Canterbury
Christ Church
University

Preventing and countering CSE in SE Kent school-based peer mentorship schemes

Bryant, R., Christie, S., Heaton, R., Ozcakir Mozova, K. and Ms Becky Thomson

Preventing and countering CSE in SE Kent

School-based peer mentorship schemes

Report prepared by: Bryant, R.*, Christie, S., Heaton, R., Mozova, K. and Thomson, R.

The views expressed in this report represent the authors' and not necessarily those of their employers or the funders.

* corresponding author, School of Law, Criminal Justice and Policing, Canterbury Christ Church University. e-mail robin.bryant@canterbury.ac.uk

**in 2019 Shepway District Council became Folkestone and Hythe District Council

Acknowledgement

INDEX

Executive Summary

Recommendations for DDC and FHDC on preventing and countering CSE in SE Kent; developing and delivering an initiative to tackle CSE through a peer mentoring scheme in SE Kent and for further research and development.

Executive Summary

Several of the child sexual exploitation (CSE) scandals over the last two decades have involved towns which are broadly similar, in population size, sociodemographic features and in some measures of deprivation and poverty[1], to those of Dover and Folkestone ('SE Kent'). Whilst there is no direct evidence of a particularly acute local problem with CSE it would seem reasonable to assume that SE Kent is as least as vulnerable as any other comparable part of the UK.

As part of the empirical research for this report we explored the perspectives of professionals working in SE Kent in CSE prevention and intervention. In the main the interviews demonstrated that our small sample perceive the current **reactive** multi-agency arrangements as effective, and an improvement on the past.

Our research supports the claim that 'professional curiosity' amongst agencies in SE Kent has improved when compared with the past. It suggests that the agencies and professionals are actively learning and appreciate the complexities of the arena in which they operate.

However, it is not clear if there is a single locus of responsibility within the local authorities for the strategic responsibility for **proactive** and preventative measures to counter CSE. For example, to provide a perspective on issues such as assessing the prevalence and nature of CSE in SE Kent; improving multiagency working; monitoring rapidly-developing research and practice and implementing suitable initiatives.

It is unequivocally the case that schools in SE Kent are well-situated to become involved in tackling CSE and with appropriate support and planning could successfully fulfil a 'critical role' in preventative action (DfE, 2017).

This report describes a range of routes through which CSE could be tackled within a school setting. Having reviewed the key literature and information relevant to effective awareness raising and promotion of positive behaviour in relation CSE, and the related SRE, together with the training day we delivered, we acknowledge that there is a significant challenge in drawing strong conclusions and definitive answers about 'what works' in the context of complex lives and 'multi-faceted' interventions.

Nevertheless, a number of key learning areas have emerged and we are able to draw conclusions and make confident recommendations about what is likely to work well.

The important role for young people in tackling CSE is a thread that ran through our scoping. Buck et al. (2017) described the young people in their small exploration of peer mentoring in connection with CSE as possessing the 'insight and creativity' (p. 1759) to add value to schemes.

Young people are undeniably experts in their own preferences and what will engage and motivate them and their peers and, with appropriate support and guidance, they can become intrinsic to a successful initiative. It should be reiterated, however, that young mentors require a support structure around

---

[1] E.g. in terms of the proportion of 'Lower Super Output Areas' experiencing deprivation.

them which should comprise robust initial and ongoing training, access to expert advice and regular opportunities for debriefs with trained adults.

CSE is closely linked to deficits in social, economic and psychological capital as suggested by research exploring adverse childhood experiences. It follows that a preventative response to CSE needs to be varied and flexible, encompassing a multitude of agencies, areas, treatment and delivery to address interrelated effects.

In practice, this means ensuring that CSE is tackled not just by a stand-alone initiative such as a peer mentoring scheme but through a wider body of work which starts early in a young person's life, is sustained and incorporates other points of contact such as PSHE, pastoral and other school services.

The new statutory Relationships and Sex Education (RSE) that begins in secondary schools in SE Kent in September 2020 provides a unique opportunity for the district councils to work with local schools on building the resilience of children and young people.

Finally, any initiative will work best if it is supported in the wider community by parents, community groups and multi-agency arrangements.

Recommendations for DDC and FHDC on preventing and countering CSE in SE Kent

1. Provide leadership, challenge and scrutiny, particularly in terms of practical measures such as the oversight of attendance of key professionals at multi-agency meetings.

2. Employ one or more persons to develop specialist expertise in the proactive prevention of CSE (rather than adding this to the role specification of existing staff). This could include assessing the prevalence and nature of CSE in SE Kent, improving multiagency working, monitoring rapidly-developing research and practice and implementing suitable initiatives (e.g. within the new RSE provision in local schools). Any appointed specialist should report regularly to a more senior person or council committee, to ensure that senior officers are aware of developments and have the opportunity to scrutinise them.

3. Encourage the use of (and where appropriate employing) the full range of CSE disruption activities legally available. For example, there are housing, environmental health and licensing enforcement powers to investigate takeaways, off-licences, convenience stores, car washes and garages of concern (Casey, 2005).

4. Facilitate more intelligence gathering and sharing (e.g. through partnership activities with local schools) to establish CSE 'problem profiles' for SE Kent (see Berelowitz et al. 2013). Intelligence may include: 'names - including nicknames, addresses, 'hot spots', mobile numbers, car registrations and information about the role played by local businesses' (Sharp-Jeffs et al., 2017b, p.6). DDC and FHDC also employ, or contract with refuse collectors, street cleaners, park wardens and others who are potentially valuable sources of intelligence.

5. Given that those at the highest risk of CSE victimisation are not regularly at school, further consideration needs to be given to how preventative educational measures may be deployed for the children and young people concerned in other settings such as Pupil Referral Units.

6. Increase awareness raising and education for professionals (e.g. safeguarding staff within local schools) particularly in terms of local MOs employed by perpetrators, localities (e.g hotels), forms of transport exploited (e.g. Uber).

7. Oversee appropriate inclusion of input on school 'relationships' education (local primary schools) and 'relationships and sex' education (RSE in secondary schools) in line with most recent guidance. As this is a new change, this is a unique opportunity to reconsider existing curricula, engage a variety of partners, and for district councils to provide practical support within schools in SE Kent to build children and young people's resilience.

Recommendations for developing and delivering an initiative to tackle CSE through a peer mentoring scheme in SE Kent

1. Consider developing a more holistic scheme with varied and connected aims - e.g. starting with a focus on primary school children and discussions surrounding health and (non-intimate) relationships; following through to secondary schools to widen discussion.
2. Embed any mentoring scheme within the wider school curriculum for example, the new 'Relationships and Sex Education' (RSE) input and children and young people's resilience and health.
3. Value and utilise the knowledge and expertise of young people in the design and delivery of any initiative.

In the case of a peer-mentorship scheme:

1. Gain the support of the School Senior Management Team in developing a robust initiative to tackle CSE.
2. Embed a peer mentoring scheme within the context of a whole school approach to countering CSE which in turn should sit within a collaborative, multi-agency community effort (including parents and carers).
3. Provide a structure within which the mentoring relationship can develop: consider matching of partners through shared interests, regular meet-ups and organised activities. Develop 'templates' for delivery of the scheme to enable successful succession planning.
4. Plan for durations of mentor-mentee relationships in excess of six months. Provide practical support to both parties to facilitate the success of the relationship such as a discreet place to meet, an opportunity to engage in structured activities and a readily available support network (in the case of communication difficulties).
5. Acknowledge the potential for concern about confidentiality from the perspective of the mentee; prioritise this in mentee training and monitor to ensure compliance.
6. Provide a 'safe space' in which mentors and mentees can communicate. Face to face communication should be the main form of contact.
7. Ensure mentors receive high quality training and ongoing support and training in order that they are both well-equipped and receive the additional safeguarding to ensure they are protected from harm. Mentors must be confident and credible (DfE, 2017).
8. Sensitivity and respect in the mentoring relationship is paramount. Any suggestion of 'victim blaming' (Eaton, 2018) should be avoided at all costs.
9. Recognise the need for different approaches to meet gender and cultural diversities within the peer group of mentees.
10. Be aware of resources that are already available to support schools (Appendix 2 gives some examples).
11. Continued monitoring and evaluation is important. Consider partnering with research organisations to assess the ongoing success of any mentoring scheme.
12. Consider the use of arts-based media through which peer-educators could convey CSE related information in a novel and engaging manner.

Recommendations for further research and development

1. Research how the systems designed to prevent, detect and deal with CSE in SE Kent work in practice e.g. how much is the CSE 'Partner Information Sharing Form' used, and how effective is it?

2. Investigate any disparity between how agencies understand, and how children and young people experience CSE in SE Kent. This is integral to understanding the nature of CSE in SE Kent from a child and young person' perspective, why and in what ways children and young people are victimised and their experiences of the process that exists to safeguard them. This research would better inform locally-based preventative measures such as peer-based mentoring schemes.

3. Conduct research to better understand the most suitable communication strategies with children and young people in SE Kent. This includes exploring what medium to use to communicate.

4. Identify the frequency of, and points of intervention for, children and young people in SE Kent that relate to significant changes in life-long outcomes.

5. Engage in 'Action Research' to enable the development of curriculum and mentoring strategy which would be developed through cooperation between young people, practitioners and independent researchers.

6. Undertake a longitudinal evaluation of young people's behaviour in line with curriculum/strategies (e.g. tracking of behaviour of a cohort over a period of time).

7. Produce a rapid evidence assessment/systematic review to understand how school-based initiatives interact with activities outside the school environment (e.g. parenting schemes) and how these different strategies can complement each other.

1   Introduction

This report provides an analysis of the outcomes of a project initially funded in 2018-19 by Shepway District Council[2] (the 'Schools CSE and Safeguarding Programme') under the Kent and Medway PCC's priority area of tackling 'abuse, exploitation, violence, organised crime and gangs'. Subsequent direction and funding for 2019-20 was provided by Dover District Council (DDC) Community Services under the same PCC priority area.

The analysis was conducted by researchers from the School of Law, Criminal Justice and Policing together with educational advisers from the Research Centre for Children, Families and Communities at Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU).

Staff from the School and the Research Centre also engaged with teaching staff, safeguarding leads and sixth-formers from three secondary schools in SE Kent throughout the period covered by this report.

Throughout the project we adopted a multi-method approach to conducting the research and development activities, described in detail in section 2 ('Methodology') of this report.

A comprehensive literature review and online scoping exercise was carried out to identify, document and evaluate school-based initiatives that are designed to prevent and counter CSE. This piece of work also incorporated an evaluation of a Year 12 CSE 'training day' held at CCCU.

The literature review also informed our semi-structured interviews with professionals working to prevent, counter or investigate CSE in SE Kent. The interviews were used to gain a better understanding of the extent, nature and impact of CSE in our local area, as well as gaining professional's perceptions of existing CSE strategies.

Thirteen individuals were recruited who represented the spread of partnership agencies involved in the multi-agency teams in SE Kent, had first-hand experience in working with victims and/or perpetrators of CSE and who were, or had been based within the SE Kent geographical area.

Our interviews with multi-agency professionals elicited five key themes which alluded to the challenges and benefits of team-working, the perceived specificity of the local CSE 'problem', difficulties surrounding a perceived lack of resources and the perpetual learning cycle that exists for professionals working in CSE. It is for this reason that we have also included a number of recommendations for the district councils involved in the project.

The literature review revealed a complex and evolving context within which CSE prevention and counter activities operate. We identify and outline in the remainder of this report the key issues that are pertinent to the management of CSE. This includes the various legal and criminal parameters and definitions of CSE and estimations of prevalence (both national and local). Additionally, our research identifies an emergent typology of CSE which includes at least six classifications. Our report also draws

---

[2] Shepway District Council (SDC) became Folkestone and Hythe District Council (FHDC) in 2019. It is referred to as FHDC in the remainder of this report.

together what is known about risk factors for both perpetration and victimisation and also offers an overview of national and local responses.

The literature review and a scoping exercise explored and evaluated the range of, and evidence supporting school-based approaches to tackling CSE. We identified three main bodies of data: incorporation of CSE education within a Personal Social and Health Education (PHSE)-type curriculum; the involvement of external agencies including statutory bodies and private enterprises; and school-based mentoring programmes, including peer mentoring.

We adopted a particular focus on the evidence base for and opportunities presented by peer mentoring concluding that, although the academic evidence base for its effectiveness is not overwhelming, there are indications of a strong protocol for 'best practice'. We have included recommendations on how best to develop and implement any peer mentorship scheme.

Finally, the literature review, semi-structured interviews and our engagement with three local secondary schools also gave rise to a number of recommendations for future research and development: these are also included.

2   Methodology

At the outset a comprehensive literature review was undertaken to both inform both the semi-structured interviews of professionals working in SE Kent (see below) and an attempted evaluation of school-based initiatives designed to prevent and counter CSE. The semi-structured interviews with professionals were conducted to gain a better understanding of the extent, nature and impact of CSE in SE Kent, as well as gaining their perceptions of existing CSE strategies.

After reviewing the literature on potential data collection techniques, it was decided that the most appropriate method would be the semi structured interviews as these allow for open ended questions and elaboration by both the researcher and participants. This is especially important when localised knowledge might be lacking (Mack et al., 2005).

For our research we sought professionals who represented the variety of partnership agencies involved in the multi-agency teams in SE Kent. The inclusion criteria therefore required that all participants either had first-hand experience in working with victims and/or perpetrators of CSE, and had worked within the SE Kent geographical area. Such purposive sampling allows for a holistic understanding, enabling a variety of views to be understood (Mack et al., 2005).

Using this method 13 professionals were recruited, including one social worker, four safeguarding leads from local secondary schools, three police officers, two local authority workers, one preventative services team member, a 'CSE champion' from a local children's home and one multi-agency worker.

The sample consisted of six men and seven women, whose ages ranged from 30 to 56 years with a mean of 42 years. The length of employment of the participants within their current organisation ranged from one to 24 years. It is perhaps relevant to also note that all the interviewees were 'White British' and had lived in Kent for more than five years.

The semi structured interview which was used to guide and inform the interview process (see Appendix 1 for a copy of the questionnaire) consisted of 13 questions and was formulated to elicit information relating to the study aims. The interview proforma consisted of two sections; one part examining participants' 'perceptions', the other 'responses'.

A further categorisation was into 'agency' (questions 3, 8, 9, 10 and 12) and 'respondent' (questions 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 13) to attempt to understand any differences between individuals and their reporting body or agency.

The questions included within the interview script directly reflect some of the main issues raised within the published literature surrounding CSE, and particularly those that might be pertinent to SE Kent. For example; a report from the Office of the Children's Commissioner (2016) recommended agencies working with a shared model. This included identifying the extent of the CSE issue and the nature of the local criminal activity. Hence we purposely used wording such as 'Which agencies do you believe to be responsible for CSE?' and 'How well do you think the nature and extent of the issue is understood by police and other agencies?' to establish how agencies are perceiving their duty of care and responsibility.

National reports (e.g. Home Office, 2017; Kelly and Karsna, 2017) have suggested that there has been a significant increase in reported CSE incidents in the last five years, and hence we also asked questions concerning the experience and perceptions of changing rates of CSE in SE Kent. Coupled with this was an intention to explore the relationship between CSE and the nature of criminality in SE Kent. Hence for example, questions such as 'Has there been an increase in the nature of offending, such as gang activity, which would contribute towards a marked increase in CSE offences?' were also asked.

The Kent Safeguarding Annual Report (2016) argued the need for effective multi agency working whilst recognising a number of possible issues that might arise. To reflect this, we asked questions concerning the interviewees' perceptions on the effectiveness of the way in which their agencies interact with others and any examples of successful or less successful cooperation. It was also important to explore the thoughts of professionals around the amount of resources invested to counter CSE, and in particular whether they believe this to be both adequate and appropriately distributed. This is within the context of a central government increase in funds for many areas of tackling CSE (Home Office, 2017) and it was considered important to attempt to assess whether this is translating into actual differences for those delivering the service.

It was also important for us to comprehend the value placed on 'professional curiosity' and 'inquisitive working'[3] by professionals as this has been identified as a likely key difference between successful and non-successful working with CSE (Howard, 2017; Bovarnick, Scott and Pearce, 2017; Brown, 2016; Afroge, 2007).

Finally, in light of the above areas of interest, professionals were asked about current strategies in place, as well as what they perceive to be the best way in addressing CSE in SE Kent. Responses to this question, inter alia, directly informed our evaluation of school-based prevention initiatives.

The questions were piloted with undergraduate students in Policing at Canterbury Christ Church University to test validity (e.g. in terms of identifying any ambiguity).

Interviews with professionals were conducted by two of the named authors of this report over an eighteen-month period, during 2018 and 2019. The mean (average) time of interviews was approximately 43 minutes.

---

[3] 'Professional curiosity 'is the capacity and communication skill to explore and understand what is happening with an individual or family. It is about enquiring deeper and using proactive questioning and challenge. It is about understanding one's own responsibility and knowing when to act, rather than making assumptions or taking things at face value' (Norfolk Safeguarding Adults Board, 2018). A lack of professional curiosity has been identified as a shortcoming in a number of CSE-related Serious Case Reviews (SCRs).

In February 2019, the School of Law, Criminal Justice and Policing at Canterbury Christ Church University invited year 12 students from two schools in SE Kent to attend an initial training day to raise awareness and increase knowledge of CSE. The day was planned as a precursor to schools developing a scheme in which some of the sixth-formers would play a part in either contributing to existing school provision and/or to become mentors. Hence, the day's planning was based on available national and local materials relating to countering CSE. The semi-structured interviews with professionals informed prompts used for discussions during the day.

The content of the training day included an overview of crime science, an analysis of what constitutes 'risky behaviour', an input from local police on preventing CSE, a practical session on online safety (through the example of cybercrime forensics) and a tutor led group discussion (with activities) on the appropriateness of national learning materials.

As a mark of appreciation the sixth formers involved were awarded a Canterbury Christ Church University, Dover District Council and Folkestone and Hythe District Council Community Safety Partnership Certificate of Attendance, awarded by Sir Ian Johnston QPM, OBE[4]. Sir Ian also outlined his involvement with the Suzy Lumplugh Trust[5] and some of the issues involved in personal safety.

