sexual abuse (Munzer et al, 2016; Kellogg and Huston, 1995; Crisma et al, 2004) and this may help to explain why survivors of intra-familial abuse are less likely to disclose than those who experience extra-familial abuse (London et al, 2005). This was also reported by Sjoberg and Lindblad's (2002) who found that survivors took longer to disclose abuse the more closely related they were to the abuser. Goodman and Jones (2003) suggest that intrafamilial abuse is associated with increased perceptions of responsibility for the abuse, offering a possible explanation for why delayed disclosure and non-disclosure are more likely in these instances of abuse.

Other studies have pointed to threats of further harm to the survivor or family members made by the abuser which can also contribute to non-disclosure (Allnock and Miller, 2013; Goodman-Brown et al, 2003). Threats and intimidation are common means by which abusers initiate and maintain the sexually abusive relationship whilst concealing it (Spiegel, 2003; Berliner and Conte, 1995). These threats can involve physical harm towards the survivor or their parents, threats of rejection or abandonment by family members and threats of family separation (Furniss, 1991; Berliner and Conte, 1990; Spiegel, 2003). The intricate and complex nature of the victim-perpetrator relationship is therefore a significant barrier to disclosure for many survivors.

2.8.1.3 Concerns pertaining to family

Very often, survivors of child sexual abuse are led to believe that the wider family will feel a damaging impact, emotionally and/or physically if they were to reveal the abuse (Summit, 1983). In a move to shift the responsibility and culpability of the abuse away from themselves, abusers often impart a sense of guilt onto the survivor, relating to the wellbeing and safety of the family (Paine and Hansen, 2002). Abusers convey the message that the survivor is responsible for maintaining the safety of the family and that disclosure can lead to family disruption or dissolution through separation or placement of the child into foster care or adoption (Summit, 1983). This fear can be legitimised if the child goes on to disclose the abuse and the child is pressured by their confidant/family members to maintain the secret (Furniss, 1991; Sorenson and Snow, 1991).

Parental rejection upon disclosure of sexual abuse can have a significant impact on how survivors make sense of their experiences and can negatively impact post-abuse recovery (Deblinger et al, 1999). This can act as a barrier to disclosing again and towards help-seeking and therapeutic interventions which may aid the survivor's recovery. Intra-familial sexual abuse in particular can have more severe implications for the survivor, with ostracisation from the family and denouncement from family members being particularly painful outcomes (Urdan and Pajares, 2006). This rejection can cause the survivor to feel revictimised and prevent them from disclosing again in future.

2.8.2 Facilitators of disclosure

Lemaigre et al (2017) conducted a review of literature examining some of the main barriers and facilitators to disclosing childhood sexual abuse. They report that children being prompted or being asked directly about possible abuse was the most commonly identified facilitator (McElvaney et al, 2014; Hershkowitz et al, 2007; Jensen et al, 2005). This is supported by Allnock and Miller's (2013) study with young people who had suffered child abuse; they found that a powerful motivator for young people to disclose was if an adult took notice of their struggles and asked them. However, other research has suggested that the process of disclosure is not as simple as children being asked and revealing the abuse (McGee et al, 2002).

Some survivors in Allnock and Miller's (2013) study reported that disclosures were prompted over time through building trust, which often took the form of providing a safe place to talk. Kogan (2004) states that disclosures are more likely to take place following a prompt rather than initiated by the survivor, especially if the disclosure is made to a trusted person. Furniss (2013) argues that professionals have the capacity to trigger disclosures in children by establishing a good line of communication and asking questions which convey to the child that 'I know you have a secret'. This is a prompt for the child to then feel safe enough to disclose to the professional.

Allnock and Miller (2013) found that disclosures that resulted in a positive experience were characterised by the survivor feeling that they had been believed; that they had been protected i.e. a form of action or intervention was taken; and that they felt (emotionally) supported. This is supported by Hershkowitz et al (2007) who

identified the availability of emotional support as an important facilitator of disclosure for survivors.

Crisma et al (2004) found that a barrier for many adolescent sexual abuse survivors was a lack of information about the risks of child sexual abuse and the support available to survivors. In response to this barrier, Softestad et al (2012) emphasised the importance of survivors receiving information about sexual abuse in school-based interventions to encourage them to engage in conversations which may then help with prompting disclosure. Lemaigre et al (2017) concur that providing young people with information about child sexual abuse that is appropriate to their developmental stage is pivotal in facilitating disclosures.

2.8.3 Gender and disclosure

Although limited, the literature available provides rich data on male disclosure (Gagnier and Collin-Vezina, 2016). Spiegel (2013) for example, reports that boys, adolescents and adult males with histories of child sexual abuse experience an overwhelming fear of disclosing the abuse. Much research suggests that this is the case, with the majority (up to 99% in some studies) of males not disclosing out of a fear of negative consequences (Bagley et al, 1994; Sorenson and Snow, 1991). These consequences include a fear of being perceived as gay, a fear of being seen as feminine, fear of being blamed, fear of family rejection and feelings of shame and guilt-shame for failing to prevent the abuse and guilt for experiencing pleasure (Spiegel, 2013). Although some of these fears are limited to male survivors, such as those concerning masculinity, fears around family rejection and disbelief are just as common in female survivors, with no research to suggest that it is felt more strongly

by one gender. Similarly, feelings of shame and guilt are experienced by both male and female survivors of child sexual abuse (Lisak, 1994) and can affect a survivor's decision to disclose regardless of gender. Dorahy and Clearwater (2012) point out however, that the process of gender socialisation may exacerbate shame and guilt in male survivors of sexual abuse. The "unrealistic internalized ideal of manhood" perpetuates the belief that men are not supposed to be victims (Gartner, 1999; 70) making disclosure all the more difficult.

A growing body of literature has attempted to examine predictors of disclosure among child sexual abuse survivors, including gender, age of onset, severity of the abuse and frequency. Most studies have yielded inconsistent patterns of findings (Foyne et al, 2009) although some studies have indicated that males take longer to disclose than females (Alaggia, 2004). However, other studies have suggested that gender is unrelated to delayed disclosure (Goodman-Brown et al, 2003). Goodman-Brown et al (2003) go on to elaborate that because boys are less likely to suffer abuse at the hands of parents than girls (Finkelhor, 1984) one might expect that boys would be more willing than girls to disclose abuse, as they would have less fear of getting a parent in trouble. Nevertheless, males often take longer than females to reveal sexual abuse experiences, if they disclose at all.

Sorsoli et al (2008) conducted a study using grounded theory with 16 male survivors of child sexual abuse to determine some of the barriers to disclosure. They found that participants faced different barriers at different points in their life. For example, relational barriers due to family dynamics and personal barriers linked to cognitive awareness were more prevalent in childhood. Sociocultural barriers emerged later on in life, particularly when survivors were faced with norms regarding masculinity,

victimisation and their own cultural values. This study underlines the importance of viewing sexual abuse disclosure as an ongoing process; child sexual abuse is on a continuum where *“the process may continue in a stop-start fashion throughout the life span”* (McElvaney et al, 2012; 1169).

2.8.4 Culture, religion and disclosure

Childhood sexual abuse is a global phenomenon (Deb and Mukherjee, 2009) cutting across all groups in society. Despite the fact that this is well-established, research on child sexual abuse and ethnic minorities is substantially under-developed (Tishelman and Geffner, 2010). Although there is a lack of international consensus regarding the definition of child sexual abuse, there is a general agreement that child sexual abuse is *“a traumatic experience that should be given considerable clinical and research attention”* (Walker et al, 2012; 385-386). Disclosure where culture and ethnicity are concerned can vary according to numerous factors, one of which is language. Kenny and McEachern (2000) report that language adds to the problem of accurate disclosure and reporting in ethnic groups where English is not the first language, and that children’s understanding of the abuse, however ‘adult-like’ it may appear, is still constrained by their developmental stage, particularly with young children.

Disclosure is associated with shame, guilt, embarrassment and social desirability, all of which lead to under-reporting of child sexual abuse (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2005). In many studies, it has been reported that prevalence and disclosure rates are higher amongst women (Collings et al, 2005) but it appears that this is not the case in some parts of the world. Al-Fayez et al (2012) for example found no gender difference in the prevalence of child sexual abuse in Kuwait. This was also the case in Palestine

(Haj-Yahia and Tamish, 2001) and Lebanon (Usta and Farver, 2010). Usta and Farver (2010: 365) argue that these findings are indicative of a “pattern of underreporting by Arab girls”. Furthermore, Back et al (2003) claim that shame and a sense of duty towards family are also barriers to disclosure for Arab women, as well as the prospect of death in the case of ‘honour killings’ for females (Haj-Yahia and Tamish, 2001; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2000). Usta and Farver (2010) point out that in Middle East populations, boys are “socialised to be expressive and dominant, whereas girls are expected to be submissive and accept situations they cannot change”. Usta and Farver attempt to use an explanation related to gender socialisation in Middle Eastern cultures for the similar rates of prevalence for sexual abuse between males and females. In other words, disclosure is more common amongst males in these societies than in the West for example, as females fear reprisal and men are reared to be more vocal. Madu and Peltzer (2000) presented similar findings in their study of sexual abuse survivors in South Africa, with a prevalence rate of 60%. These findings may mean that male survivors of child sexual abuse feel more comfortable and open in disclosing their experiences than females.

Religion is another under-studied factor where child sexual abuse research is concerned (Tishelman and Fontes, 2017). Sexual abuse within the Catholic Church and sexual abuse across Muslim communities has garnered considerable media attention in the past decade, particularly the way in which religion impacts a survivor’s experiences of abuse and their willingness to disclose. Tishelman and Fontes (2017) attempted to understand this under-researched area, carrying out interviews with child forensic interviewers and directors of child advocacy centres.

The religions referred to by participants included evangelical Christianity, Catholicism, Islam, Orthodox Judaism, Mormon and Amish. Participants reported that abusers often use religion and the authority of the religious institution to groom a child, justify the abuse, intimidate and coerce children into abusive acts and prevent them from disclosing the abuse. Religious pressure not to share information with perceived outsiders also contributed to the survivors maintaining silence around the abuse, as well as the link between religion and male dominance; some interviewees reported that some groups that are overly paternalistic practice religions that have a 'strong thread' of male dominance (p.123). One survivor of paternal abuse for example, had been told not to betray the head of the household as it instructed in the bible not to do so. The study demonstrated how aspects of religion were detrimental in manipulating, abusing, silencing and isolating young people; however, there were positive elements of religion that were also highlighted by interviewees including the way in which religious interventions can facilitate healing and diminish shame and hopelessness in survivors and their families.

2.9 Male child sexual abuse

Gender can have a significant impact on the ways in which the trauma of childhood sexual abuse is experienced, manifested and treated (Getz, 2011). Despite the mass of research of investigating child sexual abuse, research involving male survivors is sparse, with some researchers attributing this to a social belief that men are the perpetrators of abuse and not the victims (Yancey and Hansen, 2010). Although the majority of abuse is indeed carried out by men, with the figure averaging between 80-95% (Sherman and Blundell, 2012) this does not negate the experience of men as survivors of this phenomenon.

According to Stanko and Hobdell (1993) criminology fails to acknowledge male experiences of victimisation, which in turn is due to reluctance on the part of men to speak out and expose 'vulnerability'. In patriarchal societies, men may feel further pressure to conceal or suppress feelings associated with victimisation fearing denigration and social stigmatisation, particularly in cases of rape and sexual violence (Kimmel and Aronson, 2004). This goes back to masculinities theory, which suggests that normative heterosexuality underpins society's expectations of male behaviour and behaviours which do not adhere to heterosexual ideals are to be rejected (Walklate, 2007).

There are notable differences in the prevalence rates of abuse reported by male and female survivors of child sexual abuse, recorded in various reports; research conducted by The Lancet for example, estimated that between 5 and 10% of girls and 5% of boys have experienced penetrative sexual abuse and up to three times this number have been exposed to other forms of sexual violence (Gilbert et al, 2008). Taken at face value, these statistics could show that girls are more susceptible to abuse than boys. However, analysing below the surface of statistical data could reveal alternative explanations for the difference in abuse carried out against male and female children. Some feminist researchers have conceptualised sexual abuse and sexual violence against females as a by-product of male sexuality, making a link between men, violence and sex (Smart, 1989; Driver, 1989). Although feminist theories have offered plausible explanations for crimes perpetrated by men against women, they fail to consider the phenomenon of male on male child sexual abuse, and whether there is a shift or imbalance in the dynamics of power between

male abusers and their male 'victims' as there is between male abusers and female 'victims'.

Duncan and Williams (1998) view the dynamics and effects of male on male child sexual abuse through a different lens, describing the ways in which abuse may model to the victim an already integral part of traditional masculine culture. This is typified by physical aggression and dominance, especially in sexual relations, which may lead to the use of physical force in intimate relationships by survivors or a more empathic understanding of women's traditional lack of power in relationships. Sexual abuse could therefore impact male survivors' gender role identity and sexual beliefs.

Dhaliwal et al (1996) found that a significant number of boys were abused by female perpetrators than girls; interestingly, male survivors were less likely to identify these experiences as abuse and may feel compelled to see such experiences as normal socialisation. This fulfils the stereotypical male gender role with seeking early sexual experiences with women, and removes the stigma of shame men may feel if such experiences are self-labelled as 'abuse'. This interpretation of female on male sexual abuse as a normal, sexual experience may also affect rates of reporting and disclosure among male survivors, paralleling concerns by child abuse researchers of underreporting among males (Banyard et al, 2004).

Boys are significantly less likely than girls to report child sexual abuse to agencies (Coombs, 2004) with the difficulty in disclosing traumatic experiences accompanied by an added 'male ethic of self-reliance' and anticipated homophobia (when the abuser is male) (Mendel, 1995). Lisak (1995) argues that for men, constructions of

masculinity particularly expectations of male sexuality expect them to be active, initiators and powerful, which may compound the process of coming to terms with abuse and consequently disclosing it. This may account for the lower numbers of males statistically shown as 'victims' of child sexual abuse. A number of studies have estimated that 4% to 16% of men have been victims of child sexual abuse (Banyard et al, 2004) which could be much closer to the actual prevalence rate of male child sexual abuse than self-report based studies have suggested.

There is a general consensus across child sexual abuse research that mental health problems resulting from abuse are similar in both male and female survivors (Banyard et al, 2004). However, specific effects that relate more to male survivors of sexual abuse include shame around masculine identity, withdrawal, suppression (often through drug use) and extreme anger (Spataro et al, 2001; O'Leary, 2009). Other gender differences in the impact of child sexual abuse on survivors include more internalising symptoms in girls (such as depression, anxiety, somatic complaints) whereas boys tend to exhibit more externalising problems including suicide attempts, running away and behavioural problems (Fontanella et al, 2001; Darves-Bornoz, 1998). Soylu et al (2016) criticise the limited research looking at gender differences and the effects of child sexual abuse as well as the methodological issues with many of these studies. These include a lack of face to face to interviews to determine post-abuse mental disorders, failing to take into account cultural context with gender differences and the examination of child sexual abuse retrospectively.

2.10 Child sexual abuse within South Asian communities

Two pertinent constructs play a large part within and across South Asian communities known as 'izzat' and 'sharam', which broadly correspond to 'honour' and 'shame' in Western understanding (Shah, 2005). These are social, cultural constructs which emerged from the traditionally patriarchal structure of South Asian families, and often pertain to the women of the household who bear the responsibility of upholding honour and avoiding shame (Puwar and Raghuran, 2003). There is increasing evidence however, that men are also affected by 'izzat' and 'sharam' and so these concepts are not strictly exclusive to women (Izzidien, 2008). One of the ways in which 'sharam' can be brought upon a South Asian family is through acts which are considered to be taboo and break away from the norm of tradition, and in families where religion is strictly adhered to such acts can also be regarded as 'sinful'. These include marrying outside of caste/ethnicity/religion, having sexual relations before marriage, and disclosing issues such as domestic violence and abuse outside of the family or community realm (Lawton and Morgan, 2007; Izzidien, 2008). These issues have traditionally been considered to be out of bounds for discussion with external agencies, with the ability to contain such information a reflection of an individual's, their family's and the wider community's 'izzat'.

The notions of 'izzat' and 'sharam' as having a rippling effect on an individual's family and community is known as 'reflected' shame and honour (Gilbert et al, 2004). This places pressure on individuals to recognise the importance of maintaining family 'izzat', and how it is linked to one's personal 'sharam'. Mesquita (2001) argues that this relates to the collectivist nature of South Asian communities and how emotions

are more linked to the way behaviour reflects on others, as opposed to individualistic cultures where emotions such as honour and shame relate to reflections on the self.

'Izzat' and 'sharam' can be reframed within the context of sexual abuse, with research indicating that these constructs resonate with many South Asian survivors of abuse (Reavey et al, 2006). Gavey (2005) highlights that issues of shame are commonly experienced by a large number of sexual abuse survivors regardless of cultural background, rather than solely a consequence of South Asian cultures. However, South Asian people can face the added pressure of remaining silent in order to prevent bringing 'sharam' and compromising the 'izzat' of their family unit (Gilbert et al, 2004), and so shame is also conceptualised in a way that is external to the survivor.

Reavey's research gained access to South Asian female survivors of sexual abuse, who struggled with 'cultured selves'. This refers to problems in transferring westernised notions of selfhood to situations where help for sexual abuse is needed, problems which are rooted in wide cultural differences and practices. Traditional conceptualisations of culture would consider selfhood as a largely redundant concept within South Asian communities, with individuals instead measuring their actions according to the standard which is accepted on a community level rather than for one's own benefit. Gilbert (2004) illustrates this point further, arguing that shame can be internal, related to negative self-perceptions and feelings, but also related to how one thinks others feel and think about the self. Gilbert (2004) emphasises that South Asians then grapple with decontextualising their personal schema of self and others, as it has evolved from cultural dispositions and personal histories. This is

reinforced by Pandian and Ali (2010) who assert that South Asian people seek guidance from inherited traditions to lend meaning and direction to their futures.

Gilligan and Akhtar (2006) explored some of the cultural barriers to disclosure of child sexual abuse in South Asian communities across Bradford. The study demonstrated that although many people within the community shared the view that abuse must be responded to, there were numerous factors that prevented them from doing so. On the basis of focus groups and consultations with (mostly) South Asian women across Bradford, it was reported that cultural imperatives of shame (sharam) and honour (izzat) were powerful enough to hamper child sexual abuse disclosure. In addition to this, there was a lack of basic knowledge about child sexual abuse, a fear of public exposure if the abuse was disclosed, a lack of awareness of the provision available upon disclosure and a fear of culturally insensitive responses from service providers. Gilligan and Akhtar call for more culturally competent professional responses to child sexual abuse in minoritised communities and to avoid practice based on generalised assumptions of a particular ethnic/cultural/religious group.

Gill and Harrison (2017) acknowledge how the full range of barriers to sexual abuse disclosure is multi-dimensional and universal, existing in some form within all communities (some of which are discussed in section 2.8). In their study with British South Asian women and 13 British South Asian survivors of child sexual abuse, they found that some barriers to disclosure were honour and consequential shame, including repercussions or consequences to the disclosure, the compromise of modesty, a fear of being disbelieved, language barriers and not recognising that it was sexual abuse. They recognised that the most influential barrier for British South

Asian women was honour and consequential shame. Although shame is recognised as a barrier more generally for survivors (see section 2.8) its translation and conceptualisation within South Asian communities within this particular study was recognised as something more impactful, with a rippling effect on the entire family of the survivor.

2.11 South Asians, counselling and help-seeking

Literature has suggested that South Asian communities are largely under-represented in engaging with talking therapies, which are often consulted at times of severe crisis due to the shame and stigma attached to narratives of mental health within these communities (Weatherhead and Daiches, 2010). Reavey et al (2006) suggest that this could be attributed to mental health professionals failing to acknowledge the complex dynamics that arise from cultural values. This highlights a two-fold problem, with perceived barriers on the side of both mental health professionals and South Asian communities resulting in the low up-take of services.

It has been argued that traditional models of counselling in Western societies such as the UK and U.S are “*culturally encapsulated within a white western view of the world and are consequently insensitive and totally inappropriate in their unthinking application to all counselling situations*” (Lago and Thompson, 2002: 4). Laungani (2002) adds that historically, Western psychologists have demonstrated a ‘cultural blindness’ with an unwillingness or inability to accept differences in cultural values outside of their white, Western conceptualisation.

Leung et al (2011) provide an insight into South Asians and help-seeking behaviours in the context of mental health problems. Social constructivism is used to explain why South Asians are reluctant to confide in mental health professionals; this theory holds that an individual's view of reality is defined by their perceptions, beliefs and values, all of which are influenced by their cultural norms. Across South Asian communities, cultural beliefs and values such as those linked to family roles and religion are likely to shape their perceptions of mental health and subsequent coping methods (Tewary, 2005).

The broader stigma attached to the idea of mental illness is widespread in South Asian cultures (Kishore et al, 2011) which goes on to have harmful effects on members of these communities. By association, this stigma of mental health ultimately attaches itself to counselling and mental health therapies, with cultural prohibitions against revealing personal problems to strangers (McAuliffe, 2008). Yeh and Wang (2000) argue that Asian communities instead endorse coping strategies that emphasise talking with those within close familial and social circles. Malek (2011) adds that ethnic minority children, young people and their families may face barriers in accessing mental health services due to a fear or lack of culturally sensitive services that may not be compatible with their needs.

It would be wrong to assume on the basis of low up-take of counselling in western countries that South Asian communities do not subscribe to the idea of any form of psychological help or intervention. Laungani (2004) points to the significance of healers and gurus across some South Asian communities, who are often consulted when individuals suffer from emotional or mental ailments. Dein and Sembhi (2001) examined traditional healing among South Asian psychiatric patients in Waltham

Forest, London. 28% of the sample had resorted to a traditional healer during their illness, illustrating that therapies rooted in Eastern traditions are still important to parts of the South Asian community. This suggests that people who access these traditional healing therapies are perhaps looking for therapies that are more culturally sensitive to their needs. Hughes (2006) proposes that mental health professionals need to invest more time and resources into understanding belief systems, traditions and values that differ from their own worldview in order to improve relations between ethnic minorities and counselling services. Alladin (2002) recommends that counsellors use a model of racial identity in order to establish what some of the blocks are in the therapeutic relationship between themselves and ethnic minority clients.

Much research has demonstrated the extent to which culture is constructed either as a problem or reason for non-intervention by service providers in cases of sexual violence (Batsleer et al, 2002; Chantler et al, 2001) and how constructions of culture within services can serve as a barrier to adequate service provision. The NSPCC (2014) reports that children from Asian ethnic backgrounds are disproportionately underrepresented on child protection registers, within the care system and in children in need statistics. Some of the main factors that have contributed to this include racial discrimination, language barriers, cultural/community norms and practices, and a lack of appropriate services, particularly services which do not take action for fear of upsetting cultural norms. Mental health professionals in the UK draw stereotypical constructions of South Asian communities as fixed and immutable, which position them as inferior, repressive, patriarchal, and the antithesis of Western liberal ideals (Burr, 2002). The consequence of this for South Asian

people is an inadequate response from service providers who often have minimal knowledge, experience or training in how to deal with minoritised communities whose needs differ from those of Western communities, which psychological models of treatment are often based on.

Spalek (2006) argues that within the broader, victimological field, ethnic and cultural differences are largely ignored, with researchers failing to acknowledge the differences between themselves and research participants. Consequently, white people's lives and the norms which govern their lives take precedence, which is similarly evident in the service provision arena. Mama (1995) notes that Western conceptions of psychology are treated as normative and favoured over alternative/non-Western models which are treated as the 'other'. This was echoed by O' Dell (2003) who found a tendency among white professionals when working with ethnic minority child abuse survivors to adopt a sense of racial and ethnic 'otherness'. Gilligan and Akhtar (2006) suggest that practitioners need to critically reflect on Eurocentric and racist aspects of most social work theory from which their own practices originate in order to counteract a racialised and biased approach when working with ethnic minorities.

One approach fostered by some mental health and social work professionals to tackle this is the 'colour blind' stance, where they take the view that black and other non-white people are like white people (Williams, 1997). Neville et al (2001: 270) suggest that adopting this approach is to "*deny the existence of ideological and structural racism and to believe that race does not play a meaningful role in people's lived experiences*". Moreover, Dupont-Joshua (2002) argues that in the context of a therapeutic setting, denying the existence of difference between counsellor and

client can be more detrimental than to acknowledge it. Furthermore, Dupont-Joshua advocates that counsellors explore their own identity in order to better understand the identity of an ethnic minority client who may present with specific cultural problems.

Burman et al (2004) found that with domestic violence services a discourse of 'cultural privacy' or 'cultural respect' was adopted as a way to avoid dealing with domestic violence within 'difficult' minoritised communities. Discourses regarding community reputation or 'keeping it in the family' were produced in order to legitimise a lack of intervention from service providers, revealing the extent to which culture is portrayed as a problem that consequently creates a barrier between service providers and the South Asian community.

South Asian communities have reported fear of discrimination as the reason behind not accessing support services, fears often grounded in culturally racist clinical and social work practices (McCleod, 1994). A fear that authorities and service providers would not understand them was also reiterated in a survey carried out with South Asians when asked about reporting abuse. Fifty six percent of those asked stated that they were worried that authorities would not identify with their culture, instead choosing to deal with child abuse issues themselves (NSPCC, 2007). This underlines the friction between service providers and South Asian communities, friction which is seemingly rooted in cultural differences.

In a report commissioned by the NSPCC, Izzidien (2008) explored domestic violence within South Asian families, focusing on the 'cultural' dimension of Asian family life and how this can affect help seeking behaviours. It was found that cultural barriers

were not exclusive to 1st generation South Asians as is commonly believed, and that for many 2nd and 3rd generation South Asians cultural factors were still a barrier that made help seeking very difficult when faced with domestic violence. Concerns were also raised regarding the strong presence of cultural constructs in the lives of young South Asian people, particularly when they encountered practitioners who held an expectation around a 'problematic culture'.

Gilligan and Akhtar's (2005) work with South Asian communities in Bradford aimed to raise awareness of the issue of child sexual abuse, and in doing so carried out consultations with local groups and organisations. They established a rapport with South Asian women which began with denial of knowledge around issues of abuse, and slowly unravelled to a much more open discussion whereby the women vigorously acknowledged that abuse needs to be addressed by the South Asian community. They expressed fears around family and community reactions to a child disclosing abuse as well as anxieties surrounding institutional responses from police and social services. Such consultations are useful as they allow researchers, practitioners and policymakers to gain first hand perspectives from communities which are otherwise self-contained (Lewis, 2002) and efforts can be concentrated on how to improve service provision when working with these communities.

2.12 Limitations of existing research

In the realms of research and service provision, the significance of male survivor experiences has been negated in favour of the dominant female perspective (Gagnier and Collin-Vezina, 2016). The majority of child sexual abuse studies are based on female experiences of disclosure, and so little is known about how men

experience disclosure (Alaggia, 2005). When males are included in samples of child sexual abuse studies with females, the numbers of male participants are often so small that their experiences are overlooked or lumped with those of female survivors (Sorsoli et al, 2008). Although the body of literature in this area is gaining momentum, and service provision is increasingly catering for the needs of male survivors of child sexual abuse, there is still a lot of progress to be made in attempting to understand the complexities around male child sexual abuse.

Literature examining facilitators of disclosure is increasing (Hershkowitz et al, 2007; Easton, 2013; Collin-Vezina et al, 2015) but still limited in comparison to the literature looking at barriers. Research that attempts to understand the key triggers to disclosure for both male and female survivors is necessary in order to produce a more comprehensive understanding around the disclosure process.

The high visibility of child sexual abuse within the Catholic Church has led to a rich yield of literature on how religion and religious institutions can facilitate abuse and reinforce secrecy and silence (Crisp, 2007; Keenan, 2013). However, research on sexual abuse in other religious communities is insufficient and requires further investigation.

Given that that child sexual abuse should be seen as a 'global problem deeply rooted in cultural, economic and political practices' (World Health Organisation, 2002) the expectation would be for more international and cross-cultural studies of child sexual abuse, particularly from non-English speaking countries. Studies that have not been carried out in English may articulate unique findings about child sexual abuse in non-Western cultures (Lemaigre et al, 2017).

2.13 Summary

This literature review has covered some of the key areas in relation to the research topic. Crucial areas covered include an introduction to the definition of child sexual abuse and its prevalence, abuse and help-seeking across South Asian communities, facilitators and barriers to disclosure and the phenomenon of male child sexual abuse. The limitations of some of the existing literature in these areas were also considered. It is hoped that this chapter will act as the contextual backdrop for the rest of the thesis.

The next chapter is a presentation of the methodology that informed and guided this research.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to set out a comprehensive structure of the strategy and methods that were adopted for this research project. The methodology section of any research project is very much a blueprint for how the research will be mapped out, and subsequently executed by the researcher. This chapter will therefore set out the methodological framework for this study.

3.2 Interpretative phenomenological analysis

This section outlines the theoretical and conceptual rationale for using IPA to conduct this study.

3.2.1 A brief introduction to phenomenology

An account of IPA cannot be sufficiently presented without introductory remarks regarding its philosophical roots, particularly when homage is paid to this underlying philosophy through featuring in its name. Although Edmund Husserl is firmly acknowledged as the founder of the phenomenology movement, phenomenology can trace its roots back to Aristotle, most notably in his phenomenological approach to the 'being of natural beings' (Keller, 1999). The terms 'phenomenology' and 'phenomena' prominently appeared across European philosophical discussions around the 18th century, particularly in the work of Immanuel Kant (Moran, 1999). Husserl formally brought phenomenology into the mainstream of philosophical

debate through his publication *Logische Untersuchungen (Logical Investigations, 1900-1901)* where he refers to “the phenomenology of the experiences of thinking and knowing” (Moran, 2002). Husserl defined phenomenology as “*a descriptive theory of the essence of pure transcendental experiences...which has its own justification*” (Macann, 1993:31). It rests heavily on notions of intentionality, consciousness, and transcendental experience, all of which have been contextualised within a phenomenological framework. In Husserl’s conception, phenomenological inquiry centres on that which is experienced in an individual’s consciousness, with experience or consciousness always consciousness of something (Smith et al, 2009).

Any discussion of consciousness within Husserl’s phenomenology is closely followed by the term ‘intentionality’, which forms the backdrop of his account of experience (Keller, 1999). Husserl called intentionality *the “fundamental property of consciousness”*, emphasising how integral this concept is to understanding phenomenology (McIntyre and Woodruff Smith, 1989: 147). Intentionality within philosophical tradition is not to be aligned with its everyday usage in English, but instead refers to the relationship between the process occurring in consciousness and the object of attention for that process (Smith et al, 2009). Objectification and intentionality are therefore one and the same, described by Husserl more explicitly as being ‘perfect correlates’.

In order to fully embrace and adopt a phenomenological attitude, Husserl developed a method referred to as ‘phenomenological epoché’, or ‘bracketing’ (Hart, 2009). Bracketing involves putting aside the taken-for-granted world in order to concentrate on our perception of that world, and this world instead replaced by the world as given in our consciousness (Smith et al, 2009). However, it is crucial to acknowledge that

bracketing does not call for the abolishment of the taken-for-granted world-it merely requires the suspension of it, as suggested by the ancient Greek term 'epoché', which literally translates as 'suspension'. This notion of bracketing forms an important part of IPA, with advocates such as Smith et al (2009) and Finlay (2009) stressing its importance throughout the research process.

Describing and reflecting upon a particular experience is part of Husserl's phenomenological examination, but a very early step; what Husserl ultimately wanted to achieve was that which is at the core of the subjective experience or phenomenon, which is the essence, or 'eidos' (Bird, 2009). Husserl's proposed method for this is known as 'eidetic reduction', which is a series of varied techniques that may be used to get to the essence of a phenomenon such as 'free imaginative variation' whereby the different possible instances of a given phenomenon are considered (Smith et al, 2009).

An alternative offering of phenomenology came through Martin Heidegger. Heidegger was a student of Husserl's and as such, became versed in phenomenological intentionality and reduction (Lavery, 2003). However, Heidegger began to question some of the main principles of Husserl's phenomenology, and developed the branch of phenomenology known as interpretive phenomenology.

Heidegger gave priority to interpretation as for him, "*the meaning of phenomenological description as a method lies in interpretation*" (Heidegger, 1962: 61). For Heidegger, description has a sense of prohibition rather than a positive sense (Giorgi, 2007) with Heidegger's (1962: 59) definition of it being "*the avoidance of characterising anything without such a demonstration*", which is where Heidegger and Husserl's accounts of phenomenology begin to differ. Interpretation in

Heidegger's view is inevitably based on preconceptions; individuals bring their preconceptions and prior experiences to an encounter, and look to these when attempting to interpret the event/encounter (Smith et al, 2009). As Husserl focused on bracketing these assumptions and preconceptions out, Heidegger instead suggested that although these can become an obstacle to interpretation, priority should be given to the new object over one's preconceptions, as opposed to bracketing them out. In other words, we cannot simply get rid of our assumptions, but we can become more aware of them and take them into account. Furthermore, Heidegger suggests that instead of our preconceptions and assumptions informing and influencing our interpretation of an event, hermeneutics presume preconceptions (Smith et al, 2009).

Heidegger's goal was to illuminate the details of everyday life experiences which may be overlooked or taken for granted, which is another aspect in which Husserl and Heidegger disagreed. Heidegger referred to this as 'dasein', which literally means 'being' but in a phenomenological context, refers to 'the situated meaning of a human in the world' (Lavery, 2003). Dasein corresponds to the critical question Heidegger made central to his phenomenological approach which was, 'what is being?' (Reiners, 2012). Dasein can only be understood through the process of interpretation, which is the reason why interpretation is essential to Heidegger's conception.

3.2.2 Overview of IPA

Derived from phenomenology, interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was introduced and presented by Jonathan Smith in 1996 through a seminal paper based on methodologies used in health psychology. Smith (1996) described IPA as a

methodology which explores the participants' world view and a way for researchers to gain an 'insider's perspective' into a specific phenomenon the participant has experienced.

The formation of interpretative phenomenological analysis was influenced by two theoretical touchstones: symbolic interactionism and phenomenology. Symbolic interactionism states that individuals attach meanings to events and social scientists have a duty to interpret these meanings and make them a focal point of their research (Ferrante, 2005). Phenomenology is broadly concerned with an individual's personal account or interpretation of an event, rather than producing a statement of the event itself (Smith et al, 2009). Interpretative phenomenological analysis aims to examine human lived experience in a way that allows the experience to be expressed in its own way rather than predefined (Smith et al, 2009). This is what forms the phenomenological core of interpretative phenomenological analysis; interpretative phenomenological analysis emphasises interpretation, which is where it concurs with Heidegger's version of phenomenology. In practice, especially within social research, interpretative phenomenological analysis employs many of these phenomenological teachings, with the aim of producing research which values interpretation and lived experience. It is the meeting point of symbolic interactionism and phenomenology where interpretative phenomenological analysis emerges.

A cornerstone of IPA is its 'idiographic sensibility' and the importance of IPA research in reflecting this through detailed and fine-grained accounts of individual experiences (Smith et al, 2009: 37-38). Idiographic research is traditionally concerned with the examination of individual case studies, but in the instance of IPA, sample sizes are usually greater than one yet the focus remains idiographic (Smith et al, 2009; Smith and Osborn, 2007). Individual cases are analysed in great depth,

followed on by an examination of similarities and differences across the cases and the emergence of any apparent themes. Smith et al (2009) stress that 'good IPA' research will acknowledge the distinctive voices of participants as well as the shared themes and patterns across their accounts.

Another feature of interpretative phenomenological analysis is its employment of hermeneutics, defined by Annells (1996) as an interpretive process that seeks to bring clarity and understanding to a specific phenomenon through language. Smith and Osborn (2003:51) believe that IPA is "*...intellectually connected to hermeneutics and the theories of interpretation...and combines an empathic hermeneutics with a questioning hermeneutics*". With interpretative phenomenological analysis, double hermeneutics is employed whereby the participant makes sense of their personal and social world, and the researcher tries to make sense of the participant making sense of their personal and social world (Smith, 2004).

'Doing' IPA is very much at the will of the individual researcher, with a set of underlying qualities that the researcher must instead engage with including open-mindedness, flexibility, patience, empathy and perhaps most importantly, "*a willingness to enter into, and respond to, the participant's world*" (Smith et al, 2009). During the phases of data collection and analysis however, Smith et al offer a set of guidelines for researchers to ensure methodological rigour, but are mindful of "*imagination, playfulness and a combination of reflective, critical and conceptual thinking*" (ibid, p40). For the data collection stage, in-depth interviews which build a rapport with participants are encouraged, with a verbatim record of the event. This verbatim record is crucial to the analysis stage of IPA, firstly involves an initial exploration of the transcript. Descriptive, linguistic and conceptual comments are then noted alongside the transcript; this stage of analysis ensures that the

researcher engages as closely as possible to the individual's account of their experience, thereby staying close to the participant's explicit meaning (see appendices 17, 18, 19).

The next stage of analysis requires the researcher to look for emergent themes across the large mass of data that will have accumulated from the first stage; these themes are then organised so that the researcher can draw out connections between them. At the final stage of the analysis, Smith et al (2009) recommend bringing together all the themes in some form of graphic representation, such as a table (see appendices 23, 24, 25). The researcher is then responsible for the crucial writing up phase, whereby their interpretation of the participants' interpretation in the form of a narrative account tells the reader how this process came about, and what was found.

3.2.3 How an analysis informed by IPA underpins this study

Fundamentally, IPA draws upon the principles of idiography, hermeneutics, symbolic interactionism and phenomenology, and a good IPA study will bear these hallmarks. However, as a starting point, it is reasonable and logical to begin with what it is that the researcher wishes to find out. According to Smith and Osborn (2007) research questions which are suitable for IPA inquiry do not seek to test out a hypothesis, but instead seek to explore, in a flexible and detailed manner a particular phenomenon. IPA researchers tend to adopt questions which look to elicit the views, perceptions and/or understandings of participants, reflecting the phenomenological and interpretative aspects of IPA (Smith et al, 2009). The overarching research question for this study was *how do men from South Asian communities who have experienced childhood sexual abuse make sense of their experiences?* In terms of IPA criteria and the makings of a solid, IPA foundation, this question fits the bill, with an

overriding focus to make sense of the participant's experiences. It is exploratory, not explanatory, and it was fully possible to approach this question 'sideways' in the interviews conducted as recommended by Smith et al (2009). To elaborate, rather than ask the participants the research question directly, participants were asked a series of questions which collectively, answered the research question in great detail (see appendices 8,9,10).

Following on from the research question, this research took on the idiographic focus that IPA proponents strongly advocate (Smith, 2004), meaning that researchers focus on the particular rather than the universal. Two sets of semi-structured interviews with survivors of childhood sexual abuse and service providers of a counselling organisation and two focus groups (one male, one female) for this study. The sample sizes of each group were kept small so as to allow for in-depth and detailed analysis and to capture the nuances and finer details of individual accounts (see section 3.5.4 for a discussion focus groups and IPA). The study did not set out to make generalisable claims about a large population nor did it look to establish new laws regarding human behaviour. Instead, it attempted to understand a particular phenomenon from the perspective of a particular group of people, recognising the individuality of each person's account whilst simultaneously acknowledging any commonalities and differences. This is evidenced in the analyses of the interview transcripts (see appendices 13,14,15) and the emergence of themes extracted from the interview data (see appendices 20,21,22).

Symbolic interactionism theorises that people act on the basis of meanings that things have for them and that these meanings emerge in the processes of social interaction between people (Shinebourne, 2011). This was evident in this study

during the focus group discussions and the semi-structured interviews with both service providers and survivors.

Hermeneutics was established earlier as one of the main facets of IPA, particularly the notion of double hermeneutics. In this study, the researcher attempted to make sense of participants making sense of their experiences, an influence which was strong from the design of the study and construction of schedules, to the transcription of data and the various stages of analysis that the data was subjected to. The analysis stage in particular was a key area in which the dual interpretation process was most evident; appendices 13-28 demonstrate the active role of the researcher in this study and the depth and levels of interpretation that were carried out to understand the participant's interpretation of their experiences.

The phenomenological element of this research was perhaps the strongest not only through the exploration of the phenomenon of childhood sexual abuse, but through the practice of learning to 'bracket' preconceptions. In order to adopt the phenomenological attitude Husserl suggested (Smith et al, 2009) the researcher attempted to put aside preconceptions around childhood sexual abuse, Asian communities and service providers. As the researcher has prior voluntary experience in a counselling organisation working alongside abuse survivors and has Asian heritage, this was a challenging task, but was possible to achieve when placing the participant's world view as the centre of focus.

3.2.4 Strengths and limitations of IPA

Like all other approaches to research methodology, IPA possesses its share of strengths and limitations; to acknowledge the limitations is not necessarily a precursor that the research is underwritten by a flawed methodology but quite the

opposite. It instead reflects good research practice and allows the researcher to use their initiative in utilising and enhancing the strengths of the methodology which will compensate for the limitations. The followings strengths of IPA have been adapted from Brocki and Wearden (2006):

- *IPA allows for the exploration of subjective experiences:* IPA seeks to capture a rich and detailed account of an individual's experiences, and the subjective meanings associated with a given phenomenon (Eatough and Smith, 2008). This is one of the main advantages that drew the researcher in this study to utilise IPA.
- As IPA is concerned with the exploration of meaning and context rather than prevalence or cause and effect, it may lead to fewer (possibly ill-founded) assumptions prior to commencing research. This was certainly applicable for the researcher in this study as it tied in with the practice of bracketing preconceptions prior to the study beginning (and throughout) and the idiographic nature of the study.
- Suitable for complex or novel areas of research, including this research which looked at the under-researched and highly complex area of childhood sexual abuse within South Asian communities.
- IPA can be used within a pre-existing theoretical framework
- IPA goes further than other qualitative approaches in addressing reflexivity (see section 3.10 for a discussion on researcher positionality and reflexivity).

According to Willig (2008) like all forms of phenomenological research, IPA is not free from conceptual and practical limitations. These are as follows:

- IPA is reliant upon the analysis of texts (or in this case, transcripts), and the representational validity of language. Willig argues that language constructs, rather than describes, reality. In other words, the language an individual uses shapes the experience itself.
- IPA often attempts to gain vivid and detailed accounts of a person's experience. The method may not be suitable for those who are unable to articulate themselves in the depth required.
- IPA *describes and documents* lived experiences but does not attempt to *explain* them.

While it is acknowledged that Willig's critique of IPA homes in on some very specific limitations, these limitations can be offset and counter-argued by researchers using IPA. For instance, Willig criticises IPA for not explaining participant experiences but simply describing them; this can be countered by pointing to the underlying aim of IPA which is to explore how participants make sense of their personal and social world and the meanings their experiences hold for them (Smith and Osborn, 2007). IPA extends beyond simple description and uses interpretative analysis to produce an interpretative account of what it means for the participant to have such concerns within their particular context (Vicary et al, 2016). In this sense, it would be oversimplistic to assume that IPA yields a purely descriptive account of an individual's experience.

Willig's proposal that the method is not suited to people who cannot articulate themselves in a certain manner that IPA expects of its participants is also subject to criticism. IPA does not require a sophisticated account from participants, but *their own* account of their own experiences. Nowhere do the founders or proponents of the approach assert that a certain level of articulation or intellect is required for

participation in an IPA study. This did not present itself as a problem within this study; participants engaged in free flowing dialogues during all the interviews and the focus groups yielded rich data with contribution from all participants.

Willig argues that language is a tool that shapes an experience rather than describe it; using this same reasoning, it can also be said that the experience has shaped the language the participant has used to describe it.

3.3 Overarching study design

Prior to beginning this study, I spent approximately six months volunteering in a counselling organisation for survivors of rape and sexual abuse. A research journal was kept during my time at this organisation in order to document my experiences and observations of the strengths and challenges that the organisation presented. These field notes were shared with my supervisors and formed an integral part of my PhD journey and the way in which the study was ultimately designed.

This study was comprised of a mixed methods approach underpinned by an IPA framework. This framework guided the researcher from the data collection through to the analysis of the results. In order to answer the main research question, the data collection for this study was broken down into three phases: phase one involved semi-structured interviews with six service providers from a counselling organisation who work with male survivors of sexual abuse (carried out between October 2012 and December 2012). These interviews were carried out to gather the views of service providers, and to tease out what some of the issues were around disclosure, masculinity, and how survivors articulated their experiences.

Phase two involved two focus group discussions; one male focus group with seven British South Asian men and one female focus group with six British South Asian women (carried out in June 2013 and September 2013 respectively). The purpose of these focus groups was to shed light on some of the perceptions of male child sexual abuse within British South Asian communities. It was also an opportunity to question the salience of concepts such as izzat and sharam for British South Asians.

Phase three involved semi-structured interviews with eight South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse, which formed the crux of the study (carried out between January 2013 and November 2013).

The data that were collected from the three phases of research were individually analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis. Collectively, the data formed a comprehensive and intricate picture of how men from these communities made sense of their experiences.

3.4 Phase 1: Semi-structured interviews with service providers

The rationale for conducting interviews with service providers was to understand their experiences of working with British South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse, whether they have faced any challenges, cultural or otherwise, when working with survivors from these communities, what some of the barriers are to disclosure and what they felt were some of the salient issues for survivors from these communities. Martin (2005) recognises the importance of rape support workers' emotions when listening to survivors' recollections of trauma, and how this can shape their relationship with the survivor. The perspectives of service providers

would therefore add a valuable and complementary dimension to the perspectives of survivors.

3.4.1 Recruitment and sampling

Participants in IPA based research are usually sourced through a purposive sampling method; the reasoning behind this is that interpretative phenomenological analysis operates from the logic of attempting to understand a specific phenomenon from the perspective of a particular group (Smith and Osborn, 2004). In purposive sampling, the researcher selects elements based on his or her judgment of what elements will facilitate an investigation, and so participants are selected on the basis of these elements and their compatibility with the research aims (Adler and Clark, 2010). Purposive sampling involves choosing participants because they have particular features or characteristics which will enable a detailed exploration of an issue or phenomenon (Office for National Statistics, 2008). The participants in this phase of the study were selected on the basis of a counselling relationship with male survivors of abuse. The counselling organisation was emailed with details of the study including the participant information sheet (see appendix 2). The services manager arranged a meeting to discuss the study in greater depth and agreed to distribute the participant information sheets and consent forms to counsellors in the organisation. Counsellors who wished to take part emailed me directly to arrange suitable interview times. The services manager was also interviewed as part of the process as she had extensive experience in working with survivors and was the first point of contact for all survivors who contacted the organisation.

3.4.2 Demographics of the sample

A total of six service providers took part in this phase of the research study, comprised of three males and three females, all of whom were White British.

| Name of service provider* | Gender | Role in organisation |
|----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Jenny | Female | Services manager |
| Sarah | Female | Counsellor |
| Emily | Female | Counsellor |
| John | Male | Counsellor |
| Paul | Male | Counsellor |
| Jeff | Male | Counsellor |

*All names are pseudonyms

3.4.3 Conducting the interviews

The first step in carrying out an IPA based interview is to construct an interview schedule. The purpose of an interview schedule is to facilitate the interview process and initiate dialogue about the phenomenon being studied (Smith, 1995). In line with Smith et al's (2009) advice, questions included on the interview schedule were open ended and expansive (see appendix 8) and covered areas such as their experience of working with male survivors, their experiences of culture and whether they had faced any barriers or difficulties when working with Asian survivors.

The interviews took place in a room allocated within the counselling organisation.

The purpose and details of the study were reiterated to all service providers before

the interviews commenced. The participants were reminded that the interviews would be audio recorded and details that may lead to them or their organisation being identified would be removed. As the participants were service providers who had an in-depth knowledge of the subject area under study, more power and authority lay with the service providers during the interviews. This distribution of power was beneficial in yielding detailed accounts of their experiences; the service providers also provided useful guidance on how to construct the interview schedule for survivors. Piloting the schedule with the service providers (some of whose clients went on to be interviewed by me at phase three of the research) was a way of minimising possible distress to participants.

Service providers were debriefed at the end of the interviews and offered a chance to look at their interview transcripts after they had been typed. Their email addresses were noted and transcripts were emailed accordingly. None of the service providers objected to any of the content recorded on the transcripts, however, they did stress the importance of not identifying their organisation or identity which was a top priority for the researcher.

3.5 Phase 2: Focus groups

Focus groups are chosen for social research projects to do exactly as the name suggests: focus (Stewart et al, 2007). Rather than being a freewheeling conversation, they have a clear, identifiable objective that the researcher devises questions from, which in this situation would be the overarching research question. Rather than stand back and merely collect responses, researchers play an active role in engaging with focus group members, inviting them to explore their responses and how they would contextualise their views (Barbour and Schostak, 2005).

The rationale behind the focus group discussions was to supplement the findings that would materialise from the interviews held with the survivors. The focus groups are not intended to be representative of the wider British South Asian community; however, the views of people who were not (to my knowledge) sexual abuse survivors were sought to provide another dimension to the research and to further clarify issues around child sexual abuse in SA communities, izzat and sharam and gender expectations. Research has indicated that South Asian communities lack basic knowledge about child sexual abuse, lack awareness of the services available to them, fear culturally ignorant responses from service providers and fear public exposure if child sexual abuse is disclosed (Gilligan and Akhtar, 2005; Gill and Harrison, 2017). Further research has suggested that gender socialisation, the maintenance of family image, and the influence of ethnic identity are elements that have an effect on the lives of South Asian individuals (Singh et al, 2010).

3.5.1 Recruitment and sampling

Two focus groups also formed part of the research; one male focus group and one female focus group. The male focus group participants were recruited through an opportunity sample, a type of sample that is chosen due to its convenience (Coolican, 2014). An invitation to research advert was placed across various 'society' groups within a University campus after permission was sought and granted from the Student Union; of these 'societies', there exist various cultural, religious and ethnic groups such as Bengali Society, Pakistani Society, Islamic Society and Hindu Society. The seven participants who volunteered to take part in the study were members of some of these society groups.

With regards the female focus group, an Asian women’s community group agreed to take part in the study, which was also an opportunity sample. The group was initially contacted with details of the study via email, with participant information sheets and consent forms attached. A meeting was then arranged with a co-ordinator of the group to discuss the study and its purpose in more depth. The information packs were distributed to members of the women’s group and six women volunteered to take part.

3.5.2 Demographics of the focus groups

The tables below present demographic information collected from all participants of both focus groups that were carried out in this study.

Female focus group

| Name of participant* | Age | Ethnic background |
|-----------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| Jannath | 17 | Pakistani |
| Shazia | 42 | Pakistani |
| Shobnam | 38 | Pakistani |
| Charita | 29 | Indian Gujarati (Hindu) |
| Rupan | 34 | Indian Punjabi |
| Manpreet | 39 | Indian Punjabi |

Male focus group

| Name of participant* | Age | Ethnic background |
|-----------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
|-----------------------------|------------|--------------------------|

| | | |
|----------|----|--------------------------|
| Malik | 19 | Indian Gujarati (Muslim) |
| Jamal | 20 | Bengali |
| Mohammad | 20 | Pakistani |
| Roshan | 21 | Indian Gujarati (Hindu) |
| Amardeep | 21 | Indian Punjabi |
| Jagdeep | 20 | Indian Punjabi |
| Aziz | 21 | Pakistani |

*All names are pseudonyms

3.5.3 Conducting the focus groups

The women's focus group took place within the venue that hosted their regular group meetings. The men's focus group discussion took place within a classroom of their university campus which was booked in advance to ensure privacy. Participants were asked to bring their signed consent forms and were given an introduction to the study before the discussion commenced. The groups were both reminded that the discussions would be audio recorded and although the researcher had agreed to a confidentiality/anonymity clause, the public disclosure of their experiences (confidentiality between participants) was at the discretion of each individual participant (Smith et al, 2009).

