

Responding to child sexual abuse and exploitation in the night-time economy

Jane Kerr, Rupal Patel, Jorgen Lovbakke, Caroline Paskell, Matt Barnard,
NatCen Social Research

December 2017



Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the Centre of expertise on child sexual abuse for commissioning this study, and particularly Sophie Laws, Polly Pascoe and Jeremy Pinel for their input and guidance throughout.

Thanks also go to Hayley Lepps at NatCen for programming the questionnaire, and Sarah Sharrock and Matt Jonas for their input into the project.

Finally, our sincere thanks go to the individuals who circulated recruitment literature about the study among their networks and of course to each of the participants who engaged with the research; we greatly appreciate the time and input you gave to it.

About the authors

At NatCen Social Research we believe that social research has the power to make life better. By really understanding the complexity of people's lives and what they think about the issues that affect them, we give the public a powerful and influential role in shaping decisions and services that can make a difference to everyone. And as an independent, not for profit organisation we're able to put all our time and energy into delivering social research that works for society.

About the Centre of expertise on child sexual abuse

The Centre of expertise on child sexual abuse has been established to help bring about significant and system-wide change in how child sexual abuse is responded to locally and nationally.

We will do this by identifying, generating and sharing high-quality evidence of what works to prevent and tackle child sexual abuse (including child sexual exploitation), to inform both policy and practice.

The Centre is funded by the Home Office and led by Barnardo's, and works closely with key partners from academic institutions, local authorities, health, education, police and the voluntary sector.

Contents

Executive summary	4
1. Introduction	6
1.1. Definitions and scale of CSA and CSE	6
1.2. Research objectives and aims	7
1.3. Methodology	8
Recruitment	8
Sample size	9
Data collection	9
Ethical considerations	10
Analysis	10
Limitations	11
1.4. Characteristics of participants	11
1.5. Report structure	12
2. Awareness of CSE/CSA in the night-time economy	13
2.1. The environment of the night-time economy	13
2.2. Perceptions of CSE/CSA as a risk in the night-time economy	13
A risk or high risk	13
Low risk	14
Uncertain of risk	15
2.3. Knowing and describing the warning signs	15
2.4. Responding to the warning signs	17
Responses by industry	17
Factors affecting the response to warning signs	20
3. Demand for further training and support	22
3.1. Awareness of campaigns	22
3.2. Feedback on training received and resources used	23
3.3. Demand for further training and support	25
4. Observations and recommendations	27
References	29

Executive summary

This study was commissioned by the Centre of expertise on child sexual abuse and conducted by NatCen Social Research to build an understanding of what night-time economy workers know and do about child sexual exploitation (CSE), and about child sexual abuse (CSA) more broadly.

Following high-profile cases of CSE (such as in Rotherham, Oxford and Rochdale), there have been a range of campaigns aimed at increasing people's awareness of, and capacity to act on, warning signs. Informing those who work in the night-time economy is of particular interest, as perpetrators are known to use fast-food outlets, taxi firms and hotel rooms to facilitate and conduct abuse.

For this research, the night-time economy was defined as businesses and services that have direct contact with the public after 6pm. NatCen conducted an online questionnaire with 126 self-defined night-time economy workers across a range of legitimate industries within the public, private and third sectors.

Key messages

The study found diversity in workers' awareness of the warning signs of CSA/CSE, knowledge of how to respond, experience of and interest in training, and awareness of campaigns. Key findings were that:

- Perceptions of risk ranged from high to none at all across the industries and roles.
- Being aware of the risks did not mean workers were clear about the warning signs or about how to respond; this appeared more to be associated with the responsibilities of their role. Participants whose roles include responsibility for child or public protection gave details of how they would respond to warning signs. Those with other roles referred more broadly to contacting the police or social services.
- Not all workers in the night-time economy feel equipped to recognise and respond to the warning signs. Factors that appeared to influence how participants said they would react to the warning signs were:
 1. The individual's role/remit specifically in relation to child protection; there were workers who did not see responding to CSA, including CSE, as part of their role
 2. The extent of their contact with young people
 3. The immediate perceived risk to the child.
- Levels of training, information and support around CSE varied across industry sectors; training is not widespread across the night-time economy. Interest in receiving training and information was mixed, with a view that the issues and responses were 'common sense' or not part of their role. There was positive feedback on training that had been received, and some interest in receiving more. Those who did want further training mentioned specific training relating to their area of work, or ongoing training.
- Two-fifths of participants had heard of one or more recent campaigns around CSE, even though many of those campaigns had targeted specific geographical locations.

This research was intended as a preliminary stage of exploration into what night-time economy workers know and do about CSE/CSA. Further research could focus on fully understanding workers' knowledge of this area, evaluating the interventions aimed at night-time economy workers, and informing targeted initiatives and general messaging that the welfare of children and young people in the night-time economy is a responsibility that transcends workers' specific roles.

Implications of the research

The project was designed to provide insights into the views and responses of workers in the night-time economy, rather than to provide a representative overview of this population. The recommendations below focus on CSE because of the role that the NTE is known to play in facilitating CSE in particular.

Key recommendations for those developing or delivering training and campaigns are:

- **providing industry-specific, awareness-raising information and guidance for night-time economy workers on the warning signs of CSE, and on what to do if ‘something doesn’t look right’**
- targeting awareness-raising efforts at night-time economy workers who may have close or frequent contact with young people at risk of CSE but may not currently consider tackling this to be part of their role
- liaising with representative bodies for key night-time industries, to catalyse internal demand for information, guidance and awareness-raising and to support the ongoing provision of training and information-sharing
- broadcasting more generally to workers and the public that ‘keeping an eye out’ for the welfare of children and young people in the night-time economy is a general responsibility, and using campaigns to reinforce the message that anyone can raise concerns with the appropriate bodies.

1. Introduction

There have recently been a range of campaigns, resources and materials aimed at increasing awareness of and the capacity to respond to signs of child sexual abuse (CSA), and in particular child sexual exploitation (CSE), among night-time workers. Campaigns have included 'Nightwatch: CSE in Plain Sight', 'Say Something if you See Something' (also known as Operation Makesafe), 'See Me, Hear Me!' and 'It's Not Okay'; described further in Chapter 3, these reflect a recognition that night-time economy workers are in a position to support the identification and disruption of CSE. In this respect, such workers are viewed as informal 'place managers', playing a role in helping the night-economy to be a 'better place' to be. Previous research has shown the effectiveness of place managers in helping to control various offences (Mazerolle et al, 1998).

This report presents findings from a preliminary study, commissioned by the Centre of expertise on child sexual abuse and conducted by NatCen Social Research, into the perspectives of those working in the night-time economy about the risk of CSA and CSE. The study also explored their awareness of and responses to the various campaigns, resources and materials aimed at increasing awareness and capacity. It was commissioned as a step towards gaining a greater understanding of how prepared night-time economy workers are to spot and respond to CSE/CSA, and the effectiveness of the tools and initiatives in this area.

The night-time economy is of particular interest as many of the cases of CSE that have received widespread attention in recent years (in Rotherham, Oxford and Rochdale, for example) involved businesses such as fast-food outlets as meeting places, and offenders used taxi firms and hotel rooms to facilitate and conduct abuse; see, for example, Bedford (2015). The extent to which forms of CSA other than CSE are conducted in the context of, or facilitated by, elements of the night-time economy is less evident from recent court cases, media coverage or research. In part, this is because these forms of abuse may occur within a family, school or other institutional setting (see, for example, the current investigations of the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse, detailed at www.iicsa.org.uk/investigations).

Accordingly, this research asked workers in the night-time economy about their understanding of and reaction to warning signs of both CSE and CSA more widely, as they may encounter a range of types of CSA. Because the night-time economy is known to have been instrumental in some activities associated specifically with CSE, the research also looked at efforts to raise night-time economy workers' awareness of CSE in particular, through campaigns, training and other forms of information-sharing.

A key aim of the Centre of expertise is to increase understanding and awareness of the scale and nature of CSA and CSE, and this study was commissioned to further that aim.

1.1. Definitions and scale of CSA and CSE

CSE is a subset or form of CSA, but there is no consistent definition of either. In their recent report on measuring the scale and changing nature of CSA and CSE, published by the Centre of expertise on child sexual abuse, Kelly and Karsna (2017) note the changing landscape of language and definitions in this area over the last four decades. As they also note, there is no agreed UK definition, and different definitions are used within policy and practice.¹ Recent definitions for England given by the Department for Education are:

¹ A review of the Wales CSE guidance, protocol and embedded definition was commissioned by the Welsh Government in January 2017 and published in November 2017 (Hallett et al, 2017).