It is understood that at least one of the schools involved in the training day subsequently put in place a pilot mentorship scheme, based around existing provision in Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE). However, it has not proved possible to date (December 2019) to carry out further evaluative research on the impact of any initiatives undertaken.

Prior to conducting the empirical research that informs this report, ethical approval was granted by Canterbury Christ Church University (approval number: 17/SAS/45F) and the researchers adhered to British Psychological Society (BPS) and British Society of Criminology ethical guidelines throughout the project.

No person aged 18 or younger was interviewed for the purposes of this report.

3   Background

In this section of the report we present some of the background to preventing CSE, including how CSE is defined (and why this is important); the legislation in England and Wales that is relevant to prosecuting CSE; other powers and orders available to the police and others (including local authorities) that can be employed to help prevent or counter CSE; an overview of how CSE became identified as a distinct form of offending; an analysis of the local and national prevalence of CSE; the forms that CSE may take and the 'official' national and local responses to preventing CSE.

3.1   Defining CSE

---

[4] Sir Ian Johnston spent 44 years in the Police Service, including three years as an assistant chief constable in Kent, seven years as an assistant commissioner in the Metropolitan Police, and eight years as chief constable of the British Transport Police. His tenure in the Met included leading the second investigation into the murder of Stephen Lawrence, directing the Met's role in the Millennium celebrations, and managing public order operations across the whole of London, such as the Notting Hill Carnival. In the British Transport Police he led their response to the terrorist bombings in 2005. Between 2009 and 2012 he was the Director of Security for the Organising Committee for the London Olympic and Paralympic Games.

[5] Susannah 'Suzy' Lamplugh was a British estate agent reported missing in 1986. She was officially declared dead, presumed murdered, in 1994 and at the time of writing the case remains unsolved. The Trust has the mission 'to reduce the risk of violence and aggression through campaigning, education and support'.

At the outset it should be acknowledged that 'child sexual exploitation' (CSE) is not defined in law as a specific offence. In terms of Home Office counting rules for the recording of crime, CSE is 'flagged' as an offence within the broader category of child sexual abuse (CSA) (Home Office, 2019, p. 8).

However, there is some inconsistency in police reviewing and flagging of CSE which is explained, in part, by crossovers within definitions, resulting in multiple interpretations (Kelly and Karsna, 2018, p. 7).

In general terms, and for the purposes of this report, Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE) will be taken to be a specific form of Child Sexual Abuse (CSA).

CSA involves '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' (HM Government, 2018). Examples of CSA include both physical contact offences (such as rape, masturbation and touching) and non-physical ones (such as grooming or coercing children into watching sexual imagery or taking part in such activity).

In turn CSE is differentiated from other forms of CSA by the existence of an exchange of something, which the child victim needs or wants, for sexual activities which are of benefit to the adult perpetrator(s)[6]. The needs or wants of the child victim may include emotional support, increased self-respect, the respect of others, money, alcohol and drugs. The exchange of sexual activity for tangible and intangible gifts or status is the core dynamic at play when differentiating CSE from other forms of CSA (Goldstein, 1998).

Perpetrators of CSE often seek more than sexual gratification for themselves or others – the intention is often to also exploit, financially or in some other way, the victimised child or young person (DfE, 2017, p.6): for example, through offering the victim to others for payment.

It should also be noted that CSE interrelates with other forms of crime. As the DfE (ibid, p. 16) note' [c]hild sexual exploitation […] should therefore be viewed within the wider continuum of sexual abuse and other relevant issues such as trafficking, modern slavery, domestic abuse and other gendered violence and going missing. The necessary focus on child sexual exploitation should not overshadow a focus on other manifestations of abuse'. To the DfE's list we can now add 'county lines' (see later).

The perpetrators are often outside of the immediate family of the child[7] (in contrast with most other forms of CSA). Violence, coercion and intimidation are common methods used to exercise control. Involvement in exploitative relationships is characterised by the child's or young person's limited availability of choice, typically as a result of their social, economic or emotional vulnerability. Essentially there is a power imbalance between perpetrator(s) and victim(s).

However, a commonly occurring feature of CSE is that the child or young person may not recognise the coercive nature of the relationship and will not necessarily see themselves as a victim of exploitation (College of Policing, 2016). This is partly due to exploitation being preceded by grooming, combined with a lack of understanding of appropriate relationships and incomplete brain development (e.g. within a child's prefrontal cortex responsible for risk taking).

---

[6] The 'official' definition is that CSE is a form of CSA which '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.' (DfE, 2017, p.5).

[7] But by no means always the case.

It might also be the case that CSE occurs alongside forms of child neglect such as physical and emotional maltreatment (Flood and Holmes, 2016).

The impact of CSE-related offences on victims is widely viewed as a complex issue (Brayley, 2014), not only impacting a child's psychological, physiological and social wellbeing (Ottisova et al., 2018; Le et al., 2018), but CSA more widely is also highly predictive of negative lifelong outcomes (Felitti et al., 2019).

3.2   CSE and the Law

To paraphrase Dame Louise Casey[8]: irrespective of definitions, the very first and foremost issue with CSE is that it is child abuse and it is a crime (Casey, 2015, p. 3).

As Ofsted (2014) noted, the legislative framework to counter and prosecute CSE seeks to adopt a dual approach: protecting children and disrupting and prosecuting offenders.

Although there is no legislation specific to CSE there are a significant number of Acts of Parliament which set out the responsibilities of the agencies involved in preventing and countering CSE as well as defining offences of CSA.

Under section 10 of the Children Act 2004, Local Authorities have a responsibility to promote inter-agency co-operation to improve the welfare of all children and where there are particular concerns (a 'reasonable cause' to suspect a child is suffering or likely to suffer significant harm) then social care services are expected to make enquiries and decide if any action must be taken under Section 47 of the Children Act 1989. The Children and Social Work Act 2017 amended both of these Acts which further emphasized the importance of multi-agency local safeguarding partners, with the Department of Education continuing to lead on Child Protection issues and three statutory safeguarding partners (local authority, clinical commissioning group, police) leading locally.

Under the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014), the police (and, in some cases local authorities[9]) have powers to 'disrupt' suspected perpetrators of CSE where there is not sufficient evidence to prosecute. If the police believe that a person poses a risk to others they can apply for a Sexual Harm Prevention Order against a person convicted or cautioned for a previous offence under the Sexual Offences Act (2003). If a Sexual Harm Prevention Order is granted it prohibits the person subject to it from doing anything specified in the order. The order lasts for a fixed term of a minimum of five years.

Also available are Injunction Orders (against perpetrators of CSE) Child Abduction Warning Notices (CAWN), Sexual Risk Orders, Exclusion Orders, Non-molestation Orders Criminal Behaviour Orders, Slavery and Trafficking Prevention Orders (STPOs), Slavery and Trafficking Risk Orders (STROs), Slavery and Trafficking Risk Orders and Closure Orders/Notices.

The National Referral Mechanism (NRM) is also employed to identify and disrupt the activities of perpetrators of Human Trafficking and Modern Slavery. 'Hotel Notices' can be used by police to help investigate organized groups involved in child sexual exploitation. Under the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014 the police can require the owner, operator or manager of a hotel or B&B (or similar) to provide information about their guests (including, name, address and age).

---

[8] Dame Louise Casey was the first Victims' Commissioner and undertook an inspection of children's services at Rotherham council after the CSE scandals came to light.

[9] For example, local authorities are able to apply for Closure Orders, Civil Injunctions, Community Protection Notices (CPN), Public Spaces Protection Order (PSPO) and Injunction Orders (under the High Court's inherent jurisdiction). Local authorities can also work with private landlords to make an application to a County court for an eviction notice. Devon County Council have produced a comprehensive guide.

In terms of specific offences of a sexual nature, the age of consent in England and Wales stands at 16. However, in terms of countering CSE, children are deemed to be those under the age of 18 which makes 16 and 17 year olds particularly complex to address. The only offence of a sexual nature for this age category relates to 'abuse of position of trust' (ss16-24 of the Sexual Offences Act 2003) where it is recognised that whilst the victims are legally able to give consent to sexual activity, this ability might be diminished if the perpetrator is someone who holds authority over them. Unfortunately, the legislative setting therefore does not fully articulate with the wider manifestation of CSE for this age category.

Sexual assault by penetration of a child under the age of 13 years is an offence under s 6 of the Sexual Offences Act 2003. Sexual assault on a child under the age of 13 without penetration is covered by s 7(1) of the Sexual Offences Act 2003. It involves intentionally touching a child under the age of 13 in a sexual manner and can be committed by a male or a female. For these offences (s 6 and s 7) the victim must be less than 13 years old.

Rape of a child under the age of 13 is an offence under s 5 of the Sexual Offences Act 2003. It can only be committed by a man, but the victim can be male or female. For a victim aged 13–15 years there is no specific offence, instead the offence is included within general definitions for 'adult' rape under s 1 of the same Act.

It is an offence under s 9 of the Sexual Offences Act 2003 for a person (male or female) to intentionally touch a child in a sexual manner. Where the child is less than 13 years old it is more likely that the perpetrator would be prosecuted under s 6 or s 7 for such activities.

Causing or inciting a child to engage in sexual activity is an offence (under s 8 and s 10 of the Sexual Offences Act 2003) can be committed by a man or a woman, and can involve the child acting alone or with another person. The offender might not be physically involved and no sexual activity actually has to occur; incitement alone can amount to the offence.

Causing or inciting a child under 13 years old to engage in sexual activity is covered by s 8 of the Sexual Offences Act 2003. If the sexual activity caused or incited involves no penetration the offence is committed under s 8(1), and under s 8(2) if penetration is involved. Section 8 therefore creates four separate offences: causing non-penetrative sexual activity; causing penetrative sexual activity; inciting non-penetrative sexual activity; and inciting penetrative sexual activity. Proof of age is once again required, consent is irrelevant, and the defendant will not be able to use a defence that he/she thought the child was older. For a victim under 16 years of age, these activities are covered by s 10 of the Sexual Offences Act 2003. Non-penetrative sexual activity is covered under s 10(1) and penetrative sexual activity under s 10(2).

There are two offences under the Sexual Offences Act 2003 where an offender causes a child to witness sexual acts: where the offender commits the sexual acts him/herself (s 11) and where other people commit the acts (s 12). For the s 11 offence the offender must know or believe that the child will be aware of the sexual acts in some way (e.g. seeing it live, or on a webcam, or hearing it), and gain some sexual gratification from the child's presumed awareness. However, the victim does not actually have to be aware of the activity (e.g. if the child does not notice). For the s 12 offence the offender must gain sexual gratification from causing a child to watch a third party involved in sexual activity (live or recorded). The child need not be coerced to watch, and may even agree to watch; this is irrelevant to whether the offence has been committed**.**

Under s 15A of the Sexual Offences Act 2003 it is an offence for a person of 18 years of age to communicate with a person under the age of 16 years if the communication is for the purpose of sexual gratification for the sender. For this offence the communication must either be sexual or be made with the intention of encouraging the recipient to make a sexual communication.

3.3   Recognition of CSE as a form of offending

As Scott et al. (2019, p. 6) point out, 30 years ago the term 'child sexual exploitation' (CSE) did not exist. However, it is certainly the case that offences of the kind that we now associate with CSE have occurred throughout history: for example, the sexual predation of children by adults.

Concerns over CSE have been more visible during the last 20 years in light of a number of high-profile scandals, for example the case of the Rotherham and Rochdale 'grooming gangs' (Tufail, 2015). In parallel there has been a notable increase in both the professional and academic literature concerning the nature and prevalence of CSE (Babchishin, Seto, Fazel and Långström, 2019; Selvius, Wijkman, Slotboom and Hendrik, 2018).

In 1984, the US academic Diana Russell introduced the concept of 'sexual exploitation', following a series of interviews which identified the existence of sexual victimization but which did not meet the stereotype of 'stranger rape'. A common factor was that an assaulted or abused person would not necessarily identify themselves as a victim. She estimated that victimization exceeded police and other survey data by a tenfold factor (Russell, 1984).

The early 2000s saw the growth of a higher profile for child protection in general, following a series of critical public inquiry reports, in particular into the deaths of Victoria Climbie (Home Office, 2003) and two Soham schoolgirls (Bichard, 2004). The Children Act 1989 introduced formal provisions for the protection of children.

In the UK, the term 'child sexual exploitation' (CSE) is a comparatively recent introduction, probably originating in the early 1990s[10]. For example, the children's charity Barnardo's initiated a 'CSE project' in Bradford in 1994 (Raymond, 2013).

A 'National Plan for Safeguarding Children from Commercial Exploitation' was issued by the Department of Health/Home Office in 2001 and updated in 2003. About the same time legislation was amended, with the Sexual Offences Act 2003 replacing the 1956 Act introducing offences of sexual grooming, together with harsher penalties for exploiting children aged under 13. The Department for Children, Schools and Families report 'Safeguarding Young Children and Young People from Sexual Exploitation', changed the language of 'child prostitution' to 'sexual abuse and exploitation' (DCSF, 2009).

During the late 1990s the profile of CSE grew markedly following the uncovering of large-scale, yet previously 'under the radar' offences, the most prominent being in Rotherham, Oxford, Rochdale, Derby and Torbay. A summary of these cases showed that CSE did not conform to a set 'formula' although there were some common features (Raymond, 2013).

The existence of the Rotherham CSE scandal was identified in 1999, although offences had probably been occurring since the 1980s. The 2014 Alexis Jay report estimated that approximately 1400 children

---

[10] Although of course the phenomenon itself very much predates this.

and young people had been the subject of abuse between 1999 and 2013. Victims had been trafficked for sex throughout the north of England. Offences were characterised by routine threats and use of extreme violence including torture. There have been a number of resulting convictions: five in 2010, twelve in 2016, seven in 2017 and seven in 2019.

Systematic CSE offences were uncovered in Oxford that had been occurring between 2004 and 2012. Girls had been targeted in cafes, on the street, outside schools and initially plied with gifts, alcohol and drugs, followed by sadistic violence. Some were 'sold' for prostitution, others trafficked around the UK. Seven men were convicted in 2013 with 51 counts of rape and trafficking. The 2015 Serious Case Review estimated that over 300 victims in the area had been exploited by several such gangs.

The Rochdale offences came to light in 2008. At least 47 girls, some aged as young as ten, are thought to have been victims (a number of whom had been reported missing). Victims were met in fast food outlets and initially plied with gifts, alcohol and drugs and then trafficked around the north of England for sex with other men, with violence employed in cases of refusal to cooperate. Nine men were convicted of offences in 2012.

In 2008 in Derby about 100 girls were identified as victims of CSE, in the main from backgrounds characterised by disadvantage and instability. Victims were 'befriended' when walking home from school, on housing estates and at railway stations and given cigarettes, alcohol and car rides. Girls were initially induced into having sex with the 'befriender', then other men. Nine men were convicted of offences in 2010.

Torbay has also experienced problems with CSE[11], first identified in 2011. In the town at least 40 girls had been the victims of abuse by males, both young and adult. Drugs and alcohol featured as means of facilitating CSE, although no physical violence appeared to have been employed. Much of the CSE appeared 'opportunistic', with a small age gap between offenders and victims. One person was convicted of offences in 2011.

Within SE Kent particular concern over CSE occurred during 2013, specifically in terms of the possible involvement of men living in East Kent some of whom were from eastern Europe[12] (Fox, 2015, pp. 3-4). In response, Kent Police launched 'Operation Lakeland' in October 2013 and although prosecutions of five men were conducted, all of the defendants were acquitted at Canterbury Crown Court in March 2015 (Kent Online, 2015).

The multiagency review that was subsequently undertaken found that there had been 'gaps in record keeping, poor decision-making, a lack of professional curiosity and missed opportunities for information sharing between agencies' (cited in Fox, 2015, p.22).

Overall, CSE has become a public issue largely as a result of the uncovering of especially serious cases. Whilst unique in manifestation, these cases did share some commonalities, including the use of grooming by perpetrators, threats and violence. The wider issues around the offences themselves (e.g. victims tasked with grooming further victims) highlighted the complexity of how CSE manifests, and how professionals both understand and respond to it. Unfortunately, because these prolific cases also share

---

[11] Torbay is policed by Devon and Cornwall Police who, in 2019, warned that the most likely form of CSE in their area remained 'peer on peer' exploitation, committed by other young people (Torbay Council, 2019). See 3.5.3 in this report.

[12] According to Fox (2015, p. 4) the police operation involved 'around 40 perpetrators and initial concerns of around 100 victims'.

another similarity - that they can fall under one type of CSE[13] - research, reviews, and policies have often targeted the one form, rather than CSE in general.

3.4 National and local prevalence of CSE

Given its often hidden nature, it is difficult to estimate the current (2019) prevalence of CSE both nationally and throughout SE Kent. There are likely to be significant levels of under-reporting. As Sharp-Jeffs et al. (2017b, p.7) observe it is very likely that '[m]ore child sexual abuse and exploitation happens than is recorded in official police statistics due to low levels of disclosure and missed opportunities for early identification'.

Further, inconsistency of what constitutes CSE itself and misclassification of CSE are likely to lead to an under-estimation (e.g. 'online CSE' conducted through sending indecent images is not always counted in the literature).

Trends in the occurrence of CSE are also difficult to reliably establish (particularly given that police recorded crime 'flagging' of such offences has only been introduced since 2016).

It is also the case that the 'official' definitions of CSE naturally attempt to define what CSE is in broad terms, yet inevitably must omit the nuanced and complicated relationship between being a victim of CSE and becoming a perpetrator of a crime, which can overlap or occur simultaneously (Halter, 2010; Cockbain and Brayley, 2012;2014; Walker, 2013; Cole, Sprang, Lee and Cohen, 2016). Further, due to the very nature of CSE and associated grooming mechanisms, it is often difficult for individuals to have the necessary knowledge or ability to recognise signs or even see themselves as victims at all. This will affect any estimates of prevalence.

