

WORKING WITH DEAF AND PHYSICALLY DISABLED CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE IN RELATION TO CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE AND OTHER FORMS OF EXPLOITATION

A TOOLKIT FOR PROFESSIONALS

In collaboration with

**The
Children's
Society**

No child
should feel
alone

VS **VICTIM
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PLEASE NOTE: This toolkit is based on our current understanding and the evidence picture of sexual abuse and exploitation as we see it. Therefore this document will remain a living document and subject to change.

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In collaboration with



INTRODUCTION

This toolkit has been produced to provide a list of resources and tools for professionals in relation to abuse of children with disabilities. Evidence indicates that children with disabilities are more likely to be victims of abuse than children without disabilities. Children with disabilities do not always have access to basic information in relation to relationships, abuse and safety, they can experience barriers in the child protection system and have less access to advocacy and therapeutic services, which are not always accessible.ⁱ

SEXUAL ABUSE

The definition of sexual abuse according to Working Together:

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

The NSPCC in their report entitled 'We have the right to be safe' stated that children with disabilities are three times more likely to be abused than children without disabilities. They are more likely to be abused by someone in their family compared to children without disabilities, and the majority are abused by someone known to them.ⁱⁱⁱ

Research also suggests that significant numbers of children with harmful sexual behaviour have learning difficulties or disabilities, although caution should be exercised in interpreting these findings (Sullivan and Knutson 1998; Kvam 2004; Hershkowitz et al. 2007, Almond and Giles 2008; Hackett et al. 2013).^{iv}

Brown (2002) explains that children and young people with disabilities are vulnerable in the same way other children are, but they may face additional vulnerabilities due to the 'increased likelihood that they will be separated from their families, accommodated in congregate settings where they encounter multiple caregivers, and are targeted on account of their visible "difference" or "vulnerability":^v

The physical environments children with disabilities are placed in can also lead to heightened risk due to factors such as, for example, the physical design of buildings which are not designed with keeping children safe in mind.^{vi}

SEXUAL ABUSE - CHILD SEXUAL EXPLOITATION (CSE)

The Department for Education's definition of child sexual exploitation is the most widely accepted:

'Child sexual exploitation is a form of child sexual abuse. It occurs where an individual or group takes advantage of an imbalance of power to coerce, manipulate or deceive a child or young person under the age of 18 into sexual activity (a) in exchange for something the victim needs or wants, and/or (b) for the financial advantage or increased status of the perpetrator or facilitator. The victim may have been sexually exploited even if the sexual activity appears consensual. Child sexual exploitation does not always involve physical contact: it can also occur through the use of technology.'

Similarly, in Wales, Safeguarding Children and Young People from Sexual Exploitation Statutory Guidance defines child sexual exploitation as:

'The coercion or manipulation of children and young people into taking part in sexual activities. It is a form of sexual abuse involving an exchange of some form of payment which can include money, mobile phones and other items, drugs, alcohol, a place to stay, 'protection' or affection. The vulnerability of the young person and grooming process employed by perpetrators renders them powerless to recognise the exploitative nature of relationships and unable to give informed consent.'^{vii}

A common feature in the sexual and criminal exploitation of children and young people is the way in which children and young people are groomed. The NSPCC explain grooming as *'when someone builds an emotional connection with a child to gain their trust for the purposes of exploitation or trafficking. Children and young people can be groomed online or face-to-face, by a stranger or by someone they know – for example a family member, friend or professional. Groomers may be male or female. They could be any age. Many children and young people don't understand that they have been groomed or that what has happened is abuse.'*^{viii}

For further information on child sexual exploitation please refer to The Children's Society's website <https://www.childrensociety.org.uk/what-is-child-sexual-exploitation>

CSE AND CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES

With regard to possible indicators of abuse, a Research In Practice Evidence Scope (Eaton, 2017) found that whilst a number of indicators of risk were being used widely across the UK, such as:

- Children going missing for periods of time or coming home late.
- Missing education.
- Having unexplained items of gifts.
- Having older boyfriends or girlfriends.
- Having STI's or becoming pregnant.
- Changes in mood/emotional well-being.
- Substance misuse.
- Displaying sexualised behaviour.^{ix}

In terms of the evidence base, only two areas had a proven correlation with CSE which were having a disability or being in care.^x

This information should therefore be recognised when thinking about our approaches to working with children with disabilities from a preventative and safeguarding perspective due to possible heightened vulnerability. The report also referred to a link between having previously been a victim of child sexual abuse and re-victimisation.^{xi}

