

## Reading List Summary

### Victim Blaming Language in the Context of Child Sexual Abuse

#### Key Findings

Victim blaming language occurs for different reasons:

- It can be associated with risk assessment processes
- It can be associated with gender, sexuality, race, religion and cultural affiliations
- It can be at the intersection of these contexts

#### Summary of the Available Evidence

Throughout, this review views victim blaming language as performative and therefore equivalent to victim blaming itself.

#### The Context of Victim Blaming Language

There is a relationship between language, culture and context. For example, the language used in schools to describe harmful sexual behaviour (HSB) has a powerful influence on the culture in which this could take place. Sexist language can be both a cause and consequence of desensitised attitudes to HSB and sexist narratives can contribute to school climates in which students can feel blamed for abuse they experience<sup>1</sup>.

Adultification bias can be identified through language used to describe children; terms such as 'streetwise', 'resilient', and 'mature' can assume children have more agency and the capacity to safeguard themselves. If children are perceived as being more adult like, the language ascribed to them may reduce safeguarding responses<sup>2</sup>.

#### Victim Blaming Language in Defining and Assessing Risk

The process of defining risk can reveal attitudes which blame the victims of child sexual abuse. The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse (IICSA) gives numerous examples of victim blaming language by different authorities (see pg. 69 onwards) who are responsible for the safety of children, including the police and social services<sup>3</sup>. Alongside being apparent in the language and terminology used by professionals, victim blaming language is also present in screening and assessment tools<sup>4</sup>. Focusing on assessing an individual's risk of child sexual exploitation (CSE) can lead to victim blaming language, particularly when risks are narrowly linked to individual behaviours. Victim blaming language, alongside having serious negative impacts on children, undermines good practice around CSE by obscuring important contextual factors and the role of perpetrators in manipulation and abuse<sup>5</sup>.

Research in Practice note the implications of complicity for victim blaming contained in the term 'exchange':

*"Despite ample evidence that exchange is used by child sex offenders as a method of grooming, the receipt of goods, gifts or money has led some to consider that a child may be more complicit or consenting in cases of CSE than in CSA cases, where the child is more clearly seen as a victim and the exchange is more clearly seen as a method of grooming and control. This tension, wherein acknowledging the exchange dynamic can lead to a less protective response, is arguably not a definitional one but an educative one"*<sup>6</sup> (p9).

#### Responsibilisation

The language described above suggests that children may be thought responsible for their own abuse and exploitation. Ellis (2019) notes that "Girls believed that professionals held them accountable for being sexually abused" and that "Professionals

*sometimes mistook resilience for culpability*" (pg.405)<sup>7</sup> and that, in turn the girls in her research internalised this to develop a belief that they were not vulnerable or abused, but that the abuse was consensual sex. Brown (2019) *"illustrates how vulnerability is shaped through individual factors, situational dynamics and structural forces, connected by human agency through time. [And]argues that in order to respond effectively to vulnerability within the field of CSE, we need to move beyond discussion of 'risk factors' and denial of agency, towards an understanding of intersectional inequalities, social marginality, 'critical moments' and how these shape the investments and actions of vulnerable young people."* (pg.1)<sup>8</sup>.

### Victim Blaming and Gender

Barnardo's points out that risk assessment tools have been developed specifically with girls in mind which means they exclude other children who may be sexually exploited, so that while *"tools have remained effective in helping agencies identify teenage white British girls with similar networked abuse experiences, they have systemically failed to capture the vulnerability and exploitation large numbers of children who experience networked abuse in other ways for example online (live streaming, social networks and gaming communities), networked abuse in LGBTQ communities, abuse across familial networks or schools and other institutions"* (Par 20)<sup>9</sup>.

### Victim Blaming and Sexuality

IICSA identified key myths and stereotypes relating to child sexual abuse and sexual orientation and gender identity which operate as victim blaming:

- Some victims and survivors were told that their gender identity or sexual orientation resulted from the child sexual abuse they experienced, which severely damaged their self-identity and mental health.
- Some victims and survivors were told that they were sexually abused because of their sexual orientation or gender identity ('you brought it on yourself'), including vulnerable LGBTQ+ children using online spaces to explore their sexuality.
- We also heard the myth that 'people who have been abused go on to abuse' can stop both gay and straight men from reporting or disclosing having been sexually abused because they fear being thought of as 'paedophiles' (pg.1)<sup>10</sup>

IICSA found that sexual orientation or gender identity may be treated as a response to child sexual abuse. For example, *"some victims and survivors have the 'LGBTQ+' label applied to them as a result of the gender of their abuser, rather than being allowed to define themselves."* (pg.12). Another myth discussed in this report is that *"Victims and survivors were sexually abused because of their sexual orientation or gender identity ('you brought it on yourself')"* (pg.13). In respect of abuse via online platforms *"Young LGBTQ+ victims and survivors also told us that support services often ask victims and survivors questions like 'why were you on Grindr?' instead of investigating the child sexual abuse which occurred"* (pg.31)<sup>11</sup>.

