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SEXUAL VIOLENCE —VOICED AND SILENCED BY GIRLS WITH MULTIPLE VULNERABILITIES

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Academic dissertation to be presented with the assent of the Doctoral Training Committee of Human Sciences of the University of Oulu for public defence in the OP-Pohjola auditorium (L6), Linnanmaa, on 22 November 2019, at 12 noon

Abstract

Inspired by feminist standpoint theory, this doctoral thesis studies what the voices and silences about experiences of sexual violence tell us when voiced by adolescent girls who have been in residential care institutions. This group of girls evidently experience more sexual violence compared to their peers.

This dissertation is based on four scientific Articles. In Article I, Erving Goffman's theory is used to analyse the girls' experiences of being in residential institutions and Articles II–IV focus on their sexual violence experiences. Data is generated in 2013 through semi-structured interviews with 11 girls aged 14–17 years old, and through interviews with one of these girls from 2013–2017. Data from Bulgaria, Catalonia and Italy regarding the violent experiences of 46 girls is also used in Article II. Qualitative content analysis (Articles I–III) and the Listening Guide method (Article IV) were used in data analysis.

The Articles reveal that the girls have multiple vulnerabilities that affect on creating safe connections, as well as voicing their experiences. The majority of the girls did not voice their experiences of sexual violence as violence and based on the data it can be interpreted that the sense of being cared for by someone might impact on what was named and/or recognised as sexual violence. The phenomenon was named *abusive illusion of care* and proposed to be included in Jenny Pearce's social model of abused consent. A new term was also suggested for the area of girls' sexually risky behaviour, which is further developed in this compilation report as *sexism-related internalised sexual violence*.

In this compilation report, the main results of the Articles are combined and re-read in the light of Carol Gilligan's theorisations. Those findings confirm that girls' voices and silences about their sexual violence experiences are a complex and multidimensional combination of self-silence and being silenced, connection and resistance. Sexual violence experiences should be considered as contextual, relational, contradictory and situational phenomena.

It is suggested that violence prevention programmes be organised in a gender-responsible way for all from an early age. Furthermore, professionals should be educated to recognise the hidden aspects in sexual violence and conceptualisations of sexual violence needs to be developed further.

Keywords: adolescent girls, care, Carol Gilligan, feminist standpoint theory, relationality, residential care institution, sexual violence, silences, violence prevention, voices

Tiivistelmä

Feministisen standpoint-teorian inspiroimana tässä väitöskirjassa tutkitaan, mitä lastensuojelulaitoksissa asuneiden tyttöjen äänellisyydet ja vaikenemiset kertovat heidän kokemastaan seksuaalisesta väkivallasta. Aiempi tutkimustieto osoittaa tämän tyttöryhmän kokevan vertaisiaan enemmän seksuaalista väkivaltaa.

Väitöskirjaan sisältyy neljä tieteellistä artikkelia. Artikkeli I:ssa analysoidaan tyttöjen laitoskokemuksia Erving Goffmanin teorian avulla. Artikkeleissa II–IV keskitytään tyttöjen seksuaalisen väkivallan kokemuksiin. Aineisto koostuu yhdentoista 14–17-vuotiaan tytön puolistrukturoidusta haastattelusta vuodelta 2013 sekä yhden tytön haastatteluista vuosilta 2013–2017. Artikkeli II:ssa on otteita Bulgariasta, Italiasta ja Kataloniasta kerätyistä aineistoista koskien neljänkymmenenkuuden tytön väkivaltakokemuksia. Analyyseissa käytettiin sisällönanalyysiä (Artikkelit I–III) ja Listening Guide -metodia (Artikkeli IV).

Osatutkimuksista selvisi, että tyttöjen moniulotteiset haavoittuvuudet vaikuttavat turvallisten yhteyksien luomiseen sekä omien kokemusten kertomiseen. Suurin osa tytöistä ei sanallistanut seksuaalisen väkivallan kokemuksiaan väkivallaksi, ja tyttöjen kokema välittäminen näytti vaikuttavan siihen, minkä he tunnistivat ja/tai nimesivät seksuaaliseksi väkivallaksi. Ilmiö nimettiin "vahingolliseksi välittämisen illuusioksi," ja se esitetään lisättäväksi Jenny Pearcen seksuaalista suostumusta koskevaan malliin. Tyttöjen seksuaalisen riskikäyttäytymisen alueelle ehdotettiin uutta termiä, ja tässä yhteenveto-osuudessa se on edelleen kehiteltynä "seksismiin perustuva sisäistetty seksuaalinen väkivalta."

Yhteenveto-osuudessa artikkeleiden päätulokset on yhdistetty ja niitä on uudelleen luettu Carol Gilliganin teoriaa hyödyntäen. Näin saadut tulokset osoittavat, että tyttöjen äänellisyydet ja vaikenemiset seksuaalisesta väkivallasta sisältävät moniulotteisen yhdistelmän vaikenemista ja vaietuksi tulemista, kuulumisen tunnetta sekä vastarintaa. Seksuaalisen väkivallan kokemukset tulisikin nähdä relationaalisena ja moniäänisenä, sekä tilanne- ja kontekstisidonnaisena ilmiönä.

Lapsille tulisi suunnata varhaisessa vaiheessa väkivaltaa ennaltaehkäiseviä sukupuolivastuullisia koulutuksia. Lisäksi ammattilaisille tulisi järjestää koulutusta seksuaalisen väkivallan piiloisten muotojen tunnistamiseksi ja seksuaalisen väkivallan sanallistuksia tulisi edelleen kehittää.

Asiasanat: Carol Gilligan, feministinen standpoint-teoria, lastensuojelulaitos, relationaalisuus, seksuaalinen väkivalta, tytöt, vaikeneminen, väkivallan ehkäiseminen, välittäminen, äänellisyys

For all the Girls the world over

Acknowledgements

Kiitos is my favourite word in the world. It means "thank you" and it is a word I tend to spread persistently around and now I am in a happy position that I am able to use it in almost every sentence in these acknowledgements. So, let's begin. Thank you to my supervisors, Vappu Sunnari and Mervi Heikkinen. You have undeniably been two of the brightest lights in my life path. You have helped me to become a researcher, but you have also helped me to become myself and find my own voice. My second favourite word used to be anteeksi which means "sorry." It is a word I have been able to drop from my everyday vocabulary since being under your supervision.

Thank you Vappu, for taking me into your Gender Studies research group in 2010 and for accepting me as I am and giving me the much-needed sense of belonging and being part of something important. You have always remembered to ask how I was doing, and your door has always been open whenever and for whatever I have needed your help for. Your unique creativeness and exceptional ability to recognise nuances, combined with your astonishing knowledge of feminist theories, especially within gendered non-/violence, are undeniable embedded in the soul of my doctoral dissertation. This flowing force of your expertise has encouraged me to stretch and cross the borders of my ordinary reasoning—already even when doing my master's thesis under your supervision. I will be forever grateful for that!

Thank you Mervi, I am obliged to you for believing in me every step of my research process! Thank you for guiding me tirelessly during the extreme phases in our lives. At one point, I remember our weekly meetings being one of the rare rock-solid things in my life! You have an exceptional expertise in gender equality and feminist epistemology and that knowledge is indeed rooted in the heart of my doctoral research. For a heart that you have helped keep alive even during a whole year of me being away from University. I am also extremely grateful for all the project expertise you have taught me during the Empowering Care project (2013–2014), as well as in the Academic North-project (2018–2020).

Thank you—Maddy Coy and Marianne Notko for doing outstanding work in the pre-examination of my compilation report and giving me such valuable notes to improve the thesis to its full extent! I could not have had any better pre-examiners—thank you! Thank you—Päivi Honkatukia—for pledging to be my opponent in my public defense of a doctoral thesis. As a long-time admirer of your noteworthy work that is a true honour for me! Thank you Suvi Pihkala for being

the opponent in our research group seminar and gently and extremely competently guiding me in the final phases of my research. Your ability to analyse and think beyond the box is truly amazing! We shared our lovely little office room for many years in the old Faculty building. Thank you Suvi for all the moments of joy and laughter, but also for the moments of sorrow and tears that I was and still am able to share with you! Words cannot express my gratitude to Janet Lyon for doing such an excellent work on the language of this compilation report—you challenged my thinking process to go further by asking detailed questions about what I had meant and wanted to say.

Thank you to the previous and current members of the Gender Studies research group and team at the University of Oulu. Your presence has given me a safe home base for the past decade. I am grateful for the ways you have always diligently read my writings and given me valuable comments and constructive criticism. I am proud of being part of this amazing group of caring and intelligent people. Thank you for sharing many inspiring discussions, coffee and lunch meetings with me—those have meant a world to me: Eija Alaraasakka, Sari Haapakangas, Tuija Huuki, Anu Kangas, Tanja Lamminmäki-Kärkkäinen, Ilmari Leppihalme, Suvi Pihkala, Anna Rönkä, Marian Tumanyan, Anu Uusikylä, Minna Viinikka and Pirjo Yliportimo. Sari, you played a significant role in the beginning of my doctoral studies—thank you for all the support you gave me and for teaching me that being sensitive is indeed one of my strengths! Tuija—you have this amazing ability to just appear in those moments when I have just started to lose my faith—in various things in life—thank you for always listening to me and sharing your wise thoughts! I just admire your passion and intelligence towards research making—I am truly honored to start my postdoctoral research in your team!

Thank you, my dear colleagues and friends, for the loving and tremendous peer-support that I have got from you for my research and—for life itself: Hanna-Maija Huhtala, Mervi Kaukko, Anne Koskela, Marjo Laitala and Johanna Linnilä. Thank you Marjo for your valuable friendship and for your kind support in the biggest turning points of my life; thank you also for sharing your outstanding intelligent and clever humour in our discussions that we could easily continue for hours and so we quite often do. Thank you Pirkko Siklander for the daily discussions and laughter that we share in our office room. Thank you also, my Steer Group members, who so kindly guided and supported me in my research process during the years 2014–2017: Merja Laitinen, Arja Rautio, and Kaisa Vehkalahti.

I am daily and actively thankful for the financial support that I have been so generously given to do this research. Thank you to the EU Daphne funded

rakentamisessa. Oma lapseni Santeri—suurin aarteeni ja opettajani tässä maailmassa. Kiitos, että olet olemassa!

3rd October, 2019   Helena Louhela

List of original publications

This thesis is based on the following publications, which are referred throughout the text by their Roman numerals:

I   Kaukko, M., & Parkkila*, H. (2014). Nykyajan totaaliset laitokset tyttöjen suojelijoina [Contemporary total institutions as protectors of girls]. In M. Gissler, M. Kekkonen, P. Känkänen, P. Muranen & M. Wrede-Jäntti (Eds.), *Nuoruus toisin sanoen: Nuorten elinolot 2014 -vuosikirja* (pp. 113–121). Helsinki, Finland: Terveyden ja hyvinvoinnin laitos.

II Parkkila*, H., & Heikkinen, M. (2015). Identifying violence—Research on residential care girls' recognition of violence. In B. Mohan (Ed.), *Construction of social psychology: Advances in psychology and psychological trends series* (pp. 125–134). Lisbon, Portugal: InScience Press.

III Parkkila*, H., & Heikkinen, M. (2018). Vulnerable bodily integrity: Under-recognised sexual violence among girls in residential care institutions. *Journal of Gender-Based Violence, 2*(1), 25–40. https://doi.org/10.1332/239868018X15155985932192

IV Louhela, H. (2019). *"I was totally agreeable": Sexual violence voiced by an adolescent girl.* Manuscript submitted for publication.

* Louhela née Parkkila

Contents

1   Recognising vulnerable voices and silences of girls

The often normalised everyday violence against women (VAW) globally violates their fundamental human rights (Council of Europe, 2012; Hagemann-White & Bohne, 2007; Husso, Virkki, Hirvonen, Eilola & Notko, 2017; Kelly, 2005; Nussbaum, 2005; Ronkainen, 2017; World Health Organisation, 2010). Girls and women are evidently particularly vulnerable to experiencing sexual violence[1] (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise & Watts, 2005; Heise & Garcia-Moreno, 2002; United Nations Population Fund, 2003; White & Frabutt, 2006; World Health Organisation, 2010, 2012, 2017).

In Finland, the level of violence against women and girls (VAWG) is relatively high by European standards (Danielsson & Salmi, 2013; Piispa & Heiskanen, 2017) and it can indeed be considered a significant problem (Husso, 2003; Notko, 2011; Piispa & Heiskanen, 2017; Piispa & Honkatukia, 2008). The violence experiences among women can start already in their childhood as fifty-three per cent of all girls and women have experienced physical, sexual or psychological violence, or the threats of violence before the age of fifteen (European Union, 2014).

These experiences of violence might result in the girls and women not connecting to societies and communities as equal participants, and their whole being can be described as fragmented. Violence is a multi-layered and complex phenomenon, especially in girls' lives; it is difficult to point out where victimhood and self-perpetration starts and ends.

In this doctoral thesis, I aim to produce knowledge that will contribute to the prevention of sexual violence among adolescent girls. The knowledge is founded on four peer-reviewed Articles that focus on multiple vulnerabilities and sexual violence from the perspective of girls with backgrounds of being in custody. This compilation report combines the results of these Articles with a focus on reflecting what the voices and silences about experiences of sexual violence might tell us when voiced by these girls with institutional backgrounds.

In this chapter, I start by describing what universal action has already been taken in eliminating VAW. Secondly, I continue by pondering what kind of invisible and silenced hierarchies of sexist ideology still exist despite these multiple efforts taken in violence prevention. Thirdly, I briefly introduce the epistemological and

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[1] Girls and women also have severe sexual and reproductive health consequences, such as unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions and sexually transmitted infections (World Health Organisation, 2010).

theoretical premises in my research. The epistemology stands on feminist standpoint theory and the theoretical basis of Carol Gilligan's theorisations on relational and vulnerable human beings (Gilligan, 1982, 2002, 2003, 2011). Fourthly, the research context of my research is related to institutionalised settings that are strictly controlled by child protection law and the management of the institutions themselves. Therefore, I will introduce the previous Finnish research carried out on the adolescent girls in residential care institutions. At the end of the chapter, you will find the structure of this compilation report.

1.1 Universal and national actions preventing violence against women and girls

The United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights from the year 1948 is an important document and principle in promoting equal relations between people (United Nations, 1996, 2006). Two covenants[2] translated the principles of the declaration into a legally binding form in 1966. Yet these covenants have not been adequate in the promotion of equality between the women and men. Women, and also some groups of men, continue to face discrimination which contains violence in many different forms (United Nations, 1996, 2006).

As a result, in 1967 the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women was adopted by the United Nations. This led to the United Nation's Convention on the Elimination of all Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)[3] in 1979 that aimed more specifically at eliminating discrimination against women (United Nations, 1996, 2006).

The preventative actions were supported by the declaration and platform for action of Beijing that was accepted in 1995[4] to promote and guarantee full human rights and basic freedoms to all women and girls of the world without any discrimination (United Nations, 1996, 2006). The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action outlined the six most central areas to promote women's rights worldwide.

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[2] The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

[3] Nowadays, over 90 percent of the countries of the United Nation have joined the CEDAW agreement. In Finland, the ratification of this CEDAW agreement in 1986 led to the enactment of the Equality Law, but as distinct from the CEDAW agreement it was made gender-neutral. The focus of the Equality Law is equality in the workplace, even though this is only one dimension of several in the CEDAW agreement (Nousiainen & Pentikäinen, 2017).

[4] In the Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace Conference convened by the United Nations.

The countries committed themselves to promoting the equality, education, health and safety of women, social and economic status and the opportunity to participate in decision-making. Its ambitious goal was to guarantee full human rights and basic freedoms to all women and girls of the world without any discrimination and violence (United Nations, 1996, 2006).

Furthermore, the current United Nation's 2030 agenda for sustainable development has 17 sustainable development goals (SDGs) that were adopted by world leaders in 2015. Achieving gender equality and women's empowerment is integrated into each of these 17 goals (United Nations, 2018). In addition, one of the most recent actions against VAW was the European Council's agreement, the so-called Istanbul Convention of 2011. The Istanbul Convention is based on the premise that VAW cannot be eliminated without concentrating on gender equality which means that only real and actualised gender equality and a change in attitudes can truly prevent VAW (Council of Europe, 2012). Currently the complementation of the Action Plan for the Istanbul Convention for 2018–2021 has been completed.[5]

Nevertheless, inspired by the Istanbul Convention, in 2014 the Finnish government made a proposal to the parliament about the criminalisation of sexual harassment. As a result, unwanted or unsolicited touching is now included in the definition of sexual harassment, but this still does not include other forms of undesired harassment (Nousiainen & Pentikäinen, 2017).

Furthermore, in Finland there has been public discussion on whether rape should be defined based on a lack of consent. This has already led to a moderate change of Finnish Criminal law in 2014, however, the definition of rape is still not based on the lack of consent (Leskinen, 2017), even though the CEDAW committee recommended this in 2014 (United Nations, 2014). Apparently, the form of consent or, of valid consent, has failed to be written into Finnish legislation given that it is not viewed as forming a characteristic part of life[6] and by claiming that it would place too much focus on the behaviour of the victim (Leskinen, 2017). However, it has also been argued that why should the giving of consent be the responsibility of the victim and why not that of the perpetrator's (Niemi-Kiesiläinen, 2004).

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[5] The action plan contains more than 40 measures to prevent violence and the threat of VAW. In Finland, the Istanbul Convention also applies to boys and men who experience domestic violence. It came into force in Finland in the autumn of 2015. The implementation of the action plan started in 2018 as a co-operation between administrative branches and non-governmental organisations (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2017). One of the aims of the Istanbul Convention was also to focus on the especial vulnerabilities in violence experiences which need to be considered as aggravating the penalties.
[6] In Finnish: Elämälle vieras konsepti.

Yet, Criminal law was changed so that a minor use of violence did not mean that the punishment for rape was any less lenient (Leskinen, 2017). Another positive change in Finnish legislation in 2014 was also that sex offences can be investigated by the police and the public prosecutor can prosecute even if the victim does not wish to do so, as required by the agreement of Istanbul (Nousiainen & Pentikäinen, 2017). Much has been achieved in the prevention of VAW, and yet still more needs to be done. The criminal court may also have its challenges at considering the aspects of gender and power as part of the Criminal act (Lidman, 2015a). Furthermore, when the emphasis is on the violence, the act of violating a person's sexual integrity can remain invisible (Leskinen, 2017). Moreover, cultural attitudes, practices and conceptions can enable the continuation of violence (Husso et al., 2017). As mentioned earlier, Finland is indeed especially renowned for its high statistics in gendered violence (European Union, 2014), but also for its culture of attempting to hide, undermine and keep silent about the violence (Lidman, 2015b). Sexual violence in particular is highly charged with values and historical baggage resulting from a long history of VAW (Lidman, 2017).

Next, I will go on to clarify and expand on this invisible and silenced side of sexual violence.

1.2   Invisible and silenced hierarchies of a sexist ideology

Unnoticeable and silenced hierarchies of a sexist ideology are still present in our everyday world. For example, the latest figures from the Eurobarometer survey of the European Commission (2016) revealed that a sexist environment and ideology are still very much alive and ongoing in European societies, since according to its findings 22% of Europeans believe that women often exaggerate the claims of abuse or rape and 27% consider that sexual intercourse without consent can be justifiable. In Finland, the survey indicated that 11% of our citizens believe that rape is acceptable in certain situations (European Commission, 2016).

This kind of atmosphere can also be described as a *rape culture* (Phipps, Ringrose, Renold & Jackson, 2018) that can include rape and sexual assault, yet it can also contain other, seemingly harmless practices, such as sexualised jokes and harassment, victim-blaming, and regulating women's bodies and appearance (Mendes, 2015). Rape culture includes a multiplicity of practices that vary in terms of legality, prevalence, and cultural acceptance (Keller, Mendes & Ringrose, 2018).

Lidman (2017) has studied that in the past, victims of sexual violence have ended up being blamed and often blame themselves. Even though societal attitudes

have eased up a lot, victims of sexual violence often suffer from self-blame and they feel shame and guilt from what has occurred. The victims often think that they should have been able to prevent the violence and they search for a reason for the sexual violence in their own behaviour and decisions (Lidman, 2017).

Talking about the violence experience can also increase the feelings of shame which can then lead to victims keeping silent about the sexual violence (Lidman, 2017). Furthermore, the need to frequently prove the actual events which have taken place in the episode of violence during the court sessions can also expose shame and guilt, especially if the focus is on the victim's own behaviour (Kainulainen, 2017; Lidman, 2017).

When evaluating violence from a legal standpoint, the intentionality of the act is often pondered carefully by asking was it an accident or thoughtlessness or was the purpose to harm the other person (Ronkainen, 2017). This may be the one point, for example, that makes sexual harassment and sexual violence sometimes as border-line phenomena in violence, at least in the scope of the law. Because it is difficult to demonstrate the intentionality in it, as on occasion it can truly be an unintentional, but still hurtful act. However, CEDAW (United Nations, 1979) provides a definition of discrimination against women which includes not just direct or intentional discrimination, but any act that has the effect of creating or perpetuating inequality between men and women.

Furthermore, Ronkainen (2017) considers that as long as the violent events fit in with our view of society and of each other and of the social order which maintains these ways of thinking, violence remains invisible and silenced, even when it could be perceived. She adds that only the exceptionality and extreme cases are seen. Everyday violence becomes a social problem in situations where the social order is questioned (Ronkainen, 2017).

The social order was strongly questioned with respect to sexual harassment and violence in the fall of 2017. Public discussions, awareness and voicing one's experiences concerning sexual violence were sparked off as a consequence of the recent viral #Me Too campaign (Zarkov & Davis, 2018).[7] This has likewise led to wide public discussion on sexual harassment and violence and their elimination globally, and also in Finland. The catalyst of the #Me Too campaign in 2017 lay in

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[7] The recent #Me Too campaign sparked off in the United States in the fall of 2017 by Alyssa Milano who tweeted the message "If you've been sexually harassed or assaulted write 'me too' as a reply to this tweet." Milano's tweet started an ongoing global conversation on sexual violence. The original Me Too-campaign was started by Tarana Burke in 2007 in the United States to help ensure the victims of sexual violence knew that they were not alone in their experiences.

sexual harassment in the film-making industry in United States and similarly in Finland, there have been public disclosures and breaking of the silences, especially in this field, but also discussions concerning the church and schools. The grounds of a public knowledge of sexual violence have surely started to change.

1.3 Epistemological and theoretical premises of the compilation report

Feminist research has a history of breaking silences and speaking out, as well as demanding that women's voices be heard and acknowledged (Harding, 1991; Parpart, 2010; Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002; Ryan-Flood & Gill, 2010). Voice and speaking out are often considered as one of the key conditions indicating women's empowerment (Parpart, 2010). Critical reflections on epistemology have indeed foregrounded notions of voice in feminist research, but notions of silence have less often been directly studied (Ryan-Flood & Gill, 2010).

Silence and being silenced are also often considered as tools of oppression; either you do not speak, or you are prevented from speaking (Ahmed, 2010). Women's silence is seen as a sign of passivity and disempowerment that then again strengthens the gender hierarchies (Parpart, 2010). Nevertheless, Ahmed (2010) has also pointed out that silence can also be a strategic response to oppression that allows a person to continue in their own way. Under certain circumstances speaking might not be empowering, nor even sensible (Ahmed, 2010). Especially in disempowering contexts where everybody's voices have no institutional or collective power, silence can also protect (Parpart, 2010). Voicing oneself is definitely not always easy or even possible for girls and women, especially in cases of violence. Perhaps in sexual violence, the silence can be even more palpable as it is charged with values and historical baggage as mentioned above (see Lidman, 2017).

I use standpoint theory (Anderson, 2017; Harding, 2004; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007) as the epistemological premise in my research.[8] From the feminist epistemological point of view, situated knowledge[9] and a situated knower are the central conceptualisations in my research as they are grounded in the epistemic

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[8] Feminist standpoint theory is further presented in Sub-Chapters 3.2, 3.3 and 3.5.

[9] Without a doubt there is also a commonly shared knowledge such as a need for education for all, or commonly available healthcare. This shared knowledge is generally produced and enforced within national, international or global consensus.

privilege[10] that individuals have when being a member of a certain group (Harding, 2004).

Everybody produces and interprets knowledge from their own perspectives and standpoints, which are affected by our cultural and ethnic background, gender, education, circumstances and experiences[11] (see Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002; Harding, 2012). The subjectivity offers partial, personal, intuitive knowledge, which is formed from the acknowledging of a subject located in a certain social context (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002), just as the girls in my research were located in residential care institutions. Standpoint theory helps in highlighting the voices and silences of people in a marginalised position (Harding, 2012). Additionally, it offers a context sensitive approach to studying violence experiences, as the focus changes depending on whose standpoint it is researched from. These different standpoints can be reached through critical, reflecting consciousness, with a notion that social positions followed from discriminating hierarchies can affect knowledge production (Intemann, 2010).