It is important to recognise that boys and girls are victims of abuse. In addition, research conducted by University College London in relation to in excess of 9,000 Barnardo's CSE service users found that males were 2.6 times more likely than females to have a disability, although 13% of female victims also had a disability.^{xii}

CRIMINAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN

The term 'county lines' is becoming more widely recognised and used to describe situations where young people may be internally trafficked for the purpose of criminal exploitation. What is often less understood is the experiences a young person faces and the potential for them to be harmed through various forms of abuse and exploitation as a result. There is currently no legal definition of criminal exploitation and also very little guidance. Currently, the criminal exploitation of children and young people is often not fully understood by services working with them, which can impact on the response that a young person receives. Trafficking and criminal exploitation are forms of abuse and therefore should be afforded a safeguarding response.

Often the visible symptoms of this abuse are responded to, meaning that many young people receive a criminal justice response and their safeguarding needs can be overlooked as a result.

According to the recent National Crime Agency briefing on County Lines Violence, Exploitation and Drug Supply, 2 in 3 police forces reported that exploitation of children was identified in relation to 'county lines' activity, with 1 in 4 reporting that children involved in county lines were experiencing sexual abuse. However, the latest report also acknowledged that although the exploitation of children continues to be reported, the true scale of abuse remains an intelligence gap in many parts of the country.^{xiii}

Criminal exploitation interlinks with a number of multiple vulnerabilities and offences, including the child being exposed to and/or victim of:

- Physical and emotional violence.
- Neglect.
- Sexual abuse and exploitation.
- Modern day slavery and human trafficking.
- Domestic abuse.
- Missing episodes.

The context within which this type of criminal exploitation often happens is in relation to county lines. The Home Office define 'County Lines' as: *'The police term for urban gangs supplying drugs to suburban areas and market and coastal towns using dedicated mobile phone lines or "deal lines". It involves child criminal exploitation (CCE) as gangs use children and vulnerable people to move drugs and money. Gangs establish a base in the market location, typically by taking over the homes of local vulnerable adults by force or coercion in a practice referred to as "cuckooing".'*^{xiv}

Criminal exploitation can also include children exploited into the storage of firearms and other weapons, and financial exploitation of children through using their bank accounts.

There is presently very little evidence or research around criminal exploitation and children with disabilities.

GENERAL VULNERABILITIES AND INDICATORS

There are some factors that could increase the vulnerability that a young person will be exploited by others. In order to understand these factors, it is helpful to draw on the contextual safeguarding circles shown below. These help us to think about the child or individual factors, home, peers, school and neighbourhood.^{xv}

Figure 1: Contexts of Adolescent Safety and Vulnerability (Firmin 2013:47)

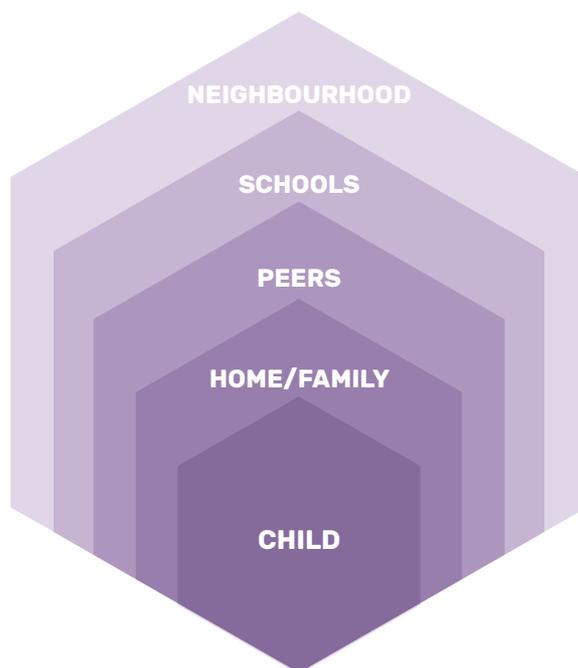


Illustration provided by the University of Bedfordshire, Contextual Safeguarding team

CHILD/INDIVIDUAL: Looked after, disabled, substance misuse, mental health problem.

HOME/FAMILY: Neglect/abuse, exposed/experience violence, parental substance misuse, mental health and domestic abuse, poverty, lack of positive relationship with a protective, nurturing adult, homelessness or insecure accommodation status.^{xvi}

PEERS: Exposed to other young people known to be exploited, exposed to or have experienced peer-on-peer abuse.