Both of the focus group discussions began with the researcher playing a short clip of a BBC news item on an Asian Sikh male survivor of childhood sexual abuse who went to court to testify against the perpetrator. Both groups were encouraged to give their views on the news clip as a prompt to begin the discussions. Smith et al (2009) recommend the discussion of a pre-prepared scenario or case study as a way of initiating a focus group discussion. A dialogue ensued, and the researcher

interspersed this with prompts and open ended questions to encourage participants to keep up the momentum of the discussion (see appendix 10).

3.5.4 IPA and focus groups

Focus groups are a less obvious choice for IPA researchers due to the complexity of multiple voices being heard in one sitting and the dynamics of these interactions (Smith et al, 2009). This makes it difficult to infer and develop personal, phenomenological accounts, as experiential claims and reflections are ensconced within a tangle of social and contextual relationships (Palmer et al, 2010). However, Flowers et al (2001) state that in some situations, a group discussion can elicit more experiential data than an interview, as in their study the group dynamics added something extra to their analysis which would otherwise have been missed. Bradby-Jones et al (2009) put forward a strong case that focus groups are congruent within a phenomenological framework. They outline that the main argument against using focus groups within phenomenological research is that phenomenology seeks the 'essence' of a phenomenon in a way that requires individuals to describe experiences in a way that remains 'uncontaminated'. However, they propose that individual lived experience can be preserved within a group setting and that these group discussions benefit from stimulated discussion and the introduction of new perspectives. Other researchers have echoed similar sentiments, such as the enrichment of data brought about by the interaction between participants (Sorrell and Redmond, 1995) and the usefulness of phenomenological focus groups for cross-checking and clarification if findings appear contradictory. There is also the suggestion that focus groups underpinned by a phenomenological framework

enhance rather than hamper methodological rigour (Cote-Arsenault and Morrison Beedy, 1999).

A number of studies have successfully combined interpretative phenomenological analysis and focus groups in an attempt to disprove that the two are not compatible (see Flowers et al, 2001; Bradby-Jones et al, 2009; Lamb and Cogan, 2015).

However, Eatough and Tomkins (2010) caution against the use of focus groups within an IPA framework and point to some of the pitfalls of trying to merge the two. Although Smith (2004) advises that focus group transcripts should be scanned for patterns and themes at the group level and then analysed for individual accounts, this is not always executed in practice. Eatough and Tomkins (2010) highlight several studies where the researchers have exclusively focused on themes extracted at the group level rather than the individual positioning in relation to these themes (such as Dunne and Quayle, 2001; Roose et al 2003). They argue that IPA's fundamental and explicit focus on idiographic accounts is eclipsed by the misuse of focus groups, pinpointing the exact intersection at which IPA collides with focus groups. Bradby-Jones et al (2009) acknowledge that while this is the core argument against their view that IPA is compatible with focus groups, their own study within the field of nursing demonstrates how it can be successfully carried out. They provided excerpts from a focus group discussion which presented individual participants shared accounts of their own lived experiences, exemplifying how a group approach does not necessarily negate individual experiences, but is inclusive of them (Halling et al, 1994). Barbour (2008) recommends that researchers should not incorporate methods within their study that are incompatible with the dominant paradigm of the study. The founders of IPA (Smith, Larkin and Flowers) do not advise against the use of focus groups within an IPA framework, but issue a cautionary note that it is

relatively early days to establish with any certainty whether this is a successful combination.

3.6 Semi-structured interviews with survivors

The crux of this research project was to find out how South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse make sense of their experiences, and semi-structured interviews were judged as the most suitable method for generating rich, qualitative data that would do justice to the research question. Below are the details of how survivors were recruited, who they are and how the interview process was conducted.

3.6.1 Recruitment and sampling

Individuals of South Asian descent consist of those who fall within the ethnic categories of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi (British Sociological Society, 2005). Adult males, over the age of 18 years old (as this is usually the minimum age for clients of counselling organisations), who have encountered child sexual abuse were the desired sample to carry out semi-structured interviews with. The justification for interviewing adult survivors rather than children is due to two reasons: firstly, there are significant ethical considerations to be taken into account when working alongside children in matters as sensitive and controversial as child sexual abuse (Sadoff, 2011). Leadbeater (2006) points out that disclosure of abuse from children needs to be met with caution, and a duty to report a revelation of on-going abuse to authorities may occur. The second reason for interviewing adult survivors of abuse is due to the age at which survivors tend to disclose abuse, and the symptoms which arise in adulthood as a consequence of the abuse. Many studies concur that the majority of survivors confide in people about abuse during adulthood (Deb and

Mukherjee, 2009). McClean et al (2014) refer to post-traumatic stress disorder along with other psychological problems that adult survivors can manifest as a direct result of childhood sexual abuse, including suicidal tendencies, depression, anxiety and drug and alcohol abuse. The importance of these symptoms to the research is that they can contribute to the confrontation of abuse by the survivor, their survival strategies, and their relationship with service providers.

Purposive sampling was adopted to recruit participants. In this phase of the study, participants had to identify as male, South Asian and have experienced childhood sexual abuse to take part in the research.

Two strategies were adopted to recruit participants:

1. Placing an A4 sized advert (see appendix 1) in locations such as doctors' surgeries, colleges and University campuses (after permission was sought and granted). An online advert was also placed on the Survivors UK website online.
2. Numerous counselling organisations were approached in order to recruit participants. The researcher previously volunteered in one of these organisations.

The decision to use two strategies was to recruit survivors who were engaged in counselling or had received counselling, and survivors who had never engaged with counselling services. Research has indicated that around two thirds of people who are abused never disclose their experiences to family or authorities (Allnock and Miller, 2013). This means that the majority of abuse survivors remain invisible and are therefore not adequately represented in research. The researcher attempted to address this through advertising the research publicly as well as contacting services

with a wide client base of survivors. One survivor came forward and made contact via email after seeing the online advert on Survivors UK. However, this survivor decided not to pursue any further and the eight participants who took part all came from one of the counselling organisations.

The counselling organisation was initially contacted via email where the researcher attached a participant information sheet detailing the study. The services manager then arranged an interview to meet face to face, and it was agreed that she would distribute the participant information sheets and consent forms to counsellors within the organisation. The counsellors with Asian male clients then gave the information sheets and consent forms to these clients and participants who wished to take part in the study informed their counsellors, who reported back to the services manager. Arrangements were then made to carry out the interviews and participants were told to bring with them their signed informed consent sheets.

3.6.2 Demographics of the sample

A total of eight male, South Asian survivors volunteered to take part in the study, the youngest of whom was 20 years old and the oldest aged 41 years old. The details of the participants are presented in the table below.

| Name of survivor* | Age | Ethnic background |
|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| Nathan | 20 | South Indian (Tamil) |
| Gurdeep | 26 | Indian Punjabi |
| Mahmud | 34 | Pakistani |
| Ayaan | 24 | Bengali |
| Dev | 41 | Indian Gujarati |

| | | |
|---------|----|----------------|
| Suleman | 29 | Bengali |
| Sanjay | 31 | Indian |
| Aman | 33 | Indian Punjabi |

*All names are pseudonyms

3.6.3 Conducting the interviews

Preparation for the interviews was a vital step to ensure that the tools for data collection would serve their purpose, which is to generate data. These tools were the interview schedule and the interview itself; the process of constructing the interview schedule and carrying out the interviews are detailed below.

3.6.3.1 Developing the interview schedule

The questions that were asked during all of the interviews evolved from the main research question, which was to explore how South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse make sense of their experiences. In order to devise an interview schedule that would capture the richness and detail of the survivors' stories and answer the main research question, it was crucial that the researcher invested time in reading widely around the subject of childhood sexual abuse and South Asian communities (see chapter 2). After closely analysing the literature, it was apparent that there was a significant gap in the literature concerning sexual abuse within Asian communities. Questions regarding the impact of culture, engagement with support services and the experience of disclosure were therefore included within the schedule to compensate for this gap in knowledge (see appendix 9). Questions that would elicit a fairly descriptive account of an experience were asked at the beginning to make each survivor feel comfortable and at ease more quickly (Smith et al, 2009).

Caulfield and Hill (2014) recommend piloting the interview schedule beforehand in order to troubleshoot any questions that may prove to be problematic. As this phase of the research was dealing with a vulnerable group, the schedule was piloted with some of the service providers. Questions that were deemed unsuitable were swiftly replaced as the researcher did not want to ask questions that would risk causing distress to participants.

3.6.3.2 The interview process

The interviews took place within the counselling organisation where the clients received, or had previously received counselling. A room which was allocated for counselling was provided for each interview by the services manager, and several measures were put in place to ensure the safety and comfort of the researcher and the participants. A distress protocol was implemented whereby the services manager was a short distance from the room in case the participants, or the researcher, became distressed at any point. Water and tissues were provided as they usually are for the survivors during their counselling sessions as a way to provide comfort. The interviews took place at a time where there would be little disturbance or noise, so as to allow a free flowing conversation and to enable the researcher to be highly engaged in listening to the participants (Smith et al, 2009).

One of the challenges in conducting an interviewing dealing with sensitive subject matter is to remain a researcher (in the dual role of an interviewer) and not cross into the territory of becoming a counsellor when interviewing the survivor. Sanderson (2006) outlines that the role of a counsellor requires maintaining as high a level of functioning as possible in the client and forming a comprehensive treatment plan. A researcher on the other hand, will enter the interview with the overall aim of the study

in mind alongside a high level of self-awareness and reflexivity, which encourages them to constantly question their motivations, values and actions (Northway, 2000). There are however, similarities between the role of researcher and counsellor applicable to the interview situation, one being that the researcher and counsellor should not cross certain boundaries with child abuse survivors, but simultaneously not relinquish empathy with the emotions and helplessness the survivor expresses (Sanderson, 2006). These boundaries include physically touching the survivor, which can often be misconstrued, even when the motivation behind this act is to comfort them (Wosket, 1999). During the survivor interviews, there were questions that elicited a more emotional response than others, such as those around the disclosure process. Nathan for example, had only recently disclosed to his family and endured a court case where the perpetrator was found guilty and sentenced. Nathan's mother was not supportive during the court process and did not have a positive reaction to the abuse disclosure and he cried while recollecting these experiences. Nathan carried on with the interview after being asked whether he would like to take a break or stop the interview and the direction of the questions veered off the course of the schedule to prioritise Nathan's wellbeing. These were examples of judgment calls on the part of the researcher to appropriately offer Nathan a break or end the interview, to deviate from the line of questioning, and to not cross the boundary into the role of a counsellor. Smith et al (2009) advise researchers to monitor the effect of the interview on the participant and to look for cues, verbal and non-verbal, which express how participants feel. These cues should guide researchers throughout the interview and determine what direction the interviewer takes with the questions. Most of the interviews during this phase of the study took a similar route and each individual interview situation was met with an

individualised response where the survivor's welfare was the primary concern. None of the participants wished to end their interview and demonstrated great courage when narrating their experiences. A debrief was carried out after the interviews had taken place and participants were offered a chance to see their transcripts after the researcher had typed them. All participants provided me with their email address and transcripts were emailed; none of the participants challenged any of the content that had been transcribed so no changes were made.

3.7 Analysing the data using IPA

After conducting the three phases of fieldwork, the findings that were generated needed to be transcribed and organised according to the recommendations of Smith et al's (2009) IPA framework. While there is no 'prescribed' method as such for IPA, there are a set of loose guidelines similar to thematic analysis (to which IPA is often compared) which the researcher works through to make sense of the research findings (Langdridge, 2007). However, some key distinctions between IPA and thematic analysis include IPA being bound to a phenomenological epistemology, and that IPA seeks to understand people's experience of reality in order to illuminate a particular phenomenon (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

In this study, the stages were to transcribe the interview and focus group data and subject this data to a four stage analysis process discussed below.

3.7.1 Transcribing the interviews

Following the interviews, the next stage in the process was to meticulously transcribe all spoken data which was audio recorded. As the research was comprised of semi-structured interviews with two different samples, it required a careful process of transcription to ensure the accuracy of the data was reflected as closely as possible. Kvale (2008) describes transcription as an interpretative process, where the translation of one narrative code-oral discourse-to another-written discourse, occurs. Any disparity between oral speech and written data manifests itself as a series of practical problems, which is why researchers need to allocate their efforts accordingly to this phase of the research. Morse and Field (1995) concur that the first major step in data analysis is familiarising oneself with the data, which is one of the purposes of transcription. Audio recordings were made of each interview in order to make transcription possible, with the approval and prior consent of all the

interviewees which is an ethical necessity. The researcher also took notes during the interviews, which was done only when necessary to prevent distracting the interviewees and losing track of the interviewee's response, which is prone to further complication in a semi-structured interview (Kvale, 2008).

In terms of the way interview data is transcribed, Griffin (2005) recommends that when researching and interviewing sensitive matters, the researcher's focus may be placed on the way in which an individual responds, and so pauses and hesitations may feature within the transcriptions. This is known as 'verbatim', where accounts are transcribed word-for-word (Langdridge and Hagger-Johnson, 2009). By not streamlining the interview data or neatening it in any way, this would perhaps help to eliminate the influence of the researcher's interpretation of the data. A reflective researcher should remain aware of this becoming a possibility, which is in line with a critical realist approach. This view asserts that there are enduring features of reality that exist independently of human conceptualisation, and differences in meanings attached to experiences are considered possible because every individual experiences different parts of reality (Fade, 2004). This is also consistent with IPA, which accepts the uniqueness of individual life experiences. Fiske and Taylor (1991) discuss the social cognition paradigm, which is founded on the premise that human speech and behaviour reflect the differences in meanings we attach to reality. Analysing interview data is therefore a reasonable method of developing an understanding of these differences (Fade, 2004). Within this research, pauses were captured, including 'erm' which was a constant recurrence throughout most of the transcripts. Although 'erm' has been classed as a conversation filler which can be removed to neaten up a transcript (Smith et al, 2009), this was not perceived to be a distraction from the points that were made by the participants. Instead, it added

another dimension and a sense of reality to the responses which demonstrated that participants occasionally paused, hesitated or thought about their answers before continuing. There were points during the interviews where the unreliability of recording technology meant that some of what was spoken was inaudible-rather than attempt at guesswork, the researcher simply wrote 'inaudible' where something could not be heard.

From an IPA perspective, Smith et al (2009) point out that transcription itself is an interpretative activity, as there are a range of social interactions that the researcher may or may not choose to include. For example, in the case of IPA based studies, the researcher would perhaps not be overly concerned with non-linguistic features such as pauses, interruptions and so on, and would instead wish to capture the explicit content of what was said (Willig, 2012). For this reason, this research did not include non-linguistic features which occurred during the interviews.

3.7.2 Transcribing focus group data

Krueger and Casey (2000) make a list of suggestions for researchers when transcribing data from focus groups, including: clear identification of the moderator's statements; the use of a consistent style when transcribing; typing comments word for word; and including special or unusual sounds, such as laughter, loud voices or shouting. However, from an IPA standpoint, including laughter and shouting would not be necessary, as mentioned previously (Smith et al, 2009). The transcription of focus group data is a very similar process to that of interview data (Radcliff, 2007). Liamputtong (2011) however, points to a distinction between the two, stating the added difficulties of transcribing focus group data as there can be multiple people contributing to the discussion at one time. This can make the task of transcribing the

data a little daunting, especially if people talk over each other. It is the responsibility of the researcher to manage the direction of the focus group discussion, particularly if certain questions spark debate or intensify emotions. Krueger and Casey (2000) acknowledge that intense emotions are higher in focus groups, and in the instance that this occurs, researchers should attempt to get comments from participants on how they are feeling and how this influences their views.

Morgan and Scannell (1998) add that the give-and-take of a group discussion means that transcribing the data is problematic and requires a very quick, accurate and skilled researcher. This can be an indicator for the researcher to undertake some training or practice in transcribing recorded audio, which may improve the researcher's ability to accurately transcribe information. In this research, two focus group data sets were transcribed and the IPA recommended method of transcribing for interviews was also applied to the focus group data sets. Voice recognition during the playback of the interviews was easier than anticipated, and the use of an audio software connected to the audio recorder also aided the transcribing process. Transcription of the focus group data was done very quickly after the focus group discussions took place, as the researcher could identify each participant by voice very soon after they took place. It was also necessary to play back the audio recordings frequently to capture what each participant was articulating as very often during the women's focus group, there were overlapping voices.

3.7.3 Analysis using IPA

The analysis stage of IPA has been described as an iterative and inductive cycle (Smith, 2007) rather than a linear process. The richness of interview and focus group data needs to be appreciated by the researcher and given considerable value.

Therefore, in the analysis stage of IPA, the researcher must critically deconstruct every transcript in order to begin the 'interpretative' part of interpretative phenomenological analysis. According to Fade (2004) IPA can be used to analyse data from interviews (and focus groups) as a way of developing 'thick descriptions' which can help illuminate human experience. IPA is very much a bottom-up process which makes inferences from data rather than drawing upon pre-existing models or explanations for the phenomenon in question (Flowers et al, 2005). In this regard, IPA does to an extent make a contribution towards theory (Pringle et al, 2011).

Analysis of the narratives that materialised from the interviews and focus groups was much more of an interactive process than simply employing a mass of description; researchers are expected to fully engage with the narratives in a way which allows them to use their ability of interpretation, and extract meanings from participants' accounts of their experiences. There are four primary stages here: the initial encounter with the text; exploratory commentary of the texts; the identification of themes and the connection between the themes. It is worthwhile mentioning that Smith et al (2009) emphasise that these stages are not prescriptive, and can be adapted by researchers if the data requires it. To elaborate, stage one is the point at which the researcher notes any initial observations and interpretations from the interview transcript. The researcher should begin by reading and re-reading the transcripts several times to become familiar with the content; from this, it should then be possible to start making initial notes on the margins of the transcripts (Fade, 2004). This was done with all three of the research phases, with initial comments noted down by the researcher of parts of the transcripts that were significant in description and/or content (see appendices 13,14,15,16).

Stage two is the most detail aspect of the analysis, and required the researcher to examine the semantic detail of the transcripts. This involved descriptive, linguistic and conceptual comments to be noted alongside the texts (see appendices 17,18,19). This exploratory commentary helped the researcher to become immersed in each participant's lifeworld and engage in deep level analysis (Smith et al, 2009).

The next stage of analysis involves spotting emergent themes within the transcripts by working with the exploratory comments that were noted in the previous stage (see appendices 20,21,22).

Connections are then made across the emergent themes and various ways of identifying 'super-ordinate' themes are adopted. In this study, abstraction was used to group together a series of similar sub-themes under a broader, super-ordinate theme. For instance, in the service provider interviews, common sub-themes that emerged were honour, culture, and community issues. These were grouped under the super-ordinate theme of 'cultural issues' and presented in a theme table alongside the specific part of the transcript where these themes were evident (see chapter 4 for a more in depth analysis).

A large portion of studies which utilise interpretative phenomenological analysis do not go beyond the previous stage of the process, where the construction of the theme table occurs. However, many researchers have started to move beyond this and completed their analysis with the explicit interpretation of the themes they identify in the research. After the initial stages of analysing and organising the data into themes, the next stage of the analysis requires the translation of the themes into a narrative account of the participants' experiences. The narrative account and the themes should marry up and corroborate each other, demonstrating consistent

findings and a consistent analysis. This narrative account of the themes can be done by drawing upon existing theoretical constructs and formulations (Larkin et al, 2006), or through the adoption of two levels of interpretation (Eatough and Smith, 2008). The first of these is a descriptive, empathic level, with the aim of allowing the researcher to enter the participant's world. The second level takes the researcher beyond the participant's own world and understandings, critically interrogating their account in order to gain further insight into its nature, origin and meaning (Smith, 2004). Researchers should be cautious if they plan on adopting this level of interpretation, as ethical issues may arise around the imposition of meaning and giving/denying a voice to research participants (Eatough and Smith, 2008).

The question of what to do with the findings and conclusions deduced from research is considered to be the final step, with generalisability often cited as one of the outcomes of research. In qualitative research however, this varies greatly, and interpretative phenomenological analysis is not a methodology that has an overarching aim of generalising findings. Instead, it contributes to our understanding of phenomena, and supports actuarial claims from quantitative studies through a focus on the particular which can help illuminate the universal (Smith et al, 2009). Chapters five, six and seven present the findings alongside a thorough discussion for each phase of the research in a narrative format, followed by chapter eight which outlines the main conclusions of the study. Recommendations are suggested on the basis of the findings as well as the study's original contribution to knowledge. This goes some way towards demonstrating the value and worth of qualitative research findings which do not seek to solely generalise findings.

3.8 Ethics

Prior to commencing data collection for this research, ethical approval was obtained from De Montfort University's Research Ethics Committee (see appendices 11 and 12). Two rounds of ethical approval were sought for conducting the semi-structured interviews with service providers and survivors as well as the two focus groups.

Israel and Hay's (2006) interpretation of the importance of ethics in research is that ethical behaviour helps protect individuals, communities and environments, offering the potential to increase the sum of good in the world. This implies a moral goodness to the purpose of ethics in research, a view that is shared by Husband (1995). Husband discusses the notion of a 'morally active practitioner', which refers to a researcher who is morally vigilant and recognises the necessity and importance of ethical guidelines. This is what researchers should strive towards when carrying out professional practice, by appreciating the inherent goodness that ethics can bring to research. Butler (2002) concedes that codes of ethics are cultivated from moral principles, which ultimately means these codes are 'social artefacts', subject to the ideologies, principles and occupation of their creators. It is Butler's Code of Ethics for Social Work and Social Care Research (2002) that informed this research, with the codes most applicable to this work discussed below.

3.8.1 Informed consent

Informed consent is sought with every research project involving human participants, and implies a responsibility on the side of researchers to explain to participants the full details of the research, including its aims and intended outcomes, who it is being undertaken and financed by, how the research findings will be published and

circulated, and permission to withdraw from research at any time (Ruane, 2004). All participants were provided with a participant information sheet (appendices 2,3,4) and a consent form (appendices 5,6,7) which were written in transparent and clear language without the use of jargon. All participants involved in the study were encouraged to contact me via email if they had any concerns/queries regarding the study or their participation in it.

3.8.2 Anonymity

Research activity surrounding sexual, violent or abusive behaviour can raise anxieties about the fear of identification, stigmatisation or incrimination (Turton, 2008), which is why confidentiality features heavily in any agreement between researchers and participants. Crow and Wiles (2008) detail how confidentiality and anonymity of research participants' identity can be ensured, by use of pseudonyms for example or changing the location of where the research took place. In this research, all participants involved were given pseudonyms and apart from their age and ethnicity, details beyond this that could identify them were not included.

3.8.3 Welfare of participants

All research topics have the potential to be sensitive; however some topics can elicit more distress than others which can risk harming participants (Corbin and Morse, 2003; Dempsey et al, 2016). The welfare of participants therefore, should remain a central priority for researchers throughout the duration of the research as well as the aftermath. As this study revolved around childhood sexual abuse and dealt directly with survivors of abuse, there was a moral and ethical duty on the part of the researcher to ensure that distress to participants would be minimised. Literature

regarding trauma survivors' experiences of research participation suggests that it is a complex and grey area where survivors report benefits and distress simultaneously (Hoover and Morrow, 2015). Benefits of research participation include finding it helpful to talk about the abuse and positive feelings around contributing to research, with negative effects reported as feeling uncomfortable during the interview and recounting abusive experiences.

Healy (2009) suggests that designing a participant distress protocol within sensitive research can deal with any immediate distress that may arise. In the case of this research, the distress protocol that was put in place for survivors who were interviewed within the counselling organisation was to stop the interview and consult with the services manager, who was present in the building at the time of the interviews. Survivors were also encouraged to have a debriefing session with their counsellors after the interview had taken place. The location of the survivor interviews was in a place they considered to be safe, which was the counselling venue.

The male focus group discussion took place within a classroom of a University building, and the female focus group discussion took place within the venue of the local women's group of which they were members. The location of the focus groups was a welfare issue as it involved the safety of both the researcher and the participants and so choosing a location which was familiar to the participants and confidential enough to carry out the research was important.

For the counsellors that were interviewed, the services manager agreed to offer a supervisory session if they needed to offload any concerns regarding their

participation in the study. These interviews all took place within the counselling venue.

Giving my mobile phone number to all the research participants was taken as an extra precaution; this was an act of 'reciprocity' on my part as a researcher.

Discourse on researcher reciprocity refers to a 'fair exchange' of some sort (Daly, 1992:5) with different interpretations of what this reciprocity may be. Offering my mobile number was a way of providing assurance and a level of social support to the participants, particularly the survivors who shared personal and traumatic experiences that were a mammoth contribution to the research. Survivors were also encouraged to speak to their counsellors if they felt any distress or anxiety following the research interviews.

3.8.4 Promoting emancipatory research

One of the standout codes in Butler's ethics is promoting emancipatory research through working with disempowered groups, individuals and communities. This is supported by Alston and Bowles (2003) who stress that social research should strive to empower so-called disadvantaged groups within society; child abuse survivors, who in this case are also British South Asian males, could be classified as 'disadvantaged' in a number of ways. Firstly being an ethnic minority group, South Asians have historically faced discrimination, institutional racism and marginalisation in many aspects of socioeconomic life within a White-majority United Kingdom (Sashidharan and Commander, 2004; Hatton, 2004; Bhavnani, 2001). Male survivors of child sexual abuse have faced inequality in academic research, sidelined in favour of female survivors who were up until recent years, thought to be the

primary victims of abuse (Hooper and Warwick, 2006). Giving this group a voice serves to empower them and provide them with the recognition they deserve.

3.8.5 Right to withdraw

Researchers should always respect each individual's right to withdraw from the research, especially if the researcher is in a position of authority over the participant (Butler, 2002). All participants in this research signed an informed consent declaration which clearly stated their right to withdraw from the study at any point before its publication. After the dissemination of findings it is not feasible to withdraw a participant's contribution, which was reiterated to every participant before the interviews and focus groups commenced.

3.8.6 The issue of mandatory reporting

An additional ethical issue that had to be considered that was specific to this study but not contained within Butler's code of ethics was how to respond to a survivor's admission of a perpetrator that had not been reported to the Police. The UK Government are currently exploring the implementation of a mandatory reporting system to safeguard children who they suspect are being abused or at risk of abuse (HM Government, 2016). Within this consultation report, they contemplated whether this mandatory reporting system should be extended to apply to vulnerable adults. Currently, there is no legal requirement for mandatory reporting but there are a set of statutory guidelines that practitioners and organisations are expected to follow to ensure the protection of children. Within the context of this research, the age of the survivors, all of whom exceed 18 years of age, means that they are legally classified as adults and as such, are not covered by the same protection guidelines as

children. The service organisation stressed to the researcher before the commencement of the survivor interviews that the survivors would likely discuss intimate details of their experiences including the possibility of not contacting the Police. The implication here is that the perpetrator has not been through the justice system and so questions around the safety of other children naturally arise. The guidelines of the counselling organisation at the time of the interview were that without the service user's explicit consent, they did not escalate the matter to statutory agencies. This same guideline was applicable to the researcher, with the additional advice that if the researcher had any concerns as a result of information divulged in the interviews, the services manager was to be contacted.

3.9 Researcher positionality and reflexivity

According to England (1994) the domain of research is a shared space, shaped by both the researcher and the participant. As a result, the identities of the researcher and participant have the potential to change the course of the research and the direction it takes on. Positionality theory asserts that *"people have multiple overlapping identities...thus, people make meaning from various aspects of their identity"* (Kezar, 2002: 96). In order to build a relationship of trust between researcher and participant, it is therefore crucial for researcher's to critically reflect upon the way in which race, gender, socioeconomic status among many other traits can impinge upon the researcher/participant relationship and indeed, shift the balance of power (Kerstetter, 2012). The act of reflecting on my own positionality within this research can be described as reflexivity, a process whereby researchers engage in self-reflection and self-scrutiny throughout the entirety of a research project (Bourke, 2014).

This research began in the latter part of 2011, when I was in my early 20's. As a young, mixed race woman with White and Asian (Bangladeshi) heritage, there were certain privileges I held and paradoxically, barriers I could foresee, before the research commenced. Access issues for researchers are well documented when attempting to recruit participants from Black and Minority Ethnic groups, often referred to as 'seldom-heard' groups (Morrow et al, 2011) (see section 3.9 for a more thorough discussion). Due to my Bengali heritage, my assumption was that access as a researcher into South Asian communities would be easier, with community groups perhaps more willing to engage with somebody with South Asian heritage. Within a research context, I felt very much an 'insider' in this sense; insider researchers are usually from the community they choose to study, and are uniquely positioned to understand the group they study (Kerstetter, 2012). Furthermore, they are able to engage more easily with participants due to shared experiences and/or background (Sherry, 2008). However, the first obstacle I overcame was the number of rejections I received from Asian community groups to conduct focus groups with. A participant information sheet was provided alongside an email and/or phone call to various community groups when attempting to recruit focus group participants. A few community group leaders felt that the topic under research was too controversial to be discussed, whilst other requests were met with no reply. In this instance, it was clear that childhood sexual abuse as a research topic was a deterrent and that this outweighed any 'insider' status I possessed. However, at other points during the study, my ethnic identity helped facilitate the research process; with both the focus groups and the survivor interviews, my Asian heritage aided me in understanding concepts of izzat and sharam, and other facets of South Asian culture including hierarchical family structures and the importance of community. Because of this

understanding, I was able to interpret much of what the South Asian participants expressed during the focus groups and interviews, particularly phrases spoken in Bengali and Urdu/Hindi. Although my ethnicity afforded me 'insider' status throughout a lot of the data collection process, I remained conscious of not letting it permeate into the research through 'overidentifying' with the participants.

Overidentifying with research participants within qualitative research can lead to potentially biased results (Schonfeld and Mazzola, 2012), thus emphasising the importance of reflexivity throughout the research process.

As a female researcher, when speaking to the survivors, one of my concerns was the possible discomfort that male survivors may have in speaking to a female researcher about personal traumatic experiences. However, this did not present itself as an issue during any of the interviews with the male survivors. Sanderson (2006) reports that perpetrators of sexual abuse tend to be male in the majority of cases, and as a result male survivors tend to seek professional help from female counsellors. This was apparent during the research interviews with the survivors, with in-depth and intimate accounts of their life experiences disclosed and a sense that I was an 'insider' for the duration of these interviews.

With the female focus groups, there was a greater sense that the participants were more willing to discuss issues around abuse in greater depth than the male focus group participants. As the focus group facilitator, I felt more included in the group discussion with the female group and rapport was easier and quicker to establish than with the male group. This was evident in the focus group transcripts (see appendix 14 and 15) where the female participants spoke in greater detail and every participant contributed, whereas the male participants gave shorter responses and needed prompting more often.

It was apparent throughout the research that my position as an insider or outsider was never fixed and shifted according to the individual participant and from question to question; the balance of power between researcher/participant very much mirrored this. The service provider interviews were one stage where greater power lay on the side of participants; the service providers benefited from being older and more experienced in their professional field and took the lead on the interviews. Although the distribution of power between researcher/participant was not equitable in these interviews, it resulted in a rich data set and paved the way for the survivor interviews, as some of the survivors were clients of the counsellors.

Dwyer and Buckle (2009) assert that that there are very few cases where researchers can be categorised as a complete insider or complete outsider and while characteristics such as race and gender remain the same, the significance of these characteristics change according to the research situation (Kerstetter, 2012). Occupying this middle ground territory of being neither insider nor outsider and being able to recognise my position within the research was an exercise in reflexive practice.

3.10 Rigour in qualitative research

Qualitative research is often on the receiving end of criticism from positivists as concepts of validity and reliability cannot be applied in the same way in naturalistic work (Shenton, 2004). In order to establish the 'trustworthiness' of qualitative work, researchers from the qualitative paradigm have attempted to construct their own criteria to assess rigour, most notably through the work of Lincoln and Guba (1985). They proposed four criteria which are: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability, each of which are accompanied by a series of techniques that Lincoln

and Guba recommend to achieve overall trustworthiness in a qualitative study. In order to elevate the status of this research, these criteria will be applied to establish its worth.

3.10.1 Credibility

The positivist equivalent to credibility as proposed by Lincoln and Guba would be internal validity, which is defined as *“the approximate truth of the inference or knowledge claim for observations beyond the target population studied”* (Morton and Williams, 2010: 256). Credibility within this context deals with the question ‘how congruent are the findings with reality?’ (Merriam, 1988) and is crucial in establishing trustworthiness. The credibility of this study was achieved in a number ways, such as the development of familiarity with the culture of participating organisations before data collection took place. This requires visiting organisations before research is conducted and evidence of ‘prolonged engagement’ between the research and participants (Erlandson et al, 1993). In this research, several visits to the counselling organisation were made beforehand to build a relationship with the service providers and preliminary meetings were held regarding the suitability of interview schedules and to arrange interview slots for participants. The women’s group which the female focus group participants were members of was visited twice prior to data collection, and the student union which the male focus group participants were part of was also contacted frequently in the lead up to the research. Another way in which credibility was established was through frequent meetings between me as the researcher and my supervisors. The idea here is that through discussion, the researcher’s vision is widened as others can bring their experiences and perceptions to the research (Shenton, 2004). I had monthly supervisory meetings with my supervisors, two

senior academics who offered constant advice, guidance and a wealth of knowledge and research experience. These sessions were also an opportunity for me to acknowledge any biases and preferences that may impinge on the research. Following on from this, reflective commentary was an additional way of lending credibility to this study; before the data collection took place, a research journal was kept to document my experiences of volunteering in a counselling organisation as well as throughout the data collection process when the focus groups and interviews were conducted. Guba and Lincoln argue that this commentary is vital for 'progressive subjectivity' and to monitor the researcher's developing constructions and interpretations of the data. The employment of 'thick description' was another way to bolster the credibility of this research; the use of IPA in this research meant that thick description of the phenomenon of child sexual abuse was an inevitable consequence of data collection. Guba and Lincoln (1985) claim that detailed descriptions convey the situations that have been investigated and help determine the extent to which research findings 'ring true'.

3.10.2 Transferability

Generalisability of findings to the wider population or 'external validity' is not usually an expected attribute of qualitative research as these studies instead focus on specific issues within a particular context or locality (Leung, 2015). Bassey (1981) suggests that if researchers believe their situations to be similar to that of a study, they can apply these findings to their own studies. The researcher is responsible for ensuring that a sufficient amount of contextual information is provided about their study to enable others to make this transfer (Shenton, 2004). In order to achieve transferability in this study, several steps were taken to ensure this including the use

of thick description in the findings and discussion (see chapters five, six and seven) and the pragmatics of the study such as number of participants involved and the number of organisations taking part in the study. These measures make the process of transferability from this study easier for other practitioners and researchers with a similar sample.

3.10.3 Dependability

Good positivist research is characterised by its reliability, in other words, the extent to which the study could be replicated using the same methods and processes and yield similar results (Leung, 2015). The challenge for qualitative research lies in the changing nature of the phenomena being studied, which makes reliability in the positivist sense difficult to achieve. Guba and Lincoln (1985) point out that dependability is very much linked to credibility, and that accomplishing credibility in qualitative research can ensure dependability, which this study has already demonstrated. One suggestion to achieve further dependability is to utilise multiple methods of data collection, such as focus groups and interviews. This study carried out two sets of semi-structured interviews as well as two focus groups, adding to its dependability. A study should also possess a detailed 'audit trail', which places emphasis on the decision-making process within a study (Thyer, 2010). Evidence of an audit trail is an essential component in a rigorous study and lends to its trustworthiness (Bryar, 1999) . An audit trail also enables other researchers to replicate the study and includes the research design and implementation; how data were collected and a reflective appraisal of the project (Shenton, 2004). Such details are included in detail throughout this chapter in particular.

3.10.4 Confirmability

Confirmability within a qualitative research context very much parallels objectivity as understood within a positivist paradigm. More specifically, confirmability refers to the neutrality and accuracy of data (Tobin and Begley, 2004). Patton (1990) acknowledges the difficulties related to achieving real objectivity, as every decision in the research process is at the discretion and will of the researcher, which makes researcher bias inevitable. However, there are ways to counteract these biases to achieve confirmability within a qualitative study. These processes are very similar to those of dependability, including an audit trail and evidence of reflexivity (see section 3.10). Reflexivity is stressed as an integral part of the research process as it brings a degree of transparency to the research (Houghton et al, 2013).

3.11 Strengths and limitations

In striving for critically reflective research, it is important to take into consideration some of the strengths and limitations of the study, which are explored below with reference to the methodology.

3.11.1 Limitations

One of the limitations of the study was the composition of the male focus group sample. The participants were all university students working towards a degree, and were similar in age (with an average age of 20.3 years). This could have potentially narrowed the scope of responses as the men were educated, second or third generation South Asian with more limited life experience than the female focus group members (who had an average age of 33.1 years).

A limitation of the male survivor group was that it only represented men who had disclosed, and men who had received counselling for their experiences of abuse. Despite efforts made by the researcher to recruit participants who had perhaps not formally disclosed or received counselling from variety of locations including universities, colleges and doctor's surgeries, no contact was made with the researcher. The only other route of obtaining participants was through the counselling organisation where the service providers were interviewed. This was therefore, an issue of access, and could perhaps be taken into account for future research projects to give voice to these experiences of men who have not disclosed.

The demographic of the service provider group, all of whom were white British, was another potential limitation of the research. Although manifestations of overt forms of racism and prejudice are rare in the contemporary practice of counselling, interracial and intercultural client/counsellor relationships may still be subject to more subtle forms of racial prejudice and ignorance. Western models of counselling and psychotherapy are often underpinned by a Eurocentric and individualist worldview (Laungani, 2004). Combined with the homogenous ethnic identity of the counsellors, this could have limited the scope of responses from the counsellors. However, the homogeneity of the sample could be attributed to the fact that there was one ethnic minority counsellor in the organisation at the time the research was conducted.

3.11.2 Strengths

One of the major strengths of the samples across all three phases of the research as whole was heterogeneity in terms of ethnicity, religion, class and education. The researcher was able to obtain participants from all three major South Asian communities (Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi) and different religious beliefs

(Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Atheist). Some participants were educated to degree level and some were not, and the geographical location of participants also varied. This allowed for a more varied set of responses that were perhaps more representative of the heterogeneity of South Asian communities in Britain today (Bhatnagar et al, 2015).

The female focus group were sourced from an Asian women's community group. The strengths of the sample included a variety of age and educational attainment, as well as differences in place of birth and generational differences. The youngest participant was 17 and the oldest was 42 which meant that the research was able to collect a breadth of views on issues pertinent to the research.

3.12 Summary

This chapter mapped out the way in which the research was executed, the significance of IPA, the processes involved, the ethics applied, the researcher's position within the study and the ways in which it was rigorous. A consideration of some of the strengths and limitations of the methodology were also taken into account.

The next chapter will present the way in which interpretative phenomenological analysis was used in this study, including a breakdown of the various stages of analysis.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis in practice

4.1 Introduction

IPA is an approach to analysis that is grounded in experiences and what that means to men who have been subjected to CSA. When I embarked on this project little was known about this experience and so IPA was chosen as a method because of its ability to try and understand the world from the perspective of those experiencing it.

This is reflected in Shaw's (2001: 48) presentation of IPA where he outlines:

"...the uniqueness of a person's experiences, how experiences are made meaningful and how these meanings manifest themselves within the context of the person both as an individual and in their many cultural roles."

This is the rationale for using IPA over other methods of analysis.

This chapter will outline the analysis process of this study using IPA as recommended by Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009). This chapter serves two purposes: to provide an audit trail and document the often convoluted data analysis journey, and to demonstrate how IPA was used to analyse, manage and organise the data.

4.2 Reading the transcripts

The fieldwork for this study took 13 months to complete and due to the gaps between each phase, transcription was done as soon as each of the interviews and focus groups were carried out. By the time the analysis of each phase commenced, it was necessary to go back to the transcripts and read them individually, as well as listening to the audio recordings again to get a sense of the each individual participant's account. This read through did not involve any note making, but rather, the purpose was to familiarise and immerse myself in the transcripts in order to access the participant's world (Smith et al, 2009).

4.3 Initial noting

Moving on from reading the transcripts, the next stage involved making notes alongside each transcript with any initial thoughts and observations in order to identify the ways in which the participant articulates and understands an issue (Smith et al, 2009). This was a pivotal stage at which 'bracketing' applied, with the suspension of previous knowledge on what I may expect to find and instead focusing on the experiences of the participants. Appendices 13-16 are examples of transcripts from each phase where these initial comments were made.

4.4 Higher level noting

Beyond the initial noting stage comes a deeper level of note-making which involves looking more closely at the semantic content and language use of participants' accounts (Glasper and Rees, 2016; Smith et al, 2009). This exploratory commentary is broken down into three sections: descriptive, linguistic and conceptual.

Descriptive comments are those which describe the content and the researcher should make an effort in particular to pick up on key phrases and words employed by the participant as well as 'objects of concern'-those events that matter to the participant (Larkin and Thompson, 2012).

Linguistic comments are concerned with the use of language by the participant; various aspects of language including repetition, metaphors and other linguistic devices are highlighted (Smith et al, 2009). The significance of linguistic commentary is that it bridges the gap between descriptive and conceptual notes, for example in the following excerpt from a survivor interview:

Dev: "I don't know I feel conflicted I would say and at times I lead a double life so, so I'm two faced in a sense aren't I really"

The use of the metaphors 'double life' and 'two faced' describe the two separate lives Dev feels like he is leading, the parts of his life he is concealing and an underlying sense of deceit ('two faced') indicating that Dev feels he is being duplicitous. Dev states that he feels conflicted, in his identity as an Asian man and the fact that he is hiding his sexuality from his family, indicating a state of emotional confusion; he feels that the two are not mutually compatible identities within his family, confirming this by stating that he is two faced. He ends the response with 'aren't I really?' inviting the researcher to respond, as though he is seeking approval or confirmation for how he feels. This is an example of how the way Dev describes part of his life using a linguistic device opens up a range of conceptual meanings.

Conceptual comments are a level of annotation which requires the researcher to view the content of the transcripts through a more interpretative lens. The focus is shifted from taking things at face value as with the descriptive commentary and

looking at the deeper levels of meaning and the undertones of what the participant is expressing (Smith et al, 2009). Table 1 illustrates higher level noting used for one of the survivor interviews, with descriptive comments in original font, *linguistic* comments in italics and conceptual comments underlined.

| Original transcript | Exploratory comments |
|---|---|
| <p>Researcher: “do you want to talk a little bit more about how you came to disclose to your mum?”</p> <p>Nathan: “er yeah erm coming from a fairly broken family erm not very good issues with my dad and stuff my mum was the main person who raised us so even though I didn’t tell her first for my own reasons erm after I told my tutor and other people I thought maybe I have to tell her cause at that point I made the decision to go to the police so er it was just a matter of time really erm and her reaction it was, well, I don’t know what I expected really erm it’s not that she didn’t believe me erm I think it was more about her accepting it, she didn’t in the sense she kind of yeah she got upset very very upset and then said well what do you wanna do about it and I told her well look I’ve gone to my tutor and a counsellor and they advised me to go to the police and that’s what I want to do erm that’s when she, she couldn’t really accept it then and she went into this other mode about, that everyone’s gonna find out and he has a family etcetera that’s the abuser she meant and I said well that’s not mine, none of its my problem so how’s that supposed to stop me telling the police? Erm that’s when I knew she’s not gonna be behind me and I knew I was on my own then erm just from the family side of it cause my friends were behind me so was my university but yeah I wish my mum was cause nothing could’ve replaced that erm but it wasn’t meant to be”</p> <p>Researcher: “in hindsight are you glad that you told your mother?”</p> <p>Nathan: “erm yeah I am I definitely would again yeah erm...no there’s no regret there about telling her but I would’ve wanted maybe a change a different reaction from her not the way she did so...”</p> | <p>Issues with father and describes family as ‘broken’. <u>How has this impacted or shaped his life experiences?</u> <u>Has an underlying respect and admiration for his mother as she single-handedly raised his family. This shows that he held her in high esteem before disclosure.</u></p> <p><u>Told other people before he told his mother including his tutor; shows a hesitance or fear of disclosing to her despite her being the main person who raised him.</u> <i>‘I have to tell her’ this statement is strongly suggestive of him having no choice left but to tell her. <u>Nothing left to lose at this stage.</u></i></p> <p>Mother had acceptance issues rather than disbelieving him when he disclosed. <u>Mother reacted badly to his admission of police involvement; a self-consciousness of what others would think if the disclosure was to go public.</u></p> <p><u>Mother’s hesitance and consideration of impact upon abuser’s family and other people finding out-a need to maintain her image within the community? Saving face?</u></p> <p><i>States that mother was ‘very very’ upset. Repetition to emphasise extent of how upset she was.</i></p> <p>He knew at this point that his mother would not be there for him and that he was on his own from this point forward in terms of family. Stresses the importance of his friends supporting him. <u>Self-reliant; autonomy here, he is alone at this point without mother’s support</u></p> <p>He expresses disappointment and sadness that his mother did not support him after disclosure- ‘nothing could’ve replaced that’. <i>Emphasises the enormity of this disappointment and sadness through this statement.</i> <u>Tries to see it in a different light by stating that it wasn’t meant to be, as though this was the version of events that was in his fate and therefore something he must resign himself to.</u></p> <p>No regrets about telling her, just wishes for a different reaction from his mother. <u>Hesitance in how he says that he wouldn’t change it ;juxtapose between no regret in telling her and wishing her reaction was different</u> <i>Tails off</i></p> |

Table 1: Higher level noting

4.5 Emergent themes

After the transcripts were examined to make the three levels of exploratory comments, the next step required a more analytic focus. In looking for emergent themes, it was necessary to work primarily with the exploratory comments rather than the transcripts and to map the interrelationships and connections across these comments (Smith et al, 2009). The parts of the transcript which had corresponding exploratory comments were sectioned off and zoomed in on to identify emerging themes; table 2 shows the emergent themes that were identified in the focus group discussions, which were combine during the data analysis stage.

At this point of the analysis, as a researcher, I felt closer to the data and became increasingly familiar with individual participant accounts. Conceptualising each account and developing themes centralised my position in the research and my role in the interpretative process; Smith et al (2009) concede that the resulting analysis during IPA is a collaborative effort between participant and researcher.

| Emergent theme | Original transcript | Exploratory comments |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|

| | | |
|---------------------------|--|---|
| Respect for elders | <p><i>Rup: I mean I've been India more than a handful of times cause we used to go a lot when I was younger and I definitely saw examples of what manpreet and shazia are talking about, erm, the whole respect thing and not saying certain things in front of elders but we still have that system here I mean it's not really gone away</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: what role do elders play in the family and community?</i></p> | <p><u>Respect is considered an integral part of the Asian family structure, something that seems entrenched within this structure</u></p> <p>Certain issues cannot be discussed in front of elders</p> <p><u>Elders seem to have a status of their own-superior</u></p> <p><u>Elders sit at the top of the hierarchy within Asian family structures</u></p> |
| Respect for elders | <p><i>Rup: they're sort of like...you know if you imagine a committee like your family is the committee and the elders are above that...they just rule over everything...my dad, uncles, even my older brothers cause they're much older than me...it's their way or the highway sort of thing, just, nothing will get past them</i></p> | <p>Colloquial expression/idiom 'their way or the highway' <u>indicates that there is no room for discussion-rules are dictated and are adhered to; no autonomy or independent decision making</u></p> |
| Female expectations | | |
| Role of men in the family | | |
| Female expectations | | <p>Notion of respecting elders is emphasised again, something that is taught from a young age; <u>entrenched in the system that elders are in control</u></p> |
| Cultural expectations | <p><i>J: yeah I have two brothers both older than me, and..I can't even imagine going against them, cause like, you're taught from a young age to respect your elders and all that so yeah I mean even if you're like right on something and they're wrong out of respect you have to agree with them</i></p> | <p><u>Jannath's statement demonstrates that elders' rules/opinions supersede your own and honouring this notion of respecting elders means sacrificing your own beliefs to maintain this system</u></p> |
| Lack of autonomy | | |
| Respect for elders | <p><i>Rup: yeah same here</i></p> <p><i>Shaz: I think it's really good thing to respect the elders it's not a bad thing but problems happen when you don't respect them</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: more specifically in relation to abuse, how would such an issue be dealt with if elders were involved?</i></p> | <p>Shazia, being one of the older participants in the focus group, agrees that respecting elders is a good thing; <u>Perhaps indicative of her more traditional upbringing in rural Pakistan, her culture/values/outlook correspond to this</u></p> <p><i>Repetition of 'powerful' illustrating the magnitude of disclosing abuse, particularly for men</i></p> |
| Power of disclosure | <p><i>C: erm, my viewpoint on it erm, it's powerful, it's a powerful thing to come forward and say hey I've been abused especially because I mean your project is looking at men isn't it?</i></p> | <p><u>Powerful indicates taking control back through disclosure</u></p> |

Table 2: Developing emergent themes

4.6 Clustering themes

The next stage consisted of looking for connections across the emergent themes and clustering the emergent themes together according to their similarities. There are several ways to do this according to Smith et al (2009) but as IPA does not dictate a prescriptive method, the researcher can use their initiative to carry out this process. This was done by listing all the emergent themes from each transcript (separately for each phase) into columns, and colour coding all the themes that were similar, illustrated in table 3 below for the service provider interviews.

| Transcript 1 | Transcript 2 | Transcript 3 | Transcript 4 | Transcript 5 | Transcript 6 |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| Trigger for contacting service | Sexual abuse | Sexual abuse | Sexual abuse | Sexual abuse | Humanistic/pct approach |
| Self harm | Stigma of counselling | Physical abuse | Substance abuse | Sexual assault | Validating survivors experience |
| Fear of being judged | Counselling for middle class | Neglect | Aggression | Post-traumatic stress | Social class |
| Fear of disbelief | Confidentiality | Emotional abuse | Health problems | Flashbacks | Impact of abuse on young adult life |
| Sexuality | Anonymity | Poor confidence | Relationship problems | Depression | Listening to survivors story |
| Self blame | Religious barriers | Rape | Emotional problems | Anxiety | Male disclosure to another male |
| Self harm | Intra cultural differences | Taboo | Child sexual abuse | Suicidal | Getting over the abuse |
| Substance abuse | Lived experiences | Socially constructed gender roles | Not enough young men | Addiction problems | Non-judgmental environment |
| Mental health issues | Individual experiences | Person centred therapy | Stigma | Relationship problems | Acceptance |
| Trust issues | Shame | Difference and diversity | Cultural, religious ethnic barriers | Male victims excluded | Difficulties with sexual relationships |
| Relationship issues | Sexuality | Access issues | Diverse communities | Male ostracisation | Relationship problems |
| Living a lie | Self harm | Self-fulfilling prophecy | Racism | Funding for men | Confusion |
| Gender roles | Self hatred | Religion | Black vs. white umbrella | Stigma of rape | Hurt |
| Stigmas and myth around male abuse | Confidence issues | Community exposure | Black category | Diverse communities | Angry |
| Sexuality | Aggression | <u>Fear of being outcast</u> | Tradition | Universality of sexual abuse | Lack of trust |
| Male expression of emotions | Substance abuse | Shame | Culture | <u>Ostracisation</u> | Heightened state of awareness |
| Specialist male service | Family support | Guilt | Family ties | Disbelief | Confidentiality |
| Cultural barrier | Perpetrator victim relationship | Socially constructed gender roles | Shame | Family reaction to disclosure | Fears around disclosure |
| Abuse in Muslim communities | Shame | Disbelief | Guilt | disclosure | Counsellor confidentiality |
| Language barriers | Honour | Confidentiality | Masculinity | <u>Ostracisation</u> | Autonomous environment |
| Double barrier for ethnic minorities | Community | Community disgrace | Raising awareness of service | Lack of support | Female disclosure |
| Asians and Asian | | Fear of being disloyal | Confidentiality | Person centred therapy | |
| | | Sexuality | Honour | Empathy | |
| | | | Community connections | See world from clients point of view | |
| | | | Liaison person | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| counsellors Confidentiality Trust issues | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|

Table 3: Clustering themes

4.7 Development of super-ordinate themes using abstraction

Abstraction is a way of identifying connections between emergent themes to develop a sense of what is referred to as a ‘super-ordinate’ theme. This requires the researcher to place ‘like with like’ and develop a new name for this cluster of themes (Shinebourne, 2011; Smith et al, 2009). After the construction of table 3 where these initial connections between common themes were established, the themes were grouped together and a new name assigned to represent this overarching, ‘super-ordinate’ theme. Table 4 below exemplifies this using the service provider data, with the super-ordinate themes above in bold and the emergent themes clustered underneath.

| What stops survivors disclosing abuse? | Effects on CSA on survivors | The impact of culture | Being a man |
|---|--|---|--|
| A big fear of confidentiality Fear of being judged Not wanting to be ostracised Fear of not being believed | Problems in relationships Substance abuse Self harm Struggling with sexual identity | Everybody has got culture The power of honour The importance of community | Being made to feel less of a man Men aren’t supposed to cry The stigma of male CSA |

Table 4: Development of super-ordinate themes using abstraction:

4.8 Constructing a principal table of themes

After the identification of super-ordinate themes, the next step involved compiling extracts of the transcripts to make files of emergent themes (Smith et al, 2009). This was carried out by going through each individual transcript and locating the line

number(s) of where the emergent themes were highlighted. This was in line with IPA’s idiographic commitment, and it was necessary to consider each case in its own right before looking for patterns across the cases (Smith et al, 2009). This was followed by a final, principal table of themes, an abridged version of which is shown below in table 5.

| Super-ordinate theme | |
|---|---|
| What stops survivors disclosing abuse? | |
| (Emergent) theme | Extract/Line number |
| <p>Fear of not being believed</p> <p>Theres a big fear of confidentiality</p> | <p>T1, line 17: "...and fear of actually being disbelieved erm which is massive for them"</p> <p>T1, lines 79-80: "...we've got a guy in at the moment who it's so tight he was saying that he would be disbelieved"</p> <p>T1, lines 88-89: "...it all goes back to being disbelieved and it's not about you"</p> <p>T3, lines 42-45: "...probably the biggest issue would be if you find a lot of the time it's sort of like, for them its more frequently I find disbelieved by relatives so therefore they feel that they're going against their relatives by coming in disclosing"</p> <p>T5, lines 51-52: "...a lot of the time a lot of ostracisation and just disbelief"</p> <p>T1, lines 70-71: "...one of the biggest fears they have is that even though we're saying its confidential they, they would not trust that not to get back to the community"</p> <p>T1, lines 166-167: "...how do we convey to people from different communities that we are confidential, how do we build that trust"</p> <p>T2, lines 16-17: "...the fact they may be seen entering the door, confidentiality they wouldn't assume, they would be very very concerned about confidentiality"</p> <p>T3, lines 45-46: "...erm obviously there's a bigger fear of confidentiality for some, cause should it get out in the community"</p> <p>T6, lines 80-82: "I think that's paramount, I think it's paramount. If there is no trust if there is no confidentiality and there's no trust yeah for me I think it is, if I think of myself if I wanted to disclose something"</p> |

| | |
|--|---|
| | like that I would be looking for somewhere that is secure safe confidentiality paramount, yeah” |
|--|---|

Table 5: Abridged principal table of themes

As can be seen in table 5, extracts of the transcripts were in the right hand column, with a left hand column detailing the superordinate theme and subthemes. This was done for every theme for all three phases of the research. After the construction of this principal table of themes, a write up in the form of a full narrative account took place for each phase of the research, seen in chapters 5, 6 and 7. This was guided and facilitated by the principal table as the researcher was able to refer back to this table during the findings and discussion write up. Smith et al (2009) stress the importance of the writing up stage for an IPA study as it allows the reader to follow the researcher in the complex journey of interpreting and making sense of what participants have said.