As with any scientific theory, standpoint theory also has its critics. Feminist standpoint theories have been accused of an essentialist universalism, in the sense that every woman would automatically have epistemic privilege simply by just being a woman (Bowell, n.d.; Harding, 1993), and specifically from a perspective of relatively privileged white women (Lugones & Spelman, 1983). Women are present in many different positions at the intersection of several social structures that can be oppressive, but are not necessarily oppressive to all women (Bowell, n.d.; Harding, 2004).

Another criticism that has been falsely directed at feminist standpoint epistemologies is that it is politically dangerous epistemic relativism (Bowell, n.d.; Harding, 1993). This claim derives from the notion that all knowledge is socially situated and that some social values increase the process of researching and gaining knowledge (Bowell, n.d.). Instead of relativism, the premise in feminist standpoint theory is to generate knowledge that is always socially situated and marginalised standpoints can offer epistemic advantage (Hekman, 2004; Longino, 1993). I will come back to this discussion in Sub-chapter 3.5 where I ponder how I managed to

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[10] I am aware that standpoint theory has been criticised in so far that it cannot provide an exact basis for determining which standpoints have epistemic privilege and which have not (Longino, 1993). I will ponder this challenge in Sub-chapter 3.5.

[11] This does not mean that crossing the borders of one's situational and subjective standpoints would not be possible nor even desirable.

approach these above-mentioned challenges from the perspective of the validity of the knowledge generated in my research.

When conducting a feminist study on violence, this also entails having an understanding that VAW is a structural phenomenon rooted in the unequal power relations between the different sexes, which relates to sexism that is an ideology that prevails at all levels of society, culture, and individual relations, and which is generated through constant cultural reproduction[12] (Kelly, 1987; Nussbaum, 2005, 2011; Sunnari, Heikkinen & Kangasvuo, 2003).

During my research process, I explored different theories linked to my research topic, as well as the themes that arose from my data. There were three theoretics that offered especially valuable aspects to my research and whose work supported my research premise of human beings as primarily vulnerable because of our inherent tendency to be relational creatures: Martha Nussbaum, Nira Yuval-Davis and Carol Gilligan.

In Nussbaum's theory, what is especially important to me is that it understands human capabilities to be what people are actually able to do and to be—in a way informed by an intuitive idea of life that is worthy of the dignity of the human being. Nussbaum's (2000, 2011) Capability Approach focuses on each person as an end, not only demanding a total average well-being for everybody, but also demanding equal opportunities available to all. The approach focuses on people's own choice and freedom, but points out society's obligation to guarantee the threshold level of each capability and to enable a truly human functioning for everybody (Nussbaum 2000, 2011).

One of Nussbaum's concepts in the list of capabilities, affiliation, was very close to the relational conceptualisation that I was seeking. According to Nussbaum (2000, 2011), affiliation means being able to live with and toward others, to be able to recognise and show concern for other humans, as well as to be able to engage in various forms of social interaction and to be able to imagine the situation of another.

Furthermore, I considered Nussbaum's (2000, 2011) idea of a threshold level of capabilities as the residential care institutions were and are in the crucial position

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[12] VAW is generally used to underline the act as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women, as stated for example by EIGE—European Institute for Gender Equality (2012, 2017). VAW is also an interchangeable term for Gender-based violence. Violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including the threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. However, it is important to keep in mind that a "gender-based" aspect highlights that the matter is an expression of gender-related power inequalities between people, despite their gender (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2012, 2017).

of offering and guaranteeing the girls' opportunities in life. The capability approach is also concerned with entrenched social injustice and inequality, and especially failures in the realisation of capabilities that are the outcome of discrimination and marginalisation (Nussbaum, 2000, 2011).

In my first Article of this doctoral thesis, I and my co-writer used the term belonging (Lynch & Walsh, 2009)[13] which is quite close to the term affiliation. Later on, I continued these ponderings with respect to Yuval-Davis's (2011) concept of belonging. She considers belonging as always situated and multi-layered, affecting different members of social collectivities and communities differently. Therefore, social locations, identifications, and values are central to understanding the question of belonging according to her. Yuval-Davis (2011) also defines belonging as an emotional attachment, or as feeling "at home" in the sense of hope for a future and a safe space. The other side of belonging is a need to conform to the groups that people belong to, for fear of exclusion and seeming inferior, and the ways in which people's interpersonal relationships are deeply affected by their membership or lack of membership of particular groups—as well as their positions in these groups (Yuval-Davis, 2011).

Affiliation and belonging are very multiverse concepts. However, when working with data that is very textual, the aim is also to go beneath the surface of what has been voiced and not voiced by these adolescent girls, so I consequently attempted to find a theory that would resonate both with voicing, and with human relationality. Therefore, I chose Carol Gilligan's theories[14] to be the basis of my theoretical framework in this compilation report, because Gilligan[15] is one of the well-known researchers to have studied human relationality and voices from the perspective of women and girls in particular (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982).

Her theories regarding voicing and silencing, caring and not caring are a remarkable backbone for my Dissertation. Furthermore, Gilligan's concepts, such as relationality, voices, self-silence and resistance turned out to be important

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[13] The idea of the term belonging (in Finnish: kuuluvuuden tunne) was based on Lynch & Walsh (2009) writing about human beings as affective, relational beings with interdependencies and dependencies. We also used the term otherness (Goffmann, 1963, 1969) that can be considered the lack of belonging.

[14] Carol Gilligan's theorisations are further presented in Chapter 4.

[15] Gilligan's work is not only pioneering in the field of feminist research of care, but also in the field of psychology. Gilligan herself did not name her research as feminist research and instead she referred to her theory as feminine morality (Gilligan, 1982). My own interest is focused on both of Gilligan's expertice areas, as I am conducting a feminist research with my major being in Educational Psychology.

analytical tools in this compilation report and I will present these terms in more detail in Chapter 4.[16]

I consider that violence precisely hits at the core of humanity where vulnerability exists[17] (Gilligan, 1982, 2002, 2004, 2011, 2017; Nussbaum, 2005, 2011; Yuval-Davis, 2011). Furthermore, Gilligan (1982, 2002) emphasises that some people are more vulnerable than others, and not all the different voices of vulnerability are heard, recognised, or acknowledged. In this research, I focus on the voices and silences of adolescent girls who have multiple vulnerabilities[18] in their lives, girls with backgrounds of taken in care and living in a residential care institution.[19] I myself have had first-hand experience of such vulnerabilities when also taken into care and living in a residential care institution when I was an adolescent girl. According to the recent Finnish school health survey (Ikonen et al., 2017), adolescents in custody have a much higher risk of experiencing sexual violence when compared to those living with their parent/s.

1.4 Multiple vulnerabilities among adolescent girls in residential care institutions in Finland

As mentioned, the research context was related to institutionalised settings and this particular location was originally determined by an Empowering Care project[20] 2013–2014 in which my research was partly conducted. Research on adolescents in residential care institutions and in child protection services in general is diverse.

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[16] I also use Gilligan's method Listening Guide in my Article IV and that is presented in Sub-chapters 3.3 and 5.4.

[17] Ronkainen (2017) has written about this, however, I also interpret that Nussbaum's (2000, 2011), Yuval-Davis's (2011) and Gilligan's (1982, 2002, 2004, 2011, 2017) writings support this thought.

[18] For example, Coy (2008) refers to these girls' vulnerabilities as psycho-social vulnerabilities.

[19] I use alternative terms when speaking about being in custody in residential care institution, such as being in: "institutional care" and "custody."

[20] Empowering Care was funded by the European Commission DAPHNE programme with the aim to conduct research to increase knowledge about the prevalence and characteristics of experiences of violence and abuse against girls aged 14–18 in residential care and under the legal responsibility of public authorities in the EU. The project was also directed to empower girls to protect and prevent themselves and their peers from VAW by developing an Empowerment Education based on the research results and implementing it with the girls. Based on the research results, professionals who work with these girls in residential care were sensitised to a gender-based approach and provided with tools for empowering girls in the form of a Handbook based on Empowerment Education. All these implications helped in raising awareness among decision-makers, civil servants and relevant stakeholders in the EU about the need to include gender violence prevention and protection and empowerment programmes in the service provision for girls who are under the legal responsibility of public authorities. For more information: http://www.empoweringcare.eu/the-project-across-europe/empowering-care-suomessa/.

For example, Pösö studied the experiences of adolescents at reform schools[21] in the years 1993 and 2004, and lack of trust, disappointment, loneliness and otherness were present in the experiences of these adolescents. Vehkalahti (2009) studied the experiences of girls who lived in a Finnish Reform School "Vuorela" from 1893–1923. At that time, the girls in Reform Schools were evaluated according to their assumed future roles as mothers and wives. However, the girls were also judged according to their sexual reputation as "fallen girls," which even overshadowed the girl's real delinquency, such as petty theft (Vehkalahti, 2009). To a certain extent, you can talk about the gendered and sexualised delinquency of the girls that has been set and normalised by the institutions following the general attitude of a sexist society (see Laitala & Puuronen, 2016, p. 29; Vehkalahti, 2009, p. 24, 26–27).

Investigations about children and adolescents in custody consist mainly of reports and publications by the National Institute for Health and Welfare (Terveyden ja hyvinvoinnin laitos, THL or previously called Stakes 1992–2008). It has recently, however, been a popular topic as in all three investigations were published about foster care and reform schools during 2016–2017.

Laitala and Puuronen (2016) conducted research on the experiences of violence and maltreatment of children and youth at reform schools that took place in the years 1940–1985. Their study consisted of 35 interviews of former residents. It revealed that physical violence was commonly used toward children not only by the staff of the reform school but was also inflicted by the other children. Laitala and Puuronen (2016) also refer to the stigmatisation caused by the institutional care[22] that has long-term consequences for the informants.

The second publication in 2016 was an investigation ordered by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health and it was conducted by Hytönen and colleagues (2016). This investigation was also about children's maltreatment occurring in foster care (1937–1983). Nearly three hundred people who had been in foster care in that period of time were interviewed. The informants had experienced physical and sexual violence, variable humiliation and neglect concerning their nutrition and healthcare. This investigation also revealed that violence was perpetrated by the staff or other children in the institution (Hytönen et al., 2016).

The third investigation was carried out by Pekkarinen (2017) concerning reform schools and their current position. Her data consists of written documents and statistics from the years 2010–2015, as well as interviews with the reform

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[21] Reform schools mean residential care institutions which have their own institutional school.
[22] This term is used as a synonym for the residential care institution.

schools' leaders, headmasters and other staff conducted in 2016. According to Pekkarinen (2017), reform schools have taken on the role of organising care for those adolescents that are not being helped by anyone else. She also considers that it is difficult to think of which other institutions would currently take care of this group of adolescents. Pekkarinen states (2017) that it seems that even though services have diversified and specialised, there are still not suitable services for some children and youth. But reform schools are interested in developing network cooperation and therefore being part of the network of experts who offer special care for the children and families (Pekkarinen, 2017).

Adolescents in custody are indeed said to have multiple challenges in life, compared with adolescents living with their parent/s (Ikonen et al., 2017). [23] Pekkarinen (2017) reminds that even though the custodies are not primarily due to the conditions in a family, the possible deprivations in them are still present in those adolescents' lives. The adolescents often come from families facing challenges such as low income, unemployment, single parenthood, incapacity, exhaustion, mental health problems and substance abuse (Pekkarinen, 2017).

According to Finnish school health survey (Ikonen et al., 2017), these adolescents may have a significantly greater risk of facing difficulties in learning skills, school exhaustion and school stress compared with their peers who live with their parents. This study also stated that they are more likely to be diagnosed with long-time illnesses or health problems and they have a three-fold risk of experiencing loneliness compared to their peers. Nearly a third of all adolescents in custody have experienced moderate or severe symptoms of anxiety, as compared to their peers where the figure is only one in ten (Ikonen et al., 2017). Then again, adolescents who are in institutional care in reform schools are described as having multiple problems and conduct disorders that manifest themselves as substance abuse (Pekkarinen, 2017), psychiatric disorders (Lehto-Salo, 2011), runaways (Isoniemi, 2019; Kitinoja, 2005; Lehtonen & Telén, 2013; Pekkarinen, 2017) and criminal behaviour (Kitinoja, 2005) and challenges at school (Heino & Oranen, 2012).

Furthermore, research has shown that young people with a background of having been in care are also vulnerable in their adult lives. Several Finnish studies

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[23] Previous international research has also pointed out the supplementary vulnerabilities of girls who live in institutional settings (Acoca, 1998; Allroggen, Rau, Ohlert & Fegert, 2017; Attar-Schwartz & Khoury-Kassabri, 2015; Davidson-Arad, Benbenishty & Golan, 2009; Manseau, Fernet, Hébert, Collin-Vézina & Blais, 2008) or who have previously lived in institutional settings (van Delft, Finkenauer & Verbruggen, 2016).

have indicated that future prospects among people who have been in custody as a child and/or adolescent, are not positive, for example when looking at household and work abilities (Jahnukainen, 2004) and mortality-rates (Manninen, Pankakoski, Gissler & Suvisaari, 2015; Ristikari et al., 2016).

1.5   Structure of the compilation report

This first and introductory chapter has paved the way for the following chapters. In Chapter 2, I start by presenting the different forms of sexual violence and its prevalence among girls based on previous national and international research. One of my starting points in defining sexual violence is the World Health Organisation's definition. Yet, the World Health Organisation has also conducted a typology of violence which does not recognise any forms of self-directed sexual violence. I will ponder that lack of definition in more detail. Secondly, I introduce the previous international research on sexual violence among girls in residential care institutions. Thirdly, I elaborate on sexual violence from the point of view of sexual exploitation and self-abusive acts among adolescent girls. Fourthly, I present the previous Finnish research on sexual violence among adolescent girls and I focus on how the girls are telling about sexual violence. Finally, navigating the research gap from these sub-chapters, I will describe both the aims of my dissertation, as well as the aim of this compilation report.

In Chapter 3, I start by presenting the context (in Article I) and background context (in Articles II–IV) of my research which is the residential care institutions. Secondly, I explain how I generated my data with the girls who were currently in residential care institutions or who had a background in residential care institutions. Then based on this, I go on to illustrate the data analysis in each Article and in this compilation report, I then present the pre-considerations and practical implications in ethical matters in my research. Finally, I critically evaluate the validity of the knowledge generated in my research.

In Chapter 4, I present Carol Gilligan's theorisations, and in Sub-chapter 4.1, I give an overview of Carol Gilligan's writings. In Sub-chapter 4.2, I go on to explain what *relationality*, *voices* and *self-silencing* mean among adolescent girls and finally in Sub-chapter 4.3, I explore Gilligan's concept of *different* voice as voiced, but also what it means as a *resistance*.

In Chapter 5, I present each article of my research and their results. The first article illustrates the human vulnerability in the adolescent girls' need to be connected with other people. This first article was co-authored with Mervi Kaukko.

We combined our data in the article with her focus being on unaccompanied asylum-seeking girls. My second and third articles were co-authored with my supervisor Mervi Heikkinen, and as principal writer I took the main responsibility for analysing the data and writing the Articles. The second Article shed light on sexual violence and especially on the girls' silences with regard to it. The third article discussed the girls' self-destructive behaviour as an internalised sexual violence (ISV) which can be considered as a relational act.

The fourth article went further on to explore precisely the sexual violence and the self-silenced nature in it. The article focused on studying in detail and longitudinally this relational link between sexual violence by asking how a young woman from a residential care institution background voices her previous experience of a statutory sex crime relationship with an adult man. I was the sole writer of the fourth Article, though always under the caring and critical guidance of both of my supervisors.

In Chapter 6, I answer the main research question of the compilation report: What do the voices and silences about experiences of sexual violence, voiced by adolescent girls with multiple vulnerabilities, tell us when read in the light of Carol Gilligan's theorisations. These reflections are introduced as follows: Sub-chapter 6.1 concentrates on the girls' contextual self-silence and/or being silenced in sexual violence. Sub-chapter 6.2 reflects the girls' relational and paradoxical knowing and not-knowing in sexual violence. Sub-chapter 6.3 elaborates about the situational resistance against and/or adjustment to the sexist hierarchies. Sub-chapter 6.4 summarises these reflections.

In Sub-chapter 7.1, I present shortly the research findings based on my four articles and also based on re-reading these findings in the light of Carol Gilligan's theorisations. Thirdly, I want to emphasise two matters which I reflect further, and these are the *abusive illusion of care* and the term *Internalised Sexual Violence* (ISV) as a sexism-related perspective. I then go on to provide suggestions for future research and violence prevention among adolescent girls based on these findings. In Sub-chapter 7.3, I will make my concluding thoughts.

2 Sexual violence against and among adolescent girls

In this chapter, I start by presenting the different forms of sexual violence and their prevalence among adolescent girls based on previous national and international research. As my research is focused on the Finnish context, I proceed to elaborate on how adolescent girls tell about sexual violence based specifically on Finnish research on sexual violence among adolescent girls. Next, I ponder sexual violence from the point of view of sexual exploitation and self-abusive acts among adolescent girls through relevant research literature. Finally, I describe the aims of my study that contribute to the research gap mapped from prior research.

2.1 Prevalence of different forms of sexual violence among girls

The multiple definitions of violence are perhaps unavoidable, however, we need consensus to a certain degree on what the characteristics of violence actually are in order to enable a discussion of the issue, especially from the preventative point of view. A network of World Health Organisation member states, The Violence Prevention Alliance (VPA), has contributed to making a political act against violence. They proposed a global consensus on what exactly the characteristics of violence are and presented a typology of violence in the World Report on Violence and Health (see Figure 1) (Dahlberg & Krug, 2002, p. 4).
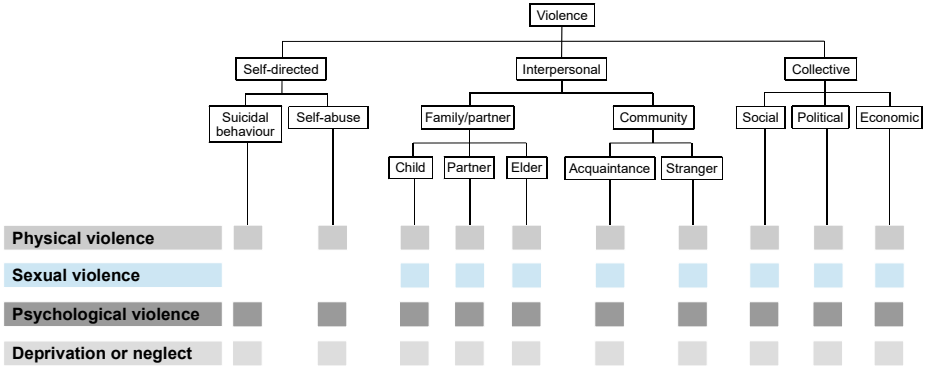
Fig. 1. The World Health Organisation's typology of violence.

The typology divides violence into three broad categories, according to who commits the violent act and these categories are: self-directed violence; interpersonal violence; and collective violence. These three broad categories are further divided into different forms of violence, such as physical; sexual; psychological; and deprivation or neglect (World Health Organisation, 2002). However, there are two gaps in the World Health Organisation's typology of violence that are salient: the typology does not recognise self-directed sexual violence as suicidal behaviour or as self-abuse. I will elaborate on this matter in more detail at the end of this chapter.

I will take the following World Health Organisation's (2002) definition of sexual violence as the starting point for my research: "any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting including but not limited to home and work" (Jewkes, Sen & Garcia-Moreno, 2002, p. 149).

As confirmed, girls and women are particularly vulnerable to experiencing sexual violence (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005; Heise & Garcia-Moreno, 2002; United Nations Population Fund, 2003; White & Frabutt, 2006; World Health Organisation, 2010, 2012, 2017). According to recent global figures about 1 in 3 (35%) of "women worldwide have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime" (World Health Organisation, 2017).

In Finland, nearly half of girls and women aged fifteen or older have experienced physical or sexual violence (European Union, 2014) and twelve percent of adolescent girls (15–16-year-olds) have experienced sexual harassment inflicted by peers and ten percent inflicted by an adult (Näsi, 2016). Sexual harassment has indeed become the centre of public discussion lately as mentioned in Chapter 1. Sexual harassment can be defined as an "unwanted and one-sided physical, verbal, or visual sexual behaviour in which sexuality and/or gender are used as a means of subordination, questioning, or control" (Sunnari, 2010; Sunnari et al., 2003). Sexual harassment can be subtle and unnoticeable, for example including jokes that reflect stereotypical and discriminative attitudes (Heikkinen, 2012).

In cases of adults, Finnish law makes a distinct difference between sexual harassment and sexual violence by criminalising sexual touching but no other forms of sexual harassment (Nousiainen & Pentikäinen, 2017). However, when the sexual abuse concerns a child who is under 16, sexual acts that are not physical, but

likely to harm the child's development, are also criminalised (Finlex, 2019c: Criminal law 19.12.1889/39, Chapter 20, section 6–7).[24]

According to the latest Finnish child victim survey, the likelihood of experiencing sexual abuse among 9th grade girls has decreased from 7% in 2008 to 4% in 2013 (Fagerlund, Peltola, Kääriäinen, Ellonen & Sariola, 2014). Yet the change in the number of the sexual abuse cases is quite the opposite, as the number of cases dealt with in court has increased during the 2000's (Hinkkanen, 2009). Fagerlund and colleagues (2014) have interpreted that this increase in filed court cases is due to a more stringent control by the authorities and consequently a greater risk of being caught.

The digitalisation of today's world has created new forms of sexual abuse that adolescent girls face. Interestingly in 2014, even though the use of internet and smartphones had already increased during the years 2008–2013, internet-based harassment and violence were found to have decreased in Finland (Fagerlund et al., 2014). Yet according to the recent Finnish school health survey (Ikonen et al., 2017), most of the sexual harassment experienced (15–18%) among 15–16-year old girls took place over the phone or on the internet.[25] This finding is in line with results from other countries such as Vázquez, Hurtado and Baños (2018) who carried out a study survey of 3,043 teens from Catalonia, Aragon, Galicia, Andalusia, the Balearics and the Canaries and discovered that the adolescents alleged that there is more violence online than offline.

Another recent social phenomenon has also arisen due to the development of digitalisation and this is sexting. Sexting refers to sending sexual messages and/or images and it has become increasingly common practice among adolescents. What makes it one form of sexual violence, is if there is an adult perpetrator involved in sexting with a minor or if the sexting becomes coercive and harassing also in peer-relations. In coercive sexting, the person forces the other person to send and/or receive sex messages. Coercive sexting is also related to other forms of sexual

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[24] "A person who by touching or otherwise performs a sexual act on a child below the age of sixteen years, said act being conducive to impairing his or her development, or induces him or her to perform such an act" (Finlex, 2019c: Criminal law 19.12.1889/39, Chapter 20, section 6). The legal definition also contains the following terms for sexual abuse such as rape, sexual harassment, buying sexual favours from a child (Finlex, 2019c: Criminal law 19.12.1889/39, Chapter 20, sections: 1, 5a, 8). Possession and sharing of photos that offend the decency of a child are punishable acts according to the Criminal law 19.12.1889/39 (Finlex, 2019c: Chapter 17, section 19–20).

[25] One form of this kind of harassment is known as "grooming" which means that an adult persuades a child or adolescent to provide sexual favours without the precondition of having a physical meeting (Finlex, 2019c: Criminal law 19.12.1889/39, Chapter 20, section 8b)

coercion which suggests that there is a potential link to wider patterns of teen dating violence (Kernsmith, Victor & Smith-Darden, 2018). According to Madigan, Ly, Rash, Van Ouytsel and Temple (2018), the prevalence for sending sexts has been studied to be 14.8% and receiving 27.4%. In addition, in their study "the prevalence of forwarding a sext without consent was 12.0% and of having a sext forwarded without consent was 8.4%" (Madigan et al., 2018).[26]

The latest Finnish child victim survey (Fagerlund et al., 2014) also mapped out the adolescent girls' sexual experiences with adults.[27] It was discovered that, even though these experiences are not as general as in the 80's, nowadays girls' sexual partners are increasingly complete strangers. Therefore, the risk factors in sexual experiences of adolescents have not diminished, but rather changed (Fagerlund et al., 2014).[28]

2.2 Violence against and among girls in residential care institutions

International research indicates that girls experience violence in the context of residential care (Barter, 2008; Barter, Renold, Berridge & Cawson, 2004; Brodie & Pearce, 2017), and that girls are more likely to experience such violence, compared with boys (Attar-Schwartz & Khoury-Kassabri, 2015; Euser, Alink, Tharner, van Ijzendoorn & Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2014; Uliando & Mellor, 2012). It has also been stated that placement in residential care often fails to meet the needs or to provide the required protection from physical and sexual abuse, especially for girls (O'Neill, 2006).

