

Çocuk Cinsel İstismarının Gizlenmesi ve Cinsel Damgalama İlişkisi

Ersan ERSOY, İnönü Üniversitesi, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-1050-0602

Ahmet ÇETİNTAŞ, Turgut Özal Üniversitesi, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-8757-372X

Yeliz AKSÜT, İnönü Üniversitesi, ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7785-9647

Çocuk cinsel istismarı hem bireysel hem de toplumsal sağlık açısından önemli sonuçları olan fakat açığa çıkarılmak istenmeyen ve genellikle bastırılan bir konudur. Adli makamlara bildirilen vakalar, buzdağının sadece görünen kısmıdır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, çocuk cinsel istismarının gizli kalmasında önemli bir rolü bulunan “mağduru damgalama”nın etkisini analiz etmektir. Çocuk cinsel istismarının toplumsal risk faktörlerini bulabilmek ve cinsel damgalamanın mağdur üzerindeki etkisini tespit edebilmek amacıyla, adli kurumlar tarafından 2015- 2019 yılları arasında Malatya ilindeki Çocuk İzlem Merkezi’ne yönlendirilen cinsel istismara uğramış çocukların adli vaka dosyaları araştırılmıştır. Bu yıllar arasında kayıtlı bulunan cinsel istismar mağduru 678 çocuğa ait dosyaların tamamı, içerik analizi tekniği ile incelenmiştir. Araştırma sonucunda, mağdur çocukların cinsel damgalanma ile karşı karşıya bulunmasının, cinsel istismar vakalarının gizli kalmasına neden olduğu görülmüştür. Damgalamayla birlikte mağdur çocukların cinsel istismar olaylarını gizlemelerinde, lekelenme ve utanç duygusu, toplumsal cinsiyet değerlerinin dışında kalma korkusu, sosyal çevre ve ataerkil aile baskısı, tehdit edilme, ensest ilişkiler, mağdurun ve ailesinin itibarının zedelenme endişeleri gibi faktörlerin önemli rol oynadığı tespit edilmiştir.

Keywords: Cinsel İstismar, Çocuk Cinsel İstismarı, Damgalama, Cinsel Damgalanma



İnönü Üniversitesi
Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi
Cilt 23, Sayı 1, 2022
ss. 59-78

DOI:10.17679/inuefd.1056415

Makale Türü
Araştırma Makalesi

Gönderim Tarihi
11.01.2022

Kabul Tarihi
13.04.2022

Suggested Citation

Ersoy, E., Çetintaş, A. & Aksüt, Y. (2022). Relationship between concealment of child sexual abuse and sexual stigma. *Inonu University Journal of the Faculty of Education*, 23(1), 59-78. DOI: 10.17679/inuefd.1056415

Bu çalışmada, Yeliz Aksüt tarafından 2020 yılında yapılan “Çocuk Cinsel İstismarının Sosyolojik Analizi” (Malatya Çocuk İzlem Merkezi uygulaması) isimli yüksek lisans tez araştırmasının verileri kullanılmıştır.

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Giriş

Çocuk cinsel istismarı tıbbi, hukuki, psikolojik ve toplumsal boyutları olan çok yönlü bir konudur. Çocuk cinsel istismarı, toplum içerisinde çok fazla dile getirilmemekte, açığa çıkarılmamakta, gizlenmekte ve bastırılmaktadır. Fakat onun bireyi, aileyi ve toplumu etkileyen çok ağır ve önemli sonuçları bulunmaktadır.

Çocuk istismarı türlerinden birisi olan çocuk cinsel istismarı, 18 yaşından küçük reşit olmayan çocuğa yönelik rızası olsun veya olmasın yetişkinler tarafından yapılan cinsel eylemler şeklinde tanımlanmaktadır (Finkelhor, 1994:32; Bolen ve Gergely, 2014). Çocuk cinsel istismarı çocuğun sağlıklı gelişimini engellemekte, onun fiziksel, ruhsal, cinsel ya da sosyal açıdan zarar görmesine neden olmaktadır (Taner ve Gökler, 2004:82). Cinsel istismar, çocukların dünyaya olan bilişsel ve duygusal yönelimlerini değiştirmekte ve çocukların benlik algılarını, duyuşsal kapasitelerini bozarak kısa ve uzun dönemde travmalar yaratmaktadır. Çocuğun cinsel istismar sonucunda travmalar yaşamasının en önemli sebebi, onun damgalanmasıdır.

Damgalama teorisi, genellikle sapkın ve onun gerçekleştirdiği eylemlere dikkatimizi çekmektedir (Goffman, 2014). Oysaki etiketleme sadece sapkına yönelik gerçekleşmemekte, özellikle sapkının eylemine yönelik kültürel ve toplumsal yapıdaki olumsuz tanımlamalarla birlikte mağdurun, hatta onun ailesinin de damgalanmasına yol açmaktadır. Dolayısıyla damgalama eylemi hem sapkın hem de mağdur için geçerli olmakta ve olumsuz sonuçlar üretmektedir. Bu durumda, sapkın, üzerine yapıştırılan aşağılayıcı etiketlemeyi kabul ederek Lemert'in (1951:76-77) ikincil sapmalar olarak ifade ettiği davranışları sergileyebilmekte ve suç işlemeye yatkın hale gelmektedir. İncinen ve kimliği örselenen mağdur ise yaşadığı kötü olaya ilaveten, bir de olayın açığa çıkması durumunda damgalanmanın yarattığı olumsuzluklarla mücadele içerisinde girmektedir.

Özellikle cinsel damgalama vakalarında mağdurun toplumsal zararlardan kurtulmasının ve olumsuzluklarla başa çıkmasının en stratejik yolu, olayı gizlemesidir. Ancak damgalanma korkusuyla cinsel istismar olaylarının gizlenmesi, istismarcının korunmasının yanında, istismarın devam etmesine, böylelikle de mağduriyetin sürekli olarak yeniden üretilmesine ve bir döngüye girmesine neden olmaktadır. Bu açıdan cinsel istismar mağduru çocukların damgalanmasına ve cinsel istismarların gizli kalmasına neden olan faktörlerin ortaya çıkarılması, istismarların önlenmesi açısından büyük önem arz etmektedir.

Amaç

Bu çalışmanın amacı, cinsel istismara uğrayan çocukların damgalanmasına neden olan toplumsal risk faktörlerini analiz etmenin yanında, istismarın geç bildirilmesinde ve gizli kalmasında damgalamanın mağdur çocuklar üzerindeki etkisini tespit etmektir.

Yöntem

Bu araştırmada nitel araştırma yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Çocuk cinsel istismarının gizlenmesinde damgalamanın etkisini analiz etmek amacı ile 2015- 2019 yılları arasında adli makamlar tarafından haklarında rapor tutulmuş ve Malatya Eğitim ve Araştırma Hastanesine bağlı Çocuk İzlem Merkezine yönlendirilmiş cinsel istismar mağduru çocukların adli vaka dosyaları "içerik analizi" kullanılarak incelenmiştir.