According to the Office of Children's Commissioner report in 2013, identification of victims and those at risk of CSE was inconsistent across the country. Whilst 70 Local Safeguarding Children Boards (48% of the total) had found 2092 known victims of CSE in 2013 and 5669 children 'at risk', there were many localities where identification remained very low. Disparities in results between similar local authorities' results meant that this was unlikely to be the consequence of lower incidence. One of the report's conclusions was that identification remained particularly weak with regard to child victims of peer on peer sexual violence and sexual exploitation[14]. The report argued that '[t]he continued under-identification of victims is linked to persistent failures by agencies and individual professionals to share information and work collaboratively in the best interests of children.'

Amongst the report's recommendations were that relationship and sex education be taught as part of a robust PSHE programme, and that there was much to be gained from involving children and young people in the design of local responses, particularly victims and survivors of CSE (OCC, 2013). The Children and Social Work Act 2017 led to the introduction of national primary school education on relationships, and secondary school education around relationships and sex education[15] (rather than only focusing solely on sex education).

---

[13] See 3.5.4 and 3.5.5 of this report.
[14] This perhaps echoes our earlier observation in the report concerning the focus on a particular form of CSE.
[15] See 5.1.1 of this report.

Regional variation within England and Wales has also been highlighted by the Office of the Children's Commissioner (2012, 2015) which argued that success in identification (rather than actual crime rates) was a driver of this variation. The resources available and local policing priorities may account for some of the differences, particularly in relation to image offences.

It follows that estimates of the national and local prevalence of CSE made by the authorities concerned inevitably vary and are often based on the prevalence of CSA rather than specifically the subcategory of CSE. For example, in early 2020 the Office for National Statistics collated data on CSA which suggested that about 7.5% of the adult population had experienced some form of sexual abuse in childhood[16] (ONS, 2020).

A government report in 2017 (citing research by the NPCC) noted that '[o]ur best estimate […] indicated that roughly 5% of 11 to 17 year old children (1 in 20) had ever experienced contact abuse[17]. This equates to approximately 220,000 children or on average, around 50 children in each state-funded secondary school in England and Wales in 2014' (HM Government, 2017, p.8).

In 2019 the NSPCC reported that its 'Childline' service conducted 4,500 counselling sessions around CSE during 2018/19 (representing a 16% increase on 2017/18) (NSPCC, 2019).

One source of national data is the DfE 'children in need' referral statistics. In 2018, 482,750 of 631,090 (76.5%) of assessments had factors identified that contributed to the child being in need, of which 4.1% (approximately 19,800) was CSE related (DfE, 2018, p.10).

Sen (2017, p. 8) concluded his survey of the extent of CSE with the observation that '[i]n total therefore, a very rough estimate is that CSE is a notable concern for close to 40,000 children/young people in England currently in contact with children's social care'.

If Sen's estimate is correct then, pro-rata for Kent the number would be approximately 1200 children or young people with about 180 in the combined Dover District Council (DDC) and Folkestone and Hythe District Council (FHDC) areas (authors' calculation). However, given the caveats expressed earlier these estimates should be treated with caution.

Kent Police, in a response to a Freedom of Information request made by 'UNIfied News' in 2018 reported during the year 2017/18 a total of 500 CSE cases[18] of which 35 were in Dover and 20 in Shepway; a total of 55 (UNIfied News, 2019). Based on Sen's methodology, this would equate to a reporting rate of approximately 30% in SE Kent i.e. just under a third of the total.

The number of police recorded[19] offences in Kent of 'abuse of children through sexual exploitation' average about six offences per year (with the exception of 2017/18 when 56 offences were recorded) (Home Office, 2019).

The proximity and infrastructural links with London and the rest of the UK means Kent is particularly at risk of infiltration by 'county lines'[20] gangs (Pitts, 2019; Hadfield and Tong, 2018; KSGCB, 2017; Ross et

---

[16] In this case 'childhood' was defined as under the age of 16.

[17] A reference to CSA rather than specifically to CSE

[18] Number of cases does not necessarily equate to the number of victims.

[19] Recorded cases use Home Office rules to determine which reported cases are recorded.

[20] 'County lines' is where an organised criminal group run a drug dealing operation in a county location outside their usual urban operating area, and have been evident since around 2013. In January 2019 the NCA estimated that there were at least a thousand county lines operating in the UK (with approximately 300 originating in the Greater London area) (NCA, 2019, p 2).

al., 2015). There is some evidence from the National Crime Agency and other law enforcement agencies of 'county lines' involvement in CSE.

Research has also shown that a 'risk factor' for children involved in CSE is growing up in a deprived or low socio-economic area (OCC, 2018). Data shows that on the national rank of the English Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) a total of eight Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs) in the DDC and FHDC areas are within the top 10% of most deprived areas for the whole of England[21] (KCC, 2020).

Equally, when identifying those most at risk, looked after children are amongst the most vulnerable, if not the most vulnerable of all populations (Munro, 2001). This is due to a multitude of factors, for example, a significant proportion of 'looked after' children have experienced some form of abuse in early childhood, come from unstable family backgrounds, or lack a sense of belonging (Frost and Mills, 2019; Cocke and Allain, 2019). Kent has the third highest number of children's homes within the local authority, exceeded only by the Midlands and the North West of England.

3.5   An emerging typology of CSE

Many examples of CSE fit within an emerging 'typology' of CSE (Shelton et al., 2016) – a classification system whereby distinct patterns of offending can be separated out, categorised ('named') and made sense of[22]. Such typologies have been successfully identified in other crime-related contexts, such urban street gangs and robbery (Harding et al., 2019).

It is important to note that the forms of CSE located within the typology below are not mutually exclusive and nor are they immutable.

Further, as suggested earlier, CSE is most frequently discussed in terms of girls becoming victims. However, it is suggested that about one in three victims are boys or young men (Catch 22, 2017). They are often more likely to be criminalised for their behaviour and not ask for help. Lastly, it is important not to ignore the victim/offender cycle, especially in terms of those in need of safeguarding (Jago, et al. 2011).

A typology is of potential preventative use as it may provide local authorities, law enforcement agencies, schools and others with indications of the most effective points of intervention. A robust and reliable typology of CSE is also pertinent to the success of school-based peer mentorship schemes designed to help prevent CSE.

During the semi-structured interviews conducted for this report reference was made by interviewees to most of the forms of CSE described in the typology outlined below. It is therefore likely that most of the recognised forms of CSE occur in SE Kent although the relative numbers of victims and offenders involved are unknown[23].

3.5.1   'Boyfriend'/ 'girlfriend'

---

[21] Dover and Folkestone and Hythe both have four LSOAs within the top 10% most deprived (KCC, 2020). For comparison, Thanet has 18 and Sevenoaks zero (ibid). Within the DDC area, the LSOAs concerned fall within the wards of St. Radigund's; Castle; Maxton, Elms Vale and Priory; and Buckland.

[22] However, the typology has yet to be subjected to statistical analysis for validity e.g. through using cluster analysis.

[23] By necessity what follows is a simplified version of the emerging typology and the forms of CSE currently taking place. For example, Appendix 2 of OCC (2012) lists 13 patterns of 'group and gang associated' CSE alone.

The 'boyfriend/girlfriend' form of CSE is where the perpetrator[24] grooms a child or young person for the purposes of sexual exploitation, convincing the victim[25] that they are part of a caring (or even loving) relationship. The grooming may include gifts (such as a mobile phone), alcohol and drugs as well as the apparent emotional investment being offered by the perpetrator.

The offender might make contact with the child or young person through associates of the victim, such as mutual friends or on social media. After they have gained control over the victim, the offender then induces, persuades or forces the child or young person to engage in sexual acts with the perpetrator and /or associates.

The 'boyfriend/girlfriend' type of CSE is often associated with adult men and younger girls; however, this is not always the case and boys are also at risk (Coy, 2011).

This form of CSE has been expanded to include the 'best friend' model, as the same process can manifest through the impression of a caring 'friendly' relationship.

3.5.2   'Inappropriate relationship'

Like the 'boyfriend' or 'girlfriend' form (see 3.5.1), CSE can also manifest itself in the form of an 'inappropriate relationship', categorized by an exploitative power or control over a victim which is created and reinforced using sex both as a mechanism for that power and for its own sake.

This form of CSE can also take the form of an 'abuse of authority'. The perpetrator[26] in this case could be a relative such as older sibling or an uncle with access to financial and other resources. A distinguishing feature compared to the 'boyfriend/girlfriend' type of CSE is that there is more likely to be a significant age gap between the perpetrator and the victim.

3.5.3   'Peer on peer'

The 'peer on peer' model of CSE is characterized by young people coercing other children or young people into sexual activity. This can be for the perpetrator's gain, for example to increase status or hierarchy. It can also simply be to increase popularity or a sense of importance.

Due to the closeness in age between the perpetrator and the victim, it can be difficult for professionals to address the situation e.g, whether it is likely that both are in need of safeguarding (as both may be under the age of 18 or the age of consent).

However, 'peer on peer' CSE can also be observed in some cases of larger and more organised CSE in order to win the trust of the victim. As victims are often identified through other criminal activity, it is difficult for professionals to differentiate between victim and perpetrator. Victims are also reluctant to disclose exploitation for fear of further incrimination (DeMarco et al., 2018).

3.5.4   'Gang or group'

---

[24] A single person, normally a man and usually older than the victim (Davis, 2000).

[25] A single child.

[26] Again a single (usually older male) person.

A 'gang'[27] is a loosely connected group (three or more) whose members identify with each other in some way (and differentiate themselves from those outside the group). With 'gang or group' related CSE, sexual exploitation is not necessarily the primary activity of the perpetrator(s), but more often a 'by-product'. For example, sexual abuse of a child or young person might be used as a weapon between rival gangs, punishment to fellow members or to achieve increased status or hierarchy within the gang itself. As such, this form of CSE often involves associates, adding another dimension of exploitation (Cockbain, 2012).

Girls are most often noted to be victims of this type of CSE but their identification is often problematic as they can believe that they can use their sexuality to ensure their place within a gang. However, it is known that young boys, especially those in delinquent groups, engage in very early sexual activity, often due to being incited into doing so by older individuals.

3.5.5 'Organised Crime Group'

As the term suggests, 'Organised Crime Group (OCG)'s are generally more organised (and more criminally oriented) and bigger than more loosely formed 'gangs' and this has a bearing on the nature of the CSE involved. So, for example, the OCG may be in a sufficiently powerful position to supply the sexual services of children and young people to others (Skidmore et al., 2016).

The OCGs are usually from the same ethnic background, sharing kinship and cultural links and this form of CSE can also coincide with 'county lines' exploitation (Wood, 2019). It is important to note that this type of CSE is most prevalent in serious case reviews (as those discussed earlier) but is not the most common type of CSE in terms of prevalence.

3.5.6 'Online'

'Online' CSE is one of the most recently identified forms of CSE, and (possibly as a result) one of the least researched (Ramiro et al., 2019). It can include acts of disseminating online self-produced images ('sexting') by children and young people, encouraged or coerced through 'peer on peer' exploitation (see 3.5.3) or as a consequence of an 'inappropriate relationship' (see 3.5.2). However, the online nature of some forms of CSE mean that perpetrators can groom and exploit children and young people at distance and with anonymity e.g. streaming indecent images through means of extortion.

In 2019 the NSPCC reported that, in more than a third of the CSE related counselling sessions they undertook in 2018/19, the children or young people involved had been targeted online (often via social media or video games) and usually by their peers or people known to them (NSPCC, 2019).

It is also the case that recent literature on the prevalence of online CSE (Perkins and Meridian, 2018; Berson, 2003) proposes that there should be more emphasis on training staff and children in the dangers of online communication.

---

[27] The Office of the Children's Commissioner in its 2013 report defined gangs and groups (in the context of CSE) as Gangs – mainly comprising men and boys aged 13-25 years old, who take part in many forms of criminal activity (eg, knife crime or robbery) who can engage in violence against other gangs, and who have identifiable markers, for example a territory, a name, or sometimes clothing. Groups – involves people who come together in person or online for the purpose of setting up, co-ordinating and/or taking part in the sexual exploitation of children in either an organised or opportunistic way. Note however that the term 'gang' is contested, particularly in academic circles.

3.5.7   Other forms of CSE

Whilst the CSE typology described in 3.5.1 to 3.5.6 above includes the most discussed and researched forms of CSE, they likely to be in a state of flux and new 'strains' of CSE can emerge. Only recently, for example, the 'opportunistic' model has been more discussed which relates to a rapid form of exploitation with little or no grooming (Barnardos, 2018).

It is important therefore that CSE is perceived holistically and professionals are aware of the wide manifestations of CSE, not only the types often seen in the media and reviews (i.e. organised).

3.6   National and local responses to CSE

Although reference was made to 'sex abuse rings' in the late 1970's (Burgess and Clarke, 1986) the term 'child sexual abuse' (CSA) only entered public discourse in the 1990s with the production of practical guidance for professionals (Goldstein, 1998; Kelly and Regan, 2000; Goldman and Padayachi, 2000).

Thereafter research centred around CSA in general and its long-term effects (Davis and Petretic-Jackson, 2000; Rowan and Foy, 1993; Finkelhor, 1993) rather than specifically CSE.

In 2011 the University of Bedfordshire published a national review of Local Safeguarding Children's Boards (LSCB) (Bovarnick et al., 2017). This study reported that 27% of convictions for CSE were perpetrated by young people, raising questions around whether services were equipped to respond to a situation where young people were both a victim and a perpetrator (Jago et al., 2011). Around this time, policy changes were also taking place as a result of a report by Barnardo's (2011) which prompted the government to assign the responsibility for countering CSE to a minister, a major step in the acknowledgment and acceptance of CSE into governmental policy and law (Home Office, 2012).

A number of reports by the Office of Children's Commissioner (OCC)[28], published during 2011- 2013 found severe shortcomings in the response to the threats to children and young people posed by CSE. Utilizing a mixed methods design, interviewing both professionals and children alongside data accessed from a number of services, the report's purpose was to better understand CSE. As one of the first major national inquiries which pulled together data from the police, local authorities, central government and Primary Care Trusts, it was well placed to make recommendations concerning victims, identifying perpetrators and data gathering and information sharing.

An OCC conclusion was that awareness of CSE signs were low at every level, other than amongst those in a specialist position, and this was identified as a major barrier to the successful safeguarding of children and young people.

The OCC findings also supported the need for immediate action by all the relevant services including the CPS and the Royal Colleges (for example, to circulate the warning signs of CSE). Furthermore, the report recommended that police forces work with partner agencies, including third sector specialists, to cross reference information and risk assess more effectively, including identifying those at risk before they are formally under the care of local services.

---

[28] The OCC's Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Gangs and Groups (CSEGG)

In 2014 the Alexis Jay 'Independent Inquiry into CSE in Rotherham 1997-2013' proved to be a 'damning indictment of the failure of one local authority to protect children from organised sexual exploitation' (House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee, 2014, p. 5). The Inquiry found that although the Rotherham Safeguarding Children Board oversaw the development of good inter-agency policies and procedures applicable to CSE, members of the Safeguarding Board rarely checked whether these were being implemented or were working.

Further, Jay identified a number of professional barriers that impeded effective action against CSE and a lack of understanding of the modus operandi perpetrators used (such as grooming). In response, in 2015 the Coalition government introduced a number of new measures including the establishment of 'taskforces' which would be deployed to local authorities when child abuse became a particular concern.

In 2014 (three years after the publication of the 2011 OCC report), Ofsted found that a number of the OCC's recommendations had not been followed through at either strategic or operational levels (Ofsted, 2014). The thematic inspection was originally commissioned to evaluate the effectiveness of local authorities' responses to CSE. The inspection utilised data from eight local authorities (including Kent) and 36 children's homes in England and Wales.

Across the eight local authorities, there were six broad themes identified as needing improvement (Ofsted, 2014); strategic leadership, performance management, raising awareness, findings from practice, disruption and prosecution and when children go missing. The report found shortcomings in the consistency in leadership, both strategic and operational.

Overall, the report concluded that children and young people were most effectively protected from CSE when Local Safeguarding Children Boards' utilise an effective strategy which supported professionals in working together and sharing data. Combining this with a holistic approach of raising awareness amongst organisations, promoting inquisitiveness and working to identify both victims and perpetrators was seen as the primary way to combat CSE.

In 2014 the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse (IICSA)[29] in England and Wales was set up 'because of serious concerns that some organisations had failed and were continuing to fail to protect children from sexual abuse' (IICSA, 2019). In 2020 the Inquiry was ongoing although a number of interim reports have been published.

In 2015 the government responded to the failures of Rotherham and elsewhere in its 'Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation' report, setting out plans to 'tackle the culture of denial', to increase accountability (particularly through strengthening statutory guidance to reduce gaps between children's services and reforming local accountability), increasing the support available to victims of CSE and 'sharpening' the law enforcement agency response to the CSE problem.

As a consequence of the 2015 report five thematic 'joint targeted thematic inspections' by Ofsted, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC), Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP) and the Care Quality Commission (CQC) were conducted[30] and identified common problems across local authority areas. The outcomes were published in 2016 in "'Time to listen' – a joined up response to child sexual exploitation and missing children" and included: the need to share intelligence to better

---

[29] The terms of reference of the Inquiry include the 'sexual abuse and exploitation' of children (IICSA, 2019b).

[30] In Central Bedfordshire, Croydon, Liverpool, Oxfordshire and South Tyneside.

understand local and developing patterns of CSE and raising awareness across the community. The government issued a progress report in February 2017 (HM Government, 2017).

As a response to an Ofsted review of provision Kent County Council (KCC) further developed its network of multi-agency initiatives which aimed to work together to tackle CSE. These include the Kent Safeguarding Children Multi Agency Partnership[31], the Multi Agency Child Sexual Exploitation Team (CSET) (until September 2019) and the local Missing Child Exploitation Teams (MCET) (since October 2019) which provide resources, guidance and referral materials for use by community professionals, including schools.

In December 2015 'Operation Willow' was launched as a multiagency 'awareness raising' of the dangers of CSE in Kent and Medway with participation from Kent Police, NHS England, KCC and Medway Council. 'Op Willow' also has an information and intelligence gathering system for example, employing an electronic CSE partner information sharing form (eINTEL) (Kelsi, 2019).

4   Risk factors for CSE

In terms of preventing CSE, identifying those 'risk factors' that increase the likelihood of victimisation is of obvious interest. Often socio-demographic and associated factors (such as age, gender and school attendance record) are employed as components of a form of 'risk calculation'.