'[Child sexual abuse is] forcing or enticing a child or young person to take part in sexual activities, not necessarily involving a high level of violence, whether or not the child is aware of what is happening. The activities may involve physical contact, including assault by penetration (for example, rape or oral sex) or non-penetrative acts such as masturbation, kissing, rubbing and touching outside of clothing. They may also include non-contact activities, such as involving children in looking at, or in the production of, sexual images, watching sexual activities, encouraging children to behave in sexually inappropriate ways or grooming a child in preparation for abuse (including via the internet). Sexual abuse is not solely perpetrated by adult males. Women can also commit acts of sexual abuse, as can other children.' (DfE, 2015:93)

'[Child sexual exploitation] 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, 2017:5)

These are the definitions used in this report. In the research, respondents were asked about CSE/CSA without being given a definition of either or a distinction between the two.

CSA is a major risk to the long-term outcomes of children and their wellbeing. Research, interventions and prosecutions all illuminate the scale and significant harm of CSA, showing the many ways it can occur and the widespread effort and vigilance that are required to keep children safe (Brown et al; 2014:4). Kelly and Karsna (2017) note that prevalence research is focused on CSA; they suggest that, taking into account the variations in prevalence studies for England and Wales, 15% of girls/young women and 5% of boys/young men experience some form of sexual abuse (by adults or peers) before the age of 16 (ibid, 2017:16).

The Adult Psychiatric Morbidity Survey, the UK's largest representative dataset on mental health, asks about experience of abuse and provides evidence about CSA prevalence. For example, 10.3% of the adult population reported experiencing 'uncomfortable sexual talk' before the age of 16, and 8.2% 'unwanted sexual touching' (Bebbington et al, 2011). Radford et al (2011) found that 16.5% of 11–17s and 24.1% of 18–24s had experienced sexual abuse, including non-contact offences, by an adult or by a peer before the age of 18; their research was the most recent random probability national prevalence survey conducted in the UK and involved interviews with 2,160 parents or guardians of children under 11 years of age, 2,275 young people aged 11–17, and 1,761 young adults aged 18–24.

1.2. Research objectives and aims

The two main areas of statutory response to CSA and CSE are child protection and law enforcement. However, Brown et al (2014) describe a third, broader public health approach that considers all adults as having a role in tackling this issue; it places the onus of addressing the issue on the whole community, whereby strategies are deployed that focus both on preventing abuse and reducing the risk of re-offending.

This study was conducted to inform and enhance efforts by night-time economy workers to tackle CSE and more broadly CSA. The overarching objective was to explore their perspectives around the risks of CSA and CSE, and their awareness and capacity to respond to signs of either.

For the purpose of this research, the night-time economy is taken to be those businesses and services that have direct contact with the public after 6pm. This includes fast-food outlets; doormen and security services; pubs, bars and nightclubs; other entertainment complexes such as casinos; taxi firms; and hotels and bed and breakfasts.

The research had four specific aims:

- Describe the environments in which people are working in the night-time economy, and their perceptions of the risk of CSA/CSE.
- Examine their knowledge, attitudes and practices in relation to CSA/CSE.
- Identify whether they have received training about CSE through their work.
- Describe their views of any gaps and areas where support and capacity building are most needed.

The project aimed to gain initial insight into the views and responses of workers in the night-time economy, rather than a representative overview of the population. Whilst we present statistical and numerical results, our approach to recruitment for the study means they are not representative of the general population of night-time economy workers, and are intended to give insight into this study's participants only.

The data provide insights into what these workers understand about CSA/CSE, and the part played by awareness-raising campaigns, training and resources in their perceptions and responses. They also shed light on areas where more support, guidance and information would be considered helpful by the participants.

1.3. Methodology

The findings presented in this report are drawn from responses to a short online consultation questionnaire, which was developed in close collaboration with the Centre of expertise on child sexual abuse. Pragmatic decisions about the methodology were made in consultation with the Centre, in order to gain some initial insight into this area given the resources and time available for data collection.

Recruitment

Invitations to complete the online questionnaire were sent to people who work after 6pm in a range of public-facing businesses and services, in April and May 2017. A three-pronged recruitment approach was used:

- The Centre of expertise and NatGen approached existing contacts. Businesses, services and professional associations were sent an email and asked to forward it to their employees and wider network. The email summarised the study, and included a link to a secure webpage where people could find out more information about the project and take part.
- An internet search of relevant businesses, services and professional associations was conducted, and these new contacts were also sent an initial approach email.
- An advertisement was placed on Facebook inviting workers in the night-time economy to take part in the online questionnaire. This was not targeted, and was shown to 27,772 Facebook users aged over 18 years; 266 clicked on it. The advertisement stated that questions would include those about any training received in dealing with vulnerable people. It also contained a link to the introductory webpage about the questionnaire, including the aims of the research and the voluntary and confidential nature of participation.

As the online questionnaire did not record each participant's recruitment method, the proportion of participants recruited through each method cannot be reported. Similarly, among the contacts and relevant organisations approached under the first two methods, there is no record of the proportion that forwarded the invitational email or the proportion of workers who responded to it.

The aim was to recruit participants from a variety of businesses/services, including:

- accommodation/hotels/B&B
- community groups such as charities that work during the night
- convenience stores/petrol stations
- doormen and security services
- fast food/eateries
- licensed premises, including pubs, bars and nightclubs
- other entertainment/leisure complexes and areas, such as gambling premises
- public transport
- taxi firms.

The questionnaire also had an 'other' category for participants to describe their industry if it did not come under the list above.

Sample size

A total of 152 people began the questionnaire, and 128 passed all the screening questions and confirmed they were eligible to take part in terms of their age (being 16 years old or over), working hours (after 6pm) and working role (involving direct contact with the public); this was therefore a self-selecting sample, which included individuals such as police officers who might not usually be considered part of the night-time economy. The final dataset is based on responses from 126 people, employed across a range of businesses and services, as two people did not complete the questions. The aim had been to consult around 150 people, as it was felt that this would capture both breadth and depth to illustrate a variety of perspectives in the night-time economy within the timeframe available for data collection.

Data collection

Individuals who completed the questionnaire were asked a number of introductory questions on demographics, the type of business/service they worked for and the length of time they had spent in their role. There was no predefined screener question about whether their industry was a legitimate/legal one, but the final sample appeared to comprise workers from legitimate/legal industries only.

The introductory questions were followed by six open and six closed questions. Each open question had a 500-word limit, which participants were told at the outset. These questions covered:

- the night-time economy environments they work in and their perceptions of the risk of CSA/CSE
- their knowledge, attitudes and practices – for example, in terms of practices, whether they had ever taken action out of concern for a child
- feedback on any training and information received about CSE
- gaps and areas where support and capacity-building were most needed.

It was felt to be impractical to provide definitions of CSA/CSE to participants for this short questionnaire as it would impede data collection. However, the historical lack of agreed definitions, as noted in section 1.1, may have influenced participants' responses.

Ethical considerations

The study was approved by NatCen's Research Ethics Committee. NatCen's ethics governance procedure is in line with the requirements of both the Economic and Social Research Council and Government Social Research Unit research ethics frameworks (ESRC, 2005; GSRU, 2005).

Given the sensitive nature of the topic, participants were given details of support organisations in case the research raised any concerns for them and/or caused anxiety or distress. All questions had 'don't know' or 'prefer not to say' options, and the introduction stressed that participation was voluntary. Participants were given a unique code so they could contact a member of the research team should they wish to withdraw their responses from the project after taking part.

Additionally, the research team followed a bespoke project disclosure protocol. They checked all open responses on a weekly basis to see whether any identifiable issues around disclosure had arisen. It was not necessary to escalate any cases to NatCen's Disclosure Board, which includes methodological experts and members with specific experience of research on child protection issues.

Analysis

The data was analysed using NatCen's Framework approach (Ritchie et al, 2014). An analytical framework was developed, containing demographic information and answers to the open questions. The framework columns represented questions and the rows represented individual participants. The analysis involved drawing out the range of experiences and views.

One distinction made, where appropriate, was between those working for private businesses and those working for public, statutory or third-sector services (including private companies delivering services such as public transport). The reason for this distinction is that organisations delivering a public service are considered more likely to access or deliver training, information and/or awareness-raising on public protection issues to their staff – and, indeed, to have staff policies on public protection in place. Other employers may also cover public protection issues with their staff, but this would be less central to their aims. The 'public services' and 'private' categorisation was made during analysis rather than by the participants themselves.

