

**Professionals' perceptions of young males in  
child sexual exploitation policy:  
A critical policy genealogical analysis.**

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## DECLARATION

I certify that the work contained in this thesis, or any part of it, has not been accepted in substance for any previous degree awarded to me or any other person, and is not concurrently being submitted for any other degree other than that of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, which has been studied at the University of Greenwich, London, UK.

I also declare that the work contained in this thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise identified and acknowledged by references. I further declare that no aspects of the contents of this thesis are the outcome of any form of research misconduct.

I declare any personal, sensitive or confidential information/data has been removed or participants have been anonymised. I further declare that where any questionnaires, survey answers or other qualitative responses of participants are recorded/included in the appendices, all personal information has been removed or anonymised. Where University forms (such as those from the Research Ethics Committee) have been included in appendices, all handwritten/scanned signatures have been removed.

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## ABSTRACT

**Background:** The discourse on young males affected by or involved in child sexual exploitation (CSE) is often silenced due to the preoccupation with, and generally greater publicity of, female victims within professional practice, policy and research. Historical and contemporary CSE discourse is largely conceptualised through Feminism and Moral Panic Theory, enmeshed within a general reduction of available professional vocabulary in English child protection policy. This thesis aims to investigate these discourses.

**Methodology:** This research analyses CSE policy implementation between 2000 and 2016 with alternative social theories within a critical policy genealogy (CPG). The CPG considers Foucault's position of the 'qualified speakers' on childhood sexuality to identify the ethics of CSE policy enactment. Two specific methodologies are utilised to establish the discourse and counter-discourse on multiple levels: a critical realist synthesis of CSE policy literature (n=44) and a Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis of policy actors (n=18) in a geographically-defined case study.

**Results:** By bringing together the critical realist and Foucauldian-inspired datasets, the CPG presents six discourse norm circles (Elder-Vass 2011, 2012) involved in CSE policy enactment: political influences; visibility / surveillance; the construction of the 'perfect victim'; inclusivity for young males; local governance; and championing the specialist / minority voice. CSE policy is understood, experienced and perceived inconsistently by policy enactors across a range of fields, however those within the voluntary sector are key to developing better understandings of the realities of young males.

**Conclusions:** Policy enactors are stuck in a constant negotiating position, or dance, between co-existing realities of CSE presented by government policy and its implementation. They have to try to make sense of these dances of power (dynamism) by attempting to implement, whilst simultaneously adapting policy expectations to accommodate CSE victims. It is only through this dynamism, however, a new knowledge on young males can be revealed.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS COMMONLY USED IN THIS THESIS**

ACPC – Area Child Protection Committee

ACSA – Adult-Child Sexual Attraction

ACSC – Adult-Child Sexual Contact

C-M-O – context-mechanism-outcome

CRS – critical realist synthesis

CSA – child sexual abuse

CSE – child sexual exploitation

DCSF – Department for Children, Schools and Families

DfE – Department for Education

DH – Department of Health

FDA – Foucauldian-Inspired Discourse Analysis

GBT – gay, bisexual and trans\* people

HM – Her Majesty

HO – Home Office

LGB&T+ – lesbian, bisexual, gay and trans\* people (+ = inclusive of other sexual and gender minorities as defined by the person)

LSCB – Local Safeguarding Children Board

MSM – males who have sex with males

RAMESES – Realist And MEta-narrative Evidence Synthesis: Evolving Standards

SCIP – *Safeguarding Children Involved in Prostitution* (policy document)

## GLOSSARY

**Action plan** – an official document stipulating expectation from national government against specified timeframes and is outcome-focused.

**Agendered** – a term to describe without gender, genderless or lacking gender in a non-binary fashion.

**Architectural framework** – the theoretical and methodological underpinning that operationalises the focus of the study.

**Asexual** – a term to describe an absence of sexual associations with the social world.

**Child / young person or children / young people** – persons under the age of 18 years as defined by the *Children Act 1989*.

**Child sex offender** – an individual who commits or has committed sexual acts (including grooming) involving a child as defined by English legislation.

**Child sexual exploitation** – a twenty-first century concept of children / young people involved in transactional sex, with or without immediate recognisable exploitation, but where power and coercive control plays a large part of the relationship.

**Commercial sex market** – the macro-level concept of commercial sex work.

**Commercial sex work** – the twenty-first-century concept of legitimate work through the procurement of sexual services for money or non-monetary gain.

**Complex policy interventions (complex social interventions)** – a hypothetical decision by policy-makers on the best policy intervention at that point in time for dealing with a policy problem, bearing in mind that these interventions may not be straightforward and be multifactorial. Complex policy

interventions are defined by seven features by Pawson *et al.* (2005) and Pawson *et al.* (2011).

**Consent** – a term to describe the act of giving permission for something to happen or offering agreement to do something.

**Context-Mechanism-Outcome configuration** – a term to describe a hypothesis or theory that explains the production of an outcome of a programme theory by identifying the specific contexts and inner workings.

**Critical policy genealogy** – a sub-speciality of a critical social policy analysis that focuses on the concept of power in policy settlement and explains policy development in three ways: 1) how policies develop; 2) the consensus or rationality for prompting policy production and; 3) the formation of alliances (temporary and permanent) within the policy process within a context of conflicting interests.

**Critical realism** – a metatheory that combines a general philosophy of science with a philosophy of social science to understand both natural and social realities through observable and unobservable generative mechanisms.

**Critical social policy analysis** – a structured analytical approach to critically appraising social policy and its effects or impact.

**Discourse** – a term adapted by Foucault to refer to as something that is produced and formed from something else such as a concept or an effect.

**Discursive practice** – a Foucauldian process defining a discourse coming into being, taking into account power with the historical and cultural rules, or social practices, in the organisation and production of knowledge.

**Disruption** – a term used within post-structuralism to deconstruct conceptualisations within society. Disruption allows an examination to take



place through developing an understanding of the constructs of a concept and its relationship to power/resistance-to-power.

**Episteme** – a Foucauldian term defining knowledge created through a set of discursive practices and formations, which shapes and creates a particular way of knowing the world.

**Epistemic transformation** – a Foucauldian term defining the unconscious structure surrounding the production of knowledge at a particular time. A similar concept to Kuhn's notion of paradigm shift. Epistemic transformations focus more on the power / resistance to power which result in the new ways of thinking and their disruption from the old.

**Ethics** – a term understood within Foucauldian thinking that forms a discursive freedom through reflectively informed practices of the self *e.g.* to thrive for being better / aesthetic ideal.

**Ethical substance** – a term, akin to problematisations, that characterises the identification and examination of specific moments and situations that require governing activity. Ethical substances are produced through discursive practices of governance *i.e.* knowledge, expertise, language.

**Ethical work** – a term, akin to technologies (of the self), that characterises how humans learn and develop knowledge about themselves, which in turn regulates their ethical conduct through a more or less conscious goal. This Foucault would consider as specific truth games.

**Ethical subjects** – a term that characterises the construction of a subject position through discourse by facilitating and providing accessible positions within structures that allow speakers to talk up.

**Ethical practices** – a term, akin to subjectification, that characterises why humans govern by identifying the conscious ethical goals or ends sought.

**Extra-discursive world** – a term to describe all that socio-cultural things that exists external to discourse.

**Foucauldian** – an adjective pertaining to the theories and concepts devised by the late Michel Foucault.

**Genealogy** – an analytical approach to understanding insight of discursive practices and formations, e.g. policy realisations, through rules on which they are formed and based upon, focusing on the historical landmarks or significant history rather than a complete history as with an archaeology.

**Government** – a term that refers to the institution that has authority to govern the population within its geography.

**Governmentality** – a Foucauldian term defining the idea and rise of the state and its administration of populations in modern Europe. This term can also be used to describe disciplinary techniques and procedures focused on conduct of individuals and populations within a given population.

**Governance** – a Foucauldian term to broadly encapsulate and define concepts of government and governmentality.

**Governing institutions** – a term to describe a service / organisation / social structure that has legitimate authority to govern populations such as national government departments, local social services, the police or a children's home.

**Guidance** – generally refers to policy governments publish that should be followed and used for best practice at a local government level.

**Guideline** – generally refers to policy governments publish that can be interpreted and used for best practice at a local government level.

**Gynocentric** – a phenomenon that has historical or contemporary characteristics of focusing primarily on females.

**Liminal entity** – a structuralist term that describes the 'in between' phases of social positions or cultural conditions that are assigned by language and classification.

**Material reality / entity** – a term used to describe non-discursive objects or things that can be present without human existence.

**Moral panic** – a term used to describe irrational or disproportionate reactions, at a societal level, to embellish threats posed by individuals or groups of people.

**Non-discursive practice** – a Foucauldian term to describes materialities or facts that does not take place within discourse such as birth or death.

**Non-statutory** – policy that does not derive from statute law but maybe used for *best practice* for instance.

**Perpetrator** - see *Child sex offender*.

**Policy architecture** – a document, or series of documents, that sets out the intentions of a government for dealing with a specific social phenomenon.

**Post-structuralism** – a late ninetieth century philosophical movement starting in France that conceptualises the social world and subjects within it as not ridged and are subjected to the context in which the subject functions within.

**Power-Knowledge** – a Foucauldian concept defining the complex relationship between power and the generation of knowledge; it describes how knowledge is never separate from power and vice versa, yet neither concept is identical to each other.

**Practitioners or professionals** – an umbrella term for any official actor within a governing institution who directly or indirectly works with children and young people affected by, or involved in, sexual exploitation.

**Problematization** – see *Ethical Substance*.

**Programme theory** – a hypothetical trajectory or intended working of a policy intervention, including how it may work for whom, in what circumstances and why, explained through context-mechanism-outcome configurations.

**Progressive governance** – a term used to describe the response to a decentralised power base and entail of the governance arrangements at a local level within social structures, such as local government, to respond to national requirements.

**Realist social constructionism** – a combined epistemological perspective invented by Elder-Vass (2010, 2012) that argues by offering a realist account of how discourse may offer insights to the underpinning processes of social constructionism.

**Retrodiction** – a critical realist concept that focuses on applying previously known and identified causal powers, or mechanisms, to explain an outcome of a particular event.

**Retroduction** – a critical realist concept that focuses on identifying new causal powers, or mechanisms, that have the capability of producing an outcome of a particular event.

**Sexualities** – a concept that can be understood as a unity of numerous intricacies such as anatomo-physiological systems, erogenous zones, bodies, pleasures, identity labels, attractions and practices (Weeks 2012, Evans 2017). Within Foucauldian theory, sexualities can be understood as a concept treated with prudishness especially in the ninetieth century with the emergent

discursive practices supposedly focusing on the silencing and control of knowledge production in relation to sexualities.

**Sexual agency** – a term used to describe a self-determined destiny of one's decision making within their sexualities, relationships, or indeed, sexual exploitation.

**Sexual violence** – a theoretical term to describe an array of coercive, abusive and / or exploitative, sexual acts against a person or persons (of any age), usually with an imbalance power between parties.

**Social entity** – a theoretical term used to describe intentional relations that bind an entity together and generate causal power, dependent on the beliefs and dispositions of the individuals involved and their commitment. Social entities differ from material entities.

**Social ontology** – a theoretical concept that studies the fundamental constituents of social reality. For the thesis, combines a realist ontology with a relativist epistemology.

**Social structure** – a term used to describe social entities with causal powers. Social structures also define and describe the relationship or pattern between different entities or groups that accentuates the idea that society is structurally organised into sets of roles or groups with varying functions, meanings or purpose.

**Strategy** – a document that sets out intentions of government policy over a specified timeframe that allows interpretation on a local level and is outcome-focused.

**Statutory** – a type of government policy that derive from statute law.

**Surveillance** – a technique of governance to observe populations in a constant way.

**Transactional sex** – a description of the material benefit resultant of trading sexual activities.

**Welfarism** – a concept founded on the moral idea that actions or rules such as legislation or social policy should be focused on, and evaluated against, the consequences it produces.

### **Dedication**

I would like to dedicate this thesis to the hard-working professionals I met during my data collection for this PhD. I hope their tireless and compassionate efforts to make health and social care practice and policy more inclusive for young male victims of CSE will be emphatically articulated within this PhD.

### **Protecting Participants' Confidentiality**

In order to ensure absolute confidentiality of participants, the name or any other identifiable information of the location of the case study area has been redacted from this thesis. Where academic references have been used within this thesis that identify the location of the case study, the reference has also been redacted.



*'...boys don't make the perfect victim'*

(Participant from this PhD study)

The above statement is addressed fully within the  
Foucauldian-Inspired Discourse Analysis in Chapter 8, page 274

## Chapter 1

# **INTRODUCTION**

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **Chapter 1 thematic outline**

- Research Question, Aim and Objectives
- CSE Policy Context, Young Males and the Research Focus
- Applying the Learning from the Literature on UK Adult Sex Work Policy to the Child Sexual Exploitation Policy
- Social Policy of the Protection and Welfare of Children affected by, or involved in Sexual Exploitation

### **Introduction to the thesis**

Child sexual exploitation (CSE) is a recognised serious child protection issue, and within England, a recent series of high-profile inquiries (Coffey 2014, Jay 2014, Casey 2015) and media reports have generated widespread opprobrium on ‘failing’ local authorities to protect vulnerable children and young people from sexual exploitation (Bingham *et al.* 2016). These high-profile inquiries yielded recommendations, consequently reported in the media, to directly pressure government, policy makers, local safeguarding children boards (LSCB) and front-line practitioners to improve local responses (Coy 2016, Thomas and D’Arcy 2017). Current policy responses have led to CSE becoming a significant issue in multi-agency child protection practice (Jago *et al.* 2011, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014), even though, statistically, the scale of CSE is smaller in comparison to other (known) forms of child abuse, such as neglect (Radford *et al.* 2011). CSE is a relatively new conceptualisation of a pre-existing phenomenon, *i.e.* children involved in the commercial sex market, within child protection policy and practice (Phoenix 2002, Melrose 2013a). Ultimately, how this concept has ‘changed’ overtime can be critically analysed in a variety of ways; this thesis addresses this critical analysis through the academic discipline of critical social policy, more pertinently, a critical policy genealogy that focuses on social actors’ engagement with policy (Gale 2001).

The purpose of this thesis is to articulate, and critically analyse, the discourse that existed on young males within professionals’ perceptions of the English CSE policy architecture and socio-legal structures, such as child protection systems, between the years 2000 and 2016. Dunleavy (2003) strongly

advises informing the reader of the policy context the research is situated in and represents, when conducting theoretical, social science PhD studies. Within this time period, CSE policy (especially DCSF 2009) created young males as a separate 'at-risk' group, with specific guidance for seven years. This specific guidance was introduced after nine years of gender-neutral CSE guidance but CSE policy returned to this gender-neutrality in 2017 (DfE 2017) (Figure 1.1). So, this thesis will concentrate on the observable advent of young male victims in CSE policy and its discourse from 2009 to 2016. Elaboration of this particular seven-year policy period of explicit guidance on young males and its importance to this thesis will be explored later in this chapter; **2009-2016 CSE Policy Position on Young Males** section (page 15).

**Figure 1.1 DfE (2017) Guidance Extract on Gender (Page 5)**

**Gender:** Though child sexual exploitation may be most frequently observed amongst young females, boys are also at risk. Practitioners should be alert to the fact that boys may be less likely than females to disclose experiences of child sexual exploitation and less likely to have these identified by others.

***Discipline of the thesis***

To situate this thesis, the discipline is defined prior to any critical appraisal of the theory, literature or detailed methodology. This thesis is premised on ever-changing historical and contemporary moral placement of values and standards in society on sex, sexualities and sexual exploitation in relation to children. These values and standards ultimately steer the conundrum of difference in the governing narratives on childhood sexuality within abuse, by bifurcating classifications (such as male / female, older / younger or offender / victim). The research findings of this thesis do not offer tangible data that result in any quantifiable relevance. Nor does it present a dichotomising predicament of what is a right way or a wrong way to deal with social phenomena within governing institutions. It is both explanatory and exploratory. Therefore, the author anchors this thesis within a critical social policy analysis (Gale 2001), as the primary discipline, that fits congruently with the proposed theoretical frameworks explored later in chapters two and three.

Gale (2001) quite rightly observes the self-criticism of critical social policy analysts on their infrequent or little attention paid to the theory and methodology that underpins their research. He argues this is often extended to the lack of explicitness on the relationship between the critical social policy analyst's interpretation and the data from which they make observations. As a solution to this, Gale (2001) proposes three methodological approaches to critical policy analysis that offer a more detailed framework, including: policy historiography, policy archaeology and policy genealogy. Given this thesis utilises realist (page 89) and social constructionist theories (page 99), including Elder-Vass's (2011, 2012) discourse norm circles model (page 129), the author decided upon critical policy genealogy. This methodological approach was the most suited route for the over-arching methodology for articulating discourse.

Gale (2001) understands critical policy genealogy to concentrate on the modalities of 'power' in the settlement of policy and broadly examines policy in three ways. Firstly, it seeks to learn how policies develop over time; secondly, it seeks to understand the rationality or consensus that prompted the production of new policy or how a phenomenon is problematised and then acted upon; and thirdly, how alliances (whether temporary or permanent) are formed in the policy process within a context of conflicting interests *i.e.* the power and resistance-to-power relationships. This triptych, or three-fold, understanding structures the architecture of the overall discussion of the last chapter, chapter nine.

To describe this thesis' application or treatment of genealogy, Foucault (2002) would define *genealogy* as a way of ascertaining insight and understanding on policy realisations through the (archaeological) rules on which they are formed and based upon. It is important to bear in mind that Foucault's work never determined what we 'should be' but rather explored who 'we are' (Covenay 1998). For example, Foucault's process of genealogy aims to understand the *history of the present*, through its *epistemic transformations* (Garland 2014). Within Foucault's later works (1994), he states that genealogy is what emerges out of something and how it came into being,

rather than a fixed position or situation. Arribas-Allyon and Walkerdine (2008) extends this definition by defining genealogy through investigating '*...the specific effects by which objects are constituted in ways that are amenable to technical and governmental interventions*' (2008: 93). This is an important moment in defining discourse within this thesis. Foucault's observations on power and the resistance-to-power are crucial in his understanding of genealogy and is appraised in chapter three.

Whilst this thesis is overtly Foucauldian, critical realism has been used as a different theoretical framework for understanding complex policy interventions within CSE (see chapters four and five). Elder-Vass (2011) postulates that critical realism provides a complementary ontology to social constructionist epistemology on understanding genealogy. Elder-Vass (2011) advises that a critical realist ontology can recognise the extra-discursive world and non-discursive practices in the construction of discourse; this in turn allows observable relationships between discourse and causality.

In the pursuit of reflexivity, social elements of the research process and qualitative, critical and post-structuralist epistemologies, Webb (1992) encourages the appropriateness of writing in the first person. I will write in the first person where I feel it is necessary but writing in the third person will be used in the main.

### **Research Question, Aim and Objectives**

Of course, while it is fundamental for the author to situate the reader within the adopted discipline, the research question is intrinsic to this entire piece of work. The research question was formulated to generate the creation and interpretation of new knowledge to the critical social policy literature on CSE. I highlight the following quotation (Figure 1.2 overleaf), from the works of Foucault. as a crucial underpinning to my examination of twenty-first century discourse on young males, CSE and professional practice.

**Figure 1.2 Extract from History of Sexuality, Vol. 1 (Foucault 1978: 30-31)**

It would be less than exact to say that the pedagogical institution has imposed a ponderous silence on the sex of children and adolescents. On the contrary, since the eighteenth century it has multiplied the forms of discourse on the subject; it has established various points of implantation for sex; it has coded contents and qualified speakers. Speaking about children's sex, inducing educators, physicians, administrators, and parents to speak of it, or speaking to them about it, causing children themselves to talk about it, and enclosing them in a web of discourses which sometimes address them, sometimes speak about them, or impose canonical bits of knowledge on them, or use them as a basis for constructing a science that is beyond their grasp—all this together enables us to link an intensification of the interventions of power to a multiplication of discourse. *The sex of*

It is here I am interested in how the ethics, through the perceptions of the 'qualified speakers', *i.e.* social workers, the police, policy makers, as examples, can be best understood within twenty-first century CSE policy and practice and the contemporary relevance. Therefore, through making a critical policy genealogy of Foucault's understanding of the 'qualified speakers' on childhood sexuality, the research question can be determined as follows:

***How did professionals' perceptions of Child Sexual Exploitation policy 'architecture', between 2000 and 2016, influence the discourse of the young male victim, within policy documents and related practices aimed at disrupting their involvement in CSE?***

This over-arching research question gains depth, specifically and sensitively, through two further subsidiary questions:

- 1. What relationships existed between national policy discourses on sexual exploitation of children and young people (2000 - 2016) and local responses from working with young male victims of sexual exploitation?***

**2. How are the experiences, understandings and perceptions of young male victims of sexual exploitation, presented within the local and national discourses of practitioners, policy influencers and policy makers?**

The research question uses CSE policy, as an example of social policy, to critically analyse how policy actors, *i.e.* policy influencers, makers and enactors, construct gender and sexuality within their professional work. This thesis is not about young males or the individual policy actors themselves; it is about what knowledge is produced and how this production of knowledge relates to power (and the resistance-to-power). This knowledge is ultimately arranged within the ethics of regional and local governing institutions (such as LSCBs, children's social care and the police), especially Section 47<sup>1</sup> child protection investigations, where professional judgment of practitioners is required and has become a focus of heightened surveillance. Robinson (2018) defines ethics, from a Foucauldian perspective, as the freedom of reflectively-informed practices of the self, or moral code, and is the definition that this thesis broadly adopts.

To deal with the post-Foucault criticisms for alternative analyses of discourse, one may ask 1) how might this discourse influence future professional practice and social policy, through understanding causality, and 2) is it possible to identify the causal powers of this discourse through a critical policy genealogy? These intrinsic questions provide epistemological thought in the development of the aim and objectives in answering the research question. Essentially, the research aim and objectives inform the reader on how the research question will be answered by describing the overall purpose in general terms within established parameters (Martindale and Taylor 2014, Doody and Bailey 2016). Elder-Vass (2012) helpfully firms up this school of thought, through his proposed theory of *realist social constructionism*, and

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<sup>1</sup> Section 47 of the *Children Act 1989* provides the legal apparatus and responsibility for local social services to assess a child if they are seemed at risk of, or are currently suffering significant harm, with or without parental consent.



more specifically, through McKee's (2009) proposal of realist governmentality. *Realist social constructionism* recognises the non-discursive practices and extra-discursive world in addition to the discursive formation of power-knowledge in discourse. Elder-Vass (2010) has previously positioned discourse to have causal power within his proposed social ontology of normatively-based phenomena; in particular to discourse. To apply Elder-Vass' proposal to this thesis, my social ontological claims are positioned in chapter three. Bringing the aforementioned points together, the overarching aim and objectives of this thesis are:

**Aim:**

***To understand professionals' perceptions of child sexual exploitation policy architecture (2000 – 2016), through a realist social constructionist framework, in respect of young males in England.***

**Objectives:**

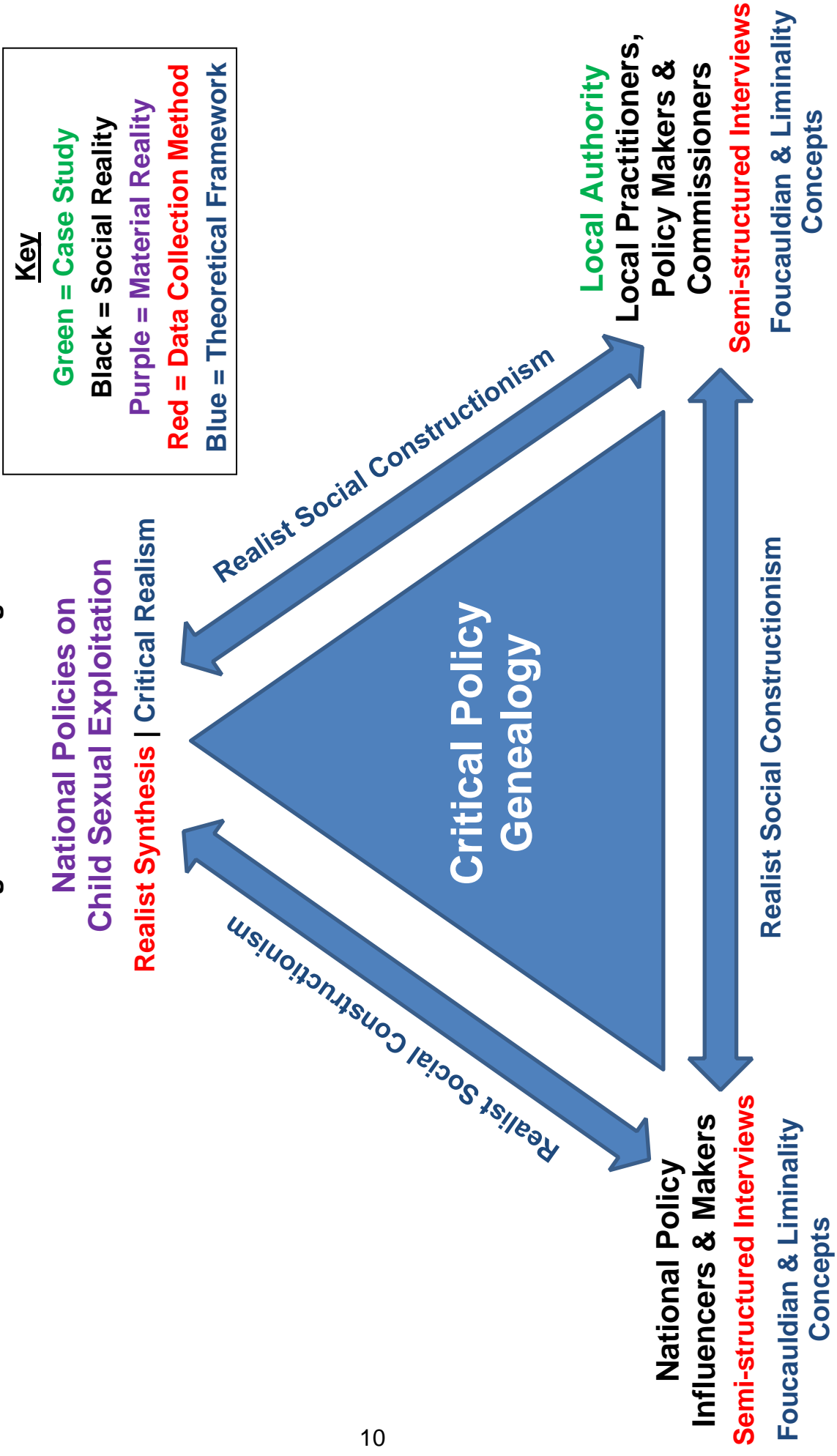
- 1. To explain how national policy architecture (2000 – 2016), aimed at the reduction of sexual exploitation of children and young people, was understood and implemented into local government with regards to young males; in what respects and why.***
- 2. To explore how the experiences, understandings and perceptions of young male victims of sexual exploitation, were presented within the local and national discourses of practitioners, policy influencers and policy makers.***

The study design should be congruent with the research question, aim and objectives and the choice of design is one of the most important processes in research (Gerrish and Lathlean 2015). With regards to the above research question, aim and objectives, a qualitative approach (Ormston *et al.* 2014) was decided to capture two distinct sets of data; one set of secondary data and the other, primary data. Each objective relates to the subsidiary questions in answering the overall research question. The first objective will be

addressed through a critical realist synthesis (CRS) of the available literature through an adapted peer-reviewed methodology (Wong *et al.* 2013, Rycroft-Malone *et al.* 2015, Edgley *et al.* 2016) for explaining complex policy interventions aimed at CSE. The second objective will be addressed through a Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis (FDA) (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008) of a purposive sample of actors within relevant institutions, within a local social policy response to CSE, in one geographical area defined by a local authority boundary within England. Figure 1.3 (overleaf) illustrates the overall study design and relationship between different datasets and demonstrates the structure / triangulation of the thesis. Figure 1.3 offers the reader a conceptual, phased, diagram of how the research was carried out and its inter-relatability with other sections and chapters of this thesis. The study design utilised a triangulated approach to situate the findings within.

The findings of this research are not generalisable, but offer context, practically speaking (*i.e.* three sources of data) and a demonstrable attempt at stabilising the data through selected theoretical positioning (*i.e.* Foucauldian concepts or critical realism). The detailed methodologies for both the CRS and FDA, however, are presented in chapters five and seven, respectively.

**Figure 1.3 Methods Diagram**



The rest of this chapter will explore pertinent social contexts to the genealogy enquiry in answering the research question and I rationalise this starting foundation for situating the discourse on young male victims of CSE for two reasons, one theoretical and the other, methodological. Theoretically, Foucault claims a strategic angle of enquiry is required when answering a specific problem through precisely theorised analyses (Bell 2002, Garland 2014). Methodologically, Evans-Agnew *et al.* (2016) advise when conducting policy research, *contexts of interest* should be decided upon once a social issue *e.g.* CSE has been selected.

The first context of interest is surrounding the public discourses on sex, which are increasingly and intrinsically linked to cultures of youth and consumerism, often articulated with a positive focus on the role of sexuality in the development of identity and subjectivity (Plummer 1995). According to Plummer, sex is often understood as taking many forms; he suggests:

*'...[sex] serves a multiplicity of purposes, including pleasure, the establishing and defining of relationships, the communication of messages concerning attitudes and lifestyles, and the provision of a major mechanism for subjection, abuse, and violence.'*

(2003a: 19)

Many academics, such as Plummer (2003b), Bauman (2003) and Phoenix (2002, 2003, 2012), have often observed that sex for leisure or pleasure can be seen as a commodity promoted through a capitalist lens of consumerism as currency or produce. According to Phoenix (2012), there has been an increasing preoccupation in the media, whether that is television, advertising or lifestyle magazines, with what constitutes *good sex* especially in terms of the ideal quantity. Attwood (2006, 2010) has also furthered this observation and claimed the sexualisation or pornification of contemporary culture has been borne from the mainstreaming of pornography and (elements of) the sex industry. Societal trends on sex and sexuality, in terms of behaviour and activities have epistemically transformed over the last 50 years. Key examples within the last 50 years include not least some technological advances in reliable contraception (Phoenix 2012) and effective biomedical preventative

measures for HIV such as pre-exposure prophylactic treatment or 'PrEP' (McCormack *et al.* 2016). This discourse is vital to understand the social realities policy actors live and work within.

The following sections of this chapter include: focusing on CSE policy development in general before identifying the 2009-2016 CSE policy position on young males; applying the learning from literature on English adult sex work policy to CSE, and lastly; identify the pertinent English social policy development concerned with the welfare and protection of children (including official expectations of national CSE policy architecture) to set the scene for the rest of the thesis. I propose that the changes in adult sex work policy are the theatre [or backdrop] in which the formal separation of 'child' from 'adults' came into being (Soothill and Sanders 2004), especially identified in an epistemic transformation exemplified in 2000.

### **CSE Policy Context, Young Males and the Research Focus**

The twenty-first century problematisation of CSE, by national governing institutions, is not new but has been reframed in contemporary times as a re-emerging moral panic (Pilgrim 2017); ubiquitous across England. The discourse surrounding young males who are affected by or are involved within CSE, however, is silenced often because of the prevailing discourse of young female victims within professional practice, policy and academic research (Green 2005, Lillywhite and Skidmore 2006, Melrose 2013a, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014, Cockbain *et al.* 2014, Brayley *et al.* 2014, Cockbain *et al.* 2015, Von Hohendorff *et al.* 2017). Roby's (2005) paper on the global sex trade demand and its impact on females (of all ages) particularly illuminates this aforementioned point. The discourse of the young male affected by, or involved in, CSE is complex and multi-factorial and is the focus of investigation within this thesis.

Since 1999, successive English governments have promoted underpinning statements that *all* children should be safeguarded and protected from abuse and exploitation, within the *Working Together To Safeguard Children: A guide*

to inter-agency working to safeguard and promote the welfare of children policies (hereafter, Working Together To Safeguard Children) (DH *et al.* 1999, 2001, DfE 2010, 2013, 2015, 2017). Table 1.1 (page 14) illustrates the government policies that have been published between 2000 and 2016 relating to the sexual market demands of both adult and children. The titles of the policies are particularly note-worthy in how the language and classification has changed over-time *i.e.* epistemically transformed (Garland 2014).

Throughout this policy development era, consecutive English governments have also proclaimed a gender-neutral approach to child protection policy and, more specifically and increasingly since 2000, to CSE policy (DH/HO 2000, DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, 2012a, HM Government 2015, DfE 2017). The author of this thesis observes an onward trend of gender-neutrality in policy architecture, which also coincides with the on-going reduction of wide-ranging child protection vocabulary previously used in national documents (Calder and Archer 2016). Calder and Archer (2016) have observed this reduction to be problematic to policy enactors within the safeguarding children arena. How this latter observation affects young males within CSE is unknown.

<b>Government Department / Year</b>	<b>Policy Title</b>	<b>Target Population</b>
Department of Health / Home Office (2000)	Safeguarding Children Involved in Prostitution - Supplementary guidance to Working Together to Safeguard Children	Children
Department of Health / Home Office (2001)	National Plan for Safeguarding Children from Commercial Sexual Exploitation	Children
Home Office (2004)	Paying the Price: a consultation paper on prostitution	Adult
Home Office (2006)	A Co-ordinated Prostitution Strategy and a summary of responses to Paying the Price	Adult
Home Office (2008)	Tackling the Demand for Prostitution: Review	Adult
Department of Children, Schools and Families (2009)	Safeguarding Children and Young People from Sexual Exploitation – Supplementary guidance to Working Together to Safeguard Children	Children
Home Office (2011)	A Review of Effective Practice in Responding to Prostitution	Adult
Department for Education (2011)	Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation Action Plan	Children
Department for Education (2012a)	Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation Action Plan – Progress Report	Children
Department for Education (2012b)	What to do if you suspect a child is being exploited – A step-by-step guide for frontline practitioners	Children
HM Government (2015)	Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation	Children

**Table 1.1 Adult Sex Work and CSE Policy Landscape from 2000 to 2016**

## **2009-2016 CSE Policy Position on Young Males**

In 2009, the English government published supplementary guidance entitled Safeguarding Children and Young People from Sexual Exploitation (DCSF 2009) (hereafter, DCSF (2009) guidance) to the Working Together to Safeguarding Children statutory guidance. This first-of-its-kind guidance had been referred to as the 'go-to-place' for local policy enactors within contemporary consecutive governmental action plans or reports on tackling CSE between 2009 and 2015 (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, DfE 2012a, HM Government 2015). The DCSF (2009) guidance stated the following regarding young males at risk of, or affected by CSE in Figure 1.4 below (irrelevant text blurred out).

### **Figure 1.4 DCSF (2009) Guidance Extract on Young Males (Page 45)**

#### **Boys and young men**

6.12 Sexual exploitation services report that as many as a third of their referrals relate to boys and young men. However, it can be more difficult to detect when boys and young men are at risk of sexual exploitation or are being sexually exploited, as they are generally harder to work with and less willing to disclose this type of information. They may also find it harder to disclose that they are being abused by other men because of issues about sexual identity. It is important that professionals who are assessing young men do not become distracted when exploring their sexual identity and fail to notice that they may be being, or are at risk of being sexually exploited. The following box illustrates possible indicators specific to boys and young men being sexually exploited. These indicators are organised according to the domains and dimensions of the *Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families*.

The guidance advised local policy enactors that, when compared with their female peers, males were '*more difficult to detect*', '*harder to work with*', '*less willing to disclose*' their abuse and were often in circumstances that made disclosure harder (DCSF 2009: 45), thus, outlining the observable sexuality of young male victims. It is unclear whether this policy section was evidenced through empirical data. In 2014, however, Cockbain *et al.* supported this claim of as many as a third of CSE victims being male, based on an analysis of England's largest known CSE database held by children's charity, Barnardo's. Cockbain *et al.*, in their statistical analysis of 9,042 children and young people aged eight to 17 years old, between the years 2008 to 2013, identified at least a third of young males (n=2986, 33%) were involved in CSE in some way.



This recent analysis highlights for the first time, that young males make a significant minority of victims of CSE despite being overlooked politically, in practice, and by academic discourse for many years (Lillywhite and Skidmore 2006). Prior to Cockbain *et al.* analysis, little was known about the risk factors, indicators, sexual exploitative experiences and support needs of young males involved in CSE, on mass. Cockbain *et al.* analysis will be critically examined in chapter six.

Alongside Cockbain *et al.* (2014) analysis, Brayley *et al.* (2014) undertook a rapid evidence assessment (REA) on the sexual exploitation of young males. Brayley *et al.* identified that, within the literature, it had been suggested that masculine stereotypes often prevented males from expressing emotion or talk about problems openly, inhibiting males from disclosing abusive situations and prolonging the abuse. The authors also identified several other factors that increased young males at risk including: family factors such as parental alcohol abuse, parental criminal behaviour and a history of sexual victimisation in the family; homelessness; higher propensity of 'going missing from home'; lack of available trusted adults to disclose and report abuse to including a lack of awareness of CSE in parents or carers (including residential care home staff). In conclusion to Brayley *et al.* REA, five key themes arose: 1) males constitute a substantial minority of child sexual abuse victims; 2) male victims are more likely to be abused by female offenders than are female victims; 3) institutional settings may be particularly conducive to initiating and sustaining abuse; 4) technology creates new avenue for abuse and; 5) male and female victims may react differently to abuse.

CSE policy architecture has been used within this thesis to demonstrate and critique how young males (a largely undefined, under-conceptualised population in sexual exploitation) have been constructed in comparison to young females. It is evident from the published literature that gender plays a large part in determining who is more 'at risk' or not 'at risk' in CSE policy (Green 2005, Lillywhite and Skidmore 2006, Pearce 2006, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014, Cockbain *et al.* 2014, Brayley *et al.* 2014, Gilligan 2016, Von Hohendorff *et al.* 2017). The case for the development of sexual

exploitation language and females has been well-documented within the literature that is explored later in chapter two e.g. Kelly's 1988 seminal work on the '*continuum of sexual violence*', which is explicitly gynocentric. When applied to young males, the continuum highlights the minimal or lack of acceptable language and classifications in sexual violence associated with the male identity, between the exception of extremes e.g. 'young male with a normal sex drive' and 'victim of CSE'.

### ***Research focus within the thesis***

While I do not disagree with the aforementioned underpinning governing statements to safeguard *all* children, I contest, in this thesis, whether homogeneity in policy, through a neutral position on gender, is ever helpful to policy enactors; especially preventing, or at least reducing, young males' involvement in CSE. I am particularly interested in how policy actors perceive, and policy define, the (normal) development of young males' sexualities, when involved in, or affected by abusive or exploitative circumstances in light of this homogeneity. This line of enquiry brings into question how 'near-to-adult' males are conceptualised in the engagement with policy, especially those males who are considered to be 'at risk' of exploitation, rather than direct victims. I argue that both discursive and non-discursive practices, as well as the discursive and extra-discursive worlds, are immersed within and outside of CSE policy architecture, ultimately constructing the victim(s) of CSE. How the social and material realities of discourse are constructed around CSE policy enactment are defined and understood is critically positioned in chapter three.

In a recent critical realist analysis on child sexual abuse (CSA) (going beyond the definition of CSE to include all types of sexual abuse of children e.g. within the familial environment), Pilgrim (2017) found that much of the literature available on CSA is often dominated by strong social constructionism, especially through a lens of feminist or moral panic theory. Whilst Pilgrim's paper will be analysed in depth in chapter two, in short, he believes that this form of argument can often over-ride the practicality of dealing with a problem and limit what can be achieved to address it. Similarly, this situation also

exists within the few available critical or analytic literature on CSE policy implementation; and those that do exist are positioned within a feminist theoretical framework or is not stated. I later explore in chapter three that alternative theoretical frameworks (such as Foucauldian, liminality and critical realist) exist to assist in developing new episteme on how young male victims have been constructed. This thesis adopts Foucault's notion of episteme to illuminate these less dominate discourses that can be defined as:

'...knowledge constituted through a set of discursive practices and formations, and which cuts across institutions to shape and reify a particular way of knowing the world.'

(Adams 2012: 328)

McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014) have established that whilst there has been a growing interest into CSE, the focus has tended to be fixated on females. Melrose (2013a), in her critical discourse analysis, particularly observes this, whereby the 'child' within CSE is often that of a female child and her sexual agency. Consequentially, Brayley *et al.* (2014) observed the implications of gender within CSE research are under-developed. Conceptualising various arguments within transactional sex between adults (*e.g.* adult sex work), and indeed CSE, becomes difficult when all the participants (*i.e.* the buyer or abuser and provider or victim) are of the same gender (Edlund and Korn 2002, Giutsa *et al.* 2009). Green's (2001, 2005) influential work on the theorisation of gender, agency, sexuality and sexual abuse, within residential children's homes, particularly explores the naïve corroboration of such terms, within professional language. Green (2005) emphasises the importance of gender when understanding issues associated with children, sexual abuse and sexuality; from her doctoral study observing practitioners (often) misusing, or inappropriately synonymising terms such as gender, sex and sexuality. This current thesis builds on Green's theoretical understandings and is critically analysed in chapter two.

Recent media and political coverage, however, have been constructed through an ethnic and highly gendered lens, almost exclusively viewing victims as young, able-bodied, white females who are exploited by Asian

working-class males (Cockbain 2013). Cockbain (2013) argues that stereotyping through narrow discourses on a highly specific crime generates a discourse of racism. This racist discourse propels political agenda and leads to the development of policy innovations for dealing with too-narrowly-defined crime threats (Cockbain 2013); thus, ultimately not helping *all* victims (such as young males). Within this recent media and political surge, an emerging discourse on the 'child sex offender' has come to light. This contextualising discourse will be critically discussed in chapter two within the ***Moral Panics as a Theoretical Driver to Policy Development*** section in preparation for such discourse within the primary data presented in this thesis (chapter eight, page 261).

### **Applying the Learning from the Literature on English Adult Sex Work Policy to the Child Sexual Exploitation Policy**

This section assembles the literature on English adult sex work policy reformation to identify the policy realisation for the welfarist / protection needs of CSE victims. This section focuses particularly on analysing the socio-political discursive practices that became observable in the Labour government's 2004 consultation paper on prostitution entitled *Paying the Price: a consultation on prostitution* (Home Office 2004), where a clear and formal distinction between children and adults first came into being (Soothill and Sanders 2004). While national policies on adult sex work and CSE have been published within every elected government since the new millennium, in comparison to the previous century, front-line practice has also developed with specific, welfarist services for all those serving the commercial sex markets, children and adults alike (Phoenix 2007).

Since the 1970s, as a result of feminist activism, the term 'sex work' has superseded what was traditionally referred to as prostitution, in order to recognise the exchange of sexual service between consenting adults. This recognition affords sex work with the same status as any other form of work, especially within a neo-liberal debate (Giddens and Sutton 2013), although in light of the surge in research and political debate on sexual violence, globally,

this term *sex work* could be contested. 'Commercial sex markets' can be more broadly defined as a term for the macro-level descriptor of transactional sex, whereas, prostitution can be defined as to include social institution dimensions, that offer a socio-historical context (Phoenix 2012). The definitions of 'sex work', 'prostitution' and 'commercial sex markets' are important from a politico-social-legal perspective.

Phoenix (2012) claims that the definition of *prostitution* should be viewed as a social institution; she offers this conceptualisation because of the blurring of boundaries associated with what society views as private sexual relations and local economy. From Phoenix's standpoint, prostitution cannot just be seen as a simple transaction of sex exchanged for money, or something else of value; prostitution conveys various concepts and platforms such as sexuality, intimacy and on a greater degree, economics. In reading through this section of policy reformation, the reader should bear in mind this aforementioned manifestation. Phoenix (2007) describes the reformations to sex work policy since the late 1990s as a 'quiet revolution', with a number of policy interventions by the Labour government (1997-2010).

While selling sex is not in itself a criminal offence, the current legislation creates a paradoxical situation for both providers and buyers of sexual services, whereby some activities that are involved in the transaction of sexual services are illegal (Sanders *et al.* 2009). Various sex work scholars maintain that sex work should be considered in its current paradigm, as a legitimate form of work, and that social policy should reflect this reality (Scott 2003, Bimbi 2007, Minichiello *et al.* 2013, Crofts 2014). It is important to emphasise that this contemporary discourse on the legitimacy of sex work as 'work' is somewhat limiting (Sanderson *et al.* 2009). These crimes include pimping through control to gain, soliciting in a public place, kerb crawling, and owning or managing a brothel.

Perhaps a good starting point to understanding the macro-level of transactional sex is to understand how sex, sexuality and sex work have been regulated. When considering CSE, the regulatory framework in adult sex work

policy is important to bear in mind, especially with how various strategies have succeeded or failed. Contemporary CSE research has generally not discussed these aforementioned points with regards to what works and what does not. Generally, national policy frameworks toward sex work that exist within England are situated through the following streams: public protection through regulation, especially aimed at the circumstances surrounding female street-based sex workers (Gaffney 2007, Whowell 2010, O'Neill 2007, Sanders 2008, Whowell and Gaffney 2009); state interventions on exiting sex work (Gaffney 2007), and the prevention of young (female) people entering the sex work industry (Phoenix 2002, Pearce 2006). The lack of acknowledgement of males (whether CSE victim or provider of sexual services) is reflected in academic research, which has focused primarily on analysing the national policy drivers affecting female sex workers, but seldom other types of sex workers such as adult males (Scott 2003, Gaffney 2007, Whowell and Gaffney 2009, Whowell 2010).

What is of particular interest to me is whether the policy and professional approaches that are employed through supporting adults involved in transactional sex can be applied to young people involved in CSE. The thesis documents recurring structural and material similarities that exist between the nature of circumstances of individuals and settings of transactional sex. Numbers of sex workers are largely unknown, however, Cusick *et al.* (2009) calculated 35,870 sex workers in England and Scotland in areas where specialist sex work projects served (n=54). Clearly with such high numbers, risk averse policy is not only favourable in austere times but dominant and the circumstantial similarities do not necessarily change between adults and children. Child protection procedures are considered best practice to apply when a young person is deemed to be at risk of CSE (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, HM Government 2015), whereas with the adults in the same situation, approaches of risk or harm minimisation are employed. Harm minimisation approaches used within (adult) domestic violence interventions have started to be discussed within academic literature, suggesting this could optimise protecting young people from CSE (Coy 2008, Pearce 2013, Dodsworth 2013, Hallett 2015, Gilligan 2016). This analysis will offer an opportunity to observe

similarities and differences with regard to regulatory practices for two different groups: children and adults. While this might seem extraordinary in a thesis looking at CSE, there are two key points to consider as presented below.

Firstly, scholars who have examined adults (as providers) involved in commercial sex markets have been able to have a more open debate on the problems of policy innovation, reformation and development related to sex work. Such examination includes the epistemological and methodological issues associated with a continuum of sexual violence to sex work (Phoenix 2012). This has been somewhat restricted in academic thought on children and young people engaged in sex work (Smette *et al.* 2009, Dodsworth 2013, Hallett 2015, Gilligan 2016).

Secondly, adult sex work policy innovation has had more attention and wider consultation, and has developed a variety of *welfarist* approaches, that lean towards adults exiting commercial sex work. This approach also applies to the policy reformation with CSE. Phoenix (2010) has identified much of this policy landscape to be neo-liberal and risk-aversion orientated, within sex work policy, which is a common trend in child protection policy as a whole (Kirton 2012). Contemporary CSE policy originates from the early 2000s having previously been 'dealt with', through risk aversion, within the legislative shifts in child protection of the late 1980s, starting with the introduction of the UK's Children Act 1989 (Phoenix 2002, 2003). The specific policy landscape for children and young people will be explored at the end of this chapter and chapter six, with definitional shifts ranging from a child's involvement in commercial sex markets and youth prostitution to a formalised sub-type of child sexual abuse (Phoenix 2002, 2003).

Since the new millennium, government policies aimed at both adults and children have focused primarily on adult sex workers and victims of CSE and have demonised both purchasers and abusers in an explicitly gendered model (Coy 2016). A disadvantage of adopting a victim-approach not only silences other discourses of other victim profiles, but also may occlude professional practice from seeking alternative perspectives. This relationship between

sexual agency of adults remaining in sex work, and sex work policy, is relatively well understood in sex work literature; but the sexual agency in children involved in CSE has only been brought to light via various piece-meal research studies (Dodsworth 2013, Hallett 2015, Gilligan 2016). How sexual agency is 'dealt with' in local CSE policy implementation will be examined in chapter six.

### ***Categorisation of Prostitution: Eradicating the Observable***

Prior to 2004, the last review into prostitution undertaken by the government was in 1957, with the Home Office's publication of the Wolfenden Committee's Report on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution (1957) (hereafter, Wolfenden Report) (Soothill and Sanders 2004, Sanders 2008, Laing and Gaffney 2014). Nearly 50 years on, the Home Office under the Labour government released a paper on prostitution entitled Paying the Price: a consultation on prostitution (Home Office 2004). Paying the Price outlined a consultation period to major stakeholders involved in managing both street and off-street prostitution. Sagar and Jones (2013) observed the aim of the then Home Secretary, David Blunkett, for Paying the Price was to achieve a central aim of discovering ways to eradicate street-based sex work, as it could not be tolerated in communities and to do nothing would 'fail' communities (Home Office 2004). Phoenix (2007) conceptualises three modes of interventions that can be applied globally, including criminalisation, decriminalisation and legislation. Within both Paying the Price and the A Co-ordinated Prostitution Strategy and a summary of responses to Paying the Price (hereafter, Strategy) (Home Office 2006), Phoenix (2007) positioned these policies aimed to abolish prostitution via both criminalisation e.g. of behaviours associated with sex working, and decriminalisation e.g. of minors involved in sex working.

Soothill and Sanders (2004) observed that the consultation paper lacked a historical context, ignorant of politico-legal landmarks in particular, such as the Wolfenden Report, which should have been acknowledged due its pertinence on morality on sex in contemporary politics. Both aforementioned authors



were unsure whether *Paying the Price* had taken some basis from the relevance of historical benchmarks such as the *Wolfenden Report* or frankly negated it. They make the case that prostitution can be considered from many perspectives but feel the important one is through the private versus public spheres. In their analysis of *Paying the Price*, Soothill and Sanders (2004) observed the policy was primarily interested in B and D in Figure 1.5.

**Figure 1.5 Categories of Prostitution (Soothill and Sanders 2004)**

	Private	Public
Minor (Under 18 years)	A	B
Adult	C	D

Identical observations could be seen with the *Strategy* (Home Office 2006), where a zero-tolerance approach was taken with street-based sex work, yet limited attention drawn to other forms, such as indoor-working (Scoular and O'Neill 2007). Sanders (2008) noted that *Paying the Price* and the *Strategy* deliberately ignored indoor sex markets in their focus on '... *disrupting sex markets*' (Home Office 2006: 1), and this agenda would actually increase the exploitation of sex workers who were not under the surveillance of pimps.

While no connection was made in either *Paying the Price* or the *Strategy* to the *Wolfenden Report* (1957), Phoenix (2002) noted that the 1957 report focused on street-based sex work, rather than other forms of sex work, due to its concerns with going outside the realms of private morality, *i.e.* no observable deviation of sex from a married heterosexual couple within the home. The Labour government, however, widened its focus on sex work beyond these spheres to include community safety, through a coordinated model of intervention of street-based sex work (O'Neill 2007). Soothill and Sanders (2004) remarked that Labour's focus on street-based sex work coincidentally replicated the *Wolfenden Report's* focus on the public realm,

while ignoring the 'private', although O'Neill (2007) believed that this may not have been intentional.

Soothill and Sanders (2004) undertook preliminary analysis of *Paying the Price* before the four-month consultation period had finished; they highlighted four key areas that they deemed to be progressive and praiseworthy. These four areas included: continuing focus on the protection of children involved in prostitution; specific issues regarding trafficked females and children; promotion of the welfare needs of people involved in prostitution, and providing an open platform for modes of management used to regulate street and off-street prostitution. To reiterate, this was the first-time adult sex work policy had recognised children as a separate group to adults with specific welfarist and protection needs.

### ***A Re-Focus on Sex Worker Agency in Sex Work Policy***

In 2006, the Labour government released the first major prostitution policy in the UK entitled *A Co-Ordinated Prostitution Strategy* (Home Office 2006), alongside a summary of responses from the *Paying the Price* consultation paper (Home Office 2006). Scoular *et al.* (2007) observed new concerns in relation to how prostitution came about in both documents with regards to community safety and exploitation, alongside themes of decency and morality that had perhaps over half a century to mature since the *Wolfenden* report. The *Strategy* outlined four objectives which included: challenging the inevitability of street prostitution; reducing street prostitution; improving the safety and quality of life of communities affected by street prostitution; and reducing all forms of commercial sexual exploitation (Scoular *et al.* 2007). The conclusion of Scoular *et al.* (2007) were that sex workers, in this new policy framework, risked being perceived as anti-social if they did not behave like *victims* and exited sex work, and thus of being particularly worthy from being persecuted or prosecuted. This observation has a direct impact on sexual agency of those involved, providing sexual services within commercial sex markets. This theme of anti-sociality can be noted in children and young people who 'persist' in their involvement in sexually exploitative situations, explained in the critical realist synthesis, in chapter six.

The Labour government, through their Strategy, started to shift policy attention to clients of sexual services through the community safety rights agenda (O'Neill 2007). It was also the first time ever where the focus of regulation was widened from females to include males, the purchasers of sexual services, through criminalising their demand (Sanders *et al.* 2009). The overall focus of the Strategy was in relation to community safety. O'Neill (2007) identified three key drivers in relation to community safety within the strategy: prevention of involvement, fostering routes out of sex work, and protecting communities from street-based sex markets

After the enactment of the Sexual Offences Act 2003, David Blunkett MP wanted to create a new moral framework on sex work (Scoular and O'Neill 2007). Blunkett especially '*...called for a 'new' moral framework to... 'save' women and children from the evils of what now is to be termed 'commercial sexual exploitation'.*' (Scoular and O'Neill 2007: 765). These reforms were a priority for the Labour government, however, safety of sex workers was not a primary consideration. The plans for reform were problematic because they were contradictory and hard to understand (Scoular and O'Neill 2007). While the Labour government's attempts at neo-liberal *progressive governance* was intentionally about devolving power from central government to local, multi-agency partnerships, it also put a social responsibility on street-based sex workers to engage with local partnerships (Scoular and O'Neill 2007). Under closer examination, this social responsibility pushed on sex workers to *exit* the profession and make better life choices, disguised under the notions of 'inclusion' however, and 'active citizenship' (Scoular and O'Neill 2007). Scoular and O'Neill (2007) observed the government did not place the same responsibility on other sex workers based in more enterprising, neo-liberal settings such as indoor markets. Scoular and O'Neill concluded through the Strategy, that the Labour government attempted to use risk-management and social responsabilisation of (female) sex workers of exiting, through the rhetoric of social inclusion and privileging certain forms of citizenship. Both authors made a number of observations relating to the Labour government's bifurcating, neo-liberal agenda, of specifically offering a dichotomous decision of either exiting or remaining in prostitution, proving problematic. It firstly

excluded those who wished to remain in sex work by criminalisation and marginalisation, while condoning and offering welfarist interventions to those who resumed non-sex working lifestyles. Secondly, those who persisted with what was now referred to as commercial sexual exploitation, instead of prostitution, were classed as anti-social.

The most recent sex work policy addressing adult involvement is the Home Office (2011) *A Review of Effective Practice in Responding to Prostitution*. This Review is yet to be evaluated for its impact on local authorities and sex workers (Laing and Gaffney 2014). The Review seemingly continues the welfarist / exiting model, as outlined in Phoenix's (2007) observations. From the author of this thesis observing this aforementioned policy, the review heavily focused on community engagement and multi-agency working, in order to identify, prevent and exit individuals from sex working.

### ***Construction of 'Male' in Adult Sex Work Policy***

Psycho-social, psycho-sexual and physical vulnerabilities present in sexual exploitation and violence in sex work are highly concerning, however, similar constructions of the 'exploitation' experiences of young males involved in CSE and adult male sex workers may be apparent. Previous literature suggests that not all those who are involved in transactional sex are always coerced into such work or exploitation (Bimbi 2007, Gaffney 2007, Whowell 2011). Previous research has found that males are less likely to be coerced into sex work or controlled by pimps and experience less violence from males who buy sex from them when compared with females (West and de Villiers 1993, Aggleton 1999, Weinberg *et al.* 1999, Valera *et al.* 2001); they are also more able exercise control over their work (Scott 2003, Minichiello *et al.* 2013). Kingston (2009) states that, historically, policy within England regarding prostitution has always focused attention on the providers, rather than the buyers, of sexual services. With the exception of rape, the *Sexual Offences Act 2003* adopts a gender-neutral stance (HM Government 2003), yet national policy on sex work appears to associate male identities as deviant and dangerous (Whowell 2010). Kingston has inferred an anti-male rhetoric within sex work policy and practice aimed at reducing male involvement simply as

clients, abusers and / or pimps. Whowell (2010) observed that the policy not only failed to see males as the providers of sexual services but constructed males as the drivers in the demand for sex work (whether clients or pimps), clearly showing a gender-bias in sex work policy in England (Gaffney 2007). This is problematic on two accounts, firstly for the males who provide sexual services to clients and secondly, also to those males who purchase sexual services. Weitzer (2005) identifies how the lack of insight into male sex workers' needs is due to their invisibility in policies, research and the media.

In contrast to the literature focused on females involved in sexual violence / sex work, Whowell (2010) in her study on males who have sex with males involved in sex work, found males tended to 'act up' to a hypermasculinised ('macho' / machismo) appearance, often seen and described as the popularised twenty-first century pejorative epithet *chav*. One consequence of this has been that these males are *invisible* to the police authorities and do not present as typical sex workers on the streets (Whowell 2010). Although, Whowell found that males were often associated with other crime, also, due to their performance of body and dress. This hyper-masculinised identity, however, has been highlighted in other studies, especially on those who do sex-work via the Internet (Bimbi 2007). This hyper-masculinity through invisibility may play a role with young males and therefore influence professional practice aimed at preventing, or at least reducing, their involvement in sexual exploitation. Bimbi's (2007) and Whowell's (2010) findings support Gaffney (2007) who contends that most adult males sit within the middle of the spectrum between sexual exploitation and non-coercive sex work, often characterised through selling sexual services for a short period of time, working off the streets, and would therefore not readily recognise the 'victimhood' rhetoric suggested by the contemporary policies. Gaffney identified different issues for sex work involvement including exploration of sexuality, immigration status and the highly competitive nature of the commercial male sex scene. This theme of invisibility of the 'male' other than those defined as an abuser / client / pimp will continue in chapter two entitled ***An Epistemological Genealogy on Sex, Sexual Violence and the Positioning of Children.***

This section has critically examined an alternative foundation to base what we know of CSE, both historically and how it is framed in contemporary policy. Rather than having welfarist policy that caters for all adult sex workers, *Labour* created a deserving and undeserving (or anti-social) bifurcation of the adult sex worker. A significant amount of *Labour* policies appeared to emphasise the social responsibilities of sex workers within a community rights agenda. How males have been constructed within recent adult sex work policy reformation remains relatively unknown. Having explored the adult sex work policy reformation in England from the millennium to 2016, comparisons, as well as the identification of similarities (especially with a focus on gender), can now be critically examined on children and young people's involvement in sexual exploitative circumstances or situations. This examination will be continued in the first programme theory of the critical realist synthesis (CRS) (chapter six) with the proliferation of CSE policy, as this chapter has accomplished on adult sex work policy.

### **Social Policy concerned with the Protection and Welfare of Children affected by, or involved in Sexual Exploitation**

This last section summarises the types of national policy responses to CSE and subsequent official expectations between 2000 and 2016 within England. Kirton (2012) would describe the current social policy model towards the care and protection of children as based on risk aversion and CSE has been ultimately developed through this model. This concept of risk is theorised within the theoretical considerations in relation to child protection policy and practice in chapter two (page 46).

### ***Contemporary Thought on CSE and other abuse categories***

CSE is different to other types of abuse categories governed by child protective legislation yet scholars have argued that the current child protection services offered are often not adapted to CSE, for two reasons. Firstly, the situation of CSE is often abuse-out-of-the-home, and, as such, does not run congruently with traditional child protection practice, *i.e.* where the focus is on abuse-within-the-home (Munro 2011, Pearce 2014a, 2014b, Thomas and

D'Arcy 2017)<sup>2</sup>. Secondly, resources within children's social care are limited and primarily target the early intervention issues, in relation to younger children. The ideal of early intervention, with 'older' young people (transitioning into adulthood), becomes extremely limited, if not non-existent (Pearce 2014a, 2014b). Warrington (2013) has suggested that young people in the latter half of adolescent development, within child protection discursive practices, are often not afforded the same priority of vulnerability as their younger counterparts. Hence why I articulate the need for a CRS (chapter six) to critically explain the assumed 'one-size-fits-all' panacea of child protection policy (through identifying and refining programme theories) aimed at young male victims of CSE is not clear-cut and is, indeed, somewhat problematic.

Jones (2014) has drawn attention to the increasing demands and workloads of child protection referrals services have had to deal with. Jones had remarked upon an observable increase of 42% (n=37,700) of Section 47 child protection investigations in four years, between 2009 and 2013 due to significant 'failures' circulating within political and media discourse. Whilst this increase is remarkable, sexual abuse, as a child abuse category, only constituted 5% of all reasons for a child to be subject to a child protection plan on 31<sup>st</sup> March 2014 (Jütte *et al.* 2015). This has no doubt created ever-more challenges in child protection assessments, however, CSE has had its own (further) layers of ethical substance to reckon with; namely that of the devastating and widespread discovery of the serial, sexual predation and abuse by the late Sir Jimmy Savile (1926 – 2011) (Erooga 2017), as one example. Since the 'watershed' moment in 2012 (Spindler 2017) of Savile's sexual abuse of vulnerable people (mostly children) has created a tsunamic catalogue of consequential governmental events (Erooga 2017). Governmental events that have had to comprehend a substantial rise in the reporting of both historical and recent sexual abuse cases to the police (Laville 2016), leading to a proliferation of detailed reviews by many governing

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<sup>2</sup> The National Plan for Safeguarding Children from Commercial Sexual Exploitation (DH/HO 2001: 2) stated it did not cover sexual abuse within the family, unless it was linked to commercial exploitation (now referred to as CSE).

institutions. As a result of Savile's abuse, a total of 75 detailed reviews of safeguarding process, procedure and practice by official bodies (such as schools, NHS trusts, police constabularies) were undertaken, between 2013 and 2016<sup>3</sup>. These reviews took place to prevent similar scenarios involving the sex offending against vulnerable people, especially children, in the future (Erooga 2017). The process of reviews has created an ethical, yet uneasy, situation for governing institutions, whereby once-unknown risks and threats were brought to forefront, not only challenging past governance of childhood but also that of the present and future to safeguard children.

### ***Types of national policy responses to CSE***

In order to deal with once-unknown risks from CSE, unlike other forms of child abuse such as physical abuse, has had a number of specific national policy responses since 2000. This sub-section informs the reader of the types of national responses and official expectations from policy (DH/HO 2000, DH 2001, DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, DfE 2012a, DfE 2012b, HM Government 2015) to provide context for both datasets presented in chapter six and eight. The development of policy culture and context, however, will be examined and explored in the data chapters.

The CSE policy documents as presented in Table 1.1 (page 14) were split into two distinct groups. The first group included policy with specific statements and commitments from Government that referred to statutory guidance:

- *National Plan for Safeguarding Children from Commercial Sexual Exploitation* (DH/HO 2001);
- *Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation Action Plan* (DfE 2011) and;
- *Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation* (HM Government 2015).

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<sup>3</sup> The primary data collected for this thesis was within this time period.



The second group included three statutory guidance documents including:

- *Safeguarding Children Involved in Prostitution - Supplementary guidance to Working Together to Safeguard Children* (DH/HO 2000);
- *Safeguarding Children and Young People from Sexual Exploitation – Supplementary guidance to Working Together to Safeguard Children* (DCSF 2009) and;
- *What to do if you suspect a child is being exploited – A step-by-step guide for frontline practitioners* (DfE 2012b).

All of the above policy documents were supplementary to the over-arching *Working Together To Safeguard Children* inter-agency statutory guidance.

The policies from 2000 to 2009 will be analysed in chapter six but this chapters offer the reader the most current policy context, where no published studies have examined policies from 2011 to 2016.

In 2011, the UK government published the *Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation Action Plan* (hereafter, *Action Plan*) (DfE 2011)<sup>4</sup> as a direct response to the published report entitled *Puppet on a string: the urgent need to cut children free from sexual exploitation* by the anti-child abuse and children’s charity, Barnardo’s (2011a). The lobbying document directly called for the government to create an action plan, as opposed to another cycle of statutory guidance, to deal with CSE, as well as appointing a minister of parliament. The coalition government announced Tim Loughton MP to the role of Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Children and Families, in the spring of 2011, and an action plan was published in the autumn of the same year. The *Action Plan* was launched by Tim Loughton, who wrote in his ministerial forward that the intentions were to deal with ‘*a horrendous crime against children*’ (DfE 2011: 1) calling on the statutory services to enhance their responses to CSE in local

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<sup>4</sup> No extra funding or ring fencing was issued along with the *Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation Action Plan*. This has been historically postulated by Harper and Scott (2005) that child protective services aimed at young people are limited due to the resources being so finite.

areas (DfE 2011). This document entailed, for the first time in CSE policy, an action plan rather than guidance instructing local authorities. Subsequently, this action plan was updated through the publication of a national progress report in 2012. There has been some attempt to draw a small evidence-base to the Action Plan, with intelligence, through the use of Child Online and Exploitation Protection Centre threat assessment, and research from Jago *et al.* (2011). This differs from previous CSE policy documents, which were developed through a pure political ideology, or exclusively from voluntary sector lobbying (as seen in preceding policy documents e.g. DH/HO 2000), although the size of the problem of CSE only went as far as stating that any young person could be affected. In relation to young males, the Action Plan funded campaign work of the voluntary sector organisation, Yorkshire MESMAC's BLAST project, entitled 'THINK AGAIN'<sup>5</sup>, to challenge these gender gaps in CSE policy and practice, however, no evaluative data exists to suggest its impact.

The Conservative government (2015-present) renewed its intentions to 'tackle' CSE, in a new policy document entitled Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation (HM Government 2015), as a result of two independent reports, by Jay (2014) and Casey (2015), respectively. There was no mention within the 2015 policy of the previous coalition government's work on CSE or the efforts by *New Labour*. Neither did this new policy stipulate actions that were required, other than the political ideology of eradicating CSE. This policy development has reflected an embryonic loop-cycle to policy development.

Throughout the Coalition Government's reports (2010 – 2015), no historical mentions were made with reference to New Labour's (2001) National Plan for SCIP, much of which had the same determinations as this new Action Plan. As with the Strategy (Home Office 2006) with a focus on the purchasers of sexual services (Sanders *et al.* 2009), a much clearer focus on the offenders

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<sup>5</sup> BLAST Project was currently the only CSE project dedicated to young males in England and was funded a grant of £80,000 by the Department for Education to undertake national development work on young males between 2011 and 2017.

of CSE is observed in the Action Plan and Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation government report (HM Government 2015), placing onus on addressing the issue of CSE on the microscopic situations of young people as opposed to the structural and economic factors (Melrose 2013a).

Table 1.2 (overleaf) sets out the CSE policy landscape from 2000 to 2016, documenting the years in operation of each policy document, the official expectations set within each policy and any particular mentions on young male victims.

Policy Title	Years in Operation	Official Expectations in Policy	Particulars on Young Male Victims
Safeguarding Children Involved in Prostitution - Supplementary guidance to Working Together to Safeguard Children (DH/HO 2000)	2000-2009 9 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To recognise the majority of children involved in prostitution do not enter voluntarily and are enticed, coerced or 'utterly desperate'.</li> <li>• Guidance to be following in line with <u>Working Together To Safeguard Children: A guide to inter-agency working to safeguard and promote the welfare of children</u> (DH et al. 1999)</li> <li>• No definition of available, however throughout the policy children are defined as 'being involved in prostitution'.</li> <li>• Local Area Child Protection Committees (ACPC) must act on children involved in prostitution. Crawley et al. (2004) identified that ACPCs should make arrangements to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Actively enquire into the extent to which children are involved in prostitution.</li> <li>○ Develop a local protocol on children involved in prostitution, and to monitor and review the operation of the protocol.</li> <li>○ Provide a local resource and source of expertise for practitioners who have concerns that a child may be at risk of being drawn into prostitution or is being abused through prostitution.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• All services (including police, health, social services, education and all other agencies) must be able to recognise children who are at risk or involved in prostitution.</li> <li>• All services to treat children involved in prostitution as children who are in need and may be suffering or likely to suffer significant harm.</li> </ul>	<p>Gender-neutral language throughout.</p> <p>Young people under the age of 16 cannot legally consent to sexual activity. Young males under the age of 18 cannot consent to homosexual activity. Anyone engaging in sexual activity (whether for money or not) with a girl or boy under 16 (whether male or female) and an adult male engaging in sexual activity with a male under 18 is committing an offence.</p> <p>An example of how young males become involved in prostitution. Streetwise Youth (an organisation providing support to young males who are being exploited and abused through prostitution and to young</p>

National Plan for Safeguarding Children from Commercial	2001-2009 8 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All services to work together to prevent abuse and provide opportunities and strategies to children to exit from prostitution.</li> <li>• Chapter four of the guidance explains how children become involved in prostitution, primarily focusing on the 'older boyfriend' model.</li> <li>• All services to work together to investigate and prosecute offenders who coerce, exploit and abuse children through prostitution. This is an emphasis change to make sure that primary law enforcement is focused on the offenders rather than that of children.</li> <li>• If welfarist interventions do not work and children who do not exit prostitution by choosing to voluntarily remain may face the criminal justice system in the same way as other young offenders do.</li> </ul> <p>Children should only be prosecuted once the following factors are explored with interagency discussion: age and vulnerability of the child, the needs of the child, any substance misuse by the child, the return to prostitution is genuinely voluntary and no evidence of coercion and the child knows understands the criminal justice proceedings and the impact this may have in the future.</p>	males involved in prostitution) found that many of the boys and young males who become involved in prostitution are gay and have experienced homophobic reactions to their sexuality, often leaving them alone and unsupported. A significant number of the young males in contact with Streetwise Youth were separated from one or both parents by the age of 15, and over 60% report childhood sexual and physical abuse as well as emotional abuse and neglect. Most of Streetwise Youth's clients misuse drugs and alcohol in their efforts to deal with earlier damaging and current experiences.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This national plan was developed through a political ideology and voluntary sector lobbying to treat children involved in prostitution.</li> <li>• This national plan to be following in line with <u>Working Together To Safeguard Children: A guide to inter-agency working to</u></li> </ul>	Gender-neutral language

<p>Sexual Exploitation (DH/HO 2001)</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>safeguard and promote the welfare of children</u> (DH et al. 1999)</li> <li>• This national plan defines children involved in prostitution slightly differently by children are ‘...who are induced or coerced into unlawful sexual activities for the commercial advantage of others.’ (DH/HO 2001: 2). The national plan also defines commercial sexual exploitation as ‘...the prostitution of children and young people; the production, sale, marketing and possession of pornographic material involving children; the distribution of pornographic pictures of children over the internet; trafficking in children; and sex tourism involving children.’ (DH/HO 2001: 2).</li> <li>• This national plan set out that it would not be static and would be developed annually.</li> <li>• This national plan emphasises action through co-ordination and co-operation, prevention, protection, recovery and reintegration and children’s participation.</li> </ul> <p>This national plan follows the same expectations as previous policy (DH/HO 2000).</p>	
<p>Safeguarding Children and Young People from Sexual Exploitation – Supplementary guidance to Working</p>	<p>2009-2017 8 years</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This guidance was developed through the government’s drive to improve outcomes for children, including sexual exploitation. Other policy developments were mentioned which created the context of the guidance including related adult sex work policy i.e. <u>Co-ordinated Prostitution Strategy</u> (Home Office 2006) and children’s policy including <u>Children’s Plan</u> (DCSF 2007), <u>Staying Safe: Action Plan</u> (HM Government <u>agency working to safeguard and promote the welfare of children</u> (HM Government 2006)).</li> </ul>	<p>The policy is gender-neutral throughout however offers a subsection on young males involved in CSE. This subsection is explored elsewhere in the thesis</p>

<p>Together to Safeguard Children (DCSF 2009)</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The guidance proposes a new description of child sexual exploitation: ‘Sexual exploitation of children and young people under 18 involves exploitative situations, contexts and relationships where young people (or a third person or persons) receive ‘something’ (e.g. food, accommodation, drugs, alcohol, cigarettes, affection, gifts, money) as a result of them performing, and/or another or others performing on them, sexual activities. Child sexual exploitation can occur through the use of technology without the child’s immediate recognition; for example being persuaded to post sexual images on the Internet/mobile phones without immediate payment or gain. In all cases, those exploiting the child/young person have power over them by virtue of their age, gender, intellect, physical strength and/or economic or other resources. Violence, coercion and intimidation are common, involvement in exploitative relationships being characterised in the main by the child or young person’s limited availability of choice resulting from their social/economic and/or emotional vulnerability’ (DCSF 2009: 9).</li> <li>• The first chapter states the scope and purpose of the guidance and advises local authorities to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Develop local prevention strategies.</li> <li>○ Identify those at risk of sexual exploitation.</li> <li>○ Take action to safeguard and promote the welfare of particular children and young people who may be sexually exploited.</li> <li>○ Take action against those intent on abusing and exploiting children and young people sexually.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• The second chapter elaborates on key principles required for effective practice, including:</li> </ul>	<p>exploitation for young males.</p>
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ A child centred approach taking into consideration the rights of child, the needs and sensitivities of the child including those children and young people who do not recognise or acknowledge the exploitation.</li> <li>○ Adopting a proactive approach ensuring all children and young people are prevented from sexual exploitation and identifying and intervening early with those that do.</li> <li>○ All services to work together to investigate and prosecute offenders who coerce, exploit and abuse children through prostitution. This is an emphasis change to make sure that primary law enforcement is focused on the offenders rather than that of children.</li> <li>○ Creating and delivering services that consider family circumstances when safeguarding children and young people.</li> <li>○ Developing an integrated approach and shared responsibility from all services from universal to responsive to effectively joint work in safeguarding. This includes adopting a three-pronged approach that involves prevention, protection and prosecution. This co-ordination should occur from the Local Safeguarding Children Board (LSCB).</li> <li>● The third chapter focuses on the issue of sexual exploitation.</li> <li>● The fourth chapter outlines the roles, responsibilities and duties of the multi-agencies involved with children and young people and their families in the commission of local services.</li> <li>○ Information on identifying sexual exploitation and the gathering of forensic evidence that can be in.</li> </ul>	
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		<p>prosecutions against abusers is within local safeguarding training</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Develop and provide specialist training for key professionals where sexual exploitation is known to be prevalent locally.</li> <li>○ Ensuring monitoring systems are in place to track local cases of sexual exploitation that come to light in local agencies.</li> <li>○ Developing a CSE sub-group at LSCB level to lead on, drive forward and ensure effective co-operation between agencies and professionals, including a dedicated lead person in each partner agency.</li> <li>○ Ensure arrangements are in place to liaise with and cooperate with neighbouring areas on sexual exploitation.</li> </ul> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● The fifth chapter focuses on measures that can be taken to reduce the risk of children and young people becoming involved in sexual exploitation through; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ The reduction of their vulnerability.</li> <li>○ Improving their resilience.</li> <li>○ The disruption and prevention of the activities of perpetrators.</li> <li>○ The reduction of tolerance of exploitative behaviour.</li> </ul> </li> <li>● The sixth chapter establishes the processes for safeguarding and promoting the welfare of children and young people at risk of, or involved in sexual exploitation (in conjunction with the <u><i>Working Together To Safeguard Children</i></u> (HM Government 2006)).</li> </ul>	
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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The seventh chapter focuses on guidance on the disruption of perpetrator behaviour and the identification of possible criminal offences including evidence gathering and information sharing.</li> </ul>	
<p>Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation Action Plan (DfE 2011)</p>	<p>2011-2015 4 years</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The definition of CSE remains as stipulated in the <u>DCSF (2009) guidance</u>.</li> <li>• This action plan takes on three broad categories of CSE that focus on power imbalance and victims are unable to remove themselves. The categories include inappropriate relationships; the 'boyfriend' model of exploitation and peer exploitation, and; organised/networked sexual exploitation/trafficking.</li> <li>• The official expectations of this action plan refer to the <u>DCSF (2009) guidance</u>.</li> <li>• The action plan devolved administration of CSE policy to local government to adopt their own approaches and take responsibility.</li> <li>• The action plan takes into account four aspects of CSE from the perspective of the victim including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Growing independence – managing the risk</li> <li>○ Getting out of and combating child sexual exploitation</li> <li>○ Getting justice for victims and their families</li> <li>○ Getting help to deal with what has happened and looking to the future</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p>Gender- neutral language.</p> <p>The action plan considers four examples of the two broad categories (inappropriate relationships and the 'boyfriend' model of exploitation), however the only male victim example used is of a 'gay boy'.</p>

<p>Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation Action Plan – Progress Report (DfE 2012a)</p>	<p>2012-2015 3 years</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The definition of CSE remains as stipulated in the <u>DCSF (2009) guidance</u>.</li> <li>• This progress report examines the progress of the <u>Action Plan</u> (DfE 2011) and updates its evidence base through the <u>Officer of Children’s Commissioners Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Gangs and Groups Report</u> and the <u>Report from the Joint Inquiry into Children Who Go Missing From Care</u>.</li> <li>• The progress report takes into account the recommendations from both aforementioned reports.</li> </ul>	<p>Gender-neutral language.</p> <p>The progress report mentioned the work of the BLAST project in Yorkshire. The report states BLAST project is creating awareness of sexual exploitation of young males and support male victims. However, no further elaboration is offered.</p>
<p>What to do if you suspect a child is being exploited – A step-by-step guide for frontline practitioners (DfE 2012b)</p>	<p>2012-2017 5 years</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The definition of CSE remains as stipulated in the <u>DCSF (2009) guidance</u>.</li> <li>• Local responses from identification and referral to decisions made about child protection thresholds in conjunction with <u>Working Together To Safeguarding Children</u> (DfE 2010).</li> </ul>	<p>Gender-neutral language</p>
<p>Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation (HM Government 2015)</p>	<p>2015-2017 2 years</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The definition of CSE remains as stipulated in the <u>DCSF (2009) guidance</u>.</li> <li>• The Conservative government (2015-present) renewed its intentions to tackle child sexual exploitation as a result of two independent reports, by Jay (2014) and Casey (2015), respectively.</li> <li>• The policy focuses on seven areas including:</li> </ul>	<p>Gender-neutral language</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Accountability and leadership in local government with greater surveillance from national government through inspections, national data collection and analysis. An expectation is set for LSCBs to conduct local assessments of effectiveness.</li> <li>○ Changing the culture of denial to improve local CSE responses.</li> <li>○ Improving joint working and information sharing between local services in local government and where problems in practice lie internal whistleblowing policies should be in place.</li> <li>○ Protecting vulnerable children through setting up a national taskforce, the creation of a national Centre of Expertise, creating a new model of support for young people (although this model is not named or described), improving the quality assurance of front-line social work (including the need for evidence-based decision making tools).</li> <li>○ Stopping offenders through the creating CSE as a national threat status, ensuring the National Crime Agency continues to prioritise CSE as an issue, creating a new network of police co-ordinators and analysts across the country to improve intelligence gathering, and highlight the new powers given to the police to prevent further sexual harm and risk by offenders.</li> <li>○ Supporting victims and survivors</li> <li>● Next steps</li> </ul>	
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**Table 1.2 CSE Policy Landscape from 2000 to 2016**

The aforementioned policies (DfE 2011, HM Government 2015) refer to the *DCSF (2009) guidance* when working with victims of CSE as best practice. The DCSF (2009) guidance defines sexual exploitation of children and young people in Figure 1.6.

**Figure 1.6 DCSF Guidance Extract on CSE Definition (Page 9)**

1.3 This guidance uses the following description of child sexual exploitation:<sup>2</sup>

*Sexual exploitation of children and young people under 18 involves exploitative situations, contexts and relationships where young people (or a third person or persons) receive 'something' (e.g. food, accommodation, drugs, alcohol, cigarettes, affection, gifts, money) as a result of them performing, and/or another or others performing on them, sexual activities. Child sexual exploitation can occur through the use of technology without the child's immediate recognition; for example being persuaded to post sexual images on the Internet/mobile phones without immediate payment or gain. In all cases, those exploiting the child/young person have power over them by virtue of their age, gender, intellect, physical strength and/or economic or other resources. Violence, coercion and intimidation are common, involvement in exploitative relationships being characterised in the main by the child or young person's limited availability of choice resulting from their social/economic and/or emotional vulnerability.*

<sup>1</sup> *Working Together to Safeguard Children: A guide to inter-agency working to safeguard and promote the welfare of children* (HM, Government 2006), paragraph 1.32.

<sup>2</sup> This definition arises from joint work between project members of the National Working Group for Sexually Exploited Children and Young People (NWG) 2008. The National Working Group is a support group for individuals and service providers working with children and young people who are at risk of or who experience sexual exploitation. The Group's membership covers voluntary and statutory services including health, education and social services.

Prior to the later policy documents within the examined time period (DfE 2011, HM Government 2015), the journey of defining the problem of CSE has shifted vastly, and chapter six (page 166) explains the changing paradigms of how we understand this phenomenon today through a critical realist lens. The findings from chapter six inform the further critical analysis on CSE through a Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis of a purposive sample of actors within relevant institutions, within a local social policy response to CSE, in one geographical area defined by a local authority boundary within England in chapter eight.

**Summary**

This first chapter has established the foundation upon which this doctoral research was based on, with the adoption of the core discipline of critical social policy analysis, using critical policy genealogy as the overall methodology for

critical enquiry. Importantly, this chapter has established the research questions, aim and objectives that has led to a number of specific enquiries relating to theoretical analysis (Bell 2002, Garland 2014) as well as the contexts of interest for methodological purposes (Evans-Agnew *et al.* 2016). These specific enquiries and contexts of interests include the introduction to the discourse surrounding policy realisations of CSE within sex in general, the quiet revolution of English adult sex work policy (Soothill and Sanders 2004, Phoenix 2007) and the broader policy process in CSE policy, especially in relation to 2011 – 2016.

Young males are not explicitly defined as a group or population that are specifically targeted by social policy aimed towards sexual violence, sex work or CSE but rather a sub-section. This doctoral research will highlight the regulatory or governing discourses on young males, constructed through the policy actors of CSE policy architecture. In order to deal with the methodological approaches to discourse, the next two chapters will critically, genealogically-minded, explore the literature on appropriate theories required to answer the research question along with the aims and objectives of the study, before the critical appraisal of the two specific methodologies with the respective dataset.

## Chapter 2

# **AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL GENEALOGY ON SEX, SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND THE POSITIONING OF CHILDREN**

## **CHAPTER 2: AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL GENEALOGY ON SEX, SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND THE POSITIONING OF CHILDREN**

### **Chapter 2 thematic outline**

- Reflexive Considerations
- Overarching Theories on Sexuality
- The Gynocentric Rhetoric of Sex, Sexualities and Sexual Violence
- Moral Panics as a Theoretical Driver to Policy Development
- Governing institutions: Agendered and Asexual

### **Overview**

Since 2000, the sexual exploitation of children (CSE) has increasingly re-emerged as a contemporary problematisation or ethical substance, by and within national governing institutions through inquiries (Coffey 2014, Jay 2014, Casey 2015), national policy (DH/HO 2000, DCSF 2009, HM Government 2015) and national action plans (DH/HO 2001, DfE 2011, 2012a). This has been resultant of the resurgence in moral panic of CSE (Pilgrim 2017), stimulated by the ubiquitous, gender-bifurcating portrayal of CSE victims / offenders, within the media (Cockbain 2013, Coy 2016). Intrinsic to this gendered bifurcation, the navigation of constructing the young male victim of CSE, *vis-à-vis* discourse, is not straightforward and in many ways, multi-faceted, reminding the reader of the focus of enquiry within this thesis and in keeping with the thesis' genealogical treatment of discourse (page 4, chapter one).

This chapter introduces the relevant theoretical contexts that inform the chosen critical theories for data analysis (chapter three); illuminating the genealogy of episteme on the social status / positioning of (male) children within sex discourse, and, more pertinently, that of sexual violence. This illumination will assist in the over-arching triptych analysis / structure of a (critical) CSE policy genealogy of professionals' perceptions of young males presented in chapter nine. Adopting an overtly Foucauldian-lens means that the critique of literature carried out within this chapter is not necessarily undertaken in a unilinear direction (Bell 2002). Bell (2002) advises it is crucial the right questions are asked to trace epistemes, in order to frame the issue in question.



### ***Professional Judgement used in the Enactment of Child Protection Policy***

Before going through the theoretical considerations on sex, sexualities and sexual violence, the notion of 'professional judgement' in child protection is firstly appraised illuminating the subjectivity involved within policy enactment. Within England, child protection practitioners (e.g. social workers) primarily enact professional judgement in determining favourable outcome in assessments and interventions (Hicks 2014, Jones 2014). Professional judgement, however, has not been without its criticism according to Taylor and White (2001), who both remark on the long-standing, theoretical issues surrounding its use in child protection; intensified since the introduction of 'rationalisation' after the implementation of the Seebohm Report in 1968 (Gilbert and Powell 2011).