However, as Ofsted noted in 2016 (p.4) "understanding child sexual exploitation is not simply about identifying the characteristics of children who are vulnerable to abuse […] it requires a wider perspective and understanding of 'the contexts, situations and relationships in which exploitation is likely to manifest'"[32].

The Kent Safeguarding Children Multi-Agency Partnership utilise a toolkit as an aid to practitioners in identifying children at high, medium or low risk of CSE. The Partnership also promotes the use of procedures which aid the professionals involved in navigating the subsequent actions and processes required after the assessment of risk has been conducted.

In the following section of our report we identify a number of risk factors concerning both victims of CSE and perpetrators. It is worth noting however that, as Brown et al.[33] claim (2017, p. 7) 'no research has been conducted, and expertise in the broader forensic risk assessment research/practitioner knowledge and experience has not been used to assess or evaluate the best approach(es) to use in identifying potential victims'. Further, where risk factors have been identified little research has been conducted on how these risk factors might interrelate and their relative risk weightings.[34] Further, it is almost certainly the case that risk factors are accumulative in nature.

In more general terms it is also the case that in other studies of victimisation that whilst 'sociodemographic factors can be used to predict incidence of victimisation, offence-specific factors offer greater predictive validity in predicting harm outcomes' (Brennan et al., 2010, p. 209). So, for example risk factors for predicting 'violent victimisation' include being male, young (amongst other

---

[31] See https://www.kscmp.org.uk/guidance/sexual-abuse-and-exploitation.

[32] Ofsted list some of these as gang-association, missing from home, care or school, adolescent mental health issues, harmful sexual behaviour, drug and alcohol misuse and teenage relationship abuse.

[33] Their research concerned the use of tools and checklists to assess risk of CSE in England and Wales.

[34] For example, using logistic regression.

factors) whereas 'assault-related treatment at an emergency department' utilises the predictive utility of weapon use, alcohol intoxication and being black (ibid.).

It is also important to note that preventing CSE is best understood through the wider prism of ''vulnerability', as many of risk factors or 'tell-tell signs' related to CSE are also predictive of other forms of victimisation; e.g. criminal exploitation, radicalisation (College of Policing, 2020).

4.1   Victims of CSE

Clearly, any child can suffer sexual exploitation, including those from stable and loving families, but risk factors include being homeless or in care, having had a recent bereavement, experiencing low self-esteem[35] or caring for a family member with an illness (NHS, 2013).

Witnessing domestic violence in the family, living in a chaotic environment, experiencing abuse, having parents with a history of substance abuse, and social exclusion are added risk factors (ibid.)

Girls are more likely to be sexually abused than boys (although it is likely that victimization of boys is underestimated[36]), and there is a higher rate of victimization amongst black and ethnic minority children when compared to their proportion in the overall population (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2012, p 14).

Other factors that may place a child at risk of sexual abuse and exploitation are: unsupervised use of social networking websites, having learning difficulties, suffering from mental ill health, being unsure about his/her sexual orientation, having a history of substance abuse, having friends who are sexually abused, being excluded from mainstream education, being bullied, and belonging to a gang or living in an area with gang associations (CoP, 2014e).

Children and young people aged 12 to 15 years are believed to be most at risk (Ofsted, 2016), although some children as young as eight years old have been identified, primarily victims of online CSE (Centre of Expertise on Child Sexual Abuse, 2017). Respondents to a call for evidence by an OCC inquiry in 2011 identified sexually-exploited children and young people as ranging in age from 4 to 19 with a peak age of 15 (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2012). The vast majority of victims identified were girls (ibid).

Although children or young people with learning difficulties appear to be amongst the most at risk of CSA in general, some research suggests that this does not necessarily extend to CSE in particular (Twill, Green and Traylor, 2010), possibly due to the way in which perpetrators of CSE locate their victims.[37]

Problematic parenting and parental drug/alcohol are known risk factors. Research also suggests that children from low SES backgrounds are less likely to have parents who reinforce safety concepts at home and least likely to trust their parents to provide protection and therefore disclose abuse to them (Briggs and Hawkins, 1996).

Children who are in the care of the authorities ('looked after children') are widely recognised as the being at particularly acute risk as research suggests that a significant number of children in care will

---

[35] For example, as a result of the lack of a positively reinforcing peer network.
[36] As noted earlier, it is estimated that 1 in 3 victims is a boy.
[37] For example, encountering possible victims in social or recreational areas.

have suffered some form of historical abuse, been brought up in a dysfunctional family and have witnessed or been the subject of neglect (Frost and Mills, 2019).

Issues with sexual identity or a recent bereavement or loss can also make a child more vulnerable to becoming a victim of CSE (Home Office, 2015).

In terms of 'online' CSA (of which CSE is an example) it would appear that children or young people who have previously been abused, are LGBQT+, frequent users of online 'chat rooms' (DeMarco et al. 2018, p. 10) are at particular risk. Of particular note for schools is that the same rapid review of research identified three groups of adolescent (ages 12 to 15) victims: adapted adolescents, risk-taking aggressor adolescents and inquisitive sexual youth[38] (ibid.)

4.2   Perpetrators of CSE

Less is known about perpetrators of sexual exploitation offences against children and young people. It is also likely that the 'profile' of offenders will differ markedly according to the form of CSE involved[39]
The College of Policing (2019) suggests that the majority of CSE perpetrators are male and their ages can span school age to the elderly.

The interim report of the Office of Children's Commissioner's Inquiry into CSE heard evidence that most perpetrators identified in 'gangs and groups' were aged under 29, with 29% aged 12-19 and 22% aged 20-29 (OCC, 2012, p.37).

In addition, whereas 66% of known cases of CSA are committed by children or young people this proportion falls to 25% in the case of known CSE (Radford et al., 2011; Beckett et al., 2017).

There is controversy surrounding whether the ethnicity of perpetrators of CSE is of any relevance to the kind of study that this report represents. Many of the high profile examples of 'grooming gangs' committing serious crimes against children and young people involved offenders from 'Asian' backgrounds. There has been some discussion concerning whether cultural attitudes towards women played a part in the abuse.

The Home Office does not routinely gather data concerning the ethnicity of those involved as offenders of CSE. In 2011 the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Command ('CEOP') published research on suspected perpetrators of 'street grooming and child sexual exploitation'. CEOP found that approximately 30% were white, 28% 'Asian', 3% black and 38% were of unknown ethnicity (CEOP, 2011). Clearly, the 28% proportion for 'Asian' perpetrators found by CEOP is higher than the 8% proportion of the population of England and Wales which declared itself 'Asian' during the last census.

However, the general consensus in the literature is that the small amount of data available concerning ethnicity is not of sufficient volume or quality to establish the actual proportions involved in CSE crimes.

---

[38] The authors explain that, in the context of online CSA, 'adapted adolescents' have the ability to recognise risk and deflect any approach considered strange, and felt confident about rejecting advances from perpetrators; 'risk-taking aggressor adolescents' were prepared to take risks and engage in sexualised interactions; 'inquisitive sexual youth', were the most likely to interact with strangers online and appeared to be most at risk of online sexual abuse and ill-equipped to protect themselves (DeMarco et al., pp. 34-35).

[39] For example, 'peer to peer' when compared with OCG.

It is likely that our stereotypes of perpetrators have developed partly as a result of coverage of prolific (rather than 'day to day') cases of CSE.

In terms of online CSA (as yet there is no specific research on online CSE per se) the characteristics of offenders are that they are predominantly men, from a white or European background, not likely to have previous convictions and fall into one of three types (DeMarco et al. 2018, p. 10).

In conclusion little is known with any degree of confidence about the wider demographic background of CSE offenders.

There is clearly a need for in-depth research on offenders, in terms of their characteristics, modus operandi and links with other forms of offending. For example, Professor Alexis Jay and others have identified the role of taxi drivers in facilitating CSE as a 'common thread' across England[40]. The College of Policing (2019) claims that CSE often links with other types of crimes including anti-social behaviour, human trafficking, domestic abuse, sexual violence in intimate relationships and immigration-related offences. However, these insights are patchy and often lack a robust evidence base. They are also most likely to relate to prolific 'organised crime group' CSE cases, rather than other forms of CSE (see 3.5 earlier).

This lack of certainty has also led to the growing calls of academics and practitioners about the need to better understand how to prevent perpetrators from committing offences; in addition to providing advice relating to how children and young people can protect themselves from victimisation. In both cases, early education and intervention are seen as key.

5   National and local education programmes to prevent and counter CSE

The role of schools in preventative action in respect of CSE is well-recognised and considered by the DfE (2017) to be 'critical'.

As noted earlier in this report, the vast majority of identified victims of CSE are females of school age (OCC, 2012), meaning that schools have optimal and (almost) universal access to the key at-risk population (DfE, 2018).

School-based initiatives are also likely to be more cost effective than comparable community services (Herrera, 1999; Topping and Barron, 2009). Additionally, initiatives which take place within school grounds will be readily equipped with an appropriate space and possibly curriculum slots in which education or meetings can take place and staff are well-positioned to assist with the identification of students who are potentially at risk, and, later, to monitor progress[41].

Given that the threat and potential harm of CSE has only relatively recently been acknowledged (see section 3.3) it is perhaps inevitable that there is very limited research-informed evidence available on how schools can be effective in its prevention (through, for example, raising awareness). However, in this section we have drawn on published literature and online information in respect of supporting children and young people in relation to both CSE and 'positive lifestyle choices' and have synthesized what we consider to be the key learning points which could usefully inform the design of an in-school peer mentoring initiative.

---

[40] However, there was no suggestion that taxi drivers themselves were 'disproportionally' involved in CSE.

[41] That being said, clearly multi-agency working should still be utilised so that children and young people are aware of the variety of organisations which can help them.

5.1   The role of schools in preventing and countering CSE

We present below the details of a range of approaches that have been employed in schools around the United Kingdom, and consider their value in the context of international research evidence that is relevant and available.

5.1.1   Personal, Social and Health Education (PHSE)/ Sex and Relationships Education (SRE).

Raising awareness of CSE is an intuitive fit with the Personal, Social and Health Education (PHSE) and Sex and Relationships Education (SRE)[42] offered by schools and benefits from the ability to slot into pre-existing timetables. Indeed, there has been a recent growth of CSE prevention programmes in UK schools which follow an SRE model of raising awareness of what constitutes healthy relationships (Scott et al., 2019).

There is some evidence that this model of education enhances knowledge about and changes attitudes towards, lifestyle risks (e.g. Henderson et al., 2007), though the evidence, both in the UK and internationally, for impact on behaviour is less robust. This lack of evidence should, however, be considered in the context of the ethical and practical challenges of carrying out high quality research in this complex area and does not necessarily mean that education of this type has no impact on behaviour.

However, Sharp-Jeffs et al. (2017a, p.4 citing Wurtele and Kenny, 2016) note that whilst CSE prevention as part of PHSE and SRE lessons is important, 'learning can also be enhanced by integrating CSE within the broader curriculum such as within discussions of digital/technological safety during computing lessons'.

School educational programmes are usually tailored to their target audience and cover topics that are relevant to the age-group being addressed. Young people are clearly key contributors in deciding in what is relevant and engaging for their age group and therefore have an important role to play in the design of an effective and impactful PHSE/SRE curriculum.

An OCC report (2013) recognised the value of involving young people in the design of CSE education within a robust PHSE curriculum and noted that this could be delivered according to the principles which have been found to engage young people in terms of general SRE. For example, research indicates that the preference of young people in terms of SRE curriculum content is that their autonomy and maturity is acknowledged (Scott et al., 2019) and that the significant positioning of the internet and social media in their lives is recognised (Smeaton, 2013; McGeeney and Hanson, 2017).

A 'spiral curriculum' approach, through which the same topics are revisited over time but in an age-appropriate manner, can be successful in the delivery of issues such as CSE (Pound et al., 2017) though unnecessary repetition should be avoided as it can lead to disengagement (Scott et al., 2019).

There is certainly little evidence for the impact of one-off sessions for this type of education. In terms of effectiveness, several sessions delivered over a number of weeks with follow-up support are generally considered to be a more optimal model (e.g. Gadd et al., 2014; McNeish and Scott, 2015).

PHSE and SRE are usually delivered in class groups which are likely to comprise young people of both genders and all sexual orientations, and a variety of cultures. This presents challenges for the delivery of CSE material as group differences have been identified in the response to both materials and the nature

---

[42] From September 2020, 'Relationships and Sex Education' (RSE) will become compulsory in all secondary schools, replacing SRE. Recommended content of the RSE includes addressing sensitively and clearly 'grooming, sexual exploitation and domestic abuse, including coercive and controlling behaviour' (DfE, 2019, p.26).

of learning groups. Several studies have indicated a difference in the starting point for, and impact of learning on attitudes and knowledge between boys and girls (e.g. McNeish and Scott, 2012; 2015).

D'Arcy et al. (2015) suggest that male teachers and trainers can act as appropriate role models and can increase the acceptability of messages for boys. Additionally, girls have been found to prefer single sex groups in CSE education while boys tend to favour mixed-sex groups (Pound et al., 2017).

Cultural diversity within groups of young people also translates into a need for nuanced delivery of materials.

Variations of existing (or additional) resources may be needed for any groups where material may be interpreted differently or where home cultures vary. This may include, though would not be limited to young people who are disabled or those with learning disabilities, those who are part of black and minority ethnic families, refugee and asylum-seeking children and young people who identify as LBGTQ+ (Stanley et al., 2015; Fox, 2016).

However, the variety of styles of delivery and content pose a challenge to the PHSE/SRE routes of raising awareness of CSE. For example, they can be inappropriate for individual support or interventions.

Timetabling is also unlikely to accommodate the nuances required for appropriate delivery to diverse groups involved and, furthermore, does not allow for a discreet or confidential space which young people are likely to need in order to feel comfortable to disclose sensitive information.

In terms of pedagogy in the PHSE/SRE style of awareness raising, there are several pieces of research which indicate that CSE education should go beyond theoretical instruction as there can be a mismatch between understanding in theory and applying this to real-life scenarios (e.g. Sundaram, 2013). For this reason, vignettes which are interesting and relevant enough to keep students engaged or art-based methods such as drama and roleplay are advocated (Hale et al., 2014; Fox et al., 2014).

Finally, in addition to involvement in the design of a programme, young people can fulfil an important role as influencers within the curriculum. For example, an evaluation of a two year programme in several schools in greater London found that young people acting as peer educators and advocates of healthy relationships was an important component in its success, particularly in terms of young peoples' knowledge and confidence (McNeish and Scott, 2012). The London-based project focussed on a sustainable embedding of raised awareness of issues of violence towards women and girls and sexual bullying. Peer educators were trained through drama workshops which were thought to bring life and energy to the topic.

From 2020, SRE will be replaced with 'Relationships and Sex Education' (RSE; statutory guidance provided by Children and Social Work Act 2017). It remains to be seen how successful the new approach to embedding a wider, more inclusive curriculum at a primary and secondary school level will be. However, the aim of introducing a new curriculum which places the focus on 'relationships' (rather than biological aspects of maturing and sex) is supported by calls from children and young people themselves (Long, 2017). Hence there would appear to be at least a prima facie case to take advantage of the opportunity presented by the introduction of the new approach in schools in SE Kent.

5.1.2   Schools working with the support of external agencies

Schools exist within a network of community services which, ideally, should operate together to meet the needs of young people, including awareness raising and prevention of CSE.

During the past decade, the challenge of tackling the apparent rise in CSE cases has been taken up nationally through a wide range of bespoke local authority initiatives (Local Government Association, 2014). Most aim to draw upon the resources and expertise of a range of professionals to provide a more holistic service than would otherwise be possible if working in isolation. This means that school safeguarding leads should, in principle, have ready access to resources which enable them stay informed on the topic of CSE, provide education to the children and young people in their care and to follow a referral pathway if necessary.

However, schools may decide that the offer from their local government on a complex and sensitive topic such as CSE could benefit from supplementary and complementary provision. In this case, specialist private or charitable enterprises can be employed. In Kent and Sussex, for example, The *Know Project* operates to deliver assemblies or extended programmes to secondary schools, focusing on the topic of CSE.

The *Know Project* (n.d.) was founded by entrepreneur Marticka Sampson. She personally delivered more than 100 sessions to local schools in 2019, supporting young people to make positive lifestyle choices and focusing on CSE prevention work. Until very recently, Marticka has worked alone but, as a result of continued demand and many requests from schools for longer term input beyond a one-off assembly, she plans to expand her operation and collaborate with others. Anecdotal online evidence indicates that the success of *The Know Project* can be attributed to the personality and approach of Marticka Sampson and that young people appear to respond well to her personal history of struggle and challenges.

5.1.3   School-based mentoring including peer mentoring

School-based mentoring schemes have proliferated in both the UK and the USA since the turn of the 21st century (Wood and Mayo-Wilson, 2012). They are seen to be a solution to the difficulty in accessing children and young people who are otherwise considered to be 'hard to reach' (Roberts et al., 2004).

Despite their popularity, the impact of school-based mentoring is not well understood (Herrera et al., 2000): an abundance of published literature lauding the success of individual programmes in terms of a wide range of academic and psychological outcomes is somewhat challenged by other research which has meta-analysed the evidence for mentoring and found it lacking (e.g. Education Endowment Fund, 2017). However, school-based mentoring is operationalised in complex contexts which means that the mentoring itself is hard to isolate as a factor in any outcome and as a result robust evidence is difficult to establish.

Whilst it seems impossible to reliably determine the impact of mentoring programmes, some evidence has begun to emerge of what is likely to lead to successful or unsuccessful outcomes. For example, several studies have indicated that high quality and sustained training are crucial to the success of peer mentor programmes (Eby et al., 2000; Scott et al., 2019).

The duration of the mentoring relationship also appears to be important and, in fact, the weak evidence of the benefits of school-based mentoring has also been attributed in part to the tendency towards short durations of the mentoring programme which can occur in schools. For example, none of the schemes included in Wood and Mayo-Wilson's (2012) meta-analysis of school-based mentoring lasted for longer than two months. When mentoring duration was specifically studied in a US study of a school-based programme, mentoring relationships that lasted longer than 24 weeks were found to have a positive impact on academic outcomes (Grossman et al., 2012).