Limitations

This study aimed to explore the perspectives of an under-researched group through an online survey, with no ability to know how those who chose to take part reflected the whole population of night-time economy workers. This means it is likely that some perspectives are missing from the research, and that the profile of those who agreed to participate differs from those who did not. Since an opt-in approach was taken, those who took part were likely to be more aware of and/or concerned about CSA/CSE.

Where findings are reported by sector or by industry in the following chapters, the intention is to give the reader greater insight into the data collected, rather than to suggest any causal link or findings generalisable to the wider population.

1.4. Characteristics of participants

Just over 45% of the 126 participants were female, 54% were male and 1% did not give a gender. The participants were broadly spread across the age ranges. Figure 1 illustrates the breakdown by age and gender.

Figure 1. Age and gender of the questionnaire participants

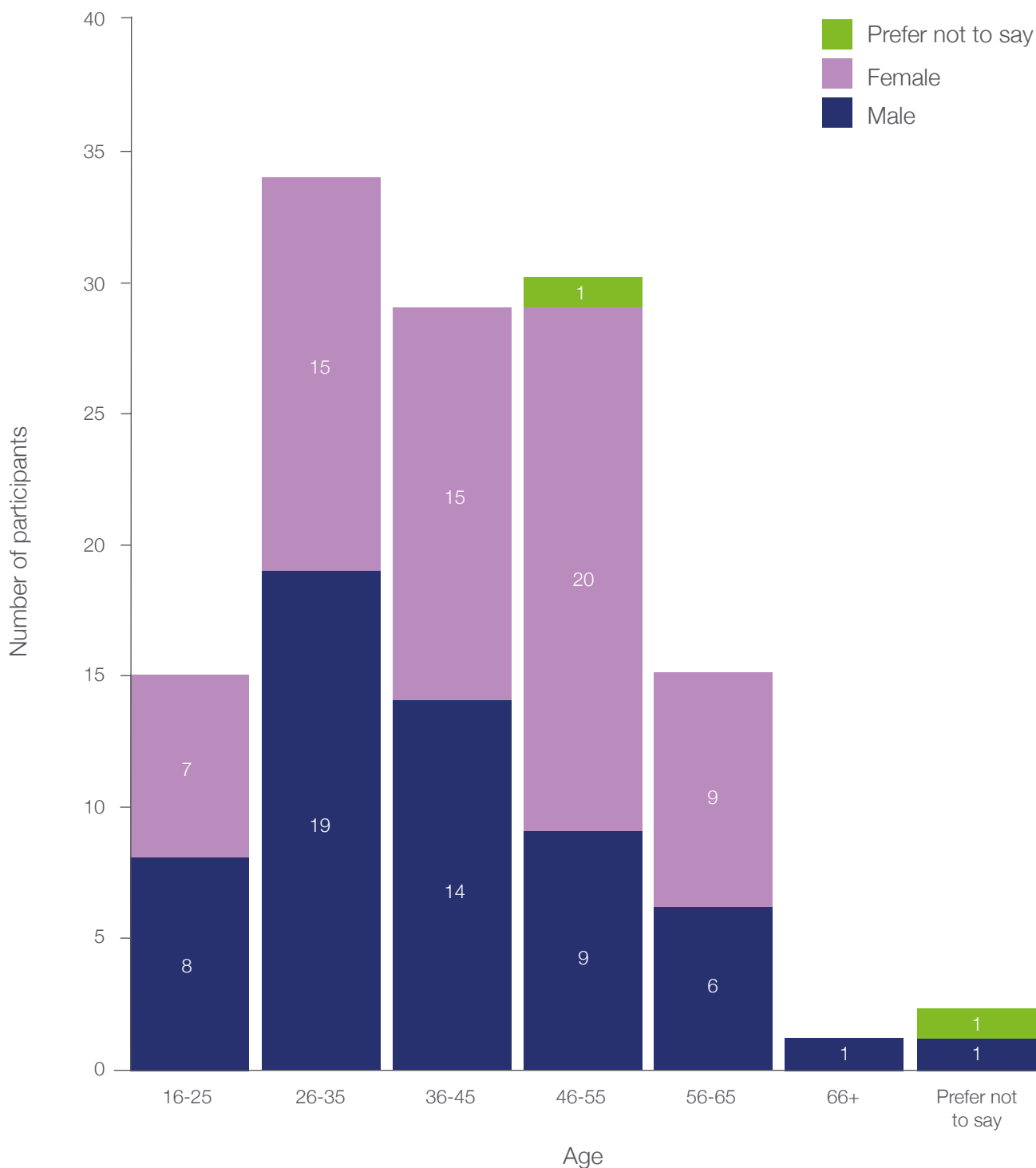
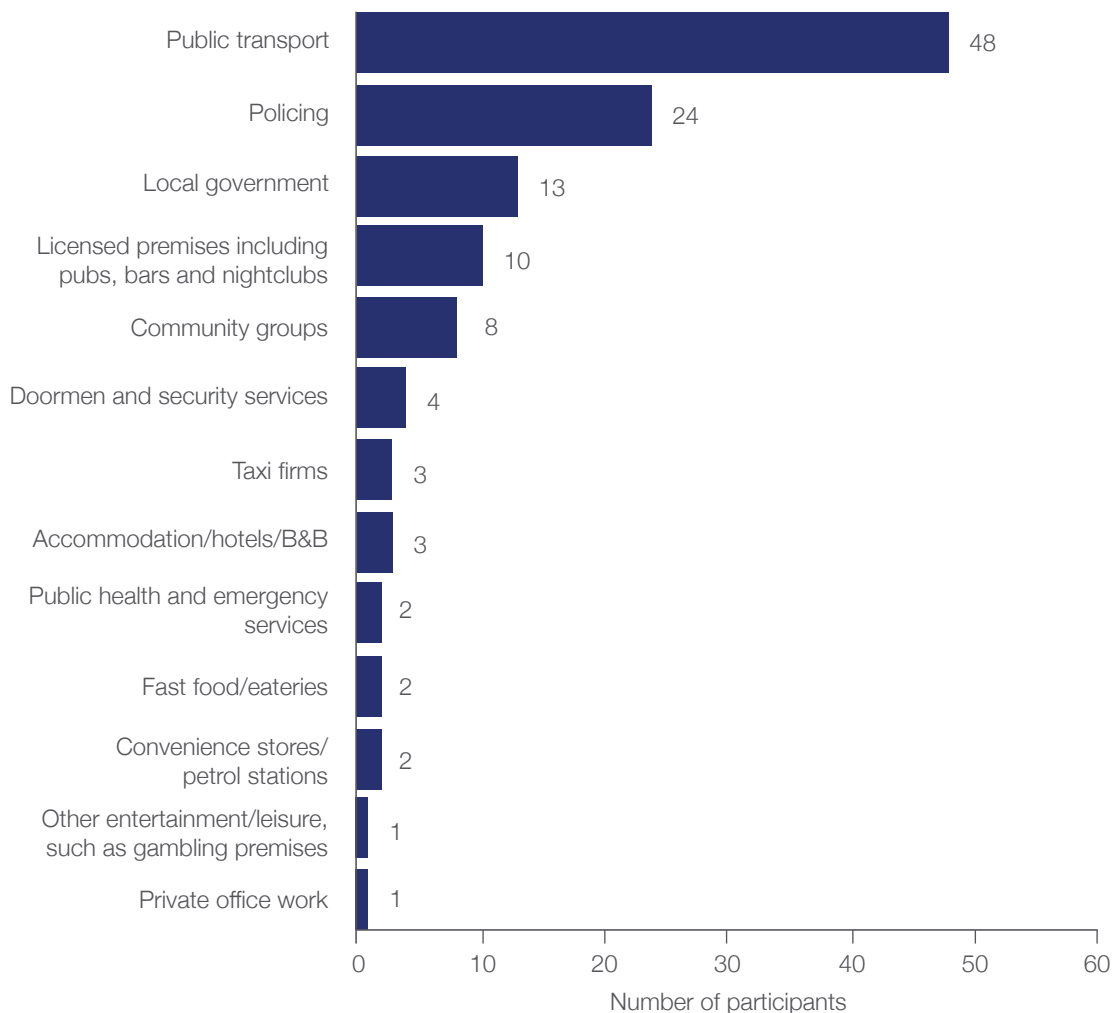


Figure 2 provides a breakdown of the participants by industry. The segmentation uses the participants' own coding/description of their industry, except in one case where it had to be deduced from subsequent responses as it had not been entered.