### Victim Blaming and Race

#### Adultification

Davis (2022) defines adultification as *"A persistent and ongoing act of dehumanisation, which explicitly impacts Black children, and influences how they are safeguarded and protected."* (pg.5)<sup>12</sup>. Cook et al. (2022) explain that *"the contemporary "adultification" of Black girls - the misconception that Black girls are less innocent and more adultlike than their White peers - is not based on biological traits but is a result of the historical exoticism of Black female bodies and the oversexualization of Black women and girls in modern media."* (pg.115)<sup>13</sup>. Adultification *"can result in the onus of children to safeguard themselves, rather than receiving the care and protection they have a right to receive. Adultification can lead to a victim-blaming narrative, which implies Black children are somehow complicit in the harm experienced."* (p11)<sup>14</sup>. According to Davis (2022), Black

girls are more likely to be perceived as less innocent and knowing more about sex than White girls which affects language, attitudes and protection towards them<sup>15</sup>.

#### *Racism and unconscious bias*

The racism which exists throughout the social care and protective systems can have a number of effects as noted above. For example, *"Black and Asian boys and young men are often criminalised and assumed to be gang members; they typically come to services' attention because they have committed offences or displayed harmful sexual behaviour, with no recognition that this may indicate they are victims of CSA. Even in referrals, they tend to be described in more negative language than white males are. And a perception of South Asian men solely as perpetrators of sexual abuse may lead professionals to disbelieve their disclosures of having been abused"*.<sup>16</sup>

### **Religion and Culture**

#### *Honour and shame*

Victim blaming can also be associated within some religious communities with concepts of shame and honour. A report for the CSA Centre *"highlighted the importance of challenging gender roles and concepts such as honour and shame"*<sup>17</sup> to address victim blaming within religious communities.

#### *Conversion therapy*

IICSA found that people who had been abused by a same sex abuser and were/or were not gay themselves may have been subject to conversion therapy within their church or religious institution. *"LGBTQ+ victims and survivors are often judged as being partly or wholly responsible for their own abuse. Some victims and survivors were encouraged not to speak out about the abuse they suffered because of their sexual orientation."* (pg.30)<sup>18</sup>.

Research by Ali et al. (2021) found *"that boys and young men who are sexually abused by males may feel conflicted, embarrassed or confused about their sexuality, particularly if being gay is considered a sin in their culture; examples were cited from Black, Bangladeshi, Pakistani and ultra-Orthodox Jewish communities"* (pg.6)<sup>19</sup>.

### **Intersectional Aspects of Victim Blaming**

Several groups of children may not receive safeguarding from sexual exploitation because they receive alternative labels such as mental health, offending, or behaviour, so in its evidence to the IICSA, Barnardo's point out that *"BME children, LGBTQ children, disabled children and boys remain starkly and disproportionately under-represented in referrals from other agencies to Barnardo's exploitation services. Rather than being identified as victims of exploitation and being referred for assessment and support, we have identified that children from these groups and communities who exhibit trauma responses may lead to alternative interventions including mental health services, behavioural management programmes and youth offending pathways. These pathways can bring additional labels and levels of adversity whilst never really identifying or addressing the exploitation as the source of harm"*. (par.20)<sup>20</sup>. This means (as noted above by IICSA) that online harms are often missed within LGBTQ+ communities and networks.