Other promising aspects of successful mentoring schemes are found in achieving a good match between mentor and mentee based on common interests (Dubois et al., 2002) rather than demographic variables

(Komosa-Hawkins, 2010), regular opportunities to meet (e.g. once a week) (Joliffe and Farrington, 2017) and engaging in structured activities (Dubois et al., 2002), particularly those that are designed to build resilience[43] and personal resources (Buck et al., 2017).

Motivated by a patchy evidence base, the Children's Commissioner (2018) carried out an analysis of over 350 mentoring schemes for young people in the UK, over half of which explicitly targeted 'vulnerable' young people though most were community rather than school based. Peer mentoring schemes represented only 5% of their sample, though this is likely to be because they did not explicitly target school-based mentoring schemes.

The Children's Commissioner concluded that the evidence remains mixed for a positive benefit for mentoring schemes, though they identified some characteristics that appeared to be associated with more beneficial approaches. These included effective monitoring of the schemes and allowing the young people themselves to set their agendas, though their strongest recommendations are for good quality support for mentors and allowing mentoring relationships to run for at least six months.

The meta-analysis identified that outcomes were better for 'vulnerable' young people, possibly because they lacked other positive role models in their lives. There was also evidence that mentoring schemes could take a protective role whereby, even if they did not show positive benefits, they at least prevented negative outcomes.

Other research has indicated that there is no evidence that mentoring relationships can cause harm, except that some suggest that a failed mentor-mentee relationship may be damaging to the self-esteem of the individuals involved (e.g. Wood and Mayo-Wilson, 2012).

School-based mentoring can involve contact between pupils and adults who are external to the school (a popular model in the USA) or can take the form of peer mentoring where the mentee is mentored by an older pupil from within the school.

Peer mentoring, sometimes referred to as 'peer support' or 'peer counselling', is well established in many UK schools. Whilst undergoing training, peer mentors practise remaining calm, objective and non judgemental. The role they aim for is 'partner and helper', not an 'advice giver' or a more knowledgeable friend. They are expected to understand their own limitations, explain what they offer, what is expected of the partner, what to share appropriately about themselves and to explain to their partners what to share. They are also expected to explain that they cannot promise secrecy but can promise confidentiality limited to themselves and the mentor's supervisor.

The supervisor may be a more experienced peer mentor leading on to an adult involved in the group. However, if there is a risk of harm to anyone involved, the supervisor is required to make decisions about further steps (Maskell, 2006).

Our scoping identified several local and national initiatives which have utilised school peer mentoring, primarily as a means to support broad aims of wellbeing (rather than specifically to counter CSE). For example, Kent County Council (KCC) operate the *Headstart Kent* programme[44] as part of their Early Help and Prevention service.

Headstart Kent is a five-year 'Big Lottery' funded programme which is trialling a broad range of community and school intervention services with an aim is to achieve better emotional wellbeing and

---

[43] For more information on the importance of resilience and tools to address it, see Goldstein and Brook's (2013) *Handbook of Resilience in Children.* Organisations that already provide training which could be accessed include 'Young Minds' (https://youngminds.org.uk/find-a-course/building-resilience-training/).
[44] See https://www.headstartkent.org.uk/.

resilience in children aged ten to 14 through a range of support services (Kelsi, 2020). It has expanded its operation since its inception and now offers services in Swale, Gravesham, Ashford, Canterbury and Shepway, Maidstone and Thanet, Dover and Tonbridge and Malling (ibid).

Headstart Kent offers a range of resources and training opportunities focused on supporting young people to build resilience. Such a focus is important, as building resilience is believed to be helpful in protecting against a wide variety of burdens and threats to children and young people's wellbeing (AYPH, 2016). This includes training young people in schools to be peer mentors for younger children.

This training is available at no cost to schools that meet their criteria and which are in their geographical target areas. Other schools can access training at a cost, though there are also many free online resources.

Headstart also offer opportunities for co-production: they involved (and, to date, continue to involve) young people in service design, development and delivery. They also state that support for a young person will include involvement of their family where appropriate.

Headstart appear to be engaged in a process of continuous evaluation and improvement which includes gathering the perspectives of the young people who have received support. Their latest (2018-19) internal evaluation cites peer mentoring as a strength of the initiative and that those young people who benefitted from participating in the overall school scheme (not exclusively mentoring) reported a greater improvement in their wellbeing than those who did not (KSCMP, 2020).

However, there is also a suggestion in the evaluation that the scheme had not been entirely successful in making wider changes to school environments, stating that more time was needed for system change and for beneficial whole-school approaches to be adopted in schools.

Beyond SE Kent, an example of an alternative, independent approach is the initiative taken by Hitchingbrooke School. The *Hinchingbrooke School Buddy* group in Cambridgeshire is an anti-bullying and peer counselling network in which Year 12/13 students have supported younger pupils for over a decade. It operates on a one to one basis, in a small group or by electronic communication. The group has been found to be more successful, the more widely it is known about. It advertises through assemblies, tutor groups, life-skills groups, school functions, email and informal contacts. Mentorship may act as a gateway to other forms of support.

A Barnardo's study indicated that the establishment of such schemes is not straightforward, and can induce wariness from potential mentors and mentees (Barnardo's, 2011). Only a few young people in the focus groups in the study thought it would be useful to discuss their problems with young people who were not their friends, such as buddies or peer supporters. A number of reasons were given for this: they did not know them well enough and would prefer to speak to someone they knew of the same sex; they did not like them; they would not be able to find them or there was no allocated time to see them. Likewise, Pound et al. (2017) found that young people thought that peers might take confidentiality less seriously than teachers or external trainers.

Gender differences were again found in access to support and information in the same Barnardo's study. A questionnaire asked pupils to choose from a list of forms of support. Boys preferred videos or DVDs, girls favoured websites for young people, run by young people, providing advice on issues of concern to young people. Drop in facilities where young people could go and talk to other young people were also popular with both sexes.

In relation to the possibility of becoming a peer supporter, confidence was a major theme. This was particularly the case in relation to knowledge of subjects raised. Boys frequently stated they would not

really know what to say, but would try to 'cheer their friend up' and 'take their mind off' their problem. They tended to be less sympathetic if they felt their friend had contributed to their own problems (Vincent et al., 2007).

However, the above case studies are not peer mentoring schemes that are devoted mainly or solely to preventing or countering CSE. It is evident that if such a scheme were to be operated it would require the input of significant and sustained energy and training, together with the development of protocols around the management of the scheme and actions in the event of disclosures.

Some 'off the shelf' support is available, although not specifically in relation to CSE. For example, the full Vincent et al. (2007) report described earlier includes suggestions on 'how to set up peer support structures and training that would enable young people to support each other's mental well-being more effectively, and in a way that this age group finds most accessible and acceptable'.

Elsewhere, the Raymond (2013) publication is a training resource targeted at two audiences, the first session being aimed at raising awareness in school staff and governors. The second supports pastoral staff and managers to develop a whole-school framework for the identification and management of CSE. It includes draft templates to support effective information gathering and the development of school policy and procedures.

Stockport MP Anne Coffey authored the *Real Voices Follow Up* Report (Coffey, 2017) which recommends peer mentoring schemes in the prevention of CSE. Coffey emphasised the inherent value that such schemes place upon young people acting as mentors and describes that the children they spoke to expressed a preference for talking to peers rather than 'suits' or 'uniforms' (ibid, p.43) about issues relating to CSE. The report describes an award-winning case study of a peer mentoring scheme within a Manchester school where becoming a mentor is a respected role which can only be achieved through a stringent application process. Importantly, the school principal in this case also refers to the imperative of embedding the peer mentoring scheme within a whole school approach to countering CSE which includes parents and the local community.

6   Results of analysis of semi-structured interviews

Thematic analysis[45] was applied to the transcribed interview data of semi-structured interviews of a sample of professionals in SE Kent (see 'Methodology' above). This analysis elicited a number of key themes, common to all respondents' understanding of CSE in SE Kent. The themes were neither mutually exclusive or exhaustive. Within each of these themes, subthemes were also identified which aim to recognize and acknowledge the nuances of patterns in the perceptions of the professionals. These are described below.

6.1   'It's an everybody problem'

This theme encapsulates participants' understanding that all agencies are responsible for tackling CSE and that this is potentially an effective way to work at a local level within SE Kent. As one respondent noted:

---

[45] With the aid of supporting software such as NVivo.

> *'It isn't down to any one agency or provision to necessary tackle it head on. It has a formulation in combination with the Channel[46] process […] and working with the police but actually tackling head on is all our roles.'*

This inter-agency ethos was fostered by the practical need to share and evaluate information and intelligence:

> *'But actually, looking at the intelligence you get. It's about parks, it's about town squares, it's about places where people gather and then that means it's not just about social workers, youth workers, […] schools, police. It's also about knowing local taxi firms, your district councils, it's everything.'*

Further, this 'joined up' approach encapsulates not only the agencies involved but a wider sense of 'community engagement and response':

> *'So really it's around…for my role it's around the risk assessment and the sharing of information with other professionals to my view to target it so effectively it's going to be a joined up approach, be that with all of the professionals that we normally deal with but actually the community as a whole'.*

And further:

> *'It's everyone: community wardens, Police, the fire brigade […] anyone sat around that table and it's anyone that has day to day dealings with young people. Middle aged people. Anyone that comes into contact. It's got that responsibility but not only that for tackling it, it's all a lot of responsibility'*

This resonates with the government and independent reports which suggest that by involving the wider community, agencies can be more proactive in their response to emerging CSE threats. Participants clearly understood that CSE is multi-faceted and sensed that a more 'inclusive' approach then currently adopted could be more effective. However, most participants were uncertain about just how this could be achieved.

A number of participants emphasised the important role parents play in preventing and tackling CSE and its 'treatment' as a public health and education issue.

The importance of parental or caregiver involvement given the nature of CSE typology in SE Kent (see 3.5 earlier) was often illustrated by examples of cases which had been successful and those that had not.

Many participants understood well the importance of communicating and engaging with parents as part of a multi agency team response but were unclear about how this could be guaranteed to occur.

The involvement of the young people and children affected was often emphasised, not only in terms of a 'live' investigation but also as a preventative measure amongst those at greater risk:

> *'But I think if you're protecting children, if you're building their resilience […] - that's our practice model: resilience, attachment, secure base and all of that. If you can start building that*

---

[46] A reference to the Home Office 'Channel' vulnerability assessment framework to assess whether individuals need safeguarding from the risk of being targeted by terrorists and radicalisers.

confidence, it's those protective factors that you're mitigating against their adverse childhood experiences and all those kind of risk factors that they take'.

Compounding this, it was also discussed how important it is to build good relationships with children and young people both before CSE happens, with those that are more at risk and during or after:

'I think that leads to a better outcome. And having worked in child protection before and having repeated visits to victims I'd certainly have a better rapport dealing with the same family. So my view would be to have more professionals and police officers working locally to be able to deal with those children'.

Some participants expressed the view that they could, and should be doing more to support children and young people throughout the process, but that a lack of resources hindered this.

A number of participants also expressed frustration and disappointment that support for those at risk appeared to come to a sudden end when a particular inquiry or safeguarding issue had been resolved:

'[…] what do you do with people who are on the fringes of CSE, do you just 'milk them' for all the information that you can get and then drop them or do you actually provide therapeutic support for them to be able to move beyond?'

6.2 'Kent has its own CSE problem'

This theme is concerned with the typology of CSE that participants said they were observing in action in SE Kent and the profile of perpetrators[47].

The analysis of the interview transcripts identified 'gang and group' related (particularly 'county lines') and 'online' CSE (see 3.5.4 and 3.5.6 above) as the two most discussed and topical models:

'Gangs are a massive focus because it is all interlinked but that's kind of almost the new focus of the funding: it's a major buzz word'.

However, this preponderance was not necessarily reflected in the type of CSE referrals some participants had been involved with. On the other hand, some participants argued that 'gang and group' initiated CSE is a bigger problem than 'we first realised':

'Erm.. and the knowledge that that's the case would be quite frightening for people really because it's against the larger ..larger organizations mostly ICG level criminality that we [have] *become aware of. But actually it's a lot more than we thought'.*

Some interviewees suggested reasons for the apparent rise in 'gang and group' related CSE was the impact of austerity measures on coastal communities and strengthening criminal links between Greater London and SE Kent. Some specialist agencies also suggested external changes such as an increase of 'looked after' children moving to SE Kent from elsewhere in SE England as a contributing factor. Whilst

---

[47] Which include children and young people e.g. in 'peer to peer' CSE, see 3.5 earlier.

this type of CSE was noted as the most 'topical', it was by no means discussed as the only type of concern.

A number of participants in the study also offered observations on the profile of local CSE perpetrators, although it was well-understood that a 'typical' CSE offender did not exist.

> 'It's easy to say it falls into one particular racial group or..one particular section of society, you know it's always gonna be..from the poorer and more deprived ends of society but that's not the case. We've had people from all walks of life come to our notice as perpetrators and all across the county'

Cases where children or young people were both victims and perpetrators were acknowledged as being especially challenging (particularly where coercion had been used to 'recruit' a young person into CSE). Whilst participants understood that a legal process was necessary, some felt that there was danger that the focus on the child or young person as victim might be blurred. As one interviewee noted:

> I've certainly seen young people being criminalized and being seen not as victims of this but perpetrators.

'Online' CSE (see 3.5.6 earlier) was discussed by all participants in some way, either as a concern that social media was making it easier for other forms of sexual exploitation to occur[48] or pin-pointing specific ways in which online exploitation had developed to become an issue in SE Kent.

Claims were made that 'online' CSE was interlinked with almost every model of CSE experienced in Kent due to the prevalence of connected devices and the influence of youth culture:

> Online CSE? I mean there's loads [...] of that and the and the victims are getting younger and younger ... I see younger and younger people walk around with smartphones...and play games on them that bring them into contact with the outside world

This 'drift' towards more younger age groups becoming victimised (as a result of online CSE) was a major concern expressed by a number of the professionals interviewed. Several explained that training to educate children and young people about online CSE is available to some individuals with safeguarding responsibilities. However the implementation of the training was affected by both its limitations to a formal educational environment and the fact that many at-risk children and young people are excluded from, or otherwise not attending school.

Some respondents argued that whilst the current focus is on 'online' and 'gang and group' related CSE, this does not reflect the reality seen through actual referrals. Rather, the most prevalent models seen in SE Kent are 'peer on peer' and the 'boyfriend/girlfriend model' (see 3.5.1 and 3.5.3 above):

> 'I think we probably have most referrals about teenage girls who are generally white British [...] that's in the context of the boyfriend model and other situations where we've been worried about ... what's happening more locally'.

---

[48] For example, contact sexual abuse of children.

Specifically, some interviewees described some of the more recent 'preventing CSE' posters being employed in Kent and expressed concerns that the content does not necessarily reflect what is currently being experienced in SE Kent:

> *We have a vulnerable group of young people who have got into relationships with older men who they wouldn't have identified. It very clearly is* […] *much bigger than the poster you get on the wall.*

6.3 'Teams are more than just the jobs people do'

Interviewees expressed the view that an effective team is more than simply a group of professionals from different agencies working towards a common goal. One important component in maintaining an effective approach was the existence of a proactive and resilient central body that oversees the response to CSE in SE Kent:

> *'.. but I do think that that sort of whole multiagency thing is very very important* […] *and I think with a central team rather than all the sort of little parts you have a central picture* […] *which means* […] *that the local people are being informed about stuff that they're not aware of that is outside that local area* […] *and ideally they should also be feeding stuff into the centre so that we get the benefits of their local knowledge'.*

Another potentially important sub-theme identified was the value individuals placed on team members having a close physical proximity. It was felt that being in a small physically close team was imperative to effective working, for example, in terms of communication.

Being in one location with the opportunity to all 'sit around a table' increased the team's productivity and the swiftness of response. The closeness of a team, both in terms of relationships and location also appeared to increase the motivation of individuals. They seemed to derive professional and emotional satisfaction from being able to deal with issues in a timely fashion, giving a sense of control and effectiveness as individuals within a larger team, driving more effective working practices.

Many of the professionals we interviewed appeared passionate about working together and seeing results. These results were more than simply 'accomplished and productive work', the nature of the subject matter meant that individuals often felt personally invested and experienced a sense of pride when they succeeded in helping children and young people:

> *'I've raised stuff about a young person that I've researched and I feel quite passionately about things like that'*

This personal commitment to their professions appears to be a vital mechanism which drives teams on when resources are limited.

6.4 'Too many cooks?'

Some professionals expressed frustrations at having to work within the confines of other agency's rules and guidelines. This sometimes causes friction on a personal and professional level, becoming a hindrance not only within practical working environments but also to removing barriers to information sharing. One explained that:

'It's not a different agenda, particularly because all involved in safeguarding. But it is a different way of working out because of particular parts of the world that we operate under, such that responsibility and time scales can be different.'

There was also a widely held feeling that the variation in definitions of CSE that agencies work with can be barriers to cooperation. There was frustration amongst some that not being able to categorize and find ways of reliably measuring the prevalence of CSE at a national level (see 3.4 earlier) had an impact in SE Kent. This led to a need to develop their own way of discussing and reporting CSE in order to navigate the 'flawed' system.

A perception of a lack of resources has an effect not only on the practical responses to tackle CSE but also on the personal motivations of a team. By not being able to deliver the services they feel they want and should be able to, individuals feel that they are letting children down.

'We should be [...] *looking into this sort of the people that are influencing and in my view exploiting that young person when it's been looked at by the broader attainments here. I'm sorry we don't have the resources to do that'.*

Some participants expressed personal feelings of disappointment which affected the team dynamic. However, others noted a counter effect of bringing a team closer through working with 'what they have' and the greater need to support each other to achieve a joint objective.

6.5   'Learning from the past is changing the future'

It was evident from their responses that many participants believed that agencies had learnt from past mistakes. A number also volunteered the observation that learning is a continuous process and necessary in order to understand the changing nature of CSE in SE Kent.