Figure 2. Questionnaire participants by industry



Note: 'Local government' encompasses enforcement, licensing, environmental health and social work. 'Public transport' encompasses customer service, security, enforcement, revenue protection, station staff, train staff and British Transport Police (where BTP participants identified 'public transport' as their industry). This question was answered by 121 of the 126 participants.

1.5. Report structure

The remaining chapters set out the findings in greater detail.

- Chapter 2 explores the night-time economy in which participants were working and their perceptions and experiences of the risk and the warning signs of CSA/CSE.
- Chapter 3 reports on the level and awareness of any training/support participants had received about CSE as part of their role and any unmet training/support needs.
- Chapter 4 presents the conclusions of this research and recommendations.

Quotations have been used to illustrate the findings. The labels for these quotations include both the industry and a participant number within the industry, to show the range of individual responses used.

2. Awareness of CSE/CSA in the night-time economy

This chapter describes participants' roles across the night-time economy. It then examines their perceptions of risk of CSE and other forms of CSA in the night-time economy, and the reasons for this. Lastly it explores their awareness of warning signs and how (if at all) they would respond if they saw such signs.

2.1. The environment of the night-time economy

The night-time economy encompasses a range of industries and types of workers. Participants had varying levels of responsibility, including managerial/supervisory roles (such as pub supervisor or railway station team leader) and non-managerial positions (such as station customer service assistant or waiter/waitress). They had direct contact with the public in seven main ways:

- Law enforcement/safeguarding the public – this includes police officers, CCTV operators, environmental health, railway enforcement, and those working in crowd safety.
- Caring/supportive roles – this includes street pastors, social care/work, and volunteers working with vulnerable groups.
- Provision of hospitality and leisure, including in private guest houses.
- Provision of retail services, including in fast food eateries, supermarkets and convenience stores.
- Transportation services, including the railway industry and taxi firms.
- Regulation, licensing and inspection of industries operating in the night-time economy.
- As a by-product of their working role, whilst working late or travelling across the country for their job.²

Participants were coded in the data using their descriptions of their role and their industry.

2.2. Perceptions of CSE/CSA as a risk in the night-time economy

Participants were asked to what extent they thought CSE/CSA was a risk or a problem among the people with whom they came into contact as part of their work. Perceptions ranged from no risk to a very high risk across the industries. Different levels of risk were perceived by participants within the same industries, and across both the 'public services' and 'private' sectors.

A risk or high risk

CSE/CSA was perceived as a "risk", a "high risk" or a "big problem" by participants across the range of services and sectors, including those who were more evidently well-informed about the risks and what to do, and those who were uncertain of the warning signs but considered that their working environment was "risky".

Some participants – including a sexual health worker, police, and workers in community groups – were aware that their role involved contact with those at risk.

² The sample was self-selected, based on screening questions including whether the individual worked after 6pm in a role that involved direct contact with the public.

“The risk varies depending on the individual case. Drugs are often involved and the young people are often taken in vehicles from our area into neighbouring towns and cities. We know who the children at risk of CSE are but they do not normally engage with police.” (Policing participant 1)

A number of participants saw their industry as a “risk” or “high risk” environment: for example, workers in public transport noted that there are fewer staff during the night and that children travelling alone are in a vulnerable position.

“The railway at night has less staff so opportunity can easily arise, we have runaways and suicidal young people on a weekly basis.” (Public transport participant 1)

Participants who viewed the risks of CSE/CSA as high or very high included those who were not sure about the warning signs:

“I haven’t ever come into contact with them through my current working role and doubt I will despite the fact my local area has had problems with CSE and many convictions have come about because of this. Therefore, I think whilst likely a still ongoing issue, it is far more difficult to detect.” (Licensed premises participant 1)

“It is public place and could happen at any time, it is difficult to control or recognise it as may not be that obvious.” (Public transport participant 2)

There was some evidence of attempts within industries to employ safeguarding measures in recognition of the potential risk of CSE:

Case study: Hotel industry, female, aged 26–35

Brenda has worked in a family-run guest house for over five years. She has received training about CSE from a children’s charity, which she thought was “fantastic”; it covered what CSE is, how to recognise it and who to contact. She feels she knows the warning signs fairly well, and would contact the provider of the course or “a website”. Working in a hotel, Brenda thinks CSE/CSA is a risk among the people she comes into contact with, and only allows guests in who have a council referral or identification.

Low risk

A perception of a low risk of CSE/CSA seemed to be associated in part with a low level of contact between the participant and children as part of their role. For example, a member of the police explained that she felt CSE/CSA was not a risk/problem among the people she came into contact with, as there was only a small population of youths in her rural area. A further example was provided by the licensee of a community pub, who felt it was low risk as they did not get many strangers with young children using their services.

Uncertain of risk

Other participants were less certain about the level of risk. One reason cited was the brief nature of their contact with young people, which meant they felt it may be an issue but were not sure.

“Child sexual abuse could be a problem because I come into contact with children at work. There is no way of knowing if a child is being abused or exploited within their home environment.” (Convenience store/petrol station participant 1)

Some participants had no experience of witnessing any incident, or had not given the issue much thought.

“I cannot say as I have no experience of recognising the signs etc. I have never thought of it as a problem as it has not ever been mentioned or training provided.” (Public transport participant 3)

There were others who, although uncertain about the level of risk in their own area, did acknowledge that it could be an issue.

“I have not become aware of it among those young people we meet, but it is probably happening. Wide exposure to the internet and what is available there means that both adults and minors may be engaged in CSE.” (Community group participant 1)

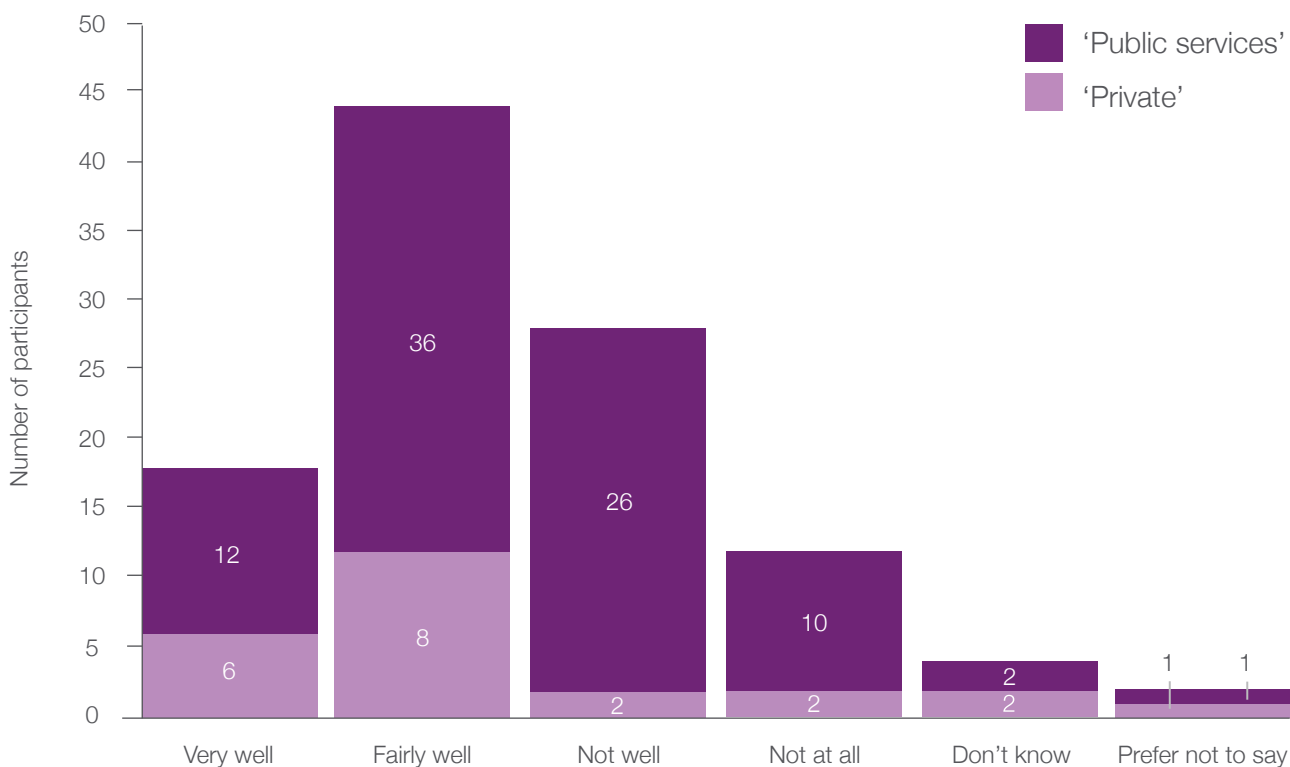
The group of workers who were uncertain about the level of risk included those who had and had not received training about CSE, and those who would and would not welcome (additional) training in this area.