Since the 1980s, Taylor and White (2001) observed a swift introduction of institutional responses defaulting to technical-rational *modus operandi* in social work, to standardise, regulate and monitor (in)adequacies of practice (such as proceduralisation). Both authors recognised this type of response came about in order for social work to distant itself from the unease and mistrust from the public in light of reported failings (such as 'avoidable' child homicides). Although this response has also worked in two-fold, as this proceduralisation (such as audit) has consequentially been used as a leverage by national governments to increase the standards of practice (Parton 2011a, Calder and Archer 2016) it has also become an onerous pre-occupation for social work staff. In a two-year ethnographic study, Broadhurst *et al.* (2010) found social work staff perceived a negative, continuous, pre-occupation with performance and audit that has come with the modernisation of the initial child protection assessments; this takes the focus away from front-line work with children and families. The technical-procedural approach in institutional responses, Taylor and White argue, limits professional judgement to be characterised through a technical-rational model of over-simplified, classified child abuse language to be impressed upon the practical-moral nature of social work, thus limiting the emotional and subjective narrative within assessment and intervention. Helm (2016) has also noted that the subjective judgement in social work must however be framed within theoretical, organisational and evidential boundaries. Both aforementioned remarks are contextual with the reduction in child protection vocabulary available

to professionals (Calder and Archer 2016), which has developed in parallel to the increasing, overt sexualisation and pornification of youth culture within England (Plummer 2003a, Attwood 2006, 2010). All the aforementioned direct / indirect introductions of new epistemes on the governance of child protection 'coming into being', have occurred in parallel or over-lapping, producing a paradoxical yet highly-charged context that further generates complexity in the governance of CSE. Petrie's (2012) work on 'Sex, Violence and the Child' is invaluable to this chapter and is used throughout.

## **Reflexive Considerations**

Importantly, this chapter offers my perspective / immersion into this area of research as a registered health visitor, a doctoral researcher and identifying as a gay male to emphasise my role as a reflective practitioner. The reflexive considerations provide explicitness on my relationship between my interpretation of the data, as a doctoral researcher, and the data itself required for a critical policy genealogy (Gale 2001). My reflexive positioning, therefore, enables me to strengthen the internal validity and reliability of my interaction with, and interpretation of, critical theory to analyse the data presented. Barbour (2014) believes that qualitative researchers cannot enter the process of research as empty vessels and, indeed, bring with them cultural and political assumptions and convictions. To deal with Barbour's observation, Parker (2004) had previously recommended that qualitative researchers work within the subjectivity, rather than against it, providing the researcher is clear on their position within the research from the outset. My interests in this area of research came about from working for a national sexual health charity as a part-time youth worker in London, offering face-to-face therapeutic one-to-one and group work with young people, throughout my training as a health visitor and after.

Many of the young males, who accessed this therapeutic work, identified as gay, bisexual and / or trans\* (GBT) and were often engaging in sexual activity within circumstances and scenarios that differed from their cis-gendered, heterosexual, peers. Throughout my time as a youth worker, I made observations in my professional practice of the varying sexual circumstances and scenarios that young males operated within; ranging from risky sexual behaviour through to victims of sexual exploitation (whether or not they were aware of this label made through professional judgement; often irrespective of their view). I observed amongst the young GBT males I worked with a common theme of not '*being out*' about their sexual identity / relationships, within their social networks and / or home environment. This was a stark difference to the work I undertook during the day as a health visitor, working predominantly with female clients in 'outed' or open heterosexual, presumed / apparent monogamous relationships, and their young children.

Many of the young males who accessed the youth service, increasingly and frequently, used mobile phone geo-social applications such as *Grindr* to seek social and sexual contact with other males. This was again another common theme amongst the young GBT people I worked with, where many of the physical LGB&T+ social spaces were within premises licensed for alcohol, and even sex, which only permitted those over the age of 18 together with many LGB&T+ youth-friendly provisions becoming non-existent in England (Unison 2016). *Grindr* can facilitate text conversation, the exchange of sexually explicit photographs and the arrangements for sexual activity to take place and can be downloaded on to any mobile smart phone or tablet device.

In my experience, when a young person disclosed circumstances or situations that they had been in, or were planning to be involved in, that could be construed as sexual exploitation, an urgent child protection referral would be made by an organisation, such as a school. Because of this, an urgent child protection procedure would be applied by the local social services department and the police to assess and, if necessary, intervene to protect the young person from harm. The evidence of 'harm' would be considered against the continued republication of the *Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need in their Families* (Department of Health *et al.* 2001), often referred to as the 'assessment triangle' with the *Working Together to Safeguard Children* policies (DH 1999, DfE 2010, 2013, 2015) echoing Taylor and White's (2001) observation of an un-abandoned, technical-rational approach to assessment. I often felt that this process was more about governing institutions being wary of their own reputation as opposed to a process suited for a young person's life, something I have observed, in the media, with many of the institutions involved in Savile's abuse or the Hollywood-initiated '#MeToo' sexual harassment campaign.

In my experience, the focus from the statutory sector for expertise would often lie with a local LGB&T+ voluntary sector organisation working with the young GBT person affected by CSE. Often, statutory services would default to expertise from the voluntary sector, even if the young GBT person concerned was unknown to a voluntary sector organisation. If this expertise was not available statutory services would strictly adhere to policy or local procedural documents with

uneasiness at deviation or creativity. The expert discourse (Winch 2005, Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008) that emanated from the voluntary sector would often influence the range of interventions that would follow on referral within multi-agency meetings, including 'no further action' or indeed, strongly advocating for the young male in need of help. Interventions made by multi-agency meetings sometimes meant moving young people across the country to alternative accommodation arrangements, to keep them safe from harm – although there would be no clear prediction of child protection interventions employed, varying from case by case. The assessment of harm was perceived by the professionals involved, through assessment and multi-professional dialogue, again, frequently regardless of the young person's perspective. It was often very clear, however, that perceptions of male gender largely determined outcome and frequently these young males were seen as 'capable of making their own minds up [because they are 'growing men']'. In my day job, 'at-risk' female clients, referred by the police on paper notifications, who were frequently and sometimes, very obviously labelled with the classification of 'victim' of gender-based violence (including domestic and sexual violence) of male perpetrators, regardless of any direct assessment or multi-agency work. A blatant difference to the young males I worked with.

Within social work research, Tuffield and Newman (2012) offer a reflexive process for bracketing that allows the researcher to consider their place, and indeed, power differences, between them and the participants, during the data collection phases of research. I appreciated that I had the potential for perceptive power or authority on CSE knowledge by others, as a peer within safeguarding, which may have hindered the collection of data, as well as the interpretation of it (Aléx and Hammarström 2008). As a way of dealing with this limitation, Tuffield and Newman (2012) believes bracketing offers the researcher to be able to develop a fresh appreciation on the contexts and environments their participants are situated within, as well as assessing the impact they (the researcher) have on the contexts and environments. Gibbs (2007) positions qualitative research to be heavily led by interpretation of what the participants of the study say and do, so therefore it is imperative the reader recognises my professional work experiences, particularly on those discourses that illuminate GBT issues within

child protection. I approached both of these aforementioned points through a semi-structured interview design (Rubin and Rubin 2005) in the data collection to introduce a degree of informality as well as to offer the participants a safe space to discuss their work.

### ***Structure of this chapter***

As introduced in chapter one, a key enquiry within this thesis is focused on the professional perceptions (and policy definitions) on the development of young males' sexualities, particularly in abusive or exploitative circumstances (e.g. DCSF 2009). This focused enquiry, however, is not straightforward due to the historical and current epistemes of sexual violence having created a silencing effect on male victim discourse (Dennis 2008). So therefore, the next three sections critically appraise the pre-existing scholarly work on the theorisation of sexual violence including CSE, namely, feminism and moral panic theory in relation to young males. Finally, this chapter ends with pre-dated 2000 scholarly work on the a-gendered and asexual positioning of governing institutions involved in looked-after children (especially those with a history of sexual exploitation) (Green 2001, 2005, Durham 2003). All of the following sections demonstrate the broad array of discourse influencing the construction of young male victims.

<b>Overarching Theories on Sex and Sexualities</b>	Page 54
<b>The Gynocentric Rhetoric of Sex, Sexualities and Sexual Violence</b>	Page 57
<b>Moral Panics as a Theoretical Driver to Policy Development</b>	Page 60
<b>Governing Institutions: Agendered and Asexual</b>	Page 73

### **Overarching Theories on Sex and Sexualities**

Prior to the decision to use structuralist (liminality), poststructuralist (Foucault) and critical realist theories, overarching theories on sexuality were identified that had emerged in western Europe between the periods eighteenth-century to modern day. Over this time, sexuality has been theorised in three understandings: biological, moral and social (Mottier 2008). Mottier (2008) argues sexual meanings within contemporary society are not influenced by a sole understanding. They are organised in our everyday lives through the aforesaid discourses or discursive formations. Mottier proposes that historically, the models of understandings (moral / religious, biological and social) have emerged successively but within the present day, she emphasises, they all, rather, co-exist. While these understandings are well documented within the academic literature, other theories on the development of young people's sexuality also exist such as observations made by Smith (2013) to include post-natal plasticity.

Post-natal plasticity has derived from the works of Tooby and Cosmides (1992); Smith (2013) suggests that the development of childhood into adulthood has more to do with the way in which we construct our lives than how our social structures constrain us. By this, Smith believes post-natal plasticity facilitates a biological explanation for childhood development such as emerging sexual behaviours. Smith therefore infers that post-natal plasticity allows authority on how human behaviour can be seen as naturally 'ethical', such as sexual agency in adolescents below the legal age of sexual consent as exemplified by Lord Justice Fraser's 'Guidelines'.

Other seminal theorists that also exist on this transitory development of sexuality include social psychologists, Simon and Gagnon (1986). Simon and Gagnon concluded, through the use of Scripting Theory, that sex-seeking behaviour in children was previously seen as pathology, with the understanding that within this developmental period children are not able to understand the full sexual experience or script. While this thesis will not use this particular theory, Simon and Gagnon's observation could also indicate a two-fold stigmatisation (previously seen before as a pathologisation) of young males who wanted to

engage in sexual practices with other adolescent and adult males, firstly due to their (minor) age and secondly to sexual minority identities and practices (such as identifying as gay).

While the above theories provide interesting lines of enquiry, this thesis is not about young males (nor professionals) directly, it is about the pertinent social structures that construct, regulate and govern their discourse.

### ***Anti-essentialism on Sexuality***

Within social sciences, and especially Queer Theory in the 1990s, an anti-essentialist perspective on sexuality began to emerge and rejected the biological, or immutable, model of sexuality (Mottier 2008). Within the immutable model of sexuality, Green (2005) recognised that gender-fixed sex roles were historically determined on 'natural' and 'acceptable' specific sexual and domestic behaviour of the two predominant genders, namely, males and females. For example, Green notes the functionalist position of stereotyping males and females in Parsons and Bales' (1995) paper, setting out males as rational and instrumental *i.e.* breadwinners and females as expressive and nurturing *i.e.* housewife and that *[adults and children]...inhabiting a monogamous, complementary heterosexual, familial lifestyle'* to optimally meet society's need (Green 2005: 360). New theoretical models emphasised the need for sexuality to be understood in its social nature of sexual experience shaped by a political and social context. Certainly, this was one of the main arguments of Judith Butler who took gender to be a performativity than a biological positioning. Butler (1990) in her Foucault-inclined book 'Gender Trouble' began to problematise the binary nature of 'male' versus 'female' and questioned whether 'sex' as a social construct could be separated from gender and sexuality, or indeed whether sexuality could be separated from gender and sex. Butler proposed in her analysis that heterosexuality emphasised a divisive, binary status between that of a male and a female, which has created a subverted or transgressive lens on those individuals who blur the distinctions of a desired link between ones' gender and sex, such as a 'camp' gay male.

Sociologists, such as Jeffrey Weeks (2012), articulate that sexuality can be



understood as a unity of numerous intricacies such as anatomico-physiological systems, erogenous zones, bodies, pleasures, identity labels, attractions and practices. These intricacies are brought together through discursive practices from a range of *power-knowledge* institutions e.g. state practices, religious rituals or medico-legal practices (Weeks 2012). According to Foucault, *sexuality* is discursively constructed, experienced and understood with reference to cultural and historical circumstances and events (Evans 2017). While Foucault does not deny the biological differences of sexuality, he differs from other theorists on sexuality such as Sigmund Freud, Alfred Kinsey, William Masters and Victoria Johnson and Richard von Krafft-Ebing through taking a historical analysis of discursive practices on sexuality (Taylor 2017). Foucault examines how sexuality has been conceptualised, categorised and regulated through power and through the changes in how systems of knowledge (epistemes) have operated since the eighteenth-century (Winch 2005)<sup>6</sup>.

Whilst anti-essentialist perspectives on sexuality exist, the dominant account and consequence of a functionalist ideal of gender-fixed sex roles may have influenced current child protection policy rationalities to focus on the extreme examples. Examples include the sexual abuse of children such as sexual exploitation, female genital mutilation and forced marriage (Petrie 2012). Defaulting policies focus on a pathological nature of such abuse, rather than focusing on a developmental stance of a child with other dimensions of competency-focused child development, including 'health' 'education' 'self-care skills' from birth to 18 years, in the *Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need in their Families* (DH et al. 2001). This extreme focus may lead to rationalities for examining CSE victims to such strong power-knowledge subjection of the body, for example a forensic medical examination. Failing to recognise the insight, agency and competencies of young people with regards to sex and sexuality (including sexually exploitative experiences), will render any assessment or intervention to be ineffective (Petrie 2012, Dodsworth 2013,

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<sup>6</sup> Post-structuralist, Michael Foucault is central to this thesis in genealogically analysing discourse on sexualities and whilst his ideas and works are discussed in this chapter, he will be properly introduced in the next chapter.

Pearce 2014a, Hickle and Hallett 2015). This failure of insight on agency and competencies, therefore, strengthens the argument for inclusion of anti-essentialist theories in any critical analysis of discourse.

The next section demonstrates the anti-essentialist agenda from the feminist and gynocentric rhetoric on sex, sexualities and sexual violence – which underpins contemporary CSE policy and professional practice.

### **The Gynocentric Rhetoric of Sex, Sexualities and Sexual Violence**

Whilst scoping the literature within sex work and CSE, to determine current academic discourse, many terminologies associated with young people referred to a range of theoretical frameworks. Most commonly, the concept of young people affected by or involved in CSE is primarily pressed within the violence against girls and women agenda (e.g. Coy 2016). Whilst this agenda is not wholly problematic, it is envisioned through a sexual violence lens immersed within feminist epistemologies (Kelly 1988, Gaffney 2007, Gaffney and Whowell 2009). Since the late 1970s, sexual violence has predominantly been perceived as a gender-based violence, predominantly of males against females (Kelly 1988, Phoenix 2012) as well as being inseparable from centralised power. Dennis (2008) observes that while the majority of victims of sexual violence and providers of sexual services are females, feminist epistemologies find it difficult to conceptualise males in a non-predatory or non-perpetrating role. A prominent feminist academic in sexual violence, Liz Kelly (1988), has continued to perpetuate this dyadic classification of males as perpetrators / sexual predators and females as victims / survivors, in relatively recent government sexual violence research projects (e.g. Lovett *et al.* 2004<sup>7</sup>). This continued perpetuation of dyadic classification also dominates CSE discourse (see Cockbain 2013). This agenda has a direct impact on any male involvement in sexual violence or commercial sexual services, given various feministic lens which view males as perpetrators and not victims (Dennis 2008).

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<sup>7</sup> Kelly was a named author within Lovett *et al.* (2004) research focused on developing good practice for Sexual Assault Referral Centres in England.

This victimisation agenda has created a platform for paternalistic and welfarist approaches in addressing the 'victims' of commercial sexual services / CSE (Phoenix 2002, 2012). Paternalistic and welfarist approaches are often (or at least attempted to be) viewed and defeated as being unhelpful by feminist commentators including academics, (female) sex workers and their allies (Phoenix 2012, Sanders and Laing 2017). The reason behind this view of unhelpfulness, however, is often perceived due to the continuation of disempowerment of sex worker / CSE victim agency by the decisions of powerful males (e.g. male politicians involved in policy architecture). How this perception acts out with male sex workers / victims of CSE is unknown, however, this dominant rhetoric of sexual violence, especially and exclusively towards females, has been mainstream since the 1980s (Dennis 2008). As an example to Dennis' (2008) observation, Scott (2003) had previously considered the emphasis in social policy on adult sex work aimed to 'exit' females from street-based sexual services, who are often seen as victims.

### ***A Way of Conceptualising Current Sexual Violence***

In 1988, Kelly (1988) made a significant contribution to the literature through her development of a '*continuum of sexual violence*' as a way of addressing, validating and presenting the experiences of sexual violence perpetrated (by males) against females. This continuum emerged from her doctoral research findings in 60 in-depth qualitative interviews with adult females who had varying experiences of sexual violence (from derogatory comments through to rape). Brown and Walklate (2012) observed from Kelly's (1988) continuum that the range of behaviours, as defined by the females whom Kelly interviewed, were often not reflected in analytic categories within the literature or in legal cases. As a way of addressing this, Kelly theorised the range of behaviours associated with sexual violence as a continuum that could be used generically and specifically. Kelly identified the following behaviours that the continuum is capable of compartmentalising: threats of violence, pressure to have sex, sexual assault, coercive sex, rape and incest, as examples. Kelly makes clear that while specific forms of sexual violence can exist in isolation, they do not have strict boundaries and the continuum does not have a beginning or an end. It is a way of defining the prevalence of sexual violence (Brown and Walklate 2012). Kelly also argued

for the recognition of the connection between victimisation and survival, in females, and highlighted the male interest to deny the range of sexual violence practices and definitions. Her platform for suggesting males had an interest to deny the range, and limit definitions, of sexual violence was so that those victims would face difficulty and complexity defining their experiences. While this continuum, as a model, helps assist in the framing of phenomena and is indeed useful to a certain degree, this thesis questions whether this all-encompassing model can be extended to young males in a helpful, effective way.

Conceptually, Petrie (2012) applies Kelly's '*continuum*' theory to the sexual violence of children and argues this continuum to be a helpful tool in two ways. Firstly, the continuum can be viewed as a generic framework to capture all commonalities that underlay children's involvement in sexual activity as well as violence. Secondly, the conceptualisation of sexual violence as a continuum offers a documentable method of labelling abusive acts while sustaining the fact that sexual violence is not always clearly discrete or definable in nature. While Petrie's observations are helpful for non-volitional sexual activity of children, children over the age of 13 who demonstrate some or whole volition in their involvement in CSE may be more difficult to conceptualise, both theoretically and practically. Petrie also comments on the conventional experiences of maturation through childhood, that in fact is not singular event, stating that the diversifying expectation of agency and competency of children ranges from birth to adolescence; including how social determinants may (or indeed may not) affect one's childhood. This indeed complicates an over-arching governance on sexual agency within CSE policy. Petrie does not infer whether she means female children or all children in her work, however, this thesis will explore the application of Kelly's (1988) '*continuum of sexual violence*' to young males. The author of this thesis argues that language and classification within contemporary policy is more often associated with Kelly's continuum than a new school of thought on gender-neutrality or male victims.

Other critics of the '*continuum of sexual violence*', such as Phoenix (2012), have built upon Kelly's (1988) work in relation to young people who demonstrate

sexual agency within exploitation and adult sex workers, by arguing that Kelly's concept of the *continuum of sexual violence* legitimises and stigmatises sex work as an immoral activity; as well as not affording any status of agency to anyone involved in providing sexual services. It is acknowledged in academic press, policies and media that sex workers are vulnerable to sexual violence, but this does not necessarily mean sex work is inherently entangled in violence (Scoular and O'Neill 2007). Constructing sex work as a stereotype for sexual violence creates homogeneity within sex markets and creates issues of identity dissonance within various groups of people offering sexual services (Scoular and O'Neill 2007). This can be, theoretically, extended to young people involved in CSE and makes differences amongst sub-groups of CSE victims, such as males and females, difficult to identify. Indeed, radical feminist or queer theoretical distinction between gender and sex can cloud (realist) biological accounts of sexual vulnerability including mental illness, intelligence, personality and sexual orientation that naturally disadvantage (Burr 2015). So careful application of such radical or 'strong' (Smith 2010, Willig 2013) theoretical considerations should be observed in developing a new episteme on young males and CSE policy.

### **Moral Panics as a Theoretical Driver to Policy Development**

The prevalence of child sexual abuse is a global pandemic, with an estimated 150 million females and 73 million males, under the age of 18, having experienced sexual exploitation (Erooga 2017). More pertinently to this thesis, a UK study involving 11 to 17-year-olds (n=2275) found one in 20 children had been sexually abused (Radford *et al.* 2011). As outlined within chapter one, however, Kirton (2012) frames English welfare policy regarding the care and protection of children to be centred on risk aversion; meaning not all children will have their holistic needs met beyond what keeps them (immediately) safe. This combined with observations Calder and Archer (2016) that risk is all-so-often used punitively as a key performance indicator by governments on to local authorities, which creates a heightened (and understandable) fixation on known risks associated with CSE. Pilgrim (2017), however, claims CSE has re-surged in contemporary times as a moral panic (Cohen 2002, Heir 2008) and is

genealogically understood as a theoretical driver to policy development. Whilst feministic thought has dominated much of the sexual violence discourse, morality has also played a role in shaping this discourse, heavily persuaded by moral panics (Pilgrim 2017). Moral panics can be defined as the:

*'...seemingly irrational and disproportionate societal reactions to exaggerated threats posed by some person or groups of people'*

(Heir 2008: 173)

Moral panic theory will be drawn on to explain the emerging moral regulation of contemporary child protection issues and the child sex offender that have significantly contributed to the acceleration of CSE policy proliferation. Whilst moral panic-driven policy development may be highly beneficial, it is how this development has epistemically transformed that this thesis is genealogically-focused on. This focus problematises these epistemic transformations to highlight the disenfranchisement of sexual exploitation experiences of young males, as well as articulate their consequential support needs. I am interested in how language is used through discourses associated with sex and protecting children from abuse or exploitation, as well as the interface between policy and practice. My interest also includes questioning at what point can 'healthy' e.g. consensual sexual contact be construed and labelled as unhealthy. According to Petrie (2012), sex is often spoken about in a medically oriented perspective and is ignored in child development assessments and checklists in government policies and guidance. From these abovementioned points, acute observations will be made on what emerges from the discursive / non-discursive practices within the multi-agency child protection fora within the data collection and analysis (chapters five to eight).

### ***Moral Panic and the Child***

Within social work, Clapton *et al.* (2013), in their critical commentary, have shed light on the child protection policy developments and the impact of 'claims-making'. Clapton *et al.* believe that claims-making has significantly eroded the positive contributions that social workers bring to society, especially in terms of preventative practice and has brought about an increasingly abrupt public

attitude towards families within the child protection system. Clapton *et al.* noted the works of Stanley Cohen's (2002) analysis (and development) of a processual model of moral panics in his book, *Folk Devils and Moral Panic*, as being critical to understanding contemporary public concern, media / moral amplification and resultant governance, in relation to child protection. Cohen observed these three events when examining the social reactions to the confrontations between 'Mods' and 'Rockers' on English beaches in 1964. Cohen termed social actors within institutions, such as local councillors, religious leaders and magistrates, as 'moral entrepreneurs' who not only focused social concern of the confrontations but helped transform these into moral panics through the process of 'net-widening' to make what were minor alterations between groups of young people to be major and wide-spread.

Whilst Clapton *et al.* (2013) have drawn on the pervasive, atmospheric panic of child endangerment within child protection anxieties (such as obesity, grooming of children, the use of the internet), they particularly highlight Jenkin's applied work of Cohen's idea of 'moral entrepreneurs' and satanic child sexual abuse (CSA) in the 1980s and 1990s. Satanic CSA was defined in the 1990s as involving:

*'...large numbers of victims and perpetrators of both genders, to be so cloaked in secrecy and involve such precise concealment of evidence that almost no one knew about it, and to involve the most horribly painful and degrading practices imaginable – including...gang-raping young children during satanic worship...'*

(Bottoms and Davis 1997: 112)

Clapton *et al.* (2013) highlighted sections of the media portrayed stories relating to the ritualised, satanic aspect of the CSA that resulted in social work acting in haste through the media portrayed exaggeration, despite there being no subsistence to the allegations of satanic dimensions to the CSA (although, evidence of physical / emotional abuse was apparent). Jenkins theorised that the media (including the social work press) had moralised claims into the crusades of developing an origin of moral panic, naming them as 'claims-makers'. This example demonstrates the process of 'net-widening' (Cohen 2002) to extend the governmentality of traditional social work territory to new areas that brings a

blame culture along with it. It is noteworthy that at this time, the late Sir Jimmy Savile (1926–2011) would have been abusing children, however this went largely unnoticed by governing institutions with no resultant media uproar.

More recently from the 1980s / 1990s satanic CSA, a marked surge of the abusive portrayal of Savile within the public domain has also had a moralising effect, especially with the media discourse of popular idioms such as ‘tip of the iceberg’ claims, and more latterly, Savile’s effect of ‘grooming a nation’ to add weight to the moral panic (Clapton *et al.* 2013, Spindler 2017). Whilst Clapton *et al.* do not by any means contest historical victim accounts of Savile’s abuse, the consequences of such presentation of moral panic potentially demoralises social work to refocus its attention on the contemporary, reactive public pressures that ultimately and severely impact on maintaining a consistent daily business of supportive services. This business includes issuing official statements, developing ‘one off’ specialised training and the reshuffling of resources to meet (moral panic) demand. Clapton *et al.* conclude that by social work adopting (or accepting) moral panic impositions can lead to the inability to recognise the difference of genuine / disingenuous concerns and the required proportionality. Certainly, CSE is a recognised, genuine and serious concern, but how CSE translates as a moral panic in practice, does not fit congruently with the actuality of such abuse. This incongruence is explained in the next paragraph (Pilgrim 2017).

More relevant to the study, reported in this thesis, Pilgrim (2017) challenges the notion of moral panic within the existing CSE literature, and positions whether it is ever helpful for reaching a greater understanding of CSA. Pilgrim (2017) applies CSA to the combined criteria of what formulates a moral panic from the previously mentioned works of Stanley Cohen (2002) as well as the works of Erich Goode and Nachman Ben-Yuhuda (1994). Pilgrim’s application to the ‘moral panic’ criteria is set out in the Table 2.1 (overleaf).



<b>Moral Panic Criterion</b>	<b>Pilgrim's application to CSA</b>
<b>1. A moral offence to the greater majority.</b>	The situation of adult-child sexual contact (ACSC) creates a moral reaction of disgust, anger and fear within most people. The moral rejection of CSA has led to the development of socio-legal structures such as child protection systems.
<b>2. The moral offence expressed is disproportionate.</b>	The relationship between the actual cases of CSA and the empirically recorded number of cases with successful prosecutions demonstrates CSA as an unreported crime, rather than a disproportionate social reaction.
<b>3. There is exaggerated harm.</b>	The existing evidence establishes that ACSC is harmful in terms of CSA survivors are over-representative in mental health services. More acutely, sexually abused children are more likely to demonstrate distress signs and symptoms including anxiety, social withdrawal, bedwetting and decline in academic attainment. Sexual infections, pain and traumatic injuries are also present in sexually abused children.
<b>4. The candidates accused of being 'perpetrators' are relatively socially powerless and open to stigmatisation.</b>	Perpetrators of CSA can come from any social stratum, including those from above-average status in society. In CSA, the victims are indeed the powerless, not the perpetrators.
<b>5. The panic is ephemeral or not stable over time.</b>	CSA produces a permanent and consistent concern to the public for the last century and shows no sign of declining.
<b>6. The panic serves particular</b>	This criterion has two aspects: 1) deflecting attention from the power hierarchies and; 2) generation of mass media interest. Firstly, CSA

<p><b>communities of interest.</b></p>	<p>exposes rather than deflects attention towards the power hierarchies (<i>i.e.</i> the BBC and the claimed ‘VIP paedophile ring’). High profile cases (Coffey 2014, Jay 2014, Casey 2015) have suggested that moral panics have been suppressed by these hierarchies rather than created outrage by them. Secondly, CSA invokes mass media, however the focus of moral indignation is not always the same social group <i>i.e.</i> ‘failing’ social workers or ‘demonising’ paedophiles as two examples. Mass media is sometimes used as a form of investigative journalism for fact-finding on CSA cases but will also sometimes vehemently defend adults accused of sex offences. Pilgrim suggests the media focus will generally sway towards the rich and powerful, and not ‘ordinary families’, as the latter buy their products.</p>
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**Table 2.1 Pilgrim’s application of Child Sexual Abuse to Moral Panic Theory**

Pilgrim (2017) postulates that only the first criterion is justifiable, the rest being a poor fit. He asks the question why the notion of CSA, as a moral panic, has sustained in the social sciences rather than adopting a realist curiosity about CSA. He proposes three explanations to this ‘*moral panic tunnel vision*’ (2017: 9) through a critical realist critique (Bhaskar 1986), reasoning that critical realism can acknowledge epistemic relativism, *i.e.* the social world, without deserting the material reality / nature within society (*e.g.* actual cases of CSE); rejecting judgemental irrationalism that is borne out of strong constructionist debate (Pilgrim 2017):

1. Academic acumen, directly and indirectly, was able to ‘formalise’ arguments for the intellectual rationalisations for the legalisation of ACSC, such as the paedophile advocacy group, Paedophile Information

Exchange in the 1970s and 1980s; through a progressive social rights and children's rights movement / strategy.

2. Radical social constructionists are able to derive certain benefits for plying weight behind CSA as a moral panic, such as making 'expert' claims. These claims determine CSA, as a social construct, are outside of the intellectual comprehension of other disciplines, and indeed, the public, because everything is socially constructed.
3. The first two explanations lead to a possible third explanation that allows radical social constructionists to over-commit their (idealist) epistemology that is perhaps unending, at the expense of ontology. For example, a radical feminist arguing that all males are inherently violent. Consequently, ontology is intellectually downgraded as becoming unknowable. Such as the child sex offender becoming synonymous with 'stranger danger' when most CSA occurs within the home environment (Cowburn and Dominelli 2001, Cowburn and Myer 2016).

Pilgrim's explanations, realistically, demonstrate that CSA cannot only be presented as moral panic, as it poorly fits the criteria but can, if strongly / radically socially constructed, deny actual events of adults using power to abuse children, in a variety of circumstances and settings (that do not meet a pre-determined criteria such as 'stranger danger'). Pilgrim's argument certainly brings Kelly's (1988) claim that sexual violence is widespread to an almost non-sensical perspective, not through denying the prevalent existence of sexual violence, but stopping short of claiming that it is only a phenomenon that solely affects females as victims and males as perpetrators. This historical episteme developed within the public domain impacts on the governing institutions legislated to 'deal' with the problem of CSE. So, whilst this thesis is highlighting the policy problems of young males, it will not create a moral panic through 'claims-making' (Clapton *et al.* 2013).

### ***Moral Panic and the Child Sex Offender / 'The Paedophile'***

On top of the media-frenzied, moral panic-driven CSE discourse, however, governing institutions also face a (re)problematization of the child sex offender or 'the paedophile' in their required criminal disruption responses in line with CSE

policy, in parallel to responding to victims. The construction of the offender is important to consider, not only to understand the overall portrayal of what an offender may be characterised by but also how young males may be misconstrued within the 'male'-ness or masculinity issues attached to offender profiles. A review of the literature on attitudes towards sex offenders conducted by Harper *et al.* (2017) concluded that such attitudes were crucially and substantially important when producing social practices that facilitated a reduction in rates of sex offending, both in societal and clinical settings.

In 2001 (at the beginning of the time period this thesis is interested in), Cowburn and Dominelli critically analysed the influence / effect of discourse on 'the paedophile' in community perceptions and professional responses to the social risk paedophiles pose. Cowburn and Dominelli (2001) concluded in their paper on 'the paedophile', or child sex offender, that social constructions are largely driven and embodied by journalistic discourse as a moral panic; creating an unusual situation that distract the public from the real threats of sexual abuse perpetrated by individuals known to the child. They argue that the current moral panic of 'the paedophile' within the media masks a dominant factor of CSE of hegemonic masculinity, which is often present within extensive forms and varieties of sexual abuse of females and children in the private domain. These types of discourse distort the role masculinity plays in the perpetuation of sexual violence; but this discourse, idealising danger, can be remedied through professional risk assessments and determining private spheres, such as the home, to be completely safe (Cowburn and Dominelli 2001).

Not only do media discourses give platform to the moral panic of child sex offenders, but clinical or medico-legal discourses also dominate as a framework for informing the public on sex offending (Cowburn and Dominelli 2001, Hayes and Baker 2014). Without (often) declaring its limits, however, the medico-legal discourse pathologises individual behaviour with insignificant regard for the social context masculinity plays, especially hegemonic masculinity, because it labels individuals who require 'treatment' to be cured of their paedophilia (Cowburn and Dominelli 2001, Cowburn and Myer 2016). This insignificant

regard facilitates the social distance and dichotomy between the expectations of the 'ordinary' or 'normal' (known) male, the protector, from the dangerous threats of the 'deviant' (unknown) male, the predator (Connell 1995). The media perception of 'dangerousness' of child sex offenders intensifies the process of 'othering', making the protection of children harder because predatory individuals are unknown, a vital ingredient of a moral panic (Cowburn and Dominelli 2001, Cowburn and Myer 2016). An example of this 'otherness' was identified by Bell (2002) who examined the *News of the World's* (NOTW) 'Name and Shame' campaign in 2000 causing mass controversy on the day-to-day governing rationalities of child sex offenders. Bell (2002) observed this particular quotation from the front page of the NOTW:

*If you're a parent you must read this: Named, Shamed... There are 110,000 child sex offenders in Britain, one for every square mile. The murder of Sarah Payne has proved police monitoring of these perverts is not enough. So we are revealing WHO they are and WHERE they are... starting today.*

(NOTW 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2000: 1 cited in Bell 2002: 85)

Bell (2002) contended that whilst the campaign significantly increased public concern of the current arrangements in place for managing child sex offenders in the community, it also expected that parents (especially mothers) to trust a certain level of confidence in governing institutions. This trust was encouraged in order to base their own risk assessments on the presented information and expertise to impart on to their children; through the teaching of safety techniques. Bell argued a concern that this approach maintained the long-standing discourse of mothers to not ask government for more, or for better, yet assured mothers that governments will protect them and their children from on-going threats, such as sex offenders, providing they also risk assess. Bell noticed that this new mode of parenting expected from mothers, from passive subjects to 'rational' risk assessors, changed the contemporary governmentality of parenting. This created unease for parents to be somewhat involved in the direct governance of child protection. In more recent times, Jewkes and Wyle (2012) have highlighted that the media now focuses its attention on the online threat of paedophiles as well as the 'offline' paedophiles. This may offer some insight to threats of 'working-class Pakistani males' pose to 'young white, non-

disabled females' (DfE 2011, Cockbain 2013) as one-way policy has had to 'cope' through tackling a known threat that appeases the moral panic derived from the public, specifically parents.

To provide an implication for the moral panic of social risks posed by sex offenders, Cowburn and Myers (2016) believe an understanding of denial is perpetuated in threefold, including: worker (professional) denial, societal denial and offender denial, with all three being linked. They argue that 1) worker denial fails to link the anticipation and actuality of professional practice, *viz.* social work with failure to recognise abuse, whether emotionally or cognitively; 2) societal denial considers how failures of the extent of sex offending and its impact on society through literal denial (nothing happened), interpretive denial (it may not be as bad as it appears) and implicatory denial (what occurred is not really bad and is justifiable); and 3) offender denial that includes a reductive perception of the impact of their abuse on their victims through a process of minimisation.

A limitation of both Cowburn and Dominelli's (2001) and Bell's (2002) papers, in particular, fails to show how female sex offenders operate, as well as how young male victims, who may identify across a 'broad church' of masculinity (including hegemonic), potentially become misconstrued within this discourse / moral panic. Denov (2003) theorises this precise point through her analysis of literature on the societal perceptions of female sex offenders. Denov argued that whilst a large number of sex offenders are male, a significant proportion are female. Misconceptions of the existence of 'female sex offender' is often easily adopted because of the societal beliefs and mythology of the sexual innocence, or sexual scripting, we associate with females with passiveness, harmless and innocence (Denov 2003), denying females the potential for sexual predation. Returning to the journalistic discourses on sex offenders, Hayes and Baker's (2014) analysis of 487 media reports in Australia and the UK found this reinforcement of 'traditional' sexual scripting to be present in the media through the depiction of female sex offenders as anomalies from their female peers, distorting an acknowledgement of their existence.

A theme of insignificance of gender of the perpetrator was found in a small study on the professional perceptions of female child sex offenders (Christensen 2018). In Christensen's qualitative study involving 21 welfare and legal professionals, on the appropriate recognition, protection and interventions of victims who experienced female sex offending, she found that participants reported that they were generally good at being victim-centred, not swayed by gender. All Christensen's participants, however, noted that gender of the perpetrator still played a large part in professional dealings amongst colleagues and wider professional schools of thought. One could argue that just as hegemonic masculinity (dominantly) exists, Cowburn and Myers' (2016) definition of hegemonic femininity also becomes hugely pervasive whereby females are considered to be sexually passive, caring and nurturing. To emphasise this, Cowburn and Myers (2016) highlighted the relevance of Lawson's (1993: 364) statement that '*...the taboo against disclosure [of female sexual abuse is] stronger than the taboo against the behaviour itself*' in the context of mother-son sexual abuse. This offers insight to the split perceptions of threats associated with male and female sex offenders.

Whilst one can split meaning from gendered representations of child sex offenders, Petrie (2012) draws on the contentious notions of who are the 'victims' and who are the 'perpetrators' of sexual abuse – which resonate some similarities to the theoretical problems associated with the gendering of offenders. Petrie identified that from around the 1970s, psychologically-informed sex research focused on, predominantly, individual adult males as the perpetrators and female children as the victims of sexual abuse through theorising on both singular and multi-factorial causality, or reasons (e.g. see Fickelhor 1986 in Petrie 2012). This theorisation (of multi-factorial causality, in particular) centred on the multiple reasons including offending behaviour or patterns; incorporating psychological, emotional and physiological dimensions of the situational and historical facts associated to the offender (Cowburn and Myers 2016). Petrie (2012) felt this approach to theorisation is unhelpful to CSE victims as it limited the 'ecology' of the full situation yet attempts to offer a 'complete' picture of how we should understand perpetrator / victim dichotomies.

To continue with this theme of 'completeness', similar depictions of the abuser / victim model within adult sex work can be directly translated to portrayed experiences of CSE victims. Returning to the policy discourses of adult sex work, Weitzer (1999, 2007) has proposed a theory of 'moral crusades' that have dominated American policy on sex work. While I appreciate the contextual difference between American and English policy, similarities can be drawn. Weitzer (1999, 2007) articulates that sex work has been depicted as an epidemic of coercion and oppression with a moral crusade of statistics and horror stories that offer a 'complete' picture of an abuser / victim model. He notes this 'complete' picture contradicts the scholarly literature on the diversity of circumstances and situations of individuals involved in sexual services. Weitzer continues his observations to note that moral crusade advocates, such as activists and governing institutions, fail to mention the real drivers of sex work. Weitzer argues the focus on the individual circumstance of each and every sex worker and their immediate circumstances dominates any other form of discourse on structural factors (such as poverty, housing needs, substance misuse or job training). Whilst there has been a small but particularly upward struggle of academic discourse recognising the structural factors / material realities within CSE (Phoenix 2002, Pearce 2006, Harper and Scott 2005, Dodsworth 2013), Petrie (2012) has also observed the growing awareness of reversing and challenging to the normative gender-binary ideas of who can be 'victims' and 'perpetrators' e.g. young males as 'victims' and females, children and young people as 'perpetrators'.

This thesis does not condone the use of language that promotes acts of child sexual abuse including imagery, however non-contact CSE<sup>8</sup> is also a consideration within the research question of the thesis. Nonetheless, Adler's (2001) paper on 'child pornography' makes a central and further contribution to this thesis' understanding to the discourse of the child sex offender; so, I will only use this term in inverted commas (here) in detailing this paper's contribution. Whilst Adler does not doubt the substantial social benefits of 'child pornography'

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<sup>8</sup> Non-contact CSE can be defined as the sexual exploitation of children through the production and dissemination of child sexual abuse imagery and online grooming.



laws, she does raise questions on the unintended consequences they may have inadvertently produced, including the universal censorship of children as vulnerable subjects as well as sexual creatures. Adler claims Western civilisations are now in a 'cultural crisis' that depicts governing institutions and the public alike are preoccupied, and even addicted, to the intense fervor associated with preserving childhood sexuality, and more specifically children's sexual vulnerability. This vulnerability is promoted as a prominent characteristic of 'child pornography', alongside this cultural transformation, there has been a rapid and dramatic expansion of legislative (and policy) developments.

Adler asserts that the social climate of 'child pornography' legislation has, instead of liberating children from sexual abuse, unwittingly escalated their sexual representation – by centralising their sexual naiveté through promoting their natural innocence to a perverse dynamic, creating a desirable feature for the paedophile; thus, generating an impossible task to govern 'child pornography'. Adler also radically argues that 'child pornography' laws have not dealt with the rising tide of sexualised marketing of children and that this not only fuels the perverse dynamic but creates societal perceptions to view them through a 'paedophilic gaze'. The gaze forces one to take on the task of viewing children, who are sexual victims, into 'sexual' creatures, through '*...uncover[ing] their potential sexual meanings...explicitly exhort[ing] us to take on the perspective of the paedophile*' (Adler 2001: 256). To take Adler's radical argument further, she also claims:

*Once we accept prohibited depictions of 'sexual conduct' by children can include not only explicit sex acts, but also more the more subjective notion of 'lascivious exhibition', this process begins. The law presumes that pictures harbours secret, that judicial tests must guide us in our seeing, and that we need factors and guidelines to see the 'truth' of a picture.*

(Adler 2001: 261)

Children and sex, therefore, become intimately associated and thrive within the rational (e.g. legal) discourse of child sexual innocence, thus the prohibited sexual desire becomes a produced sexual desire (Adler 2001). Taylor (2017), however, advances Adler's debate and believes the consequence of societal

concern of a child's sexual vulnerability is determined through the lens of sexual prey, creating a hyper-vigilance of dangerous 'others' (imagined or actual) sexual desire(s)' rather than purely as a sexual creature. Petrie (2012) furthers this debate also by drawing attention to the slippery association of socially constructed concepts of 'child' and 'childhood' when 'sex' is brought into the equation, compounding a problem surrounding the preservation of 'innocence'. Furthermore, identifying harm within the mixture of socially specific and constructible terms such as 'child' and 'sex' is difficult (Petrie 2012). Petrie applies her thinking to the UK and suggests that an ebb and flow exists between what is expected of children through childhood, their sexualities and sexual behaviour as well as the emphasis between prevention and protection of them, within the changing social attitudes and political agendas.

It is examples such as the previously illustrated moral panics (and crusades) that provide weight to my defence to use the works of Foucault as I believe this will help unpick the morally-loaded and pre-occupied discourses that over-shadow, and even negate, young male victims. As a reminder the reader, Cockbain's (2013) analysis of the contemporary discourse to construct victims as young, able-bodied, white females, and child sex offenders as Asian working-class males, creates a moral panic, threatening society as a whole, which in turn informs policy development, most recently the *Action Plan* (DfE 2011) and consecutive policy (DfE 2012a, HM Government 2015). It is important to consider that moral panics can and do indeed lead to moral regulation (Hunt 1999) of both childhood sexuality and the sexual desire(s) of children, which will include a process that galvanises a particular discourse on young males (including their absence). Moral regulation, through the ethics of the self, will be revisited in the discussion of Foucault's concept of governmentality in the next chapter.

### **Governing institutions: Agendered and Asexual**

Pertinent to this thesis, I now bring the discourse within this chapter to focus on the actors operating within governing institutions, namely the 'qualified speakers' or professionals involved in the care of children and young people affected by

CSE prior to 2000. Two studies that collected data prior to the thesis date range reported in three documents (Green 2001, 2005, Durham 2003) were of theoretical, epistemological and genealogical importance to professionals' perceptions of young males. The studies are very relevant for this thesis as they allow for the 'voice' of young people to explore the impact of which professional perceptions have had on their lives. This thesis defines governing institutions as a social structure / organisation / service that has legitimate authority to govern populations such as national government departments, local social services, the police or a children's home. The non-discursive actuality and discursive nature of governing institutions who protect children are often unable to detach themselves from the previously discussed theoretical framings of CSE; including those that represent biological, moral and social understandings (Mottier 2008), especially feminism (e.g. Kelly 1988) and moral panic theory (e.g. Cowburn and Dominelli 2001, Adler 2001, Bell 2002, Cowburn and Myer 2016). Those that do detach, however, risk the possibility of promoting policy-instigated asexualisation and agendering. This last section of the chapter examines pertinent literature that, if governing institutions are positioned as agendered, together with asexualisation, can lead to a poor demonstration of (theoretical) engagement and empowerment of agency of young people affected by CSE (Green 2001, 2005). These positionings are essential to unpick within adult-child sex power relations, between practitioners and young people, particularly around disclosure of abuse (Durham 2003) and the naive corroboration of language and classification with CSE (Green 2001, 2005). This section lastly looks at the theoretical proposal for facilitating positive (developmental) agency within young people, to allow safer choices about their lives (Pearce 2014a).

Durham (2003) examined the experiences of young males (n=7) between the ages of 15 and 24, through lengthy unstructured interviews (guided entirely by the participants for pace and format), emphasising the importance of narrative and discourse, identifying issues on adult-child power relationships and disclosure. Whilst Green (2001, 2005) undertook a mixed method of extensive, long-term ethnographic fieldwork in two children's homes within two different local authorities including documentary analysis of media reports and semi-structured interviews with participants outside of the ethnographic study. Green's

participants (n=103) included professionals with experience in residential care, student social workers and young people (residents or ex-residents of children's homes). Green presented her findings into two different sources, a book chapter (2001) and an academic paper (2005) drawing on different findings of her PhD. Whilst Green's and Durham's doctoral data pre-date 2000, which is out of the focus that this thesis is on, however, their work emphasises the importance of professional understanding on gender issues associated with children's lived experience of CSA.

### ***Adult-Child Power Relations After the Sexual Abuse***

An important consideration is the aftermath of abuse, when young people become 'visible' and known within the panoptic or 'forensic' gaze of the child protection professional or governing institution (Parton 1991 cited in Green 2001). Green (2001) found that once children became known, they not only became a recognised victim but also a witness to the crime. The children in her study felt that there was an adult-centred emphasis on securing a successful prosecution of an offender trumping their needs and wishes (e.g. a child-centred process), with some claiming this process emotionally affected them due to the forensic nature and trajectory building evidence. This was also noted by Durham who observed that the young males in his study not only found it hard to tell others about their abusive experiences but also about how living with the consequences of telling was difficult. Durham (2003: 8) defined the term of disclosure as a:

*'...description of the event when a child reveals that they have been sexually abused is a simplification and distillation of a very complicated series of events.'*

This term of disclosure is particularly problematised by Durham, that when a disclosure occurs, it is imposed by professional and sanitised attention which creates a process of intense, internal conflict and chaos for the young person. The complexity of disclosure by young males created a range of feelings including relief, anger, guilt, pain and freedom from isolation, but also the experiences of fear. This fear includes outing one's private life into a public domain; others believing them; embarrassment; shame, and perceived sexuality

including the colloquial connotations that same-sex sexual abuse leads to one 'becoming' gay. This colloquial connotation was realised in Green's study, whereby staff's misconception on anal sexual abuse and homosexuality would often over-ride as a prejudice when apparent male-on-male perpetrated sexual abuse occurred. Although for young females, a different state of play ensued, from their abuse being seen as 'less abusive' because it was heterosexual abuse (*i.e.* normative and less harmful than anal penetration) or being accused of 'promiscuity' by lawyers in court, invalidating their account of abuse entirely. This occurrence of being disbelieved or misunderstood was the case for many of Green's (2001, 2005) participants who highlighted a barrier to disclosure was often of the realisation and inevitability of a pending legalistic investigation. Green also noted that adult-centred conceptions of a child's abuse were often seen by children as though they were being perceived as 'damaged goods', or stigmatised, typified by offers of formal interventions such as counselling, for example.

While undertaking his study, Durham (2003) firmly believed by allowing the young participants the opportunity to talk about the impact of CSA on their lives, allowed them to freely theorise, without further adult scrutiny of professionals' (after being subject to their abusers' inspection); utilising ethnographic, feministic, anti-oppressive and social work research methodology. This can be supported by Petrie's (2012) understanding that the retrospection applied to an adults' experience of childhood is likely to be very different from the reality of contemporary childhood. Durham has highlighted the need for governing institutions to take on a gendered and sexual consideration to the services provided, rather than a purely fact-finding, medicalised and forensic approach as a result of disclosure. For example, one of Durham's participants wanted his abuser to be caught, so consented to a forensic medical examination by the police to produce the sufficient evidence regarded for a prosecution threshold. But Durham noted that this participant was subject to a situation where his bodily integrity was again breached, intrusion by adult power limiting his ability to have agency over the (new) position he was placed within. This was also the case for Green, whereby a child had to accept adult-conceived notions of truth-telling and unfriendly legalistic language by professionals. This situation places the role of

adult-child power relations (within professional practice) in a sobering predicament, where the need to exert power on to children to protect them and provide additional support may be counteracted by the further exacerbation of previous power struggles within their sexual exploitative experiences.

### ***The Naïve Corroboration of Language and Classification by Professionals***

This adult-child power relation is continued through the naïve corroboration of language and classification operated by professionals, perhaps particularly highlighting on why gender has been a long-term neglected feature in CSE. Both Green (2001, 2005) and Durham (2003) acutely observed the naïve corroboration and inappropriate synonymisation of terms such as gender, sex and sexuality.

Durham (2003) highlighted issues of power through the construction of the young males' gender and sexuality. He drew attention to the prevalent social oppression and patriarchal relations and policing to one's construction of gender and sexual desires. This construction is particularly exacerbated with daily, heightened, homophobic fears and compulsory adherence to heterosexist / dominant forms of masculinity. This perception of masculinity often forms the 'normal' pressures of a young person's peer groups. Durham even noted one participant would act in an internalised homophobic, or internalised hegemonic heterosexist, way, in order to prevent discovery by others of his experiences of sexual abuse, which could be considered as internalised hegemonic heterosexism or internalised homophobia. These compulsive, heterosexist and homophobic behaviours, ironically, perpetuated the very circumstances that led the young males to feel internally oppressed in the first place but were determined as necessary by the participants to survive (Durham 2003). Doubt and confusion, however, often arose for the young males in parallel with these previously illustrated behaviours, whereby positive aspects of the experiences and the nature of the constructed, abusive relationship. These positive aspects led into the young males perceiving responsibility and voluntarism to the abusive power relationship between them and the abusive adult, which was intensified due to the pleasure and arousal derived from the physical, sexual abuse. Durham found that four of the seven young males were targeted through the

'normal' power relationships that framed many of their sexual abuse experiences which created the opportunities for abusers to operate and prevent disclosure from their victims, such as abuse by a school headteacher. This notion of positive attribution within sexual abuse was noted by Green (2001), also, who found a small sample of children had mentioned that in some ways their abuse had been viewed as positive – providing their abuse was also accompanied by affection, especially when there was no affection coming from elsewhere in their lives. Children justified this positive aspect by their blurring boundaries between affection and sexuality during their sexual (sometimes multiple) experiences and relations as teenagers.

Green (2001, 2005) also observed an entrenched patriarchal conflation of sexual abuse of young males and homosexuality, within both children's and professionals' interview; illustrating a blurring of 'natural' definitions between sex, gender and sexuality and consequential policing of behaviours attributed to gendered stereotypes (including sexed and sexualised). Green identified, particularly for young males, that any personality traits, externalised behaviours, including sensitivity and non-aggression, led to young people being marginalised and ridiculed by peers, with assumptions by some staff that they were assumed to be 'gay', which led to them to somehow being complicit in their abuse.

Both genders of children, within Green's (2005) study, held functionalist, essentialist perspectives on gender, with assigned expectations for each, spoken through authoritative sexual slang; yet Green highlighted their actual, sexual (theoretical) knowledge was regarded as poor. Both genders of children saw females (or indeed, young gay males) as weak, sexual objects (for males to 'use') that facilitated an expectation that sexual exploitation was a norm and female sexual desires centred on reproductive purposes only, whereas males were promoted as sexually-aggressive and competitive. The young females even went as far as exchanging sex for status or affection for a prized boyfriend, or 'trophy boyfriend', even if this disempowered their own sense of sexual agency. This observation translated to male staff within Green's study, *i.e.* to deny the extent of exaggerated sexual behaviour of young males as problematic but frequently did so with young females.

Whilst many of the staff interviewed by Green (2005) commonly denied sexual behaviours occurred in children's homes, they also commonly responded that any demonstrable sexual behaviour in children would be stopped and punished within the setting (without explaining to a child the reasons for their punishment and intervention). Green noted that these two commonly given responses were due to three factors. Firstly, lack of staff training and guidelines (although guidelines and training that did exist on sex education and sexual behaviour were rarely used in the event of sexual concerns amongst children in settings). Secondly, staff fear (including the fear that talking to children about their sexual abuse would lead to releasing a corrupting and uncontrollable sexuality and so this was imperative to maintain their sexual innocence). Thirdly, staff ignorance of the existence of sexually abusive behaviours in male children. Interestingly, staff within Green's study were aware that their managers preferred a denial or asexualisation approach to sexual activity (or indeed, concerns) in settings to avoid considering the issue at all.

Studies on the professional perceptions or governing institution standpoints of young people involved in CSE from 2000 to 2016 will be explained in chapter six, as a part of this thesis' data collection and unique contribution to the literature.

### ***Beyond Vulnerability***

It is recognised that the vulnerability of older young people, compared with their younger counterparts, is rare within child protection discourses due to notion of 'early intervention' applied to babies and very young children would be considered too late for them (Warrington 2013). This may offer insight to the presented genealogy of episteme in the aforementioned theoretical-to-practice issues in CSE. Pearce (2014a) recognises that some young people may accept support during or after their abuse, whilst many may not or even deny and resist a label of victimhood – in order to exercise their (developing) agency of decision making, – in sex and relationships, as well as choosing not to accept support. As a way to address this, Pearce has attempted to conceptually apply some of the key lessons of Munro's (2011) review of child protection on working practices with CSE victims, particularly articulating her social model of consent to help professionals contextualise a child's capacity to consent sexual activity (inclusive



of abuse). This includes decisions on information sharing, the support needs of victim's families, recognising a victim's experience as intelligence to prosecuting evidence as well as making sure all proceeding as child-centred (Pearce 2014a).

Whilst it is important to recognise that sexual exploitation responses by governing institutions need further work, Jones (2014) has outlined four positive realities / actualities of contemporary child protection practice that include:

1. Practice has adopted a more authoritative stance with its intentions and goals.
2. Practice has become modifiable, multi-faceted and evidence-informed, through the increasing amount of research and knowledge available as well as the differing approaches and models of practice, emphasising a child's experience of welfare and development.
3. Practice has been creative in offering children, parents and families with a range of specialised services such as children's centres, listening and advice services such as ChildLine and specialist services for young people who have run-away as examples.
4. Information-sharing and shaped assessments have continued to be improved within the development of further policies and procedures.

Nonetheless whilst these are positive actualities of practice, the genealogy of episteme (including theoretical positions) is important to be critically explored and examined for its applicability to young males of CSE, a largely ignored sub-group of children affected by abuse and exploitation.

### **Summary**

This chapter has introduced the relevant and necessary epistemological considerations that surround the complex discourse of young males affected by, or involved within CSE, in line with critical policy genealogy. This chapter has, essentially, presented an episteme that demonstrates a Foucauldian-concept of a 'history of the present' (Garland 2014), providing a theoretical backdrop to situate my own theoretical applications in the data analysis. By and large, past and current theorisation of CSE have epistemically transformed on the (adult-presumed) agendered and asexual foundation of childhood, which not only renders victim agency demonstrated within CSE to professional denial, but also

renders any agency to theoretical denial; namely, the empowerment of a young person's agency to make positive life changes that encourages longer-term behaviours within age-appropriate, safer (sexual) relationships. The drivers to this theorisation have been chiefly influenced by the moral panic and gynocentricity enacted by well-intended, feminist scholars within the discipline of sexual violence. Whilst feminist scholarly work has heightened gender-sensitivity in respects of bifurcating a gendered demarcation of offender and victim profiles, young male victims have been implicated through this gendered conceptualisation and are assembled awkwardly on the surface of mainstream CSE discourse.

Whilst the last section has essentially identified the problem of adult-child sex powers, this thesis will explore if and how this translates to the construction of discourse on young male victims between 2000 and 2016. The theoretical work outlined in this chapter will be drawn to, as necessary, in the data chapters and certainly revisited in the last chapter; to compare and contrast theoretical deficits / defaults that are unable to facilitate effective perceptions of young males within professional practice and policy in CSE. The next chapter establishes the theoretical or architectural framework on which a new episteme can be developed on young males in CSE policy, using the critical discussions from this chapter to build upon; using critical realist, structuralist and Foucauldian theories.

## Chapter 3

# **DEVELOPING AN EPISTEME ON YOUNG MALES AND CHILD SEXUAL EXPLOITATION POLICY**

## **CHAPTER 3: DEVELOPING AN EPISTEME ON YOUNG MALES AND CHILD SEXUAL EXPLOITATION POLICY**

### Chapter 3 thematic outline

- Architectural Framework Overview
- Realisms: Critical Realism
- Structuralism: The Theory of Liminality
- Relativisms: Post-Structuralism
- Developing a Social Ontology of Discourse

### **Architectural Framework Overview**

This chapter sets out the architectural, or theoretical, framework for the critical analysis of discourses within this doctoral study. This architectural framework facilitates the development of a new episteme on the construction of young males within professional and policy discourse, building upon the existing episteme of CSE as outlined in chapter two. This is a practice-focused thesis, utilising a range of theories, methods and approaches, from a number of critical theories, to aid in the advancement of knowledge; specifically, articulating the ethics<sup>9</sup> of governing institutions through the perceptions of policy actors, or ‘qualified speakers’ (e.g. social workers, police, policy makers, as examples), on young males. This articulation will be genealogically-centric in defining the social and material realities that ‘shape’ policy actors’ perceptions before setting out my social ontological claims and critique of the selected theories. Granting it could have been tempting to follow suit in the trend of pragmatic or feminist research within the field of CSE, I chose critical theories (structuralism, post-structuralism and critical realism) that would facilitate a platform for the minority discourses in CSE policy enactment, e.g. young males, to be heard and understood. The assessors at my upgrade *viva voce* advised that I brought all the theories in ‘one’ by adopting the work of Elder-Vass (2011, 2012) on *realist social constructionism*, which I used to ‘theoretically-weave’ this thesis.

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<sup>9</sup> As defined by Robinson (2018) in chapter one, page 7.

### **Defining Social Ontology**

Burr defines ontology as ‘...*the study of being in existence in the world*’, whereas the epistemology as ‘...*the study of the nature of knowledge and how we come to know the world of things*’ (2015: 104). To combine these definitions, Epstein has defined the term of social ontology ‘...*as a study of ontological building relations between different kinds of entities*’ (2016: 3), thus, appreciating both social and material realities. In light of Epstein’s definition, this thesis adopts a realist social ontological, or realist social constructionist, lens of discourse which Elder-Vass (2011: 157) defines as:

*‘...a way of theorising the impact of discourse on the social world that is moderately social constructionist without denying the significances of material reality, the human individual, or social structures.’*

For the purposes of the next, immediate, section, I will define what I mean by ‘social structures’ and ‘social entities’ (Deji 2011, Elder-Vass 2012). Governing institutions, such as a Social Services departments, can be understood as social entities, which Elder-Vass (2012: 19) defines as:

*‘...differ[ing] from ordinary material entities because the relations that bind them together and generate their causal powers are not spatial relations but rather intentional relations: they depend on the beliefs and dispositions that individuals hold, and in particular on the commitments to each other that these entail.’*

Furthermore, governing institutions that then enact CSE policy can be understood as social structures, which Deji (2011: 71) defines as the:

*‘...relationship between different entities or groups or as enduring and relatively stable patterns of relationship emphasises the idea that society is grouped into structurally relaxed groups or sets of roles, with different functions, meanings or purpose.’*

So, by definition, social structures are social entities with causal powers (Elder-Vass 2012) e.g. a local Social Services department implementing its local CSE strategy. What I mean by causal powers will be discussed in **Realisms: Critical Realism** section later in this chapter.

### ***My Social Ontological Claims***

Before my construction of the chosen critical theories employed in this doctoral study, I make two social ontological claims. These claims are framed on the social entities and social structures that exist on young male within CSE policy architecture to frame the over-arching theorisation, analysis and discussion in chapter nine. The first claim leads on to the second claim. To help the reader, I will put these claims into two individual sentences below before elaborating further in the following two paragraphs on how the first informs the second.

**Social ontological claim 1:** I believe that national CSE policy architecture should be understood as a non-discursive material reality, yet its perception be understood as a discursive social reality. This informs the second claim.

**Social ontological claim 2:** I believe that the gender-neutral language and classifications used within CSE policy architecture is unhelpful to policy enactors, such as front-line professionals working with young male. The networks of language and classification shapes, discursively, the ethical frameworks of professional responses.

Within my first claim, I argue cogently that, between 2000 and 2016, policy intentions (and the associated language and classifications) laid bare in national CSE policy architecture have become a non-discursive material reality. This non-discursive material reality has occurred due to its long-term maturation in wider national child protection policy. Burr (2015) advises that there is no firm agreement on the distinction between things that are socially constructible and those that are material (*i.e.* able to be present without human existence); therefore, subjective judgment can determine this. The decision to view the policy as a material reality is significant within this thesis, yet how this policy impacts on the social world is also significant, as this considers the perceptions from professionals who enact policy (this includes the interpretation of language within policies also being socially constructed) (see Figure 3.1 overleaf).

**Figure 3.1 National CSE Policy Architecture as Non-Discursive Material Reality**



Secondly, I highlighted in chapter one that the language and classifications within contemporary child protection policy architecture (including socio-legal structures) are gender-neutral, especially within CSE policy (DH/HO 2000, DH/HO 2001, DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, 2012a, HM Government 2015, DfE 2017). This observable homogeneity to gender in policy, combined with the reduction of available vocabulary in national child protection policy (Calder and Archer 2016), requires a catalogue of critical theories to deconstruct how gender-neutrality is perceived and enacted (Attwood 2006). This deconstruction especially takes note of Arribas-Allyon and Walkerdine’s investigative position on genealogy through observing ‘...*the specific effects by which objects are constituted in ways that are amenable to technical and governmental interventions*’ (2008: 93).

In order to deal with these two social ontological claims, I have chosen to be ontologically realist to comprehend the material reality, and epistemologically relativist to explore the social reality – in a complementary way. The social ontological claims are congruent with the over-arching research aim and

objectives, as well as a critical policy genealogy (Gale 2001). Ultimately, this thesis takes on a realist social constructionist-informed, critical policy genealogical analysis of discourse. Whilst this is perhaps a long-winded foundation, it appeases Gale's (2001) criticism of critical social policy analysts, for their explicit lack of priority of critically appraising the theory and methodology that underpins their research.

### ***Structure of the Chapter***

This chapter is constructed around three independent theoretical frameworks, before being brought into 'one' through the development of a social ontology of discourse:

- Critical realism;
- Structuralism, and;
- Post-structuralism

Whilst these three independent theoretical frameworks may appear to be diametrically opposing, Elder-Vass' (2011, 2012) realist social constructionist theory will draw the theories into a cohesive relationship to articulate the discourse. In chapter one, I asked two questions regarding the causal powers of discourse in relation to CSE policy (page 7) that informed the research question of the thesis. Whilst there is no prescriptive approach to assuming a realist social constructionist (Elder-Vass 2011, 2012, Burr 2015) (overall) theorisation of the data presented in the thesis, I will allow the reader to appreciate the advantages and limitations of combining each theoretical dataset *i.e.* a critical realist synthesis and a Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis. Elder-Vass (2011, 2012) and Burr (2015) articulate that (critical) realism and (moderate) social constructionism can be compatible and their arguments will be put forward within this chapter; the thesis is set to explore a development of social ontology of discourse on young males involved in CSE, before detailing a discourse norm circles (theoretical) model (Elder-Vass 2011, 2012). I argue, cogently, that the discourse norm circles model is able to work congruently with Gale's (2001) critical policy genealogy framework, as an overall theoretical synthesis.



The author believes that Pawson *et al.* (2011) work on the predicaments of evidence-based policy through focusing on the *known knowns*, the *known unknowns* and *unknown unknowns* is also key to bringing together critical realism and social constructionism. As mentioned in chapter one, Elder-Vass (2012) carefully demonstrates how two opposing theories (social constructionism and realism) can be useful to support one another. Opposing theories can, in fact, stabilise each other in the production of new knowledge (Elder-Vass 2012). Elder-Vass does this through examining normative-based phenomena within social structures through a realist lens whilst considering the constructionist points of enquiry such as culture, language, discourse and knowledge. Elder-Vass's argument for realist social constructionism is able to be theoretically congruent with Foucauldian theory as most of his work is based on Foucault. Both realism and social constructionism can offer different but related insights into human agency within social structures (Burr 2015). Moreover, to support Foucauldian theory in this thesis, the theory of liminality (Turner 1969) was identified to theorise the changing language and classifications in CSE since 2000. Some may argue that post-structuralists reject the idea of structuralism but Bevir (2010) believes that many preserve elements of structuralism, including: '*...differential theory of meaning, hostility to ideas of human agency, and preference for synchronic explanations*' (Bevir 2010: 425). I position the hybridity of the aforementioned theories for understanding human agency is essential, as it allows the deconstruction of social concepts within policy enactment; especially, when seeking an alternative analysis of discourse that may be 'caused' by non-discursive practices and the extra-discursive world (Elder-Vass 2011, 2012).

This chapter sub-divides into four distinctive theory sections as outlined below.

<b>Realisms: Critical Realism</b>	Page 89
<b>Structuralism: The Theory of Liminality</b>	Page 98
<b>Relativisms: Post-Structuralism</b>	Page 99

Each theory section firstly sets out how it is employed to generate new knowledge and then secondly, informs the reader of the pertinent theoretical literature to support this doctoral study. Importantly, this chapter will define a range of key terms such as 'generative mechanisms' or 'surveillance' to be clear to the reader when applied to the data chapters, although these are also found in the glossary. The analysed discourse with this doctoral study theorises knowledge as local, specific (Watson 2000) and partial (Pawson 2006) due to the enormity of undertaking a task, which encompasses the diversity of discourse associated with social phenomena such as CSE. Therefore, this thesis will not critique theories, intentionally, to refine theory but utilise theory to generate new and original knowledge on how young males are constructed within CSE policy, through ethics of governing institutions. This last point is important for the reader to bear in mind.

### **Realisms: Critical Realism**

Broadly speaking, Searle (1995) defines realism as a branch of philosophy that understands objective reality as created by structures that exist within our daily lives, through human agreement *e.g.* agency and behaviour. To be more applied, Wong *et al.* (2013) describe realism as in between positivism and constructivism, something which offers a real worldview through observation, however, requires interpretation through human-thinking processes. Resources or material structures can either facilitate or restrain individual behaviours; human agency in its application, though, can be flexible and have capacity to change surrounding structure (Jones-Devitt and Smith 2007). Realism sheds light on understanding complex policy interactions within the remits of complex social systems (Pawson *et al.* 2005) that, in turn and (again) within its context, influence human agency and behaviour (Wong *et al.* 2013).

To answer the first subsidiary question, chapter six presents a realist synthesis of literature explicit to the local implementation of national CSE policy across England, between 2000 and 2016, was undertaken, adopting a theory-driven

programme evaluation (McEvoy and Richards 2003)<sup>10</sup>. During the identification of the selected realist synthesis methodology, RAMESES Publication Standards (Wong *et al.* 2013, see appendix one), it occurred to me that the ‘type’ of realism had not been defined. I asked the authors of the RAMESES Publication Standards (appendix one) via a JISCMail (a National Academic Mailing Service) for advice on the preferred branch of realism (*e.g.* scientific, subtle or critical) (see correspondence in appendix two). One of the RAMESES authors, Westhorp (2016), in a personal communication (appendix two), advised that realism is not strictly defined in realist reviews / synthesis, as the axiology (the philosophy of values) of all branches of realism are relatively similar. Westhorp continues her advice to say that critical and scientific realisms are distinguished by the nature of questions being asked and the interpretations that are made from them. To further Westhorp’s (2016) advice, Porter (2015) argues that realist reviewers must be explicitly clear on how they distinguish structure and agency, especially in light of the numerous types of realism that exist, *e.g.* subtle, critical and scientific. Burr (2015) adopts the stance that realist theories are not singular and therefore, the term ‘realisms’ is better suited. In order to address Porter’s (2015) observation, the author of this doctoral study takes a critical realist perspective (Bhaskar 1986, McEvoy and Richards 2003, Schiller 2016).

Tranfield *et al.* (2003) and Grimshar *et al.* (2012) observe that policy actors have not, until recently, appreciated equal significance of realist syntheses, which focus on the implementation of interventions when compared to literature reviews focused on empirical data alone. Realist syntheses focus particularly on an explanatory analysis, understanding the contexts and causal or generative mechanisms that underlie outcomes (Pawson *et al.* 2005). This explanatory focus has been largely influenced by Pawson and Tilley’s (2004) work on realist evaluation in healthcare policy. Pawson and Tilley defined this methodological approach to realism through understanding the social world through identifying context-mechanism-outcome configurations (a term explained later in this section). I argue that critical realism can be of great theoretical and methodological advantage when compared to positivistic methodology in the

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<sup>10</sup> The critical realist synthesis methodology is outlined in chapter five.

absence of quantifiable data within the literature and also adds depth to policy research (McEvoy and Richards 2003). Pawson *et al.* (2004) and Pawson *et al.* (2005) believe realism is a strength to undertaking systematic reviewing, as realism does not adopt a strict logic or positivistic methodology. This strength highlights the embedding of a realist approach in philosophy and the social sciences that enables it to handle the unobservable workings of a particular intervention or programme. Edgley *et al.* (2016) explain this latter point that by adopting this approach produces knowledge in areas of context that may not be observable, empirically, but do have a causal mechanism, produced by human agency and behaviour.

While this chapter (and chapter five) seeks to utilise a novel methodology on an under-conceptualised phenomenon, the reader should bear in mind the *evolving* nature of these *standards* that allow for some flexibility and further anticipated appraisal. The methods for the realist synthesis are primarily based on the RAMESES Publication Standards (Wong *et al.* 2013) and supported by four peer-reviewed sources in particular to incorporate critical realism into the publication standards (Pawson *et al.* 2005, De Souza 2015, Rycroft-Malone *et al.* 2015 and Edgley *et al.* 2016). These classic sources of realist synthesis methodology were recommended by subject experts in the field.

### **Applied Critical Realism and CSE Policy Implementation**

Jones-Devitt and Smith (2007), based on the works of European critical realists such as Roy Bhaskar (1944–2014), interpret critical realism as a meta-theory that straddles both the concepts of structure and human agency. Critical realism is a branch of realism that is philosophically situated between the two extremes of relativism and positivism (Rycroft-Malone *et al.* 2013). Critical realists, as positioned by Elder-Vass (2012), cannot comprehend the social world without first recognising the ‘real’ nature and material structures that have causal effects. McEvoy and Richards (2003) and Jones-Devitt and Smith (2007) understand critical realism through Bhasker’s (1986) four main tenets including:

1. searching for generative mechanisms (the underlying, beneath workings of how things work; the non-observable);

2. adopting a multi-layered perspective of reality (natural and social);
3. emphasising the dichotomy between structure, agency and culture; and
4. critiquing of the prevailing social order

This section will examine tenets 1, 2 and 4, with the third tenet being examined in the discussion on what is meant by 'context' within ***Local Implementation of CSE Policy as a Complex Policy Interventions*** sub-section (page 91).

Critical realism adopts the realist natural order of ontology but takes on a relativist epistemology (McEvoy and Richards 2003) and adopts two key differences (Bryman 2012). Firstly, it takes the perspective that reality is assumed in a recognised conceptualisation of knowing how it is understood; therefore, acknowledging its potential for provisional rather than definite understanding (Bryman 2012). This is different to positivism, where what is directly observable is determined as reality and what cannot be seen does not exist (McEvoy and Richards 2003). Smith (2010: 122 cited in Burr 2015) described this relationship between objective reality and the unobservable as '*...what people believe to be real is significantly shaped not only by objective reality but also by their sociocultural contexts*'. Secondly, critical realism relies on the notion of generative mechanisms that may or may not be directly observable in the social world (Bryman 2012, Burr 2015). Generative mechanisms can be understood as the causal powers of social entities (Elder-Vass 2012). Burr (2015) recognises critical realism is capable of realising both the natural (or material) world and the social world are made up of real structures that have real effects (or causal powers) on people, such as pleasure or discomfort.

In social policy, Burr (2015) also recognises that the 'critical' aspect of critical realism attempts to draw on the implicit and hidden assumptions made in policy and ways of thinking. Generative mechanisms imply causal processes within particular social contexts and identify how they work under particular conditions (McEvoy and Richards 2003). So therefore, the identification of generative mechanisms is a key element of critical realism and offers a form of reasoning that is neither inductive nor deductive (Bryman 2012). This is because the contextual effect on a mechanism, as well as the mechanistic effect within a context will influence its overall effectiveness (Rycroft-Malone *et al.* 2013), due to

the social world being an open system (Fleetwood *et al.* 2017). Consequently, understanding the causality underlying generative mechanisms can occur through two distinct sorts of activities: retrodiction and retroduction (Wynn and Williams 2012, Elder-Vass 2015, Fleetwood *et al.* 2017).

Both distinctive activities, retrodiction and retroduction, distinguish between how one may look at causality *i.e.* generative mechanisms, in two ways, to understand how an observed event may have happened (Wynn and Williams 2012). Firstly, through retrodiction whereby the focus on applying previously identified mechanisms, or causal powers, can be used to explain an outcome in a particular event (Elder-Vass 2015). Retroduction, conversely, identifies and infers new mechanisms that have capability of producing such outcomes (in a particular event) (Wynn and Williams 2012), although these two activities can end up leaving a realist in a chicken-egg conundrum (Elder-Vass 2015). These activities are important for establishing how complexity develops and, in CSE policy terms, how young males can be invisibilised, through gender-neutrality, in the generative mechanisms involved in the discourse on young females.

Generative mechanisms are understood as latent until they are activated in specific circumstances (McEvoy and Richards 2003). Schiller (2016), however, appreciates that mechanisms do not have to be 'real' or objective and can be a social construction of humans, such as political or social decisions or influences. As such, the interaction of mechanisms within a given complex situation will result in a perceived experience, highlighting the particular recognition required of the context, due to the tendency of involvement of multiple social actors and social structures. This recognises Bhaskar's (1986) stratified nature of the natural and social worlds through the multi-layered perspective of knowledge or domains of reality including: the real, the actual and the empirical. Schiller (2016) notes that the real domain is independent of thought and awareness of human beings; the actual domain allows humans to experience a portion of the 'real' events caused by a multitude of generative mechanisms, and; the empirical domain is the reality that is solely premised on human perception and experience. Therefore, critiquing the existing social order is construed by the world being understood through a combination of experiences and perceptions

that maintain all three domains at once (Schiller 2016) through multiple causal powers (Elder-Vass 2012). So, subsequently, critical realists appreciate that the real domain holds deeper meanings that bolster the actual domain (what humans observe and experience) or, indeed, the empirical domain (how humans interpret) (Schiller 2016).

***Local Implementation of CSE Policy as a Complex Policy Intervention***

National child protection interventions are founded upon both legislation (e.g. Children Act 1989) and policy (e.g. Working Together To Safeguard Children) that require local interpretation on how, when, what is to be implemented and in what respect. Therefore, I will use critical realism to examine the local implementation of CSE policy as a ‘complex policy intervention’ (Pawson *et al.* 2005, Pawson *et al.* 2011) appreciating that local interpretation and implementation varies across England (Jago *et al.* 2011, Paskell 2012). In applied policy research, complex policy interventions involve a hypothetical assumption of how a social problem can be dealt with through a programme of policy or policies. Shepperd *et al.* (2009) have questioned whether studies that evaluate complex interventions can be systematically reviewed in a traditional sense, placing critical realism in an ideal position. Glenton *et al.* (2006), however, have previously concluded that there is no set definition within academia of what constitutes a complex social or policy intervention. This lack of clarity can be problematic for reviewers with varying descriptions of what essentially is the same intervention (Glenton *et al.* 2006). To deal with this problem, Pawson *et al.* (2005) and Pawson *et al.* (2011) have defined seven features of complex policy interventions, shown in Table 3.1 below.

N°	Feature of Complex Policy Interventions
1	Complex policy interventions are theories in themselves given that at the time of the decision to go ahead with a policy intervention, it is often hypothetically decided this is the best decision at that point in time.
2	These interventions are reliant on people carrying out the interventions.
3	All interventions take a long time to take effect, usually through a chain of processes, from ideology to implementation. The decision-makers of

	interventions appreciate that they may come across blockages and points of contention along the way <i>i.e.</i> the local implementation decisions may behave differently than expected.
4	The way in which the implementation of these interventions progresses may not always be linear and can reverse as opposed to progress.
5	These interventions are part of a much wider socio-political infrastructure therefore sensitive to this infrastructure.
6	These interventions are constantly subject to refinement, reinvention and adaptation.
7	These interventions can somewhat have a change effect.

**Table 3.1 Pawson *et al.* (2005) and Pawson *et al.* (2011) Seven Features of Complex Policy Interventions**

Essentially, complex policy interventions involve theories of processes or steps that are taken through the actions of people within a social system (Rycroft-Malone *et al.* 2015). Complex policy interventions may be understood through the identification of programme theories (*i.e.* a hypothesis on how the intervention is meant to work), which are then tested through context-mechanism-outcome configurations (Punton *et al.* 2016). This kind of testing allows for different answers to be found, when interventions are implemented in different contexts (Pawson 2006). This differs from the positivistic model of causality whereby ‘action + mechanism = outcome’ is the default (Jones-Devitt and Smith 2007). Pawson and Tilley (2004) state that there are four key concepts that can assist in the explanation and understanding of programme theories. The key concepts are: ‘*context*’, ‘*mechanism*’, ‘*outcome*’ and ‘*context-mechanism-outcome (C-M-O) configuration*’ which will be explained below in Table 3.2 (overleaf). Furthermore, Edgely *et al.* (2016) articulates that critical realist review / synthesis offers a novel contribution to knowledge as it allows the reviewer to emphasise data that would otherwise not be empirically observable.

Within the synthesis in chapter six, any activity relating to ‘local CSE policy responses or implementation’ was considered a *complex policy or social intervention*.



<b>Key Concept</b>	<b>Explanation of Key Concept</b>
<b>Context</b>	<i>Context</i> can be defined as the conditions in which programmes (policies, government action plans as examples) are surrounded by and are relevant to the trigger or operation of the programme mechanisms (Pawson and Tilley 2004, Punton <i>et al.</i> 2016). The contexts will be understood in three components: structure, agency and culture (De Souza 2015).
<b>Mechanism</b>	<i>Mechanisms</i> can be defined as the impact of the programme on the actions and decisions of individuals (Pawson and Tilley 2004) and describes the underlying processes of the production of change within a programme (Hewitt <i>et al.</i> 2012). Mechanisms may also demonstrate activities that occur with programmes of work that ultimately impact on the outcomes.
<b>Outcome</b>	<i>Outcomes</i> as the product of the actions of individuals within the confines of specific contexts (Shepperd <i>et al.</i> 2009).
<b>Context-mechanism-outcome (C-M-O) configuration</b>	<i>C-M-O configurations</i> are a hypothesis or theory on explaining how programme theories may work under specific contexts to produce an outcome (Punton <i>et al.</i> 2016).

**Table 3.2 Key concepts of explaining and understanding programme theories**

Porter (2015) claims that the assertion of mechanisms generated through structure is intrinsically linked with social relations and human agency, demonstrating a basic tenant of critical realism. From the observation of Porter's argument to include agency, De Souza (2015) has modified Pawson and Tilley's (2004) realism with the application of Margaret Archer's realist social theory to divide 'context' further into: structure, agency and culture, as points for specific investigation (Figure 3.2 overleaf). De Souza (2015) adopted a different approach to Edgley *et al.* (2016) in this adaptation for realist syntheses to

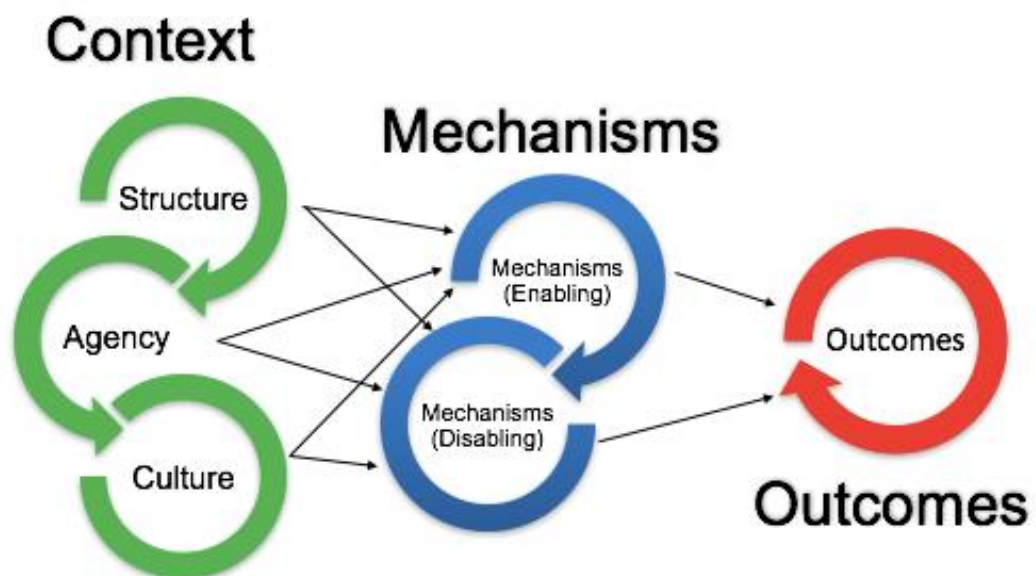
incorporate critical realism. All types of realism appreciate that not all contexts and mechanisms within complex social interactions are observable, so some interpretivism is required.

**Figure 3.2 Modified C-M-O Configuration Model (De Souza 2015)**

Context at the point of research investigation	=	Structure Agency Culture	+	Associated Mechanisms	=	Outcomes
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This thesis, however, will further transform this modified C-M-O configuration model (De Souza 2015) to a causal mechanism of outcomes model as presented in Figure 3.3. This model positions mechanisms as both enabling and disabling, which in turn produce effective and ineffective outcomes. This will allow room for observations to be made on how young males may not be catered for within local CSE policy implementation. Applying De Souza's (2015) modification of the C-M-O configuration model to the relevance of this thesis, the structures can be determined by identified social structures, the agency is that of an individual or group of individual policy actors, and the culture will be the contemporary and historical CSE policy, namely policy culture.

**Figure 3.3 Causal Mechanisms of Outcomes**



### **Structuralism: The Theory of Liminality**

Turner's (1969) theory builds on the definitional confusions Scoular and O'Neill (2007) observed in adult sex work policy in chapter one. I propose that the governmentality situated around the network of language and classifications existing within CSE policy is only possible when it is known and observable. This proposal leaves young males potentially outside of these networks, especially with the on-ward trend of diminishing child protection vocabulary (Calder and Archer 2016) and gender-neutrality in policy architecture.

The theory of 'liminality' is a structuralist theory; it provides an alternative basis on how Foucault developed his later post-structuralist ideas and theories, on pre-existing schools of thought, during his time of writing. Harter (2016) believes that life itself is liminal as subjects constantly live within boundaries and thresholds. Liminality can be defined as the space balanced or suspended between two states, conditions, points or descriptions that do not have a particular point of reference (Harter 2016). This is especially pertinent to the discursive practices and language we use to classify phenomena as liminality has the potential to observe processes, practices or transformations akin to Foucault's ethical standpoint on governing oneself (Harter 2016). Turner (1969) built his theory of liminality from van Gennep's tripartite model of *rites de passage* to examine how '*...rituals manage transitions for individuals and collectives*' (Turner 1969: 359). Van Gennep (1960) defines the *rites de passage* (or transition) as the rites that '*...accompany every change of place, state, social position or age*' (Turner 1969: 359) and are marked by three phases. These three phases include: separation, margin (liminal) and re-aggregation.