According to Ellonen and Pösö (2010a), Finnish children in care have experienced considerably less physical and mental violence perpetrated by the adults who are taking care of them, compared with the children living with their parents. However, the results of the Finnish school health survey (Ikonen et al., 2017) reveal the opposite, and they indicate that adolescents in care face violence or the threat of violence more than young people living with their own parent/s. It was suggested that this violence is possibly experienced in other relationships than

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[26]Madigan and colleagues (2018) made a literature review and meta-analysis of 39 scientific studies in which there were a total of 110 380 participants with an age range of 11.9–17-years.

[27] One form of sexual abuse mentioned is children's and adolescents' statutory sex crime relationships with adult men (Hines & Finkelhor, 2007).

[28] The link between the parents' educational background is especially relevant in the girls' sexual experiences in 2008 and 2013. The mothers' educational background is especially influential in a very different manner from that of the fathers.

in the relations between the adolescent and the adults who take care of them.[29] Furthermore, this same survey indicates that adolescents in care have a five-fold risk of experiencing sexual violence when compared to those living with their parent/s (Ikonen et al., 2017). Similar findings were reached in England as it was found that children in residential care (in and outside the residential care facility) had a six times higher risk of experiencing sexual abuse when compared to the general population (Hobbs, Hobbs & Wynne, 1999).

No broad international research examining the prevalence of sexual violence among children and adolescents living in residential care exists (Timmerman & Schreuder, 2014). However, what has been studied is that peer sexual abuse can be normalised and accepted in residential care institutions (Green & Masson, 2002). There has been a tendency for boys' sexuality to be invisible and for girls to be punished and controlled by their sexuality (Parkin & Green, 1997). This can mean that in some residential homes, girls are even blamed for the sexual abuse (Barter, 2006).

According to a Norwegian study, girls have a high tendency to have experienced severe sexual abuse in their lives before ending up in residential care (Greger, Myhre, Lydersen & Jozefiak, 2015). In a Dutch study, the prevalence of sexual abuse during care was investigated by asking both staff and adolescents in youth welfare institutions and foster families on the subject. The staff estimated that the 12-month prevalence of sexual abuse with physical contact was 0.31%, while the adolescents (N = 329) indicated the prevalence to be much higher: around 18.8%. Adolescents in residential care facilities were affected by sexual violence more frequently than those in foster care. Offenders in the residential care facilities were mostly (in 57% of the cases) the other adolescents who also lived in these institutions (Euser et al., 2013).

Residential care institutions can be considered places of high risk of sexual violence, particularly for girls (Cawson, Berridge, Barter & Renold, 2002). Multiple placements while in care can especially cause additional challenges in developing trusting relationships with others and this can make the girls become vulnerable to sexual exploitation through prostitution (Coy, 2008, 2009b).

According to a German study, adolescent girls' lifetime prevalence of severe sexual victimisation (in and outside of institutions) was 46.7% (Allroggen et al., 2017). Yet, another German study acknowledges this high tendency for sexual re-

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[29] For example, during unlicensed absences they are vulnerable to experiencing physical and sexual violence (Lehtonen & Télen, 2013).

victimisation among girls and young women in residential care. Kavemann, Helfferich, Kindler and Nagel (2018) found that despite the traumatic problems and psychological disorders, improvement towards lesser vulnerability after sexual abuse and other forms of endangerment is possible, for example, by providing interventions and prevention in the form of trauma pedagogy, emancipatory sex education and violence prevention.

2.3 Contradictory sexual exploitation and sexual self-abusive acts among adolescent girls

This sub-chapter deals with sexual violence through relevant research literature from the point of view of sexual exploitation and sexual self-abusive acts among adolescent girls.

There are different terms available to describe sexual self-abusive behaviour among adolescents. For example, there is a term "sex as a self-injury" (SASI) that is used in Swedish society, but it is not accepted in the research field (Fredlund, Svedin, Priebe, Jonsson & Wadsby, 2017). In a report by the Children's Welfare Foundation Sweden, it was suggested that SASI be described as the follows: "when a person has a pattern of seeking sexual situations involving mental or physical harm to themselves. The behavior causes significant distress or impairment in school, work, or other important areas" (Jonsson & Mattsson, 2012).

In Finland, there is a new, or recently spoken about, phenomenon which could be considered as an action of SASI. This is sexual violence among youth when the youth are carrying out sexual favours for an adult perpetrator and receiving goods in return. This is called "transactional sex"[30] in Finland (Vuorelainen & Elonheimo, 2013), but also elsewhere (Cheung, Jia, Li & Lee, 2016; Stoebenau, Heise, Wamoyi & Bobrova, 2016). This type of behaviour by girls has been traditionally conceptualised as risky (Doubova, Infante-Castañeda & Pérez-Cuevas, 2016; Jonas, Crutzen, Van Den Borne, Sewpaul & Reddy, 2016), as a type of sexual risk-taking (Lindroth & Löfgren-Mårtenson, 2013; Lowry, Robin & Kann, 2017) or as statutory sex crime relationships with adult men (Hines & Finkelhor, 2007).

When speaking about a child's sexual abuse and exploitation, Luxenbourg's terminology guidelines recommend that the term "transactional sex" be avoided (Greijer & Doek, 2016). The term "transactional sex," might indeed give a

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[30] In Finnish: vastikkeellinen seksi.

misleading impression that there are two equal people making a business deal, when the reality is that there is an adult perpetrating a crime on a minor.

Adolescent girls can also be traumatised by sexual violence experiences and one of the symptoms can be oversexualised behaviour that is inappropriate for a girl's age and becomes compulsive, violent or risky (Putnam, 2003). The girls' risky behaviour and dating violence can be connected (King, Hatcher, Blakey & Mbizo, 2015), such as being subjected to dating violence relates to a higher risk of alcohol and experimenting drugs use (Niemi, 2011). The girls' substance abuse can become a coping strategy, and the violent and sexually abusing adult sexual partners nevertheless encourage the girls' substance abuse (DeHart & Moran, 2015).

The term commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) has also been used to describe these phenomena and sex trafficking involving minors is one form of CSEC, including several forms of exploitation such as prostitution, pornography and child sex tourism (Miller-Perrin & Wurtele, 2017).

Research focusing on child sexual exploitation (CSE) and the *exchange* aspect has brought new understanding about young people's experiences of sexual violence (Beckett & Walker, 2018). However, as Beckett and Walker (2018) argue, to use exchange as the main determinant is an inadequate framework for this complex problem of sexual abuse, and it also produces a false difference between child sexual exploitation and other forms of child sexual abuse that deny the variability in individual victim's experiences. Identifying victims of commercial sexual exploitation in the juvenile justice system is challenging and requires concerted organisational commitment (Salisbury, Dabney & Russell, 2014), and CSEC is a persistent problem in the United States (Murphy, Bennett & Kottke, 2016), and prevalent in various forms all over the world.

What separates sex trafficking from other sexual crimes such as molestation, sexual assault and rape is that in this sexual exploitation there is a commercial aspect (Finklea, Fernandes-Alcantara & Siskin, 2011), which can be any form of compensation, financial or otherwise. For example, child prostitution can involve financial compensation, but sexual acts can also be exchanged for shelter, food, or desired items such as drugs, which is often referred to as survival sex (Dottridge, 2008). In the case of a minor, there is no need to prove that force, fraud, or coercion was used to qualify someone as a sex trafficking victim, as the power differential between adults and minors may include physical differences, but also the incapacity of the minor to consent to or evaluate the consequences of such acts (Miller-Perrin & Wurtele, 2017).

Adolescents may definitely differ in their awareness and assertiveness in protecting their bodily integrity and consciously voicing and deciding about their consent in sexual activities. Previous research in Finland, for instance, has suggested that some are aware and protective, while others are aware of neither their bodily integrity nor sexual norms, leaving them more vulnerable to resisting different forms of sexual violence (Piispa & Honkatukia, 2008).

Furthermore, young people themselves comprehend the concept of consent in a very formal way in terms of mutuality, approval and permission. However, when real life contexts are introduced—such as alcohol, a relationship, sexual attraction, young people are much less clear about what actually constitutes consent (Coy, Kelly, Vera-Gray, Garner & Kanyeredzi, 2016). Young people instead prefer communicating their willingness to have sex rather than expressing verbally their consent to sex (Beres, 2014). Burkett and Hamilton (2012) found out that young women (aged 18–24 years) consider that sexual assault implies the use of physical force. Even though they were aware of the pressure which may lead them to have sex, however, if they had not expressly said the word "no," they considered that they had given their consent (Burkett & Hamilton, 2012). Furthermore, the actual "negotiation" about sexual intercourse was mostly considered to be non-verbal.

Some young people themselves may even believe that in certain contexts the pressure or coercion of young women to have sex is justified, such as being drunk, being in a sexual relationship with somebody, or being considered as "easy" (Coy, Lee, Roach & Kelly, 2010). Victim-blaming in cases of sexual violence is a serious matter. Pearce and Coy (2018) have argued that victim-blaming is often due to a poor understanding of the psychosocial pressures facing children who are being exploited and manipulated into appearing to consent to their own exploitation. In addition, young people in their late adolescence are often considered to be responsible for their abuse, the attention on their sexual abuse has been focused on their "delinquent" behaviour, their way of dressing, their demeanour or their maturity (Pearce & Coy, 2018).

However, Criminal law is surely unambiguous in its age limits for consensual sex. Furthermore, the idea that rape should be defined as lack of consent in legislation is primarily good as this would destroy the myth that rape is always executed by using violence. However, is this solely adequate when speaking of sexual violence from the perspectives of the victims? Coy and colleagues (2016) have suggested that instead of thinking of consent as an absence of resistance, it should rather be considered as an enthusiastic and embodied yes.

Overall sexual consent could be more about getting consent rather than giving consent (see also Pearce & Coy, 2018). This means that the responsibility would be to ensure a partner's willingness and consent to having sex, rather than merely assuming their consent. However, this becomes a bit problematic, when speaking about an adult having sexual relations with a minor. The young person may think that she had been willing to have sex and that she had given her consent for the sexual act. In addition, perhaps her consent had even been asked for by the adult perpetrator. The unequal power relations invalidate the agenda of asking and giving sexual consent.

Pearce (2013) has developed a social model of abused consent for just such problematics. This social model contains four different forms of abused consent, which can operate separately and in conjunction with each other. By coerced consent, she means that the child is subtly and/or violently manipulated into consenting to sexual activity. Normalised consent contains the distorted societal attitudes that may consider sexual exploitation and violence as inherent and normal. In survival consent, Pearce has considered that poverty can be the unfortunate motivator for adolescents consenting to sex in exchange for money or other gifts. The fourth one is slightly different: condoned consent and according to Pearce it refers to situations where practitioners fail to recognise sexual exploitation and therefore end up condoning it. Yet, Pearce separates the condoned consent into two forms: unconscious which means for example poorly trained professionals and professional negligence.

Pearce's (2013) model enables the consent to be contextualised and reveals information about the potential abusive and exploitative relationships and the contexts that lie behind the "consent." Lately other researchers have also emphasised the importance of considering the context in which the violence occurs (Beckett & Walker, 2018), as well as the abusive normalising processes and coercive practices within it (Firmin, Warrington & Pearce, 2016). The latter are especially important as the normalisation of sexual violence is further perpetuated when young people connect control to love, care and protection (Aghtaie, Barter, Stanley, Wood & Överlien, 2018).

2.4   Adolescent girls telling about sexual violence

In Finland, the research data on sexual violence among adolescent girls have been mainly generated by means of interviews and written stories based on memories of the girls and women, and there are several studies dealing with sexual abuse of

children (e.g., Laitinen, 2004; Peltoniemi, 1988; Sariola, 1990). Furthermore, sexual harassment has been one of the focuses in the studies. For example, Saarikoski (2001) studied "whore" labelling during girl adolescence through written stories. In her data requests, she asked for stories from the girls concerning their experiences that were or had taken place during adolescence. She got 51 responses from 12–55-year-old girls and women, and 30 of them had personally experienced this type of labelling. Korhonen and Kuusi (2003) studied sexual harassment through 30 participants who were currently adults (27 women and 3 men), but they wrote about their previous experiences that had taken place while at school. The participants had experienced physical harassment as well as verbal harassment concerning their appearance.

Lehtonen's (2003) research was not directly about sexual violence, but it was about one's sexuality and following the heteronormative norms, and how not following them might result in experiencing violence and isolation. He studied the heteronormativity at school by conducting theme interviews with 30 non-heterosexual youth (16 women and 14 men) who, besides two of them, were 15–20-year-olds. Lehtonen (2003) specifically chose non-heterosexual youths, as he considered that they would have experienced the pressure for heteronormativity and would have possibly questioned it as well. He discovered that the hierarchies and groupings among the students at school, as well as the different name-callings and violence enhanced and controlled the possibilities related to gender and sexuality.

Näre (2000) studied sexual violence through the reports of the telephone emergency services of the rape crisis centre Tukinainen. The reports concern the cases of 10–20-year-old girls. Näre focused on the nature of trust in the relationships between the girls and the perpetrator. She indicated that the closer the level of trust was in the perpetrator, the more severe the consequences the rape had on the girls' life control and wellbeing (Näre, 2000).

There is also extensive quantitative research, of direct or indirect nature, about sexual violence, and the data is generated mostly by means of self-filled and anonymous questionnaires (e.g., Fagerlund, et al., 2014; Haavio-Mannila & Kontula, 1993; Honkatukia, 2000; Niemi, 2011; Sunnari, 2010).

Haavio-Mannila and Kontula (1993) conducted a "Finnish sex" (Suomalainen seksi) research in which adult women were asked about situations of sexual harassment that had occurred in their adolescence. The data were generated from self-filled questionnaires (n = 2196) and interviews (n = 2250). There were 1146 women respondents in which 17% of the women had experienced sexual

harassment whilst under the age of 18 and the harassment was carried out by boys, men or their boyfriends. An alarming finding was the increase in the cases of young girls being harassed by non-familiar men (Haavio-Mannila & Kontula, 1993).

Honkatukia (2000) studied the prevalence of gender-based harassment among ninth grader girls (n = 2222) within the Finnish school health survey by asking whether the girls had been approached, touched or whether anyone had attempted to kiss them without their consent. Honkatukia's (2000) question somewhat leads the girls to answer based mostly on their physical experiences and 41% of the girls who answered confirmed that they had experienced physical harassment. In the questionnaire, the girls were also asked to tell in more detail about the harassment they had experienced. Most of the girls (72%) chose to describe what had happened and/or they named the experience. These experiences were named as such, as touching, kissing (or attempts of kissing or touching, rape, attempt to force intercourse, proposals, other threatening situations and sexual abuse (Honkatukia, 2000).

Honkatukia (2000) was pondering the reason why 59% of the girls did not report on having had experiences of sexual harassment. Besides the fact that they just did not have any of those experiences, there is also the possibility of wanting to hide and keep silent about the sexual harassment experienced. Honkatukia (2000) interpreted that this silence could be due simply to the shame from what had happened or the fear that their answers may be seen by their peers sitting next to them. This disclosure could then lead to a bad reputation among their peers and guilt which their parents and other adults may make them feel (Honkatukia, 2000). Two years later Honkatukia (2002) did a follow-up study on the matter and the percentages of the results remained the same. This time, boys were also included in the research and 15% of them had experienced harassment.

In Niemi's (2011) research, she studied whether there was any link between young people's social factors, such as family background and risky behaviour, and experiencing dating violence. Additionally, she focused on examining how common experiencing violence in other contexts and being violent themselves correlated with experiences of dating violence. Her research is based on the Finnish child victim survey done in 2008 and it was generated with an internet-based questionnaire. The data consists of answers from 5775 (50% girls) 15–16-year-old adolescents (Niemi, 2011).

Niemi (2011) discovered that experiences of violence are cumulative among young people. She interprets the results in such a way that to those who are used to experiencing violence, the slapping coming from the dating partner simply follows

the same practice of violence which they also meet in other areas of their lives. Niemi (2011) came to the conclusion that violence is not necessarily identified as a crime and it can even be believed that this "slight" violence simply belongs to the relationship. However, there might be some progress in this area, as according to the latest Finnish child victim survey, Finnish adolescents' perceptions of sexual abuse seem to have come closer to the definition of sexual abuse as described in Finnish law (Fagerlund et al., 2014).

Sunnari (2010) researched physical sexual harassment among 11–12-year-old children (n = 1738) in Finland and Northwest Russia. Sunnari (2010) generated her data with a questionnaire which did not contain the term "sexual harassment." Instead the term that was used was "groping" which was picked up from the children's own terminology. The children were asked to write down answers to the question: "Have you been groped or touched in a way you do not like at school or on the way to school? If yes, by whom"? They were also asked through a series of multiple choices categories whether the harassment had caused consequences and had the child spoken about the mistreatment to anyone. The children also had the possibility to describe the physical harassment they had experienced and its consequences in their own words (Sunnari, 2010).

Sunnari's (2010) research implies that girls do not like harassment from the boys, even though the girls acknowledged that sexual harassment was considered as "teasing" and "just having fun" by the boys. Based on her research, Sunnari (2010) states that physical sexual harassment creates and maintains vulnerability, shame, fear, and hate among the girls. The sexual harassment had been intentional by the boys and the Finnish boys explained their behaviour through a discourse of fun. Children had very rarely told the teacher about the harassment and a very clear difference between the Russian and Finnish children was that the Russian children found it much more difficult to write about sexual harassment (Sunnari, 2010).

Aaltonen's (2006) dissertation is one of the rare studies in Finland which deals with how 15- to 16-year old adolescents experience and tell about gendered harassment. Her data consists of 108 adolescents' (50% girls) writings[31] about gender-based harassment and 14 interviews[32] with 23[33] adolescents (20 girls and 3

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[31] The adolescents were instructed to comment on some statements the researcher presented. They could also write about what separates the pleasant and non-pleasant expression of interest, what they would evaluate about the reasons and prevalence of gendered harassment and what solutions they would offer, if they consider harassment as a problem. The adolescents could write either experiences and stories about their own lives, but they were also offered the possibility to write a fictional story.
[32] The interviews were either individual or adolescents could choose to come with a friend.
[33] 19 of them participated in the writing assignment.

boys). The interviews were planned to clarify some themes that were presented in the writings in general. However, with permission of the participants, their writings were also tracked and clarified during the interviews. Aaltonen (2006) found out that what is defined and considered as harassment in the eyes of the adolescents is dependent on the situation, conditions and the people involved in it. Quite often sexual harassment was seen as warranted by explaining that the responsibility of what had happened also lay with the target and that boys were just being boys. The girls, on the other hand, were experiencing harassment because of what they were doing, as if harassment might be thought of as the price that needs to be paid for dressing up nicely (Aaltonen, 2006).

Aaltonen (2003) indicates that gender-based harassment among adolescents' peer relations has been made unproblematic by explaining it away as being part of the adolescents' dating culture and as (heterosexual) "sexual teasing." Therefore, in some cases the boy's disturbing behaviour might be seen as caring and attentive and it is directed at pleasant and "nice looking" girls (Aaltonen, 2003). It also states that no adolescent wants to be exposed as the victim or the talebearer in cases of sexual harassment (Aaltonen, 2006), and this is also borne out in international research (Berman, McKenna, Arnold, Taylor & MacQuarrie, 2000).

Aaltonen (2006) points out that there is a surprising grey area in the adolescents' perceptions that is located between being the subject of pleasing attention and being a target of gender-based harassment. According to her, this grey area is a "non-harassment" that is an unwanted and a gender-based action, but which was still considered as "harmless." Aaltonen (2006) points out that as long as something can be defined as "harmless," the target can maintain her/his agency (see Mott & Condor, 1997) and this may be the case in some situations.

Later Aaltonen (2017) continued her research on the same data she used in her dissertation. In this research, she focused on the boundaries that are set by girls in what now is specified more as cases of sexual harassment. She found out that the girls think that someone's behaviour turns into sexual harassment only after they have expressed their unwillingness for it by saying "no." Negotiations on what counts as sexual harassment depends on the spatial or temporal context.

In some cases, sexual harassment is just something that "doesn't matter" to the girls. Aaltonen (2017) found out that, for example, unwanted suggestions and/or touching in online chat rooms, discos, clubs, festivals, parties or about the city at night and/or weekends are not considered severe by the girls. However, harassment that occurs in daylight in public spaces such as streets, shops and/or public transport is not tolerated. On the one hand, if the girl is dressed in revealing clothes and has

put on lots of make-up, the girls consider that they ought to complain if they receive attention, even if its unwanted. This can be considered as victim-blaming as well (Aaltonen, 2017).

Furthermore, Aaltonen (2006) and Honkatukia (2002) have stated that what is considered as sexual harassment and what is not by the girls, depends in some cases also on the appearance and age of the perpetrator. The less pleasant looking and older the man is, the more clearly girls consider it to be sexual harassment. However, if the attention is given by a pleasant looking boy and/or man of their own age range, the act is more readily seen as flattering and positive (Aaltonen, 2006; Honkatukia, 2002). This is in line with international research.

It has been argued that adolescent girls can interpret that aggressiveness, jealousy and controlling behaviour are indicative of care and love (Glass et al., 2003; Vázquez et al., 2018; Wekerle & Wolfe, 1999). This kind of misinterpretation by adolescent girls of their boyfriends' abusive behaviours as a sign of love was already evident in research done over thirty years ago (Henton, Cate, Koval, Lloyd & Christopher, 1983; Roscoe & Callahan, 1985; Roscoe & Kelsey, 1986). Furthermore, insults and belittling comments within the dating relationships are often tolerated by the girls in order to "keep" the boyfriend (Berman et al., 2000). In line with this, Vázquez and colleagues (2018) found out that controlling online behaviour against the girlfriend or boyfriend was not considered as violence by an adolescent, neither was the action where a woman was treated as a sexual object.

2.5   Aims of the articles and compilation report

This dissertation consists of this compilation report and of four academic articles with different focuses on multiple vulnerabilities and sexual violence. I started my research by exploring the vulnerabilities that girls in residential care institutions may have and which may be connected to having experienced sexual violence. This is crucial as mentioned these girls have multi-fold risk of experiencing sexual violence when compared to their peers (Ikonen, et al., 2017).

The first article (2014) focuses on *what adolescent girls tell about present day residential care institutions with respect to Erving Goffman's theory of total institutions (1969)*. This context-based approach by Goffman was relevant in understanding the context where the girls in my research were living, and my interpretation of Goffman's theory is that it is relational in its core nature as it not only focuses on human relations and interaction between individuals, but also from

the societal and organisational perspective. The main concept in the first article was "otherness".

The following three articles are built upon feminist violence research and the previous literature on violence among adolescent girls. In the second article, the main concept was "gender violence". In the third article, I focused on "sexual violence" based on the World Health Organisation's definition. In the fourth article, the main concept was also sexual violence with the perspectives of sexual exploitation and consent.

When mapping out the previous research on sexual violence among adolescent girls, there is very little Finnish qualitative research which explicitly researches how adolescent girls voice and tell about sexual violence (e.g., Aaltonen, 2006; Sunnari, 2010). You can implicitly hear the girls' silence and self-silencing within the research on sexual violence, but there is a need for research focusing precisely on what is said about sexual violence experiences and what is left unspoken. In my second Article (2015), I wanted to contribute precisely to this research gap of the girl's perceptions about violence by asking *what kind of violence experiences the girls in residential care institutions have and what potential challenges they have in their violence recognition.*

As highlighted earlier, the World Health Organisation's typology of violence does not recognise self-directed sexual violence as suicidal behaviour or as self-abuse. This gap in the violence definition needs to be explored and attempts made to conceptualise the term in more detail. Hence, in my third article (2018), I explored more closely *what special features the girls have in their sexual violence experiences explored through the World Health Organisation's typology of violence.* As mentioned above, there is very little Finnish qualitative research that explores adolescent girls' voices about sexual violence. Yet, there is even less research that follows longitudinally how the girls' voices and silences concerning their previous violent experiences potentially change or remain the same.

My fourth article is about how a young woman from a residential care institution background voices her previous experience of a statutory sex crime relationship with an adult man. This is studied as voiced by an adolescent girl with an institutional background. The data were generated during 2013–2017 and the girl was interviewed four times at the ages of 15, 16, 18 and 19. A longitudinal examination of one relationship from the girl's life presents the human vulnerabilities in the girl's connectedness in relationships that took place in violent contexts.