Araştırmanın evreni, Malatya'daki ve bazı civar illerdeki cinsel istismara uğrayan çocuklar oluşturmaktadır. Araştırmanın örneklemini ise Malatya Çocuk İzlem Merkezine cinsel saldırı ve taciz iddialarıyla yönlendirilen farklı sosyo-ekonomik düzeye sahip, 18 yaş altındaki toplam 678 mağdur çocuğun adli vaka dosyaları teşkil etmektedir. Araştırma sürecinde örneklemin tamamına ulaşılmış, merkezdeki dosyaların tamamı incelenmiş ve bu dosyalarda nitel ve nicel veriler derlenerek araştırma gerçekleştirilmiştir. İçerisinde mağdur çocukların sosyo- demografik bilgileri, vaka öyküleri, ebeveynleri ile yapılan görüşmeler, sosyal inceleme raporları, tıbbi ve adli tutanaklar bulunan dosyalar, "içerik analizi" ile incelenmiştir. Dosyalar analiz edilirken 27 maddelik bir araştırma formu kullanılmıştır. Elde edilen nitel veriler, SPSS 21 programıyla nicel bir çerçeveye dönüştürülerek değerlendirilmiştir. Çalışmada, Yeliz Aksüt tarafından yapılan "Çocuk Cinsel İstismarının Sosyolojik Analizi" isimli yüksek lisans tez araştırmasının verileri kullanılmıştır.

Bulgular

Araştırma sonucunda, mağdur çocukların cinsel damgalanma ile karşı karşıya bulunmasının, cinsel istismar vakalarının gizli kalmasına neden olduğu görülmüştür. Damgalama korkusuyla birlikte mağdur çocukların cinsel istismar olaylarını gizlemelerinde, lekelenme ve utanç duygusu, toplumsal cinsiyet değerlerinin dışında kalma korkusu, sosyal çevre ve ataerkil aile baskısı, tehdit edilme, ensest ilişkiler, mağdurun ve ailesinin itibarının zedelenme endişeleri gibi faktörlerin etkili olduğu tespit edilmiştir.

Tartışma & Sonuç

Cinsel istismar mağduru çocukların damgalanma korkusu, onların hayatını zorlaştırmakta ve sınırlandırmaktadır. Cinsel damgalamanın toplumsal zararlarından kurtulmak için, mağdurlar genellikle olayları gizlemekte ve açığa çıkarmamaktadır. Cinsel damgalamadan kurtulmak isteyen mağdur çocuklar, derin bir sessizliğe gömülmektedir. Çalışmanın verilerinde de görüldüğü üzere, cinsel istismar mağduru çocukların "kirlenmiş" ve "lekelenmiş" olma algısı içerisinde olması, onlarda endişe, korku ve utanç duygularının oluşmasına neden olmaktadır.

Çalışmanın somut ve soyut olmak üzere bazı önerileri bulunmaktadır. Çocuk istismarının nedenlerine dönük bilgilere ulaşabilmek ve mağdurlara daha çok yardım edebilmek için, resmî kurumlardaki görüşme kayıtlarının daha sağlam ve işlevsel olması gerektiği görülmüştür. Bu kapsamda çalışma sonunda Çocuk İzlem Merkezine getirilen çocuklarla ilgili kayıtların daha sağlıklı tutulabilmesi amacıyla, yetkili kişilere görüşmelerde kullanılmak üzere hazırlanan bir şablon önerilmiştir.

Mağdurun lekelenmesine ve kirlendiğine dair toplumsal ön kabullerin damgalamada etkili olduğu düşünüldüğünde, toplumsal bakış açısının mağdur lehine değişmesi gerektiği görülmektedir. Cinsel istismar mağdurlarına yönelik damgalayıcı, önyargılı ve suçlayıcı tavırlardan uzak, destekleyici ve güven sağlayacak bir şekilde yaklaşılmalıdır. Yine toplumsal yapıda cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanmasının yanında, yaşanan olaylarda kız çocuklarının ve kadınların potansiyel suçlu olarak kabul edilmesine yönelik toplumsal algılamaların değişmesi, çalışmanın önerileri arasında yer almaktadır.

Relationship Between Concealment of Child Sexual Abuse and Sexual Stigma

Ersan ERSOY, Inonu University, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-1050-0602

Ahmet ÇETINTAŞ, Turgut Özal University, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-8757-372X

Yeliz AKSÜT, Inonu University, ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7785-9647

Abstract

Child sexual abuse is an issue that has significant consequences for both the health of the individual and society, but it is not desired to be revealed and is often repressed. The cases reported to the judicial authorities are just the tip of the iceberg. This study aims to analyze the effect of "stigmatizing the victim", which has an important role in keeping child sexual abuse concealed. To find the social risk factors of child sexual abuse and to determine the effect of sexual stigma on the victim, the forensic case files of children who were subject to sexual abuse and then referred to the Child Monitoring Center in Malatya between 2015 and 2019, were investigated. All files of 678 children who were registered as victims of sexual abuse between those years were analyzed using content analysis technique. As a result of the research, it was found that the confrontation of the victim children with sexual stigma caused the sexual abuse cases to remain concealed. Along with stigmatization, factors, such as dishonor and shame, fear of staying out of gender values, pressure from social environment and patriarchal family, being threatened, incest relationships, worrying about the reputation of the victim and her/his family are effective in concealment of the sexual abuse.

Keywords: Child, Child Sexual Abuse, Sexual Stigma, Stigmatization.



Inonu University
Journal of the Faculty of
Education

Vol 23, No 1, 2022
pp. 59-78

DOI:10.17679/inuefd.1056415

Article Type
Research Article

Received
11.01.2022

Accepted
13.04.2022

Suggested Citation

Ersoy, E., Çetintaş, A. & Aksüt, Y. (2022). Relationship between concealment of child sexual abuse and sexual stigma. *Inonu University Journal of the Faculty of Education*, 23(1), 59-78. DOI: 10.17679/inuefd.1056415

In the study, the data from the master's thesis study named "Sociological Analysis of Child Sexual Abuse" by Yeliz Aksüt was used.

Relationship Between Concealment of Child Sexual Abuse and Sexual Stigma

Child sexual abuse is a multifaceted issue with medical, legal, psychological, and social dimensions. Child sexual abuse is not mentioned and disclosed but is concealed and suppressed in society. However, it has very serious and important consequences that affect the individual, family, and society.

Child sexual abuse, which is one of the types of child abuse, is defined as sexual acts performed by adults towards a minor under the age of 18 with or without their consent (Bolen & Gergely, 2014; Finkelhor, 1994, p. 32). Child sexual abuse may occur with contact, such as touching for sexual purposes, caressing, having oral, anal or vaginal intercourse, as well as in a non-contact manner like sexually explicit speech, exhibitionism, voyeurism, or exposing to pornographic images (Andrews et al., 2004, p. 1953). Child sexual abuse prevents the healthy development of the child and causes physical, mental, sexual or social harm (Taner & Gökler, 2004, p. 82). Sexual abuse changes the cognitive and emotional orientation of children in the world and causes short and long-term traumas by disrupting children's self-perception and affective capacities. Stigmatization is the most important reason for the child to experience trauma as a result of sexual abuse.

Stigma theory, which inspired many studies in sociology as well as sexual abuse, gained popularity with the work of Erving Goffman (2014). Within the framework of the stigma theory, issues related to race, ethnicity, gender, crime, disease, poverty, or sexual orientation and certain zones have been studied in sociology (Bernice & Jack, 2015). Goffman (2014, pp. 32-45) states that the stigma theory is a fiction that emphasizes the inferior state of the stigmatized individuals and explains that they pose a danger to society. As a matter of fact, after a while, the stigmatized individuals begin to think that some features of their characteristics caused this in terms of tarnishing their social identities. By keeping their movements under surveillance and control at all times, they tend to feel as if they are "on the stage". Becker (2015, p. 21) also explains stigmatization within the framework of social reactions to those who violate social rules and to deviant acts. According to Becker, those who do not obey social rules are defined as "abnormal" and "external".