SCHOOLS: Exclusion from school and not in education/training or employment, exposed to or experienced violent crime.

NEIGHBOURHOODS: Exposed to or experience violent crime, deprived neighbourhood.

These vulnerabilities do not mean that a young person will be exploited but are factors that could increase the vulnerability that they could be exploited by someone.

ADDITIONAL VULNERABILITIES

The NSPCC^{xvii} cite the following factors as to why deaf and children with disabilities are at increased vulnerability to exploitation and other forms of abuse.

- Communication barriers.
- Increased isolation.
- Dependency on others.
- Inadequate responses to disclosure.
- Missing the signs.
- Lack of education on staying safe.

The Safeguarding Children with disabilities Practice Guidance^{xviii} details the following additional factors:

- Lack of participation and choice in decision making (leaving children disempowered and unheard).
- Higher levels of bullying.
- Double discrimination (eg they are from a marginalised community and disabled).
- Spending longer periods of time away from home (eg residential care, respite).

WARNING INDICATORS

There are a number of indicators listed in the following table that could alert us to a young person being sexually abused (including sexual exploitation) or criminally exploited. This is not a prescriptive or exhaustive list and should be considered as Brown (2016)^{xix} suggests as a non-prescriptive list of things to look out for. Please refer to your local safeguarding protocols in relation to referring safeguarding concerns.

- Unexplained amounts of money, mobiles, credit, clothing, jewellery, new hair cut or other items/gifts.
- Sums of money disappearing from or being deposited in bank and savings accounts.
- Change in appearance.
- Appearing with injuries (also possible reluctance to be treated).
- Change in behaviour: more secretive/withdrawn/isolated from peers or not mixing with usual friends.
- Unexplained absences from, or not engaged in, school/college/training/work.
- Increasingly disruptive, hostile or physically aggressive at home or school (including use of sexualised language and language in relation to drug dealing and/or violence).
- Expressions around invincibility or not caring about what happens to them.
- Increased interest in making money.
- Reports being taken to parties, people's houses, unknown areas, hotels, nightclubs, takeaways or out of area by unknown adults.
- Increasing use of drugs or alcohol.
- Fear of reprisal from 'gang' members, or violence from young people or adults.
- Having multiple mobile phones, sim cards or use of a phone that causes concern – multiple callers or more texts/pings than usual.
- Possession of hotel keys/cards or keys to unknown premises.
- Disclosure of sexual/ physical assault followed by withdrawal of allegation.
- Abduction or forced imprisonment.

- Entering or leaving vehicles cars with unknown adults.
- Receiving rewards of money or goods for introducing peers.
- Self-harm or significant changes in emotional well-being.
- Agencies unable to engage.
- New peer groups and/or relationships.
- Relationships with controlling /older individuals or groups.^{xx}
- Parental concerns.^{xxi}
- Genital soreness, repeated STIs and/or pregnancy.
- Increase referrals to agencies for other known peers.
- Multiple referrals for incidents in the same location.
- Frequent missing episodes and been found out of area.
- Found with large quantities of drugs or weapons.
- Found with drugs inside rectum or vagina.

BARRIERS TO ENGAGEMENT

Children with disabilities do not disclose abuse as frequently as children without disabilities and are even more likely to delay disclosure. However, when they do disclose, children with disabilities are more likely to talk to a trusted adult such as a friend or teacher.^{xxii} With that in mind, factors which may prevent a child or young person coming forward can include:

- Disability linked to impaired speech or comprehension can make it hard for children to express themselves.^{xxiii}
- Parents being relied on to interpret what their children are saying, preventing children from confidentially disclosing concerns.^{xxiv}
- Children's disruptive or distressed behaviour being interpreted as a result of their disability, without consideration of potential safeguarding concerns.^{xxv}
- Letters or written agreements being used with young people to arrange access to services or manage 'risky behaviour', despite them having limited or no ability to read.^{xxvi}
- Injuries and developmental delay accepted as related to the disability.^{xxvii}
- Abuse may be within the family, and as a result the young person may be fearful of repercussions towards themselves or other family members and the breaking up of the family.
- Child sexual or criminal exploitation not being recognised and responded to as a safeguarding concern.
- Professionals viewing exploitation as a 'lifestyle choice' which can make a young person feel blamed for their exploitation, or (for example) reinforce a young person's feeling of ownership of an untrue identity of autonomous drug dealer.
- Services not being consistent or persistent in their approach and closing due to 'non engagement'.
- Young person may be fearful of repercussions towards themselves, friends or family if seen to be engaging with professionals.
- The young person may still be being controlled by abusers and have no ability or power to exit.