### ***Explanation of the three phases of liminality***

Firstly, the ritual subject (whether that may be an individual or group, such as young males) is separated or detached from an earlier fixed point in the social structures it exists within, a set of cultural conditions or both (such as a young male who is popular in his peer group who is perceived to have a positive sexuality). The second phase is the margin or liminal period; this is the intervening period where the ritual subject passes through a 'cultural realm' (Turner 1969). The cultural realm cannot be associated with attributes from

either the past or future state and the subject's characteristics are ambiguous throughout this phase (Turner 1969). An example here is given where a young male presents to a child protection social worker because of the potential or actual risk of sexual exploitation to him; it may become apparent during an assessment that the 'young sexually active male' may be assessed and labelled as a 'victim of CSE'. It is between these classifications that Turner (1969) defines liminal entities. A liminal entity is the term used to describe the 'in between' phase of social positions or cultural conditions that are assigned by language and classification. Where classifications once exist and then no longer exist can cause anxiety because the uncertainty that may lie ahead, Navon and Morag term this as '*...declassification without reclassification*' (2004: 2338).

In the third and final phase, the ritual subject is now in a stable state once again; this phase is termed as re-aggregation, bringing about the defining moment when the passage is then consummated. Now the ritual subject is in its relatively new position in social structure or cultural condition, it is granted by virtue, the rights and obligations of another subject in a similar position (such as following an intervention trajectory of those young people being at risk of or harmed by CSE). The subject is then expected to behave within the customary norms and ethical standards in accordance with this new social positioning (Turner 1969) e.g. the young male behaves like a victim as defined by the social worker. The author argues that social constructionism is weak without the concept of liminality as this theory creates a threshold to observe changes in empirical data. Liminality is not necessarily definable in its nature as this condition either eludes or slips through the system of categorisations that normally locate states and positions in cultural space (Turner 1969).

### **Relativisms: Post-Structuralism**

Elder-Vass (2012) uses the term 'discursive constructionism' to describe his understanding of social constructionism. His understanding adds emphasis to the actual processes involved in discursive formations which, he claims, ultimately shape the social world. Discursive constructionism positions our understanding of the world with historical and cultural relativity, through the

categories and concepts used on a daily basis, thereby creating an assortment of realities (Burr 2015). Taking historical and cultural relativity further, Burr (2015) understands discursive constructionism to perhaps distort a direct perception of 'true' reality as humans construct their own understandings, leading to different versions of reality, knowledge, and ultimately truth. Burr postulates that this brings about patterns of social action often intrinsic to power relations; so, one's own construction may and can implicate how they treat another. Thus, there are no absolute truths if we are to accept varying historical and cultural contexts construct local variations of (different) realities and consequently, comparisons can only be made in relation to each other, not to a (positivistic) standard of truth / reality (Burr 2015). Burr advocates the use of 'relativisms' rather 'relativism' to reflect the diversity of relativist epistemology.

The concept of discourse cannot, alone, easily conceptualise a connection with reality, as language is labelled / formed dependently on social and material entities. Language can only be used to refer to itself, concluding that language is a 'self-referent' system (Mills 2004, Burr 2015). This is an important limitation of discursive constructionism to consider with CSE. Building on Green's (2001, 2005) and Petrie's (2012) work in chapter two, the social (re)construction of childhood, sexual exploitation and sexual agency, and their conflation within the same phenomenon (e.g. CSE), has evoked strong feelings that have been extensively publicised and debated within the British media and public at large (Barnardo's 2014). Petrie (2012) and Melrose (2013a) also observe the difficulties in identifying harm, clear-cut, within the concoction of 'socially constructible' terms such as 'childhood' and 'socially specific' phenomena, regarding violence and sex. Both Petrie (2012) and Melrose (2013a) observe that many contradictions can exist with such concoctions, as an example, a child can be defined as an individual up to the age of 18-years-old. One may see a 17-year-old engaging in sexual activity as morally acceptable, yet a 15-year-old not. Both scenarios can technically be defined as CSE. This research is concerned exclusively with young males aged over the age of statutory rape (those who are 13 years and older) (Larcombe *et al.* 2016), appreciating those children who could be considered Gillick (Fraser) competent in professional practice (Wheeler 2006). How concepts and combinations of concepts in the

same construct, such as sexuality, sexual exploitation and young males are understood and defined - within the discourses and the work aimed at CSE has been little explored (Cockbain *et al.* 2014, Brayley *et al.* 2014, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014).

### **Post-Structuralism: Selected Works of Michel Foucault**

The primary dataset presented in chapter eight is analysed within a post-structuralist framework, to examine the perceived self-governance or ethics (Robinson 2018) of professionals within the English safeguarding children system, relating to young males and CSE. This primary research will explore an array of health and social care disciplines that have a variety of theoretical underpinnings, practices, evidence-bases and political agenda akin to what was explored in chapter two. Namaste (1996) understands post-structuralism as an approach to interpreting the self within a complex network of social relations. To build on this, Jackson (1992) has previously observed three main tenets to post-structuralism, including: 1) language is constructed through meaning; 2) the construction of the 'self' is intrinsic with culture and language (*e.g.* structure) and cannot be separated; 3) acceptance that there are no universal truths or one-dimensional reality of knowledge, therefore knowledge can only be produced discursively. This means that the focus of an individual (*e.g.* a front-line practitioner working in child protection) with assumed autonomous agency (being able to assert professional judgement in practice), however, is understood within the complexity of surveillance and *power-knowledge* institutions.

Post-structuralism is helpful at deconstructing human agency within a proliferation of policies and *power-knowledge* institutions and give new meaning to what is currently understood (Draper and Jones-Devitt 2007). Within sex research, Atwood (2006) argues post-structuralism, through deconstruction, radically disrupts the conceptualisations within sex and sexuality, articulated with socio-political significance such as the sexual threat towards young females (Cockbain 2013, Coy 2016). This, in turn, can influence the process of power between people (Durham 2003). Unlike critical realism that can be categorised as a meta-theory (Bhaskar 1986, McEvoy and Richards 2003), this thesis will

use selected works of Michel Foucault, as a conceptual toolbox, to deal with specific problems. Using Foucauldian theory as a conceptual toolbox lends the analyst routes to particular enquiries in a fashion Foucault very much intended (Gilbert and Powell 2010, Powell 2012, Garland 2014). Various seminal texts and concepts of Foucault will be used as a way of disrupting contemporary thought and conceptualisations on CSE with regards to young males. In particular, four seminal texts of Foucault will be applied to the data in chapter eight, including: *History of Sexuality (Volume 1)* (Foucault 1976); *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault 1977); *Technologies of the Self* (Foucault 1988) and lastly; Foucault's lecture on *Governmentality* (1991). These texts (especially Foucault 1976, 1977) were a turning point for Foucault where he began to focus on the genealogical, rather than the archaeological histories of the present (Bevir 2010). This thesis draws on these texts to particularly focus on Foucault's interpretation of ethics (Rabinow 2000, Robinson 2018).

### ***Michel Foucault: Archaeological to Genealogical Style to Discourse***

So far within this thesis, Foucault has been referred to several times, however this section will introduce and set the parameters of Foucauldian thought engaged. The late Michel Foucault (1926–1984), a critical historian of modernity, primarily focused on the social control within societal, or governing institutions, through the inseparable relationship of power and knowledge, especially conceptualised through discursive structures (Rabinow and Dreyfus 1983); even the discursive structures at the capillary level of power (Juritzen *et al.* 2011). These governing institutions included medicine, psychiatry and prisons (Winch 2005, Juritzen *et al.* 2011). Foucault conflicted with the popular-held belief that science and rationality were independent of human experience, arguing power-knowledge is key and always at play (Juritzen *et al.* 2011). Foucault's work does not consist of a singular theory or a categorical system of ideas (Mills 2004) and neither offers a theory exclusively on discourse. Foucault (2002) offers the perspective of understanding discourse as '*...practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak*' (Foucault 2002: 49). Mills (2004) interprets this perspective of discourse not as something that can hold its own but is produced from something else (such as a concept or an effect). Using sexuality discourse as an example, Foucault (1988) was not concerned about the evolution of

sexualities, but the power formation between the effect of truth-telling and prohibition of certain aspects or dimensions of sexual practices. Elder-Vass (2012) breaks down Foucault's understanding of power and discourse, firstly, to understand the discursive formation of utterances, statements and propositions which go on to facilitate discursive practices.

Foucault differed from other historians by writing about specific history from multiple perspectives, coining his method with the term 'archaeology'. In his book, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (2002), he located discourse as a concept to describe the interactivity between regulatory practices and social processes, through language, to form knowledge and truth, stylised through discursive formation (Mills 2004, Kirsch 2006). Foucault particularly sought to observe discourse as highly-sophisticated groupings of utterances and statements, that was a self-referent system (Mills 2004, Burr 2015). Although Elder-Vass (2012) criticises Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* for leaving crucial points of clarification unanswered when examining discourse, including: discourse having a causal effect and how this could be resolved through the causal roles of subjects. Elder-Vass claimed that Foucault never provided an alternative analysis of the ontology behind discourse. I will return to addressing this criticism in the ***Social Ontology of Discourse*** section later in this chapter.

In his later works, however, Foucault shifted his style of analysis from archaeology to one of genealogy, when he attempted to reveal the contexts and struggles in history, to reassess the value(s) of contemporary phenomena (Elden 2007, Garland 2014). Elder-Vass (2012) observed in this phase of Foucault's work that he brings discourse into a more symmetric / synergic relationship with the non-discursive and extra-discursive world. Garland (2014) notes a distinct difference between the two styles, each taking on a different historico-critical focus. Garland states that archaeology is concerned with a linear and structural direction of history, whereas genealogy is concerned with identifying specific exercises of power, conflicts, alliances and struggle that underlie the process of the present in social phenomena. Garland reports from a published interview with Foucault, he set genealogy as the '*...means that I begin my analysis from a question posed in the present*' (Kritzman 1988: 262), thus the term 'history of the



present' came into use (Foucault 1976). More specifically, Winch (2005) observes that genealogy is far more concerned with the techniques used by institutions within the production of knowledge, belief and (multiple) truth regimes; therefore, offering the opportunity to discourse (and knowledge) that would otherwise be disqualified or resonate from minority groups of people. Winch identified three conceivable axes of Foucault's genealogy, including: firstly, individuals construct their self in relation to the truth as subjects of knowledge; secondly, the field of power relates to how subjects act on others; and lastly, the individual, as a subject, becomes a moral agent (constitution of the self) in relation to ethics.

Foucault postulates *power* as something that can form in various complexities and social relations, resulting in an array of behaviours such as a dance between power and resistance-to-power (Mills 2004). Peckover and Ashton (2018) understood Foucault's meaning of power as a contextual relation in the interactions of one action shaping the action of others, yet the meaning of these interactions can be experienced and understood in multiple ways. These contextual relationships go beyond a binary perspective of opposites (Peckover and Ashton 2018) and are conceived as dynamic and unstable with an inseparable intertwining of knowledge and power (Juritzen *et al.* 2011). Thus, *knowledge* is the product of subjugation of subjects (Mills 2004). Foucault was not only interested in the power directly derived from the state in regulating social conduct, but also those subtle powers produced by the state and enacted by networks of institutions, practices and techniques since the seventeenth-century (Joseph 2010); namely biopolitics (Joseph 2010) or biopower (Winch 2005). The body was a great concern to Foucault, which he conceptualised as a flesh or surface upon which power could permit authority (Garland 2014). The body (*i.e.* the population) is only made meaningful through historical and cultural construction in discourse, nonetheless it is unstable and modifiable, being able to change form, within multiple ways within different periods of time (Winch 2005). Disciplinary power was deployed in a manner of ways (Foucault 1976).

### ***Discursive Formation and Practices***

Interlinked with power, Foucault believed that knowledge was a direct product of the conditions it was subject to, including: social, historical and political, which in turn underpinned utterances, statements and propositions, namely discourse, determined as truth, enabled by power (Mills 2004, Burr 2015). The conditioning Foucault referred to would be understood as the governing rules of their functioning, not by their linguistic meaning, but by how they dominated, as well as constrained, the extent of knowledge (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008). When such conditioning changes, Foucault believed these are shifts within the discursive rule and structure were subject to *epistemic transformations* (Garland 2014). Conversely, although conditioning may feature within discursive rule and structure, they are shaped by both internal mechanisms of discourse (as well as being self-referent) (Mills 2004, Burr 2015). Mills (2004) argues that Foucault was not interested in uncovering the truth of a particular discourse but focused on the structure / mechanisms that supported it. Mills also noted that Foucault believed that statements never existed in isolation and that the surrounding structure enabled and enforced them. It is imperative, however, that a Foucauldian approach is understood as context-sensitive with the ability to be context-revising, yet not context-dependent (Gilbert and Powell 2010).

Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2008) observes three dimensions of discursive practices. Firstly, they require a historical inquiry through genealogy; secondly, the mechanisms and functioning of power are brought to light; and thirdly, the way in which subjects become engrossed in subjectification or signifying practices. Within Foucault's book, *Discipline and Punish* (1977), he rejected a straightforward, top-down understanding of power; he believed that power circulated within multiple networks to the furthest extents. This multi-faceted and far-reaching circulation of power included a disciplinary process whereby power-knowledge would produce 'docile bodies' prepared to partake in a range of disciplinary institutions, techniques and practices (Gilbert and Powell 2010).

This thesis concentrates on Foucault's genealogical histories of the present, including *Discipline and Punish* (1977) and *History of Sexualities: Volume 1* (1976), which will be explored in the next sections.

### ***Foucault and Discursive Practices of Childhood Sexuality***

Foucault's (1976) works in volume one of *The History of Sexuality* centred on the history of power effects on the discourses of sexual knowledge within the West, that were organised and largely influenced by Victorian social attitudes (Foucault 1976). Sexuality was a prime target for power and provided the foundation to discipline disorderly populations (Pryce 2001, Mottier 2008) into sexual silencing, particularly driven by Christianity<sup>11</sup> and Victorianism (Foucault 1976). This was especially the case with childhood sexuality and, as mentioned in chapter one, Foucault wrote specifically about the discourse surrounding the sexuality of children (see Figure 1.1, page 6). Taylor (2017) notes that Foucault observed in the eighteenth-century a societal preoccupation of disallowing the expression of sexuality of children, for fear they would be led astray; rather childhood sexuality was seen as in need of control, because of the unpredictable threat it posed to the future of society and biopolitical state. Taylor noted, particularly, that the representation of childhood was considered as a '*...precious and perilous, dangerous and endangered sexual potential...*' (Foucault 1978: 104 cited in Taylor 2017). To take matters into the state's hand, society facilitated the transition of subjects within disciplinary power-knowledges such as medicine and religion to intervene and protect the bodies of children from sex (Taylor 2017). Foucault called such subjects 'the qualified speakers' (1976). The qualified speakers, Foucault mentions, can be seen as educators, researchers, physicians, religious (moral / moralist) leaders and administrators of government; and in contemporary society could be extended to practitioners who work on the front-line in CSE, such as social workers, nurses and police.

Foucault (1976) observed that Victorian attitudes toward sexuality still resonate in contemporary culture, in a phrase he used as the *triple edict* that concurrently consists of 'taboo, non-existence and silence' (Foucault 1980: 15). This *triple edict* was an apparatus Foucault used to describe the repressive hypothesis on sexuality within Western society; where attitudes held by adults in Victorian times, on children's sexuality, offered a prime example of the use and effects of the *triple edict*, stereotyping the 'imperial prude'. The unintended effect of this

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<sup>11</sup> Christianity and sexual silencing will be discussed on page 109.

*triple edict*, however, produced a notion of sexual censorship (Foucault 1976). Foucault (1980) believed society appeared to think sexuality was repressed, but in fact identified a multiplication of wide and various discursive practices on it during the eighteenth-century, so much so that in fact any notion of repression, *i.e.* hidden or silenced, was anything but. Foucault argued whilst discourses on sex and sexuality were silenced for the many, the volume of rational discourses on sex became amplified through those power-knowledge institutions (such as religion, the law, schools and the medical establishment – especially psychiatry) deemed responsible for administering and governing the language and classification on sex and sexuality (Taylor 2017). Foucault picked up particularly on how the institutions akin to sexology, psychosexual medicine and therapies became the 'listeners' of sexual confessions and became dominant discourses on the morality of sex and sexuality (Taylor 2017).

Together with the *Repressive Hypothesis*, Foucault (1976) also developed the theory of *Scientia Sexualis*. In the advent of *Repressive Hypothesis*, Western societies developed contrasting practices and discourse on the science or knowledge(s) of sex or *scientia sexualis* when compared to the eastern societies' practices and discourse of sex, *ars erotica*, the art – the joys and pleasures - of the erotic / sex (Foucault 1976, Evans 2017). Foucault (1976) claimed the proliferation of *scientia sexualis* practices and discourses emerged with a focus of examining sexual confession, or intense moral gaze (Gardiner 1996). In light of the reliance of sexual confessions, however, it was then possible for a taxonomy or labelling and classification of sexuality to come about (Taylor 2017). Gardiner (1996) believes that Foucault intended to demonstrate external moral codes, especially surrounding sexuality, are entangled in the effects of power structures, creating a universal morality of what could be constituted as 'normal'. This led to scientists having a will to know, taxonomise, and set about 'curing' or punishing 'immoral' sexual desires and practices (Taylor 2017). Taylor (2017) notes that these very disciplinary techniques produce, unintendedly, what we refer to as perversions, creating a discourse that 'perverts' could redeploy to their own advantage, as previously highlighted by Pilgirm (2017) such as paedophile advocacy groups *i.e.* 'Paedophile Information Exchange' (page 65). According to Foucault (1976), this was a critical time point on the relationship

between power and (the language and classification of) sexuality that remains to influence discourses in the modern day. The themes of confession will be applied to Foucault's (1988) *Technologies of the Self* discussed later in this chapter.

### **Foucault to CSE Policy and Professional Practice**

Now I have gone through the basic tenets of Foucauldian theory, we now consider his thoughts on the function of state and its power on populations, especially populations including policy actors, children and child sex offenders. Watson (2000) believes that the application of Foucault to the study of social policy can offer new ways of thinking about the way in which phenomena are problematised in policy. I postulate that at present, professional practice and social policy of child protection offer two separate sets of discourses that resonate within heteropatriarchal hierarchies. These hierarchies can be divided into two domains: (1) gynocentric and (2) paternalistic. These domains appear to be the dominant, and often hegemonic, underpinnings of professional decision-making within the English safeguarding children system in relation to sexual abuse and exploitation. Decisions across all levels of practice and policy that are directly or indirectly associated with the young people involved in CSE, construct the victim of CSE. Rose and Miller (1992) articulate that tracing the administrative apparatus can identify the tactics of government; I consider policy development to be administrative apparatus. From a disciplinary standpoint, this thesis, in line with Mills' (2004) understanding, looks at what is produced rather than the producer in the presentation of findings.

The subject of childhood sexuality is relevant for professional practice especially dealing with issues of CSE, however, much deliberation was required to think ethically yet sensibly about how this could be addressed without being perceived as condoning illegal sexual activity. The *DCSF (2009) guidance* states that the individuals who exploit children '*...have power over them by virtue of their age, gender, intellect, physical strength and/or economic or other resources.*' (2009: 9). The CSE definition within contemporary policy has an overall focus of a

young person being powerless in a sexually exploitative situation. Therefore, power being a particularly useful concept to hinge this research on.

The recognition of this power statement in the *DCSF (2009) guidance* is an important consideration as it provides useful insight into how the policy enactors operate, as illuminated in *Discipline and Punish* (1977) and *History of Sexuality (Volume 1)* (1976). Foucault (1976, 1977) claims self-hood (of professionals, in this case) is conditioned and limited by the structures that surround the subject, yet these conditions and limits are also replicated by the subject themselves unintentionally (Luxen 2008). This type of power could be understood as 'pastoral power' as first identified by Foucault used in early Christian mentality (Elden 2007, Dean 2010). I am concerned with examining how policy actors construct children's and young people's sexuality, and what this tells us about power, especially in relation to judgements on ethical sexual decision-making (Larcombe *et al.* 2016). With a Foucauldian ethical framework applied to this, however, the governance of the self (*i.e.* agency) is not instigated from the individual subject but imposed from the socio-cultural structures (Winch 2005).

This research, which comes from a Foucauldian perspective on sexual behaviour, does not focus on the statistical frequency of young males involved in CSE or the relative scale of associated harm. Foucault (1976) would understand the significance of sexual behaviour not to relate to its frequency, but to the intensity and attention paid to the individual, to the self, and collectively, within society. It is important to mention here, in the context of CSE, that while young males are in the minority in comparison to young females, the intensity and attention paid to the individual is key to this thesis' positioning.

### **The Normalisation of Power-Knowledge on Individuals / Subjects**

As a way of conceptualising how ethical substances and, in turn, ethical works, ethical subjects and ethical practice (Dean 2010) have emerged, Foucault identified in his book, *Discipline and Punish* (1977), the normalisation surrounding the processes of power-knowledge on individuals. Foucault called this the objectification of the individual (Gilbert and Powell 2010, Garland 2014).

These processes included: hierarchical observations (e.g. surveillance, theory of panopticism); normalising judgements, and examination (Foucault 1977). These processes within the formation of disciplinary power are what Foucault (1977) realised as inevitable, but ignored, within society. Gilbert and Powell (2010) have already applied these three processes to social work practice, in their analysis on social work and power, and offer great architectural insight in applying this to social policy administration.

### ***Hierarchical observations: Surveillance and the State***

Hierarchical observations are the first process a subject must be subjected to in order to be objectified (Foucault 1977); although these observations are only made possible if disciplinary power can optimise a disciplinary apparatus able to constantly yet discreetly maintain a gaze on everything (Gilbert and Powell 2010). Foucault's concept of surveillance and the state was first published in his *Discipline and Punish* (1977). Foucault (1977) drew attention to surveillance techniques used by the state to regulate populations; such examples are those professionals who are mandated to administer government policy in the realms of safeguarding and child protection. Foucault (1977: 175) claimed '*surveillance*' as the main economic operator as '*...an internal part of the production machinery and as a specific mechanism in the disciplinary power*'. Foucault's *surveillance* can be metaphorically understood on the architectural work of Jeremy Bentham's proposed Panopticon theory.

The Panopticon was never actually built, however, the design appealed due to its power over prisoners by situating a central control tower in a prison with mirrored glass – leaving the impression on prisoners that they would be under *constant surveillance* (Watson 2000). This theoretically reduced the chances of revolts occurring, through making 'modern' prison into a political technology of the body (Garland 2014). This disciplinary power allowed institutions the power to regulate power without force (Watson 2000), to generalised populations (Garland 2014). Foucault went on to explore this form of technique of manipulation and control, outside of the penal system, as a means productive of the discourse (Watson 2000) and could be termed a 'metaphorical' theory. This metaphorical theory had the machinery to be multi-functional and simultaneous

on surveying society as well as individuals to apply this type of disciplinary power on oneself (Freshwater *et al.* 2015). Foucault (1977) noted early examples of this in the development of parish schools, to increase pupil attendance through the stratification of pupils to be observers, monitors and even tutors.

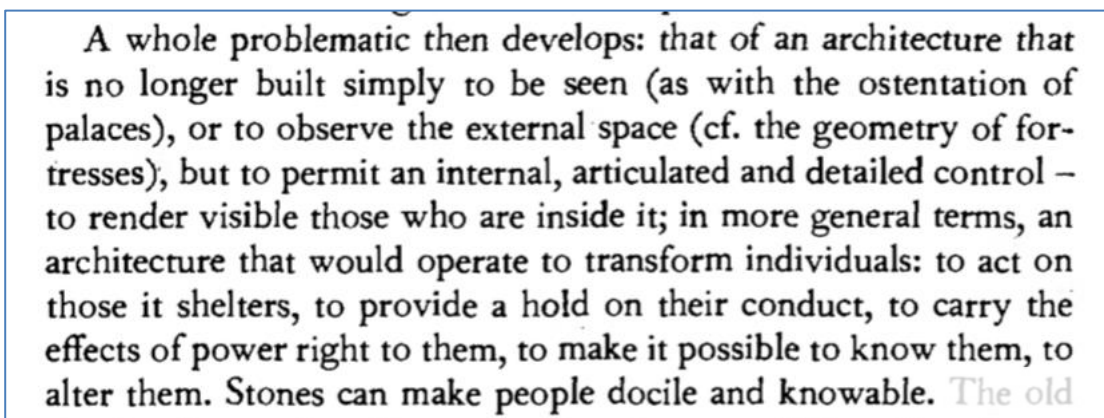
The thesis centres its attention to the perceptions of policy actors, or qualified speakers, which is important to consider in light of the epistemic shifts of New Labour's policy, from the labelling and notion of 'child protection' to 'safeguarding children' (Parton 2011b cited in Peckover 2013). Peckover (2013) asserts this epistemic shift notes the introduction of the emerging surveillant state coming into being, through a much wider shared approach across governing institutions. Shared approaches included carrying out risk assessments, with information disseminated not only to protect but prevent social problems in the name of 'early intervention' (Peckover 2013). Peckover (2002, 2013) undertook research into the conceptualisation of domestic abuse and identified routine [sensitive] enquiries with females, surrounding historic or current abuse in the home, often became a technique of surveillance. Peckover (2002) particularly identifies the relationship between welfare professionals (e.g. health visitors) and clients (e.g. mothers) is one that is complex, because disciplinary power maintains a conundrum of welfarism and surveillance. This conundrum takes the health visiting role in parallel of both policing and supporting mothers to be 'good mothers', in the exercise of power. Furthermore, Peckover and Ashton (2018) have also realised, within the context of public health nurses working with mothers and children, that surveillance is socially constructed and has the potential for misunderstandings of meaning and guidance in its application; especially the binary misunderstandings between lay and professional meanings.

To take this professional surveillance further, Freshwater *et al.* (2015) claim that professional autonomy can be understood as a subject self-regulating as an '*artificial person*'. An artificial person, adopting and complying with the stance of the institution they represent, particularly evidenced in the enactment on surveillance in professional practice (Freshwater *et al.* 2015). Freshwater *et al.* claimed that this artificiality shapes one's subjectivity in parallel with the norms



and rules of institutions, for example, becoming a product of the Panopticon. Freshwater *et al.* problematise this proliferation of the '*artificial person*' by stating a disconnect between the actions and awareness of the self within the subject; dissociating from one's value and character. Freshwater *et al.* conclude that within the formation of the artificial person creates a culture of fear, thereby elevating levels of professional anxiety, allowing retreat into the protection of institutional protocols. Although, within a multi-agency context, Peckover and Golding (2017) found that inter-professional practice tensions in safeguarding children within domestic abuse situations often arise due to differing professional and organisational perspectives, priorities and constraints on addressing the problem. This can influence the constitution and moral practice of the self (*i.e.* the individual practitioner) to position and interweave, discursively and iteratively, within their surrounding socio-cultural architecture (Foucault 1977), such as CSE policy, as observed in Figure 3.4.

**Figure 3.4 Extract from Discipline and Punish (Foucault 1977: 172)**



A whole problematic then develops: that of an architecture that is no longer built simply to be seen (as with the ostentation of palaces), or to observe the external space (cf. the geometry of fortresses), but to permit an internal, articulated and detailed control – to render visible those who are inside it; in more general terms, an architecture that would operate to transform individuals: to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them. Stones can make people docile and knowable. The old

Figure 3.4 is demonstrable in Foucault referring to architecture beyond the physicality and presence of buildings. Relating this to the formation of moral or ethical practices, Foucault (1988), in his later works, ascertained that subjects engaged in the various capabilities, qualities and statuses, rather than living according to their own morality. This specific engagement of various capabilities, qualities and statuses created the self-regulation or self-monitoring of the governance of the self. Applied to this thesis, professional (ethical) decision-making is further complicated through such discourses on consent and assumed hetero / asexuality and 'innocence' of childhood, where regimes of truth

(Foucault 1976) exist on such matters within policy architecture. For instance, the professional conduct / autonomy of a social worker in a child protection system will have an array of factors impacting on their agency within decision-making situations, such as child protection supervision, government policy, a recent child death that has had national media coverage, as examples.

### ***Normalising Judgements: Classification Systems***

Normalising judgements is the second stage of Foucault's (1977) critique of the objectification of the individual and are based on what has been observed within the hierarchical observations. Gilbert and Powell (2010) understand this process to focus disciplinary attention on the produced systems of classification or categorisations. This authorises the identification of the identity, behaviour or actions of sub-groups of the population against the norms held within society, which allow for judgement of any transgression (Foucault 1977, Gilbert and Powell 2010).

As an example, Foucault proposed the idea that society was concerned with categorising groups and sub-groups of the population (Gutting 2005), *i.e.* 'the homosexual'. Foucault (1977, 1980) argued the category of *homosexual* was created as a new *species* in 1862, when sexology first classified homosexual behaviour into personage. This classification was later adopted by the governing institutions, such as the legal, medical and psychiatric bodies of knowledge, for exploration and exploitation, thus, bringing a group – or 'species' – into being which then became the focus of bio-political regulation or 'bio-power'. This focus of bio-power made certain groups in the population both private individuals yet public citizens (Miller 1993). While homosexual practices have existed prior to this classification (Weeks 1996), Foucault argued that the social category of 'the homosexual', along with specific homosexual identities and subjectivities, only came about through discursive production of knowledge; social identities often being the result of the way in which knowledge emanates from the organisation of discourses. Since the naming of *the homosexual* in 1862, male-to-male sexual activities and identities have gone through epistemic transformations which have seen them move from immorality through to illegality, to now being afforded equal rights within the statute law of the UK. Through a historical lens, Weeks

(1996) believes homosexuality has been conceptualised contrary to structure that focuses on majority forms of sexual experience that include reproduction, heterosexual marriage, monogamy, birth and pair bonding, which then happens to be exclusive of non-heterosexual people and life-ways.

### ***Examination***

In the last process, Foucault (1977) defines examination as the techniques derived from both the first two processes. The ritualistic mechanism of examination operates by firstly making subjects visible by differentiating them from the population, and then secondly, judging the subjects against classifications and categorisations through surveillance (Foucault 1977). This is demonstrable in Figure 3.5.

**Figure 3.5 Extract from Discipline and Punish (Foucault 1977: 187)**

carried. Disciplinary power, on the other hand, is exercised through its invisibility; at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility. In discipline, it is the subjects who have to be seen. Their visibility assures the hold of the power that is exercised over them. It is the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection. And the examination is the technique by which power, instead of emitting the signs of its potency, instead of imposing its mark on its subjects, holds them in a mechanism of objectification. In this space of domination, disciplinary power manifests its potency, essentially, by arranging objects. The examination is, as it were, the ceremony of this objectification.

Gilbert and Powell (2010) applied this process to social work practice in respect to how social workers documented the individual features of clients. Both authors believed that documentation produces a disciplined, regulated professional activity of codifying, calculating and comparing subjects' needs to norms, which is otherwise known as 'evidence-based practice'. This assessment practice can be hinged on the social workers' professional discretion, a concept Gilbert and Powell defined as the paradoxical space within professional practice that entices both a *modus operandi* of surveillance and resistance. Gilbert and Powell assert that professional discretion used by social workers in the navigation of the

disciplined practice of 'examination' is what premises social work to hold a 'status' of a profession. Rose (1999 cited in Gilbert and Powell 2010) comments on the paradoxical space in professional autonomy (or discretion) to be an important consideration. Not only is this paradoxical space used by social workers to apply their skill to be able to manage unpredictable and complex circumstances, but this space is also subject to government techniques to hoard power over their exercise of professional discretion or autonomy (Rose 1999 cited in Gilbert and Powell 2010). This archetypal activity of social work typifies the increasing evolution of professionalism and can be understood as a disciplinary mechanism (Gilbert and Powell 2010). Gilbert and Powell understand professionalism to be a specific practice that interplays with the conduct of a worker, including their identity and knowledge which authorises and legitimatises professional activity and becomes self-governing of professional behaviour. Gilbert and Powell also illustrate the assessment practice in social work not only intensifies protocolisation, but it also creates a managerial 'gaze' of continuous scrutiny and review of work carried out. As an example of Foucauldian terms applied to social policy, the use of Foucault's concepts as a theoretical framework has been undertaken before to look at practitioner responses to sexual practices outside of monogamous heterosexual marriage e.g. Cook (2014).

Cook's (2014) Foucauldian analysis examines the personal accounts of women who had received intervention from clinicians' post-diagnosis of human papilloma virus or herpes simplex virus. While Cook's study focused on the sexual health consultation relating to the history of acquisition, as well as being diagnosed with a sexually transmitted infection, Cook labelled the role of the clinician as one of power, in setting the boundaries of moral meaning (Cook 2014). This clinical power also produces a *truth* through practices of governance i.e. social, cultural and political practices (Dean 2010). This is exemplar of recognising the body as a key site of Foucault's concept of bio-power, i.e. regulation of life, within *Governmentality* and clinical gaze, as a disciplinary regime (Foucault 1975). Pryce (2001) also observed this clinical gaze to be apparent in sexual health clinics. The genealogy of governmentality in relation to the ethics of the self / moral regulation will be explored in the next section.

## **Genealogy of Governmentality including Ethics**

In keeping with the discipline of the thesis, the scholarly work of Bevir (2010) on his articulation of conceiving governmentality as a genealogical treatment to study the state, social policy and its effects, is a useful point. In understanding how pastoral or welfare power (Allen 2003) came into being, Foucault used the analogy of the conduct of a shepherd leading his flock to describe the early Christian churches; drawing similarities to members of the congregation led by a religious leader, as a way of describing an early example of the governance of people (Juritzen *et al.* 2011). Foucault concerned himself with how the modern developments of disciplinary techniques interplayed with sovereignty and how these techniques regulated people within a given territory (Joseph 2010). Governmentality, however, is not about the governance of territories *per se* but that of the conduct of others, or as Foucault referred to it as ‘the art of government’ (Juritzen *et al.* 2011). Foucault wanted to explore how rather than taking a ‘top-down’ approach to understanding sovereign power, that we should discover ‘...*how multiple bodies, forces, energies, matters, desires, thoughts...are gradually, progressively, actually and materially constituted as subjects*’ (Foucault 2004: 28). This, therefore, brings an understanding that the art of government is irreducibly and inescapably articulated through relationships between subjects, and between subjects and the state (Luxen 2008).

Governmentality is concerned beyond the observable *power-knowledge* institutions; it is about the systems of classifying the population (Dean 2010) and essentially discursive construction that rendered meaning behind the status and practices of objects or subjects (Joseph 2010). Governmentality would offer the argument that government seeks to control, regulate and shape human conduct to apply to the norms set by those seeking to govern (Dean 2010). This is especially a key definitive component of what Foucault termed as bio-politics (McKee 2009). The notion of bio-politics was defined by Foucault (2003a, 2003b) as a power that is concerned with the administration of life *i.e.* power over populations. In examining bio-politics, Foucault began to question the function of government in contemporary societies, with a focus on its technique, rather than the state or economy (Kelly 2018) through a genealogical analysis, rather than an archaeological analysis as his previous works (Elden 2007). Foucault (2003a,

2003b) determined bio-politics to include the health, procreation, sanitation and capabilities of bodies (individually and collectively) and sets out calculated practices and strategies as an art of governing. Later, Foucault (2003a, 2003b) theorised that rationality of rule had changed in early modern Europe from the self-preserving stance of the sovereign to an attempt to make the population more docile and productive through the optimisation of its well-being.

Elden (2007) observed Foucault's original lecture on *governmentality* emerged when debating how the exercise of power had shifted throughout history.

Foucault (1991) defined governmentality in a lecture in 1977 and described it through three dimensions: 1) the formation of knowledge-political economy on target populations, shaped through an ensemble of institutions, processes, analyses, calculations and tactics to exercise power; 2) the West's fixation on steadily increasing its superiority of power on others / populations, otherwise termed government, to create a catalogue of administrative apparatuses, which also in turn developed a series of loop-holes to avoid such apparatus; and 3) the transformation, or governmentalisation, of administrating the state, particularly between the Middle Ages and the fiftieth- and sixteenth-centuries. He principally problematised the notion of government in Figure 3.6.

**Figure 3.6 Extract from Governmentality (Foucault 1991: 88)**

There is a double movement, then, of state centralization on the one hand and of dispersion and religious dissidence on the other: it is, I believe, at the intersection of these two tendencies that the problem comes to pose itself with this peculiar intensity, of how to be ruled, how strictly, by whom, to what end, by what methods, etc. There is a problematic of government in general.

Of relevance to this thesis, Dean (2010) defines government as the focus on the practices of individuals (the self) and groups, and attempts to sculpt the needs, aspirations and wants of both the self as well as groups. The concept of self-governance, as an ethical and moral activity, was presumed to have emerged in the seventieth-century, constructing the self to be autonomous and capable of being aware of and regulating one's conduct (Dean 2010). This conception of

self-government can be examined further by understanding the characteristics of *governmentality* defined as:

*'...any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge that seek to shape conduct by working through the desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs of various actors, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes.'*

(Dean 2010: 18)

### ***Joined-Up Working as a Governing Practice in Child Protection***

Closely related to the works of Peckover (2002, 2013), Peckover and Golding (2017) and Peckover and Ashton (2018), Allen (2003) has identified complexities in the notion of 'joined-up' or multi-agency working in welfare services. Allen (2003) undertook a Foucauldian analysis on the economy of welfare professional power within the notion of 'joined up' working. Allen argues that 'joined-up' working essentially creates holistic practices to be all knowing, all seeing and have the ability to do anything, producing a holistic power to gaze and govern all aspects of a welfare subject's life; producing an unintended effect of power. Though joined-up, or multi-agency, working in child protection is advocated by policy (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, DfE 2012a) and academic literature (Swann and Balding 2001, Pearce 2006, Jago *et al.* 2011, Beckett *et al.* 2014, Hughes-Jones and Roberts 2015), Allen (1998, 2003) challenges the focus of preoccupation of what constitutes as 'good work'. He observes that rather than the premise of policy and academic literature occupying itself with what can make joint-working more effective, they shy away from questioning the approach in the first instance.

Allen (2003) postulates two standpoints in joined-up working, one systemic and the other epistemological, based on the thesis of Allen and Springings (2001). Firstly, the systemic move to joined-up working attempts to 'deal with' the historical frustrations of agencies working in isolation of each other. This isolation particularly results in a lack, or inadequate level, of communication and coordination between governing institutions that constitute the welfare system. Secondly, this movement of joined-up working creates an epistemological issue

of resultant deficiencies in the creation of division and distribution of welfare knowledge within specific, artificial dimensions of perspectives on social problems. These specific and artificial dimensions are, as Allen and Springings define, the individual social structures such as housing departments, social services, psychiatry, etc involved in a subject's welfare. These deficiencies lead to a failing of complete, multi-dimensional views of the welfare recipient. Both these standpoints can produce the consequences or failings of welfare leading to the 'joined-up' governing institutions to re-organise its effectiveness on reflection of the welfare system's systemic and epistemological inadequacies (Allen 2003).

Allen (2003) observes the similarities between Foucault's (1977) discussion of the 'birth of the prison' and contemporary British welfare policy. Whilst there is not a direct connection between the two 'institutions' (prison and welfare policy), Foucault (1977) observed at the beginning of the ninetieth-century a 'blurring of the frontiers' occurred between varying French institutions that included discipline, punishment and welfare to focus on holistically on the 'individual' as he states here:

**Figure 3.7 Extract from Discipline and Punish (Foucault 1975: 297)**

the other, with disciplinary mechanisms. The frontiers between confinement, judicial punishment and institutions of discipline, which were already blurred in the classical age, tended to disappear and to constitute a great carceral continuum that diffused penitentiary techniques into the most innocent disciplines, transmitting disciplinary norms into the very heart of the penal system and placing over the slightest illegality, the smallest irregularity, deviation or anomaly, the threat of delinquency. A subtle, graduated carceral net, with compact institutions, but also separate and diffused methods, assumed responsibility for the arbitrary, widespread, badly integrated confinement of the classical age.

Foucault pointed out that extra-judicial elements such as psychiatry were brought into the French criminal justice system as way of identifying 'mitigating circumstances' (Allen 2003). Foucault (1977) argued that these 'mitigating circumstances' could be justifiably seen as a power move of increasing



surveillance and control of every aspect of a subject's lives; extending new information to become judicial knowledge (Allen 2003). These highlighted practices by Allen (2003) certainly contextualise the following section ***Technologies of the Self*** to be applied to professionals working in multi-agency partnerships in CSE (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, DfE 2012a, HM Government 2015).

### ***Technologies of the Self***

Foucault's interest in self-government was first published in a seminar 'Technologies of the Self' (1988) where he observes the confessional practices of Christianity (Bevir 2010), especially in the Counter-Reformation Catholicism, for strongly subjecting followers to the compulsory techniques of sexual confessions (Foucault 1976, Taylor 2017). Foucault (1988) identified the power technique within the technologies of the self derived from early Christianity that imposed criteria for one's self-transformation providing they engaged in salvation and confessional practices. Therefore, the obligation of truth-telling became of paramount importance; ordering the permanence of truth as an authoritarian concern could only be demonstrated if one not only believed in authority told one but was able to live by the truth. Consequently, a person has a religious duty and obligation to know oneself, recognising and disclosing faults or temptations to God or others in a community. Foucault implicated from this structured religious imposition on the person that faith was inseparable from self-knowledge in the attempt made to purify the soul. Therefore '*confession is a mark of truth*' (Foucault 1988: 48).

Since the eightieth-century, Foucault observed this act of confession, as a renunciation technique, moved beyond the realms of religiosity and was adopted by the 'so-called human sciences' that had epistemically transformed this act to a verbalisation of improving the self (Foucault 1988). This move of confession as a technique of renunciation to secular practice has been explained by Bergen (1975 in Taylor 2017). Bergen explained that the habit of confession had become embedded within subjects across Western societies and this internalised technique required new outlets when the Church became less central to the power-knowledge. Foucault claimed '*we are the inheritors of a social morality which seeks rules for acceptable behaviour in relation with others*'

(1988: 49) and this inheritance discursively created new technologies of power to facilitate confessions or verbalisations such as doctors, judges, the police (Foucault 1988, Taylor 2017). Gilbert and Powell (2010) offer examples of manipulating governing techniques in professional practice such as clinical and professional supervision and reflections that can be considered as confessional practices.

Foucault's interest on the technologies of the self takes a specific interest in our thoughts, conduct and actions; specifically, in how we understand, develop and govern ourselves, through the use of our moral and intellectual capabilities in determining our supposedly autonomous acts (Winch 2005). Ethical conduct derives from how humans develop knowledge about themselves, however, Foucault takes caution in assuming that self-knowledge is a technique of very specific truth games as power fluctuates within these techniques (Foucault 1988). Dean (2010) and Bevir (2010) offer the concept of the *conduct of conduct* to best understand governmentality, within the ethical and moral meanings, conducting oneself through self-regulation, becomes apparent. This is particularly pertinent to policy enactors in child protection practice e.g. social workers, who are held professionally accountable with regard to their decision-making. This decision-making requires policy enactors to be self-regulating with their conduct of professional practice and therefore becomes an intensely moral activity (Dean 2010). The 'ethics', Dean (2010) discusses, can be best understood as the ***Foucauldian Ethics: Governing of the Self*** in the next section.

### **Foucauldian Ethics: Governing of the Self**

Thus far, the broad segments of Foucault's theories have generally been discussed. The main impetus of theory on the aim of the thesis, however, is to understand the ethics involved in the governance of the self (Rabinow 2000, Robinson 2018). In Foucault's later works, he attempted to understand the moral concern associated with the effects of breakdown in socio-cultural homogeneity that emerged in the late 1960s in western civilisation, such as the various liberation movements for gay rights and reforms to prison systems (Gardiner

1996). Foucault does not understand ethics as other Anglo-American philosophers do in treating ethics as an investigation of what conceptualises ethics or evaluating one's actions against norms but focused on the relationship between ethics in the self (in particular, moral agency) (Robinson 2018).

Foucault sought a different approach to ethics as he believed that deontological ethical systems such as Kantian ethics, normalised and absorbed subjects into power-knowledge apparatus (Gardiner 1996). Foucault does not dictate or interfere with ethical or moral agency but reflects on the interpretative context of the relationships between the constitution of the subject and the varying forms of discursive practices (Winch 2005, Luxen 2008). Rabinow (2000), in his book on the works of Foucault and *Ethics*, brought together seven premises that he believed Foucault defined ethics in his philosophical works. These seven premises derive from an interview published and entitled '*The Ethic of the Concern for the Self as a Practice of Freedom*' (Rabinow 2000: 281). These premises are not ordered as Foucault elaborated them but how Rabinow considered they were relevant to the reader (Table 3.3). The premises have been clarified for the reader.

N°	Premise description
1	Ethics as a conditional practice of freedom. Freedom is the ontology of ethics and ethics is the form in which freedom takes.
2	In Western society, knowing oneself is imperative for taking care of oneself. Which in turn, means that knowing oneself is equipping oneself with specific truths. Therefore, ethics links the conceptual linkage of specific truth games and taking care of oneself.
3	Ethics is a practice that shapes embodiment and life, it is not just a theory.
4	Ethics constitutes the subject as a form and its relationship to the itself. The self is reflexive and requires the departure form of how one should identify oneself.
5	Ethics, as an inquiry, is based on historical constitution of forms and their relation to 'games of truth' (defined as ' <i>...set of procedures that</i>

	<p><i>lead to a certain result, which, on the basis of its principles and rules of procedure, may be considered valid or invalid'</i> (Rabinow 2000: 297).</p> <p>Ethics questions how and why Western society fixates on the obligation of truth, therefore, one must focus that escape from a truth domination is only possibly through playing a truth game differently.</p>
6	<p>Ethics is the permanent relationship between politics and philosophy.</p> <p>Foucault defines politics as power relations, understood in modernity as governmentality.</p>
7	<p>Philosophy is a vocation, it is understood as practice, a problem and a manner in which a philosopher approaches liberty that differs from other free citizens.</p>

**Table 3.3 Simplified Version of Rabinow's (2000) Seven Premises To Understand the Ethics involved in the Governance of the Self**

Reflecting on these premises, Foucauldian ethics can be concentrated on how subjects govern themselves without the need for obvious governing techniques of intervention or rule (Juritzen *et al.* 2011). Foucauldian ethics are more concerned with how an individual governs oneself than focusing on what a moral code may dictate (Winch 2005). Importantly, Robinson (2018) observes a clear distinction between what Foucault meant as moral conduct and ethical conduct. Moral obligations necessitate a specific manner of conduct that derives from a moral code, however, ethical obligations prescribe and produce morally approved conduct (Robinson 2018). To surmise, Foucault described ethical conduct as the '*...the actions performed and capacities exercised intentionally by a subject for the purpose of engaging in morally approved conduct.*' (Robinson 2018: online). To operationalise Foucault's description of ethical conduct and be useful for theorisation, Foucault proposes four principles of ethics that underlie governing of the self: ontology, ascetics, deontology and teleology (Foucault 1985). These principles form the framework for the ethical analysis in chapter eight and based on the pertinent Foucauldian literature on ethics (Foucault 1985, Gardiner 1996, Winch 2005, Arribas-Allyon and Walker 2008, Dean 2010). For simplification sake, Dean (2010) labels these principles differently as presented in Table 3.4 overleaf.

<p><b>Ethical Principles</b></p>	<p><b>Explanation</b></p> <p>The ethical substance (problematization or ontology) involved the identification of an object, subject or thing that government intends to view as requiring governance (Foucault 1976, Winch 2005). Problematizations are rare within social policy but define the specific situations that bring the current activity of government into question (Dean 2010). They are also where discursive objects, subjects or things become visible and are determined to be morally problematic (Robinson 2018). Problematizations often expose <i>power-knowledge</i> relations within discourse and allow traceability to the data analyst on how discursive objects, subjects and things are governed (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008). Once the problematization or ethical substance has been identified as morally problematic, this is then ethically reflected in one's ethical judgement (Winch 2005).</p>	<p><b>Example from the data in Chapter Six</b></p>
<p><b>Ethical Substance</b></p>	<p>The ethical substance (problematization or ontology) involved the identification of an object, subject or thing that government intends to view as requiring governance (Foucault 1976, Winch 2005). Problematizations are rare within social policy but define the specific situations that bring the current activity of government into question (Dean 2010). They are also where discursive objects, subjects or things become visible and are determined to be morally problematic (Robinson 2018). Problematizations often expose <i>power-knowledge</i> relations within discourse and allow traceability to the data analyst on how discursive objects, subjects and things are governed (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008). Once the problematization or ethical substance has been identified as morally problematic, this is then ethically reflected in one's ethical judgement (Winch 2005).</p>	<p>Children who have been the victims of sexual exploitation are the subject of recent large-scale police operations and feature large in the ensuing discursive practices surrounding the notion of organised crime and corrective political interest (Cockbain 2013, Coy 2016). This, in Foucauldian terms, could be described as the identification of a problematization (Dean 2010).</p>
<p><b>Ethical Work</b></p>	<p>The ethical work (or ascetics) is concerned with the work that is required to govern the substance. Technologies are observed as the acts or practices of government, <i>i.e.</i> the rationality, and are concerned primarily with human conduct and are used as</p>	<p>Renewed or revamped policy intentions within the proliferation of national CSE</p>

	<p>techniques through regulation to seek truths, such the rhetorical function of language (Dean 2010). Ethical work ensures that a subject governs oneself in relation to a moral authority which in turn transforms their ethical agency. Foucault, however, believed that this agency is founded on / restricted by self-discipline, self-restraint and self-denial (Robinson 2018). Winch (2005) defines this principle of the ethical fourfold as the self-forming activity which requires the subject to monitor and transform themselves. This principle of ethical fourfold is particularly relevant in the advent of side-lining of religiosity to secularisation of society (Gardiner 1996). Gardiner (1996) states that subjects, in times of modernity, have an increased level of moral autonomy on the decisions they make and the values they may impose upon a situation.</p>	<p>policy (DfE 2011, DfE 2012a, HM Government 2015).</p>
<p><b>Ethical Subjects</b></p>	<p>The ethical subject (or subject positions) is concerned with the identified subjects within a given population who require governing or are involved of the governance of others (Dean 2010). Subject positions are not only the speakers' claim for truth but are also embedded in the moral codes and locations, set within social interactions (Robinson 2018). The subject positioning allows an investigation of the repertoire of discourses that are accessible to</p>	<p>Children and young people, perpetrators of CSE and professionals involved CSE policy or practice.</p>

	<p>the speakers (Arribas-Ayllion and Walkerdine 2008). Specific moral action and moral conduct forms the ethical subject (Winch 2005).</p> <p>The ethical practices (or teleology) are concerned with the presumed goal of governing and why this takes place (Dean 2010), it refers to the ethics that underlie the speaker's self-formation (Rabinow 2000). Ethical practices are demonstrated through the practices and moral order the speaker wishes to situate themselves within which in turn, regulates them (Arribas-Ayllion and Walkerdine 2008). Referring back to Foucault's works on Greek ethics and subjectivity, the ideal telos of ethics is to strive and achieve for ideal (conscious) ethical ends or goals (Robinson 2018). These ethical ends or goals are formed by the identity of individuals or collectives and include government techniques of manipulating various capabilities, qualities and statuses of the self (Dean 2010). David and Harré (1999) state that the subject positioned within the subjectification inevitably view discursive practices within the world influenced by these aforementioned manipulation techniques of government. This may include how subjects aspire to be in terms of moral behavior, fulfilment and purpose (Winch 2005).</p>	<p>An example of the end goal within contemporary CSE policy could be seen to eradicate CSE in its entirety as outlined in the <i>Action Plan</i> (DfE 2011) and its preceding documents.</p>
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**Table 3.4 The Ethical Fourfold**

### **Developing a Social Ontology of Discourse**

This chapter has so far analysed three separate theoretical frameworks, to draw this altogether a social ontology of discourse will now be critically appraised and illustrate its necessity for the thesis. Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) articulated that whilst Foucault was not clear on the question of causal efficacy in his works, he wanted to demonstrate that not only did discursive practices exist, but also demonstrated how they mattered; although this contradicts his previous archaeological position on examining discourse (whereby describing the phenomena would have been sufficient). Foucault proposed that discursive practices mattered in order to demonstrate how they are irreducible when documenting the shaping of subjects and social structures (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983), which far better suited his later adoption of genealogy. Furthermore, Foucault did not deny the existence of a reality beyond discourse but stated that it is our systems of meaning and discursive structures that form our interpretation of objects or events around us (Mills 2004). Whether objects or events, within our consciousness, are either present materially (e.g. buildings, trees) or socially (e.g. intelligence, happiness). This means, in turn, that discourse can create a significant or limiting effect on one's perspective, excluding social phenomena (Mills 2004) that could be framed as a unworthy of 'knowing' or indeed, labelled with Foucault's (1976) *triple edict*. So therefore, Foucault understood what we determine as 'real' through the parameters of historical conjuncture and discursive pressures (Mill 2004).

Elder-Vass (2011) observes Dreyfus and Rabinow's point (above) and notes Foucault's ambivalence on whether discursive rules are capable of imposing and determining discursive practices (*i.e.* causal significance) or merely just describes such practices. To deal with this issue, Elder-Vass disagrees with Foucault that the formation of discourse resides within itself (*i.e.* Foucault 2002) but it is the collective commitment of groups of people involved in a discourse are the causal effect / formation. Elder-Vass (2011) highlights Foucault's thoughts on discursive rules (or norms):



*'...not constraints whose origin is to be found in the thoughts of men...but nor are they determinations which, formed at the level of institutions, or social or economic relations, transcribe themselves by force on the surface of discourses'*

(Foucault 2002: 82 cited in Elder-Vass 2011)

From this quotation, Elder-Vass believes Foucault rejects both a methodologically individualist and collectivist account of discursive rules, including what could derive from individuals and also whether social structures can influence or rule without major involvement of people. Elder-Vass (2010, 2012) claims that Foucault provides no justification on the mechanisms that operate (between) historical statements to further discourse even though he claims discourse have causal power. Elder-Vass positions his proposed model to operate between the two extremes and will be discussed in the next section.

### ***Social constructionism within critical realism***

Indeed, Bhaskar (1986) suggests some kind of social constructionist role in his critical realist theory as previously discussed. Other realists, noted by Burr (2015), such as Willig (1999) and Parker (1992, 1998) also agree that social constructionism has a definite, but certainly not a significant, role that stretches far enough to comprehend the reality upon which social constructs are founded on. The value of social constructionism can demonstrate how one may construct an object but also be deconstructed and understood in different ways, essentially through a social critique (Willig 1999, Parker 1992, 1999). Although, critical realism can allow us to understand the generative mechanisms that underlie what we observe and experience within the social structures because our social constructs must be based on some kind of reality (Parker 1992, 1999). Parker (1992, 1999) claims that the material reality outside of discourse are the raw ingredients to develop, structure and even restrict our social realities. For example, the discursive practices that have defined our understanding, or construct, of CSE will inevitably mould the architecture of child protection policy and practice. Types of social constructionism that deny this 'outside reality' is often referred to as radical or

strong (Smith 2010). This denial highlights the incongruence of strong relativist epistemology with realist ontology but also why some (weaker) realists and some (moderate) relativists subscribe to each other's positions (Willig 2013); due to the acknowledgement that the social world is not independent from the people within it (Burr 2015). What is particularly noteworthy is Elder-Vass' argument that there is a balanced relationship between the material world and 'real' social structures having a causal role, as well as socially-constructed concepts which are formed through discursive powers or forces. This argument shows that social construction is a real process in both its production and products, emphasising the final destination of a critical realist (Elder-Vass 2012).

To be more applied to this thesis, McKee (2009) proposes a post-Foucauldian, realist governmentality, whereby she believes a reconfiguration of governmentality to take on a realist perspective to critically analyse social policy. McKee recognises that notwithstanding the enthusiasm of Foucauldian-inspired governmentality studies on social policy, challenges arise for applied researchers. McKee highlights the challenges / criticisms of Foucault's governmentality to include a disregard for empirical reality, inadequate attention and theorisation of the resistance (to power) and sanitises the policy process to negate the politics involved. As an example, the critical realist synthesis (chapter six), brings the policy process to the forefront and central to the overall critical policy genealogical analysis. McKee postulates that a realist approach can be adapted to governmentality (in keeping with an original Foucauldian analysis) by affording realist attention to a non-unilinear, empirical reality, the diversity of government practices and their consequences, a nuanced focus on specific populations (including their experiences and perspectives) and the shifting modes of power and tensions within these shifts.

### **Elder-Vass' Discourse Circles Model**

Elder-Vass' (2011, 2012) discourse (norm) circle model will be used to stabilise the negotiating positions of both critical realist - and Foucauldian -

informed findings in the tripodal structure of the last chapter, ***Overall Discussion of the Thesis and Conclusion***. By reviewing each of the two datasets within the thesis, a number of discourse circles will be identified to assist in the systematic acquisition of knowledge that is critically aware, comprehensive and contemporary, on young males involved in CSE. Using Elder-Vass' theoretical model provides unique acquisition of data through original research methodology. Elder Vass (2011, 2012) ultimately claimed that causal effectiveness of discourse can be explained through adopting his model of discourse circles. Elder-Vass (2008, 2012) defines norm circles by the causal power of social groups based on Foucault's explanation of discursive formations that they consist of rules which go on to regulate and produce discourse, which Elder-Vass maintained, the influence of such rule, is a causal power. Elder-Vass believes that the discourse circles model preserves Foucault's contribution to the power of discourse, through it being complementary and clarifying of Foucault's works on discursive formation.

#### ***Developing original research through discourse norm circles***

Norm circles are capable of identifying the social structures that form what we know as normativity, by explaining how individuals within social groups follow and standardise their behaviour through normative pressures. Returning to defining social structures as social entities, Elder-Vass (2011) argued that there are a variety which have characteristic structures to provide platform for characteristics, under-propping specific causal powers. To understand the causal effect of the group, Elder-Vass believed that norm circles have to both endorse and enforce particular norms to be sustained by the group of people within it. Norm circles are also capable of observing as well as producing normativity in line with constructionist points of enquiry within social structures including: culture, language, discourse and knowledge (Elder-Vass 2012). Dominant discourses within these domains bring about expectations (normative pressures) and operate through social interaction between individuals that enforced and endorsed (Elder-Vass 2011, 2012, Burr 2015). Elder-Vass builds on his norm circles model that they also facilitate the opportunity that not all individuals will exercise agency in the same way; so,

this is how less-dominant discourses develop yet he acknowledges a degree of ambivalence may arise on how and why this occurs.

Elder-Vass (2011, 2012) comprehended that this observed ambivalence is not able to be resolved without first understanding the mechanism which operates the discourse norm. He argues that discourse circles inform how and what discursive behaviours are considered acceptable, which produce discursive regularities, depending upon the dispositions (both complementary or conflicting) and reflexivity of people involved. This production of discursive regularities can result in discursive change by the breaking down of existing norms, or indeed, innovating new norms. Essentially, Elder-Vass states that the meaning of statements within discourse is regulated through their utterance. His proposed theory, however, adds to the theoretical literature by stating that utterances, within discourse, are determined by the surrounding endorsing and enforcing behaviours of others that influence individuals, when encountered, within a discursive direction; it is these exact moments that Foucault seeks to analyse in the regulation of utterance, highlighting the relevance of this model for this thesis.

### **Summary**

The architectural framework of this thesis is ultimately underpinned by critical realism, structuralism, post-structuralism and *realist social constructionism*. Throughout this chapter, carefully selected theories have been critiqued, which in turn will allow a firm platform for the development of a new episteme on young males and CSE policy. This development of a new episteme builds upon the existing literature (Green 2005, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014, Barnardo's 2014) that suggests future research should examine CSE through a gendered lens. This chapter is applied theoretically to the data by presenting a specific articulation of the ethics of governing institutions and the 'qualified speakers' who work within them in a theoretically-measured manner of social ontological claim-making. Through two social ontological claims, I postulate how the social and material realities can 'shape' the construction of young male victims during the enactment of CSE policy, ultimately theorised through a discourse norm circles model (Elder-Vass 2011, 2012). I believe

that the discourse norm circles model (informed by McKee's realist governmentality) is congruent with Gale's (2001) critical policy genealogy framework.

In addition to critical realist and Foucauldian theory, I argue that the qualitative significance of ethical frameworks of 'qualified speakers' are created and developed in the liminal entities when working with young males involved in CSE. These liminal entities are a critical time-point to analyse, as with the increasing number of young males involved in CSE being recognised by front-line practitioners, language and classification will ultimately develop through individual professional opinion and thereafter, collective expertise. From a Foucauldian perspective, the changes in professional understanding, over time, can be considered through an *epistemic transformation* and how the powers and resistance-to-power have enabled a shift in new emerging language and classification to take place.

As a reminder to the reader, this thesis is not about individual subjects (whether that is young males or individual practitioners), it is about what knowledge is produced and how this production of knowledge relates to power (and the resistance-to-power). Whilst there might be a lot so far within this thesis about developing an episteme and the internal mechanics within discourse, this thesis situates the articulation of professionals as a product of discourse. To reiterate, Foucault (1975) primarily cares for a discourse analysis to recognise the significance of sex discourse, not its frequency. As I have mentioned previously, that while young males in comparisons to young females make up only a third of victims (Cockbain *et al* 2014), the intensity and attention paid to the individual is key to this thesis positioning.

## Chapter 4

# **SPECIFIC METHODS**

## **CHAPTER 4: SPECIFIC METHODS**

### Chapter 4 thematic outline

- Overview of Research Methods
- Study Design

### **Overview of Research Methods**

This chapter sets out the qualitative research methodologies selected and employed to identify, collect and analyse the data presented within this thesis; forming the methodological underpinning of the thesis' architectural framework that operationalises the focus of the study. The datasets laid out in this thesis are operationalised through two qualitative research methods (Wong *et al.* 2013, Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008) that have not been used in conjunction by others in applied policy research. Historically, policy-makers have often assumed statistical data to be superior to qualitative data, in the main, for research-informed policy development; therefore, quantitative methods are appropriate for this type of evidence (Ritchie and Spencer 2003). The primary strength of qualitative research, however, is its potential to explore a topic in depth (Tomsen and Glenton 2011) and is particularly useful for social phenomena and practices that are both emerging and that resonate with complexity (Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls 2014). Qualitative exploration is used to understand the complexity surrounding behaviours, needs, systems and cultures within the field of social policy (Ritchie and Spencer 2003). As discourse is the focus of investigation within this thesis, it would seem appropriate that qualitative exploration is undertaken. The two methods chapters are theoretically underpinned by the liminality, Foucauldian, critical realist and realist social constructionist theories as positioned in chapter three.

As previously noted, Evans-Agnew *et al.* (2016) advise *contexts of interest* should be identified once a social issue has been selected in policy research. Within this thesis, the problematisation of CSE victims has led to greater policy and professional understanding since 2000, including how this has affected the perception of young males as the selected social issue. This thesis critically examines discourse of young males (a largely undefined,

under-conceptualised population in sexual exploitation) within the enactment of CSE policy.

### **Study Design**

As first iterated within chapter one, the design of the study should be congruent with the research question, aim and objectives, as the choice of design is one of the most important processes in research (Gerrish and Lathlean 2015). After the decision was made on the *context of interest* through the above aim and objectives, data sources that interact with the social practices of a policy, were identified for critical examination (Evans-Agnew *et al.* 2016). With regards to the research aim and objectives, a qualitative approach was employed with a focus of capturing two distinct sets of data, including both primary and secondary data. Each of the objectives relate to the subsidiary questions in answering the overall research question as outlined in chapter one.

The first objective was addressed through a critical realist synthesis of the available CSE policy implementation literature, through the use of an adapted peer-reviewed methodology (Wong *et al.* 2013, Rycroft-Malone *et al.* 2015, Edgley *et al.* 2016). This methodology was particularly useful for explaining complex policy interventions involved in professional practice aimed at CSE.

The second objective was addressed through a Foucauldian-Inspired Discourse Analysis (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008) of a purposive sample of actors within relevant institutions. These actors were set within a local social policy response to CSE, in one geographical area, defined by a local authority boundary within England.

I acknowledge this doctoral research study does not take a whole-systems approach in reviewing the implementation of national policy framework existing on CSE between 2000 and 2016, and limitations are explicitly stated throughout the two methods chapters (five and seven). To allow the reader to make sense of the research methodologies, the methods have been split into



two chapters (chapter five, ***Critical Realist Synthesis Methodology: Examining CSE Policy Implementation as a Complex Policy Intervention***, and chapter seven, ***Case Study and Semi-Structured Interview Methodology***) each followed by their respective distinct dataset. The planned synthesis will be constructed through a critical narrative of abstracted data within the two findings chapters in the ***Overall Discussion of the Thesis and Conclusion*** (chapter nine) to present as evidence in addressing the research question.

## Chapter 5

# **Critical Realist Synthesis Methodology: Examining CSE Policy Implementation as a Complex Policy Intervention**

## **CHAPTER 5: CRITICAL REALIST SYNTHESIS METHODOLOGY: Examining CSE Policy Implementation as a Complex Policy Intervention**

### Chapter 6 thematic outline

- Overview of the Critical Realist Synthesis Methodology
- Presentation of RAMESES Publication Standards Items 3 to 11
- Summary

### **Overview**

In the introductory chapter, I took a focused critique of the literature on adult sex work policy reformation in England from the twentieth-century to 2016, from a socio-historical perspective. This methods chapter, and the following findings chapter (chapter six), set out to explain how children and young people were catered for within a new policy arena in CSE within the same period. This section critically examines the methodology of how the diverse evidence within the literature was sought for the critical realist synthesis (CRS). The findings of this CRS are presented in chapter six (page 166). As a reminder to the reader, critical realism and its ontological application to this thesis is critically discussed in chapter three.

Undertaking a realist synthesis differs from the traditional approach to literature reviews undertaken in a Cochrane systematic manner by adopting an explanatory focus rather than a *judgemental*<sup>12</sup> stance (Pawson *et al.* 2005). Pawson *et al.* (2005) say it is reviewing ‘*what is it about this kind of intervention that works, for whom, in what circumstances, in what respects and why?*’ (Pawson *et al.* 2005:1). A realist synthesis focuses on the inner workings of interventions and has a much wider focus on the underpinning generative / causal mechanisms of outcomes, rather than pure outcomes as explained in chapter three.

Realist syntheses draw upon different bodies of knowledge, such as grey literature, if required, and key terms are often more difficult to decide upon (Pawson *et al.* 2005) but this can be over-come through ‘concept mining’

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<sup>12</sup> Pawson *et al.* 2005 as some of the inventors of the realist synthesis used the term *judgemental* to define the approach used in traditional Cochrane systematic reviews.

(Rycroft-Malone *et al.* 2015). Concept mining (to seek the most pertinent terminologies to describe the phenomena that closely relate to the review objectives) will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter. This critical realist method of this synthesis is highly relevant to social policy analysis with groups or interventions that are under-conceptualised (Kastner *et al.* 2013) or invisible within national and subsidiary policies, such as young males involved in CSE. The latter point is particularly pertinent to this thesis.

### **Setting the Critical Realist Synthesis Question**

While this review was undertaken systematically, the reader should bear in mind this is not a *Systematic Review*. My default position for the literature review methodology would have been to utilise a traditional systematic review, focusing entirely on the outcomes of peer-reviewed empirical studies. This approach, however, in systematic reviewing was inadequate for identifying the necessary evidence (*i.e.* casual mechanism of outcomes) for the review question (using the aforementioned realist synthesis formula (Pawson *et al.* 2005)) as below:

***How was national policy architecture, aimed at the reduction of sexual exploitation of children and young people, understood and implemented into local government with regards to young males; in what respects and why?***

Sweet and Moynihan (2007), Grimshaw *et al.* (2012) and McCormack *et al.* (2013) have expressed concern that the traditional method of systematic reviews does not reflect the complexity in the relationships that exist between the interventions (*e.g.* child protection assessments outlined in the national interagency guidance, *Working Together To Safeguard Children*) and outcomes (how a child or young person is safeguarded from potential or actual significant harm). The above authors also argue traditional methods do not reflect the reality of interactions that exist between the actions of individuals and evidence reported. Pawson and Tilley (2004) have previously observed that programmes (such as policies and government action plans, as

examples) are established and implemented within a complex social reality, and therefore become a sophisticated social interaction within this. It is imperative here that theory is brought in to aid the process of understanding such complex social realities. McCormack *et al.* (2007) advocate that realist syntheses are able to test the reality of policy intentions (such as a gender-neutral approach) of an intervention translating into practice, through the identification and refinement of programme theories. The policy intentions are outlined in Table 1.2 (chapter one, page 35). Programme theories explain how interventions work through the abstracted description of what a programme entails and how it is expected to operate (Pawson 2006, Wong *et al.* 2011, Wong *et al.* 2013b).

As a result of the concern, as outlined above, Pawson *et al.* (2005) introduced the Realist Review methodology as a new process of systematic review designed for explaining complex policy interventions. Based on the proposed work of Pawson *et al.* (2005), Wong *et al.* (2013) wanted to standardise the realist approach, they identified 35 published realist reviews with varying methods, on an array of topics, including: the internet in medical education; human resource management interventions and healthcare practitioner's performance; the use of community health workers in delivering child health interventions in low and middle-income countries; and moving from a high-poverty to lower-poverty neighbourhood to improve mental health. Wong *et al.* (2013) extracted the stages in methods of each review that were the most robust, and synthesised those into a developing publication standard, entitled *Realist And Meta-narrative Evidence Syntheses: Evolving Standards* (RAMESES) (appendix 1).

Given that this thesis is concerned with the discursive and non-discursive practices of policy interventions surrounding young males involved in CSE, the author articulates favourably to the use of the RAMESES Publication Standards. Prior to my decision to follow the RAMESES Publication Standards, a number of relevant searches were carried out using the traditional systematic review approach on databases such as Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA), MEDLINE and EMBASE. As a result

of this approach, only 5 relevant articles came to light (ASSIA n=5, MEDLINE n=0 and EMBASE n=0). Within the document characteristics of the evidence found via RAMESES would have meant no studies would have met the traditional systematic review eligibility criteria, largely due to them lacking the assumed 'gold standard' of robust research methodology such as randomised control trials.

Rycroft-Malone *et al.* (2015) frame a realist synthesis with similar stages to that of a traditional systematic review but with four key differences. The four differences or principles that set realist synthesis aside from other literature review methodologies, Rycroft-Malone *et al.* (2015), put forward, include:

1. The evidence searched-for and appraised is purposefully, theoretically, driven with the aim of refining a particular theory or theories (*e.g.* risk aversion in social care interventions with children at risk of, or being significantly harmed).
2. Information and evidence are included in an anti-discriminatory way.
3. The process of searching for evidence is iterative and requires a to-and-fro approach throughout the synthesis in order to increase its validity and reliability.
4. The outcomes of the synthesis are entirely explanatory, informing the reader on how an intervention may (or may not) work under different conditions and in what ways as well as for whom, in particular.

It is from this point onwards within chapters three and four that the items listed with the RAMESES Publication Standards begin; three to eight in this chapter and nine to 18 in chapter six (appendix one). Item one and two relate to the title and abstract for the purpose of publication and item 19 (funding) was excluded, as it was irrelevant for this thesis.

### **Rationale for Synthesis (RAMESES Item #3)**

An interpretive, theory-driven, systematic review, namely a CRS, of the literature was conducted to produce an overview of current developments and existing research pertaining to national and local policy responses to young

people involved in sexual exploitation, especially young males. For the purposes of this review, the term 'child sexual exploitation' (CSE) will be used, instead of its former definition (child or youth prostitution). The change in language is due to the current paradigm in which these young people are viewed and constructed within society, policy and professional practice (Pearce 2013). Within the literature relating to policy, the most frequent definition for CSE was originally defined and outlined in the DCSF 2009 guidance (Figure 1.6, page 44).

Prior to this guidance, the first and only other statutory guidance that conceptualised children as victims of such phenomena was realised by the Labour government in 2000, through their publication entitled Safeguarding Children Involved in Prostitution - Supplementary guidance to Working Together to Safeguard Children (SCIP) (DH/HO 2000). There are no existing literature reviews on policy implementation of any of the six key documents listed in the introductory chapter (Table 1.1, page 14). As already highlighted in chapter one, there has been a greater attempt to postulate theories within the literature on particular policies associated with adult sex work than for young people involved in sexual exploitation. This current CRS looks at the policy surrounding the sexual exploitation of young males; young males that were historically known as *rent boys* (McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014). The term, rent boy, along with others that allude to active, voluntary or persistent participation of a child or young person involved within commercial sex markets, as a prostitute or sex worker, are now regarded as inappropriate according to Pearce (2006).

Documents included in this synthesis had various research designs / characteristics (see Table 5.3 on page 156 and Tables 6.1 and 6.2 on pages 174 and 175). They were undertaken within different socio-political eras, as well as exploring a range of elements of policy implementation. Therefore, if successful local policy implementation, as an over-arching policy intervention, appears instrumental in the outcomes of the documents, the inner workings of this intervention, *i.e.* the most effective contexts and mechanisms behind outcomes, should be best understood. Professional judgement is key to all

multi-agency child protection practice (Hick 2014, Jones 2014); therefore, human agency and behaviour play a large part in this level of decision-making in the outcomes of children and young peoples' lives. Human agency has previously been defined through a critical realist lens for the purposes of this CRS (see chapter three).

#### **Objectives and Focus of Synthesis (RAMESES Item #4)**

The overall aim of this CRS was to develop an explanatory framework that developed iteratively and was both coherent and transferable for the reader. The overall focus of this review is to explore how young males are 'dealt with' in policy and practice aimed at preventing, or at least reducing, their involvement in sexual exploitation. More specifically this review will explore three objectives within the overall focus, including:

1. To explain the socio-political context surrounding the implementation of CSE policy.
2. To explain what complex policy interventions were enacted by institutions to safeguard children and young people from CSE.
3. To explain how young males have been catered for within CSE policy.

The focus did not include comparisons based on gender alone (*i.e.* the profiles of young males and young females although this was considered. This focus of review, however, had recently been undertaken by Cockbain *et al.* (2014). In addition, Brayley *et al.* (2014) recently conducted a rapid evidence assessment on the sexual exploitation of young males; however, policy implementation and surrounding policy-related discourses in respect of young males went beyond the scope of Brayley's *et al.* review. Based on the omissions of Brayley's *et al.* review, searches were undertaken to identify literature that related to the following two strands:

- Policy makers' and practitioners' experiences, understanding and perceptions of young people involved in CSE;
- Policy discourses surrounding young people involved in CSE.

These strands will, in turn, allow for comparisons of policy discourses, policy makers' and practitioners' experiences, understanding and perceptions of young people involved in CSE. This review did not search for literature on



individual characteristics of the abuse of those young people involved in sexual exploitation; it is solely concerned with the policy implementation regarding protecting children from *significant harm* as defined by the *Children Act 1989*.

The inventors of the realist review approach, Pawson *et al.* (2005), argue that policy interventions are complex with regards to their epistemology and their methodology. A CRS is capable of operationalising large heterogeneous datasets in order to refine, organise and identify relationships within the data (Kastner *et al.* 2013). A critical realist synthesis exploits and provides an analysis of the relationship between the connecting or causal mechanisms and relational contexts in which an outcome occurs. Exploring these relationships within large heterogeneous datasets are not conducive to traditional systematic reviews (as these sorts of reviews are not inclusive of non-empirical data) (Pawson 2006, Shemilt *et al.* 2010).

Tremblay *et al.* (2014) undertook a realist evaluation (similar to realist synthesis but concerned with primary data) on the conditions for the production of interdisciplinary teamwork (ITW) in oncology teams. Whilst completely unrelated to the topic in question, learning can be drawn from the principles of undertaking a critical realist synthesis on ITW that holds similarity to multi-agency working in child protection. The authors defined ITW as:

*'...the active participation of several disciplines in delivering comprehensive cancer care to patients. ITW provides mechanisms to support continuous communication among care providers, optimise professionals' participation in clinical decision-making within and across disciplines, and foster care co-ordination along the cancer trajectory'*

(Tremblay *et al.* 2014: 1)

Within the CRS framework, when examining practitioners from different disciplines and, perhaps, various organisations, Tremblay *et al.* (2014) state that not all teams will participate optimally within the wider interdisciplinary (multi-agency) partnerships. These partnerships can result in the difference

between outcomes being met and the actuality of outcomes that are observed by research.

Within the safeguarding children agenda, multi-agency working is emphasised as optimal practice in statutory guidance, professional bodies and academia. Research (Scott and Skidmore 2006; Pearce 2006; Beckett 2011; Jago *et al.* 2011) and national statutory guidance (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, DfE 2012a, HM Government 2015) state that multi-agency working is core to effectively responding to CSE within localities. Multi-agency working arrangements, as an example can be defined as an intervention, '*employing highly complex, non-linear sets of ideas that envisage different roles for individuals, teams, institutions and structures.*' (Pawson 2006: 93). Interventions are mobilised through human agency and decision-making, *i.e.* underpinning *generative or causal mechanisms* within *programme theories* (Pawson 2006). McCormack *et al.* (2007) advises that programme theories may be highlighted from searching through the literature. Once theories have been found, McCormack *et al.* then advises to adjudicate between the identified programme theories to see which best fit the complex policy intervention in question. This adjudication is followed by a grouping and categorising of theories ready to design a theoretically based evaluative framework to populate with data abstracted from literature (McCormack *et al.* 2007). Within this synthesis, any activity related to CSE policy implementation carried out by professionals or organisations are classed as complex policy interventions within national policies and directives from policy (such as professional guidance). In the main, any activity relating to 'local CSE policy responses or implementation' were considered *complex policy or social interventions*.

### **Changes in the Synthesis Process (RAMESES Item #5)**

As the review progressed, changes were made due to the nature of iteratively searching for literature. Two key changes were made, one specific to the population under investigation and the other due to the application of the evidence to the CRS methodology. The initial focus for literature was solely on young males involved in CSE; however, there was distinct lack of primary

data on this affected group alone. As a result of this, the focus was widened to include all literature on young people involved in CSE where policy implementation was concerned. Literature pertaining to young females alone was considered on a case-by-case basis. The definition of CSE as it stipulated in the *Action Plan* (DfE 2011) limited the literature available in the searches, so terms associated with 'youth prostitution' were included thereafter. This term was identified in the concept mining stages of the review. Through making this change, further literature came to light.

While bringing together an array of documents into one review, it became apparent that not all documents were appropriate to be examined through the entire context-mechanism-outcome (C-M-O) configuration of realist synthesising (Pawson and Tilley 2004). Some documents only offered partial knowledge (Pawson 2006); meaning in some cases, not all data or descriptions of local policy implementation could be abstracted, whilst others were scholarly commentary of over-arching national CSE policy. Wong *et al.* (2013) advise that reviewers should be clear about what they infer as context, mechanisms and outcomes, and the links in between these, when developing programme theories; especially through highlighting the key findings of resultant documents within the synthesis. An adapted version of De Souza's (2015) C-M-O configuration as outlined in chapter three (Figure 3.2, page 97) helps understand and refine programme theories through a critical realist lens.

### **Rationale for using Critical Realist Synthesis (RAMESES Item #6)**

Kastner *et al.* (2013) have described this emerging type of reviewing as a knowledge synthesis methodology, to assimilate a plethora of data to inform what is known and unknown on complex policy interventions. Within this critical realist synthesis of young males involved in CSE, as examples, contexts may include national and local policy positions or dealing with the sexual agency of CSE victims; mechanisms may include local policy implementation and multi-agency working; and outcomes may refer to (in)effective working on working with young males. The rationale is to understand the policy framework of CSE within a 16-year period. Through

using a CRS methodology allows for explanation of programme theories through modified C-M-O configuration to ascertain current multi-agency practices that impacted on young males.

Methodologically, this synthesis will contribute to the research on young males in relation to CSE policy architecture, as this type of synthesis has not been conducted before. It will also contribute and draw conclusions on the existing data in a different light and will explain local CSE policy implementation in relation to young males, through a critical realist lens. This lens adopts a parallel learning philosophy of Serious Case Reviews conducted by Local Safeguarding Children Boards (LSCB), when a child dies in a suspicious way, or is seriously injured with mal-intent e.g. non-accidental injuries (Jones 2014).

Kastner *et al.* (2013) observed realist syntheses deal with this problem of under-conceptualisation through knowledge accumulation. This accumulation is by systematically organising information in a transparent way, as well as through minimising potential for error or bias where possible. Throughout the review, documents often referred to young people as gender-neutral, but in effect, the outcomes were more gender-nuanced as they focused primarily on young females and their relationship to CSE. Jago *et al.* (2011) have reported the need for further research on young males involved in CSE, even though the language used within contemporary policy is overt in its neutrality toward gender.

Within this CRS, knowledge accumulation will be synthesised through the use of a table that captures the authors of the study, the study title / title of the document, the methodology employed / description of the document, and sampling and size (Table 5.3. page 156). Key themes deemed relevant and necessary to explain programme theories were extracted through annotation of documents and note taking, via data extraction forms, and presented in the findings in chapter six.

### **Scoping the Literature (RAMESES Item #7)**

The searching process of the literature was constrained by taking a representative stance, rather than exhaustive one, on which to use, identify, refine and test programme theories (Wong *et al.* 2013). This is an important point for the reader to bear in mind, as this is an alternative to traditional review processes. Because complex policy interventions can draw upon a vast diversity of literature, from a range of disciplines, it is often difficult to systematically summarise them (Kastner *et al.* 2013). Therefore, my process was iterative and purposive and stopped after saturation was met (McCormack *et al.* 2007). My searches were conducted in specific databases and on the internet e.g. through Google Scholar and statutory and voluntary sector websites.

Searches were undertaken of keywords, titles and abstracts for peer-reviewed journal articles (including pre-existing literature reviews and concept clarifications) on ASSIA, Scopus, MEDLINE and EBSCO Host databases from May, 1st, 2000 onwards. This date is significant as it was the release date of the SCIP guidance (DH/HO 2000).

Rycroft-Malone *et al.* (2015) advises on the use of concept mining, through the searching processes, in order to seek the most pertinent terminologies to describe the phenomena that closely relate to the review objectives. Through concept mining, based on the definition of CSE within the ***Rationale for Review*** item, key terms were developed and used for scoping of literature on young people, and transactional sexual services or sexual exploitation. The key terms can be seen in Table 5.1 below.

<b>Key term</b>	<b>Combined with</b>	<b>Explanatory Notes</b>
Child sexual exploitation	-	This key term is contemporary and relevant to policy and practice.
Youth prostitution	-	This term pre-dates the definition used within this

		review, but other key seminal works were identified through it.
Child prostitution	-	<i>Ibidem.</i>
Children abused through prostitution	-	<i>Ibid.</i>
Young men	a) Homeless b) Sex work c) Sexual abuse d) Sexual violence	These key words were combined with 'young men' to identify discreet but relevant literature that may be under-conceptualised or did not specifically mention CSE in the titles or abstracts, however did in the main text.

**Table 5.1 Key Terms**

**Searching Processes (RAMESES Item #8)**

Where there is no trial-related evidence available on complex policy interventions (Lewin *et al.* 2009), other sources of information such as qualitative data, descriptive data and policy documents can be relevant (Noyes *et al.* 2008). As this was the case with this CRS, unpublished literature was sought through Google and Google Scholar using key terms and concepts until the search results pages became irrelevant to the objectives and focus of the review.

An iterative and purposive search was also undertaken of the websites of relevant charities, voluntary sector organisations and reputable research centres for data, such as commissioned research reports and service evaluations (appendix 3). Other examples of locations that the author went to seek documents for this review included NatCen (formerly, National Centre for Social Research) who were commissioned to produce research on the impact of CSE policy on young males.

Citation chasing, using a snowballing approach, was employed on reference lists with all the data found. This was to make sure all pertaining literature including seminal work<sup>13</sup> that preceded the time span was included. Other documents were sought through asking existing academics within the field if they were aware of others for recommendation for inclusion in this synthesis. A critical realist synthesis rejects a hierarchical approach to assessing literature and treats all literature on a level playing field, arguing that all documents are important in their use in evidence in policy (Pawson 2006).

The timeframe was selected due to a key paradigmatic shift within national policy in 2000. Through the introduction of the Department of Health and Home Office national guidance document in 2000, *SCIP* (DH/HO 2000), all young people, under the age of 18, involved in providing sexual services were considered to be victims of such phenomena and in need of welfare measures rather than punishment. This ideology has continued to prevail, influence and dominate the underpinnings of contemporary safeguarding children practice and policy.

Initial searches took place in July 2014 and were regularly updated over the duration of this doctoral research of published data collected between the years 2000 and 2016. Several documents published in 2017 were included as they reported on data in the aforementioned timeframe. Potentially eligible studies can be difficult to identify given a poor consistency on terminology to describe complex policy interventions (Shepperd *et al.* 2009). Shepperd *et al.* (2009) advise in these cases to search for characteristics or elements of interventions as part of the iterative scoping exercise. The complete tables of the terms (*i.e.* concepts) and search strategy and database results can be found overleaf.

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<sup>13</sup> Seminal work can be defined as a piece of literature with significant influence through repeated citation in contemporary research.