Stigma theory often draws our attention to the deviant and the actions he or she performs. However, labeling does not only target the deviant, it causes the stigmatization of the victim and even her/his family with the negative definitions for the deviant's action in the cultural and social structure. Therefore, the act of stigmatization is at work for both the deviant and the victim and produces negative results. In this case, the deviant, by accepting the derogatory labeling affixed on him/her, can exhibit the behaviors that Lemert (1951, pp. 76-77) expresses as secondary deviations and become prone to commit crimes. In addition to the bad incident, the victim who is hurt and whose identity is damaged, also struggles with the negativities created by stigmatization in case the incident is revealed.

Especially in cases of sexual stigma, the most strategic way for the victim to get rid of social harms and deal with the negativities is to conceal the incident. However, the concealment of sexual abuse incidents for fear of stigmatization not only protects the abuser but also causes the abuse to continue and thus to perpetuate the victimization. This study focuses on whether

sexual stigmatization of the victim leads to the concealment of sexual abuse cases and their consequences. Also, other social risk factors associated with stigmatization in the concealment of sexual abuse are discussed.

1. Stigmatization

As a sign of embarrassment, oppression, and humiliation, the stigma is a social label indicating that the individual is unpleasant, inferior, and imperfect (Seale, 2014, p. 147). Stigma is the affixing of this sign or label to the identity of individuals by the society or a group. While the individual is a part of the whole and a normal person, he or she is reduced to a tarnished, crippled, and neglected position by the act of stigmatization, and is differentiated by others. The individual who is disgraced by his/her social environment and whose value is reduced becomes less desirable, humiliated, and almost not perceived as a human (Goffman, 2014, pp. 33-34).

In everyday relationships, people can be labeled and stigmatized by others. Labels can lead to stigmatization sometimes in the form of descriptions of people, as well as of groups or institutions (Corrigan, 2004, p. 615). Four different types of stigmatization are mentioned, depending on the source of the labeling which are Public stigma, Self-stigma, Stigma by association, and Structural stigma (Bos et al., 2013, p. 2). Public stigma refers to the cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses of the society to an individual who has a stigmatized situation. Public stigma has historical and cultural foundations. The power of stigma is related to society's consensus on that issue and the values agreed upon. On the other hand, the most serious aspect of stigmatization is self-stigma. Self-stigma reflects the social and psychological impact of having a stigma. It includes both the anxiety of being stigmatized and the potential internalization of negative beliefs and feelings associated with the stigmatized situation. Individuals who stigmatize themselves have negative evaluations and perceptions they develop towards themselves. In this process, the individuals develop negative feelings towards themselves, lose their self-confidence and self-esteem, withdraw and consider themselves as bad people (Gürsoy & Gizir, 2018, p. 139). The ones who are aware of the changing points of view and evaluations in the society and of losses they experienced enters into stigmatizing themselves. Therefore, public stigma is often the cause of self-stigma. The third type of stigma is stigma by association. Stigma by association refers to social and psychological reactions to those associated with a stigmatized person (e.g. family and friends). Structural stigma is the legitimation and maintenance of a stigmatized status by the institutions and ideological systems of the society (Bos et al., 2013, p. 2).

Stigma theory discusses deviant behavior and claims that deviation does not depend on the characteristics of the person performing the action (Korkmaz & Kocadaş, 2006, p. 167). The theory suggests that the identification of deviance or stigmatization occurs independently of the deviant person. Stigmatization occurs as a result of prejudiced attitudes, discriminatory behaviors, and negative emotional reactions of groups that have power and influence in the social hierarchy upon other members of the society (Corrigan, 2000). For this reason, deviation, as Becker (2015, p. 29) points out, is not an inherent quality in the behavior of a person, but rather a result of the application of rules and prohibitions by others to a deviant. Those who break the rules are labeled as deviant and their actions as deviant behavior. Subsequently, individuals who are labeled and stigmatized with a negative identity by society are despised, discriminated against and degraded to a worthless status (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 370; Mak et

al., 2007). Therefore, social hierarchy and power relations are important in stigmatization. Sections or groups in society that have control, power, and influence are decisive in the act of stigmatization rather than the ones who have little influence on their own fate. Often, stigmatized persons and their actions are defined in terms of the goals and values of the social groups in power. The social and cultural aspects of stigma show us that it can vary across societies and can take place within the framework of different subjects and actions.

Stigma has important consequences and effects on the individual. First of all, stigmatized individuals are those who are alienated from the society in which they live. Therefore, in individuals who are stigmatized and discredited, the behavior of withdrawal can be seen along with being excluded from the social sphere, being exposed to social isolation and being marginalized. In the face of stigma, self-confidence and beliefs of individuals fade. People feel weaknesses and may experience physical and mental health problems as their quality of life decreases. Studies show that stigmatization creates significant psychosocial barriers individuals against getting professional psychological help and access to health services (Gürsoy & Gizir, 2018). Individuals who are worried about being stigmatized may not accept professional help because they are concerned that they will be defined as problematic, flawed, or undesirable in their environment and that they will be less accepted socially (Corrigan and Matthews 2003; Vogel et al., 2009: 301). For example, in a study conducted in the United States, it was found that American Muslim women who were discriminated against and who were stigmatized were in a way of abandoning and avoiding mental health services, especially the treatment of depression (Budhwani & Hearld, 2017).

2. Sexual Stigma

When we consider the term stigma and the act of stigmatization in the context of sexual abuse, it is seen that it is shaped within the context of the "tainting and tainted" relationship. Hence, sexual stigma is two-sided, and it labels the lives of both the abuser and the victim.

Sexual stigma can occur at both institutional and individual levels. At the structural level, the institutions of society legitimize and sustain the cultural and ideological systems, sexual stigma, and the status and power differences it creates. Sexual stigma appears as cultural values, norms, and forms of definition that exist independently of any individual's attitudes (Herek, 2007, p. 907), because the definitions and labels that provide stigmatization are culturally constructed in the social structure through a long historical process and differ across societies. In other words, events and actions that are subject to sexual stigmatization in one society may not be seen as actions that will lead to stigmatization in another one.

Often, due to sexual stigma, the individual loses his/her status and life becomes difficult. The individual who is stigmatized and damaged in the face of life's difficulties may remain vulnerable. While trying to achieve his/her goals, he or she may encounter more obstacles than others, may need to make more effort, and have problems.

Sexual stigma has important implications, especially on child victims. The short and long-term effects of sexual stigma change the cognitive and emotional orientation of child victims. Sexual stigma causes trauma by disrupting children's affective capacity for the world and can lead to changes in their self-evaluation. As a result of the traumas, the children's self-esteem and self-confidence plummet. This situation drives them to loneliness, helplessness, and weakness in the face of life's difficulties; they experience a severe depression with emotions

such as fear, anxiety, anger, anxiety towards other people. Even worse, the psychological wounds caused by abuse can lead to loss of control of life, self-harm, and suicide (Bos et al., 2013, pp. 1-9; Browne & Finkelhor, 1986; Coffey, 1996; Crocker & Major, 1989; Finkelhor, 1999, pp. 105-107; Finkelhor & Browne, 1985, p. 535).