4.9 Reflections on the analysis process

Carrying out data analysis using IPA was not a linear and straightforward process; in fact, it took numerous attempts at reading and re-reading every transcript that materialised from the interviews to begin to enter their life world. Listening to the audio recordings of the interviews and focus groups was equally useful in bringing the salient aspects of participant experiences to light, as well as manually transcribing all the interviews and focus groups. Only when I had truly learned to ‘bracket’ off my assumptions and any previous knowledge I had acquired through carrying out the literature review was I able to fully engage with each participant’s individual account, before putting on an interpretative thinking cap to transition to the next level. One of the main challenges I encountered when immersing myself in the

transcripts was to stop searching for themes, and instead, allow them to emerge through a meticulous and focused line-by-line analysis.

The double hermeneutic practice central to IPA was exercised throughout the data analysis and assisted me immensely in breaking down the interpretative process and reflecting on both the participant's and my own understanding of their experiences. This is what Findlay (2008) refers to as the 'dance' between reduction (bracketing out ones preconceptions) and reflexivity, with a continual and conscious effort on my part as a researcher to ensure my interpretations of the participant's accounts were grounded in their life world. An example of this involves my ethnic identity and that of the survivors and the focus group participants; as I have Asian heritage, it was very easy to begin to over-identify with particular concepts or experiences that the participants would articulate, especially those relating to culture. During the analysis of the data, I made a conscious effort to bracket off my assumptions and instead interpret what the experience meant to the participant describing it, rather than my own personal understanding of it. Construing meanings and placing the participants and their experiences at the centre of the study were the standout qualities of IPA from my perspective as a researcher, and the attributes that make it distinct from other methods.

Chapter 5

Findings and Discussion: Survivors

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of the findings combined with a discussion of the third phase of the research, which involved interviews with British South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse. The purpose of the survivor interviews was to document the experiences and perspectives of an ethnic minority group who have long been neglected in the field of social and academic research, and to give this group of survivors an identity and voice amongst other sexual abuse survivors.

The chapter will be presented as follows: the first section provides eight detailed life stories on the male survivors interviewed for this research. The rationale behind these life stories was to provide a background to the survivors' experiences and capture the uniqueness of each survivor's account. The next part of the chapter is a breakdown of the broad themes that were gleaned during the analysis of the interview transcripts. Using interpretative phenomenological analysis, the themes identified were: disclosing abuse; masculinity and sexuality; culture and identity and finally, counselling experiences. The chapter ends on concluding remarks.

5.2 Life stories

All names are pseudonyms

This section will introduce the eight survivors and their individual life stories. The researcher found it important to establish a timeline of significant events and stages in each survivor's life.

5.2.1 Nathan

At the time of the research interview, Nathan was 20 years old. Nathan was born and raised in England. Nathan is from a South Indian, Hindu background. He comes from a single parent family, as his parents divorced when Nathan was 6 years old. He resides alone in a flat and at the time of the interview, was a student at University.

Nathan was sexually abused at the age of 8 years old over a 2 year period. His abuser was male family friend who would abuse him during family gatherings and occasionally during religious events, where gatherings with the community would take place. Because of this, Nathan stated that he had lost faith in his religion, as he came to associate his religion with the abuse and could no longer bring himself to practice it. Nathan therefore self-classified as an Atheist, with no affiliation with any organised religious group.

In the aftermath of the abuse, Nathan began exhibiting symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder, around the age of 17 years old. Nathan carried on with his life and tried to push the flashbacks of the abuse to the back of his mind, but when he started attending his first year of University, Nathan felt like he could no longer cope. He confided in his personal tutor about the abuse who then referred to him to the University counselling service. The counsellor helped Nathan work through his

trauma, and began discussing with him the possibility of reporting the abuse to the police. Nathan confided in his University flatmates who attended the police station with him where he reported the abuse and provided details of the abuser, who was still in contact with his family.

After taking a statement from Nathan, the police began their investigation and upon the arrest of the abuser, a female member of Nathan's extended family confessed that she had also been subjected to sexual abuse by the same man. As there were two survivors, this was of significant help towards charging the abuser, and he was subsequently sent to court and stood trial for child sexual abuse. He received a sentence of 11 years, which Nathan was not fully satisfied with. However, Nathan stated that he was grateful that the abuser had been imprisoned for his crimes, as he acknowledged that many survivors did not see any justice with their own cases of abuse.

Nathan disclosed the abuse to his mother after he had confided in his tutor, counsellor and his University flatmates. Nathan expressed how his mother did not have the reaction he anticipated, and despite being upset and emotional upon the disclosure, she did not want the abuse dealt with by the police as she feared that the issue would become public to the community. Nathan was upset, angry and disappointed in his mother for this reaction, as he believed that public knowledge of the abuse should not be a deterrent to seeking justice. He went to the police without his mother's approval, and after the trial came to an end, Nathan cut ties with his mother and community. He did not feel comfortable with his mother's discomfort at fully accepting the abuse due to a fear of community backlash. Nathan does not have contact with his mother, but does have contact with his siblings. Nathan lives

with his dog, who he stated was a huge comfort and a loyal companion for him during and after the trial. His support network consisted of his University friends who he had previously lived with before acquiring his own flat. Nathan was receiving counselling at the time of the research interview which he felt had a positive impact on his healing. Nathan was happy to have the research published with his story under a pseudonym.

5.2.2 Gurdeep

At the time of the research interview, Gurdeep was 26 years old. He is a British born Indian with roots in the Punjab, India, and classifies as Sikh. Gurdeep lives with his family, including his parents, grandmother and two siblings. Gurdeep is University educated with a degree in Business, and at the time of the interview was working in a sales based role.

Gurdeep was first abused at the age of 9 years old by an older male relative. The abuse carried on for 5 years until his abuser moved abroad at which point Gurdeep described feeling helpless. Gurdeep tried to carry on with his life after the abuser moved abroad, but had frequent panic attacks, nightmares and debilitating anxiety which started to affect his schoolwork. Gurdeep described feeling disappointed that nobody noticed that his grades at high school were poor when he had previously performed well in primary school, nor did anybody question why he seemed unhappy.

After high school, Gurdeep moved on to a different college which he felt was a new start, as he had no bad memories attached to this new environment and made a new

group of male and female friends which boosted his confidence. Gurdeep began to perform well at college and completed his A-Levels and gained a place at his chosen University, which was in a different city to his family home. Gurdeep moved into student accommodation and thrived in his new environment, but still suffered with nightmares and panic attacks. Gurdeep continued ignoring these symptoms but eventually went to see a GP close to his University campus; his GP was from a White English background, and Gurdeep stated that he felt comfortable in this GP's presence, and confident that the GP would not know his family or community. Gurdeep confided in the GP who referred him to a local counselling service. Gurdeep was seen by the counselling service quite quickly after the GP referral, and saw a counsellor for 12 weeks. Gurdeep had mixed feelings regarding the counselling; on the one hand, it helped him to accept what had happened to him during his childhood. On the other hand, it brought up difficult emotions and increased his nightmares and panic attacks.

After the initial bout of counselling, Gurdeep looked for another counselling organisation and located one a few miles from his University. This was around 3 months after his initial counselling sessions, and with the second round of counselling, Gurdeep felt as though the counselling began helping him in his recovery. At this point, Gurdeep had no confided in anyone other than his GP and counsellors. He tried to keep his University and family life separate to his private life, and felt that by compartmentalising his life, he would have a sense of control over everything. After his second round of counselling was complete, Gurdeep was midway through his University degree, and felt able to carry on with his studies with full concentration. His nightmares were less frequent as were his panic attacks; he

began enjoying the social side of University and enjoyed partying with his friends and keeping busy with his studies. Gurdeep graduated with honours from University and moved back to his family home. After starting employment, Gurdeep occasionally used counselling helplines when he needed support; eventually he began to receive counselling again which he was engaged in at the time of the interview.

For Gurdeep, disclosing the abuse to counsellors and his GP was enough for him to try and achieve closure. He cited that the main reason he did not wish to disclose to his family was a fear of being disbelieved and as the only son in his household, that he would be seen as a failure being the first born male. Gurdeep felt he had expectations to fulfil within his family and that he did not want to compromise the respect and high esteem he was held in by his family and extended family.

5.2.3 Mahmud

Mahmud was 34 years old at the time of the interview. Mahmud is a Pakistani-born male who had settled in England at the age of 16. He identified as a practicing Muslim. Mahmud resides in a 'joint' family, consisting of his parents, his wife and his two children.

Mahmud was 12 years old when he was abused. The abuse took place when Mahmud was living in Pakistan, and was carried out by a male family friend. The abuse occurred sporadically, as the abuser was not a frequent visitor to Mahmud's family home and occurred roughly around a period of 2 years. Mahmud referred to the abuser as an 'opportunist' as he would carry out the abuse on random visits.

At the age of 16, Mahmud, his parents and his siblings moved to England. Mahmud described how he blocked out the abuse for many years, and continued with his college education in England whilst holding down part-time jobs. For Mahmud, these were distractions to what had happened in Pakistan, and living in a busy city kept his mind occupied. Mahmud lived in a densely populated city with his family, with a large Muslim community surrounding him. When he attended University, Mahmud met his future wife and upon the completion of his degree, they married. He acquired a graduate job in finance and had two children, and continued living with his parents, siblings and his wife. For Mahmud, living in a joint family made him feel secure, particularly as he had a close bond with his parents.

Mahmud did not disclose the abuse to anybody within his family, but instead confided in an imam at his local mosque which he frequented for his daily prayers. The imam encouraged Mahmud to seek help through a counsellor which initially, Mahmud was reluctant to take up. A few years passed before Mahmud sought help from a counselling service, and during his initial counselling sessions, Mahmud stated that he felt very uncomfortable, as the prospect of telling a stranger what had happened to him was very difficult. Mahmud did not have a particular preference for a counsellor, but did state that he would have preferred an Asian counsellor who may relate to him better. He was eventually assigned to a White female counsellor with whom he developed a good relationship. Mahmud felt the abuse was not something he could discuss with his wife and family, as he did not want to burden anybody with an issue he felt was his own to deal with. He also stressed that as his parents were elderly, they were not in a good state of health to be able to deal with

such a disclosure, particularly his father who had various ailments including heart problems.

For Mahmud, religion was a major source of help, and acted as a calming influence for him. Mahmud also cited that there were various aspects of his faith that helped him to come to terms with the abuse, in particular that everything in an individual's life is predestined and the will of God. His faith, in combination with counselling, has been sufficient for Mahmud in dealing with abuse.

5.2.4 Ayaan

Ayaan was 24 years old at the time of the interview. He is a British born Bangladeshi male who identified as a Muslim. Ayaan stressed that his religious beliefs were moderate and that he was not overly religious. Ayaan lives with his girlfriend in a flat.

Ayaan was abused from the age of 9 years old for around 7 years by a male relative in his extended family. The male relative was an uncle of Ayaan's, and the abuse was frequent until Ayaan reached adolescence, and as he got older, Ayaan began feeling suicidal and increasingly depressed. When he could no longer cope, he confronted the abuser and threatened to expose him to the rest of the family; Ayaan stated that the abuser denied all knowledge of the abuse upon confrontation. Consequently, he moved out of the family home and worked in a restaurant as a waiter, where he also lived above the premises with other staff. After a few years, Ayaan pursued and completed a vocational course at college and started working as an apprentice electrician. During his time at college, Ayaan met his girlfriend and

stated that he felt, for the first time in his life, happy and content with a sense of control over his life.

Both Ayaan and his girlfriend worked full-time and began renting their own flat; at this point, Ayaan confided in his girlfriend about the abuse. Her reaction was understanding and Ayaan stated that he felt she was the only person he could trust. Ayaan's girlfriend recommended that he seek counselling. She found two counselling organisations that were local to their home and attended the first session with Ayaan. Ayaan enjoyed his first therapy session, and continued with the therapy for the maximum period the organisation allowed due to waiting list demands. Ayaan enjoyed the talking element of therapy, and felt as though he could talk about all aspects of his life with his counsellor, including his relationships with his girlfriend, work colleagues and family members. He used the therapy for more than discussing the abuse, as he did not want it to be a central point of his life.

Although Ayaan was not living with his family, he remained in contact with his parents and siblings. He did not feel as though he could tell his family about the abuse due to circumstances surrounding the abuser's relation to his family, and the shame and heartache that would be brought upon the family with the disclosure. The abuser was still in regular contact with Ayaan's family, and would occasionally still visit their family home with his wife and children, although Ayaan maintained that he was a much frequent visitor when Ayaan was younger. Ayaan felt as though he could not face bumping into the abuser as it would bring back bad memories and take him back into depression. His relationship with the abuser ended the day Ayaan confronted him, and as the abuser still visited the family home, Ayaan felt as though the abuser had not taken the threat of exposure seriously. For Ayaan, the

abuser had a lingering impact on his life, and he did not want to risk letting him back into his life.

Ayaan also kept his relationship hidden from his family, as his parents would not approve of him living with a white girlfriend, as culturally and religiously, it was not deemed correct to live together out of wedlock, nor was it acceptable to be with a non-Muslim partner.

5.2.5 Dev

Dev is a British born male of Indian heritage and was 41 years old at the time of the interview. Dev was raised Hindu but had not practised Hinduism since his teens, so classified himself as a non-religious Hindu. Dev identified as gay, and was living with his partner.

Dev was 14 years old when he was first abused. The abuse was carried out by a young male in Dev's extended family, although the abuser was not a blood relative. The abuse carried on for around one year, and occurred in Dev's family home, usually during family gatherings when many people would be present in the home. Dev described how he did not fight off the abuser as at the time of the abuse, as he was unaware that what was happening was wrong. Dev described feeling a lot of self-blame for not fighting off the abuser, and this was something he could not make peace with. The abuser stopped visiting Dev's family home around the time the abuse stopped, although Dev was unaware of why he had stopped visiting along with his family. Dev found out many years later that a feud had occurred between the two families and this had led to the breakdown of the relationship.

Dev described that in the aftermath of the abuse, he had blocked out what had happened and carried on excelling in school and sixth form. He described himself as an overachiever and an avid reader, using fictional books as a way of escaping reality. Dev attended University where again he continued to excel and thrive in education. It was around this time that Dev began to question his sexuality as he had never felt attracted to a woman, which he could not explore whilst living in his family home. Dev began frequenting gay bars and had a long term relationship with one person who he met on a night out; this relationship ended when Dev graduated from University, as Dev moved to a different city to begin his graduate job. This was Dev's first serious relationship and for him, a significant point in his life where he came to identify his sexuality. Dev did not tell his family that he was gay, as he did not wish to complicate matters with his family, particularly his parents, who had very traditional views on marriage and relationships. Dev had a huge emphasis placed on him as he entered adulthood that he should marry somebody from the same ethnic, religious and caste background, and was aware of the role culture played in his family's views. As a result of this, and because of his secular and more western perspectives, Dev lived independently and tried to maintain a distance with his family, keeping contact via phone and visiting only when a family wedding took place.

Dev met his current partner through a work event, and described him as his soul mate; his partner is White, and Dev found that their personalities and views were much more compatible than they would be if Dev had chosen an Indian partner. Dev kept this relationship hidden from his family and stated that he felt as though he lived a double life at times. Dev recalls that on one particular occasion, he decided to talk

about his past to his partner, and upon doing so, began to cry. Dev believed that he had somehow retrieved 'lost' memories that he had blocked out and upon disclosing the abuse to his partner, he sought counselling. Because of Dev's financial position, he was able to begin private counselling sessions and continued the sessions every week for around 3 months, until a disagreement with his counsellor made him question the motives of the counsellor. The disagreement involved a session being unexpectedly cancelled as Dev had a work emergency; however, his counsellor attempted to charge him the hourly rate for the missed session which Dev disputed. Upon ending this relationship, Dev took a break from counselling until he found that free counselling sessions were available for male survivors of abuse. Dev took up these sessions and felt that he benefitted from these counselling sessions as he developed a trusting relationship with his female counsellor.

5.2.6 Suleman

Suleman is a British born Bangladeshi male, who was 29 years old at the time of the interview. Suleman identified as a Muslim, and lives with his wife and daughter.

Suleman was abused at around 7 years old for a period of 3 years. The abuse took place in a mosque by an imam who was around the same age as Suleman's father. The imam would abuse Suleman in a room at the back of the mosque which was the imam's private office. He would take other boys into the room at different times which Suleman suspected were for the same reasons he went to the room. Suleman reported feeling numb during the abuse, describing how he would have an 'out of body' feeling while the abuse took place, separating his mind from his body. According to Suleman, this was his coping mechanism, and helped him cope

somewhat with the pain that he endured. When Suleman was around 10 years old, a complaint was lodged against the imam, the details of which were not told to the children at the mosque. The imam did not return after this point, and through rumours, it was established that a young girl had reported to the police that the imam had inappropriately touched her.

At around 12 years old, Suleman told his mother that the imam had abused him, and gave her details of what he had done; Suleman's mother's response was to keep quiet, and not to tell his father or anybody else about what had happened. Suleman was told that saying such things was 'shameful' and this notion of shame stayed with him until he reached the age of around 18, when Suleman began to resent his mother for her response. Suleman questioned why his mother had told him to hide what had happened to him, and blamed himself for many years as a result of this. Shortly after Suleman had turned 18, his father suddenly passed away from a heart attack, which deeply affected him. Suleman found himself spiralling into depression and began taking marijuana, an addiction which progressed and eventually became a heroin addiction. Suleman was working in an Asian grocery store around this time and with the wages he received, he funded his growing drug habit. At his lowest point, Suleman stole his mother's gold jewellery and sold it to a pawnbroker; Suleman's mother was devastated, as the jewellery had a lot of sentimental value to her. Suleman was outcast from his family by his older brother, and temporarily moved in with his mother's sister.

Suleman's drug habit continued for around 5 years, with his family intervening at many points to offer him rehabilitation and help. Suleman continually broke their trust by stealing from them and eventually, he was taken to Bangladesh by his

brother and mother. He was told he would be getting an arranged marriage in order to fix his behaviour and give him a sense of responsibility; Suleman was drug-free for the 6 weeks he stayed in Bangladesh and stated that the withdrawal symptoms severely affected him. After spending time with his new bride, Suleman booked an early ticket home and obtained a drug supply within hours of landing. Suleman overdosed on drugs and was taken to a hospital; his family arrived and at this point, Suleman agreed to attend rehabilitation.

After around two years, Suleman was clean of drugs and had confided in his support counsellor about the sexual abuse. The support worker referred him to a specialist counselling service dealing with sexual assault, where he was assigned to a female counsellor. At around this time, Suleman's wife had gained a visa to enter the UK and he continued with the counselling sessions but did not inform his wife. Suleman never confided in his wife about the abuse, as he felt that coming from a different country of birth, she would not grasp what abuse was. Suleman's confidence had also been knocked as confiding in his mother about the abuse was met with a negative reaction, and he could not face disclosing to another family member.

5.2.7 Sanjay

Sanjay was 31 years old at the time of the interview. Sanjay is a British born Indian male, who identified as Hindu. Sanjay lives with his mother.

Sanjay was unaware of how old he was when he was abused, but his earliest memory was around 4 years old. Sanjay was abused by his father, and had an older sister who he later found out was also abused by their father. Sanjay's mother was

subjected to physical abuse by his father, who would consume alcohol and violently beat her in the same room as Sanjay and his sister. After a particularly bad beating, Sanjay's sister called an ambulance and their mother was taken to hospital where she stayed for a few days recovering from her injuries. During this time, social services became involved and began investigating Sanjay's family situation; Sanjay and his sister did not reveal that they had been sexually abused, but did report that their mother was frequently beaten by their father. Their father was arrested but released as Sanjay's mother did not wish to press charges. They subsequently separated and their father remarried and moved out.

During Sanjay's teenage years, his sister moved out to attend University, while Sanjay attended high school and got a part-time job at a fast food chain in order to help his mother financially. Sanjay has a close bond with his mother, and at around 15 years old, felt as though he could confide in her about the abuse. When he told her, his mother had a nervous breakdown and went into depression, racked with guilt that she was not aware of the abuse. When Sanjay's sister came to visit, his mother did not let on that Sanjay had disclosed the abuse to her, and Sanjay also refrained from telling her. However, Sanjay stated that he knew in the back of his mind that his sister had also been abused, and that he 'had a feeling' because he noted similar traits in their behaviour.

When Sanjay was around 16 years old, he heard through family friends that his father had passed away from deteriorating health as a result of his alcoholism. Sanjay recalled feeling nothing when he heard that his father had died-no sadness, no emotion, and no sense of relief. Sanjay's mother proceeded to tell her daughter about the death of their father, and she exhibited a similar reaction to Sanjay, a blank

response. Sanjay asked his sister, without the presence of his mother, whether she had been abused by their father; she admitted that he had abused her frequently from a very young age and that part of the reason she moved away from home for University was to get away from the reminders. She had no idea that Sanjay had also been abused, and asked him whether he had told their mother. Sanjay told her that he had disclosed the abuse to their mother, and upon hearing her reaction, Sanjay's sister decided against telling her, as she did not want to cause further distress upon her mother.

Sanjay described how he felt as though his life from the age of 4 had been one big blur, and that he had drifted through life with no feelings of happiness. He described how he felt as though he was on 'auto pilot' for most of his life, up until the age of 24 when he met his current girlfriend. Sanjay's girlfriend gave him a sense of purpose and was the first person outside of his mother and sister who he trusted and as such, he disclosed the abuse to her. Sanjay's girlfriend was a trainee nurse at the time and advised him to seek help through a counselling service. Sanjay received counselling for around one year, and because of the severity of his case, the counsellor continued seeing him for another 6 months.

5.2.8 Aman

Aman was 33 years old at the time of the interview, and is a British born Indian male, whose family hail from the Punjab region of India. He identifies as Sikh. Aman lives with his parents, his wife and his daughter.

Aman grew up in a predominantly Asian neighbourhood where 'everybody knew everybody'. He recalls being abused at the age 11 years old by a man from the local

community. The abuse was a one-time incident, and had a long-lasting impact on Aman. The abuser was a local man who was also Sikh Punjabi, and had a wife and children who he lived with. He was known in the neighbourhood to approach young boys and offer them money to enter his house, one of whom was Aman. Aman was out playing with friends on his street where the abuser lived, and wandered away from his friends to walk home. The abuser approached him and offered him £5 to go into his house; as a child, Aman was impressionable and tempted with the offer of £5, which for him seemed like a lot of money. He entered the house and recalls being taken into the bathroom and abused. The abuser's wife and children were not home at the time of the incident, and after the abuse had taken place, Aman was given £5 and led out of the house. He walked home and did not tell anybody what had happened until many years later.

Aman completed high school and began working for his father's business alongside his parents and older brother. As he did not perform well academically, the family business was Aman's only option, and he felt miserable at the prospect of working there permanently. After a few years, Aman started to work in a call centre and enjoyed being outside of the family business, but after being made redundant, returned to the family business. As Aman reached his 20s, he was given more control over the decisions in the family business, with his elder brother getting married and moving out of the family home one of the reasons for this change. As the family business grew, Aman's family moved out of their home and bought a larger home.

Around the same time, Aman was approached by his family with a marriage offer for a girl who was recommended through family friends, who he agreed to meet. Aman

agreed to have an arranged marriage, as he felt he clicked with the girl upon meeting. Aman and his wife continued to live in his parent's home, as it was tradition to do so in his family. After a few years of marriage, Aman and his wife had their first baby, and it was around this time that Aman began to have flashbacks of the attack. He had sleeping difficulties and felt as though he could not hide the reason from his wife, who he trusted deeply. Aman told his wife of the attack, and she gave him encouragement to seek professional help. Aman did not feel comfortable seeking help initially for numerous reasons, including a fear that his family members may find out he is receiving counselling and question why he is receiving it. Aman described his family as a 'typical Punjabi family' with traditional views of masculinity and an adherence to many cultural imperatives including izzat.

5.3 Disclosing abuse

Perhaps one of the biggest challenges for any survivor of child sexual abuse is to try and disclose their experience of abuse. There are two major categories of child sexual abuse disclosure: accidental disclosure and purposeful disclosure, with the former being more common amongst children and the latter more characteristic of adult survivors of sexual abuse. Accidental disclosure occurs when the abuse is observed by someone else or when children exhibit behavioural or physical signs that indicate abuse (Crosson-Tower, 2014). Purposeful disclosure has been defined as *"an intentional and deliberate revelation of the abuse with clear intent of revealing its existence"* (Mian et al, 1986). Disclosure can be a progressive step towards the healing process, with many survivors reporting that positive changes occur when they take control of their lives, experience acceptance from others and experience a sense of liberation and freedom (Draucker et al, 2011). The significance of

disclosure for the survivors in this study was documented and these findings have been presented and discussed below, having been divided into three subthemes: 'why should I be scared of telling my own mum?', 'not letting everybody down' and 'they wouldn't believe me'.

5.3.1 'Why should I be scared of telling my own mum?'

The process of disclosing child sexual abuse is akin to a journey, a continuum or a process for many abuse survivors (Collings et al, 2005; Alaggia, 2004). In this study, all the survivors had disclosed abuse to a family member, a peer, a partner, or a health professional, with all but one of the survivors retrospectively disclosing childhood sexual abuse in their adult years. The one exception to this was Suleman, who after experiencing abuse at the hands of an imam in his place of worship, disclosed to his mother around two years after the abuse had taken place, when the imam had been reported to the police for a similar offence by a young girl. For Suleman, trying to tell his mother at the age of 12 was an immense challenge:

Researcher: "what was your experience of disclosing to your mum at this age? How did you feel?"

Suleman: "erm, yeah hard, really hard erm, I remember thinking well this is my mum you know why should I be scared of telling my own mum? She gave birth to me and up to that point she always kind of treated me like the baby of the family cause being the youngest of three boys erm even though I got a younger sister to her I was still like her baby so yeah I thought I'll just tell her maybe she'll help me but erm no, no. Erm, she basically said to me that I have to hide it erm don't tell your dad don't tell

your brothers and at that age you just do what your parents tell you so yeah I was hurt really hurt but it is what it is you know maybe it was too hard for her or something erm she said we won't tell anyone....and I didn't for a long time"

Suleman's experience of disclosing the abuse to his mother was an experience tinged with anger, sadness and disappointment. He starts by describing the difficulty of disclosing and questioning why he should fear telling his own mother, particularly being the 'baby' of the family as he describes, and expecting a maternal and caring response. His mother's blunt response effectively shut down the magnitude of the disclosure and her instinct, rather than to protect and nurture him, was to silence him. Suleman was silenced by his abuser, and silenced again by his own mother upon disclosing the abuse for the first time, being wronged in two situations which should warrant very different reactions. He was asked not to tell his father or brothers which reinforced the need to keep the abuse a secret, something he had already done and was expected to continue doing. This first, and arguably most significant experience of disclosure had an impact on Suleman's decision to not disclose again until a long time afterwards.

According to Allnock and Miller (2013) the average amount of time it takes for a survivor to disclose abuse is 7 years; the younger the child is when the abuse starts, the longer it takes for them to disclose. Suleman did not fit this profile, deciding to tell his mother with trust and confidence, but being rebuffed with an unexpected response:

Suleman: "erm she said it's sharam you know what that means?"

Researcher: “yes for me I would translate it as a shame in Bengali”

Suleman: “well yeah same we speak the same so if I say to you she said ‘itha sharam itha manshoreh koin nah’ you know what I mean by that”

Researcher: “erm yeah it’s shameful and we don’t tell people that?”

Suleman: “yeah that’s exactly what she said to me and it’s stuck in my head...erm I couldn’t let that go for years erm it was one of the things that fucked me up later fucked me up for years so I don’t know I couldn’t trust anyone after that and it’s not my excuse but it made me do all that shit I did later”

Suleman’s mother, with a sentence he spoke in Bengali to capture what his mother had said, did not provide any reassurance to Suleman which he was seeking as a child survivor still raw from what had happened to him 2 years previously. Her justification for keeping the disclosure of abuse a secret between herself and Suleman was that it would be shameful if other people were to learn of the abuse. Her response is steeped in cultural notions of shame and a consciousness of Suleman not telling other people, again because of a fear of shame being brought on the family. Gilligan’s (2005) work with Asian communities across Bradford found that cultural factors had the power to impede individuals’ and families’ willingness to disclose child sexual abuse. These findings are congruent with Suleman’s mother’s response, which signifies how cultural norms can hamper an individual’s ability to sufficiently respond to and deal with sexual abuse disclosure. For Suleman, his mother’s response had a debilitating effect later on his life when his drug addiction began, which he stresses with his use of expletives (“fucked me up later fucked me

up for years”). This is an expression of his anger and frustration at his mother’s attitude that the abuse is ‘shameful’, placing this shame with Suleman and ultimately making him feel responsible in some way for the abuse taking place. Suleman stressed that this was not an excuse for his drug problems, but rather, an explanation as to why he began to use drugs and why his mother’s reaction to the disclosure “fucked me up for years” and “made me do all that shit I did later”. He also developed trust issues and did not discuss the abuse again until much later on as a further consequence to this experience of disclosure. Lovett (2004) in her study of maternal responses to child sexual abuse disclosure found that responses that conveyed a sense of protection and support resulted in improved mental health and social functioning in survivors. Lovett argues that the response survivors receive from caregivers and indeed professionals, have the power to aid survivors with recovery or retraumatise them. An interpretation of Suleman’s response and the drug addiction he consequently battled after the disclosure to his mother would suggest that Suleman fell into the latter of Lovett’s categories.

Sanjay’s experience of trying to tell his mother about sexual abuse was in contrast to Suleman’s; Sanjay was sexually abused by his biological father and at the time of disclosure, was around 14 years old. At the time, he lived alone with his mother and felt safe enough to confide in her about the abuse:

Researcher: “how did you go about telling your mother what had happened?”

Sanjay: “erm we only had each other at that point, so my sister went to uni and I felt a bit like she’d abandoned us, I thought it was selfish of her cause mum had been through that much and she tried hard to give us a good life after Kirpal (Sanjay’s*

father, who he referred to by his name) had gone so I don't, I didn't have respect for her at that time erm telling mum wasn't easy erm I had to keep thinking about what effect it would have on her and whether I was being selfish, I thought I was being selfish by wanting to tell her but I had nothing left erm I lost my self-respect early on in my life I didn't sleep I didn't wanna laugh I didn't want anything from anyone just...there was just that much in my head I couldn't deal with it anymore and I thought maybe if I tell her it will get easier for me so one day I was sitting with her erm I think we were watching something erm something I don't remember but I remember what I felt like then erm I was waiting thinking how do I bring it up? How do I say it so I thought just say it erm then that's it I just said to her mum I gotta tell you something she's like what and she didn't know what was coming and I said it's about Kirpal and she's like yeah go on and I just said it, I said it I said he raped me"

Sanjay's disclosure was blunt and direct and although rapid in its delivery, extremely powerful. 'He raped me' is abrupt, direct, emotionally charged, pointing to an almost pressure cooker effect inside of him, where he was no longer able to keep the abuse a secret. He recalls feeling selfish in wanting to tell his mother about the abuse, putting her feelings before his own due to the hardships she had also endured with his father. However, Sanjay expressed having 'nothing left', emotionally and physically drained with no enjoyment in his life, quite literally having nothing left to lose. Sanjay chose a very random and mundane moment to reveal the abuse-in the middle of watching television-which demonstrates a sense of urgency to get it off his chest, a now or never situation which led to him very frankly disclosing the abuse he suffered at the hands of Kirpal*.

Sanjay's disclosure was, like Suleman's, a matter of being able to confide in his mother and because he was in a situation where he felt that he and his mother only had each other, this enabled him to tell her rather directly what his father had done to him. Sanjay was much more fortunate than Suleman in that his mother's reaction was not to place blame on him or attempt to silence him:

Sanjay: "erm she was understanding, erm she was shocked more than anything I remember her reaction erm when I think about it it makes me wanna cry erm she let out this scream it was such a painful scream like someone had stabbed her in the heart or something erm I can't forget that sound and I can't forgive myself for making her hurt like that but... yeah I don't know at the time it really got to her she got so affected by it and one thing she never did she never blamed me she never said to me you let it happen or why did you tell me or anything erm if she did that's what I was scared of erm but if she did I would've killed myself I really really would've killed myself cause I felt like I had nothing at that point and all I wanted was her erm and I did she still loved me and I have nothing but respect for her cause she went through all that beating and still she did everything and see that's why I didn't respect Suman (Sanjay's sister) cause she never put mum first when she always put us first"*

Sanjay's recollection of his mother's first reaction to the abuse is one of intense pain and grief, with a "painful scream" as he describes which he likened to someone stabbing her in the heart. His choice of analogy indicates the physical and mental anguish that resonated with him through his mother's scream and the impact of this scream was something he could not forget, nor forgive himself for. There is a strong sense of protectiveness that emanates from Sanjay towards his mother, evident in

his account, with a constant need to protect her and placing his needs as a survivor aside to ensure that she was ok first. Sanjay is forthcoming about notions of suicide that he feels he would have carried out if his mother had blamed him or in any way for the abuse, and that the only thing he wanted at this point was his mother's support, as he felt he had nothing more. His respect for his mother is apparent at various points of his account ("I have nothing but respect for her") and her approval and happiness seems to be a core priority for Sanjay. This is one of the reasons Sanjay is unhappy with his sister Suman*, who he feels abandoned the family when his mother needed her most. As Sanjay's mother was subjected to domestic violence from his father, it seemed that her reaction to his disclosure of abuse brought them closer together, having both been survivors of different forms of abuse by the same person.

Parental reactions to sexual abuse disclosure from their children have historically been inconsistent in the research field, although Elliott and Carnes (2001) in their review of the literature found that the majority of mothers are supportive and believe their child's admission of disclosure. Elliott and Carnes (2001) also stress the significant distress that many parents suffer as a result of their child's disclosure, which was evident in Sanjay's account.

According to Allnock (2010) children are most likely to confide in their mother or their peers when disclosing sexual abuse, which is corroborated by Abrahams (1996) who stated that children were more likely to tell a friend or their mother as they usually choose the person they think is most likely to believe their account. However, choosing to tell an individual who they trust who will believe their account does not necessarily mean that they survivor will receive a supportive response. This was the

case with Nathan, who disclosed to his mother after initially confiding in his university tutor:

Researcher: “do you want to talk a little bit more about how you came to disclose to your mum?”

Nathan: “er yeah erm coming from a fairly broken family erm not very good issues with my dad and stuff my mum was the main person who raised us so even though I didn’t tell her first for my own reasons erm after I told my tutor and other people I thought maybe I have to tell her cause at that point I made the decision to go to the police so er it was just a matter of time really erm and her reaction it was, well, I don’t know what I expected really erm it’s not that she didn’t believe me erm I think it was more about her accepting it, she didn’t in the sense she kind of yeah she got upset very very upset and then said well what do you wanna do about it and I told her well look I’ve gone to my tutor and a counsellor and they advised me to go to the police and that’s what I want to do erm that’s when she, she couldn’t really accept it then and she went into this other mode about, that everyone’s gonna find out and he has a family etcetera that’s the abuser she meant and I said well that’s not mine, none of its my problem so how’s that supposed to stop me telling the police? Erm that’s when I knew she’s not gonna be behind me and I knew I was on my own then erm just from the family side of it cause my friends were behind me so was my university but yeah I wish my mum was cause nothing could’ve replaced that erm but it wasn’t meant to be”

Nathan’s decision to disclose the abuse to his mother seemed more of a necessity than something he wanted to do; he told his university tutor and a counsellor before

he told his mother and at this point he had made the decision to go to the police. Disclosing to his mother was the next step as he was sure it would be a “matter of time” until she found out. Nathan picked up on reluctance on his mother’s part to accept what had happened; he stresses that although she believed him, she did not wish to accept his decision to report the abuse to the police. She was also inclined to consider the impact of the disclosure on the abuser’s family and what the community may think if the abuse was to become public knowledge (through reporting to the police). Because of her reaction to the disclosure, Nathan ended his relationship with his mother and his ties to his family ultimately cut off. As there were only 3 out of 8 survivors who disclosed abuse to a close family member in this research study, it posed the question of why the other survivors could not confide in a family member regarding their abusive experiences.

Interestingly, despite Nathan’s own construction of his identity as non-cultural and non-religious, his mother’s consciousness of people finding out about the abuse suggests that culture has played a part in his fractured relationship with his mother after the disclosure of abuse. Furthermore, this demonstrates how for both Nathan and Suleman, culture played a role in shaping the way their relationships developed with their mothers in light of the abuse disclosure. This is in contrast to Sanjay’s supportive reaction from his mother, which brought them close together; interestingly, Sanjay did not mention culture or woes of this nature relating to the disclosure, for himself or his mother. On the basis of this, it can be said that a cultural consciousness of ‘community’ finding out, or in Suleman’s case, that it is culturally ‘shameful’ bring to light how South Asian men’s experiences of disclosure are impacted by culture.

5.3.2 'Not letting everybody down'

The majority of the survivors interviewed in this study opted to disclose to non-family members, citing a number of reasons as to why this was the case. Mahmud for example, confided in an imam about his experience of child sexual abuse; Dev, Ayaan and Aman confided in their partners and Gurdeep confided in his GP. According to Hunter (2011) the person(s) to whom disclosure of sexual abuse is made is of great importance and should be included in the construction of theoretical models of disclosure, as the experience of telling a friend, family member or police are all very different and unique experiences. This difference was noted in the interviews, and when the analysis of the transcripts commenced, it was clear that there were factors that prevented some men from disclosing to family members. During the course of the research interviews, one of the reasons that became apparent was the feeling that the men would be letting down the family in some way if they were to disclose the abuse. Traditional Asian family structures are unique in that first generation immigrants brought with them a set of expectations regarding the position of men, women and children within a patriarchal hierarchy. This is characterised by male dominance and patrilineality-the continuity of the family line through males (Kramarae and Spender, 2004). This places an expectation on children to live up to the obligations and ideals of parents and the wider community (Ross-Sheriff et al, 2007). This was documented in some of the accounts of the survivors below, with excerpts from the transcripts to support these findings.

Researcher: "you explained that apart from your GP and counsellor, and myself obviously, no one else is aware of what you went through. Was there any particular reason you didn't confide in your family about the abuse?"

Gurdeep: “yeah erm yeah there were loads of reasons actually not just the one erm well I need to take a breather before I say all this erm yeah. Ok so reason being first erm in an Indian family and I hold a certain place, I’m a son, I’m an older brother, erm a first born, Asian so you probably know what that’s like you know we have that pressure on us all the time to be not perfect but it’s about pleasing everyone you know keeping everyone happy so cause of all that I didn’t wanna let them all down erm my grandma lives with us and she’s a big influence on me, erm she’s like a second mum but even then she’s a hundred billion times more strict than my parents you can imagine erm she holds all her erm I don’t know the word erm the principles I think? Yeah she’s got strong principles so she’s got this thing about her where everything’s about what you’re looking at izzat it’s about that it’s just about protecting that and my dad that’s his mum you have to imagine he’s learnt everything from her so he has that same thinking... erm so I can’t just one day go up to them and let them all down when I know already I know what they’ll say I know what they think erm for me they’re everything I love them and in a way it’s, it isn’t their fault and they couldn’t have stopped it”

Gurdeep lists the many facets of his identity that were obstacles for him in disclosing the abuse to his family. He describes that being a first born Asian male within his family and that holding a “certain place” meant that he had an expectation to live up to that would be shattered if he was to disclose that he was an abuse survivor. He emphasises the importance of pleasing everybody around him because he “didn’t wanna let them all down.” His paternal grandmother is mentioned as an important figure in his life, and is described as traditional and strict in her views. It is apparent that there are inter-generational dynamics at play, with his grandmother and his

father having shared views on protecting izzat. Gurdeep, whilst not in overt support of the notion of honour, seems to exhibit a fear of letting everybody down and in the process, compromising the family's honour. However, this fear seems more driven by family pressure which Gurdeep refers to in his response. Gurdeep is understanding towards his grandmother and father for having 'strong principles' and maintains that the abuse was not something that his family were responsible for nor could they have prevented. Gurdeep lived with his family at the time of the research interview and did not harbour any ill feeling towards his family, instead seeming content that he had disclosed the abuse to his GP and counsellor:

Gurdeep: "erm for me it was enough, erm I had the opportunity to go to my doctor and she was the first person ever who I'd spoke to and she referred me to the counsellor and helped me a lot erm I'm grateful to them and I don't think by telling anyone else I don't think it would make a difference really erm what could they do for me really erm being realistic it's a headache for me if anything just thinking about telling them even, erm no so no I think its best what I did for me anyway."

Gurdeep's previous account of not letting down his family ties in with his view that the thought of telling his family would be a "headache", an unnecessary pain that he didn't need in his life. He made a decision that he felt was best for himself and his family.

There were similarities in Dev's account for not telling his family about the abuse he endured, particularly where family expectations were concerned:

Dev: "...I wouldn't call myself religious, erm I wouldn't call myself very cultural, and I identify with being British, a British Gujarati if you like and for me the British in that comes first because that's where my values come from but well, it's not like that for everybody erm my parents definitely both born in India both take their identity very seriously and for them anything that steps outside of that circle ofnormality if you wanna call it that erm is not acceptable so that's where the dilemma lies for me, for me erm who do I approach out of the two of them and how would I do that so I just decided that wasn't a course of action I wanted to take"

Dev contrasts his views of culture and religion, which he describes as more secular than that of his parents, who hold on to the traditions that they were brought up with in their birth country of India. A generational clash is apparent here with Dev not necessarily resisting the idea of his parents' cultural and religious identity but rather, acknowledging that their values are too different for him to disclose the abuse to them. Dev maintains that this was the best course of action to safeguard himself, as his parent's ideals of what is considered normal and acceptable conflict with Dev's ideals. Aman articulated a similar point:

Aman: "I didn't tell them and I wouldn't tell them and that's not something I think I'll regret because knowing my family the way I do and all of what I've learned growing up it wouldn't make sense for me to go tell them erm especially now at this age and I don't wanna say it's nothing cause for me it was but people go through worse erm I can't say I'm the only person in the world its happened to people go through it for years so...but no I don't regret not telling them for me my wife was it for me she's my rock and she's on a level with me, erm as soon as I told her she cried and yeah I expected that because she loves me I'm her husband so..."

Researcher: “were there any specific reasons you didn’t tell your parents?”

Aman: “well it was ages ago and we don’t live in that area no more so we don’t, I don’t really have any proof so I can’t take anything and show them well yeah look this guy did this to me erm and another main thing my parents are old fashioned they’re old fashioned people they’re in their 50s they’ve been here more than 30 years but they still won’t change erm were here were British English but inside I’m Indian and my upbringing was Indian, erm were a typical Punjabi family you know loud we like a party and a drink but we’re hardcore with what we believe erm that’s probably what it is they care about their image so to the rest of the Punjabis to my family my gurdwara I don’t wanna walk round feeling like I’m not one of them because I am so for that reason all of that I can’t tell them I don’t think its clever of me to do that”

Aman tries to downplay the scale of the abuse and stresses that there are survivors who have endured much worse than him, putting his abuse into perspective on a comparative scale, as a possible way of minimising the severity of his experience. He then goes on to praise his wife for her support upon his disclosure, and calls her his ‘rock’ signifying how a positive response from her has contributed to the strength of their relationship. In discussing his decision not to disclose to his parents, Aman cites a number of reasons for not doing so, and these barriers tend to revolve around cultural factors and a need to not let his family or community down. Aman’s parents, being Indian born with strong cultural ‘Punjabi’ values, are ‘hardcore’ in their beliefs in Aman’s words, and take pride in their image. Aman does not contest this importance placed on image and states that in terms of his identity, he is Indian, and as such, he shares a lot of his parent’s values. This is particularly apparent when

Aman states at the end of his response that he doesn't want to be around his family and community and not feel like 'one of them' indicating that Aman has a strong need to belong. This need to belong is not uncommon in cultures considered collectivist as South Asian cultures often are, with a collective version of identity usurping individual identity (Lalonde et al, 2004) as reflected in Aman's response. This was significant enough for Aman not to disclose the abuse to his family.

For Aman and Dev, it is apparent that culture affected their decision not to disclose to their parents. A belief that their parents' cultural values were different to their own influenced their decisions not to confide in them, with a strong sense that they would be misunderstood. This indicates a generational clash and difference in worldviews between Dev and his parents and Aman and his parents.

Other survivors, such as Mahmud, expressed concern for family and putting their needs before their own. Mahmud's first disclosure was to an imam who he had known for a number of years and clearly trusted:

Researcher: "you mention that you disclosed to your imam, what made you do this over telling somebody in your family or maybe your wife?"

Mahmud: "it's erm, just one of those things where right place right time I think, erm I was low for a while and I couldn't figure out why erm my wife just had a baby and my job was going well and everything was going well but inside I didn't feel content erm and islamically speaking when you don't have contentness in your heart erm seek out God so I just pushed myself in prayer and went to see my imam and it was eating away at me erm praying and having patience it just, as much as it helped it

didn't make me have that erm release I suppose that I needed so the imam, yeah erm he's a good friend of mine too, erm he's a family man and he's very very knowledgeable so it was just instinct for me to trust him really and it, we sat one day and I told him and he was very calm about it and he didn't judge me and that's all I needed, I needed that calmness and because he's not family I wasn't causing him that same pain my mum or dad might feel or even my wife erm I couldn't imagine what they would react like especially because well the time it had happened it was a good time for my dad erm saying what I mean is we had money in Pakistan, my dad had businesses and he's got nothing but good memories from our time there so for me just to come in and say what happened to me I think it will destroy all that for everyone erm yeah. Erm basically when we came here to England we didn't come with a lot and my dad's health was bad and it's gotten worse with age so just all those things put together in perspective yeah I don't see myself putting that on anyone else"

Mahmud, like many of the survivors interviewed, thinks of how his family would feel and the impact of disclosure upon them as opposed to putting his own feelings first. To juxtapose the trauma of the abuse, he has cherished memories of their life in Pakistan which was characterised by wealth and splendour and overall, a more stable life that his father holds dear. This is in contrast to their current life in England, with poor health and an unstable financial situation for Mahmud's father. Because of this, Mahmud wished to protect the memory of their former life in Pakistan and at the risk of tainting it for his father, decided it was better not to disclose the abuse.

Mahmud's seemed to be motivated by a desire to protect his family from pain and as he possessed a lot of trust in the imam who he disclosed to, it was clear in

Mahmud's response that the barrier to disclosing was not just about letting down his family. Research has established that many survivors of child sexual abuse are conscious of the effect the disclosure may have upon other members of the family (Pipe et al, 2013). Parental reactions to disclosure can have a huge impact on how the survivor ultimately heals from the abuse, with negative reactions aggravating the trauma and impact of child sexual abuse, and positive responses minimising, although not always, the impact of the abuse (Sanderson, 2006).