<b>Database</b>	<b>No of Articles in Searches</b>	<b>First Screen: Titles</b>	<b>Second Screen: Abstracts</b>
Google Scholar	346	141	16
ASSIA	1461	24	5
EBSCO Host	341	25	5
SCOPUS	3114	21	2
<b>Iterative and purposive search of the websites of relevant charities, voluntary sector organisations and reputable research centres:</b>			
BLAST Project	5	1	1
NatCen Social Research	3	3	3
National Society for the Protection against Cruelty to Children	7	0	0
Children's Society	11	0	0
International Centre of Child Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking	13	7	7
Barnardo's Policy and Research Unit	19	10	9
Total			48
Total after removing replications			11
Citation Chasing			4
Sought through other means*			3
Documents for Review			44

**Table 5.2 Database Searches and Results**

\*This could have been documents found on Twitter or promoted at various training events the author attended.



## **Selection and Appraisal of Documents (Inclusion Criteria) (RAMESES**

### **Item #9)**

The results of the searches were subject to inclusion criteria in order to produce a current understanding of policy developments toward young people involved in CSE. I made the decision to include only literature published within England, excluding other western countries such as the United States of America (USA). The child protective system that exists in the USA operates differently enough to the UK that would skew the results of this critical realist synthesis of looking at how interventions work within similar socio-political contexts. The decision as to whether to include CSE in gangs was considered, however, given the added complexity with gang-associated CSE this was excluded from the synthesis. The aim was to produce a concise overview of the current knowledge based on judgement for rigour and relevance rather than a technical process used within randomised control trials (Wong *et al.* 2013).

Pawson *et al.* (2005) recommends explicit searches should be undertaken in order to ascertain the theories, the hunches (defined as a researcher's intuition (Pawson 2006)), the expectations, the rationales, as well as the resistance, the negotiation, the adaptation, the borrowing and the feedback of the context of the given phenomena. This review examined beyond peer-reviewed studies and included the grey literature, *e.g.* impact evaluations, documentary analysis, voluntary sector documents, legislative analysis, conceptual critiques as well as hybrid<sup>14</sup> examples of these (Pawson *et al.* 2005). Purposive searches are iteratively and interactively undertaken within multiple search strategies in a deliberate attempt to answer specific questions and often change as the understanding evolves (Pawson *et al.* 2005). The inclusion criteria required the resultant literature to relate to:

- The experiences, understanding and perceptions of young people (especially young males) involved in CSE within the local and national discourses of practitioners and policies;

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<sup>14</sup> Hybrid examples can be defined where a mixture of two or more of the grey literature is used in combination.

- CSE of young males; materials relating to young females solely were excluded unless deemed useful to the review. Where literature was gender-neutral or commented on social policy regardless of gender, this was included;
- The time span of 2000 onwards to reflect the most recent paradigmatic shifts in policy frameworks and service provisions towards this group of young people as victims.

These criteria were used in conjunction with the three objectives within this review as noted below:

1. To explain the socio-political context surrounding the implementation of CSE policy.
2. To explain what complex policy interventions were enacted by institutions to safeguard children and young people from CSE.
3. To explain how young males have been catered for within CSE policy.

Relevant citations in reference lists were included that were not captured in the various database and Google Scholar searches. The overall judgements made for the inclusion or exclusion of the documents sought were based on their ability to offer data that could enrich the theory testing and refinement in this review, not entirely on their overall quality (Pawson 2006). Where some resultant documents contained the same data as other documents (*e.g.* Adhern *et al.* 2016 and Scott and Harper 2006) these were removed.

### **Data Extraction (RAMESES Item #10)**

Once the resultant literature had met the inclusion criteria and duplicates had been removed, the remaining materials were repeatedly read. Not all resultant papers offered insight into every programme theory, whilst others were able to be included in several. During the reading of the material, each were considered per programme theory to aid with the theory-driven programme evaluation (McEvoy and Richards 2003). Extraction of data was not as straightforward to identify for all literature, due to the complex challenge of undertaking a critical realist synthesis of focusing on the underpinning mechanisms and contexts rather than, specifically, the outcomes (Pawson *et al.* 2005). The underpinning mechanisms and contexts were identified

thematically throughout the reading of each document with the aim of building upon the programme theories that may underlie complex policy interventions as outlined in the **Objectives of the Review** section. With these resultant data sources from the searches, information was assimilated through note taking and annotation on a bespoke data extraction form. The bespoke data extraction form was created and adapted from two sources; a published realist synthesis (McCormack *et al.* 2007) and the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme Qualitative checklist (Critical Appraisal Skills Programme 2016). McCormack *et al.* (2007) synthesis also used a CASP checklist; however, it was amended for the purposes of their review in view of refining identified programme theories. See four bespoke data extraction forms in appendix 4.

During the data extraction and management, the author was cognisant of the fact that realist syntheses reject a hierarchical approach (as used in Cochrane Reviews), as this does not appreciate the wider picture of complex phenomena (Pawson *et al.* 2005). Edgley *et al.* (2016) believe data extraction is often one of the most challenging stages within realist syntheses, as the author must be clear in determining how the data extracted from the collected documents can logically explain the objectives of the review.

In addition to the bespoke data extraction forms, information extracted is presented into Table 5.3 at the end of this chapter (page 156) and includes: author details; title of the article; article type; aim of article and research methods (if applicable). The main function for this table is to provide both the author and subsequently, the readers, an accessible overview of the entire relevant articles included in this review.

### **Analysis and Synthesis Processes (Organisation of Data) (RAMESES Item #11)**

The RAMESES publication standards offer little in the way of prescriptive guidance for the synthesis of data extracted for review. Pawson (2006) challenges the notion of ‘one question, one answer’ approaches to systematic reviews and argues that a realist synthesis is made of four dimensions. The

four dimensions that the author should bear in mind during this process include:

- question the integrity of a theory;
- adjudicating between competing theories;
- considering the same theory in comparative settings;
- comparing official expectations with actual practice<sup>15</sup>.

Wong *et al.* (2013) stated within their realist synthesis, on the public health implications of legislative changes, that the aim of synthesis is to understand the data through using theory through two approaches. Firstly, theory is refined to explore how a programme produces its outcomes through identifying mechanisms and context that it exists within. Secondly, theory is then refined to explain the context-mechanism-outcome (C-M-O) patterns (through narrative construction within this synthesis) on a much wider, general level. Wong *et al.* (2013) argues a full synthesis should address both approaches and their relationships.

Data were synthesised by the author and checked by supervisors. Papers that offered an analytical or theoretical perspective were thematically integrated with these key data. The data under examination do not necessarily relate to the efficacy of the intended outcome, but to the motivating factors and programme theories that offer an explanation of how things may or may not work (Pawson *et al.* 2005). The analysis also aimed to review the variety of document types and methodologies that have been used so far, and research gaps within the current literature.

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<sup>15</sup> The official expectations of CSE policy are presented in Table 1.2, page 35)

N°	Author(s) & Year	Title of Document	Methodology / Description of the Document	Sample Size & Description / Target Population
1	Adhern <i>et al.</i> (2017)	Practitioner Perspectives on Child Sexual Exploitation: Rapport Building With Young People	Semi-structured interviews	15 CSE practitioners (10 law enforcement and 5 social workers) from one Constabulary and one local authority.
2	Coffey (2017)	'There isn't a Town, Village or Hamlet in which Children are not being Sexually Exploited', Safeguarding Our Children: How Effective are UK Responses to Child Sexual Exploitation?	Semi-structured interviews	5 participants who worked in statutory and voluntary sector services with children and young people vulnerable to CSE
3	Reisel (2017)	Practitioners' perceptions and decision-making regarding child sexual exploitation – a qualitative vignette study	Semi-structured interviews	10 professionals who came from social, work, youth work, family support and youth-offending work. This sample included three practitioners, three senior practitioners and four managers.
4	Lefevre <i>et al.</i> (2017)	Building Trust with Children and Young People at Risk of Child Sexual Exploitation: The Professional Challenge	Midway survey data from a realist evaluation of three pilot sites in different regions of England	204 participants took part in the survey. Participants included: local authority social work (n=46), police (n=38), youth services (n=24), education (n=19), health services (n=18), family support services (n=15), senior management in the local authority (n=10) and other (n=34)
5	Palmer and Foley (2017)	'I Have My Life Back': Recovering from Child Sexual Exploitation	Thematic analysis of three published memoirs of young females recovering from CSE	3 young female CSE survivors (unknown age) abused by groups of males
6	Gilligan (2016)	Turning It Around: What Do Young Women Say Helps them to Move on from Child Sexual Exploitation	A combination of semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, questionnaires, artwork and poetry. Participants shared their views about.	24 young women and one young man aged between 13 and 23 years. All young people were current or former service users of two

		what had helped and what will help them to move on from CSE	voluntary sector projects specialising in CSE.
7	Coy (2016)	Joining the dots on sexual exploitation of children and women: A way forward for UK policy responses	Policies on children and young people involved in prostitution
8	Pona and Baillie (2015)	Old enough to know better. Why sexually exploited older teenagers are being overlooked	30 16 to 17 year olds supported by The Children's Society 1310 practitioners within The Children's Society projects
9	Hallett (2015)	'An Uncomfortable Comfortableness': 'Care', Child Protection and Child Sexual Exploitation	25 non-specialist practitioners Young people with experiences of CSE aged between 14 and 17 years (eight females and one male)
10	Hughes-Jones and Roberts (2015)	Closing the Gap: Confronting the Problem of Hotels as Venues for Child Sexual Exploitation	The sample size was not mentioned in the study however; staff from sixteen city centre hotels in Wales participated within the study. Professionals working within safeguarding within the same area as the hotels were also included in the sample.
11	Casey (2015)	Reflections on child sexual exploitation	Aimed at all children under the age of eighteen

12	Walker (2014)	Findings of Scoping Exercise into Practitioners knowledge of Child Sexual Exploitation of LGBT Young People in the North East	Informal interviews	15 practitioners including: four LGBT youth workers, four LGBT community workers, three CSE specialists, two LGBT housing workers and two generic youth workers.
13	Coffey (2014)	Real Voices. Child Sexual Exploitation in Greater Manchester. An Independent Report.	An independent report.	Aimed at all children under the age of eighteen in Greater Manchester.
14	Jay (2014)	Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Rotherham	An independent report.	Aimed at all children under the age of eighteen in Rotherham.
15	McNaughton Nicholls <i>et al.</i> (2014)	Gendered perceptions: what professional say about the sexual exploitation of boys and young men in the UK	Online and face-to-face qualitative interviews and written responses  A young people participation workshop  Roundtable discussion	50 practitioners who work with victims of CSE (males and females). 41 with experience of working with young males, alongside online responses from a further nine professionals through purposive sampling to represent a diversity of professional settings with varying levels of experience and gender.  16 young people (including six males) who had experienced CSE.
16	Cockbain <i>et al.</i> (2014)	Not just a girl thing. A large-scale comparison of male and female users of child sexual exploitation services in the UK	Statistical analysis of case files within Barnardo's	12 lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans-spectrum-identified (LGBT) sector professionals from 20 organisations.  Sample of 9,042 individuals aged 8 to 17.

17	Donovan (2014)	The Ace Project: Developing an Agenda For Change in the North East and Beyond on Young LGBTQ People and Child Sexual Exploitation	Brought together CSE services and LGBT projects in one room for a discussion.	16 agencies involved
18	Beckett <i>et al.</i> (2014)	Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation. A Study of Current Practice in London.	Survey	30 survey returns from Assistant Directors of Children's Services and Local Safeguarding Children Board Chairs in London.
19	Myers and Carmi (2014)	The Brooke Serious Case Review into Child Sexual Exploitation.	Review of 2 CSE cases within two local authorities (Bristol and an unnamed local authority)	Case 1: One 16-year-old girl subjected to CSE Case 2: 6 children subjected to CSE
20	Shuker (2013)	Evaluation of Barnardo's Safe Accommodation Project for Sexually Exploited and Trafficked Young People	A realist evaluation of specialist foster care placements and secure accommodation provision for young people affected by CSE.	13 specialist foster placements were evaluated.
21	Cockbain (2013)	Grooming and the 'Asian sex gang predator': the construction of a racial crime threat	Discourse Analysis	Media discourse on sexual exploitation of young people
22	Dodsworth (2013)	Sexual Exploitation, Selling and Swapping Sex: Victimhood and Agency	Qualitative research study on gaining the understanding of the subjective experiences of women involved in sex work prior to the age of eighteen.	24 female participants aged between eighteen and sixty-five.
23	Melrose (2013a)	Child Sexual Exploitation. A critical discourse analysis	Unstructured policy analysis	Aimed at all children under the age of eighteen
24	Melrose (2013b)	Twenty-First Century Party People Young People and	Unstructured policy analysis. Commentary on Jago <i>et al.</i> 2011.	Policies on children and young people involved in sexual exploitation



	Sexual Exploitation in the New Millennium		
25	Tackling child sexual exploitation. Helping local authorities develop effective responses	Non-governmental guidance	Aimed at all children under the age of eighteen
26	Providing Safe and Supported Accommodation for Young People who are in the Care System and who are at Risk of, or Experiencing, Sexual Exploitation or Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation.	Consultations	14 practitioners from a range of organisations with an interest in safe and supported accommodation
27	Puppet on a string. The urgent need to cut children free from sexual exploitation.	Lobbying document	Aimed at all children under the age of eighteen
28	Cut them free: How is the UK progressing its children from sexual exploitation	Lobbying document	Aimed at all children under the age of eighteen
29	What's going on to Safeguard Children and Young People from Sexual Exploitation? How local partnerships respond to child sexual exploitation.	Postal questionnaires In-depth follow-up interviews with practitioners within twenty-four geographical areas. Data Collection Tool for nature and prevalence of CSE in local areas	The postal questionnaires to all LSCBs within England. (N=100, 70per cent response rate). 104 practitioners and LSCB staff interviews from a range of statutory and voluntary sector organisations across Enggland. 25 LSCBs

30	Melrose (2010)	What's love got to do with it? Theorising young people's involvement in prostitution	Unstructured policy analysis	Policies on children and young people involved in prostitution
31	Pearce (2010)	Safeguarding young people from sexual exploitation and from being trafficked: Tensions within contemporary policy and practice	Unstructured policy analysis	Policies on children and young people involved in prostitution
32	Phoenix (2010)	Living and working on the cusp of contradictions: Consumerism, justice and closed discourses	Unstructured policy analysis	Policies on children and young people involved in prostitution
33	Coy (2008)	Young Women, Local Authority Care and Selling Sex: Findings from Research	Life-history interviews in an unstructured format	14 females aged 17 to 33 years. All participants had backgrounds of care and involvement in the sex industry.
34	Harris and Robinson (2007)	Tipping the Iceberg. A pan Sussex study of young people at risk of sexual exploitation and trafficking.	Case studies of service users  Interviews  Focus groups  Desktop research	43 case studies describing examples of sexual exploitation using a case study reporting form.  Interviews with 120 participants across a variety of services in three local authorities.  Focus groups were attended by 30 practitioners across various services.  Desktop research was undertaken of local reports and documents pertinent to sexual exploitation in Sussex.

35	Kerrigan-Lebloch and King (2006)	Child sexual exploitation: A partnership response and model intervention	Short report	Report of a CSE partnership response and model intervention
36	Pearce (2006)	Who Needs to be Involved in Safeguarding Sexually Exploited Young People?	Unstructured policy analysis	Policies on children and young people involved in prostitution.
37	Scott and Skidmore (2006)	Reducing the risk: Barnardo's support for sexually exploited young people. A two-year evaluation.	Evaluation of 10 services.  Interviews	Data collected on 557 young people in contact with Barnardo's services and detailed information on the case histories of 42 young people.  Interviewed unknown number of external stakeholders.
38	Brown (2006)	Participation and Young People Involved in Prostitution.	Desktop research on participation of young people involved in prostitution.  Project Evaluation  A workshop	Desktop research on current policies, practice and research on the participation of young people involved in prostitution.  Project Evaluation Data included 126 young people including young men (n=15) and 42 outlined successes and weaknesses of project.  Workshop to unknown number of participants (practitioners) on participation of young people involved in prostitution.
39	Harper and Scott (2005)	Meeting the needs of sexually exploited young people in London.	Desktop research into policy frameworks for CSE  Audit of statutory sector provisions for CSE victims (including interviews with a range of professionals)  Audit of voluntary sector provisions for CSE victims.	102 participants included: child protection coordinators, social services (n=32), police (n=10), health service (n=10), education (n=2), local authority looked-after children's service (n=2), residential home manager (n=1), youth offending team (n=3), secure unit manager (n=5), specialist sexual exploitation service (n=6), voluntary sector service with expertise in trafficking (n=6),

		<p>Interviews with professionals working in secure accommodation for CSE victims</p> <p>Semi-structured interviews with professionals involved in CSE from three boroughs in London</p> <p>Semi-structured interviews with young people involved in CSE</p>	<p>homelessness / 'going missing' service (n=4), drug and alcohol service (n=3), adult sex worker service (n=3), other voluntary sector service (n=3), young people (females n=11, males n=1)</p>
40	<p>Crawley <i>et al.</i> (2004)</p> <p>Taking Stock. Children and Young People at risk of or involved in abuse through prostitution within Stockton-On-Tees</p>	<p>Unstructured interviews</p> <p>Data collected between October 2003 and January 2004</p>	<p>Professionals from 35 services (26 that work specifically with young people abused through prostitution) working with young people abused through prostitution.</p> <p>Interviews – identify professionals' views on the issue of children abused through prostitution within Stockton and seek ideas how this could be addressed.</p>
41	<p>Phoenix (2003)</p> <p>Rethinking Youth Prostitution: National Provision at the Margins of Child Protection and Youth Justice</p>	<p>Unstructured policy analysis</p>	<p>Policies on children and young people involved in prostitution</p>
42	<p>Phoenix (2002)</p> <p>In the name of protection: youth prostitution policy reforms in England and Wales.</p>	<p>Unstructured policy analysis</p>	<p>Policies on children and young people involved in prostitution</p>
43	<p>Hudson and Rivers (2002)</p> <p>Men &amp; Boys. Selling Sex in the Bradford District.</p>	<p>Interview-based survey</p>	<p>31 representatives from 21 local statutory and voluntary sector agencies in the Bradford area exploring their perceptions of the issue of young males involved in selling sex, and considering what happens in the local services could best respond to their needs.</p>

44	Swann and Balding (2001)	Safeguarding Children involved in Prostitution. Guidance Review	Evaluation of Policy Guidance	Policies on children and young people involved in prostitution
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**Table 5.3. Table of documents included in the critical realist synthesis**

## **Summary**

In short, a critical realist synthesis methodology was employed to explain the relationships between policy architecture and its associated complex policy interventions (such as child protection interventions) put in place by local authorities to deal with the problem of CSE; through the identification and refinement of programme theories. In realism, programme theories allow us to understand hypothesis and test how complex policy interventions may work for whom, under what circumstances, how and why (Pawson 2006). A RAMESES methodology (Wong *et al.* 2013) was adapted to incorporate Bhaskar's four notions of critical realism as an ontological framework. The findings of the critical realist synthesis allowed the author to identify key actors and institutions and provided an architectural structure as a platform to explore young males in depth in a Foucauldian-Inspired discourse analysis within a defined case study (chapters seven and eight).

## Chapter 6

# **CRITICAL REALIST SYNTHESIS FINDINGS: Examining Child Sexual Exploitation Policy Implementation as a Complex Policy Intervention**

## **CHAPTER 6: CRITICAL REALIST SYNTHESIS FINDINGS:**

### **Examining CSE Policy Implementation as a Complex Policy Intervention**

#### **Chapter 6 thematic outline**

- Overview of the Critical Realist Synthesis
- Programme Theory 1: From Child Prostitutes to Child Victims
- Programme Theory 2: Developing Local Responses
- Programme Theory 3: Working with Child Victims
- Programme Theory 4: Focusing on Young Male Victims
- Summary of Findings and Conclusion with Recommendations

#### **Overview**

This chapter presents the first of two data chapters within this thesis. Using secondary data on CSE policy implementation within local government, a critical realist synthesis (CRS) was carried out to identify how young male victims of CSE were understood between 2000 and 2016. The policy implementation explained within this CRS deals with a very specific form of abuse, with its own supplementary governmental guidance (DH/HO 2000, DSCF 2009, DfE 2011, HM Government 2015) deriving from national child protection policy since 2000. In chapter one, the author identified two key foundations that exist on the social policy of young people affected by, or involved within, CSE.

Firstly, CSE policy broadly relies on two governmental approaches in social policy: 1) legislation *e.g.* Children Act 1989 and 2) regulation *e.g.* governmental guidance (Kirton 2012), to control both the perpetrator and the child victim of abuse. Secondly, child protection policy in England is largely concentrated on traditional child protection practice that has (historically) focused on child abuse within the home environment, perpetrated by family members (Munro 2011, Pearce 2014a). Traditional practice has been labelled as problematic within the literature due to the differing circumstances and situations within CSE from the home environment (Pearce 2006, Thomas and D'Arcy 2017). Since the beginning of the millennium, researchers in the field of CSE have examined, in part, the implementation of various interventions associated with CSE policy. Yet no research has attempted to draw the available evidence into a theoretically-driven, comprehensive synthesis on young males. In line with Elder-Vass' (2012) realist social constructionism



theory, this chapter provides a platform for a more in-depth case study research using a critical Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis.

### ***Programme Theory Development***

To reiterate from chapter five, the programme theories (PT) were partially developed through the synthesis's overall objectives but were also informed by policy documents, relevant literature and good practice points recommended by children's charities (*i.e.* Barnardo's) sought on the internet. From reading through the policy documents and official expectations (as presented in Table 1.2 on page 35), the salient sections were selected for individual PTs. After a thorough reading of the resultant literature, individual documents were assigned to individual PTs, through my own hunches (Pawson 2006).

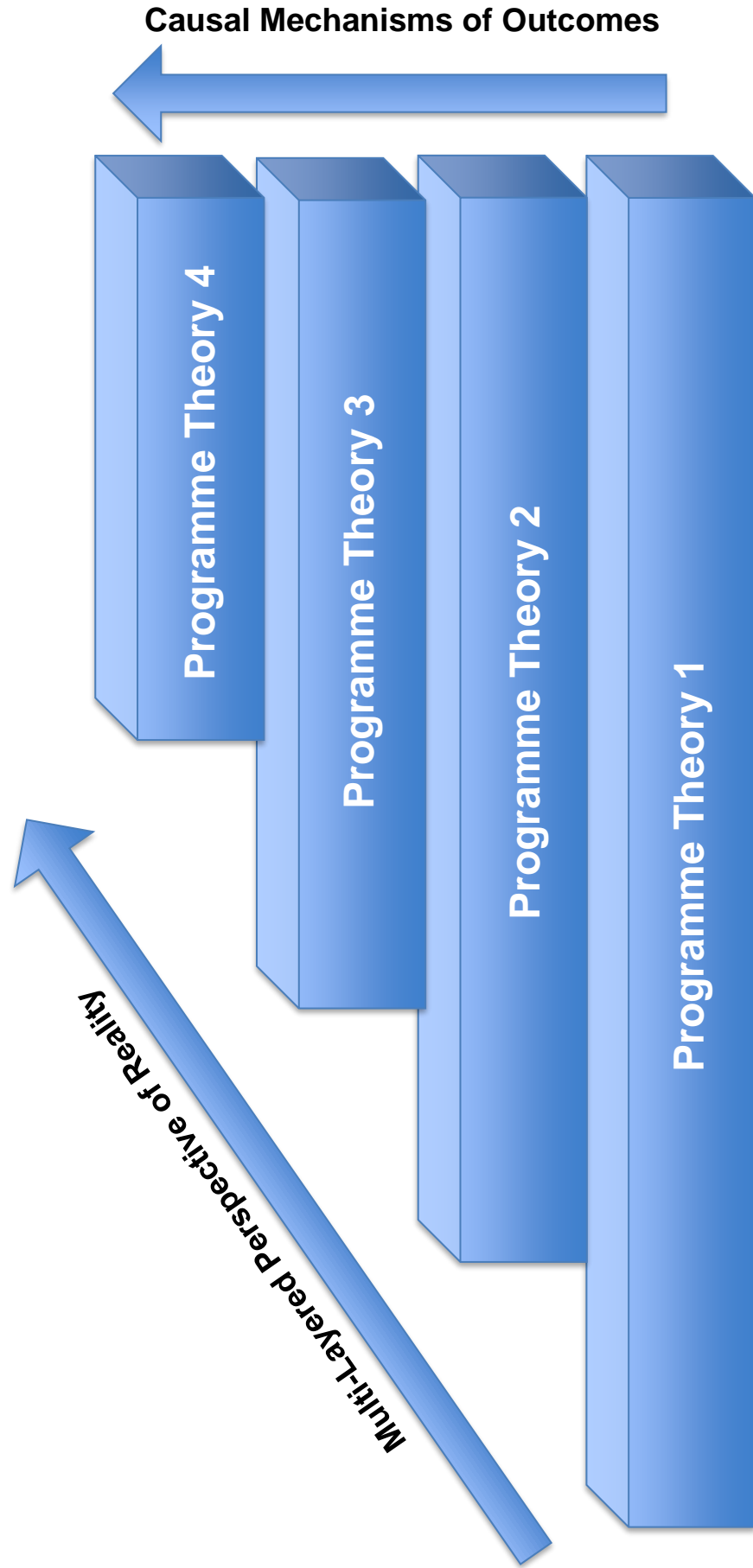
Each PT will set out the official expectations within policy (Pawson *et al.* 2005, Pawson 2006) before presenting the data derived from the refinement and development of each programme theory. The four dimensions of the analysis process (Pawson 2006) as stipulated in chapter five were applied (page 154). In critical realist terms, PTs such as those surrounding child protection policy, are explained through understanding the causal mechanisms of outcomes that ultimately impact on how it is implemented; works for whom, under circumstances and why (Pawson 2006). Wong *et al.* (2013) stipulates that PTs serve two purposes; firstly, to define the terrain in which the theory-led synthesis takes place and; secondly, provides a framework to structure the findings. To remind the reader from chapter five, generative mechanisms (that is, what influences human agency) are identified and presented through testing initial PT when appraising the literature to develop context-mechanism-outcome (C-M-O) configurations for explaining each programme theory. The C-M-O configurations, ultimately, refine PT through helping to explain how complex policy interventions may work for whom, under what circumstances and why. As earlier introduced in chapter three and critically examined in chapter five, this synthesis will only offer partial knowledge as it is near impossible to present a complete picture of any given complex policy intervention (Pawson 2006). Therefore, this explanatory analysis will never

offer a complete of picture of how policy is implemented in local government. Pawson (2006) defends this notion of partial knowledge by stating that no decisive data ever exists on programmes as social science enquiry is ever changing. This CRS purposively focuses on young males and is not inclusive of all circumstances and situations surrounding CSE or local CSE policy and practice scenarios across England. At the end of each PT, a table will be presented of causal mechanisms of outcomes, reflecting the C-M-O configurations, including enabling (*i.e.* what works) and disabling (*i.e.* what does not work).

### ***Relationships between the Programme Theories***

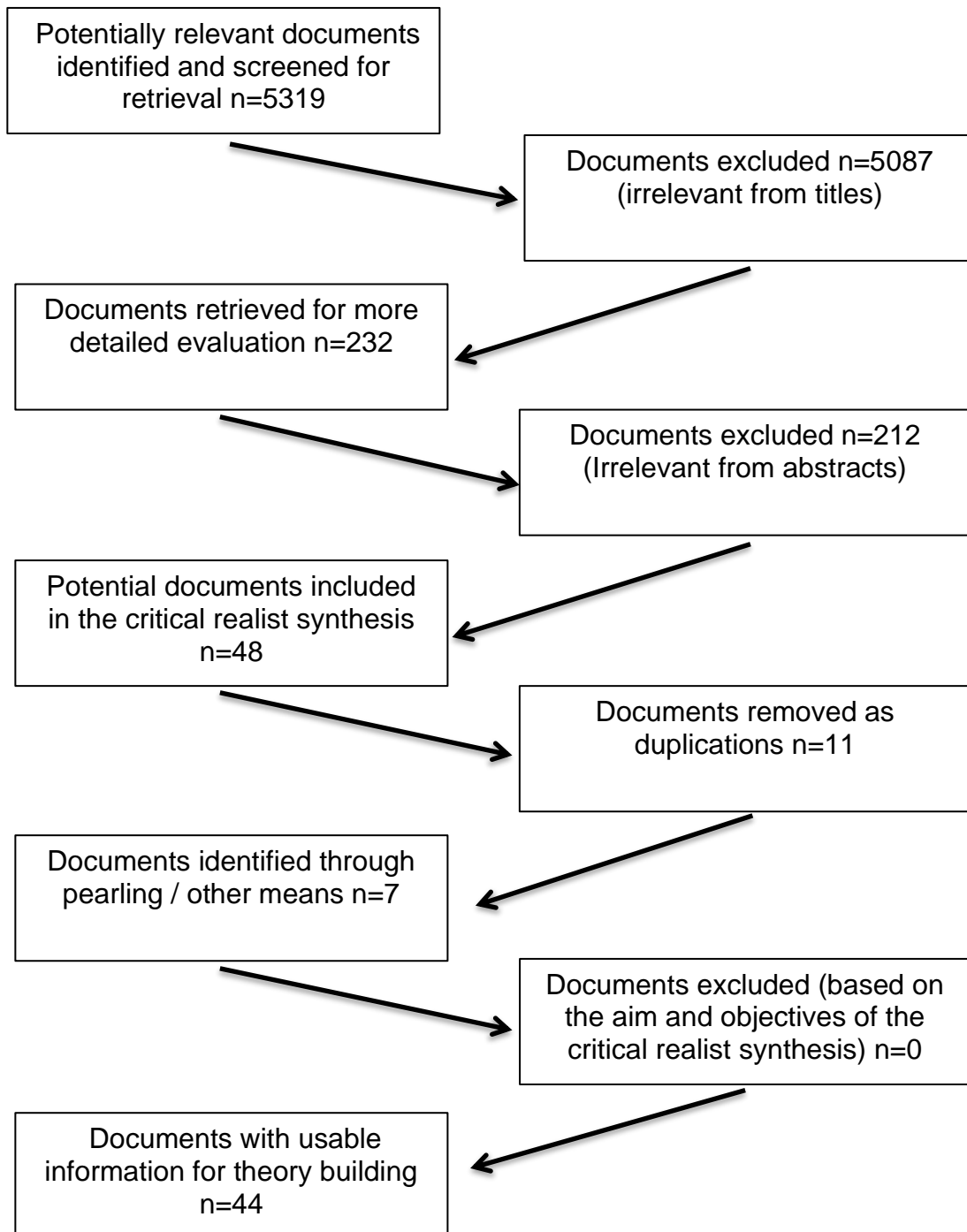
I argue that in order to provide explanation of how young males are 'dealt' with within local CSE policy implementation each of the identified and then, refined PTs precede and build upon each other. So therefore, PT two is informed by PT one, PT three is informed by PT one and two, and ultimately PT four is influenced by all of the previous PTs. This 'layering' of PT reflects the multi-layered perspective of reality that co-exists within the culture of CSE policy and practice. See Figure 6.2 overleaf. CRSs require C-M-O configurations to be identified in the reviewing process (Pawson and Tilley 2001, Wong *et al.* 2013).

Figure 6.1 Programme Theory Building



It is from this point that this chapter continues the RAMESES Publication Standards (Wong *et al.* 2013) items from number 12, page 164 in chapter five.

**Figure 6.2. Document Flow Diagram (RAMESES Item #12)**



### **Document Characteristics (RAMESES Item #13)**

The documents sought through the literature searches were characterised to reflect the nature of the evidence being presented within this CRS. Not all of the documents resulted in studies but those that were found used a wide range of research methodologies. The characteristics of the documents identified were defined by the documents themselves, sometimes this defined within the title or the abstract. Further reading of the documents took place to make sure that the authors correctly defined their document. All the documents were published between the years of 2000 and 2017. The documents were sought through a range of methods including database searches and publicly available social media (including Google Scholar and Twitter), relevant websites of institutions that held pertinence to CSE, recommendation from researchers in the field and reference list searches via a snowballing approach. The two tables (6.1 and 6.2) on the following pages present the diversity of document characteristics and research methodologies for each document included this review, as well as, the classification groups in which each document was deemed to fit in (such as 'peer-reviewed').

Documents included in the review	Document Characteristics and Research Methodologies																	
	Independent inquiry	Policy analysis	Lobby document	Case study research	Round-table discussion	Focus groups	Participation workshop	(Critical) discourse analysis	Seminars	Postal questionnaires	Case file reviews / audit	Interviews	Evaluation of policy guidance	Evaluation of services	Surveys	Non-governmental guidance	Consultations	Desktop research
Adhern <i>et al.</i> (2017)												•						
Coffey (2017)												•						
Reisel (2017)												•						
Lefevre <i>et al.</i> (2017)												•						
Palmer and Foley (2017)																		•
Gilligan (2016)												•						
Coy (2016)		•																
Hallett (2015)				•								•						
Hughes-Jones and Roberts (2015)												•						
Casey (2015)	•																	
Walker (2014)												•						
Coffey (2014)	•																	
Jay (2014)	•																	
McNaughton Nicholls <i>et al.</i> (2014)					•		•					•						
Cockbain <i>et al.</i> (2014)											•							
Donovan (2014)					•													
Beckett <i>et al.</i> (2014)															•			
Myers and Carmelli (2014)												•						
Shuker (2013)													•					
Cockbain (2013)							•											
Dodsworth (2013)												•						
Melrose (2013a)							•											
Melrose (2013b)							•											
Paskell (2012)																•		
Brodie <i>et al.</i> (2011)																		•
Barnardo's (2011a)			•															
Barnardo's (2011b)			•															
Jago <i>et al.</i> (2011)										•		•			•			
Melrose (2010)		•																
Pearce (2010)		•																
Phoenix (2010)		•																
Coy (2008)												•						
Harris and Robinson (2007)					•	•						•						•

Kerrigan-LeBloch and King (2006)																			
Pearce (2006)																			
Scott and Skidmore (2006)																			
Brown (2006)																			
Harper and Scott (2005)																			
Crawley <i>et al.</i> (2004)																			
Phoenix (2003)																			
Phoenix (2002)																			
Hudson and Rivers (2002)																			
Swann and Balding (2001)																			

Category	Number of papers
Lobbying Documents	2
Scholarly reviews of policies or practice (peer reviewed)	12
Studies not in peer reviewed journals	19
Studies in peer reviewed journals.	10
Non-governmental guidance	1

**Table 6.2 Classification of papers**

**Main Findings (RAMESES Item #14)**

**Programme Theory 1: From Child Prostitutes to Child Victims**

This programme theory (PT) focuses on the socio-political contexts of historical and contemporary CSE policy within England with reference to the discourses that existed surrounding children and young people involved in CSE. I hypothesised that the nature and type of responses within CSE policy architecture are often designed through how the problem was understood at the time of development. With the focus of the review examining policy development over a 16-year period, I argue that published policy becomes non-discursive (material reality) on which further discourse is built upon. This hypothesis was based upon previous observations made by Melrose (2013a), who in her critical discourse analysis of defining CSE, stated that often how a phenomenon is understood frequently defines the nature and type of response deemed appropriate.



The over-arching socio-political context of CSE is situated within the safeguarding children framework (Ethan and Heal 2016 in Calder and Archer 2016), which provides a platform in order to understand, develop and refine PT one. Within the political and public understanding of CSE, the 'reality' of CSE has shifted, particularly in 2000 and 2009 with major policy developments (DH/HO 2000, DCSF 2009). This PT will identify the political culture affecting pertinent social structures involved that furthermore impact upon the agency of both young people and practitioners. This PT focuses on the social contexts of CSE that recognise the structural factors such as poverty and the presumed 'models' of CSE. This PT explains how child prostitutes shift from making active 'choices' to be involved in sexual services, to a defined group of victims (e.g. Cockbain 2013).

### ***Policy Expectations for Programme Theory 1***

Throughout the policy period between 2000 and 2016, official expectations and conceptualisations of young people affected by, or involved in CSE have gradually changed through six policies. This gradual change is reflected in the language within the titles of government policies on CSE between 2000 and 2016 in chapter one (see Table 1.1, page 14). In 2000, the Department of Health (DH) and Home Office (HO) released the SCIP guidance that recognised, for the first-time, the majority of children involved in prostitution were considered to be enticed, coerced or 'utterly desperate'; although the number of children affected remained unknown (Figure 6.3).

**Figure 6.3. DH/HO 2000 Guidance Extract (Page 5)**

#### **Introduction**

- 1.1 There are children involved in prostitution across England and Wales. They may not be visible to a casual or even an informed observer. In some instances they may be visible on the streets, in others they may not. This is a hidden problem; it is not known how many children are involved. However, as a result of the combined experience of many agencies and professionals, it is certain this problem exists.

No official definitions were given to these children in the SCIP guidance, but it presented the Barnardo's (1998 cited in Melrose 2013b) prostitution triangle as the

only model for explaining young people's involvement in prostitution (explained within the PT). However, a year later in publication of the *National Plan* (DH/HO 2001), a formalised definition was presented as children '...who [were] induced or coerced into unlawful sexual activities for the commercial advantage of others.' (DH/HO 2001: 2). The purpose of the *National Plan* (DH/HO 2001) was to ensure the *SCIP* guidance was being implemented (Swann and Balding 2001). The unlawful sexual activities included a widening of commercial sex market demands including 'pornographic material' and sex tourism of children (DH/HO 2001). A clear message from both aforementioned government plans focus on the 'exiting' and 'eradication' of the sex working or sexual exploitation of children and young people to (re)focus on 'positive, age-appropriate lifestyles' (DH/HO 2000: 9) as seen in Figure 6.4.

**Figure 6.4. DH/HO (2000) Guidance Extract (Page 9)**

### The nature of the problem

- 2.1 Although not always prominent or visible, children are involved in prostitution across England and Wales. It is important to recognise that a child involved in prostitution cannot be considered to be a miniature adult, capable of making the same informed decisions as an adult can about entering and remaining in prostitution. Increased awareness and research has shown that the vast majority of children do not enter into prostitution willingly and that their involvement is indicative of coercion or desperation rather than choice.

In 2009, the English government published the *Safeguarding Children and Young People from Sexual Exploitation* (DCSF 2009) (hereafter, *DCSF (2009) guidance*) as part of the government's drive to improve children's outcomes. Within the *DCSF (2009) guidance*, it stated it '...has a broader focus than the 2000 version, reflecting the developing understanding of the nature of sexual exploitation' (2009: 6). The 2009 guidance stated for the previous nine years (and likely before), practitioners and policy-makers garnished a narrow view of CSE to be 'a young person standing on a street corner selling sex' (DCSF 2009: 13) (Figure 6.5, overleaf). This move from child prostitution to child victimhood is clear in the 2009 guidance, with an absence of 'child prostitution' in the entire document.

### Figure 6.5 DCSF (2009) Guidance Extract (Page 13)

3.14 Research and practice has, however, helped move the understanding of sexual exploitation by practitioners and policy makers away from a narrow view of seeing sexual exploitation as a young person standing on a street corner selling sex. As discussed, this is only a very small part of the picture. Policies and services therefore need to be broad enough to take into account a wide range of needs, local variations, different models of exploitation in different communities, and to identify children and young people at risk or who are victims of exploitation (see Chapter 6). This broad model also needs to be made clear in preventative education and in awareness raising, early intervention through work in schools or targeted work with those missing school and their families. Similarly, early identification through health service provision for young people with sexual health or with behavioural difficulties and mental health problems is important (see Chapter 5).

Unlike the previous policies (DH/HO 2000, DH/HO 2001), the definition of CSE became far-more encompassing of the potentialities and eventualities of children in relation to sexual exploitation<sup>16</sup> that featured in subsequent CSE policies (DfE 2011, DfE 2012a, HM Government 2015). The *DCSF (2009) guidance* began to encompass social / economic as well as emotional vulnerabilities but largely the definition focused on the micro / individual factors of CSE. In all policy documents, varying simplistic models of CSE were presented including the 'older boyfriend' model (DH/HO 2000, DCSF 2009, DfE 2011). In 2015, the government renewed its intentions to deal with CSE as a result of two independent reports (Jay 2014, Casey 2015) and inferred that a main reason for the continuing presence of CSE was due to the professional denial of CSE present in local areas (Figure 6.6).

### Figure 6.6 HM Government (2015) Report Extract (Page 4)

#### Changing the culture of denial

People who abuse children must be stopped. Their race, age or gender is irrelevant. In Rotherham, the majority of the known perpetrators were of Pakistani heritage – but misplaced concerns about political correctness stopped any proper action being taken. This is not acceptable. We cannot allow professionals to avoid tackling the sexual abuse of children by members of ethnic minority communities for fear of being seen as racist.

### ***Refinement and Development of Programme Theory 1 with Resultant Literature***

This PT was developed through the review of one critical discourse analysis (Melrose 2013a), seven peer-reviewed policy analysis within the 16 year policy

<sup>16</sup> The *DCSF 2009 guidance* definition on CSE can found on page 44.

period (Phoenix 2002, Phoenix 2003, Pearce 2006, Phoenix 2010, Melrose 2010, 2013b, Coy 2016), one lobbying document (Barnardo 2011a) and a national inquiry (Casey 2015). Children involved in sexual exploitation, are often considered as invisible within general populations and are regarded as hard-to-reach groups in the wider policy documents aimed at children (beyond CSE) (Pearce 2006, Phoenix 2010, Melrose 2013b). In 2011, Barnardo's (2011a) advanced its lobbying to national government, local governments and professionals. Barnardo's called for a clearer awareness of the issue of CSE, the improvement of statutory responses and provisions of services including prevalence data collection and to improve prosecution procedures. This lobbying led to the publication of the *Action Plan* (DfE 2011) as explained in chapter one. However, in order to appreciate this recent shift in policy reality, the socio-legal contexts prior to 2000 will be explained.

### ***Socio-Legal Contexts of CSE***

For centuries, the involvement of children in prostitution was seen as part of prostitution (as wholesale), recognising little difference between adults and children (Phoenix 2002, 2003). Gender of the 'sex worker', regardless of age, had been split for a long time in legislation, prior to any regulation through policy. Two key pieces of legislation were used to deal with each gender (male and female) involved in sexual services: the *Street Offences Act 1959* and the *Sexual Offences Act 1967*. The *Street Offences Act 1959* did not attempt to criminalise street prostitution in public entirely but did criminalise activities that were associated with it that constituted a public nuisance (Melrose 2013a). In 1995, 263 cautions and 101 convictions for loitering and soliciting in public were brought against young females as young as ten years old through to 17 years (Aitchison and O'Brien (1997) cited in Melrose 2013a). Those females (from ten-years-old and above) convicted twice for the aforementioned offences would be labelled with the status of a common prostitute thereafter (Phoenix 2002). Labelling within the constructs of sex work, such as that of females with common prostitute, did not exist in the legislation for males (Melrose 2013a). Criminal rates of young males in these circumstances do not exist within the literature. On the other hand, young males involved in street prostitution, through soliciting, were regulated from a different piece of legislation, the *Sexual Offences Act 1967*. However, those convicted for persistently soliciting were resultant of using a public place for immoral purposes (Melrose 2013b). Colloquially, males who were

minors were called rent boys (Dennis 2008). Often in order to protect vulnerable children involved in prostitution, the Children Act 1989 was used as a protective mechanism (Phoenix 2002, 2003).

Formal policy on youth prostitution was borne out of direct campaign and lobbying work from children's charities in the late 1990s, calling for welfarist provision for all children involved (Harper and Scott 2005, Melrose 2010). The need for distinguishing the involvement of young people from adults generated much debate and these arguments gradually grew to terminology that was in some way connected or associated with prostitution was wrong (Melrose 2013a). A high-profile campaign entitled '*Whose Daughter Next?*' (Barnardo's 1998) influenced the development of SCIP guidance (Harper and Scott 2005). It was at this point the term '*children / young people abused through prostitution*' was rebranded as commercial sexual exploitation and children and young people affected, or victims, were in need of welfare measures, not punitive ones (Harper and Scott 2005, Melrose 2013a). Phoenix (2002) argued that this shift in terminology could not be reduced to another type of child abuse, especially in relation to child sexual abuse, stating that youth prostitution held little meaning without the exchange of sexual services for something of value such as money. In contrast, child sexual abuse is a phenomenon that occurs within the familial environment or intimate relationships that defines specific sexual activities between legally definable adults and legally definable children (Phoenix 2002). This is not the case with many young prostitutes due to their age of involvement being older than the age of sexual consent (Phoenix 2002), conflicting realities between statute law and government policy.

Youth prostitution and CSE policy only partially acknowledge social or economic conditions such as poverty and deprivation often act as push factors for young people to enter commercial sex markets and focus, in the main, on micro / individualistic factors (Phoenix 2002, Pearce 2010, Melrose 2013a). Coy (2016)<sup>17</sup> contributes to these observations by cogently arguing that CSE policy has not considered other structural inequalities such as male demands within the sex markets for young females, framing her debate within the *Violence Against Women*

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<sup>17</sup> It is noteworthy that Coy's (2016) analysis excluded young males as victims.

*and Girls* agenda. However, progressively in the formalisation of policy (e.g. DH/HO 2000), the reality presented declared the '*real*' problem is often of the coercion of the (unrelated / unknown) individual adult male that has sex with them; claimed as the predatory male on vulnerable young (female) people (Phoenix 2002, Melrose 2013a). This presentation constructs young male and female sexuality differently (Melrose 2013a). Melrose (2010) also inferred that this declaration provided a tidy and definable story that identified the perpetrators and the victims, respectively. Indeed, focusing the discourses on the morality of the adult perpetrator whilst ignoring the wider economic factors that came into play such as the lack of employment, poverty as examples (Melrose 2010). Melrose (2013a) observed that contemporary understanding of CSE has become synonymous with '*grooming*' by adult perpetrators / child sex offenders and fits with this aforementioned morality argument. Not only did the move from youth prostitution to CSE exclude socio-economic conditions but also infantilised as well as asexualise the young people involved.

Doezema (1998 cited in Melrose 2013a) had compared this concept of 'innocence' to fundraisers in the nineteenth-century social purity movement, where similar images of child sex abuse victims were portrayed in order to create sympathy congruent with the values of white, middle class, Christian heteropatriarchy, for financial gain to the cause of CSE. Arguably, the mentioning of *child* within CSE infantilises those young people involved, given the developmental stage of a child aged ten is very different to a young person aged 17. Jago *et al.* (2011) identified the majority of children and young people affected by CSE are aged between 15 and 17 and contradict the perception that pre-pubertal children exclusively dominate CSE as the term may imply (Melrose 2013a, 2013b). Those young people aged 16 years and older often fall out of protective measures afforded the statutory agencies (Phoenix 2002, Melrose 2010).

Phoenix (2010) articulated that the rhetoric of sexual exploitation hindered the 'normal' sexual development of young people in their social worlds through the need for welfare and protection. Phoenix continued her articulation stating that damage that sexual exploitation would cause would over-ride any agency demonstrated by the young person within an exploitative situation over their sexual autonomy and

their right to make decisions would be unthinkable. To put this into context, Phoenix argued that with the increase of socio-cultural shifts on the experience and expectations of sex on young people, young people would no doubt be exercising choice and autonomy within normative structures. So, by framing sexual exploitation to be based on historical reference to what is considered 'normal' and 'appropriate' sex would be incongruent with contemporary issues of sexual consumption, desire and identity (e.g. Plummer 2003b). This new language of young people involved in commercial sex markets causes a number of problems in defining exactly what the contemporary phenomenon is without it clashing with other forms of adolescent sexual activity (Melrose 2013a). The semantics of sexual exploitation do not necessarily define all transactional sexual services involving young people but also no longer identify the specific exploitation and abuse that occurs within prostitution towards young people (Melrose 2013a), therefore producing ineffective policy responses. However, what this language creates is a constitution that CSE is symbolically harmful (Phoenix 2010).

### ***Presumed / Known Models of CSE***

Melrose (2010) identified that pre-2000 the drift model was one of the first conceptual models of youth prostitution within the literature. Matza (1964 cited in Melrose 2010) suggested that young people 'drifted' into prostitution through peer influences, due to their social isolation and either poorly chosen or lack of social networks. This model suggested that young people could 'drift' out of prostitution as easily as deciding to 'drift' into it. However, the drift model was superseded by the notion of 'grooming' in 2000, that young (female) people would be drawn into prostitution because of a predatory or abusive adult (Melrose 2010). The SCIP guidance adopted this single conceptual model entitled the *prostitution triangle* based on the lobbying of Barnardo's '*Whose Daughter Next?*' campaign (Barnardo's 1998 cited in Melrose 2013b). Within this campaign, Barnardo's presented the *Boyfriend Model of Exploitation and Peer Exploitation* or *Prostitution Triangle* (Barnardo's 1998 cited in Melrose 2013b), which proposed that the young person would be groomed by an older boyfriend and would pimp her out to abusive adult(s) for the purposes of sexual services in exchange for something of value (such as drugs, alcohol or money). This model rendered any demonstration of sexual agency of the young person and became known as '*the pimping and grooming model*'

(Melrose 2010). This conceptual model not only failed to take into account sexual agency of the young person but also definitively made little or no recognition of the material realities that structured the young person's involvement, for example being poor (Phoenix 2002). Melrose (2010) theorised this '*pimping and grooming*' model to be focused on the process of a young woman falling 'in love' with an older boyfriend who would subsume complete control over her to perform sexual acts for his financial gain. Melrose shows that CSE is complex in nature and therefore difficult to simplify.

In her later works, Melrose (2013a) postulated that an effective route for increasing public concern and financial backing requires practitioners and policy makers alike to provide simplistic language practices to produce media sound bites. These media sound bites would create affected young people to always be seen as innocent victims and as children. Barnardo's (1998) model was centred on the Western discourses regarding childhood; discursively constructing children and young people as asexual, dependent, passive and innocent subjects (Melrose 2010, Melrose 2013a). Therefore, further rendering any form of agency demonstrated by the young people – even though many young people who demonstrate sexual agency do so in constrained socio-economic situations such as poverty (Melrose 2010). This model implies a universal truth that only provides a partial and decontextualised explanation of the macro factors of commercial sex markets (Melrose 2010).

The '*pimping and grooming*' model negates young males from any scenario that may be seen as CSE. Furthermore, Melrose (2013b) argues there are many models known in CSE to be co-existing in local areas, which were drawn from data in the Jago *et al.* (2011) study. I allude that this is perhaps why males are never fully catered for entirely as females are attempted to be. Through a recent rapid evidence assessment (Brayley *et al.* 2014) from 96 documents, Brayley *et al.* (2014) identified 11 situational contexts leading to childhood sexual victimisation (mostly defined as child sexual abuse) towards young males within the literature, as seen in Figure 6.7 (overleaf).



**Figure 6.7 Situational Context Leading to Childhood Sexual Victimization towards Young Males (Brayley et al. 2014)**

Schools
Care/residential homes
Youth groups
Religious institutions
Sports clubs
Prisons
Peer-on-peer settings
Gangs
Commercial settings
Digital online settings
Internal sex trafficking

Building on the historic understanding of youth prostitution, Melrose (2013a) also proposes further models beyond the *prostitution triangle* and includes online grooming via the internet; sexual exploitation by an organised group or network of adults, and; the *partying lifestyle*. Melrose believes that the party lifestyle of young people was most at risk of the organised CSE through social media sites by numerous adults and explains that the *prostitution triangle* does not begin to consider half the picture of these circumstances. Based on Jago et al. (2011) findings, Melrose (2013b) singled out this model from one practitioner who discussed the case of a 16-year-old female and her peers who all felt '*they were just having a good time*'. The males she was associating with had considered her to be too old and in order to remain respected and included amongst are older associates, she started recruiting her peers to attend the parties. Neither the female nor her peers felt they were exploited by the older males (Melrose 2013b). This confirms Phoenix's (2010) previous observation that whilst CSE policy constructs young people as 'victims', it also doubly constructs, or indeed contradicts, young people as 'villains' for those who remain and 'failed' welfarist interventions. These points introduce the problems of how sexual agency of young people is 'managed' within CSE policy and practice (PT three).

Whilst recognising various models of CSE within policy and literature, Jay (2014) and Casey (2015) found that multi-cultural tensions within communities had systematically covered up CSE when they reviewed Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council which had led to the creation of the 'Asian' model of CSE

(Cockbain 2013). The over-arching models of CSE whereby the female is the victim has become common policy discourse for modelling abuse with claimed 'professional denial' in the HM Government (2015) policy *i.e.* 'Asian model' (Cockbain 2013). Emphasising the microscopic relationships within CSE, rather than macro issues such as poverty, within local policy responses as explained in the next PT. The original, presumed model of CSE (Barnardo's 1998) was significant in recognising the fixation of gender roles leading to policy discourse not catering for all CSE circumstances and eventualities.

### ***The Causal Mechanisms of Outcomes for Programme Theory 1***

There appears to be an ideological context within the policy reality on how young people 'enter' or become involved in CSE. Essentially, policy production has become borne out of popular constructions and discourses of who are victims of CSE in national policy as a non-discursive material reality – attempting to offer a clean and simplistic model for conceptualisation for the public, media and funders. Although youth prostitution / CSE policy would have once started as a discursive reality, its maturation overtime has now meant it has become part of the child protection policy 'fabric'. The policy language transition of 'youth prostitution' to a specific, sub-form of child sexual abuse, CSE, policy has now become primarily focused on (micro) sexual exploitative transactional factors *i.e.* the actions and morality of individuals rather than the wider socio-economic factors such as poverty and sex market demands (Phoenix 2003, Phoenix 2010, Melrose 2010, 2013a, 2013b). The transition to CSE has meant definitional issues including synonymising 'child' with 'innocence' and gendering sexuality to active and passive positions (young males and young females, respectively). Throughout the policy period only seldom numbers of models of CSE were presented, often too simplistically to capture the reported realities of other anecdotal and actual models of abuse within the literature. However, the move to consider CSE as a child protection issue has led to more children and young people being identified and in need of welfarism.

Type of Mechanism	Causal Mechanisms of Outcomes
Enabling	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Policy discourse has increased the synonomisation of ‘child’ and ‘innocence’ within policy language change has led to more children and young people to be recognised as victims.</li> <li>2. Policy discourse has enabled a safeguarding culture that views vulnerable children, who were once arrested for their involvement in CSE, to be subject to welfarist interventions.</li> </ol>
Disabling	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Splitting the portrayal of CSE to one of victimhood and offending has led to a too simplistic conceptualisation. By simply viewing children as victims, causes problems for reducing recognition and practical solution of their sexual agency.</li> <li>2. Focusing on the sexual exploitative transactional factors such as the micro situation (<i>i.e.</i> the action and morality of the individuals involved) for the young victim negates policy discourse from facilitating discussion on structural factors such as <i>Violence Against Women and Girls</i>, unemployment and poverty.</li> <li>3. The presumed models of CSE both within policy and CSE policy literature in the main (with the exception of Brayley <i>et al.</i> (2014) work, fixate on gender roles; with males predominantly in a perpetrating role and females predominantly in a victim role.</li> </ol>

**Table 6.3 Causal Mechanisms of Outcomes on Programme Theory 1**

### **Programme Theory 2: Developing Local Responses**

With the paradigmatic shift from child prostitution to child victimhood, an increase in local governance arrangements on the identification and intervention with child victims has occurred. Traditional child protection policy has focused on abuse within the home / familial environment perpetrated by family members which has meant CSE needing specific services (Pearce 2006, Munro 2011, Pearce 2014a, Thomas and D’Arcy 2017). This programme theory (PT) explains the local government

responses in relation to the official policy expectations as presented in chapter one (Table 1.2, page 35). This PT focuses on the second objective of the CRS, identifying firstly the social structures that are involved in local responses, and secondly, the complex policy interventions aimed at CSE that have been enacted by these social structures. This PT will particularly identify the types of local responses including the use of secure or alternative accommodations for victims.

### ***Policy Expectations for Programme Theory 2***

The English system for safeguarding children is predicated upon an inter-agency, multi-disciplinary approach, to identify, assess, manage and discharge children and their families in a safe, anti-discriminatory, way. CSE policy (DH/HO 2000, DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, DfE 2012a, HM Government 2015) signposts professional practice to the processes as stipulated in the inter-agency policy document, *Working Together to Safeguard Children* (DH *et al.* 1999, 2001, DCSF 2006, DfE 2010, DfE 2013, DfE 2015), to consider whether a child is suffering, or likely to suffer significant harm or has substantial needs. Since 2000, CSE policies have required Local Area Child Protection Committees (ACPC) / Local Safeguarding Children Boards (LSCB) to develop local CSE strategies and protocolise multi-agency, welfarist interventions, including the possibility of criminalising 'persistent' young people involved in CSE in earlier policy (DH/HO 2000, DH/HO 2001). In particular, local areas have been required to actively enquire on the extent of children involved in prostitution / CSE including those at risk, develop local protocols and provide local resources for practitioners with concerns for children involved in prostitution / CSE (DH/HO 2000, DH/HO 2001, DCSF 2009, DfE 2011). The local work required is expected through an integrated approach and shared responsibility from all services and highlighted the role of the LSCB for coordination in the local area, especially with the voluntary sector (Figure 6.8 and 6.9 overleaf).

### Figure 6.8 DCSF (2009) Guidance Extract (Page 16)

#### **A shared responsibility**

2.12 Safeguarding and promoting the welfare of children and young people in this context, like safeguarding children more generally, depends on effective joint working between different agencies and professionals that work with children and young people, including education (e.g. schools and colleges), health services including sexual health services and therapeutic mental health services, youth services, Connexions and children's social care, together with criminal justice agencies and voluntary sector services supporting children and families. Their full involvement is vital if children and young people are to be effectively supported and action is to be taken against perpetrators of sexual exploitation. All agencies should be alert to the risks of sexual exploitation and be able to take action and work together when an issue is identified.

2.13 This joint working should be underpinned by:

- a strong commitment from leaders and senior managers
- a shared understanding of the problem of sexual exploitation
- effective coordination by the LSCB for the area.

### Figure 6.9 DCSF (2009) Guidance Extract (page 26)

#### **LSCBs ensuring co-operation**

4.18 LSCBs should consider how best to involve their members and other agencies in work to address sexual exploitation. LSCBs can for example be a key link between voluntary and statutory agencies:

- the voluntary and community sector (VCS) organisations involved in service delivery to those sexually exploited and their families – and those who are at risk of being exploited – will be key partners and will have information and intelligence which LSCBs and their statutory members should draw on in planning and commissioning services. The VCS should be involved in drawing up local policies and procedures.

The use of secure or alternative accommodation was observed for the first time in CSE policy in 2009. The *DCSF (2009) guidance* stipulated it to be an appropriate option for CSE victims with a history of absconding and / or likely to suffer 'significant harm' (Figure 6.10 overleaf).

## Figure 6.10 DCSF (2009) Guidance Extract on Accommodation (Page 51)

### Accommodation of sexually exploited children and young people

- 6.36 Decisions about the placement of young people who are looked after by a LA should take account of the young person's individual needs and circumstances. In some cases, it may be that placement in a secure children's home is an appropriate option for children and young people who are being sexually exploited. The criteria for placing a child or young person who is looked after by a LA in secure accommodation are set out in section 25 of the Children Act 1989. These include cases where the young person has a history of absconding – and is likely to abscond – from any other form of accommodation, and where the young person is likely to suffer 'significant harm' if he or she were to abscond. In cases where the child is under the age of 13, the approval of the Secretary of State must be sought to the placement. The procedures which must be followed in such cases are set out on the Every Child Matters website, at: <http://www.everychildmatters.gov.uk/socialcare/childrenincare/securechildrenshomes/>.
- 6.37 Young people who are being sexually exploited will need good quality placements with carers who have experience of building trusting relationships and skills at containing young people. These placements do not have to be secure. Placing a child or young person in secure accommodation should only be considered in extreme circumstances, when they are at grave risk of significant harm.

The *Action Plan* (DfE 2011) noted the lack of policy implementation of previous policy, *DCSF (2009) guidance*. So, the *Action Plan* formally set about to devolve responsibilities to local authorities, via LSCBs, to assess the problem of CSE within their areas and develop appropriate local responses to the known risks (Paskell 2012). Four years later with no mention of earlier policies, the HM Government (2015) report focused again on improving the local responses to CSE as outlined in Table 1.2 (page 35).

### ***Refinement and Development of Programme Theory 2 with Resultant Literature***

A number of studies have explored local CSE response in both specific and unmentioned areas of England and were examined as part of this PT. In addition to these studies, one study had researched wider community contexts of CSE within the hospitality sector (Hughes-Jones and Roberts 2015) and a further two studies had focused on secure accommodation (Brodie *et al.* 2011, Shuker 2013). This PT will focus upon the reported numbers of children and young people at risk of, or involved in CSE, the reported types of local responses and the provision of secure or alternative accommodations for victims.

### **Quantifying Children and Young People ‘At Risk’ of, or Involved in, CSE**

CSE policies states that CSE is a ubiquitous problem, affecting any child or young person (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, HM Government 2015). Substantiating the prevalence is difficult due to no national data being collated on the total numbers of children and young people affected by CSE. Phoenix (2010) observed that policy (DCSF 2009 in particular) made substantial claims that due to the CSE being a ‘hidden’ problem, it could occur at any time, in any location. Phoenix inferred that by logical extension of this observation, CSE would always remain ‘unknowable’ in terms of its nature, quality, prevalence and extent. Raw data was extracted from a range of resultant literature that offered a descriptive statistical data on the estimated total of children considered victims of CSE, with the vast majority female<sup>18</sup> (Table 6.4 below). It is noteworthy to suggest that the numbers within the table would have been children known to services and accessed for research purposes<sup>19</sup>. There was limited commentary on gender difference, or more importantly, reasons for why males were not greater in numbers in their studies. The minority of literature that did provide this commentary will be explained in PT 4. Nonetheless, by abstracting this level of detail from the documents demonstrate that many local responses identify females to a greater degree than males, with an estimated total of 11,992 of which 28.76% are male (n=3,450). The estimated total in this CRS is near representative of the policy reality for expecting around a third of victims to be male (DCSF 2009).

Study & Year	Number of Children and Young People		
	Total	Females	Males
Palmer and Foley (2017)	3	3	0
Gilligan (2016)	25	24	1
Hallett (2015)	9	8	1
Cockbain <i>et al.</i> (2014)	9,020	6,034	2,986
Shuker <i>et al.</i> (2013)	88	No Breakdown	
Dodsworth (2013)	24	24	0

<sup>18</sup> The total can only be estimated due to not all children could be consider complete victims of CSE but may have had some involvement of some kind (Cockbain *et al.* 2014).

<sup>19</sup> It was unclear whether some studies have may have used the same children in their data collection so duplication may be likely.

Jago <i>et al.</i> (2011)	1064 (1 trans*)	971	92
Beckett (2011)	28	No Breakdown	
Coy (2008)	14	15	0
Scott and Skidmore (2006)	557	454	103
(Two data sources in study)	42	35	7
Brown (2006)	126	111	15
Harper and Scott (2005)	12	11	1
Crawley <i>et al.</i> (2004)	378	191	187
Swann and Balding (2001)	602	545	57
<b>Estimated Total</b>	11,992	8,426	3,450

**Table 6.4 Data Extracted From Documents of Numbers of Children and Young People affected by CSE**

Only two documents offered statistical inference on the potential numbers of victims, one covering England (Swann and Balding 2001) and the other covering 32 London boroughs (Harper and Scott 2005). In 2001, Swann and Balding assessed the implementation and impact of the SCIP guidance. As part of the assessment, 111 ACPCs were surveyed on the prevalence of children involved in prostitution. With regards to gender, prevalence data suggested that; 90.9% of ACPCs (n=101) reported awareness of females and 62.2% of ACPCs (n=52) were also aware of males (Swann and Balding 2001). 8.1% of ACPCs were not able to give or did not state a breakdown of the gender in their areas. Swann and Balding (2001) targeted 50 ACPCs for further information, some of which included London boroughs. Out of 28 ACPCs, 545 females were identified, while out of 18 ACPCs, 57 males were identified. Swann and Balding (2001) estimated from these actual numbers of children from 50 out of 111 ACPCs, that 19 females and 3 males would be affected by prostitution in every local authority at any one time. These numbers indicate that the numbers were considered a lot smaller within the SCIP guidance but have clearly increased with males with later policy developments *i.e.* gender-specific guidance on males (DCSF 2009).

In Harper and Scott's (2005) study, a total of 507 young people were identified as either known or indicated CSE cases. Harper and Scott noted a slightly lower



prevalence to Swann and Balding's (2001) findings with an average of only 16 young people per borough. Harper and Scott identified a vast difference in numbers of CSE cases in London boroughs, varying from 1 to 53 cases. With this disproportion across boroughs in mind, the authors recognised that this was likely due to under-identification rather than CSE not being a problem. To estimate the risk of CSE across London in order to assist in the planning of services, Harper and Scott based their assessment on likely level of exploitation on a set of seven known risk factors, or proxy indicators, for CSE drawn from previous research (Scott 2001, Cusick 2002 cited in Harper and Scott 2005). The proxy indicators included: numbers of young people going missing, number of 'looked-after' children, school absenteeism, levels of teenage pregnancy and sexual infections among young people, levels of youth homelessness, levels of drug use in the community and number of residential children's homes. Using a previously used method in problematic drug use, a multiple indicator method and factor analysis on all 32 boroughs was carried out.

The data for the proxy indicators combined with known or indicated CSE case numbers from eight boroughs, selected as 'anchor points', were used to estimate the level of CSE in all London boroughs. The anchor points were selected due to their proactivity on CSE and their reliable data on identified CSE cases. A standard linear regression illustrated a degree of association between the level of exploitation identified and the level of risk derived from factor analysis of proxy indicators. Through this statistical modelling four risk categories were created with the number of cases expected. The findings suggested 13 boroughs were considered high risk (over 40 cases), 11 boroughs were considered medium risk (31 to 40 cases), eight boroughs were considered moderate risk (21 to 30 cases) and 11 boroughs were considered low risk (under 20 cases). Through this analysis, Harper and Scott estimated an increase by double of young people experiencing CSE in London (n=1002) that were currently known to services. Harper and Scott (2005) were cautious with their analysis for a variety of reasons: 1) not taking in account other unknown factors, 2) a homogenous assumption that all London boroughs have the same relationship between indicators and CSE and 3) their model would be under-estimating the figures, hence why the term 'likely levels of exploitation' was chosen over prevalence.

### ***Types of Local Government Responses***

Many studies included in this section of PT 2 relied upon the professional perceptions or data collected by practitioners in local CSE policy implementation. From a critical realist ontology, this reliance implies an empirical reality (solely human perception and experience) of the real reality (independent of human awareness). In 2006, Pearce began to suggest that multi-agency responses beyond organisations already working in child protection, such as detached youth work should be considered. Within the literature, a wide range of responses existed. Overall, the required welfarism to address CSE was created by the local awareness-raising and profiling of the CSE models together with the development of a local CSE strategy (Jago *et al.* 2011, Myer and Carmi 2014). The local CSE strategy determined which institutions were required to participate in a local CSE response including health, the police, children's social care, education (including youth work), youth offending service, mental health and housing (Harper and Scott 2005, Pearce 2006, Jago *et al.* 2011, Bedford *et al.* 2014). Areas that did not have a developed response were often found to have less identification, assessment and support for CSE victims. Jago *et al.* (2011) had identified that only one third of local areas had implemented the DCSF (2009) guidance in their areas, although more recent data suggests an increase to two-thirds with a development of, or plan to develop, a CSE response since the 2011 Action Plan (Paskell 2012).

The main interventions to support victims of CSE were carried out by specialist, co-located multi-agency teams in local areas and included: individual therapeutic support, diversionary activities (such as art groups), sex and relationship education, youth work and drug and alcohol support (Crawley *et al.* 2004, Kerrigan-LeBloch *et al.* 2006, Harper and Scott 2005, Harris and Robertson 2007, Jago *et al.* 2011, Beckett *et al.* 2014, Myers and Carmi 2014, Coffey 2017). Other areas for support included increasing the awareness of young people's rights as a way of improving their ability to see exploitative relationships (Skidmore and Scott 2006). The voluntary sector was perceived by practitioners in nearly all studies to work more effectively with child victims due to their flexibility, their approach (often through youth work *e.g.* Harper and Scott (2005)), their less obvious role in safeguarding and the perception of being less authoritarian (Harris and Robertson 2007, Jago *et al.* 2011, Bedford *et al.* 2014)

In some areas, multi-agency working has been extended beyond professional intervention and adopted community engagement approaches such as working with members of staff working in the hospitality industry (Hughes-Jones and Roberts 2015), which go in hand with community awareness-raising (Jago *et al.* 2011). Hughes-Jones and Roberts (2015) found in their exploratory study on 16 city centre hotels in Wales a high degree of complacency towards safeguarding vulnerable young people. Interviews took place with hotel staff and professionals working in safeguarding in the same area and the authors found a dissonance between what priorities were in the hospitality sector and the professionals. Hospitality staff recognised that whilst safeguarding children was an important issue to be aware of, very often, abuse that was suspected of happening within hotels was left unchecked. The hospitality staff felt that by enquiring with their guests on their purposes of their stay would overstep the mark in the guests' privacy. This particular finding is a clear challenge to LSCBs in its ability to act on local problems.

### ***The Provision of Secure or Alternative Accommodation for Victims***

The use of secure accommodation in order to safeguard children and young people from sexual exploitation was observed as a controversial intervention within the literature to be considered for review. Where a situation is recognised as particularly risky, removing a young person to a place of safety based on 'welfare grounds' (Coy 2008, DCSF 2009). Both Coy (2008) and Jago *et al.* (2011) have argued that secure accommodation can create the impression on the young person that they have done something wrong and are entirely responsible for the situation they were. Two evaluations exist on the use of secure and alternative accommodation for young people at high risk of, or actual continuation of their involvement in CSE (Brodie *et al.* 2011, Shuker *et al.* 2013). Coy (2008) also had an extract on young females' experience of secure accommodation within her study.

Shuker *et al.* (2013) examined the use of secure accommodation and alternative provisions for sexually exploited young people especially in the context of 13 foster placements, through a realist evaluation methodology. On the other hand, Brodie *et al.* (2011) examined the provision of safe and supported accommodation for young people in the care system within England, consulting with 14 practitioners from a range of organisations with an interest in safe and supported accommodation.

Shuker *et al.* (2013) identified the majority of young people entering secure accommodation had multiple, con-current, vulnerabilities including: previous abuse and neglect, low self-esteem, self-harm and poor mental health. This same cohort also had experience of unstable histories with their involvement in the care system. Through evaluating each specialist foster placement, Shuker *et al.* (2013) identified over-arching generative mechanisms in the placements that proved successful that included a caring, child-centred, communicative environment where warm and loving relationships between carers and young people could be developed with an overall emphasis on safeguarding and risk to CSE. These generative mechanisms optimised the placement for the young person by improving educational attendance, a greater awareness of risk to CSE for the young person and reducing missing episodes. Other themes that were extracted from Brodie *et al.* (2011) study that facilitated effective secure or alternative accommodation included the need for continuous, long term support from adults in the young people's lives. Where placements broke down and when things went wrong for either the carer(s) or a young person, additional support would be required to optimise the young person's outcomes as mentioned before. In addition, Skidmore and Scott (2006) advocated that accommodation should always aim to be safe and stable for young people affected by CSE. Coy (2008) stated, however, that most children put into secure accommodation are females due to their sexualised behaviour. The female participants who had frequent episodes in secure accommodation within Coy's study spoke of their experiences positively and negatively. The participants felt stigmatised for being placed in secure accommodation and displaced within an environment that facilitated worthlessness and deviancy due to the accommodation also being occupied by young offenders (who may or may not have been related to CSE). The relationships the participants developed with the staff were valued due to the intensity of support given but when staff left or care was planned poorly, they felt a sense of loss and vulnerable.

Secure accommodation, as a social structure, produces a double-edged sword effect; either by creating the misleading impression on the young person as a deviant but also aides in the protection of their welfare and secures statutory authorities' accountability; or by creating a situation where a young person remains out of secure accommodation and their agency is afforded also positions the statutory authorities'

accountability at risk for media and political scrutiny. Pearce (2010) and Hallett (2015) have also both commented on the contradiction of society protecting young people from their own behaviour within CSE when a sexualised culture co-exists.

### ***The Causal Mechanisms of Outcomes for Programme Theory 2***

This programme theory has explained the development of local responses within local government, focusing on the numbers of children and young people affected by, or involved in CSE, the types of local responses and the provision of alternative or secure accommodation for victims. It is clear from the extracted data that children involved in CSE, in some way, constitute large numbers, with many of the descriptive statistical data sought from studies that examined multi-agency responses. Only two studies have offered statistical inference on potential numbers of child victims, which exceed the 'actual' numbers known, with one study (Harper and Scott 2005) identifying the more realistic numbers of victims using proxy factors. The majority of children within local responses are females, with only 28.76% being male. It is perhaps incidental that this percentage is near representative of the policy reality for expecting around a third of victims to be male (DCSF 2009) and Cockbain *et al.* (2014) analysis. The need for awareness-raising and the development of CSE problem profiles in local CSE strategies appeared pivotal in co-ordinating a local response. CSE strategies outlined which institutions, or social structures, are required to be involved, multi-agency working appears favourable and more effective when there is involvement of the voluntary sector. The professional intervention may be hindered by others in the community (such as the hospitality sector) if awareness is not beyond professional groups (*e.g* Hughes-Jones and Roberts 2015). Secure and alternative accommodation is somewhat controversial, whilst safeguarding a child victim from further abuse, requires concerted efforts to ensure their experiences feel safe and supportive. The identification of the multitude of institutions involved may many different empirical realities within practitioners' perceptions working with children at risk of, or involved in CSE.

<b>Type of Mechanism</b>	<b>Causal Mechanisms of Outcomes</b>
Enabling	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. National policy expectations on local government appear to produce a greater increase in developing local responses to CSE.</li> <li>2. The development of local CSE strategies through problem profiling and community awareness appears to demonstrate a greater increase in multi-agency responses and interventions available to address CSE. Particularly, specialist, co-located multi-agency CSE teams.</li> <li>3. The involvement of the voluntary sector are vital social structures within multi-agency responses.</li> </ol>
Disabling	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Local areas that do not implement national policy expectations have a smaller response to addressing CSE.</li> <li>2. Poor quantification of numbers of children affected by, or involved within CSE can lead to poorer identification of victims and inadequate support available.</li> <li>3. Failure to engage with communities beyond professional groups such as the hospitality sector may conceal CSE problems in a local area.</li> <li>4. Victims with poor experiences in alternative and secure accommodation may lead to further stigmatisation for their involvement in CSE and feel worthless.</li> </ol>

**Table 6.5 Causal Mechanisms of Outcomes on resultant documents for Programme Theory 2**

**Programme Theory 3: Working with Child Victims**

Programme theory (PT) two identified a range of local responses within local government, critically building on PT one with the ‘transitions’ of youth prostitution to CSE. This PT focuses on the second objective of the CRS, but rather than identifying the complex policy interventions that have been enacted by institutions, will focus on

the specific victim and practitioner perceptions, understanding and experiences of CSE. Working with child victims is a realistic focus for this CRS, in order to, ultimately, understand the parameters in which constructs young male victims. Within PT one, the conceptualisation of victimhood became a dominant policy discourse, but this potentially silences alternative discourses available to child-facing practitioners. I hypothesised that whilst the concept of victimhood is indeed the right approach to CSE, practitioners' perceptions, understanding and experiences of victimhood would illuminate their agency in accommodating, negotiating and adapting the reality of policy with the reality of child victims. The PT also draws on literature that ascertains the views of victims. This PT, therefore, focuses in detail on the concept of agency within the multi-layered reality of both practitioners and victims, within the overt sexualisation of youth culture (Plummer 2003b).

### ***Policy Expectations of Programme Theory 3***

The SCIP guidance (DH/HO 2000) recognised that the majority of children involved in prostitution did not enter on their own accord, and their entry understood through enticement, coercion or sheer desperation. The SCIP guidance went on to advise that children choosing to remain, voluntarily, in prostitution, and not engage in welfarist interventions, would face the possibility of the criminal justice action as noted in Figure 6.11. The possibility of criminal justice action would only arise after inter-agency discussion on the circumstances surrounding the child in question.

**Figure 6.11 DH/HO 2000 Guidance Extract (Page 27-28)**

#### **Voluntary and persistent return to prostitution**

6.21 The vast majority of children do not freely and willingly become involved in prostitution. The entire emphasis of the Guidance is on diversion using a welfare based approach to children and that it should be adopted **in all cases**. However, it would be wrong to say that a boy or girl under 18 *never* freely chooses to continue to solicit, loiter or importune in a public place for the purposes of prostitution, and does not knowingly and willingly break the law. In such cases, the police should only start to consider whether criminal justice action is required, following a strategy discussion when all diversion work has failed over a period of time and a judgement is made that it will not prove effective in the foreseeable future. What constitutes “a period of time” and “the foreseeable future” will vary in each case.

The above advice remained in the DCSF (2009) guidance, however, was diluted in the transfer of responsibility for any criminal acts with the (adult) perpetrator. This re-positioning of children as victims became further consolidated in latter CSE policies (DfE 2011, DfE 2012a, HM Government 2015). The DCSF (2009) guidance developed a policy reality on the nature of CSE by emphasising the imbalance of power between the perpetrator and the victim (Figure 6.12), reducing the young person's agency to be premised entirely on the sexual exchange for 'something of value'.

**Figure 6.12 DCSF 2009 Guidance Extract (Page 17)**

### **The nature of sexual exploitation**

- 3.3 Any child or young person may be at risk of sexual exploitation, regardless of their family background or other circumstances. This includes boys and young men as well as girls and young women. However, some groups are particularly vulnerable. These include children and young people who have a history of running away or of going missing from home, those with special needs, those in and leaving residential and foster care, migrant children, unaccompanied asylum seeking children, children who have disengaged from education and children who are abusing drugs and alcohol, and those involved in gangs.
- 3.4 Sexual exploitation can take many forms from the seemingly 'consensual' relationship where sex is exchanged for attention, affection, accommodation or gifts, to serious organised crime and child trafficking. What marks out exploitation is an imbalance of power within the relationship. The perpetrator always holds some kind of power over the victim, increasing the dependence of the victim as the exploitative relationship develops. This chapter sets out some of the more common indicators found in cases of sexual exploitation.

Figures 6.13 and 6.14 (overleaf) present extracts from the DCSF (2009) guidance on the 'presumed' reality of children not being able to recognise the abuse they ensure or had endured. Both extracts advise practitioners to '*...overcome [a young person's] resistance...*' through '*...challenging their perceptions...*' (DCSF 2009: 21-22) and this could be dealt with, firstly, through informal contact due to the young person's fear of service engagement.



**Figure 6.13 DCSF (2009) Guidance Extract (Page 21-22)**

**Attitudes of children and young people**

3.23 Because of the grooming methods used by their abusers, it is very common for children and young people who are sexually exploited not to recognise that they are being abused. The needs of children and particularly of young people aged 16 and 17 years are likely to be overlooked for this reason. Although faced with limited choice, they may believe themselves to be acting voluntarily. It may take many weeks or months for practitioners who work with young people to build up their trust, help them to recognise that they are being sexually exploited by challenging their perceptions with factual information, and overcome their resistance to interventions.

**Figure 6.14 DCSF (2009) Guidance Extract (Page 47)**

**Engaging with children and young people and the timing of referrals**

- 6.18 Children and young people who are being sexually exploited are the victims of abuse and will be especially vulnerable. This may manifest itself in a number of ways: for example, they may be defensive and reluctant to engage with professionals or they may be dependent on drugs or alcohol, which may affect their view of the situation. Agencies should recognise that many children and young people might not think that they want or need protection from sexual exploitation and might be resistant to what they perceive as interference from authorities. Perpetrators groom their victims so that they are compliant to being sexually exploited and are frightened to report their abuse. In some instances they may be fearful of being involved with the police or children's social care and may initially respond best to informal contact from health or voluntary sector outreach workers.
- 6.19 Gaining the child or young person's trust and confidence is important if he or she is to be safeguarded from harm and enabled to escape from sexual exploitation. Often the process of engaging with children who are being sexually exploited can be difficult and lengthy and it can take time for professionals to build up trust and overcome their resistance to being helped and supported to exit the abusive situation. Chapter 3 covers some of the issues around the attitudes of children and young people.
- 6.20 The wishes and feelings of a child or young person should be obtained when deciding how to proceed in these circumstances. He or she may be at a particularly important turning point in their life and will need to be "enabled to express their wishes and feelings; make sense of their circumstances and contribute to decisions that affect them". However, professionals who are assessing the views of these children must be aware that perpetrators may have 'groomed' them and conditioned their responses and that they may be denying what has happened to them. They may initially reject offers of help or support. It is necessary

The DCSF (2009) guidance stipulated, as an effective practice, a child-centred approach when working with child victims; including the consideration of their wishes and feelings during decision-making, however, practitioners were made aware that the views of children may be conditioned from the 'grooming' of their perpetrators (Figure 6.15 overleaf). The DCSF (2009) guidance also premised the advice to

practitioners on reducing the child victim's vulnerability and improve their resilience. The *DCSF (2009) guidance* was referred to within the remaining years of CSE policy period this thesis is concerned with (DfE 2011, DfE 2012a, DfE 2012b, HM Government 2015). In 2011, The *Action Plan* (DfE 2011) went further by stating that all child victims should be removed from CSE, posing both an academic and practical challenge, in the real, actual and empirical realities of child victims who cannot / do not exit CSE.

**Figure 6.15 DCSF (2009) Guidance Extract (Page 47-48)**

6.20 The wishes and feelings of a child or young person should be obtained when deciding how to proceed in these circumstances. He or she may be at a particularly important turning point in their life and will need to be "enabled to express their wishes and feelings; make sense of their circumstances and contribute to decisions that affect them". However, professionals who are assessing the views of these children must be aware that perpetrators may have 'groomed' them and conditioned their responses and that they may be denying what has happened to them. They may initially reject offers of help or support. It is necessary to involve the child or young person and to ascertain the concerns of parents and carers at all stages to enable children to successfully escape from sexual exploitation and reintegrate into society. Wherever possible, family members should also be involved and supported in work with the child. Both *Working Together* and the *Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families (2000)* provide guidance on working with children and their family members.

***Refinement and Development of Programme Theory 3 with Resultant Literature***

In total, ten documents were analysed to explain how practitioners and young people involved in, or affected, by CSE related to each other within therapeutic interactions. Two perspectives were taken in this PT, 1) the views of young people (Coy 2008, Jago *et al.* 2011, Dodsworth 2013, Hallett 2015, Gilligan 2016, Palmer and Foley 2017), and 2) the views of child-facing practitioners in CSE (Scott and Harper 2005, Lefevre *et al.* 2017, Riesel 2017, Adhern *et al.* 2017). This PT will concentrate on the construction of 'agency' (including sexual agency) involved in the practitioner-young person relationship, firstly identifying the findings from young people and then from practitioners. As with PT 2, the studies included in this PT relied upon the human perceptions. From a critical realist ontology, this reliance implies an empirical reality (solely human perception and experience) of the real reality (independent of human awareness). As applied to practitioners, this would mean their empirical reality on a young person's real reality and vice versa.

## ***Sexual Agency as Viewed by Young People***

Overall in the resultant documents, sexual agency was found to be a multi-faceted concept to young people. The findings suggested that young people negotiated their 'agency' through a variety of dimensions, including: negative structural factors such as: unemployment; an unclear polarity between their reported victimhood and agency; identifying survivorship and resilience through positive adaptation and recovery; finding a sense of self / identity / belonging; having secure base relations with others, and lastly; a feeling of control (Coy 2008, Dodsworth 2013, Palmer and Foley 2017). Experiences of being in the care system were particularly noteworthy, especially with the sense of feeling different from 'normal children' (Hallett 2015, Gilligan 2016). A variety of 'wants' were identified within the studies on what young people wanted from their practitioners.

Coy (2008) interviewed 14 females aged 17 to 37 with backgrounds in the sex industry, as children, and experience of being in care. Coy found that her participants' experiences of being in care and the sex industry had a long-term impact on their selfhood and decision-making. Coy identified that the young females were drawn to prostitution, not only for financial reasons, but as a form of developing themselves and embracing the identity of 'othering' through mainstream conceptualisation of their 'care' status which casted them as abnormal. Coy created a conceptual framework to understand the longitudinal process of her participants' entry into prostitution through four stages:

1. **Abused child:** the female's lives are entrenched in long-term abuse, both physical and sexual, both before and during their care. The care system is a presumed place of safety and belonging, but this is not provided.
2. **Sex object:** the females begin to realise that sexualised behaviour creates a response from abusers / professionals / society. The females use their bodies as sexual objects to be used by others to help them cope.
3. **Survivor:** the females feel more in control and powerful whilst selling sex and the street community offers a sense of belonging. The choice to sell sex is a pragmatic one due to the socio-economic and psycho-social circumstances.
4. **Professional prostitute:** the females perceive their selling of sex represents their social exclusion and stigmatisation and the desirability from males seeking bought sex brings about a positive identity.

Coy also observes that throughout this process the young females had an increase in (positive) self-esteem as they were being 'loved' by males who bought sex from them. Coy infers that when working with young females, they should be seen as beyond sexually active adolescents, and see their development more wholesomely, especially with their relationships with their bodies.