My main aim in this compilation report is to answer the following overall research question that is retrieved from the results of these four Articles: What do the voices and silences about experiences of sexual violence, voiced by adolescent girls with multiple vulnerabilities, tell us when read in the light of Carol Gilligan's theorisations?

3   Listening to the girls: Choices in research data, methods and ethics

In this chapter, I start by describing the distinctive features of the research context, namely the residential care institution. I also elaborate on what it meant to negotiate access to the institutions, as well as to have the ongoing collaboration negotiations in this context.

Next, I illustrate how I generated the data and the data analysis methods I used in each article, as well as in this compilation report. In the fourth section, I present the pre-considerations in ethical matters concerning the data generation in my research, as well as the practical implications for what actual ethical matters may arise during the process. In the final Sub-chapter 3.5, I critically evaluate the validity of the knowledge generated in my research.

3.1   Research context

According to the National Institute for Health and Welfare (T. Kuoppala, personal communication, 24.9.2019), there were 3 300 14- to 17-year-old girls in placements in institutional care in 2018 and there were nearly 1 900 14- to 17-years-old girls in such placements as of 31 December 2018 in Finland. According to Child welfare law (Finlex, 2019b: 13.4.2007/417, Chapter 9, section 40), placement in custody is a last resort in securing a child's growth and development. Priority must be given to allowing children to live with their parents, however, if child protection services evaluate that placement outside the home is the best solution for the child, it is carried out as soon as possible[34]. The child must be taken into custody if there are inadequacies in the child's care or other growth conditions that seriously threaten the child's health or development, or if the child itself poses a serious threat to her or his own health or development (Finlex, 2019b: Child welfare law 13.4.2007/417, Chapter 9, section 40).

However, according to child protection legislation (Finlex, 2019b: Child welfare law 13.4.2007/417, Chapter 9, section 40), children may be taken into custody only if other social care interventions are not suitable or possible, due to what is in the child's best interest in securing her or his growth and development, or if the interventions are proven to be inadequate. Institutional care is especially needed when the child or adolescent is considered as challenging and more

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[34] If the child is in immediate danger, urgent foster care can be arranged.

stringent measures are required as regards receiving and possessing items and contact to the outside world is strictly controlled (Finlex, 2019b: Child welfare law 13.4.2007/417, Chapter 9, section 40; THL, 2018).[35]

In my research, I use the term residential care institution to indicate reform schools, as well as family homes, children's homes and juvenile halls with institutional licences (see Finlex, 2019b: Child welfare law 13.4.2007/417, Chapter 10, section 57). Residential care institutions are long-term care giving facilities where children may live instead of in their family home. According to the Child welfare law 13.4.2007/417, Chapter 11, sections 65–70 (Finlex, 2019b), places that are licensed to offer institutional care are authorised to use restrictive measures such as: the confiscation of substances and objects; bodily search and physical examination; inspection of possessions and deliveries; confiscation of items deemed to be dangerous; restraining a child physically; restrictions on freedom of movement; isolation.

In Finland, residential care institutions not only look like regular detached family houses from the outside, but also from the inside with home-like furnishing and domestic appliances. Children and adolescents have their own rooms and shared living room and kitchen. There are usually around 4–10 children or adolescents in one institution and they can be single sex only or mixed sex units. However, what makes the institutions different from regular homes is that in some units sharp items (such as metal forks and knives, scissors) are forbidden for safety reasons. In addition, the windows and the main door are locked. Surely, the most outstanding difference is the absence of a parent/-s and potential siblings.

Overall, I contacted thirteen institutions in North Ostrobothnia, but only two of these participated in the research. The other institutions gave similar reasons for their refusal, either they only had boys in their institutions or according to them they had girls whose situations in life and mental condition were too challenging to take part in the research. Both institutions participating in the study were institutions with these above-mentioned institutional licenses.

The directors and the staff of these institutions were the gatekeepers for my research and therefore they had a significant role in the success of my research (see Harger & Quintela, 2017; O'Reilly, Ronzoni & Dogra, 2013). Collaboration negotiations with these two participating institutions differed. In the first institution,

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[35] In other cases, the custody of a child can also be organised as family care, institutional care, or as otherwise required according to the needs of the child (Finlex, 2019b: Child welfare law 13.4.2007/417, Chapter 9, section 40).

getting a research permit at management level was easy and no problems were met at any point. All the girls who identified themselves as having had experiences of violence and who were also evaluated by the staff as being psychologically strong enough to participate in the research, were willing to participate in the research. The members of staff were motivated to help with the arrangements.

Easy access to the institutional settings was not a given in all cases (O'Reilly et al., 2013) and indeed with the second institution, there were difficulties in negotiating access in practice, even though official permission had been granted. Timetables were tight in this residential care institution and its different units, and the staff lacked the interest and energy to handle additional demands outside their work. The first challenge was to activate the staff to present the research to the girls. The second challenge was that many of the girls said that they were not interested in participating in the research. I personally visited the residential care units to talk to the girls, who came along more easily when they had met me and heard about my own experiences of being in custody and in institutional care as an adolescent girl. My own background also made communication with the workers in the institution easier and they were more comfortable about me being there after hearing about my history.

3.2   Generating data

As mentioned in the Introduction, my research stands on the epistemological choices that are based on feminist standpoint theory. In the data generation process this premise meant attempting to make the girls' multidimensional voices and silences heard. It also needed reflexivity[36] to be able to recognise and solve the potential inequalities and discriminating hierarchies in the data generation process as these may easily affect knowledge production (Harding, 2004; Heikkinen, 2012; Intemann, 2010). One could criticise that I have maintained and reinforced the undifferentiated dichotomies in my research, for example men versus women, in which the women's point of view is more valued (Kokushkin, 2014). However, it is important to generate knowledge precisely with this group of girls as previous research has indicated that they are especially vulnerable to experiencing sexual violence, in spite of it still being an under-studied topic.

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[36] The reflexivity in the data generation process is described more in detail in Sub-chapter 3.4 and this Sub-chapter 3.2 focuses on the data generation process more from point of view of the data and methods.

My core data is based on interviews conducted in 2013 with eleven[37] girls who identified themselves as having had violent experiences and also on four interviews conducted with one of the girls in years 2013, 2014, 2016 and 2017. The structure of the interviews can be described as semi-structured, but also theme-interviews, since the main objective was to have information about the girls' violent experiences and additionally to have knowledge about their experiences in the residential care institution (Brinkmann, 2014).

In these semi-structured interviews, the research questions were carefully thought out beforehand with the project partners, and also later with my co-writers and my supervisor. In this way, there was a group of people evaluating the possible biases in the questions. The interviews lasted from half an hour to one and a half hours, depending upon the talkativeness of the girls and the time frames set by the residential care unit. Ten interviews were recorded and transcribed. However, one girl refused to allow her interview to be recorded which meant that content of her interview is not as rich as the others.

The focus in the interviews with these eleven girls was on their violence experiences and perceptions about the institution. Within this one girl's case, the first interview was in 2013 when she was fifteen years old. She told her life story concentrating on her experiences of violence and residential care institutions. The second interview was in 2014 when she was sixteen. I asked questions broadly related to her narrative from the first interview. When working with the data, two particular relationships, that had already ended before the first interview, stood out from the girl's story. In this dissertation, I focused on one of these relationships. These two different types of relationships exemplified the vulnerabilities of a relational human being in challenging situations and violent contexts. Therefore, in the final two interviews, my questions guided the girl to go back specifically to these two relationships and experiences. The third interview took place in 2016 when she was 18 years old and legally an adult, and the fourth interview was a year after that. The main aim in generating this data became to explore the change that had potentially occurred in the girl's perceptions towards the experienced violence that had occurred before her custody. Apart from one interview, the interviews with this girl were conducted in public, but private spaces.

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[37] Two girls from the second institution did not want to participate in the research or they did not identify themselves as part of this target group.

Furthermore, I have generated data in an Empowering Care project[38] that have surely supported my own theoretical knowledge and understanding of this special group of girls. Additionally, in Article II, I also used the international data.[39] Working with the international data has undoubtedly increased my understanding of the research matter, however, in this compilation report I only concentrate on the Finnish data.

3.3   Data analysis methods

In my first three Articles, I used qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000; Prior, 2014) to thematically order the data that was separated from the girls' interviews for a more in depth-analysis. Three themes chosen for more in depth-analysis were: Girls' perceptions regarding the institutions (see Article I), girls' meanings about their violence experiences (see Article II) and girls' sexual violence experiences (see Article III).

In my fourth Article,[40] I used a method called Listening Guide by Gilligan and Eddy (2017). The Listening Guide is a psychological research method that focuses on the psychological processes by indicating "the mind's ability to dissociate or push knowledge and experience out of conscious awareness" (Gilligan & Eddy, 2017, p. 79).

In the Listening Guide, there are three rounds of analysis (Gilligan & Eddy, 2017). In the first round of listening in the Listening Guide, I concentrated on the girl's stories and wrote them as chronological descriptions to present what the actual events were according to the girl. I focused on the plot and the terrain of the

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[38] As part of the Empowering Care project, three focus-group interviews were conducted with 13 girls in all without any specific criteria. The purpose of the focus-group interviews was to find out the girls' perceptions mostly about their relationships and not about their experiences of violence and being in institutions. The girls got a cinema ticket as a reward for participating in the individual and/or focus group interviews.

[39] During the Empowering Care project, the data was generated simultaneously during the spring of 2013 in Finland, Bulgaria, Italy and Catalonia. In Bulgaria, the data was collected in a single residential care institution, with fourteen girls being interviewed. In Italy, the fieldwork involved 11 institutions in a single Italian region and interviews with a total of 15 girls. In Catalonia, the fieldwork was conducted in five different institutions and a total of 17 girls aged 13–18 were interviewed. Altogether 57 individual semi-structured interviews of girls living in residential care institutions were conducted and from that data I use the girls' quotes concerning their violence experiences in both English and the native language, except the Finnish data which is only in the native language. Yet, in my compilation report, the focus is solely on the Finnish data. There are no other scientific publications based on this international data.

[40] In Chapter 5, I explain in more detail about how the analysis process was developed in each of my four articles.

stories and on being particularly careful to preserve the girl's own words and meanings without adding any theoretical interpretation (Gilligan & Eddy, 2017). During the second round, I listened for "I-words" by tracking down sentences where the girl used the first-person voice. I asked how the "I" voice was acting and being in this particular terrain of relationality (Gilligan & Eddy, 2017).

Diverging from the original method, I separated the different forms of "I," such as "me" and "mine" and the girl speaking of herself in a passive form in the story. In this way I was able to capture the parts, and their variations, where the girl was speaking of herself as an object or as a bystander in her experiences.

In the third round (Gilligan & Eddy, 2017), I focused on searching for the potential contrapuntal voices that can be identified as different voices and their interaction. "I"-voices are the paths to the girl's contrapuntal voices, and they can indicate struggles "between knowing and not knowing, between having and not having, a possible hidden desire and confusion between herself" and her surrounding relations (Gilligan & Eddy, 2017, p. 79).

Table 1. Data and analysis of the articles.

Article	Data	Analysis as it is named in the Articles	Main concept in the Articles
I	National data. Individual, semi-structured interviews of 11 girls living in two residential care institutions in Northern Finland.	No specific analysis method but following the principles of a qualitative content analysis.	Otherness.
II	International data. Individual, semi-structured interviews of 57 girls living in residential care institutions in Finland, Bulgaria, Italy and Catalonia.	A qualitative content analysis and hermeneutical approach.	Gender violence.
III	National data. Individual, semi-structured interviews of 3 girls living in two residential care institutions in Norther Finland.	A qualitative content analysis.	Sexual violence.
IV	National data. Three individual, semi-structured interviews with one girl during the years 2013–2016.	A Listening Guide.	Sexual violence, sexual exploitation and consent.

My way of interpreting data has developed over the years and the various names of the methods I have used relates to this. However, I would describe the analysis method used in my first three articles at this moment as that of feminist close-reading (see Huuki, 2010), as it contains all the aspects of all the different types of

analysis that I use in the Articles. The Listening Guide is still quite close to feminist close-reading. They both enable data to be interpreted and analysed both superficially and at deep levels. However, the Listening Guide has one new twist compared to the close-reading analysis which enabled me to find even newer different layers and voices from the data when specifically focusing on the I-voices. This compilation report aims to re-read the knowledge generated in these four articles by using feminist close-reading and by means of Carol Gilligan's theorisations, that are presented in the next chapter, as an outcome to answer the research question: What do the voices and silences about experiences of sexual violence, voiced by adolescent girls with multiple vulnerabilities, tell us when read in the light of Carol Gilligan's theorisations?

My research attempts to reveal what is still "un-known" by the girls, but also by myself as a researcher. I describe this revealing as using hermeneutics (as in Article II), however, it also relates to feminist epistemology. There is surely a pressure placed on the researchers by feminist politics to ensure that the voices of marginalised people are heard in their own terms (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002). Yet, feminist epistemology (Harding, 2012) is aware that it is the power relations themselves that can deny a certain knowledge from a certain, marginalised group of people. Therefore, the researcher can reveal this gap in this knowledge based on her/his own theoretical knowledge (Harding, 2004, 2006, 2012; Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002).

As described in the Introduction, I shared some similar standpoints with the girls, as I had been in care as an adolescent girl. One could criticise how it is possible then to be "objective" in the interpretation of the data when having had a personal experience of the researched subject. In this matter, I find support in feminist standpoint theory and more specifically in Harding's (1991, 2004) concept of strong objectivity, which means by looking at reality and the world from one's own particular standpoint. This also means remembering that none of the research making processes are value-free, as every step of the research is decided upon based on some assumption, standpoint, prejudice or principle that is always subjectively shaped by each individual (Harding, 1991, 2004). However, we all have our personal biases about different matters, so it is important to recognise these potential prejudices that might affect the credibility of the speaker (Harding, 2004), and I will ponder this aspect in more detail in Sub-chapter 3.5.

3.4 Ethical considerations in data generation

I introduce the ethical considerations about the data generation in my research in two different areas: the procedural ethics and ethics in practice (see Graham, Powell & Taylor, 2015; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). The procedural ethics contain all the ethical guidelines that were pre-considered and also recommended by the ethical committee of the Faculty of Education, University of Oulu (Research permit 28.3.2013). Preferably, ethical guidelines are responsive, but such procedures generally require assuming and knowing in advance what will happen and how the process will go, but the research context usually is more complex than that (Graham et al., 2015). Therefore, the ethics in practice will then tell about the unpredictable, everyday ethical issues that arose while I was conducting the research (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004).

Procedural ethics

My research has a permit from the research ethical committee of the Faculty of Education, University of Oulu (28.3.2013). Following the ethical guides of the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity (2009), I proposed to the research ethical committee that if the girls in my research did not wish for their parent/parents to be informed about their participation in the research, this opinion should be respected. In this kind of case, the consent of the adolescent girls and the permission of the directors of the residential care institutions ought to be sufficient.

The aim was not to invalidate the role and responsibility of parents. However, the requirement to have the parents' written consent could have limited the girls' participation in the research in the first place (see Collogan & Fleischman, 2005). For example, the parents might have been difficult to reach for various reasons (see Bogolub & Thomas, 2005), or the mental and/or physical condition of the parents might not have been such that they be in a stable enough state to be able to give permission and/or to sign the research permit. Having the parents' consent to enable the girls to participate in the research was also questionable for other reasons: if the girls had experienced any mistreatment carried out by their parents or relatives in particular, they might have wished to conceal this information from their parent/s (see Halse & Honey; 2005; King & Churchill, 2000; Meade & Slesnick, 2002). In controversial cases, the permission of the director of the residential care institution and the approval of the staff would be sufficient. The research ethical committee agreed to this proposal.

However, the committee acknowledged that the guardian has a right based on the Finnish law of childcare and visitation rights 8.4.1983/361 (Finlex, 2019a) to decide on their children's personal matters, according to Article 4.1. To combine the principles of this agreement and the constitution and children's rights is not always quite so simple.[41] The committee pointed out in their statement that while conducting research, causing a mental or other breakdown should as a rule be avoided for those being examined. If this cannot be avoided to gain scientific and beneficial results with a practical application, the researcher needs to carefully assess whether the results are worth the harm the research may cause. The committee also added that it could even be demanded that the researcher point out beforehand to the girls that the data collection might possibly cause long time mental difficulties from reflecting on their experiences, which exceeds the limits of normal everyday life. This was explained in the brochure directed to girls.

The risk-benefit assessment is especially needed when conducting research with young people (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). However, it has been pointed out that when participating in research that studies violence, it can surely cause some subjective anxiety and negative experiences for the children, but it can also further the children's feeling of agency (Ellonen & Pösö, 2010b). There is no clear-cut answer for this. I ensured that the institutions had their networks in place to assist the girls promptly should the girls need further discussion or counselling as a result of the research process. I was conscious that we would surely face difficult matters and experiences with the girls, however perhaps it would have been more troubling for the girls to have left those experiences unspoken and unrevealed.

It was anticipated that in some cases I might be obliged to break confidentiality and report further on the information gained in order to protect the safety of the girls who had been interviewed or potential others as well (see Alderson & Morrow, 2011). Thorough discussions were held beforehand to ensure that in any potential case of violence, it was necessary to consider whether there was any immediate danger that the girl be exposed to violence again, whether the issue had been processed both mentally and in practice or whether it was currently in the process, and whether the issue was known to the residential care staff.

The Ethical Committee additionally stated that the researcher ought to make sure that the principle of voluntariness also be guaranteed throughout the research process, therefore collecting the data should be arranged so that the girls would be

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[41] In practice then, neither of the girls wanted their parents to be informed about their participation in the research.

able to withdraw from the study at any point and this needed to be made clear to the girls. Furthermore, according to the committee, it was to be noted that a girl's uneasiness, self-consciousness, any expression of timidity or physical tiredness be sufficient grounds for the researcher to cease the study, even in situations when the girl herself did not indicate her refusal in a direct verbal manner.

Ethics in practice

In practice, I was aware that it would have been traumatic for the girl if I would have ended the interview as unresolved, had the girl shown uneasiness and self-consciousness as described in the Committee's statement. This has also been indicated by Notko and colleagues (2013) who argued that too inflexible ethical regulations may even prevent giving a voice to those people who would benefit most from being heard in the context of a research project.

Furthermore, feminist researchers can indeed develop guidelines for themselves and their colleagues in order to avoid potential harm to the people participating in the research (McCormick, 2013). The emotions listed by the committee would have been easily interpreted as anxiety from their past negative experiences, but these emotions could just as easily indicate the girls' unwillingness to continue in the research. In this case, the girls would have been left alone and even punished for their suppressed emotions and thoughts, while this would have been a safe way to unburden her emotions. I instead aimed to make the girls feel as comfortable as possible and they were aware that they could answer only those questions they chose and if necessary, nodding or shaking one's head would also have been considered an answer. Even if the girls would have cried, which none of them did, I would have let them cry and we would have solved the emotional situation together in a caring fashion.

There is also a procedure which can be defined as "situational negotiating of consent" (Kaukko, Korkiamäki & Kuusisto, 2019), as well as "ongoing consensual decision making" (Ramos, 1989) or as a "consent always-in-process" (Renold, Holland, Ross & Hillman, 2008). In my own research this was seen for instance in one situation, when the girl was really reserved, and she came to me beforehand to say that she did not want to participate in the interview. I recognised and felt the girl's feelings and the repressed emotions behind her decision. I observed the girl's reactions and non-verbal communication and said to her in encouraging manner that she did not have to participate. However, I reminded her that if she decided to participate, she could choose which questions to answer and which not, and she

was able to just nod or shake her head as an answer. This turned out to be successful when taking account of the girl's mental state after the interview. What was behind the girl's anxiety, was that she had a panic disorder and I shared my own experiences with her on that subject. She also had some unresolved emotions regarding her relationship with her mother and the mother's violent behaviour, which she was able to talk about even though it was not required. The girl visibly unwound and relaxed during the interview.

Some of the girls had already actively processed their experiences with psychiatric help. In one case, we decided together with one of the girls that her symptoms were due to her previous experiences and were so severe that she needed professional counselling. With the girl's permission, I informed the staff and counselling was arranged for her.

There were two cases where I was obliged to examine and ponder these occasions more carefully. In both of these cases, according to the girls, an institutional worker had used violence against them. These employees were no longer working at the institutions at the time of the interviews. In the first situation, the act had been one of physical restraint in a conflict situation. In this case, I met the girl for a second time in order to ask more specifically whether the incident had been dealt with in the residential care institution. According to the girl, it had been officially registered and dealt with and I did not have any reason to suspect the girl's story. Additionally, this particular worker was not working there at that time, so it was clear that there was no obligation on my part to deal with it. This was also discussed and agreed with my supervisor who was the project manager of Empowering Care.

The question of restraints is a complex one as the staff of residential care institutions have a legal duty to use certain types of physical restraints when calming the adolescent requires this. Surely, being physically bound would feel like violence to anyone of us. However, it is also open to different interpretations. During the second occasion, the violence was mental and verbal in nature. The girl said that everybody was aware of it and it had been dealt with, but she still wanted me to discuss it further with the representative of the institution. This case was also about the differing interpretations by the girl and the worker.

During the process, there were situations where I needed to take care how I answered the girl's questions regarding my own past, which was also an ethical question. As my own experience at the residential care institution was not overall a pleasant one, I did not want to expose that to the girls and accidentally provoke any negative attitude from them. Therefore, I kept my answers to a practical level rather

than an emotional one. I will elaborate on this challenge in more detail from the perspective of potential tendencies in data generation in the following Sub-chapter 3.5.

3.5 Evaluating the validity of the knowledge generated in the research

Research validity can be evaluated from different perspectives, such as the ethical point of view, methodological choices, quality of data used to include freedom of tendencies and also how transparent the research process is for the reader (Dallimore, 2000; Liljeström, 2004; Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2017; Ramazanoğlu & Holland 2002).

In this chapter, I firstly evaluate the validity of the knowledge generated in my research from the perspective of epistemology of feminist standpoint theory (Anderson, 2017; Harding, 2004, 2012; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007). I then discuss about the data and methods which I used with respect to the validity of the knowledge generated in my research. Finally, I explore the potential tendencies in the research process. In previous sub-chapters of Chapter 3, I have carefully described the ethical considerations (see Sub-chapter 3.4), as well as each stage of the research (see Sub-chapters 3.1–3.3), so as to present the research process in as transparent a manner as possible for the readers.

The validity of the knowledge generated in this research can also be evaluated from the perspective of the main purpose of the research and the usability of the knowledge generated in the research (Dallimore, 2000; Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002). In Sub-chapter 7.1, I will present the main contribution of my research in more detail.

Ramazonoğlu and Holland (2002) have argued that there are no general grounds in feminist research to decide what knowledge is more valid than another. The criterion of valid knowledge is related to ontological and epistemological assumptions about reality and related choices concerning the research and about the quality of the research process (Ramazonoğlu & Holland, 2002). With respect to this, in my research I am committed to the assumption that human beings are relational and as described earlier, I maintain the epistemological premise that the girls in my research had an epistemic advantage due to their experiences of having knowledge based on experiences of violence and having been in residential care institutions.

However, the assumption of epistemic advantage is often misinterpreted (Rolin, 2009), for example, the idea that certain groups automatically have epistemic privilege (Landau, 2008) and some even argue that there is inadequate evidence to support the idea of epistemic advantage (Hekman, 2004; Pinnick, 1994, 2005). Furthermore, it has been emphasised that the controversy around feminist standpoint epistemology is not only a question of whether there is or is not sufficient evidence in support of epistemic advantage, but it is also about what kind of evidence is relevant to the thesis of epistemic advantage (Rolin, 2006).