“Basic training would help. I’ve no idea about it, presume it’s happening.” (Public transport participant 4)

2.3. Knowing and describing the warning signs

Participants were asked how well they thought they knew the warning signs of CSE. As shown in Figure 3 below, over half of the 108 respondents to this question felt they knew the warning signs very or fairly well.

Figure 3: How well people know the warning signs of CSE, by sector of work



Note: This question was answered by 108 of the 126 participants.

The 62 participants who considered that they knew the warning signs fairly or very well reflected the spectrum of industries taking part in the consultation across the ‘public services’ and ‘private’ sectors. Nine of them (working in public transport, licensed premises and the taxi industry) had not received any training or information about CSE in their current role, although one of the nine did report awareness from an academic course outside their working role and another referred to receiving more general ‘duty of care’ training.

Those who highlighted warning signs of CSA/CSE described these as:

- being alone or out late at night
- being homeless, ‘in care’ or ‘missing’
- being affected by alcohol and/or drug abuse
- being with ‘risky’ adults
- appearing older than they were
- being on social media.

In the sample, 40 participants said they did not know warning signs well or at all. They worked in both the ‘public services’ and ‘private’ sectors – in public transport, policing, a community group, local government, retail, the hospitality industry and social care (as a care assistant). The 12 who said ‘none at all’ had received no training or information about CSE as part of their working role, but one of them was aware of one of the campaigns in this area (see Chapter 3). There was also mention of information having been provided about a more general duty of care, and the need to be vigilant about this.

Some participants – in the police, in services providing care and support to vulnerable people, and in services involved in enforcement (licensing and security) – described what they saw as warning signs when answering questions about how they might respond and about the risk levels in the night-time economy. These signs included:

- **Where, when and with whom young people spent their time.** This included children and young people going missing from home or playing truant from school, hanging around older people, being in shisha bars, leaving premises when enforcement workers arrived, and being out very late at night/early morning (whether alone or in groups)
- **Young people having unexplained injuries**
- **Young people possessing expensive items,** such as having the latest mobile phone and clothes and “lavish” gifts
- **Under-age access to alcohol/cigarettes,** including young people being in possession of alcohol/cigarettes or adults trying to purchase those items for them
- **The working environment and physical evidence within it,** including mattresses on the floor of takeaways and shisha lounges with dimly lit back rooms or ‘private’/locked rooms.
- **Other aspects of young people’s behaviour** – a member of the police described changes in behaviour such as self-harm or spending several hours on social media as warning signs of CSE/CSA, although how these may present within the night-time economy is unclear

There was some evidence of having had direct disclosures of CSE/CSA among those working in public health and emergency services. A participant within sexual health services described how sexual violence affected a large proportion of children/young people with whom they came into contact, and was even becoming “more accepted” among this population.

“CSA affects a large proportion of the children and young people I encounter, many disclose sexual contact they did not consent to/can’t remember. Sexual violence also appears to be becoming more accepted and even expected by 15–24 year olds. I would estimate CSE affects around a third of contact ... due to the geographical location of the area in which I work, I see trafficking.” (Public health and emergency services participant 1)

Warning signs of CSA/CSE were also reported by office and public transport workers. As well as general signs such as “anything that looks strange” (public transport participant 13), they gave examples of specific incidents, including a worker in the railway industry witnessing a young child being touched by an adult on a train; the worker had contacted the police, resulting in the adult being arrested. In another example, of a young person being kissed by an adult, the participant reported that they had not known what to do. Responses to warning signs of CSE/CSA are explored in the next section.

Participants considered that workers lack awareness of the issue, but that this might be influenced by the nature of the offence and how certain sectors of the population may perceive victims:

“As enforcement officers carrying out regular patrols we need to be more aware of this issue, I am lucky that I have received previous training so I am aware of the signs.” (Local government (enforcement) participant 1)

“I think there is still a significant stigma and lack of awareness around CSE. It is very easy to write it off as lots of other things, without actually considering the fact that this is sexual abuse of a child, by an adult. In too many situations young people are seen as ‘willing participants’ and this must change.” (Policing participant 2)

The response from a participant who worked in licensed premises indicated some level of questioning over the actions of some young people.

“I think you have to be very careful with this. Sometimes girls do try it on with the taxi driver for a free lift.” (Licensed premises participant 2)

2.4. Responding to the warning signs

Participants were asked what they would do if they witnessed warning signs of CSE/CSA, and what they had done if they had seen such signs in the past. This section begins by looking at the responses of workers in different industries, to give the detail of how participants would respond, and ends by considering the factors underpinning their actions.

Responses by industry

Across the industries, there were participants who had a clear sense of what they would do if they saw warning signs of CSE/CSA, and others who were less certain and answered ‘don’t know’ or ‘prefer not to say’.

Some participants in the ‘public services’ sector (including community groups) mentioned detailed or bespoke responses, with a range of protocols referenced. Those in the ‘private’ sector did not give such specific responses. Workers across industries mentioned contacting the police or social services.

Licensed premises

Within this industry, participants in both managerial (for example, a supervisor or compliance manager for a number of venues) and non-managerial positions (such as a waitress) described clear pathways they would follow – these included contacting the police, the local authority or community wardens.

“Call 101 in [name] for Operation [name], in other cities – it would depend on the immediate threat, possibly 999 if urgent or otherwise 101 or my local Police contact.” (Licensed premises participant 3)

“Call Police ... but not entirely sure which service would be the best to respond to a vulnerable child.” (Licensed premises participant 4)

“If I saw the young person to be at immediate harm or risk I could intervene as soon as possible with police action but ensuring I consider the emotional wellbeing of young person.” (Licensed premises participant 1)

Other workers in this industry reported not knowing how to respond if they saw warning signs, or said they would need to research what action they should take.

Accommodation/hotels/guest houses

One worker of the three in this industry would call the police. Another had been given a phone number to call and a website to look at.

“I have been given a website to contact. A phone number and [name of individual], details to ask any questions about and more warning signs if I get a feeling something isn’t right but I can’t put a finger on it.” (Accommodation/hotels/B&B participant 1)

Taxi firms

The one participant who answered this question said he would call the police.

Case study: Taxi driver, male, aged 46–55

Bob has been a taxi driver for over five years. He has not received training about CSE through his work, but feels he knows the warning signs fairly well. If he were to see any warning signs, he would “probably call the police”. Bob is not sure whether CSE/CSA is a risk among the people he comes into contact with whilst at work, but he would welcome some training or support in this area.

Office workers

The one participant who was an office worker (and worked late/travelled as part of their job), suggested they would contact social services.

“I have seen warning signs on exploitation in a [name of hotel chain]. I know to ring the social services duty teams.” (Private office work participant 1)

Convenience stores/petrol stations

The two participants in this industry suggested they would respond by contacting social services.

Doormen and security services

Both participants who answered this question said they would contact the police, with one also describing how they might approach the “suspicious” person – whilst recognising that they would be unable to ensure that the person remained at the location.

“Call police then walk to the suspicious person to protect the underage person if necessary hold the person til police arrive to the place where this happen. But from another side we can’t hold the suspicious person because against the law.” (Doormen and security services participant 1)

Public transport

Of the 35 participants working in public transport who answered this question, 33 reported that they would contact the police, social services or the NSPCC, or intervene themselves. This might include attempting to speak with the young person to get more information. They would also draw on the resources within the transport sector such as enforcement officers, other colleagues on duty at the time, or the internal crime reporting service (which is also open to the general public).

“I would attempt to engage in conversation with the young person to see if I could ascertain any of their details. I would also contact the police and pass on my concerns and any details I had obtained or knew. In my role I have seen young children, especially females out very late at night, sometimes intoxicated and unsure of their surroundings. On these occasions I have contacted the [British Transport Police] to ensure the young person is taken home after their details have been confirmed.” (Public transport participant 5)

There was one participant who did not know how to respond and one alternative view that it was not the worker’s role to act on anything they may see.

“Nothing. It is not my remit or duty to make presumptions on uneducated assessments of body language or non-verbal communication.” (Public transport participant 6)

Police

Members of the police said they followed internal protocols and procedures if they saw warning signs of CSE/CSA, and clearly saw this within the remit of their role.