- Even if the police are involved, the young person still may not feel safe or protected from repercussions.
- The young person may have distrust in services such as police and social care.
- The young person may be fearful of getting in trouble with the police, or be in breach of a court order.
- Children who have experienced previous abuse, fractured attachments and trauma, hold a deep mistrust of adults and services.^{xxviii}
- The young person may be made to feel they are in 'debt' to perpetrators and/or reliant on the 'exchange' ie money/substances – this is often referred to as 'debt bondage'.
- The young person has withdrawn from their support network due to the grooming process and is unable to access services.
- Structural inequalities related to disability and how this intersects with race, gender, ethnicity, class, culture, education.
- The young person may have experienced multiple professionals talking about concerns with them, which again could lead to a young person feeling frustrated or unable to engage.
- The young person feels embarrassed or ashamed of their experiences.

It is important to remember that a young person might not relate to their experience as being abusive or exploitative. The young person may feel a sense of 'loyalty' or attachment to the perpetrators – they may feel emotionally fulfilled in a way they haven't experienced from parents, carers or professionals before.

The young person may feel they have gained 'friends' or 'family' and that these people care for him or her. The young person may be receiving money or rewards that they have not had access to previously, or the money may be supporting their family to cover basic needs. The young person may feel a sense of 'status' and 'power' that they haven't had before. The young person may see themselves as autonomous rather than a victim of exploitation.

This links in with the process of how an exploiter may target and groom a young person. This however also links in with barriers to engagement and why a young person may not relate to being exploited.

PROFESSIONAL RESPONSES TO ABUSE

Professionals may find it more difficult to attribute indicators of abuse or neglect, or be reluctant to act on concerns in relation to children with disabilities, because of a number of factors, which they may not be consciously aware of. These could include:

- Over identifying with the child's parents/carers and being reluctant to accept that abuse or neglect is taking or has taken place, or seeing it as being attributable to the stress and difficulties of caring for a disabled child.
- A lack of knowledge about the impact of disability on the child.
- A lack of knowledge about the child, eg not knowing the child's usual behaviour.
- Not being able to understand the child's method of communication.
- Confusing behaviours that may indicate the child is being abused with behaviours associated with the child's disability.
- Denial of the child's sexuality.
- Behaviour, including harmful sexual behaviour or self-injury, may be indicative of abuse.
- Being aware that certain health or medical complications may influence the way symptoms present or are interpreted. For example some particular conditions cause spontaneous bruising or fragile bones, causing fractures to be more frequent.

Source: Safeguarding Children with disabilities Practice Guidance https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/190544/00374-2009DOM-EN.pdf

RECOMMENDATIONS

Osborne (2011) compiled the following tips specifically for practitioners working with children with disabilities:

- Treat children with disabilities with the same degree of professional concern given to children without disabilities.
- Be prepared to challenge carers and ensure that abusive and restrictive practices don't go unrecognised.
- Disability should not detract from early multi-agency assessments of need that consider possible underlying causes for concern.
- Ask: Would I consider that option if the child were not disabled?
- Recognise the barriers to communication that children with disabilities experience, be aware of different communication methods and where to seek specialist advice.
- Ensure it is routine practice for children with disabilities to make their wishes and feelings known and ensure they know how to raise concerns.^{xxix}

In addition:

- Ensure there are accessible services and opportunities for children and young people to seek help.
- Talk to children and young people about the ability to talk to a trusted friend.
- Ensure that children are taught about sex and relationships and personal safety.
- Be interested, professionally curious, listen to what the young person is saying and hear it from a safeguarding perspective.
- Don't make judgements. Remember they may appear to be willing participants but it is likely that their actions and choices are being controlled by perpetrators with more power than them.
- Avoid victim blaming language.
- Advocate for the young person and for child protection processes to be followed using the three steps outlined previously: report to police, refer to CSC and refer to the National Referral Mechanism.
- Challenge professional views which are oppressive, judgmental, or rejecting the need for a child protection response.