Dodsworth's (2013) qualitative study involved the interviewing of 24 participants aged between 18 and 65, all of whom were female, who had previously sold or swapped sex for non-monetary payment, 12 of whom had entered sex work before the age of 18. Of the 12 participants, around half felt they made active choices to be in sex work, while the remaining half felt they had been coerced through sexual exploitation by selling or swapping sex. Dodsworth's aim of her study was to ascertain an understanding of how participants' risk and protective factors influenced their perceptions of choice-making, or agency, and victimhood. Overall, Dodsworth observed that where negative structural factors existed, such as lack of income or employment, or lack of a secure base relationship, meant that these females turned to selling or swapping sex for affection and approval. Often the ability to perceive choice was often determined by the extreme risks, traumas and other negative experiences these females had endured. Choice had to be taken as a direct consequence of experiencing violence, and the females in this study reported that they felt compelled to make choices, to allow some autonomy over their lives. Such choices included using drugs and alcohol and techniques of dissociation (Dodsworth 2013). Dodsworth postulated that self-perception of victimhood amongst these females was not static and changed throughout their journey of selling or swapping sex, inter-connected with psychosocial factors, and the meaning they gave to their lives, at different life stages. These findings resonate with Coy's (2008) qualitative study.

Building upon the notion of care experience in Coy's (2008) study, Hallett (2015) identified through the young people (n=9) she interviewed to have feelings of instability, uncertainty and powerlessness, during the relationships they formed with practitioners and the care system. The young people saw themselves as objects of surveillance and defined by their perceived needs, leaving them with feelings of unwantedness, unacknowledged and frustrated, commonly feeling practitioners were

uncaring and 'just doing their job'. Hallett reported that the participants felt that by simply removing them from situations, perceived as risky, did not address their real problems. Once removed from CSE, they felt invisible to practitioners and would, therefore, engage in other risky / unhealthy behaviours to provoke professional attention. The young people had relied on their perceived abusive relationships for stability and certainty, the extraction from this relationship ironically created instability and uncertainty.

Gilligan (2016) concluded similar findings on negatives experiences of the care system with the participants in his qualitative study. From interviewing 24 young females and one young male, aged 13 to 23, with prior involvement with CSE, Gilligan found several important things the participants wanted from those helping them to move on from CSE. The young people wanted their workers to be '*...friendly, flexible, preserving, reliable and non-judgmental*' (Gilligan 2016: 115) and were less likely to engage with practitioners (especially those in statutory services) that did not demonstrate listening and respecting them.

The acute need for young people wanting to be listened to, respected and indeed believed were found to be the most significant aspects of positive adaptation post exploitation in Palmer and Foley's (2017) study. Palmer and Foley did not interview young people directly but drew their findings from a thematic analysis of three published memoirs by young females who had experienced sexual exploitation from adult males in the UK. Although this positive adaptation post exploitation was reported to be a non-linear process, it requires what has happened to them to be remembered and understood by others, especially with the changing nature of time-pressured social work interventions making disclosures difficult. In line with this theme in difficulties in disclosure, the young people within Jago *et al.* (2011) study gave perspectives on what prevented them from disclosing abuse which included: the fear of the reaction of the person whom they were telling *i.e.* not being believed, the repercussions of the abuser *i.e.* losing someone who has cared and loved them, the fear of consequences with family and friends and being in trouble and lacking of trust. Interestingly the participants in Jago *et al.* study also expressed the difficulty in explaining in what had happened to them, as they felt unless the person, they were telling, had undergone such as abuse they would not understand.

### ***Agency of Victims as Viewed by Practitioners***

Similarly, to young people, practitioners perceived the agency, especially sexual agency, as a complex dimension in their practice with some over-lapping considerations with young people (Lefevre *et al.* 2017) yet considered agency in relation to how one defined CSE (Scott and Harper 2005). The importance of relying on one's own experience was helpful when working with young people that identified the emphasis on rapport building with young people (Adhern *et al.* 2017). This reliance on one's own experience also emphasised the tension between avoiding restriction a young person's sense of agency, versus, protecting them from risk (Reisel 2017). Personal qualities of practitioners such as empathy, trustworthiness, kindness and sensitivity were also identified (Lefevre *et al.* 2017).

Within the first six years of children being formalised recognised as victims, Scott and Harper (2005) interviewed over 100 child protection professionals (including senior managers) in London. Within the interviews, the authors identified a wide variation on CSE understandings, ranging from narrow to broad definitions, to traditional stereotypes of sex work, through to a variety of circumstances young people were exploited within. With regards to sexual agency, participants were able to immediately recognise concern where violence and coercion were present. When 'free choice' making was observed in children's involvement, however, this often led to a less reactive intervention and no recognition of the structural reasons behind this seemingly 'free choice' (Scott and Harper 2005). This empirical reality of practitioners shifts in later years to an actual reality reflected in the next three studies published 17 years after the formalisation of child victims.

Lefevre *et al.* (2017) findings focused on part of a larger evaluation on service structure and delivery in three areas on England. Lefevre *et al.* paper largely examined the results from a mid-stage survey of participants (n=204) working in a variety of child-facing agencies, with experience of working with CSE victims. However, some of similar findings from the survey also spontaneously emerged in the interviews with practitioners (unknown number). Within the survey, 60% of respondents reported to lack confidence in enabling a child to disclose CSE to them with only two respondents offering strategies for how trust could be developed. Yet within the survey and interview findings, four main themes emerged through

professionals' perceptions surrounding what constituted effective practice for the development of trust with children at risk of CSE:

1. **Relationship-based practice:** participants felt that trust took time to develop and that 'real' relationships were required to be established to truly understand a young person's life. This perception is contrary to the current CSE assessments and interventions that requires rapid rapport building.
2. **Child-centred practice:** participants felt child-centred practice was important to demonstrate active listening, using language appropriate with the child's development, being flexible in approach and asking open-ended questions. This perception was contrary to the timeframes that required to be met in the CSE context such a court reports where disclosure was absolutely necessary.
3. **An ethically grounded approach:** participants felt that in order to facilitate a disclosure from a child, their approach would need to be respectful, unshockable and without pre-conception or anticipation of what a child may say.
4. **Being skilled and knowledgeable in CSE practice:** this theme was only mentioned by a few participants, however, these participants identified that children more trusting of professionals who understood the multi-faceted nature of CSE whilst at the same time instilled confidence in the child with competence in safety and protection.

Riesel (2017) findings were drawn from a CSE vignette study with ten practitioners working in a range of professions related to child protection including social work, youth work, family support and youth offending in an inner-city borough of London. Riesel undertook this study to shed light on the organisation of assumptions used in professional decision-making in CSE. Riesel found none of the participants ranked the vignettes in the same order of risk, but 16 different considerations were presented in the determination of what constituted a concern. These considerations in descending order included: young person's choice, the nature of sexual acts, the age of the young person, the acceptance of professional intervention, the child's home life, external vulnerabilities such as learning difficulties, secondary effects of abuse e.g. sexual infections, the age and capacity of the perpetrator, the level of adult oversight, whether the abuse had stopped, perpetrator threats to the child, situation appearing common, the legalistic aspects e.g. age of consent, the maturity

of the young person, other children involvement and to what degree the child was specifically targeted. Through all these considerations, Reisel identified two central and guiding considerations that were refractory in deciding what counted as consent: age and choice *i.e.* agency. The older the young person, the less likely they were to be considered in need of interventions and age was considered before any other consideration in the majority of participant responses. Choice was perceived by the participants in one of two ways; either, it reduced the concern of the professional because the young person was 'willing' or it increased the concern of the professional due to the extra work that would be required to remove a young person from a risky situation.

Adhern *et al.* (2017) interviewed 15 participants including law enforcement officers (n=10) and social workers (n=5) involved in CSE investigations in one local authority in England. Through semi-structured interviews, Adhern *et al.* examined perspectives on rapport building with young people who were considered to have been sexually exploited but had not disclosed. The interviews focused on how practitioners first approach young people, their own wellbeing, their experiences of going to court, their judgements on young person's eventual disclosures and a recent CSE case that was reported in the mainstream news at the time of the interviews. Overall, Adhern *et al.* reported that the participants experienced rapport building with CSE victims as a lengthy activity, requiring repeated contact over periods of times (up to years), that required them to minimise their authoritative role and maximise their caring attitude through personal attributes (non-judgemental, light-heartedness). Interestingly, Adhern *et al.* identified that the courts viewed rapport building as coercive due to the frequent contacts, but participants claimed to have 'dealt' with this through non-suggestive methods of rapport building such as discussing neutral topics.

### ***The Causal Mechanisms of Outcomes for Programme Theory 3***

Explaining the findings from the resultant literature to the official expectations as stated within national policy demonstrate a discrepancy between realities. The reality depicted in policy on the observable 'agency' of a CSE victim does not reflect the perceptions of agency from young people and practitioners within this PT. The policy reality reflects that victim agency is solely focused on the exchange of sexual



activities for ‘something of value’ yet the findings suggest the concept of agency goes beyond sexual activity and is determined by a young person’s circumstance and situation; taking into account a non-linear, multi-faceted context. The reality reflected in an earlier study (Harper and Scott 2005) identified an association between a practitioner’s definition of CSE and their perception of agency of young people. Yet the reality in later studies demonstrate a greater understanding of the under-lying issues, such as the integral meaning of the young person-practitioner relationship including: the ‘long-termness’ of the relationship; trust; being listened to and empathy, and; experience of the care system, all hugely impact on how and why young people demonstrate both ‘appropriate’ and ‘concerning’ agency. The practitioner perceptions of agency reported in this PT show that professional practice is somewhat limited by what is expected of them through the lens of the policy reality. Practitioners appear to want to be flexible with victims, but a great deal depends on the approach taken in building rapport with the young person and taking into consideration that various ‘risk’ factors. The findings in this PT provide some meaningful data to suggest that attention to the structure and agency of child victims should be contextualised in policy and practice. This reflects earlier observations made by Pearce (2006, 2010) that often these very young people can become active agents of change in their life having become resilient in the exercise of previous demonstrable agency, in the face of adversity, prior to accessing any professional services for support or child protection intervention.

<b>Type of Mechanism</b>	<b>Causal Mechanisms of Outcomes</b>
Enabling	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The development of building long-term relationships with young people including flexibility, informality, being listened to, being solution focused ensures a supportive experience.</li> <li>2. Practitioners’ appreciating a young person’s experience of the care system will enhance a practitioners’ understanding of a young person’s agency.</li> </ol>

Disabling	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The narrower the definition of CSE held by a practitioner the more likely a young person will be afforded agency inappropriately.</li> <li>2. The age of a child may hinder a practitioners' perception on affording appropriate agency.</li> <li>3. Practitioners who lack rapport building skills with child victims.</li> <li>4. Practitioners who do not maintain relationships once a CSE risk has been removed potentially means a child victim returns to risk-taking behaviour(s).</li> </ol>
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**Table 6.6 Causal Mechanisms of Outcomes on resultant documents for Programme Theory 3**

**Programme Theory 4: Focusing on Young Male Victims**

So far, this CRS has refined and developed three programme theories (PT), offering a co-existing, multi-layered perspective of realities on CSE policy implementation. The preceding PTs have focused on the rebranding of children involved in sexual exploitation from ‘child prostitutes’ to ‘child victims’; the paradigmatic shift in the contemporary meaning associated with semantics of CSE; explaining the development of local government responses from national CSE policy, and finally; how both young people and practitioners understand and perceive their overall experience in therapeutic interventions, especially agency. PT four is, to the author’s belief, entirely dependent on these former PTs being in place to explain how young males are catered for. Under the Children Act 1989 and Children Act 2004, safeguarding activities and protective measures are extended to *all* children and are key priorities for the UK government (DfE 2013), however, existing literature confirms minority groups *i.e.* male victims are overlooked (Brown 2006, Lillywhite and Skidmore 2006, Pearce 2006, Gilligan 2016). This PT will focus on the LGB&T+ organisations, as social structures, and the empirical reality of LGB&T+ practitioners’ working with young males, including the reported actual realities (human perceptions of portions of actual reality) of LGB&T+ culture and CSE.

### ***Policy Expectations of Programme Theory 4***

Between 2000 and 2009, gender-neutral advice existed within CSE policy, however, within SCIP (DH/HO 2000), the age of consent was noted to be different between heterosexual and homosexual activity, by two years, 16 and 18, respectively. Whilst no male-specific advice was presented in SCIP, the 2000 guidance offered an example of one organisation working with young males. The organisation claimed that the sole reason for a young male's involvement in 'prostitution' was due to experiencing homophobic reactions to their sexuality, creating isolation with no support. The organisation maintained that young males were reported to have previously been victims of child abuse and had co-existing substance misuse problems. This policy expectation insinuates that young males are particularly vulnerable to having a negative sexuality.

The nine-year gender-neutral stance in CSE policy ended with the introduction of the DCSF (2009) guidance, as first outlined in chapter one, by presenting the first-ever gender-specific advice on young males. It was not clear from the policy itself why the sudden inclusion of gender-specific guidance; however, policy recognition was offered that young males differed from their female peers in terms of surveillance, service engagement and disclosure (DCSF 2009) (Figure 6.16). The 2009 guidance was referred to in the remaining years of the CSE policy period this chapter explains (DfE 2011, DfE 2012a, DfE 2012b, HM Government 2015).

#### **Figure 6.16 DSCF (2009) Guidance Extract on Young Males (Page 45)**

##### **Boys and young men**

6.12 Sexual exploitation services report that as many as a third of their referrals relate to boys and young men. However, it can be more difficult to detect when boys and young men are at risk of sexual exploitation or are being sexually exploited, as they are generally harder to work with and less willing to disclose this type of information. They may also find it harder to disclose that they are being abused by other men because of issues about sexual identity. It is important that professionals who are assessing young men do not become distracted when exploring their sexual identity and fail to notice that they may be being, or are at risk of being sexually exploited. The following box illustrates possible indicators specific to boys and young men being sexually exploited. These indicators are organised according to the domains and dimensions of the *Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families*.

Within the sub-section on 'Boys and Young Men' in the *DCSF (2009) guidance*, a list of specific indicators of young male involvement in possible sexual exploitation were given (Figure 6.17 overleaf). Two 'defining' observations from this list of indicators are particularly noteworthy when considering the policy reality of young male sexuality. Firstly, that 'aggressive or violent' and sexually offending behaviours are considered indicators for young males but not for young females. Secondly, that 'cottaging' *i.e.* sexual activities in public toilets are considered problematic within social integration.

**Figure 6.17 DSCF (2009) Guidance Extract on Young Males**

<b>Indicators of possible sexual exploitation for boys and young men</b>
<b>Domain: Child Developmental Needs</b>
Health:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Physical symptoms – sexually transmitted infections, bruising or other marks on body suggestive of physical or sexual abuse</li><li>• Drug or alcohol misuse</li><li>• Self-harming or eating disorders</li></ul>
Education:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Truancing from school, deterioration of schoolwork or part-time timetable</li></ul>
Emotional and Behavioural Development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Secretive</li><li>• Young offender behaviour or anti-social behaviour</li><li>• Secretive about Internet use or using adult networking sites</li><li>• Sexualised language</li><li>• Aggressive or violent</li><li>• Sexually offending behaviour</li></ul>
Family and Social Relationships:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Associating with other children at risk of sexual exploitation</li><li>• Missing from home or staying out late</li><li>• Getting into cars of unknown people</li><li>• Contact with unknown adults outside of normal social group via face to face meetings, Internet, text messaging or phone calls</li></ul>
Identity:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Low self-esteem, poor self-image or lack of confidence</li></ul>
Social Presentation:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Wearing an unusual amount of clothing</li></ul>
<b>Domain: Family and Environmental Factors</b>
Income:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Social activities with no explanation of how funded</li><li>• Possession of abnormal amounts of money, gifts, new mobile phones, credit on mobile phones, number of SIM cards</li></ul>
Family's Social Integration:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Frequenting known high-risk areas or going to addresses of concern</li><li>• Seen at public toilets known for cottaging or adult venues (pubs and clubs)</li></ul>

***Refinement and Development of Programme Theory 4 with Resultant Literature***

Young males were disproportionately represented in the documents sought for this CRS. However, a relatively small number of studies have examined young males, or gender exclusively, including: Hudson and Rivers (2002), McNaughton Nicholls *et al.*

(2014), Cockbain *et al.* (2014), Walker (2014) and Donovan (2014). Other studies were found to have some data or acknowledgement, at least, of young males; however, this could have been as little as one paragraph: Hudson and Rivers (2002), Crawley *et al.* (2004), Brown (2006), Skidmore and Scott (2006), Jago *et al.* (2011) and Hallett (2015). While in the other documents identified in this CRS, it was difficult to identify whether policies and practices were based on the experiences of young females or young males or both. Anecdotally, Brayley *et al.* (2014) suggested due to the higher ratio of females over males in the samples of many studies, meant the results were often aggravated to show a potential for gender-bias. For example, Hallett (2015) believes her sample (15 females and 1 male) was representative of the gendered reality of children being referred for support regarding their CSE involvement. Brown (2006) further this by suggesting that the lack of specialist services aimed at young males hinders their identification as victims; all of the studies presented in this CRS have sampled young people or their case notes from CSE services which is an important limitation to bear in mind.

In 2001 from a sample of 42 ACPCs, Swann and Balding calculated on average that for every area there were 19 females and three males by CSE affected in England. No other known national prevalence studies were undertaken until 2014; highlighting a 13-year gap. In 2014, Cockbain *et al.* accessed and analysed 9,042 cases of children who had been affected by CSE and who had received interventions from 28 services within Barnardo's, in a five-year period (2008 and 2013). Cockbain *et al.* confirmed a third of the sample (n=2986, 33 per cent) of cases included in their analysis were male; challenging the historical and contemporary CSE discourses that have over-looked young males of their minority status. However, they were unable to differentiate between cases of young people who had been at risk of, victims of, or affected by CSE. While the sample is substantial in Cockbain *et al.* study, the young males identified were not equally distributed throughout the country (Cockbain *et al.* 2014). Cockbain *et al.* proposed several explanations for this geographical variation from suggestions made by service managers within Barnardo's, including: the individual practitioners' own awareness and confidence in their ability to deal with young males and awareness raising with colleagues; the nature and type of training practitioners received on CSE and its impact on young males; the nature of services provided and whether young males were included in

funding agreements and service design. Clearly, this has shown that the perceptions of front-line practitioners greatly impact on the responses with practice to young males. The next sub-section identifies what is currently known on the experiences, understanding, and perceptions of young male victims (Hudson and Rivers 2002, Jago *et al.* 2011, Walker 2014, Donovan 2014, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014).

### ***Practitioners' Experience, Understanding and Perceptions of Young Male Victims***

Within Jago *et al.* (2011) study, males (n=92) were significantly under-represented in comparison to the number of females (n=971) within their data collection tool. Jago *et al.* presented assumptions by the practitioners interviewed that male involvement in CSE was often confounded by two issues; firstly, societal views on gender and secondly, the misinterpretation of the presentation of males to services. On the issue of societal views on the role of males in sexual consent and sexual agency, one participant stated:

*'some people have a view that a 14-year-old boy and a 48-year-old woman, they don't necessarily see that as exploitative. If that was a girl it would be very different. Professionals see it very differently with young boys and that's why we aren't getting the referrals.'*

(Jago *et al.* 2011: 52)

Another participant in Jago *et al.* study, suggested young males go amiss within CSE due to the misinterpretation of their 'signs and symptoms' of CSE involvement.

*'if you look at a boy and he's got more bling, he's using drugs or selling drugs – the fact that there's some sort of exploitation going on can often be missed.'*

(Jago *et al.* 2011: 52)

In a small-scale study in Bradford, Hudson and Rivers (2002) approached key local agencies to explore the perceptions of young males / adult males involved in sex work. Their sample including 31 workers from 21 statutory and voluntary sector organisations. Hudson and Rivers identified 24 participants believed young males were involved in selling sex in their area yet only 16 of these participants had direct experience of working with young males. Only two of the participants thought young male involvement in selling sex in Bradford not to be an issue. A significant majority of

the sample (n=27) made suggestions for change in policy and practice to consider several alternative solutions to increase the recognition and support for young males. These solutions included: more research on young male involvement; finding new ways for practitioners to discuss disclosure and reduce stigma of males selling sex; utilising assertive outreach as a way of engaging young males in services, and; the provision of information and advice specifically for young males involved in selling sex. In another small-scale study, Hallett (2015) did not specify in her research findings any inferences to gender differences but noted that her sample reflected contemporary practice with males being less likely to be identified as risk of CSE. These study findings, collectively, begin to demonstrate that practitioners can be aware of young males' involvement in sexual exploitation, but often lack the direct experience or awareness of the male CSE risks (Hudson and Rivers 2002, Jago *et al.* 2011, Hallett 2015).

More recently, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014) undertook 50 in-depth interviews with practitioners from 37 organisations on their experiences, understanding and perceptions of the sexual exploitation of young males. The practitioners interviewed were purposively sampled through an open invitation across the UK and were able to participate via face-to-face and telephone interviews. The overall sample had a range of experience and duration in years in undertaking CSE work. McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* presented two sets of findings. The first, exploring practitioners' perceptions on how males became involved in CSE in comparison to females. The second, the gender-specific barriers to males disclosing, barriers to professional identification and views on the existing services available to young males. The LGB&T+ roundtable discussion will be discussed in the next sub-section (***Focusing on Young Males who have Sex with Males***).

The first set of findings of McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014) study included: specific processes in the perpetration and grooming of young males through six identified models of young male CSE (Table 6.7); the extent of the problem of young males affected by CSE; the risk factors and observational indicators of CSE were not



specific to any gender and are similar<sup>20</sup>, although suggested other practitioners who did not have experiences with young males who would not recognise these similarities; practitioners perceived barriers to disclosure were significantly different from those barriers their female counterparts had; and lastly, practitioners perceived young males to have a specific set of needs that were different from females and young people and support required often related to constructions of masculinity.

<b>Name of Model</b>	<b>Explanations</b>
A Trusted (Heterosexual) Friend	Male perpetrators are more likely to be trusted friends or mentors to young males, rather than romantic partners. Friendship is developed upon shared masculine interests such as sport, online gaming or offering informal employment such contraband substances.
Exploitation of Vulnerable GBT and Curious Young Males	A perpetrator may present themselves to young GBT+ males in the 'coming out' process as an accepting friend / mentor, potential sexual partner or boyfriend in the midst of homophobic harassment and isolation by peers or family. This includes being asked to leave home or experiencing homophobic violence exacerbated by societal homophobia / stigma. Young GBT+ males may meet perpetrators online due to few social spaces to meet potential partners.
Female Perpetrators	Female perpetrators present themselves to young males as either a potential friend or girlfriend or in a maternal, caring role, e.g. offering a young male somewhere to live. This model of perpetration was considered to be an unacknowledged form of male-victim exploitation.
'Street and Party' Scenes	Within highly sexualised environments with drug and alcohol use, professionals felt young males were at risk of either

<sup>20</sup>Similar risks included experience of being in care, going missing, homelessness, histories of abuse or other forms of violence within the family, drug and alcohol misuse, and mental ill health.

	being encouraged to sexually exploit other young people or being victimised themselves.
Online Exploitation	The sexual exploitation of young males entirely online, this may be where a perpetrator pretends to be a young female asking a young male to perform sexual acts on a webcam.
Commercial Sexual Exploitation	The exchange of sexual activity for something of value, previously termed the 'rent boy' scene, now operates on virtual platforms such as on mobile phones as opposed to street environments – thus making this model very hidden.

**Table 6.7 Models of Male CSE identified by McNaughton Nicholls *et al.***

**(2014: 1-2)**

Within the second set of findings, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014) identified four main themes: identification of young males, professional practice and the identification of male victimisation, promising practices in identification and, effective responses. The four main themes have been summarised in Table 6.8 (overleaf) including sub-themes where the authors of the study felt appropriate.

<b>Four Main Thematic Findings</b>	<b>Sub-themes</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
<b>Identification</b>	General barriers to disclosure	Practitioners perceived three core barriers to disclosure for all young people including: a victim's fear of professional responses <i>i.e.</i> not being believed or knowing that further action would need to be taken with regards to safeguarding policies; a victim's fear of the retaliation of a perpetrator; a victim's lack of awareness of victimhood due to the grooming process, and; additional barriers such as learning disabilities and those young people from black and minority ethnic communities.
	Barriers specific to gender	Practitioners perceived young males to be less likely to disclose their sexual exploitative experiences. The barriers to disclose included: discriminatory social attitudes and stereotypes, gender differences in CSE education and gender differences in emotional responses. Due to these barriers, practitioners were more likely to base their assessment about whether a young male was a victim or not through the intelligence shared by other practitioners.
	Discriminatory social attitudes and stereotypes	Practitioners felt that young males who identified as gay or bisexual may fear homo / bi / trans-phobia from practitioners, especially the police. This fear was considered a problem in Britain as a whole but especially stronger in certain communities with an intolerance for non-heterosexual orientations. Practitioners also suggested that young males were particularly pre-occupied with stereotypical beliefs that, as males, they should be able to protect themselves.

	Gender differences in CSE education	<p>Practitioners observed that popular explanations, messages, media and campaigns on CSE were predominantly fixated on young females as victims and males as perpetrators as a normative model.</p> <p>Practitioners also noted that there is a lack of education on violence against males and resulted in young males not knowing what language they could use to recognise themselves as victims.</p>
	Gender differences in emotional responses	<p>Practitioners described two gender differences in emotional responses when talking about their experience of CSE. Firstly, females and males socialise in different ways. Secondly, there are innate biological differences between females and males.</p> <p>Practitioners felt young males were more likely to be emotionally isolated than their female peers and want to seek to support regarding current problems rather than revisit previous experiences.</p>
<p><b>Professional practice and the identification of male victimisation</b></p>	Gender stereotypes and professional practice.	<p>Practitioners reported that their own discriminatory social attitudes (whether conscious or not, or inadvertent or not) could be reflected in their professional practice. Examples included: poor understanding of sexual identities, a perception of young males being able to protect themselves and more likely to be offenders, gendered interpretation of indicators and young males scoring lower on risk assessments than females.</p>
<p><b>Promising practices in identification</b></p>	No sub-themes	<p>Practitioners believed three forms of practice is effective in the identification of young males: 1) gender-neutral CSE materials, 2) providing training to practitioners on male victims and 3) co-location of a CSE specialist practitioner with statutory agencies. There</p>

<b>Effective Responses</b>		<p>was a range of views for whether having a specialist male CSE service was effective but those who worked within such services felt it was effective.</p>
	Gender differences in support needs	<p>Professionals perceived gender-specific support needs of young males to include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Supporting young males with their sexual orientation especially those who identify as heterosexual and abuse by a male.</li> <li>• Supporting young males to express masculinity in different ways through healthy male role models.</li> <li>• Supporting young males with being able to acknowledge their abuse and find a way to understand and talk about it (including anger support).</li> <li>• Understanding their involvement in criminality as a response to trauma.</li> </ul>
	Engaging young males with services	<p>Practitioners who had experience of working with males articulated a number of principles for effective engagement regardless of gender included: establishing a positive and consistent relationship, listening to and believing a victim, shared decision-making and being aware of power within the relationship, flexibility in how victims could engage with services and being able to engage with a victim over a period of time if required.</p>
	Gender of support worker	<p>Practitioners felt that young males should have the option of gender of their support worker but felt that either male or female workers could effectively support young males. Some suggestion was made that male workers could provide positive role modelling with more relatable identity.</p>

	Ways of working with young males	Practitioners felt that because males had different emotional responses to females due to two reasons as stated above, they required support on challenging the young males' perceptions of stereotypes and placed more emphasis on allowing young males to express themselves rather than focusing on their CSE experience.
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**Table 6.8 Overcoming stereotypes: identifying and responding to young males at risk of CSE (McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014)**

McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014) concluded that the way exploitation occurs and impacts on victims is similar in gender but felt eight issues that differed between male and female victims of CSE. The eight issues included:

1. The dominant understanding and model of CSE positions females as victims and males as perpetrators.
2. The evidenced models of CSE involving males are complex and intersectional of different factors.
3. Males may identify or disclose CSE differently to females.
4. A gendered interpretation of male behaviour, where the same behaviour of a female may be considered CSE.
5. Societal stereotypes on masculinity in Britain.
6. Young males being less able to communicate emotional distress, either due to socialisation or biological explanations, mean lower disclosures of CSE.
7. Young males are more likely to need support with their sexual identity.
8. Practitioners heavily relied upon their own working knowledge with young males to employ a range of support strategies. There was no panacea considered for the approaches required to support young males.

### ***Focusing on Young Males who have Sex with Males***

Young males who have sex with males, or gay, bisexual and trans\* (GBT) males, are not considered, explicitly, within CSE policy. However, the potential perception for a heteronormativity narrative within the original, and dominant, Barnardo's (1998) *Boyfriend Model of Exploitation and Peer Exploitation / Prostitution Triangle* as published in a number of CSE policies became obvious to me. Whilst the Barnardo's model has been dominant, CSE policies (DH/HO 2000, DCSF 2009, DfE 2012) have also offered ever-changing definitions of CSE that has resulted in various conceptual models – many female-fixated, with others gender-neutral. Taking the most contemporary in-depth policy into consideration, the *Action Plan* (DfE 2011) referred to only three categories of CSE including inappropriate relationships; *boyfriend* model of exploitation and peer exploitation; and organised /

networked sexual exploitation or trafficking (DfE 2011:4). The *Action Plan* was heavily underpinned by the *grooming* model, possibly following disruption of highly–organised crimes involving the movement of children as young as eleven years old for the purposes of sexual exploitation in Derby, Oxford and Rochdale (Cockbain 2013). Whilst this causes several conceptual problems for young males the evidence available on sexual and gender identities is small in CSE research.

From an earlier study in 2004, Crawley *et al.* found practitioners viewed young males' involvement was often explained as 'exploring their sexuality'. Crawley *et al.* identified that practitioners felt young heterosexual males were more likely than young GBT males to sell sex, as young GBT males could have sex freely within the LGB&T+ scene. Crawley *et al.* also identified that young males appeared to be involved in CSE at a younger age (8 years old) than young female service users (11 years old) but stated no reason for this. Within another early study in 2006, Skidmore and Scott identified the issue of sexuality on review of seven case studies on young males affected by CSE (aged 11 to 17) from Barnardo's specialist services. Skidmore and Scott noted that many of the seven cases shared similar background characteristics to their female peers, however, differences particularly arose in their experiences, difficulties and engagement with CSE services. Out of the seven, three were identified by Barnardo's street workers from 'red light' areas and four were referred by the local social service departments. While four identified as gay or bisexual, all of the young males generally found it difficult to discuss their sexuality, which impacted on their denial of sexual exploitation with adult males. One practitioner's perception in their study viewed the lifestyle promoted in the LGB&T+ scene as problematic.



*'It just seems a bit different for boys. The whole culture supports something much more promiscuous – and especially maybe for gay men...lots of partners, lots of sex, having sex with someone and not knowing his name, isn't sordid, there's not the same stigma. It's being poor and homeless and addicted that's the more stigma. I think for some maybe the line between cruising and working isn't always that clear, I don't know...but it's like the boundaries are a bit more blurred for boys.'*

(Scott and Skidmore (2006) study, p.32)

Findings from McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014) and Donovan (2014) demonstrate sociological importance when considering the implications of when applying a generic policy to *all* children and young people. Within McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014) study various themes were extracted in relation to sexual and gender identities. McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* facilitated a round-table discussion with 12 professionals from 20 organisations that primarily focused on LGB&T+ and / or CSE issues. Four key themes emerged following this two-and-a-half-hour discussion, including: language, risk and vulnerabilities, barriers to disclosure and 'safe spaces' for young LGB&T+ people. McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* proposed eight recommendations to improve the CSE response for young people who identified within the LGB&T+ spectrum. Language used within the practice and policy of mainstream CSE was felt to use terminology that GBT males may not identify with and may feel these labels often are associated with female victims only. Some LGB&T+ practitioners also felt that the sexual activities within the LGB&T+ community are often called different things to the heterosexual CSE. An overall theme of structural homophobia that exists emerged from this discussion roundtable and inhibited young GBT males from disclosing, as well as, positioning their developing sexuality and early sexual experiences with less protective factors to their heterosexual peers.

McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014) summarised that the risk and vulnerabilities were often different for young GBT people. Equally different were their opportunities for sexual experimentation; practitioners felt these young people were more likely to accept unhealthy relationships. The roundtable discussion also agreed that young GBT males must be seen to be sexually active in

order to prove their sexual orientation, either to themselves or others. Participants agreed that the lack of safe social spaces for this group of young people proved problematic. With this lack of physical spaces to explore their sexuality, the participants agreed that this pushed these young males onto online environments to find other males that were often very sexualised, such as mobile phone applications including *Grindr*. While Grindr provided access for sexual experimentation it also set an ideology for these young males to live up to, *i.e.* how a gay male should behave and be sexually. Interestingly, practitioners noted that young GBT males might not disclose about CSE, not because of presumed hostility of homo/bi/trans-phobia itself, but rather due to the risk of being told they were in denial of their sexual orientation (internalised homophobia). Practitioners also felt that this perception would be associated with negative stereotypes of identifying as gay or bisexual (McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014).

In north east England, Donovan (2014) brought together practitioners from 16 agencies from CSE projects and LGB&T+ projects for group discussions on young LGB&T+ people and their sexuality or gender identity within the confines of CSE. Over a series of four meetings, over a five-month period, in 2013, practitioners shared and discussed experiences of working with young LGB&T+ people at risk of, or involved in, CSE. The focus of the meetings was to define the problem of CSE within young LGB&T+ communities and to ascertain the experiences of young LGB&T+ people; however, the document did not offer in-depth information on the findings. Various contextual factors arose from these meetings and included: a) the process of coming out in relation to sexuality and gender identity; b) the age and developmental stage a young person 'comes out' which can position them at a younger age due to their inexperience of same sex sexual encounters and/or relationships; c) the combined use of the internet. The isolation of where a young LGB&T+ person lives may also lead them to sexual encounters that increase their vulnerability. Such isolation might include a young LGB&T+ person living in a rural community and utilising the internet to seek sex. Contextual factors also included structural homophobia and living outside of assumed heterosexuality may cause some young LGB&T+ people to have lower self-esteem, lower

self-confidence and experience hostility of homo / bi / trans-phobia in their social spaces. These factors could lead to the normalisation of exploitation which these young people face and therefore less likely to speak to a trusted person such as a parent, teacher or friends if help is needed. Practitioners involved in the group discussions felt the LGB&T+ 'community and scene' illuminate social norms that sexualise young males, potentially normalising sexual encounters and sexually exploitative relationships. Donovan surmised from the group discussions that young LGB&T+ people were unable to recognise their own situations of being sexually exploited and becoming exploitative themselves in future relationships.

Walker (2014) identified similar findings to Donovan (2014), through informal interviews with 15 practitioners within youth work, LGB&T+ housing, LGB&T+ youth and community work and CSE services. Walker identified, through the perceptions, understanding and experiences of her participants, that young GBT males did not access mainstream services so the actual prevalence of their CSE risks are uncommon. What was noteworthy in Walker's study was the risk factors that were perceived to be an integral part of the 'gay culture'. Participants suggested that young GBT males may develop through sub-cultural norms with seven explanations offered. Young GBT males:

1. are predisposed to be sex-driven and will be readily access sex where is it supplied.
2. subjected to the 'gay culture' that is highly-sexualised and the sexual activity offered lacks intimacy, becoming meaningless activity.
3. agree to sexual encounters because they suffer from low self-esteem due to internalised and structural homophobia.
4. are likely to develop a double-life if their parents do not approve of their sexuality.
5. who are isolated through geography, religion or other needs are at greater risk of exploitation because they are more desperate for a relationship.
6. are sought-after due to their youth with prized physical appearance due to the body fascism that exists in 'gay culture'. With this positive

objectification and admiration lowers young males' defences for unsuitable partners.

7. who have previously been abused or neglected seek an '*... older lover creating an idyll of a perfect home with a...perfect 'happily ever' after relationship*' (Walker 2014: 5).

Overall, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014), Donovan (2014) and Walker (2014) highlighted that LGB&T+ organisations including youth work / community work are ideally placed to work with young GBT males at risk of, or involved in CSE, and are essential social structures to champion their actual reality of sexuality development and CSE risks.

#### ***The Causal Mechanisms of Outcomes for Programme Theory 4***

This last PT has demonstrated that the reality depicted in the CSE policy does not reflect the realities of young males, especially those who identify as GBT including the models of CSE presented in policy. In fact, the dissonance between the reported perceptions of young males and the policy reality of young males appears somewhat large. Early policy (DH/HO 2000) stipulated that young males are particularly vulnerable to homophobic reactions leading to involvement in prostitution / CSE, yet practitioners from purposive samples, *i.e.* LGB&T+ organisations, discredit this reality and consider far varied intersectional and macro issues. The marco issues identified in the PT demonstrate that societal pre-occupation with masculinity and 'gender roles' as well as 'gay culture' is problematic. Gay culture was perceived as problematic due to the easy availability of sex as well as being highly sexualised potentially facilitating the normalisation of 'exploitative' relationships with other males. It is interesting to note, across studies, that practitioners appeared to afford more agency to young males due to their 'biological drive' and more so to young GBT males when involved within the LGB&T+ scene, in terms of what might be considered 'normal' for sexual activity.

<b>Type of Mechanism</b>	<b>Causal Mechanisms of Outcomes</b>
Enabling	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Focusing on gender-specific support needs for males facilitates disclosure and engagement.</li> <li>2. The involvement of LGB&amp;T+ practitioners / services or male-specific support workers / service appear effective in engaging with young male victims in identification, understanding and supporting their needs.</li> <li>3. Gender-neutrality has a place in CSE policy and practice but only as far as creating equal access to CSE services without preconceptions.</li> <li>4. Focusing on the 'here and now' problems rather than the historical experiences of CSE may appear to be more effective in moving young males forward.</li> </ol>
Disabling	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lack of awareness or direct experience with young male victims in professional practice may lead to lack of identification as victims.</li> <li>2. The real reality of young males, especially those identifying as GBT+, are not reflected within CSE policy or many practitioners' empirical or actual realities.</li> <li>3. Societal stereotypes or discriminatory social attitudes on males and masculinity can impede on young males' engaging with CSE services.</li> <li>4. The secrecy and living a 'double-life' as well as the 'coming out' process in identifying as GBT may create isolation for a young male, leaving young males vulnerable.</li> <li>5. Lack of sexuality education and training for practitioners may impact on young males being identified, understood and supported.</li> <li>6. 'Gay culture' may have a negative impact on the developing sexualities of young males, leaving them</li> </ol>

	vulnerable to exploitative yet normalised relationships with other males.
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**Table 6.9 Causal Mechanisms of Outcomes on resultant documents for Programme Theory 4**

**Discussion (RAMESES Items #15 to #18)**

**Summary of findings (RAMESES Item #15)**

Overall, the programme theories have demonstrated a tiered approach to examining different levels of realities from national policy (PT 1), regional and local area responses (PT 2), practitioners and young people (PT 3 and PT 4). To remind the reader, complex policy interventions are understood through the identification of programme theories *i.e.* a hypothesis on how the intervention is meant work, which are explained through understanding the causal mechanisms of outcomes. Complex policy interventions are developed through the actions of people within a social system (Rycroft-Malone *et al.* 2015), taking into account the four tenets of critical realism: the search for generative mechanisms; accepting a multi-layered perspective of reality; emphasising the dichotomy between structure, agency and culture, and; appraising the prevailing social order of real, actual and empirical domains of reality<sup>21</sup> (McEvoy and Richards 2003, Schiller 2016). Each PT has concluded with a summary of the causal mechanisms of outcomes.

In relation to young males, the earlier CSE and youth prostitution policy were explicit in specifically mentioning males aside from females but only afforded a few paragraphs within the documents (DH/HO 2000, DH/HO 2001, DCSF 2009). The DCSF (2009) guidance, however, provided a separate sub-section on advice for practitioners working with young males. The reality depicted by policy on CSE relating to young males, especially those who are GBT+, does not cater for the perceived (empirical) reality as reported by practitioners and young people. In order to achieve a concerted focus on young males, consideration of the political discourse and policy development must first take

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<sup>21</sup> The definitions of the three different domains of reality can be found in chapter three on page 93

place, as this development orchestrates the local responses and relationships between practitioners and young people in therapeutic interventions. Through understanding the enabling mechanisms of CSE policy implementation may ensure male victims are catered for.

### **Strengths, Limitations and Future Research Directions (RAMESES Item #16)**

This CRS has identified a multi-layered perspective of reality in policy and practice aimed at CSE, with final attention on young males through the development and refinement of four programme theories (PT). The four PTs have been defined the boundaries of this review by identifying the official expectations (DH/HO 2000, DCSF 2009, DfE 2011) against actual (reported) practice and provide explanations through narrative and casual mechanisms of outcomes. This CRS has developed an alternative conceptual framework that indicates the current themes that build. This *RAMESES* framework is not definitive and will be altered in the light of new data.

I appreciate that researching sub-groups of children and young people affected by CSE is difficult for a number of reasons. These reasons include the difficulties in accessing hard-to-reach populations to research and the sensitive and ethical nature of research within child abuse. Within the resultant literature, there was a variance in intervention on work undertaken with child victims, from community awareness-raising in non-safeguarding arenas to the provision of secure accommodation and co-located, multi-agency CSE teams. The literature searches identified studies that undertook analysis from different levels, from national perspectives (McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014, Jago *et al.* 2011) to regional (Beckett *et al.* 2014) and service provider specific (Scott and Skidmore 2006). The findings presented were abstracted from research that tended to be in-depth, qualitative with non-probability sampling methods. It is important to note that this CRS did not examine the local policy implementation regarding child sex offenders within CSE responses.

Future research directions would include exploration of in-depth, qualitative research on professionals' perceptions on male victims, within a local CSE policy response; particularly how the experiences, understandings and perceptions of practitioners, policy influencers and policy makers influence discourse and outcomes for the young males affected by sexual exploitation.

### **Comparison with Existing Literature Reviews (RAMESES Item #17)**

Six reviews of literature exist on CSE and youth prostitution include: Walker (2002), Cusick (2002), Lillywhite and Skidmore (2006), Scott and Skidmore (2006), Brodie *et al.* (2011) and Hickle and Hallett (2015). These six literature reviews focused on policies prior to the most contemporary policies and did not include all areas that were covered in this CRS. The literature reviews did not explicitly state a theoretical base such as critical realism. The literature sought within this review has been as robust as possible and presented in the most logical fashion.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations (RAMESES Item #18) & Summary**

Overall, this CRS was helpful in the identification of an array of contemporary issues in policy and practice in local areas implementing national government policy relating to young males involved in CSE, in what respects and why. It has been clear from exploring the socio-political contexts of CSE, formalised in policy, have profound impacts on the discursive practices, and realities, of practitioners working with young males. In nearly all studies, there was a reliance of progressive governance, a similar *modus operandi* of decentralising policy directives in Labour's Co-Ordinated Prostitution Strategy (Scoular and O'Neill 2007). Surprisingly little attention within scholarship has gone into the generative mechanisms behind the outcomes, only one study within this CRS utilised a realist evaluation framework. As Pawson *et al.* (2011) recognises in the formulation of policy utilising an evidence base, the *unknown unknowns* on a, perhaps, under-development yet emotionally demanding type of child sexual abuse proves securing an evidence base to be somewhat difficult. The heterogeneity that exists in the variety of circumstances and situations CSE can occur means that attempting to meet



child victim needs with a one-size-for-all is challenging, particularly when many models of CSE co-exist in the same geographies.

The RAMESES Publication Standards items (Wong *et al.* 2013) end here. To reiterate Elder-Vass (2012) argument for *realist social constructionism*, this chapter has provided a critical realist account of discourse that will enable a platform for a critical Foucauldian discourse analysis to be undertaken.

## CHAPTER 7

# **CASE STUDY AND SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW METHODOLOGY**

## **CHAPTER 7: CASE STUDY AND SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **Chapter 7 thematic outline**

- Overview of the Case Study and Semi-Structured Interview Methodology
- Designing the Case Study
- Samples of Actors within Institutions within the Defined Case Study
- Semi-Structured Interviews
- Conduct of Fieldwork
- Analysis and Management of Data: Critical Discourse Analysis

#### **Overview**

This methods chapter outlines the methodology for achieving the second objective of this thesis and is informed by the critical realist synthesis (CRS) findings. This methodology adopts an in-depth, qualitative enquiry into the discursive practices of *governance* aimed at young males involved in CSE in one English local authority area; as a case study. The case study, of one geographical area defined by the local authority boundary, was selected based on criteria (explored later in this chapter). More specifically, this part of the chapter explores how young males were discursively constructed and regulated within a local authority's (developed) social policy response and front-line professional practice aimed at preventing, or at least reducing, their involvement in sexual exploitation. The exploration of a local authority case study is triangulated with semi-structured interviews with national policy influencers and makers, as well as with a CRS of local CSE policy implementation (chapter six).

#### **Designing the Case Study**

A case study was selected as a meaningful way of gathering in-depth, cross-sectional data to ascertain the experiences, understanding and perspectives of those actors and institutions that catered for young males. Case study research is a methodology almost entirely employed in qualitative research studies and offers in-depth exploration into complex phenomena (Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls 2014). Phenomena, within case study research, can be conceptual or about actors and institutions (Clarke *et al.* 2015). Within this

research it will comprise of, and explore, the interface between the concept of CSE, LGB&T+ infrastructure and policy actors such as the practitioners. While Lewis and McNaughton's (2014) definition for case study research is loosely put, they state that the primary feature of a case study is to examine multiple perspectives within specific context(s). What constitutes a case study and how it is defined needs careful consideration. Limitations within defining the case study are vitally important to consider for the case study approach to work in meeting the research aims and outcomes (Clarke *et al.* 2015).

### ***Case study methodologies utilised by other CSE studies***

A variety of methodological approaches to case study research have been carried out in CSE, over the past 16 years, e.g. Hudson and Rivers (2002), Crawley *et al.* (2004), Harris and Robinson (2007), Beckett *et al.* (2014), Donovan (2014) and Hallett (2015). This current doctoral research was built upon such literature, especially with regards to works by Jago *et al.* (2011) and McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014). The findings of these studies are presented in the CRS.

What is known on the perspectives from policy enactors within CSE policy and practice has been largely led by the work of Jago *et al.* (2011) through a large-scale examination of national policy implementation, and by McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014). The latter authors looked specifically at young males in the contemporary CSE policy architecture. Both of the research teams explored policy and provision for the support and welfare for victims of CSE in light of the DCSF (2009) guidance and, to a lesser degree, the DfE (2011) Action Plan. Jago *et al.* (2011) was the largest geographical study into CSE policy and practice. This study surveyed local safeguarding children boards (LSCB) in England with postal questionnaires (n=100) and followed up 24 areas with in-depth interviews of practitioners and LSCB staff. In addition, they asked LSCBs (n=25) to utilise a bespoke data collection tool in order find out the nature and prevalence of CSE in local areas.

On the other hand, the methodology McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014) study undertook consisted of in-depth interviews and written responses from a

purposive sample of practitioners (n=50) who had a range of experiences working with young male victims. They also held a participation workshop with young people who had experienced CSE (n=16, including 6 males) to inform their findings in other parts of the study. Finally, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014) facilitated a roundtable with LGB&T+ sector professionals (n=12) from 20 organisations.

The studies by Jago *et al.* (2011) and McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014) have attempted to ascertain best practices of working with CSE victims. Neither of the aforementioned studies reported on whether they had systematically reviewed key areas where practice had developed specifically on young males involved with CSE, nor whether they were proving successful. In each study, national recruitment drives were undertaken to access convenience samples of policy actors within relevant institutions. Each of the convenience samples informed a sporadic review of local practices rather than reviewing the competing discourses of policy actors interpreting and implementing CSE policy in one geographical area. Neither studies did not state any particular critical theory to inform their findings. I believe the discourses that circulate within child protection practice offer a unique juxtaposition on the examination of how young males are perceived, constructed and regulated, and indeed, considered to need welfare provision, or not, and a case study is the right approach in methods to facilitate this. This current study has developed methodologically upon Jago *et al.* and McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* studies with specific criteria outlined in the next sub-section.

### ***How this Current Study defines Case Study Methodology***

Within this research, one geographical case study was selected, critiquing various urban and demographic characteristics as the eligibility criteria. The decision to confine the case study to one geographical area, defined by a local authority boundary, was taken to capture the complexity involved within CSE policy enactment in relation to young males, for examination. Dasgupta (2015: 151) outlines the preliminary conditions for considering case study research:

*'...when a phenomenon is broad and complex; where the existing body of knowledge is insufficient to permit the posing of causal questions; when a holistic, in-depth investigation is needed; and when a phenomenon cannot be studied of out the context in which it occurs.'*

Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls (2014) advise that criteria for selecting case studies can be influenced by the consideration of contexts in which the research takes place. Both authors recognise that a balance is required when selecting case studies. The balance should consider for consistencies, uniqueness and individuality throughout the selection, yet this can make comparisons (if more than one case study is selected) difficult. While mapping the key actors within each case study could result in overall large samples (Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls 2014), it is anticipated purposive sampling will allow for manageable samples due to the specialist nature of the phenomena being explored, or anticipated (limited) enthusiasm for participation. I wished to recruit a sample of policy actors with responsibility for the identification, assessment and management of young people involved in circumstances and situations that indicate sexual exploitation or indeed wider policy practice surrounding this phenomenon. I appreciated that data were collected during a time when CSE was politically sensitive, considering the contemporary media attention and public outcry (Cockbain 2013, Jay 2014) and the 'watershed' moments of Saville's abuse (Erooga 2017). Whilst difficult to prove, I anticipated this could have hindered securing interviews with participants.

### ***Strengthening the Internal Validity and Reliability of the Data: Theory and Triangulation***

According to Stake (1995), collecting data from multiple perspectives within a defined case study allows the researcher to obtain rich, in-depth data, which in turn allows a greater confirmation of findings and a more holistic understanding of the phenomena. From the Foucauldian perspective of *governmentality*, while the actual institutions and actors are important, they matter less than the discourses that dominate each area and this will be a focus in this current doctoral research. A Foucauldian lens strengthens the internal validity of data analysis by maintaining a theoretical grounding for the

interpretation of data (Dasgupta 2015); thus, allowing the reader an understanding on the author's interpretation of the findings. Equally, critical realism allows a theoretical lens for understanding the 'beneath, underlying' workings or mechanisms of policy implementation through a multi-layered perspective on reality (McEvoy and Richards 2003).

In Stake's later works, he argues that case study research is well suited for enquiring with the *how* and *why* questions as these sorts of questions are not generally quantifiable (Stake 2005). Often these types of questions are answerable through a review of contexts. In order to obtain a richer picture of local social policy response, the data will be triangulated (Hentz 2012) with national policy actors' perceptions and the CRS findings. This triangulation strengthens internal validity of the data that emerges from this research as it requires the researcher to simultaneously compare, contrast and analyse on multiple levels, when collecting data (Dasgupta 2015). Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls (2014) note the level of complexity within case studies can vary tremendously yet allow for comprehensive and contextualised accounts of different perspectives. In order to strengthen the internal validity and reliability of the data, I created triangulation into the main infrastructure of the overall methodology.

### **Selecting the Case Study Area**

The selection of the case study area was based on both the findings from the CRS and in consultation with my supervisory team. The local authority was identified through a combination of factors and met the following inclusion criteria:

1. A geographical area of high deprivation as measured by the 2010 English Indices of Multiple Deprivation.
2. An area with a presence of a developed socio-historically relevant infrastructure that caters for the lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans\* (LGB&T+) community, through a headcount of community organisations and commercial venues.

3. An area with a developed social policy response to the *Action Plan* (DfE 2011), with specialist services targeting CSE

The rationale for each criterion is presented below.

***Inclusion criterion 1: Deprivation, non-volitional sex and CSE***

Within the literature, CSE has been well documented with its strong associations with deprivation and poverty (Phoenix 2002, 2003, Scott and Harper 2005, Melrose 2010, Jago *et al.* 2011). As explained in the CRS, Phoenix (2002, 2003) argues that contemporary CSE policy fails to comprehend poverty factors that be facilitative of CSE. These factors can push young people to enter sex work / survival sex that can lead sexual exploitation (Melrose 2010). Deprivation is defined by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) (2011) as '*...a broad range of issues and refer to unmet needs caused by lack of resources of all kinds, not just financial*' (DCLG 2011: 2). The selected geographical area was the third highest in the *English Indices of Multiple Deprivation* (IMD) 2010 proportion of 'lower layer super output areas' in the districts that are amongst the most deprived (46 per cent) (DCLG 2011). 'Lower layer super output' areas are used to measure pockets of deprivation heterogeneously in small geographical areas (DCLG 2011). Deprivation measures have been used before in CSE research, especially in relation to the work of Scott and Harper (2006) who developed proxy indicator scoring within London boroughs, of which one of them was poverty.

Use of the 2010 IMD allowed for some quantifiable justification to identify the highest levels of deprivation per local authority in England. In addition to CSE research, the latest *National Survey for Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyle* (Natsal-3) (2013) found that females who live in deprived areas were statistically more likely to experience non-volitional sex<sup>22</sup>. This was not the case for males however (MacDowell *et al.* 2013). MacDowell *et al.* (2013) hypothesised that the reason for lower reporting of non-volitional sex from the male respondents

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<sup>22</sup> Non-volitional sex does not equate fully to CSE, however, does define part of it.



of the survey may have been due to associated stigma. Furthermore, MacDowell's *et al.* study inferred that non-volitional sex could occur to anyone, regardless of gender, in areas with deprivation and less so in affluent areas. MacDowell *et al.* found associations between the experience of non-volitional sex and poor health (both mental and physical) leading to potentially harmful health behaviours; individuals with existing mental health disorders being more vulnerable to such exploitation. MacDowell *et al.* associations suggest it would be an important consideration to examine the welfare institutions that exist in the selected geographical area for addressing poverty and deprivation.

MacDowell *et al.* (2013) also found a strong association between growing up in the care system and higher frequencies of non-volitional sex, however this was only in a small number of participants and is not generalisable.

MacDowell's *et al.* survey did not enquire when or where the abuse took place, *i.e.* whether it took place within the home and therefore the young person was moved into care or whether it occurred within the care setting. Yet a relationship between 'care experience' and CSE victims was identified within the CRS (*e.g.* Coy 2008, Dodsworth 2013).

MacDowell *et al.* (2013) also reported that males who had sex with males appeared to be more vulnerable to sexual victimisation due to reasons also discovered by McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014). McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* articulated that wider societal stigma could be extended to those who also identify as a GBT and this can impact on accessing services. Associations between care system experience and deprivation appear to suggest a higher frequency of sexual exploitation especially within MSM groups. This research constructs this criterion to allow for an area of (some) deprivation to be included to unpick what MacDowell *et al.* alludes to.

### ***Inclusion criterion 2: LGB&T+ Infrastructure and CSE***

The second criterion required an area with a presence of a developed socio-historically relevant infrastructure that caters for the lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans\* (LGB&T+) community, through a headcount of community

organisations and commercial venues. The chosen case study area had more than 50 LGB&T+ venues based within its geography, playing an important part of the night-time leisure and economy (█████ 2017<sup>23</sup>). This local authority area also was observed to have a prominent homonormative, sexualised consumeristic culture, which established in the literature, will often have associated social practices such as cruising areas operating within its spaces (Bell and Binnie 2004, Binnie and Skeggs 2004).

Donovan (2014) has argued from her research with practitioners working young LGB&T+ people involved in CSE that work is needed within LGB&T+ communities to challenge social norms that may facilitate exploitative situations. The choice of LGB&T+ infrastructure criterion is perhaps a new one to CSE research, however, not as new to adult sex work research as seen in chapter one. Whowell (2010) had established many male sex workers (as young as 18 years) and their clients often operate in well-known areas with a historical context of commercial male-to-male sexual activity, on foot. Furthermore, Gaffney (2007) suggests that male sex workers usually congregate in busy, pedestrianised areas of large cities, amongst cafés, bars and shops, which can provide an adequate disguise in the initiation of commercial sexual transactions which can often be mistaken for routine social interactions. These findings may indicate similarities in presentation with young males as previous research has indicated some male sex workers start 'selling' before the age of 18 (Gaffney 2007).

Gaffney (2007) has observed, from within the literature, that older male sex workers can offer great counsel for informing young people of the realities of working in the commercial sex industry. These realities included offering safe working skills such as maintaining boundaries with clients (McKinney and Gaffney 2000, Zierch et al 2000). Gaffney (2007) also found from the experiences of projects registered with the *UK Network of Sex Work Projects* that male sex workers have often been known to local authority children's

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<sup>23</sup> Academic references have been redacted to maintain the anonymity of the case study area and the participants who work within it.

services for reporting potential child protection concerns. Sanders (2008) also identified similarities to this with three male clients of female sex workers in her research, where males had reported concerns regarding exploitation and coercion to the local authorities. This particular observation by Sanders indicates the need to examine adult male sex work projects into the sample of this research to include those discourses on young males that are positioned outside of the safeguarding and child protection arena. My supervisors and I assumed discourses on young males involved in CSE would be developed and more prominent in these particular geographies.

Lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) people have specific issues and needs in their accessibility to welfare services (Mitchell *et al.* 2008). The equality laws that exist within the United Kingdom now promote and entitle LGB people, as sexual orientation is now recognised as a protected characteristic, the same protection and equality as heterosexual people currently receive, especially with regards to accessibility of public services (Monro and Richardson 2014). All public services are legally obligated to act upon the Public Sector Equality Duty of the Equality Act 2010 to ensure all protected characteristics are identified and acted upon. CSE services are generally funded by local authority child social care and given an area with a developed LGB&T+ infrastructure, this criterion will explore how the case study area responds under these legislative requirements to young males affected by CSE.

There is also a need to identify what is going on for specific vulnerable groups of children within CSE such as young males (*e.g.* Lillywhite and Skidmore 2006, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014). This doctoral research has not focused on other identities of young people (such as ethnicity or disability) unless these are related, intersectionally, in the data collection. An example of intersectionalities could occur when a participant may discuss a young person who identifies with a minority ethnic group and also as gay.

***Inclusion criterion 3: An area with a developed social policy response to the Action Plan (DfE 2011)***

The third criterion has broadly been informed by the CRS (chapter six), particularly ***Programme Theory 2: Developing Local Responses*** (page 186). The local authority area chosen had a well-developed response to CSE, with a single regional manager in charge of developing a standardisation of professional practice towards CSE across their jurisdiction. Within each area of the local authority, a co-located, multi-agency team usually comprised of a team manager with a social work background, social workers, police, youth offending and a health specialist. The role of each team was primarily to receive and assess referrals from outside child-facing agencies to identify at-risk children and young people involved in CSE. The policy remit within this area was much wider than pure interventional work with young people; the case study area had devised a central CSE strategy (as recommended by Jago *et al.* 2011) in line with the national CSE policy (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, DfE 2012a) at the time of the data collection. There was a comprehensive campaigning initiative taking place in this case study during data collection, including an educational campaign in schools to educate children learning about the CSE.

The selected case study was a large metropolitan local authority within England which met all the aforementioned criteria. The local authority had ten districts with an over-arching regional CSE policy programme that explicitly focused on:

- Specialist CSE multi-agency working arrangements in co-locations;
- Co-ordinated disruption of child sex offender activity;
- Standardised measurement tools for risk of CSE;
- Standardised education guidance on CSE for both primary and secondary schools;
- Standardised information sharing protocols and referral process for specialist assessments and interventions.

### ***Limitations on Selecting Potential Local Authorities to be Case Studies***

Initially this doctoral research was going to examine three local authority areas, however, access to participants through organisations proved difficult. I made attempts to contact key institutions in proposed areas, however either partial contact was returned or non-responses. Partial responses included interest initially from some organisations approached, and indeed, encouraged by managers, but front-line staff were not willing to come forward (through no responses to the author). I anticipated these types of (non-)responses due to aforementioned reasons.

As identified within the CRS (chapter six), many front-line practitioners feel they lacked the expertise for dealing with CSE and that could have created a degree of uncertainty around participating in this research. As an example, a manager of a school nursing service was very engaged to participate in the research, recognising the important role their staff had in CSE work, but their front-line staff did not feel they had any expertise to participate. Other partial responses included my attempt to access some institutions within the statutory sector, within potential case studies, but stated they had not undertaken the required implementation of official expectations in CSE policy (e.g. DCSF 2009, DfE 2011).

I made the decision, with my supervisors, to examine one local authority as opposed to three, based on the rationale that focusing on an area that had a developed social policy response on CSE would provide greater data in terms of richness and depth for analysis.

### **Sample of the Policy Actors within the Defined Case Study**

#### ***Sampling Approach***

Purposive sampling (Hunt and Lathlean 2015) was employed through identified searches on the public domain on the Internet and snowball sampling (Hunt and Lathlean 2015) of actors and institutions with local knowledge of potential participants within the defined area. Due to the specialism of CSE, additional participants were identified through snowball

sampling once pertinent participants were sought who offered recommendations (Atkinson and Flint 2001). This approach was informed and integrated with data collection and with data analysis as a means for moving forward (Clarke *et al.* 2015). The sample was constructed through my own professional awareness of who may be involved in the child protection interventions with young males. I approached potential participants from various institutions including children's social care, the voluntary sector, the local National Health Service Trust and adult sex work projects within the case study. This was key in ascertaining *expert discourses* for the planned critical discourse analysis methodology (Arribas-Allyon and Walkerdine 2008) (page 253). Sometimes, participants had numerous roles given the sparse expertise on young males and CSE available, and in several cases participants both front-line practitioners and managers also held an advisory role within a national organisation or government. This latter point was important to consider due to the extreme difficulty in separating one's thoughts independently of each role. For example, one participant was a local voluntary sector worker also held an advisory role for a national association for sex work projects in the UK.

Three participants were exclusively categorised as national policy influencers / makers and were identified either through the reading of policy documents, or through snowball sampling (Hunt and Lathlean 2015), as recommended by actors within the case study area. National policy influencers and makers' perceptions were considered key to strengthening the discourse at policy enactment level (within the case study area), through triangulation (see Figure 1.3, page 10), to stabilise both for- and counter-discourses.

### ***Sampling Strategy***

Once the local authority was selected as the case study, the author conducted an initial internet search to ascertain what services and organisations may be available to young males. Services were generally found through using key terms such as '*LGBT youth*', '*safeguarding children*' and '*sex work project*' with the adjacent location. Initial contact was made to a national manager of a sexual health charity, who advised of various contacts within the case study

area who may have been interested in participating. Contact with potential organisations was made primarily through email and telephone calls with an attached invitation letter (appendix 5) and a Research Information Sheet for Organisations (appendix 6). I also explored parts of the case study on foot and approached one organisation by enquiring at their reception to speak to a relevant member of staff.

The sample was purposive to allow for the less dominant discourses on young males involved in CSE to be heard and understood. It was anticipated that there would be shortcomings and limitations with the sample of the study. One of the shortcomings identified in the planning and approaching stages were that only those practitioners who felt confident in working with young males would approach the author to be interviewed. This observation may have hindered obtaining a holistic picture of what may have been happening in the case study. The sample in this research is presented in Tables 7.1 and 7.2 on pages 247 and 248.

The recruitment criteria for participants included:

- Participants must have worked or volunteered for a governmental or non-governmental organisation in a capacity in direct contact with young males involved in CSE or must have been in a capacity that is responsible for creating and administering local policies which affect victims;
- Participants must have worked or volunteered within an identified boundary of a local authority geographical area identified for the study;
- Participants must have been over eighteen years of age at the time of the interview;
- Participants must be willing to volunteer and able to arrange an interview time and location with the author.

Role of Participants	Years of pertinent experience		Total
	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	
National Policy Maker (Member of Parliament)	0	1	1
National Policy Influencer (Lobbyist, Campaigner, Researcher)	0	2	2
Director or Senior Manager within the Local Authority	0	2	2
<b>Specialist CSE Practitioners within the defined Case Study</b>			
Social Worker	0	2	2
Police Officer	1	1	2
Intelligence Analyst (Police)	1	0	1
CSE Health Worker	0	1	1
<b>Other non-specialist CSE practitioners involved in CSE policy and practice within the defined Case Study</b>			
Local Voluntary Sector Manager	0	1	1
Local Voluntary Sector Practitioner (adult sex work/male sexual violence projects)	2	2	4
Local Voluntary Sector Practitioner (CSE only)	0	1	1
Social Work Student on placement within the Local Voluntary Sector	0	1	1

**Table 7.1 Presentation of the Sample**



<b>Type of institutions/agencies approached</b>	<b>Number of institutions/agencies approached</b>	<b>Number of participants interviewed</b>
National Policy Influencer	2	2
National Policy Maker	1	1
Within defined Case Study	4	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>18</b>

**Table 7.2 Number of participants interviewed within differing institutions**

### **Semi-structured Interviews**

I conducted semi-structured interviews (Rubin and Rubin 2005) with 18 participants including: local practitioners, managers, policy influencers and policy makers within publicly funded bodies, both governmental and non-governmental, with experience of, or in contact with, young males involved in CSE. Interviews were conducted with a list of themes or open-ended questions within a schedule to guide each interview (Rubin and Rubin 2005).

Participants were interviewed face-to-face at their workplace; in a convenient location or over the telephone. The interviews were conducted in contained rooms out of earshot of others. In addition to recording interviews, I also took notes to contextualise the data. Data collection came to a natural end once the data had reached a point of saturation that offers confidence that the phenomena have been covered to avoid repetition and unnecessary data collection (Gillis and Jackson 2002). This point of saturation was decided upon in consultation with my supervisors during an initial data analysis.

### ***Development of the Interview Schedule***

The tentative interview schedule was designed in reference to interview schedules used in various other relevant studies; however, the schedule was also designed with young males in mind and specific issues for this group (such as structural homophobia, lack of male specific CSE concepts).

Halcomb *et al.* (2007) recommend, prior to the data collection, the interview schedule should be refined through a pilot semi-structured interview with a participant. In this case, a pilot interview was conducted with a specialist LGB&T+ Sexual Abuse Caseworker from a voluntary sector organisation to increase the specificity and sensitivity regarding the young males. This pilot interview took place in a geographical area that was not examined within the case study. The pilot interviewee then reviewed the transcript and felt, on reflection, the interview schedule worked well. The final draft of the schedule was then subject to scrutiny by a small group of practitioners working within the area of CSE and the LGB&T+ sector and my supervisors for further question design and refinement. No further questions were added or changed as part of this process.

The provisional interview schedules were split into three separate schedules, one for local practitioners (appendix 9); for local managers (appendix 10); and for those at senior levels (senior management or national roles) (appendix 11). The tentative interview schedules were flexibly designed to suit the background, experience and anticipated time of each participant, *i.e.* those in senior management positions may only be able to offer a small-time slot. Each interview schedule was divided primarily into two parts; the first part was different for each (national policy influencers and makers aimed at national policy development; local policy makers, commissioners and local practitioners aimed at local policy development and commissioning priorities; and practitioners with dual roles had a mixture of both first parts). The interviews began by asking each participant how they defined and understood CSE before moving on to how they felt the national policy response had impacted on their work. This included what was missing in the response specifically for young males

The second part was more pertinent to the participant's work. This included looking at concepts within CSE, such as gender, sexuality, sexual agency and vulnerability. Sometimes, the second part of the local practitioner interview schedules was asked to all participants, regardless of their authority or role, because most participants in capacities of policy development were previously

front-line practitioners. All participants were encouraged to reflect on specific examples of young people they had worked with to assist them through the interview schedule to facilitate a meaningful discussion and aid reflection when defining and understanding concepts within practice (such as sexuality).

As the interviews progressed, emerging themes from the participants' responses had been incorporated into the interview schedules (Charmaz 2006). In some cases, within the interviews, practitioners would state they had not considered individual concepts such as gender and sexuality in their work. So, if a participant mentioned a particular case they had been involved within, I would use their shared cases as a reference point, to empower the confidence of the participant's response. This approach proved successful in generating meaningful discussion and was emphasised at the further recruitment of participants.

### **Conduct of Fieldwork**

#### ***Approaching potential respondents***

Once ethical approval was granted by the *University of Greenwich Research Ethics Committee* (appendices 12 and 13), organisations within the case study area were approached. Permission was sought through contacting the relevant and senior members of staff in organisations, where participants may be found, to enquire if and how their staff may be invited to take part.

Organisations who demonstrated interest were provided with an invitation letter (appendix 5) and Organisation Information Sheet (appendix 6) outlining: the research; an explanation of the methodology; what was expected from a participant; what was expected from the researcher; issues around confidentiality, the right to consent and withdraw at any time (Gelling 2015).

Once organisations agreed to take part, a follow-up email including a Participant Information Sheet (appendix 7) were sent for distribution to their staff / volunteers. From there onwards, individual participants were invited to contact me independently of their line managers to partake in an interview, including organising a date, time and location. Participants were informed

through a Participant Information Sheet outlining: the purpose of the study; what participation included; the nature and locations of the interview; the possible disadvantages and the risks of taking part; the possible benefits for taking part; the digital recording of the interview; issues around confidentiality; the dissemination of findings from the study; the funding of the study; an ethical approval statement; and contact details of the researcher and first supervisor.

### ***Ensuring informed consent***

Informed consent protects a participant's autonomy in research and offers them the necessary power and authority to emphasise the recognition that they are the 'weaker' one in the participant-researcher relationship (Juritzen *et al.* 2011). Voluntary participant consent was required prior to interviews and confidentiality was always assured, with the exception when someone is at risk of, or subject to, harm. I ensured that all participants were informed with full knowledge of my obligations as a researcher and as a registered nurse in terms of my duty of care, through the use of an information sheet prior to obtaining consent. I worked with my supervisors and Director of Research to ensure proactive plans were in place to deal with any unmet child protection needs and further support for participants interviewed that is required. Prior to the organisations' and individuals' participation, my moral, professional and legal obligations had been declared at the commencement of all interviews. In addition to these discussions, I requested to see the participating organisation's Safeguarding Policy or seek electronic / written confirmation of safe working practices with young people within the organisations (such as Disclosure and Barring Service checks, 'Working with Young People Safely' policies for staff and volunteers). All participating organisations were extremely forthcoming with this commitment.

A consent form (appendix 8) was required to be signed by the participant after they had received the Participant Information Sheet (appendix 7) and questions were answered about the research project prior to the interview commencing. All recordings of interviews were transcribed *verbatim* and anonymised by the author. Participants have not been personally identified in

any reporting; the use of pseudonyms employed in the data chapters and any place-identifiers have been removed.

### ***Safeguarding and disclosure issues***

Due to the nature of asking participants on how they assessed and worked with CSE victims, I recognised that disclosures of potentially unsafe practices may occur. I was clear throughout all stages that the research carried out was under the relevant legislation around escalating causes for concern in relation to potential child abuse. All the participants were reminded that I would have to escalate concerns, in an appropriate way, within their organisation if such situation arose.

I made sure all participants could seek support from their organisations on any issues that may have arisen professionally and made sure signposting was available to counselling organisations for emotional support. I had anticipated that if any safeguarding advice was required that I would seek this advice from the Safeguarding Hub within the Faculty of Education and Health<sup>24</sup>, as and when required. I also adhered to all advice and directions incumbent upon me from the University Research Ethics Committee. While I had no direct contact with young people, no disclosures of unmet safeguarding concerns had arisen from participants working directly with young people. I had an in-depth understanding of the legislative requirements of both statutory and voluntary organisations, which allowed me to have a greater depth and breadth of understanding and handling sensitive issues well.

### ***Conduct during the interviews***

The research required from participants an in-depth discussion on working with actual or potential risks and issues of vulnerability with young males involved in CSE. While it was appreciated that this may have presented participants with upsetting, sensitive, subject matter, all the participants were able to fully engage with the interview. During ethical approval stages, the

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<sup>24</sup> The Faculty of Education and Health, University of Greenwich.

point was raised between myself and my supervisors that this might be controversial as some practitioners or policy-makers may feel the research should be aimed at young females. No participants had expressed these concerns, although some participants felt they did not have the expertise to work with young males. Discussion regarding topics such as sex working, as well as homosexuality and same-sex behaviour, may have been controversial and sensitive to some participants who may held strong views on the subject matter, but again, this did not occur in any of the interviews.

Interestingly, many of the participants stated that the interview offered protected time to explore their work in relation to young males and likened it to a form of clinical supervision. I now believe this was an untended benefit to the research study.

### ***Data storage and handling***

I transcribed interviews *verbatim* from the digital recordings. Once I had produced the transcripts, they were stored securely in a lockable filing cabinet within the PhD Student Office in Bronte Building, University of Greenwich. A fieldwork notebook has been kept by me to record observations and thoughts throughout the fieldwork; this is also kept securely as above. A sample of recordings and transcripts were also saved securely on a drive that was shared with my supervisors. Ethical approval was sought and granted via Chair's action through the University of Greenwich Research Ethics Committee for this sharing to take place (appendix 13). Framework analysis (Ritchie and Spencer 2003) had been used to assist in this process of data management, using Microsoft Excel 2016 document.

### **Analysis and Management of Data: Critical Discourse Analysis with Framework Analysis as a Data Management Tool**

Both the management and the analysis of the data were undertaken through using two peer-reviewed methodologies: 1) Framework Analysis (Ritchie and Spencer 2003) for the fracturing and organisation of the data and; 2) Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis (FDA) (Arribas-Ayllon and

Walkerdine 2008) for the critical interpretation of the data. It is important to emphasise that *Framework* was only used to illustrate transparency and linkage of all stages of the data management and analysis processes (Braun and Clark 2006, Ritchie and Lewis 2003, Pope *et al.* 2000).

The critical discourse analysis, presented in chapter eight, was underpinned by Foucauldian theory and the theory of liminality (Turner 1969) and examined the extent of how national and local discourses within different disciplines influence local policy and practice agendas. This critical discourse analysis examined the narratives from of all interviewees in light of expectations from their local practices and responses in national policies as presented in Figure 1.3 (page 10).

### ***Critical Discourse Analysis***

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) differs from linguistic discourse analysis, which critiques the way in which knowledge and social practices are structured and positioned (Fairclough 1992). Whereas linguistic discourse analysis is concerned with the syntax of grammar and language in its representation and reflection of social entities (Wetherall and Potter 1992), Fairclough (1992) argues CDA goes further. Fairclough reinforces that CDA (e.g. Foucauldian) examines discourses in how they are constructed and their relationship to *power-knowledge*. Based on an understanding of the literature in chapter six, I proposed that a CDA, as a method, best suited the depth required to understand these areas of contention and complexity in everyday, front-line practice. Mills (2004) offers the example of the discourse of medical science, through a CDA lens, as having been seen as a dominant voice within healthcare practice when compared to alternative discourses such as nursing, or more so, homeopathy.

I used an inductive approach to the CDA and particularly focused on the key methods of such analysis including the notion of intertextuality (Bryman 2012). Intertextuality allows the data analyst to focus on the social and historical contexts in which discourse has been discursively constructed (Bryman 2012). Discourse that emerges through the analysis is often understood

beyond any particular discursive event. So, the appreciation of the traditional term of a young male selling sexual services, *rent boy*, clearly has a social and historical appreciation to the reconceptualisation to CSE (*i.e.* discursive embedment of an emerging discourse). Here, I would appreciate how discourse is constructed in a rather con-current analysis of the past and present effects it (*e.g.* discourses) creates. By viewing the construction of discourse like this allows analysis of Foucault's 'history of the present' (Garland 2014) in the formation of *power-knowledge*.

### ***Using Foucault in the Critical Discourse Analysis Method***

Willig (2013) suggests that methods that utilise key Foucauldian concerns such as genealogy, governmentality and subjectification should consider Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine's (2008) methodological guidance on carrying out a CDA in a logical, systematic fashion. Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine position their methodological advice on Foucauldian-inspired discourse analyses (FDA) in a non-static or fixed state; they emphasise a precaution that there are no strict conventional directions when '*...conducting a Foucauldian-inspired analysis of discourse*' (2008: 91). They advise, prior to the analysis, the data analyst must firstly choose the criteria that will be used for the selection of corpus of statements. It is possible that selection criteria can include text that constitutes a discursive object that is relevant to the research; text that create the conditions that allow the possibility for the discursive object; and text that shows both contemporary and historical variance (*i.e.* how a discursive object was and is spoken about and how and why the spoken may change over time). Once these criteria are decided upon, the data analyst must then apply their particular theoretical position, such as Foucauldian theory, to act as a lens for interpretation. The selected corpus of statements are then used to critically analyse through the data analyst's theoretical position(s). The FDA focused upon the above criteria and brought into practice Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine's methodological guidance, drawing on Foucauldian and liminality theory (Turner 1969). There is no description in Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine's guidance on the number of statements required in a FDA.



More pertinently, in chapter three, I discussed Foucault's work on *governmentality*, in particular, to his proposition on four principles of ethics that underlie governing of the self, or 'conduct of conduct': ontology, ascetics, deontology and teleology (Foucault 1985). Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2008) advises four key areas for observation during the analysis that should build upon these principles of ethics including; problematisations (the ethical substance), technologies (the ethical work), subject positions (the ethical subjects) and subjectification (the ethical practices). Each dimension is autonomous and presupposes one another (Dean 2010). Throughout each stage of the ethical analysis of the governing of the self (Rabinow 2000), Foucault's concern with discursive formations or practices focused on its historicity and evolution overtime, or in other words, its genealogy (Willig 2013). Foucault's understanding of genealogy has been critically examined in chapter three, the FDA intends to build on this previous scholarly work.

The FDA draws upon four key works of Foucault (1975, 1976, 1988, 1991) as a 'conceptual toolbox' (Gilbert and Powell 2010, Garland 2014) to illuminate how discursive practices and formations, through the production of power-knowledge and the resistance to power-knowledge, have shaped professional experiences, understandings and perceptions of young males. This was done to critically explore whether Foucault's thoughts on the discourse of childhood sexuality<sup>25</sup> remain within twenty-first-century CSE policy and practice.

I undertook the FDA by adopting a Foucauldian lens to build on the structuralist theory of liminality (Turner 1969, as positioned in chapter three). Through adopting this lens, I could identify and examine the liminal entities of the language and classifications within CSE through interviewing a sample of participants, when reflecting on their work *i.e.* governmentality practices, with young males. The governmentality practices included the on-going epistemic transformations of language and classification that exist and are used in professional practice, aimed at preventing or reducing the involvement of

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<sup>25</sup> See Foucault's full quotation on childhood sexuality in his *History of Sexuality Volume 1* on page 6 in chapter one.

young males involved in CSE. In this analysis of governance, the discursive practices or formations resulting from power-knowledge produced the moral regulation of the decision-making of autonomous individuals through processes, techniques and procedures (Miller 1993, Rose 1996). This FDA builds on previous FDA studies on pertinent topics to CSE, such as multi-agency partnerships (Allen 2003), power within social work (Gilbert and Powell 2010), domestic violence policy and practice (Peckover 2013) and health visiting practice (Peckover 2002) (chapter three). This FDA adds to the literature through further genealogical analysis of *power-knowledge* in welfare professional perceptions of social problems.

As demonstrated in the CRS, the language and classifications have greatly undergone epistemic transformations since 2000 within CSE policy architecture, with the ethical subject originally termed '*child prostitute*' to '*children and young people involved in prostitution*' to the eventual label: '*child sexual exploitation*'. The language and classifications of gender within these latter terms play a significant role in discursive formation of the policy architecture and professional practice aimed at CSE. It was for this FDA to explore the entanglement of concepts within CSE, such as sexuality, gender, and thresholds for child protection interventions to understand how 'near-to-adult' young males were understood and defined in the wider analysis of government. This exploration necessitates the specific methodology of discourse analysis that focuses on Foucault's analysis of genealogy and governmentality; namely an ethical analysis (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008).

The next sub-section explains how I went about selecting the corpus of statements using Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2008) methodological advice with the use of Framework Analysis (Ritchie and Spencer 2003) as a data management tool.

### ***Data Management through Framework Analysis***

The *Framework* analytic approach to data management has been widely used within applied policy research (Ritchie and Spencer 2003) and considered to

be versatile in a wide range of studies (Ritchie *et al.* 2014). A further key strength of *Framework* is that it requires the articulation of a coherent and sequential journey, through the stages of data exploration, and produces a transparent audit trail for stages of the analysis (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). According to Maggs-Rapport (2001) this is often lacking in published qualitative research. As a systematic process, *Framework* offers a better understanding for those who, capturing large sets of results, wish to manage findings for the interpretation of the data (Polit and Beck 2013).

Ritchie *et al.* (2013) state that there are three approaches to organising the data in a systematic way, for example:

- 1) **thematic** (*i.e.* what themes have emerged from all the data), consisting of creating a matrix to summarise and synthesise the data, while clearly presenting their root within the raw data and source;
- 2) **by case** (descriptively per individual participant *i.e.* what is going on, by who and how), similarly to one, the case approach takes on the same process; however, categorises data into individual cases (such as a national policy maker or a practitioner as two examples) and;
- 3) **by case and theme** (themes *i.e.* discourse on sexual agency, vulnerability, culture arising within each case (by who)). This third option is an amalgamation of approaches one and two.

Within this analysis, approach one was undertaken as it appeared to be most applicable and relevant in assisting the in selection of corpus of statements for the FDA. Each *verbatim* transcription of an interview had been referred to with a unique case number.

Prior to fracturing the data, I believed a complete set of themes were drawn from all the interview transcriptions, which emerged through initial descriptive analysis by indexing and coding. Assertions were noted throughout the interviewing and correlated with transcripts; these assertions (Stake 1995) reflected my interpretation of the context of each interview. For example, contexts included political pressures on local CSE team performance, which may have influenced the way in which participants engaged with the interview process. These assertions were an important consideration in the interview

process, especially in relation to my reflexivity as previously discussed. Overall, these assertions assisted in the process of indexing and coding. Once initial themes were sought, *Framework* matrices were built firstly using thematic analysis. Using thematic analysis, helped thematically unpick and understand professionals' perceptions constructed young males involved CSE, within the case study, prior to theoretical analysis (*i.e.* Foucault). Braun and Clark (2006) believe this form of thematic analysis can be applied to a wide range of epistemological and theoretical approaches in providing insightful understanding of complex phenomena. While *Framework* is systematic, this data management method also requires a highly interpretive approach and a conceptual ability in developing meanings and connections through the analyst revisiting and reworking earlier ideas as well as thinking ahead (Ritchie and Spencer 2003).

Fundamentally, *Framework* was used by me to fracture and re-order the data to make the 'statements', or discourses (both singular and interdisciplinary) (Ritchie *et al.* 2014), into one of the four ethical domains in the FDA. *Framework* allowed me to make the data more accessible through prioritising identified key themes and issues within the four ethical domains, as well as reduction of the vast amount of raw data (Ritchie *et al.* 2014). Indexing and coding interview transcriptions were undertaken to identify initial themes. These initial themes began the development of the sampling framework matrix (Ritchie *et al.* 2014). This sampling framework was further developed through myself and my second supervisor reading five transcripts and field notes. This involved sifting, charting and sorting the data on the matrices (Ritchie and Spencer 2003). A meeting between myself and second supervisor took place to facilitate discussion of the initial and emerging findings. After this meeting, four overall matrices were created, one matrix for each ethical domain for the FDA. Further themes were added as the process continued with further reading of all transcripts.

### **Summary**

This chapter has critically examined the application of data collection tools (*i.e.* case study research and semi-structured interviews) to explore the

perceptions, understanding and experiences within policy enactment; within a carefully considered context that would allow for increased sensitivity for the particular awareness of young males involved in CSE. The selected geographical area for the case study also provides interesting dimensions to situate the sample within, especially bringing to light the discourses that are produced from the interfacing relationship between a local socio-cultural LGB&T+ infrastructure, professional practices surrounding CSE and national CSE policy. The 18 participants within the selected sample for this study were either professionals with responsibility for the screening, referral, assessment and/or intervening with young people at-risk of CSE or were policy influencers or makers with relevance to CSE. This chapter has also presented *Framework* analysis (Ritchie *et al.* 2013) as a tool to fracture and manage the data into conceptual frameworks so that it offered both a practical use and transparency of the journey the author takes to preserve raw data. The analytical approach to the fractured and manageable data consisted of critical discourse analysis, the FDA (Arribas-Allyon and Walkerdine 2008).

## Chapter 8

### **INTERVIEW FINDINGS: Governing of the Self**

## **CHAPTER 8: INTERVIEW FINDINGS: Governing of the Self**

### **Chapter 8 thematic outline**

- Problematizations: The Ethical Substance
- Technologies: The Ethical Work
- Subject Positions: The Ethical Subjects
- Subjectifications: The Ethical Practices

### **Overview**

This chapter presents the interview findings from 18 participants, or ‘qualified speakers’<sup>26</sup>, from seven institutions, who work within the field of CSE. Most of the participants worked either in front-line practice or policy, or in some cases, both. The layout of the presentation of the data within this chapter differs from a typical PhD, the format used here is based on the style of Arribas-Allyon and Walkerdine’s (2008) methodological guidelines on conducting a *Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis* (chapter seven, page 253). Arribas-Allyon and Walkerdine advise the structure of four main ethical observations, or dimensions (Dean 2010), during the analysis, including: problematisations (the ethical substance); technologies (the ethical work); subject positions (the ethical subjects), and; subjectification (the ethical practices). Each observation / dimension is autonomous yet presupposes one another (Dean 2010).