I argue that actually having the personal experiences of being in a marginalised position and/or vulnerable in different ways can have epistemic privilege. It has, however, been argued that the "oppressed" ones[42] do not always have special access to the "truth" (Warren & Sue, 2011), but of course this is also a question of what truth is and whether there is only one genuine truth that exists. Furthermore, my research focus was precisely on the girls' voicing about the researched matter. I was sensitive in that the girls' experiences in and outside of the institutions may not be taken seriously as their voices might seem peculiar and unusual to the listener who has not experienced anything similar and therefore may have some prejudices towards the girls' experiences.[43] In addition to this, these girls might lack the words to describe their experiences, as they might have lived in environments where there was no possibility to have access to the knowledge to interpret, for instance, what multiple forms violence can take.[44] Therefore, without this kind of knowledge and ability to critically evaluate different matters and sectors in life, girls cannot learn to conceptualise their social experiences. I aimed to ease these potential challenges

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[42] On the other hand, you could also criticise this dualistic and opposing approach of having the "oppressed" ones versus the "norm" ones. Yet, the "centre-margin" binary has been considered as inherent to standpoint theory (Hancock, 2016). Paradies (2018) has argued that intersectionality is a key challenge to the validity of standpoint theory which can partly solve the centre-margin binary. Intersectionality arose already in the late 1980s from the discussion aiming to acknowledge the multiple identities of people (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). This has fractured the implicit dualism of standpoint theory and standpoint epistemologies do not simply have the necessary capacity to deal with the rising fluidity of singular identities themselves, for example people who consider themselves as transgender and transracial (Paradies, 2018). In my research, I chose not to include intersectionality for my main concepts in this research. My aim was to keep the strong focus on sexual violence among adolescent girls. However, this does not mean that I would assume all the girls to be unified, but rather the intersectionality is implicitly part of my interpretations and assumptions.
[43] For example, philosophy Fricker (2007) refers to this kind of epistemic disadvantage as testimonial injustice in a way that the speakers' credibility, liability and ability as knowers have not been valued due to different prejudices.
[44] Fricker (2007) refers to this kind of epistemic disadvantage as a hermeneutical injustice.

among the girls by openly telling them that I had also lived in care and in a residential care institution when I was an adolescent girl.

Now I will go on to evaluate the validity of my research data and the data generation and analysis methods that I used in my doctoral thesis. My research data consists of 11 girls' interviews from Finland, and also the international data of 46 girls' quotations. At the beginning of my doctoral research, I intended to have a wider data base from Finland, however, as mentioned in Sub-chapter 3.1, it was difficult to find participants from this particular focus group of girls. Overall, thirteen different institutions were contacted and only two institutions wanted to participate in this research. The participation rate was high as only two girls from these institutions did not participate in the individual interviews as they did not identify themselves as having had violence experiences.[45]

I used semi-structured interviews [46] because the carefully pre-considered research questions made it possible to search for the gaps in the girls' violence definitions and recognition, as well as the experiences of violence and of being in a residential care institution. My original research questions were set from a wider perspective of exploring the overall violence experiences among girls in residential care institutions and not yet focusing on sexual violence in particular. Furthermore, when the amount of data turned out to be less than originally planned, I applied some additional solutions to ensure the adequacy and validity in my research in order to answer my research questions. The final research questions are presented in Sub-chapter 1.5 and in Chapter 5. I will now describe what these solutions meant from the perspective of the data.

In Article I, as mentioned in Sub-chapter 1.5 we combined our data with Mervi Kaukko to enable a wider perspective on the research matter of living in a residential care institution in present day Finland. In Article II, I also used quotes from the international data, to enrich and widen the data from the perspective of exploring the violence definitions and experiences among adolescent girls who were in residential care institutions.

In Articles III and IV, I took a different approach started to deepen my research focus, as well as the data analysis. In these articles, the data used is limited in size, but the analysis was more nuanced and in depth. In Article III, I chose three girls' stories for closer analysis. These girls' cases offered situated and contextualised

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[45] This criterion was set by the Empowering Care project.
[46] This interview method was originally set by the Empowering Care project, yet I chose to also use it when collecting data for the fourth Article. The World Health Organisation's typology of violence also enriches the analysis.

knowledge about the girls' self-perpetrated characteristics in sexual violence, and the circumstances in which these sexual violence experiences could take place. Previous violence research acknowledges this type of sexual violence, but my aim was to analyse it further and re-conceptualise it. In this process of analysis, the World Health Organisation's typology of violence also enriches the analysis, along with existing research studies.

For Article IV, I chose a girl whom I interviewed longitudinally. These repeated interviews brought additional value and perspective to the existing data. I justify selecting this girl for more close interviews as the aim was to generate deep and rich data about the girl's particular experiences of violence and her perceptions towards them over time. Concentrating on all eleven girls longitudinally would have demanded quite an effort economically speaking and time-wise that was not possible. For example, following these girls would have meant in practice to interview every girl at least four times during the years 2013–2017 by travelling at my own expense all over the Finland. Furthermore, the knowledge still might have been more superficial than the knowledge produced only by this one girl.

When evaluating the data analysis methods, the decision to use semi-structured interviews determined that certain methods were not suitable. For instance, the narrative approach which is based on the idea of somewhat free story-telling and the interaction of the researcher and research participant (Bochner & Riggs, 2014). Furthermore, even though my focus was on the experiences of the girls, my data generation method did not enable me to use a phenomenological analysis (Eberle, 2014). Phenomenology confines itself to studying the here-and-now of lived experiences without having any predetermined assumptions, definitions, or theoretical frameworks (Eberle, 2014), and not to exploiting the topic further, such as for example hermeneutics (Wernet, 2014). Feminist close reading (Huuki, 2010) and Listening guide (Gilligan & Eddy, 2017) allow the researcher to be more interpretative.

As described in Sub-chapter 3.3, in my first three articles I used qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000; Prior, 2014; Schreier, 2014) to thematically order the data and selected theoretical conceptualisations were used to aid the analysis and interpretation. In Article I, the girls' perceptions regarding the institutions were analysed by using Erving Goffman's theory of total institutions. In Article II, the girls' experiences of violence and what potential challenges they have in their recognition of violence were explored through relevant texts on gender violence. In Article III, I studied what special characteristics the girls have in their experiences of sexual violence. An important premise for this article was the World

Health Organisation's typology of violence which I used together with my co-writer when analysing the data. This process led us to notice that there is a gap in the World Health Organisation's typology of violence and to enable more in-depth and valid analysis, we decided to use only three girls' stories in this article.

I evaluate that using the method that was related to qualitative content analysis was adequate to thematically order the data in Articles I–III. Secondly, these above-mentioned theoretical and literature companions were significant in generating valid and reliable knowledge that enabled me to provide the answers to the research questions of these articles. As mentioned, I would currently define this kind of analysis approach used in Articles I–III as feminist close-reading (see Huuki, 2010).

In my Article IV, I felt that I needed to have a data analysis method that would enable me to find even more nuanced information on how a young woman from a residential care institution background voices over time her previous experience of a statutory sex crime relationship with an adult man. I chose to use the Listening Guide method by Gilligan and Eddy (2017) as it enabled me to explore and approach the data from different aspects and levels. For example, I was able to present the chronological descriptions and temporal variations from the data. However, still maintaining the girl's own wording and voicing, as well as tracking potential contradictions in her voicing. This method also helped me to identify and capture the sections, where the girl was speaking of herself as an active actor, as an object or as a bystander in her experiences. There were also some other voices to be heard as an echo from different influences of people and situations. I would argue that the Listening Guide with this particular data and with this particular Article IV was a justified choice in generating valuable and valid knowledge on this matter.

Next, I will ponder the freedom of tendencies in my research process. My own background as having been in a residential care institution is mentioned. I argue, that I was able to take advantage of my own situated knowledge when interpreting the girls' voices. It is, however, possible that I may have been unaware of some issues that I may have considered as "normal," as they appeared so familiar to me. However, my own situated knowledge and professional status helped me to recognise the deeper meanings in the girls' speech that were not perhaps necessarily acknowledged by the girls themselves, such as the features of sexist violence and predominant power structures in the institution. Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter 3.2, the research questions were not only thought out carefully beforehand with the project partners, but also with my co-writers and my supervisor. Therefore,

this minimised the possibility of producing any biased knowledge, but it also helped in identifying the sections in which potential tendencies might occur.

For this Harding (1991, 2004) has used a concept of "strong reflexivity" which is an embodiment of a strong objectivity through method. Strong reflexivity requires the researcher to be aware and critically reflective about the different ways her positionality can assist as both an interference and a resource toward attaining knowledge in the research process (Harding, 1991, 2004). Reflexivity has indeed been a principle of good feminist research as it can be used to make the power relations and the exercise of power in the research process as visible as possible (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002).

The relation between the researcher and the researched people cannot indeed be overlooked and it is especially relevant from the power aspect (Wrede-Jäntti, 2019; Robinson & Kellett, 2004). When looking at the relation between myself and the girls from the perspective of what I had in common with them, it was perhaps that we shared similar experiences of having been in a marginalised position and having multiple vulnerabilities in our lives, such as experiences that had led to being taken into care, the time in the institution itself and the aftermath of this. Besides the same gender, which was relevant when researching the sensitive issue such as violence experiences, the girls and I have both lived and been raised as girls in Finnish society. These similarities can of course cause tendencies for the girls to answer the questions as they would assume that I would like them to answer. However, I evaluate that the pre-considered questions, that were planned to explore the researched matter from many different aspects, would have revealed this kind of tendency.

Furthermore, of course I had some different experiences and standpoints compared to the girls. For example, we were born and raised in different decades and in different societal times. In addition, we cannot ignore the fact that the power relations between myself and the girls were unequal to some extent. I was twice their age and, moreover, a researcher from the University asking them questions. I did, however, do my very best at all times to correct this inequality within the situation by treating them with both empathy and respect.

The girl's citation below shows how girls in residential care institutions might reflect their experiences, as this particular girl considers that her life is already over because of being in a residential care institution.

Girl: Well I don't know, because I first thought that I will become a lawyer or something ... But no, now I don't care how school goes ... That I probably won't do anything after secondary school.

Helena: What makes you think that?

Girl: I don't know. It has no meaning. Because you'll get institutionalised and you are here, just can't. It has no meaning.

Girl: But I don't believe that my life will go well when I will get out of here. Like if I am here until I am 18 years old, where it (life) will go like when I will get out of here and I can be free. Like where will I be after that. But it surely won't go well! / No but everybody, that I know, who has been in institutions like from my age until eighteen. Most of them are in prison at the moment. And beside that they are living with their friends and are using something (drugs) ... But this place doesn't at least cure a person, it maybe makes you tougher and so on, but it doesn't cure. / No but, there is no way back in my life. Think of my relatives, my family, my friends. That there is no way back—you are what you are.

I, as a relatively older woman who shared a similar past within institutional care, was able to remind her that there might also be other possible options in life. Perhaps this unexpected response for the girl had a positive impact on her and something magical happened in that moment.

Helena: No, I can tell you for a fact that it is not like that. Look at me for instance.

Girl: Well, yes ... Ok ...

This particular discussion with the girl might have expanded the girl's way of thinking as it seems in that brief moment. Because of my own past of having been in care as an adolescent girl, I had the possibility to try to ensure that the voices of the girls were heard and understood in a way only possible by myself as a person who had previously lived in a residential care institution. It is more or less impossible to evaluate whether this research will have any negative or positive impact on the girls who participated in the research. [47] However, some new openings were reached during the data generation by offering an alternative in

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[47] The girls who participated in the research will, however, potentially benefit from the knowledge that was produced in my research to enhance violence prevention among adolescent girls.

which the past does not determine how one's future will be and how one's abilities in life will flourish or not. Furthermore, making the atmosphere light and safe made it easier to confront difficult issues as well (Wrede-Jäntti, 2019). I would evaluate that my personal experiences of having been marginalised and vulnerable perhaps played a great part in my being able to receive and process the challenging matters that the girls shared. Indeed, I would like to suggest that all the girls who shared vulnerable things with me felt great relief afterwards rather than anxiety. We were able to transform misfortunes in our lives into valuable mental resources as pointed out in this girl's citation above.

4   Girls' voices and silences by Carol Gilligan

In this chapter, I present Carol Gilligan's theorisations on adolescent girls' voices and silences. I chose it to be the main theory in my compilation report because her thoughts about the human being's relationality and vulnerability resonated with my data, as well as with my own ideas of the world. Furthermore, Gilligan's writings relate to a process when children and adolescents are beginning to adapt gender-based hierarchies and stereotypes.

I start in Sub-chapter 4.1 by introducing Carol Gilligan's main publications and the critiques that her writings have received over the years. The next two sub-chapters focus in more detail on those of Gilligan's conceptualisations that are relevant to my research. In Sub-chapter 4.2, I explain what the terms *relationality*, *voice* and *self-silencing* mean in Gilligan's conceptualisation and among adolescent girls. In Sub-chapter 4.3, I explore Gilligan's concept of *different voice* as voiced, but also what it means as a *resistance*.

4.1   Overview on Carol Gilligan's writings

When Carol Gilligan started writing her first book, *In a different Voice* (1982),[48] she considers taking distance from ways of speaking that portrayed men as humans and women as different (Gilligan, 2011). Taking women's voices into psychology caused a methodological challenge: "how to listen to women in women's terms, rather than assimilating women's voices to the existing theoretical framework" (Gilligan, 2003, p. 156).

In her book, *In a Different Voice*, Gilligan refers to three different studies. The first one is a "College study" that contains interviews with 25 students from their early adulthood. The second research is an "Abortion decision study" with interviews from 29 women aged between 15–33.[49] The third study is about a "Rights and responsibilities study" that includes interviews with 72 females and 72 males from the ages of 6–60.

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[48] It was based on the Gilligan's (1977) preliminary studies of 29 women whose discourses were interpreted by traditional models of moral development by Kohlberg and Piaget. Gilligan found that there were significant differences separating women from what was then considered the (male) norm, such as greater concern for others and a reluctance to judge absolutely for every situation. Therefore, Gilligan suggested values of care, self-sacrifice, and non-violence as representative of the female model.

[49] In her abortion decision study, Gilligan studied how the women conceptualised abortion in moral terms and if so, what did they see as the moral problem in it and what impact the sense of self had in deciding whether to undergo an abortion or not (Gilligan, 1982).

Gilligan (1982) describes in her book how during the process of discussion women's voices start to include being responsible for themselves, in addition to the responsibility for others. Moreover, she explains how psychological logic was connected when reframing the dilemma as a problem of relationship and not primarily as a conflict of rights. Gilligan (1982) found out that the women did not isolate the moral predicament from the context in which it was embedded. Furthermore, the women did not separate themselves from their relationships, nor divide their thoughts from their emotions. The women voices were "different" than presupposed in previous conceptualisations (Gilligan, 1982).

Gilligan later returned to reflecting on the term of "different voice." For example, in her text from 2014, she emphasised that women have many voices, and "the different voice" is only one and it is not limited to only women or typical for all women. She now wrote that the difference arose from the integration of thought with emotions and self with relationships. "It was a voice that spoke from a premise of connectedness[50] rather than of separateness" (Gilligan, 2014, p. 22).

Gilligan considered she had changed the scientific paradigm when she brought the women's voices into, what she called, "the human conversation" (Gilligan, 2011, p. 41). This kind of paradigmatic change can surely lead to a great deal of criticism and Gilligan has had her fair share of it over the past 30 years.

Gilligan's work has been criticised for example for making assumptions based on limited data (Breakwell, 1994) and overgeneralising individualistic notions of self (Lykes, 1994). Gilligan's work has been said to exaggerate the differences between males and females (Senchuk, 1990) and her texts have been read as if she were writing about biological truths of women and men (Gilligan, 2011; Kerber, 1986), whereas Gilligan makes it rather clear that these differences are socially learned and are not biologically based (Gilligan, 2011; Heyes, 1997).

Despite the criticism concerning her first book, Gilligan continued studying the voices, yet, this time they were the voices of pre-adolescent girls (Gilligan, Rogers & Tolman, 1991; McLean Taylor, Gilligan & Sullivan, 1995). Furthermore, over a five-year period, Lyn Mikel Brown and Carol Gilligan (1992) interviewed one hundred pre-adolescents to adolescent girls. They discovered that the girls had experienced specific changes in their way of relating to other people in their adolescence. They found out that the girls silenced or hid the thoughts that they had previously given voice to (Brown & Gilligan, 1992).

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[50] I will use this term from now on as a synonym for the term: relationality.

Brown's and Gilligan's (1992) research also received heavy criticism. For example, Contratto (1994) confused the expectations and possibilities of clinical practice with those of the research situation (Brown, 1994). Brown's and Gilligan's (1992) study was also misinterpreted to assume that boys are then not silenced or that they are able to maintain their vulnerability (Tavris, 1994), when in fact Brown and Gilligan (1992, p. 216) state in their research: "The pressure on boys to dissociate themselves from women early in childhood is analogous to the pressure girls feel to take themselves out of relationships with themselves and with women as they reach adolescence." In addition, they even considered that this development in women's early adolescence is comparable to the time in early childhood in boys' development (Brown & Gilligan, 1992).

In her further studies, Gilligan (2014, p. 24) has stated that adolescent girls' developmental progress in dissociating themselves from women takes place in a developmental progress that also contains a "separation of the self from relationships." Among boys, this happens at the age of five to seven when they start to hide their vulnerability and sensibility. Some boys seem to gradually adjust to the strict gender norms and the boys who cross these norms are easily called "gay or sissies or mama's boys" (Gilligan, 2004, p. 129; 2011, p. 27) and they tend to start to lose the orientation toward relationships (Chu & Gilligan, 2014; Gilligan, 2002). Gilligan (2011) considers that in this period, there is a high occurrence of learning and speech disorders, attention problems, and out of touch and out of control behaviour among boys.

In 2002, Gilligan's published her book entitled *The birth of pleasure*. Gilligan indicates how the underlying patterns of discriminating hierarchies affect our lives. Gilligan states in this book that regardless of their gender, new-borns are sensitively orientated toward the world, but it is the hierarchies that prevent people showing their emotions and vulnerabilities (Gilligan, 2002).

In 2011, Gilligan welcomes us to join the resistance against the oppression, hierarchies and gendered norms in her book *Joining the resistance*. She retrieves her argument based on her studies with adolescent girls and she presents different ways that adolescent girls resist their tendency to lose their voice, and to not know what one knows. In addition, in this book Gilligan (2011) goes on to write that it is fairly easy to recognise how parts of her original texts in 1982 contributed to these misunderstandings, and even led to assimilations of her work into the gender norms that she opposed in the first place (Gilligan, 2011).

In 2017, Gilligan and Snider ask in their article: Why we are still talking about Oedipus, a story of a male violence and a female silence. They argue that it is due

to the discriminating hierarchies that persist because of those with the ruling power, still hold and maintain it, but also because it "serves a psychological function" (Gilligan & Snider, 2017). Gilligan and Snider (2017) answer their question by stating that discriminating hierarchies can act as a shield against losses, but then these hierarchies paradoxically prevent experiencing the one thing that is most feared be lost, namely, love.

As pointed out, Gilligan has done a remarkable work of studying the voices and silences while also acknowledging the discriminating hierarchies in it and yet, she has continuously developed her own thinking as well. Gilligan's theory gives a valuable insight into considering girls' voices and relationality through the wider lense of discriminating hierarchies. She also makes interesting note on how the pressure of starting to dissociate oneself from women starts significantly later within girls than within boys. Among girls this occurs in a very crucial phase of development, during their adolescence. Due to this later timing in girls' psychological development, they are more open to resisting social norms, yet still more vulnerable to losing their selves and their voices. Next, I will go on to explain what the terms *relationality*, *voice* and *self-silencing* among adolescent girls mean in my research when thinking through Gilligan's thoughts.

4.2 Girls' relationality, voice and self-silence

Brown and Gilligan (1992) emphasised in their study that a voice is a central way for having connection. As voice is inherently relational—and "the sounds of one's voice change in resonance depending on the relational acoustics: whether one is heard or not heard, how one is responded to (by oneself and by other people)" (Brown & Gilligan, 1992, p. 20). They consider that voice brings our inner world of feelings and thoughts out into the open for relationships to be heard by ourselves and by other people. According to Brown and Gilligan (1992), voice is embodied as it connects rather than separates psyche and body. But it is inevitable that voice is also connected to language; therefore, it joins our psyche to the culture as well (Brown & Gilligan, 1992).

Based on her studies, Gilligan (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 2002, 2003, 2011, 2014; Gilligan & Snider, 2017) has stated that girls tend to experience a loss of voice in their adolescence and they struggle to take their own experiences seriously, to listen to their own voices and to respond to their feelings and thoughts. Developing and learning from being a girl to being a woman for a girl can mean then to disconnect herself from women and to dissociate herself not only from her

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mother, but also from herself. Therefore, girls can easily be raised to be in connection with others and quite often the psychological dislocations are due to disconnections when the connection is fragmented or interrupted (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 2002, 2003, 2011, 2014; Gilligan & Snider, 2017).

Brown and Gilligan (1992) considered that girls can enact this disconnection through various forms such as:

> Separating themselves or their psyches from their bodies so as not to know what they were feeling, dissociating their voice from their feelings and thoughts so that others would not know what they were experiencing, taking themselves out of relationships so that they could better approximate what others want and desire, or look more like some ideal image of what a woman or what a person should be. (Brown & Gilligan, 1992, pp. 217–218)

According to Gilligan (1982, 2003), the girls' voices can still live within connections that perhaps are not in line with their predominant individuality and this may cause the girls' and women's experiences of a connection to be felt by them as unhealthy or unreal. And Gilligan adds that paradoxically, when speaking of a connection and responsiveness in relationships, women define themselves as either selfish or selfless, as the opposition of themselves was so fundamentally voiced in the public discourse (Gilligan, 1982, 2003).

Gilligan (2002, p. 29) also believes that girls are afraid that "if they give voice to vital parts of themselves, their pleasure and their knowledge, they will endanger their connections with others and with the world at large." Gilligan (2004) has described this process of separating one's self[51] and losing one's voice among the girls with an example of a nine-year-old girl from her study. She considers that at this age the girl knows how her friend is feeling and she describes the fact that she herself is also feeling it as a self-evident thing. At the age of thirteen, this girl no longer feels what she knows and nor knows what she feels, because she has learned that knowing and feeling are two separate and different things (Gilligan, 2004). What had seemed ordinary for the girls before, such as having a voice and living in relations with others, suddenly becomes extraordinary (Gilligan, 2004; Gilligan & Snider, 2017).

Gilligan (2011) points out that when looking at the adolescent stage, it is not so surprising that this period in development is deemed to involve psychological

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[51] This separating one's self may be linked to an increased incidence of depression, eating disorders, cutting and other forms of destructive behaviour among adolescent girls (Gilligan 2011).

distress. She adds that when considering that if boys and girls fail in initiating into the codes of manhood and womanhood that lie in discriminating hierarchies, they are easily shamed and excluded. As a result, they will feel pressed to reject or dissociate themselves from the aspects of themselves that would lead them to appear not to be real boys or good girls (Gilligan, 2011).

However, it is good to remember that Gilligan is not saying that every girl has the same tendencies, as some girls find their way of holding on to their assertive voices and some boys retain their sensitivity (Gilligan & Snider, 2017). Girls approaching adolescence may find themselves in a relational impasse; and they can sometimes resist a series of disconnections (Brown & Gilligan, 1992). It is paradoxical, that girls must give up their voices, but also the desire to be in a relationship in order to have "relationships" as Brown and Gilligan put it (1992). Gilligan and Snider (2017) also ponder whether the separation of the self from relationship is rather a response to a beginning—an initiation that imposes a sacrifice of relationship by shaming the capacity for protest and repair? They consider that sacrifice is necessary because love stands in the way of hierarchy (Gilligan & Snider, 2017). Or perhaps, the hierarchies prevent love.

4.3   Different voice as resistance

As mentioned earlier, in 1982 Gilligan identified a voice that she named as a "different voice" because it is relational and the self and relationships, as well as reason and emotion, have merged together in it (Gilligan, 1982, 2002). Gilligan (2011) considers that this "different voice" is our authentic voice and it is not identified by gender, but themes. The "different voice" resists and undoes the discriminating hierarchies by promoting the democratic norms and values (Gilligan, 2011). However, this voice is still easily replaced by the voices of feminine selflessness and masculine detachment that are socially learned (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan & Snider, 2017).

What Gilligan means by a "different voice" at a theoretical level is that men's disconnection from women[52] and women's dissociation from parts of themselves[53] begin to seem problematic and sound different when framed within an ethic of care (Gilligan, 2003). This dissociation means the inner division that makes it possible for a woman "not to know what she knows, not to think what she thinks, not to feel

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[52] That are before explained as the separation of the self from relationships (Gilligan, 2003).
[53] Previously considered as women's selflessness in relationships (Gilligan, 2003).

what she feels" (Gilligan, 2003, p. 156–158). Dissociation cuts through experiences and memories, and Gilligan (2003) has strongly stated that these cuts can then become part of cultural history and consequently women may even lose the basis of their experience and sense of reality.

Gilligan (2011) thinks that the current dominant voice is based on separation, for the separate self, individuality and the autonomous agency. Because this separation is considered as the norm, it is difficult to hear the connections without listening to what lies beneath the conversations. Gilligan (2011) clarifies that when starting to hear the difference, between the voice that is placed in discriminating hierarchies and the relational voice, this means hearing the separations that have before sounded natural. However, she considers that these separations and disconnections can be psychologically and politically harmful.