5.3.3 'They wouldn't believe me'

Many survivors have a sense of uncertainty around how family members may react to a disclosure of abuse. Some of the survivors expressed doubts around whether family members would believe a disclosure of abuse; a fear of being disbelieved was a hindrance to some of the survivors and is a common issue in the aftermath of childhood sexual abuse (Lovett et al, 2018). Ayaan was one of the survivors interviewed to convey this fear:

Researcher: "you mentioned that you told your girlfriend and touched on the fact that you didn't tell your mum and dad. What was the reason for not telling them?"

Ayaan: "just, loads of complications there it's not straightforward my situation erm the abuser was a relative so he still goes to see my family and stuff erm I can't hack that I don't wanna see his fucking face cause it just takes me back there so I just stopped going erm I talk my mum on the phone still but yeah I don't wanna cut them off or nothing I don't wanna do that but me telling them about this is different it's not gonna go down well erm they probably wouldn't believe me or they wouldn't understand it"

Researcher: "why do you think they wouldn't believe you?"

Ayaan: "erm cause of who it is, erm he's a cousin of my mum's so and they all think he's this nice guy and he's got wife and kids and that so they wouldn't think someone like that could do that so I don't see the point of telling them and putting myself through that"

Ayaan has little faith that his family would believe his account over the abuser, as the abuser is a relative of his mother and is someone who is perceived to be a 'nice guy' and because he has a family, Ayaan's account of events would not be perceived as believable. A fear of not being believed is a recurring factor for many survivors who wish to disclose abuse and acts as a huge barrier to disclosure (Sanderson, 2004). From reading Ayaan's account, it seems perhaps inconceivable that a parent would fail to believe their child over the word of an extended family member, but he remained adamant that he would not be believed and that they "wouldn't understand it". Ayaan's speculation was driven by the fact that the abuser was still in contact with the family and because of the closeness of the relationship, his story would be dismissed. There seemed to be an underlying sense that Ayaan wanted to protect himself emotionally as he anticipated a negative reaction if he was to disclose the abuse, and this was the broader reason for choosing not to disclose, evidenced when he states that "I don't see the point of telling them and putting myself through that". Aman's account echoed Ayaan's in terms of a possessing a fear of being disbelieved:

Aman: "...I'm lucky erm very lucky she believed me erm it's not something that you talk about in our circles erm you know our community is very very close and its not

that easy you know certain things are out of that area erm you just can't talk about like white people can they can say anything to their parents and its fine but for us its different erm I don't think I could take them not believing me because for a woman yeah its happening we know it happens but for men how many of these cases do you hear about what, what would my mums response be you know she would think I'm mad"

Researcher: do you think they wouldn't believe you?

Aman: "erm I'm not gonna say they would because like I said it isn't something that's happening all the time that we know what it is I mean even here in this country you don't see it being on the news and stuff so for that kind of reasons erm maybe they wouldn't believe it"

Aman here expresses a fear of disbelief in relation to his mother perhaps not having an awareness of what child sexual abuse is, citing the hidden nature of abuse as contributing towards this lack of knowledge. Aman believes he is lucky that his wife believed him and emphasises how sexual abuse isn't a topic that can be readily discussed within his community. He mentions that certain topics are out of bounds and that this is not the case for white people, who he believes can discuss anything with their parents. This indicates that in Aman's experience, there is a cultural difference in terms of what is acceptable to discuss and what isn't. He explains that the sexual abuse of women is known to occur but that this phenomenon isn't as well known where male victims are concerned and because of this lack of knowledge, he may not be believed. A lack of understanding may therefore contribute to a survivor being misunderstood or disbelieved, which Aman did not want to risk.

5.3.4 Summary

Disclosure of childhood sexual abuse was one of the first significant themes to be recognised in the survivor interview transcripts, and brings to the research a greater understanding of how male survivors made sense of their experiences of disclosure. For those who chose disclose to family members, only one, Sanjay, received a sympathetic response, with his mother's own experiences of domestic violence at the hands of Sanjay's abuser, his father, possibly leading to her belief and support in her son's disclosure. For Nathan and Suleman, their disclosures to their mothers were met with responses loaded with cultural pressures pertaining to shame and the possible loss of community reputation. For those survivors who did not disclose to immediate family members, a variety of responses emerged, with undercurrents of cultural shame, a fear of disbelief, a feeling that they were letting everybody down and a fear of causing distress hampering survivors' decisions to disclose. Instead, these survivors reported feeling content and satisfied in disclosing to other people they felt they could trust without feeling the need to disclose to family. It is important to recognise that disclosure is not a vital step towards recovery from childhood sexual abuse, and that these responses reflect the heterogeneity of survivor experiences.

5.4 Masculinity and sexuality

The challenges posed to a male survivor's masculinity and sense of 'manhood' was another superordinate theme that emerged from the research interviews. A growing body of research points towards the significant impact sexual abuse has on males and how it has a substantial influence on the development of their masculine

identities (Kia-Keating et al, 2005). As notions of masculinity are stronger and more prevalent in patriarchal cultures such as that of South Asian communities, the accumulative effect on South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse was explored in this research. Sexuality has also been included in this discussion of masculinity, as there were considerable overlaps in the findings whereby masculinity was intertwined with men's' sexuality, their perceived sexuality and their fears around how their sexuality would be construed in the aftermath of abuse. The two subthemes identified were 'not being manly enough' and 'questioning sexuality after CSA' and are presented below.

5.4.1 Not being manly enough

One of the subthemes to emerge through the analysis of the research interviews was how men perceived their masculinity in the aftermath of childhood sexual abuse. Research has indicated that many men feel that sexual abuse was an attack on their masculinity and that identifying as a victim of sexual abuse will contribute towards the loss of their masculine identity (Corbett, 2016). The men interviewed in this research discussed how they made sense of their own masculinity as child sexual abuse survivors:

Researcher: "did the abuse have any impact on your sense of masculinity?"

Dev: "erm I identify as a gay man and for me I'm very secure in my own masculinity, erm there isn't a lot that could have changed that for me, erm but thinking back now at the time yes it did, erm I was 14 I was in that growing stage where you're confused and you're still finding yourself, erm it's hard to figure out what your identity

is or what you're sexuality is erm and I'd never had any other kind of sexual experience prior to that erm so yeah it did affect me in the sense it confused me about what kind of person I am"

Dev's response indicates a confidence in his masculinity, with security in his identity as a gay man. However, he does go on to state that the abuse caused him to feel confusion in his identity and as it occurred during adolescence, his sexual identity had not yet formed, with this negative sexual experience creating a sense of confusion around the 'kind of person' he was.

Aman's response possessed a more subtle undertone of how he interpreted his masculine identity and how his wife may perceive him:

Aman: "...my wife was it for me she's my rock and she's on a level with me, erm as soon as I told her she cried and yeah I expected that because she loves me I'm her husband so she was the one to tell erm I didn't know what to expect though you never do in those situations I thought what if she thinks less of me what if she loses respect for me"

Aman refers to his first disclosure of abuse which was to his wife, and how he feared that she may lose respect for him or 'think less' of him as a result. This emphasises the fear male survivors possess around disclosing, and the gendered expectations that men are under pressure to conform to. Spiegel (2013) explains the process of gender role socialisation, and the way in which boys are reared to be powerful, resolute and self-reliant; thus, when a boy is sexually abused, a conflict occurs between two psychosocial processes: the realities of child sexual abuse, and the

mythology of masculinity (Lisak, 1995). This affects the ability of many adult survivors to come to terms with the abuse, to disclose the abuse, and to renegotiate their identity in relation to their traumatic experiences. Sanjay expresses how, being abused by his father from a young age, he called into question his identity as a man, as a male amongst his peers and as a son:

Researcher: "did your experiences have any impact on your sense of masculinity?"

Sanjay : "in one sense I think I didn't know what was going on so for a long time up till about erm 11 or 12 when I knew what was happening was wrong I started getting this feeling of I don't know it was insecurity erm I'd be around other boys at school and I never felt like myself I can't really explain it erm I never felt normal I never felt like one of them erm they used to say things they did with their dad or things like that and I couldn't relate to it so I thought maybe he's a bad dad and I'm a bad son erm I felt, just my mum didn't know so I felt like I betrayed her as well so I just...it was always this feeling I wasn't a normal guy and that didn't really go away erm I still feel it now sometimes erm before I met my girlfriend it was hard for me to approach girls for that kind of thing like a date or a number I wouldn't ask I didn't wanna get close in case they thought I was abnormal or something and constant just feeling insecure"

Sanjay is subtle in his explanation of masculinity, but there are key pointers in his response which indicate that he harboured a lot of insecurity around his identity as a son, as an adolescent amongst his peers and as a potential boyfriend. Here, Sanjay refers to multiple dimensions of his masculine identity, and the ways in which he feels he cannot live up to the expectations of these roles. Sanjay is emphatic in how insecurity blighted him for the most part of growing up, referring to a sense of not

being 'normal' several times. Sanjay also explains the difficulties he experienced in approaching girls with a fear that he would be perceived as 'abnormal'. Crowder (2013) argues that many male survivors of child sexual abuse don't see their relationship difficulties or dysfunctional behaviours as being related to the abuse they experienced; instead, they tend to see themselves as flawed or accept their difficulties as inevitable personality traits. There is evidence of this in Sanjay's response, as he questions what kind of a son he is to his mother and father, and whether he betrayed his mother by not informing her of the abuse earlier.

5.4.2 Questioning sexuality after CSA

Some questions that male survivors may be confronted with after being sexually abused are "does the experience make me gay? Did it change my sexuality?" (Edward, 2008: 89). However, Durham (2003) acknowledges that adolescence is a significant period of change for many young men where the development of identity is evolving; sexual abuse survivors may attribute confusion around their sexuality to the experience of abuse as opposed to viewing it as a normal part of adolescence. What is undoubtable however is that these questions and confusion arise for many survivors of abuse and this usually intersects with discussions around masculinity, witnessed in Dev's account below:

Dev: "...as a gay man I've always had people assuming I'm effeminate or camp and there's this added expectation that I'm not manly which offends me, erm and that usually comes from other Asians I've encountered erm men being the worst, Asian men can be very judgmental towards gay Asians and that just makes me think well they have an insecurity or denial there somewhere..."

Dev describes the hostility he has received from Asian men and how certain attitudes directed towards his sexuality have attempted to question or undermine his masculinity, which for Dev is very personal and offensive. Dev also stresses that Asian men can be judgmental towards other Asian who are gay, and suggests that this may be indicative of an 'insecurity or denial' on their part. McAleenan (2014) writes that homosexuality is one of the last taboos within Britain's Asian communities, with religious and cultural pressures to conform to a heterosexual ideal still strong amongst many factions of Muslim, Sikh and Hindu communities. These views shape the way in which homosexuality is conceptualised and negatively perceived within Asian communities, which is perhaps what Dev has experienced. For Dev, alongside the abuse he suffered, his sexuality has been a source of secrecy from his family and community:

Dev: "my family don't know I'm gay, erm maybe they suspect it as I would as well in their position erm I'm 41 years old and unmarried and Asian so alarm bells ring there straight away really erm it's something I've learned to just shut off so when I do see my family on rare occasions I don't divulge personal details you know my love life or anything that's my business, erm as far as I'm concerned if somebody isn't willing to accept that side of me then I have no business in telling them my affairs erm, my mother she's a tough old bird she really is more so than my father erm and her opinions on things tend to hit a nerve with me so it's that feeling of...I don't know I feel conflicted I would say and at times I lead a double life so, so I'm two faced in a sense aren't I really erm that fear of not having my sexuality accepted will always hold me back"

Dev has come to bifurcate his identities as a result of fearing that his sexuality will not be accepted by his family, which he aligns with leading a 'double life' and being 'two faced'. Dev's justification for doing so is a fear that his sexuality will not be accepted by his family, with his mother cited as a dominant figure whose opinions Dev takes more personally. McKeown et al (2010) looked at the experiences of Black and South Asian gay men in Britain in relation to their experiences of discrimination and disclosure. Almost all the men interviewed expressed the view that the experiences of gay and bisexual men from minority ethnic backgrounds were more problematic and challenging than those faced by white British gay men. Furthermore, many of the South Asian men stated that their sexuality was a barrier to the perpetuation of tradition and the expectation to marry and have children. Through the lens of intersectionality theory, Dev's ethnic identity as a British Indian man overlaps with his sexuality as a gay man to place him at a disadvantage with what he feels are two conflicting identities. Moreover, taking into consideration masculinities theory, powerful heteronormative ideals that are often perpetuated within South Asian communities reinforce the culturally-generated silence around homosexuality (McKeown et al, 2010).

Homophobic attitudes in South Asian communities also prevent a lot of survivors in coming forward about abuse, as evidenced in Gurdeep's response:

Gurdeep: "...erm there's always that fear there that maybe they won't understand what you're trying to say erm if you turn around and say I was abused by a guy they might say well what you did gay stuff then? Erm I don't think it would register in their head that it's not something you chose it happened to you you had no control over it but it does make me angry thinking that something that bad can be made into

something else erm but that's how it is in our community erm they don't get it goreh get it Indians don't

Gurdeep expresses his anger that his experience of child sexual abuse could possibly be misconstrued as a voluntary act of homosexuality, and adds that 'goreh' which refers to 'White people' in Punjabi/Urdu, would understand it but his own community wouldn't. This is very telling of a cultural ignorance on the part of Asians regarding the phenomenon of male child sexual abuse, with a lack of understanding leading to harmful assumptions which could hamper the recovery of the survivor.

Dennis (2011) reports that male survivors of sexual abuse may already experience post-traumatic stress disorder and its associated symptoms, but common reactions also include a fear of appearing 'unmasculine', societal, peer or self-questioning of their sexuality and a fear of homophobic reactions. Masculinity and homophobia have considerable overlaps in the context of male child sexual abuse, as homophobic attitudes towards perceived 'homosexual' acts can call into question one's masculinity. This was a fear expressed by Ayaan:

Ayaan: "...I think one of the things maybe you it puts you off a bit is you don't want people saying you're gay or something erm you'd be surprised how many people say that I mean we say it as jokes between us like oi gay boy you're gay you're gay"

Researcher: "what's that in response to, why do men say that to each other?"

Ayaan: "erm just to put you down isn't it like you're weak you're like a woman"

Ayaan's response provides an insight into humour that is used by men in order to demasculinise other men, and how homosexuality is paralleled with femininity to ridicule other men into feeling 'weak'. The term 'gay' has long been used as an insult by heterosexuals, usually towards other heterosexuals, in a derogatory manner (Swan, 2016) For Ayaan, this is a barrier to disclosing abuse, as there is a fear of being accused of being less masculine or gay.

Nathan offered his account of how his masculinity and sexuality are ambivalent:

Nathan: "I'm at the moment right now anyway I don't really want to say I fit into one category of sexuality erm I have attraction to girls so naturally I think anyone would call me straight but myself I couldn't say that for sure because I've never had a girlfriend and I can't figure out my feelings er that, that's something that I've felt for a long time and I don't know if that's because I just can't bring myself to have a relationship or maybe I have confidence issues or I don't know, erm I have gay friends and they're probably the people I feel most comfortable round erm they don't judge you erm and I can be myself around them"

Researcher: "why do you think gay men judge you less is that in comparison to straight men or women or?"

Nathan: "er yeah straight men probably there's that extra...act you have to be interested in sports or talk about someone's body and those aren't my interests really I like talking about books or what film I've seen and sit and talk I just like talking and listening to people so that sense I prefer my gay friends or my girl friends such as in girl mates I'm saying to have company"

Nathan speaks candidly about his doubts regarding his sexuality, and acknowledges that although he is attracted to women, he would not categorise his sexuality as he has uncertainties around it. Moreover, Nathan states that he has difficulties forming (romantic) relationships and configuring his feelings. Nathan's friendships are also discussed, with a preference for his gay male friends and female friends, as he believes that they are less judgemental than straight men. Nathan describes that with straight men there is an expectation to have particular interests that are perhaps the result of societal gender expectations such as women and sports, with Nathan's interests more in line with those of his gay and female friends. Roller et al (2009) discusses how confusion over sexuality is a central issue for many male survivors of child sexual abuse, with many survivors questioning whether the abused 'caused' them to be gay. However, there is no evidence to suggest that sexually abusive experiences determine one's sexuality, but plenty of research that acknowledges the ambiguity survivors feel around their own sexual identity and their sense of masculinity.

5.4.3 Summary

Masculinity and sexuality were identified as focal points of the research, particularly after the service provider interviews helped inform the researcher of some of the struggles male survivors presented with in the aftermath of sexual abuse, including masculinity and sexuality. Many of the survivors interviewed in this research discussed the difficulties they faced in light of the abuse in reconstructing their identity as men and some of the judgments and confusions around their sexuality. Many of these doubts and anxieties were fuelled by gender expectations and gender socialisations and within the context of Asian communities, these expectations

seemed more amplified. The next theme will cover issues around culture more in depth.

5.5 The impact of culture

As this research is focusing on child sexual abuse within South Asian communities, the question of culture and how it has shaped the experiences of survivors formed a significant part of this research. The service providers and focus groups provided their perspectives on culture in relation to South Asian sexual abuse survivors, and this was also the aim with the survivor interviews. This subordinate theme of the impact of culture is comprised of three subthemes: cultural identity, 'not losing my honour within the family' and 'I felt shame'.

5.5.1 Cultural identity

Britain's South Asian community is socially and culturally fragmented, which is a reflection of the caste, generational and gender hierarchies that have been transported from their countries of origin (JRF, 2007). Minorities within the minority South Asian population often face high levels of stigma from within their own communities, including LGBT communities and those with mental health issues (JRF, 2007). For South Asian, male survivors of child sexual abuse, there exists a three-dimensional problem; being part of an ethnic minority group, being a survivor of child sexual abuse, and being a male survivor of child sexual abuse. The negotiation of these identities was a common experience amongst the survivors interviewed, as evidenced in Dev's response:

Researcher: "being an Asian male survivor of abuse, has this caused any additional problems for you that maybe other groups wouldn't be affected by?"

Dev: "yes probably yes, erm well growing up in the 80s as a dark skinned Gujarati boy especially in the area I grew up in it was hard not to get noticed and me I stood out like a sore thumb erm I went to a fairly good school and it was mainly White kids and definitely racism was a big problem back then erm even now you get it but back then it was on a whole different level so you'd get the paki and blackie names thrown at you erm smelly paki and all of that and at the time you just got on with it it was like water off a duck's back erm you wouldn't go home and tell your mum and dad that someone just abused me in the street it was just part of life back then and its only later you think well, hold on that did affect me and it gives you a bit of a complex erm I disliked my skin colour for a long time because of it and I wished I wasn't Indian but later you come to terms with it and as I got older I liked that I was different but as a kid you hate it because you just want to fit in"

Dev recalls his experiences of growing up in the 1980s as a young Asian, and the racist taunts he was often subjected to which he states were 'part of life' during the 1980s. Dev does acknowledge however, the impact this had on his identity in that it led him to dislike his skin colour and develop what he refers to as a 'complex'. Dev then went on to describe how he now identifies with his cultural and ethnic background:

Dev: "...I wouldn't call myself religious, erm I wouldn't call myself very cultural, and I identify with being British, a British Gujarati if you like and for me the British in that comes first because that's where my values come from but well, it's not like that for

everybody erm my parents definitely both born in India both take their identity very seriously and for them anything that steps outside of that circle ofnormality if you wanna call it that erm is not acceptable so that's where the dilemma lies for me, for me erm who do I approach out of the two of them and how would I do that so I just decided that wasn't a course of action I wanted to take"

New forms of identity are emerging as a result of acculturation, with many British Asians choosing to identify first and foremost with the British side of their identity. Robinson's (2009) study of cultural identity amongst British South Asians found that that this is more prevalent amongst second generation British Indians, who have shown high levels of integration, in comparison to British Pakistanis, who adopted a 'separation' strategy. British Indians were more likely to have a stronger national identity, which was apparent with Dev as well as with Nathan:

Researcher: "what does culture mean to you?"

Nathan: "culture is very complicated er maybe this is wrong but I always thought of it as the race you come from your ethnicity and everything that comes with that so me being Indian we have our own food, language, clothes all that and then you've got this other part of it which is bigger erm the teaching and everything you're taught from a young age what to believe, how you should think what's right and wrong and all that's culture but now after I cut my mum out my life I cut that culture out too so it kind of went with her cause I didn't wanna associate with a culture that is so harsh on people it makes you feel not part of it erm... and that makes no sense so as long as you do what the culture tells you then its fine and you can be part of it but otherwise you go against one thing and you're not part of it anymore so I don't really

care about culture Indian culture anyway erm I like that I was born here because it's give me a chance to be something else as well erm I'm British I see myself as English and I support this country and I like what England stands for erm this is why I have such a problem with Asians who don't like this country or think that if you call yourself English that you're a traitor"

Nathan emphasises how he is proud to be British and emphasises how fortunate he feels to be exposed to a culture different to the Indian culture he was brought up amongst. Nathan also provides a breakdown of what culture means to him, with a focus on teachings and values that he grew up which he no longer identifies with. For Nathan, cutting ties with his mother also signified cutting ties with his culture and his previous community, with a stronger affiliation and identification with British culture.

For other survivors, culture has played an extensive role in their life and continues to do so, as witnessed in Mahmud's case:

Researcher: "has culture played a big role in your life?"

Mahmud: "erm yes and not in a bad way necessarily I mean Pakistani people don't have the best reputation as it is so we have things like terrorism and oppression and Islam getting a bad name and all that's associated with but I still would defend my culture and say it's got good values and we've been given good values to pass down to our own kids by our parents so loyalty and being trustworthy being a good son being a good husband you know were taught all of that from a very very young age erm respect that's massive for us respecting elder people erm women respecting

husbands and vice versa and kids respecting parents and I think nowadays not many people have that left but we still do have that I mean I don't know how long for but erm I hope my kids grow up and have it too"

Mahmud details the negative portrayal of the Pakistani community and defends his culture listing the positive values that have been passed down to him from his parents, which he hopes to emulate with his own children. Amongst these values, Mahmud mentions respect for elders, women respecting their husbands and children respecting their parents, as well as loyalty, trustworthiness and fulfilling the roles of husband and son. Mahmud later goes on to highlight how his experience of abuse was not to be confused with where the abuse occurred or who carried it out:

Mahmud: "...I can't sit here and blame my circumstances or everything that's happened to me on someone else or say there was this obstacle or that it was just meant to be and I have to accept that erm counselling has definitely helped me accept that erm the same way I can't sit and say well it happened in Pakistan and now I hate Pakistan because I don't how can I it's my home country erm and I still visit there it hasn't stopped me and in the same way I can't say all Pakistanis are to blame and all Pakistanis are paedophiles because that's not how it is either"

Mahmud makes a strong point that his experiences have not tainted his perception of Pakistan, where the abuse took place, or the Pakistani community, as the abuser was also Pakistani. Instead, Mahmud underlines how counselling has helped him come to terms with reaching an acceptance. It is clear from much of Mahmud's account that he has a strong affiliation and admiration for his cultural and ethnic heritage.

5.5.2 'Not losing my honour within the family'

Honour, or 'izzat' was considered a significant subtheme within this research on the basis of the interview findings. Bhatti (1999) asserts that izzat is reflected in the way a family (or individual members of that family) conducts itself. There are many interpretations of izzat across literature, and even more interpretations at the individual level; the participants in this research for instance, discussed what izzat meant to them in relation to their experiences and whether it had any impact on their lives.

Researcher: "has honour played a role in your life? In my research I'm referring to it as izzat if that's something you're more familiar with?"

Mahmud: "erm to an extent yes izzat is something I've heard from quite a young age erm something that my dad always used to remind us of and he still does actually erm"

Researcher: "in what way, what context can I ask?"

Mahmud: "yeah erm stuff around keeping your family a certain way and conducting yourself a certain way so you don't bring that dishonour on your family erm izzat is about pride in a way erm not losing your pride not making yourself look bad and just keeping everything under control so you get respect and once you have that respect you know you, it doesn't stay there forever you build it over years and one thing can destroy it my dad always taught us that it's like a house you can take years to build it but seconds it can take to break it so it's about keeping that"

Researcher: "Ok. Do you think izzat would have an impact on your decision to disclose abuse to the family?"

Mahmud: "erm now that you ask in one way I could say yes it would because I wouldn't want it to get back to the wrong person and have anything said about my family I mean I don't care what people say about me they can say whatever but my family I wouldn't ever want them spoken about in a bad way so to protect them especially my parents you know being old and they're vulnerable and they can't really protect themselves so I see that as my job erm and for that reason I would say yes izzat probably is important there"

Mahmud is asked a series of questions by the researcher regarding his views on honour, and begins by describing izzat in a positive tone, as a concept that can be taken to mean honour and interestingly, pride. Izzat has been translated as honour for the purposes of this research as it is the most common and simple corresponding word in the English language that captures the essence of what it entails. For many South Asians who are familiar with the term however, such as Mahmud, izzat conjures up a whole host of different emotions and connotations. Kirby (2000) reaffirms this, writing that amongst the many connotations and meanings izzat has, among them is family honour, pride and respectability, all of which mirror Mahmud's interpretation of izzat. Mahmud refers to izzat in relation to pride, protecting his family from losing their honour, which is captured in Gilbert et al's (2004) work on reflected honour, and the importance of respect, which Mahmud emphasises as a key teaching from his father. When asked whether honour has played a part in Mahmud not disclosing to his family members, Mahmud is frank in acknowledging

that izzat does play a role in his decision, but states that rather than his own izzat being called into question, he would be concerned about protecting his family's izzat.

Another survivor for whom honour was significant was Gurdeep; Gurdeep's household situation was such that three generations were living together at the time of the research interview. Gurdeep's views were therefore a reflection of these inter-generational dynamics, with his own perspectives either conflicting, indifferent or in agreement with those of his parents and grandmother:

Researcher: "has honour or izzat played a role in your life?"

Gurdeep: "yeah massively erm it's something the older generation probably had more respect for though to be really honest erm my dad my mum my grandma erm I don't give it as much thought but then at the same time I kind of have to because if it's there in your face being spoken about then you do let it take over a bit erm"

Researcher: "would you say it's had any impact on your decision not to disclose to your family?"

Gurdeep: "honour erm yeah a bit maybe erm its more about not losing my own honour within the family and having that respect there so yeah a bit yeah but my reasons were a bit more than just that I wouldn't say that was the main reason it was part of it though"

Earlier on in the interview, Gurdeep referred to honour and how his grandmother and parents placed greater emphasis on it:

Gurdeep: "...erm my grandma lives with us and she's a big influence on me, erm she's like a second mum but even then she's a hundred billion times more strict than my parents you can imagine erm she holds all her erm I don't know the word erm the principles I think? Yeah she's got strong principles so she's got this thing about her where everything's about what you're looking at izzat it's about that it's just about protecting that and my dad that's his mum you have to imagine he's learnt everything from her so he has that same thinking...

Whilst Gurdeep acknowledges that honour has played a role in his life, through his parents and his grandmother, he is quick to point out that it was not the sole reason for his decision not to disclose to his family. Gurdeep's position on honour seems to reflect a common pattern that some of the other survivors exhibited when asked the same question, which was to recognise the importance and existence of honour, but to also dismiss the standing it once had in previous generations:

Researcher: "how far has honour or izzat played a role in your life?"

Aman: "erm I'd say it's something you have to be aware of especially as an Asian because it can make you or break you it's one of those things erm in my family yeah even living together if I look at that living with my parents after marriage or working for my dad that's part of honour erm keeping the image there you know happy families and Asians are really... they want that image there and I think with me, my brother my wife our age our group we don't care as much about it but because our parents do we have to so it is important I'd say"

Aman's response has a similar tone to Gurdeep's, in the sense that he recognises the significance of honour for his parents' generation and how it has played a role in his life, with the example of living and working with his parents after marriage a reflection of honour in play. In this regard, for Aman, honour can mean family image, which he briefly refers to as 'happy families' indicating that honour is understood and conceptualised within the context of the wider family (Sodhi, 2017). Ayaan offers a slightly different interpretation of honour according to his experiences:

Ayaan: "erm honour izzat yeah we call it 'ijjat' it's the same word but just different accent erm not massive for Bengalis really erm I've heard about it in Pakistani families like when their daughters run off with a guy or something its quite a big thing and they end up killing the girl or the boyfriend erm so for them its bigger than it is for us erm I wouldn't say we get that affected by it no"

In Ayaan's experience, and as a British Bengali male, he emphasises how although he has an awareness of what honour means, he has not been affected by it nor does it play a major role within Bengali families. He instead associates honour with the Pakistani community and refers to honour killings as an example of this. Although izzat is a familiar concept within Pakistani culture (Shaw, 2000) it is not exclusive to this particular community. Suleman, being another British Bengali survivor within this research, gave a different response to Ayaan drawing on his own set of experiences:

Researcher: "has honour or izzat had any impact on your life?"

Suleman: “yeah yeah it has erm being told to stay quiet I’d say that’s about honour erm that’s about izzat and not bringing shame on myself or anyone else”

Suleman is explicit in stating that honour was one of the reasons that his mother attempted to silence him after he disclosed the abuse to her which puts into perspective the magnitude of honour and how it can outweigh the wellbeing of one’s child. It also demonstrates how individual interpretations of what honour entails differ from person to person, family to family and indeed, community to community.

5.5.3 ‘I felt shame’

Shame, or ‘sharam’ was recognised as a subtheme as it featured significantly in the survivors’ discussions of their experiences. The purpose of the discussion of shame within this thesis is not to categorise it as a notion that is exclusive to Asian communities, but to acknowledge the way in which it is perceived and interpreted across these communities and how this impinges on individuals who identify as South Asian.

Suleman mentions the notion of shame when he recollects disclosing abuse to his mother for the first time:

Suleman: “erm she said it’s sharam you know what that means?”

Researcher: “yes for me I would translate it as a shame in Bengali”

Suleman: “well yeah same we speak the same so if I say to you she said ‘itha sharam itha manshoreh koin nah’ you know what I mean by that”

Researcher: “erm yeah it’s shameful and we don’t tell people that?”

Suleman: “yeah that’s exactly what she said to me and it’s stuck in my head...erm I couldn’t let that go for years erm it was one of the things that fucked me up later fucked me up for years so I don’t know I couldn’t trust anyone after that and it’s not my excuse but it made me do all that shit I did later”

This excerpt from the research interview epitomises the power of certain cultural constructs and how they can hinder the recovery of a sexual abuse survivor, especially notions of shame and honour which have featured throughout the responses of all three phases of this research. Suleman articulates how his mother’s use of the word sharam in the context of his disclosure had a lasting impact on him and ultimately contributed to his drug use in his late teenage and early adult years. His account also contradicts the majority of research which writes that sharam is exclusive to South Asian females, having been conceptualised as a gendered ‘cultural institution’ which hinges on the behaviour and conduct of women (Takhar, 2013). Sharam was seen as an important cultural construct to include within the research questions and featured as a prominent issue in some of the other survivors’ responses:

Researcher: “is sharam or shame something that has applied to you at any point in your life?”

Dev: “yes erm I felt shame during the abuse, when I was being abused for me that was terribly shameful erm I think most people who have been abused would probably say the same”

For Dev, the abuse itself felt shameful, a trait that many survivors of sexual abuse and assault identify with (Collins and Marsh, 1998). This was also a feeling that Gurdeep reported:

Researcher: "is shame or sharam something that you've ever felt in light of your experiences?"

Gurdeep: "erm I think the shame is always there erm embarrassment that someone did that to me erm yeah it's something I really felt after it happened especially then but now I think if anyone in my family found out I'd feel it again because it's not something I want everyone to know, erm it's my experience and I don't think bringing other people into it will make it improve or anything erm it would probably get a thousand times worse and then it's just more shame"

Gurdeep elaborates on his answer by imagining what the consequences may be if he was to disclose the abuse to his family, positing that his feelings of shame would increase. Mahmud responded to a similar question posed on shame in relation to his experiences:

Researcher: "have you ever felt shame or sharam as a result of your experiences? Has sharam applied anywhere in those experiences?"

Mahmud: "yes absolutely erm it's not something I find easy to recall for obvious reasons but it made me feel ashamed what happened at the time it was shameful and afterwards I felt shameful and right now telling you it's still quite shameful erm"

maybe that's part of the reason I find it easier not to tell my family erm I wouldn't want to feel that"

Mahmud discusses the abuse in relation to shame and how during and after the abuse he felt ashamed, and in recalling the story during the research interview, he felt ashamed. Mahmud explains how this is partially the reason he would not disclose the abuse to his family, as he would not want a repeated feeling of shame. This is supported by Sanderson's (2006) research, which reports that silence, or not disclosing abuse is a powerful defence against shame as disclosing or speaking about the abuse may risk uncovering shame.

5.5.4 Summary

The survivors' responses regarding the role of culture and identity were hugely varied, as they were unique to the individual experiences of each person. For some survivors, such as Dev and Nathan, the cultural identity that they were born into was not necessarily the culture they later identified with. On the other end of the spectrum survivors like Mahmud spoke about the influence of culture in a more positive way. The role of shame and honour in the life of South Asian male survivor of sexual abuse was also explored, with responses ranging from shame in a more general sense in relation to their experiences of abuse to the role of shame in the context of culture. Honour was discussed in a similar way, with converging stories from several survivors on how honour is a social construct that has crept into the life their life as second and third generation South Asians, with an emphasis on honour as an inherited value passed down from previous generations.

5.6 Experiences of counselling

All of the survivors interviewed were engaged or had been in a counselling relationship at some point in their life. Literature has suggested that counselling has many advantages for adult survivors of child sexual abuse, including an acceptance of the abuse and a progressive step towards recovering from the trauma (Sanderson, 2006). One of the aims of this research was to explore South Asian male experiences of counselling and how they engaged with support services. Moodley and Lubin (2008) underline the paucity of research in counselling black and ethnic minority groups, and argue that this is a reflection of discriminatory therapeutic practices whereby black and ethnic minority groups are marginalised in favour of the mainstream White clientele. As a consequence of this, there are many complexities and complications around the concept of multi-cultural or cross-cultural counselling and questions exist regarding the competency of mainstream counselling services that set aside little or no provisions for ethnic minority clients. The issue of counselling and its effectiveness and sufficiency emerged as a theme from the research interview transcripts with survivors, with the findings and discussion presented below. These were divided into two subthemes: counselling as a positive experience, and being able to relate to the counsellor.

5.6.1 Counselling as a positive experience

Around 90% of people who have been abused in childhood go on to develop a mental health disorder by the time they are 18 (Sroufe et al, 2005). Whilst it has been established that counselling can bring many benefits for the mental wellbeing of abuse survivors, the majority of survivors do not seek out counselling. Child

sexual abuse survivors are not a homogenous group and as such, counselling may not be the best option for everybody (Sanderson, 2006). However, all of the survivors in this research had received counselling and it was important to explore their experiences of counselling and how and if it helped them make sense of their experiences.

Researcher: "how did you go about engaging with a counselling service?"

Dev: "I'm somebody who is very talkative and I think that partly comes from being an only child erm maybe on some level I feel the need to be heard erm so I enjoy that and talking therapy was natural to me, erm I went for the private option which was good at first erm flexible and I had a good relationship with my counsellor erm that lasted a while but it went a bit sour after erm we had a disagreement which was quite a big deal for me and as a client I felt that she didn't really look after my needs at that point erm"

Researcher: "are you ok to talk about what the issue was there or...?"

Dev: "oh yes erm my job is quite demanding so nights weekends I can be called in so I'd booked my session out with her and I was called into work so naturally for me my career is important and erm its not manoeuvrable so I called her to rearrange and she wasn't happy erm and she didn't really hide it and I have no reservations about this erm I was paying about £120 an hour so for me it wasn't about her calling the shots when I'm the paying client you know that's a very bad way to do business from her side of it as well erm and she was completely unreasonable about it and said I would have to pay for the session which I refused to do obviously and after that we

ended it and it was a good few months before I started counselling again because it almost put me off completely but I did resume it again but not privately because their aim is to make money so I didn't want a counsellor who would be fixated on that and when I found this service I was shocked because you have this image of these places as being quite grotty or inexperienced erm and it isn't like that erm it's been so good for me in so many ways and my counsellor is fantastic so I can't say anything bad about it"

Dev expresses his frustration towards the private counselling sessions he initially received which started off on a good foot. However, as it emerged later, the relationship in Dev's opinion was orientated around financial gain for the counsellor and the disagreement ended their relationship. Dev juxtaposes this negative experience with his experience at the charitable counselling organisation he later accessed, which he had high praise for. He expresses shock at the competency of the service he received at the counselling organisation with an assumption that it would be "grotty" and "inexperienced". As Dev came from a higher socioeconomic background, access to private counselling sessions were the first port of call for him and his negative outlook on free counselling services changed according to his experiences. Dev's experiences of counselling were on the whole, quite positive in helping him manage the effects of CSA on his mental health:

Researcher: what kind of impact did the abuse have on you later on in life or in the aftermath?

Dev: "ermm everything changed for me, just...my whole sense of who I was and my faith in people just disappeared erm I was an overachiever really ambitious and

oddly it didn't change that it drove me more if anything to do something to better myself but as far as my trust in people and how I formed relationships I was a mess. Very confused very...just not caring how I was treated erm experimental and careless I would say"

Researcher: can you elaborate on that a little in terms of how?

Dev: "yes erm I was sleeping around by the time I got to university and that's when my sexuality was obvious erm not good erm I felt ashamed whenever I would wake up not knowing whos this person next to me you know what the hell have I done sort of feeling erm and its not a nice place to be in you now it wasn't healthy it wasn't...it was masking I suppose I was trying to dull the pain of what had happened by almost punishing myself and abusing my body erm drugs do that to people drink does but sleeping with somebody you have no real you know, nothing no bond it is a form of abuse as well and I think that only became obvious when I had counselling they helped me understand why I did that during that time in my life, it wasn't just a phase it was me being destructive I think"

Dev discusses the impact of the abuse led him to question his identity as well as developing a lack of trust in people but alongside this, it made him more ambitious and determined to succeed. He describes engaging in casual sexual relationships during his years at university as a way of dealing with the abuse, and "punishing" himself for what happened to him. Dev seemed to be in a state of self-blame during this period and compared his 'destructive' behaviour to drink and drug abuse, acknowledging that it wasn't healthy and that it was a way of 'masking' the abuse and dulling the pain. Dev made sense of his experiences with the aid of counselling

and felt that counselling helped him to come to terms with why he behaved the way he did during this period.

Gurdeep also reported having a positive experience of counselling:

Researcher: “can you talk a little about your experiences of counselling and how it had an impact on you?”

Gurdeep: “it's been great really good I think for the first time in my life I felt like I could actually talk about what happened without feeling judged or because counsellors are used to hearing it so I didn't feel I was telling a stranger some personal detail that they're going to go laugh about erm there's a trust there that I didn't feel with anyone else erm I told my doctor and I felt the same with her erm they're professionals so you know if it's what they do for a living they're not going to guide you wrong so I'd recommend it to other people other people who've been through anything similar”

As explored earlier, Gurdeep decided against disclosing the abuse to his family and emphasises here how he felt he was not being judged and felt a sense of trust towards the counsellor and his GP to whom he also disclosed the abuse. Problems with trust are a common side effect of childhood sexual abuse, as the act of physical violation (usually by a trusted adult) also represents a betrayal of the trust the child has for the adult (Hall and Lloyd, 2003). This distrust manifests itself through difficulties in creating and maintaining relationships in adulthood, which Gurdeep came to realise through counselling:

Gurdeep: "...not having a girlfriend or a...just someone close to me not a wife because I think that's way down the line for me erm I can't bring myself to have a relationship yet because it's hard for me to get that close to someone erm I think talking that through with Claire was really useful erm she made me see that I can have a future and I can be like everyone else you know settle down move in with someone all that's possible for me so I shouldn't think that its ruined any chance of me having any of that but it's something I've found hard..."*

Although Gurdeep craved companionship, he was unconfident that he could have a relationship as he found it difficult to establish the closeness expected in a romantic relationship. He felt that his counsellor Claire* helped him put this into perspective with a boost in his confidence that he could eventually form a successful relationship and have the future he desired. In this sense, counselling was beneficial for Gurdeep in providing him with self-confidence.

5.6.2 Being able to relate to the counsellor

As all of the survivors interviewed in this research had received counselling, it was important to explore the counsellor-client relationship and the dynamics of this relationship in relation to the ethnic and/or cultural background of the survivor. Miller et al (2011) argue that in counselling relationships where clients are from a minority background, the practitioner may unwittingly engage in cultural oppression, unconsciously placing their mainstream cultural values on the client. This raises questions around the distribution of power within the client/counsellor relationship and how and if any impact is felt by the client. It was important to explore this from

the perspective of the survivors in this research, with the findings of this subtheme presented below.

Researcher: “would you say the counsellor ever had any difficulty relating to your cultural background or has that not been a problem?”

Gurdeep: “erm at times maybe yeah they don’t know certain things that we have in our culture they don’t have in theirs but that normal because they probably say the same about us erm even though being born British and knowing the ins and outs of England it’s not the same so that’s not something that’s a big deal and I think as long as they understand you that’s all matters erm maybe if I tried to explain something that’s Punjabi she wouldn’t fully get it but I don’t think that’s a bad thing not in that way cause everything I wanted to talk about she understood, the main things she understood”

Overall, Gurdeep seems overly satisfied with his experiences of counselling and when asked whether cultural differences between himself and the counsellor have made a difference to the counselling relationship, Gurdeep is adamant that it hasn’t. Gurdeep points out that although cultural differences do exist, his main priority in a counselling relationship is for the counsellor to understand and comprehend the ‘main things’ he wished to discuss. Draucker and Martsolf (2009) argue that where there exist cultural differences between clients and counsellors, further training specialising in cultural awareness should be carried out by the counsellor. Cultural differences with counsellors have impacted other survivors such as Mahmud:

Researcher: “have you had any difficulties in talking to your counsellor about cultural issues that maybe they didn’t understand?”

Mahmud: “erm yes at first it was a problem for me erm I didn’t really have a preference for a male or a female counsellor but in my mind I would have preferred someone Asian just so if I had the option I could talk about things maybe they would relate to more better but I was given an English counsellor erm she’s a White woman and she’s a brilliant counsellor I can’t complain she’s very very good and we got along well but erm yeah I think at the place where I got counselling they couldn’t find anybody for me Asian so I agreed to see her and if I’m going to give a final answer then yes she would be my choice again but certain things nothing really huge but small things she didn’t really get or I couldn’t explain to her so all the stuff that goes on in my family my family situation erm living in a joint family with my dad and mum erm I explained that to her because English culture that doesn’t really happen erm other things like in Urdu I might want to use a word and I can’t translate that for her because it loses a lot of meaning when you do so on conversational level I would have preferred an Asian counsellor”

For Mahmud, language was sometimes a barrier as he wished to express himself in Urdu at times and found this was not achievable with a White, English speaking counsellor. In this instance, cultural awareness training would not be a viable option as language barriers are difficult to work around unless the counsellor is matched to the client on the basis of language commonality. Mahmud also goes on to explain how the counsellor didn’t understand his family situation, with his ‘joint family’ system seemingly an unfamiliar concept for her. Although Mahmud expresses gratitude

towards the counsellor and highlights the benefits of his counselling relationship, he does effectively point out that his initial choice would have been an Asian counsellor.

Interestingly, other survivors such as Nathan had the opposite opinion:

Researcher: “was the culture or ethnicity of the counsellor important to you when you started receiving counselling?”

Nathan: “erm no in fact I didn’t want anyone who would sit there and maybe form the wrong opinion of me so if anything instead of an Indian counsellor a Hindu counsellor I would prefer a White person erm maybe culturally as well I’m more similar to a White person so for my choice in my choice I was hoping for a White person and I got one”

Researcher: “did you feel that an Asian counsellor would be judgmental or?”

Nathan: “yeah I think I did especially back then when the court case had happened and my mum had issues going on with me it just made me see things differently and I didn’t want another Asian person sitting there with that same judgment as my mum did so maybe trust was my issue”

Nathan’s preference for a White counsellor could perhaps be aligned with his earlier comments on his cultural identity, as he stressed several times that he felt a stronger affiliation with British culture than Indian culture. As a result, and due to his mother’s negative reaction upon his disclosure of abuse, Nathan carried this through to his choice of counsellor, with a strong preference for a White counsellor who he felt would be less judgmental than an Asian counsellor. This phenomenon of mistrust

towards Asian counsellors by Asian clients is not unusual; Virdee (2004) reports that in her experience as an Asian counsellor in Yorkshire, she encountered a lack of trust from her Asian clients. She found that White counsellors were more trusted than Asian counsellors as it was felt that Asian counsellors may take information back to their communities. In light of Nathan's response, it would be expected that other Asian survivors feel this same distrust towards Asian counsellors; however, conversely, much research has also been dedicated to the issue of trust in the context of White counsellors of Asian clients. Robinson (2012) for example, writes about cultural mistrust with a view that cultural paranoia often hampers Asian peoples' trust in mainstream White counselling services. Robinson argues that in order for successful inter-ethnic counselling to take place, trust must be of paramount importance, which counsellors should seek to establish early on with their clients.

Aman's response signified a preference for an Asian counsellor due to the perceived cultural understanding and awareness that Asian counsellors will possess:

Researcher: "did you have a choice in the counsellor you chose in terms of ethnicity?"

Aman: "erm yeah I see an Asian woman erm she's Muslim she's an Indian Muslim so on that level were the same erm similar culture even though her religion is different erm I was asked when I first went to counselling and I said I preferred to see an Asian I didn't mind if it was a man or a woman but they only had one Asian counsellor anyway so I was lucky there"

Researcher: “why did you prefer an Asian?”

Aman: “erm I think most Asians would probably want an Asian I don’t know erm they understand better so with a White person if I was to sit down I wouldn’t be as relaxed because there’s a lot they wouldn’t get”

Aman’s response echoed Mahmud’s response, although Aman did receive his choice of counsellor with regards to ethnic preference. Aman was strong in his view that an Asian counsellor would be more understanding than a White counsellor, and states that ‘most Asians would probably want an Asian’. However, when taking into consideration the variety of responses from the survivors, it is perhaps more feasible to conclude that the ethnic preference of the counsellor is very much an individual preference.

5.7 Summary and conclusions

This strand of the research shed light on the experiences of counselling for survivors. Their overall experiences of counselling were positive and benefitted them in some way, and fears around relating to their counsellor, despite reservations about cultural/ethnic differences, were dispelled upon engaging with the counsellor and developing a good relationship with them.

The interviews with the survivors resulted in four superordinate themes, all of which have contributed to understanding South Asian male survivors’ experiences of child sexual abuse.

The first major theme of disclosing abuse was broken down into three subthemes. Disclosure was established as a significant issue for survivors of abuse, and during the course of the interviews, it emerged that for the survivors interviewed, there were difficulties in telling family, a fear of letting everybody down and a fear of being disbelieved.

The second major theme to emerge from the interviews was the notion of masculinity, tied in with the issue of sexuality. It was found that survivors endured difficulties in the construction and negotiation of their masculine identity in the aftermath of abuse as well as confusion and anxieties around their sexuality.

The third theme that materialised from the interviews was the impact of culture; comprised of three subthemes. Survivors discussed their cultural identities and the influence of culture upon their lives and in relation to their life experiences. They also presented with issues around shame (or sharam) and with struggling to maintain honour, or izzat in light of their experiences.

The final theme of experiences of counselling looked at counselling as a positive experience and the survivors' perspectives on their counselling preferences and whether these preferences affected their counselling relationships.

The next chapter will be a presentation of the findings and discussion from the focus group discussions.

Chapter 6

Findings and discussion: Focus groups

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of the findings accompanied by a discussion of the second phase of the research, which were focus group discussions. This consisted of two groups: one male focus group and one female focus group. .

The purpose of these focus group discussions was to gauge the opinions of British South Asian people who had not been abused on what they felt were some of the significant issues relating to male child sexual abuse across Asian communities. Izzat is widely regarded as a pertinent issue across South Asian communities, and as such, family status and honour is attributed through the behaviours and actions of family members. Idealised cultural beliefs across South Asian communities, namely that these communities hold cultural and moral superiority (Grigorenko, 2013) conflict with the notion that child sexual abuse can occur within these communities. The izzat of the wider community may be at risk if child sexual abuse is openly acknowledged as being prevalent within South Asian communities (Kanukollu, 2011) and so community perspectives on child sexual abuse were sought in this phase of the research.

6.2 Focus group participants

The female focus group consisted of six participants. They were:

Jannath, 17: Jannath is a British born Pakistani. She identifies as Muslim.

Shazia, 42: Shazia was born and raised in Pakistan. She identifies as Muslim.

Shobnam, 38: Shobnam is a British born Pakistani Muslim.

Charita, 29: Charita is of Gujarati descent and was born and raised in the UK. Charita identifies as Hindu.

Rupan, 34: Rupan is of Punjabi Indian descent and was born and raised in the UK. Rupan is a practising Sikh.

Manpreet, 39: Manpreet is of Punjabi Indian descent. She was born and raised in India. Manpreet identifies as Sikh.

There were seven participants in the male focus group. They were:

Malik: Malik is a 19 year old British born Muslim male of Gujarati descent.

Jamal: Jamal is a 20 year old British born Muslim male of Bengali descent.

Mohammad: Mohammed is a 20 year old British born Muslim male of Pakistani descent.

Roshan: Roshan is a 21 year old British born Hindu male of Gujarati descent.

Amardeep: Amardeep is a 21 year old British born Sikh male of Indian Punjabi descent.

Jagdeep: Jagdeep is a 20 year old British born Sikh male of Indian Punjabi descent.

Aziz: Aziz is a 21 year old British born male of Pakistani descent.

6.3 Culture and community

According to the latest available Census data, Asians make up less than 7% of the UK's population (ONS, 2012). This statistic is primarily made up of Bengali, Indian and Pakistani communities, communities which have unique cultural identities whilst simultaneously sharing many commonalities; hence they are often grouped under the umbrella of 'South Asian communities' (Bhui et al, 2011). Within these communities, there are complex cultural notions that are closely connected to attitudes and social behaviour which govern the behaviour of many South Asians. This includes family izzat, haya (modesty), sharam (shame) and biradari (network of close relatives) (Griffin, 2003). Living up to the expectations that come with these ideals is characteristic of many South Asian communities, which is where the roles of culture and community become clearer. Below are some of the subthemes that were identified under this category which were: fear that your community will gossip about you; things that can't be discussed; 'respect your elders' and 'there's a lot of ignorance in our community'.