This chapter refers to the historical information on Foucault and Turner’s (1969) theory of liminality to interpret the findings from chapter three, building upon previously understood episteme on sex, sexual violence and the positioning of children by adopting an alternative perspective, or angle, on existing thought on CSE and young males. Previously, chapter six addressed the first objective of the over-arching aim of the thesis, through explaining how young males were catered for within the implementation of national CSE policy in local government across England. This current chapter builds on these explanatory findings and addresses the second objective of the over-arching aim of the thesis:

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<sup>26</sup> See page 6 in chapter one for how this thesis situates Foucault’s (1976) meaning of the ‘qualified speaker’ of childhood sexuality.

**2. To explore how the experiences, understandings and perceptions of young male victims of sexual exploitation, were presented within the local and national discourses of practitioners, policy influencers and policy makers.**

I acknowledge that the data within this chapter only represents the policy context (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, HM Government 2015) at the time of the interviews were conducted. Although, some participants who had worked in the CSE arena for many years offered perceptions of policy contexts that preceded 2009. The collection of interview data concluded once I had achieved a level of saturation that met the second objective within the aim of the thesis. Where names of people, institutions, locations or other identifiable information were mentioned by participants, a pseudonym was used in its replacement or denoted with an 'X', or ORGANISATION, AREA and REGION.

The next four sections present a selected 'corpus of statements' (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008) from a purposive and snowballing sample of 'qualified speakers' that included social workers, the police, voluntary sector workers and policy makers; all with an array of experience of working with young males, ranging from one or two clients to several hundred. The interviews were conducted, over eight months, between January 2015 and August 2015. Each of the following four embolden sub-headings (overleaf) will be introduced and summarised, organising the key discourses that emerged and categorising them into one of the four stages of this ethical analysis. Whilst theory will be critically applied to the primary data present in this chapter, the data will not be theorised in depth to avoid repetition throughout this chapter. For example, where data in numerous places may resonate with Foucault's (1976) Repressive Hypothesis, this will not be critically discussed at each point but observed at each point. The core, critical, discussion and theorisation of data will occur in the **Overall Discussion of the Thesis and Conclusion** chapter (chapter nine), building on the previous critical theory on sexualities, sexual violence, sex work, CSE and sex offending.



<b>Problematizations: The Ethical Substance</b>	Page 265
<b>Technologies: The Ethical Work</b>	Page 284
<b>Subject Positions: The Ethical Subjects</b>	Page 299
<b>Subjectifications: The Ethical Practices</b>	Page 318

### **Problematizations: The Ethical Substance**

Problematizations are produced through the discursive practices of governance; through regime, techniques, language, knowledge and expertise (Dean 2010). Dean (2010) goes on to state that problematizations are characterised through the identification and examination of specific moments and situations that require governing activity as the first stage of the analytics of governance. Foucault (1985) postulated that discourse does not select objects at random but problematizes objects (or subjects) through these aforementioned discursive practices (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008). Within this first section of this ethical analysis, the analysis focuses on the discursive practices (development) of ethical substance and the relationship it has on the governance of the self (Rose 1996) *i.e.* the front-line practitioner or policy maker.

Power-knowledge formation within the discursive practices of ethical substance is inevitable and the resistance to this formation is also important to consider. Foucault (1977) did not state what could be resisted, or what should be, but maintained that an on-going tension between power and the resistance to power renders a problem intelligible, manageable and governable. Within the interview transcriptions, an array of discourses emerged that were identified as ethical substance or problematizations. It was not always particularly clear-cut, however, in how participants defined the 'ethical substance' in their professional role, especially in relation to young males. As the analyst, I felt that contextually this may have been due to an unintended influence of the dominant focus of participants' work on young females. Nonetheless, as acknowledged before, quantitative significance is not important to the discipline of the thesis in answering the thesis's research question. To deal with this context, Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2008) advises analysts to focus on the moral domains and judgements that facilitate circumstances in which problems are allowed to be articulated, in particular to their construct and positioning.

Defining the problem of CSE in the selected corpus of statements was often ambiguous, vague and broad amongst participants' perceptions. Participants understood the 'problem of CSE' from a narrow and defined focus of the age of both the offender and victim, through to taking into consideration wider issues such as structural factors including the growing trend of sexualisation of youth culture. Overall, young males were not perceived to meet the 'traditional' profiling of CSE victimhood and the use of existing 'gendered' CSE language and classifications were applied differently to this affected group. In addition, new and emerging language and classifications associated with young males were illuminated, especially in terms of risk, perceived sexual exploitation experience and help-seeking behaviours. Particular problematisations relating to the lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans\* (LGB&T+) scene and sexual exploitative risk to young gay, bisexual and trans\* (GBT) males including 'chemsex' were also identified.

Foucault's works in *Discipline and Punish* (1975) focused on the three processes of the objectification of individuals including: hierarchical observations (e.g. surveillance, theory of panopticism); normalising judgements and examination. This first of the four sub-sections of the chapter (problematisations) is broadly set out into three further sub-sections based on the three processes of the objectification of individuals (Foucault 1975) as listed below.

1. **Hierarchical observations:** *Beginning to Define the Problem of 'Child Sexual Exploitation'.*
2. **Normalising judgements:** *Boys do not make the perfect 'victim'.*
3. **Examination:** *Being a Gay or Bisexual, Male and 'at risk' of CSE.*

Whilst these processes outlined in *Discipline and Punish* may not always, or necessarily, cause negative impact, Foucault believed that society generally ignores these processes as the formation of disciplinary power (Foucault 1975).

### ***The Emerging Problem of 'Child Sexual Exploitation'***

Through the exploration of hierarchical observations, formation of surveillance and panopticism were particularly observed in how participants problematised

CSE. In the backdrop of policy and media discourses existing on a gendered perspective on CSE (Cockbain 2013), participants recognised the dissonance between these discourses and the reality of [actual] professional practice. Foucault (1977) argued that in order for a subject to be objectified, the first process of hierarchical observation would ensue. The *ideal* disciplinary power would have the optimal disciplinary apparatus able to observe everything, constantly, as a central point, through a single gaze, thus, making it possible to illuminate and problematise with ease. As this optimal disciplinary apparatus is out-of-reach to CSE policy makers, and government, Foucault claimed *surveillance* as the main economic operator as '*an internal part of the production machinery and as a specific mechanism in the disciplinary power*' (1977: 175). Many participants understood CSE as an emerging phenomenon that had developed throughout their careers, working within the child protection field, especially those with decades of experience.

*I would say that my understanding of CSE has developed in that period. Um, when I became a social worker in 1985, I had no idea what CSE was, but um...and most of the people didn't. Um, and I would say up until 2009 uh, even the government still called it uh...child prostitution. Um, but if you think about it, in 1984, '85 when I started working, um, people were only just coming to terms with the whole idea of sexual abuse. Physical abuse was known about, but sexual abuse was still a real challenge to people. So, you know, knowledge has developed over time and understanding has developed and changed. It's been a very iterative process.*

(P08 Director of Children's Services)

Similar as for most other participants, CSE was not problematised 30 years ago, either technically, in policy, or in the 'spoken' discourse, as it is in the early twenty-first-century. P08 was not unique in expressing the problem of sexual exploitation of children and young people through the history of the present, analysing the problem's genealogy through asking '*...a question posed in the present*' (Kritzman 1988: 262). The surveillance that Foucault described as an economic operator of disciplinary machinery was perceived absent in the 1980s. This absence was claimed as 'complete denial', however, by one participant, who had been instrumental in much of the

contemporary CSE policy architecture.

*...to say child sexual abuse has not been a problem over 19 years is in complete denial. And that was just sort of mind-set that the whole action plan was battling against people saying it's not a problem.*

(P17 Member of Parliament)

Understanding this proposed denial of CSE in the 1980s and 1990s is essential in identifying the emerging hierarchical observation of the CSE victim. Foucault (1976), in his work of *History of Sexuality Volume 1*, put forward the notion of sexual censorship that governed how people spoke of sex, especially in relation to children, including that of the 'qualified speakers' of childhood sexuality (Taylor 2017). Perhaps the notion of sexual censorship within the Victorian era became a dominant disciplinary power that generated an intensification of surveillance. To strengthen this observation within this ethical analysis, Green (2005) had recognised that, historically, only gender-orientated, fixed sex roles with associated and specific sexual behaviour were regarded as natural and acceptable. For example, in Green's work, she commented on Parsons and Bales (1955) functionalist position, stereotyping men as rational and instrumental [breadwinner] and women as expressive and nurturing [housewife]; thus, adults and children alike were best suited through '*inhabiting a monogamous, complementary heterosexual, familial lifestyle*' to optimally meet society's need (Green 2005: 360). Any deviation from this functionalist perspective and apparent norm would create a 'triple edict', referring to 'taboo, non-existence and silence' (Foucault 1980) and therefore not be spoken of.

Many participants felt that perhaps the problem of defining CSE was not only down to an issue of adult morality *i.e.* an individual (offender) using their power to exploit another for sexual gratification, but attributed the problem to the wider, cultural perceptions of sexual permissiveness of the growing threat of the 'over-sexualisation of young people'.

*...I think there is something about the over-sexualisation of young people. I think there is something about the permissiveness of today's*

*society that has created some...a Pandora's box has been opened and we don't fully understand all this yet...Whilst I defend absolutely the right of young people to dress how they want to dress and express themselves how they want to. Somehow, that's become, well, all-encompassing...and all-pervasive...and...I'm old enough to be able to say I think if my 12- or 13-year-old...daughter went out dressed looking like a 17- or 18-year-old, I wouldn't allow her out.*

(P05 Senior Team Manager, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

This moral domain positioning of P05 was not uncommon in the dataset. P05 inferred that current policy and professional practice had not yet fully appreciated how the wider context of sexualisation of young people may impact on the problem of CSE, in full in their use of the idiom '*to open Pandora's box*'. This may highlight that hierarchical observations and, therefore, surveillance of the problem of defining CSE, is not fully complete and the problem is much bigger than currently known. It was interesting to note that their default position of problematising the sexual exploitation of children and young people was that of a female victim; describing the female victim, as their daughter, at the cusp of puberty and start of adolescence. This can be seen to epitomise the 'CSE victim' portrayed in dominant media, political and public discourses from the beginning of the ninetieth-century social purity movement (Doezema 1998 cited in Melrose 2013a) through to today (Cockbain 2013).

### ***Beginning to define the problem of CSE***

Whilst this chapter is an overtly Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis, drawing additionally on Turner's (1969) theory of liminality can perhaps illuminate insight on why and how CSE has been difficult to problematise in its current definition. As a reminder to the reader, Turner (1969) defines liminality as persons or objects that slip between the language and classifications that locate the person or object in a state or position within cultural space defined by law, custom, convention or ceremonial. The term 'liminal entity' is used to describe the absence of a state or position within established language and classifications (Turner 1969). To add to this and provide further rationale for inclusion of an alternative theoretical positioning in this analysis, there is,

however, anxiety of suggesting new classification when no reclassification or language exists to replace it or simply put in place. Navon and Morag (2004) articulate that liminal entities can be threatening because ambiguity, separation and different order replaces its previous definition and term this as 'declassification without reclassification' (2004: 2338). Within many of the interview transcripts, perturbations (e.g. hesitations) and vocalised pauses existed when participants found phenomena difficult to define or describe; this was especially the case when it came to offer an encompassing definition of CSE. An example of the extent of perturbations and vocalised pauses in the defining of CSE can be shown in the quotation below.

*No, not in a small sentence, no. Not really, because it...it's...there's a lot of different aspects to it. Um, the main form of sexual exploitation in this area that I'm familiar with, that I deal with on a regular basis, is, um, males generally, um, offering services, err, such as, err, whether it be transport or, um, facilities such as flats, et cetera, um, and then offering them items such as alcohol or drugs. It's the usual stuff, you know what I'm talking about. Um, so there effectively offering services, um, in order to commit at...at that point, um, sexual offences, sexual activity, whatever, against children.*

(P06 Police Officer, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

I propose in this ethical analysis that unless a network of language and classifications exist, that is both diverse and acceptable, governmentality is then only possible on what is currently observable and known. So, this, potentially, leaves young males within 'the betwixt and in between' of existing CSE language and classifications within policy *i.e.* a position of liminality.

CSE policy has followed a similar development of early sexual and domestic violence policy, reflecting a gendered (gynocentric) response to the problem (Kelly 1988, Peckover 2013), as well as in adult sex work policy (Gaffney 2007, Whowell 2010). Whereas the problem of CSE has overwhelmingly focused on females, acknowledgement existed from a policy maker that males have remained a weakness within policy architecture since its initial inception in 2000 (DH 2000) through to contemporary documents (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, HM Government 2015).

*It's still under, under recognised and under catered for. And certainly when we did all this in 2011, it was predominantly focused on...teenage white girls especially. And it became clearer and clearer that there were girls beyond those communities that are being affected as well. We only really slightly touched on the issue of boys in the initial action plan. I think that was, that was a weakness.*

(P17 Member of Parliament)

P17 recognised that the earlier, renewed interest in CSE within the Action Plan (DfE 2011) demonstrated disciplinary apparatus that lacked the appropriate commitment to young males affected by sexual exploitation. The Action Plan (DfE 2011) enforced disciplinary power and ultimately, surveillance on to local authorities, to focus predominantly on young females; thus, produced a dilution of observing of young males affected by sexual exploitation occurring locally.

Gender was not the only characteristic to be absent in depth and breadth of a participant's perception and definition of CSE. In defining the other characteristics of CSE, participants found it difficult to distinguish between different ages under-eighteen but were able to bifurcate their understandings between 'younger' children and 'older' children. They also recognised sexual exploitation was not exclusive to under-eighteens. The notion of sexual agency emerged implicitly as a discourse that presented through the chronological ages as described in the quotations below.

*You know, I mean, if you...in my head, I kind of...I separate kind of children into two groups, just kind of like older children, like teenagers, yeah and you've got your children they were coming to teenagers, so I'd say, it's just a grey area isn't it? Um, and I guess, I guess, I know what...it definitely works, 'cause all of this has got to come from judgement.*

(P15 Student Social Worker, Local Charity)

*Just the legal implications that at 18 they're not a child anymore. They're probably still very much...a lot of them are still probably very much being exploited, um...you know, from an individual's point of view...yeah.*

(P07 Health Worker, Multi-Agency CSE Team)



These perceptions may imply that older adolescents (and adults) are less deserving and less worthy of hierarchical observations in the problematisation of sexual exploitation, by drawing a definitive boundary at the age of 18. It was difficult to identify a particular genealogy of this rationale for hierarchical observation. Perhaps these perceptions resonate and reinforce the concept of 'sexual innocence' of the nineteenth-century social purity movement's portrayal of child sexual abuse (Doezema 1998 cited in Melrose 2013a), as critically discussed in chapter six (page 166). This rationale may also have emerged through the constraints of participants' moral domains in the risk averse orientation of child protection policy (Kirton 2012). Although recognition by few participants were given that their understanding of chronological age and CSE involvement was 'ridiculous'.

*I think it's very...this idea of you know, when you're 17 and whatever days, you are a victim and then at 18 and 1 day you are no longer a victim is just ridiculous.*

(P13 Policy Influencer and Manager, Local Charity)

Having identified various discourses on the problematisations of CSE, participants who operated within the voluntary sector often kept open-minded to the ever-evolving picture of CSE, as presented in the following quotation.

*As a thing. Um...Well my, I suppose my definition, I don't think we've ever written down a sort of formal definition here at [ORGANISATION], and I'm not like a Child Protection Social Worker or anything, so I don't come from that kind of formal sort of legal background, and I think some of the definitions around it are problematic, but I'm sure we'll come onto that.*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

### ***Boys do not make the perfect 'victim'***

The second stage of Foucault's (1975) process of objectification of individuals is normalising judgements. Judgements are based on what has been observed through the hierarchical observations, creating a sense of reality that would identify the problems that need governing and those that would not. This is where epistemic transformations can be identified, emphasising how disciplinary power and the resistance-to-power can result in new ways of

thinking, and therefore, governing. From the first part of identifying the genealogy of CSE, as a problem, significantly remains under-developed or absent in relation to young males.

The discourses in this ethical analysis referred largely to the policy documents published in 2011 and 2015, namely *Action Plan* (DfE 2011) and *Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation* (HM Government 2015). As previously illuminated, one participant, a leading policy maker, felt that the most current policy remained too focused on young female victims. This brings into question the driver for the policy reformation in 2011 and whether initial media discourses on the problem of CSE (Cockbain 2013), significantly influenced the sole image of a CSE victim: teenage, able-bodied, cis-gendered, heterosexual white females. Clearly a *modus operandi* of panopticism has raised the public profile of CSE and increased reform in policy, yet young males remain immaterial from the previous problematisation (or ethical substance) of CSE. Further exploration on how young males are discursively formed within the moral locations and social interactions in which practitioners operate, within their professional lives, will become apparent in the sub-section of 'Young Male Victims as the Ethical Subject' within the **Subject Positions** section (page 300).

### ***Immaterial boys?***

As previously noted by Cockbain *et al.* (2015) and by government (DCSF 2009), young males are quantitatively significant as recipients of sexual exploitation services, estimated to make up around a third of CSE victims. Policy influencers within the study sample often referred to an observable lack of policy commitment from government on the gender gap in CSE.

*I don't think it is because I've not seen a big drastic change and I've not seen lots of people suddenly saying, 'Right. We really need to pick-up on the facts that, um, boys and young men are being exploited and we've got to start addressing this.' What I'm seeing is...nothing different. I sometimes wonder whether **boys don't make the perfect victim?**\* Do you see what I mean?*

(P10 Policy Influencer, National Charity)

### **Emphasis added\***

Participants were not able to give clear reasons for why young males were not problematised in the same way as young females were. Three discourses emerged, however, that could possibly explain the difference in problematisation including: lack of professional experience, victims being a sexual minority, and the LGB&T+ culture and CSE. The latter two discourses will be analysed within the last sub-section of the ***Problematisations: The Ethical Substance***, the last process of Foucault's (1975) objectification of the individual, examination.

### ***Lack of professional experience***

Building on the notion that young males may not be perceived as the 'perfect victim' of sexual exploitation, it became apparent that problematisations which focused predominantly on young females were borne out of the lack of professional experience of working with young males within the CSE arena.

*Um, I've not worked a lot with young men. I've worked with a couple of the young men that we've had in here, um, and I think there's a huge amount more work to do with young men.*

(P07 Health Worker, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Participants recognised that the current problematisations, as stipulated in policy, predominantly focused on offline scenarios/visible on the streets. These findings were conceptualised by Soothill and Saunders (2004) on the 'private' versus 'public' morality in adult sex work policy. One practitioner noted that young people do not often separate between the online and off-line worlds and their social communication is seamless between both.

*So the online world is really significant. it's an arena that's, um, used by young people obviously just to...the sort of way of communicating and they don't talk about online and offline today, it's just on the same thing. There isn't this distinction. I think we really, we really got to move away from talking about it like that because as you soon as you talk about that to young people, straightaway they go, and you got...you haven't got a clue... You know what I mean?*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

So not only was there a lack of experience of directly working with young males, but a lack of recognition by front-line practitioners of the 'online' space that has the opportunity to facilitate sexual exploitation. In light of an overarching absence of 'online' world discussion, it appeared that young males did not disclose in the same way as young females, in their attempt to access services that suited their sexual exploitative experiences.

*The difficulties with boys and young men is we very rarely get disclosures from boys and young men. Boys and young men very rarely will make complaints and within our assessments a lot of the referrals that we initially get in are a criminal matter...But one of the biggest indicators um, with boys and young men is that they could be involved in some form of criminality and it's...it's assessing whether their involvement in criminality is because they're being exploited, not just for criminality but for sexual favours...*

(P03 Acting Team Manager, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

This focus on 'difficulty' on disclosures often took a different *rites de passage* (or transition) (van Gennep 1960, Turner 1969), therefore, shaping the prevailing discourse on young males as being 'difficult' in national CSE policy documents (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011).

### ***Being a Gay or Bisexual, Male and at risk of CSE***

The third and last key process of the objectification of individuals is examination. Foucault (1977) defined the examination as a combination of the techniques engaged with hierarchical observation and normalising judgments. Examination is a highly ritualised mechanism because it firstly differentiates individuals from one another through visibility, and, secondly, judge individuals, classifying them through a surveillance (Foucault 1977). This section particularly illuminates the counter-discourse (e.g. the risk, perceived sexual exploitation experiences and help-seeking behaviours of young males) from official discourse (e.g. policy and media representation of victim trajectory of CSE). Numerous participants were ambiguous in the way they spoke about new and emerging language and classification practices they used within their work.

*Um, when I first started dealing with...supporting young people who were being groomed, it was all very, very, very new and I worked in the school and, um, and it was all, I have to give you a phone, and I'll be taking photographs, that's it. Um, that was kind of the understanding that you had and if didn't fit that criteria, then they weren't being groomed. Whereas now, um, you know, as everything's come to light, there is so many ways in which, um, children can be, um, sexually exploited. And that's my...my knowledge has vastly grown over the past 10 years.*

(P04 Parent Support Worker, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

P04 shows an example of how the understanding, meaning and classifications of the CSE language has epistemically transformed over the time. Whilst P04 did not use or create new language, a clear example here of an epistemic transformation of grooming has grown, widening the circumstantial definitions and boundaries. The identification of 'grooming', as a criteria-based approach to accepting whether a situation is indeed exploitative or not, fits with Foucault's forms of control through hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and examination (Gilbert and Powell 2010). Gilbert and Powell (2010) understood Foucault's meaning of 'examination', within governmentality of social work practice, as a way of objectifying individuals, through how social workers wrote about clients in documentation, which in turn disciplined and regulated professional activity.

This writing included the way an individual could be codified, calculated and compared to their peers in the advent of 'evidence-based practice'. The majority of participants did not however associate the term 'grooming' or indeed other mainstream CSE terms with young males.

A minority discourse emanated on the ways in which young gay and bisexual males were different from their young, heterosexual, male peers. Participants who worked specifically with LGB&T+ populations felt that heterocentricity often dominated or overlooked the vulnerabilities, as well as needs, of non-heterosexual people and communities. Previous feminist academic activism on sexual violence (e.g. Kelly 1988) may have inadvertently characterised individuals who are 'male' to be the exploiter in any scenario. This emphasises a governing narrative on childhood sexuality within abuse, by bifurcating classifications such as only males can abuse with their ability to penetrate and female (whether adult or child) with the vulnerability to be abused through penetration.

*I think we live in a very heterocentric world. And I think that that is...I think that is reflected throughout all our policy and legislation and I think that what...what was...what we try to do is just add things on. So we'd sort of...we, we'd say, 'And gay and bisexual people' Or 'And men who have sex with men'.*

(P10 Policy Influencer, National Charity)

Often young GBT males presented with different life-course issues to their peers, especially those associated with models of, and vulnerabilities, to CSE.

*I think for me at a practical level in terms of how people are at risk of exploitation, I think one...I think there's a sort of car crash of issues that come together, potentially for some young LGB and T people, and those issues are about how...that's not an equal playing field in terms of safety as much...you know. Right now it is...legally it is more of an equal playing field, but that's only very, very recent. So if...you sort of come away from the CSE and just come into sort of how you expect ordinary kind of young people to ordinarily grow up, and the things...the stages you go through, the things you experience.*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

Whilst different risks were stated, the circumstances young GBT males may socialise within and operate also posed a difference to their young, heterosexual, male peers. The following participant went on to say that the 'gay' culture that young GBT males can engage with can be very sexualised that creates vulnerability.

*And, of course, as you know, that immediately catapults you into a very adult, very sexualised environment that is not...that is very kind of specific in its cultural way of being, so it...how people present themselves, what they present, how they get together, what their expectations are. And other things around it, potentially drugs etcetera.*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

### ***Models and Language of CSE for Young Males***

Building on the aforementioned application of liminality (Turner 1969) in this chapter, new models and language associated with CSE and young males existed within the sample of the case study. Contemporaneously, policy has explicitly focused on four models of exploitation: 'inappropriate relationships', the 'boyfriend' model, 'peer exploitation', and 'organised/networked sexual exploitation or trafficking' (DfE 2011: 5). Policy has largely ignored models of exploitation that could affect (GBT) males in particular, as well as less obvious and virtual issues, such as technologically-facilitated CSE (as discussed in chapter six, page 166).

Many participants were unable to use concise language to describe the problem of CSE associated with young males. P02 stated that CSE, as a crime, was greater in fluidity and less predictable than other forms of crime; therefore, making the policy and the policing response to CSE difficult to plan for.

*It depends...there are various models um...A lot of these crimes are fixated by geography. You've got a lot of burglaries here. Your intelligence indicates who's doing it. You've got all the crime data, so you can start building that, sort of, quite solid pictures. Whereas, CSE much more fluid...*

(P02 Intelligence Analyst, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

### **'The Rent Boy'**

During the data collection, a retrospective incident arose regarding a 12-year-old male, seen by a number of participants, in his school uniform, in a known male sex work environment, in the case study area. The Sexual Offences Act 2003 defines statutory rape (where consent is never valid) as 12 years and under. What was particularly crucial to observe was the use of the colloquial phrase of 'rent boy' by mainstream services with statutory child protection responsibilities. This colloquial phrase was challenged by a participant who worked within a LGBT+ organisation and articulated a resistance to the power-knowledge associated with mainstream CSE language and classifications.

*In terms of like bars and stuff, bar owners and businesses down there, um you know some of the lads that I come across you like...I found a 12-year-old lad down there in his uniform. He's been using a paedophile ring. Um, you know, when we like found him, there was loads of men around him in a...area. Um, there was like fucking cockroaches. As soon as we turned up they all vanished. So what's happened is me and [colleague] was out in outreach and... but we walked through the cruising area down at the ...where people having sex...and some benches along...Um so like walking down there like I walk passed this bench and I said, "Fucking hell [colleague]. Is that a kid there?" You know perhaps double...take. So I was like, "What's going on?" So I walk passed and I said, "Yeah" "Are you okay mate?" He went "fuck off"...there was another lad who was with him who sort of got a grip of him. This other lad was a bit older. He's about 23 or something...Um they was clearly like together...[colleague] phoned the police and we reported it. They went. The police often did...They went answer the phone. "What do you mean that rent boy?"...that's what he said. "It's a fucking 12-year-old kid". Obviously, we complained about that and got that sorted.*

(P12 Outreach Worker, Local Charity)

Whilst the 'rent boy' conceptualisation fits within the current problematisations of the first CSE policy in 2000 – the *prostitution/older boyfriend/grooming triangle* – it would appear that regardless of the epistemic transformation of CSE language to render any agency, young males are, in fact, regarded with more agency than their female peers. The above statements are demonstrable in affording this male significant agency in his sexual behaviour,



as well as labelling his behaviour as a 'rent boy' and labelling his potential groomer, almost double his age, in the somewhat benign concept of 'lad'.

Following on from the language and classification of 'rent boy', it was noteworthy to see a P03 (below) afford language such as 'frequent' to describe the sexual exploitative experiences of young males. This is not too dissimilar from Melrose's (2013b) observation of the Sexual Offences Act 1967 definition of persistently soliciting were resultant of using a public place for immoral [sic] purposes.

*I've had experiences where people have...young men, young boys have accessed over the Internet through going on gay websites um, and obviously then the Internet contact has...has continued. I've had young boys that frequent the gay village, that have met uh, males, and I've also had what was sort of an organised crime group that through criminal activity were uh, exploiting a group of young men through crime and they were victims of sexual exploitation as well.*

(P03 Acting Team Manager, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

This discourse inferred that agency is afforded to young males. Both of these examples of how language is used to problematise young males affected by CSE reflects pre-CSE language and classifications prior to the epistemic transformations of policy developments from 2000.

### ***The 'Gay Porn Production' Model***

A new model of sexual exploitation particularly sensitive to young GBT males emerged within one interview.

*And another area that I think's important to look into as well, which I've explained after working with a couple of lads, is pornography. It's often a common issue with...some of the lads, like, um, porn studios importing young lads up in the apartments by the city train stations and then when this...they're trained to...like caressing them into performing bad, backing them into saying no they're withdrawing that accommodation. Which mean...so they've moved to the city for this "career". And then that accommodation's gone so there's coercion now and exploitation.*

(P14 Independent Male Sexual Violence Adviser, Local Charity)

This 'model' of CSE did not appear in other interviews and again reflected the aforementioned 'private' versus 'public' dichotomy in sex morality (Soothill and Saunders). P14 continued to recognise other models of CSE operating in the case study area.

*Like I worked with a young lad that worked with selling sex, but then had a long-term relationship with a man that was much older where he wouldn't let him work. He basically stayed within the flat...and wasn't allowed to do certain things because then he'd go out when the older man was with him, but then would kick him out and then replace him with someone of a similar age. So he'd have a relationship with someone for 18-24 months, then replace them with someone that was of the age of the guy when they first got together.*

(P14 Independent Male Sexual Violence Adviser, Local Charity)

Whilst P14 had a clear focus on supporting males in their work, males affected by sexual violence, the use of the words 'young lad' and 'selling sex' were observed in the second statement. Within all the interviews, often this use of language was not afforded to young females involved in sexual exploitation.

So, while a minority discourse existed on young GBT males and their perceived CSE risk, participants with specialist knowledge (on young males) were still influenced by the prevailing discourse of gendered CSE language and classifications, within the power-knowledge of CSE policy architecture.

### ***LGB&T+ Scene and Perceived Risk to Young GBT Males***

The majority of participants did not feel comfortable in discussing the local LGB&T+ infrastructure or scene as they felt they did not have experience, whether personally or professionally, to pass comment. There appeared to be, in some interviews, an anxiety from participants of being perceived of holding views which conflated homosexuality and paedophilia when discussing CSE. In contrast, those participants who either identified as LGB&T+ or worked for a LGB&T+ organisation (or both), could speak more freely about the perceived risks the LGB&T+ scene posed to young males. On the other hand, participants who worked in statutory services and/or did not indicate whether

they were LGB&T+ were unable to discuss these risks or had a noticeable increase in perturbations when discussing such risks. Often the participants within statutory services deferred to their colleagues within organisations that had a dialogue with contemporary LGB&T+ issues during interviews.

### **LGB&T+ Culture**

The LGB&T+ community awareness of CSE was perceived to be poor by a participant who identified as a child sexual abuse victim, a gay male and who worked professionally in the LGB&T+ community.

*...I think that the LGBT community uh, uh, is frightened of having some conversations. And I wish they weren't and I wish more people within, you know, the city has got a really strong LGBT, a really visible LGBT community. Um, and I wish that the community would be a bit more braver about speaking about sexual exploitation, about, you know, about um the...the...the rape et cetera exploitation of young men.*

(P16 Manager, Local Charity)

P16 offered an explanation for this and recognised that the conflation between paedophilia and homosexuality may have hindered the LGB&T+ community from speaking out about CSE.

*I think...uh...I sometimes wonder if it's...if it's one of those kind of it happens in everybody else's community and not ours. I think it's uh, I sometimes wonder if there is something about the uh, you know, the red top newspapers link that they have between paedophilia and homosexuality...uh you know, if we start talking about it then everybody will think that we're paedophiles. You know, my...my argument has always been yeah but if you don't talk about it we'll never get rid of that myth.*

(P16 Manager, Local Charity)

This discourse appeared problematic, as other LGB&T+ participants also highlighted that the sexual risk to young GBT males increased on the LGB&T+ scene.

*it's very easy...um... so you go online, you can meet up with somebody very easily. Um, and, of course, there are lots of locations as well that*

*potentially you could...clubs or bars or whatever...if you can get in them. Um, I think the...I think the thing is...that I think it's to do with the... there's a, kind of like, scene related thing, which is a kind of doorway in for some people. And this is where the age bit doesn't quite work, because you've got your CSE only going up to 19. Obviously, some people at risk are gonna be coming to college in AREA. So new to AREA and AREA is like, wow, this is amazing.*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

Risk discourse of CSE on the LGB&T+ scene has not been highlighted before within previous CSE literature or policy.

### **'Chemsex'**

Chemsex has become an emerging phenomenon in the sexual health disciplines and has not yet, until now, been a term used within CSE literature. Within this ethical analysis, a distinct theme of 'chemsex' emerged within the perceptions of LGB&T+ culture and CSE risk.

*Somebody quite formally being passed around or it could be more informal or it's just, you've ended up in a situation where you can't get yourself out of it 'cause you...'cause of the drugs involved or whatever. But it also has that CSE kind of...it has the exploitation attached to it because you're probably around older people who have a lot more money. You're probably gonna get offered, not just drugs, but other things, you know, the things that are attractive; phones and this and that. It feels a very attractive scene, I'm sure. And if somebody in... in one way...and you think if you're a young person, particularly if you're not very happy at school, at home or wherever, and then suddenly you're in this scene where people appear to be paying you lots of compliments, buying you stuff...it's hard not to keep going. And, of course, the drugs that are involved, particularly that kind of trio of G and crystal and mephedrone, are very potent...addicted really quickly.*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

*Yeah. I...just that [sexual exploitation in chemsex] I feel that it's probably under-reported and people don't report because the...either because they can't remember what's happened or they've got to the point where they've said they consented, but then it's got to the state where they've lost capacity. Then, to me, that's a violation.*

(P14 Independent Male Sexual Violence Adviser, Local Charity)

*I find that really disturbing, really disturbing that...that we sort of are at the stage where young people are kind of being...young people are expecting to be in some way sexually violated, sexually exploited just by the party that they're going to.*

(P16 Manager, Local Charity)

These three statements demonstrate an interesting focus of consent, sexual activity and drug use, suggesting an emphasis that consent should be explicit for each and every 'activity' while young males are potentially unaware of what chemsex parties involve. One participant went as far as stating that sexual violation is inevitable at chemsex parties. This is, of course, a very ethical and pertinent discourse on consent but gives a mixed discourse on what consent actually consists of and how it is applied.

### **Technologies: The Ethical Work**

The second stage of this ethical analysis was to identify technologies, or the 'ethical work' that could be observed as the acts or practices of governance *i.e.* the rationality of one's work (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008). Rose defines technologies as '*...any assembly of practical rationality governed by a more or less conscious goal.*' (1996: 26). Through applying Rose's definition to this *Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis*, a variety of mechanisms, procedures, instruments, tactics, vocabularies and meanings were constituted as technologies of governance.

In Foucault's (1988) *Technologies of the Self*, he declared they are concerned with how humans develop knowledge about themselves, which in turn regulates their ethical conduct. Foucault (1988) suggests that 'knowledge' should not be taken at face-value as it is a technique of very specific truth games. These very specific truth games *i.e.* knowledge, allow oneself to interact with others, including how power operates within these techniques (Foucault 1988). This is because technologies can be realised as material and discursive practices, therefore creating 'practical reason' (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008) – through disciplinary power.

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1975) understood the history of the present as how society was shaped, moulded, disciplined and controlled through techniques of disciplinary power. It is only through reflecting on the process of the history and how disciplinary power came into being that remaking of ourselves can start. It is important to highlight the role of disciplinary power and machinery optimised in national CSE policy architecture when considering young male victims. Overwhelmingly, throughout the data collection, participants frequently perceived young male victims not to 'fit' the over-arching, gynocentric, rationality of the contemporary CSE policy development. Localised implementation of national policy, through a local social policy response, was particularly comprehensive and well-established in the case study area. Within the area, disciplinary mechanisms such as specific referral routes, assessments and procedures were enacted through joined-up, multi-agency working.

### ***Renewed National CSE Policy Intentions***

The renewed surge in national policy on CSE (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, HM Government 2015) was vague on how local areas should have dealt with the issue of CSE. Nonetheless, the government expected local authorities to implement services based on individual area 'problem profiles' (DfE 2011, Jago *et al.* 2011). National CSE policy described the real truth of CSE as a phenomenon that occurred in every area of England, but local responses were being implemented variably (or not at all) across local authorities (Jago *et al.* 2011). Therefore, national policy stipulated that without areas developing local and comprehensive responses to CSE, their commitment would be under-scrutiny from government, the media and public at large (DfE 2011, HM Government 2015).

Similar to national adult sex work policy, this primary research echoes the notion of *progressive governance* within the local multi-agency mantra, first described by Scoular and O'Neill (2007) in chapter one. This technology of governance by localising a social policy response, through progressive governance, to a phenomenon such as CSE, creates an over-arching panopticon (or panoptic culture). This over-arching panopticon from national

government onto local authorities creates and emphasises the required compliance on individual areas to produce comprehensive social policy responses. This will be critically explored later in this sub-section, however the genealogy of the current ethical work emerged in the interviews which will be presented first.

### ***A Violence Against Women and Girls Problem***

The main thrust of rationality identified in the development of ethical work (within the resurge in national CSE policy) was due to the increasing media discourse on two types of exploiters, particularly threatening to children. These exploiters included both the threat of 'British Pakistani men' and celebrity males.

*Certainly back in 2011 when we published the government action plan on CSE that was prompted largely by the gang activity involving mostly at that stage the headline cases were British Pakistani men and not exclusively in sort of northern metropolitan cities but other sort of rural areas as well. Um, then of course post-Savile, it's become a celebrity thing as well...*

(P17 Member of Parliament)

Whilst many participants perceived the main rationality behind the resurge in national CSE policy was premised on two types of exploiters, especially of female children, Foucault (1975) questioned what and why one's ethical work would be moulded in this way. Emerging discourse explaining a possible genealogy as to why these two types of exploiters can be understood through the power-knowledge formation within the 'violence against women and girls' (VAWG) political agenda. Some participants, especially those with many years' experience of working with young males, identified the VAWG political movement as problematic.

*You know...if you think about...the main policy in this country that's leading any work with young people around CSE, with young people about who are being sexually exploited is the violence against women and girls policy. And violence against women and girls agenda. Because the very...the whole...the label itself is negating young men, you know, so what's missing from policies is the words 'young men'.*

(P16 Manager, Local Charity)

Here, P16 stated that VAWG policy focused and centralised power of sexual violence of a 'male-to-female' phenomenon, making young males unable to fit the current model of thought and systems akin to CSE. It is indeed comprehensible that this over-arching established power-knowledge impacts on the ethical work of practitioners. Even though previous literature and policy since 2009 had advised of a third of CSE victims to be male, a persistent discourse of difficulty of working with young males due to their small representation in services emerged.

*Um, again I have to think. The area needs developing. There needs to be a lot of development around boys and young men in child sexual exploitation. Um, I think sometimes it be quite difficult, or it can be difficult because of the number of referrals, because of the number of young men that are brought to our attention. It's how, you know, it's trying to develop those services when we've only got minimum numbers.*

(P03 Acting Team Manager, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Most participants acknowledged the inclusion of young males within the ethical work of CSE policy was important. A perceived presumption was often offered that meant young males were always 'automatically covered' by policy intentions through gender-neutrality. This presumption implies rather than a rethink of sexual exploitation experiences and help-seeking behaviours being different between genders, a gender-neutral position in practice ensued. This gender-neutrality ignores the genealogy of CSE policy, as well as policy relating to commercial sex markets in more general.



*Well, I think every LSCB needs to make sure that its local CSE action plan has an application for boys and young, and young men. But that needs to be an area that is automatically covered.*

(P17 Member of Parliament)

### ***Panoptic Culture: CSE policy surveillance and young males***

In addition to the VAWG backdrop, ethical work was also regulated through a panoptic culture, as stipulated in a national CSE *Action Plan* (DfE 2011, HM Government 2015). Panoptic culture, created by national government, often characterised the main ethical work undertaken in CSE policy and professional practice in interviews. National CSE policy had created much of the ethical work to be centred on surveillance, creating a panoptic culture on local authorities, both institutionally such as local safeguarding children boards, as well as socially, such as individual actors including local authority management and front-line staff. Panopticism was described by Foucault (1975) as a general principle of a new political anatomy as a function that aided discipline, as a way of spreading throughout the society in a generalisable fashion (Garland 2014). Freshwater *et al.* (2015) understood Foucault's proposal of the Panopticon theory to extend beyond the physicality of architectural control. Freshwater *et al.* (2015) postulated that this extension could translate into metaphorical theory, with the ability to be applied to multiple technologies of surveillance in society; including individuals to exercise surveillance on oneself. Although, surveillance associated with CSE was perceived to compound the existing statutory safeguarding arrangements in place and regarded by most participants as inappropriate.

*Because safeguarding as we know it, the statutory requirements that the Council's worked, weren't...those guidelines weren't written with CSE in mind. They weren't written with teenagers in mind...Most safeguarded guidance and statutory requirements were written about predominantly younger children where there's neglect or familial abuse...what I'd like to do more of is get a better understanding of the interventions that really work with...with a potentially very challenging cohort of teenagers.*

(P09 Senior Manager, CSE Project)

The ethical work expected by national CSE policy for local areas to be undertaken was often resisted through other pressures within children's social services.

*But I think that the point around CSE is it's a very small area of our work, and we sometimes have to say to...to government and other people, there's lots of other things we've got to do too, and you're taking a lot of our time out talking about this and wanting us to do things, um, when we've done it, and then doubled on it (laughs) and trebled on it...*

(P08 Director of Children's Services)

Practitioners, working within power-knowledge institutions concerning CSE, were not only subjected by national policy panoptic culture but were also subjected to the surveillance from the public, as well as other public sector departments. Whilst a panoptic culture is not necessarily a negative disciplinary power, it may imply a moral panic rhetoric that CSE is everywhere.

*And I think that's one of the big learning points here. So, we work as closely with our, um, strategic housing colleagues, our legal colleagues, our licensing colleagues, for taxi drivers, for takeaways, for, you know, we work with our hotels. We've got to work with everyone possible so that we understand that child sexual exploitation can come through many other means and is linked with many other crimes.*

(P08 Director of Children's Services)

*Yeah, you know if we have...if we've got issues...um, any investigation or, um, any concerns about young boys being on X Street that we feel could be trying to sort of pass as being over 18, um, then you know, we will go down there and we will speak with them and sort of say you know, "This is young person, have you seen him?" They might be missing at that time inquiry. And generally speaking they will come back to us and sort of say, "Oh, um, we've spoken to the security staff. They remember seeing him. Or we've looked on CCTV. He was here last night, or he was hanging about outside." Um, so yeah, I found that they are, they do engage with us well.*

(P01 Police Officer, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Often panoptic culture led the rationality for ethical work but only on specific truth games relating to the assumed hetero- or asexuality of children and

young people affected by CSE. This directly impacts on the work that is undertaken with young male victims, especially relating to ethical sexual decision-making.

*I think there are blanket issues, yeah. I think the difference is not about consent itself, which needs to be consistent for all young people, but about being knowledgeable and comfortable with an identity (LGBT) and context (chemsex, hook-up apps etc) so that young men feel safe to speak up. This needs to be reflected in the 'public story' about consent/exploitation so young men can see themselves accurately in the story. And we need to see how those issues of consent play out for young men in ways that might be different to young women. So...but there may...but you may need to add onto that with young gay people in terms of the context in which it's happening, and I think that's probably what mainstream CSE is not doing. So, it's not able to talk so much about the scene or about chemsex parties or online.*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

Worryingly, whilst local authorities within the current policy context (DfE 2011, HM Government 2015) were instructed to develop local CSE action plans, wider communication and strategy did not always apply to the entire local authority. An example of this is given below where children's homes were located in the very same streets where known sex offenders resided.

*So we've got a real problem because we have an increasing number of them coming out of prison and they have to be located somewhere and nobody wants them on their...on their patch. And, and we've done some work in terms of the new regulations, I put it in place for locating children's homes where those are real problems particularly in AREA where there were some pretty poor quality essential children's homes being located in very inappropriate areas including in some cases streets where there were known sex offenders.*

(P17 Member of Parliament)

Although perceptions of this aforementioned issue from other participants within the case study area was less of a concern.

### ***Embryonic Policy Development***

So far, preceding feminist power-knowledge and panopticism have been identified within the ethical work of participants in the CSE arena. However, there was also an on-going power-resistance between old and new policy such as repeated embryonic policy development. With the increased surveillance from government and in a bid to prevent a repeated embryonic cycle of CSE policy developments, one policy maker felt that the on-going shift between government departments oversight should be reduced. This was essential in understanding the genealogy of CSE policy and in how specific truth games have been developed.

*Well, I always said it should be part of DfE because, there's a problem with children's policy now in that it's being fragmented so that Home Office leads on CSE and MOJ leads on justice. DLG leads on um, troubled families. DCNS leads on access to pornography by underage kids which is a huge influence. Um, so you've now got, and then DfE has still got some child protection responsibilities but it's the grey area between that and who need care and various other things. So the whole lot is now rather disparate...the other thing is youth policy which is the biggest disaster of the lot which is why... so you've got six departments.*

(P17 Member of Parliament)

Whilst the confusion lies nationally on the overall direction of CSE policy, young males were often perceived to be difficult to identify as CSE victims, as noted in the ***Problematisations*** of this ethical analysis. As a way of dealing with and developing a *specific truth* of young males involved in CSE, a local organisation (outside the case study area) was given funding by national government to develop 'best' practice. This organisation's work was promoted within the national government's progress report of the *Action Plan* (DfE 2012a) and stated significant funding for this organisation to oversee and champion national development work specifically on young male victims. This work included championing 'best' practice to local authorities in the recognition that young males were under-represented in the overall number of victims. The following two quotations particularly focused on the development of power-knowledge associated with young males from this organisation. The organisation's presence was perceived as a means of the organisation

promoting itself, rather than bettering the situation for this affected group. Local training (within the case study area) provided by this organisation was often not perceived to be useful to practitioners.

*Yeah, ORGANISATION. They have an agenda, understand that, and their agenda generates a huge amount of money for them, I guess, and you know, they set themselves up as experts and you know, cornerstone of good practice. But, uh, the three or four, uh, case studies that [they] start out with in the morning, basically, every case study was up to the point that ORGANISATION got involved, everything was shit. I'd gotten it after an hour that's it's not just girls. I understood it extremely well after two hours that it's not just girls, and I wanted to punch his lights out after three hours.*

(P05 Senior Team Manager, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

The same organisation funded to develop national work for young males were asked to review the case study area but again was perceived to be poor, especially at a policy level for the area.

*I've engaged with to seek out their views on our approach to dealing with boys and young men, and ORGANISATION...we encouraged ORGANISATION to come and work in two of our local authorities, which were AREA 1 and AREA 2, to review their practices. They did some work in AREA 1 and AREA 2, but it wasn't particularly well received...I'll be perfectly honest, because I know you'll treat it in confidence, I'm not entirely sure that...that ORGANISATION and ORGANISATION bring anything to [the region] that we don't already know.*

(P09 Senior Manager, CSE Project)

Whilst an attempt by national government was made in order to reduce or prevent the on-going embryonic policy impact on young males, leaving the issue to one organisation to develop 'best' practice was not perceived well by participants.

### ***Joined-up working***

National policy required local areas to develop CSE strategies or plans (DfE 2011, Jago *et al.* 2011) in which part of this development included multi-agencies working together through joined-up working. Joined-up working,

identified in chapter six, proved promising to effectively respond to CSE in local areas, through the integration and co-ordination of local services and organisations. Joined-up working, as a technology of government, is not new in responding to social problems (e.g. Allen 2003) and became a dominant discourse in all interviews.

*Cause I think one of the benefits of the CSE Project is us looking at things across the ten councils collectively, rather than doing it ten times over...and then applying it to local need...And that's where the [CSE project] comes from. So we all collectively um...um, fund um, a [regional manager] role. But it means we have one approach to risk assessment. We have one approach to a communication strategy; we don't do the work ten times over.*

(P08 Director of Children's Services)

The case study area was identified as having a developed local social policy architecture. The developed ethical work was streamlined to avoid duplication and replicate best practice across ten councils in order to respond to the growing problem of CSE, including using standardised risk assessment tools. Through adopting this kind of ethical work re-emphasised the panoptic culture established by the policy context at the time of data collection (DfE 2011).

*Um...it's the team...the team itself, just very briefly, the itself has grown from just being two detectives and an inspector and one social worker, um to the team that you see now which is probably 20-25 strong...Um, my role within that, um, there's three disciplines really within the team. There's the detectives, there's the social workers, and there's the voluntary social workers which work for charities such as [national charity].*

(P01 Police Officer, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Within the area, several multi-agency CSE teams were set up to formalise joined-up working. This ethical work highlighted Foucault's observation on the growth of rational discourse (and enterprise) of the 'qualified speaker' of childhood sexuality. Although the multi-agency teams were not designed to embrace a holistic approach to childhood sexuality (e.g. only dealing with predominantly non-volitional sex), P01 (above) had stated the increasing use of disciplinary power from established power-knowledge institutions (including law enforcement, social work and the voluntary sector).

Often participants who worked within LGBT+ organisations perceived their statutory colleagues not to offer a 'holistic' service to young males due to the fear of being accused of homophobia.

*Yes, and I also think there's something around as well people, um, being fearful of asking younger gay men...But I think certainly when it's like children's home, people running away to the village to come see an older boyfriend, the social workers are scared of challenging that because they don't want to be seen as being homophobic...I can list you you know, probably...not a hundred, I can probably list you about 15 people that I know of that need the social worker, who are under 18, who I was meeting in outreach regularly. I was telling them it was happening, but they won't pick up the cases still.*

(P13 Policy Influencer and Manager, Local Charity)

P13's above perception, as an example, may give a genealogical reason for the lack of statutory service response offered to young male victims, especially those who identified as gay or bisexual.

### ***Voluntary sector institutions working with statutory services***

Frustrations emerged in a small number of discourses from participants who almost exclusively worked with young males. Two discourses illuminated especially in relation to statutory service referrals and voluntary sector involvement in multi-agency CSE team decision-making, such as attendance at Child Protection Case Conferences.

*I think the frustrating thing is we have to have responses knowing we might break a relationship that's positive to no external benefit for the person. So I tell them I've got in touch with services and then they'll go 'you snake' or whatever or whatever you know, can't believe you're doing that but knowing that they won't actually get a positive service from me breaking that relationship. I mean mostly to be fair, a lot of the time it's fine. Because they're not daft, they know this process. They engage with you on some level knowing that that was a potential.... Because if they wouldn't want to talk to you they won't talk to you.*

(P13 Policy Influencer and Manager, Local Charity)

A discourse emerged that ethical work that was considered to focus on a child or young person's sexuality often came with heightened anxiety from statutory

practitioners. Frequently and only when the voluntary sector, working closely with the LGB&T+ community, are brought on board with the ethical work of CSE risk assessment, the young male's 'risk' would be downgraded by statutory services.

*...and at that point it's...like, is this person at risk, or are they just exploring their sexuality? And sometimes in most of those cases the police investigation stops, so Social Services downgrade it. It's not seen as, um, somebody's not in immediate risk...and it's felt that what they need is a bit of a chance to kind of chat about sexuality in general and learn a bit more about LGBT community.*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

Yet the ethical work carried out by statutory services continued to be perceived as the wrong approach to young male victims, where the alleged offender was of the same gender and/or sexuality.

*They'd go out and then ask them outright, "Are you involved in sex work?" Because they don't see it as CSE, like they would with the female necessarily, you know. "Are you involved with sex work?" they'd say no, so they close the case within an instance of asking them in front of their grandma and they said no so they just close the case.*

(P13 Policy Influencer and Manager, Local Charity)

This narrow approach to working with young males appears problematic; again, affording more agency and responsibility to this affected group compared with young females. In essence, emphasising the common idiom 'boys will be boys'. The participants from the voluntary sector appeared to be more confident in articulating alternative ethical work than mainstream workers.

### ***Unable to meet the needs of boys and young males affected by CSE***

'Joined-up' working was enacted through co-located, multi-agency CSE teams within the case study where young males were perceived by participants to be disproportionate to the 'actual' numbers that should be seen. This was in addition to the discourse that emerged regarding the perceived lack of



particular needs or sensitivities, by statutory services, to the sexual exploitation experiences of young males. Reasons for this were given by participants working in statutory service roles, highlighting a play between power and the resistance-to-power in service provision.

*Um, and so It's, you know...our CSE teams are still relatively, uh, in their infancy. So even the more well-established teams like the ones I've taken you to today have only been around for a few years. So there's, you know, there's an ever emerging...it's an ever emerging revolving piece of work.*

(P09 Senior Manager, CSE Project)

The same manager who had been in post since the inception of the regional CSE project had recognised a gynocentric bias in the services that had been created – or what can be labelled as gynocentric.

*There's still, I think, and underrepresentation of boys and young men in those cohorts that they're working with, and that could be for any number of reasons...we advertise services to deal with the problem...but they may have a female bias, if you like. You know, and that could be anything in the promotional materials, the website...that kind of thing. We've tried hard not to have a bias, but there may be some bias in there. It may be that we're not looking in the right places.*

(P09 Senior Manager, CSE Project)

Where young males were presenting to CSE services, their needs were often not met in an equitable fashion, an example here was given in sexual health promotion.

*Um, so I just ask them all the same questions that I would normally ask I suppose, "What kind of sex have you had? Was that anal or vaginal?" Um, and then, you know, rather than me just offering as I might often offer as...because that's something different I suppose. So, a young ... person, a young woman perhaps has only had vaginal sex, I may offer a chlamydia and gonorrhoea screen. Um, a young man who's, um, involved in an anal sex, then I wouldn't even bother offering that. I'd get them to GUM to...because that's not something I can do within my remit. So, there's that kind of...No, it's not something that I could take on within my role...It's becoming too specialised. Um, so no, I wouldn't. I'd coordinate that.*

(P07 Health Worker, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Interestingly, P07 who was responsible for the health aspects within the specialist multi-agency CSE team, felt that the sexual health needs of young male victims were too specialised for their remit. This rationale resists the emerging (minority) discourses on young males as victims of CSE. This perception of the possible sex young people can have emanated from a dominating heterocentricity. This has implications for young males, especially those who identify as gay or bisexual, preventing equitable access to services.

### ***Best practice for young males?***

Promisingly, further work could be undertaken to improve the responses to young males, but this would mean going beyond current technologies of power within local policy responses.

*So, you know, our hot spots, if you like, for CSE may not be well enough defined to identify where there might...might be particularly prevalent for boys and men. Having said that, you know, Charity X does a huge amount of outreach working the city centre around the GAY CENTRE and X Street and the places where...the young men are known to congregate, but, you know, beyond that I'm not sure that we have a really good understanding of, first of all, AREA around where young men might congregated and the subtext.*

(P09 Senior Manager, CSE Project)

In light of the policy drive for more joined-up working between institutions that were responsible for safeguarding children, it appears not to be the ultimate panacea for working with young males affected by CSE.

### **The Use of Secure Accommodation as Protection**

At the extreme end of the ethical work within CSE policy, secure accommodation was used as a technique of *power* in a significant number of young people involved in sexual exploitation in the case study area. Secure accommodation was only used in circumstances where practitioners perceived children and young people to be at risk of, or suffering from, significant harm and other protective options were exhausted. How effective secure accommodation, however, is remains largely problematic for young

people due to the many extra issues secure accommodation brings (Brodie *et al.* 2011, Shuker 2013). P09 stated:

*...in 2014 there were 105 young people in REGION who were placed in secure accommodation or high cost placements where CSE was either the main factor or a significantly contributing factor...what that means is that with those...*

(P09 Senior Manager, CSE Project)

This statement resonates with the observation of Allen (2003) who noted the similarities between Foucault's (1977) discussion of the 'birth of the prison' and contemporary British welfare policy as discussed in the chapter three. This observation of Foucault can transpire to child protection systems where 'risk' is perceived to be so great to the young person that nothing else can be offered without removing their freedom and liberty.

*...the cohort of 105 young people that we didn't know what else to do with. We tried, and we done the very best that we could do with those 105 young people, but the risk persisted to such an extent that we had to invest that £8.9 million in getting those young people safe, because ...nothing else was working other than removing the liberty of that young person.*

(P09 Senior Manager, CSE Project)

Whilst secure accommodation was a last resort with CSE services, there were gaps in the existing service provision which could not substitute for this. Nonetheless, secure accommodation can be seen as an 'extreme' gaze of all aspects of a young person's life in light of participants' emerging problematisations, out of 'moral panic'. This form of intervention was considered in policy guidance as last resort and at the discretion of local authorities (DCSF 2009).

*...we need to rethink what we did with those young people. Other than to intervene earlier, to identify them and intervene, or once it gets to that kind of crisis stages, do something different that doesn't involve secure high cost placements.*

(P09 Senior Manager, CSE Project)

### **Subject Positions: The Ethical Subjects**

So far within this ethical analysis, an array of various, and sometimes, contradictory problematisations and technologies within the 'governing of the self' have emerged. The third stage of this analysis was the identification of the subject position(s) or the 'ethical subject'. David and Harrè define the subject position as '*a location for persons within a structure of rights and duties for those who use that repertoire*' (1999: 35). Willig (2013) understood this definition by stating discourse constructs both subjects and objects in a way that facilitates and provides accessible positions within structures that allow speakers to talk up. This definition allows the analyst to investigate the range of discourse that are available to the speakers *i.e.* front-line practitioners (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008). This focus of analysis has been developed from the modern form of power, 'bio-politics', that has operated since the seventeenth-century (Miller 1993).

Pertinently to CSE policy, Gilbert and Powell (2010) have previously articulated that Foucault's (1975) analysis of *power-knowledge* illuminates discourse that is produced within a network of disciplinary activities, rooted in social policy. For example, the intentions set out by national CSE policy or a local, developed, policy response to CSE. This in turn constructs the way in which policy enactors, such as social workers, experience and identify themselves within their work, as well as the experiences and identities of those whom they interact.

Gilbert and Powell (2010) elaborate on their articulation of power and 'subject' construction by stating that the dynamics of the relationships between subjects establish, reinforce and modify discourse discursively. Hodge (2002) reinforces this elaboration by pointing out that the moral location and order in the spoken interaction are intimately linked in the creation of *power-knowledge*, thereby creating how the truth or reality of a particular ethical subject, such as a young male involved in sexual exploitation, is spoken about in various moral locations and social interactions (Dean 2010). Subject positions, such as young male victims, will ultimately have implications for subjectivity and experience (Willig 2013). Throughout the interviews, an

increase of perturbations was observed when participants described the truth they claimed about young males and this became a dominant theme.

Subject positions, within this ethical analysis, were categorised into how participants described 1) young male victims; 2) the child sex offenders who were indirectly part of their work (whom many did not directly work with or come into contact with) and; 3) themselves, as professionals. Much of the analysis is drawn upon Foucault's (1976) observations of '*scientia sexualis*' and his description of the role of the 'qualified speaker' of childhood sexuality.

### ***Young Male Victims as the Ethical Subject***

The first part of this section explores how mainstream CSE concepts (*i.e.* language and classifications of CSE in policy architecture) discursively interacted with the way participants understood, experienced and perceived this affected group. The following two sections explore participants' perceptions of sexual agency and sexual orientation and how this influences the construction of the (male) CSE victim.

Identifying discourses on young males in the interview transcripts was common yet perceptions of them varied; more often than not the amount of experience working with young males a participant held, often correlated with the depth and breadth of understanding a participant would have. The discourse on sexual abuse of young males when compared to their young female counterparts often conflated with societal beliefs, as an example is shown below.

*And then you never...I mean, I've never heard a lad say, "I was sexually exploited."*

(P13 Policy Influencer and Manager, Local Charity)

This statement particularly demonstrated the over-arching heterocentricity and dominant sexual attitudes surrounding young males and CSE in society. This statement also broadly anchors the remaining discourse on young males as the ethical subject.

### **Concepts in CSE Language and Classifications**

Concepts were particularly explored in interviews as a way of understanding how participants perceived victims of sexual exploitation, especially males. The case study area operated a standardised assessment tool for assessing whether children and young people were 'at risk' of CSE, on a (quantitative) grading scale. As identified in the problematisations of CSE, language often associated with young females was applied to young males in similar circumstances. This meant that disciplinary apparatus such as assessment tools would not be immune from these discursive practices. One participant commented on a particular assessment tool to ascertain some structure to assessing (the concept of) vulnerability.

*Yeah, the [CSE assessment] tool. Um, and that assists us in determining whether someone's either a low, medium, or high up to about three or four months ago. Well if we do an assessment and somebody comes out as low risk. I mean it's just a measurement tool that you know, kind of pulls together, um...a set of 10 parameters. It just gives you some idea where they're at in their heads really and where they are on their journey, if that would be the right word. So it's not something that stops us from doing work or not.*

(P05 Senior Team Manager, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Assessment tools such as the one P05 stated could be understood as a regime of disciplinary power by constructing the ethical subject through what Foucault would describe as 'normalising'. Foucault described 'normalising' within disciplinary power when institutions such as social work departments '*...compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes*' (1977: 182-183) subjects. This in turn has been part of what Foucault understood as the *scientia sexualis* phenomena through the pathologisation of normality (Skolbekken 2008 cited in Evans 2017). Therefore, assessment tools emphasising more rational, acceptable, discourses on CSE victims of the 'qualified speaker' of childhood sexuality.

In order to understand what concepts were used in assessments, child protection vocabulary such as 'vulnerability' and 'victimhood' were explored with participants. Frequently, 'vulnerability' and 'victimhood' were perceived as

difficult concepts to define, understand and apply to victims of CSE, especially males. Due to this, most participants were not able to provide a definitive response on their own understanding of individual concepts within CSE. This resonates with Calder and Archer's (2016) observation on the diminishing range of vocabulary available in child protection policy and practice.

*I think vulnerability is a difficult concept. I think it's a word that we quite often in services get...gets banded about a lot.*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

*...I actually use the word, you're a victim. I think we talk more about, you know, about the power imbalance and the coercion... rather than saying you are a victim. I think could also go back and say for a young person that really, really doesn't have the understanding and really you feel that, you know, you need to really express on the young person what's happening to them...`*

(P03 Acting Team Manager, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

To ascertain how participants applied language and classifications to young people they worked with, participants were encouraged discuss pertinent situations within CSE. Situations included the recognition of harmful or unhealthy behaviour in young people who did not perceive themselves as victims. Peckover (2002) had previously observed the work of May (1992) in understanding pastoral power. May (1992) positioned pastoral power between clinical nurses and their patients to be understood through nurses 'getting to know' their patients; through talking and being listened to. May (1992) continued her position of pastoral power within clinical practice that the therapeutic gaze produces and exposes a truth about the subject including the subject becoming aware of their own truth. As with Peckover (2002), this ethical analysis highlighted whilst pastoral power played a role in CSE practice, practitioners attempted to enact specific work on what constituted a 'good, therapeutic relationship'.

**Interviewer:** *Um, so when you work with...when you recognise...harmful behaviour or unhealthy choices young people*

*make who are involved in CSE...how would you tackle that issue when they didn't perhaps perceive themselves to be victims?*

**P07:** *Mm-hmm, um, with great difficulty like everybody else does, I suppose. Um...I mean, I'll do specific work with them again around what are good and abusive relationships, I suppose.*

(P07 Health Worker, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

In conjunction with aforementioned assessment tools available to practitioners and the relationship-building skills that were reported by many participants, Foucault (1975) understood that the *act of confession* of the ethical subject would need to occur. Garland (2014) notes that from the post-1960s, western males and females were encouraged by experts from within the power-knowledge institutions (medical, psychological, cultural and legal) to acknowledge, embrace and share their sexual desires and identities in a bid to liberate from the repressive power of the Victorian era. Whereas Garland quite rightly points out that (sexual) liberation was seen as a good thing, he also recognises that Foucault postulated this degree of openness to be on par with confession. This, when genealogically treated, emerges as a growth of a new truth regarding sex and sexuality. Therefore, conflicting moral parameters occur where confession is encouraged yet is then judged by practitioners working in the CSE arena.

To explore concepts in depth, the interview schedules were designed to allow participants to discuss cases they had dealt with, to understand how various concepts were applied to young males. By this design, the interviewer would facilitate an act of confession to encourage practitioners to describe their concepts of CSE language and classification, thus, creating a *specific truth* about who the 'victims' were, how they behaved and indeed how they *should* behave. Two discourses emerged where problems lie in relation to young males: 'age' and 'the act of penetration'.

In most cases, where age gaps between alleged offenders and victims were large (*i.e.* over five years), application of concepts such as 'victimhood' were straightforward. Though, when participants described cases of CSE that arose in their work that presented the alleged offender and victim were of similar



age and of the same gender, this created difficulty, especially in situations where the both young people involved in the sexual relationship were both simultaneously considered the offender and the victim.

*Um, peer on peer is a very difficult thing to, um, to deal with, uh, because...and it's only come up recently actually in the last few weeks with [case study area]...In some ways it's unfair, because although, say for example two 15-year-old boys, um, have a sexual relationship, um, they're both technically offenders and both victims. However, um...for crime recording reasons, they both got to be seen as offenders. And then it would be looked at and to see whether there was, uh, there was any sort of, in other words it's like bullying really. Um, and it's another form of bullying or sexual. Um, but it's...the peer on peer thing is a very difficult thing to deal with.*

(P01 Police Officer, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

This emerging notion of 'penetration equals choice' was also recognised by P03 (below). P03 pointed out that the societal 'myths' surrounding young males often insinuated them having more control over their lives because of their biological sex and sexual apparatus e.g. a penis. In light of this recognition, however, P03 still perceived, in their professional experience, that young males had more control of their sexual exploitative circumstances in their professional experience.

*So it's really difficult, I think, sometimes with boys and young men to unpack. And I still really believe that there's...there's a belief around boys and young men um, that they can handle themselves and, you know, they are as a boy or a young male, they have the strengths and the powers and they have the control over their life that um, is said that young women don't. And they still believe those myths around now. And the stigma as well that I feel, that boys and young men should be able to handle themselves. Boys, men can look after themselves.*

(P03 Acting Team Manager, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Within this blurred discourse of same-sex CSE, a theme of 'not treating all victims the same' emerged. The overall construction of young male victims, however, did not fit very well with mainstream concepts of 'offender', 'victim' and 'vulnerability'.

*It's not as simple as being able to say, 'Well, they've chosen that' and 'They've not chosen that,' because it will be very, very different and in on, um, that specific time, place, arrangement, um, and we can't talk about every young person's experience as being the same because they're completely different and young people do have, um, a certain agency in their own lives and they are the experts of what happened to them, because it's happened to them. So, we need to...we need to still give them that, um, their...that respect, I guess. Um, and recognise that, um, a choice might be made but it doesn't mean that they've consented. If that...does that make sense?*

(P10 Policy Influencer, National Charity)

Perceptions of CSE language and classifications within concepts appeared to be problematic across all participants within institutions. Concepts were less well-defined by practitioners who did not work with young males as these concepts did not fit the practitioner experiences of working with young males affected by sexual exploitation.

### **Sexual agency**

The discourse of 'sexual agency' and CSE victimhood emerged whilst discussing concepts in CSE assessments. Sexual agency was an important consideration in light of the construction of the ethical subject by practitioners and policy-makers in CSE. The government (DCSF 2009) advised front-line practitioners that children who demonstrated sexual agency often:

#### **Figure 8.1. DCSF (2009) Guidance Extract on Sexual Agency (p. 21-22)**

##### **Attitudes of children and young people**

3.23 Because of the grooming methods used by their abusers, it is very common for children and young people who are sexually exploited not to recognise that they are being abused. The needs of children and particularly of young people aged 16 and 17 years are likely to be overlooked for this reason. Although faced with limited choice, they may believe themselves to be acting voluntarily. It may take many weeks or months for practitioners who work with young people to build up their trust, help them to recognise that they are being sexually exploited by challenging their perceptions with factual information, and overcome their resistance to interventions.

This national guidance demonstrated a reality that was perceived to be problematic to participants. A minority discourse on 'agency' appeared to be

more liberal in voluntary sector institutions, adopting a resistance to the power-knowledge of their policy and statutory service colleagues within the 'joined-up' working arrangements. This particular minority discourse (below) stood out as being the most 'effective' discourse in empowering young people (especially young males) involved in sexual exploitative circumstances and situations – echoing Pearce's (2006) work on harm minimisation approaches within CSE.

*Our concept of 'agency' – about choice and control by the young person – remains, in that an empowerment-based approach demands that these issues are present in the work with a client. It is also about respecting and understanding how the client sees the world, rather than imposing another viewpoint. We also think that exploration of identity and sexuality, in its broadest sense, are important and relevant issues for young people. However, we would see young people's 'agency' within a wider concept of coercive control; i.e. that our starting point is that young people have much less experience, power and autonomy than older peers or adults and that this imbalance is always a feature of these interactions. This is not the case in 100% of situations but it should be the starting point for discussions/interventions.*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

'Agency' perceived by other participants, however, was constructed in a different way to their voluntary sector colleagues. More often than not, participants from statutory services referred to 'agency' in terms of engagement with their service, as opposed to 'agency' within the young person's life (including whatever involvement they had with sexual exploitation). Engagement with services was perceived as a key epistemic transformation as a way of constructing the ethical subject of a 'ideal' CSE victim.

**P01:** *Um, but the joint work with the social workers is to try and encourage young people to engage with us. Um, because sometimes there's a barrier between, uh, young people and the police certainly and other professionals such as social workers. So...the problem with CSE is that it, sometimes it's quite a protracted investigation to try and get the young people on board.*

**Interviewer:** *And what do you mean by that?*

*P01: With CSE, a lot of these young people, part of the grooming process being that they're getting things for nothing and they may not necessarily realise they are being groomed. And it's not until after the event, um, that they realise that there's something going wrong. But even then that sometimes they still show loyalty towards their perpetrators.*

(P01 Police Officer, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

This 'loyalty' would ultimately construct CSE victims to the counter discourse that existed on how passive victims of power and control may behave within the definitions and models of CSE offered by policy documents (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, HM Government 2015).

Older young people influenced the perceptions of sexual agency within the interviews. Young people nearing the age of eighteen were often constructed to be less obvious victims due to their chronological age. P13 who worked within the voluntary sector described older young people within CSE as a 'grey area' when contributing to joined-up working with other agencies.

*...but certainly initially as well, that kind of real grey area where someone who's 16 or 17 to go, "Oh, we think they are. But they're 16 and 17, so what do you want us to do anyway?" So that kind of attitude was often the case. But then I feel like our engagement was token gesture often I think at meetings to say...*

(P13 Policy Influencer and Manager, Local Charity)

Other participants, such as P01 (below), perceived age not only limited the construction of the CSE victim but was seen as in recognition that a young person would naturally become interested in 'adult things'. Victimhood would only be labelled if children and young people have sexual experiences with individuals not deemed their peers *i.e.* someone substantially older.

*Their minds are changing, they're becoming more interested in, as I say, "adult things," in sex, and explain to them that that is perfectly normal, there's nothing wrong with that. The only thing that we're trying to promote is the fact that you know, we want to ensure that the sexual experiences that they do have are those with their peers...*

(P01 Police Officer, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Whereas sexual agency was seen as a micro factor in a young person's life, as highlighted above, with reference made to the positive developmental aspects of sexual agency, they also maintained an air of caution with regards to the risk of meeting potential offenders. Few participants acknowledged the macro facilitators and structures of sexual exploitation such as structural homophobia and poverty. P10 stated observable places that sexual exploitation could take place within the case study area.

*...I don't think they are putting themselves in a vulnerable situation, I think we've got a...we can't ever talk about it like that because it's always the perpetrator...what you'll find is that young people will congregate in certain areas, so, you know, park, there's nowhere for young people to go, really. Um, so they'll...there's...you've got an area on local area, so in the City Centre, there's behind the cathedral, there's the gardens, there's, um, around there, the university...there are certain areas where you'll find groups of young people...by them choosing to go there, they're not saying, 'I want to have a bit of a risky experience.'*

(P10 Policy Influencer, National Charity)

Sexual agency was frequently a subject that participants felt strongly about, especially in empowering the clients who utilised their services. Though this recognition of sexual agency also conflicted with notions of childhood sexuality that implied innocence versus 'premature promiscuousness' as seen in the quotation below.

*Um, rather than about appropriateness and warning kids to, be on the, on the lookout. But when you've got kids, six, seven, eight, nine-year olds, primary school children who are becoming the victims of some of these perpetrators then it's a fine balance between ticking them off to be wary or ticking them off to be prematurely promiscuous.*

(P17 Member of Parliament)

Sexual agency as a concept was perceived to be less straightforward and is influenced by different factors, however, nonetheless an important consideration especially with regards to young males. As a reminder to the reader, CSE is inherently problematised to the female victim so this no doubt governed participants' construction of the 'agent', the young CSE victim.

### **Sexual orientation matters too**

Sexual orientation was a significant perception that emerged within the interviews, in the construction of the ethical subject. Gay or bisexuality was often conflated and synonymised with CSE male victims, especially by statutory service participants. Structural issues relating to the societal views on heterosexuality and homosexuality influenced the perception of the sexual orientation of young people, especially young males.

One participant reflected that while they felt the lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans\* (LGB&T+) scene was a good place for empowerment of young people, they also felt this particular geography was not immune from facilitating exploitation. In fact, the LGB&T+ scene was seen as progressive yet also transgressive in the normalisation of abuse.

*It is essential to see homophobia (& biphobia/transphobia) as crucial to the experience of young LGBT people. Young LGBT people put up with abuse daily; they put up with endemic and ingrained homo / bi / transphobic language. Abuse is normalised. This doesn't help young LGBT people learn about being supported, safe, having trusted adults, having boundaries, developing a healthy self-esteem etc. I have found that many services do not see the link between homo/bi/transphobia and so think it is irrelevant to young people's vulnerability to CSE, whereas I see it as absolutely central to understanding the risks.*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

The majority of participants did not feel comfortable discussing sexuality or sexual orientation (outside of heterosexuality) to any depth due to their perceived lack of experience, although, discourse surrounding sexuality and sexual orientation ultimately constructed a young CSE victim's future and potential sexual behaviour. Reasons for this discourse were highlighted by a minority of participants, especially those who worked within the LGB&T+ voluntary sector.

*It's around, you know heterosexual sex, hetero-normative ideas. So if you've got a young man who's identifying or...or is questioning his sexuality then in some way we haven't prepared him...we haven't talked to him about the potential type of sex that he wants if its same sex. With only...with only talking about uh uh sex with females*

*because we really only talk about reproduction. So straight away for me there's a huge vulnerability, huge vulnerability.*

(P16 Manager, Local Charity)

Although minority discourses existed on the sexual exploitative risks that young males faced, participants who did not work exclusively with LGB&T+ community often defaulted to a presumed natural order perspective of sexual development. Commonly in interviews, participants who did not work with young males or had experience of LGB&T+ issues tended to have a limited insight on the fluidity of sexuality and how this impacted on CSE.

*Those that are straight that are involved in sexual exploitation, um, was a bit of a shock to me, because I thought that that sort of situation would be an extremely difficult situation for them to be in...um, because of their sexuality. We've had situations where young men have come into the unit, has been seen as being targeted by older men, and find out that they are straight. And the reason that they're involved in sexual exploitation is financial reasons or drugs. Um, and that was, I'm being totally honest now, that was bit of shock to me, because I found I couldn't quite get my head around the fact that although they were straight, they were prepared to go and get involved in something that wasn't...sort of within their scope of, uh, perception...sexuality sort of range, um, and do something that was against what they feel inside. You see what I mean?*

(P01 Police Officer, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

P01 felt that young males who became victims of CSE tended to be gay, implying that straight males were relatively immune to same-sex, sexual exploitative risks. P02 who did not work directly with victims also made an inference that young males who identified as gay were more at risk of CSE because of their sexuality. P02 organised data collected by front-line staff to improve their local multi-agency responses.

*Males are very much in the minority, but they are still victims. From what I would say um, the majority of males, the young males who are victims of CSE, tend to be gay um...um, there can be lots of issues with sexuality. They're dealing with a sexuality...14 is a difficult...I've got two at a similar age...it's a difficult age to be at.*

(P02 Intelligence Analyst, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Other participants (P03 and P06) with similar work experiences offered perceptions of sexual orientation that implied a heteronormative perspective.

*... I can certainly think of a number of cases where we've had young boys, that over the Internet haven't really known where they are with their own sexuality. And they've tested that out over the Internet.*

(P03 Acting Team Manager, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

*Again, it's difficult for me to answer, even with our experience, in here we've like five years' work or whatever, specifically dealing with CSE, it's very, very rare we get a male involved. Um..there is a 13-year-old I dealt with recently and he...he although not admitting it, I as a police officer and having experienced with younger children and a few younger children, my opinion is that he is a gay child in care, or bisexual.*

(P06 Police Officer, Multi-Agency CSE Team CSE Team)

Such constructions of perceived (homo)sexuality in young male victims were important differences in constructing this group from their peers and potentially became distracting in cases where sexual exploitation may have taken place. One particular participant highlighted that while issues of gender and sexuality were important in CSE, often these issues over-rode or invisibilised exploitation through 'heteronormative assumptions' as described by participants in the last few quotations.

*For gay / bi / questioning boys / young men, the issues of gender and sexuality come together in CSE terms to mean that they are often invisible to mainstream services or are assumed to be simply exploring their sexuality, rather than potentially at risk of CSE. There are heteronormative assumptions about gay / bi men (they are only interested in sex, they have multiple partners, they have a lot of casual sex) and gendered assumptions about boys / young men (they are just exploring and experimenting about sex, they can look after themselves, they are the perpetrators of sexual exploitation not the victims). These assumptions mean services often don't see boys / young men as potential victims of CSE or see their 'difficult' behaviour as the problem, rather than a potential symptom.*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)



### ***Construction of the Child Sex Offender as the Ethical Subject***

This thesis did not set out to focus on individuals perpetrating child sexual abuse or offences, yet unintendedly a construction of the 'child sex offender' arose, as an ethical subject, within the interviews. Questions within the interview schedules did not refer to offenders but arose during the identification of ethical subjects in the selection of the corpus of statements for analysis. This discourse has significant implications for constructing the child sex offender or abusing individual, especially in light of gender. Most commonly, participants made a simple bifurcation between those who could be labelled a child sex offender and who could be a CSE victim.

*There is uh...to be honest uh, I wouldn't be able to recount it, but it's essentially, it's where um...there are legal definitions of age, so it sits under 18. The offender is over 18. Um, my understanding is where an older, an adult takes advantages of a child um, for the purposes of sexual gratification, essentially, and exploits them, manipulates them, conditions them to uh, take part in activities they wouldn't necessarily have taken part in.*

(P02 Intelligence Analyst, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Beyond this simple classification, risk discourse and moral panic ensued to create child sex offenders as individuals previously unknown to the CSE victim.

### ***Stranger Danger***

Foucault (1975) observed that children had unintendedly been sexualised through the increased rational or bio-political discourse in their sexuality to maintain their 'innocence in childhood'. Foucault (1975) argued that this acceleration and perseverance of rational discourse on childhood sexuality backfired, rather than separating children from sex, it actually steeped children further into sex discourse. Taylor (2017) believes that this unfavourable outcome of sex discourse can be paralleled to current perceptions of paedophilia based on Adler's (2001) work. Adler (2001) had argued that a 'paedophilic gaze' has dominated the way in which children are viewed. As a reminder to the reader, the 'paedophilic gaze' was defined as the pre-occupation that paedophiles are always strangers that lurk outside the

institutions where children can be found. This pre-occupation has been resultant in the way in which power-knowledge has developed to viewing children. Taylor (2017) considers as a consequence of this, society now perceives children through the lens of sexual prey and are therefore hyper-vigilant of dangerous stranger's or other's (imagined) sexual desire(s) (Adler 2001).

As a direct consequence of national policy instructing local areas to do more on addressing CSE their areas have inevitably led to more child sex offenders being identified, convicted and punished (DfE 2011, HM Government 2015). Many participants often spoke of the child sex offender as a stranger to the young people they worked with. One clear example of this 'stranger danger' is presented in the statement below.

*...where a lot of paedophiles hide under that banner of like sort of pretends to be gay but going down there down there you know getting young lads and stuff. You know obviously that's not... that's not...I don't think that's nothing to do...anything to do with sexuality. It's that power I think but they don't want to admit that that stuff goes on even though there are 14- or 15-year-old lads in the bars and stuff that get let in. There's a case recently in the paper where one of the bar owners took a lad in off the street. They got caught in bed with him. You know, there's this stuff that goes on down there. Not is...you know it's like each to their own. But when like kids are involved, it's like a different story, isn't it?*

(P12 Outreach Worker, Local Charity)

This minority discourse on paedophilia and gay males emerged from one interview however many participants did not feel comfortable discussing CSE risk and the LGB&T+ scene when asked.

**P18:** *Because there is a myth about gay men being paedophiles. Historically, people are worried that if you talk about older...particularly older gay men abusing younger gay men, that just currently feeds into a social myth...which it is...that is a myth. But it silences us as a community, talking about it.*

**Interviewer:** *And do you think this sort of, blinds us from the CSE perception?*

*P18: Yeah and it gets...things get mixed up. So people just meeting up and having sex consensually and freely and...you know, gets mixed up with actual exploitation which is a different...nature of thing. And that's when I said, you know, that comes back to that definition of process.*

(P18 LGBT+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

P18 clearly felt strongly that wider societal discourse and beliefs of gay men abusing young gay male as well as labelling them as being 'sexually free' from the 1970s gay (and sexual) liberation often became conflated with speaking up against 'actual' exploitation. P18 also believed that this confusion in discourse resulted in silence on the issue of CSE risk to young GBT males.

Whilst a clear construction of the older (gay) CSE offender emerged in interviews, the perpetrator profile was recognised to be widening beyond popular, societal discourse.

*Um, it was generally seen as the older type, um, paedophile, pervert you know, 50's guy, um, you know, targeting young vulnerable 14, 15-year-olds on the street who are clearly, um, you know, once you see them talk to them you can see that there's some sort of vulnerability there that they could sort of tap into....It's clear now, and...it was generally, the older guy who's sort of mid, um, 40s, 50s, 60-year-old, and the teenage girl. Now, it's just, um, it's a lot more widespread both you know, the um, in terms of the age group. Obviously, clearly, we start from 18 even though we're still at the 18 thing, at that time it was, the perpetrators were a lot older.*

(P01 Police Officer, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Building on the recognition that age gaps played a significant part in the construction of the offender, 'straight power' was also highlighted in the interviews.

*And another one of those is that, uh, women who are raped, I haven't done statistics on this, but I mean, it's very unlikely that many women are raped by gay men, but gay men are raped by both straight and gay men. Uh, and so I think that there's something interesting in cases where straight men have raped gay men and to where that's happened and how that's happened. Is it a collective rape, is it a homophobic rape and that I'm going to assert some control over you because you are gay and I hate gay people. Or what's going on there. I mean, that's a very, uh, sexual orientation, sexuality driven form of violence.*

(P11 Independent Male Sexual Violence Adviser, Local Charity)

P11 felt that heterosexuality was a driver of sexual violence and resonates with the work of Cowburn and Dominelli (2001) on *Masking Hegemonic Masculinity: Reconstructing the Paedophile as the Dangerous Stranger* as described in chapter two.

### ***Post-punishment***

Other discourse emerged on the impending threat of the child sex offender post-punishment and perceptions of ineffective governmental apparatus was in place to continue to safeguard children from offenders.

*...we can have more people imprisoned and charged with CSE, which means we can have a bigger problem with what we do with them when they come out of the prison. So not to have got those methods of rehabilitating them safely into society, is going to be an increasing problem.*

(P17 Member of Parliament)

*...if you can take an offender off the streets, it doesn't have to be through um, the criminal courts for sexual offence, you know. If you can get them off the streets using anti-social behaviour legislation, fine, I don't care, so long as there's other...you know, people are safeguarded by them not being there.*

(P08 Director of Children's Services)

No participants, with the exception of police officers, had reported professional experience of working directly with offenders, which would have indeed limited their perception and construction. There was an apparent

dissonance between victim discourse and offender discourse largely regulated through moral panic.

### ***Practitioners as the Ethical Subject***

This subsection of the ethical subject was difficult to separate from the interview transcriptions, as this entire analysis is premised on the way one perceives oneself, and therefore, governs oneself. Distinct discourses emerged on how practitioners defined themselves as an ethical subject within CSE. Many practitioners portrayed themselves in a variety of structures and discourses to self-validate or authenticate themselves within their work. Whilst internal validation was present, an over-arching panoptic culture also existed on their work, focusing on their conduct – although this will be brought to the forefront in the last ethical dimension, ethical practices, of this chapter. As a reminder to the reader, Foucault (1979) metaphorically positioned panopticon within the production of a discipline through the internalisation of both judgement and expectation of others.

### ***Panoptic culture on practitioners***

Within the co-located multi-agency CSE teams, participants felt that they were specialist but isolated and this had an impact on the work they undertook. Multi-agency teams within the case study area were performance managed through the number of cases screened and taken on for active case management from one-off involvement through to years.

*...I think it can get quite political sometimes because when you work in a team like this, you become a specialist team. Uh, I think because you co-locate you can become isolated from your own practitioners and from your own service...For the workers sometimes and that for a team that becomes a specialist team you can then sometimes become isolated from other practitioners and what's going on.*

(P03 Acting Team Manager, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Gilbert and Powell (2010) acknowledged the work of Tilbury (2004) who has previously warned that the simplistic descriptors and values entrenched in performance management of front-line practitioners working within child

protection. Performance management has the potential to exaggerate the regulatory anxieties over and above the importance of supporting clients in the broadest sense (Gilbert and Powell 2010, Broadhurst *et al.* 2010, Calder and Archer 2016). This approach to child protection policy narrowly conceptualises a client or service users' experiences into fixed language and classification and in turn, measurable outputs, in order to assess 'quality' (Gregory and Holloway 2005 in Gilbert and Powell 2010). This defining feature of how participants understood themselves within CSE policy and practice was apparent in nearly all interviews, as this following statement demonstrates with the *Action Plan* (DfE 2011).