All participants stressed the influence that sharing unique experiences (both within the team and from other agencies) has on working in a multi-agency team. By sharing information, they can quickly and effectively respond to incidences, safeguarding children and potentially bringing about prosecutions.

All interviewees expressed how integral to multi-agency working, sharing experiences and knowledge are. In terms of understanding what others are doing to tackle CSE, partner agencies are able to feed in with their own expertise.

As professionals become more familiar with both professional and academic literature on CSE, our interviews suggest that participants are becoming more aware of aspects of CSE that shapes and even challenges previously held views. One positive feature of apparent learning from the past is an appreciation of the importance of 'professional curiosity' in uncovering hidden CSE:

'I would say working in this district we have staff that are incredibly curious and who would work very hard to just make sure it's not really about that but exploring everything they need to'

However, many interviewees expressed the view that we will never be able to 'get to grips' with the true extent of CSE in SE Kent. This was evident in the expressions of exasperation made by participants when

they discussed how much they believe is currently known about the issue. An accurate estimate of the prevalence of CSE is widely thought to be 'impossible' and that:

> *'it's getting worse [...] because every time you cut one head off the snake another one grows, very much like the drugs trade'.*

Most participants did communicate that they believed there was adequate training available to them to meet current challenges. However, some were unsure and hesitant about whether this was adequate to tackle the apparent changing nature of CSE and a possible growth in the number of victims.

Schools seem to be tackling the specific issue of online CSE in the only way they can control, by restricting the use during school hours of devices which enable internet access.

The suggestion of children sharing images of each other, also fed into the wider discussion of children as both victims and perpetrators and how this related to the existing SE Kent training offer. Whilst some agencies spoke about receiving some training regarding the use of images and wider online issues, it appeared that it is not widespread.

7   Results of analysis of literature review of mentoring schemes and the CCCU 'training day'

An analysis of the published research provides ample evidence to support the DfE's argument that schools should address the risks of CSE as part of a 'wider programme of work on sexuality and sexual development, choice and consent, healthy relationships, harmful social norms and abusive behaviours and online safety' (DfE, 2017, p.21).

It is also clear from our analysis of the literature review that if CSE awareness raising and prevention is to be conducted through a PHSE/SRE/RSE curriculum then the young people concerned should be involved in both the design and delivery of the programme, to ensure that it is relevant and engaging.

Arts based and other creative methods of delivery are often put forward as vehicles for engagement. However, the impact of this route is limited by its design – it is unlikely to meet the needs of all young people or to encourage those most at risk to disclose information.

CSE awareness raising and prevention with the support of external agencies is best conducted through linking with existing, local-authority funded services as the most cost-effective route for schools to access appropriate training and services.

However, bespoke local authority resources and support are likely to be scarce and may not fully meet the needs of Schools. Engagement with private enterprises is a possible complementary alternative with the added benefit that it may be delivered by individuals who are credible and authentic. Access to these services may be limited however, and will likely be less cost-effective for schools. It is also the case that 'one-off' inputs are unlikely to meet the education needs of young people.

In terms of CSE prevention through peer mentoring in schools there is evidence that well-designed and adequately funded initiatives can be effective, particularly where they include ongoing evaluation. Peers possess the credibility required to engage young people in peer mentoring but may induce concerns around confidentiality. In particular:

- mentors and mentees should be matched through common interests;

- mentoring relationships should last at least six months;
- mentoring relationships should be supported to succeed through structured activities and the enablement of regular opportunities to meet;
- initial and ongoing training and support is essential for mentors.

In light of this, we organised a pilot training day which was also used as consultation on materials available for schools to address CSE. Thirty year 12 students, together with teaching and safeguarding staff from two schools in SE Kent participated to raise awareness and increase knowledge of CSE. The day was also planned as a precursor to developing a CSE mentoring scheme in which some of the sixth-formers would become mentors.

The students attended several workshops across the day in which they undertook various activities, some of which required their participation. Speakers (who comprised invited guests from local authorities and the police together with staff from the University) were animated and engaging and adopted different pedagogical approaches, which is likely to have helped to maintain the young people's interest and attention.

One session was a practically based 'smartphone forensics' workshop, acknowledging the prevalence of this medium of communication in young people's lives. It also provided an opportunity for the sixth-formers to undertake group work.

Throughout the day, students were invited to share their personal knowledge relating to crime and CSE issues (for example by participating in a verbal quiz). Whilst it is hoped that this will have contributed somewhat to the students feeling recognised as experts in the lifestyles of young people, we acknowledge that the emphasis on co-production could have been greater. If the project were to be taken forward, we would hope to co-design the mentoring scheme with the young people.

Anecdotally, towards the end of the day, some students were overheard saying that they were tired of hearing the 'same old messages' around CSE that they had already heard in school. This may be a positive indication of a school programme that is taking a comprehensive approach to tackling CSE and heeding the DfE's (2017) advice to use 'all means of communication' to convey the key messages.

However, it does reinforce that sustained engagement of young people is best achieved through creative and varied pedagogical techniques. Further, it is also likely that targeting CSE interventions for the sixth-form age group comes too late as they may have already developed beliefs about what they know, and how they should behave. This was evident in some discussions during the training day when sixth-form students recalled only recently hearing about CSE.

Also, the views among students differed in their perceptions of the relevance of the day, some noted that they gained a new perception of the wider context of CSE, relationships, and the importance of resilience. Others, appeared to think that they were hearing 'the same old message'.

However, whilst familiarity seemed to be their perception, during activities, they often misunderstood behaviours which suggested an under-estimation in the risks involved in some actions. Hence an extended scheme (involving perhaps peer mentorship) to help school students learn about healthy relationships and sex to gain an in-depth understanding seems to still be needed.

It is also worth noting that all participants were female. They were recruited on a voluntary basis and it may be that CSE is still perceived as very much a 'girl' problem and, stereotypically, they were more likely to be engaged in possible mentoring activities. This likely relates to the need for a cultural change in gender roles which then relate back to many areas relating to CSE.

Students seemed engaged with input throughout the day and actively participated in national materials relating to CSE schemes. The interactivity, along with group discussions, were well received. It was observed that a trained professional is key when enabling successful discussions, especially among a group of students with strongly formed opinions.

Overall, our observations on the day point to an identified need for a well thought out strategy which would be embedded into curriculum from an early stage, include a mentoring scheme, but also input from professionals.

8   Discussion

The CSE scandals over the last decade have involved towns which are broadly similar, in population size and in some sociodemographic features and measures of deprivation and poverty, to those of Dover and Folkestone. Whilst there is no direct evidence of a particularly acute problem with CSE it would seem reasonable to assume that SE Kent is as least as vulnerable as any other comparable part of the UK.

As part of the empirical research for this report we explored the perspectives of professionals directly working in the area of CSE prevention and intervention. In the main the interviews demonstrated that our small sample of professionals in SE Kent perceive the current **reactive** multi-agency arrangements as effective, and an improvement on the past.

However, it is not clear if there is a single locus of responsibility within the local authorities for the strategic responsibility for **proactive** and preventative measures to counter CSE. For example, to provide a perspective of issues such as monitoring the prevalence and nature of CSE in SE Kent; improving multiagency working; monitoring rapidly-developing research and practice and implementing suitable initiatives.

One specific research question was concerned with the professional's perceptions of the typology of CSE in the SE Kent area. In the main they considered that the most prevalent forms were 'peer on peer' and the 'boyfriend/girlfriend' models, in contrast to what they perceived as the current national and local focus on 'online' and 'gang and group' CSE.

The interviews also provided some useful insights into the dynamics of small, localized teams. The physical proximity of a team was deemed to be important, an outcome echoed in the organisational psychology literature (Triplett and Loh, 2018).

However, for some, working within a small team with unclear guidelines about how to relate to the 'centre' was seen as being a major barrier to effective practice. The participants recalled feelings of disappointment, frustration and stress when they felt their work and efforts were hindered due to other agency's rules as well as a lack of resources to complete the task.

A persistent theme was a perceived lack of resources to support children and young people throughout the process of a CSE case, from identification of the existence of a problem to after 'closure'. Along these lines, the professionals we interviewed placed emphasised the importance of early intervention, and building resilience in children from a young age: a theme echoed throughout a training day at CCCU. This relates to shifting the focus from preventative work on how to 'protect' self, to a more holistic approach that reduces the number of perpetrators as well as victims.

Interviewees gave examples of how confusion over the definition of CSE across the UK have caused them issues. Coupled with this is a significant uncertainty over the true extent of CSE in SE Kent, emerging trends and the profiles of offenders and their MOs.

A particular issue identified were the problems around children and young people who are both victims and perpetrators of CSE. The CSE interagency approach seemed directed in the main at adults as offenders and children and young people as victims. However, the risk of criminalizing child victims and perpetuating a cycle of abused to abuser (Plummer and Cossins, 2018) was a concern.

Our research does suggest that 'inquisitiveness' amongst agencies in SE Kent has improved when compared with the past. It suggests that the agencies and professionals are actively learning and appreciate the complexities of the arena in which they operate. This is important, for as Casey (2015, p. 5) noted, '[e]vidence of child sexual exploitation is unlikely to turn up fully formed at the door of the police station or the local authority and it needs to be searched out'.

It is also unequivocally the case that schools are well-situated to become involved in tackling CSE and with appropriate support and planning could successfully fulfil a 'critical role' in preventative action (DfE, 2017).

As Sharp-Jeffs et al. (2017a, p.2) argue, '[a]ll schools are ideally placed to deliver information to students about CSE through preventative education that delivers knowledge and challenges attitudes'.

Our report describes a range of routes through which CSE could be tackled within a school setting. Having reviewed the key literature and information relevant to effective awareness raising and promotion of positive behaviour in relation CSE, and the related SRE, together with the training day we delivered, we acknowledge (like Scott et al., 2019), that there is a significant challenge in drawing strong conclusions and definitive answers about 'what works' in the context of complex lives and 'multi-faceted' interventions.

Nevertheless, a number of key learning areas have emerged and we are able to draw conclusions and make reasonably confident recommendations about what is likely to work well.

The envisaged change to Relationships and Sex Education (RSE) from the current SRE is potentially relevant to countering CSE (from both the victim and perpetrator perspectives). The shift in emphasis would appear address at least some of the risk factors identified in section 4 of this report (e.g. sexual identity confusion) as children and young people should, over an extended period of time, learn about a wide variety of relationships, what healthy relationships look like, the impact of relationships of health and wellbeing, online safety, and factual information surrounding sex embedded in understanding relationships (Long, 2017).

The important role for young people in tackling CSE is a thread that ran through our scoping. Buck et al. (2017) described the young people in their small exploration of peer mentoring in connection with CSE as possessing the 'insight and creativity' (p. 1759) to add value to schemes. Young people are undeniably

experts in their own preferences and what will engage and motivate them and their peers and, with appropriate support and guidance, they can become intrinsic to a successful initiative.

For example, their input concerning peer to peer relationships and their experience of issues around the use of mobile phones and the internet would be valuable contributions (Nelson, 2016).

In more general terms, peers have the necessary credible expertise to engage young people and the advantage of a shared language which has been found to be a crucial component in programmes (e.g. Stanley et al., 2015).

Like Scott et al. (2019) and Buck et al., (2017), we recommend involving young people in the development of awareness raising materials with the aim of achieving relevance and credibility and with the added advantage of encouraging critical reflection on the topic of CSE in those involved in developing the materials.

Peer-mentoring provides a means through which to capitalise on the value of young people's involvement in an initiative and offers a promising route through which CSE prevention could operate. It should be reiterated, however, that young mentors require a support structure around them which should comprise robust initial and ongoing training, access to expert advice and regular opportunities for debriefs with trained adults (see Buck et al., 2017).

An in-school peer mentoring scheme, whilst not without challenges, is likely to be a cost-effective alternative to bought-in community services and will offer development opportunities for mentors as well as mentees.

Collaboration between schools, statutory agencies and charities may be invaluable in successfully embedding strategies into curriculum in an effective manner.

Whilst mentoring in schools is increasingly popular as a route to aim to increase young people's wellbeing and positive choices, the research evidence base for its effectiveness is less overwhelming than the enthusiasm for this type of initiative. This may be the result of challenges in carrying out robust research in an arena of such diverse mentoring programmes which themselves operate in complex contexts.

There is, however, emerging evidence for what constitutes best practice in a successful mentoring programme.

A key learning point has emerged from our scoping and research exercise is the importance of embedding any initiative in a 'whole-school approach', if not a 'whole community approach'.

A 'whole-school approach' also means that school cultures which promote and reinforce zero tolerance towards CSE, but alongside issues of gender inequality, relationship or sexual violence and sexual abuse or harassment are more likely to succeed (Stanley et al., 2015).

CSE is closely linked to deficits in social, economic and psychological capital as suggested by research exploring adverse childhood experiences (Felitti et al., 2019; Brown, 2016; Hook and Courtney, 2011). It follows that a preventative response to CSE needs to be varied and flexible, encompassing a multitude of agencies, areas, treatment and delivery to address multifaceted effects.

In practice, this means ensuring that CSE is tackled not just by a stand-alone initiative such as a peer mentoring scheme but as a wider body of work which starts early and is continuous and incorporates other points of contact such as PHSE, the pastoral and School Nurse services (DfE, 2017) and (to which we can now add) SRE.

School-based schemes that build children and young people's resilience could be a cornerstone of future initiatives. From 2007-8 onwards three local authorities took part in a 'UK resilience programme' (UKRP), delivered to year 7 pupils in secondary schools. The UKRP aimed to 'improve children's psychological well-being by building resilience and promoting accurate thinking' (Department for Education, 2011, p.4). It was delivered in workshop sessions but follow up provision was lacking - it is not surprising that whilst overall UKRP was a successful initiative, some outcomes were only short-lived. The report also highlighted effective organisation of the workshops and their frequency as key in their success. However, it showed the importance of embedding resilience into the curriculum at an early stage (Department of Education, 2011).

Finally, any initiative will work best if it is supported in the wider community by parents, community groups and multi-agency arrangements. Peer and/or family influences are powerful and pervasive in the lives of young people and, if they are negative, they may be hard to overcome through occasional school-based peer-mentoring alone. This may explain why there is such scant evidence for the positive impact of mentoring (e.g. Wood and Mayo-Wilson, 2012) and we would suggest that an approach which incorporates whole school, wider family and community support is likely to be most successful.

9   Bibliography and References

Al-Faris, K. (2015) 'The historical background of the relationship between foreign nationals and crime: A case study of Irish criminality in the UK'. Plymouth Law and Criminal Justice Review, 7, pp. 27-46.

Appelbaum, M., Cooper, H., Kline, R. B., Mayo-Wilson, E., Nezu, A. M., and Rao, S. M. (2018) Journal article reporting standards for quantitative research in psychology: The APA publications and communications board task force report. American Psychologist, 73(1), 3.

AYPH (2016) A public health approach to promoting young people's resilience. [Online]. Available at: http://www.youngpeopleshealth.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/resilience-resource-15-march-version.pdf

Babchishin, K. M., Seto, M. C., Fazel, S., and Långström, N. (2019) 'Are there early risk markers for pedophilia? A nationwide case-control study of child sexual exploitation material offenders'. The Journal of Sex Research, 56(2), 203-212.

Barnardo's (2011) 'Puppet on a string – The urgent need to cut children free from sexual exploitation', Ilford: Barnardo's.

Barnardo's (2012) Cutting Them Free: How Is the UK Progressing in Protecting Its Children from Sexual Exploitation? Ilford: Barnardo's.

Bazeley, P., and Jackson, K. (2013. Qualitative data analysis with NVivo. London: Sage Publications Limited.

Beckett, H with Brodie, I., Factor, F., Melrose, M., Pearce, J., Pitts, J., Shuker, L and Warrington, C. (2013) "It's wrong … but you get used to it", London: Office of the Children's Commissioner.

Beckett, H. (2011) Not A World Away: The Sexual Exploitation of Children and Young People in Northern Ireland. Belfast: Barnado's.

Beckett, H., and Walker, J. (2016). Child Sexual Exploitation: Definition and Practitioner Briefing Paper. Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Beckett, H., Holmes, D., and Walker, J. (2017) Child Sexual Exploitation: Definition and Guide for Professionals: Extended Text, Extended text of DfE (2017) Child Sexual Exploitation: Definition and a

guide for practitioners, local leaders and decision makers working to protect children from child sexual exploitation [Online] Available at: https://bettercarenetwork.org/library/particular-threats-to-childrens-care-and-protection/child-exploitation/child-sexual-exploitation-definition-guide-for-professionals-extended-text.

Berelowitz, S., Clifton, J., Firimin, F. C., Gulyurtlu, S and Edwards, G. (2013) "If only someone had listened" The Office of the Children's Commissioner's Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Gangs and Groups Final Report. London: Office of the Children's Commissioner.

Bernard, H. (2017) Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.

Berson, I. (2003) 'Grooming cybervictims: The psychosocial effects of online exploitation for youth'. Journal of School Violence, 2(1), 5-18.

Bichard M. (2004) Bichard Inquiry Report. London: Home Office.

Bohleber, L., Crameri, A., Eich-Stierli, B., Telesko, R. and von Wyl, A. (2016) 'Can We Foster a Culture of Peer Support and Promote Mental Health in Adolescence Using a Web-Based App? A Control Group Study'. JMIR Mental Health, 3(3), e45.

Bokhari, F. (2008) Falling through the gaps: Safeguarding children trafficked into the UK. Children and Society, 22(3), 201-211.

Bovarnick, S., Scott, S. and Pearce, J. (2017) Direct Work with Sexually Exploited or at Risk Children and Young People: A Rapid Evidence Assessment, January 2017 University of Bedfordshire Repository [Online]. Available at: http://uobrep.openrepository.com/uobrep/handle/10547/623177.

Bramer, A. (2010). Social Work Law, Third Edition. Pearson: Harlow.

Brayley, H and Cockbain, E. (2014) 'British Children Can Be Trafficked Too: Towards an Inclusive Definition of Internal Child Sex Trafficking', Child Abuse Review, 23 (3), pp. 171–184.

Brayley, H., Cockbain, E and Gibson, K. (2014) 'Rapid evidence assessment – the sexual exploitation of boys and young men'. Ilford: Barnardo's/UCL.