### **Tackling Victim Blaming**

Research in Practice suggest that *"it is vital that any conversations or exercises about children being sexually abused focus on the actions, motivations, methods and decisions of the sex offender and the impact on the victim – rather than the actions, motivations and decisions of the victim"* (pg.59). And that *"In CSE specifically, it is of paramount importance that children are viewed, protected and supported as victims of serious crime and not as culpable, deserving or at fault in any way. Changing the language that is commonly used – such as 'risk-taking behaviours', 'vulnerabilities that lead to children being abused', 'promiscuous behaviours' and 'unhealthy choices' – is a vital step towards*

*reducing victim blaming of children affected by CSE. This should be accompanied by comprehensive training and information for professionals on the origins of stereotypes, biases and victim blaming narratives.” (pg.24)<sup>21</sup>.*

Brown et al. (2017) note that “A focus on assessing an individual’s risk of CSE can lead to victim-blaming, particularly where risks are narrowly linked to individual behaviours. Apart from having serious negative impacts on children, victim-blaming undermines good practice around CSE as it obscures important contextual factors and the role of perpetrators in manipulation and abuse. Assessment work with potential victims, victims and their families should be collaborative and supportive. Where risks are identified, the responsibility for preventing CSE should not be placed on potential victims and their families” (pg.7) <sup>22</sup>.

### **Gaps in the Evidence Base**

- This is a well-evidenced field and no gaps in the evidence were noted in this review

## Key research on this topic:

Citation	Evidence type	Summary
<p>Brown, S., Brady, G., Franklin, A. and Crookes, R. (2017) The use of tools and checklists to assess risk of child sexual exploitation: An exploratory study. <i>Centre of Expertise on Child Sexual Abuse</i></p> <p>Available <a href="#">here</a></p>	<p>Research report</p>	<p>Previous research by Brown et al. (2016) identified many issues with the tools and checklists used throughout England and Wales to identify young people at risk of child sexual exploitation (CSE). The current study builds directly on that previous study, exploring the use of screening and risk assessment tools relating to CSE in England and Wales with professional groups who use the tools, to provide research evidence and recommendations for the development of tools/checklists and practice. The findings show that some tools do not allow or encourage the inclusion of narrative information to explain indicators, risk and protective factors, while some professionals state that there is too strong a focus on young people who are potential victims and working with them to reduce their risk.</p>
<p>Naezer, M. and van Oosterhout, L. (2021) 'Only sluts love sexting: youth, sexual norms and non-consensual sharing of digital sexual images', <i>Journal of Gender Studies</i>, 30(1), pp. 79–90.</p> <p>Available <a href="#">here</a></p>	<p>Journal article</p>	<p>Abstract: "<i>Interventions aimed at preventing non-consensual sharing of digital sexual images among youth often focus on (potential) victims, who are discouraged from making and sharing such images. This approach is problematic, however: it limits young people's sexual freedom, encourages victim-blaming in case of incidents, and makes perpetrators invisible. This article contributes to scholarship that shifts the focus to perpetrators, by investigating young people's motives for distributing other people's sexual images without their consent. Based on interviews with Dutch young perpetrators, victims and bystanders of non-consensual image sharing, we distinguish different scenarios of and motives for this type of sexual violence. The analysis demonstrates that non-consensual image sharing is a layered, heterogenous problem that is deeply embedded in present-day social norms regarding gender and sexuality. By disentangling the different scenarios of and motives for non-consensual image sharing as well as the gendered sexual norms and taboos that play a role, we hope to inspire the development of sex(ting)-positive, nuanced and diverse interventions for preventing this type of image-based abuse. More research is still needed, however, and in the conclusion we provide several directions for future research.</i>"</p>
<p>Ali, N., Butt, J., and Phillips, M (2021). Improving responses to the sexual abuse of Black, Asian and minority ethnic children. <i>Centre of Expertise on Child Sexual Abuse</i></p> <p>Available <a href="#">here</a></p>	<p>Research report</p>	<p>This research was commissioned to address knowledge gaps around professional practice in supporting children from Black, Asian and other ethnic minority backgrounds who are at risk of experiencing child sexual abuse (CSA). Key findings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some victims and survivors of CSA – in South Asian Muslim and Haredi Jewish communities, for example – may be less able to name their experience as abuse because of a lack of knowledge about sex and consent. Some languages lack words for CSA.</li> <li>• Gender expectations make it difficult for both female and male victims of CSA in some communities to talk about their experiences,</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Expectations around sexual 'purity' were likely to prompt some South Asian girls and young women experiencing CSA to feel shame or fear that they may be blamed for the abuse. Some South Asian women may feel they do not need or deserve help.</li> <li>• Boys and young men who are sexually abused by males may feel conflicted, embarrassed or confused about their sexuality, particularly if being gay is considered a sin in their culture</li> <li>• Even where a child knows they have been sexually abused they may not tell anyone because they fear their parents and community will disbelieve or refuse to accept their disclosure.</li> <li>• While children of all ethnicities may feel individual shame and stigma after experiencing CSA, these feelings may be amplified by ideas of family/community honour and shame.</li> </ul>
<p>Cook, M.C., Le, P.D. and García, J.J. (2022). Addressing racism in the domestic minor sex trafficking of Black girls: the role of public health critical race praxis. <i>Public Health Reports</i>, 137(1_suppl), pp.10S-16S</p> <p>Available <a href="#">here</a></p>	Journal article (American)	This article takes a critical race theory perspective using Public Health Critical Race Praxis to bring race consciousness to commercial sex trafficking.
<p>Davis, J (2022). Adulthood bias within child protection and safeguarding. <i>HM Inspectorate of Probation</i></p> <p>Available <a href="#">here</a></p>	Report	A recent analysis of the origins and harms of adulthood in a safeguarding and justice context.
<p>Ellis, K. (2019). Blame and culpability in children's narratives of child sexual abuse. <i>Child Abuse Review</i>, 28(6), pp.405-417.</p> <p>Available <a href="#">here</a></p>	Journal article	<p>This research shares the perspectives of girls who were placed in secure accommodation for their own protection, owing to professional concerns of CSA. Key findings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Girls believed that professionals held them accountable for being sexually abused.</li> <li>• The structural disadvantages of childhood meant that children sometimes relied on their abusers for food and shelter.</li> <li>• Victims sometimes felt that their abuser was their only friend.</li> <li>• Professionals sometimes mistook resilience for culpability.</li> </ul>
<p>Brown, K. (2019). Vulnerability and child sexual exploitation: Towards an approach grounded in life experiences. <i>Critical</i></p>	Journal article	This article analyses problems with the concept of vulnerability as it is commonly understood in relation to CSE, taking first steps towards developing an empirically-grounded account of the notion which is more sensitive to the lived realities of victimhood for sexually exploited young people. It argues that in order to respond effectively to vulnerability within the field of CSE, we