“We have a duty of care to investigate any concerns we or any other person has regarding a child.” (Policing participant 3)

Actions included referral to other police teams/individuals or external agencies such as social services, or investigating concerns themselves and taking the necessary action/protective measures. This could include taking a child into protective custody.

“We are regularly involved in safeguarding of young people. Taking them to places of safety, returning them to safe addresses, guardians, submitting child incident reports and intelligence logs.” (Policing participant 1)

“If I have a vague suspicion I would submit an intelligence report. If I have strong suspicion I would proactively investigate considering police protection orders for the child and/or arrest of suspects as circumstances dictate.” (Policing participant 4)

Public health and emergency services

One participant working in sexual health had clear protocols to follow on seeing signs of CSE/CSA: these included the completion of a risk factor matrix screening tool, and then either a referral to the locally commissioned CSE early intervention and prevention service or a direct follow-up themselves with the child concerned (since they would be known to each other) before referral to social services.

Local government (social work)

A social worker referred to completing forms for the police alongside directly liaising with parents about providing evidence and using “distraction techniques” with the young person.

“Complete Operation [name] forms that are then sent to police to action. Give parents advice to safe receipts etc for evidence. Try and use distraction techniques with young person and engage them in activities.” (Local government (social work) participant 1)

Other local government (licensing, inspection, enforcement and environmental health)

Those working in licensing, inspection and enforcement described how they would follow their industry protocols and/or contact the police. In addition they might also report warning signs of CSE/ CSA to the relevant authority/council, depending on the level of threat and circumstances

“If the danger was imminent then call 999 and intervene. Otherwise report it to the relevant authority depending on the circumstances.” (Local government (licensing) participant 1)

Participants from environmental health would speak to a member of their management team and social services, or to police. One participant also described the multi-agency nature of their evening visits, explaining that a police CSE-specialist worker would be present anyway.

Participants within local government also mentioned reporting any concerns to the NSPCC and other partner agencies; however, the exact nature of these participants’ roles was unclear.

Community groups

Participants from community groups described having agreed protocols to follow, and would report incidences to the police, children’s social services, the local authority’s safeguarding officer or board, or Barnardo’s. All six participants in this group who answered this question had received some relevant CSE training. Other responses included asking the CCTV team to observe the persons involved, getting a young person to a place of safety if possible, or assessing the situation and speaking directly with the young person if possible.

Factors affecting the response to warning signs

Across the industries and sectors, three broad categories of factor appeared to have some bearing on the courses of action that participants said they would take.

- 1. Immediate perceived risk to the child.** Responses indicated that, for some participants, the action taken would be informed by the perceived risk to the child and/or whether they were already receiving any support. This could affect whether the worker would directly involve themselves in the situation and/or which other service(s) they would contact.

“Query the child to make sure they may be having helping from someone already and if not contact an organization or a borough to ask for a help. Do not have any example to date.” (Public transport participant 7)

“Depends on the situation, if a child was being abused in front of me I would intervene with force if I had to, but if I saw just signs then I would inform the police and social services.” (Public transport participant 8)

- 2. The nature of their role and extent of their contact with young people.** Participants explained that, if their contact with young people was only brief, the warning signs could be difficult to see. For example, a retail worker described how they did not know what was happening in the homes of the young people with whom they came into contact.

3. Whether or not their role or remit related to CSA/CSE. Responses indicated that it was clearly understood to be within some roles and remits to respond to warning signs. For example, police participants spoke about their duty of care. In addition, the nature of the industry could also mean that there were agreed protocols and internal processes to follow. However, this was not the case for all professions; for example, whilst there was evidence in the transport industry of participants taking action or of knowing what action they would take if they saw signs, there was also a contrasting view that, although they may come into contact with young people at risk, it was not their duty or within the remit of the industry to act. In addition, a participant who worked in public transport indicated some doubt about the value of reporting concerns even if they had identified a problem:

“How known problems are dealt with needs to be strengthened and made more robust – because the prevailing attitude is that reporting such things is pointless as nothing is ever done about it anyway.” (Public transport participant 6)

3. CSE-focused information in the night-time economy

Various campaigns, resources and materials have been introduced in recent years to increase awareness of and capacity to respond to signs of CSE within the night-time economy. This chapter reviews the questions on participants' awareness of the training, support and information available, their feedback on training received, and the kinds of support they would like to help them better tackle CSE.

3.1. Awareness of campaigns

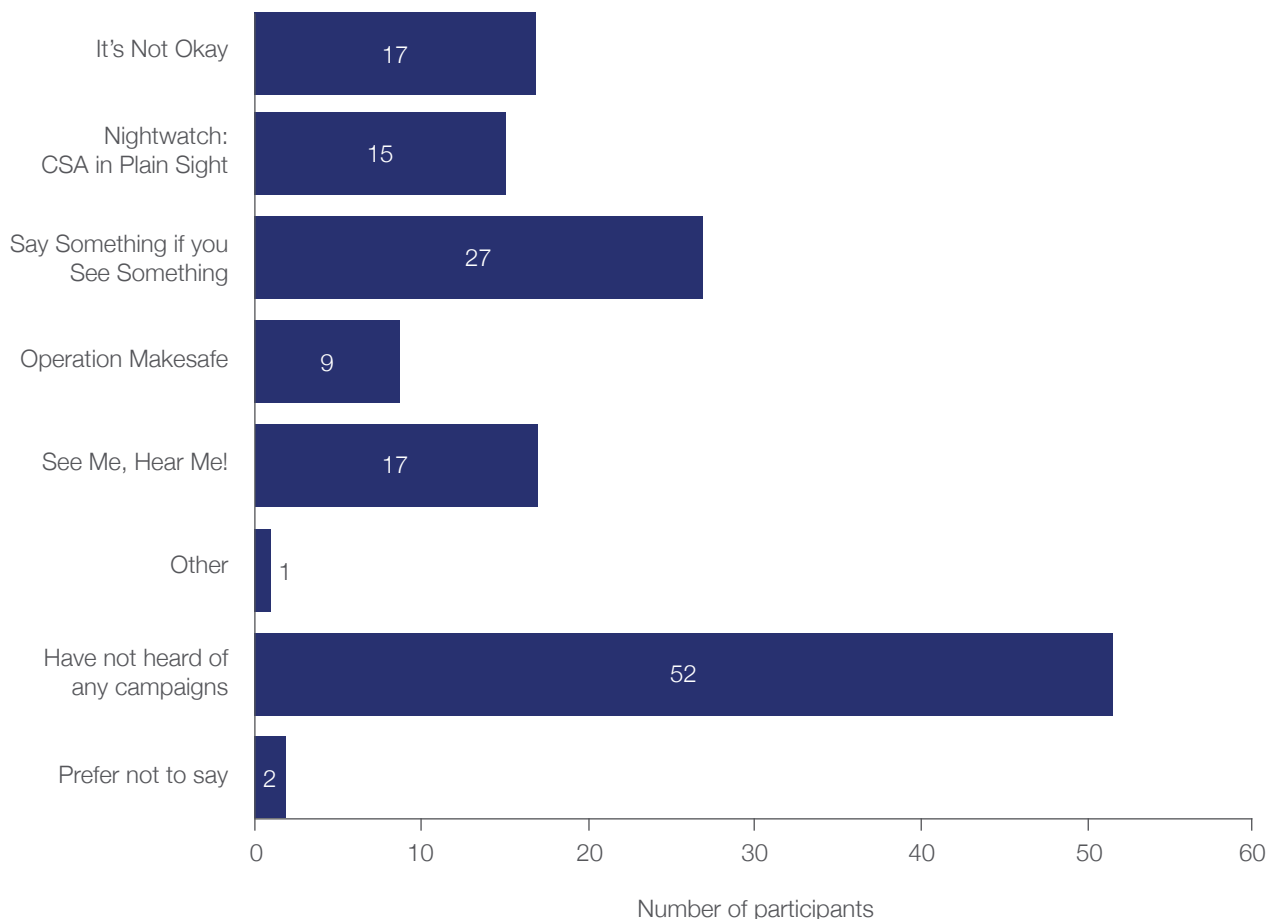
Participants were asked about their awareness of various CSE campaigns that have been used in recent years, and were given the opportunity to describe any others that they had heard of.

The campaigns named in the questionnaire are summarised below.