Brennan, I., Moore, S. and Shepherd, J. (2010) 'Risk factors for violent victimisation and injury from six years of the British Crime Survey'. International Review of Victimology, Vol. 17, pp. 209-229.

Briggs, F. and Hawkins, R. (1996) 'Low socio-economic status children are disadvantaged in the provision of school-based child protection programmes'. The British Journal of Social Work, 26(5), 667-678.

Brown, J. (2016) 'Champion for prevention'. Children and Young People Now, 2016(8), 15-15.

Brown, S., Brady, G., Frankin, A. and Crookes, R. (2017) 'The use of tools and checklists to assess risk of child sexual exploitation An exploratory study'. Centre of Expertise on Child Sexual Abuse. [Online]. Available at https://www.csacentre.org.uk/documents/exploratory-study-on-the-use-of-tools-and-checklists-to-assess-risk-of-child-sexual-exploitation/.

Buck, G., Lawrence, A. and Ragonese, E. (2017) 'Exploring Peer Mentoring as a Form of Innovative Practice with Young People at Risk of Child Sexual Exploitation'. British Journal of Social Work, Vol. 47, Issue 6, pp. 1745–1763.

Catch 22 (2017). Child Sexual Exploitation: Think Boys. [Online]. Available at: https://cdn.catch-22.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/CSE_ThinkBoys_Dec17_4.pdf

Casey, L. (2015) 'Reflections on child sexual exploitation A report by Louise Casey CB, Department for Communities and Local Government'. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/418394/Louise_Casey_report_into_CSE_template_format__4_.pdf

CEOP (2011) Out of Mind, Out of Sight Breaking down the barriers to understanding child sexual exploitation. [Online]. Available at: https://www.basw.co.uk/system/files/resources/basw_95410-10_0.pdf.

Chase, E., and Statham, J. (2005) 'Commercial and sexual exploitation of children and young people in the UK—A review'. Child Abuse Review: Journal of the British Association for the Study and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect, 14(1), 4-25.

Children's Commissioner (2018). Forging futures through mentoring: A risk worth pursuing? [Online]. Available at https://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Forging-futures-through-mentoring-CCO-April-2018-1.pdf

Clifford, G. and Sohal, A. (1998) 'Developing self-directed work teams. Management Decision', 36(2), 77-84.

Cockbain, E. and Brayley, H. (2012) 'Child sexual exploitation and youth offending: A research note'. European Journal of Criminology, 9(6), pp. 689-700.

Cocker, C. and Allain, L. (2019) Social work with looked after children. London: Learning Matters.

Coffey, A. (2017) Real Voices. Are they being heard? Follow Up report. [Online]. Available at https://www.gmpcc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/RV2-Are-They-Being-Heard3.pdf

College of Policing (2016) Responding to Child Sexual Exploitation. [Online]. Available at: https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/major-investigation-and-public-protection/child-sexual-exploitation/

College of Policing (2019) Major investigation and public protection Responding to child sexual exploitation [Online]. Available at: https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/major-investigation-and-public-protection/child-sexual-exploitation/

College of Policing (2020) Vulnerability [Online]. Available at: https://www.college.police.uk/What-we-do/Development/Vulnerability/Pages/Vulnerability.aspx

Coy, M. (2009) 'Moved around like bags of rubbish nobody wants': how multiple placement moves can make young women vulnerable to sexual exploitation', Child Abuse Review, 18 (4), pp.254-266.

Coy, M., Thiara, R. and Kelly, L. (2011) Boys think girls are toys?: An evaluation of the NIA project prevention programme on sexual exploitation. London Metropolitan University [Online] Available at: http://www.niaendingviolence.org.uk/perch/resources/boys-think-girls-are-toys-nia-project-evaluation-report.pdf

Crocker, R., Webb, S., Skidmore, M., Garner, S., Gill, M. and Graham, J. (2018) Tackling local organised crime groups: Lessons from research in two UK cities. Trends in Organized Crime, 22, pp. 433-449.

Crown Prosecution Service (1998) Provision of Therapy for Child Witnesses Prior to a Criminal Trial, Practice Guidance [Online]. Available at: https://www.cps.gov.uk/publications/prosecution/therapychild.html.

Curran, T. and Wexler, L. (2017) 'School-Based Positive Youth Development: A Systematic Review of the Literature'. Journal of School Health, 87(1), pp. 71–80.

D'Arcy, K., Dhaliwal, S., Thomas, R., Brodie, I. and Pearce, J. (2015) 'Families and communities against child sexual exploitation: Final evaluation report'. Luton: University of Bedfordshire.

Daniel, B. and Wassell, S. (2002) Adolescence: Assessing and promoting resilience in vulnerable children. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Dappen, L. and Isernhagen, J. (2010) Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth Developing a Student Mentoring Program: Building Connections for At-Risk Students. Vol. 49, No. 3 pp. 21-25.

Davis, J. and Petretic-Jackson, P. (2000) 'The impact of child sexual abuse on adult interpersonal functioning: A review and synthesis of the empirical literature'. Aggression and Violent Behavior, 5(3), pp.291-328.

DCSF (2009) Safeguarding Children and Young People from Sexual Exploitation Supplementary Guidance to Working Together to Safeguard Children. [Online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/278849/Safeguarding _Children_and_Young_People_from_Sexual_Exploitation.pdf

DeMarco, J., Sharrock, S., Crowther, T. and Barnard, M. (2018). Behaviour and characteristics of perpetrators of online-facilitated child sexual abuse and exploitation. London: NatCen Social Research.

Department for Education (DfE) (2011) UK Resilience Programme Evaluation: Final Report. Research Report DfE RR097. [Online]. Available at https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/18 2419/DFE-RR097.pdf

Department for Education (DfE) (2016). Characteristics of children in need: 2015 to 2016. [Online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/characteristics-of-children-in-need-2015-to-2016

Department for Education (DfE) (2017). Child sexual exploitation: Definition and a guide for practitioners, local leaders and decision makers working to protect children from child sexual exploitation. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/59 1903/CSE_Guidance_Core_Document_13.02.2017.pdf

Department for Education (DfE) (2018) Characteristics of children in need: 2017 to 2018 England. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/76 2527/Characteristics_of_children_in_need_2017-18.pdf

Department for Education (DfE) (2019) Relationships Education, Relationships and Sex Education (RSE) and Health Education Statutory guidance for governing bodies, proprietors, head teachers, principals, senior leadership teams, teachers. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/80 5781/Relationships_Education__Relationships_and_Sex_Education__RSE__and_Health_Education.pdf.

Department of Health/Home Office (2000) 'Safeguarding Children in Prostitution'. London: HMSO.

DuBois D., Holloway B., Valentine J. and Cooper H. (2002) 'Effectiveness of mentoring programs for youth: a meta-analytic review'. Am J Community Psychol., 30(2), pp.157–97.

Eaton, J. (2018). 'Can I tell you what it feels like?': Exploring the harm caused by CSE films. [Online]. Available at: https://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/55920345/Can_I_tell_you_what_it_feels_like_CS EfilmsreportJEATONJan2018A.pdf?response-content-disposition=inline%3B%20filename%3DCan_I_tell_you_what_it_feels_like_Explor.pdf&X-Amz-Algorithm=AWS4-HMAC-SHA256&X-Amz-Credential=AKIAIWOWYYGZ2Y53UL3A%2F20200212%2Fus-east-1%2Fs3%2Faws4_request&X-Amz-Date=20200212T113204Z&X-Amz-Expires=3600&X-Amz-SignedHeaders=host&X-Amz-Signature=31695be7e9f5a91483d78a5f4ca8cb2f120d1bda45a86ebe8894c5ad5cb78f76

Eby L., McManus, S., Simon, S. and Russell, J. (2000) 'The protégé's perspective regarding negative mentoring experiences: the development of a taxonomy'. Journal of Vocational Behavior; 57, pp.1–21.

Education Endowment Fund (2017) Mentoring. [Online]. Available at: https://educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/evidence-summaries/teaching-learning-toolkit/mentoring/

Else-Quest, N. M., and Hyde, J. S. (2016) 'Intersectionality in quantitative psychological research: II. methods and techniques'. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 40(3), pp.319-336.

Felitti, V. J., Anda, R. F., Nordenberg, D., Williamson, D. F., Spitz, A. M., Edwards, V., Marks, J. S. (2019). 'Relationship of childhood abuse and household dysfunction to many of the leading causes of death in adults: The adverse childhood experiences (ACE) study.' American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 56(6), pp.774-786.

Finkelhor, D. (1993) 'Epidemiological factors in the clinical identification of child sexual abuse'. Child Abuse and Neglect, 17(1), 67-70.

Flood, S and Holmes D. (eds) (2016) Child neglect and its relationship to other forms of harm - responding effectively to children's needs: Executive summary, Totness: RIP, NSPCC, Action for Children. [Online]. Available at: https://www.nspcc.org.uk/globalassets/documents/research-reports/childneglect-an-evidence-scope-executive-summary.pdf.

Fox, C. (2016) It's not on the radar. The hidden diversity of children and young people at risk of sexual exploitation in England. Barnardo's. [Online]. Available at https://www.basw.co.uk/system/files/resources/it_s_not_on_the_radar_report_0.pdf

Fox, C. L., Corr, M. L., Gadd, D., and Butler, I. (2014) 'Young teenagers' experiences of domestic abuse. Journal of Youth Studies', 17(4), 510-526.

Fox, J. (2016) The Overview Report into a Multi-Agency Review of the Services provided to Victims of Child Sexual Exploitation in Kent. [Online]. Available at: https://www.kscmp.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0011/59249/Review-into-CSE-in-Kent-Overview-Report-Final.pdf

FPA (2015) 'The Law on Sex'. [Online]. Available at: http://www.fpa.org.uk/factsheets/law-onsex#R38U6CFGJjvtEFs5.99.

Frost, N., and Mills, S. (2019). Understanding residential child care. London: Routledge.

Gadd, D., Fox, C. L., and Hale, R. (2014). Preliminary steps towards a more preventative approach to eliminating violence against women in Europe. European Journal of Criminology, 11(4), 464-480.

Glaser, D. (2016). 'Child Sexual Abuse' in Thapar, A., Pine, D., Leckman, J.F., Scott, S., Snowling, M.J and Taylor, E. (eds) Rutter's child and adolescent psychiatry, 6th Edition, Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Glomseth, R., Gottschalk, P., and Solli-Saether, H. (2007). Occupational culture as determinant of knowledge sharing and performance in police investigations. International Journal of the Sociology of Law, 35(2), 96-107.

Goldman, J. D., and Padayachi, U. K. (2000). Some methodological problems in estimating incidence and prevalence in child sexual abuse research. Journal of Sex Research, 37(4), 305-314.

Goldstein, S. L. (1998). The sexual exploitation of children: A practical guide to assessment, investigation, and intervention. Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Gottschalk, P., and Holgersson, S. (2006). Stages of knowledge management technology in the value shop: The case of police investigation performance. Expert Systems, 23(4), 183-193.

Greenbaum, J., Crawford-Jakubiak, J. E., and Committee on Child Abuse and Neglect. (2015). Child sex trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation: Health care needs of victims. Pediatrics, 135(3), 566-574.

Grossman, J. B., Chan, C. S., Schwartz, S. E., and Rhodes, J. E. (2012). The test of time in school-based mentoring: The role of relationship duration and re-matching on academic outcomes. American Journal of Community Psychology, 49(1-2), 43-54.

Guest, G., MacQueen, K. M., and Namey, E. E. (2011). Applied thematic analysis. London: Sage Publications.

Hadfield, A., and Tong, S. (2018). Kent and Medway: Delivering a Brexit border: Policing, security, freight and customs.

Hale, D. R., Fitzgerald-Yau, N., and Viner, R. M. (2014). A systematic review of effective interventions for reducing multiple health risk behaviors in adolescence. American journal of public health, 104(5), pp.19-41.

Hale, D. R., and Viner, R. M. (2012). Policy responses to multiple risk behaviours in adolescents. Journal of Public Health, 34 Suppl 1, 11–9.

Halter, S. (2010). Factors that influence police conceptualizations of girls involved in prostitution in six US cities: Child sexual exploitation victims or delinquents? Child Maltreatment, 15(2), 152-160.

Harding, S., Deuchar, R., Densley, J. and McLean, R. (2019). A typology of street robbery and gang organisation: insights from qualitative research in Scotland Brit. J. Criminol. Vo. 59, pp. 879–897.

Harris, T. E., and Sherblom, J. C. (2018). Small group and team communication. Chicago: Waveland Press.

Kelsi (2020) Headstart Kent [Online]. Available at https://www.kelsi.org.uk/support-for-children-and-young-people/health-and-wellbeing/headstart-kent/headstart .

KSCMP (2020) Headstart Local Evaluation Report 2018-9 (2019). [Online]. Available at https://www.kscmp.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/102031/HeadStart-local-evaluation-year-end-report-2018-2019.pdf.

Heal, A. (2015) 'Child sexual exploitation: implications for adult social care and safeguarding boards' Community Care. [Online]. Available at: http://www.communitycare.co.uk/2015/02/10/child-sexualexploitation-implications-adult-social-care-safeguarding-boards/

Henderson, N., Benard, B., and Sharp-Light, N. (Eds.). (2007). Resiliency in action: Practical ideas for overcoming risks and building strengths in youth, families and communities. Ojai: Resiliency in Action.

Herrera, C. (1999). School-Based Mentoring: A First Look into Its Potential. [Online]. Available at https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED436598.pdf.

Herrera, C., Sipe, C. L., and McClanahan, W. S. (2000). Mentoring school-age children: Relationship development in community-based and school-based programs. A report prepared for the National Mentoring Partnership's Public Policy Council. Funded by the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement. [Online]. Available at https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED441066.pdf.

Hitchingbrooke School (2020). Online. Available at https://www.hinchingbrookeschool.net/

HM Government (2017) Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation Progress Report February 2017. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/592588/Tackling_Child_Sexual_Exploitation_-_Progress_Report__web_.pdf.

HM Government (2018). Working Together to Safeguard Children. A guide to inter-agency working to safeguard and promote the welfare of children. [Online]. Available at https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/779401/Working_Together_to_Safeguard-Children.pdf

Home Office (2003). 'Victoria Climbie Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry by Lord Laming', London: Stationery Office.

Home Office (2019) Home Office Counting Rules for Recorded crime. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/791106/count-flags-apr-2019.pdf.

Home Office (2019). Police recorded crime and outcomes open data tables. [Online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/police-recorded-crime-open-data-tables.

House of Commons (2013). Home Affairs Select Committee, Child sexual exploitation and the response to localized grooming, Second Report of Session 2013–14, Volume III, London: HMSO.

Howard, S. (2017). Working in organisational systems: Current challenges and dilemmas. Developing professional practice in health and social care (pp. 92-119. London: Routledge.

IICSA (2019a). Who we are. [Online]. Available at: https://www.iicsa.org.uk/

IICSA (2019b) Terms of Reference. [Online]. Available at: https://www.iicsa.org.uk/terms-reference.

Independent Report by Ann Coffey MP. [Online]. Available at: http://www.gmpcc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/81461-Coffey-Report_v5_WEB-singlepages.pdf.

Jago, S., Arocha, L., Brodie, I., Melrose, M., Pearce, J.J and Warrington, C., (2011). What's going on to safeguard children and young people from sexual exploitation? How local partnerships respond to child sexual exploitation. Luton: University of Bedfordshire

Jay, A. (2014) Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Rotherham 1997-2013. [Online]. Available at: http://www.rotherham.gov.uk/downloads/file/1407/independent_inquiry_cse_in_rotherham

Jekielek S, Moore KA, Hair EC. (2002) Mentoring programs and youth development: a synthesis. Washington, DC: Child Trends; 27.

Jekielek, S. M., Moore, K. A., Hair, E. C., and Scarupa, H. J. (2002) Mentoring: A promising strategy for youth development. Child Trends Research Brief, 2, 1-8.

Jolliffe D, Farrington DP. (2007) A rapid evidence assessment of the impact of mentoring on re-offending: a summary: Home Office report. [Online]. Available at: http://www.crim.cam.ac.uk/people/academic_research/david_farrington/olr1107.pdf.

KCC (2020) The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD2019): Headline findings for Kent [Online] Available at: https://www.kent.gov.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/7953/Indices-of-Deprivation-headline-findings.pdf.

Kelly, L., and Karsna, K. (2017) Measuring the scale and changing nature of child sexual abuse and child sexual exploitation scoping report. [Online]. Available at: https://www.csacentre.org.uk/csa-centre-prod/assets/File/CSA%20Scale%20and%20Nature%20full%20report%202018.pdf.

Kelly, L., and Regan, L. (2000) Stopping traffic: Exploring the extent of, and responses to, trafficking in women for sexual exploitation in the UK Home Office. London: Policing and Reducing Crime Unit.

Kelsi (2019) Operation Willow. [Online]. Available at: https://www.kelsi.org.uk/child-protection-and-safeguarding/cse/operation-willow.

Kent Safeguarding Board (2016) Multi agency review of the services provided to victims of child sexual exploitation in Kent briefing paper- lessons for practice. [Online] available at: https://www.kscmp.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/59252/Multi-Agency-Review-of-the-Services-provided-to-Victims-of-Child-Sexual-Exploitation-in-Kent-June-2016-Briefing-Paper.pdf

Kent Safeguarding Board (2016). Safeguarding children abused through sexual exploitation. [Online] available at: https://www.kscmp.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/75537/Kent-and-Medway-CSE-Strategy-2016-18-V4.pdf.

KentOnline (2015) Child sexual exploitation trial of five accused of crimes in Folkestone, Deal and Gravesend halted at Canterbury Crown Court. [Online]. Available at: https://www.kentonline.co.uk/folkestone/news/sexploitation-trial-collapses-33123/.

Kitzinger, J. (1996) 'Media representations of sexual abuse risks'. Child Abuse Review, 5(5), 319-333.

Kitzinger, J., and Skidmore, P. (1995) 'Playing safe: Media coverage of child sexual abuse prevention strategies'. Child Abuse Review, 4(1), 47-56.

Komosa-Hawkins K. (2010). 'Best practices in school-based mentoring programs for adolescents'. Child Youth Serv. 31(3–4):121–37.

