



Title:

**ALOT GOING ON:**

**THE LINKS BETWEEN GOING MISSING,  
FORCED MARRIAGE AND CHILD  
SEXUAL EXPLOITATION**

Name: Nicola Sharp-Jeffs

This is a digitised version of a dissertation submitted to the University of Bedfordshire.

It is available to view only.

This item is subject to copyright.

**A LOT GOING ON:**

**THE LINKS BETWEEN GOING MISSING, FORCED MARRIAGE  
AND CHILD SEXUAL EXPLOITATION**

By Nicola Sharp-Jeffs

A thesis submitted to the University of Bedfordshire, in fulfilment of the requirements for  
the degree of Professional Doctorate in the  
Leadership of Children and Young People's Services

University of Bedfordshire  
October, 2016

**DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP**

“I, Nicola Sharp-Jeffs declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my original research.

*A lot going on: The links between going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation*

I confirm that:

1. This work has been done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have cited the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself and jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself; and
7. Either none of this work has been published before submission, or parts of this work have been published as indicated under Publications to Date”

.....

## LIST OF CONTENTS

<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>PUBLICATIONS TO DATE .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>GLOSSARY .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>20</b>
A note on terms and language used .....	27
<b>CHAPTER ONE: THE LITERATURE ON GOING MISSING, FORCED MARRIAGE AND CHILD SEXUAL EXPLOITATION .....</b>	<b>30</b>
Introduction .....	30
Chapter structure.....	31
Section one: Literature review methodology .....	32
Section two: Defining and understanding the issues .....	33
Going missing.....	33
<i>Defining going missing</i> .....	33
<i>Policy responses to going missing</i> .....	36
<i>The scale of running away/going missing</i> .....	37
<i>The characteristics of individuals affected by going missing</i> .....	38
Forced marriage.....	39
<i>Defining forced marriage</i> .....	39
<i>The scale of forced marriage and characteristics of individuals affected</i> .....	45
<i>Policy responses</i> .....	47
Child sexual exploitation (CSE).....	56
<i>Defining CSE</i> .....	56
<i>The scale of CSE and characteristics of individuals affected</i> .....	60
<i>Policy responses to CSE</i> .....	68
Section three: Exploring the overlaps.....	70
<i>Going missing and forced marriage</i> .....	71
<i>CSE and going missing</i> .....	77
<i>Forced marriage and CSE</i> .....	80

Section four: Links between forced marriage, going missing and CSE .....	85
Summary .....	90
<b>CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS .....</b>	<b>92</b>
Introduction .....	92
The ‘Risk Society’ .....	93
<i>Predicting and measuring risk</i> .....	94
<i>Measuring risk in CSE, forced marriage and going missing cases</i> .....	95
<i>Over-recording of risk</i> .....	97
<i>Variance in the ‘interpretation’ of risk</i> .....	99
<i>Risk as a social construct</i> .....	100
<i>Resilience</i> .....	101
<i>Blaming the victim</i> .....	103
<i>The concept of agency</i> .....	104
<i>Structural inequalities and social divides</i> .....	106
Intersectionality .....	109
<i>Additive intersectionality</i> .....	110
<i>Constitutive intersectionality</i> .....	112
<i>The continuum of sexual violence</i> .....	113
<i>Heteronormativity</i> .....	115
<i>A balanced combination of perspectives</i> .....	116
Summary .....	117
<b>CHAPTER THREE: THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>118</b>
Introduction .....	118
The research proposition .....	119
The research questions .....	119
The research design: case study inquiry .....	120
Preparation for data collection .....	121
<i>Interviews with key informants</i> .....	121
<i>Ethical considerations</i> .....	123
<i>Identifying supporting practitioners</i> .....	125
<i>The pilot</i> .....	126
<i>A new pattern</i> .....	127
Data collection .....	128
<i>Interviewing supporting practitioners</i> .....	128

<i>Ethics in process</i> .....	132
Data analysis procedures .....	133
<i>Writing a summary report</i> .....	133
<i>Running focus groups</i> .....	133
<i>Qualitative data analysis</i> .....	136
<i>Quantitative data analysis</i> .....	138
<i>The 'cross over' case</i> .....	139
<i>Ethics in writing up</i> .....	140
Reflections .....	275
<i>Participation of affected young people</i> .....	275
<i>Adult and woman focused</i> .....	276
<i>My 'relationality' to BME women</i> .....	276
Summary .....	141
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: 'IT'S VERY MUCH LINKED TOGETHER'</b> .....	<b>142</b>
Introduction .....	142
Pattern one: Forced marriage leading to missing and CSE .....	143
<i>Running away from home with nowhere to go</i> .....	143
<i>Running away from home with somewhere and someone to go to</i> .....	147
Pattern two: CSE and missing leading to forced marriage .....	151
<i>'The linking gets very messy'</i> .....	155
- Intended and unintended forms of missing.....	156
- Additional patterns of links.....	160
Summary .....	162
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: 'RATHER THAN JUST RUNNING AROUND'</b> .....	<b>164</b>
Introduction .....	164
The case study sample .....	165
The experience of going missing.....	166
<i>Running away from forced marriage</i> .....	167
<i>Informal networks</i> .....	171
<i>Reported as missing</i> .....	172
<i>Attempts to find runaway young women</i> .....	175
Going missing in the context of CSE.....	177
Repercussions of running away/going missing for young women .....	179
Repercussions of going missing for young men.....	185