6.3.1 Fear that your community will gossip about you

Social networks are extensive across South Asian communities (Phillips et al, 2007) and gossip is a powerful tool which can potentially jeopardise the izzat and standing of an individual and their family. A fear that your community will talk about you and subsequently compromise family izzat is a 'mechanism of social control', particularly

felt by young British Asians who feel that they are under surveillance from the elders of the community (ibid). This was evident in the women's focus group responses:

Rupan: "...we were brought up in a very Punjabi community so everybody knew everybody, and you all know each other's business cause they love having a snoop so for something like abuse to get out would be a massive deal just...gossip spreads fast and it would be twisted"

Charita: I think half of the stuff you hears been made up or exaggerated so imagine if someone was abused and the community found out I mean I agree with Rupan erm yeah it would be totally manipulated and I don't think you would hear the real version of what happened because gossip just ridicules people"

Both Rupan and Charita's responses reveal that gossip can be damaging particularly as it is prone to being manipulated, exaggerated and 'twisted', having potential ramifications for the person who is at the centre of the gossip. Both women refer to gossip being manipulated, indicating that the real version of an account is unlikely to be shared and that gossip serves as a tool for perpetuating rumours and 'ridicules' people. Gillespie (1995) cited in Hopkin and Aitchison (2016) distinguishes between 'good' gossip as a harmless aspect of leisure and companionship, and 'bad' gossip which is considered more harmful as it can threaten one's reputation. Research has suggested that although second generation women such as Rupan and Charita are more accustomed to the western lifestyle, they still remain conscious of gossip and its impact on reputation. Gillespie (1995) found that young Punjabis demonstrated changing attitudes to traditional cultural norms through mixing with white and black pupils at school and college. Although young Punjabis vocalised non-traditional

views, they were also vigilant of gossip which is heightened when aspects of their life, such as relationships, remain a secret from their family and community. Gillespie (1995) highlights the power of gossip within these communities and how it is interlinked with family life and community. Rupan continues to reinforce this in her discussion on gossip within her community:

Rupan: "I think the community think they have some right to know about your life because it's the whole 'apne' thing you know 'we're all the same, we're one kind' crap so what, just because we're Asian or Punjabi"

Here, Rupan talks about the community having a sense of entitlement over knowing the details of other members of the community, using the word Punjabi/Hindi word 'apne' to describe belonging to the same community. This is indicative of the community stepping in to play a more significant role within an individual's life on the grounds that they belong to the same community, rather than having any familial ties. This is not an unusual response, as evidenced in Shazia's reply:

Shazia: "erm yes I was just going to say before community was like your family too you know you call your neighbours aunty and uncle so I have lot of aunties and uncles who have no relation to me because it's about respect and our parents raised us that way so we have to care about what the community but I'm not saying I agreed with it because this country is different and it's not nice you know gossip and backbiting is bad and if someone had a bad time with abuse I wouldn't respect if I heard bad gossip about it because it's not fair"

Shazia outlines the structure of Asian communities, with 'aunts' and 'uncles' who are not blood-related being given a parent-like status; this is a common practice across South Asian communities, with elders of no relation being referred to as aunt and uncle as a mark of respect (Yusuf, 2009). It is this respect that enables gossip to transpire and spread across the wider community, and certainly facilitates how izzat is attributed or taken away from an individual or their family. A report on mental health users within Asian communities of Harrow, North London, stressed several times how community gossip was extremely damaging due to its high impact on the person with mental health problems and their family (Time to Change, 2010). It was concluded that community gossip was so paramount that keeping mental health a secret was the only way in which to preserve family reputation and status. Mental health is considered a taboo subject within South Asian communities (Batsleer and Chantler, 2003) bringing into question how an issue such as child sexual abuse, which has only recently come to the forefront within White western societies, would be perceived.

Manpreet also touches upon the significance of community gossip:

Researcher: "just following on from that, what do you think some of the barriers would be to disclosing sexual abuse?"

Manpreet: ": I think fear of a lot of things, erm it can be so much so fear of being talked about like we were just saying the community..."

Manpreet argues that a fear of being talked about within the community is a potential barrier to disclosure, demonstrating how powerful a role the community can play in dictating an individual's life choices.

In Bradby et al's (2007) study on mental health service users within Glasgow's Asian community, it was found that a fear of gossip was a major barrier in Asian people not accessing mental health services, in addition to the stigma of mental health, which can be perpetuated by Asian communities. This study supports and legitimises that fear of gossip exists within Asian communities.

Rupan's comment below questions whether gossip within communities is a by-product of Asian culture:

Researcher: "so in addition to that, do you think there are any cultural barriers to disclosing abuse?"

Rupan: "... I think it links back to the whole thing we were saying about community before because they make up that culture as well you know cause they're a massive part of it so...yeah maybe a fear that your community will talk about you I don't know if that's cultural?"

For Rupan, community are an integral part of Asian culture and a fear of what this community may say if abuse was to be disclosed would be enough of a barrier for somebody to not disclose. There is evidence which suggests that community gossip and a lack of trust are symptomatic of Asian communities (Virdee, 2004), with a fear of gossip fuelling a lack of trust within Asian communities. Virdee's (2004) study

focused on help seeking behaviours of Asian women, and found that many Asian women felt that White counsellors were more approachable than Asian counsellors as they feared that Asian counsellors would not adhere to confidentiality practices. Although many studies have identified that Asian communities are also wary of White counsellors and service providers, the reasons for not accessing White service providers is not due to a lack of trust but rather a lack of understanding on the part of service providers and a fear of racism (McKenzie-Mavinga, 2009).

All of the focus group responses on the issue of gossip within South Asian communities were based on the women's focus group; gossip was not a feature of the men's responses in their focus group discussion. This could be due to a number of reasons, one of which is the belief that gossip is more common amongst women, and has been referred to as a form of 'female communication' by feminists (Kartzow, 2009).

6.3.2 Things that can't be discussed

Another significant theme to emerge from the focus group data was that there are certain topics that cannot be discussed within South Asian communities with any degree of freedom or comfortability. The issues that are difficult or unable to be discussed are usually topics which are considered to be taboo, including sex and sexuality (Madan-Bahel, 2008). The relevance of this issue within the context of this research is that sexual abuse becomes more difficult to disclose as a result, and the ramifications are felt by the entire community rather than just the immediate family concerned. Shobnom stressed what some of these conversation barriers were during the female focus group discussion:

Shobnom: "...in the Pakistani community I mean I'm not talking for everyone here but just my family erm were kind of closed off to that sort of thing like, you don't talk about like sex with your kids or parents like me I grew up in London but both my parents are from back home and oh my god (laughs) you can't even talk about bras with your mum! erm just an example I don't want to go off topic or anything but when I turned I don't know I think I was like 14 or something and I couldn't even ask my mum for a bra because its seen as embarrassing and shameful like, 'you besharam how dare you ask me that!'"

Shobnom relays how discussing bras as a teenager with her mother was considered shameful, as she adds at the end of the statement that she would be labelled a 'besharam', which translates from Urdu as 'a shameless person'. Shobnom goes on to highlight further conversation barriers within Asian communities:

Shobnom: "...my mum and dad are zoned out of things like that, things they see as really kind of, western, sex and pregnancy and relationships...you know you have your friends and other women in your family your own sort of age range to talk to these things about but not the elders"

For the women in the focus group, the emphasis seemed to be placed on discussing matters related to sex; for the men, the conversation barriers were more focused on relationships:

Malik: "I don't talk to my dad about girls and I don't see myself doing it anytime soon..."

Malik maintains that he would not talk about girls with his father, indicating that relationships and women are not readily discussed. This is also evident in Aziz's response:

Aziz: "erm it's not really a secret for me or anything but I'm engaged to be married after I finish this year and my nan found the girl for me erm so my family obviously have involvement in my life"

Aziz discussed how his marriage has been arranged by a family member and despite this involvement from his family with such a major life decision, he is still unable to discuss issues related to his fiancée with his family until he is married. This poses a contradiction of sorts, as his family are able to exercise decisions but he is unable to steer them, even though these decisions ultimately impact Aziz. Traditionally, many South Asian families were based upon collectivist structures, with decisions made collectively by the group and the individual's needs often secondary to those of the group (Bhalla, 2014). Collectivist families cultivate a culture of respect, honour and obedience towards parents and as a result, any action which is considered disobedient or dishonourable would bring shame or loss of face to the entire family.

6.3.3 'Respect your elders'

Respect for elders was a subtheme that was categorised under culture and community as it was felt that on the basis of the responses, respect for elders was often prioritised above an individual's needs and went some way to moderating the behaviour of the younger Asian generation. In many collectivist societies, including

the Asian subcontinent, the elderly occupy a special place in the family, holding a position of authority and often impart instruction and guidance for the younger members of the family (Mathews, 2000). Rupan discussed how elders had an impact on what could be discussed in front of them:

Rupan: "...the whole respect thing and not saying certain things in front of elders but we still have that system here I mean it's not really gone away"

Rupan states that certain things cannot be discussed in front of elders out of a belief that it is disrespectful. She states that this 'system' has remained intact over 'here', referring to the hierarchical Asian family system which has migrated to the west along with first generation Asians. Rupan goes on to elaborate on the place of elders within the family:

Rupan: "...they're sort of like...you know if you imagine a committee like your family is the committee and the elders are above that...they just rule over everything...my dad, uncles, even my older brothers cause they're much older than me...it's their way or the highway sort of thing, just, nothing will get past them"

Rupan describes a hierarchical system within her family with the elders sitting at the top of this structure; the elders she lists are all male members of her family, which is typical of traditional Asian family structures. As discussed in chapter 1, within the traditional structure of South Asian families, authority is hierarchical and distributed according to age and gender; this means that the eldest male member of the family holds the most power and authority over the rest of the family. Jannath's response also suggests that the male members of her family have an expectation of respect:

Jannath: “: yeah I have two brothers both older than me, and...I can’t even imagine going against them, cause like, you’re taught from a young age to respect your elders and all that so yeah I mean even if you’re like right on something and they’re wrong out of respect you have to agree with them”

Like Rupan, the hierarchical system in Jannath’s family means that she is expected to give respect to her elders without question, something which she has been conditioned to do from a young age. It was observed that during the focus group discussions, the notion of respect for elders was inherent for many of the respondents. This was perhaps stronger in the responses by the men, including Jamal:

Jamal: “...at the end of the day it’s about respect and you haven’t got that you’ve got nothing”

Respect, similar to honour, is not a tangible concept, but rather an ideal, something which is implicit through words and actions but can have far reaching consequences if it is not correctly placed. For Jamal, respect is invaluable, as without it, ‘you have nothing’. South Asian culture places a great deal of importance on respect and particularly respect for elders (Sue and Sue, 2002) and this is apparent in not only Jamal’s response, but Shazia’s:

Shazia: “I think it’s really good thing to respect the elders it’s not a bad thing but problems happen when you don’t respect them”

Shazia defends the idea of respecting elders and argues that problems are likely to arise when respect is not given. For others, respect is something that has been taught from an early age:

Mohammed: "I wouldn't disrespect my elders I haven't been brought up that way..."

Shazia: "...before community was like your family too you know you call your neighbours auntie and uncle so I have lot of aunties and uncles who have no relation to me because it's about respect and our parents raised us that way"

Although respect for elders has the benefit of strengthening familial ties and creates a sense of harmony that collectivist family structures seek to maintain, it can also act a source of conflict and tension, particularly when individuals wish to do something which may be construed as an act of disrespect.

6.3.4 'There's a lot of ignorance in our community'

According to Kulanjiyil (2010), like many other cultures, South Asians possess a particular worldview that represents their beliefs, values and assumptions about people, relationships and nature. Having immigrated to the west, many South Asians have brought their worldview with them, and from a western perspective, this worldview takes on a label of 'otherness', one that is misunderstood and incompatible with western values and beliefs. As a result of this possession of a worldview, first generation Asians in particular demonstrate a level of cultural ignorance, one which has created conflicts with second generation Asians according to some of the responses in the focus group discussions.

The next few statements taken from the female focus group discussion illustrate ignorance on the topic of sexuality:

Rupan: "...there's a lot of ignorance in our community and people say and think stupid things and yeah erm this might sound shocking but a lot of people in the Asian community don't even know what gay or lesbian is so if you go to India you see a lot of hand holding with men and there its seen as friendly but here if two men do that here maybe people would say that they're gay so I do think you know would they even know what abuse is if a man admits it if they don't even know what gay is and maybe that's worse because then they have no understanding at all"

Jannath: "yeah I don't think my mum is even aware of what gay and lesbian is cause she never leaves the house"

Charita: "it is ignorance definitely I mean I think if people take that step to move here to England they should try and learn and be accepting of what goes on in another culture and being gay or lesbian that isn't just something that happens in England its everywhere and it's so sad that people can misinterpret being abused for being gay I mean I'll even go as far as to say it's pretty disgusting actually"

According to Shah (1998) many South Asians possess conservative ideologies which are heterosexist by nature; homosexuality is considered to be a western evil, and as unnatural and perverse. This could explain why in Rupan and Jannath's accounts, there is little acknowledgment within their communities and families regarding the existence of homosexuality. Jannath doubts whether her mother is aware of homosexuality as she 'never leaves the house'; Rupan illustrates ignorance

in her community towards homosexuality using the example of men holding hands in India, and how this is perceived in a platonic way, whereas in England, where homosexuality is accepted, this act would be construed differently. Rupan adds that because of this ignorance regarding sexuality, male child sexual abuse would be misunderstood and misinterpreted.

In the male focus group, the researcher questioned whether a survivor's sexuality would be called into question if they were to disclose abuse. Jamal's response was the most indicative of cultural ignorance:

Researcher: "do you think your sexuality would be called into question if abuse was disclosed?"

Jamal: "erm yeah I think they would call it yeah but, yeah I can see why though cause they don't really know what abuse is so if they don't then the next thing to think is oh well he's gay then?"

For Jamal, the ignorance would be towards abuse, with a lack of knowledge around sexual abuse leading to an assumption that they may be gay. Roshan contributed to this part of the discussion in the male focus group:

Roshan: "...being gay is more acceptable now cause its out in the open marriage laws and everything changing erm but with Asians that change hasn't come that quick erm... I think were about a hundred years behind not just, that isn't just with gay or lesbian its other things like this the abuse and men reporting it were still a hundred years there behind it all"

Roshan explicitly states that the Asian community is lagging behind in terms of acceptance of sexuality and not coming to terms with the existence of phenomenon such as male child sexual abuse, expressing that the community is a 'hundred years behind'. This suggests that the community is backwards in its grasp of the changes in society and issues such as abuse.

6.4 Gender expectations

Gender is widely perceived as a socially constructed concept, largely shaped by social and cultural expectations (Sloop, 2004). The cultural basis of gender is particularly relevant here, as gender roles vary considerable across different cultures. In Western, industrialised societies for example, masculinity and femininity are thought of in dichotomous terms, with men and women defined as opposites (Shlain, 2004). Gender stereotypes dictate patterns of behaviour for both men and women, with women expected to be nurturing and emotional, whereas men are thought of as aggressive and rational (Bolin and Whelehan,1999). In South Asian communities, these gender roles are just as dichotomous and polarised, if not more defined. Traditionally in South Asian communities, women were expected to run the households, be dependent on male members of the family, and uphold their culture and heritage (Kulanjiyil, 2010). However, with their integration into Western societies, Asian women's roles are changing, creating tensions and conflicts within South Asian households (Grossman and Lundy, 2007). In terms of izzat for example, women are perceived to be the traditional bearers of honour within Asian households (Viridi, 2012). However, the findings presented below suggest that izzat is equally applicable to men as it is to women, and gender expectations are just as powerful for men.

6.4.1 'They are the breadwinners and we are the homemakers'

Gutman et al (2014) point out that there has been a shift in attitudes towards women's gender roles, with women assuming roles that have traditionally been defined as masculine, such as the role of breadwinner. Men however, are more limited in their expression of gender role identity, as there are less socially acceptable roles available for them to adopt (Gutman et al, 2014). The focus group discussions resulted in an array of responses which discussed what the expectations were upon men, as reflected in Manpreet's response:

Manpreet: "the erm, expectations of men are so great...they are the breadwinners and we are the homemakers so, that in itself makes its hard and...how you know to come away from that is so hard and for men to admit abuse must be beyond...it's beyond comprehension"

Manpreet's response mirrors findings from literature which places men and women firmly into traditional gender roles of breadwinner and homemaker and because of these expectations disclosure of sexual abuse for men is all the more difficult as it threatens to challenge the ideals these gender roles perpetuate.

In the men's focus group, Amardeep makes a similar community but talks about gender expectation upon men in relation to the Punjabi community:

Amardeep: "erm, I don't wanna say that all families are the same or something but erm in my family or my cousins my... it's families that I know through neighbourhood relations and gurdwara even uni and college most of them the guys have pressure

erm you can't disappoint your dad you can't disappoint your mum so you can't be seen to fail..."

With Amardeep's response, it is evident that 'letting the family down' is a concern for him, with a pressure not to disappoint parents. This demonstrates how men can face a pressure to live up to expectations as much as women in South Asian communities.

The next few responses from Rupan, Charita and Jannath focused more specifically on the issue of men disclosing that they had experienced sexual abuse, and what some of the reactions may be towards this within their families and/or communities:

Rupan: "...the fact that it's a man victim I mean wow but yeah it's great that it's out there in the news and stuff"

Rupan demonstrated surprise in her response that the video clip that was initially played at the beginning of the discussion featured a male survivor of child sexual abuse. She does however go on to commend the fact that this news is in the mainstream.

Charita positioned herself in a hypothetical situation of a male member of her family disclosing abuse and contemplated what reaction he may be faced with:

Charita: "yeah so I mean I imagine like a, gosh like a guy in my family coming forward about it it's kind of unimaginable because it would be so controversial erm, just a proper huge deal erm, my family would go apeshit crazy about it it just, it wouldn't be accepted, I mean I can actually say that with confidence I'm that certain

cause I know my family's ways inside out they're not the type that they'll they're gonna hug you and say poor thing if anything I think the guy would get blamed for it like he's and I hate this word I really really hate it, but a pussy like why didn't you stop it and can I just say I really hate that way of thinking"

Charita anticipated that her family would not react well to a male member of her family disclosing abuse, stressing that it would be 'unimaginable' and 'controversial' and that it simply would not be accepted. Instead she describes how the survivor may be blamed and be labelled a 'pussy' for 'allowing' the abuse to occur. Fuller (2011) details how the term 'pussy' when used as an insult is intended for use by men towards other men in order to belittle them, and suggests that such men are weaker and exhibit feminine traits. This feeds into the notion of gender role expectations, and how men are expected to fulfil a particular set of criteria in order to be considered 'masculine'. This is also evident when Charita states that a man in her family would not be met with hugs or sympathy, which is perhaps the reaction that would be more expected towards a female survivor, to receive comfort and reassurance. For men however, the influence of gender role expectations seems to engulf any sympathetic reaction that could be expected. Jannath agrees with Charita in her response:

Jannath: "...yeah it would be the same reaction...just probably more like well you're a dude how the hell can that happen to you cause my dad is really like sexist like that cause he thinks men should be like menly men and can't get hurt and stuff erm...actually I don't even think my parents would know that a man could even get abused"

Jannath describes her father as sexist and acknowledges that as a result of his attitude, her father would not be receptive to a disclosure of abuse from a male family member, and how an expectation of men being 'menly men' would cloud his reaction. Jannath also details how her parents would perhaps not be aware of the concept of male child sexual abuse, which indicates a cultural ignorance that may exist regarding sexual abuse. Scourfield et al (2002) report that black and ethnic minority children are unlikely to be overrepresented in terms of child sexual abuse due to cultural ignorance. This perspective points towards an ignorance on the part of Asian communities in acknowledging and addressing that the phenomenon of child sexual abuse is a legitimate crime. In the male focus group, a similar tone was noted in Aziz's response:

Researcher: "why do you think male child sexual abuse isn't addressed in Asian communities? What do you think the problem is there?"

Aziz: "...at basics basic basic level how many people are going to say yeah this guy got raped, they're more likely to say he's gay like he chose it so like they won't understand that it's something that was done to him yeah..."

Aziz's response implies that an ignorance exists on a general level regarding the phenomenon of male child sexual abuse, and brings into the fore the doubt that will instead be cast upon the survivor's sexuality. The blame tends to fall back upon the male survivor as opposed to the issue of the abuse itself being addressed. Traditional notions of masculinity are often based upon heterosexuality (Reeser, 2011) with homosexuality becoming the unacceptable 'other', and not fitting with the

ideals of heteronormative masculinity. This idea of men living up to a particular ideal is a cultural norm according to Jamal:

Researcher: “do you think Asians have any expectations that they’re expected to live up to that maybe White people don’t or...?”

Jamal:”...being Asian we got so many so much like you wouldn’t believe expectation on being certain ways so me I’m an older brother yeah I got two sisters and my dad’s always said to me when I die son you gotta look after your mum and sisters so they kind of already put that on me so if you want respect in your family you take after your dad Jamal expresses how as an Asian male, he is expected to take over the role of his father at some point in his life whilst being responsible for the female members of his family. South Asian cultures are typically thought of as patriarchal, with the term ‘traditional’ in the context of a South Asian family usually denoting oppressive patriarchal relations of power (Ahmad, 2006). It is worth noting that whilst social mobility within Asian family structures has witnessed a dramatic and progressive change in recent decades, there exists an undercurrent of male dominance within many South Asian families who adhere to traditional practices that are being carried through from first generation South Asians. However, it is not just family who are seen to place these expectations upon men; Mohammed argues that society can exert just as much pressure:

Mohammed: “erm, I think society gives you the same pressure as family if anything it’s not just family expectation there’s a bigger expectation from everyone else for you to be a man about things”

Mohammed points to societal expectations and pressure that can be more powerful than the pressure that family place upon men; indeed, one of the definers of masculinity is the conformity to masculine norms that society creates (O' Neil, 2012). Being 'a man about things' is not an unusual statement, as it is precisely what masculinity promotes, with early theorists on masculinity listing basic ideals of masculinity as antifemininity, status, achievement, inexpressiveness, independence and aggressiveness (David and Brannon, 1976).

The next few comments express the men's' frustration that it is difficult for them to get recognition as crime victims as opposed to perpetrators:

Jagdeep: "erm I think it's harder for us to get that erm get noticed that a man can be a victim..."

Jagdeep: "even if you go to the police with that kind of problem you don't know what they'll say they might just laugh in their head"

Researcher: "so would you find it embarrassing to walk into a police station and report a crime like abuse?"

Jagdeep: "yeah I would"

Here, Jagdeep describes how it would be difficult as a man to enter a police station and report a crime like abuse, adding that the police may ridicule him for doing so. Despite the fact that the number of people reporting child sexual abuse has risen sharply, particularly since 2014 (BBC News, 2015) there seems to be a lack of trust on the part of men to approach the police to report such crimes. This is

substantiated by McConaghy (2012) who states that as societal beliefs dictate that men should be able to defend themselves, that their masculinity would be called into question and that reporting crime to the police is embarrassing, they are less likely to report sexual assault to the police. Moreover, Mohammed went on to point out that men are often portrayed as the perpetrators of crime and this can act as a further barrier to men having the confidence to disclosing abuse:

Mohammed: "...do they ever say it's not our fault they don't they say it is cause in that sense women get special treatment so what's the point in saying anything"

According to Mohammed, women are given 'special treatment' and men are put in a position where they are blamed, which leads him to conclude that there is no point in disclosing sexual abuse. This response is reflective of gender expectations, with a more sensitive approach ostensibly given to women and an expectation that men somehow could have prevented an assault based crime. This is also seen in Charita and Shobnom's responses:

Charita: "...I think with men they're kind of seen as the perp so in this kind of scenario like your research you're kind of trying to...turning those perceptions around and you...there's a chance that they'll be seen as victims too so yeah it's brill"

Shobnom: "yeah I think it will be hard though cause men are usually the ones who commit crime and it's gonna be hard to shake that off cause I'm sure this sort of crime has been happening for ages and that perception has always been the same so yeah"

According to Denov (2003) women are less likely than men to be regarded as perpetrators of crime, perpetuating and wrongly reinforcing gender stereotypes which in turn threaten to alienate men who may wish to disclose or report abuse.

6.4.2 Expectations upon women

Another subtheme to emerge from the findings was the expectations placed upon women, which was evident in both the male and female focus group discussions. Although it is important not to homogenise Asian women's' experiences, much research has indicated that the patriarchal foundations of Asian family structures influence and shape the behaviour of both men and women (Bucerius and Tonry, 2014). Other research suggests that Asian women are acutely influenced by notions of shame and honour, with a need to fulfil traditional roles and uphold the family's honour (izzat) through their behaviour (Takhar, 2013). As women are seen as the bearers of izzat within Asian households, it is worth investigating what some of the obligations are upon Asian women that distinguish them from Asian men. On the other hand, there may also be many similarities in the experiences of Asian men and women, which will also be highlighted.

Manpreet starts off the discussion on female expectations drawing on her own experiences as an Asian woman:

Manpreet: "...in India if you are educated it's a very good thing or a very bad thing especially if you are a woman you know it's this kind of...mind-set that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. I went to university and got my MBA and then my family chose my life path you know...you get married you have children and that's

the way you will live your life, just no ifs and buts but I think nowadays especially in England women have more choices and it's not the same time anymore...people question it you know?"

Manpreet's response reflects traditional ideals of female gender roles, with the addition of having the opportunity to be highly educated. However, from this point onwards, Manpreet describes how the freedom of choice was almost removed and instead a life path to marry and have children was chosen for her. There is a clear juxtaposition here between being educated and exercising a degree of independence to reaching adulthood and having life decisions decreed by a higher authority, which in this instance was family. Amico (1998) states that historically, there has been an unequal burden on women cross-culturally to maintain their role in a reproductive capacity, but for Asian women, this is made all the more complicated when an expectation to maintain family izzat is added to this burden (Bhardwaj, 2001). Manpreet then goes on to state that men may prefer a patriarchal system in place as anything that challenges or threatens to change this system would be harder to deal with:

Manpreet: "...it is very man dominated, it's a man's world erm you know, and they don't want something to threaten that and maybe it's... they're scared of that being destroyed so they don't want to deal with things that could do that"

Modern feminism has attempted to elaborate on the concept of patriarchy and explain the success of patriarchy, with theorists such as Hartmann and Walby proposing that men have a collective streak of malice which ensures that men always win and that women are 'kept from the prize' (Hakim, 2004). Although it

could be argued that feminism can account for many advances in gender equality and a revolutionary change in women's rights has been evident since the 1970s onwards, there is still an inkling of patriarchy that seems to be present cross-culturally and particularly stronger in communities where women's rights have progressed much slower, such as Asian communities. This is evident in Shobnom's response:

Shobnom: "...it's male dominated for sure it's so much about the men and us always taking a backseat to everything like...let me think like...food. You have a dinner or something and who is fed first men you know you have to prioritise them even if you've been slaving in the kitchen all day cooking they just have to turn up and take their seat and you cater for them and I mean forget the women were just second to them all the time you know it's almost like...unjust...but yeah you get over it cause it's how it is and I just tell myself that I won't repeat those mistakes with my kids and make them think that if you're a girl you're inferior to a guy"

Shobnom uses a very mundane example to illustrate a very powerful point that places women in an inferior position to men within her family; a culture of servitude through a very traditional portrayal of women as homemakers demonstrates that male dominated Asian households are still prevalent in British Asian households, and that traditional gender expectations still exist. Within collectivist structures such as Asian communities, women inhabit a key position and their lives are governed by three concepts: to nurture, preserve and boost the male ego; a sense of hierarchy, which is expected to be maintained; and the closeness of relationships (Sinha, 2014). These three concepts correspond to Shobnom's example of serving men dinner before women, with women placing the needs of men and ultimately

bolstering men's' egos before their own needs and wants. This is mirrored in Rupan's response:

Rupan: "...I apologise ladies in advance cause this will sound sexist but it's how it is or used to be but yeah women are supposed to be in the kitchen over the cooker and men are supposed to go to work and have all the fun whereas were more kind of...confined I think? Like we should be home being a mum looking after the kiddies and men can go play pool and stay out at night but come home to a nice meal and we have to put up that pretence"

Jannath and Malik go on to make similar points regarding women's' place in the community in comparison to men's, in relation to relationships:

Jannath: "...so for women everything is almost like justified with religion whereas for guys I think in my community they kind of get away with more so like they can have girlfriends and no one says anything their rep isn't ruined or anything"

Malik: "I think one thing that's really different is girls can't really be in, being with a boyfriend erm that's definitely not an open thing you have to hide it..."

The rules regarding the openness of romantic relationships seem to be different for men and women in South Asian communities; Jannath maintains that men can 'get away' with being in relationships whereas for women, their reputation is at stake. Malik identifies the same issue, interpreting relationships as something that women in Asian communities need to hide. Sex has traditionally been considered a taboo topic within Asian communities, with many women in Sikh, Muslim and Hindu

communities expected to remain chaste before marriage and refrain from dating (Lee et al, 2015). There is evidence however, to attest to the social changes evident across British South Asian communities, which suggests that living together before marriage and dating are more common (Bhalla, 2004).

The emergence of honour killings which have played out in western media are usually concerned with females who have 'dishonoured' their families in some way, and in many cases this has been through the initiation of a relationship considered forbidden by their families (Hossain and Welchman, 2005). Relationships seem to be grounds for control, particularly where women are concerned. However, in Manpreet's contribution below, the rules are very similar in her family for both men and women:

Manpreet: "I think with me being from a Sikh Punjabi background there is a lot of family expectation and that is all cultural definitely so my mother and father expected me to marry a fellow Sikh Punjabi Jatt but in terms of gender I think it is the same because my brothers were expected to marry the same so, I think expectations are the same for us if we are man or woman"

Manpreet's experience was that she was expected to marry with the same religion, ethnicity and caste as her own family but that this expectation was also applicable to her brothers, illustrating that the rules can be the same for both genders in Asian communities. However, in Mohammed's experience, two of his brothers married outside their ethnicity which was accepted within his family:

Mohammed: "...one brother's married to a white girl, the other one's married to a Turkish girl and no one cares really its accepted"

It is worthwhile noting that while many Asian families like Manpreet's adhere to tradition, there are a growing number of families within the British Asian population, such as Mohammed's, whose perceptions and values are changing.

6.5 Generational differences

First generation Asians are those who were born and primarily raised in Asia and immigrated to Western countries such as England later on to work and settle here with their families. Second generation Asians are the offspring of the first generation, born in Western countries and as a result, being more susceptible to the process of acculturation. Acculturation is the process by which "individuals change, both by being influenced by contact with another culture and by being participants in the general acculturative changes under way in their own culture" (Berry, 2005: 235). For second generation Asians, in this case British Asians, it is expected that their values will somewhat differ to their parents' generation as they have been exposed to a new set of values and traditions that sometimes conflict with the values that their parents' generation brought with them. This was identified as a subtheme in the focus group discussions and these findings are presented and discussed below.

6.5.1 'My generation are more free'

The idea that there are generational differences between first and second and indeed third generation South Asians within the UK was initially evident in Jannath's statement in the women's focus group:

Jannath: "I dunno I think for me personally it's probably a little bit different because my generation, were like, more free I would say"

Jannath's statement indicates a level of independence, choice and freedom and by contrasting it to her parent's generation, she is indicating that this was not the case in previous generations, hence the difference she refers to.

Jannath:" ...like, the abuse that the guy in the video went to court about, that kind of thing we've looked at in my school and college and my school and college are full of Asian kids so for us sitting there in class its more normal for us I think to hear things like that cause, yeah but were more, I dunno open I suppose"

Roshan echoed a similar statement in the men's focus group:

Roshan: "...we have our rules and they have theirs, it's just the way it is"

For Roshan, his parents' generation inherently possess a different set of rules to his own generation, which he seems accepting of, adding that 'it's just the way it is'. He goes on to elaborate that his parents' generation have a different understanding of concepts but also rationalises that this is similar for his own generation:

Roshan "I think it depends because sometimes they can be so chilled about stuff and other times they can blow it's just whatever they understand they understand same with us"

Jannath, being the youngest member of the female focus group is the biggest contributor to the discussion on generational differences. She goes on to stress that

there are boundaries across generations and within conversations and these boundaries can sometimes create difficulties:

Jannath: "I wouldn't expect my parents to talk to me about things like that because they aren't from here they were born in Pakistan...but I'm saying like my generation my own friends and cousins and stuff yeah definitely we're much more open about it...I dunno I just couldn't imagine myself being the way my parents are with me cause they don't have that knowledge but erm, yeah I kinda don't blame them cause it's not their fault it's just like...that's the teaching they had in their days so"

Jannath: "yeah yeah I agree erm with older people the thing is, you kinda have to be on their level with everything so...like for example I can't go up to my mum and say I was abused in such a like, casual way but I wouldn't be afraid for the reason that I have to respect her and stuff...its more about that like well would she even understand me? Cause I'm 17 I have a huge age gap with my parents cause my mum was like 40 or something when she had me plus she's from back home so imagine what that's like cause I'm like a 17 year old British kid so a lot of the time my parents don't even get me so they're not gonna get abuse"

Jannath's narrative on generational differences is indicative of a number of issues: firstly, that the level of understanding between first and second generation Asians can be somewhat fractured. Jannath is more comfortable discussing certain issues with her peers than with her parents, highlighted the large age difference between herself and her parents which perhaps adds to the generational difference. Secondly, Jannath acknowledges that the teaching that her parents were brought up with was different to hers, and so she rationalises that these differences in their

perspectives are understandable. Jannath also relates this to the issue of sexual abuse, and boldly argues that if her parents do not understand her, they would not understand abuse. Rupan refers to the values held by the elder generation as a 'code' which her generation do not quite grasp:

Rupan: "yeah elders have their own code and we have ours...at my age even I don't quite fit into the elder category because were the next generation to them and...yeah my parents would have been the same reaction wise just not understanding and not getting it"

Rupan describes the hierarchy of her family structure and how despite being at an age which she considers to be mature, she is not considered a family elder because of the difference in generation and her position in the family structure. This echoes findings in the literature which ascertained that traditionally, South Asian families adhered to a hierarchical structure whereby power is distributed downwards according to age and gender (Solotaroff et al, 2014). There is evidence in Rupan's response that in her family, this is the case, and it contributes to the lack of understanding between the generations.

On the topic of generational disparities, Shobnom makes a similar point:

Shobnom: "...my mum and dad are zoned out of things like that, things they see as really kind of, western, sex and pregnancy and relationships...you know you have your friends and other women in your family your own sort of age range to talk to these things about but not the elders"

For Shobnom, there are certain topics that are off limits for discussion with parents, including sex, pregnancy and relationships, issues which she states her parents would consider 'western'. Although this would be difficult to fathom for non-Asian communities, it is considered a cultural norm within Asian communities that certain issues are not openly discussed. According to Kim and Ward (2007) many Asians are socialised about sexuality through religion, with religion used a powerful tool in shaping an individual's perspective on sexuality and their own sexual behaviour. Tewari and Alvarez (2012) add that the silence around sexuality within these communities is presumable to avoid embarrassment, and by establishing as a taboo subject, sexuality is ultimately associated with shame, homophobia, separation and fixed gender roles. For first generation Asians, or 'elders' as they are often referred to, cloaking these topics under the veil of shame seeks to preserve traditional core values, but at the risk of scaring and preventing others within the community to disclose sexual abuse or topics considered similarly taboo.

6.5.2 Changing attitudes

Changing attitudes was another subtheme that was gleaned from the focus group transcripts under the generational differences superordinate theme. According to Takhar (2013) changes in culture and tradition are becoming increasingly evident, particularly in the Asian mother/daughter relationship. Changes in attitude towards marriage, romance and women's subjection for example, are apparent when comparing daughter's to their mother's generation; moreover, South Asian people have recognised the value of professional qualifications and their value in the labour market to use as leverage to challenge male power. Rather than viewing this change in attitude as a source of conflict or a clash of cultures, Ramji (2003) labels

this as a 're-definition of traditions'. Jannath's response starts by illustrating changes in attitudes between the generations:

Jannath: "...like, the abuse that the guy in the video went to court about, that kind of thing we've looked at in my school and college and my school and college are full of Asian kids so for us sitting there in class its more normal for us I think to hear things like that cause, yeah but we're more, I dunno open I suppose"

In Jannath's experience, Asian people in her peer group are more 'open' to hearing about issues that first generation Asians may not be as comfortable listening to or discussing. This illustrates how topics which were not easy to discuss for previous generations are now in the mainstream, with more acceptability and less taboo surrounding them. For Mohammed, the generation gap and the differing stance that the younger generation have adopted is positive:

Mohammed: "...I think things that our parents didn't do or their parents didn't let them do we're more likely to stand up for what we believe in and we don't hesitate as much erm we don't hold back and that's a good thing"

Mohammed describes how his generation have more conviction in their beliefs and 'don't hold back', implying that they are more courageous in their pursuits and have less hesitation in doing so. For Manpreet, the option of choice in a western secular country like England has afforded women more freedom:

Manpreet: "...I think nowadays especially in England women have more choices and it's not the same time anymore...people question it you know?"

According to Mandeep's statement, because of the change in era, there is a greater need to question things whereas this was not the case with previous generations; the degree of conformity to rules and cultural norms was much greater than it is today, although this is not to say that cultural conformity does not exist (Anand, 2014).

For Shobnom, the younger generation of British Asians do not place as much importance on culture as previous generations, which she perceives as in a positive light:

Shobnom: "...this generation of Asian kids you know British Asian kids they're different they don't hang onto the culture as much and I think it's good"

Hall (2002) as cited by Wortham (2011) wrote about multiple, fluid identities that young British Sikhs possess, and where these identities fit in terms of contrasting ideologies; the traditional ideology of family honour and the ideology of British nationalism. The negotiation process between these ideologies is what Hall's work focuses on, and is something that many sociologists attempt to understand. It can therefore be argued that the change in attitudes that has emerged with British Asians is a part of this negotiation process, with second and third generation British Asians attempting to redefine what culture means to them and how much of an influence it has on their lives.

Jannath's response is an example of how ambitions as well as attitudes are witnessing a change:

Jannath: "...I think women have more to offer than just to be cooking in the kitchen all day and popping out babies cause I'm not gonna go to uni just so I can do all that then what's the point? What's the point of getting a degree if I can't be working and doing what I like it's just...stupid"

Jannath questions the purpose of education and challenges traditional gender expectations that are placed upon women, but maintains that she will not conform to these ideals. Jannath also goes on to discuss how izzat no longer has relevance as it may have previously done in the past, particularly with her parents' generation:

Jannath: "...my dad would always be like what about our izzat? We have to protect our izzat and I would get pissed because it's so backwards to still talk about that kind of crap c

For Jannath, notions of izzat are 'backwards' and she conflicts with her father's strong stance on izzat being something of concern and something to be protected. This is again exemplary of changing attitudes in a broader sense cross-generationally. On a narrower scale, attitudes towards child sexual abuse are also changing:

Manpreet: "...Aamir Khan he's a very big actor in India and he made this programme and he talks about difficult issues that Asian people don't usually want to talk about and he did a programme erm on child abuse and erm sex abuse with male and female children so it is coming more out into the open now"

Manpreet refers to a television programme featuring a high profile Bollywood actor which addressed the issue of sexual abuse, something which is ground-breaking in a conservative country like India. Although child sexual abuse is rampant and classified as a problem of epidemic proportions in India (Iaccino, 2014) is it yet to be accepted into the mainstream narrative of everyday conversation. More recently, high profile cases of rape and sexual assault across India which have made international headlines have brought sexual violence in India to the forefront, forcing policymakers across India to reassess and tighten child protection laws (Shah et al, 2013). This is perhaps a progressive step towards change and will have a knock-on effect on Asian communities to acknowledge sexual abuse as a legitimate crime that needs to be addressed.

Jannath's response is perhaps an indication towards change in Asian communities:

Jannath: "I totally relate to that cause my mum is classic one of those people erm yeah 'what will people think' and I can't stand it cause like, why do I care what people think they're nothing to me so yeah cause of that I think I'd be more understanding so if I like, hear someone had been abused why would I judge them? That's their business and I can't judge someone else's life cause I haven't been in their shoes so screw what people think"

Jannath is adamant that she would be understanding and empathic towards somebody who disclosed abuse, as opposed to adopting a judgmental attitude that her mother's generation would possess. Jannath differentiates her viewpoint from that of her mother's and in the process of doing this, demonstrates another example of how attitudes are changing for the better.

6.6 Izzat and sharam

Sharam and izzat (often referred to as shame and honour) have been recognised as cultural constructs which are held in high regard across South Asian communities. In the service provider interviews, shame and honour were firmly established as important diktats that shaped many survivors' experiences and indeed had an impact on other aspects of their life. Within the focus group discussions, questions on shame and honour were included to gauge the participants' views on how these concepts had an impact on the community. Shame will firstly be explored, followed by honour.

6.6.1 'Bringing shame on your family'

Rupan's account of sharam revolves around her childhood experiences and what was considered shameful by her mother:

Rupan: "erm in my day as a kid it was more, erm seen as more shameful to talk about certain things or use certain words or even watch TV programmes with things that were erm inappropriate in my mum's opinion like if two people kissed on TV like EastEnders or something my mum would be like hey have you no shame like in Punjabi and say change it over or if I wore clothes that were too tight it was that same erm principle so it does affect you"

For Rupan, there were limits as to what was considered appropriate and inappropriate-such as certain words or watching people kiss on television-resulted in Rupan's shame being called into question. This was also mirrored in Shobnom's response:

Shobnom: "yeah we had that kind of stuff too erm for almost the exact same reasons like the TV thing and clothes and even for us talking to random boys in school wasn't allowed cause it would have been seen as bringing shame on your family"

Shobnom adds that talking to boys in school was considered a shameful act that would impact upon the family, which highlights how an individual's actions can have an impact on a much bigger scale; this is referred to as 'reflected shame' (Gilbert, 2002). Shobnom goes on to say how shame is entwined with embarrassment, and how she repeats this threat of shame with her own children:

Shobnom: "...it's basically like 'sharam nahi he' like have you no shame? It's when you've done something and it's seen as shameful and erm embarrassing you say it and you hear it a lot yourself so my mum would say it to me and now I find myself saying it to my kids but for different reasons..."

Shobnom is quick to point out however that she uses the threat of shame in a different way to her own mother, which suggests that the sense in which it was previously used was perhaps more strict, as evidenced in Shobnom and Rupan's accounts. In the male focus group, Aziz and Mohammed's briefly discussed shame:

Aziz: "I find it embarrassing to talk about certain things to my dad..."

Mohammed: "I think shame's more for the girls so men don't get as shamed as women but it's not impossible"

Aziz asserts that certain issues are 'embarrassing' to discuss with his father, hinting that shame is a factor for having conversation barriers. Mohammed's response

stresses a different point, namely that shame is more applicable to women than it is to men. Mohammed does acknowledge that it is not impossible for men to be 'shamed' but that it is not to the same extent as it is for women. Lindisfarne (1998) argues that within South Asian cultures, men can lose honour and be shamed by a failure to control women in their network, suggesting that men's shame and honour hinges upon the behaviour and actions of women. In this sense, shame is more applicable to women than men as Mohammed stated.

Jannath: "...it does erm like change your attitude to what you would normally want to do yourself so if say I spoke to a guy at college my mum would say the same thing and cause of that I wouldn't make conversation with a guy so like, you wanna rebel against it but there's no point at the end of it but yeah so I think it stops you doing things cause you have that like fear of shame"

A fear of shame, as discussed by Jannath, has been documented in other research as a barrier to help seeking for Asian women who have mental health needs (Gilbert et al, 2004) which demonstrates how impactful a fear of shame is.

Shobnom focuses on embarrassment within the context of male sexual abuse, and posits that men have more shame and embarrassment due to their gender, which suggests that gender role expectations would create this shame. Within an Asian family, Shobnom states that men are more secretive about their issues, and shame plays a significant factor in this:

Shobnom: "men I think have more embarrassment you know would be more ashamed if they had to admit that they were a victim of abuse because it's a male"

being abused by another man and in an Asian family you have to think of how that would be looked at because guys keep things to themselves anyway and Asian men are even more secretive with their parents cause, so I'm just thinking of my brothers you know both never really confided in my mum or dad growing up about anything I mean we were more likely to talk to each other us siblings so and yeah that's because of sharam"

This point is reinforced by Shazia and Charita's contributions:

Shazia: "yes sharam does make you keep things inside I think and for the men its more worse because if something bad happens to them and they aren't going to tell their family because they will feel this sharam"

Charita: "...it's not just limited to anyone specifically erm anyone and everyone at some point can feel sharam or shame but with men yeah there's that extra complication because they have this image to protect as well that they're you know macho"

Charita reiterates that a man's image would be threatened in addition to feeling shame, and in this sense, it is perhaps worse for men when they experience shame. Charita does stress however, that shame or sharam, is not culturally bound to one ethnic group, and can be felt by anyone.

6.6.2 'Izzat is about honour'

Honour, or izzat as it is widely known as within South Asian communities, is another cultural construct that usually goes hand in hand with sharam. Nayer (2004) defines

izzat as the honour or reputation of a person, organisation or institution. However, it is acknowledged that such translations are limited as it does not encapsulate the layers of significance that this word holds for South Asian communities (Mucina, 2013). Mohammed and Malik offer their interpretations of what izzat means to them:

Mohammed: “ to me izzat is about honour and respect well, yeah self-respect and if you give respect to yourself then others will respect you as well but izzat erm I can’t really translate but it means more than honour its kind of like your whole reputation...”

Malik: “I think izzat is honour and protecting your honour whatever way necessary”

Mohammed defines izzat as honour and acknowledges that it has elements of respect, self-respect and reputation, but that it also encompasses one’s ‘whole reputation’. Malik provides a similar definition, simply referring to izzat as honour and that this involves protecting one’s honour ‘whatever way necessary’. Although Malik does not elaborate on this answer, it is implicit that honour is something of value that is worthy of being protected. These views are in contrast to some of the women’s responses, such as Jannath’s:

Jannath: “...my dad would always be like what about our izzat? We have to protect our izzat and I would get pissed because it’s so backwards to still talk about that kind of crap cause to me it’s not even relevant anymore cause its 2014 and why am I gonna care whether my izzat no sorry my dad’s izzat will be like... ruined or whatever because of something I’ve said or done cause that’s what it’s about like the

boyfriend thing I said before that's something that could destroy your family's izzat cause your ruining your family's rep by doing things like that in public whereas if you're more sly and do it hidden who's gonna care... so it's kind of double standards...it's like do what you like behind closed doors and if no one finds out and our izzat is protected then ok fine but we will hide it as much as we can"

For Jannath, izzat is something that was enforced upon her as an ideal by her father, who throughout her responses has been a dominant figure for her in shaping her understanding of many aspects of life. Jannath's tone indicates that she is in disagreement with the importance her father placed on izzat, adding that it is 'backwards' to place any relevance on izzat in 2014. Werbner (2005) supports this view, noting that although izzat is deeply embedded into the politics of family and community, generational differences have inevitably affected its place in Asian households. Jannath's statement is therefore indicative of a different generational mind-set and how cultural imperatives such as izzat hold different meaning to the younger generation of British Asians. Malik adds that his parents refer to izzat, implying that izzat is of greater importance to the elder generation:

Malik: "yeah my folks still talk about it not all the time but sometimes they mention it you know izzat this and that..."

Shobnom also discusses in more depth how izzat is losing its place with the emerging generation of British Asians:

Shobnom: "honour is powerful whether we wanna believe it or not erm but like I said it's kind of you know disappearing now this generation of Asian kids you know British Asian kids they're different they don't hang onto the culture as much"

Shobnom's interpretation of honour is that it is a powerful entity with many connotations, as she relates it back to culture and discusses how honour is losing its place with the next generation of Asians.

Shobnom also goes on to provide her experiences of izzat and what it means to her:

Shobnom: "...well let's just say there was more kind of emphasis on it if you like when I was growing up cause my parents were traditionalists and still are so...you had that kind of arranged marriage system which was the norm and erm you didn't dare marry someone your parents hadn't chosen so no, me for example I married my cousin cause my parents chose him whereas now you have that choice erm love marriages are just so common now and...yeah that's all izzat and keeping it up and not letting anyone down you just you know"

For Shobnom, as a second generation South Asian, izzat was an important ideal as she was growing up, using the example of her arranged marriage to her cousin. In Shobnom's experience, agreeing to marry somebody chosen for her by her parents was an act of izzat, 'not letting anyone down' and preserving the reputation of the family. This corroborates Shah's (2015) research, which argues that women are the bearers of family izzat, which requires submission to the male head of the household in matters concerning marriage and personal, social and economic matters. However, izzat is not always perceived in a negative light:

Shazia: “we always saw it as something good in my family, because I always believed that and I wouldn’t ruin my family izzat or my father’s izzat because for us that’s how we got the respect from other people”

Shazia’s account is supportive of izzat as it was a means of gaining respect for her family, and in her experience izzat is a positive ideal to live up to. This is also seen in Aziz’s response:

Aziz: “izzat isn’t necessarily a bad thing I think it’s just got a bad rep because it’s Asians and just racist, racism has to come up somewhere and they have to look for a reason to make us look bad”

For Aziz, izzat has unfairly gained a bad reputation which he attributes to racism, as a way of making Asians ‘look bad’. As izzat is not a western concept, the closest equivalent of it would be honour. . Alexander and Knowles (2005: 3) argue that *“the focus on difference and the celebration of marginality that has accompanied the fragmentation of identity has made the structures that maintain racial violence, exclusion and inequality less visible”*. In essence, they argue that the exaggeration of differences between Asians and whites maintains ‘racial’ divisions and serves to exclude and single out South Asian people in a category of ‘otherness’ and in a broader sense, legitimises the creation of fragmented identities amongst Asians.

For Manpreet, Rupan and Charita, izzat is a concept which predominantly affects women, reinforcing the view that within South Asian cultures, patriarchy manifests itself through izzat (Shah, 2015).

Manpreet: "...in parts of India that it still very dominant and people live very strongly by it and yes usually with things like relationships it has a big impact on families and you hear of stories here in the UK erm Sikh families killing their daughter in laws because of honour so, I don't know about whether it affects men differently or not because I've not experienced that but from what I know it affects women more"

Manpreet's upbringing in India exposed her to the power of izzat within families, discussing how izzat is still relevant with Asian families in the UK but stresses that it is more applicable to women than men using the specific example of honour killings.

Rupan expresses a similar point:

Rupan: "...I've heard those stories too it's scary what people do because of honour its downright disgusting and I don't think there's any difference whether its man or woman but at the end of the day the treatment is totally different"

Rupan highlights the difference in how izzat is applied unfairly to women more than men, and how male behaviour is not subjected to scrutiny in the same way as women's. This indicates an unequal distribution of power between men and women within South Asian communities according to Rupan and Manpreet's experiences, with women feeling the burden of family izzat more than men. Charita also talks about honour in relation to men and women:

Charita: "...but with abuse don't you think it would be the same I mean I don't know maybe worse actually if you think about it cause the rumours that would be flying about would be awful about a guy saying he'd been abused by another guy that wouldn't be easy to deal with and yeah parents who live by the honour thing would

be freaked out and I don't even think they'd be able to handle it but girls...I think a girl coming forward and saying it erm if it's a family that lives by honour then they'd probably hide it and make sure it never comes out because her chances of getting married would be messed up and yeah as stupid as it sounds its true a lot of girls have that worry"

In relation to male sexual abuse, Charita stresses that honour would affect a survivor who disclosed to family members, because of the potential rumours that may circulate regarding male on male abuse. For women, Charita relays that the abuse would be hidden to protect the honour of the female survivor as it may threaten her chances of marriage, which demonstrates how izzat can have a ripple effect on other areas of an individual's life.

Shobnom: "...don't you think because of that whole 'oh what will other people say' thing that with someone who wanted to tell their family about abuse they wouldn't because of izzat?"