<p><i>Social Policy</i>, 39(4), pp.622-642.</p> <p>Available <a href="#">here</a></p>		<p>need to move beyond discussion of 'risk factors' and denial of agency, towards an understanding of intersectional inequalities, social marginality, 'critical moments' and how these shape the investments and actions of vulnerable young people.</p>
<p>Gibson, E., Knight, R., Durham, A. and Choudhury, I (2022). Engagement with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer/questioning + victims and survivors. <i>Independent Inquiry Child Sexual Abuse</i></p> <p>Available <a href="#">here</a></p>	<p>Engagement report</p>	<p>This engagement report formed part of the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse. Society's views of LGBTQ+ victims and survivors are often built on harmful myths and stereotypes. Although social and political attitudes have improved, we live in heteronormative and cisnormative culture, with a deeply homophobic history. We heard that many people, including professionals, continue to believe and act on harmful myths and stereotypes about LGBTQ+ victims and survivors. For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some victims and survivors were told that their gender identity or sexual orientation resulted from the CSA they experienced</li> <li>• Some victims and survivors were told that they were sexually abused because of their sexual orientation or gender identity ('you brought it on yourself')</li> <li>• The inquiry also heard the myth that 'people who have been abused go on to abuse' which can stop men from reporting or disclosing having been abused</li> </ul>
<p>A, Naylor. (2020). The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse. Witness Statement of Amanda Naylor Assistant Director (Impact), Barnardo's</p> <p>Available <a href="#">here</a></p>	<p>Witness statement</p>	<p>Barnardo's evidence to the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse E3 on victim blaming.</p>
<p>Eaton, J. and Holmes, D. (2017). Working Effectively to Address Child Sexual Exploitation: An evidence scope. <i>Research in Practice</i></p> <p>Available <a href="#">here</a></p>	<p>Evidence scope</p>	<p><i>"Overplaying the extent to which young people are exercising informed rational 'choices' is a theme that emerges in many CSE-related serious case reviews (SCRs). What can be interpreted as 'risky lifestyle choices' may more accurately and more helpfully be understood as (mal)adaptations to earlier trauma, or as attempts to meet unmet needs (Hanson and Holmes, 2014). For example, a young person may have low self-regard and feel worthless, and may crave love and affection. A sex offender may therefore exploit this opportunity by showing false 'love' and 'affection' in order to abuse the young person (Elliott, 1995; Finkelhor, 1984). Or a child may have developed dissociative coping strategies when experiencing harm – for example, sexual abuse in childhood – which later inhibit their ability to identify that they are being abused (for more on 'betrayal trauma theory' see DePrince, 2005; DePrince et al, 2012). In addition, young people might believe (possibly set against the context of prior maltreatment or neglect) that they deserve no better than their exploitative relationship (Reid, 2011). Furthermore, the capacity to dissociate from pain or negative feelings (an adaptation to earlier trauma) can inhibit a young person's ability to recognise their own distress. Understanding how</i></p>