Within a relational framework, "the separate self sounds like a disembodied voice speaking as if from nowhere." Whether the discriminatory hierarchies are evident or hidden in the culture, "the different voice with its ethic of care sounds feminine." Yet, when it is heard in its own right and terms, it is a human voice. (Gilligan, 2011, p. 25). However, if the inner voice exposes itself within a space that is less acceptable for relationality and is set to the norm of individuality and reason, it can be psychologically "dangerous" as the openness to one's relationality can heighten of the risk of being even more vulnerable to being excluded in that context (Gilligan, 2003).

Gilligan (2003) considers the feminist ethic of care as the voice of resistance as it means having a different voice within a patriarchal culture. It is different because it connects "reason with emotion, mind with body, self with relationships, men with women" and it resists the divisions that maintain the patriarchal order (Gilligan, 2011, p. 22). Speaking one's own mind can be defined as a healthy resistance against losing relationships, but when opposing the demands of feminine self-sacrifice, the resistance can become as a political resistance against the discriminating hierarchies (Gilligan, 2011). Psychological resistance means then losing one's voice to have relationships that mean repression and dissociation, and denial of things as not-knowing what one knows, or not caring what one cares (Gilligan & Snider, 2017).

In her studies, Gilligan (2004, 2011) has discovered that girls are more able to resist the gender codes of discriminating hierarchies due to their later timing in their developmental initiation. This also means that the girls' resistance can be considered as more likely to be closer to consciousness and therefore more easily recovered (Gilligan, 2004, 2011). Gilligan (2011) even calls the girls' tendency for

resistance as inherently political by describing that there is a certain clarity of girls' honest voices as they resist silencing themselves in order to have relationships. Yet, this move into womanhood can threaten to confuse their sense of what is true and real. Gilligan (2011) has stated that among girls between the ages of nine and thirteen, an honest voice has come to seem or to sound stupid to the girls, however, it is the very voice that the girls are resisting the loss of.

5 Main findings of the articles

In this chapter, I present the four Articles and their main results which this compilation report is based on. The first Article demonstrates the vulnerabilities of adolescent girls in residential care institutions, in their need to be connected and to be in relation with other people. The second Article sheds light on the sexual violence experienced by the girls and especially the girls' silences with regard to it. The third and the fourth Articles go further in exploring precisely the sexual violence and this self-silenced nature that relates to it. The third Article discusses the girls' self-destructive behaviour as ISV which can be considered as a relational act. The fourth Article focuses on studying in detail and longitudinally this relational link between sexual violence and connectedness.

Each sub-chapter starts with the description of the data and the research process of the Articles. At the end of each sub-chapter, there is a separate summary where I present the main findings of the Article which are discussed along with the previous research.

5.1 Article I: Relational vulnerabilities among girls in institutional care

In Article I (2014), I studied what adolescent girls tell about the residential care institutions of today with respect to Erving Goffman's (1969) theorisations on total institutions.[54] This Article was co-authored with Mervi Kaukko and her informants were unaccompanied asylum-seeking girls. I only deal with my part of the Article and I generated my data with girls who were living in residential care institutions. The results from my part of the Article suggest that today's residential care institutions are not total institutions in the sense of Goffman's conceptualisation. However, when interpreting the girls' perceptions with the theory of Goffman, there are still some features of "total institution" (Goffman, 1969) present in Finnish residential care institutions. There was a strong feeling of liminality and waiting in residential care institutions, as the girls anticipated their access to the civilian world, as distant as it felt. The girls were waiting for their coming of age or for the life changing decision of a child placement, which would mean their liberation from

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[54] According to Goffman (1969), "total institutions" are places where a group of people live together and implement every aspect of their lives in the same place. Institutions are often strictly separated from society leading the individual's identities to be adjusted according to the predominant conditions. (Goffman, 1969.)

institutional care and entry into civilian life and the beginning of the "right life." The girls' waiting time included strong uncertainty as none of the girls knew when the doors to new possibilities would open and what would follow from it. The feeling of stagnation in the institutions may be partly due to the girls already having acquired a readiness for independency which they fear they may lose once they are no longer in care.

The institution is offered to the girls as a state in which the adult would again be the care-taker, whether the girls want it or not. Before their arrival at the institution, these girls have often lived in a world in which they have either been more independent than their age level would normally require, or they have lived in a state of total lack of care in which nobody has set for them the limits they would have needed. From the point of view of the adolescents, the protection can seem over exaggerated and to underestimate the girls' agency. Even though they understand the societal goal in the institutions, adolescents experience that some of the practices in the institution can alienate themselves from their dreams and planning their own life.

Yet, some girls may prefer the institutional care to that of their home. One girl in my data considered her custody to be positive and she felt safe in the institution due to her past present of violence at her home. Furthermore, many girls preferred to live in "more institution-like" conditions rather than family homes and that was because the girls considered that they already had parents, so they did not need to be replacing. It was also salient how well many of the girls were aware of their own rights in institutional care and they were able to demand their rights.

Still the girls' personal rights, such as, girls' visits and correspondence can be restricted, which can be seen as one of the distinctive marks of the total institution in our time if using the terminology of Erwin Goffman (1969). According to the girls, speaking about one's personal information and past experiences were forbidden in some units. This kind of multiple isolation was causing some girls to run away from the institution just to see their friends.

Furthermore, nowadays the use of the internet, a social medium, and mobile phones can also be restricted. On the other hand, the forced communication may likewise feel offensive to the girls as some girls are pressurised to be in contact with their parents at the risk of losing their holiday or other punishments. However, unlike Goffman's theory, the staff in the Finnish residential care institutions are often not aware of decisions made on behalf of the adolescents in matters of relevance. Yet, the decisions are made far removed from the target of the decision, which is in line with the features of the total institutions (Goffman, 1969).

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Moreover, the distance between the civilian world and the residential care institutions is also emphasised geographically speaking, as institutions are often located in an outlying district and the mobility of the adolescent can be limited to small surroundings under strict observation by the staff, which causes tensions between the girls and the staff. Because of the obstacles between the institution and the civilian world, the civilian world appears distant to the girls, even though it is the place where the girls would prefer to be. However, when having connections to the outside world, the girls may experience multiple and cumulative discrimination[55] due to their living conditions.

The girls in residential care institutions not only have multiple vulnerabilities deriving from their past lives before the custody, but also in their current lives. They may have had experiences of maltreatment and risky situations in their close relationships which do not allow them a safe sense of connections to other people. The girls might consider their untypical experiences as being a normal part of childhood and adolescence, even though they may in fact be harmful to their bodily and mental integrity.

The main findings of Article I discussed in the light of previous studies

The main finding of Article I was that the girls in residential care institutions have multiple vulnerabilities in forming and feeling safe connections with other people, as well as voicing their feelings and experiences. This lack of safe connections includes many aspects.

When the girls end up in custody, they are separated from their familiar social safety-net on which their current identity has been built. The girls may see themselves as being expelled from their own lives. However, it is important to acknowledge that not every girl shared similar perceptions of the institution. The girls may be forced with strong expectations to connect with the institutional conditions, by breaking the previous relations they had to their possibly harmful friends and family, as well as their home and school and their previous selves. Yet, paradoxically it is not easy to create friendships or relationships while being inside institutions due to the limitations concerning outside communication and by being forbidden to talk about their past with other youths in some units.

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[55] Discrimination where one experiences being discriminated against in the same situation on more than one ground (see Aaltonen, Joronen & Villa, 2008).

Even though the girls were aware of their legal right in the institutions, expressing their feelings and opinions is not always acceptable in the institutions as Pösö (2004) has also identified in her studies. Kekoni (2008) has stated that quite often the same practices of special care in residential care institutions can appear different depending on whose perspective you consider. Adolescents, for instance, perceive the locked doors and the restrictions over their privacy, communication and personal space as a violation of their individual rights (Kekoni, 2008).

Yet when having been involved with the civilian world and the people in there, the girls had experienced social stigmatising[56] due to their living conditions. This is in line with previous studies, as Honkatukia (2004) has pointed out, adolescents placed in out of home care may be silent about their living conditions in order to avoid disfavour or pity shown by the outsiders. This shame and guilt due to one's living conditions may be affected by the way child protection services and its customers are talked about in general (Vario et al., 2012). This is also in line with the recent school health survey (Ikonen et al., 2017) that states that approximately every sixth adolescent in custody experiences school bullying every week. These adolescents also experience discriminatory teasing, but they themselves participate more often in bullying than their peers who live with their parents. According to this survey, four out of ten adolescents have been victims of physical threats during the past year (Ikonen et al., 2017).

The girls' contacts with the outside world may indeed be restricted and this surely has its institutional and pedagogical aim to prevent unwanted consequences in how placement in residential care tends to increase involvement in crime and drug use and risks of further violence (see O'Neill, 2006). Sometimes these limitations may cause the exact opposite effect, when they drive the girl/girls, in my data, to run away in order to avoid the restrictions and to see their friends. The girls may feel that there is no-one on whom they can lean on in the residential care institution. During these escapes the girls can be exposed to different risk factors such as substances, crime, violence and sexual abuse (Isoniemi, 2019; Lehtonen & Telén, 2013).

To sum up, the girls in residential care institutions have multiple vulnerabilities in forming and feeling safe connections with other people, as well as voicing their feelings and experiences. This lack of safe connections is built upon on feelings of

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[56] According to Goffman (1963), being socially stigmatised can cause exclusion if the person is different in an undesired way in relation to others and to others' expectations.

being separated from their familiar social safety-net and the outside world, not being able to freely express feelings and opinions and being socially stigmatised.

5.2   Article II: Inability to recognise sexual violence

In my second Article (2015), I explore the violence perceptions and experiences of the girls living in residential care institutions. This Article consists of international data from fifty-seven girls regarding both their perception and experiences of violence. In the Empowering Care project, this data was generated simultaneously during the spring of 2013 in Finland, Bulgaria, Catalonia and Italy. In Bulgaria, the data was collected in a single residential care institution, with fourteen girls being interviewed. This was unlike the case of Italy, where the fieldwork involved 11 institutions in a single Italian region and interviews with a total of 15 girls. In Catalonia, the fieldwork was conducted in five different institutions and a total of 17 girls aged 13–18 were interviewed. Altogether 57 individual semi-structured interviews of the girls living in residential care institutions were conducted and from that data I used the girls' quotes concerning their perceptions about violence and violence experiences in both English and the native language, with the exception of the Finnish data, which I personally collected, which is only in the native language.

The girls were asked what the term "violence" meant to them and how they would define it and what kind of actions it may include. Secondly, the girls were asked whether they had experienced any violence. Thirdly, in an aim to map out more widely the girls' violence experiences, indirect questions were asked such as whether they had ever been approached in an uncomfortable way or alienated from the group. These indirect questions were included for data generation with a view to revealing the potential gaps in their violence recognition.

As mentioned, the main focus in this compilation report is on the Finnish data. I will, however, briefly present the main results of the international part of the data before looking at the Finnish part of the data in depth. In the data collected in Bulgaria, the girls more frequently defined violence as sexual violence compared to the girls in the rest of the countries, even when, according to the workers in Bulgarian institutions, the girls were inexperienced in dating relationships. Besides the Bulgarian girls, only three girls out of fifty-seven mentioned the sexual aspect in their violence definitions. According to the Bulgarian researchers who collected the data every girl had experienced violence at some level, but very few girls voiced having experienced violence.

Based on the data collected in Italy, only two girls, who had additionally experienced sexual violence mentioned sexual violence in their definition of violence. Still, almost all of them had also had experiences of sexual violence, but in a few cases the girls did not want to mention the sexual aspect of their experiences to the researcher, even when the residential care workers were already aware of it.

In the Spanish data, the researchers reported that the girls mainly used a twofold definition of violence: mental and physical. The girls had suffered from physical, psychological and sexual violence. In several cases, they had suffered from more than one form of violence, either perpetrated simultaneously and by the same aggressor, or by different people throughout the girls' lives. In most cases, the violence had occurred in the family, having been perpetrated by fathers, stepfathers, uncles, grandfathers and sometimes also by the girls' mothers. In some cases, violent acts had consisted of school bullying or had been committed by a boyfriend. According to the Finnish data, seven girls described violence in a twofold manner, for example, both physical and mental, three girls considered violence to be strictly physical and only one girl described violence with physical, mental and sexual aspects. The girls used highly abstract terms such as "mental and physical violence" when defining violence, but also employed more tangible descriptions: "Hurting someone, not necessarily physically, but words can hurt too."

It was found that all the Finnish girls (11) who participated in the research had experienced mental violence from family members, friends, school peers, dating partners or a residential care worker. Being well-hidden, the mental violence was not regarded as violence as such by most of the girls without prompting. The girls had used physical violence against others and in these two situations, the girls had defended themselves physically against family members. Nearly all of the girls had experienced physical violence at the hands of family members, boyfriends, or half-known male acquaintances. Physical disciplining measures employed by residential care staff were considered physical violence by some of the girls. Furthermore, almost all of the girls had engaged in self-harming and had used violence against themselves in the form of self-cutting and destructive behaviour, but this seemed to be largely unrecognised as a form of violence by the girls.

What struck me was the difference between the girls' answers about their violence experiences compared to the knowledge that I gained with the answers to my indirect questions concerning violence. I will elaborate on this in more detail in the next sub-chapter.

The main findings of Article II discussed in the light of previous studies

The girls' inability to recognise sexual violence as violence is indicative of how nearly all of the girls from the eleven girls interviewed had been approached by an adult man making sexual suggestions, but the girls themselves did not recognise this as sexual harassment. What makes it harassment is that adult men are typically viewing minor girls as sexual objects and are approaching them as objects for their own sexual pleasure. This may lead to statutory sex crime offences. One third of the girls had also been raped or sexually abused by male acquaintances, but only half of these girls recognised or named this as sexual violence. When asking more detailed questions such as "has anybody touched you in an uncomfortable way," it was possible to discover that the girls had had experiences of sexual violence. The girls either considered it as something that had happened because they had been so "wasted" that they had not been able to do anything or had not even been aware of the violence. A few of the girls had also learned to make use of their own sexuality in order to obtain things for themselves.

My Article II brought new insights into the under-studied matter, namely on how adolescent girls define violence (see Herrman & Silverstein, 2012). My research findings are indeed supported by previous research on how girls find it challenging to recognise or name sexual violence as violence (see Berman et al., 2000; Niemi, 2011; Vázquez et al., 2018), or include sexually violent acts in the definition of dating violence (Sears, Byers, Whelan & Saint-Pierre, 2006; Thongpriwan & McElmurry, 2009).

This inability to consider sexual violence as violence may also be due to the harmful and sexist societal norms which are easily accepted and normalised (Chiung-Tao Shen, Yu-Lung Chiu & Gao, 2012), and which can lead to the tendency to individualise one's violent experiences (Chung, 2007).

For example, the target of sexual harassment can be blamed and punished instead of the perpetrator (Berman et al., 2000), or the sexual harassment is easily explained away to be just part of the youth's dating culture and sexual harassment is made acceptable (Aaltonen, 2006).

Acceptance of violence is more or less present among the youth in Finnish residential care institutions, as their definitions of violence generally contain accepted cultural norms, even including using violence as a method of solving problems or of gaining something. Violence is nevertheless also viewed as an instrument for reinforcing collectivity, sharing and belonging among peers. (Honkatukia, Nyqvist & Pösö, 2004, 2007, 2016). However, according to the latest

Finnish child victim survey, adolescents' perceptions about sexual violence seem to be increasingly closer to the definition used by the law in Finland (Fagerlund et al., 2014).

The main finding of Article II was that the girls' ability to recognise or to name different kinds of violence is limited, especially in the case of sexual violence, which may be an outcome of gender-based violence being normalised in the girl's lives due to a sexist socialisation process and rape culture which still predominate in society. This may be the hallmark of a sexist atmosphere in which women's roles are normalised as consisting of acting as sexual objects (see Renold & Ringrose, 2013). Therefore, it was crucial to continue researching in more detail what was behind the girls' sexual violence experiences and in precisely how the girls' voice them. I continued this work in my Articles III and IV.

5.3   Article III: Internalised sexual violence

In my third Article (2018), three girls' cases were chosen from the data of eleven girls for closer analysis, to provide precise descriptions of sexual violence experienced and described by the girls themselves. The selected cases at the same time provide information regarding the girls' way of living, and the circumstances in which the sexual violence experiences took place. Girls' ways of coping with a lifestyle involving sexual violence were found to deviate from existing studies and research literature. Further closer reading and analytical reflection of these three cases carried out with a colleague, allowed deeper insights and understanding into the complex forms of sexual violence experienced by the girls.

The three girls' sexual behaviours varied, from carelessness to purposeful activities and self-abuse. These can be considered as internalised sexism, with the girls having adopted sexism and directed harmful sexist behaviour toward themselves. It is worthwhile considering the extent to which the girls' behaviour is unconscious, and whether they are partially aware of the self-abuse and what their resistance mechanisms may be. Within these sexually risky behavioural patterns, girls were repeatedly endangering themselves to various forms of violence, sexual transmitted infections, criminal involvement and substance abuse. By endangering their own embodied life, their understanding about life and its purpose, they limited their prospects for healthy relationships, health in general and a sense of security.

The violation of the girls' bodily integrity took place with the girls' seeming voluntariness, as the girls' intentionality and lack of intentionality often fluctuated and intersected with their sexual experiences. The girls' risky sexual behaviour and

self-directed violations of their bodily integrity related to experiencing previous and traumatic experiences of sexual violence, a commercial benefit for exchanging sexual favours for money and alcohol, as well as trauma-based behaviour following previous violations of their sexual bodily integrity.

The main findings of Article III in the light of previous studies

The main finding of Article III was that there is a need for a more exact conceptualisation of the under-recognised dimensions of sexual violence that harm girls' bodily integrity (Nussbaum, 2011). For this need, it was proposed that the term ISV be used in the World Health Organisation's typology of violence. ISV is defined as an intentional or unintentional sexual act that is directed toward oneself in a self-harming manner. ISV can violate one's bodily integrity as well as one's physical and mental health.

If this phenomenon is considered only as a risky sexual behaviour (Doubova et al., 2016; Jonas, et al., 2016; Lindroth & Löfgren-Mårtenson, 2013; Lowry et al., 2017), or oversexualised behaviour (Putnam, 2003) or conceptualised as "sex as a self-injury" (SASI) (Fredlund et al., 2017), it will be considered an individual problem of the girl, and she will be held primarily responsible for it.

Also, the term transactional sex (Cheung, et al., 2016; Stoebenau et al., 2016; Vuorelainen & Elonheimo, 2013) might give a misleading impression that there are two equal people making a business deal, whereas the reality is that there is an adult violating a minor. Additionally, they may use alcohol and drugs as a coping strategy either in the actual situation and/or afterwards. Exploitation is also evident, if the parents or adult sexual partners enable girls' substance abuse. In some cases, early abuse and violence at home lead to girls becoming vulnerable to later intimate partner violence and sexual assault (DeHart & Moran, 2015).

Meanwhile, other socially and longitudinally constructed dimensions remain invisible in this phenomenon, and these contribute to hiding and disguising the responsibility of society as a whole, as well as the perpetrator. Moreover, girls are obviously experiencing violence, they are not just being self-abusive. In order to develop effective preventive measures for social or habitual forms of violence, there is a need to consider ways that girls are themselves carrying out ISV for several reasons.

Based on a critical, evidence-based insight, a gender-responsible suggestion is offered in this article regarding the World Health Organisation's typology of violence: Risky trouble-seeking sexual behaviour that violates one's bodily

integrity should be recognised as a form of ISV. This form of violence should be addressed properly in the World Health Organisation's typology of violence, as presented in the Figure 2 below, with the goal of taking further preventive action.
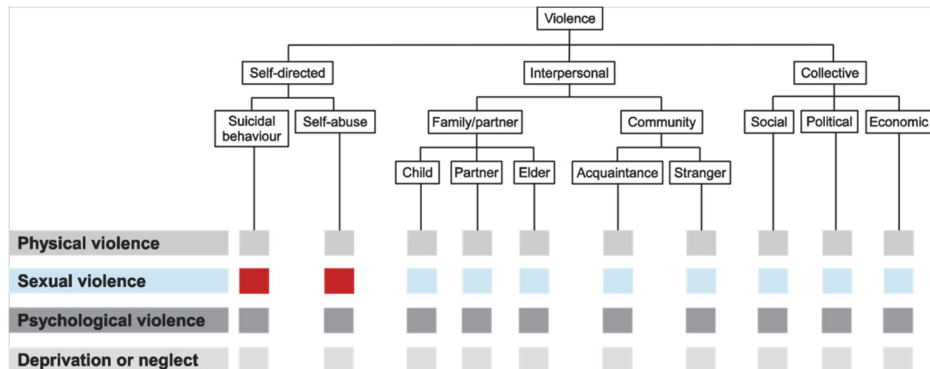

Fig. 2. The red squares indicate that, based on the findings from the data, a gap exists in the World Health Organisation's typology of violence: ISV.

The "internalised sexual violence" (ISV) term had also been presented earlier by Edith M. Fisher (2004) in her doctoral thesis. Fisher says that some sexual coercions do not include interpersonal sexual violence, but rather intrapersonal and she names that internalised sexual violence. She explains that internalised sexual violence may contain acts of unwanted sex, obligatory sex and unwanted obligatory sex, which are bridges between interpersonal and internalised sexual coercions. These acts may be triggered by pressure, intimidation, and fear. Therefore, she had the same meaning and intention as we did in our article (2018).

I propose that ISV might be interpreted as a relational act in which the girl is driven to be in relation with somebody for a variety of reasons. Yet, this feeling of connectedness in the process seems of particular importance and I begin to study this in more detail in my final Article.

5.4 Article IV: Relationality and sexual violence

In my fourth Article, the focus is on how a young woman from a residential care institution background voices her previous experience of a statutory sex crime relationship with an adult man. The data was generated during 2013–2017 and the girl was interviewed four times at the ages of 15, 16, 18 and 19. I analysed the data

by using Carol Gilligan's research method called Listening Guide (Gilligan & Eddy, 2017). A longitudinal examination of one particular relationship from the girl's life aimed to bring new insights into the adolescent girl's voicing and the potential changes in it about past violent experiences. Here is a brief summary of this relationship that the girl had. I refer to this girl as "Mari." When Mari was 13, she went to activities organised by social services with her "unpopular" friend. There Mari got to know a girl named Nelli who was two years older than she was. It can be noted that the friendship with Nelli was a harmful relationship to Mari as Nelli's lifestyle entailed using alcohol and drugs and being accompanied by violent adult men.

Mari learned a very risky behaviour of going along with any "random guy" from the streets of a big southern city in order to get free liquor, which Nelli "paid for" by doing sexual favours for these adult men. Social services intervened in Mari's search for these unsafe relations, and she was taken into custody and eventually placed at a very restricted residential care institution. At first it did not stop Mari's self-destructive behaviour, and she would run away, always finding her way back to her home city. During her escapes, she had no money or place to go. On one of these escapes, at the age of 14, Mari was sexually and physically abused by a thirty-year-old man. The incident was defined as sexual abuse by the residential care institution, as well as by Finnish law. In the findings of Article, I named this relationship as "The Dream Boyfriend and/or the Perpetrator"? as Mari's voice shifts between considering this man as her boyfriend, but also as doing her harm, to a certain extent.

Mari's speech concerning the perpetrator remains persistently positive over time. The perpetrator clearly committed rape with the use of serious physical violence toward the girl. Yet, there are multiple contradictions regarding how to interpret the "sexual abuse" in terms of the girl's own voice and feelings about the experience and how these sexual experiences are explicated by law. According to the law, violence against the girl has happened, whether the girl herself acknowledges this or not. This contradiction also shines through from the girl's voice when describing her experiences of sexual abuse with the person she refers to as her boyfriend.

There are few context- and time-based variations and changes in the girl's voices when she speaks about the relationship with the perpetrator. However, as a 15-year-old, she recognises and voices the mistreatment when the court session had been quite recent, and she has clearly been discussing the abuse with the safe adults in her life. Yet, she describes how nice the Perpetrator was to her at certain points.

As a 16-year-old, in that liminal time-space, the girl strongly disagrees about the mistreatment and she accuses the court and the media of misleadingly speaking about the event. Most probably, the abuse has not been a topic of discussion with the safe adults as often as it was following the event, and she has started to work with this matter by herself. She accepts the physical violence to be a consequence of jealousy.

When the girl is 18 years old, she totally ignores the safe adult's opinions and states powerfully that she simply likes that kind of person (referring to the Perpetrator). As a 19-year-old, she applies all these above-mentioned contrapuntal voices to her ponderings, but still clings to the positive attitude toward the Perpetrator (19-year-old). For example, she voices the mistreatment, but she still does not voice it as having been mistreated, because she "had been consenting in that situation." This is a crucial finding when attempting to understand the adolescent girl's own perspectives on experiences of sexual violence. This reluctance to voice the mistreatment is clearly linked with the impression of being cared for and being noticed by somebody and clearly influences how the consent is understood and voiced.