- **It's Not Okay** is a website (www.itsnotokay.co.uk) and campaign put together by Project Phoenix, a unique collaboration of public and third-sector partners across Greater Manchester. The aims of the campaign are to raise awareness of CSE, help people recognise the signs, encourage reporting and provide support to victims and those most at risk. The project has teams in place across each of the 10 districts of Greater Manchester dealing with CSE and uses a joined-up, multi-agency response to deal with the problem. The website contains information for children and young people, parents and professionals. For children and young people it covers defining CSE, spotting the signs, child trafficking, going missing, real stories, online safety and keeping safe. For parents there is guidance on teaching children what CSE is, plus advice and support, and a similar section for professionals also covers latest news and information and resources.
- The **Nightwatch: CSE in Plain Sight** project extended Barnardo's CSE prevention work into the night-time economy (D'Arcy and Thomas, 2016). The project was delivered across a range of night-time businesses and services in 12 sites around England between April 2015 and March 2016, and aimed to develop 'strategies, in co-production with these businesses and others, to identify and protect children at risk at night, and intervene early by providing advice, support, training and guidance' (ibid, 2016:4). It included CSE awareness training for frontline workers in the night-time economy, the distribution of guidance on identifying and reporting CSE, and community awareness-raising events.
- **Say Something if you See Something** (also known as **Operation Makesafe**) was a campaign toolkit developed in the West Midlands by The Children's Society and the National Working Group in partnership with the police, local businesses and the local council. It was launched in Parliament in 2013 as a national campaign, and aimed to help local businesses – including hotels, take-away outlets, taxi firms and leisure centres – spot the signs of CSE and be more confident about reporting them. Training was provided to businesses, with awareness-raising materials for staff, premises and customers. The pack was designed so it could be adapted and used anywhere around the country to help local communities safeguard their young people.
- The **See Me, Hear Me!** campaign to raise awareness of CSE (www.seeme-hearme.org.uk) was launched in 2014 by Dudley, Wolverhampton, Sandwell, Walsall, Coventry, Birmingham and Solihull local authorities and other partners including West Midlands Police. The campaign followed from the 'See Me, Hear Me' regional framework, which set out how agencies across the West Midlands would collaborate to prevent, respond to and support victims of CSE.

Participants were asked if they had heard of these campaigns; Figure 4 shows the levels of awareness reported.

Figure 4. Awareness of campaigns among participants



Note: Participants were asked to indicate all the campaigns they had heard of. This question was answered by 102 of the 126 participants.

Just over two in five participants (52 out of 126) had not heard of any of the listed campaigns, and a further one in five (24 out of 126) gave no response. ‘Say Something if you See Something’ was the campaign name with which the largest number of participants were familiar: just over one in five (27 out of 126) had heard of it. It is worth noting that most of the campaigns were targeted in specific areas: for instance, ‘It’s Not Okay’ was run in Greater Manchester, so is unlikely to have had an impact outside this geographical area.

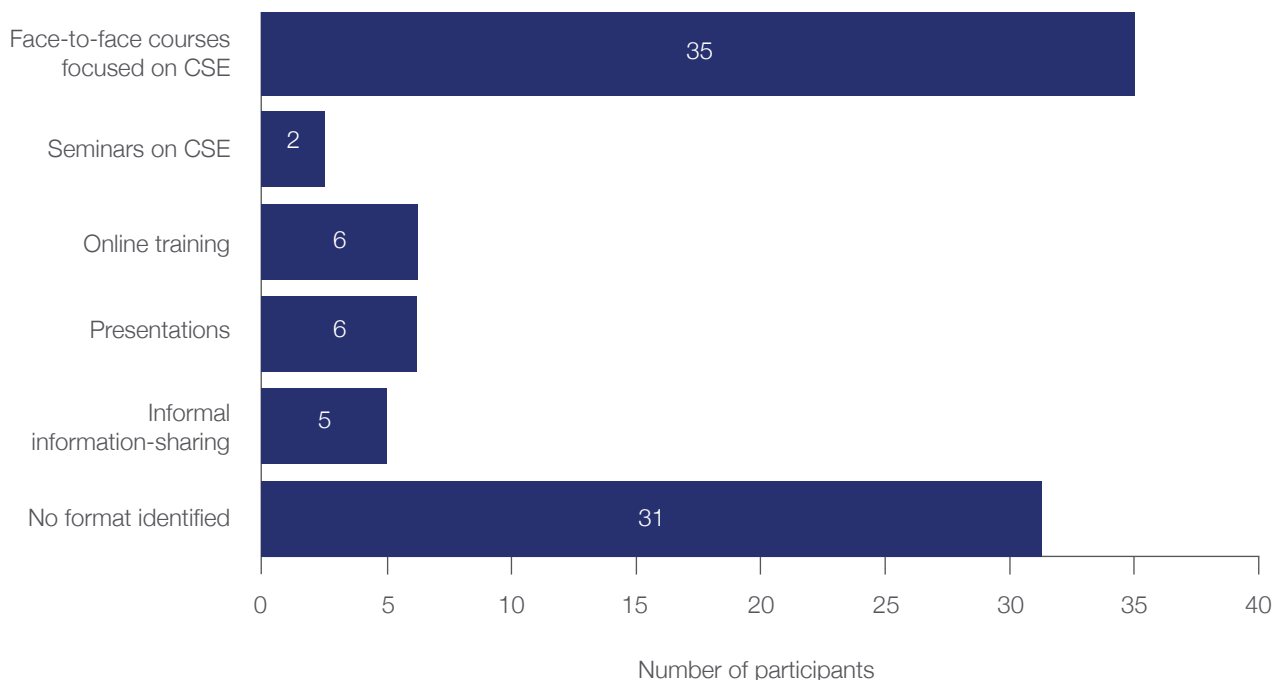
3.2. Feedback on training received and resources used

Participants were asked about any training or information on CSE that they had received through work. Of the 98 participants who answered this question, the majority (85) reported receiving some training or information through work. The proportions who reported not having received training or information were similar across the ‘private’ and ‘public services’ sectors:

“I haven’t had any training from [organisation name]. It’s more of a learn-as-you-go role. But I have had safeguarding training from my day job.” (Community group participant 2)

Training levels varied in format and depth, from formal courses to presentations or seminars. Participants identified the following forms of training and information-sharing:

Figure 5. Forms of training and information-sharing



Note: This question was answered by 85 of the 126 participants.

It was unclear whether the type of training or information-sharing received had an impact on awareness of CSE. The majority of the 85 people who received training/information-sharing indicated that they knew the warning signs of CSE very or fairly well, with only three of them saying they did not know the warning signs.

Case study: Local government (licensing), male, aged 46–55

Mehul has worked for the council licensing team for more than five years. He has attended several training courses about CSE and has access to online materials as part of his working role. He feels he does not know the warning signs well, but if he were to see something he would report it to a “named contact” or the police with “as much detail as possible”. As he visits pubs, off-licences and taxi companies, he thinks there is a risk of CSE/CSA but is not sure to what extent. Mehul finds refresher training useful, as he has to provide training and information in this area to the licence-holders he comes into contact with.

Some participants felt they had received only minimal training, whilst others felt theirs was in-depth.

“Attended a presentation once by British Transport Police on the subject so it was specific to the railway industry.” (Public transport participant 9)

“We have been given information and training on some of the signs to look out for, behaviours, going missing from school/home, obtaining gifts, money, cigarettes/alcohol, hanging around older people, etc.” (Policing participant 3)

“I have had training on CSE in my current and previous role (healthcare). This training has taken place in a range of settings, using a variety of methods. In my current role there are also safeguards and ‘reminders’ built in to forms etc. to get officers to think about possible CSE.” (Policing participant 2)

“Basic info from Samaritans, Railway Children and Customer Service Training. Also trained to look out for suspicious ... behaviour.” (Public transport participant 6)

Alongside in-house training provided by organisations, a minority of participants within this sample had received external training. As noted earlier, a number of third-sector organisations offer training programmes in recognising signs of and responding to CSA or CSE. Feedback on such training was largely positive, but there were concerns that the attendance was poor, suggesting that training needs to be closely monitored, and a view that it was important to make clear who should be called if people did have concerns.

Case study: Public transport, male, aged 46–55

Joe has been a train conductor for over five years. He has not received any training about CSE as part of his working role. He doesn’t know the warning signs of CSE, but if he were to see something he would contact the British Transport Police, find out as much information as possible, ‘intervening where necessary to protect vulnerable passengers’. Joe has not come across any incidences as part of his working role, but considers that there is a risk as a range of the general public use the railways. The only campaign around CSE of which Joe is aware is the ‘Say Something if you See Something’ campaign. He would welcome a link to a website about ‘the types of experiences people have had’, along with guidance from his employer in the form of a briefing note or as part of their wider customer protection course.