*Well, the Action Plan was...is four years old. You know, it doesn't take account of any of the learning over the last four years. So I think the Action Plan is out of date. The Action Plan doesn't help you do anything, it tells you to do something. They hold...it holds you to account if you don't do it. That's not support. And you turn to the statutory guidelines...I mean, we still work to the 2009 guidelines um... I think it's...it's responding to learning and it's around basing uh, information uh, and guidance on...on what you've learned over the last five or six years. And I would say that the one biggest area is, don't ever view this as a Children's Services issue...because it isn't.*

(P08 Director of Children's Services)

### ***Being Qualified***

Building on the work of Gilbert and Powell (2010) on social work and power, the production of professionalism in welfare professions has been legitimised as a disciplinary mechanism associating professional authority and activity with worker identities, knowledge and codes of conducts, thereby, building a regime of specific power-knowledge. This formation of power was recognised in CSE practice, that in order to govern one's self conduct, one had to be 'qualified' in contemporary times when compared to the past.

*Um, prior to coming here um, I've been a qualified social worker for thirty-plus years, or I've worked in children's services social work for thirty-plus years. Initially starting off in residential children's homes uh, from that I then progressed and I was a team leader working in what was then known as a children's services assessment centre...Leaving that role, I then went into uh, field work, as it was called then, as an*

*unqualified social worker because you could actually work as an unqualified social worker many years ago.*

(P03 Acting Team Manager, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

This statement is a key finding that supports Foucault's (1975) suggestion of the 'qualified speaker' in childhood sexuality in the twenty-first-century.

***'Broken homes, no father figure'***

In addition to the perceptions of being professionally isolated yet specialist with the need to be highly qualified, one participant felt that young females could learn healthy, positive sexuality (or role modelling) from a 'father figure' which they could be perceived as. Yet young males would not benefit from this perceived need for a 'father figure'.

*Um, obviously it's mostly girls. Um, for some reason I think they engage quite well with me. Now, I don't know whether that's to do with the father figure type thing. Um, you know, because sometimes they've got a very sort of disruptive...they've had very disruptive childhoods where you know, broken families and not necessarily had someone in their lives who's a father figure. And I'm, oh, I'm 51 so...and I'm a dad myself so I know about that side of things. But with boys, um, I think...I'm trying to think now of the case that we've had. I don't think there's a great deal of difference between the male officers and the female officers dealing with the boy-boy, uh, the boy-men situation.*

(P01 Police Officer, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

It was interesting to observe P01's acceptance that young males were less of a threat to male workers in the CSE team. This also echoes Bell's (2002) observations of the transformation of parenthood from one of passiveness to one of a rational risk assessor in protecting children from child sex offenders.

**Subjectification: The Ethical Practices**

The last part of this ethical analysis, subjectification or 'ethical practices', focuses on the underlying, as well as, emerging 'ethics' of the participants' self-formation. Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2008) observed the term 'subjectification' arose from Foucault's (1985) genealogical work on Greek

ethics and subjectivity. Ethical practices determine why we govern through identifying the conscious ethical ends or goals sought (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008, Dean 2010). Ethical practices achieve this by forming the individual or collective identity through which governing operates. This formation includes and enables techniques of government by manipulating various capabilities, qualities and statuses of the self (Dean 2010). These various capabilities, qualities and statuses can position oneself to inevitably see the world within any particular discursive practice one may find themselves in (David and Harrè 1999). This last part perhaps presents the most sensitive part of the analysis, as it brings together the discourses that ultimately explore why participants undertake the work they do; bringing together ethical substance, ethical work and ethical subjects into one. Ethical practices were often difficult to identify, as practitioners were not often asked why they undertook their work (within CSE) together with how this related to how they defined and understood CSE. This included how their definitions and understandings influenced their work.

Since 2009, CSE policy has been clear about a 'victim focus' when working with young people, however how this focus is implemented in practice remains unclear in light of the rationality in addressing problematisations. Whilst this research cannot be generalisable, the overall analysis of subjectification within the emergent discourse can be seen as maintaining the *Repressive Hypothesis* (Foucault 1976). This last of the four sections of this chapter certainly builds on the work of Petrie (2012) in her critique of Kelly's (1988) *continuum of sexual violence* on application to children. Petrie (2012) had observed the absence of diverse language and classifications of child sexual development in child development assessments and checklists in government policies and guidance.

In addition to the *Repressive Hypothesis*, confession interplayed significantly with the ethical practices of participants' work, especially in consolidating the understanding of 'effective' practice. Garland (2014) articulated that the normalising powers of power-knowledge institutional apparatus associated with sex, demanded that subjects confess sexual preferences and identities.



This in turn, built the moral practice and constitute of the self. Foucault (1975) positioned 'moral' or ethical practices as discursive, iterative practices interwoven in architecture.

**Figure 8.2 Extract from *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault 1975: 172)**

A whole problematic then develops: that of an architecture that is no longer built simply to be seen (as with the ostentation of palaces), or to observe the external space (cf. the geometry of fortresses), but to permit an internal, articulated and detailed control – to render visible those who are inside it; in more general terms, an architecture that would operate to transform individuals: to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them. Stones can make people docile and knowable. The old

With the above quotation, Foucault referred to architecture as physical buildings in *Discipline and Punish*, this can be easily transferred to policy as architecture. In his later works, Foucault (1988) believed that rather than subjects take it upon themselves to live according to their own morality, they instead adopt and engage in various capabilities, qualities and statuses. Adopting and engaging in various capabilities, qualities and statuses through specific practices of self-regulation creates the 'ethic' of self-formation.

Appreciating Foucauldian theory behind the 'governing of the self', ethical practices were operationalised and were usually premised on professional discretion as a clear ethical practice in relation to CSE. This concept of professional discretion was previously observed by Gilbert and Powell (2010) when examining power and the practice of social workers in UK social policy administration. Gilbert and Powell (2010) defined discretion in this context as paradoxical space within professional practice that both invited surveillance and enticed resistance. They argued that professional discretion was held in high regard as often this archetypal activity concerned significant debate on the status of professions, especially that of social workers.

### ***Eradication of CSE***

As stated in contemporary CSE policy (DfE 2011, HM Government 2015) 'eradication' of the problem of CSE emerged in the findings as an ethical practice. P06 likens CSE to the problem and prevalence of drug dealing within the case study area.

*It's as prevalent as drug dealing. Um, that's how I feel about it, um, and it needs eradicating. It will never be eradicated but we can really, really work towards getting rid of the, you know, and stopping it as best you can and making people understand it.*

(P06 Police Officer, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

While this is not necessarily a negative ethical practice in principle, it would seem that until CSE was problematised to include a far more inclusive perspective on macro factors it would be unlikely that CSE could be fully eradicated. Melrose (2010, 2013a) considered macro factors to include commercial sex market demands. As explained in chapter six, policy definitions of CSE focuses on the microenvironments and individual circumstances and situations surrounding the young person affected by CSE. Nonetheless, this ethical practice was gender-neutral.

### ***Young Males and Ethical Practices***

Not many participants were able to be clear-cut with the end goals of their work with regards to young males. Three, clear and distinct, perceptions were offered by a LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker who felt that 1) service development was often geared towards female victims exclusively, 2) that the victim message was often gendered, and, lastly 3) that young LGB&T+ people may take longer to go through the stages of their heterosexual peers in terms of sexual vulnerability to CSE.

*Well I think there is a number of things missing...So who's at risk? And I think that's quite important, because we often kind of gear services and messages at particular groups of young people.*

*So actually that issue about where the message and where practice is geared is crucial, because obviously it's mostly geared at girls and young women, so that's one of the key issues for boys and young men,*

*because when they themselves look at any information, or when it's in schools or whatever, if it's solely presented as, girls at risk of being exploited by boys, then boys and young men are not going to put themselves in that scenario. They're going to get the message that they are the perpetrators, not the victims.*

*But the thing about age I think is quite crucial because I know most of these things can officially go up to 19, but the discussion happening within LGB and T communities is actually it needs to be older. There needs to be an older upper age limit if you like. And that's partly because it's about the process of coming out and exploring sexuality and gender identity, and often young people need longer to do that...and so they might behaviourally or emotionally be at... be 22 and be doing similar things to what a straight 15-year-old or 16-year-old is doing.*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

These ethical practices perhaps offer explanations for the lack of specific ethical practices relating to young males especially those identifying as gay and bisexual. These explanations would indeed be congruent with the emergent discourse in the first three parts of this four-part ethical analysis.

### ***Harm minimisation***

This concept of harm minimisation builds on the work of Pearce (2006) in CSE practice. Pearce (2006) argued that the adoption of domestic violence and detached youth work practices could be useful to CSE victims, as a way of effectively lifting them from their exploitative circumstances. This ethical practice clearly maintains as an inclusive approach to young people who demonstrate agency in resistance of being labelled a 'victim'. Petrie (2012) contends whilst there is a contemporary pre-occupation of childhood is immersed by asexuality, there is an emergence of a 'new' sociology that accepts that childhood is a social construction and children have agency as social actors. Petrie (2012) continues her point that children have agency and competencies from birth and that the child's development is foremost important in appreciating heterogeneity in childhood. Harm minimisation in light of child development theory emerged within the discourse within the interviews. This included participants assisting young people to make healthier choices through explicit information giving such as P18 overleaf.

*So I talk about it very explicitly really, and I think that...I mean, it goes...that's the kind of sexual health harm minimisation, but you've got to be explicit. But also...um, the way...the way you work as a sexual abuse case worker is that you don't push people to have to say stuff they don't want to say. Um, but I think...I think it's more about, I think, helping people. It's not about the explicitness of sex itself, it's just helping people think through behaviour around it. You know, the choices you're making to end up in the situation that you're in, but also about giving really clear messages. And this is where the law does help on sexual offences about what is legal and not, because, actually, people are very unaware of that. I also think there is a clear message that even if you behave naively or unwisely, that does not give anyone the right to exploit that to hurt you. i.e. you are not to blame.*

(P18 LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker)

### **Victim-focused**

Participants who held a professional registration and were subject to professional regulatory ethical codes often used this as a caveat in appreciating why they undertook their work in CSE. As an example of this, P03 demonstrates a focus on the child or young person involved in sexual exploitation as primarily a victim and that additional involvement with the family is a secondary consideration. This possibly implies a certain degree of afforded agency.

*Uh, whereby, then you perhaps lose in some of your models of work around your social work ethics, working in...I mean obviously safeguarding, the wider safeguarding and because we very...we're victim-focused, we keep the child very much at the centre, yes, but then we don't...we don't have a focus of working with the families. Because our main focus is the victim. We work with the families obviously, but only to a level.*

(P03 Acting Team Manager, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

As described in **Subject Positions: The Ethical Subject**, practitioners often positioned themselves with the need to be a 'professional' to enable them to work with CSE victims. Whilst being 'victim-focused' in one's work, P03 recognised that they are governed by social work ethics. Gilbert and Powell (2010) warn that the discourse that legitimises what can be said and cannot be said and what can be undertaken and what cannot trap professionals and clients alike in a "...dance of mutually maintained positions that serve a

*particular view of the world and the remedies, the technologies, that can be brought to bear on it” (Biggs and Powell 2001: 99). Social work ethics give platform for safe, moral practice yet Gilbert and Powell (2010) problematise this position of privileged professionalism through understanding this, from a Foucauldian perspective, as disciplinary power and technology designed to manage the population. This discourse of professional ethics seemed a barrier for creative thought and actions that was undertaken by voluntary sector colleagues.*

Following this theme of a victim-focus, a further participant believed that until a victim of CSE accepts what has happened to them, they are unable to move on. This ethical practice of this participant, however, was borne out of their own personal experiences of being a victim but nonetheless held importance in the therapeutic work they undertook.

*And unless somebody accepts that they have been the victim of sexual exploitation, they never accept what happened and therefore can't necessarily move on. I always think about it uh, it's really clumsy language but I think about it in the same way as people who have drug and alcohol issues. Unless they actually admit that there's an issue...they can't move on from it. Similar...similar circumstances, similar idea, similar thinking about victim, you know, until I admitted what happened to me, that I was a victim of sexual exploitation, there was no way I could move on from it.*

(P16 Manager, Local Charity)

This reiterates Foucault's belief that truth and authenticity will only come out through the act of confession as a necessity in post-Victorian sexuality discourse (Garland 2014). Other participants felt that whilst a victim-focus was significant in their work, how a child or young person defined their circumstances, and indeed identity, with an eventual state of becoming a survivor was important.

*I think the individual has to define themselves, really. Um, and some people look at it very...some people adopt almost uh, um, the mental health approach of the idea of recovery. Um, other people might...might...might see it from a criminal justice standpoint and see*

*themselves in a victim up until the point where they...they saw justice and then they become a survivor as they've gone through that process.*

(P14 Independent Male Sexual Violence Adviser, Local Charity)

This process of being a victim and becoming a survivor presents a particularly interesting discourse as policy does not introduce this concept within its own discourse. Alternatively, whilst children and young people were understood and accepted to have and develop agency towards a 'recovery' or 'survivorship' of abuse, not all perceived channels of agency were accepted. A male participant (below) spoke of how in his experience young female victims would sometimes be 'drawn to' an older male. This may infer that this participant understood female sexuality to be passive in his use of the words 'drawn to', insinuating that female sexuality is only activated by a male 'stimulus'. Due to this perceived risk to his professional status and most likely the institutional reputation, a mitigation was put in place to avoid young female clients from 'latching on to a male worker'.

*But then there's also another side of it where some of the young people, certainly girls, they're drawn to the older guy. Um, and therefore, you know, we've got to sort of sometimes be selective about who would pick that case up, it would be a female if we follow them or some sort of, um, not necessarily a risk as such, but, um, something that might, um, compromise the investigation, or you know. Because that young person might sort of latch on to a male, if you will. We've had a couple of instances where they've you know, they've rung up, you're dealing with, uh, an investigation, and then they've rung up and they've said something that's inappropriate to me, um, which I was...I've obviously had to sort of say to my bosses and stuff and they've sort of said, "Right, then it's not healthy for you to continue with that investigation." And then it's passed over to somebody else. Um, so yeah.*

(P01 Police Officer, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Other participants also referred to this mitigation available to practitioners, but this issue was not perceived to be the case when discussing young male victims and professional relationships.

### ***The Experimental Stage***

Participants who did not work with LGB&T+ clients carried forward the perception that sexuality was something that could not be decided upon by a young person. Even though this participant (below) implied that young people who may have identified or demonstrated sexual behaviour with peers of the same sex, they had somehow 'not made their mind up'. This experimental stage would be of great interest to Foucault on the pathologisation of normal as observed before in this chapter.

*So, they go through an experimental stage, so...and they kind of haven't made their mind up, but I still do that work with parents anyway because they need support on that and it's about, um, you know, it's about, um, acceptance and, um, and how they feel about, um, you know, their own sexuality, their children's sexuality and things like that.*

(P04 Parent Support Worker, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

### ***Pleasure***

Unusually within the interviews, P16 spoke about pleasure in relation to their work with victims of CSE, broadening their therapeutic work not only to focus on the sexual exploitation experience but to reflect this into an individual's sexual identity and sexuality. This echoes Foucault's theory of *ars erotica*.

*Being...able to talk about different types of relationships? You know, about being able to name things, about, you know, being able to have a conversation with young people about the... you know what they think about people's bodies, what they think about sex. I'm not just talking about reproduction, but I'm talking about sex. That people have sex for pleasure and the types of things...Without a shadow of a doubt. Without a shadow of a doubt, yeah and I think the potentially that...that...for schools there's still some leftover, stuff that's potentially around from Section 28. This idea that the promotion of homosexuality. But, you know, then we should also be talking about, you know, uh other types of relationships, polyamorous relationships.*

(P16 Manager, Local Charity)

This counter-discourse defies the mainstream discourse of childhood sexuality in relation to the *Repressive Hypothesis* that exists in twenty-first-century CSE policy and practice.

## **Summary**

This thesis is concentrated with the construction of young males affected by sexual exploitation and this last second data chapter concludes the second and final objective of the over-arching aim. The findings from 18 participants from seven institutions provide insightful data on various actors within power-knowledge institutions that construct, govern and regulate young people, especially young males, involved in CSE. The presented data has illuminated official and counter-discourses from corpus of statements of expert discourses within CSE policy enactment. This critical discourse analysis has examined expert discourses (Winch 2005, Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008) in how they have been constructed through policy architecture (*i.e.* structure) and their relationship to *power-knowledge* (Fairclough 1992). As a reminder to the reader, Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2008) advise there are no set rules or procedures for conducting a Foucauldian-inspired analysis of discourse relating to genealogy, governmentality and subjectification. What this chapter has shown is policy architecture largely influences the discursive practices of governance of the self *i.e.* front-line practitioners. CSE policy has ultimately crystallised the victim profile, the truth of CSE and how government should be enacted through a panoptic culture on practitioners and policy makers since 2000 when 'child prostitution' became known as 'CSE' today.

Using Foucauldian and liminality theories has clarified the data to the point that minority, often silenced, discourses on young male victims have come to light. Not only have these discourses emerged but have also illuminated the underpinning ethics of the self *i.e.* the participants operating within various governing institutions, at various levels of government. It is entirely possible that the 'ethics' situated within the work of participants within the field of CSE is much less visible, therefore silencing the discourse on both sensitive and specific issues such as the anxiety of male workers and female victims, young males in general, sexual agency and even the notion of 'pleasure' (Foucault's theory of *ars erotica*). These findings help bring a critical understanding of the ethical and moral activities in CSE policy enactment. The findings will inform the overall theorisation in the development of discourse norm circles (Elder-



Vass 2011, 2012), as well as proposing an alternative theoretical framework similar to that of Kelly (1988) '*continuum of sexual violence*' for young males.

## Chapter 9

# **OVERALL DISCUSSION OF THE THESIS AND CONCLUSION**

## **CHAPTER 9: OVERALL DISCUSSION OF THE THESIS AND CONCLUSION**

### Chapter 9 thematic outline

- Overview of Overall Discussion
- Part I: Critical Policy Genealogical Analysis
- Part II: Formal Conclusion and Recommendations for Future Professional Practice and Policy

### **Overview of the Overall Discussion**

This chapter has two clear elements: 1) an overall discussion, through a critical policy genealogical analysis, bringing together the learning from adult sex work policy reformation, the epistemological genealogy on sex, sexual violence and the position of children, the employed critical theories, the specific methods, and the two data chapters; 2) a summary and formal conclusion of the thesis. The purpose of the research was to examine discourses of policy actors within social structures that construct, regulate and govern children and young people involved in sexual exploitation and within chapter one, the research question was presented:

***How did professionals' perceptions of Child Sexual Exploitation policy 'architecture', between 2000 and 2016, influence the discourse of the young male victim, within policy documents and related practices aimed at disrupting their involvement in CSE?***

The over-arching research question was then, specifically and sensitively, developed further by two subsidiary questions answered in chapters six and eight, respectively:

- 1. What relationships existed between national policy discourses on sexual exploitation of children and young people (2000 - 2016) and local responses from working with young male victims of sexual exploitation?***
  
- 2. How are the experiences, understandings and perceptions of young male victims of sexual exploitation, presented within the***

### ***local and national discourses of practitioners, policy influencers and policy makers?***

The research questions informed the development of the research aim and objectives to describe the specific methods, in general terms, within established parameters (Martindale and Taylor 2014, Doody and Bailey 2016). In order to systematically acquire new knowledge, the methods drew upon peer-reviewed research methodologies (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008, Wong *et al.* 2013, Rycroft-Malone *et al.* 2015, Edgley *et al.* 2016) with theoretical analysis (*e.g.* critical realism). The examination of CSE policy between 2000 to 2016 is a substantial timeframe to demonstrate the varying policy enactment with the observable seven-year period of gender-specific advice. CSE policy from 2017 (DfE 2017) to the present day has not advanced beyond gender-neutrality, and has in fact, removed its predecessor policy advice on young male victims (DCSF 2009). So, this thesis had designed the research questions to capture the enactment of this gender-specific advice (DCSF 2009) within CSE policy.

### ***Recapping the Research Methods***

As set out in chapters one and four, a qualitative methodology (Ormston *et al.* 2014) was deemed appropriate to carry out applied policy research (Ritchie and Spencer 2003, Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls 2014). This qualitative paradigm permitted triangulation (with three sources of data) to obtain rich, in-depth data, from multiple perspectives, to facilitate the navigation of complexity within the case study (Stake 1995, 2005, Hentz 2012). This triangulation strengthened internal validity and reliability of the data through comparing, contrasting and analysing on multiple levels (Dasgupta 2015) (see methods diagram in Figure 1.3, page 10). The qualitative data was captured through three sources, including: 1) literature reporting local implementation of national CSE policies; 2) interviews with national policy influencers and makers in CSE, and; 3) interviews with local policy enactors within a local authority. The latter two sources were accessed through purposive and snowballing sampling. In order to ‘handle’ the defined social and material realities and (non-)discursivities, and without following trend of traditional

(archaeological) analysis of CSE policy, a specific, in-depth genealogical analysis of discourse was undertaken (Gale 2001, Foucault 2002). Through this type of policy analysis, it was possible to examine a broad range of actors and institutions, determining policy interpretation and application at both national and local levels.

Within chapter six, selected published literature on local government and young male CSE victims was organised through a critical realist synthesis (CRS), achieving the research aim through addressing objective two<sup>27</sup>. Once these findings, through the development of programme theories, had been concluded, an in-depth case study research methodology, with semi-structured interviews, took place to gain depth in themes that arose within the CRS data.

Chapter seven presented the definition of the case study as a local authority boundary with three specific criteria for inclusion based on the methodological literature (Stake 1995, 2005, Hentz 2012, Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls 2014, Clarke *et al.* 2015, Dasgupta 2015) and the CRS. The first criterion required an area to have a highly-scored measure of deprivation in the 2010 *English Indices of Multiple Deprivation* (DCLG 2011) as CSE is known to be prevalent in areas of high deprivation and poverty (Phoenix 2002, 2003, Scott and Harper 2006, Melrose 2010, Jago *et al.* 2011). The second criterion required an area with a presence of a developed socio-historically relevant infrastructure that caters for the LGB&T+ communities, through a headcount of community organisations and commercial venues. Lastly, the third criterion required an area to have a developed local response to CSE (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, HM Government 2015). Chapter eight analysed the interview transcripts focusing on the ethics (Robinson 2018) of policy actors within national, regional and local governing institutions including government, LSCBs, children's social care, the police and the voluntary sector. The FDA achieved the research aim through addressing objective one and provided a

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<sup>27</sup> Chapter six (CRS) was continued to be updated with literature that met the inclusion criteria within the critical realist synthesis methods.

heightened degree of sensitivity into the professional discourses on young males involved in CSE within a defined case study (chapter seven).

To reiterate from chapter one, this thesis does not present a dichotomising predicament of what is a right way or a wrong way to deal with CSE, but has provided a platform to detect the constructing, regulating and governing discourses, through a realist social constructionist lens (Elder-Vass 2012, Burr 2015); including discourses that do not hold dominant positions within the CSE policy architecture. Concepts such as 'gynocentricity' or 'paedophile' will be mentioned and emerge in the generation of this theoretical discussion, but to help the reader, data when theorised, will be 'mapped' to its original location elsewhere in the thesis.

### ***Reflexivity of the Doctoral Candidate in Overall Theorisation***

With my experience of working within the National Health Service and the voluntary sector, working with vulnerable populations, I observed great similarities to the colleagues participating in my doctoral research. The impact of me holding a dual duty of care as a health visitor and researcher had proved interesting in accessing and interviewing participants, especially in terms of perceptive power (Aléx and Hammarström 2008). Child protection practice heavily relies upon the qualitative narrative of a practitioner's decision-making, so my theorisation focuses on the (self governing) ethics of policy actors. Tuffield and Newman (2012) advised the use of bracketing, and as far as I am consciously aware, I have maintained a degree of bracketing with my interaction and interpretation with the data as qualitative research heavily depends on what participants say and do (Gibbs 2007).

### ***Structure of the Chapter***

The remainder of this chapter is split into two parts, the first presents an overall theorisation of the two data chapters (six and eight) through a critical policy genealogical analysis (Gale 2001); using triangulation (Dasgupta 2015) and Elder-Vass' (2011) discourse norm circle model. The second part is the formal conclusion of the thesis that sets out what has been covered chapter

by chapter, limitations of the thesis and recommendations for future professional practice and policy.

**Part I: Critical Policy Genealogical Analysis** Page 335

**Part II: Formal Conclusion and Recommendations for  
Future Professional Practice and Policy** Page 369

## PART I

### Critical Policy Genealogical Analysis



## **Part I: The Critical Policy Genealogical Analysis**

### **Chapter 9, Part I thematic outline**

- 1) The Genealogy of CSE Policy Development between 2000 and 2016
- 2) Problematizing the Rationality and Consensus of Young Male Inclusion in CSE Policy Architecture
- 3) Identifying the Formation and Reformation of Temporary Alliances around Conflicting Interests on Gender in the CSE Policy Development

This first part of this chapter facilitates the overall theorisation of the data through a critical policy genealogical analysis. To remind the reader, Gale's (2001) definition of a critical policy genealogy<sup>28</sup> (CPG) is adopted in this thesis due its appropriateness for presenting the works of Foucault (1975, 1976, 1988, 1991) with critical realist meta-theory (Bhaskar 1986, McEvoy and Richards 2003, De Souza 2015), in the main. Gale's advice on CPG provides the tripodal structure to frame the discussion as well as the theoretical cohesion *i.e.* realist social constructionist discourse norm circles (Elder-Vass 2011, 2012). This analysis does not attempt to undertake a top-down policy analysis but illustrates the data within the production of six overall discourse circles, which shed light on the overall construction of young male victims.

### ***Recapping the Discourse Norm Circle Model***

Elder-Vass' (2011, 2012) discourse (norm) circle model behaves as an adjudicator and stabiliser of the negotiating positions of critical realist- and Foucauldian-informed findings. By using this model, theoretical threads can be identified and followed through, such as minority discourse on young males. Each norm circle will be developed in accordance with Elder-Vass' advice (stratified from chapter three, page 129), to:

1. Take into account the observed and produced normativity;
2. Identify the dominant discourses that bring about expectations (normative pressures) and operate through social interaction between individuals that are enforced and endorsed, and;

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<sup>28</sup> See page 4 in chapter one for the definition.

3. Understand how less-dominant discourses develop and acknowledge any degree of ambivalence that could arise on how and why this occurs.

The six discourse circles were developed through strategic enquiry on specific issues pertinent to young males in CSE, in line with Foucauldian guidance (Bell 2002, Garland (2014). Essentially, asking the right question(s) leads to tracing the epistemes that frame the issue in question (Bell 2002, Garland 2014). Figure 9.1 (overleaf) illustrates how each of the two datasets develops the theoretical development of the discourse circles (Elder Vass 2011, 2012) within the presentation of the CPG. The key illuminations within each dataset are theorised through a realist social constructionist perspective; identifying and producing six over-arching discourse circles, within the triptych, or three-fold, structure of a critical policy genealogy (as numbered below).

**The Genealogy of CSE Policy Development between 2000 and 2016** Page 339

1. Political Influencing Discourse Circle
2. Visibility / Surveillance Discourse Circle

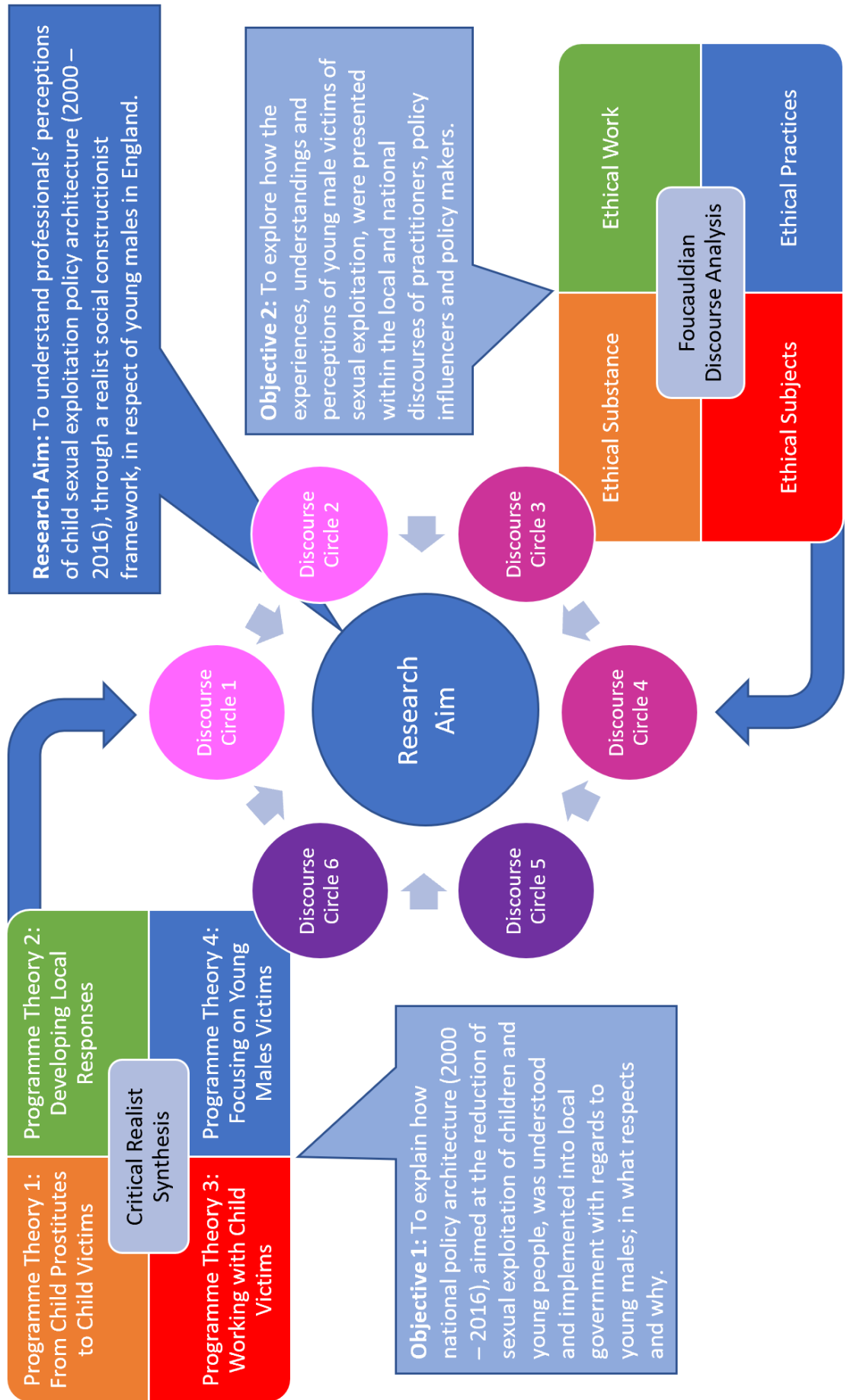
**Problematising the Rationality and Consensus of Young Male Inclusion in CSE Policy Architecture** Page 348

3. The 'Perfect Victim' Discourse Circle
4. Improving Inclusivity for Young Male Victims Discourse Circle

**Identifying the Formation and Re-formation of Temporary Alliances around Conflicting Interests on Gender in the CSE Policy Development** Page 357

5. Progressive Governance Discourse Circle
6. Championing the Specialist / Minority Voice Discourse Circle

**Figure 9.1 Visual Development of Discourse Circles**



## **The Genealogy of CSE Policy Development between 2000 and 2016**

As the first stage for Gale's (2001) critical policy genealogy method, CSE policies will not only be considered in how they have developed over time, but also be understood in how it determined policy goals. The introductory chapter examined the policy literature on adult sex work, drawing similarities and differences between both adults and children. Sanders and Soothill (2004) preliminary analysis of *Paying the Price* (Home Office 2004) identified the distinct and firm separation of adults and children (as victims) in commercial sex markets. I proposed that the historical, now non-discursive, practice of adult sex work policy was the theatre [or backdrop] in which the firm separation of 'child' came into being, identified as an epistemic transformation. CSE policy development, therefore, is a *power-knowledge* by-product of adult sex work policy reformation, which now proliferated. A critical narrative of the latter national CSE policy architecture within the specified timeframe was presented in chapter one (page 29). Chapter one also presented two tables, firstly, illustrating the title changes and target population of individual policies in adult sex work and CSE (Table 1.1, page 14) and, secondly, CSE policy definitions, official expectations and specific information on young males (Table 1.2, page 35).

In chapter six, a critical realist synthesis explained complex CSE policy interventions through the identification and refinement of four programme theories, using Pawson *et al.* (2005) formulaic question structure: ***How was national policy architecture, aimed at the reduction of sexual exploitation of children and young people, understood and implemented into local government with regards to young males; in what respects and why?*** From this carefully considered question, hypothesis-building-blocks were developed to understand how young males were catered for with three preceding programme theories required to be the foundation for the final programme theory. Whilst chapter six presents extensive data, this CPG will only utilise data to aid the development of two discourse circles that determine the genealogy of CSE policy development.

### ***Political Influencing Discourse Circle***

Since 2000, consecutive English governments have produced a proliferation of policy documents to 'deal with' the sexual exploitation of children and young people. CSE is not a new problem but has been reframed as a contemporary problematisation of the twenty-first century (Pilgrim 2017). Since 2000, political understanding has increased through the lobbying efforts of charities, media and wider public due to the ubiquitous nature of CSE. Although, Pilgrim (2017) challenged this claimed ubiquity by stating that while the notion of CSE can be constructible as a moral panic, this can sometimes over-ride the recognition of actual abuse situation(s) that occur. This discourse circle observes a normative pressure that arose from a tsunamic, political influence that portrayed a narrow truth, or moral panic, in determining the ever-epistemically-transforming ethical substance of children as passive victims. The proliferation of CSE policy has ensued in both an abolitionist and regulatory approach but at each new development, the policy cycle appeared to become embryonic. For example, the *Action Plan* (DfE 2011) was only reviewed and updated once in 2012 (DfE 2012a) when the policy intention was for this to be continued on an annual basis.

The proliferation of CSE policy emerged alongside the growth and 'quiet revolution' (Phoenix 2007) of adult sex work policy. This policy growth increased the required governance and regulation of the sex worker in England. While it is not a criminal offence to provide sexual services, there are clear differences in the purchase of sexual services between adults and children (Sanders et al. 2007). Borne in mind, however, was the re-focus on sexual agency of adult sex workers (Scott 2003, Bimbi 2007, Minicheillo et al. 2013, Crofts 2014) and how policy did not reflect realities of individual sex workers, especially the non-exploitative experiences of transactional sex of adult males (Gaffney 2007, Bimbi 2007, Whowell 2011). The 'choice' making of young people involved in once-considered youth prostitution, significantly changed in the now-considered 'child sexual exploitation' conceptualisation. This changes in conceptualisation are reflected in the policy titles, language and classifications; through epistemic transformation (Garland 2014).

Within the CRS, ***Programme Theory 1: From Child Prostitutes to Child Victims*** refined the findings from seven peer-reviewed policy analyses (Phoenix 2002, Phoenix 2003, Pearce 2006, Phoenix 2010, Melrose 2010, 2013b, Coy 2016). The findings observed that the national policy landscape had been subject to scrutiny across society, namely in the mode of too simplistic models and understandings of CSE. Children and young people involved in CSE were once seen as child prostitutes but with further socio-political understanding, moved these very group of children and young people into victims and in need of welfare approaches from state intervention (Phoenix 2002). What were 'children providing sexual services' became victims of child sexual abuse, a subset of child abuse (Phoenix 2002, Melrose 2010, 2013a, 2013b). The political influencing discourse circle enforced, at first, a simplistic model of abuse (Melrose 2013b) in order to portray 'the truth' of CSE. This model portrayed a triangular relationship between a 'child', an 'older boyfriend', who acted as a pimp, and an 'abuser' (DH/HO 2000); with only a few other models 'becoming known' in later policy documents such as 'gangs / groups / organised crime' and 'peer-on-peer' (DfE 2011). This endorsement of simplistic models creates enforcement of partial truths to CSE, whilst other models, such as the 'gay porn production' model, identified in the case study are silent. This 'gay porn production' model will be discussed later in this chapter.

Whereas political influencing had played a significant role in reinforcing bifurcating scenarios in CSE, e.g. there must be one offender and one victim (at least), political commentators recognised that policy had failed to take into account the social and economic conditions that often 'push' victims in sexual exploitative situations (Phoenix 2002, Phoenix 2003, Melrose 2010, 2013b, Coy 2016). The first programme theory identified that the change in policy language *i.e.* from child prostitutes to child victims, enabled push factors within policy and practice for more children to be recognised as victims but not necessarily of best help. In light of this, the simple (policy) understanding of children as victims causes problems for finding practical solutions for those children who demonstrate sexual agency; identifying a disabling mechanism

within national policy that presents this concept as a non-discursive material reality from which interpretation, through social construction, takes place,

Within the discourse analysis, three themes emerged within the ***Problematizations: The Ethical Substance*** that included the 'Emerging Problem of 'Child Sexual Exploitation'', 'Renewed National CSE Policy Intentions' and 'Embryonic Policy Development'. Defining the problem of CSE in the selected corpus of statements was often ambiguous, vague and broad amongst participants' perceptions. Participants understood the 'problem of CSE' from a narrow and defined focus on the age of both the offender and victim, through to taking into consideration wider issues, such as structural factors including the growing sexualisation of youth culture. For example, one participant had referred to the sexualisation of youth culture as 'a Pandora's box' that had been opened, yet to be fully understood when working in a politically correct way with CSE victims. This 'incomplete' understanding was perceived to be far less developed in the 1980s, when another participant (P08 Director of Children's Services) was working as young social worker.

Against this structural backdrop, difficulty emerged with participants defining CSE within their work and attempting to implement national CSE policy. When questioned on how they would define CSE, participants often met this question with '*No, not in a small sentence*'. Adler (2001) claimed that the social climate of child sexual abuse imagery meant that the interpretation of childhood innocence, especially when examining sexual naiveté, generated 'specialist' governance as well as heightened sexual desire for the paedophile. When applied to the participants' perceptions, the social climate creates professional anxiety for 'not getting it wrong' or misinterpretation of understanding CSE in how one should (politically) understand it. This social climate also highlights liminal entities that make governance difficult to conceptualise, *i.e.* where vocabulary does not exist to describe a child's sexual naiveté in a way that does inflate their sexual desire for the paedophile (Turner 1969).

The majority of participants (in statutory services) perceived an assumption that gender-neutrality in national policy was 'automatic' cover and consideration for all genders. Gynocentricity, however, was identified by a national policy making participant, who claimed that recent policy developments (namely DfE 2011, HM Government 2015) predominantly focused on young female victims, with a weaker focus or absence on young males. This same participant had stated that the renewed national CSE policy intentions were largely driven by media reported gang activity involving 'British Pakistani men' and '[male] celebrities'. Direct perceptions of this gynocentricity were also perceived by a small number of other participants, on local levels, to be entrenched in the 'Violence Against Women and Girls' agenda, that even in name negate young males from the label of 'victim'. To remedy this, the case study area had commissioned a 'specialist male-only' CSE institution to provide a 'service review' and training to CSE staff. Participants who had received this specialist training to develop 'best' practice with young males were not perceived well. P05 perceived the training to be poor by stating '*...I'd gotten it after an hour that's it's not just girls. I understood it extremely well after two hours that it's not just girls...*'. P05 who reported on that this training did not go beyond this point.

The political influencing norm circle also encapsulated in the ***Construction of the Child Sex Offender as the Ethical Subject*** in predominantly child-only facing practitioners. Many participants had simplistic perceptions of offenders including age difference, the false notion of 'stranger danger' and even assimilation of the predatory nature of older gay males and paedophiles. This perception presented as either an assimilation that 'paedophiles' hid under the banner of 'being gay' in order to access young males for sexual activity, or sexually exploitative relationships were normalised within the LGB&T+ scene. These perceptions appear to correlate with media representations of 'dangerousness' and 'othering', a vital ingredient of a moral panic (Cowburn and Dominelli 2001, Bell 2002, Hayes and Baker 2014, Cowburn and Myer 2016) as presented in chapter two. Whilst policy has begun to consider the adult-child sexual attraction (ACSA), it still remains heavily on a victim focus, problematised by Melrose (2013a) critical discourse



analysis. The notion of stranger danger that was identified in the political influencing discourse circle resonates particularly with Melrose's (2013a) observation of the 'child' within CSE is often that of a female child. Interestingly, one participant identified the role of 'straight power' that positioned a discourse on 'straight' males using homophobia as a driver to 'rape' gay males; this was considered a minority discourse.

To summarise this norm circle, Foucault (1988) was not concerned in how truth-telling on sexualities (including sexualities with exploitative features) evolved, but how the formation of knowledge came about in permissible and prohibitable aspects or dimensions of sexual practices; for both the child sex offender and CSE victim. Clapton *et al.* (2013) had believed that claims-making in social work practice had an eroding effect in public attitude. So, if political influencing creates as claims-making effect, as previously defined and discussed by Clapton *et al.* (2013) in chapter two, it potentially has the ability for CSE to be too consuming of practitioners' time to recognise differences of genuine and disingenuous (child abuse) concerns in professional practice, created by a dissonance of the policy-practice interface.

Concluding motif for this section:

*The political influencing discourse circle has portrayed a particular truth of CSE.*

### **Visibility / Surveillance Discourse Circle**

Jago *et al.* (2011) had found that only a third of local governments has implemented the DCSF (2009) guidance in their areas, although data suggested an increase (Paskell 2012). The policy expectation was for all local governments to develop a response (HO/DH 2000, DCSF 2009). Failure to succeed in appeasing certain policy influencers and institutions with CSE, such as Barnardo's (2011a, 2011b), has meant continued pressure to maintain an increasing surveillance on CSE to local and national governments. In order to achieve at national government level, different types

of policy responses have emerged including action plans (DH/HO 2001, DfE 2011), supplementary guidance to mainstream policy (DH/HO 2000, DCSF 2009) and government reports (HM Government 2015). The latest Action Plan (DfE 2011) was intended to make sure that local areas were implementing CSE work into their services, with one policy-making participant confirming this intention (P17 Member of Parliament). This resulted in an increase in social structures at national and regional levels created far ranging visibility and surveillance on the issue of CSE, e.g. specialist co-located multi-agency CSE teams. What chiefly emerged in the data was the increase in social structures that created visibility and surveillance became a normative pressure on individual policy enactors, affecting the way they used their professional agency. Within this norm circle, three types of visibility and surveillance emerged: through the straightforward development of local responses in local government; a panoptic culture on professionals, and; how professionals perceived themselves within the work they undertook – as ethical subjects.

To reflect on the critique of adult sex work policy in chapter one, Soothill and Sanders' (2004) Categories of Prostitution (Figure 1.5, page 24) demonstrated an importance in policy construction of in public and private spheres. Adult sex work policy established a zero-tolerance approach to street-based sex work activities but seldom attention to other settings such as indoor- and online-based sex work (Sanders 2008). Soothill and Sander's observation largely remains contemporaneous, with the government's Action Plan (DfE 2011) and Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation report (HM Government 2015). This appears to hold direct parallel to the visibility of CSE identified within CSE policy to 'eradicate the observable', through the increase in social regulation *i.e.* governmentality. Both aforementioned policies reinforced the observations alluded to previously by Cockbain (2013) *i.e.* interrupting organised crimes that have involved children who have been victims of sexual exploitation by working class, non-familial, Asian men. Specific threats, depicted in the media, such as 'working class Asian men' portrayed the political establishment's power-knowledge to produce normative

pressures by enforcing a panoptic culture on local governments. The increase of offenders being identified, prosecuted and then released from their punishment meant that they were difficult to re-house. P17 (Member of Parliament) had perceived this to be a problem whereby some ex-offenders were being placed streets away from children's homes. This potentially becomes a disabling mechanism of intended policy outcome.

CSE policy such as the *Action Plan* (DfE 2011) claimed that CSE was 'everywhere', putting further pressures on existing child-facing services to be seen to 'doing something' about CSE. This created, as Foucault (1975) would describe, panopticism, which Freshwater *et al.* (2015) understood as a metaphorical theory that had the ability to use multiple forms of technologies to survey individuals such as those working with vulnerable people.

**Programme Theory Two: Developing Local Responses**, within the CRS, explained the types of responses within local government derived from official expectations in national policy. Many studies attempted to identify what was effective and took into account the key mechanisms that enabled identification of victims through 'joined up' working of multiple actors and institutions (Allen 2001, 2003). With the development of local CSE strategies (including the CSE problem profile) and specialist co-located multi-agency CSE teams, tended to identify larger numbers of victims through surveillance by professionals (Jago *et al.* 2011, Beckett *et al.* 2014) and community engagement (Hughes-Jones and Roberts 2015). The CRS identified a three-pronged approach that had started to occur within some local authorities (Jago *et al.* 2011) with co-ordination between LSCBs, law enforcement agencies and social services having jointly increased their efforts to identify and prosecute the offenders, as well as identify and protect victims. The case study, *i.e.* local authority's LSCB, had created a very visible campaign and response through standardisation across all services focused on both offenders and victims.

Bearing in mind the moral panic that has resulted within the previous norm circle, political influencing can have a causal effect on professional judgements made at local and individual levels. This effect, essentially, deems

what is required to be visible and, in turn, facilitates a panoptic culture on the enactment of professional judgement of professionals to determine favourable outcome for children and young people (Hicks 2014, Jones 2014). Whilst political influencing activities such as the increased proceduralisation of child protection practice have been reported to add leverage to increase standards (Parton 2011a, 2011b, Calder and Archer 2016), these activities also create an enforcing and endorsing effect on professionals' perceptions.

Within the discourse analysis, a number of themes emerged within ***Practitioners as the Ethical Subjects***, which created endorsing and enforcing behaviours within multi-agency CSE teams. Participants recognised that whilst there were benefits for specialist teams, it came with a degree of isolation from one's own kind of professional. This created a heightened surveillance on one's role to ensure that they were behaving in a way that was expected of them, if they were the only health worker, for example. The professionalism of the welfare professions (Gilbert and Powell 2010) could be seen as a legitimised disciplinary mechanism with professional authority and identity in CSE work, namely 'being qualified'. One participant perceived her role necessitated the requirement to be a 'qualified' social worker where previously they had been an 'unqualified' social worker. In addition to the perceptions of being professionally isolated yet specialist with the need to be highly qualified, one participant felt that young female victims could learn healthy, positive sexuality (or role modelling) from a 'father figure' which they could be perceived as. Young males, however, would not benefit from this perceived need for a 'father figure'. Caution was perceived by this participant that if a young female became 'too attached', a change of worker would occur to avoid 'unhealthy' relationships.

This joined-up working within the case study's offer of providing specialist CSE services produces a specific and convenient power-knowledge akin with Allen's (2003) postulations on the unintended, theoretical, consequences of joined-up working. This production of specific and convenient power-knowledge endorses practical reason for policy actors to be 'specialist' and

undertake one's work through an expert discourse (Foucault 1988, Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008) as opposed to victim discourse.

The policy-enforced panopticism, however, only went as far as understanding CSE victims with assumed hetero- or asexuality, evading any specific issues relating to young GBT+ males. Within the discourse of ***Technologies: The Ethical Work***, P18 (LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker) felt that 'blanket issues' affecting young GBT people were not considered, such as the risks posed by 'not being out' or coming out at a later stage in chronological age, 'chemsex' and 'hook-up apps'. This echoes the work of Whowell (2010) who claimed that the perceived hypermasculinity of adult male sex workers often were mistaken for not selling sex. It is interesting to note the similarities can be drawn between the construction of the male in adult sex work policy and CSE policy.

To summarise this norm circle, historic and contemporary policy discourse has epistemically transformed to situate the local policy enactor in a position that creates both realistic and moral panic-driven awareness of one's own conduct. It is possible that the contemporary focus on CSE being almost exclusive of other types of child sexual abuse, such as incest within the home, was created from a similar moralistic stance to *Wolfenden Report* (Home Office 1957) and emphasises the public versus private spheres of panopticism.

Concluding motif for this section:

*The visibility / surveillance discourse circle has created a panoptic culture on how local government should enact national CSE policy.*

### **Problematising the Rationality and Consensus of Young Male Inclusion in CSE Policy Architecture**

The second stage of Gale's (2001) critical policy genealogy method, involves the the rationality and consensus of CSE policy production to be

problematised in light of young male victim inclusion. Within chapter one, I proposed the idea of whether Kelly's (1988) (dominant) 'continuum of sexual violence' held minimal currency for young male victims due to gender bifurcation. Since the 1980s, the acceptable sexual exploitation language and classifications that have been available to practitioners and policy makers alike stems from the conceptualisation of gender-based violence (Kelly 1988, Phoenix 2012) which is overtly gynocentric. This overt gynocentricity has been unable to conceptualise young males as victims, comfortably. I also argued that feminist discourse, over the many decades since Kelly's (1988) continuum of sexual violence, has 'matured' into a non-discursive territory, leaving an emerging policy discourse of 'males as victims' with limiting negotiation to improve inclusion in CSE policy. This is particularly key with regards to the epistemic transformation in feminist activism, focusing on centralised power of sexual perversion, whereby young male victims are somehow unable to fit this model of thought and systems.

### ***The 'Perfect Victim' Discourse Circle***

Whilst a discourse circle that produces 'victimhood' is an important consideration for professional practice, it is vital in understanding how this normative pressure is produced, endorsed and then enforced. Through the non-discursive material reality of national CSE policy architecture since 2000, a set notion for the search and confirmation of victimhood has ensued, identifying set 'gender roles' for both the perpetrator and (female) victim of CSE (Melrose 2010, 2013b). This is especially the case in how young females supposedly become entrapped with their 'older boyfriend' through 'love' and are unwittingly unaware of abuse (Melrose 2010). Although this observation may seem counter-intuitive within victimhood, Coy (2008) recognised in her study with young female victims that increased (positive) self-esteem could possibly be an indicator for CSE risk because they were being 'loved'. This 'set' gendered stereotype was formed in the first CSE policy at the very beginning of the genealogical analysis this thesis is concerned with, the SCIP (DH/HO 2000).

This 'set' gendered stereotype can be located within popular discourses on sexual commodity within youth culture and its facilitation for identity development (Plummer 2003a, 2003b, Phoenix 2010, 2012), which all policies – especially action plans and guidance (DH/HO 2001, DCSF 2009, DfE 2011) – attempt to problematise, confound and contradict. CSE policy bifurcates sexual agency by honouring those who choose to leave abuse but penalise those who remain in it (Phoenix 2010) and defines those in the latter group to be in greater need of professional intervention (Dodsworth 2013). This is parallel to the 'anti-sociality' of adult sex workers who chose not to exit sexual services in adult sex work policy (Scoular *et al.* 2007). A minority of child protection practice has started to discursively form through the utterances, statements and propositions held within beliefs of best 'practices' where observed (Jones 2014) such as those identified within ***Programme Theory 3: Working with Child Victims***. The development of best 'practices' illuminates how power operates within discourse between practitioners and young people (Elder-Vass 2012).

To further crystallise gendered stereotypes of CSE, the notion and confirmation of victimhood was produced through the 'othering' of sex offenders (as previously identified in the ***Political Influencing*** discourse circle). Within the discourse on ***Construction of the Child Sex Offender as the Ethical Subject***, 'othering' stereotypes of the offender were present in child-facing practitioners. This identifies an idealised conceptualisation of danger and abuse, regardless of power, of the 'othering' effect as previously identified within discourse on child sex offenders (Cowburn and Dominelli 2001, Bell 2002). This crystallisation creates a selective perception of adult-child sexual contact (ACSC) by reducing potential (and actual) offenders to 'fit' a stereotype. This also crystallises the [female] child in a theorisation that ecologically situates the [female] victims' sexual agency within the abuse and that is only reciprocal of the perpetrators' sexual actions. This crystallisation reinforces gender stereotypes of both offenders and victims (Fickelhor 1986, Green 2001, Durham 2003, Green 2005, Petrie 2012).

The discourse on ***Technologies: The Ethical Work*** was entrenched in risk aversion (Kirton 2012) with reported statutory ‘standardised’ assessments used throughout multi-agency working. The standardised assessment tools within the case study assessed children and young people through a (quantitative) grading scale of risk, however, whilst Foucault understood this to be a disciplinary power of ‘normalisation’, concepts within this tool were often associated with young female victims. For some participants, language commonly used with assessing and working with young females such as ‘victims’ was seen as problematic and concepts of power imbalance and coercion were more helpful concepts to bring into practitioner-young people relationships. This discourse circle, however, claims that the search for the ‘ideal’ or perfect victim was produced through risk assessment. Risk assessments were identified as a data collection method within studies in ***Programme Theory 2: Developing Local Responses*** (Scott and Harper 2005, Jago *et al.* 2011). Risk, when considered statistically, appeared to be create standardisation across service provision (Paskell 2012) but became problematic on three counts when subject to endorsement and enforcement. These problematisations included gender (young males), sexual agency and the use of secure accommodation to protect young people within both datasets.

Focusing on the problems of gender and victimhood within the discourse on ***Problematisations: The Ethical Substances***, practitioners, especially policy influencers within the case study, perceived a distinct lack of policy commitment from government. Notably, one policy influencer stated:

*I don't think it is because I've not seen a big drastic change and I've not seen lots of people suddenly saying, 'Right. We really need to pick-up on the facts that, um, boys and young men are being exploited and we've got to start addressing this.' What I'm seeing is...nothing different. I sometimes wonder whether **boys don't make the perfect victim?** Do you see what I mean?*

(P10 Policy Influencer, National Charity)



This perception that 'boys don't make the perfect victim' could be explained by three possible themes that meant young males were not problematised in the same way to their female peers. These three themes / discourses including lack of professional experience of working with young males, young males identifying as a sexual minority and the relationship between LGB&T+ culture and CSE. These three discourses build on Green's (2001, 2005) influential work on theorisation of gender, agency, sexuality and sexual abuse, within children's homes where naïve corroboration of gender and sex terminologies were misconstrued and fall into the trap of aforementioned gendered stereotypes and heterosexist assumptions. Within the discourse on **Young Male Victims as the Ethical Subject** identified the contemporary use of the terms 'rent boy' and 'lad' by a participant to label the sexual behaviour of a 12-year-old male and his abuser / groomer, almost double his age. Although the term 'rent boy' fits within the 'older boyfriend' triangle model of CSE (Barnardo's 1998) defined in policy, CSE language associated with young males appears to have not undergone the same epistemic transformations as females in (re)classification of terms in policy enactment.

Sexual agency was also problematic in the normative pressures of CSE work in attempting to construct a notion of victimhood. Whereas 'sexual agency' has been defined in policy as to the decisions a young person makes with their sexual(ly exploitative) relationships (see **Progressive Governance** discourse circle, page 358), the discourse on **Subject Positions: Ethical Subjects** identified statutory service participants also understood agency in terms of service engagement. This perception was a key epistemic transformation for young people, as ethical subjects, to go from a 'sexually exploited young person' to a CSE victim, in the most ideal sense. Many statutory practitioners failed to consider the macro factors with regards to sexual agency and how structural factors, such as poverty and societal homophobia, facilitated CSE. Where sexual agency was perceived in a positive domain also maintained a degree of caution within a risk-averse mindset. Alternatively, a resistance-to-power-knowledge emerged within the voluntary sector practitioners, especially when they perceived to be 'outside' of the 'joined-up' working arrangements with regards to sexual agency.

Voluntary sector practitioners perceived the sexual agency of the young people as a concept of empowerment (especially young males), thus confirming a minority discourse identified within the literature on harm minimisation approaches within CSE (Pearce 2006, Hickle and Hallett 2015).

***Programme Theory Two: Developing Local Responses***, within the CRS, identified victims who did not engage with services were subject to secure or alternative accommodation arrangements (Brodie *et al.* 2011, Shuker *et al.* 2013). Shuker *et al.* (2013) had identified that young people who were subject to such disciplinary techniques often presented with multiple, con-current vulnerabilities, including poor mental health and previous abuse. This discourse circle suggests that those young people who did not behave like the 'perfect victim' became subject to such arrangements. This demonstrates similarities to the deserving and undeserving (or anti-social) bifurcation of the adult sex worker in adult sex work policy (Scoular *et al.* 2007).

Secure or alternative accommodation, as a disciplinary technique, was illuminated in both datasets as a 'last resort' intervention to protect children from CSE. Whilst secure accommodation was at the discretion of individual local authorities to implement (DCSF 2009) and used in the 'best' interests of victims, this disciplinary technique created two issues on the governance of (all) sexual activity of young people. Firstly, as Foucault would define it, an 'extreme' gaze would ensue on a victim's life, possibly exaggerating moral panic stemming from media and political scrutiny. Secondly, the use of secure accommodation to keep a young person safe, as a disciplinary technique, competes with other discourses affecting the very same young people that are contradictory. Contradictory discourses such as youth-focused sexualised culture (Plummer 2003a) exists with no formal intervention to protect young people from becoming involved in sexual activity, yet a young person demonstrating 'risky' sexual behaviour within CSE is formally intervened (Pearce 2010, Jago *et al.* 2011 Hickle and Hallett 2015).

To summarise this discourse circle, a crystallisation of a 'traditional' CSE victim profile, together with a firm perception of 'other' adults who are be

defined with the 'child sex offender' profile have been produced within the discursive formation of power-knowledge in joined-up working. This, discursive formation, once recognised and defined within policy then becomes a non-discursive, material reality, and crystallisation occurs, reducing the negotiating space for alternative discourses on victimhood such as the inclusivity of young male victims.

Concluding motif for this section:

*The 'perfect victim' discourse circle has crystallised the 'traditional' CSE victim profile.*

### **Improving Inclusivity for Young Males Discourse Circle**

Competing with the 'Perfect Victim' discourse circle as a normative pressure, the gender-neutrality within policy would assume non-existence of explicit gynocentricity. Gynocentricity, however, occurred within the social interactions practitioners worked within, having a direct effect on their work. The media discourse (Cockbain 2013) was an obvious example of this, propelling a racist, narrowly-defined model of CSE, with an exclusivity of victimhood to young, non-disabled, white females. Whilst the 'perfect' victim might be a construction of the national policy for convenience sake – noting the assumption of heterosexist positioning of gender role at large – an emerging 'new' norm circle has been observed that improves the inclusivity for young males. The data that emerged did not suggest that young males should be treated the same as their female peers, as national policy (DH/HO 2000, DH/HO 2001) would suggest, however, young males have specific sexual exploitative experiences and respective support needs (Cockbain *et al.* 2014). Cockbain *et al.* (2014) examined 9,042 case notes from Barnardo's CSE database, confirming a third (n=2986, 33%) were young males. Within the CRS, an estimated total of 11,992 CSE cases were identified, of which 28.76% were male (n=3,450).

In 2009, with the publication of the *DCSF (2009) guidance* saw a dedicated sub-section on young male victims, an attempt to improve inclusivity from a national level, a hopeful epistemic transformation. How this policy section 'played' out in policy enactment, within the data collection, of the both CRS and case study area appeared to be inconsistent. Whilst the **Political Influencing** discourse circle demonstrated a gynocentric *backdrop* to CSE policy, findings within this thesis emerged that confirmed the inclusivity of young males have started within professionals' perceptions. The perceptions of young male-inclusivitive can be considered as a slow, resistance-to-power in future CSE policy and practice knowledge development or discourse. Although a common theme within the case study data confirmed that, more often than not, the amount of experience working with young males a participant reported, often correlated with their depth and breadth of understanding. The lack of experience could explain, or indeed, identify a casual effect, by the minority of discourse on young males when compared to young females. Such experience conflates with popularly-held societal beliefs, such as '*...I've never heard a lad say, "I was sexually exploited."*' (P13 Policy Influencer and Manager, Local Charity).

**Programme Theory 4: Focusing on Young Male Victims** illuminated the observable / known risk factors, indicators, sexual exploitative experiences and support needs of young males involved in CSE (Cockbain *et al.* 2014), as well as contextual factors such as structural homophobia (Walker 2014, Donovan 2014, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014). As presented within this programme theory, improving the response to young males required a number of other programme theories to take place first, before consideration of their risk factors, indicators, sexual exploitative experiences and support needs could take place. Whilst these aforementioned aspects are starting to be 'known', the numbers of young males affected by CSE to a large extent are still unknown / under-represented in many CSE study samples (*e.g.* Jago *et al.* 2011, Hallet 2015, Gilligan 2016).

Most participants, within the case study, perceived sexualities / sexual orientation development in a variety of ways, often preventing themselves

from making confirming statements that meant young people were in fact, a sexual minority or, indeed, pathologising the 'normal'. Many participants did not feel comfortable discussing sexualities / sexual orientation outside of heterosexuality to any depth because of their reported lack of exposure and experience. What was clear in professionals' perceptions, though, was this self-reported lack of exposure and experience often constructed and determined their professional judgments on a young male victim's current and potential sexual behaviour; emphasising previous literature on the perceptive role of masculinity on young males within children's homes (Green 2001, 2005, Durham 2003). Minority discourses, however, that did exist within the perceptions of statutory practitioners meant that any participation from a young GBT male within the LGB&T+ scene was seen as progressive. Yet voluntary sector practitioners, within the case study, preceded with a degree of caution to the LGB&T+ scene, suggesting a transgression in the normalisation of exploitation and social norms that sexualise young males; a suggestion that correlates with the literature (Donovan 2014, Walker 2014). This last point will be discussed in the final discourse circle (***Championing the Specialist / Minority Voice***), below. Two examples from the discourse on ***Young Male Victims as the Ethical Subject*** demonstrated statutory perceptions surrounding young males involved in CSE, including particular problems with 'constructing' young 'straight' males.

*'...I'm being totally honest now, that was bit of shock to me, because I found I couldn't quite get my head around the fact that although they were straight, they were prepared to go and get involved in something that wasn't...sort of within their scope of, uh, perception...sexuality sort of range, um, and do something that was against what they feel inside...'*

(P01 Police Officer, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

*'So, they go through an experimental stage, so...and they kind of haven't made their mind up, but I still do that work with parents anyway because they need support on that and it's about, um, you know, it's about, um, acceptance and, um, and how they feel about, um, you know, their own sexuality, their children's sexuality and things like that.'*

(P04 Parent Support Worker, Multi-Agency CSE Team)

Within the milieu of the local multi-agency CSE response, within the case study, many other participants from statutory services felt they were unable to meet the needs of young males affected by CSE due to their fear around labelling GBT issues.

To summarise this discourse circle demonstrates that while young males make up a significant population of young people at risk of, or involved in CSE, they are by-and-large immaterial within gender-neutral CSE responses. Professionals' perception creates a power dynamic which both endorse and enforce 'gender role' play within their work. Both datasets correlate in findings that statutory services tend to have the same issues around (lack of) gender understanding. These observations may be correlational with the on-going reduction of wide-ranging and available vocabulary within national policy (Calder and Archer 2016) and presses the need for further 'gendered' language, not less or gender-neutral.

Concluding motif for this section:

*The improving inclusivity for young males discourse circle presses the need for gender to be heavily considered within future CSE policy and practice.*

### **Identifying the Formation and Re-formation of Temporary Alliances around Conflicting Interests on Gender in the CSE Policy Development**

The third and final stage of Gale's (2001) critical policy genealogy method, identified the formation and reformation of temporary alliances around conflicting interests on gender in CSE policy production process. The competing interests for young male inclusion was often because of a prefixation of the 'perfect' profile of a CSE victim. Notwithstanding, similar ideas came about with profiles of child sex offenders too. The CRS identified a number of causal mechanisms which both enable and disable alliance formation / reformation to navigate the conflicting interests of young males in CSE policy production. The CRS identified that sophisticated, local, multi-

agency responses to CSE with voluntary sector involvement could be beneficial for CSE victims in the development of the programme theories, especially ***Programme Theory 2: Developing Local Responses*** and ***Programme Theory 4: Focusing on Young Male Victims***. The discourse analysis of participants within the case study was also able to gain depth, by understanding the minutiae of conflicting interests in one area. To theorise this final stage, two discourse circles were identified: 'Progressive Governance' and 'Championing the Specialist / Minority Voice'. The first, considers the local implementation and mobilisation of policy enactors e.g. multi-agency CSE responses, and the second, illuminates professionals' perceptions offering alternative insight to constructing (and working with) young male victims.

### ***Progressive Governance Discourse Circle***

Taking Scoular and O'Neill's (2007) definition of progressive governance within adult sex work policy implementation (page 26) into account, progressive governance could be observed throughout the policy period 2000 – 2016, even in the wider context of conflicting interests and competing pressures in local government such as austerity. Since the inception of the SCIP policy (DH/HO 2000), a range of welfarist interventions have increased a result of political lobbying from national children's charities (Barrett 1997, Barnardo's 1998). This has epistemically transformed from once where children were arrested for 'providing' or being 'involved in' sexual services (Melrose 2013a). The current CSE policy response can be situated within a risk averse model (Kirton 2012), although CSE is different to other abuse categories because 1) CSE happens outside of the home environment (Firmin *et al.* 2016), and; 2) CSE mainly affects older adolescents (Munro 2011, Pearce 2014a, Thomas and D'Arcy 2017).

For example, in 2011, the Action Plan (DfE 2011) came about from numerous lobbying campaigns and large-scale police operations, applying pressure on the *Conservative-Liberal Democrat* coalition government to respond to out-of-the-home, sexual exploitation of (female) children (Barnardo's 2011a, 2011b, Coy 2016). Unlike other national documents, this policy had created an

influencing effect across England, with an increase in local authority commitment in developing local CSE responses (Jago *et al.* 2011, Paskell 2012). This *Action Plan* (DfE 2011) was reiterated in the *Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation* (HM Government 2015), however not mentioned by name. Weeks (2012) identifies social regulation is central to the state organising, producing and shaping sexuality in defining what is morally acceptable, or indeed, unacceptable, through disciplinary techniques such as legislation or the introduction of new social policy. The *Action Plan* (DfE 2011) enabled, and indeed instructed, policy enactors, as opposed to the general public, to take the responsibility on dealing with CSE. *Apropos* Foucault's (1984) *triple edict* of taboo, non-existence and silence, this discourse circle endorsed and enforced permissions for certain individuals to act on CSE, thus constructed, restricting certain discursive practices.

**Programme Theory 2: Developing Local Responses**, within the CRS, identified the required development of local CSE responses to meet official policy expectations (DH/HO 2000, 2001, DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, DfE 2012a) including the local profiling of the CSE models and development of a local CSE strategy. The local CSE strategy determined which institutions and actors are required to participate in a local CSE response (Harper and Scott 2005, Pearce 2006, Jago *et al.* 2011, Beckett *et al.* 2014). Areas that did not have a developed response were often found to have more disabling mechanisms surrounding identifying, assessing and supporting CSE victims. Whilst Foucault (1975) would consider this 'set up' as the growth of rational discourse (or enterprise) of the 'qualified speaker' of childhood sexuality, the issues that Allen (2001, 2003) illuminated as problematic within 'joined-up' working were apparent in areas with developed local CSE responses. Over the policy period this thesis has analysed, an increase in use of disciplinary power from established *power-knowledge* institutions, such as law enforcement, social work and the voluntary sector, had occurred. Although there was positivity within professionals' perceptions of joined-up working (through co-located, multi-agency CSE teams), within the case study, this joined-up working appeared not to increase the recognition of young males as victims.



With the encouragement of progressive governance at national levels (DfE 2011, Jago *et al.* 2011, Paskell 2012), an increase of CSE-related ethical work emerged in terms of visible, co-ordinated local responses but also placing responsibility on victims too. This progressive governance was transferred on to young people through ‘responsibilising’ them to make better lifestyle choices, as demonstrated in **Programme Theory 3: Working with Child Victims** within the CRS. Again, this construct of sexual agency within CSE is parallel to adult sex work policy of bifurcating the ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ adult sex worker (Sanders *et al.* 2007). Programme theory three identified that when the views of young people affected by CSE are taken into account within therapeutic relationships between practitioners and young people, decision-making becomes more effective (Brown 2006, Coy 2008, Munro 2011, Jago *et al.* 2011, Dodsworth 2013, Gilligan 2016, Palmer and Foley 2017, Adhern *et al.* 2017, Lefevre *et al.* 2017, Riesel 2017). This is an important consideration with the long-term nature of CSE victim involved with local services.

Policy explanations have existed on sexual agency, starting with labelling ‘*voluntary and persistent return to prostitution*’ (DH/HO 2000: 27-28) through the ‘*nature of sexual exploitation...tak[ing] form from seemingly consensual relationships...to...child trafficking*’ (DCSF 2009: 17). Dodsworth’s (2013) findings were key in position young people’s perceptions of victimhood as transient and interconnected with various factors and meanings they gave to different stages of their lives. Although Dodsworth’s findings differed from those identified within the case study area. For example, in response to a question on teasing the issue of recognition of harmful or unhealthy behaviour, responses such as P07 (Health Worker, Multi-Agency CSE Team) responded with ‘*Mm-hmm...with great difficulty like everybody else does, I suppose...I’ll do specific work with them...what are good and abusive relationships*’. Indeed, for progressive governance to really work, practitioners would have to use available, standardised assessment tools in line with ‘best practice’ (Jago *et al.* 2011, Paskell 2012) and relationship-building skills to work up to an ‘act of confession’ from the ethical subject (Foucault 1975).

So, while progressive governance emerged within the local CSE response within the case study area, a distinct lack of consideration / perception shed light on the particular needs of young male victims in the discourse on ***Technologies: The Ethical Work***. For example, P07, a Health Worker within a multi-agency CSE team, perceived the sexual health needs of young male victims went beyond their remit of practice, reflecting a dominating heterocentricity to the sexual actions within non-heterosexual CSE. This potentially becomes problematic for young males from receiving equitable access to CSE services. Within the case study, perceptions emerged in how this would be mediated by inviting LGB&T+ organisations by their statutory colleagues to deal with any anxiety of accusation of homophobia and, indeed, to offer a 'holistic' service to young males.

Whilst progressive governance appeared to be a promising panacea within the formation of temporary (to permanent) alliances within CSE policy developments in local government, frustrations emerged from practitioners who almost exclusively worked with young males within both datasets. Frustrations arose from the need to information share, in 'joined-up' working, which often meant a breach in trust within a practitioner-young person relationship without any obvious benefit for the young person. For example, P13 (Policy Influencer and Manager, Local Charity) stated '*I think the frustrating thing is we have to have responses knowing we might break a relationship that's positive to no external benefit for the person.*'. In addition to these reported frustrations of the need to share information, a discourse emerged on heightened anxiety from statutory practitioners on victim's sexuality / sexual orientation. It appeared from within the case study, that only when the LGB&T+ organisation became involved that the ethical work would discursively become appropriate for the young person. For example, P18 (LGB&T+ Voluntary Sector Worker) commented '*...is this person at risk, or are they just exploring their sexuality?...in most of those cases the police investigation stops, so Social Services downgrade it*'. This 'downgrading' was endorsed by the fact that a 'specialist' worker was able to have a conversation with the young male about sexuality and a friendly chat in general. This reflects a definite risk adverse behaviour (Kirton 2012) that resonates the

panoptic culture that ensues from the first discourse circle (***Political Influencing***) (Foucault 1977). Yet worryingly, those young males where specialist LGB&T+ involvement did not become involved were afforded more agency and responsibility for their alleged same-sex CSE than their female peers. For example, perceptions of this became apparent from a voluntary sector practitioner (P13 Policy Influencer and Manager, Local Charity) who stated:

*[a social worker would ask] “Are you involved with sex work?” they’d say no, so they close the case within an instance of asking them in front of their grandma and they said no so they just close the case.*

*(P13 Policy Influencer and Manager, Local Charity)*

This discourse circle potentially supports the idiom of ‘boys will be boys’, without considering that sexual identity plays a significant part for young male victims, which is known to impact on their denial of sexual exploitation (Skidmore and Scott 2006). Professional perceptions and attitudes such as the above may provide reason for why young GBT males do not access mainstream services in the same way as their heterosexual peers (Walker 2014). So, in essence, if a young male involved in CSE does not access services they are considered ‘gay’ or ‘bisexual’ but if they do are considered as ‘straight’. The onus on accessing services is on the young male victim, not the service.

The discourse on ***Subjectifications: The Ethical Practices*** illustrated reasons why practitioners felt they undertook their work. Promisingly, almost all participants perceived CSE to be a problem that required eradication, with some, approaches to eradication through harm minimisation. Although with the policy definitions of CSE focusing on the relationship between the offender and victim creates an endorsed and enforced normative pressure on eradication to focus upon the micro levels, *i.e.* primarily on the young victim’s circumstances, rather than the marco / structural factors such as poverty (Melrose 2010, 2013a) and indeed, structural homophobia (Walker 2014, Donovan 2014, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014). This resonates the first

discourse circle (***Political Influencing***). This focus potentially minimises the impact of ‘eradicating’ CSE by not addressing the structural ‘push’ factors. Although, the approach of harm minimisation has been demonstrable within the literature on domestic violence and detached youth work interventions and has been defended of its use, conceptually and practically, in CSE (Pearce 2006, Hallett 2015, Hickle and Hallett 2015).

A minority discourse within ***Subjectifications: The Ethical Practices*** brought a perception of how ‘pleasure’ could be introduced in the therapeutic work with CSE victims, taking into account a more general / positive approach to healthy sexual development. This pleasure was contextualised by P16 (Manager, Local Charity) stating ‘*I’m not just talking about reproduction, but I’m talking about sex. That people have sex for pleasure and the types of things...*’. This minority discourse echoes Foucault's theory of *ars erotica* rather than his theory of *scientia sexualis*. This ‘territory’ within CSE is new to the literature but has provided a platform to build on Petrie’s (2012) observations (chapter two) on the lack of ‘healthy sexual development’ within national child development / safeguarding policy.

The aforementioned ethical practices and desired ‘goals’ of CSE work appear partially successful, but full ‘eradication’, as expected within policy (e.g. DfE 2011), will not occur within the current state of policy development, if ever. Nonetheless, whilst these ethical practices can be considered as gender-neutral, championing such discourses offer a facilitative and empowering approach, theoretically, to a young victim’s agency.

To summarise, this discourse circle stresses that minority discourse emerging from practitioners who work predominantly with young males, or within a LGB&T+ organisation, can become ‘frustrated’ with local progressive governance on CSE. Sexual agency as a concept has been present in policy since 2000 but its discursive meaning has shifted from the agency within an exploitative relationship, to the agency on service engagement. CSE work is clearly not single / piecemeal work and requires endorsing and enforcing behaviours from a practitioner to work developmentally with a young CSE

victim to ensue healthy / positive sexual development. 'Lone working' specialists make up a minority discourse circles but create the discursive space for the formation and reliance on endorsing and enforcing normative pressures e.g. default risk averse practice with non-heterosexual CSE.

Concluding motif for this section:

*The progressive governance discourse circle identifies the need for longer term developmental work for healthy / positive sexual enhancement practices in local government.*

### **Championing the Specialist / Minority Voice Discourse Circle**

Within both datasets, an emerging discourse from a minority of professionals was identified that, despite dominant discourses on young female victims, existed within England's CSE policy responses. In the main, expert discourse emanated from the voluntary sector demonstrated a great, where recognised / valued, normative influence on the range of safeguarding interventions ensued (Winch 2005, Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2008). Foucault (1977) rejected a straightforward understanding of power where it starts at the top and finishes at the bottom, but believed power produced in dynamic, oscillating interactions between power and resistance (to that power). Illuminating the less-dominant, minority, discourses on young male victims was key to this thesis, especially in relation to young males who would not meet current policy response expectations (McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014). It is important to note that not always did the voluntary sector have the opportunity to exercise agency in the same way as their statutory peers, often due to funding, and sustaining this funding for LGB&T+ projects developing CSE work has been a challenge (Walker 2014, Unison 2016).

Almost exclusive perceptions of the LGB&T+ communities came to light in both datasets, within **Programme Theory 4: Focusing on Young Male Victims**, in the CRS, and throughout the discourse analysis. These specialist minority voices illuminated themes including: CSE language; LGB&T+ Scene

and Perceived Risk to Young GBT Males, and best practices for young males. Programme theory four identified a small amount of literature that highlighted known LGB&T+ practitioner discourses (Skidmore and Scott 2006, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014, Donovan 2014, Walker 2014). Three studies (McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014, Donovan 2014, Walker 2014) and the discourse analysis confirmed closely related themes across LGB&T+ practitioner discourses including language; risk and vulnerabilities; barriers to disclosure, and 'safe spaces' for young LGB&T+ people. The lack of social spaces and the presence of structural homophobia meant that young GBT males are more vulnerable to being isolated in terms of 'developing' sexual relations later and the process of 'coming out' (McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014, Donovan 2014). This, in turn, offers young GBT males with fewer protective factors to their heterosexual peers. This may mean, in some cases, that young GBT males are more likely to accept unhealthy relationships through various sexualised media such as Grindr and internet.

The interface between the LGB&T+ scene and perceived CSE risk was a discourse which arose in the case study and confirmed that voluntary sector practitioners were often more comfortable in discussing this interface throughout the discourse analysis. This goes 'against' official policy expectations for understanding local 'CSE problems' when developing and integrating local CSE strategies (DfE 2011). This included risks such as one participant's perception, within the discourse on ***Problematisations: The Ethical Substance***, that the historical conflation between paedophilia and homosexuality may have hindered the LGB&T+ community from speaking freely about CSE. Within the literature, an array of models of CSE affecting young males are known, including the list of 11 within Figure 6.7 (page 184) identified (McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014, Brayley *et al.* 2014). Within the discourse analysis, two new models of young male-specific CSE came to light included the 'chemsex' and 'gay porn production' models. These models demonstrated how new language and classification can be developed in light of the liminal entities (Turner 1969) that exist in current CSE terminology. Such development of new language and classification allows the once 'unobservable' to be observable and therefore, 'governable'. The liminality

within CSE terminology brings into account limitations of Foucault's (1988) proposal of governmentality. Both new models facilitate new discussions on consent, such as 'chemsex', whereby perceptions amongst LGB&T+ practitioners have begun to emphasise explicit consent for each and every 'activity' within 'chemsex' parties, whilst being seemingly unaware of potential exploitation. This discourse potentially leaves a mixed impression on what consent actually consists of and how it is applied.

Promisingly, several discourses emerged that could constitute 'best practice' for young male victims within both datasets. Within ***Programme Theory 4: Focusing on Young Male Victims***, Walker (2014) recommended that specialist practitioners were able to create awareness, through training for anyone working within LGB&T+ communities, helping to address what is considered CSE. This is similar to the practitioners within McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* (2014) study where sexual terms within heterosexuality may be called different terms within LGB&T+ communities, therefore, not realising the potential for CSE. The case study was able to contribute to the existing literature, by suggesting engagement and knowing 'hot spots' within geographical boundaries, of a local authority, that are known for young males to congregate, is crucial, such as the local LGB&T+ scene increase CSE awareness. For example, local CSE services working with the LGB&T+ venues and charities (e.g. P09 Senior Manager, CSE Project). This contribution builds upon other CSE research recommendations (Scott and Harper 2005, Harper and Scott 2005, Jago *et al.* 2011, Beckett *et al.* 2014) and policy requirements (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011, HM Government 2015). Local engagement and identification of young male victims on the LGB&T+ scene can be potentially dealt with through assertive scene outreach by CSE / LGB&T+ practitioners (Walker 2014).

This discourse circle enables practices aimed at preventing, or at least reducing, young males' involvement in CSE by illuminating specialist and minority discourses, especially those professionals who have shared LGB&T+ cultural knowledge and experience (Walker 2014). To summarise this discourse circle, the detection and facilitation for platforms of specialist /

minority voice discourses are vital in endorsing and enforcing less dissonance between 'idealised' or 'moralised' perceptions of young males and CSE with actual sexual exploitative experiences, help seeking behaviours and support needs.

Concluding motif for this section:

*The championing the specialist / minority discourse circle endorses the voluntary sector, especially those who have experience with LGB&T+ communities, to be vital in policy and practice development.*

### **Summary**

Drawing on evidence-based policy literature, Pawson (2006) observes that frequently policy is presented with policy-bias evidence rather than the intuitive approach of evidence-based policy. Pawson advises that evidence that underpins policy is often captured within an accumulative process in which the data available do not offer complete certainty or security to decisions made about policies, defined as partial knowledge. This is the standard predicament in evidence-based policy (Pawson *et al.* 2011). In parallel, policy is based on what Pawson *et al.* (2011) describe as the *known knowns*; however, it is the *known unknowns* and the *unknown unknowns* that are troublesome in policy development. Pawson *et al.* believe policy makers stop searching for evidence once explanations are able to support a policy decision. This is evident with CSE, that whilst the moral panic that ensues on the *known known* victims *i.e.* young females, it is likely that the *unknown known* and *unknown unknown* young males will not be considered in the same light.

This research has revealed new knowledge through new ways of exploring young males affected by CSE through a critical realist synthesis (CRS) (Wong *et al.* 2013) and a Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis (Arribas-Allyon and Walkerdine 2008) in a realist social constructionally-informed critical policy genealogy (Gale 2001, Elder-Vass 2011, 2012, Burr 2015). Within the



published literature, no critical realist synthesis (CRS) exists on the area of CSE policy implementation in local government, nor does a Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis on the perception of young males and contemporary CSE policy. This thesis, therefore, provides a key and unique knowledge and methodological contribution to the literature. This is also the first time any scholar has taken these analytical approaches, examining and exploring young male victims, using mixed qualitative methods.

A point to bear in mind is Pawson's (2002) awareness that policy change accelerates the incomplete task of the research cycle, so 'live' evaluation is challenging. Policy evaluation should form part of any policy release, so it can be 'learnt from', rather than a plethora of policy documents that are seeming published without any reflection.

## PART II

### Formal Conclusion and Recommendations for Future Professional Practice and Policy

## **Part II: Formal Conclusion and Recommendations for Future Professional Practice and Policy**

### **Chapter 9, Part II thematic outline**

- CSE Policy and Young Males
- What has this thesis covered: chapter by chapter
- Limitations of the Thesis
- Future Policy, Practice and Research
- Conclusion
- Dissemination of Findings

### **CSE Policy and Young Males**

The research underpinning this thesis has demonstrated that the sexual exploitation of young males is perceived as a complex and multi-factorial reality. This thesis, based on sound policy analysis and investigation, has become, itself a *power-knowledge* discourse through its very own production. Between 2000 and 2016, CSE policy architecture has expanded in both its recognition of the scale as well as its understanding of sexual exploitation (DfE 2011, Jago *et al.* 2011, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014, Firmin *et al.* 2016, Thomas and D'Arcy 2017). Previous to the undertaking of this doctoral research, academic literature portrayed a 'silencing' of young males who are affected by, or are directly involved within, sexual exploitation by the prevailing discourse of their female peers (Green 2005, Lillywhite and Skidmore 2006, Dennis 2008, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014, Cockbain *et al.* 2014, Brayley *et al.* 2014, Cockbain *et al.* 2015). Within this gynocentric discourse, high-profile inquiries (Coffey 2014, Jay 2014, Casey 2015) and media reports spawned widespread opprobrium on 'failing' local authorities to 'deal with' CSE (DfE 2011, Coy 2016) creating a tsunamic catalogue of consequential governmental events (Erooga 2017).

### **What this thesis has covered: chapter by chapter**

This thesis has covered the journey through which a doctoral study has been conducted. This section will take the reader through the key points that summarise each chapter.

### ***Chapter 1: Introduction***

The first chapter established the foundation for which this doctoral research was based on upon, identifying the core discipline and method of enquiry for the thesis as a critical policy genealogy. The introduction highlighted that young males are not clearly defined as a group or population with specific public policy within sexual violence, whether adult sex work or CSE, but did, however, become a sub-section of CSE policy for seven years. As a result of this positioning of young males within CSE policy, the research question, aim and objectives were set using an extract from Foucault's (1976) *History of Sexuality: Vol. 1* focusing on the governing discourses of childhood sexuality. The chapter then focused on the existing regulatory and governing approaches used in English adult sex work policy and wider child protection policy as a 'theatre' to explore young males in CSE policy. I postulated that CSE policy only came 'into being' during the revolution of adult sex work policy in the 2000s, creating children and young people as a definable by-product of wider commercial sex market policies. The final page of this chapter demonstrated the triangulation of varying discourses examined and explored within this thesis.

### ***Chapter 2: An Epistemological Genealogy on Sex, Sexualities, Sexual Violence and the Positioning of Children***

This chapter introduced the current epistemes on sex, sexualities and sexual violence that surrounded the complex discourse of young males affected by, or involved within CSE; in line with critical policy genealogy, that demonstrated a Foucauldian-concept of a 'history of the present'. This chapter provided a theoretical backdrop to situate my own theoretical applications (in chapter three), to generate new knowledge and original thought. This chapter identified that past and current theorisation of CSE has epistemically transformed on the (adult-presumed) agendered and asexual foundation of childhood, that not only rendered victim agency demonstrated within CSE to professional denial, but also rendered any agency to theoretical denial. The identification of the current epistemes brought into question how the empowerment of a young person's agency to make positive life changes that encourages longer-term behaviours within age-appropriate, safer (sexual)

relationships. In the main, the theoretical drivers had been chiefly influenced by the moral panic and gynocentricity enacted by well-intended, feminist scholars within sexual violence. Whilst feminist scholarly work has heightened gender-sensitivity in respects to bifurcating a gendered demarcation of offending and victim profiles, young males (victims) had been implicated through this gendered conceptualisation and were identified to be assembled awkwardly on the surface of mainstream CSE discourse. This chapter established foundation for the next, third, chapter that created the theoretical or architectural framework on which a new episteme on young males in CSE policy could be developed; using critical realist, Foucauldian and structuralist theories.