- Explain what is happening and why you might need to share information. Keep the young person updated on any outcomes.
- Ensure the young person is given choices. Throughout their experience of being criminally exploited they will have been working with parameters of little or no choice – therefore it is important that young person is given the element of choice back.
- As a starting point to explaining exploitation it can be helpful to talk about the long hours a young person is expected to carry out criminal activities as being exploitative in itself and can open up further discussion about what is going on for them.
- Exploring a young person’s identity and creating a safe space to explore this.
- Discussing relevant music and music videos can open up conversations around county lines, physical/sexual violence, status, power and control.
- Building a young person’s resilience, looking at strengths and future plans.
- Be creative in your approach and ask what the young person wants or needs

SERVICES AVAILABLE (NATIONALLY)

The services listed below are national services commissioned to support children and young people affected by sexual abuse and their families.

NAME	AREA	AGE RANGE	WEBSITE
Action for Children	England and Wales	Children (and adults up to 25yrs if disabled).	https://www.actionforchildren.org.uk/what-we-do/parents-and-families/work-with-children-who-have-been-sexually-abused/
NSPCC Childline	England and Wales	Children up to 18.	https://www.childline.org.uk/
Kids	England and Wales	General support for children with disabilities up to 18 and their families.	https://www.kids.org.uk/
MOSAC	England and Wales	Non-abusing parents and carers of sexually abused children.	http://www.mosac.org.uk/
PACE	England and Wales	Parents of children at risk of CSE.	http://paceuk.info/
Contact	England and Wales	Support for families with children with disabilities.	https://contact.org.uk/
Scope	National	Support for families with children with disabilities and young people.	https://www.scope.org.uk/support/families/diagnosed

RESOURCES AVAILABLE

ORGANISATION	TITLE	WEBSITE
NSPCC	Safeguarding Deaf and Children with disabilities	https://www.nspcc.org.uk/preventing-abuse/safeguarding/deaf-disabled-children/
NSPCC	Video: The Underwear Rule for Deaf Children	https://www.nspcc.org.uk/preventing-abuse/safeguarding/deaf-disabled-children/
NSPCC	Repository of practice resources for professionals working with deaf and children with disabilities	https://library.nspcc.org.uk/HeritageScripts/Hapi.dll/retrieve2?SetID=A443008F-D9C5-4AE2-B1A6-7C0C8C80F75D&DataSetName=LIVEDATA&_ga=2.152483577.1914131248.1514887551-355360898.1511202210&_gac=1.11658880.1511435264.EAlalQobChMIulep98bU1wIVw7vtCh2hvg4tEAYASAAEgL93PD_BwE
NSPCC	Safeguarding deaf and children with disabilities in sport	https://www.nspcc.org.uk/preventing-abuse/safeguarding/deaf-disabled-children/?_t_id=1B2M2Y8AsgTpgAmY7PhCfg%3d%3d&_t_q=safeguarding+deaf+and+disabled+children&_t_tags=language%3aen%2csiteid%3a7f1b9313-bf5e-4415-abf6aaf87298c667&_t_ip=10.99.66.5&_t_hit.id=Nspcc_Web_Models_Pages_ResearchReportsPage/_467906d4-540d-400d-bbb9-7cdaf9bf8289_en-GB&_t_hit.pos=2
Barnardos	Working with children and young people who experience running away and child sexual exploitation (contains guidance for working with children with disabilities)	http://www.barnardos.org.uk/CSE_practitioners_guide_v2_hr.pdf
The Communication Trust (multiple resources available)	Supporting children and young people who have no speech or whose speech is difficult to understand	https://www.thecommunicationtrust.org.uk/media/3414/other_ways_of_speaking_final.pdf

RESEARCH

Barnardo's

https://www.barnardos.org.uk/its_not_on_the_radar_report.pdf

Coventry University

Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation: Understanding Risk and Vulnerability August 2016 Sarah Brown, Geraldine Brady, Anita Franklin, Louise Bradley a Nathan Kerigan and Carloss Sealey https://resources.nwgnetwork.org/media/get/1456_Child-Sexual-Abuse-and-Exploitation-Understanding-Risk-and-Vulnerability.pdf

Coventry University, NSPCC et al. It Doesn't Happen to Children with disabilities – Report of the National Working Group On Child Protection and Disability http://www.coventry.gov.uk/scif/download/downloads/id/745/it_doesnt_happen_to_disabled_children.pdf

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<https://www.nspcc.org.uk/what-we-do/news-opinion/making-noise-childrens-voices-for-positive-change/>

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Jones, L., Bellis, M.A., Wood, S., Hughes, K., et al. (2012) Prevalence and risk of violence against children with disabilities: a systematic review and meta-analysis of observational studies. *The Lancet* July 2012.