Also, with the stigma that comes after sexual abuse, children who have difficulty in trusting others may have problems in their social relationships in their future lives. Especially the loss of trust and anger towards the opposite sex can cause them not to marry and prefer loneliness. In many studies, women who were sexually abused in childhood have problems in their social relationships in adulthood (Gibson & Leitenberg, 2001); their education is disrupted, they use alcohol and drugs, sexual victimization and violence are seen repetitively, they receive psychological support due to further personality and psychiatric disorders (Green, 1993, p. 895; Gold, 1986).

3. Concealment of Sexual Stigma

There are more cases of sexual abuse than the ones reported. Cases reported to forensic institutions are just the tip of the iceberg. There is no precise statistical information on how many sexual abuse cases, occur each year. Statistics only cover cases disclosed by child protection agencies or law enforcement (Finkelhor, 1994: 32). In the studies conducted in the literature, it is stated that real sexual abuse cases are more than the ones reported (Gorey & Leslie, 1997). In many studies carried out in the United States, it was observed that one-fourth of women were sexually assaulted and a significant portion of them did not report the situation to the police but concealed it (Arata & Burkhart, 1998; Fisher et al., 2000, p. 23; Miller et al., 2011; Koss, 1985).

One of the most important reasons for concealing sexual abuse is stigma. To avoid social harm, the individual hides his/her stigmatized identity. Accordingly, the most important strategy of the stigmatized victim or party to deal with the consequences of the stigmatization is to conceal the incident. Because stigmatization can significantly disrupt the lives of individuals, limit behavioral options, reduce social support opportunities, increase psychological distress and the risk of physical illness (Herek, 2007: 910). It is stated that for sexual assault victims, the threat of stigmatization causes anxiety, adjustment problems, and more psychological problems in addition to concealing the incident, withdrawing, and escaping (Burgess and Holmstrom 1979). In a study conducted on university students, it was observed that stigmatization was an important factor among the reasons for not reporting sexual victimization to law enforcement (Miller et al., 2011).

Along with the fear of being stigmatized, reasons such as fear of not being able to prove the incident, the suspicion of other people in their families and surroundings, the concern of continuing threat of the abuser, the possibility of repeated sexual assault, and the embarrassment resulting from the accusation cause the victims of sexual assault to fall into silence (Gibson, L.E., & Leitenberg, 2001; Ahrens, 2006; Kennedy & Kristen, 2016). The assumptions of adults that the child may be distorting the incident, dreaming, and lying in this process cause the child to blame and hate himself/herself, and he or she becomes alienated in a deeper sense of abandonment (Summit, 1983). Most of the time, the individual avoids seeking help out of fear of stigma (Corrigan & Matthews, 2003; Corrigan, 2004, p. 616), and tries to cope with life's difficulties on his/her own.

The stigma resulting from sexual abuse and the resulting victimization are, in reality, closely related to gender roles and values. Gender is the set of values and definitions developed for women and men in a society's culture (Ersoy, 2009). Along with sexual stigma, the fear of being outside of common gender roles and definitions leads to the concealment of sexual victimization. The more the dimensions of sexual abuse damage gender roles and norms, the more victimization the victim experiences. For example, studies show that the fact that the victimhood in males is largely incompatible with the dominant masculinity concepts within the gender is seen as embarrassing and causes the person to experience stigma and hence the incident is concealed. (Hlavka, 2016; Easton, 2014, p. 466).

4.Method

In this study, the effects of sexual stigma towards the victim in child sexual abuse and the concealment of the abuse and circumstances in this process were investigated. In the study, "stigmatization" was considered as an independent variable, and it was discussed whether it causes concealment of cases in terms of victims, especially in sexual abuse crimes. Also, the role of individual and social risk factors associated with sexual stigma in child sexual abuse cases was evaluated. To analyze the effect of stigma in the concealment of child sexual abuse, a report was kept by the judicial authorities between 2015 and 2019, and the forensic case files of the children who were subject to sexual abuse, then were referred to the Child Monitoring Center of Malatya Training and Research Hospital were examined. The study was carried out with permission obtained from the ethics committees of the relevant institutions.

Although the main population of the study are children who were sexually abused in Turkey, Malatya, the universe of the study includes children who were sexually abused in Malatya and some neighboring provinces. The sample of the study, on the other hand, consists of the forensic case files of a total of 678 victims of different socio-economic status under the age of 18 who were referred to the Malatya Child Monitoring Center with allegations of sexual assault and abuse. All of the files in the center were examined and the research was carried out by reaching qualitative and quantitative data in these files. Files containing socio-demographic information, case histories, interviews with parents, social examination reports, medical and judicial reports were analyzed using a content analysis technique. A research form consisting of 27 items was used while analyzing the files. The qualitative data obtained were evaluated by transforming them into a quantitative framework with the SPSS 21 program. During the research process, attention was paid to the principle of confidentiality, and information that would reveal the identity of the children was not included. The data used in the study were transferred using the file numbers defined by us. In the study, the data from the master's thesis study named "Sociological Analysis of Child Sexual Abuse" by Yeliz Aksüt was used.

5.Findings

5.1. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Sexually Abused Children

In the examinations we conducted in the Child Monitoring Center, it was found that out of 678 forensic cases, 83.3% (565 cases) were girls and 16.7% (113 cases) were boys. It was observed that 98.2% of those who perpetrate sexual abuse were male (637 people) and 1.8% were female (12 people). The findings of our research on the gender of the victims are in line with the studies in the field.

Similarly, research studies in Turkey reveal that girls suffered from sexual abuse much more and that the majority of abusers are men (Aktepe, 2009; Ceylan et al., 2009; Erdogan et al, 2011; Kucuk, 2016). For example, in the study conducted by İmren et al. (2015) in Istanbul, 83.4% of 157 children and adolescents who were sexually abused were girls and 16.6% were boys. In the study carried out by Koçak and Alpaslan (2015) in Afyon revealed that 82.3% of the 158 sexually abused children were girls while the study by Aktepe et al. (2013) in Isparta showed that the rate of the abused girls was 17.7%. It reveals that the majority of children who are victims of sexual abuse are girls (78.7%). Likewise, in Denizli, in the study of Yazar and Boz (2019), where they examined sexual abuse cases between 2010-2016, it was found that 85.1 % of them were girls and 14.9% were boys.

In our study, it was found that the youngest age among sexual abuse victims was a 4-year-old girl. It was seen that of sexually abused children, 10.3% (70 people) were in the first childhood period, between the ages of 2 and 7; 20.8% (141 people) in the last childhood, between the ages of 8 and 11; and 68.9% (467 people) in the adolescence period, between the ages of 12 and 18. Looking at the age range of sexual abusers, the youngest was 11 and the oldest was 70. The proportion of abusers between the ages of 11 and 18 is 24.5%, of 18 and 30 is 44.3%, of 30 and 45 is 12.4%, and of 45 and 75 is 18.8%.

It was found that 93.7% of the children who are victims of sexual abuse do not have any physical or mental disability, but 6.3% of them are mentally disabled. Likewise, almost none of sexual abusers had any physical or mental disabilities. No mental or physical disability was found in the majority of the abusers (98.3%) in the contents of the files.

It is assumed that the sexual abuse is mostly perpetrated by strangers. However, the results of the study showed that the abusers were members of the same family and people from the child's immediate circle rather than strangers. The rate of cases involving domestic sexual abuse is 15.7%, the rate involving close relatives is 14.3%, the rate involving familiar people, such as neighbors, family friends, and friends is 42.2%, and the rate of cases involving strangers is 9,8 %. Similarly, in another study conducted in Turkey (Yazar & Boz, 2019), the 88,1 % of abusers were found to be generally the relatives or acquaintances of the victims. Similar results are mentioned in the study of Finkelhor (1994). Finkelhor says that the majority of sexual abuse is perpetrated by men (90%) and people known to the child (70% to 90%).