Shobnom echoes a similar concern, suggesting that izzat, which is closely tied with a fear of gossip, would be a barrier for somebody who wished to disclose abuse. This is supported by Ingleby (2006) who emphasises how real the risk of gossip is for South Asian communities, and how gossip has the potential to destroy a family's izzat and reputation.

6.7 Attitudes to counselling

Traditionally, South Asian communities have been reluctant to access counselling and mental health services, largely due to cultural taboos associated with mental health problems, prejudice and ignorance (Kulanjiyil, 2010). Some of the issues around accessing counselling services were explored during the focus group discussions, including the question of whether counselling was suitable for everybody and whether people would be able to relate to the counsellor. These subthemes are presented below.

6.7.1 Is counselling for everybody?

Counselling is not a universal solution to the effects of childhood sexual abuse, and it is important to acknowledge that it is not always a viable or suitable option for survivors and cannot help everyone (Burnard, 2013). These were some of the views that materialised from the focus group discussions:

Shobnom: "...you have to think would a man go to counselling anyway you know especially when we just said about shame erm women we just naturally have more, we're more comfortable talking and therapy

Shobnom provides a detailed account of accessing counselling as an Asian woman; she firstly acknowledges that counselling would be much more difficult for men to utilise as they would be less comfortable discussing their problems, possibly due to shame. From Shobnom's perspective, counselling is easier for women to access and make use of. She distinguishes between men and women's approaches towards talking more generally, and that it would be 'naturally' easier for women to engage in talking therapy. Roos (2017) writes that statistically, more women than

men seek therapy, with a greater willingness on the part of women to engage in counselling, This was strongly identified in the male focus group when the discussion turned towards counselling:

Malik: "nah I wouldn't go to a counsellor cause I don't see the point erm I'd rather deal with it myself or if I'm really desperate maybe talk to a mate someone I trust"

Jagdeep: "... I mean if someone really wants to go down that route then yeah good for them but personally no I wouldn't go cause I wouldn't feel comfortable telling a stranger my problems"

Aziz: "I think everyone's different and if it's that bad erm yeah counselling probably yeah go for it but me no I wouldn't either it's just personal choice"

While the men's responses were generally less detailed than the women's, they nevertheless made strong points regarding their views on counselling, with three of the seven participants stating that they would not access a counselling service. The reasons given were varied, however, the commonality in their responses was that they would not be comfortable, and trust seemed to be a major factor in this. For Jagdeep, discussing problems with a 'stranger' was not a valid option, as was the case with Malik who stated that he would be more comfortable confiding in a friend he could trust. These findings are in line with research conducted by Das and Kemp (1997) who found that there is a strong cultural incentive in South Asian communities to keep personal problems to oneself, instead disclosing problems to a close family member as opposed to a stranger. Coupled with some of the views from the focus groups, it would be reasonable to conclude that this practice of not confiding in or

trusting services external to the immediate network of family and community has not witnessed much change across South Asian communities. Some of the male focus group members did however voice their opinions regarding the advantages of counselling:

Amardeep: "I think counselling's a really helpful thing it's good for people when they want to get something off their mind or chest erm it's that release you get and it's a weight lifted off of you when you talk just generally so...with a counsellor its double that its cause you know they'll have heard it all before"

Amardeep has a positive outlook on counselling, describing how it is a form of release to talk and that this would be more beneficial in the presence of a counsellor who would identify with their story on the basis of professional experience. This is in contrast to the previous men's comments, but was swiftly supported by Aziz:

Aziz: "yeah yeah I don't think it's bad necessarily I meant it's not for everyone so for me yeah I wouldn't talk to one but for people that need it yeah it's good that it's there"

Although Aziz maintains that he would not access a counselling service, he agrees that it can bring advantages for people who require it.

6.7.2 Relating to the counsellor

Another of the subthemes identified from the focus group discussions was the issue of being able to relate to the counsellor, particularly where ethnicity was concerned, but also the gender of the counsellor.

Shobnom provided her opinion on this matter, stating that she would be more comfortable talking to an Asian female counsellor as a White counsellor may not comprehend or understand problems which she felt were exclusive to Asian culture:

Shobnom: "...and also erm an Asian counselling service well you could say that the trust thing I mean, if Asian men feel this shame then they're not likely to trust an Asian counselling service I don't know for me I mean I feel more comfortable talking to an Asian about my problems because you have this trust as a woman talking to another woman and if they share that culture and they get certain words you're using its easier it just makes your life easier you know you don't have break down every single thing so a white person might be like 'well what does that mean' and they just don't get it I mean no offence to them or anything but most of them you know erm I don't expect them to know because maybe there's things in English culture that I don't get either so it's not their fault"

Shobnom raises concerns around trust, shame, comfortability, ethnicity and gender; her response strongly suggests that as an Asian woman, she would be more comfortable discussing her issues with another Asian female as they would be able to relate in both ethnicity and gender. She also alludes to the shame Asian male survivors of abuse may feel and questions whether they would be comfortable accessing an Asian counselling service in light of this shame.

Rupan has similar views to Shobnom in terms of being able to relate to a non-Asian counsellor:

Rupan: "I think growing up here as a British Indian yeah you integrate and understand a lot about the culture and way of life et cetera but there's still a gap there cause, you can't expect every party to understand every other party cause we're all from different walks of life and it's not just colour its religion, language, it's the way were taught as kids everything our systems are just so different erm so you can't compare them so going to a white counselling place yeah it would be a bit more difficult"

Research regarding the ethnic preference of counsellors by clients is mixed, with some research suggesting that Asian people prefer to speak to a counsellor of the same ethnic background, and others suggesting that due to a fear of confidentiality being breached, they would prefer to see a non-Asian counsellor (Netto et al 2001; Laungani, 2004). With the women's focus group, the responses were primarily in favour of speaking to a counsellor of the same ethnic background as it was believed that it would facilitate the counselling relationship if cultural understanding on the part of the counsellor was present. This was seen in both Rupan and Shobnom's responses. Charita is quick to point out that although counsellors may understand a client's psychological position, on a cultural level, an understanding may not be present and interpretation would be required:

Charita: "I don't think it's just that they know how you feel I mean a white counsellor might know exactly how you feel as well but it's just, erm cultural things that they won't get so the sharam thing we just spoke about or izzat, you'd have to interpret all that for them otherwise yeah were all human we all have feelings of pain and hurt and as humans we get that about each other it's just another side of each other we won't understand"

For Manpreet, language was a barrier to accessing a white counselling service:

Manpreet: "...me being born in India I haven't been here too long and yes I like it here I like the culture here its relaxed and I think it's easier for me to be with an Asian counselling service because language I mean Punjabi is my mother tongue so it's easier for me to express myself and for Asian men maybe some might feel the same things you know language and comfort being around another Asian who will know how you feel"

Manpreet's response indicates that she is more comfortable speaking to a counsellor in her first language of Punjabi as it is easier and more convenient for her to express herself. This is true of many Asian clients who access counselling services, with a strong preference for many people to communicate in their first language with a counsellor (Netto et al, 2001). From the male focus group discussions, Jagdeep expressed a similar point regarding language:

Jagdeep: "...if someone wants to go counselling they need to be able to do research on it and maybe find something they know where there might be Asians there they get your language they get your background they're on it you know they know what you're talking about if you talk about family or anything"

Although Jagdeep previously mentioned that he would not personally access a counselling service, he advised that Asians who wished to attend counselling should research beforehand whether the service would cater for the needs of an Asian client, pointing to language and background. Jagdeep's comments suggest that an

Asian client would be better suited to an Asian counsellor in order to better understand them.

Rupan added that inclusiveness of counselling services was an important feature that was necessary:

Rupan: "I'd like to see more counselling places as well and yeah ones that can treat Asian people but not in a way that they say other people can't use their services it should be for everyone but maybe have specialist counselling for Asians maybe that would work and not exclude people at the same time"

Rupan states that more counselling organisations are needed, particularly organisations that cater for culturally specific needs but do not risk excluding other communities.

6.8 Conclusions

Many themes and subthemes were gleaned from this phase of the research, providing a valuable insight on issues relating to child sexual abuse across South Asian communities. Discussions regarding the wider role of the community for example, highlight the intense level of involvement and the unspoken power that the community can possess over an individual's life. Respect for elders and generational differences are polarised examples of how values and traditions that were once highly valued and adhered to are slowly losing their position in the lives of emerging generations of British South Asian people. These changes mark a bigger upheaval in the cultural and social values that South Asian people once possessed, paving the way for more acculturated values to emerge.

The next chapter will be a presentation of the findings and discussion from the service provider interviews.

Chapter 7

Findings and discussion: Service providers

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of the findings followed up by a discussion of the first phase of the research that was conducted, which involved interviews with service providers. The purpose of the service provider interviews was to document a very specific perspective and insight, namely a professional standpoint that could shed light on service providers' experiences of working with British South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse.

This chapter will present the findings of the service provider interviews using interpretative phenomenological analysis, including a breakdown of the transcripts, themes, and the organisation of these themes into narrative accounts. This chapter is structured as follows: the first section briefly details who the interviewees are; the second section is the starting point for the findings of the service provider interviews, interwoven with a discussion about the first major theme to emerge, which is 'what stops survivors disclosing abuse?' This is made up of four subthemes, which are: a fear of being disbelieved, 'there's a big fear of confidentiality', scared that they will be judged and not wanting to be ostracised. The next theme to emerge was 'the effects of child sexual abuse on survivors', broken down into subthemes of: substance abuse, problems in relationships, self-harm and struggling with sexual identity. The next section was the theme of 'impact of culture', which consists of the following subthemes: 'everybody has got culture', the power of honour and the importance of community. The final theme that materialised from analysis of the interview

transcripts was 'being a man', and includes subthemes of 'you've been made to feel less of a man', men aren't supposed to cry and the stigma of male child sexual abuse. The chapter ends on concluding remarks.

7.2The interviewees

Locating a service provider that catered for both male survivors of childhood sexual abuse and men who are from Asian ethnic backgrounds was anticipated as a difficult task; as a result, a generic search of counselling services that catered for male survivors of sexual abuse on a nationwide scale was carried out, followed by individual contact with each organisation to enquire about the number of Asian male survivors under their provision. A UK based counselling service was located, with the chosen organisation having a number of Asian male survivors undergoing counselling during that particular time. Six service providers volunteered to take part in the interviews for this research.

Jenny* was the services manager at the organisation. Jenny is from a White British background and due to her role as a services manager, had good working knowledge of the makeup of the clientele as a whole as well as the clerical and financial aspects of the organisation. Jenny was responsible for the initial assessment of all clients who contacted the organisation for counselling and matched each client to a counsellor according to their needs and suitability. She is the first point of contact for all survivors who seek counselling from the organisation, and was the longest serving member of staff from all of the interviewees, so her input was deemed valuable as a service provider.

Sarah* was a counsellor on placement at the organisation as part of a University course and was from a White British background.

Emily* was a counsellor on placement at the organisation as part of a University course. Emily was from a White British background and at the time of the interview, was counselling one Asian male survivor of abuse.

John* was a volunteer counsellor at the organisation for around two years at the time of the interview. John was from a White British background and had an Asian male survivor he was counselling at the time of the interview.

Paul* was a counsellor at the organisation and the longest serving out of those interviewed, having worked there for around six years. Paul had two Asian male clients he was counselling at the time of the interview.

Jeff* was a volunteer counsellor at the organisation and had been for around five months at the time of the interview. Jeff was from a White British background.

7.3 What stops survivors disclosing abuse?

One of the major findings to be gleaned from this phase of the research findings was that there were certain factors that stopped survivors disclosing to family or delayed the process of disclosure. There is little evidence across academic literature of models or theories which attempt to understand the disclosure process (McElvaney et al, 2012), despite the fact that non-disclosure and delays in disclosure of childhood sexual abuse are of increasing concern within the remit of child protection (Pipe et al, 2007). Many adult survivors of childhood sexual abuse never disclose or

delay disclosing the abuse for years, emphasising the difficulty in revealing abuse as well as the potential repercussions that the disclosure may bring about (Berliner and Conte, 1995). This was highlighted as a significant issue by the service providers in this study and a discussion is presented below.

7.3.1 A fear of being disbelieved

There are many reasons why survivors choose not to disclose abuse, or at least delay the time at which they disclose abuse, one of which is a deep-seated fear of being disbelieved (Allnock and Miller, 2013). Validation of the survivor's experiences is crucial, particularly during their initial disclosure; if a survivor discloses abuse to a counsellor, the counsellor must acknowledge the validity of their client's disclosure in order for the process of recovery to begin (Pettrak and Hedge, 2002). Many survivors who have encountered sexual assault struggle with the fear of being disbelieved or being held accountable for what happened to them, and may face the actual experience of being disbelieved upon disclosing the abuse to someone. Services manager Jenny stressed several times during the interview that one of the issues they are often presented with is a fear of disbelief.

Jenny: "...when they come in there's this erm fear of being judged and fear of actually being disbelieved erm which is massive for them erm alongside almost not wanting to accept that that's what's happened to them..."

Here, Jenny expresses the gravity of being disbelieved and how this goes hand in hand with a fear of being judged and a mode of denial that the abuse has not happened to them. This indicates a defence mechanism on the part of survivors,

which combined with anxieties around disbelief and being judged creates a significant barrier to disclosure. Jenny went on to again emphasise how a fear of being disbelieved caused problems for South Asian survivors who had come into contact with the counselling service:

Researcher: "what problems do you think might be encountered by a South Asian male who wishes to disclose abuse?"

Jenny: "...we've got erm a guy in at the moment who it's so tight he was saying that he would be disbelieved, it would be covered up, he would be made to entirely feel it's his own fault erm and it would never ever ever ever be allowed to be spoken about ever erm and that was right down to even though he had a fairly good relationship with his mum..."

Jenny provides a number of insights in her response to the question posed by the researcher; in her experience with one survivor, the client does not fear being disbelieved but actually feels that he would be disbelieved, and that as a consequence of this, his disclosure of abuse would be 'covered up'. Furthermore, the survivor would be made to feel like he was accountable for the abuse, evoking a sense of self-blame, a feeling that many survivors already harbour (McGregor, 2014).

Jenny strongly emphasises, evidenced by repetition that the survivor would '*never ever ever*' be allowed to speak of the abuse, which indicates a code of silence that needs to be adhered to, a concept that has also been addressed as a 'syndrome of secrecy' by Professor Harry Ferguson (O'Hara, 2007). Jenny makes reference to

the 'tight' nature of the situation for the survivor, which in context, and having previously mentioned the term earlier on in the interview, refers to the tight knit structure of Asian communities and Asian families. Asian communities have traditionally been referred to as 'collectivist' from a sociological standpoint, characterised by the self being interdependent, communal goals being prioritised over personal goals, social behaviour which is guided by obligations and duties and an emphasis on maintaining family and communal honour (Prager, 2012). The prerequisite to Jenny's response is that the situation is 'tight' for the survivor in question, attributing, to a large extent, cultural norms to the subsequent fear of disbelief.

Jenny refers to being disbelieved again in the interview, this time aligning disclosure and disbelief with a loss of control over the disclosure:

Jenny: "...it all goes back to being disbelieved and it's not about you so when you're abused it is about you, the impact's on you but then when you disclose everybody else takes it off you and you know it's not about you..."

Jenny refers to the reaction of disbelief that many survivors anticipate and are often met with upon disclosure of sexual abuse. Caroline Taylor (2004) offers a plausible explanation for the phenomenon of disbelief, arguing that it is a defence mechanism for individuals who have difficulty in coming to terms with the gravity of sexual abuse. This mode of denial could therefore be a misplaced reaction and doesn't necessarily mean that the truth of the survivor's story is being doubted, but rather, is more telling of the person who is being disclosed to. The next part of Jenny's statement could be interpreted as referring to the power struggle and imbalance survivor's often deal

with in an abusive relationship and then again in its aftermath. In the first instance, the focus is on the survivor, but in a way that is negatively impactful and devoid of power for the survivor. Upon disclosure, the focus then shifts to everybody else and their reactions and feelings towards the abuse admission, and the survivor again feels powerless, when this is the moment they should regain control. This feeling is not limited to Asian or male survivors, but is a common across the spectrum of survivors; Mohammed and Hashish (2015) discuss the loss of ownership child sexual abuse survivors have over their bodies, and Finkelhor and Aranjji (1986) refer to the 'disempowerment' survivors repeatedly experience at various points of their lives, including the time of disclosure. Spalek (2006) discusses a loss of control and a feeling of powerlessness that many crime 'victims' may feel in the aftermath of a traumatic experience which can in turn lead to a loss of self-confidence and a feeling of vulnerability. These research findings substantiate Jenny's statement and illustrate how a fear of disbelief is associated with more complex psychological issues such as loss of control.

Emily raised the issue of disbelief in response to a question regarding culture:

Researcher: "How far do you think culture plays a role in the way in which an Asian male wishes to disclose abuse?"

Emily: "...for them it's more frequently I find disbelieved by relatives so therefore they feel that they're going against their relatives by coming in disclosing..."

Emily's response centres on survivors being met with disbelief upon disclosure, as well as an associated feeling of betrayal, in that they are 'going against' family

members by disclosing abuse. Guilt and betrayal (of family secrets) can be commonplace in Asian family structures (Gilbert, 1998) with community and/or family honour being threatened with the admission of 'shameful' secrets. Cowburn et al (2015) list three contributing factors which explain why women from South Asian communities are hesitant to disclose sexual abuse, including a feeling of betrayal by the perpetrators of the acts (usually close members of the same family or community), a fear that they will not be believed, and that the assault was not violent enough to constitute rape (Gupta, 2003; Gill, 2008; Patel, 2008). This goes some way towards demonstrating the complex interplay between the crime of abuse, the impact on the community and where the position of the survivor in the aftermath of disclosure. Although these findings were taken from studies with Asian survivors of sexual abuse, they are not exclusive to the South Asian community, with literature demonstrating that a fear of disbelief and a fear of negative consequences in the aftermath of disclosure are common amongst survivors regardless of ethnicity (Davidson, 2008; Spiegel, 2013).

Emily and Jenny's responses do not mention a fear of disbelief in isolation as a barrier to disclosure, but instead propose associated feelings of guilt, self-blame, betrayal, a loss of control and a fear of being judged as collective barriers to disclosure. Paul in his research interview has a similar response:

Paul: "...there's a big variance on how much acceptance they get erm and so yeah specifically sort of erm sort of Asian families tend to be really quite negative you know a lot of the time a lot of ostracisation and just disbelief..."

As Paul had two Asian male clients during the time of the research interview, he was able to draw on his experience with these clients. He mentions how acceptance in particular is an issue with Asian families followed by reactions of disbelief and ostracisation, which could lead to feelings of rejection and self-blame on the part of survivors, making recovery a tougher process.

Taking into consideration the barrage of associated responses, or barriers, that Emily and Jenny also mentioned, disbelief in itself is denial on the part of those who are on the receiving end of disclosure, and the disbelief is followed on by more extreme responses to silence the survivor and hide the abuse. As these were all responses to questions regarding Asian survivors' experiences of disclosure, it can be said that such responses are more prevalent in Asian families and that fear of disbelief and the subsequent reactions to disclosure are a considerable barrier to disclosure for Asian men. Gohir (2013) produced a report on the sexual exploitation of Asian girls and young women in response to the Jay (2013) inquiry on the Rotherham and Rochdale grooming gangs where gangs of Asian men groomed and sexually exploited young white girls. Gohir's report aimed to uncover the widespread and hidden exploitation of sexual crimes against Asian women by men within their own communities, a largely hidden phenomenon exacerbated by a culture of shame and honour which silences survivors within these communities. Gohir emphasises how the added layer of cultural factors hamper disclosure and maintain this culture of silence through dismissiveness and disbelieving survivors who do come forward. Although these findings are relative to Asian female survivors of sexual abuse, there are echoes between the responses from the service providers in this research and

Gohir's findings, illustrating that the gender of survivors is irrelevant in terms of how abuse disclosure within Asian communities is received.

7.3.2 'There's a big fear of confidentiality'

Confidentiality was deemed to be a barrier to disclosure for many survivors who had been in contact with the counselling service, as well as a potential barrier for those who had not yet reached out to the service within the wider community. Jenny stated that a fear of confidentiality, in that confidentiality would not be guaranteed in some way, was a big factor that affected survivors' trust:

Jenny: "...one of the biggest fears they have is that even though we're saying it's confidential they, they would not trust that not to get back to the community"

The indication here is that Asian male survivors of sexual abuse are conscious of members of the community discovering that they have been abused and/or that they are in contact with a rape counselling service. This is despite the fact that none of the counsellors interviewed who had Asian male clients under their provision were of Asian ethnicity themselves, which is usually a factor that prevents Asian people from seeking help (Bhardwaj, 2001). Emily also discussed the issue of being seen entering the counselling organisation:

Emily: "...the fact that they may be seen entering the door, confidentiality they wouldn't assume, they would be very very concerned about confidentiality"

Emily then goes on to repeat this concern later on in the interview:

Emily: "...erm obviously there's a bigger fear of confidentiality for some, cause should it get out in the community the disgrace it will have on themselves, their family..."

Confidentiality is of paramount importance to survivors of abuse across all ethnic groups, rather than being limited to South Asian communities (Hall and Lloyd, 2003). However, within the South Asian community, the added layer of exposure to the wider community feeds into their distrust and doubts about whether confidentiality will be maintained (O'Neill Gutierrez and Chawla, 2017). With regards to Emily's statement about survivors being seen 'entering the door' to the counselling service, this could be attributed to high visibility and difficulty in maintaining privacy in small, intricate, and highly networked communities that Asian individuals often belong to (ibid). Emily's use of the word 'disgrace' indicates exposure to public shame, emphasising the importance of not being seen entering a counselling organisation.

Emily relays that Asian survivors have a fear of confidentiality being breached as it may lead to repercussions of disgrace upon themselves and their families; Gilbert et al (2004) argue that in collectivistic cultures, emotions are more linked to how behaviours reflect on others, in contrast to individualistic cultures whereby emotions such as pride and shame related to reflections on the self. The disgrace that Emily refers to is not limited to the individual, but to their family, highlighting how integral confidentiality is within the context of sexual abuse disclosure in maintaining family honour. Therefore, confidentiality as it would conventionally be understood within a counselling relationship, as a specific agreement between client and counsellor, is not the issue here, but rather, keeping the abuse confidential from the community. This idea that there is a form of community surveillance that Asian men are conscious of is what is projected in Jenny and Emily's accounts.

7.3.3 Scared that they will be judged

A fear of being judged was pinpointed as a barrier to disclosure for child sexual abuse survivors and seemed to run as an undercurrent throughout the service providers' responses. A fear of being judged is universally symptomatic of many survivors of child sexual abuse (Sanderson, 2006) not limited by ethnicity or gender of the survivor. The service providers interviewed discussed this fear of being judged in a broader sense when talking about some of the presenting problems they are faced with during sessions with clients.

The fear of a judgment being made is perhaps one of the most significant barriers for survivors of abuse, as a fear of being blamed, ostracised, disbelieved all involve the survivor being subjected to a judgement. Jenny discussed this as a legitimate fear when asked what issues survivors presented with upon initial contact with the counselling service:

Jenny: "...when they come in there's this erm fear of being erm judged"

Sable et al (2006) state that one of the reasons that survivors of abuse delay disclosure is due to a fear of being judged negatively, resonating with Jenny's statement. According to Sanderson (2006) the impact and long term effects of childhood sexual abuse leave adult survivors in a state of isolation, confusion and alienation, with a fear that they will be misunderstood and judged by others. One of the many psychological problems that can arise as a result of childhood sexual abuse is the development of social phobia, an anxiety disorder characterised by excessive fears about possible embarrassment or humiliation. People who suffer

from this tend to avoid situations where they feel they may be under scrutiny, which is fuelled by an underlying fear of being judged, a consequence of sexual abuse which can ultimately affect whether the survivor discloses the abuse.

This fear of judgement can extend beyond the family and friend network, with survivors feeling apprehensive when approaching agencies or organisations to disclose abuse. This was apparent in John's response:

Researcher: did you come across it when you were a police officer?

J: whats that, rape male sexual, do you know what not very often, two or three times

Researcher: in the 22 years?

J: yep and I worked in Brighton for 9 years and I know what that is cause who'd want to go into a police station and tell a man in uniform that you've been attacked and raped and I would say when I joined the police which was in 1985 you'd probably been laughed out the door if you said you've been attacked and erm when I think back to that I think god that would be awful that would be a dreadful thing to happen to anyone and I can understand why people don't wanna come in and and tell someone in uniform and course the thing is they make a judgment and also they've got a certain prescribed way that theyre gonna deal with it whereas we get quite a few blokes who come in here and youre getting listened to and not judged so you can make your own mind up so but yeah amazing it really is I didn't know that it was such a such a big problem and I feel a fool after all those years to suddenly discover

that there are places like this needed and it is needed for everyone in all, all erm societies and group so..

John recalls his experiences of being a police officer during the 1980s and the dismissive attitude of police officers during this time towards the (then unrecognised) issue of male rape. The severity of this crime was severely undermined as evidenced in John's response with survivors; a police officer, entrusted with the responsibility of upholding the law and recording incidents of crime, could not be approached by male survivors of sexual violence. This illustrates how ingrained the attitudes towards male survivors were and to an extent, still are. The underlying message in the first part of John's response-that a man wouldn't want to tell a man in uniform-is that there is a judgment, a man's masculinity being called into question by another man (one who is in a position of authority). John empathises with and understands why a male survivor would feel this way, perhaps from his position as a man and as a counsellor. John contrasts the experiences of male survivors who report to the police with survivors who enter the counselling organisation, and the way in which a judgmental and 'prescribed' attitude from the police differs to the non-judgmental approach of counselling organisations. John questions his own lack of knowledge around male sexual violence, admitting that he 'felt like a fool' for not acknowledging it as a bigger problem. This suggests that John's attitudes towards male sexual violence changed when he switched his career from policing to counselling, which raises concerns around official responses to male sexual violence.

Such responses from official agencies are not uncommon, and the impact upon the survivor has often been referred to as 'secondary victimisation'. This has been

conceptualised as “the inadequate treatment of victims by the criminal justice system” and involves insensitive responses from the police or other criminal justice agencies (Spalek, 2006). Therefore, survivors are faced with the prospect of fearing judgement from their immediate circle as well as agencies that are in place to protect them. Within a counselling setting, survivors often look to build trust in their relationship with the counsellor, and as a result of this, counsellors are advised to remain constant and consistent in their responses to make the survivor feel accepted (Sanderson, 2013). In the initial meeting between the researcher and Jenny, Jenny asserted that the counselling organisation has a very gentle, person-centred approach to working with survivors, with an attempt to build rapport and trust with the survivors to make the process of disclosure less difficult for the survivor.

7.3.4 Not wanting to be ostracised

In terms of disclosure rates, Paine and Hansen’s (2002) research indicated that less than one in four survivors disclose child sexual abuse immediately after it has taken place, meaning that the majority of disclosures are retrospective accounts from adult survivors. Within the research findings, a fear of being socially rejected and outcast was cited as a significant issue for survivors when disclosing:

Researcher: “have you had any Asian clients before?”

Paul: “yes I have say about er, I think three Asian clients in the time that I’ve worked here I’ve got to say there’s a lot more Asian clients that come in that I haven’t seen personally erm yeah about three and as I say of those three I think two had sort of told their families and wanted to you know erm yeah be closer and tell them that this

has happened to them I don't think neither of them had a good reaction you know and one was sort of ostracised and pushed out and yeah just completely blanked really erm I don't think he was physically thrown out the house but as I say he sort of felt like yeah he might as well have been you know sort of yeah cut off from the community completely erm misunderstood..."

Paul highlights how two of the three Asian male survivors he counselled disclosed to their families and had negative reactions in response; Paul refers to them being 'ostracised' 'blanked' 'cut off' and 'pushed out', all pointing to rejection. Research has indicated that in some families, survivors feel so guilty and rejected upon disclosure, that their family ties are sometimes severed (Taylor and Norma, 2013). Many survivors seek resolution and reparation through disclosure, wishing for acceptance, acknowledgement and confirmation, in the hope that this will contribute to their healing (Sanderson, 2006). Being faced with such hostile and negative reactions can hamper the healing process for survivors; whether such reactions are more prevalent in Asian families is difficult to say, however, Paul continued to elaborate:

Paul: "Asian families tend to be really quite negative you know a lot of the time a lot of ostracisation"

Paul's experiences suggest that Asian families demonstrate more negativity and ostracisation in comparison to his non-Asian clients. Moreover, in the previous extract of Paul's response, being 'cut off' from the community is an additional issue on top of family rejection. Community plays an important role in the life of many South Asian people, with the aforementioned 'collectivist' mindset and shared values

impacting upon decisions that individuals make. Izzidien (2008) reports that within the context of domestic abuse, many South Asian people found it difficult to come forward as they worried that if the community found out, their family would be shunned, made outcasts and exposed to shame. This exposure to shame underpins the fear of community rejection that seems to be prevalent amongst South Asian survivors of abuse. Emily reiterates this in her response:

Emily: "they don't want the community to know erm or family because there's the fear of being outcast."

A fear of being outcast and ostracised is therefore seen as a barrier to disclosing child sexual abuse according to the service provider's views. Although these responses were in relation to Asian male survivors, a fear of being ostracised is central to many survivors' experiences. McGregor (2014) reports that many survivors of child sexual abuse, male and female, fear being cast out of their families for 'airing the family's dirty laundry' or 'dredging up the past for nothing'. This further legitimises ostracisation as a very real fear for survivors from all backgrounds, but what differentiates the experience of Asian survivors, according to the responses of Paul and Emily, is the added element of community and how family and community are entwined in passing a double judgement, and a feeling of being rejected by not just family, but the wider community.

7.4 Effects of child sexual abuse on survivors

Many survivors of childhood sexual abuse exhibit a constellation of symptoms that collectively point to post-traumatic disorder (PTSD) (Ullman et al, 2009). PTSD is an

anxiety disorder caused by extremely stressful, frightening or distressing events (NHS, 2014). The symptoms associated with PTSD often manifest themselves in adulthood, but not exclusively, and include: sexual problems, eating disorders, sleep disturbance, relationship problems, substance abuse, underachievement in education and career, self-harm and other self-destructive behaviours such as prostitution and suicide (Piazza and Lundberg-love, 2010).

It became apparent across the research interviews that there are many problems associated with childhood sexual abuse that counsellors have encountered and addressed with their clients. These presenting problems include an array of issues, the most significant of which were: substance abuse; problems in relationships; self-harm and struggling with sexual identity.

The subthemes that form this section of the findings are applicable to all male survivors of child sexual abuse, with the service providers speaking more generally about the problems that their male clients present with during counselling.

These will now be explored in-depth along with evidence from the transcripts and a discussion throughout.

7.4.1 Substance abuse

Post-traumatic stress disorder often arises after sexually abusive experiences and can bring about many painful consequences, including substance abuse. Petrak and Hedge (2003) report that the relationship between substance abuse and post-traumatic stress disorder among sexual assault survivors is well documented, with

many sexual abuse survivors using alcohol or drugs as a way of coping with the overwhelming psychological distress. This is supported by Sarah's response:

Sarah: "...using alcohol, drugs anything to try and suppress what they've been through"

In Sarah's experience, sexual abuse survivors may use intoxicating substances as a means of suppression; Heitritter and Vought (2006) state that many adult survivors of sexual abuse may employ 'temporary fixes' such as substance abuse in order to suppress a sense of worthlessness associated with shame. Jenny and John also discussed how substance abuse was one of the presenting problems that many clients brought to counselling sessions:

Researcher: "What kinds of issues do people usually present with when contacting your organisation?"

Jenny: "...you come across substance abuse you, quite severe alcohol issues"

Jenny specifies alcohol as a specific type of substance misuse that many survivors suffer with, describing it as severe; Heinz et al (2010) in their research found that a large number of adults who had been raped in childhood went on to abuse alcohol, corroborating the findings from this research that many survivors exhibit this problem as a result of their trauma. During the research interview with John, it was found that some survivors opted to focus on substance abuse within their counselling sessions as opposed to centralising the abuse:

Researcher: "What kinds of issues do your clients usually present with when they have a counselling session with you?"

John: "blimey I've wrote that down because course it's it's [counselling organisation name] is primarily to do with erm, sexual abuse at any stage in their life male survivors and when I first came I thought that was what the main erm, main issue for attending was but I'd say that it varies. With some people they're not interested in looking at sexual abuse at all there's erm substance abuse, drugs and alcohol..."

Therefore, survivors may choose to focus on the issues that have arisen as a result of the abuse and tackle these rather than exclusively addressing the abuse. Such issues are not to be seen as any less inferior to the issue of sexual abuse, as they may have debilitating consequences for survivors; Sanderson (2006) points to the paradoxical 'escapism' that drugs and alcohol may temporarily offer many survivors, as well as the considerable long-term damage both physical and psychological that follows on from this.

7.4.2 Problems in relationships

Childhood sexual abuse can have many long-lasting effects upon survivors, right through to adulthood; one of these issues stems from the abuser/survivor relationship. The NSPCC (Radford et al, 2011) reports that over 90% of sexual abuse survivors are abused by someone they knew. Often, the abuser is someone trusted by the survivor and the betrayal of this trust has a chronic, knock-on effect on future relationships and the ability to be physically and emotionally intimate (Ward and Siegert, 2008). Sexual ambivalence is characteristic of child abuse survivors,

and usually emerges from the onset of abuse; children do not like or understand the abuse part of the relationship, but may enjoy the attention they receive, or any rewards or special privileges they may be given from the abuser because of the abuse (Martellozzo, 2013). This ambivalence and confusion can plague child sexual abuse survivors into adulthood, having an effect on intimate, adult relationships. This was evident in most of the service providers' responses when asked what some of the presenting problems of sexual abuse were:

Jenny: "...a whole range of trust, relationship issues, everything"

John: "...definitely relationship problems and erm lack of emotional skills"

Paul: "...relationship problems and more or less everything"

Jenny mentions trust and relationship issues, which may go hand in hand, as the formation of a healthy relationship is based upon the concept of trust; Doyle (2013) for instance, addresses how the betrayal of trust, which is a huge feature of child sexual abuse, can leave survivors unable to have basic trust in anyone and this can create a barrier in forming intimate relationships.

John touches upon a 'lack of emotional skills' that some survivors have exhibited, a trait which has been found to be prevalent amongst childhood sexual abuse survivors. Sanderson (2006) for instance, reports that children become frozen at the point of trauma, resulting in arrested emotional development; this can manifest itself in adulthood through infantile emotional reactions and behaviour which displays emotional immaturity.

Jeff's response illustrates how the trauma of abuse can hinder a survivor's ability to form and maintain a romantic relationship:

Jeff: "...not being able to function in a sexual relationship and actually literally not being able to function if entering into another sexual relationship, that they just, there's that archaic memory that comes forward again and actually stops them having a sexual relationship and in many ways actually stops them wanting to be in relationships"

Jeff's response is more specific to sexual problems that adult survivors encounter upon entering into a relationship, with difficulties functioning due to traumatic memories that prevent the survivor in having a functional, intimate relationship. Jeff emphasises how memories that are older but repressed and still significant to the survivor, come back to haunt them, bringing the trauma back to a conscious level. This consequently disrupts their ability to form a romantic relationship, highlighting the magnitude of 'archaic' traumatic experiences on the survivor's adult life. Maltz's (2010) work supports this finding, listing a multitude of problems sexual abuse survivors face in sexual relationships including negative feelings of guilt, anger or disgust when touched, intrusive or disturbing sexual thoughts, difficulty becoming aroused, difficulty in maintaining or establishing an intimate relationship and avoiding or being afraid of sex. Moreover, Doyle (2013) argues that as a result of these sexual problems and difficulties in establishing intimate relationships, some survivors may form affiliations with people they can control and dominate; they trust their partners because they feel they have control over them. The implications of this upon the partnership and the survivor can be detrimental, as power and control become the focal point of the relationship.

7.4.3 Self-harm

Hawton et al (2003) define self-harm as intentional self-injury or self-poisoning, irrespective of the motivation or suicidal intent. Mental health charity MIND (2016) elaborate on this definition, adding that self-harm can be a way of dealing with difficult feelings and memories, or overwhelming situations and experiences, such as childhood sexual abuse. Ways of self-harming can include cutting yourself, over-eating or under-eating, burning your skin, overdosing, inserting objects into your body, scratching and pulling hair, though this list is not exhaustive (MIND, 2016). Jenny highlighted self-harm as a presenting problem for many abuse survivors:

Jenny: "...but seeing more probably more self-harm at the moment erm then we were but self-harmings more erm open in, in the public if you like erm then it was years ago erm...."

Self-harm according to Jenny is an issue that is more readily and openly discussed than it has been in previous years, and she attributes this as a possible reason for self-harm being more of a prevalent presenting problem. Sarah also listed self-harm as a presenting problem:

Researcher: "what problems do you think might be encountered by a South Asian man who wishes to disclose childhood sexual abuse?"

Sarah: "erm, I would think they would be very similar to erm anybody so the kinds of issues I would be looking at would be erm shame, er possibly sexual confusion, erm possibly forms of self-harm"

Sarah, in response to a question about South Asian survivors, points out how the problems for survivors in a more general sense rather than survivors from a particular ethnic group tend to be similar, including the issue of self-harm. This is also characteristic of much of the literature on self-harm and sexual abuse, which does not differentiate between the gender and ethnicity of survivors in relation to presenting problems.

7.4.4 Struggling with sexual identity

According to Durham (2003) many adolescents experience confusion and anxiety regarding their sexual identity, with social expectations having a particularly strong influence on how this identity develops. For adolescents who have been sexually abused, this confusion and anxiety may be attributed to the experience of abuse and consequently lead to fears about sexuality. This was evidenced across many of the service provider interviews:

Researcher: "what kinds of issues do people usually present with when contacting your organisation?"

Jenny: "...once they come in they might show, have issues around their sexuality erm male particularly when you're young erm and you're being abused will have had erm an erection and that as as you grow up they will have think, well I must have liked it so that becomes a massive, massive issue for them and part of the reasons that perpetrators were allowed to, to continue that because they know that's, that's how how they're going to feel..."

Jenny discusses confusion around sexuality as one of the presenting problems of childhood sexual abuse, more specifically the experience for male survivors and the way in which a physiological reaction such as an erection can aggravate this confusion. Sanderson (2006) reports that arousal during sexually abusive experiences is more common than expected, particularly amongst male survivors of sexual abuse. Physical arousal does not correlate with the enjoyment of a sexual experience, but this struggle becomes difficult to manage for abuse survivors who are trying to process the magnitude of the abuse itself. Jenny goes on to say that because of this state of confusion that survivors are in, perpetrators continue the abuse, exploiting the vulnerability of the survivor. Emily also recalled how confusion amidst the sexual abuse leads to difficulties for the survivors:

Emily: "...some struggle with the idea that when an act's carried out because they're so vulnerable and they've been say erm groomed erm and are then, may enjoy the act at the time and then question 'well did I enjoy it? Was it the warmth? Was it the contact? Was I gay?' And when they're looking back on it they go 'actually it was really wrong but it felt right' so there's a lot of complexity amongst that"

Survivors exhibit confusion around their sexuality and whether or not they enjoyed or disliked what was happening during the abuse, and tend to discuss this during their counselling sessions, centralising it as a major presenting problem for many survivors. Emily's response focusses on the pleasure and pain aspect of the abuse, which goes back to the aforementioned sexual ambivalence that many survivors may feel in the aftermath of abuse. Emily describes some of the questions that survivors often struggle with, with questions around sexuality, whether they enjoyed it and the difficulties in negotiating the complexities around the physical aspect of the abuse.

This points to the depth of the struggle that male survivors of sexual abuse may feel not only at the time of the abuse, but carry with them and struggle to deal with into adulthood.

Jeff's response elaborates on the physical element of the abuse and the survivor's reaction and feelings amongst this:

Jeff: "...you know a man will get an erection and it's like 'I've got this going on behind me, what's going on in front of me' and there's a real juxtaposition going on there"

Jeff: "...it's about, how can I enjoy this, where do I put the pleasure in this, because there will be some excitement in this there will be some, and it's like trying to it's almost like trying to, to help the client deal with that the fact that you didn't physically choose to have this happen to you erm and it's normalising that with the client"

Jeff discusses the confusion survivors may feel physically and emotionally during the abuse, stressing the 'juxtaposition' between these conflicting feelings that survivors express. Sexual confusion should not be perceived as an isolated issue, but rather something much more complex, as identified by Emily, and entangled with other issues and anxieties for survivors that need to be addressed by counsellors. Jeff continues that this is one of the issues that counselling attempts to address, helping survivors reconcile the confusion around what they felt and normalising it for them.

7.5 The impact of culture

Cultural issues formed a central part of the interview questions, and the service providers described, mostly drawing on their experiences with Asian survivors of

sexual abuse, how culture has shaped survivors' experiences. Three subthemes emerged from the interview transcripts, including 'everybody has got culture', the power of honour and the importance of community. Each subtheme will be explored with reference to transcript excerpts and discussed in line with relevant literature.

7.5.1 'Everybody has got culture'

Within the context of this research, culture refers to South Asian cultures, and the many shared values and commonalities across Indian, Pakistani and Bengali communities who reside in the UK. Critics have pointed out that the perceived homogeneity of South Asian communities however, threatens to overshadow the heterogeneity and differential power relations within and between South Asian communities (Thiara and Gill, 2010). During the research interviews with service providers, the question of culture was considered integral to understanding not only how service providers understood and interpreted culture, but the ways in which this culture impacted on the lives of Asian male survivors of abuse.

When asked what culture meant to him, Jeff defined it in the following way:

Jeff: "culture, erm I think it's erm probably erm it's do with it can be to do with code and it can be to do with creed, colour, erm expectations put on by erm family erm it's indigenous it's, it's transportable erm I think it's pliable I think it's adaptable erm but yeah I mean culture I can almost see that as a white male that everybody has got culture..."

Jeff's definition of culture encompasses a lot of different elements ranging from colour and creed to code and family expectations; Jeff also defines culture as transportable, which in the context of this research could be interpreted as the transportation of Asian culture from its native continent to a different society. Modood (1997) argues that although British Asians have shown signs of cultural assimilation and consider themselves mostly British, they are not entirely at ease with this identity as they don't feel fully accepted by the White British majority. A lot of elements of Asian culture are therefore still practiced and adhered to within the UK. Jeff's description of culture as pliable and adaptable suggests that culture is something that can be modified, subject to change and something that is not static. Jeff goes on to say that as a white man, he can identify with culture and recognise it something that everybody possesses. Culture is very often exoticized as something that applies to 'other' communities and as a result, these communities are placed into a category of 'otherness'. John's response below had undertones of this:

Researcher: "how do you respond to clients who present cultural problems that you're not familiar with?"

*John: "I have to ask. And I think that's a, I think that's the best way I mean ive worked, ive worked in all sorts of places ive worked in London ive worked in Brighton so ive worked with big gay community, erm London that, worked with a lot of erm people of different ethnic backgrounds but erm when it comes to counselling ive only, ive only worked in (Location anonymised**) ive worked in a private service in (Location anonymised**) as well and erm I don't really know an awful lot about South East Asian culture and erm religion I don't think its ever, when you think about*

racism people normally talk about black people and er an awful lot of training is to do with erm cultural differences between white people and black people erm..."

Isolating this part of John's response, he talks about the variety of communities he has worked with, demonstrating his exposure to different groups, but then goes on to state that he is not very familiar with 'south east Asian culture'. Southeast Asia refers to countries such as China, Vietnam, Japan and Thailand, who are considered ethnically and culturally distinct from countries that form South Asia. This may be a simple mistake on John's part, but does to an extent reflect how cultures and different ethnic groups are collectively placed together and assumptions made on the basis of this homogenous categorisation. John goes further in his discussion of culture in relation to equality diversity training:

Researcher: "do you think they categorise Asian people under the black category?"

John: "I think, I think yeah I think an awful lot of erm racial awareness is just targeted as one thing which would be you know it was traditionally a problem in this country that it was, there was an awful difference between black people and white people and so of course as you say everyone's sort of comes under one large umbrella and it doesn't really fit"

John articulates how equality and diversity training does not clearly differentiate between groups, and that there are overly simplistic groupings of black and white. This brings into question the quality and delivery of equality and diversity training that John has received, and whether homogenisation of ethnic, cultural and religious groups is one of the central messages being received by service providers.

The service providers were then asked how far they felt culture played a role in the lives of South Asian people as well as what some of the difficulties were in accessing certain communities:

Researcher: do you think there are parts of the community that this organisation doesn't reach?

Jenny: yeah there'll always be parts of the community but erm some of the cultural barriers are, are seeming to be coming down, we have had erm Muslims erm coming we've had erm issues around people being abused by imams erm so there will always be those who perhaps we haven't got the language skills to erm but then that's a balance because we can only offer what we can offer within the funding that we've got..."

Here, Jenny describes how cultural barriers seem to be 'coming down' with parts of the Muslim community making contact with the service, with specific reference to abuse carried out by imams. This indicates that there is less taboo around the subject of Muslim survivors being abused by religious figures within the community, which traditionally was not the case (Trothen, 2012). Trothen (2012) argues that sexuality and sex related issues are difficult to discuss within Muslim communities as shame tends to follow, and in the case of sexual abuse, the abuse is viewed as shameful for not only the perpetrator but also for the survivor. This interpretation of shame within the context of a religious group has a huge impact on disclosure, but Jenny's response is reinforcing in the sense that it signals a change in attitudes.

Jenny also mentions how language can be a barrier for a lot of people who may wish to access their services; however, rather than define language as a cultural barrier, this can be seen as more of a limitation, and an issue that requires accommodating on the part of service providers who want to make increased contact with parts of the community that face such obstacles.

Jenny continues in her response and elaborates further on culture:

Jenny: "...we are seeing an increase in the number of males coming from different erm minority ethnic groups coming forward but that takes immense courage erm so there's like a double barrier there if you like so you've got the, the just disclosing in the first place is one thing but then you have this cultural erm barrier that, that's almost like a double whammy for them so they've gone through the abuse but then they have this other added dimension to it which makes it incredibly hard"

Jenny emphasises how male survivors from minority ethnic backgrounds are increasingly accessing their services, whilst acknowledging the difficulties they encounter in doing so, what she refers to as a 'double barrier'. Asian survivors face the first difficult barrier of disclosing the abuse itself, and are then met with an added cultural barrier which can add to their distress. Singh et al (2010) reported the case of a young Asian woman, Mira* who experienced sexual abuse at the hands of two male family members. Mira attributed her strong South Asian culture and upbringing as the reason behind her silence for many years after the abuse had occurred. Mira only felt encouraged to disclose the abuse after her arrival in the United States, where exposure to different cultural norms of independence and assertiveness helped her to disclose to a school counsellor. Mira's experiences demonstrate the

power culture has in silencing Asian survivors of sexual abuse, which was also evident in Paul's response:

Paul: "...it's that sort of cultural sort of rules that are quite stringent and stuck by and if people step outside of that then it's that sort of group mentality from that point of, you know if a group of people were saying 'we're right and you're in the wrong' then it's erm that group mentality"

Paul stresses the strict cultural rules that stem from a collective group, indicating the tight-knit structure of Asian communities and how rules are often dictated and governed by the wider community. Prashad and Chetia (2010) note that western and eastern cultures stand in stark contrast where it concerns values, with Western societies favouring individualism, and Eastern societies prioritising faith, sect, community and family in a hierarchical order, the norms of which individuals are expected to follow. Paul's understanding of culture subscribes to this worldview as described by Triandis (1995) of individualistic and collectivistic cultures. He refers to the concept of 'group' several times in his response in relation to South Asian people, the importance of group rules and a shared group mentality. This could be interpreted as an example of 'othering' with Paul's response reflecting a more stereotypical representation of South Asians as strict, rigid and governed by cultural norms and rules.

However, Jeff felt that changes in this traditional system were evident:

Jeff: "I think for the older generation yes, I think with the younger generation it's changing. If I look at young Asian culture erm and I live in a multi-cultural

environment and erm I see young Asians actually erm integrating more and this is only a personal thing and I could have this wrong but what I have noticed about young cultures that are integrating is that erm they seem to be more assertive they seem to be more assertive than their parents”

Jeff's response points towards a shift in attitudes and a more assertive stance adopted by young Asians, which indicates the erosion of older, cultural values that previous generations lived according to. He notes, as a personal observation, that younger generations are demonstrating more integration, contrasting their attitudes with that of their parent's (first generation South Asians). However, evidence across literature has found that rather than focusing on the negative impact of culture, the positive influences should also be recognised. In Singh et al's (2010) study, South Asian survivors of sexual abuse maintained that having a strong South Asian identity gave them a sense of pride and encouraged assertiveness, as well as connecting with strong support networks within the South Asian community which aided with the process of healing.

Jeff adds that culture can have an impact in other ways upon abuse survivors:

Researcher: how far do you think culture plays a role in the way a South Asian person may choose to deal with abuse?”

Jeff: “I think there may be a bit of a misnomer here you know, I think the I think erm if I step out my counselling role and just become joe public it could be perceived as like erm you won't be able to do this because there's a cultural difference but I think I would go back to my previous statement in the fact erm there's primitive stuff within

humans that is erm intrinsic but then culture lays over the top of that you could say colour, culture and creed lays over the top of that fundamentally as human beings we carry, we you know we will cry, we will feel pain, we all laugh but culture, I could carry on listing many more and culture lays over the top of that as how and when we cry, how and when we laugh, who do we laugh with, who do we tell, who do we don't tell so I think there's those aspects that, that erm can affect"

Jeff's interpretation of culture is multi-faceted, but crucially, the message in his response is that culture is an added layer to intrinsic human instincts and human nature, and culture can act as a determining force for how and when we do certain things. Jeff uses examples of emotions such as laughing and crying, and how culture can dictate these actions. In this sense, culture is a social construct that creates difference and diversity amongst people.

7.5.2 The power of honour

Honour, known as 'izzat' in the Urdu, Hindi and Bengali languages, has been conceptualised as a masculine ideal underpinning patriarchal practices across Asia (Hossain and Welchman, 2005). Action to uphold honour is seen as a male prerogative, and women can only incite action; as the roots of honour stem from a patriarchal system of gender socialisation, honour is commonly perceived as governing the behaviour of women. However, as will be seen in the discussion below, honour can be just as prevalent and ingrained in the lives of Asian men with a fear of bringing shame and disrepute upon the family governing behaviour. As honour can be construed as a cultural barrier to disclosure, the service providers were asked how, and if, honour affected male survivors of abuse:

Researcher: "how far do you think honour plays a role in the lives of South Asian people?"

Jenny: "Huge. Yeah it's huge. It's erm, very different and I don't see that although I do see changes as you know, new generations come along I don't think we'll see progress where that diminishes to any great erm for hundreds of years it's so embedded erm and it's not just about religion erm or faith it. It's just embedded it, it is in there and I just think it's too strong to, it just won't diminish like that"

Jenny's comments on honour emphasise the importance and gravity of honour within South Asian communities and how it is unlikely to 'diminish' with coming generations, despite changes with new generations. Honour is described by Jenny as transcending religion or faith, which is verified by literature which suggests that honour equally affects Hindu, Sikh and Muslim communities from the Asian subcontinent (Hossain and Welchman, 2005). Jenny also stresses how deeply honour is embedded in the lives of South Asians, a finding which is also mirrored in the literature; Werbner (2012) for example, reports that izzat is embedded in the politics of family, marriage and community. Although Jenny begins to question whether honour is as powerful with coming generations as it was previously, she expresses her belief that honour will not diminish any time soon. Bano (2012) in her study with British Muslim women reported views that suggest that izzat is not the all-encompassing force it once was with first generation Asians. One of the most salient findings in her study was that British Muslim women felt that honour was not exclusive to Asian communities, and that its impact has been grossly exaggerated by 'Western writers'. Jenny's views are based on her experiences as a service provider working with both Asian and non-Asian survivors of abuse, but her views are also

shaped by her identity as a White British woman, questioning how far her perceptions of Asian culture are influenced by a Eurocentric world view.