Chris Osborne for Community Care <http://www.communitycare.co.uk/2011/11/03/protecting-disabled-children-from-abuse-and-neglect/>

Research in Practice

https://www.rip.org.uk/download/283/CSE_evidencescopeupdateOct17_v2.pdf

National Crime Agency

<http://www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/publications/832-county-lines-violence-exploitation-and-drug-supply-2017/file>

<http://www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/publications/753-county-lines-gang-violence-exploitation-and-drug-supply-2016/file> -2016

<http://www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/publications/620-NCA-Intelligence-Assessment-County-Lines-Gangs-and-Safeguarding/file> - 2015

The Children's Society

<https://www.childrensociety.org.uk/sites/default/files/appg-missing-gangs-and-exploitation-roundtable-report.pdf>

Criminal Law and Justice Weekly

<https://www.criminallawandjustice.co.uk/features/Running-County-Lines>

Youth Justice Legal Centre

<http://www.yjlc.uk/exploitation-children-county-lines-gangs-children-safeguarded-not-prosecuted>

Ending Gang and Exploitation

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/ending-gang-violence-and-exploitation>

Preventing the Violent and Sexual Victimisation of Vulnerable Gang-involved and Gang-affected Children and Young People in Ipswich. Andell & Pitts. University of Suffolk. August 2017.

<https://www.uos.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Final%20Amended%20Report%20-FINAL%20VERSION%20PDF.pdf>

Catch 22 – Running the risks: The link between gang involvement and young people going missing.

<https://www.catch-22.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Catch22-Dawes-Unit-Running-The-Risks-full-report.pdf>

Centre for Expertise on Child Sexual Abuse

<https://www.csacentre.org.uk/research-publications/cse-risk-tools/exploratory-study-on-the-use-of-tools-and-checklists-to-assess-risk-of-child-sexual-exploitation/>

Council of Europe (Professor Hilary Brown, Sexual Abuse of Children with Disabilities)

<https://www.coe.int/t/dg3/children/1in5/Source/PublicationSexualViolence/Brown.pdf>

<https://www.nspcc.org.uk/preventing-abuse/child-protection-system/case-reviews/learning/deaf-disabled-children/>

NSPCC – Repository of Research Sources

[http://library.nspcc.org.uk/HeritageScripts/Hapi.dll/search2?searchterm="children with disabilities"&Fields=K&Media=&_ga=2.195991724.1450616114.1515159859-355360898.1511202210&_gac=1.246008240.1511435264.EAlalQobChMlulep98bU1wIVw7vtCh2hvg4tEAAYASAAEgL93PD__BwE#&Bool=AND&searchterm=research&Fields=K&Media=#&Bool=AND](http://library.nspcc.org.uk/HeritageScripts/Hapi.dll/search2?searchterm=)

<https://www.nspcc.org.uk/globalassets/documents/research-reports/right-safe-disabled-children-abuse-report.pdf>

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- iii NSPCC <https://www.nspcc.org.uk/services-and-resources/research-and-resources/2014/right-to-be-safe/>
- iv NSPCC <https://www.nspcc.org.uk/services-and-resources/research-and-resources/2014/right-to-be-safe/>
- v Council of Europe <https://www.coe.int/t/dg3/children/1in5/Source/PublicationSexualViolence/Brown.pdf>
- vi Council of Europe <https://www.coe.int/t/dg3/children/1in5/Source/PublicationSexualViolence/Brown.pdf>
- vii gov.wales/docs/dhss/publications/policy/110107guidanceen.pdf
Please note that this guidance and definition is currently under review.
- viii <https://www.nspcc.org.uk/preventing-abuse/child-abuse-and-neglect/grooming/>
- ix Barnardos
- x Brown 2016 cited in https://www.rip.org.uk/~ftp_user/full/evidence_scopes/Working_Effectively_to_Address_Child_Sexual_Exploitation_Evidence_Scope//files/assets/basic-html/index.html#41
- xi Gagne et al, 2005; Ullman and Vasquez, 2015) cited in https://www.rip.org.uk/~ftp_user/full/evidence_scopes/Working_Effectively_to_Address_Child_Sexual_Exploitation_Evidence_Scope//files/assets/basic-html/index.html#41
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