Overall, although the majority of participants had received training for CSE, they felt they would benefit from further training.

3.3. Demand for further training and support

Participants were asked whether there were any forms of training or support (informal and formal) that they wanted in order to better tackle CSE.

Eleven of the 66 workers who answered this question said they did not want any further training or other support. They included people working in policing, community groups, government, public transport and licensed premises; some had previously received training whilst others had not. One of them said they did not want training because they felt they had it right, whilst another said it was common sense.

Among the 55 participants wanting training or support, 33 had not had prior training; others had done but thought it beneficial to have such training regularly. Different participants expressed a preference for different forms of training, including:

- online courses
- face-to-face training sessions
- open meetings
- leaflets
- videos.

Videos were felt to be a good training method as they “can be efficient and can be used as and when needed”. Emphasis was also placed on having refresher sessions, to ensure that training on CSE is sustained over the longer term.

“I think that ongoing briefings from recent cases where local offences have been uncovered and successfully prosecuted make for good continual professional development.” (Policing participant 4)

“A link to a website setting out the types of experience people have had would be useful. Guidance from my employer in best practice could be a briefing note or a section in a wider one-day customer protection course.” (Public transport participant 10)

“A generic training course would be good so that all of my colleagues and myself have a better basic understanding of warning signs. I have completed courses in previous jobs but refreshers would be good. I feel these courses need to be day-long, instructor-led and not web-based.” (Public transport participant 5)

As these quotations indicate, participants felt that the most useful training or information would use “recent cases” or “types of experience” to illustrate signs of CSE and how to respond.

There were also participants who said they would spend their own time learning more about how to identify and respond to CSE.

“I would be willing to do lots to learn/train about this subject, I would happily give up my spare time to do this on a daily/weekly basis.” (Public transport participant 11)

4. Observations and recommendations

The findings presented in this report offer initial insights into the ways that workers across the night-time economy see and respond to the risks and warning signs of CSE in particular and CSA more broadly. The research also provides indications of the forms of training that these workers have received, their interest in more training or other information and support, and their awareness of specific campaigns around CSE.

It is not possible from this small research exercise to quantify how workers in different industries vary in terms of their levels of awareness, training or knowledge, but the research has shown that there is diversity across both the ‘public services’ and ‘private’ sectors in workers’ confidence about their own ability to recognise the warning signs, their ideas of how to respond, and their experience of and attitude to training.

Key observations from the research are set out below.

- **Risk.** Participants had varying views of the extent to which the night-time economy poses a risk to children and young people. Their views of risk appeared to be informed in part by their role – for example, those with responsibility for child or public protection saw the night-time economy as a risky or very risky setting – or by their knowledge of the warning signs of CSE. Participants without a related role or uncertain of the warning signs could still see the night-time economy as a risky environment. The perception of CSE/CSA as a “risk”, a “high risk” or a “big problem” was common across industries, although this may in part reflect the opt-in recruitment approach used: for example, participants may have been more aware of CSE/CSA or have received more training about CSE than otherwise similar workers who did not respond.
- **Knowing the warning signs.** Participants included those (across the ‘private’ and ‘public services’ sectors) who felt they knew the warning signs of CSE very or fairly well, and those who had no confidence in being able to identify CSE.
- **Responding to warning signs.** Participants (such as the police, sexual health workers and social workers) whose roles include responsibility for tackling CSE/CSA, even in general terms, gave detailed examples of how they would respond to the warning signs. Those whose roles did not include responsibility for child or public protection referred more broadly to contacting the police or social services. Clearly not all workers in the night-time economy feel equipped to recognise and respond to the warning signs of CSE/CSA, and may indeed see this as being outside the remit of their role.
- Three factors appeared to have a bearing on the actions that participants said they might take in response to seeing warning signs of CSE/CSA:
 1. The immediate perceived risk to the child
 2. The extent of contact with young people
 3. The individual’s role/remit specifically in relation to CSE/CSA.
- **Campaign awareness.** Although they were asked about campaigns that had mostly targeted specific geographical areas only, two out of five participants had heard of at least one recent campaign aimed at improving the response to CSE.
- **Training.** Although some participants had received some training (of varied forms and depth) about CSE, the responses appear to indicate that such training has yet to become a standard part of working in the night-time economy.

- There was much positive feedback on training from participants, but also suggestions that attendance at training should be more closely monitored, and that the training should make clearer who workers should call if they do have concerns about CSA/CSE.
- Interest in training and information was mixed. There were participants who did not consider the issues and responses to be part of their remit at all, and those who spoke of them as being 'common sense'. Of those participants who had received training (at work or independently), some did not want more, whilst others did, whether for their specific area of work, or ongoing training to keep up to date.

Key recommendations for those developing or delivering training and campaigns focus on CSE, because of the role that the night-time economy is known to play in facilitating CSE in particular:

- Provide **industry-specific, awareness-raising** information and guidance for night-time economy workers on the warning signs of CSE, and on what to do if 'something doesn't look right'.
- **Target campaigns** and awareness-raising efforts more specifically at groups of night-time economy workers who may come into close or frequent contact with young people at risk of CSE, but who do not currently appear to view watching for or responding to the warning signs of CSE as part of their role. From this research, it would appear that these groups may include some workers in the 'public services' sector (for example, public transport) as well as the 'private' sector.
- Liaise with representative bodies for key industries within the night-time economy, to **catylyse interest in information, guidance and awareness-raising** and to support the ongoing provision of training, information-sharing and updated messages.
- **Disseminate key messages** by broadcasting more generally to both workers and the public that 'keeping an eye out' for the welfare of children and young people in the night-time economy is a general responsibility. Use campaigns to reinforce the message that anyone (whether workers or the public) can raise their concerns with the police, social services or child protection charities.

This research was intended as a preliminary stage of exploration into what night-time economy workers know and do about CSE/CSA. Further research could focus on fully understanding these workers' knowledge of this area, evaluating the interventions aimed at them, and informing targeted initiatives and general messaging that the welfare of children and young people in the night-time economy is a responsibility that transcends workers' specific roles.

References

Bebbington, P.E., Jonas, S., Brugha, T., Meltzer, H., Jenkins, R., Cooper, C., King, M. and McManus, S. (2011) Child sexual abuse reported by an English national sample: Characteristics and demography. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 46(3): 255–262.

Bedford, A. (2015) *Serious Case Review into Child Sexual Exploitation in Oxfordshire: from the experiences of Children A, B, C, D, E, and F*. Oxford: Oxfordshire Safeguarding Children Board.

Brown, A., Jago, N., Kerr, J., McNaughton Nicholls, C., Paskell, C. and Webster, S. (2014) *Call to Keep Children Safe from Sexual Abuse: A study of the use and effects of the Stop it Now! UK and Ireland Helpline*. London: NatGen Social Research.

D'Arcy, K. and Thomas, R. (2016) *Nightwatch: CSE in Plain Sight – Final evaluation report*. Luton: University of Bedfordshire.

Department for Education (2015) *Working Together to Safeguard Children: A guide to inter-agency working to safeguard and promote the welfare of children*. London: DfE.

Department for Education (2017) *Child Sexual Exploitation: Definition and a guide for practitioners, local leaders and decision makers working to protect children from child sexual exploitation*. London: DfE.

Economic and Social Research Council (2005) *Research Ethics Framework*. Swindon: ESRC.

Government Social Research Unit (2005) *GSR Professional Guidance: Ethical Assurance for Social Research in Government*. London: Cabinet Office.

Hallett, S., Crowley, A., Deerfield, K., Staples, E. and Rees, A. (2017) *Review of the Wales Safeguarding Children and Young People from Sexual Exploitation (CSE) Statutory Guidance*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Kelly, L. and Karsna, K. (2017) *Measuring the Scale and Changing Nature of Child Sexual Abuse and Child Sexual Exploitation: Scoping report*. Barkingside: Centre of expertise on child sexual abuse.

Mazerolle, L.G., Kadleck, C. and Roehl, J. (1998) Controlling drug and disorder problems: The role of place managers. *Criminology*, 36(2): 371–404.

Radford, L., Corral, S., Bradley, C., Fisher, H., Bassett, C. and Howat, N. (2011) *Child Abuse and Neglect in the UK Today*. London: NSPCC.

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., McNaughton Nicholls, C. and Ormston, R. (eds) (2014) *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. London: Sage Publications.



www.csacentre.org.uk

©December 2017

19045SO17