### ***Chapter 3: Developing an Episteme on Young Males and Child Sexual Exploitation Policy***

This chapter had critically analysed and examined the theoretical or architectural framework on which this thesis was ultimately underpinned. Carefully selected theories from Foucault, structuralism, critical realism and realist social constructionism were critiqued, which in turn allowed a firm platform for the development of a new episteme on young males and CSE policy. This development of a new episteme built upon the existing literature that suggested future research should examine CSE through a gendered lens. I carefully considered choosing the aforementioned critical theories that, I believed, facilitated a platform for minority discourses in CSE policy and professional practice on young males. This thesis presented a specific articulation of the ethics of governing institutions and the 'qualified speakers' who work within them, in a theoretically-measured manner of social ontological claim-making. Through two social ontological claims I made, I postulated how the social and material realities can 'shape' the construction of young male victims during the enactment of CSE policy, ultimately theorised through a discourse norm circles model. I believed that the discourse norm circles model is congruent with a critical policy genealogy framework.

In addition to critical realist and Foucauldian theory, I argued that the qualitative significance of ethical frameworks of 'qualified speakers' were

created and developed in the liminal entities, when working with young males involved in CSE. These liminal entities are a critical time-point to analyse, as with the increasing number of young males involved in CSE being recognised by front-line practitioners, language and classification ultimately develops through individual professional opinion and, thereafter, collective expertise. From a Foucauldian perspective, the changes in professional understanding, over time, could be considered through an epistemic transformation and how the powers and resistance-to-power have enabled a shift in new emerging language and classification to take place. This chapter also reminded the reader that this thesis was not about individual subjects (*i.e.* young males or individual practitioners); it is about what knowledge is produced and how this production of knowledge relates to power (and the resistance-to-power).

#### ***Chapter 4: Specific Methods***

Chapter four presented the specific methodologies of the thesis as within an in-depth, qualitative enquiry into the professionals' perceptions of young males involved in CSE in England. This chapter outlined the two peer-reviewed methodologies employed within the thesis, a critical realist synthesis (CRS) and a Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis.

#### ***Chapter 5: Critical Realist Synthesis Methodology: Examining CSE Policy Implementation as a Complex Policy Intervention***

The CRS was selected as a literature review methodology in order to understand how CSE policy implementation, as a complex policy intervention, worked for young males, under what circumstances, how and why. This methodology allowed for non-traditional documents to be used as part of the literature review, or critical realist synthesis *e.g.* the grey literature published outside of academic journals. Through the selection and appraisal of documents sought for the CRS, allowed me to identify the key practitioners and organisations that would provide opportunities to explore the professional perceptions of young males in-depth in the second part of this research (the Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis, of a local authority in England). This first part of the research created breadth of the known discourse on young males.

### ***Chapter 6: Critical Realist Synthesis Findings***

The critical realist synthesis (CRS) findings were presented that examined CSE policy implementation in England as a complex policy intervention. Using critical realism, as a metatheory, data made available through known / published literature were synthesised into four programme theories. The programme theories first of all explained policy expectations from 2000 to 2016 focusing on, the (re)conceptualisation of the involvement of children in sexual exploitation; the development of local CSE responses; the experience, understandings and perceptions of practitioners who worked with young victims, and a focus on the known realities of young male victims of CSE. The programme theories utilised a wide range of literature sought from traditional and non-traditional sources such as Google scholar or Twitter. Each programme theory analysed the data through a critical narrative of context-mechanism-outcome configurations, identifying the causal mechanisms behind overall outcomes. I argued that in order to provide explanation of how young males were 'dealt' with within local CSE policy implementation each of the identified and then, refined programme theories preceded and built upon each other. This is the first time a theory-driven literature review has been undertaken on young male victims of CSE in twenty-first century child protection policy and practice.

### ***Chapter 7: Case Study and Semi-Structured Interview Methodology***

The second methods chapter critically examined the qualitative enquiry of a local authority area in England requiring having met three criteria to gain depth to the exploration of young males affected by, or involved in CSE. It was important to have presented how the case study and individual participants were sought, particularly identifying the contexts of interest to increase the sensitivity for the particular awareness of young males involved in CSE. The selected geographical area for the case study also provided interesting dimensions to situate the sample within, especially bringing to light the discourses that are produced from the interfacing relationship between a local socio-cultural LGB&T+ infrastructure, professional practices surrounding CSE and national CSE policy. In total, 18 participants became the selected sample for the semi-structured interviews and were either professionals with

responsibility for the screening, referral, assessment and/or intervening with young people at-risk of sexual exploitation or were policy influencers or makers seen as pertinent to this topic. The data that came from the semi-structured interviews was then managed and consequentially fractured into conceptual frameworks, through Framework analysis.

### ***Chapter 8: Interview Findings: Governing of the Self***

Chapter eight presented the findings from 18 participants from seven institutions, providing insightful data on various actors within power-knowledge institutions that constructed, governed and regulated young people, especially young males involved in CSE. The data illuminated official and counter-discourses through a corpus of statements of expert discourses within CSE policy and practice. The critical discourse analysis had examined expert discourses in how they had been constructed through policy architecture (i.e. structure) and their relationship to power-knowledge *i.e.* a critical policy genealogy as defined in chapter one. The chapter reinforced the methodological advice on there being no set rules or procedures for conducting a Foucauldian-inspired analysis of discourse relating to genealogy, governmentality and subjectification.

This chapter demonstrated that policy architecture largely influences the discursive practices of governance of the self *i.e.* front-line practitioners. In particular, CSE policy has ultimately crystallised the victim profile, the 'truth' of CSE and how government should be enacted, through a panoptic culture on practitioners and policy makers since 2000, the point at which 'child prostitution' became known as 'CSE' in CSE policy today. Using Foucauldian and liminality theories had clarified the data to the point that minority, often silenced, discourses on young male victims had come to light. Not only had these discourses emerged, but they have also illuminated the underpinning ethics of the self *i.e.* the participants operating within various governing institutions, at various levels of government. I argued in this chapter that it was entirely possible that the 'ethics' situated within the work of participants within the field of CSE are much less visible. This partial visibility, therefore, silences the discourse on both sensitive and specific issues such as the



anxiety of male workers and female victims, young males in general, sexual agency and even the notion of 'pleasure' (Foucault's theory of ars erotica). These findings helped bring a critical understanding of the ethical and moral activities in policy and practice on young people involved in CSE.

### ***Chapter 9: Part I: Theoretical Discussion and Conclusion***

The theoretical discussion provided platform for the realist social constructionist development of discourse norm circles in the tripodal structure of a critical policy genealogy. The planned synthesis of two data chapters, one critical realist and the other Foucauldian, was constructed through a critical narrative. The abstract data developed six discourse norm circles that included:

- Political Influencing;
- Visibility / Surveillance;
- The 'Perfect Victim';
- Improving Inclusivity for Young Male Victims;
- Progressive Governance, and;
- Championing the Specialist / Minority Voice.

There are few critical or analytic interpretations of contemporary CSE policy responses, within the literature, with robust theoretical frameworks; none exist on young male victims. A significant contribution this chapter, and overall, thesis, makes is the 're-thinking' of young male victims with CSE policy by utilising alternative theoretical frameworks. This is strengthened by my explicit social ontological claims (Epstein 2016) in chapter three, framed around the pertinent social entities and structures. Rather than accepting the homogenous policy position on protecting children, through a neutral position on gender, exposure of the limitations and restrictions posed by CSE policy were made central to this articulation of discourse through the six discourse norm circles.

## **Original Contributions to Knowledge**

On the recommendation of the examiners, this section fleshes out conclusions drawn from the findings, streamlined in a precise manner, thus improving the evidence for the original contribution of this thesis.

### ***Critical Realist Synthesis Findings***

The critical realist synthesis (CRS) explained the policy response to young male victims of CSE, over a 16-year time period of both gender-specific and gender-neutral CSE policies. The CRS findings on local CSE policy implementation in the main found it not to be a simplistic process and reflected the seven definable features of complex policy interventions (Table 3.1, page 94). The CRS explained the local CSE policy implementation through four programme theories, identifying 11 enabling and 17 disabling causal mechanisms of outcomes (Figure 3.3, page 97) against 'official' policy expectations. Local CSE policy implementation was explicated through a multi-layered perspective of reality by presenting a development of four programme theories, each derived from the previous, to understand how young males recognised as victims are 'dealt' with:

#### **1) *Literature on National CSE Policy Architecture***

- National policy aimed at the reduction of the sexual exploitation of children attempted to be gender inclusive but, in effect, were gynocentric, and outcomes reflected that. This gynocentricity was created through an ideological policy reality that came into being from popular constructions of who CSE victims could be, and how they 'entered' or became involved.
- A transition in policy language was observed, referring to the sexual exploitation of children as 'youth prostitution', as a marco descriptor *i.e.* taking into account socio-economic factors, to 'child sexual exploitation', primarily focused on micro sexual exploitative factors *i.e.* the actions and morality of individuals involved. CSE, as a contemporary definition, created a synonymisation of social constructs of 'child' and 'innocence' and gendered 'sexual' positions.

- Through this language transition, policy created a small number of victimhood-based models of CSE, as helpful depictions of the sexual exploitation of children, but in fact, were too simplistic when compared with the actual models of abuse reported within the literature.
- Although, this policy shift from 'child prostitutes' to 'child victims' actually ensure a firm embedding in the national child protection / welfarist policy architecture, leading to more children being identified.

## **2) Literature on the Development of Local CSE Responses**

- The number of children involved in sexual exploitation constituted a large population of victims sought from extracted data in descriptive statistical studies examining local multi-agency responses. The majority were females, with almost one third being male, reflecting policy representations of the gender ratio. The use of local proxy factors in predicting the prevalence of victims, potentially present more accurate numbers and exceed the reported number of known victims.
- Local multi-agency responses to CSE appear to be more effective in victim identification and professional intervention with community awareness-raising, developing CSE problem profiles and local CSE strategies. The voluntary sector was particularly an effective / favourable institution within multi-agency responses.
- Children considered as high risk to sexual exploitation are safeguarded through secure and alternative accommodation. The use of this type of accommodation is provocative but requires attention to ensuring safe and supportive experiences for children.

## **3) Literature on Professional Working with Child Victims**

- Working with CSE victims demonstrate a discrepancy between policy depictions of children's realities and those reported by practitioners and children themselves. Policy depicts a victim's agency to focus on the determination to remain involved in the exchange of sexual activities for 'something of value' or not. This single-faceted approach fails to consider a child's non-linear, multi-faceted circumstances and situation when

demonstrated 'appropriate' and 'concerning' agency. This policy reality limits professional practice through how it expects practitioners to behave and leaves small room for flexibility in approach.

- The focus on a child's agency should consider two factors whilst considering a child's 'risk' factors: 1) a practitioner's definition and perception of CSE, and 2) building rapport and integral meanings of the child-practitioner relationship. This focus reflects previous academic thought on children being the active agents of change and develop resilience during adversity.

#### **4) Literature Focusing on Young Male Victims**

- There is a dissonance between the policy reality and the actual realities of young males, especially those who identify as GBT, who are involved in sexual exploitation.
- Early policy stipulated a young male's involvement in prostitution / CSE was primarily due to homophobic reactions to their (homo / bi) sexuality, however, reported perceptions from practitioners identified a more varied intersection of issues. Issues including societal pre-occupation with gender roles, masculinity and gay culture. Although acknowledging some benefits, LGB&T+ participants also perceived 'gay culture' to be problematic to young males. This was due to gay culture being immersed within a highly sexualised environment and potentially facilitating the normalisation of 'exploitative' relationships with other males.
- Across a number of studies, practitioners appeared to afford more leniency (spelling corrected) to young males involved in sexual exploitation due to their sexual biology. They also considered heterosexual male children involved in the LGB&T+ scene at more risk than their GBT peers due to what was considered normal sexual activity.

#### ***Foucauldian-Inspired Discourse Analysis Findings***

The Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis (FDA) illuminated new ways of understanding the self-governance or 'governing of the self' in a sample of policy actors (n=18), operating within both national and local CSE policy

architecture, through a Foucauldian ethics perspective. This FDA illuminated official and counter-discourses within CSE policy enactment, constructed through policy architecture and their relationship to power-knowledge. The FDA allowed for an alternative understanding to professional judgement used in child protection practice, identifying the ethical conduct involved in self-governance. Applying Foucauldian ethics to the FDA genealogically-structured four key dimensions and the following findings can be drawn:

### **1. Ethical Substance**

- CSE is a poorly developed concept within the defining of the problem of sexual exploitation, with practitioners perceiving the problem, from a difference in chronological age between the offender and victim to structural factors such as the growing trend of sexualisation of youth culture.
- Within the existing language and classifications of CSE, young males do not fit comfortably within the profiling of victims. Although, new and emerging language and classifications associated with young males was illuminated, especially in terms of risk, perceived sexual exploitation experience and help-seeking behaviours.
- Overall, most participants did not feel able to discuss LGB&T+ issues, due to their lack of experience, fear of being perceived as homophobic and risk of conflating homosexuality with paedophilia. Noticeable perturbations existed in these participant interviews when discussing LGB&T+ issues.
- A minority of participants who either identified as LGB&T+ or worked for an LGB&T+ organisation (or both), spoke more freely about the perceived risks the LGB&T+ scene posed to young males such as 'chemsex'.

### **2. Ethical Work**

- Young males were largely perceived not to 'fit' well within the over-arching gynocentricity that provided foundation to the governing rationality of both historical and contemporary CSE policy development.
- The case study area chosen for this doctoral research demonstrated a comprehensive and well-established local social policy response to

national CSE policy architecture. Within this case study area, there were a plethora of standardised mechanisms which policy enactors operated within multi-agency working including specific referral routes, assessments, and procedures. Whilst the standardised mechanisms were largely perceived to be a positive, practitioners often described a fixation for mechanism use and completion when working with CSE victims.

### **3. Ethical Subjects**

- *Young males:* There appeared to be no consistent themes across participant responses on young males, however a variety of different constructions of young males were present. Often the experience of working with young males correlated with the breadth and depth of perceptions of young males and associated issues in CSE.
  - Similarly, to the ethical substance, within the perceptions of young males as victims, practitioners did not feel comfortable discussing the sexualities of young males outside of heteronormativity which ultimately constructed their future and sexual behaviours and associated risks. Constructions of victims were largely defined through assessment tools that contained broad concepts such as ‘vulnerability’ and ‘victimhood’. When such concepts were applied to young males proved difficult for many participants, especially those identifying as GB&T+ and were of same gender or similar age to their offender. In one case, two young males, in a same-sex relationship, were reported within a police database as both offenders and victims. This erosion or invisibilisation of non-heteronormative sexualities, through professional perceptions, leaves a void between gender and sexualities issues and CSE discourse.
  - Micro factors: Agency of young males was understood differently across participants. Most commonly agency was a concept primarily used to label engagement with services rather than involvement with sexual exploitation. This engagement was a key construction of what an ‘ideal’ CSE victim should be. Agency was considered by few to refer to positive development in sexuality but maintained caution with meeting potential offenders.

- Macro factors: Few participants acknowledged structural factors such as heterosexist views on non-heterosexuality, homophobia and poverty that facilitated CSE. This in turn meant a dissonance between participants on the benefits of a young male involved in the LGB&T+ scene between progressive yet also transgressive in the normalisation of abuse.
- *Child sex offenders*: there appeared to be a weaker or poorer perception of sex offenders in many child-only facing participants, stereotyping common mythologies such as ‘stranger danger’. Yet participants with roles that included working with both offenders and victims appeared to perceive sex offenders in a more detailed way. Interestingly, one participant felt that the 1970s gay (and sexual) liberation had meant that speaking up about contemporary ‘actual’ exploitation became largely taboo and silenced CSE risks to young males.
- *Practitioners*: three themes emerged within the self-perception of participants of their own work through self-validation / authentication heightened by a felt (policy / managerial) surveillance. Many participants felt they had to be ‘specialist’ and ‘highly qualified’ to undertake work with CSE victims when compared to the past *i.e.* being an unqualified social worker. The perceptions of professional conduct appeared to take a largely regulatory approach and professional codes of conduct were a common reference point. However, for one participant, being a ‘father figure’ helped role model ‘good’ behaviour to young females but not young males.

#### **4. Ethical Practices**

- The ethical practices, *i.e.* the ultimate end-goals, of why participants undertook the work and how this related to how they understood CSE were often not clear-cut to participants due to self-reportedly, rarely being asked.

- A clear theme of eradication of CSE was often a first go-to for many participants, but in further exploration of this, different common issues emerged: the affirmation of professional codes of conduct; establishing and maintaining a victim-focus approach; the adoption and adaption of harm minimisation approaches to empower victim agency.
- The victim-focus was somewhat limited, especially with long-term clients, with participants unsure with how many victims would understand their CSE experiences within a survivor-identity. This process from victimhood to survivorhood is new language and classification to the existing CSE policy discourse. Although, gendered language existed in explaining this such as young females being at-risk of being 'drawn to' older males, whereas language for young males was absent, reinforcing a gynocentricity / sexual passivity on gendered constructs in 'normative' sexual behaviour. Unprompted, one participant indicated the need to introduce the concept of pleasure to therapeutically encompass a victim's entire sexuality, not just limited to CSE experiences.
- Two minority discourses emerged diametrically opposed in relation to non-heterosexuality in participants lasting end-goals of their work; 1) many participants felt their LGB&T+ clients had 'not made their mind up' on their sexuality due to their age, and; 2) a minority of participants (who either identified as LGB&T+, or worked within a LGB&T+ organisation) felt policy issues such as gynocentricity in service development and victim-messaging, and young GB&T males would potentially extend the period of sexual vulnerability to CSE due to the 'coming out' process of non-heterosexualities.

### ***The Critical Policy Genealogical Analysis***

In order to develop a social ontology for discourse of existing professional perceptions of young males in CSE policy - anchored through my two social ontological claims (page 85) - the two preceding datasets were theorised in a triptych structure of a critical policy genealogy through six discourse norm circles (Elder-Vass's 2011, 2012) with concluding motifs:



1. The political influencing discourse circle has portrayed a particular truth of CSE.
2. The visibility / surveillance discourse circle has created a panoptic culture on how local government should enact national CSE policy.
3. The 'perfect victim' discourse circle has crystallised the 'traditional' CSE victim profile.
4. The improving inclusivity for young males discourse circle presses the need for gender to be heavily considered within future CSE policy and practice.
5. The progressive governance discourse circle identifies the need for longer term developmental work for healthy / positive sexual enhancement practices in local government.
6. The championing the specialist / minority discourse circle endorses the voluntary sector, especially those who have experience with LGB&T+ communities, to be vital in policy and practice development.

The genealogy of CSE policy architecture has ultimately crystallised the victim profile, the 'truth' of CSE and how government should be enacted through a panoptic culture on practitioners and policy makers since 2000 when 'child prostitution' became known as 'CSE' today.

### **Limitations of the Thesis**

As with countless studies, this research is not without its limitations. Price and Murnan (2004) recommend reporting the characteristics of the research design that may influence, or impact, on the interpretation of, and conclusions drawn from, the findings as the limitations of a study. Throughout this research, the limitations have been acknowledged, described and, in some cases, explained in how these could not be overcome within the determined research design; they are accumulated within this section. The determined research design comprised of the utilisation of peer-reviewed methods (Wong *et al.* 2013, Arribas-Allyon and Walkerdine 2008), methodologically triangulated (Dasgupta 2015) through a critical policy genealogy (Gale 2001), theoretically stabilised through realist social constructionism (Elder-Vass

2011, 2012) with explicit reflexivity through the use of bracketing (Tuffield and Newman 2012).

From the critical realist synthesis (CRS), four main limitations were identified: the incomplete knowledge of the policy process as not all resultant documents were able to provide comprehensive insight in explaining CSE policy implementation; difficulty in generalisability due to the large heterogeneity within the document characteristics; distinct lack of primary data on young males alone; and focusing exclusively on victims of CSE within local policy responses. Each limitation of the CRS will now be described and, in some cases, explained how it could (not) be overcome:

1. The refinement and development of programme theories (PT) within the CRS were only able to offer partial knowledge because of the near impossibility of ever presenting a complete picture of any complex policy intervention due to the policy process ever-changing (Pawson 2006). Not all resultant documents were able to provide 'full' insight to explaining CSE policy implementation. The allocation of resultant documents were considered for each PT through theory-driven evaluation (McEvoy and Richards 2003), which meant that not all resultant documents were used in every PT. This theory-driven evaluation then meant careful data extraction in order to establish the underpinning contexts and generative mechanisms of reported outcomes of studies for synthesis (Pawson *et al.* 2005). Not all resultant documents
2. There was a large heterogeneous range of documents included in the CRS, which meant that not all documents were reported in peer-reviewed journals, and varied considerably in particular to methodology, sample (if applicable) and geographies (within England). The data available within the heterogeneous range of documents often tended to be drawn upon from qualitative studies with non-probability sampling methods. This observed heterogeneity makes generalisability difficult when explaining CSE policy implementation, as a complex policy intervention, to be applicable to all settings / locations.

3. There were very few documents included in the CRS that focused solely on young males in comparison to the documents available on their female counterparts. Many documents purported to have gender neutral findings in document titles and abstracts but in the detail of reported sampling often found overwhelming female participants in any gendered samples. The distinct lack of primary data on young males alone may be due to three key issues: young males are reported to be a 'hard to reach' populations in policy and professional practice; young males are sub-populations not always conceptualised as CSE victims; and the sensitive and ethical nature of any research relating to sexual exploitation experience.
4. The scope of the CRS did not examine local policy responses to child sex offenders in CSE responses. The CRS only refined and developed programme theories to explain local government understanding and implementation of policy with regards to child victims in what respects and why.

From the semi-structured interview findings within the case study (including the theoretical analysis), four key limitations were identified: focusing on gender and sexual identities only; selection of, and data collection, within the case study; perceived power imbalance between the researcher and the participants; and limitations with the *corpus of statements* selected for the Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis (FDA). Each limitation of the case study and semi-structured interview methodology / FDA will now be described and explained how it could or could not be overcome:

1. The case study and semi-structured interview methodology was purposefully focused on the construction of young males within CSE policy and professional practice; this did not mean that other characteristics / identities such as ethnicity or disability would be excluded but only considered, intersectionally, if an interview participant were to bring these into discussion.
2. The initial identification and selection of the multiple case study areas proved difficult in securing sites for data collection due to two main reasons. Firstly, in potential case study areas, contacting organisations

either resulted in partial responses or non-responses. Within the partial responses, organisations would express interest in being involved in the research but on approaching potential participants (within these organisations) would result in non-responses. I understood these non-responses were partially due to the specialist / emerging nature of CSE work being limited expertise in many front-line practitioners' work, creating a degree of uncertainty with participating in this type of research. Secondly, other responses from local authorities approached to be involved in this research included no implementation of current, national CSE policy (DCSF 2009, DfE 2011). Both reasons could also be explained by the (increasing) political sensitivity on CSE during the time of data collection which may have hindered securing participating organisations and interviews with participants due to contemporary media attention (Cockbain 2013) and public outcry (e.g. Jay 2014). These two main reasons resulted in the research only exploring one local authority and using purposive and snowballing sampling methods, which in turn would have meant only seeking the perceptions of participants who felt confident in discussing CSE issues. This non-probability approach to sampling may have also hindered obtaining a holistic picture of what may have been *actually* happening in the selected case study area, although purposively accessing participants (within, for example, LGB&T+ organisations) would have created opportunity for minority discourse. Although the selected case study did not, like other young male-only CSE studies in the CRS, focus only on specific cases of young male victims and their workers, instead allowed any practitioners who felt they had experience to participate.

3. With my explicit identity as a registered health visitor and doctoral researcher within the research information sheets (appendix 6 and 7) may have created an imbalance of perceived power (Al  x and Hammarstr  m 2008), authority or surveillance on CSE knowledge by others, as a peer within safeguarding, within the data collection, as well as how I interpreted the data. This limitation was addressed through voluntary, informed consent at the start of the participant-researcher relationship (Juritzen *et al.* 2011) (including a confidentiality statement

and the right to withdraw at any time), the development of semi-structured interview schedules (Rubin and Rubin 2005) and the use of bracketing in qualitative research (Tuffield and Newman 2012).

4. There were two limitations acknowledged with regards to the *corpus of statements* selected for the FDA: a) Arribas-Allyon and Walkerdine's (2008) methodological advice; and b) the selected case study area had recently been subject to an external service provision review for young male inclusion.

- a. A limitation of Arribas-Allyon and Walkerdine (2008) methodological advice on carrying out a FDA is the lack of prescription on the number of statements required for such analysis. Their advice is, however, limited to 1) text that constitutes a discursive object relevant to the research; 2) text that creates the conditions that allow possibility for discursive objects; and 3) text that shows both contemporary and historical variance. This limitation potentially means that important statements are missed from the analysis, however, importantly, the FDA requires theorised interpretation on selecting the right statements to illuminate noteworthy discourses. I was able to minimise this limitation, partially, by the use of 'bracketing' of my professional identity as a health visitor and being familiar with 'best practice' in CSE assessment and intervention from extensive immersion in the literature.

- b. The *corpus of statements* were selected from a number of semi-structured interviews from a local geographical area with a well-developed social policy response to CSE, which had previously been subject to an external review of its young male inclusion. This external review potentially skewed the interview participants' responses by offering discussion points with recent rehearsal.

Overall, this research has relied upon the *expert discourses* from professionals' perceptions of young males within child sexual exploitation

policy and has valued these perceptions, qualitatively, without presenting a dichotomising predicament for what is right or wrong way to deal with CSE in governmental institutions. The findings of this research are not generalisable but offer a genealogically-specific context on the discourse on young males in CSE policy through explicit theoretical positioning and research design.

### **Future Policy, Practice and Research**

From reviewing contemporary contributions to the literature as well as undertaking pertinent searches in the Index of British and Irish Theses, I am assured that the conclusions drawn from the findings of this research are unique and will contribute to future policy development, professional practice and research. The findings presented within this research have illuminated official and counter-discourses in CSE policy and professional practice. Both theoretically and practically, the key findings have demonstrated that discourse can influence policy and professional practice on young males through the lens of causality in a realist social constructionist perspective. The next three sub-sections will outline how the key findings contribute to existing and future policy, practice, and research.

### ***Implications for Policy***

In the context of contemporary child protection policy immersed within risk aversion (Kirton 2012), this doctoral research has highlighted a, perhaps, unnecessary plethora of risk-driven policy production in CSE resulting from popular constructions of who CSE victims should be:

- CSE policy discourse has created a panoptic culture on how local government should enact national CSE policy. This can be helpful for ensuring adequate implementation but can create confusion in practice with regards to use of language and classification.
- Policy discourse can construct who is essentially 'at risk' of CSE (and in the contrary, who is not). Thus, careful consideration on how victims are presented in discourse must ensue. The, now, historical DCSF (2009) guidance demonstrates usefulness to practitioners working with victims with elaborating on risk assessment and management.

- Gender-neutral discourse on CSE fully encapsulates the safeguarding and protection of *all* children, but whilst sexual exploitation experiences, help-seeking behaviours and support needs are different between young males and females, greater gender-specific advice must continue. Monitoring of gender-specific advice should take place in terms of its understanding, adoption, and application in practice.
- Discourse of childhood sexuality and CSE victims must start to consider longer term developmental work for healthy / positive sexual development that enables young people to understand any sexual exploitative experiences.
- The policy provision for voluntary sector organisation involvement at steps within the policy cycle, especially those who have experience with LGB&T+ communities, should be considered vital, including practice development.

These policy implications also reflect on practice too.

### ***Implications for Practice***

In chapter one, I stated this was a practice-focused thesis, however, due to the existing epistemes available to sexual violence towards children being overtly gynocentric meant that a new episteme had to be proposed. An episteme that demonstrated the existing limitations within contemporary construction and discursivity of CSE language and classifications. The findings of this thesis enhance the implications for practice through the analysis of how ‘ethics’ (Robinson 2018) are integral to the understanding, or dissection, of professional judgement involved in CSE assessments. Professional judgements, though produced through the perceptions of professionals, create the vehicle of *power-knowledge* in the production of discourse.

Practitioners being aware of historical and contemporary discourse can be helpful in depicting the realities of CSE in multiple, co-existing ways as well as how they perceive these realities. Practitioners are essentially wedged in a constant negotiating position, or dance, between a reality of CSE presented

by government policy and another reality of CSE by the very young victims with whom they work. The practitioners, therefore, must try to make sense of these dances of power (dynamism) by attempting to agree with and implement policy, whilst adapting policy expectations to accommodate the needs of young victims of CSE. It is through this dynamism out of which comes a new understanding, a new knowledge of young males affected by, or involved in sexual exploitation. Practitioners should be aware existing concepts of CSE language and classification such as 'vulnerability' and 'victimhood' may be gendered and need careful application when working with young males, whilst sexual exploitation experiences, help-seeking behaviours and support needs are different to their female peers. Additionally, practitioners should be aware of LGB&T+ specific issues that affect young males who do not identify or behave in line of heteronormative expectations.

### ***Implications for Research***

The currently understood theory and conceptualisation of CSE is a *developing* social phenomenon, and, due to its nature and process within the *modus operandi* of individuals, considered as sex offenders, makes CSE a 'hard-to-reach' social problem to investigate. A number of areas of future research ideas, post-doctorally, came to light throughout this PhD, including:

- Educational research on examining how genders and sexualities, as concepts, are taught and assessed in professional academic programmes such as social work, policing, special community public health nursing.
- Further case studies, using similar methodologies within this doctoral research, could be undertaken in areas without a well-developed social policy response to CSE.
- Further examination of professionals working with the healthy sexual development of children and young people would be a unique line of enquiry, namely health visitors and school nurses.
- The research development of a policy or practice intervention that provides a wider range of acceptable language and classifications



including healthy sexual development vocabulary for both professionals and young people.

- Any future discourse research should ideally include other groups of the population, such as victims and survivors of CSE, parents (and families), the public and journalists.

### **Conclusion**

To conclude and return to Foucault's (1978) theoretical position on the 'qualified speakers' on childhood sexuality, this thesis demonstrates its relevance to twenty-first century discourse on young males, CSE and professional practice. The six aforementioned discourse circles reveal that young male CSE victim discourse is determined by a variety of surrounding / knowledge-producing, endorsing and enforcing, behaviours of how the 'qualified speakers' socially construct, and / or interpret, national policy (material reality), when applied to their professional practice. The endorsement and enforcement of such normativity creates a culture that both hinders and champions inclusive discourse on young males; thus, improving policy and professional practice. This analysis is exactly what Foucault determined as moments of the regulation of utterance (Foucault 1988, Elder-Vass 2011); drawing direct resonance with Foucault's claim on qualified speakers to be ever true today (overleaf).

**Figure 9.2 Extract from History of Sexuality, Vol. 1 (Foucault 1976: 30-31)**

It would be less than exact to say that the pedagogical institution has imposed a ponderous silence on the sex of children and adolescents. On the contrary, since the eighteenth century it has multiplied the forms of discourse on the subject; it has established various points of implantation for sex; it has coded contents and qualified speakers. Speaking about children's sex, inducing educators, physicians, administrators, and parents to speak of it, or speaking to them about it, causing children themselves to talk about it, and enclosing them in a web of discourses which sometimes address them, sometimes speak about them, or impose canonical bits of knowledge on them, or use them as a basis for constructing a science that is beyond their grasp—all this together enables us to link an intensification of the interventions of power to a multiplication of discourse. *The sex of*

This thesis has not set out to be exaggeratory or alarmist, yet has taken a different approach to those scholars examining discourse on young female victims of CSE. This thesis has taken on board research directions from the literature (Green 2005, McNaughton Nicholls *et al.* 2014, Barnardo's 2014). Gender-neutral policy has been intentional in securing any child's protection from significant harm, but this research has articulated that lack of explicitness in gender can be unhelpful for practitioners working with young males affected by CSE. The author postulates that while young males are justified, and significant, victims of CSE, they become lost in the gynocentric *milieu* of professional practice and social policy responses. Mill (2004) quite rightly points out that there is no inherent order to the world, however it is essentially ordered through the imposition of language and classification we ascribe to it. Bringing the entirety of this thesis into one articulation of discourse has been challenging. If policy enactment is complicated for professionals, one must consider the difficulty young male victims face when interacting with the discourse(s) of their sexual exploitative experience, in the broadest sense? This thesis has now articulated the discourse that existed on young males, within professionals' perceptions of England's CSE policy architecture and

socio-legal structures, such as child protection systems, between the years 2000 and 2016.

### **Dissemination of Findings**

This thesis has contributed to academic and professional audiences as demonstrated in Table 9.1 below. I have a dissemination plan for the research findings to be written up into academic papers for peer-reviewed professional and academic journals.

#### **National CSE Policy Contributions:**

##### **Helping School Nurses To Tackle Child Sexual Exploitation pathway** **(Department of Health / Public Health England 2015).**

The critical realist synthesis findings of this thesis heavily contributed to the authorship and development of national CSE pathway for school nurses. I was commended by the Deputy Chief Nurse for Public Health England in her public government blog for this policy development (appendix 14)

Blog weblink: <https://vivbennett.blog.gov.uk/2015/03/06/helping-school-nurses-to-tackle-child-sexual-exploitation-cse-wendy-nicholson/>

##### **University of Greenwich Safeguarding Hub's Submission to the UK Government's Consultation on Redefining CSE**

The findings from the thesis contributed to the University of Greenwich Safeguard Hub's official submission to the UK government's consultation on redefining CSE in 2016 (appendix 15).

##### **Basis for curriculum for three academic programmes at the University of Greenwich:**

##### **BSc (Hons) Specialist Community Public Health Nursing (Health Visiting and School Nursing)**

*Child sexual exploitation (CSE) and evidence-based policy: Exploring what works to keep young people safe through public health nursing*

## **BA and MA Social Work**

*Child sexual exploitation (CSE) and evidence-based policy: Exploring what works to keep young people safe through social work*

### **Thesis findings disseminated at:**

**Fanner, M.** 2019. Examining Gender-Neutral Policy in English Child Sexual Exploitation Responses. Global Health. World Health Organization, Public Health England, Liverpool John Moores University UK.

**Fanner, M.** 2019. University of West London, Nursing Associate Course (March 2019): Personal Tutorial for *National Child Sexual Exploitation Day*. *What is my role as a Nursing Associate in protecting children and young people from CSE?*

**Fanner, M.** 2017. Boys and Young Men within Child Sexual Exploitation Policy Architecture between 2000 and 2016: A Critical Realist Synthesis. Children and Families Research Group Seminar Series, Oxford Brookes University, UK.

**Fanner, M.** 2017. Boys and Young Men within Child Sexual Exploitation Policy Architecture between 2000 and 2016: A Critical Realist Synthesis. Joint Faculty of Health, Social Care and Education Research Seminar Series, Kingston University and St George's, University of London.

**Fanner, M.** 2016. Bournemouth University, Specialist Community Public Health Nursing Degree (February 2016): *Child sexual exploitation (CSE) and evidence-based policy: Exploring what works to keep young people safe through public health nursing*.

**Fanner M.,** Allen, B. and Hetherington, V. 2015. Tackling Gender Violence Through School Nursing. Masterclass. *18<sup>th</sup> Biennial School Nurses' International Conference*, University of Greenwich, London.

**Fanner M.** 2015. Child sexual exploitation (CSE) and evidence-based policy: Exploring what works to keep young people safe through public

health nursing. *Community Practitioners and Health Visitors Association Annual Professional Conference*, Manchester.

**Table 9.1 Impact of the Thesis to National CSE Policy, Professional Practice and Professional Education**

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1. Realist And Meta-narrative Evidence Syntheses: Evolving Standards (RAMESES) publication standards (Wong *et al.* 2013)

**Table 1 List of items to be included when reporting a realist synthesis**

TITLE	
1	In the title, identify the document as a realist synthesis or review
ABSTRACT	
2	While acknowledging publication requirements and house style, abstracts should ideally contain brief details of: the study's background, review question or objectives; search strategy; methods of selection, appraisal, analysis and synthesis of sources; main results; and implications for practice.
INTRODUCTION	
3	Rationale for review Explain why the review is needed and what it is likely to contribute to existing understanding of the topic area.
4	Objectives and focus of review State the objective(s) of the review and/or the review question(s). Define and provide a rationale for the focus of the review.
METHODS	
5	Changes in the review process Any changes made to the review process that was initially planned should be briefly described and justified.
6	Rationale for using realist synthesis Explain why realist synthesis was considered the most appropriate method to use.
7	Scoping the literature Describe and justify the initial process of exploratory scoping of the literature.
8	Searching processes While considering specific requirements of the journal or other publication outlet, state and provide a rationale for how the iterative searching was done. Provide details on all the sources accessed for information in the review. Where searching in electronic databases has taken place, the details should include, for example, name of database, search terms, dates of coverage and date last searched. If individuals familiar with the relevant literature and/or topic area were contacted, indicate how they were identified and selected.
9	Selection and appraisal of documents Explain how judgements were made about including and excluding data from documents, and justify these.
10	Data extraction Describe and explain which data or information were extracted from the included documents and justify this selection.
11	Analysis and synthesis processes Describe the analysis and synthesis processes in detail. This section should include information on the constructs analyzed and describe the analytic process.
RESULTS	
12	Document flow diagram Provide details on the number of documents assessed for eligibility and included in the review with reasons for exclusion at each stage as well as an indication of their source of origin (for example, from searching databases, reference lists and so on). You may consider using the example templates (which are likely to need modification to suit the data) that are provided.
13	Document characteristics Provide information on the characteristics of the documents included in the review.
14	Main findings Present the key findings with a specific focus on theory building and testing.
DISCUSSION	
15	Summary of findings Summarize the main findings, taking into account the review's objective(s), research question(s), focus and intended audience(s).
16	Strengths, limitations and future research directions Discuss both the strengths of the review and its limitations. These should include (but need not be restricted to) (a) consideration of all the steps in the review process and (b) comment on the overall strength of evidence supporting the explanatory insights which emerged. The limitations identified may point to areas where further work is needed.
17	Comparison with existing literature Where applicable, compare and contrast the review's findings with the existing literature (for example, other reviews) on the same topic.
18	Conclusion and recommendations List the main implications of the findings and place these in the context of other relevant literature. If appropriate, offer recommendations for policy and practice.
19	Funding Provide details of funding source (if any) for the review, the role played by the funder (if any) and any conflicts of interests of the reviewers.

## Appendix 2. Westhorp (2016) Critical Realism and RAMESES – personal correspondence

From: Gill Westhorp [gill@COMMUNITYMATTERS.COM.AU](mailto:gill@COMMUNITYMATTERS.COM.AU)  
Subject: Re: Critical Realism and RAMESES Publication Standards  
Date: 2 April 2016 02:18  
To: RAMESES@JISMAIL.AC.UK



Hi Michael

These are very good questions and ones that are debated, sometimes with passion. The Rameses team are currently developing a set of training materials that will go on line later this year and this will include a short piece on (perceptions of) the differences between critical realism and scientific realism (used here to refer to "realism as per Pawson and Tilley" - beware, there's more than one formulation of scientific realism as well; and Pawson and Tilley don't always use this label themselves). We are ourselves currently quite engaged in a discussion about what we think the differences are and how they might most usefully be presented for researchers.

So - with the dual provisos that we haven't reached agreement in our discussions yet nor done the work that we want to do to underpin that short paper - my provisional answers would be:

- a) there isn't one definitive piece on the differences between critical realism and other forms of realism (including Pawson and Tilley's version);
- b) there are a series of articles back and forth between Ray Pawson and Sam Porter, debating some of the differences.

My personal view is that the primary philosophical differences are axiological (philosophy of values) and political. I think they boil down to (inter-related) differences in the positions taken on:

- the stance of the researcher in relation to the research question – partisan, or 'as objective as is possible given that realists don't believe there's any such thing as true objectivity'?
- how one goes about social change (piecemeal social engineering, or more radical social change based in challenging traditional power structures and systems?).

I also think that the ontological (nature of reality), epistemological (nature of knowledge / how can we know about reality) and causal (underlying mechanisms operating contingently in contexts) are common across critical realism and scientific realism (and most other forms of realism, btw).

As a result, I don't believe that there is any contradiction in using a critical realist framework within a realist review. I do think that one needs to be explicit about "what is being drawn from where" and what one's own values stance is; and of course that you'll need to be prepared to defend whatever position(s) you've selected when it comes time to defend your thesis.

I'd love to hear from others on this list about this question. It would help us (the Rameses team) in constructing the training resource described above!

Cheers  
Gill

-----Original Message-----

From: Realist and Meta-narrative Evidence Synthesis: Evolving Standards  
[mailto:[RAMESES@JISMAIL.AC.UK](mailto:RAMESES@JISMAIL.AC.UK)] On Behalf Of Michael Fanner  
Sent: Saturday, 2 April 2016 12:59 AM  
To: RAMESES@JISMAIL.AC.UK  
Subject: Critical Realism and RAMESES Publication Standards

## Appendix 2 (Continued). Westhorp (2016) Critical Realism and RAMESES – personal correspondence

Hi all,

I am a MPhil/PhD student and I am currently conducting a realist review of the literature of my subject (child protection and gender).

I am very passionate about this systematic approach to reviewing the literature, but some of the concepts are constantly inter-changed within articles and amongst them. I have noticed, within the literature, there are often unclear distinctions made between concepts i.e. critical realist methodology versus realist methodology, realist evaluation versus realist synthesis/review. Does anyone know of a source that clearly observes these differences? The RAMESES publication standard only mentions realism and no other branch of it, i.e. subtle or critical. Is this intentional or purposeful?

Two questions:

1) In relation to my point about, is it possible to integrate critical realist methodology (e.g. Edgley et al 2016. Critical Realist Review: exploring the real, beyond the empirical. Journal of Further and Higher Education. 40. 3. 316-330) with the RAMESES publication standards - or - will this deviate too much from the publication standards?

2) I am unsure how I should discuss the differences between a realist review/synthesis (following RAMESES publication standards) and critical realism or whether there are just similar differences or no differences at all?

Sorry for my ignorance if this has been discussed before or I haven't found the sources that explain this!

Thanks in anticipation.

Best wishes,

Michael

### Appendix 3. Internet searches through iterative purposeful searching

Charities/ Non- Governmental Organisations/ Research Centres	Reports/Publications Available and examined under the inclusion criteria	Relevant for CRS?
<b>Barnardo's Policy Research Unit</b>  ( <a href="http://www.barnardos.org.uk/what_we_do/policy_research_unit/research_and_publications/sexual_exploitation_research_resources.htm">http://www.barnardos.org.uk/what_we_do/policy_research_unit/research_and_publications/sexual_exploitation_research_resources.htm</a> )  (Date and time of search: 13:00 hours on 1 <sup>st</sup> August 2014)	Health impacts of child sexual exploitation (Department of Health and Chanon Consulting) (2014)	No.
	Report of the Parliamentary inquiry into the effectiveness of legislation of tackling child sexual exploitation and trafficking in the UK.	Yes.
	Evaluation of Barnardo's Safe Accommodation Project for Sexually Exploited and Trafficked Young People (University of Bedfordshire) (2014)	Yes.
	Running from hate to what you think is love (Barnardo's and Paradigm Research) (2013)	No.
	Working with children and young people who experience running away and child sexual exploitation: An evidence-based guide for practitioners (Smeaton 2013)	No.
	Tackling child sexual exploitation: Helping local authorities to develop effective responses (Paskell with Local Government Association 2012)	Yes.

	Cutting them free: How is the UK progressing in protecting its children from sexual exploitation. (Barnardo's 2012)	Yes.
	Reducing the risk, cutting the cost: An assessment of the potential savings on Barnardo's interventions for young people who have been sexually exploited. (Barnardo's 2011)	No.
	Puppet on a String – reveals the urgent need to cut children free from sexual exploitation (Barnardo's 2011)	Yes.
	Tipping the Iceberg (Harris and Robinson 2007)	Yes.
	Sexual Exploitation Risk Assessment Framework (Clutton and Coles 2007)	Yes
	It Could be Anyone – Evaluation of London Prevention Education Programme (Child Sexual Exploitation) (Skidmore and Robinson 2007)	No.
	Blueprint of experience: Working to prevent and reduce child sexual exploitation in the UK, Netherlands and Estonia (2007)	No.
	Forgotten and failed (2007)	No.

	Reducing the risk – Barnardo’s support for sexually exploited young people. A two-year evaluation. (Scott and Skidmore 2006)	Yes.
	Meeting the needs of sexually exploited young people in London (Harper and Scott 2005)	Yes.
	Taking stock: Children and young people at risk of, or involved in, abuse through prostitution in Stockton-on-Tees (Crawley, Roberts and Shepherd 2004)	Yes.
	Daphne programme report – What works in child sexual exploitation: sharing and learning (2004)	No.
	No son of mine! Report (Palmer 2001)	Not available in full report. Only summary. Not included.
<b>International Centre for Child Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking, University of Bedfordshire</b>  <a href="http://www.beds.ac.uk/intcent/publications">http://www.beds.ac.uk/intcent/publications</a> and <a href="http://www.beds.ac">http://www.beds.ac</a>	Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation: A Study of Current Practice in London (University of Bedfordshire, London LSCB, London Councils 2014)	Yes.
	Research into gang-associated sexual exploitation and sexual violence (Beckett <i>et al.</i> 2012)	No
	Evaluation of Barnardo’s Safe Accommodation Project for Sexually Exploited and Trafficked Young People (University of Bedfordshire) (2014)	Yes.

uk/intcent/recently-completed-projects)  (Date and time of search: 13:00 hours on 1 <sup>st</sup> August 2014)	It's wrong...but you get used to it' A qualitative study of gang-associated sexual violence towards, and exploitation of, young people in England. (Beckett <i>et al.</i> 2013)	No.
	Evaluation of Barnardo's safe accommodation project for sexually exploited and trafficked young people (Shuker 2013)	Yes.
	Exploring the scale and nature of child sexual exploitation in Scotland (Brodie, I and Pearce, J (2012)	Yes.
	Shuker, L (2012) The Barnardo's Safe Accommodation Project: Consultation with Young People. Shuker, L (2011) Safe accommodation for sexually exploited and trafficked young people. Briefing Paper.	Yes.
	Youth gangs, sexual violence and sexual exploitation. A scoping exercise for the Office of the Children's Commissioner for England (Pearce, J and Pitts, J 2011)	No.
	What's going on to safeguard children and young people from sexual exploitation? How local partnerships respond to child sexual exploitation (Jago <i>et al.</i> 2011)	Yes.

	Brodie, I et al (2011) Providing Safe and Supported Accommodation for Young People who are in the Care System and who are at Risk of, or Experiencing, Sexual Exploitation or Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation.	Yes.
	Pearce, J. et al (2009) Breaking the Wall of Silence: Practitioners' responses to trafficked children and young people	No.
	Jago, S and Pearce, J (2008) Gathering evidence of the sexual exploitation of children and young people: a scoping exercise What works for us? (2011) Young People's Advisory Group Annual Report 2010/11	Not available in full copy.
	Pearce, J (2010) Consultation with experts on the prevention of sexual abuse of children: Preparation of the Council of Europe Campaign to stop sexual violence against children	No
<b>Office of the Children's Commissioner</b>  ( <a href="http://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk">http://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk</a> )	I Thought I was the Only One: The Only One in the World. Office of the Children's Commissioner's Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation into Gangs and Groups. Interim Report. November 2012. London. Office of the Children's Commissioner.	No.
<b>Children's Society</b> Using the search	Still at risk: A review of support for trafficked children, 2013	No.



<p>term 'sexual exploitation' on the website's internal search engine</p> <p>(<a href="http://www.childrenssociety.org.uk/what-we-do/research/current-research-projects">http://www.childrenssociety.org.uk/what-we-do/research/current-research-projects</a>)</p> <p>(<a href="http://www.childrenssociety.org.uk/what-we-do/research/research-publications">http://www.childrenssociety.org.uk/what-we-do/research/research-publications</a>)</p> <p>(Date and time of search: 13:00 hours on 1<sup>st</sup> August 2014)</p>	Still Running 3: Early findings from our third national survey of young people, 2011.	No.
	Living on the edge: The experience of detached young runaways (2005)	No.
	Responding to young runaways: An evaluation of 19 projects, 2003 to 2004 (2005)	No.
	Running away in South Yorkshire (2004)	No.
	Dorset Rural Runaways Project (ReRun) (2004)	No.
	Provision for young rural runaways: Report and recommendations based on rural interviews carried out between 1999 and 2003 (2003)	No.
	Lost Youth (2001)	No.
	Working with young runaways - Learning from practice (2001)	No.
	Missing Out (2001)	No.
	Still Running Children on the Streets in the UK 1999 (1999)	No.
<p><b>NSPCC</b></p> <p>(<a href="http://www.nspcc.org.uk/inform/research/findings/researchfindings_wda48259.html">http://www.nspcc.org.uk/inform/research/findings/researchfindings_wda48259.html</a>)</p>	Estimating the costs of child sexual abuse in the UK (July 2014)	No.
	Giving Victims a Voice. Joint report into sexual allegations made against Jimmy Savile. (David Gray and Peter Watt)	No.

(Date and time of search: 13:00 hours on 1 <sup>st</sup> August 2014)	Would they actually have believed me? A focus group exploration of the underreporting of crimes by Jimmy Savile. (Sept 2013)	No.
	Provision for young people who have displayed harmful sexual behaviour (April 2013)	No.
	Therapeutic services of sexually abused children and young people. Scoping the evidence base. (April 2012)	No.
	Sexual abuse: a public health challenge. A review of the evidence. (October 2011)	No.
	Sexual abuse and therapeutic services for children and young people. The gap between provision and need. Allnock et al 2009	No.
<b>BLAST Project</b>  ( <a href="http://mesmac.co.uk/blast-research">http://mesmac.co.uk/blast-research</a> )  (Date and time of search: 13:00 hours on 1 <sup>st</sup> August 2014)	Men and Boys Selling Sex in the Bradford District (Hudson, P. and Rivers, I. 2002)	Yes.
	A View From Inside the Box III 'Invisible Boys' Meeting the Needs of Male Victims/Survivors Of Sexual Violence and Abuse within the Bradford District.	No.
	No son of mine! Children abused through Prostitution – Summary	Not enough information available to review.
	Boys Are Not Sexually Exploited? A Challenge to Practitioners	No.

	What boys talk about to ChildLine	No.
<b>National Social Research Centre</b>  (Date and time of search: 11:00 hours on 15 <sup>th</sup> September 2014)	Rapid evidence assessment – the sexual exploitation of boys and young men. Barnardo’s. London.	Yes.
	Not just a girl thing. A large-scale comparison of male and female users of child sexual exploitation services in the UK. Barnardo’s. London.	Yes.
	Gendered perceptions: What professionals know about the sexual exploitation of boys and young men in the UK. Barnardo’s, London.	Yes.

## Appendix 4: Data Extraction Forms

### Data Extraction Form

<p><b>Programme Theory 1: From Child Prostitutes to Child Victims</b></p> <p>What are the reported socio-political contexts at the particular time of the document?</p> <p>How is CSE understood or problematised within the document?</p> <p>What models or theories of CSE are reported within the document?</p> <p>What models of CSE were reported exclusively to young males within documents?</p>
<p><b>Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Was the research design appropriate to the aims of the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Were the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?</b></p>
<p><b>Have ethical issues been take into consideration?</b></p>
<p><b>Has the relationship between the researcher and participants been adequately considered?</b></p>
<p><b>Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?</b></p>
<p><b>Is there a clear statement of findings?</b></p>
<p><b>How valuable is the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Additional comments</b></p>

## Data Extraction Form

<p><b>Programme Theory 2: Developing Local Responses</b></p> <p>What type of local response(s) were reported in the document?</p> <p>How many children and young people were defined as at risk or involved in CSE within local response(s) within the document?</p> <p>What risks associated (directly or indirectly) with CSE victims were identified in the document?</p> <p>What interventions were considered to be best practice to safeguarding children and young people from CSE?</p> <p>Were there any barriers were there for implementing interventions?</p>
<p><b>Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Was the research design appropriate to the aims of the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Were the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?</b></p>
<p><b>Have ethical issues been take into consideration?</b></p>
<p><b>Has the relationship between the researcher and participants been adequately considered?</b></p>
<p><b>Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?</b></p>
<p><b>Is there a clear statement of findings?</b></p>
<p><b>How valuable is the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Additional comments</b></p>

## Data Extraction Form

<p><b>Programme Theory 3: Working with Child Victims</b></p> <p>What models or theories of working with victimhood arise?</p> <p>How was agency defined and understood within the document by practitioners?</p> <p>How did young people involved in CSE experience contact with professionals?</p> <p>How did practitioners or organisations perceive best practice of working with CSE victims?</p>
<p><b>Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Was the research design appropriate to the aims of the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Were the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?</b></p>
<p><b>Have ethical issues been take into consideration?</b></p>
<p><b>Has the relationship between the researcher and participants been adequately considered?</b></p>
<p><b>Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?</b></p>
<p><b>Is there a clear statement of findings?</b></p>
<p><b>How valuable is the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Additional comments</b></p>

## Data Extraction Form

<p><b>Programme Theory 4: Focusing on Young Male Victims</b></p> <p>How did the document define young males affected by CSE in particular?</p> <p>How did the document understand and address the issues young males affect by CSE face in particular?</p> <p>How were the experiences, understandings and perceptions of young males involved in CSE reported within the document?</p> <p>How were concepts such as gender and sexuality relating to sexual exploitative experiences reported within the document?</p>
<p><b>Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Was the research design appropriate to the aims of the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Were the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?</b></p>
<p><b>Have ethical issues been take into consideration?</b></p>
<p><b>Has the relationship between the researcher and participants been adequately considered?</b></p>
<p><b>Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?</b></p>
<p><b>Is there a clear statement of findings?</b></p>
<p><b>How valuable is the research?</b></p>
<p><b>Additional comments</b></p>

## Appendix 5. Invitation Letter to Organisations



Faculty of Education and Health  
University of Greenwich  
Avery Hill Campus  
Grey Building  
Avery Hill Rd  
Eltham  
SE9 2UG

Re: Invitation Letter

Dear Organisation,

The purpose of this letter is to invite you as an organisation to participate in a research study to explore interdisciplinary discourses on young men (aged thirteen – eighteen) involved in sexual exploitation in multiple settings (street-based, indoor, online and on-screen) within the professional and policy agenda in England. This study is part of a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) project within the Faculty of Education and Health, under the supervision of Dr. David Evans, Dr. Peter Keogh and Professor Pam Maras.

Please find two Research Information Sheets enclosed, one for organisations and another for participants. The Research Information Sheet for Organisations provides an overview of what this study entails and if you have any further questions or would like to know more information, please do not hesitate to contact me. If your organisation is interested in participating in this study, I would be most grateful of written consent from your organisation (via an official email account) to confirm your agreement of your employees/volunteers to participate. I would also be very grateful of electronic/written confirmation of safe working practices with young people within your organisation (such as the process of DBS checks) if you were to participate.

In order to participate, please could you distribute the Research Information Sheet for Participants to your employees/volunteers who will need to contact me directly to organise an interview. All participants in the study will be required to sign written consent prior to interviews being undertaken (using a consent form provided me).

Thank you for your time in reading this letter and I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,

Michael Fanner  
PhD Researcher  
E: [m.fanner@greenwich.ac.uk](mailto:m.fanner@greenwich.ac.uk)  
T: 020 8331 7648



## Appendix 6. Research Information Sheet for Organisations



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GREENWICH

Faculty of Education and Health

Research Information Sheet for Organisations

**A study to explore interdisciplinary discourses on young men (aged thirteen – eighteen) involved in sexual exploitation in multiple settings (street-based, indoor, online and on-screen) within the professional and policy agenda in England.**

### **What is the study about?**

The purpose of the study is to explore the current social policy response to young men (aged thirteen to eighteen) involved in selling or exchanging sex in receipt of something such as money, accommodation, affection (also known as child sexual exploitation or CSE) at national and local levels within England. The research will be in two phases. First, the PhD researcher will examine a range of national policy documents in order to gain a comprehensive view of the 'policy picture' in this area. Second, the PhD researcher will conduct interviews with key providers of services for this group in one Local Authority area in England. The interviews will include people from the local authority, but will also include stakeholders from other agencies, within various disciplines (social care, youth work, education, school nursing, public health, genito-urinary healthcare, sexual health, mental health, drug and alcohol work, the police, local government, the voluntary sector).

### **How will your agency participate?**

The PhD researcher is currently in the process of identifying potential agencies, particularly those that cater for young LGBT people, children and young people's services, sexual health services, mental health services, community organisations etc. The research will be in two phases. First, the PhD researcher will examine a range of national policy documents in order to gain a comprehensive view of the 'policy picture' in this area. Second, the PhD researcher will conduct interviews with key providers of services for this group in one Local Authority area in England. The interviews will include people from the local authority, but will also include stakeholders from other agencies, within various disciplines (social care, youth work, education, school nursing, public health, genito-urinary healthcare, sexual health, mental health, drug and alcohol work, the police, local government, the voluntary sector).

To protect anonymity, each participant will be assigned a participant number and minimal identifiable data will be collected such as discipline and type of agency (but not the name or location of the agency). There will be great flexibility when the interviews can take place either within a confidential space that you may be able to provide or one that is arranged by the researcher (for example, a private space within a local public library). It is also possible to conduct the interviews over the telephone/Skype. Each interview would last from 1 to 1.5 hours. **The fieldwork will not involve direct contact with or interviewing young people.** The participants have

the right to withdraw at anytime without the need for explanation. All interviews will be recorded using a voice recorder and stored within the requirements of the Data Protection Act 1998. The interviews will be transcribed on to qualitative research software and I will anonymise participants and remove names of locations as required. After the interviews have been analysed, it may be difficult to distinguish participants in this data analysis and therefore not possible to withdraw this data.

### **What are the benefits for this research?**

This research will provide insight into the current national social policy response to young male and trans people aged thirteen to eighteen who are involved in CSE. This study will also provide insight into how local practitioners and policymakers respond to young male and trans people involved in CSE within agencies, such as those listed above. Both phases of the research will contribute to future recommendations for policy and practice aimed at this group of young people. It is envisaged the results of this doctoral study will be published in the academic press and its data used as evidence to support raising the profile of this group to future policymakers and commissioners in local authorities and national government. Given that your agency may have experience and come into contact with these groups, your participation would be appreciated.

### **Ethical issues**

The University of Greenwich Research Ethics Committee has approved the study. While the PhD researcher will not be in direct contact with or interviewing young male or trans people, he will be in contact with those who work directly with this group, *i.e.* your staff and/or volunteers. The PhD researcher will liaise with my academic supervisors and the Faculty Director of Research as necessary throughout all stages of this research to ensure plans are in place to further support that may be required for participants who are interviewed (such as signposting to agencies for emotional support). As a researcher and as a registered nurse, the PhD researcher has a duty of care to escalate any unmet concerns that might indicate significant harm or risk of significant harm to someone to the relevant authority, but in all cases this would be discussed with you first.

### **Timeframes**

Between November 2014 and November 2015, the PhD researcher will undertake interviews of the local policy/service response to young male and trans people involved in CSE within 3 – 4 geographical areas in England. The interviews will be undertaken over a few weeks in each area and after the interviews have been completed, your participation will end.

### **About the PhD researcher**

*I am full-time MPhil/PhD student within the Faculty of Education and Health at the University of Greenwich and I am also a registered nurse and health visitor with the Nursing and Midwifery Council (United Kingdom). I have experience of working with and managing caseloads of children and young people with varying safeguarding needs within the National Health Service and the voluntary sector. As a professional in*

*health and safeguarding, I have in-depth knowledge of the legislative safeguarding requirements of both statutory and non-statutory agencies.*

**If you are interested in taking part, please get in touch with any of the contacts below. Thank you.**

Michael Fanner (PhD Researcher)  
E: [m.fanner@greenwich.ac.uk](mailto:m.fanner@greenwich.ac.uk)  
T: 020 8331 7648

Dr. David Evans (Academic Supervisor)  
E: [d.t.evans@greenwich.ac.uk](mailto:d.t.evans@greenwich.ac.uk)  
T: 020 8331 8069

## Appendix 7. Research Information Sheet for Participants



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Research Information Sheet for Participants

**A study to explore interdisciplinary discourses on young men (aged thirteen – eighteen) involved in sexual exploitation in multiple settings (street-based, indoor, online and on-screen) within the professional and policy agenda in England.**

You are invited to take part in a study being conducted by a PhD researcher based at the University of Greenwich. The study is funded through the Vice Chancellor's Office at the University of Greenwich. Before you decide to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Your participation is entirely voluntary (your choice). You do not have to take part in the study. If you do agree to take part, you are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. To help you make your decision, please read this information sheet carefully. You may take as much time as you like to consider whether or not to take part in the study. If you do agree to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

### **What is the purpose of the study?**

The purpose of the study is to explore the current social policy response to young men (aged thirteen to eighteen) involved in selling or exchanging sex in receipt of something such as money, accommodation, affection (also known as child sexual exploitation or CSE) at national and local levels within England. The research will be in two phases. First, the PhD researcher will examine a range of national policy documents in order to gain a comprehensive view of the 'policy picture' in this area. Second, the PhD researcher will conduct interviews with key providers of services for this group in one Local Authority area in England. The interviews will include people from the local authority, but will also include stakeholders from other agencies, within various disciplines (social care, youth work, education, school nursing, public health, genito-urinary healthcare, sexual health, mental health, drug and alcohol work, the police, local government, the voluntary sector).

### **Do I have to take part?**

No, it is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. You will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time, and a decision not to take part will not affect your rights as an employee/volunteer. Each interview will be semi-structured, that is, the interview will be open-ended or 'conversational' rather than a 'tick-box' questionnaire and will focus on how the participants cater for (either through policy or provision) young men involved in CSE. Part of this interview will explore, in particular, how concepts like 'vulnerability' and 'consent' are understood and defined.

**Where will the focus group take place?**

The interview will take place at your usual place of work on a convenient date and time to you and will take approximately one hour to one hour and a half to complete. Alternatively, the interview can take place in a private meeting room in a public library, over the phone or virtually over Skype.

**What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**

Taking part in the study will take some of your time and require you to answer a series of questions during the course of the discussion. There are no particular risks or disadvantages associated with taking part in this study. However, if you require emotional support after the interview, signposting to counselling organisations will be available.

**What are the possible benefits to taking part?**

Your involvement will give you the opportunity to express your views and opinions regarding working with young people involved in CSE where you work. Your involvement may also help to inform the future services and policies that young people involved in CSE receive.

**What if something goes wrong?**

It is not anticipated you will be harmed through taking part in this research project; there are no special compensation arrangements available. Any complaints or concerns about any aspect of the way you have been approached or treated during the course of this study should be raised with the PhD researcher or academic supervisor (contact details below).

**Will the interview be recorded?**

Yes. With your permission, the interview will be recorded. These recordings will be stored on a password protected computer at the University of Greenwich and the PhD researcher will have access to them. They will be transcribed by the PhD researcher and treated confidentially. No material that could personally identify you will be used in any reports from this study or thesis.

**Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?**

Information provided in the interview will be confidential. If the information provided is included in a report or published, this will be done in a way that does not identify you. Should you decide to, you will be free to leave the interview at any time. Consent forms and any other details collected by the PhD researcher will be stored in a locked cabinet on University premises. These will be securely destroyed (shredded) once the study has been completed.

**What will happen to the findings from study?**

Findings of the study will be written up as part of a PhD thesis in 2015 and 2016. Your name will not be used in the thesis or any subsequent publications.

**Who has reviewed the study?**

It has been reviewed by the University of Greenwich Research Ethics Committee and has approval.

**About the PhD researcher**

*I am full-time MPhil/PhD student within the Faculty of Education and Health at the University of Greenwich and I am also a registered nurse and health visitor with the Nursing and Midwifery Council (United Kingdom). I have experience of working with and managing caseloads of children and young people with varying safeguarding needs within the National Health Service and the voluntary sector. As a professional in health and safeguarding, I have in-depth knowledge of the legislative safeguarding requirements of both statutory and non-statutory agencies.*

**If you are interested in taking part, please get in touch with any of the contacts below. Thank you.**

Michael Fanner (PhD Researcher)

E: [m.fanner@greenwich.ac.uk](mailto:m.fanner@greenwich.ac.uk)

T: 020 8331 7648

Dr. David Evans (Academic Supervisor)

E: [d.t.evans@greenwich.ac.uk](mailto:d.t.evans@greenwich.ac.uk)

T: 020 8331 8069

## Appendix 8. Participant Consent Form

### PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

To be completed by the participant. If the participant is under 18, to be completed by the parent / guardian / person acting *in loco parentis*.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I have read the information sheet about this study</li> <li>• I have had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study</li> <li>• I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions</li> <li>• I have received enough information about this study</li> <li>• I understand that I am / the participant is free to withdraw from this study:             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ At any time (until such date as this will no longer be possible, which I have been told)</li> <li>○ Without giving a reason for withdrawing</li> <li>○ (If I am / the participant is, or intends to become, a student at the University of Greenwich) without affecting my / the participant's future with the University</li> </ul> </li> <li>• I understand that my research data may be used for a further project in anonymous form, but I am able to opt out of this if I so wish, by ticking here.</li> <li>• I agree to take part in this study <input type="checkbox"/></li> </ul>	
Signed (participant)	Date
Name in block letters	
Signed (parent / guardian / other) (if under 18)	Date
Name in block letters	
Signature of researcher	Date
This project is supervised by: Dr David Evans, Dr Peter Keogh & Professor Pam Maras	
Researcher's contact details (including telephone number and e-mail address): Michael Fanner (PhD Researcher) E: <a href="mailto:m.fanner@greenwich.ac.uk">m.fanner@greenwich.ac.uk</a> T: 020 8331 7648	

Please provide 1 copy of a signed form for the participant and another for the researcher.

## **Appendix 9: Interview Schedule (Practitioner)**

- Introduce myself
- Introduce the participant to the study and the purpose of the interview
- Make sure consent has been obtained (both written via the consent form and again, informally prior to commencement of the interview)
- The purpose of this interview is to explore the complexities you may face in your work; this is not to focus on personal recrimination
- This interview will be digitally recorded

Ice-breaker: tell me about yourself, what is your background? Why are you motivated to work in this area?

### **Defining and understanding child sexual exploitation (CSE)/adult sex work**

- How do you understand and define the sexual exploitation of children and young people/sex work?
  - Does this definition work for all the male clients you work with?
- What do you feel is missing for male clients who identify as gay and bisexual in the current national policy response?
  - Can you identify any other policy impacts on young gay and bisexual men involved in CSE/adult men who are involved in sex work?

### **Local responses: your contribution to CSE practice in relation to young gay and bisexual men/working with adult male sex workers**

- What approaches do you use in your work to support and engage these young men/adult male sex workers? Examples could include: empowerment, therapeutic outreach, health promotion, harm minimisation, 'exiting', support for families and carers, male workers etc.
- What are your main challenges and difficulties working with this group?
  - Do you feel the traditional child protection approach works? (*CSE only*)
- How does your local LGBT infrastructure/scene influence the profile of CSE of boys and young men/male sex work and your work within CSE/sex work?

### **Concepts within child sexual exploitation/ adult male sex worker practice**

- How do you define and understand vulnerability within a sexual context?
  - Based on your previous answer, what vulnerabilities do young gay and bisexual men have, in particular, from other young people involved in CSE?

**OR**

- Based on your previous answer, what vulnerabilities do adult male sex workers have, in particular, from other groups of sex workers?
- How do you define and understand consent within a sexual context?



- Based on your previous answer, what are your experiences of talking about sexual consent and sexual safety with young gay and bisexual men involved in CSE/adult male sex workers?
- How do you define and understand the concept of sexuality?
  - Can you think of a case where you've had to work with a client regarding sexuality?
  - How do you talk to a client about sexuality that was at risk of/involved in CSE/sex work?
  - When would you talk to a client about sexuality that was at risk of/involved in CSE/sex work?
  - Do you feel you would talk about this differently if they weren't 'out' about their sexual identity?
  - What sort of relationships did this client have and how did you think this influenced his sexuality.
  - What support did you offer to this client with regards to the impact of sexual exploitation/sex work on his sexuality?

### **Sexual Agency - Circumstances and Settings**

- In your experience, what examples can you give regarding how clients you've worked with have become involved in CSE/sex work?
  - What sorts of people sexually exploit/buy sexual services from these young men?
  - Is this similar or differ from your own professional experience?
- When you recognise harmful behaviour or unhealthy choices in the clients you work with, what approaches do you take?
- When working with clients that do not perceive themselves to be victims, what sort of motivations do you feel these young men have?
- Thinking more broadly about the settings that clients may find themselves in that could be understood and defined within the CSE/sex work agenda, can you list any that you have had experience of? Such as virtual environments such as mobile applications such as Grindr and Hornet and other social networking sites such as Facebook, indoor working, street based, hotels, saunas.
- Thinking more broadly about the circumstances that clients may find themselves in that could be understood and defined within the CSE/sex work agenda, can you list any that you have had experience of? Such as chillouts, trafficking, the internet, gang activity, groomed by adults, peer recruitment, self-agency?

### **Thresholds**

- What specific welfare needs do you feel clients have that their peers don't?
- What do you feel comfortable with dealing with when working with clients who are involved in CSE/sex work?

- At what point would your organisation refer to another organisation?
- Do these referral thresholds differ to you as a practitioner?
- How do you work with other agencies in response to CSE/sex work and are there specialist agencies or organisations in your area? Do you have connections with adult sex work projects/CSE projects?

## **Appendix 10: Interview Schedule (Manager)**

- Introduce myself
- Introduce the participant to the study and the purpose of the interview
- Make sure consent has been obtained (both written via the consent form and again, informally prior to commencement of the interview)
- The purpose of this interview is to explore the complexities you may face in your work; this is not to focus on personal recrimination
- This interview will be digitally recorded

Ice-breaker: tell me about yourself, what is your background? Why are you motivated to work in this area?

### **Defining and understanding child sexual exploitation (CSE)/adult sex work**

- How do you understand and define the sexual exploitation of children and young people/sex work?
  - Does this definition work for all the male clients you work with?
- What do you feel is missing for young gay and bisexual men in the current national policy response?
- What do you feel makes the difference between CSE and sex work with those young people who reach 18 years age and remain in their situations?

### **Local responses: your contribution to CSE practice in relation to young gay and bisexual men/working with adult male sex workers**

- Do you have or are planning on specific projects or services to support and engage these young men/adult male sex workers?
- What is the local or regional policy response to young men involved in CSE?
- How does your local LGBT infrastructure/scene influence the profile of CSE of boys and young men/male sex work and your work within CSE/sex work?

### **Concepts within child sexual exploitation/ adult male sex worker practice**

#### **Sexuality and Sexual Agency**

- How do you define and understand sexuality?
  - Can you think of a case where you've had to work with a client regarding sexuality regarding CSE?
  - How do you talk to a client about sexuality that was at risk of/involved in CSE/sex work?

- When would you talk to a client about sexuality that was at risk of/involved in CSE/sex work?
  - Do you feel you would talk about this differently if they weren't 'out' about their sexual identity?
  - What sort of relationships did this client have and how did you think this influenced his sexuality.
  - What support did you offer to this client with regards to the impact of sexual exploitation/sex work on his sexuality?
- Thinking about young people's choices on sex and relationships within sexual exploitation based on your definition of CSE, can you offer examples of how your clients have become involved in CSE/sex work?
    - When you recognise harmful behaviour or unhealthy choices in the clients you work with, what approaches do you take?
    - When working with clients that do not perceive themselves to be victims, what sort of motivations do you feel these young men have?
  - What vulnerabilities and risks do young gay and bisexual men/ adult male sex workers have, in particular, from other young heterosexual people involved in CSE/ other groups of sex workers?
  - What are your experiences of talking about sexual consent and sexual safety with young gay and bisexual men involved in CSE/adult male sex workers?
  - Can you identify other challenges and difficulties working with this group that you've experienced?

### **Circumstances and Settings**

- Thinking more broadly about the settings that clients may find themselves in that could be understood and defined within the CSE/sex work agenda, can you list any that you have had experience of? Such as virtual environments such as mobile applications such as Grindr and Hornet and other social networking sites such as Facebook, indoor working, street based, hotels, saunas.
- Thinking more broadly about the circumstances that clients may find themselves in that could be understood and defined within the CSE/sex work agenda, can you list any that you have had experience of? Such as chillouts, trafficking, the internet, gang activity, groomed by adults, peer recruitment, self-agency?

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### **Thresholds**

- What specific welfare needs do you feel clients have that their peers don't?
- What do you feel comfortable with dealing with when working with clients who are involved in CSE/sex work?

- At what point would your organisation refer to another organisation?
  - Do these referral thresholds differ to you as a practitioner?
  - How do you work with other agencies in response to CSE/sex work and are there specialist agencies or organisations in your area? Do you have connections with adult sex work projects/CSE projects?
-

## **Appendix 11: Interview Schedule (Senior Level)**

- Introduce myself
- Introduce the participant to the study and the purpose of the interview
- Make sure consent has been obtained (both written via the consent form and again, informally prior to commencement of the interview)
- The purpose of this interview is to explore the complexities you may face in your work; this is not to focus on personal recrimination
- This interview will be digitally recorded

Ice-breaker: tell me about yourself, what is your background? Why are you motivated to work in this area?

### **Defining and understanding child sexual exploitation (CSE)**

- How do you understand and define the sexual exploitation of children and young people/sex work?
  - Does this definition work for all the male clients you or your service works with?
- What do you feel is missing for young gay and bisexual men in the current national policy response?
  - Can you identify any other policy impacts on young gay and bisexual men involved in CSE?

## Appendix 12: University Research Ethics Committee – Minute 13.3.5.12 Approval Letter



Michael John Fanner  
University of Greenwich  
Faculty of Education & Health  
Southwood Site  
Avery Hill Campus  
SE9 2UG

Direct Line 020 8331 8842  
Direct Fax 020 8331 8824  
Email [research\\_ethics@gre.ac.uk](mailto:research_ethics@gre.ac.uk)  
Our Ref UREC/13.3.5.12  
Date: 1<sup>st</sup> April 2014

Dear Michael,

### University Research Ethics Committee – Minute 13.3.5.12

**TITLE OF RESEARCH:** An examination of interdisciplinary discourses on young male and trans people (aged 13-18) involved in sexual exploitation in multiple settings (street-based, indoor, online and on screen) within the professional and policy agenda in England

I am pleased to confirm that the above application has been **approved** by Chair's Action on behalf of the Committee and that you have permission to proceed.

I am advised by the Committee to remind you of the following points:

- You must notify the Committee immediately of any information received by you, or of which you become aware, which would cast doubt upon, or alter, any information contained in the original application, or a later amendment, submitted to the Committee and/or which would raise questions about the safety and/or continued conduct of the research;
- You must comply with the Data Protection Act 1998;
- You must refer proposed amendments to the protocol to the Committee for further review and obtain the Committee's approval thereto prior to implementation (except only in cases of emergency when the welfare of the subject is paramount).
- You are authorised to present this University of Greenwich Research Ethics Committee letter of approval to outside bodies in support of any application for further research clearance.

On behalf of the Committee may I wish you success in your project.

Yours sincerely

  
John Wallace  
Secretary, University Research Ethics Committee



Cc Dr David Evans  
Dr Peter Keogh  
Prof Pam Maras

University of Greenwich  
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Old Royal Naval College  
Park Row  
London SE10 9LS  
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## Appendix 13: University Research Ethics Committee – Minute 13.3.5.12 Approval Letter (Amendment to Ethics Application)



Michael John Fanner  
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Email [research\\_ethics@gre.ac.uk](mailto:research_ethics@gre.ac.uk)  
Our Ref UREC/13.3.5.12  
Date: 14<sup>th</sup> January 2015

Dear Michael,

**University Research Ethics Committee – Application ref. 13.3.5.12**

**Title of Research:** An examination of interdisciplinary discourses on young male and trans people (aged thirteen – eighteen) involved in sexual exploitation in multiple settings (street-based, indoor, online and on screen) within the professional and policy agenda in England.

I am pleased to confirm that your application to amend your research proposal as follows:

- supervisors to have access to the voice recordings of interviews and verbatim transcriptions of interviews to support me in the data analysis.

was **approved** by Chair's Action on behalf of the Committee and that you have permission to proceed.

I am advised by the Committee to remind you of the following points:

- You must notify the Committee immediately of any information received by you, or of which you become aware, which would cast doubt upon, or alter, any information contained in the original application, or a later amendment, submitted to the Committee and/or which would raise questions about the safety and/or continued conduct of the research;
- You must comply with the Data Protection Act 1998;
- You must refer proposed amendments to the protocol to the Committee for further review and obtain the Committee's approval thereto prior to implementation (except only in cases of emergency when the welfare of the subject is paramount).
- You are authorised to present this University of Greenwich Research Ethics Committee letter of approval to outside bodies in support of any application for further research clearance.

On behalf of the Committee may I wish you success in your project.

Yours sincerely

  
John Wallace  
Secretary, University Research Ethics Committee

Cc: Dr David Evans  
Dr Peter Keogh  
Professor Pam Maras

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## Appendix 14: Commendation by the Deputy Chief Nurse at Public Health England for my contributions to national CSE policy



### Helping school nurses to tackle child sexual exploitation (CSE) - Wendy Nicholson

Viv Bennett, 6 March 2015 - Blogs, School Nursing



Child sexual exploitation is a highly sensitive issue and often a taboo subject. Many professionals find it difficult to talk about the subject and others feel they just don't have the expertise to tackle such a complex issue. Child sexual exploitation can happen in any community and all professionals have a role to play in identifying and protecting children and young people. Child sexual exploitation, mostly involves girls and

young women, but it must be remembered that it can involve boys and young men as well. We know it can take many forms, from the seemingly 'consensual' relationship where sex is exchanged for attention, accommodation, drugs, alcohol, money or gifts, to organised crime and trafficking. It involves varying degrees of coercion, intimidation or enticement, including unwanted peer pressure, sexual bullying (including cyber bullying) and grooming for sexual activity. In all cases, those exploiting the child/young person have power over them by virtue of their age, gender, intellect, physical strength and/or economic resources. We know violence, coercion and intimidation are often common within exploitative relationships, it is therefore not surprising that young people who are at risk or victims of CSE may find it difficult to trust adults to disclose or to seek help.

This week the Prime Minister outlined plans to tackle CSE. Mr Cameron highlighted the importance of CSE being on everyone's agenda. Today we publish guidance for school nurses, '[Helping School Nurses to Tackle Child Sexual Exploitation](#),' as part of the whole package of steps to prevent CSE.

School nurses as leaders of public health for school-aged children are well placed to develop trusting relationships with young people who make be at risk or a victim of CSE. We heard from school nurses and their teams, that they wanted to support to become more aware of the risk factors associated with CSE and clarity on how to provide support for children and young people who are at risk or victims. Over the last 6 months Betsy Allen, Professional lead for school nursing in Devon, worked closely with the Department of Health, the Home Office and partners including Public Health England to support the development of guidance for school nurses, her own passion and that of the small task group provided the impetus to shape the guidance. The guidance is designed to clarify the role of the school nursing service on child sexual exploitation. It aims to consolidate best

practice by helping practitioners to recognise child sexual exploitation in their interactions with school children, understand its effects on the child and taking action. The actions summarise their usual role in terms of a core offer from the school nursing service.

We are delighted to see the publication of the pathway, a huge thanks goes to the task group has worked incredibly hard and supported the development process. I would also like to express particular gratitude to Betsy Allen and Michael Fanner – both truly committed professionals, passionate about improving the health and wellbeing of children and young people.

'School nurses offer health promotion, early assessment and on-going support to families, children and young people. They are therefore ideally placed to inform young people of the risks of child sexual exploitation, to pick up its early signs, to alert specialist safeguarding services and, within a multiagency context, to give on-going support to children who are victims, and sometimes perpetrators of child sexual abuse.' - *Betsy Allen, Professional Lead for School Nursing, Integrated Children's Services, Devon*

'It has been fantastic to be part of developing national policy to improve the health and well being of children and young people who are affected by sexual exploitation. CSE can have a devastating impact on a child's life and early intervention is key. As both a doctoral researcher in CSE and a specialist community public health nurse, I felt I had a unique contribution to make bridging the gap between understanding issues in practice as well as utilising the existing research-base I had gathered as part of my doctoral study.

Within the last few years, CSE has dramatically changed in terms of its conceptualisation and recognition. As part of the national response we have developed a sophisticated pathway that allows front-line practitioners working in school public health to understand, identify, intervene early and work with victims of CSE, using the best available evidence-base in combination with many (combined) years of safeguarding experience from practitioners.' - *Michael Fanner, PhD Student - Faculty of Education and Health, University of Greenwich*

*Wendy Nicholson is the Professional Lead for School and Community Nursing at the Department of Health*

## **Appendix 15: University of Greenwich Safeguarding Hub's Submission to the UK Government's Consultation on Redefining CSE**

**From:** Safeguarding Hub <safeguardinghub@greenwich.ac.uk>  
**Sent:** 11 March 2016 11:56  
**To:** 'CSEdef.Consultation@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk'  
<CSEdef.Consultation@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk>  
**Cc:** Janet Webb <J.S.Webb@greenwich.ac.uk>; Michael John Fanner  
<M.Fanner@greenwich.ac.uk>  
**Subject:** Feedback on CSE Consultation

Dear Sir/Madam,

### **RE: Consultation of the Statutory Definition of Child Sexual Exploitation**

We have broken down the proposed definition, sentence by sentence, to allow the reader to see where our brief thoughts lie on each part. We are extremely welcome to further discussions should you wish to query anything we have submitted. Please find out contact details in the carbon copy (CC) above.

#### ***Child sexual exploitation is a form of child abuse.***

CSE is a form of child abuse and should not be disputed as this determines a helpful resource response to young people in need. However, we need to be careful with the language practices of the definitions. By defining the issue as 'child' sexual exploitation indicates a pre-pubescent subject, evading the population this phenomenon mostly affects. Historically, CSE was known as 'youth prostitution' which some academics (Phoenix 2002, 2003 and Melrose 2013) have argued is a more helpful term to practitioners as definitions can be used the first 'screening' tool. This sentence occludes the macroscopic issues of CSE such as the infrastructure it can operate within such as poverty, financial issues, unemployment etc; structural homophobia, structural misogyny/sexism. There are also contentious issues regarding gender and CSE, and additionally gendered practices should be considered as helpful and further developments of this concept are required.

#### ***It occurs where anyone under the age of 18 is persuaded, coerced or forced into sexual activity in exchange for, amongst other things, money, drugs/alcohol, gifts, affection or status.***

CSE does not affect all young people but clearly does operate in a variety of ways positioning all young people at risk. This needs to be clear. We are aware of specific vulnerabilities and models of exploitation - not blanket and also not just the three groups traditionally stated including the boyfriend model/prostitution model (Barnardo's 1998), organised and networked CSE, peer on peer CSE. For instance, we also are aware of the 'party lifestyle' model (Melrose 2013 identified in Jago et al 2011), eleven situational contexts young males are abused within (Brayley et al 2014) as examples. It should also be highlighted that CSE presents and operates differently depending on the geography of which it takes place. The need to undertake problem profiles

in a local area should be mentioned as this correlates with successful responses (Jago et al 2011).

***Consent is irrelevant, even where a child may believe they are voluntarily engaging in sexual activity with the person who is exploiting them.***

This is an impractical statement to put in a definition. Sexual agency of young people is a big issue that practitioners working in this area have to face, especially in terms of long-term engagement. So therefore, consent is relevant and the contexts in which consent transactions exist within should also be mentioned. Most young people may struggle between the identity of victimhood when they feel they are 'in control' or there has been a blip in what they perceive to be a healthy relationship of their choice or not. By denying consent as an issue also disenfranchises the young people from their own sexuality development in the longer term, Professor Jenny Pearce from the University of Bedfordshire advocates a harm minimisation model works well in balancing the young person's sexuality needs and the need to address abuse (Pearce 2006). Dr. Jane Dodsworth from the University of East Anglia has conducted practical solutions to this from her published research (Dodsworth 2013). Lastly, consent should be seen from two perspectives, an ecological one and a developmental one also. This helps guide this part of the definition on who it is relevant to, as currently it seems unclear who this is useful to (i.e. the practitioner, the young person, the courts etc).

There are also other issues that could be addressed but these are the most pertinent for the suggested definition.

We are more than happy to discuss this further.

With best wishes

Jan Webb, Principal Lecturer and Professional Lead for Child Health and Welfare, Safeguarding Lead Children and Young People

Michael Fanner, PhD Candidate (Vice Chancellor Scholarship)

on behalf of the Safeguarding Hub, Faculty of Education and Health,  
University of Greenwich.

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