In the clinical observations made, it was seen that factors, such as alcohol or substance addiction in large families with poverty, presence of alcohol or substance addiction in family members, and physical violence in the family are the factors that trigger incest attacks (Çavlin et al., 2018, p. 36). In the cases referred to the Child Monitoring Center, it was observed that the income levels of the victims of sexual abuse and their families were mostly low. As a result of our investigations, it was determined that 58.4 % of those who were sexually abused live in low-income families, 32.1 % in middle-income families, and 9.4 % in high-income families. Research findings show that sexual abuse occurs more frequently in families with lower income. However, it is debatable to suggest that there is a clear relationship between sexual abuse and level of income. These results should be interpreted considering that lower socioeconomic class cases can reach the security units more easily but people in middle and upper socioeconomic classes have the power to conceal sexual abuse due to their socioeconomic status (Keser, 2016, p 34).

Contrary to general opinion, the findings of the research study indicate that suffering from sexual abuse does not happen in the children of fragmented families. 66.4% of the children who come to the Child Monitoring Center have a nuclear family, 28.3% have a fragmented family and 5.3% have an extended family. Rather than family structures, it is stated that there are greater risk factors in terms of sexual abuse, such as communication gaps between parents and family members, low educational levels, parents with mental disorders, parents abused as children, negligent attitudes towards children (Koçak & Alpaslan, 2015, p. 28).

When we look at the issue in terms of the settlement unit, it can be said that child sexual abuse is seen in all social units regardless of the settlement. 34.4% of the victim children brought to the Child Monitoring Center from Malatya and neighboring provinces reside in the rural area, 22.1% in the city center, and 43.4% in the city surroundings.

5.2. The Effect of Sexual Stigma on the Concealment of Child Sexual Abuse

One of the most important reasons for concealing sexual abuse is the fear of being stigmatized. When the records of statement of the victim children in the Child Monitoring Center were examined, it was determined that 30% of the cases were reported to judicial authorities more than a year later, 40% of them months later, 7.1% within the same month, 10.8% in the same week, and 11.6% of them on the same day. This information shows that sexual abuse incidents were not disclosed in a short time, and that the family and the child were hidden for a long time due to the concern of stigma.

People who are sexually abused often hide themselves because they want to avoid being the target of stigmatization. Abused and stigmatized individuals think that they are dirty and no longer in the world of normal, because the incident is seen as socially embarrassing. Also, the assumptions that the deterioration in the morality of the victim causes sexual abuse and this deterioration will increase after sexual abuse cause the victim to lose value in the society. Thus, the life of sexually abused individuals becomes difficult. To avoid facing adversity, people often disguise their stigmatized identity to avoid social dangers.

5.2.1. Shame and Sexual Stigma

In the files we examined in the Child Monitoring Center, it was observed that sexual abuse incidents were concealed and hardly revealed due to the above-mentioned social presuppositions, embarrassment, and fear of stigma. For example, in File 105, a mother whose daughter was sexually abused by a close relative for three years was interviewed. During the interview, the mother of the victim stated that she was silenced by being threatened by her relatives and that she was hiding her daughter until now because she was afraid that her daughter would be stigmatized when the incident was heard by the social environment:

“When I declared that I would refer this situation to the prosecution office, they prevented me from reporting to the prosecutor's office by saying words like ‘this will be your shame too, and you cannot stay in a place like a village’. I have not reported these incidents to any law enforcement agency until now, also because I was afraid and hesitant. When I reported this to my husband, he claimed that I had slandered his brother and insulted me with phrases like ‘you are an immoral woman, don’t say such things’ and told me not to mention this issue anywhere and covered up the matter. My husband didn’t stand behind me. I kept silent so that

my daughter's name would not be tainted in the village." (File 105, Victim Girl, Age 9, Abuser Uncle, Record of Statement at Prosecution Office).

The word "taint" used by the mother in this statement in File 105 indicates that the victim girl lost her purity and innocence and has a stigma stating that her honor has been tainted. It is understood that this incident was hidden for fear of being stigmatized and was not revealed for a long time. Again, in the statements, it is seen that the mother was threatened and insulted by her husband and social environment to conceal the incident.

The word "taint" becomes a stigma (like homosexuality) implying that if the victim is a boy, he lost his masculinity. This stigma shows that the child is outside of gender stereotypes. For example, in File 23, it was seen that the family concealed the incident of a boy who was sexually abused due to the concern that he would be excluded from gender stereotypes and being stigmatized. The family did not report the sexual abuse to the authorities although they knew it from the beginning so that their son would not be subject to such stigma. According to the information in the file, the child victim was abused by the abuser many times in this process. The father stated that they concealed the incident as follows:

"If this incident was heard in our neighborhood, the boy would be a gossip topic, they would not leave him alone, so we kept quiet. My wife did not want it to be heard, too." (File 23, Victim Boy, Age 15, Abuser Neighbor, Record of Statement at Prosecution Office).

There is a concern that if sexual abuse is learned by the social environment, it may turn into an issue that people would tell each other for years and the victim would be tainted. However, this concern produces far graver consequences. Because, if the abuse incident is concealed for fear of stigma, as seen in File 23, the abuser may continue to abuse the child, and as a result, the victim's victimhood is perpetuated.

In another case mentioned in the files, it was seen that the reason for the sexual abuse to be experienced and hidden for years was the "fear of stigma". In the information in File 119, it is seen that the victim girl who was sexually abused by her relatives for 10 years had to keep silent because she was aware that she would be stigmatized by her environment:

"I don't remember if anyone other than my family knew about these events at that time. He said to me, 'if you don't do what I want, I will disgrace you in the village.'" (File 119, Victim Girl, Age 17, Abuser Cousin, Victim Report).

In File 119, the feeling of being stigmatized was directly conveyed to the victim by the abuser. The abuser created feelings of guilt and embarrassment in the victim for the secrecy and continuity of the abuse he perpetrated. The victim, on the other hand, had to keep quiet, considering that sexual abuse would be stigmatized in her personal and social life when heard by the environment.

The stigma and the sense of shame experienced by the child victim of sexual abuse as a result of the definitions made by the social environment cause the victim to feel worthless and prompt negative perceptions and evaluations towards himself or herself. As a result, victims may experience self-harming behavior or suicidal tendencies. A similar situation was encountered in File 340. The sexual abuse suffered by the girl victim was heard by her family and environment. Later, as a result of the accusing attitudes and behaviors toward the victim and the words implying that the victim was defiled, the victim harmed herself:

"Now, everyone around me says, 'you are incorrigible'. Now I have nowhere to go... I am afraid of harming myself or my environment. So now I have to end my life. I don't want anyone to insult me anymore." (File 340, Victim Girl, Age 13, Abuser Uncle, Victim Record of Statement)

If the victim is stigmatized, social trauma is added to the individual trauma he or she has experienced, and thus the victim's victimization becomes permanent. These multiple traumas, which occur with the perpetuation of victimization by the society, drag the child to a psychology that will cause her/him to go back and forth on the fine line between life and death.