Jenny is asked another question in relation to honour to elaborate her views on honour:

Researcher: "do you think there are different understandings of honour within Asian communities and non-Asian communities, like a White community for example?"

Jenny: "I don't think we totally understand erm and I think it'd be quite complacent if we said we did cause we can't because we've, you've not grown, I mean we grow from babies so you've got to live that to understand that. We don't live it. We can pop our nose in, and I can, you know give privilege to hear somebody share it but I haven't lived it. So that day to day, cause that's what it is, day to day its its its routinely right through it doesn't matter what they go out to school and do, you come back and its back into that framework isn't it its back in there again so, no I don't think we can, I think we'd be foolish to say we understood it. I think the only ones who understand it, anything-are those who live through it and that goes for everything though doesn't it"

Jenny draws a comparison here between herself, coming from a White British background, to South Asian communities where honour may have different connotations and have differing impacts on both communities. For Jenny, as an 'outsider' to the Asian community, she acknowledges that she cannot comprehend or begin to understand what honour entails as it is a lived experience. In Jenny's interpretation, honour is also based within a 'framework', using the example of going

to school and coming back into the home environment to encounter the norms of a particular way of life. With other service providers, honour was associated with issues that are commonly publicised in western media, including the highly sensationalised issue of honour killings:

John: "...I know of honour killings and I know that stretches from well sort of Turkey and places like that all the way across so yeah it's, it's a huge problem it's a massive risk"

John's understanding of honour is linked to the more sinister consequence of honour maintenance which has resulted in the murder of numerous young men and women from minority ethnic backgrounds, with reasons for the so-called honour killing ranging from the refusal of an arranged marriage, divorce and homosexuality (Julios, 2016). Upholding honour can be seen as so vital that murder of the individual(s) who have brought disrepute and dishonour upon the family and/or community is deemed necessary in order to restore the family's honour. Khanum (2008: 8) argues that honour killings are *"justified through an appeal to traditional values- the authority and wisdom of parents, children's duty of obedience, customary patterns of marriage within specific ethnic, religious, clan, caste or class groupings, the honour of the family etc"*. This understanding of honour in relation to killings was also echoed by Paul:

Paul: "...in terms of sort of like erm relationship break-ups or honour killings and things along those lines yeah it's sort of erm a degree of slightly sort of underground...yeah pretty much unwritten rules in culture"

Paul refers to honour in relation to 'unwritten rules in culture' which are 'underground', indicating that honour and cultural rules are inherently known to South Asian people rather than being explicitly prescribed. Both Paul and John's understandings of honour illustrate a narrow view of the issue largely influenced by media depictions which perpetuate stereotypical representations of BME communities and fuel the 'othering' of these communities and their perceived issues. There is a need on the part of service providers to engage with these complex and tangible concepts beyond a superficial level and recognise that issues such as honour can have a more subtle influence on the lives of Asian survivors, but with a substantial impact that hampers their recovery.

Emily's interpretation of honour moved away from the link to honour killings and focused more upon how honour makes people feel:

Emily: "...the undertone is there that it would you know, black sheep comes up a lot you know like 'I feel like the black sheep of the family' which is quite a westernised term but I think it really, the connotation that it has is very similar to the honour erm like I say it's a real feeling of letting everybody down erm which I don't particularly find with my other two clients erm so I think the honour for that particular client my particular client is probably quite a big thing and makes him struggle, makes him feel like it's, being erm, like I say disloyal erm to the family and should it get out in the community then there could be all hell lets loose"

At the time of the research interview, Emily was working alongside a South Asian male survivor of sexual abuse, and talked about honour in relation to his experiences; for this client, honour made him feel as though he had been disloyal to

his family as well as concerns around how the community would react if they were to find out. Emily also draws the analogy of 'black sheep' to describe how the survivor may feel, with a feeling of 'letting everybody down', implying that the survivor may feel singled out and carry the burden of displeasing the family. This relates back to Gilbert et al's (2004) research whereby a distinction is made between reflected shame and honour and personal shame; reflected shame and honour is how shame and honour can be brought on others through an individual's behaviour. Personal shame was linked to maintaining honour and identifying with it. Emily's response leans towards the idea of reflected shame and honour as something that Asian survivors had to be more conscious of than their non-Asian counterparts. Jeff also provided his interpretation of honour:

Jeff: "my understanding first generation Asians it is very, very significant erm I think there seems to be a breaking of the code now, there seems to a breaking, breaking of the code erm but I still think it is significant I think it is significant and I would think maybe erm I could be wrong here but I think there is there's maybe two there's first generation Asian people who got a slightly different take on it than the second generation and the third generation erm and yeah I'm just working from a different experience of working with Asians with an Asian client outside of this environment erm and they are second generation Asian I could say, not to be judgmental I'm just trying to put this into some kind of time, time frame what I know about their life erm and they still refer back to the rules they still refer back to the rules and they still apply them erm now, but I think I'm like that as a White man I think I will think back to my mother and father's rules and regulations and honour those so I think it is significant I think its erm I think maybe Asian cultures are more aware of it I don't

know if we've dismissed it a bit if White Caucasians have dismissed it a bit erm yeah does that answer your question?"

Jeff's perspective on honour is through the lens of generation, with an understanding that first generation Asians hold the concept of honour in higher regard than second and third generation Asians, which is supported by Rahim (2014), who confirms that first generation Asians have significantly different values to those of second and third generations. The evolution of honour and the slow changes that are apparent with emerging generations demonstrate that although honour is still present, its importance is slowly eroding (Robinson, 2009), which is what Jeff's response suggests. Comparing honour within Asian families to his own upbringing as a White man, Jeff emphasises how he refers back to his own parents' rules, regulations and honour, not limiting honour to Asian communities, but acknowledging that there is a different interpretation of it within Asian communities.

7.5.3 The importance of community

The place of the community across South Asian culture is paramount in understanding how izzat and sharam still feature in the lives of many South Asian people. According to Owens and Randhawa (2004) within South Asian cultures, maintaining community relations are a high priority and in the case of family scandal, such a family would be considered 'shamed' and blacklisted from the community. This is powerful in determining whether a family who are considered 'shamed' would ever recover their izzat; the relationship between community, izzat and sharam is therefore interlinked and interdependent.

Jenny discusses the role of the community in relation to sexual abuse disclosure:

Researcher: "what problems do you think might be encountered by a South Asian male who wishes to disclose abuse?"

Jenny: "...they'll be many more incidents of it going on within these cultural settings because of that that lends itself erm much as, as we have in the past where we've had you know children's homes and swimming instructors and those erm scenarios where we've enabled it to happen in some way because that's what we do that, that's why people get away it so that's, lends itself that tightness and that powerfulness of that community group also makes it a more likely opportunity to happen because they know what the instant reaction to everybody else will be, 'it doesn't happen' so in some ways for a perpetrator, bliss, for me that's that, that would be blissful wouldn't it to think 'oh you're never gonna be able to do anything about it' and I think as we as we get the younger ones come in and they learn more and they become more self-aware erm and more aware of themselves as individuals that we'll see more actually will come forward because I think some of the communities will dissipate eventually it'll be years though it'll be years because those traditions are much stronger than what we will say in ours so we've got a very immediate tight family and to be honest we don't bother about the, the rest if you like we've got the home erm and you've got your, what we call the immediate but you've got this extended family that and then the pressure from erm just say the gurdwara, if you're going to the gurdwara, huge huge everybody you know what I mean it the, the it's the power of it all isn't it very powerful and you've got a set of elders who have no relationship with an individual of 6 or 7 but control through probably 4,5 different layers down to keep that going so you're always, on a on a, backfoot aren't you as

you just cannot break down that barrier. I think when you hear one, if you hear somebody come in and articulate that you realise just how powerful it is cause it's alright to say it and it's alright to read it but when you hear somebody that's living through it that is very different erm much much stronger than I imagined probably or gave thought to erm cause I know it's a struggle anyway, to disclose but that added layer I, I, I just admire them when they actually come forward where they found the faith to actually come out and seek support must be huge cause they can't possibly gauge the reaction they're gonna get. Can't. So..."

Jenny's response is rich in detail and she draws on her many encounters with Asian survivors who she has assessed at the counselling organisation. Jenny touches upon abuse that has occurred within communal settings such as children's homes or swimming baths, and goes on to attribute the ease of abuse within these scenarios to the 'tightness' and 'powerfulness' of community groups. Her conceptualisation of abuse in these settings is not necessarily limited to particular ethnic groups, as evidenced by the examples she points to. Jenny then goes on to discuss community in relation to South Asians, breaking down the structure and hierarchy of Asian communities, with a comparison to non-Asian community structures. Using the example of a gurdwara, the place of worship for Sikh communities, Jenny describes how a group of elders-with no particular relation to an individual- are positioned at the top of the hierarchy and have the power to dictate several layers down the hierarchy. The power of the community, particularly within this context, is continually stressed by Jenny with an acknowledgment that disclosure of sexual abuse would be made more difficult because of the added barrier of community reaction. This is reaffirmed by Horvath and Brown (2009) who in their work on sexual violence

against South Asian women conclude that patriarchal values and attitudes about honour and shame shape the power structures of South Asian communities. Jenny continues her response on the power of South Asian communities:

Jenny: "...communities will only allow what they want to allow erm and again it's back to that isn't it, there's that control element of it yeah and I don't see you know, I know from not through our organisation but when I've tried to do work with erm some of the mosques when I worked in school very, very difficult"

Jenny explains that communities have an element of control on what will be allowed into their community, drawing specifically on her work in schools when she attempted to gain access to mosques to raise awareness of child sexual abuse. Jenny describes this as a difficult experience, illustrating that community access for matters such as sexual abuse is problematic. Being outcast from the community is the feared consequence for many South Asian families; Izzidien (2013: 19) in her report on domestic violence within South Asian families found that if a woman was to leave an abusive husband, *"people won't come to your house, kids can't go to parties, you will not have that social network of people coming around, you lose that connection with own community"*. This reflects the power communities possess in providing support to Asian families in their network, and how fragile this support system is.

Emily has a slightly different take on what role the community plays for South Asian survivors of abuse:

Researcher: “what problems do you think might be encountered by a South Asian male who wishes to disclose abuse?”

Emily: “...there’s obviously accessing the service because they don’t want the community to know...”

This response demonstrates that Asian survivors may be conscious of entering the counselling service because they may be seen by a member of community and this may raise questions. This is again reinforced in another of Emily’s responses:

Researcher: “from your experience as a service provider, are there any recommendations you could suggest in terms of what could be done to engage more with South Asian survivors of abuse?”

Emily: “erm it would be interesting to see whether we, if we ran the workshop within the community erm whether that would be more alienating erm because then would be ‘well it’s in the community I don’t want people to see me going in there’ erm whether that would make it more accessible or more alienating I don’t know erm...”

Emily weighs up whether it would be worth engaging with the community to bring down the current barriers between service providers and Asian communities, or if this would alienate them instead. Being seen engaging with a sexual abuse counselling service, in Emily’s view, is rather significant for Asian survivors. This raises the issue of confidentiality, and how vital it is for Asian communities who access service providers to be reassured regarding confidentiality (Izzidien, 2013).

7.6 Being a man

As male survivors are the focus of this research, and as the counselling service works exclusively with male clients, a lot of the interview content revolved around issues which would specifically affect men. This includes the challenge that many male survivors felt in relation to their masculinity and identity, as well as gender stereotypes and many of the myths that surround male child sexual abuse. These subthemes will all be explored in the following section.

7.6.1 ‘You’ve been made to feel less of a man’

Masculinity, or masculinities, cover the many socially constructed definitions of ‘being a man’ which can change over time and from place to place (Vasquez del Aguila, 2013). While there is no one accurate definition of masculinity, there are specific attributes that transcend time and culture which have been assigned to what makes a man ‘masculine’. Men have for example, been socialised to be competitive, aggressive and dominant, not to show weakness, have an inherent sense of superiority, and demonstrate physical strength, independence and sexual promiscuity. Because of the vastness and demand of these gendered expectations, it can be difficult for male survivors of sexual abuse to come forward and disclose that they have been abused, as it challenges the defining features of masculinity, damaging men’s sense of power, control and invulnerability (Kia-Keating et al, 2005). From the service providers’ perspectives, the masculinity of survivors was an issue:

Researcher: “what problems do you think may be encountered by an Asian male who wishes to disclose abuse?”

John: "...I think there's also the thing that it is still a, a big thing for, for males shame and guilt about being abused it makes you, seems to make you less of a man erm than the rest of your family or whatever"

John highlights that male survivors of abuse can feel 'less of a man' as a result of the abuse in conjunction with feelings of shame and guilt. This is supported by research carried out by Survivors UK, who found that societal expectations of masculinity acted as a barrier to disclosure and help-seeking, leaving survivors feeling like 'less of a man' (May, 2015). John responds to another question later on in the interview with a response revolving around masculinity:

Researcher: "do you think I'll come across any barriers (in my interviews with male survivors of abuse)?"

John: "do you know what it is really difficult to tell because I thought coming here as a male volunteer men would want to see me than they want to see women here but I'm wrong because you don't want to tell a man how you've been made to feel less like a man so in some ways it is easier to tell women er tell a woman..."

John sheds light on an issue that is pertinent for both survivors and counsellors- whether the survivor should see a male counsellor or a female counsellor. This is of course at the discretion of the survivor and the availability of the preferred counsellor. In John's experience, many male survivors prefer to see a female counsellor because they feel their masculinity would be called in to question if they were to discuss the abuse with another man. Draucker and Martsof (2009) suggest that the gender of the counsellor is crucial for survivors as the socialisation of males

and females differs; it is expected that men will be confronted with different sexist bias, have different treatment needs and possess gender-specific presentations of symptoms. Furthermore, as the majority of perpetrators of sexual abuse are male (Durham, 2003) male survivors may be more comfortable in the presence of a female counsellor.

Jeff also referred to masculinity in one of his responses:

Jeff: "...for the White community, and generally men in general, how did I let this happen to me, it undermines our masculinity..."

Like John, Jeff reinforces how men can feel that their masculinity has been undermined through sexual abuse; this ties in with work carried out by Cossins (2000) who reports that as male child sexual abuse can be explained through power/powerlessness theory, a huge part of this is the undermining of masculinity through the loss of power. As power is associated as a key definer of masculinity, it follows that a loss of power can lead to feelings of a survivor's masculinity being undermined.

7.6.2 Men aren't supposed to cry

Tied in with the notion of masculinity is the socially constructed category of gender, and the assignment of gender roles. According to Eagly and Wood (2013) gender roles are society's shared beliefs that apply to individuals on the basis of their socially identified sex. Duncan and Williams (1998) maintain that society is stratified along several dimensions, one of which is gender, in order to maintain differences in

power; imperative to gender role identity are schemas that dictate behaviour. For example, gender role socialisation requires males to be powerful, self-reliant and resolute; when a male is sexually abused, there is a disparity between two processes: the realities of child sexual abuse, and the mythology of masculinity (Spiegel, 2013; Lisak, 1995). Some of these gender role expectations were expressed during the research interviews:

Jenny: "I think as females yes, it's you know we openly cry erm and people want to nurture and squeeze you and it's more acceptable..."

Jenny illustrates a major difference in the gender roles of men and women, in that emotional expressiveness is accepted in one and not in the other; many studies have states that women are the more emotionally expressive gender, with emotions of happiness, sadness and fear more commonly associated with women, and anger being more linked to men (Kelly and Hutson-Comeaux, 1999). The expectation upon men to behave in a way that encourages them to stifle rather than express their emotions is also implicit in Emily's responses:

Researcher: "do you think there are parts of the community that your organisation doesn't reach?"

Emily: "...there's a taboo surrounding the subject so therefore people withdraw from accepting or acknowledging that there's an issue, one with male rape erm and two with erm childhood abuse because it's not a nice subject and particularly with men who have so many erm socially constructed ideas about how they should feel or act erm I think it's more to do with that issue as opposed to the areas"

Emily points to two taboos, one of child sexual abuse and the other male rape, and how these are perceived, constructed and shaped by expectations of masculinity. Emily stresses the significance of these socially constructed ideals later on in another response:

Researcher: "how far do you think culture plays a role in the way a South Asian man wishes to disclose abuse?"

Emily: "erm, I think that the diff...in relation to it all being men there's very little difference because it's more to do with I find it's more to do with socially erm constructed ideas about the man as opposed to the culture that they come from erm and I think that they all struggle..."

For Emily, socially constructed ideals about men's behaviour outweigh the ideals of culture, with the common factor for male survivors of all ethnic backgrounds being gender role expectations. There are consequences to gender role expectations for abuse survivors, both male and female; male survivors for example, are more likely to blame themselves for not being able to stop the abuse and female survivors blame themselves for 'provoking' the abuse (Draucker and Martsof, 2013). These feelings feed into the gender stereotypes of men and women that are continually perpetuated in society. Krause et al (2002) suggest that service providers working with adult survivors of sexual abuse should seek to challenge gender stereotypes, helping survivors to confront gender norms and develop a healthy attitude towards identity and sexuality.

7.6.3 The stigma of male child sexual abuse

There are many myths and stigmas attached to the phenomenon of male sexual abuse, which may arise from the previous findings of the challenges male sexual abuse poses for the concept of masculinity and traditional gender role expectations. This is reiterated by Pyrek (2006) who states that gender socialisation creates confusion for male sexual abuse survivors in terms of sexuality, and their role as men, with a culture that does not instantly recognise men as victims of sexually violent crimes. Because of this, men can feel a sense of stigmatisation and negative reactions from others because of the social taboos surrounding male sexual abuse. Jenny reaffirms this in her response:

Jenny: "...because of the stigma that's still attached and a lot of the myths attached around it still, and this lack of people wanting to acknowledge that it happens erm just makes it doubly hard for a male"

Jenny mentions that both stigmas and myths surround the subject of male child sexual abuse and that there exists a level of denial regarding the existence of male child sexual abuse, which is not unfounded; Etherington (2000) reports that there is a denial and ignorance about male child sexual abuse. Etherington acknowledges however, that this climate of denial and ignorance is slowly changing and is leading to greater numbers of disclosure amongst men who have been sexually abused in childhood. For Jenny, this denial still exists, and in her view, it is harder for men to come forward about abuse because of the power of social stigma and a misconception that men cannot fall victim to this crime. This is echoed in Paul's response:

Paul: "...a really common response is 'well that doesn't happen' erm yeah it's just that complete like 'what are you talking about' you know it's 'men get abused? No! girls get abused men don't get abused' you know it's that sort of really just hasn't entered people's heads at all"

Paul: "...as I say with males there's a lot of sort of myths and erm and er assumptions people jump to once it's sort of brought up"

Paul addresses the extent to which ignorance around male child sexual abuse is still rife, with a gendered misconception that women can only be subjected to sexual abuse. Both Paul and Jenny's responses indicate that the denial of male rape and sexual abuse is driven and underpinned by a schema of masculinity, and that men cannot be subjected to these crimes. McDonald and Tijerino (2013) argue that there is a lack of awareness around male child sexual abuse, which leads to a lack of acknowledgement that child sexual abuse can impact men as much as it can women. It may be the case however, that it is not a case of denial and disbelief that such crimes exist, but rather, that the socially perpetuated myth of masculinity and manhood is incompatible with the traditional image of a 'victim'. Because these two phenomena cannot be reconciled, a state of denial ensues.

John's response expressed the disapproval male survivors of abuse are met with upon disclosure:

Researcher: "do you think there are parts of the community that your organisation doesn't reach?"

John: "...I think also because of the fact that it is still erm gosh what word am I gonna use, frowned upon to report being a male survivor of abuse"

According to John's response, reporting male sexual abuse is still not fully accepted. This is reflected in crime statistics which show that between 2009 and 2012, 2.5% of women reported that they had been a victim of a sexual offence compared to 0.5% of men. Although this could be interpreted as illustrating that a larger proportion of women are sexually 'victimised' it could also be indicative of lower numbers of men reporting that they have been subjected to a sexual offence. This is supported by Preston (2016) who argues that men are less likely to report rape than female survivors due to the social stigma around male rape. Stanko and Hobdell (1993: 400) state that men have a greater unwillingness to talk about fears relating to criminal victimisation and that this is "*a product of men's hesitation to disclose vulnerability*". This again reinforces the idea that expectations of masculinity contribute heavily towards the unwillingness to report male sexual abuse for fears of societal judgment.

7.7 Conclusions

The interviews with the service providers resulted in key overarching themes and several subthemes, all of which have contributed to understanding South Asian male survivors' experiences of child sexual abuse.

With regards to what stops survivors disclosing abuse, the services providers detailed how fears around being disbelieved, confidentiality being compromised, being judged and being ostracised all acted as barriers to many survivors trying to

disclose abuse. Within these subthemes, the service providers referred specifically to their Asian clients' experiences, which was implicit of culture having a strong impact over survivors' decisions in disclosure and the consequences of disclosure. Confidentiality for instance, was a major concern for many Asian survivors as they felt that their experience of abuse or visit to a counselling organisation may become public knowledge amongst their local community. Similarly, being disbelieved or having the disclosure covered up or denied was another significant worry for many survivors, alongside a fear of being outcast or shunned from family and community. Although these issues are not exclusive to South Asian survivors of abuse, and are common for many survivors of abuse, it is important to note how these issues were aligned with and discussed in relation to South Asian survivors.

The second key theme to emerge from the interviews was the effects of childhood sexual abuse on survivors. This led to a more generalised response from the service providers, with issues of substance abuse, relationship problems, self-harm and struggling with sexual identity listed as the main problems male survivors present with. These problems were discussed for survivors as a whole rather than focusing on the gender or ethnicity of the survivor, which illustrates the commonality of experiences that survivors share regardless of identity.

The third key theme was the impact of culture, which primarily focussed on how culture affected the behaviour and/or actions of survivors from South Asian backgrounds. Culture, honour and community were all portrayed in a negative light, having a damaging impact on how survivors dealt with their abusive experiences. Culture for instance, was described as having stringent rules, regulations and expectations which was a governing force in the life of some Asian survivors,

although there was evidence that this was mutable, and the power of culture was decreasing with each coming generation. Honour was documented as a cultural imperative with distressing consequences; it has a legitimate and powerful presence within South Asian communities, with an expectation to uphold family honour seen as crucial to gaining the respect of the wider community. Closely entwined with the concept of honour was the impact of community upon South Asian sexual abuse survivors; the structure of South Asian communities was described by the service providers as close-knit and again reinforced the idea that although second and third generation British South Asians are slowly moving away from traditional ideals of honour, culture and community, these ideals still significant enough to have an influence on their lives. For child sexual abuse survivors, disclosure and help-seeking are all the more difficult within tight-knit communities that live according to rigid cultural rules such as honour, as the expectation to maintain interdependence and secrecy can alienate survivors and potentially hamper the healing process.

The final key theme that this chapter explored was 'being a man'. Issues around masculinity were identified by the service providers as quite significant for male survivors of sexual abuse, who grappled with their masculine identity, and the expectations that come with it, socially constructed gender roles and the myths and stigmas that surround male child sexual abuse. Many male survivors felt their masculinity had been compromised as a result of the abuse, and that they had not fulfilled the standards of 'being a man'. In addition to this, myths around male sexual abuse and the negative connotations that are attached to this phenomenon create a sense of shame for survivors and negatively impact upon both their sense of identity and healing in the aftermath of abuse. The next chapter is a presentation of the

conclusions, recommendations and future research directions as suggested on the basis of the findings of this research.

Chapter 8

Conclusions, recommendations and directions for further research

8.1 Conclusions and original contribution to knowledge

The overall aim of this study was to explore how British South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse make sense of their experiences. The study sought to understand the complexities around the disclosure process and explore how men's sense of masculinity is impacted by abuse. The study also set out to explore the significance of culture and community, and men's experiences of help –seeking and the implications of this for service provision.

On reflection of the findings and discussion of all three phases of the study, one of the first conclusions that can be drawn concerns disclosure. Interpretation of the survivor interviews suggested that of the three survivors who had disclosed to their mothers, two had negative responses steeped in cultural notions around shame and what the community may think. Another two of the survivors attributed their reasons for not disclosing to their mothers for the reason that they would not be understood, specifically that there was a generational difference in their understandings of issues such as male child sexual abuse. This was corroborated in the focus group discussions where members of both groups spoke candidly about cultural ignorance, conversation barriers and the way in which phenomenon such as abuse are perceived and understood across South Asian communities. The specific contribution to knowledge in this instance is that the study has demonstrated the way

in which male child sexual abuse disclosure can be framed in the context of South Asian culture to show how culture can negatively impact disclosure.

Across the three phases of the study, the 'tight' knit structure of Asian communities was recognised as a contributing factor that not only enabled abuse to take place more easily, but maintained the silence around it. The service providers reported that hesitancy around disclosure to family members was driven by a fear of ostracisation from the family, and what distinguished this experience for Asian male survivors was the role of the community and wider family network within this context. From the interpretation of the focus group discussions, service provider interviews and survivor interviews, the notion of a private life was almost non-existent, with private life, family life and community intertwined. The implication for Asian male sexual abuse survivors was a need to consider the ramifications of disclosure on the wider family and community; hence only three of the eight survivors interviewed had revealed the abuse to immediate family members. Although research has established that concerns pertaining to family can be a considerable barrier to disclosure (Deblinger et al, 1999; Paine and Hansen, 2002) this study has demonstrated how the community can govern the behaviour of individuals in the context of sexual abuse disclosure.

The majority of the focus group members and survivors resisted culturally enforced ideas around izzat, presenting it as a negative construct that acted as a barrier to disclosure. This was in line with Ahmed et al's (2009) research with South Asian female survivors of sexual violence, who presented culture as the reason why family and community held problematic views about sexual violence. However, the majority of research looking at izzat constructed it as a cultural imperative that impacted the female members of South Asian communities (Gilbert et al, 2004; Takhar, 2013;

Thiara and Gill, 2009). Izzat has been conceptualised as a patriarchal construct that has been created by men to subjugate and control women. This study largely challenged this idea, and illustrated the ways in which izzat can also shape the experiences of South Asian men. Many of the survivors reported how izzat has permeated down through the generations from man to man, but rather than talk about izzat as an ideal that affects women, the survivors very much discussed it in relation to themselves, and how they are expected to uphold the family honour. This was also reflected in the focus group discussions, where the majority of male and female members of the groups discussed it in a very gender neutral way. When reframed within the lens of masculinities theory, izzat is a determinant of British South Asian men fulfilling the expected ideals of heteronormative masculinity. This study not only demonstrates how izzat impacts South Asian men, but how it is inextricably linked to men's construction of their own masculinity. This is a unique way in which the research has contributed new knowledge.

Sharam was another issue that the research wanted to explore in relation to South Asian men's experiences of abuse and the disclosure. Although much research has documented the universality of shame felt by survivors of child sexual abuse, 'sharam' was conceptualised and discussed in the context of culture and took on a different translation to 'shame'. Across the three phases of the research, the notion of sharam was ever present; there were undertones of sharam referring to family shame, community shame in addition to personal shame. Not letting anybody down, fearing community gossip, being the breadwinner and being a good son were all themes relating to this idea that the survivors were keeping the 'izzat' of the family intact by avoiding sharam being brought on the family. The shame felt by survivors, and the shame discussed by the women's focus groups and service providers,

identified how being an Asian male survivor of sexual abuse meant that sharam took on an elevated meaning, one that has a rippling effect on people outside of the survivor. This feeling of one's sharam being compromised was uniquely positioned in relation to masculinity and culture in this research.

Generational differences were established as not only determining the dynamics between second generation British South Asians and their first generation, South Asian born parents, but illuminating the differences in their attitudes towards culture. From interpreting the narratives in this study, particularly those of the survivors and focus group members, there is a shift away from traditional, cultural values that were significant for first generation Asians to a more independent and assertive stance adopted by subsequent generations. This was evident in some of the service provider accounts, with an acknowledgement that although the influence of culture was still prevalent, it was less significant for the current generation of British South Asians. The majority of focus group members felt that their parents' generation were out of touch with the rapidly evolving nature of western society, and how cultural barriers are being broken down to allow issues such as child sexual abuse to be discussed and dealt with more freely. Many of the survivors who did not disclose to family felt that they couldn't because of a difference in understanding and attitudes that were driven by cultural differences. This study has therefore highlighted how the cultural disparity between first and second generation South Asians is a barrier to sexual abuse disclosure to their parents. This is another way in which the research has contributed new knowledge.

Significantly, accounts from some of the survivors documented in chapter five as well as responses from the service providers and focus group members brought to the light the link between cultural attitudes towards homosexuality, heteronormative

ideals of masculinity reinforced by South Asian communities and how these were a barrier to child sexual abuse disclosure. This corroborates literature which has acknowledged homophobic attitudes across South Asian communities (Jaspal, 2017) and how survivors express confusion around their sexuality in the aftermath of abuse (Easton et al, 2014). However, this study adds a new dimension to the literature in that this link has previously been unexplored. Some of the survivors expressed concerns around being labelled gay if the abuse was disclosed, with a fear that this would undermine and overshadow the severity of their experience as an abuse survivor. This questioning around sexuality ultimately threatened the heteronormative ideal of masculinity they are expected to live up to within their families and communities, and acted as a powerful barrier to disclosure. This could be construed as a contribution towards the existing knowledge base.

This study challenges previous research findings which have suggested that South Asian people are reluctant to seek help from professional mental health services (McAuliffe, 2008). All eight of the survivors who took part in this study had received or were receiving counselling at the time of the interviews. All of the survivors reported positive experiences of counselling and found solace in being able to disclose in an environment that was free of the judgment they feared they would receive within their own family and/or community. Interestingly, seven out of eight of the survivors had white counsellors and despite reporting particular instances where their counsellors couldn't comprehend concepts bound to culture or language, being 'ethnically matched' to a counsellor was not a primary concern. This study therefore illustrates how British South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse engaging in counselling are challenging previously held views and doubts, perpetuated by cultural stigma, around western forms of mental healthcare.

Previous research around masculinity within South Asian communities has discussed it in relation to protest masculinity and hypermasculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Kalra, 2009). This study shed light on a different narrative of masculinity, one that is interpreted by British South Asians and discussed in relation to sexual abuse. Across the focus group discussions and survivor interviews, it became evident that abuse disclosure for British South Asian men would be a threat to their standing within the family and a threat to their (perceived) masculinity. The patriarchal structure of Asian families was still intact for many of the survivors and focus group members, articulating that men's position within this structure was largely determined by whether they lived up to expectations set by their fathers. This study illustrates the complex interplay between culture and masculinity, and how these intersect to place British South Asian male survivors of sexual abuse in a difficult position of recovering from child sexual abuse whilst grappling with culturally sanctioned ideals around masculinity.

8.2 Recommendations from the research

This study aimed to explore how British South Asian men made sense of their experiences as survivors of childhood sexual abuse; however, as the research developed, the collective issues raised by the participants yielded findings that can have wider implications for survivors, practitioners working with abuse survivors, policy makers and researchers. Some of the recommendations drawn from the research have been discussed below, specifically addressing service providers, policy makers and researchers.

8.2.1 Recommendations for service providers

Child sexual abuse survivors and male survivors particularly are reluctant to seek out therapy and counselling for a multitude of reasons including stigma, shame and

barriers to accessing services (Kia-Keating et al, 2009). Although the survivors in this research had all received counselling, they formed a very small percentage of ethnic minority men who had engaged with the counselling organisation.

Alternatives to counselling including community based support could be a way forward in addressing the hesitancy around help-seeking. The survivors in this study described fears around being seen entering a counselling organisation and the stigma attached to this; discreet services, such as a keyworker or support group integrated into community centres could potentially help alleviate some of these anxieties. Online counselling services are an alternative form of support for those who do not wish to engage in face-to-face interactions. The Home Office (2017) recently allocated a budget to a number of sexual abuse support charities, with one objective being the expansion of online counselling services. Support services that are able to budget for this form of counselling should consider providing this as an option, particularly with the popularity and rise of internet and social media usage (Moorhead et al, 2013).

An issue that became apparent in this study was the general perception held by service providers of South Asian communities. Despite the fact that some of those interviewed had South Asian clients, their views of South Asian communities were on the whole homogenous. Furthermore, the service providers articulated the complex layers of emotions that Asian men present with including a fear of disbelief, ostracisation, family and/or community rejection, shame, guilt and self-blame, underpinned and reinforced by strong cultural values that impede sexual abuse disclosure. Whilst it is important that practitioners understand issues that are prominent within South Asian communities through training and education, it is vital that they take a non-judgmental approach when working with survivors from these

communities, that they recognise the diversity of South Asian communities and the salience of culture in working with them. Prior to beginning this research, I had volunteered at a number of counselling organisations and found one of pitfalls to be very generic equality and diversity training programmes that presented black and ethnic minority communities through a very stereotypical lens, treating culture as static and failing to take into consideration the differences between different generations of British South Asians that this study has identified. Service providers need to address what some of the barriers are on both sides that create the gap between service provision and minoritised communities and make a concerted effort on breaking these down.

Outreach work with minoritised communities requires a different approach. One of the service providers interviewed in this study was the services manager of the counselling organisation, who described the numerous problems encountered when trying to access Asian communities for outreach and campaign work. At a grassroots level, support and education in local communities targeting marginalised communities who have less engagement with support services would help raise awareness of critical issues of sexual exploitation and abuse. Engaging with parents and communities around these topics is a necessary first step in breaking down the conversation barriers identified in this research. O'Neill Gutierrez and Chawla (2017) in their report of child exploitation of young South Asian women found that parents and families expressed worry and wanted support and education from professionals about to help and protect their children. Engaging with communities at this level would help parents identify signs of abuse and provide them with avenues of help that are available.

8.2.2 Recommendations for policy makers

According to Mathews and Collin-Vezina (2016) policymakers are faced with an uphill struggle where child sexual abuse is concerned, as it remains a hidden phenomenon which is psychologically complex and socially sensitive. It is this secretive nature that lends itself to concealing the true impact of the abuse on survivors and society and so it is imperative that policymakers continue to make progress with policy efforts concentrating on the prevention, identification and response towards child sexual abuse.

Very few specialist services focus on the needs of male survivors, and there is no consensus and no best practice guidelines on delivering services to male survivors (Sullivan, 2011). Policymakers need to initiate a process to ensure that models of service delivery for specific client groups, including men and minority communities, are available to ensure that agencies can respond to the needs of different groups.

Sexual abuse services for men and women across England and Wales have historically been (and remain) under-resourced and underfunded (Rape Crisis, 2018). The Home Office announced in 2017 that grant funding of £600,000 had been awarded to four charities including NAPAC, Rape Crisis, Barnardo's and Safeline, to help them provide services including the development of services for male survivors of child sexual abuse. Although this funding will undoubtedly boost provision for these specific charities, it remains a constant struggle for smaller, localised charities that are reliant upon grants and funding to keep services afloat. The services manager interviewed in this study echoed this concern, citing a lack of funding prevented the organisation from developing the necessary resources to reach out to Asian communities. Policymakers need to push for greater allocation of

funding for charitable organisations that provide vital services for survivors of childhood sexual abuse, focusing on areas where services are particularly scarce.

8.2.3 Recommendations for further research

While research interest in childhood sexual abuse has remained relatively high since the 1970s, there has been a lack of sustained focus on the abuse of males, and with the exception of this study, no research solely exploring the experiences of South Asian men. In chapter one, the heavily sensationalised depiction of Asian men as predators in the mainstream media was identified as a contributing factor to the perpetuation of a damaging stereotype which is a by-product of broader, structural inequalities. One of the main conclusions drawn from this research was the intersection of culture and masculinity and its impact on how British South Asian survivors made sense of their experiences. This study has scratched the surface of an area of research that could be advanced upon, which is the application of intersectionality theory as proposed by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989). Intersectionality relates to how two or more dimensions of identity (such as ethnicity, gender, and religion) can result in multiple and intertwined layers of discrimination or disadvantage (Syed and Ozbilgin, 2015). The multiple identities British South Asian survivors of abuse possess and how this positions them in powerful/less ways in the context of childhood sexual abuse could be one possible direction for further research.

The participants in this research came from a diverse range of religious backgrounds, including Muslim, Sikh, Hindu and Atheist. Although literature on child sexual abuse in the Catholic Church has received considerable research attention over the last twenty years, recognition of abuse in other faith-based communities is extremely limited. This is a necessary research avenue that requires pursuit to draw

out the complexities of abuse that occurs within religious communities that often view themselves as congregative and collective (Marks, 2006). Research into specific faith groups, such as Sikh and Muslim communities, could also uncover the link between religion, culture and abuse more definitively, as these groups have multiple, overlapping cultural, ethnic and religious facets to their identity that can shape particular life experiences.

A limitation of the research previously identified in chapter three was the homogeneity of the service providers interviewed. All of the service providers were white British, degree-educated (or working towards one) and the majority were from a middle class background. It could be argued that the views of the service providers were only representative of a specific and arguably more privileged group. The perspectives of service providers from a more diverse range of backgrounds, and from a number of different service organisations would present a more holistic view of service provider engagement with minoritised communities.

Another limitation of this study was that the researcher was unable to recruit participants who had not yet disclosed to agencies or family. As discussed in chapter three, the researcher placed adverts in public and online spaces with the ambition of achieving a more varied group of survivors who had disclosed and not disclosed. Due primarily to time constraints, it was not possible to wait beyond a few months to begin the interviews when eight participants had volunteered to take part. While it is worthwhile noting that there will always be difficulty in accessing survivors who do not wish to disclose, the need for their voice in research is nevertheless significant. A direction for further research could be to elucidate the experiences of British South Asian men who have not disclosed abuse or received counselling.

Lastly, while this study has opened up a new avenue of research into male child sexual abuse in British South Asian communities, it has only scratched the surface. There is great potential for further research to build on the work established in this study, looking into areas of research that are considered sensitive and 'taboo' within communities that have traditionally been perceived as difficult to access. New ground is being covered and areas that were previously unexplored in child sexual abuse research are witnessing positive change.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Research advert

An invitation to participate in research

The voice of every survivor needs to be heard. Why not make yours one of them?



My name is Hannah Begum and I am conducting research at De Montfort University, Leicester, documenting the experiences of male child sexual abuse survivors.

The research will focus on the experiences of men from South Asian backgrounds, with a view to bring awareness of this important issue in research and service provision.

If you would like more information on the study, please contact me on:

Email: Hannah.begum@hotmail.co.uk

Mobile: 07568085647

Appendix 2 Participant info sheet service providers

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Project title: A study into the needs of South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse-the perspectives of service providers

You are invited to take part in the research study: *A study into the needs of South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse-the perspectives of service providers*. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve.

1. What is the purpose of the study?

I am a PhD student at De Montfort University, supervised by Professor Robert Canton and Dr Julie Fish. The PhD is entitled 'A study of South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse and their engagement with support services'. As part of this research, the perspectives of service providers will be sought, which is what this particular study aims to do. The main aims of this study are:

- To explore the views and experiences of South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse
- To explore the impact of culture on the lives of South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse
- To explore whether there are any barriers when seeking help from counselling services
- To gain a better understanding of the relationship between South Asian communities and service providers

Participants have the right to refuse any question they do not wish to answer.

2. Why have I been chosen?

I would like to speak to service providers working with survivors of childhood sexual abuse. Your views will provide valuable insights to the study.

3. What will happen to me if I take part?

Your involvement in the study would be to take part in an interview where we would discuss: your experiences as a service provider; barriers to disclosure of childhood sexual abuse; your perception of and relationship with south Asian communities. The interview will last between 20 minutes and 1 hour, depending on how much time you have available, and how much information you want to share. The interview will be digitally recorded (audio only) with your permission, with recordings written up (transcribed) and a copy of this transcript offered to you. You will receive a follow-up phone call within seven days of the interview from myself (the researcher) to answer any questions you may have about your interview or the research.

A list of the interview questions is available for participants to read before the interview.

4. Will my involvement in the study be kept confidential?

All personal data collected during the course of the interviews will be kept strictly confidential. Your name and contact details will not be recorded on the interview transcripts, but your mobile number or

email address will be required for the researcher's use only. In addition to this, your name will be anonymised and any details that could potentially identify you will be altered or removed. I will be the only person with access to your original interview recordings, and my two academic supervisors (listed in section 9) will have access to the anonymised transcripts of your interviews. All interview recordings will be destroyed after the data has been transcribed by the researcher.

The only exceptions to confidentiality would be if you were to disclose information that indicated that you or someone else was at risk of harm. If such information was disclosed, I should have to do all I can to minimise the risk of harm to you or to anybody else

5. What will happen to the findings of the study?

The findings of the research will be published in my PhD thesis; again, names and details of the participants will not be published, but anonymised. On the basis of these findings, it is hoped that:

- Awareness of childhood sexual abuse within South Asian communities can be raised
- The practices of support services when working with survivors from the South Asian community can be improved, namely more culturally-aware training strategies to enhance and develop understanding
- Accessibility to support services can be increased for all survivors of childhood sexual abuse
- The study will inspire more culturally aware support services tailored to the needs of South Asian male survivors of abuse

You will also be offered a summary of the key findings by the researcher from this study after the data has been transcribed and analysed. Names of participants will not be disclosed in any published documents.

6. What if I am personally affected by participating in the study?

Child sexual abuse is a sensitive topic of discussion, and you may feel upset as a result of participating in the study. If you feel overwhelmed or upset during the interview it can be stopped temporarily, rearranged to continue on another day and time, or you can decide to withdraw from the study completely. My contact details will always be available for you to discuss any concerns you have, and contact details of external support agencies are provided in section 9.

7. What if I change my mind about my involvement in the study?

Before the interview, you will sign a consent form whereby you agree upon participating in the study. However, you have the right to withdraw at any point during the study, which includes your right to withdraw while the interview is underway, or withdraw your data after the interview has taken place.

8. Who is conducting this study?

This study is being conducted by Hannah Begum. I am a second year PhD student at De Montfort University, with a Master's degree in Criminology and a Bachelor's degree in Social Policy. I have volunteered at two counselling organisations which provide support to survivors of sexual violence and abuse.

This study is not being funded by any external body.

9. What if I would like further information?

My contact details and my academic supervisors' contact details are as follows:

Researcher: Hannah Begum
Email: p10458937@myemail.dmu.ac.uk

Tel: 07568085647

Academic supervisor 1: Professor Rob Canton

Email: rcanton@dmu.ac.uk

Tel: (0)116 2078728

Academic supervisor 2: Dr Julie Fish

Email: jfish@dmu.ac.uk

Tel: (0)116 2577750

Complaints

If you have any complaints about this study, you can direct these to the first supervisor of this research:

Professor Rob Canton
Faculty of Health and Life Sciences
De Montfort University
The Gateway
Leicester
LE1 9BH

Email: rcanton@dmu.ac.uk

Tel: (0)116 2078728

You may also forward any complaints you have regarding this study to the Head of De Montfort University's Ethics Committee:

Professor Judith Tanner
School of Nursing and Midwifery
De Montfort University
The Gateway
Leicester
LE1 9BH

Email: jtanner@dmu.ac.uk

Appendix 3 Participant info sheet focus groups

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Project title: A study into the needs of South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse-the perspectives of South Asian communities

You are invited to take part in the research study: *A study into the needs of South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse-the perspectives of South Asian communities*. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve.

1. What is the purpose of the study?

I am a PhD student at De Montfort University, supervised by Professor Robert Canton and Dr Julie Fish. The PhD is entitled 'A study of South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse and their engagement with support services'. As part of this research, the perspectives of members of British South Asian communities will be sought, which is what this particular study aims to do. The main aims of this study are:

- To explore the views and experiences of South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse
- To explore the impact of culture on the lives of South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse
- To explore whether there are any barriers when seeking help from counselling services
- To gain a better understanding of the relationship between South Asian communities and service providers

2. Why have I been chosen?

I would like to speak to members of South Asian communities. The focus groups will be single gender (male only and female only). Your perspectives will help inform the research by shedding light on perceptions of child sexual abuse across the wider community.

3. What will happen to me if I take part?

Your involvement in the study would be to take part in a focus group discussion alongside other men or women where we would discuss: your perceptions of male child sexual abuse; the impact of culture on your experiences as a British South Asian person; your perception of counselling/support organisations. The discussion will last between 60 minutes and 2 hours, depending on how much time you have available, and how much information you want to share with the rest of the group. The group discussion will be digitally recorded (audio only), with recordings written up (transcribed) and a copy of this transcript offered to you.

4. Will my involvement in the study be kept confidential?

All personal data collected during the course of the discussion will be kept strictly confidential. Your name and contact details will not be recorded on the transcripts, but your mobile number or email address will be required for the researcher's use only. In addition to this, your name will be anonymised and any details that could potentially identify you will be altered or removed. I will be the only person with access to your original focus group discussion recordings, and my two academic

supervisors (listed in section 9) will have access to the anonymised transcripts. Your participation in the study will not be discussed with other participants. All interview recordings will be destroyed after the data has been transcribed by the researcher.

The only exceptions to confidentiality would be if you were to disclose information that indicated that you or someone else was at risk of harm. If such information was disclosed, I should have to do all I can to minimise the risk of harm to you or to anybody else

5. What will happen to the findings of the study?

The findings of the research will be published in my PhD thesis; again, names and details of the participants will not be published, but anonymised. On the basis of these findings, it is hoped that:

- Awareness of childhood sexual abuse within South Asian communities can be raised
- The practices of support services when working with survivors from the South Asian community can be improved, namely more culturally-aware training strategies to enhance and develop understanding
- Accessibility to support services can be increased for all survivors of childhood sexual abuse
- The study will inspire more culturally aware support services tailored to the needs of South Asian male survivors of abuse

You will also be offered a summary of the key findings by the researcher from this study after the data has been transcribed and analysed. Names of participants will not be disclosed in any published documents.

6. What if I am personally affected by participating in the study?

Child sexual abuse is a sensitive topic of discussion, and you may feel upset as a result of participating in the study. If you feel overwhelmed or upset during the discussion it can be stopped temporarily, rearranged to continue on another day and time, or you can decide to withdraw from the study completely. My contact details will always be available for you to discuss any concerns you have, and contact details of external support agencies are provided in section 9.

7. What if I change my mind about my involvement in the study?

Before the discussion, you will sign a consent form whereby you agree upon participating in the study. However, you have the right to withdraw at any point during the study, which includes your right to withdraw while the discussion is underway, or withdraw your data after the discussion has taken place.

8. Who is conducting this study?

This study is being conducted by Hannah Begum. I am a second year PhD student at De Montfort University, with a Master's degree in Criminology and a Bachelor's degree in Social Policy. I have volunteered at two counselling organisations which provide support to survivors of sexual violence and abuse.

This study is not being funded by any external body.

9. What if I would like further information?

My contact details and my academic supervisors' contact details are as follows:

Researcher: Hannah Begum
Email: p10458937@myemail.dmu.ac.uk
Tel: 07568085647

Academic supervisor 1: Professor Rob Canton
Email: rcanton@dmu.ac.uk
Tel: (0)116 2078728

Academic supervisor 2: Dr Julie Fish
Email: jfish@dmu.ac.uk
Tel: (0)116 2577750

For further information and support you may contact the following organisations:

NSPCC

The NSPCC's vision is to end cruelty to children in the UK.

Website: <http://www.nspcc.org.uk>
Tel: 0808 800 5000

Samaritans

Samaritans aims to benefit society by improving people's emotional health in order to create a greater sense of well being. Apart from being a 24 hour source of support on the telephone, by email, by letter or face to face, we also work in the local community.

Website: <http://www.samaritans.org/>
Email: jo@samaritans.org
Tel: 08457 90 90 90

SupportLine

We offer confidential emotional support to children, young adults and adults by telephone, email or post.

Website: <http://www.supportline.org.uk>
Email: info@supportline.org.uk
Tel: 01708 765200

Survivors UK

Survivors UK helps men who have been sexually violated and raises awareness of their needs:

Website: <http://www.survivorsuk.org/>
Email: info@survivorsuk.org
Tel: 0845 404 6234

Complaints

If you have any complaints about this study, you can direct these to the first supervisor of this research:

Professor Rob Canton
Faculty of Health and Life Sciences

De Montfort University
The Gateway
Leicester
LE1 9BH

Email: rcanton@dmu.ac.uk
Tel: (0)116 2078728

You may also forward any complaints you have regarding this study to the Head of De Montfort University's Ethics Committee:

Professor Judith Tanner
School of Nursing and Midwifery
De Montfort University
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LE1 9BH

Email: jtanner@dmu.ac.uk

Appendix 4 Participant info sheet survivor

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Project title: A study into the needs of South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse-the perspectives of survivors

You are invited to take part in the research study: *A study into the needs of South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse-the perspectives of survivors*. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve.

1. What is the purpose of the study?

I am a PhD student at De Montfort University, supervised by Professor Robert Canton and Dr Julie Fish. The PhD is entitled 'A study of South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse and their engagement with support services'. As part of this research, the perspectives of survivors will be sought, which is what this particular study aims to do. The main aims of this study are:

- To explore the views and experiences of South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse
- To explore the impact of culture on the lives of South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse
- To explore whether there are any barriers when seeking help from counselling services
- To gain a better understanding of the relationship between South Asian communities and service providers

It is important to note that participants will not be expected to disclose information relating to the abuse itself. Participants have the right to refuse any question they do not wish to answer.

2. Why have I been chosen?

I would like to speak to South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse. I aim to interview approximately ... survivors to discuss the themes identified above.

3. What will happen to me if I take part?

Your involvement in the study would be to take part in an interview where we would discuss: your experiences as a South Asian survivor of childhood sexual abuse; the impact of culture on your experiences; disclosure of childhood sexual abuse; your perception of and relationship with counselling/support organisations. The interview will last between 20 minutes and 1 hour, depending on how much time you have available, and how much information you want to share. The interview will be digitally recorded (audio only) with your permission, with recordings written up (transcribed) and a copy of this transcript offered to you. You will receive a follow-up phone call within seven days of the interview from myself (the researcher) to answer any questions you may have about your interview or the research.

A list of the interview questions is available for participants to read before the interview.

4. Will my involvement in the study be kept confidential?

All personal data collected during the course of the interviews will be kept strictly confidential. Your name and contact details will not be recorded on the interview transcripts, but your mobile number or email address will be required for the researcher's use only. In addition to this, your name will be anonymised and any details that could potentially identify you will be altered or removed. I will be the only person with access to your original interview recordings, and my two academic supervisors (listed in section 9) will have access to the anonymised transcripts of your interviews. Your participation in the study will not be discussed with other interviewees. All interview recordings will be destroyed after the data has been transcribed by the researcher.