There are three emotional and situational hotspots and situations that Mari repeats in her story. These are when the adult man brings coffee to her in the mornings, which illustrates the good and caring aspect of the Perpetrator. Secondly, Mari and the Perpetrator smile at each other in court. By doing this, the Perpetrator creates or perhaps maintains the good and caring image in Mari's mind. Thirdly, apart from the first interview, Mari repeats the phrase: "I was fully consenting." This phrase was built upon different sources and people and it becomes part of her own voice.

The girl applied other people's voices to her interpretation of the perpetrator, as follows: recognising the mistreatment (15-year-old), disagreeing about the mistreatment (16-year-old), ignoring people's opinions (18-year-old), and applying all these above mentioned contrapuntal voices to her ponderings, but still holding onto the positive attitude toward the perpetrator (19-year-old).

The main findings of Article IV discussed in the light of previous studies

The main finding of Article IV is that voicing about the Perpetrator can remain somewhat persistently positive over this fairly long period of time. What may differ, is how other people's voices can be contextually and situationally applied to her voicing about the Perpetrator. In this case of statutory rape, there is also concern

about the care she received from the perpetrator and the girl's harmful and fragmented interpretation of it.

Linked to this repetition of "I was fully consenting," previous research has indeed shown that instead of voicing consent, young people prefer communicating their willingness to have sex (Beres, 2014). As in the girl's voicing, there was her consent as she was "fully consenting" (in Finnish: täysin suostuvainen) to everything and she had the need to repeat her consent with the experiences of the adult man. This may be linked to the possibility that the girl may not have actually voiced "no," so she believes she has given her consent (Burkett & Hamilton, 2012).

Mari had also earlier experienced sexual violence inflicted by another adult male acquaintance. The rape was clearer to her when she considered that she was not in a relationship with this other abuser, whereas she does consider herself to be involved in the later occasion. In the case of the acquaintance, in her opinion she had not given her consent to the man, but her lack of consent was voiced afterwards (see Cook & Messman-Moore, 2018). Yet, Mari still shuns the term "rape" when voicing the experience. Conversely, when being in some sort of a relationship with an adult man, which can be termed also as statutory sex crime relationships with adult men (Hines & Finkelhor, 2007), the sexual abuse was not voiced by the girl and she kept repeating that there was her consent. Yet, in the last interview the girl admits that she indeed *knows* that what happened to her was wrong, but she still doesn't *think* so.

On the other hand, in this case of statutory rape (see Bierie & Budd, 2018), the plot was a battle of contradictory connections, justice, and care. The case revealed some glimpses of gendered moral thinking in how the girl was seemingly evaluating her abuse from a perspective of being in connection by attempting to maintain the perpetrator's needs and feelings, rather than evaluating the situation through justice based on the individual's rights and responsibilities (Gilligan, 1982).

The youth's voices do not effortlessly convert into law and policy reforms. However, the structures of violence, power, and privilege can become more visible in the youths' gendered experiences if focusing on the youths' voices (see Hlavka, 2014). In chorus with other researchers (Coy et al., 2016; Pearce & Coy, 2018), I recommended in this Article that a more nuanced term of what consensual sex is and what it is not is needed, and with what grounds it ought to be developed, especially among adolescents. Furthermore, there is a need to have a more precise knowledge about the verbalisations and terms that adolescents want to use and do use when voicing their sexual experiences. In addition, it might be valuable to offer an opportunity to consider sexual consent as *an ongoing and proceeding*

negotiation which takes into account the situational and contextual aspects for instance in therapy and counselling. It would enable the person who has experienced sexual violence to go back to the previous experiences of sexual violence and to voice them according to the current situational and contextual knowledge.

Inspired by these ponderings, the Figure 3 below is created based on the Pearce's (2013) social model of abused consent (see Sub-chapter 2.3). The red and grey text indicates my insertions to her model and the Pearce's "abusive condoned consent" is not presented here as it would show the professional perspective which is not the focus of my attention. I suggest one additional part to the model and that is: *abusive illusion of care* as clearly the feelings of being cared for interrelate with the interpretation of what is named and/or recognised as violence and what is not—even a long time after the violence has occurred. Situationality and temporality are also crucial aspects when voicing the violence experiences.
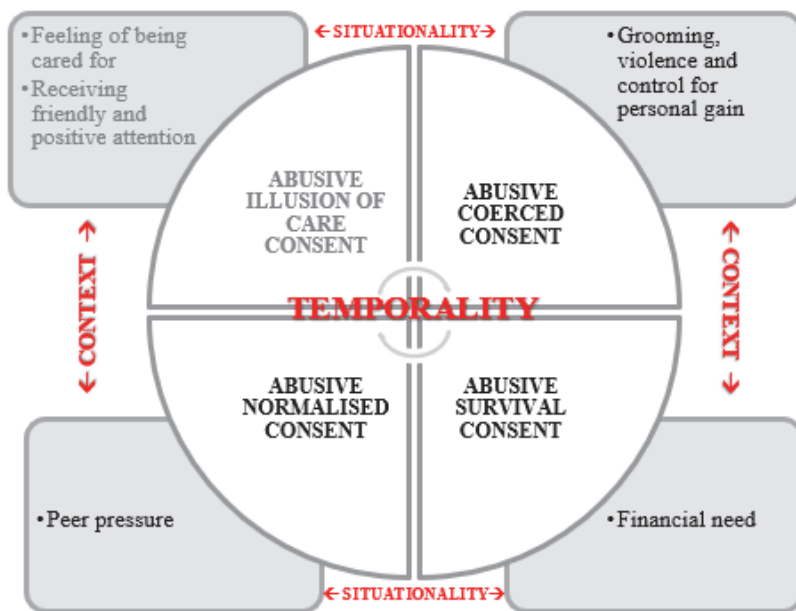

Fig. 3. Situated, temporal and contextual ongoing and proceeding negotiation on consent [based on Pearce's (2013) social model of abused consent].

Furthering the adolescents' self-understanding that they have been sexually mistreated would entail the knowledge of how consent can be abused, and this would also facilitate an understanding of the difference between the "good" attachment and the abusive experience (Pearce, 2013). Given the sexist social frame that exists in the world, it becomes easier to understand why adolescent girls easily interpret boys' aggressiveness, jealousy and controlling behaviour as an indication of care and love towards them (Glass et al., 2003; Henton et al., 1983; Roscoe & Callahan, 1985; Roscoe & Kelsey, 1986; Vázquez et al., 2018; Wekerle & Wolfe, 1999). This not-knowing (Gilligan, 1982, 2011) has also been pointed out in the context of gendered and sexual power plays among one's peers (Huuki & Renold, 2016), as well as in girls' negotiating "discourses of sexual knowingness and innocence" (Renold & Ringrose, 2011, p. 389). This is in line with a previous study indicating that women who have voiced their non-consent in sexual intercourse were more likely to acknowledge their experience as mistreatment against themselves or as rape or sexual assault (Cook & Messman-Moore, 2018).

As pointed out through this one girl's case, lack of safe relations and care during childhood may have had an impact on girls' desire to just connect to anyone. This is also supported by the research conducted by Murray (2008) in which, for some women, a sense of belonging, particularly to family and place, was a barrier which prevented them from leaving a partner despite intimate partner violence.

6 Multidimensional voices and silences in sexual violence read in the light of Carol Gilligan's theorisations

In this chapter, I will continue the discussion of Chapter 5 by answering my main research question of this compilation report which is the following: What might the voices and silences about experiences of sexual violence by adolescent girls with multiple vulnerabilities tell us when read in the light of the Carol Gilligan's theorisations?

When re-reading the results of these four Articles my premise was Gilligan's (1982, 2002, 2011) notion that adolescent girls' connections and/or disconnections are a fundamental part of girls' voices and silences in sexual violence. I present my reflections on this matter from three different perspectives. Sub-chapter 6.1 focuses on the girls' contextual self-silence and/or being silenced in sexual violence. Sub-chapter 6.2 concentrates on the girls' relational and paradoxical knowing and not-knowing in sexual violence. Sub-chapter 6.3 is about the situational resistance against and/or adjustment to the sexist hierarchies. Sub-chapter 6.4 summarises these reflections.

6.1 Contextual self-silence and/or being silenced in sexual violence

During their adolescence, girls' connections towards others are understandably under constant transformation (Gilligan 1982, 2003, 2004; Gilligan & Snider, 2017). In addition, girls are traditionally being raised to be in relation with others and quite often the psychological disorders they suffer are due to disconnections (Brown & Gilligan, 1992), when connections are fragmented or interrupted.

This need for connections (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 2002, 2003, 2011, 2014; Gilligan & Snider, 2017) was, to some extent, forbidden among girls in residential care institutions. Girls in residential care institutions have had connections to their families, friends, school, and/or society prior to their placement, yet these very connections are judged harmful by social services who are representatives of the law of child protection and society. This evaluation has then led to legitimate measures of taking the girls into custody. The girls themselves, and in some cases the girl's families, might not consider their bonding and connecting as harmful. However, some other parties might consider that the girls'

families are themselves harmful to the girls, while the family is perceived as precious by the girls themselves.

Even though the girls were aware of their legal rights in the institutions, they felt that their feelings and opinions were often silenced as not acceptable in the institutions. The above-mentioned matters may cause and maintain the feelings of disconnection (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 2003) that are produced by these different vulnerabilities and might affect some aspects the girls' self-expression, as the girls feel that they are not able to share their opinions freely nor tell about their past to the other girls.

I would like to cautiously suggest that the experiences and vulnerabilities that had led to the institutional care and the custody itself may not encourage the girls to talk honestly and openly about their lives. This research, in line with previous research, (Ikonen et al., 2017) has revealed that we can assume that there might be sexual violence experiences in general in their intimate relations that the girls may want to keep silent about. There may also be other things that they feel they ought to keep silent about, such as violence and substance abuse inside the family (Ikonen et al., 2017; Pekkarinen, 2017), which may cause feelings of shame.

Shame is indeed a distinctive feature when speaking about one's own living conditions, also when in the institution (Vario et al., 2012). As mentioned earlier, the girls may easily feel themselves to be stigmatised (see Goffman, 1963) when living in institutional care. Despite the stigma, or perhaps because of that, they desperately want to continue their lives in the outside world.

The restrictions and structures of the residential care institutions, and similarly being forbidden from being themselves with other girls, the girls might feel that there is no-one on whom they can lean on in a residential care institution and with whom they would be able to be themselves. This disconnection (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 2003) to anywhere, even safe environments, can create a girls' relational urge to just connect with anyone or to any place. It can heighten the girls' risk of becoming involved with unhealthy and dangerous people and environments, where the girls find connection and acceptance. For example, during their escapes, girls tend to lean on their peers and half-known male acquaintances, and they easily end up resorting to substance abuse and experiencing sexual violence.

When coming back from the escapes, the girls may easily end up, once again, choosing self-silence (Gilligan, 2002, 2011, 2012, 2017) and not voicing about their experiences as they may consist of many forbidden matters. If they reveal what they have done and what they have been involved with during their escapes, it may

cause negative consequences for the girls and they may even feel that remaining silent is easier.

In Article II, I interpreted that the girls' ability to recognise or to name different kinds of violence was limited, especially in sexual violence. To what extent could this inability to voice the sexual violence experiences be considered as the girl's self-silencing (Gilligan, 2002, 2011, 2012, 2017) themselves within the sexual violence? For example, in severe cases of sexual violence in which the girl may acknowledge the mistreatment but still chooses not to voice it, this may be due to shame or to avoid more shame arising from the telling. However, is it about being silenced,[57] choosing the self-silence (Gilligan, 2002, 2011, 2012, 2017) or just not recognising the sexual violence? Next, I will ponder this in more detail.

6.2   Relational and paradoxical knowing and not-knowing in sexual violence

It is said that girls find it a challenge to take their own experiences, feelings, and thoughts seriously. This leads to the tendency to lose their voices and diminish their selves in order to have and maintain relationships (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan & Snider, 2017). Gilligan (2004, 2011) considers that this paradoxically means that girls are actually not in the relationship[58] if they have lost and disconnected themselves and their voices in the process. This contradictory choice between having a voice and having relationships makes no sense (Gilligan, 2011).

There may indeed be a circle of connecting and not connecting in some adolescent girls' lives and it can be described as paradoxical in nature. Adolescent girls', especially girls with especial vulnerabilities, connection can be constructed through many contradictions, such as where and whether to connect or not, what is a proper and safe connection and according to whom. The paradoxical connectedness in the girls' voices was found when searching longitudinally and heard in the way the girls' voices potentially changed when voicing about the same connections over the years.

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[57] Referring to Freud's studies, Gilligan (2011, p. 95) points out that the most common symptom of hysteria has also been the loss of voice, which has carried a political message even back then: I have been silenced.

[58] I interpret that by "relationships" Gilligan is also referring to the close relationships that can be with peers, relatives, and spouses, regardless of their gender (Gilligan, 2002, p. 4).

In my research, in line with Gilligan's reflections, the girls' voices showed a paradoxical variation between knowing and not knowing about the different aspects of the sexual abuse. Gilligan (2004) has described this movement between knowing and not knowing as the girls' "struggle" to hold onto their voice in a contradictory situation. This can also indicate a form of gendered moral in thinking that the girls are seemingly evaluating their abuse from a perspective of care by attempting to maintain the perpetrator's needs and feelings, rather than considering her own needs and evaluating the situation through a sense of justice based on the individual's rights and responsibilities (Gilligan, 1982).

I would like to suggest that the inner sense of connection and sexual violence can be intertwined in the girls' voices and silences with respect to sexual violence. This intertwining is likely to cause socio-psychological tensions for girls—whether to connect or not and to where? In addition, it can result in difficulties to voice and recognise violent behaviour if it is in connection with intimate, but harmful relationships which violates one's rights.

The inability to voice and the potential unwillingness to acknowledge sexual violence discussed earlier may be interrelated with violence being part of the feeling of a connection. Gilligan has pointed out that girls might be supported in building their identity in mutual interaction as a result of gendered socialisation, This process can also be viewed as an attempt to build one's identity to connect with something (see Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982, 2002), and this connection can be a precondition both of violence and non-violence. As mentioned earlier, any possible psychological crises in the girls' lives may stem from disconnections and relationships that are challenging to maintain (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982, 2003; Gilligan & Snider, 2017).

This tendency of girls towards relationship orientation as Gilligan puts it (1982, 2002, 2011) can frequently offer the girls a sense of wellbeing, purpose, and accomplishment. Alternatively, it can also produce a sense of vulnerability and a negative dependency, especially if the resources and alternatives in the relationship are unequal for the girl or difficult to access. If so, the girls can easily slip into suppressing the important aspects of their identity and emotional experiences in order to maintain these relationships.

Overall, violence in intimate relationships can possibly be part of the desired connection, which makes it difficult to recognise and to name it as violence. Being cared for by somebody or being connected with something may interrelate the interpretation of what is named and/or recognised as violence and what is not—even a long time after the violence has actually occurred. The feeling of love, being

connected and particularly fear of losing connection (see Gilligan & Snider, 2017) can possibly make the girls either ignore or justify sexual violence. In Article IV, I proposed this phenomenon to be named as *abusive illusion of care* (see Sub-chapter 5.4) and I elaborate this term further in Sub-chapter 7.1.

In addition, girls' thoughts about the perpetrator may not be in line with the law. This may inflict contradictory situations between the girl and the safe adults, if the girls speak up honestly about these thoughts. The girls also can end up in trouble with the perpetrator if they voice and recognise the sexual violence according to the definition of law. Yet, if the girls choose not-to-know what they know (Gilligan, 2011) about the sexual violence and they silence theirs voices, then they may be deceiving themselves.

On the other hand, when being vulnerable, the vulnerability can be cumulative if voicing one's experiences of violence has not been possible. This silence then again continues the silencing and the violence may become invisible. However, as Gilligan (2011) has stated girls indeed have a great ability to recognise both sides of dilemmas of how to stay connected with themselves and with others, how to keep in touch with themselves and with the world around (Gilligan, 2011). This can also be considered as resisting and adjusting to the prevailing norms which I will ponder next.

6.3 Situational resistance against and/or adjustment to the sexist hierarchies

The term presented in Article III: "internalised sexual violence" (ISV) is used to describe the under-recognised side in sexual violence which is a self-directed violence but less noticeable than other destructive behaviour. Additionally, would the girls' voices in ISV be resistance? As Gilligan (2011) has mentioned, the different voices can undo the discriminatory hierarchies by promoting the democratic norms and values. The girls' honest voices can be considered as the girls' resistance against silencing themselves and this girls' tendency to resistance is inherently political, but because it is resisting, it is not necessarily a nice voice and one that other people want to hear (Gilligan, 2011).

The girls' voices and silences in the context of sexual violence sounded somewhat "different" to me, and surely it needs to be asked in which context am I listening to their voices and silences from? Are the girls' voices a resistance, and they just sound different to me when I am interpreting them from a gender-responsible context. On the other hand, in ISV the under-aged girls might, for

example, consider that they are in a position of power or even that they themselves are abusing the adult male. Furthermore, some could say that these voices sound different when hearing them in the context of discriminating hierarchies, where the girls are easily objects and targets of sexual violence as a result of having little agency.

When voicing one's violence experiences to others, it is crucial that the responses are understanding and empathetic (see Edwards, Dardis & Gidycz, 2012). Otherwise, it may further the unwanted silence about the violence experiences. My research suggests that girls' own voices and opinions concerning their experiences, especially in difficult experiences such as sexual violence, can easily be overlooked either by the adults in the girls' lives or also from the legal perspective by the court. This may even strengthen the girls' positive attitude toward the perpetrators as a person who will not ignore their "consent." This may also turn into a harmful resistance among these girls if they start to resist the rules of the safe adults, who have mistakenly disregarded the girls' own will.

I am, however, aware that my own interpretations in this research may also be considered as overlooking the girls' own perspectives and definitions. I try to avoid doing this to these girls' knowledge production by bringing these different epistemological intersections out and into the open. I respect and honour the girls' opinions and their experiences as they were described to me.

However, it is not enough to just describe and repeat what the girls have said and what they have not said. I feel that I also have a certain obligation to present and bring another angle to the girls' stories by interpreting their stories from the perspective of feminist violence research, as this is something the girls may have no knowledge about (see Ramazanõglu & Holland, 2002). This certain obligation could be described as resisting (Gilligan, 2011) the discriminating hierarchies. This again is related to epistemic disadvantages that the girls may experience because they do not necessarily have the same knowledge that perhaps I have in the position of conducting doctoral research on sexual violence.

When confronting and interpreting the sexual violence experiences of adolescent girls, the girls' ages certainly need to be taken into account and we ought to keep within the framework of the law. In addition to the legal standpoint, the girls are also seen as victims of sexual abuse from a moral perspective, despite the girls' self-perpetrated aspects in these experiences. The girls' self-perpetrated risky behaviour can be considered as an outcome of an internalised sexual violence (ISV). The whole idea of sexism can be invisible to the girls and therefore the diverse aspects of being sexually harmed and harming one's own sexuality—which do

intertwine each other—are blurred. Yet, the girls' relational nature and potential urge to be connected in their behaviour is also worthwhile considering when handling delicate issues such as sexual violence.

It is undeniably clear that both these sides, ISV as a resistance or as an adjusting to the prevailing hierarchies and seeking for connection, are indeed harming the girls' mental and physical health, and their opportunities and prospects in the future. Therefore, the voices of and in ISV may contain intersecting features of resistance and acceptance in the girls' voices and silences.

6.4   Summary of the findings in the compilation report

The Figure 4 below attempts to represent the different aspects that this compilation report has revealed for experiences of sexual violence as multidimensional phenomena with contextual, relational, contradictory and situational features in it. The circle in the background indicates the discriminating hierarchies that surround us. These hierarchies can limit and silence us with variable ways and extensions.
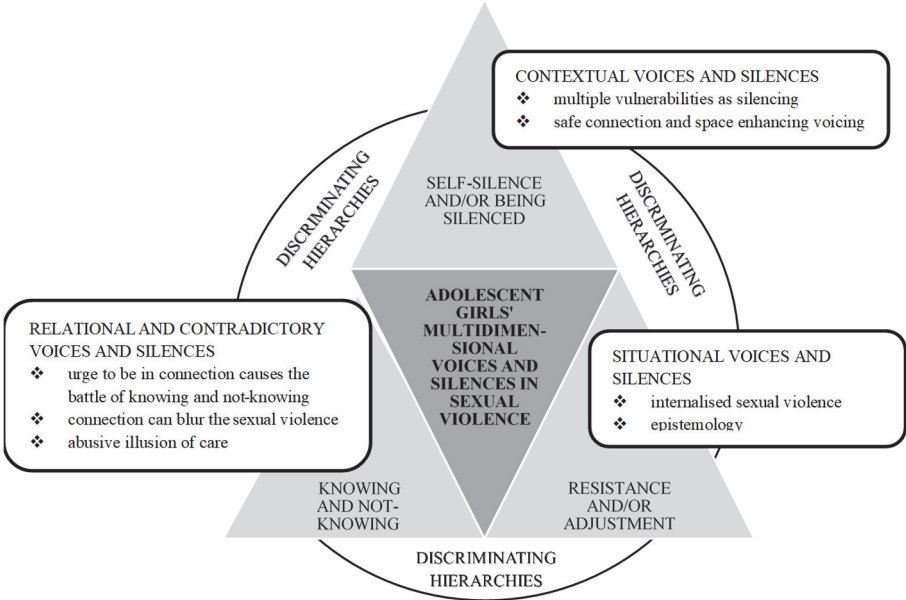

Fig. 4. Adolescent girls' multidimensional voices and silences in sexual violence with respect to Carol Gilligan's theorisations.

The girls' contextual voices and silences contained context-based vulnerabilities, such as being in unsafe surroundings or being in a residential care institution that has broken the previous connections. These vulnerabilities influenced the girls' self-silence and being silenced, as well as their ability to voice sensitive and difficult issues. Therefore, safe connections and being in a safe space can indeed further strengthen the girls' voices.

The girls' relational and contradictory voices and silences consisted of the girls' diverse desires to be in connection with someone, even though it was a harmful connection for them. This urge was interrelated with the girls' paradoxical knowing and not-knowing in experiences of sexual violence. This relational nature in sexual violence can make the girl either ignore or justify violence and sexual violence even a long time after the violence has taken place.

The situational voices and silences in sexual violence involved a complex combination of the girls' situated resistance and/or adjustment to the prevailing sexist hierarchies. I named these voices and silences as situational because they primarily originated from different situations, but also because the voices and silences were situational with respect to the situation in which they were expressed (see Ramazonoğlu & Holland, 2002).

7 Preventing sexual violence among adolescent girls with multiple vulnerabilities

In this doctoral thesis, I present new knowledge with the aim to contribute to the prevention of sexual violence among adolescent girls. As indicated in Sub-chapter 2.5, there is indeed very little Finnish qualitative research that explores how adolescent girls, with a background of having been in a residential care institution, voice about sexual violence, and even less longitudinal research conducted in this subject. Moreover, as emphasised earlier, the World Health Organisation's typology of violence does not recognise the sexism-related self-abusive aspect in the phenomenon that is described as sexual risky violence. I elaborated on this gap in the typology of violence further with the aim to conceptualise this phenomenon in more detail.

My doctoral thesis gives evidence to the vulnerabilities and variabilities in how adolescent girls with a background of having been in a residential care institution voice and silence their sexual violence experiences. In Sub-chapter 7.1, I summarise the research findings firstly based on my four articles and secondly based on re-reading these findings in the light of Carol Gilligan's theorisations. Thirdly, I want to emphasise two matters which I ponder further, and these are the *abusive illusion of care* and the term *internalised sexual violence* (ISV) as a sexism-related perspective.

In Sub-chapter 7.2, I present my suggestions for future research and violence prevention programmes based on the findings of my research. Finally, I will make my concluding thoughts in Sub-chapter 7.3.

7.1 Recognising and conceptualising sexual violence among adolescent girls with multiple vulnerabilities

To sum up the main findings from my articles, in Article I, I discover that the girls in residential care institutions have multiple vulnerabilities in forming and feeling safe connections with other people, as well as voicing their feelings and experiences. This lack of safe connections is built upon on feelings of being separated from their familiar social safety-net and the outside world, and not being able to freely express feelings and opinions and in some cases being socially stigmatised. In Article II, in which I study how adolescent girls define violence, I ascertain that the girls find it challenging to recognise or name sexual violence as violence, or include sexually violent acts in the definition of dating violence. In Article III, I propose that the

term *internalised sexual violence* (ISV) be used in the World Health Organisation's typology of violence. In this Article, ISV is defined as an intentional or unintentional sexual act that is directed towards oneself in a self-harming manner.