5.2.2. Gender Values and Sexual Stigma

The patriarchal system and gender inequality, which lead to sexual abuse and its perpetuation in secrecy, should not be overlooked. In the patriarchal system, the view that women are beings who must submit, considering that the word "honor" relates only to women, and a mentality prevailing as if it is the fault of women whenever their honor is damaged may lead to the concealing of sexual abuse.

For example, in File 1, an abused girl expresses that she is afraid and silenced in the face of sexual abuse because of the influence of gender values towards girls and the pressure arising from the patriarchal family structure:

"I was aware of the gravity of the matter, but I was afraid of my mother and father. Our family culture is very different. According to their mindset girls shouldn't go out of the house, girls shouldn't laugh. That's why I was afraid, I was silent, but out of fear. He is my uncle; I cannot raise my voice to him normally. How can I raise my voice now?" (File 1, Victim Girl, Age 15, Abuser Uncle, Victim Record of Statement)

Tendency to conceal the sexual abuse is more common in children at the developmental level who may realize that the act they are subject to is sexual abuse. Because the victim child is aware of the gender values in the society and can more or less anticipate the social prejudices that will be directed to her/him when sexual abuse is disclosed. When sexual abuse is disclosed, people react with shock or hysteria or they blame the child for what happened, reinforcing the concealment of sexual abuse. Younger victims, who are too young to be aware of social attitudes and behaviors, experience less stigma while others have to cope with strong religious and cultural taboos in addition to the usual stigma (Finkelhor, 1986, p. 184). For example, in File 159, the concept of honor idea, shaped within the framework of gender, involves only women is an important factor in silencing female victims:

"I did not explain this incident to my mother. Because my mother always finds men right when we watch news about rape. She says that those women were somehow subject to this act because of their own fault. That's why I didn't tell my mother. I think it would be a problem if my father heard about it. That's why I am not filing a complaint about the incident." (File 159, Victim Girl, Age 13, Abuser Cousin, Victim Record of Statement)

When the case in File 159 was evaluated, it was seen that the stereotypes of the victim's mother in gender stereotypes regarding honor and femininity caused feelings of guilt and embarrassment in the victim.

In another case in File 99, the victim girl was sexually abused by her boyfriend. It was heard in the circles that this girl, who has a strict father and grew up in an oppressive socio-

cultural environment, was sexually abused. Family members threatened to kill the victim because she dishonored her family. In the statement, the victim wanted to be taken under protection. The expert forensic interviewer at the Child Monitoring Center added the following statements to the report to fulfill this request of the victim:

"As a result of the feeling of embarrassment and the sociological characteristics of the region in which she lives, she fears of being a victim of honor killing." (File 99, Girl Victim, Age 17, Abuser Boyfriend, Forensic Interview Evaluation Report).

Similar to File 99, the victim girl in File 252 could not tell her family about the sexual abuse she was exposed to. The victim wanted to be placed in the Turkish Social Service and Children Protection Institution, because her family would hurt her if the incident was heard. The expert forensic interviewer stated in his report that victim's life was in danger:

"Based on the information obtained about her family structure, it is thought that there is a traditional family structure and the approach of the family to the child may be punitive due to the sexual abuse incident experienced and therefore protective measures should be taken." (File 252, Victim Girl, Age 15, Abuser Son of Aunt, Forensic Interview Evaluation Report)

In family structures where femininity and masculinity are strictly determined in the context of gender and sexuality, the silence of sexual abuse victims is deeper and longer. In such families, sexual abuse victims are considered to violate social roles and norms and incriminating attitudes and behaviors against them are displayed. In this case, the life safety of the victim who is subject to sexual stigma may be endangered.

5.2.3. Sexual Stigma in the Context of Incest

The type of sexual abuse carried out within the family by someone who has a blood relationship or is responsible for the child is called "incest" (Alpaslan, 2014; Çavlin et al, 2018, pp. 16-17; Topçu, 1997, p. 21). The most serious and severe type of child sexual abuse is in the form of incest, because such sexual abuse tends to continue for a long time and threatens the relationship between the child and family, which is the most important social base for the child (Finkelhor, 1999, pp. 101-1006). The child's trust towards her/his family, which is the most important life support, is damaged. In this respect, incest leaves a life-long mark on the child in terms of its consequences and prepares the ground for serious problems in later ages.

Stigma with incest surrounds both the child and the family. Incest is the destruction of the honor of the victim and her/his family in the eyes of society. For this reason, incest cases are continued in secrecy for many years and are revealed with further difficulty than sexual abuse committed by people outside the family. Families with incest cases know that they will be discredited by society and lose value, so they tend to conceal it.

An example of this issue is found in File 46. In the case in the file, it was observed that both the family and the child were threatened by the abuser to keep the victim child silent in order not to be stigmatized and discredited in the environment. In File 46, the child expressed the situation as follows:

"My brother warned me not to tell this incident to anyone otherwise I would end up in prison and we would be disgraced... I don't want to stay with my family from now on. I want to

get rid of my brother. When I am with him, fear surrounds me. I want to get rid of this." (File 46, Victim Girl, Age 14, Abuser Brother, Victim Record of Statement).

The power hierarchy that arises depending on gender and age is effective in the realization of incest attacks. The stronger side who perpetrates the abuse is usually older and male. This hierarchical situation in incest relationships prevents the victim child from reporting sexual abuse.

In File 127, the victim girl was sexually abused by her brother for 6 years and had to keep silent because of her brother's threats. In the report of the forensic interviewer, it was stated that the household members knew about the incident and they were silent due to the environmental pressure. In the statement she gave in the file, the child victim stated that she was considering harming herself and committing suicide because of the threats of the abusive relative:

"I have just decided that this situation was wrong. I did not tell these incidents to anyone because I was embarrassed and afraid. I wanted to kill myself after these events. I tried to suffocate myself. I even thought of taking drugs and committing suicide." (File 127, Victim Girl, Age 15, Abuser Brother, Victim Record of Statement)

When it comes to the stigmatization of the person, this is not a process of individual disrepute only but also of one that is shared by the family and close circle of the person. In the social prejudice it is believed that those who make any contact with the stigmatized person will also get a piece of that stigma. For this reason, immediate surroundings of the stigmatized person also face the problems faced by the stigmatized. In such cases, other people either avoid associating with the stigmatized or they end their existing relationships (Goffman, 2014: 61-62).

When sexual abuse is disclosed, the victim and his/her family either change the social space they live in or are subject to severe social isolation without leaving their place. Exclusion anxiety, which manifests itself with discourses such as "We cannot go out in public", "What does the society says about us", "They will send us to Coventry", "We will be disgraced", is more common in incest cases. For example, in File 167, it was observed that a 16-year-old victimized girl was subject to incestuous attack for 8 years due to such concerns. She was afraid that other family members would blame her if the incident was heard, and stated that she was worried that the family would be excluded by the social environment:

"I could not clamor against this action of him, too, as he threatened me with death after every action. I could not oppose his actions, as I thought they would misunderstand and accuse me if I told my family. If my parents find out about these events, they will be very angry with me, they will be subject to pressure in the neighborhood, I cannot predict exactly how my father will react to me, but bad events are likely to happen. " (File 167, Victim Girl, Age 16, Abuser Son of Aunt, Victim Record of Statement)

The biggest concern experienced by victims about the disclosure of sexual abuse is the fear of being excluded from the social sphere. Social isolation, which is one of the most severe consequences of sexual stigma, is experienced by not only the victim but also the victim's family and other individuals who have a relationship with him/her. Child victims, who are aware of this situation, have been found to conceal sexual abuse to avoid social harm.