		<p><i>previous experiences might (for some young people) underpin behaviours is important for practitioners, and demands a more sophisticated interpretation of 'choice'." (p23)</i></p>
<p>Epstein, R., Blake, J. and González, T. (2017). <i>Girlhood Interrupted: The Erasure of Black Girls' Childhood</i>. Center on Poverty and Inequity</p> <p>Available <a href="#">here</a></p>	<p>Research report (American)</p>	<p><i>"Children occupy a unique position in our public systems. Once treated as miniature adults, our perception of young people's innocence and ongoing development has led, over time, to granting children leniency when determining the consequences of their behaviour. The special legal status bestowed on youth, in particular, is based on a well-established understanding of children's social and psychological development — that they should be held less responsible and culpable for their actions, and that they are capable, through the ongoing developmental process, of rehabilitation. These foundational legal and moral principles protect children from criminalization and extend safeguards that shield them from the harsh penalties levied on adults."</i></p> <p><i>"To date, limited quantitative research has assessed the existence of adultification for Black girls — that is, the extent to which race and gender, taken together, influence our perception of Black girls as less innocent and more adult-like than their white peers. This ground breaking study provides — for the first time — data showing that adults view Black girls as less innocent and more adult-like than their white peers, especially in the age range of 5-14."</i></p>



## Appendix 1 - Methodology

Date of literature search: July 2022

### Filters

- Recent only, 2018 onwards approximately
- English language
- Full text available

### Search: Google Scholar

- Search terms: "victim blaming" + "child sex\* abuse"
- No relevant results

### Search: Google

- Search terms: IICSA victim blaming
- Relevant results:
  - Child sexual exploitation by organised networks (2022). Investigation report. *Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse*

### Search: Google

- Search terms: victim blaming and BME children
- No relevant results

### Search: Google

- Search terms: CSA Centre victim blaming
- No relevant results

### Search: Google Scholar

- Search terms: CSA centre risk victim blaming
- Relevant results:
  - Brown, S., Brady, G., Franklin, 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*

### Search: EBSCO Soc Index

- Search terms: Child sexual abuse and victim blaming
- Relevant results:
  - Naezer, M. and van Oosterhout, L. (2021) 'Only sluts love sexting: youth, sexual norms and non-consensual sharing of digital sexual images', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 30(1), pp. 79–90.

### Search: EBSCO Soc Index

- Search terms: "Blaming the victim" +"child sexual abuse"
- No relevant results

### Search: CSA Centre

- Search terms: Victim blaming
- Relevant results:
  - Ali, N., Butt, J., and Phillips, M (2021). Improving responses to the sexual abuse of Black, Asian and minority ethnic children. *Centre of Expertise on Child Sexual Abuse*

### Search: Google Scholar

- Search terms: adultification and victim blaming
- Relevant results:
  - Cook, M.C., Le, P.D. and García, J.J. (2022). Addressing racism in the domestic minor sex trafficking of Black girls: the role of public health critical race praxis. *Public Health Reports*, 137(1\_suppl), pp.10S-16S

Search: Google

- Search terms: adultification and victim blaming
- Relevant results:
  - Davis, J (2022). Adultification bias within child protection and safeguarding. *HM Inspectorate of Probation*
  - Epstein, R., Blake, J. and González, T. (2017). Girlhood Interrupted: The Erasure of Black Girls' Childhood. *Center on Poverty and Inequity*

Search: Google

- Search terms: victim blaming language child sexual abuse sexuality
- Relevant results:
  - Ellis, K. (2019). Blame and culpability in children's narratives of child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse Review*, 28(6), pp.405-417.