The only exceptions to confidentiality would be if you were to disclose information that indicated that you or someone else was at risk of harm. If such information was disclosed, I should have to do all I can to minimise the risk of harm to you or to anybody else

5. What will happen to the findings of the study?

The findings of the research will be published in my PhD thesis; again, names and details of the participants will not be published, but anonymised. On the basis of these findings, it is hoped that:

- Awareness of childhood sexual abuse within South Asian communities can be raised
- The practices of support services when working with survivors from the South Asian community can be improved, namely more culturally-aware training strategies to enhance and develop understanding
- Accessibility to support services can be increased for all survivors of childhood sexual abuse
- The study will inspire more culturally aware support services tailored to the needs of South Asian male survivors of abuse

You will also be offered a summary of the key findings by the researcher from this study after the data has been transcribed and analysed. Names of participants will not be disclosed in any published documents.

6. What if I am personally affected by participating in the study?

Child sexual abuse is a sensitive topic of discussion, and you may feel upset as a result of participating in the study. If you feel overwhelmed or upset during the interview it can be stopped temporarily, rearranged to continue on another day and time, or you can decide to withdraw from the study completely. My contact details will always be available for you to discuss any concerns you have, and contact details of external support agencies are provided in section 9.

7. What if I change my mind about my involvement in the study?

Before the interview, you will sign a consent form whereby you agree upon participating in the study. However, you have the right to withdraw at any point during the study, which includes your right to withdraw while the interview is underway, or withdraw your data after the interview has taken place.

8. Who is conducting this study?

This study is being conducted by Hannah Begum. I am a second year PhD student at De Montfort University, with a Master's degree in Criminology and a Bachelor's degree in Social Policy. I have volunteered at two counselling organisations which provide support to survivors of sexual violence and abuse.

This study is not being funded by any external body.

9. What if I would like further information?

My contact details and my academic supervisors' contact details are as follows:

Researcher: Hannah Begum
Email: p10458937@myemail.dmu.ac.uk
Tel: 07568085647

Academic supervisor 1: Professor Rob Canton
Email: rcanton@dmu.ac.uk
Tel: (0)116 2078728

Academic supervisor 2: Dr Julie Fish
Email: jfish@dmu.ac.uk
Tel: (0)116 2577750

For further information and support you may contact the following organisations:

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The NSPCC's vision is to end cruelty to children in the UK.

Website: <http://www.nspcc.org.uk>
Tel: 0808 800 5000

Samaritans

Samaritans aims to benefit society by improving people's emotional health in order to create a greater sense of well being. Apart from being a 24 hour source of support on the telephone, by email, by letter or face to face, we also work in the local community.

Website: <http://www.samaritans.org/>
Email: jo@samaritans.org
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SupportLine

We offer confidential emotional support to children, young adults and adults by telephone, email or post.

Website: <http://www.supportline.org.uk>
Email: info@supportline.org.uk
Tel: 01708 765200

Survivors UK

Survivors UK helps men who have been sexually violated and raises awareness of their needs:

Website: <http://www.survivorsuk.org/>
Email: info@survivorsuk.org
Tel: 0845 404 6234

Complaints

If you have any complaints about this study, you can direct these to the first supervisor of this research:

Professor Rob Canton
Faculty of Health and Life Sciences
De Montfort University
The Gateway
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Email: rcanton@dmu.ac.uk
Tel: (0)116 2078728

You may also forward any complaints you have regarding this study to the Head of De Montfort University's Ethics Committee:

Professor Judith Tanner
School of Nursing and Midwifery
De Montfort University
The Gateway
Leicester
LE1 9BH

Email: jtanner@dmu.ac.uk

Appendix 5 Consent Form service provider



Consent Form (Participant's copy)

A study into the needs of South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse: the perspectives of service providers

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated.....for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions. Any questions asked have been answered clearly.

2. I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and I can withdraw at any time without providing a reason.

3. I understand that my responses will be anonymised. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses.

4. I understand that the recording of this interview and any transcription will be retained securely in accordance with the data protection and record retention regulations of De Montfort University.

5. I understand that any information that I disclose during the interviews which exposes poor practice or suggests that clients are at risk will be reported to the services manager.

6. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of participant Date Signature

Researcher Date Signature

If you would like any further information about the study or have any concerns regarding your participation, please use the contact details below:

Hannah Begum
Email: hannah.begum@hotmail.co.uk; p10458937@myemail.dmu.ac.uk
Tel: 07568085647

Appendix 6 Consent Form focus group



dmu.ac.uk
DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY
LEICESTER
Consent Form (Participant's copy)

A study into the needs of South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse: the perspectives of South Asian communities

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated.....for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions. Any questions asked have been answered clearly.

2. I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and I can withdraw at any time without providing a reason.

3. I understand that my responses will be anonymised. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses.

4. I understand that the recording of this interview and any transcription will be retained securely in accordance with the data protection and record retention regulations of De Montfort University.

5. I agree to take part in the above study.

.....

Name of participant

Date

Signature

.....

Researcher

Date

Signature

If you would like any further information about the study or have any concerns regarding your participation, please use the contact details below:

Hannah Begum
Email: hannah.begum@hotmail.co.uk; p10458937@myemail.dmu.ac.uk
Tel: 07568085647

Appendix 7 Consent Form survivor



Consent Form (Researcher's copy)

A study into the needs of South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse: the perspectives of survivors

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated.....for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions. Any questions asked have been answered clearly.

2. I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and I can withdraw at any time without providing a reason.

3. I understand that my responses will be anonymised. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses.

4. I understand that the recording of this interview and any transcription will be retained securely in accordance with the data protection and record retention regulations of De Montfort University.

5. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of participant Date Signature

Researcher Date Signature

If you would like any further information about the study or have any concerns regarding your participation, please use the contact details below:

Hannah Begum
Email: hannah.begum@hotmail.co.uk; p10458937@myemail.dmu.ac.uk
Tel: 07568085647

Appendix 8 Service provider interview schedule

Service providers: interview schedule

Can you tell me a little about your role at the counselling organisation?

What kinds of issues do people usually present with when contacting your organisation?

Are there differences in the services you provide to male and female clients?

Do you think that there are parts of the local community that your organisation doesn't reach? What do you think some of the reasons are behind this?

How do you (or would you) as a counsellor, respond to clients who present culturally specific problems that you are not familiar with?

What problems do you think may be encountered by a South Asian male who wishes to disclose child sexual abuse?

How far do you think culture plays a role in the way a South Asian man may choose to deal with childhood sexual abuse?

What does culture mean to you?

From your experience as a service provider, are there any recommendations you could suggest in terms of what could be done to engage more with South Asian survivors of child sexual abuse?

What does 'honour' mean to you?

Does your organisation offer compulsory equality and diversity training for staff? What do you think about this?

As part of my research, I will be interviewing South Asian male survivors of childhood sexual abuse. Are there any strategies I could adopt in order to avoid distress to the survivors during the interviews?

Would it be a good idea to have a third person, such as the survivor's counsellor, in the interview?

Appendix 9 Survivor interview schedule



Interview Schedule

Can you tell me a little bit about yourself

What are some of the issues you felt were important when approaching the counselling organisation

Can you remember what your thoughts and feelings were when you first decided to contact the counselling organisation?

How helpful has it been to you

Did it matter to you whether you saw a male or female counsellor?

Did their ethnicity make a difference?

What do you find helpful about the services?

Can you describe your family relationships

What is your experience of the wider Asian community?

What does honour mean to you?

Are you familiar with izzat? What does it mean to you?

Are you familiar with sharam? What does it mean to you?

How do you identify in terms of ethnicity?

Is culture important to you? What does it mean to you?

Do you think your family and community are aware of abuse of boys?

Do you think there are difficulties for men in saying they have been abused?

Has it made a difference to how you feel about yourself?

Have you told your family or anybody in your community about your abuse? What was the reaction?

How did you feel about yourself after?

How have you dealt with the abuse

Has it affected how you feel about yourself as a man

Other than counselling, have you accessed any other forms of help?

Do you think there are enough counselling services for male survivors of abuse?

Do you think there is enough awareness of these services within your community?

What do you think could possibly change people's perceptions of abuse and how they deal with it in your community?

Are there any questions you would like to ask me about this research?

Appendix 10 Focus group schedule

Focus group schedule

(IN NO PARTICULAR ORDER)

Is child sexual abuse something that could be freely discussed within Asian communities or families?

How would you react to a disclosure of abuse within your family or community?

What kinds of issues are difficult to discuss with your family (and people from your community)?

Are there generational differences in how child sexual abuse is reacted to?

What are the expected roles of men and women in your family/community?

Are there differences in your generation compared to your parent's generation in terms of expectations of you?

What might some of the barriers be to disclosing child sexual abuse?

Are you familiar with izzat? What does it mean to you? How is it translated in your communit(ies)?

Does izzat affect men? How? In what ways is it different for women?

Would izzat play a role in the instance of child sexual abuse disclosure? How?

Would male and female victims of child sexual abuse be treated differently? Why?

Are you familiar with the term 'sharam'? Is this more significant for men or for women? In what ways?

Are you aware of any support services for child sexual abuse survivors?

What are your thoughts on an Asian support service for Asian people? in what ways would it be good/bad?

Are religious leaders ever consulted with certain family issues? Is this helpful? Why/why not?

What role does the wider Asian community play in an Asian family's issues?

What could be done to change people's perceptions of abuse within Asian communities?

In what ways do you think sexual abuse disclosure could be dealt with in Asian communities?

Could places of religious worship be approached to educate people on child abuse? (if no- why?)

Are you aware of any Asian community centres/groups within your local area? If yes, are you a member of this group? Could these groups be approached to educate people on abuse?

Appendix 11 Service provider ethical approval

2nd July 2012

Hannah Begum
PhD Candidate
Faculty of Health & Life Sciences

Dear Hannah,

Re: Ethics application – PhD: A scoping study into the needs of South Asian male survivors of child sexual abuse: the perspectives of service providers (Ref: 924)

I am writing regarding your application for ethical approval for a research project titled to the above project. This project has been reviewed in accordance with the Operational Procedures for De Montfort University Faculty of Health and Life Sciences Research Ethics Committee. These procedures are available from the Faculty Research and Commercial Office upon your request.

I am pleased to inform you that ethical approval has been granted by Chair's Action for your application. This will be reported at the next Faculty Research Committee, which is being held on 18th October 2012.

Should there be any amendments to the research methods or persons involved with this project you must notify the Chair of the Faculty Research Ethics Committee immediately in writing. Serious or adverse events related to the conduct of the study need to be reported immediately to your Supervisor and the Chair of this Committee.

The Faculty Research Ethics Committee should be notified by e-mail to HLSFRO@dmu.ac.uk when your research project has been completed.

Yours sincerely,



Dr Richard Davies
Deputy Chair
Faculty of Health and Life Sciences
Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 12 Survivor ethical approval

13th September 2013

Hannah Begum
PhD Candidate

Dear Hannah,

Re: Ethics application - A study into the needs of South Asian male survivors of child sex abuse: the perspectives of survivors (ref: 1131)

I am writing regarding your application for ethical approval for a research project titled to the above project. This project has been reviewed in accordance with the Operational Procedures for De Montfort University Faculty of Health and Life Sciences Research Ethics Committee. These procedures are available from the Faculty Research and Commercial Office upon your request.

I am pleased to inform you that ethical approval has been granted by Chair's Action for your application. This will be reported at the next Faculty Research Committee, which is being held on 17th October 2013.

Should there be any amendments to the research methods or persons involved with this project you must notify the Chair of the Faculty Research Ethics Committee immediately in writing. Serious or adverse events related to the conduct of the study need to be reported immediately to your Supervisor and the Chair of this Committee.

The Faculty Research Ethics Committee should be notified by e-mail to HLSFRO@dmu.ac.uk when your research project has been completed.

Yours sincerely,



Professor Judith Tanner
Chair
Faculty of Health and Life Sciences
Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 13 Service provider transcript stage 1

Transcript 1: SERVICE PROVIDER Jenny

R: Can you tell me a little about your role at your organisation?

J: Right my role is to co ordinate, erm, all between the clients and, erm, the counsellors, erm, so that is the first port of call for anyone coming in as a referral erm for then meeting with them erm doing a formal assessment with them erm and then taking that information and then best matching them against an appropriate counsellor...

R: ok

J: ...so in addition to my role that part of the role obviously my other part of the role is to erm make sure the systems and monitoring are in place and to also check and apply for funding erm to make sure that we keep open

R: What kinds of issues do people usually present with when contacting your organisation?

J: erm initially straight off is is the anxiety and erm mistrust erm huge barriers to disclosing erm and for somebody to have made that massive call erm you know, you know that their in a heightened state of awareness of the issue so theres obviously suffering some erm effect from it particularly there and then cause that's what normally brings on the phonecall erm so maybe somethings triggered it or erm maybe just they are particularly low they maybe feeling suicidal erm they know that they need to to just get it out somewhere erm so that would be your initial one to when they come in there's this erm fear of being erm judged and fear of actually being disbelieved erm which is massive for them erm alongside almost not wanting to accept that that's whats happened to them but knowing that they need to do something and accept that it did erm so then they might have it that once they come in they might show have issues around their sexuality erm male particularly when youre young erm and youre being abused will have had erm an erection and that as as you grow up they will have think well I must liked it so that becomes a massive massive issue for them and part of the reasons that perpetrators were allowed to, to continue that because they know that's that's how theyre going to feel erm but then you come across substance abuse you, quite severe alcohol erm issues mental health issues erm but seeing more probably more self harm at the moment erm then we were but self harmings more erm open in in the public if you like erm then it was years ago erm and just a whole range of trust relationships e-everything erm the way that they've made their choices in life the way that they feel erm they've had to make choices so they're almost being somebody that not themselves erm and its for some of them its been almost like living a lie and thats incredibly hard to then you know not to have had a negative impact one way or another

R: Yes

R: Are there differences in the services that are provided to male and female clients generally in counselling

J: not necessarily, counselling is is counselling this working with men you need to have a deeper understanding of just how difficult it is to disclose erm I think as females yes its you know we openly

Commented [B1]: Trigger for contacting service

Commented [B2]: Self harm

Commented [B3]: Fear of being judged

Commented [B4]: Fear of disbelief

Commented [B5]: sexuality

Commented [B6]: self blame

Commented [B7]: substance abuse

Commented [B8]: mental health issues

Commented [B9]: trust issues

Commented [B10]: relationship issues

Commented [B11]: living a lie

Commented [B12]: gender roles

Appendix 14 Focus female group transcript stage 1

Transcript: female focus group

Researcher: so what are your thoughts on this video?

J: erm pretty intense.

Shob: yeah its not the sort of thing you expect really

Researcher: in what way?

J: me or..

Researcher: oh yes both of you, could you elaborate on what you mean

J: I think watching stuff that's sensitive like that and intense like that for me personally kinda puts me in like, a depressed mood for the rest of the day, cause like, it's reality and sometimes you wanna believe that sorta stuff **doesn't** happen erm..yeah that's it really

Commented [B1]: Challenging existing assumptions?

Researcher: does it have a bad effect on you hearing news like this?

J: erm, its not that it has some effect that's bad or anything like that, im not saying im gonna be depressed now (laughs) but what I mean is it's like..it's just one of those sad kind of moods I have when I know that sick people exist and do that kinda thing to other people and sometimes you just wanna shut off from it I dunno

Shob: yeah I see what youre saying its like with me I think generally yeah you hear these kinds of things in the news or the papers and you don't give it that kind of attention you just kind of, erm, what do you call it...dismiss yeah **dismiss** it in your head a bit cause its that thing that way of thinking 'oh if I don't hear about it then it doesn't exist' so yeah I totally see where youre coming from (refers to jannath) and thing what I was saying before yeah you don't expect it..i don't know maybe I shouldn't say it but with us, in the Pakistani community I mean im not talking for everyone here but just my family erm were kind of closed off to that sort of thing like, you don't talk about like **sex** with your kids or parents like me I grew up in London but both my parents are from back home and oh my god (laughs) you cant even talk about bras with your mum! erm just an example I don't want to go off topic or anything but when I turned I don't know I think I was like 14 or something and I couldn't even ask my mum for a bra because its seen as embarrassing and shameful like, 'you **besharam** how dare you ask me that!'

Commented [B2]: Denial

Commented [B3]: Conversation barriers

Commented [B4]: Meaning: shameless

[all women in group laugh]

Shob: but yeah you see what I mean that sort of thing, I mean I don't even know where you would start I mean where would a guy start? How can he go to his family and say yeah this kinda thing has happened to me I mean I don't think its any different for guys like its just as **off** limits for them

Commented [B5]: Same for men as it is for women

R: yeah if not more

Shob: yeah definitely

R: I mean that bra scenario you just brought up yeah, definitely relatable, erm my parents are both from india and my mum especially has this very sort of **traditional** look on life, like her viewpoint is

Commented [B6]: tradition

Appendix 15 Focus male group transcript stage 1

Transcript: Male focus group

Researcher: erm so what are everyone's thoughts on the video? Just initial thoughts

Malik: that's some messed up shit that is

Jagdeep: yeah it's sad you know

Mohammad: aaah it's just wrong man

Researcher: can you elaborate on this a bit?

Malik: yeah just messed up its messed up...that shit like that even happens and they gotta drag it through the court and then it ends up in the news cause yeah I dunno you wouldn't want it made public first off and maybe deal it with yourself

Commented [H1]: Expressing anger, annoyance

Commented [H2]: Getting justice yourself

Researcher: in what way?

Malik: batter them so they learn their lesson I dunno (laughs)

Commented [H3]: Violence to get justice

Researcher: ok do you think that's the best way of dealing with something like that

Malik: yeah I do you know...I don't think I'd be satisfied if he went prison cause for me, that's not vengeance, and with something like that, you want revenge, and yeah you want it with your own hands so nah I wouldn't go to the police and go through all that bullshit cause they'll probably talk to you like crap and then you get on the stand in court and all that questioning they do so...why you gonna go through all that when you can just kill the bastard instead

Commented [H4]: Seeking vengeance

Commented [H5]: Not relying on justice system

Commented [H6]: Killing perpetrator, anger, aggression, justice

Group laughs

Commented [H7]: Men laugh it off, banter?

Researcher: what are everyone else's thoughts on this?

Jamal: I get where you're coming from cause yeah it's hard to think like what would I do in that situation but you know what I'm not in that person's shoes so I can't say for sure that I'd go down that route and wanna deal with it myself cause what if you get caught you know there's too many consequences isn't there and is that person worth it? With that guy in the video maybe for him that's justice erm I don't know I can't get into his head or anything but obviously for him that was the best way to deal with it

Commented [H8]: Being in someone's shoes, empathy

Aziz: I think it's pretty sick actually erm that's just my opinion on it, people who do that have to be mentally sick you know erm to do that to a kid and I think whichever way you take justice whether you take it on yourself or erm decide to go through the whole justice system its personal to you and that's up to you cause unless you've been through it then you can't make a judgment on what to do but erm that's just my opinion I think its just sick

Commented [H9]: Paedophilia as a sickness

Malik: yeah you know what though thing is, you can always say that 'oh you've not been through it how can you say this and that' but she's asking us what we think and me, that's what I think cause that's what I'd wanna do and you can't just say that cause you've not experienced it yourself you can't give an opinion of course you can cause I'm trying to put myself in man's shoes and that's what I'd do

Commented [H10]: Disagrees with aziz opinion, talks from empathy point of view what he would do

Appendix 16 Survivor transcript initial noting stage 1

Transcript 1: Nathan

Researcher: ok so do you want to start off by telling me a little bit about yourself?

Nathan: "yeah erm my names Nathan erm im from location** erm lived there my whole life erm recently moved and stuff cos of erm these issues that were talking about now today erm I live alone with my dog erm I go to uni I have a good close friend circle erm my friends my dog uni that's my life at the moment really yeah erm..."

Commented [H1]: Importance of dogs friends new circle of those he trusts

Life has new beginnings indication

Researcher: "so just before we turned on the recorder we were discussing what this research is about erm and why its important and you mentioned that you wanted to take part to tell your story and help others so do you want to tell me what your story is?"

Nathan " erm yeah I was abused when I was younger, erm a guy who wasn't blood related but part of the extended erm family erm not blood though erm and its from there really erm I don't want it to define my life but it's a big part of my life and how everythings turned out for me and why I am the way I am now erm I had loads of issues with my mental emotional everything starting to get on top of me erm not sleeping not eating right erm just not looking after myself or caring and then I knew I have to do something about so erm I told you bit ago erm I told my tutor who was really really good really helped me to get in contact with counsellor and then I decided I have to tell the police it went from there erm and that's the point I though ok I cant hide it from my mum anymore I have to tell her now"

Commented [H2]: Mental effects of abuse

Commented [H3]: Negligent towards himself no self care

Commented [H4]: Everything getting on top of him

Commented [H5]: He had to tell mother, no way out at this point

Researcher: "do you want to talk a little bit more about how you came to disclose to your mum?"

Nathan: "er yeah erm coming from a fairly broken family erm not very good issues with my dad and stuff my mum was the main person who raised us so even though I didn't tell her first for my own reasons erm after I told my tutor and other people I thought maybe I have to tell her cause at that point I made the decision to go to the police so er it was just a matter of time really erm and her reaction it was, well, I don't know what I expected really erm it's not that she didn't believe me erm I think it was more about her accepting it, she didn't in the sense she kind of yeah she got upset very very upset and then said well what do you wanna do about it and I told her well look I've gone to my tutor and a counsellor and they advised me to go to the police and that's what I want to do erm that's when she, she couldn't really accept it then and she went into this other mode about, that everyone's gonna find out and he has a family etcetera that's the abuser she meant and I said well that's not mine, none of its my problem so how's that supposed to stop me telling the police? Erm that's when I knew she's not gonna be behind me and I knew I was on my own then erm just from the family side of it cause my friends were behind me so was my university but yeah I wish my mum was cause nothing could've replaced that erm but it wasn't meant to be"

Commented [H6]: Broken home broken family instability in family circle

Commented [H7]: Issues with father

Commented [H8]: Not about belief but about acceptance for mother

Commented [H9]: Couldn't accept it

Commented [H10]: Consciousness that others will find out

Commented [H11]: A feeling that he would be alone on this journey

Commented [H12]: Family support would've been ideal but his friends were there

Researcher: "in hindsight are you glad that you told your mother?"

Nathan: "erm yeah I am I definitely would again yeah erm...no there's no regret there about telling her but I would've wanted maybe a change a different reaction from her not the way she did so..."

Commented [H13]: No regrets about telling mother glad he disclosed

Appendix 17 Service prov higher level noting stage 2

| Original transcript | Exploratory comments |
|--|--|
| <p>R: Can you tell me a little about your role at your organisation?</p> <p>P: Right my role is to co ordinate, erm, all between the clients and, erm, the counsellors, erm, so that is the first port of call for anyone coming in as a referral erm for then meeting with them erm doing a formal assessment with them erm and then taking that information and then best matching them against an appropriate counsellor...</p> <p>R: ok</p> <p>P: ...so in addition to my role that part of the role obviously my other part of the role is to erm make sure the systems and monitoring are in place and to also check and apply for funding erm to make sure that we keep open</p> <p>R: What kinds of issues do people usually present with when contacting your organisation?</p> <p>P: erm initially straight off is is the anxiety and erm mistrust erm huge barriers to disclosing erm and for somebody to have made that massive call erm you know, you know that theyre in a heightened state of awareness of the issue so theres obviously suffering some erm effect from it particularly there and then cause that's what normally brings on the phonecall erm so maybe somethings triggered it or erm maybe just they are particularly low they maybe feeling suicidal erm they know that they need to to just get it out somewhere erm so that would be your initial one to when they come in there's this erm fear of being erm judged and fear of actually being disbelieved erm which is massive for them erm alongside almost not wanting to accept that that's whats happened to them but knowing that they need to do something and accept that it did erm so then they might have it that once they come in they might show have issues around their sexuality erm male particularly when youre young erm and youre being abused will have had erm an erection and that as as you grow up they will have think well I must liked it so that becomes a massive massive issue for them and part of the reasons that perpetrators were allowed to, to continue that because they know that's that's how theyre going to feel erm but then you come across substance abuse you, quite severe alcohol erm issues mental health issues erm but seeing more probably more self harm at the moment erm then we were but self harmings more erm open in in the public if you like erm then it was years ago erm and just a whole range of trust relationships e-everything erm the way that they've made their choices in life the way that they feel erm they've had to make choices so they're almost being somebody that not themselves erm and its for some of them its been almost like living a lie and thats incredibly hard to then you know not to have had a negative impact</p> | <p>Co-ordinator for the organisation, first port of call for all survivors, matches clients to counsellors (her role is significant as she is the first person survivors come into contact with)</p> <p>Administrative role</p> <p>Responsibility for securing funding for the organisation</p> <p>Issues around anxiety, trust issues, barriers to disclosure <u>She refers to a heightened state of awareness, suggests that survivors are at a point in their life where the secret is too much to bottle up any longer, they are ready to disclose and have mentally prepared themselves to get to this point, don't want to back out at this stage, everything has got on top of them and they need the release of disclosure</u></p> <p><u>Something has triggered/facilitated the disclosure, she discusses possibilities of feeling low or suicidal, but it is suggestive here that survivors reach a point, almost like a pressure cooker effect, where they cant keep it a secret any longer</u></p> <p>Fear of being judged Fear of disbelief <u>Suggests that outside of the actual abuse itself, survivors have other worries and anxieties that seem to overshadow the experience of being abused?</u></p> <p>Issues around sexuality, physical stimulation <u>May further alienate survivors and bring up feelings of confusion around their identity, whether they enjoyed, a lot of self loathing, guilt, shame</u></p> <p>Perpetrators feed off these anxieties that survivors have <u>Take advantage of the vulnerability they may be feeling and carry on exploiting it</u></p> <p>Issues around drug/substance use to cope with the pain? Self harming is a major problem for many of the survivors</p> <p>Trust issues Relationship issues</p> <p><u>Not feeling like they are themselves; a survivors sense of identity is almost stripped away after the experience of abuse, they need to find themselves again and deal with the anxieties and difficulties that have materialised as a result of the abuse</u></p> |

IPA Stage 2 Higher level noting: service providers

Appendix 18 Focus group higher level noting stage 2

| Original transcript | Exploratory comments |
|---|---|
| <p>Rup: I mean I've been India more than a handful of times cause we used to go a lot when I was younger and I definitely saw examples of what manpreet and shazia are talking about, erm, the whole respect thing and not saying certain things in front of elders but we still have that system here I mean it's not really gone away</p> <p>Researcher: what role do elders play in the family and community?</p> <p>Rup: they're sort of like...you know if you imagine a committee like your family is the committee and the elders are above that...they just rule over everything...my dad, uncles, even my older brothers cause they're much older than me...it's their way or the highway sort of thing, just, nothing will get past them</p> <p>J: yeah I have two brothers both older than me, and..I can't even imagine going against them, cause like, you're taught from a young age to respect your elders and all that so yeah I mean even if you're like right on something and they're wrong out of respect you have to agree with them</p> <p>Rup: yeah same here</p> <p>Shaz: I think it's really good thing to respect the elders it's not a bad thing but problems happen when you don't respect them</p> <p>Researcher: more specifically in relation to abuse, how would such an issue be dealt with if elders were involved?</p> <p>C: erm, my viewpoint on it erm, it's powerful, it's a powerful thing to come forward and say hey I've been abused especially because I mean your project is looking at men isn't it?</p> | <p><u>Respect is considered an integral part of the Asian family structure, something that seems entrenched within this structure</u></p> <p>Certain issues cannot be discussed in front of elders</p> <p><u>Elders seem to have a status of their own-superior</u></p> <p><u>Elders sit at the top of the hierarchy within Asian family structures</u></p> <p><u>Colloquial expression/idiom 'their way or the highway' indicates that there is no room for discussion-rules are dictated and are adhered to; no autonomy or independent decision making</u></p> <p>Notion of respecting elders is emphasised again, something that is taught from a young age; <u>entrenched in the system that elders are in control</u></p> <p><u>Jannath's statement demonstrates that elders' rules/opinions supersede your own and honouring this notion of respecting elders means sacrificing your own beliefs to maintain this system</u></p> <p>Shazia, being one of the older participants in the focus group, agrees that respecting elders is a good thing; <u>Perhaps indicative of her more traditional upbringing in rural Pakistan, her culture/values/outlook correspond to this</u></p> <p><u>Repetition of 'powerful' illustrating the magnitude of disclosing abuse, particularly for men</u></p> <p><u>Powerful indicates taking control back through disclosure</u></p> |

IPA Stage 2 Higher level noting: female focus group

Appendix 19 Survivor higher level noting stage 2

| Original transcript | Exploratory comments |
|---|--|
| <p>Researcher: “do you want to talk a little bit more about how you came to disclose to your mum?”</p> <p>Nathan: “er yeah erm coming from a fairly broken family erm not very good issues with my dad and stuff my mum was the main person who raised us so even though I didn’t tell her first for my own reasons erm after I told my tutor and other people I thought maybe I have to tell her cause at that point I made the decision to go to the police so er it was just a matter of time really erm and her reaction it was, well, I don’t know what I expected really erm it’s not that she didn’t believe me erm I think it was more about her accepting it, she didn’t in the sense she kind of yeah she got upset very very upset and then said well what do you wanna do about it and I told her well look I’ve gone to my tutor and a counsellor and they advised me to go to the police and that’s what I want to do erm that’s when she, she couldn’t really accept it then and she went into this other mode about, that everyone’s gonna find out and he has a family etcetera that’s the abuser she meant and I said well that’s not mine, none of its my problem so how’s that supposed to stop me telling the police? Erm that’s when I knew she’s not gonna be behind me and I knew I was on my own then erm just from the family side of it cause my friends were behind me so was my university but yeah I wish my mum was cause nothing could’ve replaced that erm but it wasn’t meant to be”</p> <p>Researcher: “in hindsight are you glad that you told your mother?”</p> <p>Nathan: “erm yeah I am I definitely would again yeah erm...no there’s no regret there about telling her but I would’ve wanted maybe a change a different reaction from her not the way she did so...”</p> | <p>Issues with father and describes family as ‘broken’. <u>How has this impacted or shaped his life experiences?</u> <u>Has an underlying respect and admiration for his mother as she single-handedly raised his family. This shows that he held her in high esteem before disclosure.</u></p> <p><u>Told other people before he told his mother including his tutor; shows a hesitance or fear of disclosing to her despite her being the main person who raised him.</u> <u>‘I have to tell her’ this statement is strongly suggestive of him having no choice left but to tell her. Nothing left to lose at this stage.</u></p> <p><u>Mother had acceptance issues rather than disbelieving him when he disclosed. Mother reacted badly to his admission of police involvement; a self-consciousness of what others would think if the disclosure was to go public.</u></p> <p><u>Mother’s hesitance and consideration of impact upon abuser’s family and other people finding out-a need to maintain her image within the community? Saving face?</u></p> <p><i>States that mother was ‘very very’ upset. Repetition to emphasise extent of how upset she was.</i></p> <p>He knew at this point that his mother would not be there for him and that he was on his own from this point forward in terms of family. Stresses the importance of his friends supporting him. <u>Self-reliant; autonomy here, he is alone at this point without mother’s support</u></p> <p>He expresses disappointment and sadness that his mother did not support him after disclosure- ‘nothing could’ve replaced that’. <i>Emphasises the enormity of this disappointment and sadness through this statement.</i> <u>Tries to see it in a different light by stating that it wasn’t meant to be, as though this was the version of events that was in his fate and therefore something he must resign himself to.</u></p> <p>No regrets about telling her, just wishes for a different reaction from his mother. <u>Hesitance in how he says that he wouldn’t change it ; juxtapose between no regret in telling her and wishing her reaction was different</u> <i>Tails off</i></p> |

IPA Stage 2 Higher level noting: survivor

Appendix 20 Emergent theme service providers stage 3

| Emerging theme | Original transcript | Exploratory comments |
|--|--|--|
| <p>Trust issues</p> <p>Barriers to disclosure</p> <p>Anxiety issues</p> <p>Triggers to disclosure</p> <p>Too much to bear</p> <p>Fear of disbelief</p> <p>Fear of being judged</p> <p>Suicidal tendencies</p> <p>Sexuality</p> <p>Sexual confusion</p> <p>Guilt</p> <p>Shame</p> | <p>R: Can you tell me a little about your role at your organisation?</p> <p>P: Right my role is to co ordinate, erm, all between the clients and, erm, the counsellors, erm, so that is the first port of call for anyone coming in as a referral erm for then meeting with them erm doing a formal assessment with them erm and then taking that information and then best matching them against an appropriate counsellor...</p> <p>R: ok</p> <p>P: ...so in addition to my role that part of the role obviously my other part of the role is to erm make sure the systems and monitoring are in place and to also check and apply for funding erm to make sure that we keep open</p> <p>R: What kinds of issues do people usually present with when contacting your organisation?</p> <p>P: erm initially straight off is is the anxiety and erm mistrust erm huge barriers to disclosing erm and for somebody to have made that massive call erm you know, you know that theyre in a heightened state of awareness of the issue so theres obviously suffering some erm effect from it particularly there and then cause that's what normally brings on the phonecall erm so maybe somethings triggered it or erm maybe just they are particularly low they maybe feeling suicidal erm they know that they need to to just get it out somewhere erm so that would be your initial one to when they come in there's this erm fear of being erm judged and fear of actually being disbelieved erm which is massive for them erm alongside almost not wanting to accept that that's whats happened to them but knowing that they need to do something and accept that it did erm so then they might have it that once they come in they might show have issues around their sexuality erm male particularly when youre young erm and youre being abused will have had erm an erection and that as as you grow up they will have think well I must liked it so that becomes a massive massive issue for them and part of the reasons that perpetrators were allowed to, to continue that because they know that's that's how theyre going to feel erm but then you come across substance abuse you, quite severe alcohol erm issues mental health issues erm but seeing more probably more self harm at the moment erm then we were but self harmings more erm open in in the public if you like erm then it was years ago erm and just a whole range of trust relationships e-everything erm the way that they've made their choices in life the way that they feel erm they've had to make choices so they're almost being somebody that not themselves</p> | <p>Co-ordinator for the organisation, first port of call for all survivors, matches clients to counsellors (her role is significant as she is the first person survivors come into contact with)</p> <p>Administrative role</p> <p>Responsibility for securing funding for the organisation</p> <p>Issues around anxiety, trust issues, barriers to disclosure <u>She refers to a heightened state of awareness, suggests that survivors are at a point in their life where the secret is too much to bottle up any longer, they are ready to disclose and have mentally prepared themselves to get to this point, don't want to back out at this stage, everything has got on top of them and they need the release of disclosure</u></p> <p><u>Something has triggered/facilitated the disclosure, she discusses possibilities of feeling low or suicidal, but it is suggestive here that survivors reach a point, almost like a pressure cooker effect, where they cant keep it a secret any longer</u></p> <p>Fear of being judged Fear of disbelief <u>Suggests that outside of the actual abuse itself, survivors have other worries and anxieties that seem to overshadow the experience of being abused?</u></p> <p>Issues around sexuality, physical stimulation <u>May further alienate survivors and bring up feelings of confusion around their identity, whether they enjoyed, a lot of self loathing, guilt, shame</u></p> <p>Perpetrators feed off these anxieties that survivors have <u>Take advantage of the vulnerability they may be feeling and carry on exploiting it</u></p> <p>Issues around drug/substance use to cope with the pain? Self harming is a major problem for many of the survivors</p> <p>Trust issues Relationship issues <u>Not feeling like they are themselves; a survivors sense of identity is almost stripped away after the experience of abuse, they need to find themselves again and deal with the anxieties and difficulties that have materialised as a result of the abuse</u></p> |

IPA stage 3 Emergent themes: service providers

Appendix 21 Emergent theme focus group stage 3

| Emergent theme | Original transcript | Exploratory comments |
|---------------------------|--|---|
| Respect for elders | <p><i>Rup: I mean I've been India more than a handful of times cause we used to go a lot when I was younger and I definitely saw examples of what manpreet and shazia are talking about, erm, the whole respect thing and not saying certain things in front of elders but we still have that system here I mean it's not really gone away</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: what role do elders play in the family and community?</i></p> | <p><u>Respect is considered an integral part of the Asian family structure, something that seems entrenched within this structure</u></p> <p>Certain issues cannot be discussed in front of elders</p> <p><u>Elders seem to have a status of their own-superior</u></p> <p><u>Elders sit at the top of the hierarchy within Asian family structures</u></p> |
| Respect for elders | <p><i>Rup: they're sort of like...you know if you imagine a committee like your family is the committee and the elders are above that...they just rule over everything...my dad, uncles, even my older brothers cause they're much older than me...it's their way or the highway sort of thing, just, nothing will get past them</i></p> | <p><u>Colloquial expression/idiom 'their way or the highway' indicates that there is no room for discussion-rules are dictated and are adhered to; no autonomy or independent decision making</u></p> |
| Female expectations | | |
| Role of men in the family | | |
| Female expectations | | <p>Notion of respecting elders is emphasised again, something that is taught from a young age; <u>entrenched in the system that elders are in control</u></p> |
| Cultural expectations | <p><i>J: yeah I have two brothers both older than me, and..I can't even imagine going against them, cause like, you're taught from a young age to respect your elders and all that so yeah I mean even if you're like right on something and they're wrong out of respect you have to agree with them</i></p> | <p><u>Jannath's statement demonstrates that elders' rules/opinions supersede your own and honouring this notion of respecting elders means sacrificing your own beliefs to maintain this system</u></p> |
| Lack of autonomy | | |
| Respect for elders | <p><i>Rup: yeah same here</i></p> <p><i>Shaz: I think it's really good thing to respect the elders it's not a bad thing but problems happen when you don't respect them</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: more specifically in relation to abuse, how would such an issue be dealt with if elders were involved?</i></p> | <p>Shazia, being one of the older participants in the focus group, agrees that respecting elders is a good thing; <u>Perhaps indicative of her more traditional upbringing in rural Pakistan, her culture/values/outlook correspond to this</u></p> <p><i>Repetition of 'powerful' illustrating the magnitude of disclosing abuse, particularly for men</i></p> |
| Power of disclosure | <p><i>C: erm, my viewpoint on it erm, it's powerful, it's a powerful thing to come forward and say hey I've been abused especially because I mean your project is looking at men isn't it?</i></p> | <p><u>Powerful indicates taking control back through disclosure</u></p> |

IPA Stage 3 Emergent themes: Focus groups

Appendix 22 Emergent theme survivor stage 3

| Emergent theme | Original transcript | Exploratory comments |
|----------------|---|--|
| | <p>Researcher: "do you want to talk a little bit more about how you came to disclose to your mum?"</p> <p>Nathan: "er yeah erm coming from a fairly broken family erm not very good issues with my dad and stuff my mum was the main person who raised us so even though I didn't tell her first for my own reasons erm after I told my tutor and other people I thought maybe I have to tell her cause at that point I made the decision to go to the police so er it was just a matter of time really erm and her reaction it was, well, I don't know what I expected really erm it's not that she didn't believe me erm I think it was more about her accepting it, she didn't in the sense she kind of yeah she got upset very very upset and then said well what do you wanna do about it and I told her well look I've gone to my tutor and a counsellor and they advised me to go to the police and that's what I want to do erm that's when she, she couldn't really accept it then and she went into this other mode about, that everyone's gonna find out and he has a family etcetera that's the abuser she meant and I said well that's not mine, none of its my problem so how's that supposed to stop me telling the police? Erm that's when I knew she's not gonna be behind me and I knew I was on my own then erm just from the family side of it cause my friends were behind me so was my university but yeah I wish my mum was cause nothing could've replaced that erm but it wasn't meant to be"</p> <p>Researcher: "in hindsight are you glad that you told your mother?"</p> <p>Nathan: "erm yeah I am I definitely would again yeah erm...no there's no regret there about telling her but I would've wanted maybe a change a different reaction from her not the way she did so..."</p> | <p>Issues with father and describes family as 'broken'. <u>How has this impacted or shaped his life experiences?</u> <u>Has an underlying respect and admiration for his mother as she single-handedly raised his family. This shows that he held her in high esteem before disclosure.</u></p> <p><u>Told other people before he told his mother including his tutor; shows a hesitance or fear of disclosing to her despite her being the main person who raised him.</u> 'I have to tell her' this statement is strongly suggestive of him having no choice left but to tell her. <u>Nothing left to lose at this stage.</u></p> <p>Mother had acceptance issues rather than disbelieving him when he disclosed. <u>Mother reacted badly to his admission of police involvement; a self-consciousness of what others would think if the disclosure was to go public.</u></p> <p><u>Mother's hesitance and consideration of impact upon abuser's family and other people finding out-a need to maintain her image within the community? Saving face?</u></p> <p>States that mother was 'very very' upset. Repetition to emphasise extent of how upset she was.</p> <p>He knew at this point that his mother would not be there for him and that he was on his own from this point forward in terms of family. Stresses the importance of his friends supporting him. <u>Self-reliant; autonomy here, he is alone at this point without mother's support</u></p> <p>He expresses disappointment and sadness that his mother did not support him after disclosure- 'nothing could've replaced that'. Emphasises the enormity of this disappointment and sadness through this statement. <u>Tries to see it in a different light by stating that it wasn't meant to be, as though this was the version of events that was in his fate and therefore something he must resign himself to.</u> No regrets about telling her, just wishes for a different reaction from his mother. <u>Hesitance in how he says that he wouldn't change it ; juxtapose between no regret in telling her and wishing her reaction was different</u></p> |

IPA stage 3 Emergent themes: survivors

Appendix 23 Clustering themes service provider stage 4

| Transcript 1 | Transcript 2 | Transcript 3 | Transcript 4 | Transcript 5 | Transcript 6 |
|--|---|--|---|--|--|
| Trigger for contacting service Self harm Fear of being judged Fear of disbelief Sexuality Self blame Self harm Substance abuse Mental health issues Trust issues Relationship issues Living a lie Gender roles Stigmas and myth around male abuse Sexuality Male expression of emotions Specialist male service Cultural barrier Abuse in Muslim communities Language barriers Double barrier for ethnic minorities Asians and Asian counsellors Confidentiality Trust issues | Sexual abuse Stigma of counselling Counselling for middle class Confidentiality Anonymity Religious barriers Intra cultural differences Lived experiences Individual experiences Shame Sexuality Self harm Self hatred Confidence issues Aggression Substance abuse Family support Perpetrator victim relationship Shame Honour Community | Sexual abuse Physical abuse Neglect Emotional abuse Poor confidence Rape Taboo Socially constructed gender roles Person centred therapy Difference and diversity Access issues Self fulfilling prophecy Religion Community exposure <u>Fear of being outcast</u> Shame Guilt Socially constructed gender roles Disbelief Confidentiality Community disgrace Fear of being disloyal Sexuality | Sexual abuse Substance abuse Aggression Health problems Relationship problems Emotional problems Child sexual abuse Not enough young men Stigma Cultural, religious ethnic barriers Diverse communities Racism Black vs. white Black category umbrella Tradition Culture Family ties Shame Guilt Masculinity Raising awareness of service Confidentiality Honour Community connections Liaison person | Sexual abuse Sexual assault Post traumatic stress Flashbacks Depression Anxiety Suicidal Addiction problems Relationship problems Male victims excluded Male ostracisation Funding for men Stigma of rape Diverse communities Universality of sexual abuse <u>Ostracisation</u> Disbelief Family reaction to disclosure <u>Ostracisation</u> Lack of support Person centred therapy Empathy See world from clients point of view | Humanistic/pct approach Validating survivors experience Social class Impact of abuse on young adult life Listening to survivors story Male disclosure to another male Getting over the abuse Non judgmental environment Acceptance Difficulties with sexual relationships Relationship problems Confusion Hurt Angry Lack of trust Heightened state of awareness Confidentiality Fears around disclosure Counsellor confidentiality Autonomous environment Female disclosure |

IPA Stage 4 Clustering of themes: service providers

Appendix 24 Clustering themes focus groups stage 4

| Female focus group | Male focus group |
|---|--|
| <p>Challenging existing assumptions Denial Conversation barriers Things you cant talk about Shamelessness The expectations of men and women Having a traditional outlook on life Conversation barriers Being a male victim Differences between the generations Differences in attitudes between the generations Cultural differences Trust issues Father is dominant in the family Patriarchy? Lack of autonomy Women having a lack of control over their lives Respecting elders Elders are important to please Problems happening if you don't respect them Disclosure being powerful Men disclosing would be unacceptable A lack of understanding Would she even get it? Older generations don't understand these things Elders lacking awareness of 'western' issues Generational contrast Men rule the world Women being secondary to men Male dominance Gujaratis are more liberal Culture isn't as dominant for gujaratis Religion and culture often overlapping Men get away with things women cant Culture dominant over religion Family expectations Cultural expectations Set gender roles Stay at home mums, working dads Traditional gender roles Changing attitudes Restricted in choices Shock factor with male victims Women are seen as more vulnerable Men being the perpetartors Asian awareness of abuse Abuse affects everyone Male breadwinners and women homemakes Difficulty in men disclosing abuse Fear of judgment</p> | <p>Anger that abuse happens Having little faith in the justice system Getting revenge Getting justice yourself Taking matters into your own hands Child molesters are sick Doing whats best for you Being in someones shoes and what you would do It happens in all communities Asian communities need platform Sikh community is tight We don't hear of it in our community Not making pre judgment Not trusting people Communities are slowly changing Not being able to discuss certain things Having respect for elders Respecting differences between people Men cant say things as easily Women talk more Differences in roles Differences in what is expected of us Men and women are seen as different We need to keep it together Being there for the family Abuse would be a let down Not being a man Not telling anybody Keeping it to yourself They would question masculinity Being called gay Asians don't accept homosexuality Cultural understanding Upholding respect Upholding/protecting honour Shame cant be brought on the family Keeping the family izzat Izzat is honour Cant destroy the family Community is still there I want to be my own person Being able to stand on own two feet Not caring what others say and think Not giving a shit Don't need extra help Dealing with it yourself Counselling is down to the individual Counselling isn't for me Counselling is helpful for some</p> |

IPA Stage 4 Clustering of themes: focus groups

Appendix 25 Clustering themes survivors stage 4

| Survivor 1 | Survivor 2 | Survivor 3 | Survivor 4 | Survivor 5 | Survivor 6 | Survivor 7 | Survivor 8 |
|---|---|--|---|--|---|--|---|
| Mental effects of the abuse Not caring about own needs No self care Pressure of abuse Effects of abuse in adulthood Disclosure as necessary Not feeling like myself Dad issues Broken family Fractured relationship with mother after the abuse disclosure Disclosure as a positive thing Wanting mothers support Feeling lonely Needing companionship Importance of friendships and good support networks Difficulty of disclosure Letting it all out Friendships Staying strong Culture not that important Feeling british Shame Choosing to let go of religion Not letting things get on top of me Getting justice | Coming from a traditional family Traditional values Culture is important Not understanding what happened to me Being too young to get it Family wouldn't understand Grandmother has tough rules Strictness Cultural strictness Respecting elder generation Honour Expectations of me Shame University as an escape Taking time for myself Difficulty making friends Trust issues Keeping in contact with family Not letting everyone down Concentration problems Difficult to tell anyone Disclosure problems Fear of not being believed Self doubt Trying to forget Living up to expectations | Being a confident person Education career family Had to tell someone Difficulties in marriage Not letting family suffer Being a family man Father is role model Fathers strength Making father proud Not letting him down Not letting the family down Seeking help Religion was saviour Imam friend guidance Religious guidance Having faith in God Being a good husband and father to kids Culture as positive Honour Dishonour Not compromising pride Respecting elders Resect for parents Protecting them from pain Keeping it a secret Counsellor and imam help Counsellor understanding me Burden gone | Living how I want to live Freedom independence Being stable Support from girlfriend Religion not important Not being cultural Culture is important to elders Shame Being made to feel ashamed Not feeling strong Not feeling manly Being a man Hiding the abuse from others Trying to forget it happened Putting it behind me Having support Confiding in others Family aren't always there for you Being self reliant Independent Social problems Problems with family Cut off from everyone Being misunderstood Hurt Feel angry Medical problems Counselling helpful Talking through Burdens | Overachieving Career minded Educational attainment high Gujarati community expectations of achievement Expectations of being perfect Expectations as a man Culture confusion sexuality Identity confusion Asserting own identity Not knowing who I am Not being able to tell parents Mothers expectations Not letting down the family Shame Feeling ashamed of body Being a survivor Living up to ideals of manhood Community whispers Being two faced Living a double life Living a lie Coming clean Coming out Counselling as therapy Self help Negative counselling experiences | Feeling pressure Confusion Childhood ruined Overload of feelings Using drugs to escape Drug abuse Self harm Destructive Punishing myself Mothers rejection Disclosure difficulty Not being heard Culture Made to feel ashamed Sharam Keeping secrets Going my own way Making it better Therapy Self medicating Feeling ashamed Embarassment Guilt Regret Why me? Not being believed Feeling judgment Community importance Being called gay Not man enough Being strong Toughness Talking to counsellors Counselling helpful Not letting it destroy me Taking the easy option | Importance of family Bond with mother Wanting to fit in Not being normal Not being good son Questioning masculinity Letting everyone down Wanting to be accepted Feeling stuck in one place Confusion Suicidal feelings Feeling empty Supportive mother Protecting mother Guilt Seeking help Feeling pressure New life Selflessness Keeping everyone happy Being a good son Feeling ashamed Being blamed Self blame Justice Getting help Counselling as positive Everyone needs to disclose | Coping Keeping up appearances Pleasing the family being a good businessman being a good husband good son Family letdown Expectations Pleasing everyone around me Confiding in someone Trust issues Fear of disbelief Trusting wife Partnership Respect Shame Sikh community Community ideals Expectations Living for others Not having freedom Feeling trapped Family life Honour as negative Being scared Being judged Being a man about it Keep up the image Respect Respect as a man Talking to counsellors |

IPA Stage 4 Clustering of themes: survivors

Appendix 26 Superordinate abstraction service stage 5

| What stops survivors disclosing abuse? | Effects of CSA on survivors | The impact of culture | Being a man |
|--|--|--|--|
| <p>A big fear of confidentiality</p> <p>Fear of being judged</p> <p>Not wanting to be ostracised/outcast</p> <p>Fear of not being believed</p> | <p>Problems in relationship</p> <p>Substance abuse</p> <p>Self-harm</p> <p>Struggling with sexual identity</p> | <p>Everybody has culture</p> <p>The power of honour</p> <p>The importance of community</p> | <p>Being made to feel less of a man</p> <p>Men aren't supposed to cry!</p> <p>The stigma of male CSA</p> |

IPA stage 5 Superordinate themes using abstraction: service providers

Appendix 27 Superordinate abstraction focus group stage 5

| Culture and community | Gender expectations | Generational differences | Izzat and sharam | Attitudes to counselling |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Community gossip Things that cant be discussed/talked about Respecting elders Theres a lot of ignorance in our community | Theyre are the breadwinners, we are the homemakers Expectations upon women | My generation are more free Changing attitudes | Bringing shame on the family Izzat is about honour | Is counselling for everybody? Relating to the counsellor |

IPA stage 5 Superordinate themes using abstraction: focus groups

Appendix 28 Superordinate abstraction survivor stage 5

| Disclosing abuse | Masculinity and sexuality | The impact of culture | Experiences of counselling |
|--|---|---|---|
| Why should I be scared of telling my own mum Not letting everybody down They wouldn't believe me | Not being manly enough Questioning sexuality after CSA | Cultural identity Not losing my honour within the family I felt shame | Counselling as a positive thing Being able to relate to the counsellor |

IPA Stage 5 Superordinate theme using abstraction: survivors