The experience of forced marriage.....	188
<i>Disclosing forced marriage</i> .....	193
<i>Access to economic resources</i> .....	199
The experience of CSE.....	201
<i>Economic vulnerability</i> .....	203
<i>The use of 'honour'</i> .....	204
<i>Disclosing CSE</i> .....	205
Overlaps across issues .....	208
Summary .....	211
<b>CHAPTER SIX: 'PICKING AND CHOOSING' .....</b>	<b>212</b>
Introduction .....	212
Working with young people and their families.....	212
<i>Keeping interventions confidential</i> .....	212
<i>Hiding problems at home</i> .....	216
<i>The impact of social pressure</i> .....	218
<i>Containment from fathers and brothers</i> .....	219
<i>The implications of 'othering'</i> .....	226
Multi-agency working .....	230
<i>Framing the 'cause for concern'</i> .....	230
<i>Hierarchies of need</i> .....	236
<i>Young people framed as manipulators and liars</i> .....	237
<i>Professionals breaking protocol</i> .....	241
<i>How professionals interpreted young people's agency</i> .....	243
<i>How young people attempted to balance harm</i> .....	244
<i>Young people feeling judged</i> .....	247
<i>Young people feeling overwhelmed</i> .....	249
<i>Young people's access to adult services</i> .....	252
Summary .....	253
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>255</b>
Introduction .....	255
A work in progress.....	255
Linkages between going missing, forced marriage and CSE .....	257
Working with multiple risks .....	261
<i>Recognising multiple risks</i> .....	261

<i>Responding to multiple risks</i> .....	263
Relational understanding and working.....	266
The benefits of an analysis of power .....	272
Summary .....	278
<b>APPENDICES</b> .....	<b>280</b>
Appendix one: Information Sheet for Professionals.....	280
Appendix two: Case study template .....	282
Appendix three: Summary of recommendations .....	305
<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	<b>307</b>



## **ABSTRACT**

An extensive review of research and policy literature revealed that links are made between: going missing and forced marriage; going missing and child sexual exploitation; and forced marriage and child sexual exploitation. However, despite these overlaps, no links are made between all three issues. Given that some South Asian young women will run away from home in order to avoid being forced into marriage and that young people who run away or go missing from home are at risk of, or abused, through child sexual exploitation a research proposition was developed on the basis that a three way link was theoretically possible.

A case study methodology was developed to test the research proposition. Eight cases were identified in which South Asian young people (under 18 years of age) had experienced some combination of all three issues. However, the pattern identified within the research proposition was not the 'final explanation'. Analysis of the research findings revealed that variation existed within the pattern proposed. Moreover, a second pattern was identified in which forced marriage emerged as a parental response to young people who were already being sexually exploited and going missing in this context. The patterns identified were confirmed through analysis of interviews undertaken with twelve subject experts (key informants) and resonated with a specifically selected group of nine young people who were presented with a composite case study during focus group discussion.

I argue that awareness of patterns linking all three issues will help practitioners to identify and respond appropriately to cases where the issues of going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation overlap. That said the complexity of the cases highlighted risks

associated with overlooking diversities: social divisions related to age, gender, ethnicity, class, sexuality and disability were explored to see how they shaped the young people's experiences. This process revealed that they were located within complex axes of power which then intersected with social systems, including family, community and public institutions. As a consequence, young people lacked relational support and had limited access to safe accommodation and economic resources. This resulted in some young people making attempts to try and self-manage the competing harms that they were facing. The practitioners who supported the young people highlighted the challenges involved in working with them. Analysis of practitioners' accounts further revealed how power dynamics within multi-agency working arrangements also impacted their efforts to respond to the needs of young people.

Through testing the research proposition, I addressed a recognised need for more focused research into the issue of going missing as it relates to young people from different ethnic backgrounds (Berelowitz et al. 2012; Berelowitz et al., 2013; OCC, 2012; Patel, 1994; Safe on the Streets Research Team, 1999; Stein et al. 1994) as well as furthering knowledge about how child sexual exploitation is experienced by young people from black and minority ethnic (BME) communities (Chase & Statham, 2004; CEOP, 2011b; Jago et al., 2011; Berelowitz et al., 2013; Thiara & Gill, 2010; Kelly, 2013; Ward & Patel, 2006). The development of a typology of patterns linking going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation provides a unique contribution to the scholarly literature.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of people have supported me on this journey and without them this thesis would not have been written. Martin Houghton-Brown, former CEO of the charity Missing People, encouraged me to embark on the Professional Doctorate on day two of my new role as Director of Policy and Advocacy. The charity provided **generous support** throughout my time with them.