Search: Google

- Search terms: child sexual abuse and responsabilisation
- Relevant results:
  - Brown, K. (2019). Vulnerability and child sexual exploitation: Towards an approach grounded in life experiences. *Critical Social Policy*, 39(4), pp.622-642

Search: Google

- Search terms: Child sexual abuse + victim blaming + gender
- Relevant results:
  - Gibson, E., Knight, R., Durham, A. and Choudhury, I (2022). Engagement with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer/ questioning + victims and survivors. *Independent Inquiry Child Sexual Abuse*

Search: EBSCO Soc Index

- Search terms: Victim blaming + girls + child sexual abuse
- Relevant results:
  - Firmin, C. (2020) 'School rules of (sexual) engagement: government, staff and student contributions to the norms of peer sexual-abuse in seven UK schools', *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 26(3), pp. 289–301.

Search: Child sexual exploitation by organised networks (2022). Investigation report. *Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse*

- Relevant results:
  - A, Naylor. (2020). The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse. Witness Statement of Amanda Naylor Assistant Director (Impact), Barnardo's

Search: Google

- Search terms: child sexual exploitation victim blaming and exchange
- Relevant results:
  - Eaton, J. and Holmes, D. (2017). Working Effectively to Address Child Sexual Exploitation: An evidence scope. *Research in Practice*

## Appendix 2 – References

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- <sup>1</sup> Firmin, C. (2020) 'School rules of (sexual) engagement: government, staff and student contributions to the norms of peer sexual-abuse in seven UK schools', *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 26(3), pp. 289–301.
- <sup>2</sup> Davis, J (2022). Adulthood bias within child protection and safeguarding. *HM Inspectorate of Probation*
- <sup>3</sup> Child sexual exploitation by organised networks (2022). Investigation report. Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse
- <sup>4</sup> Brown, S., Brady, G., Franklin, 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
- <sup>5</sup> Brown, S., Brady, G., Franklin, 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
- <sup>6</sup> Eaton, J. and Holmes, D. (2017). Working Effectively to Address Child Sexual Exploitation: An evidence scope. *Research in Practice*
- <sup>7</sup> Ellis, K. (2019). Blame and culpability in children's narratives of child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse Review*, 28(6), pp.405-417.
- <sup>8</sup> Brown, K. (2019). Vulnerability and child sexual exploitation: Towards an approach grounded in life experiences. *Critical Social Policy*, 39(4), pp.622-642
- <sup>9</sup> A, Naylor. (2020). The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse. Witness Statement of Amanda Naylor Assistant Director (Impact), Barnardo's
- <sup>10</sup> Gibson, E., Knight, R., Durham, A. and Choudhury, I (2022). Engagement with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer/ questioning + victims and survivors. *Independent Inquiry Child Sexual Abuse*
- <sup>11</sup> Gibson, E., Knight, R., Durham, A. and Choudhury, I (2022). Engagement with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer/ questioning + victims and survivors. *Independent Inquiry Child Sexual Abuse*
- <sup>12</sup> Davis, J (2022). Adulthood bias within child protection and safeguarding. *HM Inspectorate of Probation*
- <sup>13</sup> Cook, M.C., Le, P.D. and García, J.J. (2022). Addressing racism in the domestic minor sex trafficking of Black girls: the role of public health critical race praxis. *Public Health Reports*, 137(1\_suppl), pp.10S-16S
- <sup>14</sup> Davis, J (2022). Adulthood bias within child protection and safeguarding. *HM Inspectorate of Probation*
- <sup>15</sup> Davis, J (2022). Adulthood bias within child protection and safeguarding. *HM Inspectorate of Probation*
- <sup>16</sup> Ali, N., Butt, J., and Phillips, M (2021). Improving responses to the sexual abuse of Black, Asian and minority ethnic children. *Centre of Expertise on Child Sexual Abuse*
- <sup>17</sup> Ali, N., Butt, J., and Phillips, M (2021). Improving responses to the sexual abuse of Black, Asian and minority ethnic children. *Centre of Expertise on Child Sexual Abuse*
- <sup>18</sup> Gibson, E., Knight, R., Durham, A. and Choudhury, I (2022). Engagement with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer/ questioning + victims and survivors. *Independent Inquiry Child Sexual Abuse*
- <sup>19</sup> Ali, N., Butt, J., and Phillips, M (2021). Improving responses to the sexual abuse of Black, Asian and minority ethnic children. *Centre of Expertise on Child Sexual Abuse*
- <sup>20</sup> A, Naylor. (2020). The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse. Witness Statement of Amanda Naylor Assistant Director (Impact), Barnardo's
- <sup>21</sup> Eaton, J. and Holmes, D. (2017). Working Effectively to Address Child Sexual Exploitation: An evidence scope. *Research in Practice*
- <sup>22</sup> Brown, S., Brady, G., Franklin, 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*