Komosa-Hawkins, K. (2012) 'The Impact of School-Based Mentoring on Adolescents' Social-Emotional Health'. Mentoring and Tutoring, 20(3), 393–408.

Lebloch, E. K., and King, S. (2006). Child sexual exploitation: A partnership response and model intervention. Child Abuse Review, 15(5), 362.

Local Government Association (2014a) Tackling child sexual exploitation A resource pack for councils. [Online]. Available at: https://www.local.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/tackling-child-sexual-exp-8d3.pdf.

Local Government Association (2014b) Case Study: Child Sexual Exploitation. [Online]. Available at https://www.local.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/cse-case-studies-february-fc7.pdf.

Long, R. (2017), Sex and relationships education in schools. Briefing paper number 06103. [Online]. Available at: https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/30817/1/SN06103.pdf.

MacGregor, S. (2017). UK drug policy. The politics of drugs (pp. 27-62). London: Springer.

Mack, N., Woodsong, C., MacQueen, K.M., Guest, G. and Namey, E. (2005) 'Qualitative research methods: A data collector's field guide'. North Carolina: Family Health International.

Mantell, A., and Jennings, M. (2016) Nosey parkers? professional curiosity in nursing and social work. Network for Psychiatric Nursing Research NPNR conference 2016. Nottingham 15 - 16 Sep 2016 London South Bank University.

Maskell P. (2006), 'Where are we now? Peer mentoring today. Buddy Group Update: What's in a name?' Rapport, 12 (4), Summer 2006, Whitchurch: Association for Professionals in Services for Adolescents.

McClelland, G.T. and Newell, R (2013) Youth Sexual Exploitation (United Kingdom). Journal of Psychological Issues in Organizational Culture, 3 (S1), pp.247-275.

McGeeney, E., and Hanson, E. (2017) Digital Romance: A research project exploring young people's use of technology in their romantic relationships and love lives. London: National Crime Agency and Brook.

McNeish, D., and Scott, S. (2015) An independent evaluation of rape crisis Scotland's sexual violence prevention project. DMSS Research. [Online]. Available at https://www.rapecrisisscotland.org.uk/resources/final-evaluation-report-26-04.pdf.

McNeish, D., Scott, S., and Maynard, L. (2012) The Use of Evidence in Commissioning Children's Services: A Rapid Review. National Centre for Social Research. [Online]. Available at https://www.dmss.co.uk/pdfs/pr8.pdf.

Miller, D. and Brown, J. (2014) We have the right to be safe: Protecting disabled children from abuse, London: NSPCC. [Online]. Available at: https://www.nspcc.org.uk/globalassets/documents/research-reports/right-safe-disabled-children-abuse-report.pdf.

Morris, K. (2012) 'Thinking family? The complexities for family engagement in care and protection. British Journal of Social Work', 42 (5), pp.906-920.

Moullin, J. C., Ehrhart, M. G., and Aarons, G. A. (2018) 'The role of leadership in organizational implementation and sustainment in service agencies. Research on Social Work Practice', 28(5), 558-567.

Munro, E. (2001) Empowering looked after children. Child and Family Social Work, 6(2), pp. 129-137.

Munro, E. (2011) The Munro Review of Child Protection, Final Report, A Child Centred System. London: HMSO.

Nardi, P. M. (2018) Doing survey research: A guide to quantitative methods. London: Routledge.

NCA (2019) Intelligence Assessment County Lines Drug Supply, Vulnerability and Harm 2018. [Online]. Available at: https://www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/who-we-are/publications/257-county-lines-drug-supply-vulnerability-and-harm-2018/file.

Nelson, S. (2016) Tackling Child Sexual Abuse: Radical Approaches to Prevention, Protection and Support. Bristol: Policy Press.

Norfolk Safeguarding Adults Board (2018) Professional Curiosity Guidance. [Online]. Available at: https://www.norfolksafeguardingadultsboard.info/assets/NSAB-GUIDANCE/NSAB-Professional-Curiosity-Partnership-VersionSEPT2018FINAL02.pdf..

Nørreklit, H., Raffnsøe-Møller, M., and Mitchell, F. (2016) 'A pragmatic constructivist approach to accounting practice and research'. Qualitative Research in Accounting and Management, 13(3), pp. 266-277.

NSPCC (2019) 12 Childline counselling sessions a day for child sexual exploitation. [Online]. Available at: https://www.nspcc.org.uk/what-we-do/news-opinion/12-childline-counselling-sessions-day-child-sexual-exploitation/.

O'Hara, M. (2019) 'Making pimps and sex buyers visible: Recognising the commercial nexus in 'child sexual exploitation''. Critical Social Policy, 39(1), 108-126.

OCC (Office of the Children's Commissioner) (2012) "I thought I was the only one. The only one in the world" The Office of the Children's Commissioner's Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation In Gangs and Groups Interim report November 2012. [Online]. Available at: https://static.lgfl.net/LgflNet/downloads/online-safety/LGfL-OS-Research-Archive-2012-Childrens-Commissioner-CSE.pdf.

OCC (2013) If It's Not Better, It's not the End'. London: Office of the Children's Commissioner.

Ofsted (2014) The Sexual Exploitation of Children: It Couldn't Happen Here, Could It? [Online]. Available at http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/surveys-and-good-practice/t/The%20sexual%20exploitation%20of%20children%20it%20couldn%E2%80%99t%20happen%20here,%20could%20it.pdf

Ofsted (2016) 'Time to listen'– a joined up response to child sexual exploitation and missing children. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/676421/Time_to_listen___a_joined_up_response_to_child_sexual_exploitation_and_missing_children.pdf

Ofsted. (2014) The sexual exploitation of children: It couldn't happen here, could it? Bristol: Ofsted.

ONS (2020) Child abuse in England and Wales: January 2020. [Online]. Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/childabuseinengla ndandwales/january2020

Palaganas, E. C., Sanchez, M. C., Molintas, M., Visitacion, P., and Caricativo, R. D. (2017) 'Reflexivity in qualitative research. A Journey of Learning'. The Qualitative Report, 22(2), pp. 426-438.

Papalia, N., Ogloff, J. R., Cutajar, M., and Mullen, P. E. (2018) 'Child sexual abuse and criminal offending: Gender-specific effects and the role of abuse characteristics and other adverse outcomes'. Child Maltreatment, 23(4), 399-416.

Parents Against Child Sexual Exploitation (PACE) (2014). The Relational Safeguarding Model, Best practice in working with families affected by Child Sexual Exploitation. Leeds: PACE.

Paskell, C. (2012) Tackling Child sexual exploitation. Helping local authorities to develop effective responses. Ilford: Barnardo's.

Peach, D., Allen, D and Brown, P. (2015) Needs analysis report following the sexual exploitation of children in Rotherham. Salford: University of Salford/Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council.

Pearce, J. (2014) ''What's going On' to safeguard children and young people from child sexual exploitation: A review of local safeguarding children boards' work to protect children from sexual exploitation'. Child Abuse Review, 23(3), 159-170.

Perkins, D. and Merdian, H. (2018) [Online] Child sexual exploitation material offending: From aetiology to desistance. Discussion Paper. National Organisation for the Treatment of Abusers.

Plummer, M. and Cossins, A. (2018) 'The cycle of abuse: When victims become offenders'. Trauma, Violence, and Abuse, 19(3), 286-304.

Pound P., Denford S. and Shucksmith J. (2017) What is best practice in sex and relationship education? A synthesis of evidence, including stakeholders' views. BMJ Open;7.

Powell, J. (2015). What works? A grounded theory of effective peer mentoring in secondary schools. Doctoral dissertation, Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust/University of Essex.

Ramiro, L. S., Martinez, A. B., Tan, J. R., Mariano, K., Miranda, G. M., and Bautista, G. (2019) 'Online child sexual exploitation and abuse: A community diagnosis using the social norms theory'. Child Abuse and Neglect, 96.

Raymond A. (2013. Practical Safeguarding and Child Protection: Sexual Exploitation and Grooming. London: Optimus Education.

Richardson, S., and Bacon, H. (2003) Creative responses to child sexual abuse: Challenges and dilemmas London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Ringrose, J., Rosalind, G., Livingstone, S and Harvey, L. (2012) A qualitative study of children, young people and 'sexting', London: NSPCC.

Roberts, H., Liabo, K., Lucas, P., DuBois, D., and Sheldon, T. A. (2004) Mentoring to reduce antisocial behaviour in childhood. BMJ, 328(7438), 512-514.

Ross, C., Dimitrova, S., Howard, L. M., Dewey, M., Zimmerman, C., and Oram, S. (2015) 'Human trafficking and health: A cross-sectional survey of NHS professionals' contact with victims of human trafficking'. BMJ Open, 5(8).

Rowan, A. B. and Foy, D. W. (1993) 'Post-traumatic stress disorder in child sexual abuse survivors: A literature review'. Journal of Traumatic Stress, 6(1), 3-20.

Russell D. (1984). Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse and Workplace Harassment. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Salter, M. and Dagistanli, S. (2015) Cultures of abuse: 'Sex grooming', organised abuse and race in Rochdale, UK. International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy, 4(2), 50-64.

Sangster, A. M., Crowley, M., and McGrandles, A. (2018) The role of sexual health nurses in identifying child sexual exploitation. Community Practitioner.

Scott, S. McNeish, D., Bovarnick, S. and Pearce, J. (2019) What works in responding to child sexual exploitation. [Online]. Available at: https://b.barnardos.org.uk/what-works-in-responding-to-child-sexual-exploitation.pdf

Selvius, K., Wijkman, M. D., Slotboom, A. and Hendriks, J. (2018) 'Comparing intrafamilial child sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation of children: A systematic literature review on research methods and consequences'. Aggression and Violent Behavior, 41, 62-73.

Sen, R. (2017). Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE): Awareness, identification, support and prevention. South Yorkshire Teaching partnership. [Online]. Available at: https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.760056!/file/CSEPracticeResourceSen_June2017-1.pdf

Sharp-Jeffs, N., Coy, M. and Kelly, L. (2017a) Key messages from research on child sexual exploitation: Professionals in school settings. [Online]. Available at:https://www.csacentre.org.uk/index.cfm/_api/render/file/?method=inline&fileID=7F769BD3-8D2D-4600-81682DE72A9B8C4E.

Sharp-Jeffs, N., Coy, M. and Kelly, L. (2017b) Key messages from research on child sexual exploitation: Police. [Online]. Available at: https://www.csacentre.org.uk/index.cfm/_api/render/file/?method=inline&fileID=9E408885-A389-4EEE-84CA2B4D69D8E45C.

Sipe C. (2002) Mentoring programs for adolescents: a research summary. J Adolesc Health. 31:251–60.28.

Skidmore, M., Garner, S., Crocker, R., Webb, S., Graham J. and Gill, M. (2016) Organised crime and child sexual exploitation in local communities the Police Foundation Briefing 3. [Online]. Available at: http://www.police-foundation.org.uk/2017/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/organised_crime_and_cse.pdf.

Smeaton, E. (2013) Running from hate to what you think is love: the relationship between running away and CSE. London: Barnardo's.

Stanley, N., Ellis, J., Farrelly, N., Hollinghurst, S., and Downe, S. (2015) 'Preventing domestic abuse for children and young people: A review of school-based interventions'. Children and Youth Services Review, 59, 120-131.

Stewart, G. L. (2006). A meta-analytic review of relationships between team design features and team performance. Journal of Management, 32(1), 29-55.

Sundaram, V. (2013) Violence as understandable, deserved or unacceptable? Listening for gender in teenagers' talk about violence. Gender and education, 25(7), 889-906.

Terry, G., Hayfield, N., Clarke, V., and Braun, V. (2017). Thematic analysis. The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology, 17-37. London: Sage.

Thapar, A., Pine, D., Leckman, J.F. Scott, S., Snowling, M.J and Taylor, E. (2016) (eds). Rutter's child and adolescent psychiatry, 6th Edition. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

The Communities and Local Government Committee (2014) Child Sexual Exploitation in Rotherham: Some Issues for Local Government. [Online]. Available at: http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmselect/cmcomloc/648/648.pdf.

The Guardian (2015a) 'Sexting could see teenagers branded as sex offenders'. [Online]. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/may/04/sexting-teenagers-selfie-criminal-record-sex-offendersregister

The Guardian (2015b) 'Boy, 14, added to police database after sexting female classmate naked image'. [Online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/sep/03/boy-14-added-to-police-databaseafter-sexting-female-classmate.

The Know Project (n.d.). [Online]. Available at http://www.yescic.org/the-know-project.html

Topping, K. J., and Barron, I. G. (2009). School-based child sexual abuse prevention programs: A review of effectiveness. Review of educational research, 79(1), 431-463.

Torbay Council (2019) Peer on peer child exploitation highlighted as concern in the south west. [Online]. Available at: https://www.torbay.gov.uk/news/lscb001/.

Triplett, S. and Loh, J. (2018) 'The moderating role of trust in the relationship between work locus of control and psychological safety in organisational work teams'. Australian Journal of Psychology, 70(1), 76-84.

Tufail, W. (2015) 'Rotherham, Rochdale, and the racialised threat of the 'Muslim grooming gang''. International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy, 4(3), 30-43.

Twill, S. E., Green, D. M., and Traylor, A. (2010) 'A descriptive study on sexually exploited children in residential treatment'. Paper presented at the Child and Youth Care Forum, 39(3) 187-199.

UNIfied News (2019) REVEALED: Kent districts with the most reported child sexual exploitation cases. [Online]. Available at: https://unified.org.uk/2019/01/revealed-kent-districts-with-the-most-reported-child-sexual-exploitation-cases/ Acessed 011019.

Van de Vijver, K. and Harvey, R. (2019) 'Child sexual exploitation (CSE): Applying a systemic understanding of 'grooming' and the LUUUUTT model to aid second order change'. Journal of Family Therapy, 41(3), 447-464.

Vincent S., Warden S. and Duffy M. (2007) 'Helping them to Help Each Other'. Mental Health Today, May 2007, 7 (4), 30-33.

Walker, K. (2013) Ending the commercial sexual exploitation of children: A call for multi-system collaboration in California. Sacramento, CA: California Child Welfare Council, 9-10.

Walters, M. (2013) 'Why the Rochdale gang should have been sentenced as' hate crime' offenders'. Criminal Law Review, 2, pp.131-144.

Wertz, F. (2005. Phenomenological research methods for counseling psychology. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52(2), 167.

Whybra, L., Warner, G., Bjornstad, G., Hobbs, T., Brook, L., Wrigley, Z., Berry, V., Ukoumunne, O. C., Matthews, J., Taylor, R., Eames, T., Kallitsoglou, A., Blower, S. and Axford, N. (2018). 'The effectiveness of Chance UK's mentoring programme in improving behavioural and emotional outcomes in primary school children with behavioural difficulties: Study protocol for a randomised controlled trial'. BMC Psychology, 6(1).

Wincup, E. (2017). Criminological research: Understanding qualitative methods. London: Sage.

Wood, S. and Mayo-Wilson, E. (2012) 'School-Based Mentoring for Adolescents: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis'. Research on Social Work Practice 22(3), pp.257-269.

Woodiwiss, J. (2018) 'From one girl to 'three girls': The importance of separating agency from blame (and harm from wrongfulness) in narratives of childhood sexual abuse and exploitation'. Pastoral Care in Education, 36(2), 154-166.

Wurtele, S. and Kenny, M. (2016) 'Technology-Related Sexual Solicitation of Adolescents: A Review of Prevention Efforts'. Child Abuse Review Vol. 25. pp. 332-344.

Appendix 1

Preventing and Countering CSE in SE Kent

Semi-Structured Interview Core Questions – Police and Other Agencies

Name:

Role:

Age:

Gender:

Years working for organisation:

1. Can you summarise your background in [agency] and what your current responsibilities are?

2. Can you tell me about your involvement in preventing and countering CSE?

Perceptions of the CSE problem

3. What agencies (in your geographical area) do you believe to be responsible for dealing with CSE?

4. How well do you think the nature and extent of CSE in [your geographical area] are understood by police and other agencies?

5. What are your personal views on the nature and extent of CSE in [your geographical area]?

6. Have there been any social or demographic trends in recent years which have contributed to the CSE problem?

7. Has there been an increase in the number of potential victims?

8. What are your thoughts surrounding the current nature of criminality in [your geographical area] and how does this relate to CSE?

9. Has there been an increase in the nature of offending, such as gang activity, which would contribute towards a marked increase in CSE offences?

The Response to CSE

10. How does (your agency) work with other agencies to tackle CSE?

11. How effective do you think such work is?

12.   Do you have any examples of successes?

13.   Do you have any examples of problems in multi-agency work?

14.   Does [your agency] have sufficient resources to tackle CSE?

15.   If you could generate more preventing and countering CSE activity, what would it consist of?

16.   How well do you feel your agency is prepared to tackle CSE?

17.   What do you think of training in your agency (and that available externally) surrounding preventing and countering CSE?

18.   Do you feel that there is now enough inquisitiveness surrounding CSE?

Closing questions

19.   In an 'ideal world', what do you feel should happen for organisations to successfully tackle CSE?

20.   Any other observations?

Appendix 2 – A selection of resources currently available to schools

1. Academic resilience: https://youngminds.org.uk/resources/school-resources/academic-resilience-resources/

2. Resilience framework/approach: https://www.boingboing.org.uk/resilience/schools-resources/

3. 'Know about CSE' at http://knowaboutcse.co.uk/professionals/#resources

4. BWise 2 Sexual exploitation (paid resource)

5. ThinkUKnow toolkit: https://www.thinkuknow.co.uk/professionals/resources/thinkuknow-toolkit/

6. 'Real love rocks' at : https://www.barnardosrealloverocks.org.uk/

7. Children England resources: https://www.childrenengland.org.uk/Pages/Category/resources-for-practice?Take=18

8. The KCC (2016) Peer Mentoring Toolkit: https://www.kelsi.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/67147/peer-mentoring-toolkit.pdf

9. The Headstart Kent Resilience Hub (online information and toolkit): https://kentresiliencehub.org.uk/

10. Phone apps available to use: Zip it App (Childline), Wud U (Barnardo's)