As can be seen in the examples, although other family members know about sexual assaults in the family, they mostly conceal them in order not to be stigmatized, to avoid family dishonor and social isolation. In this case, the problems that the victim may experience are ignored and thus the abuser can even be protected.

6. Conclusion and Suggestions

As can be seen in the examples in the study, the most important factor in the disclosure of sexual abuse or late reporting of cases is the fear of stigmatization of the victim. Sexual stigma makes the life of the individual difficult and limited. To avoid the social harms of sexual stigma, victims often conceal and do not reveal incidents. Victim children who want to get rid of sexual stigma fall into a deep silence.

The fact that stigmatization is based on social perceptions and presuppositions shows us that it is not independent of social structure and cultural values. Because stigmatization, as Goffman (2014) and Becker (2015) said, is a social reaction and definition against the abnormal and those who violate the rules. Stigmatization is the negative change of the definitions of the victim in the eye of society. In general, a society's understanding of sexuality and honor lies in the perception that the victim is tainted. In this respect, sexual stigma is indeed a matter of perceiving and be perceived negatively.

In the sample cases in our study, it was observed that children who were victims of sexual abuse act with the perception of being "dirty" and "tainted" and conceal the cases. The child victims, having these perceptions, experience a great sense of anxiety, fear, and embarrassment. The child's anxiety of not being able to prove when he or she tells the incident to other people, the thought that other people will not believe and suspect him/her, creates deeper wounds in him/her. Trying to overcome the incident and struggling, the child is left alone in despair and is dragged into the vortex of loneliness.

In the study, it was determined that another factor effective in concealing sexual abuse cases is "gender" values. The incident experienced by the victim harms the definitions of ideal masculinity or femininity within the gender. Thus, it was observed that the victim children, who are concerned about staying out of gender values and definitions, tend to conceal the incident.

In cases of sexual abuse, not only the abuser or the victim but also the victim's family is stigmatized by association (Bos et al., 2013, p.2). In the study, it was revealed that the risk of stigmatization of the family is an important factor in concealing sexual abuse and silencing the victim child. As seen in the findings, as a result of the stigmatization, the reputation of the victim and his/her family is damaged in the society and sometimes the family faces the danger of being expelled from the neighborhood. For this reason, sexual abuse is concealed, especially within the patriarchal family structure, through the pressure and threats applied by family members upon the victim. When the cases in the study were analyzed, it was observed that especially in incest relationships, which is the most serious type of sexual abuse, families obscured the abuse cases and silenced the child victims for fear of stigmatization and exclusion. However, this situation caused the abuse to continue for a much longer time and the victim child to suffer greater harm.

In conclusion, according to the findings we obtained, it is seen that concealing sexual abuse cases with the fear of stigma leads to the protection of the abuser and the continuation

of the actions against the victim and others. Thus, the victim's victimization is perpetuated. Besides, as a result of the concealment of sexual abuse, it was found that the victims experienced severe depression, feelings of anxiety, fear, and hatred towards the abuser, thinking of harming themselves, or even committing suicide.

The study has some suggestions, both concrete and abstract. It was thought that the interview records in official institutions should be more well-supported and functional to reach information about the causes of child abuse and to help victims further. In this context, to keep healthier records of children brought to the Child Monitoring Center, a template prepared for authorized people to be used in interviews was proposed at the end of the study.

Considering the social presuppositions, the victim is disgraced and tainted are effective in stigmatizing, it is seen that the social perspective should change in favor of the victim. Victims of sexual abuse should be approached in a supportive and trustful manner, away from stigmatizing, prejudiced and incriminating attitudes. It is necessary to ensure gender equality and change the social perceptions that regard women as potential criminals.

Considering that today's children will form the society of tomorrow, the state should be more sensitive to raise healthy generations. It is recommended to take preventive, rehabilitative, and remedial public measures rather than punishment. Therefore, first of all, in terms of preventing abuse to identify risky situations, it is of great importance to open the way, and support interdisciplinary studies.

Statement of Interest

There is no potential conflict of interest.

Information on Financial Support

The authors did not receive any financial support for research, authorship, and /or publication of this article.

Ethical Approval

Ethical permission was obtained from the 2019/11-5 Inonu University Social and Humanities Scientific Research Ethical Committee for this research.

References

- Ahrens, C. E. (2006). Being silenced: The impact of negative social reactions on the disclosure of rape. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 38, 263–274.
- Aktepe, E. (2009). Çocukluk çağı cinsel istismarı. *Psikiyatride Güncel Yaklaşımlar*, 1 (2), 95-119.
- Aktepe, E., Işık A., Kocaman O. & Eroğlu FO. (2013). Demographic and clinical characteristics of children and adolescents examined in a university hospital who are victims of sexual abuse. *New Symposium Journal*, 51(2), 115-120.
- Alpaslan, A. H. (2014). Çocukluk döneminde cinsel istismar. *Kocatepe Tıp Dergisi*, 15(2), 194-201.
- Andrews G., Corry, J., Slade, Tim., Issakidis, C., & Swanston, H., (2004). Child sexual abuse. (M. Ezzati, A. D. Lopez Edt.). İn: *Comparative quantification of health risks global and regional burden of disease attributable to selected major risk factors*, Anthony Rodgers and Christopher J.L. Murray, World Health Organization, pp. 1851-1940
- Arata, C. M., & Burkhart, B. R. (1998). Coping appraisals and adjustment to nonstranger sexual assault. *Violence Against Women*, 4(2), 224–239.
- Bağ, Ö. & Alşen, S. (2016). Çocuğun cinsel istismarının değerlendirilmesinde yeni model: Çocuk İzlem Merkezleri, *İzmir Dr. Behçet Uz Çocuk Hastalıkları Dergisi*, 6(1):9-14
- Becker, H. S. (2015). Hariciler (Outsiders), *Bir sapkınlık sosyolojisi çalışması*. (Ş. Geniş-L. Ünsaldı, Çev.). Ankara: Heretik Yayınları.
- Bolen R.M. & Gergely K.B. (2014). Child sexual abuse. J.R. Conte (Edt.), İn: *Child Abuse and Neglect Worldwide* (pp. 59-94), California: Praeger.
- Bos, A. E. R., Pryor, J. B., Reeder, G. D., & Stutterheim, S. E. (2013). Stigma: Advances in theory and research. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 35, 1–9.
- Browne, A., & Finkelhor, D. (1986). Impact of child sexual abuse: A review of the research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 99(1), 66–77.
- Budhwani, H. & Hearld, K. R. (2017). Muslim Women's Experiences with Stigma, Abuse, and Depression: Results of a Sample study conducted in the united states. *Journal of Women's Health*, 26(5), 1-7.
- Burgess, A. W., & Holmstrom, L. L. (1979). Adaptive strategies and recovery from rape. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 136, 1278–1282.
- Ceylan, A., Tuncer, O., Melek, M., Akgün, C., Gülmehmet, F., & Erden, Ö. (2009). Van bölgesindeki çocuklarda cinsel istismar. *Van Tıp Dergisi*, 16(4), 131-134.
- Coffey, P., Leitenberg, H., Henning, K., Turner, T., & Bennett, R. (1996). Mediators of the long-term impact of child sexual abuse: perceived stigma, betrayal, powerlessness, and self-blame. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 20, 447–455.
- Corrigan, P. (2004). How stigma interferes with mental health?. *Journal of American Psychologist*, 59, 614-625.
- Corrigan, P. W. (2000). Mental health stigma as social attribution: Implications for research methods and attitude change. *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*, 7(1), 48–67.
- Corrigan, P. W., & Matthews, A. K. (2003). Stigma and disclosure: Implications for coming out of the closet. *Journal of Mental Health*, 12, 235–248.
- Crocker, J., & Major, B. (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. *Psychological Review*, 96(4), 608–630.
- Çavlin, A., Kardam, F., & Efendioğlu, H. (2018). Ailenin karanlık yüzü ensest. A. Çavlin, F. Kardam, & H. Efendioğlu içinde, *Ailenin Karanlık Yüzü Ensest* (s. 11-44). İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Easton, S. D., Saltzman, L. Y., & Willis, D. G. (2014). "Would you tell under circumstances like that?": Barriers to disclosure of child sexual abuse for men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 15(4), 460–469.
- Erdoğan A., Tufan E., Karaman M.G. ve ark., (2011). Türkiye'nin dört farklı bölgesinde çocuk ve ergenlere cinsel tacizde bulunan kişilerin karakteristik özellikleri. *Anadolu Psikiyatr Dergisi*, 12, 55-61.