The main finding of Article IV is that over a longitudinal time period of four years an adolescent girl with multiple vulnerabilities voices about the experienced violence and about the statutory perpetrator in a somewhat increasingly positive manner. What may differ, is how other people's voices can be contextually and situationally applied to the voicing about the perpetrator. There is also evidence on how the care received from the perpetrator affected how the experienced violence is voiced and considered by the girl.

I also suggest that an addition be made to Pearce's (2013) social model of abused consent, and this is *abusive illusion of care* which would be used to define a situation in which the consent is abused by using the feelings of being cared for. I propose that it might be useful to consider *sexual consent as an ongoing and proceeding negotiation* which takes into account the situational and contextual aspects. It would enable the person who has experienced sexual violence to go back to the previous experiences of sexual violence and to voice them according to their current situational and contextual knowledge.

In Chapter 6, I re-read the main findings from these four articles in the light of Carol Gilligan's theorisations on voices and silences. I identify three types of voices and silences about the girls' experiences of sexual violence. Firstly, the girls' contextual voices and silences consist of context-based vulnerabilities, for example of being in unsafe surroundings or being in a residential care institution. These vulnerabilities have an impact on the girls' ability to voice sensitive issues which appear as self-silence and as being silenced.

Secondly, the girls' relational and contradictory voices and silences contain the girls' wishes to be in connection with someone, even though it be a harmful connection for them. I call this urge the girls' paradoxical knowing and not-knowing in experiences of sexual violence. This relational nature in sexual violence can make the girl either ignore or justify violence and sexual violence, even a long time after the violence has taken place. I name this as an *abusive illusion of care*.

Thirdly, the situational voices and silences in sexual violence describe the girls' situated resistance and/or adjustment to the prevailing sexist hierarchies which I consider to be linked to the proposed term of ISV.

Next, I want to bring to the fore two matters from my findings, which I will elaborate on more closely here below. These matters are the conceptualisations of

abusive illusion of care and *sexism-related internalised sexual violence* (S-R ISV) which is a new suggestion and development of the term internalised sexual violence.

Abusive illusion of care

That the legal definitions of rape should include the aspect of sexual consent not having been received is a good thing. Sexual consent ought to be mutual and the responsibility for asking permission is on both parties involved. However, if we consider that the "victim" is seemingly giving her consent, but that this consent can be either abused and/or entirely not understood as harmful to herself, this could mean that this given consent can still be defined as lack of consent in a rape situation. Therefore, does lack of consent alone constitute a relevant definition for sexual violence in all cases, because the consent can be abused, and giving consent is a much more complex matter than simply answering yes or no. However, in the case of statutory rape, the minor girl's consent does not have any legal significance and the act is considered unambiguously as sexual violence toward the minor girl.

In addition, the girls' consent in sexual experiences can be abused (Pearce, 2013) in a way that is unrecognisable to the girls themselves. Related to this, in Article VI I suggest that an addition be made to Pearce's (2013) social model of abused consent, and this is the term *abusive illusion of care* (see Sub-chapter 5.4). This term would describe the paradoxical situation in which the consent can be considered as abused by using the girls' feelings of being cared for.

What I mean by this is that the girls' feelings of being cared for are only an illusion as they are based on, as Gilligan (1982, 2002) would put it, disconnecting themselves from themselves, losing their voice and undermining their own feelings. As mentioned, Gilligan (2002, p. 29) believes that adolescent girls are afraid that "if they give voice to vital parts of themselves, their pleasure and their knowledge, they will endanger their connections with others and with the world at large." *Abusive illusion of care* therefore paradoxically maintains the connection towards others, but it also blurs the recognition of experienced violence and mistreatment. Gilligan (2004) has mentioned that girls begin to learn in their adolescence that knowing and feeling are two separate and different things. In cases of violence, this means that the girls' epistemological insight is not in line with what the girl feels about the experienced violence. For example, girls might refuse to know and voice what they know about their experiences of violence, even though they feel it as mistreatment. On the other hand, girls may acknowledge the experience as violence, but they do not feel and voice it as having been mistreated. Alternatively, adolescent

girls can be aware of and feel the mistreatment of the sexual violence that they have experienced, but they do not have the words to express it.

Sexism-related internalised sexual violence

I consider it paramount that my research aims to contribute to identifying more accurate terms for the girls' sexually self-destructive acts. This is because we need concepts that consider different aspects of the phenomena and do not hide and disguise the responsibility of society as a whole, as well as that of the perpetrator.

In relation to this in Article III, the World Health Organisation's typology divides violence into three broad categories, according to who commits the violent act: self-directed violence; interpersonal violence; and collective violence. Furthermore, it is suggested that the term ISV be included in the World Health Organisation's typology of violence in the section of self-directive sexual violence which is currently left blank.

After publishing Article III and later on after receiving the evaluations from the pre-examiners of this doctoral thesis, I continued my thinking process to develop this term to be more precise. For example, the World Health Organisation's self-directive part is clearly based on the assumption that there is no other person involved. This could then, surely, disguise the role of the perpetrator, which was not the purpose of the ISV term. In addition, one could argue that assuming there is always another person involved in sexual violence, it cannot therefore be internalised or self-perpetrated. Yet, the ISV term could be used to describe the pre-planned intentions of the girl to carry out sexual acts that will violate herself and her sexuality. It can also be used to describe the unconscious self-destructive sexual behaviour that can be considered as related to internalised sexism produced by our sexist and discriminating hierarchies.

Secondly, the ISV term can also be problematic from the point of view that rape can be interpreted to be a result of the ISV, which would then take the responsibility away from the perpetrator and put the blame on the victim. I not only understand the difficulties and challenges in this term in relation to the World Health Organisation's aims, but also when using the ISV term for legal purposes. This term could help in recognising the contradictory and complicated "victim–perpetrator" view in violent experiences. For example, Pearce (2013) has emphasised that in peer on peer sexual exploitation children can be both perpetrators and victims. The ISV term also aims to recognise the trauma-based self-destructive behaviour in such a young person who may behave in a sexually

risky way as a result of the sexual violence (Pearce & Coy, 2018), and the self-perpetrative actions and victimhood are closely entangled together.

Due to these above-mentioned aspects, I began to ponder whether there may be any other term that would take into account the human perspective and would better capture all these different aspects, such as the multiple vulnerabilities in neglecting one's own bodily integrity. Would the term *sexism-related internalised sexual violence* (S-R ISV) be a more multiverse and all-embracing term that would inform how ISV can also be related to sexist ideology, and it is not then solely an individual challenge.

The term S-R ISV would also present more clearly the ISV's idea of helping to understand the core of why and when the "victim" does not realise anymore that she has been or is being mistreated. Sexualisation that is due to sexism especially narrows girls' "space for action," (Coy, 2009a) and understanding the idea of internalised sexism could be useful for the "victim" herself in order to overcome the potential self-blaming of not being able to understand where she has ended up. Widening the awareness concerning the term S-R ISV can equally be part of preventing sexual violence, also from the perpetrator's point of view. I would argue that this could even increase the possibility to understand better the different abusive dimensions in sexual violence.

7.2 Proposals for future research and violence prevention among adolescent girls

In this sub-chapter, I present the proposals for future research that arise from my own research process. The term of *sexism-related internalised sexual violence* (S-R ISV), that I suggest in the previous sub-chapter, is open to further theoretical and empirical elaborations on how to define and speak about sexual risky behavior. Secondly, a more nuanced research knowledge is required on the topic of what consensual sex is and what it is not, and with what grounds sexual consent is voiced, especially among adolescents. Thirdly, it is also important to examine the proposed idea of *abusive illusion of care* that can affect the girls' willingness and ability to voice the experienced sexual violence as violence. In addition, I suggest that my proposal of considering *sexual consent as an ongoing and proceeding negotiation* which takes into account the situational and contextual aspects ought to be examined with larger longitudinally generated data. This would help in identifying which factors increase adolescents' abilities and epistemological strength in recognising and voicing their experiences as violence.

In addition, we ought to have different and more innovative ways to research these above-mentioned sensitive issues in such a manner that it would enable more valid knowledge to be generated, especially among vulnerable groups of people. We also need more creative ways of generating the data, as well as analysing it, such as art-based methods (Tumanyan & Huuki, forthcoming). This would also help in creating more effective violence prevention programmes for adolescents as there is a clear need to develop and evaluate small-scale interventions regarding violence among adolescent girls (Mikton et al., 2017). Those interventions need to especially consider sexual violence as a relational, contextual and situational phenomenon.

The interventions in violence prevention ought to be as topical and approachable as possible so as to encourage the girls to choose their own voices and resist the discriminating hierarchies, such as sexual violence. The girls would surely benefit from education that explicates various forms of violence and helps them to identify violence in their own lives and to name it as such. Especially the sexual violence against girls, including the form of S-R ISV, needs to be tackled, yet it is such an intimate and fragile topic that it is difficult to make it visible, to understand it and to explain it. Recognising, naming and becoming aware of the contradictory "victim–perpetrator" nature of violent experiences in one's own life are steps toward a proper and sufficiently nuanced conceptualisation of S-R ISV.

It would also be important to give adolescent girls the opportunity to voice their experiences and to help in recognising the experienced sexual violence at their own pace and by forming their own opinion, regardless of the legal procedures. This would be in the light of the proposed approach of considering *sexual consent as an ongoing and proceeding negotiation*.

Additionally, learning to create and to be in safe relations could integrate the girls socially, so they would not have to interact through unsafe sexual approaches that violate their bodily integrity. We ought to encourage voices among youth who are at risk for violence, which means thinking through our own responses in relational terms as Gilligan (2004) puts it. This encouragement could entail giving new knowledge on violence to the girls in a safe space, where sharing one's experiences would be possible. This could support the girls' abilities to identify and name oppressive sexual practices (see Berman et al., 2000).

If the adolescent would be treated as both agent and decision maker, it would promote the creation of spaces where the adolescent and adults could work together on the topics of experiences of sex, assault, power, coercion and consent (Hlavka, 2014). As mentioned, the girls' own voices and opinions concerning their

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experiences may easily be not taken into account by different sectors and people in them. This is something we ought to consider when planning intervention programmes for girls, in order to avoid strengthening their positive attitude toward the perpetrators. Keller and colleagues (2018) have pointed out how girls use social media platforms to voice and make visible the experiences of a rape culture and these digital interventions enable new possibilities to reach girls who can learn to set the limits between themselves and others.

Surely, violence prevention is not a matter that only girls and women need to deal with and solve; both boys and men are also in a crucial position to do this. Boys indeed need assistance in dissolving the constructions of masculinity which are built on strength rather than vulnerability. These gendered assumptions on how to be a "man" affect how boys and young men ask for consent in sexual activity (Pearce & Coy, 2018), or actually—does this question simply remain unasked? In addition, schools are in the crucial position of having the possibility to change this sexist atmosphere among both the girls and boys. However, we need to see a strengthening of the support for the sexual development of adolescents as an integral part of the teaching and educational work in schools. It is important that adolescents get information about their sexual rights and that they learn to identify the manifestations of violence and harassment. The education for promoting safety skills (in Finnish: Turvataitokasvatus) should be given from early age (Lajunen, Andel & Ylenius-Lehtonen, 2019). It can be used to add to the adolescents' own resources and feeling skills and to strengthen the ability of the adolescent to identify threatening situations (Aaltonen, 2012).

In line with the Istanbul convention (Council of Europe, 2012), sexual education should also contain gender equity education (Leung, Shek, Leung & Shek, 2019), which resists the heteronormative and cultural constrictions that neglect the aspects of gender, and sexuality (Hlavka, 2014). Therefore, sexual education ought to be developed together with gender studies in general—with an aim to criticise and re-construct stereotypical expectations within various sectors of life, but also within ones' lifespan.

There is also a pressing need for teacher training on critical gender sensitive pedagogies (Bragg, Renold, Ringrose & Jackson, 2018; Sunnari et al., 2003). Moreover, training for any professionals working with adolescents needs to be sensitised so they can recognise, manage and resolve the phenomenon of ISV among girls, since professionals generally lack sufficient information (Chung & English, 2015).

7.3   Concluding thoughts

"… the insights that a veritable ethics of care 'cannot exist without social transformation' came together in the recognition that the seeds for such transformation lie within ourselves" (Gilligan, 2011, p. 13).

It is evident that the girls experience sexist and sexual violence in their everyday lives, online and in real life. This witnessed, experienced and every so often internalised violence, can be so commonplace that it might even be normalised as part of the girls' lives. The violence, in its either hidden or more visible form, impact negatively on the girls' self-perceptions and even realisation of their human rights.

There is a circle of connection and disconnection, knowing and not knowing in an adolescent girl's voice, and it can be described as vulnerable and paradoxical in nature. It is clear that we desperately need more care and suitable measures to prevent, recognise and intervene in sexual violence among adolescent girls in general. As proposed in Sub-chapter 7.1, one means to do this is to develop more nuanced and specific concepts about sexual violence that adolescents themselves use and would like to use when voicing their experiences of sexual violence.

As Gilligan (2011) has pointed out, the time of adolescence is a time of opportunity—the opportunity to re-find, maintain, and re-learn the capacities to care. Surely young people do not always make their decisions based on healthy and wise grounds. Young people ought to be guided in how to balance their own relationalities and interests in being connected to other people. This would entail an ability to be free of the sexism-related fear of losing their connections to others. Indeed, every girl ought to have fair and equal opportunities to develop and actualise their selves and to achieve non-violence and being cared for and to be able to care for others in their lives. But it is gender violence and discriminating hierarchies that are preventing, limiting and controlling the girls' opportunities and abilities, and this is described in the core of the S-R ISV term.

Therefore, it would be important to widen the adolescent girls' awareness of how to prevent themselves from being sexually mistreated, but also of increasing their self-understanding if they have been sexually mistreated. This broadening of awareness would entail the knowledge of how consent can be abused, and this would therefore facilitate an understanding of the difference between the "good" attachment and the abusive experience (Pearce, 2013).

Gilligan's (2011) ethics of care has its foundation in interdependence and the world we know now is ever more alert to the reality of interdependence, but we should still ponder whether we are currently facing the absence of care or the failure to care (Gilligan, 2011). This is because it almost seems that generally speaking "care" is increasingly becoming externalised in our everyday lives, and our inner capabilities to care for and to have interdependent relations with each other are more challenging. The current world state of disconnection does not offer productive conditions for interdependency, wellbeing, or relationality among people. This disconnectedness can have harmful consequences that become evident at structural and individual levels.

Consequently, I strongly believe in line with Gilligan's (2003) thoughts that the disconnections between us people and the world are indeed the root causes of violence and oppression. As Gilligan (2014) puts it, we cannot avoid the fact that we are interdependent human beings living within a network of relationships. Hence, I suggest to everybody that instead of prioritising the individual's rights or those of a certain group of people, we should ponder "how to act in a network of mutuality where what affects one directly affects all indirectly. Like walking on a trampoline" (Gilligan, 2014, p. 22).

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Supporting questions for the interviews with minor girls

The aim of this set of questions is to support the researcher during the interview. However, not all the questions should be asked, and they should not be asked straight away and in the order presented below. As stated before, the idea is that the girl herself shares and explains her life experiences without being asked specific and concrete questions by the researcher.

Introduction: supporting questions to start the interview and to get the basic information:

– How old are you? How old were you when you came to live in the centre?
– What city are you from?
– Do you have sisters or brothers? Any other family members?
– Did you have friends back home?
– How long you have been here in residential care?
– If you want to tell, what is the main reason for you being in residential care?
– (In some cases, the reason given by the girl might be an "official"/cover reason).
– This can happen in the case of having suffered violence/abuse at home).

The information given by the girl may be contrasted with the information provided by the professionals working in the residential care institution.

– Before coming to the residential care, were you informed in advance where and with whom would you live?
– Did your parents and/or social workers consider your opinion concerning you living in here?
– Has it been decided when you are leaving residential care?

Gender roles and gender stereotypes

– What does it mean to be a girl/ young woman?
– Do you consider yourself as a "girl"? If not, why is that?
– What main features are linked to be a girl?
– How would you describe a girl's life?
– What differences can you see in girls compared to boys?

Do boys/men and girls/women have different rules for:

– How you are allowed to behave?
– (Opening questions if needed: Are boys for example allowed to express their feelings more openly, talk differently?)
– How you are allowed to dress?
– (Opening questions if needed: In your opinion are boys allowed to use skirts, pink clothes etc.?)
– What kind of things you are allowed to possess?
– What kind of programmes you are allowed to watch?
– What kind of activities you are allowed to join in?
– If there are different rules, what happens if you don't follow these rules?
– Are there particular tasks and work which are only for women or only for men?
– Is there something you cannot do, because you are a girl?
– Do you think girls and boys are treated differently by adults?

Social and intimate relationships

– What kind of close relationships do you have?
– In what way do the different relationships differ from each other?
– Going through different kinds of relationships girls listed. Special focus on

Intimate partnerships. In friends / relatives / Intimate/dating relationships…

– Who usually decides what you will do?
– Do you sometimes have to do something you wouldn't like to do? In what situations? How does that make you feel?
– Are you able to express your opinions?
– Do you feel yourself heard/seen? If not, explain more?
– Can you trust your close ones? If not, why is that?
– Are you happy with all of your relationships?
– How would you describe how you have been treated?
– What feelings do you link to different relationships?
– Do you see any difference in how girls and boys are behaving in your relationships?
– In your close relationships: do you think you are behaving differently when with a girl than with a boy? If yes, how?

Residential care experience

– How do you feel in general about being in residential care?
– Do you think you are able to express your feelings/opinions in residential care?
– Do you feel that you are listened to and seen by the residential adults?
– Do you feel accepted the way you are? If not, explain in what way you are not?
– Do you feel you are treated with dignity? If not, explain in what way you are not?
– Are you able to share your concerns with the adults? If not, explain in what way you are not?
– What negative aspects do you find in residential care in general and particularly in your case?
– What positive aspects do you find in residential care in general and particularly in your case?

Violence experiences:

Beginning questions for investigating violence experiences: Now I am going to ask you questions which may be hard for you and please keep in mind you can stop the interview at any time you wish.

– What does the word "violence" mean to you?
– Do you think you have experienced violence?
– If yes, what kind of violence?
– Where did you experience that?
– What happened after the experience?
– How did you feel after the experience?
– Did someone help you? Did you have somebody to turn to for help?

Questions for investigating hidden violence experiences:

Has someone:

– Insulted you?
– Sulked or refused to speak to you?
– Criticised your clothes or your physical appearance?
– Criticised your behaviour without reason?
– Been rude to you or your friends?
– Yelled at you?

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- Interfered with your basic functions (studying, eating, sleeping)?
- Embarrassed you in front of others?
- Threatened to hurt her/himself, if you don't do something?
- eft you outside of the group/company?
- Can you tell me who this person/persons was?
- When and where did it happen? (school/home/internet/somewhere else)

Questions for investigating sexual violence experiences:

Has someone:

- Suggested to you something that was uncomfortable?
- Touched you in a way that was uncomfortable?
- Pressured you to do something physical you did not want to?
- Looked at you in a way that made you uncomfortable?
- Done something physically to you against you will?
- Can you tell me who this person/persons was?
- When and where did it happen? (school/home (internet/somewhere else)
- Has someone wanted to take photos of you, which made you uncomfortable? [Bulgarians original question: Does someone ask you to take nude photos of you?]
- Has someone showed pictures to you, which have made you uncomfortable?
- [Bulgarians original question: Does someone showed you pictures with sexual content?]
- Has somebody asked you to do something physical for him/her and promised you gift in turn?

Questions for investigating physical violence experiences:

Has someone:

- Broken or thrown something around/at you?
- Pushed or groped you?
- Slapped you?
- Kicked you?
- Hit you with a fist?
- Strangled you?
- Beaten you?
- Used a knife or gun in threatening you?
- Something else: pulling, spitting, scratching?

- Can you tell me who was this person/persons?
- When and where did it happen? (school/home/internet/somewhere else)

Questions for investigating self-made violence toward themselves:

In this part you need to be very careful not to give any ideas to the girls. Self-harming and suicidal issues are to be brought up only by the girl herself. But you could discreetly ask for example:

Have you:

- Had any bad thoughts toward yourself?

If you evaluate that it's safe to ask (if you for example see cuts in girls' arms etc.):

- Ever thought about hurting yourself in some way? If yes, how?
- Have you hurt yourself? If yes, how?
- When and where did it happen? (school/home/internet/somewhere else)

Questions for investigating violence toward others made by the girls:

Have you:

- Insulted anybody on purpose?
- Criticised someone's clothes or physical appearance?
- Yelled at someone?
- Interfered with somebody on purpose?
- Embarrassed someone in front of others?
- Pressured someone to do what you want?
- Left someone an outsider from the group?
- Used physical violence towards others? If yes, how?
- Have you considered using revenge?
- Towards whom and why?
- When and where did it happen? (school/home/internet/somewhere else)
- Have you ever been jealous? To whom and what did you do then? [Bulgarians original question: What did you do when you jealous?]

Impact of violence

What kind of effects/impacts has it had on you? Check impacts on all women's spheres: health, housing, schooling, family live, etc.

List of original publications

I   Kaukko, M., & Parkkila*, H. (2014). Nykyajan totaaliset laitokset tyttöjen suojelijoina [Contemporary total institutions as protectors of girls]. In M. Gissler, M. Kekkonen, P. Känkänen, P. Muranen & M. Wrede-Jäntti (Eds.), *Nuoruus toisin sanoen: Nuorten elinolot 2014 -vuosikirja* (pp. 113–121). Helsinki, Finland: Terveyden ja hyvinvoinnin laitos.

II   Parkkila*, H., & Heikkinen, M. (2015). Identifying violence—Research on residential care girls' recognition of violence. In B. Mohan (Ed.), *Construction of social psychology: Advances in psychology and psychological trends series* (pp. 125–134). Lisbon, Portugal: InScience Press.

III Parkkila*, H., & Heikkinen, M. (2018). Vulnerable bodily integrity: Under-recognised sexual violence among girls in residential care institutions. *Journal of Gender-Based Violence, 2*(1), 25–40. https://doi.org/10.1332/239868018X15155985932192

IV Louhela, H. (2019). *"I was totally agreeable": Sexual violence voiced by an adolescent girl.* Manuscript submitted for publication.

* Louhela née Parkkila

172. Rönkä, Anna Reetta (2017) Experiences of loneliness from childhood to young adulthood : study of the Northern Finland Birth Cohort 1986

173. Irjala, Marja (2017) Osallinen, syrjässä, marginaalissa, onnellinen? : tutkimus oppisopimuskoulutuksen erityisopiskelijoista Suomessa ja Saksassa

174. Kurki, Kristiina (2017) Young children's emotion and behaviour regulation in socio-emotionally challenging situations

175. Lujala, Elise (2018) Pohjoisen varhaiskasvatuksen puolesta : Oulun lastentarhanopettajakoulutus vuosina 1967–1995

176. Mertaniemi, Seija (2018) Seitsemäsluokkalaisten kerrontaa kirjoittamisestaan opetusta eheyttävässä moniaineprojektissa

177. Pihkala, Suvi (2018) Touchable matters : reconfiguring sustainable change through participatory design, education, and everyday engagement for non-violence

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179. Juutinen, Jaana (2018) Inside or outside? : small stories about the politics of belonging in preschools

180. Välitalo, Riku (2018) The Philosophical Classroom : balancing educational purposes

181. Välimäki, Anna-Leena (2018) Kun työ tulee hymyillen kotiin : suomalaisen perhepäivähoidon 50 vuoden tarina 1960-luvulta 2010-luvulle

182. Tuomisto, Timo (2018) Kansanopistopedagogiikka kolmessa kristillisessä kansanopistossa

183. Uematsu-Ervasti, Kiyoko (2019) Global perspectives in teacher education : a comparative study of the perceptions of Finnish and Japanese student teachers

184. Pijeira Díaz, Héctor Javier (2019) Electrodermal activity and sympathetic arousal during collaborative learning

185. Paradis, Audrey (2019) Towards a relational conceptualisation of teacher autonomy : narrative research on the autonomy perceptions of upper-secondary school teachers in different contexts

186. Hasari, Matti (2019) Opettajan ammatti-identiteetin muotoutuminen matemaattisten aineiden opetusharjoittelussa

187. Tenhu, Tapio (2019) Taide mielessä – Mieli taiteessa : Opettajien kuvataidekokemuksien narratiivista tarkastelua

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