- Ersoy, E. (2009). Cinsiyet kültürü içerisinde kadın ve erkek kimliği (Malatya Örneği). *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 19(2), 209–230.
- Finkelhor, D. (1986). *A sourcebook on child sexual abuse*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Finkelhor, D. (1999). Child: Sexual abuse: Challenges facing child protection and mental health, professionals. In: Ullmann E, Hilweg W (eds). *Childhood and Trauma: Separation, Abuse, War*, UK: Ashgate Publishing.
- Finkelhor, D. (1994). Current Information on the scope and nature of child sexual abuse. *The Future of Children*, 4(2), 31-53.
- Finkelhor, D., & Browne, A. (1985). The traumatic impact of child sexual abuse: A conceptualization. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 55(4), 530–541.
- Fisher, B. S., Cullen, F. T., & Turner, M. G. (2000). *The sexual victimization of college women* (NCJ Publication No. 182369). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Gibson, L. E., & Leitenberg, H. (2001). The impact of child sexual abuse and stigma on methods of coping with sexual assault among undergraduate women. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 25(10), 1343–1361.
- Goffman, E. (2014). *Damga: Örselenmiş kimliğin idare edilişi üzerine notlar*. (Ş. Geniş, L. Ünsaldı, ve S. Ağırnaslı, Çev.) Ankara: Heretik Yayınları.
- Gold, E. R. (1986). Long-term effects of sexual victimization in childhood: An attributional approach. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 54(4), 471–475.
- Gorey, K. M., & Leslie, D. R. (1997). The prevalence of child sexual abuse: Integrative review adjustment for potential response and measurement biases. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 21(4), 391–398.
- Gökçe S., Ayaz, A., Yusufoglu, C., & Arman, A.R., (2015). Cinsel istismara uğrayan çocuk ve ergenlerde klinik özellikler ve intihar girişimi ile ilişkili risk etmenleri. *Marmara Medical Journal*, 26 (1), 11-16.
- Green, A. H. (1993). Child sexual abuse: Immediate and long-term effects and intervention. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 32(5), 890–902.
- Gürsoy, O., & Gizir, C. A. (2018). Üniversite öğrencilerinin psikolojik yardım almaya yönelik tutumları: Sosyal damgalanma, kendini damgalama, öznel sıkıntıları açma, benlik saygısı ve cinsiyetin rolü. *Türk Psikolojik ve Rehberlik Dergisi*, 8(49), 137-155.
- Herek, G. M. (2007). Confronting sexual stigma and prejudice: Theory and practice, *Journal of Social Issues*, 63(4), 905—925.
- Hlavka, H. R. (2016). Speaking of stigma and the silence of shame. *Men and Masculinities*, 20(4), 482–505.
- Kennedy, A. C., & Prock, K. A. (2016). “I still feel like I am not normal”: A review of the role of stigma and stigmatization among female survivors of child sexual abuse, sexual assault, and intimate partner violence. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 10, 1-16.
- Keser, İ. (2016). *Çocuk Cinsel İstismarı*. Adana: Karahan Yayınları.
- Koçak, U., & Alpaslan, A. H. (2015). Cinsel istismara uğrayan çocuk ve ergenlerin sosyodemografik özellikleri ve ruhsal değerlendirmesi, *Adli Tıp Bülteni*, 20(1): 27-33.
- Korkmaz A., & Kocadaş B. (2006). *Toplumsal sapma*, İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi Yayınları.
- Koss, M. P. (1985). The hidden rape victim: Personality, attitudinal, and situational characteristics. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 9, 193–212.
- Kucuk, S. (2016). Analyses of child sex abuse cases in Turkey: A provincial case. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 25(3), 262–275.
- Lemert, E. M., (1951), *Social pathology; A systematic approach to the theory of sociopathic behavior*, New York: McGraw Hill.
- Link, B. G., & Phelan, J. C. (2001). Conceptualizing stigma. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, 363–385. 370,
- Mak, W. W. S., Poon, C. Y. M., Pun, L. Y. K., & Cheung, S. F. (2007). Meta-analysis of stigma and mental health. *Social Science & Medicine*, 65(2), 245–261.

- Miller, A.K., Canales E. J., Amacker, A. M., Backstrom, T. L., & Gidycz, C. A. (2011). Stigma-Threat Motivated Nondisclosure of Sexual Assault and Sexual Revictimization: A Prospective Analysis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 35(1) 119-128
- Pescosolido B. A. & Martin, J. K. (2015). The stigma complex. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 41(22),1–30.
- Seale, C. (2014). Normal/Patolojik. J. Chris, & İ. Çapçioğlu (Dü.) içinde, *Temel Sosyolojik Dikotomiler* (F. Kenevir, Çev.,) s. 141-159). Ankara: Atıf Yayınları.
- Summit, R. C. (1983). The child sexual abuse accomodation syndrome. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 7(2), 177–193.
- Taner, Y., & Gökler, B. (2004). Çocuk istismarı ve ihmali: psikiyatrik yönleri. *Acta Medica*, 35(2), 82-86.
- Topçu, S. (1997). *Çocuk ve Gençlerin Cinsel İstismarı*. Ankara: Doruk Yayınları.
- Türkmen, S. N., Sevinç, İ., Kırılı, Ö., Erkul, I., & Kandemir, T. (2017). Cinsel istismara uğrayan kız çocuklarının profilleri. *İzmir Dr. Behçet Uz Çocuk Hastalıkları Dergisi*, 7(3):197-202
- Vogel, D. L., Wade, N. G., & Ascherman, P. L. (2009). Measuring perceptions of stigmatization by others for seeking psychological help: Reliability and validity of a new stigma scale with college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 56(2), pp.301-308.
- Yazar, M. E., & Boz B. (2019). 2010-2016 Yılları arasında Pamukkale Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi'ne başvuran cinsel istismar ve cinsel saldırı olgularının değerlendirilmesi, *Adli Tıp Bülteni*, 24(1), 43-50.

Correspondence

Dr. Ersan ERSOY
ersan.ersoy@inonu.edu.tr

Correspondence

Dr. Ahmet ÇETİNTAŞ
ahmet.cetintas@erzincan.edu.tr

Correspondence

MA. Yeliz AKSÜT
yelizaksut20@gmail.com