Tim Bateman, former course leader, was supportive from the outset and it was through his organisation of presentations by Research Fellows from across the Faculty that I realised that a career existed in academia.

I was very fortunate to have been supervised by experts in the field of child sexual exploitation. Professor Jenny Pearce, Professor Margaret Melrose and Dr Helen Beckett provided invaluable advice, support and encouragement as well as gentle challenge. Through them and Dr Karen **Shalev-Green**, Director of the Centre of the Study of Missing Persons at the University of Portsmouth, I was also given the opportunity to publish parts of my literature review and emerging findings. These opportunities motivated me to keep going when the end goal seemed far away.

The love of my family and friends and the belief that they all showed in me kept me going when I was juggling work and life alongside writing. A very special thank you must go to my husband Neil who I met and married during this journey. He has never known me not to be

working on my thesis and I am looking forward to spending more time with him now it has been submitted.

Lastly, but by no means least, I would like to thank the supporting practitioners, key informants and young people who so generously gave their time to participate in this doctoral research. I hope that by drawing attention to the links between going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation and through better understanding the experiences of young women and men, we will be better equipped to provide supportive and effective responses to the different harms that they face.

## PUBLICATIONS TO DATE

Sharp, N. (2012) *Still Hidden: Missing as an Indicator of Child Sexual Exploitation* London: Missing People

Sharp, N. (2013) *Missing from discourse: Black and minority ethnic young women and child sexual exploitation* Paper presented at the 13th ISPCAN European Regional Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect, 17 September 2013, Dublin

Sharp, N. (2013) *Child sexual exploitation, focusing on South Asian young women* Paper presented at the 1st International Conference of Missing Children and Adults Conference, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2013, Portsmouth

Sharp, N. (2013) *Missing from Discourse: South Asian Young Women and Sexual Exploitation* in Melrose, M. and Pearce, J. (eds.) pp. 96-109 *Critical Perspectives on Child Sexual Exploitation and Related Trafficking* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Sharp, N. (2015) *Keeping it from the Community Community Safety – Special Edition on Child Sexual Exploitation, Sexual Violence and Community Safety* 14(1): 56-66

Sharp, N. (2016a) *Hidden Links: Going Missing as an Indicator of Child Sexual Exploitation* in Shalev-Greene, K. and Alys, L. (eds.) *Missing Persons: A Handbook of Research* Farnham: Ashgate

Sharp, N. (2016b) To Honour and Obey: Forced Marriage and Going Missing in Shalev-

Greene, K. and Alys, L. (eds.) *Missing Persons: A Handbook of Research* Farnham: Ashgate

## **LIST OF TABLES**

### **Table one**

Profile of young people affected by going missing, CSE and forced marriage.....p.86-87

### **Table two**

Overview of research case studies.....p.128-129

### **Table three**

Patterning of going missing.....p.161-162

### **Table four**

Identification of issues by agency/organisation.....p.232-233

### **Table five**

Typology of links between going missing, forced marriage and CSE.....p.259-260

## GLOSSARY

**Absent child:** A person not at a place where they are expected or required to be and there is no apparent risk (NPCC, 2015).

**Adolescent:** Individuals between 10 and 18 years of age (Hanson & Holmes, 2014).

**Black and Minority Ethnic (BME):** Terminology used in the UK to describe people of non-white descent.

**Child:** Individuals between 0 and 17 years of age (Hanson & Holmes, 2014).

**Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre (CEOP):** The National Crime Agency's CEOP Command works with child protection partners across the UK and overseas to identify the main threats to children and coordinates activity against these threats to bring offenders to account. It protects children from harm online and offline, directly through National Crime Agency led operations and in partnership with local and international agencies.

**Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE):** The sexual exploitation of children and young people (CSE) under-18 is defined as that which:

‘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' (DSCF, 2009).

**Class:** Differences in access to and control over resources for provisioning and survival (Acker, 2006).

**Community:** Social location as determined by one's relationship to multiple axes of power; emotional and interpersonal levels; and shared moral and political value systems (Yuval Davis, 2006).

**Forced marriage:** Multi-agency statutory guidance for dealing with forced marriage states that a forced marriage is understood to take place when:

One or both spouses do not consent to the marriage but are coerced into it. Duress can involve physical, psychological, financial, sexual and emotional pressure (HM Government, 2014a).

**Forced Marriage Unit (FMU):** The Forced Marriage Unit (FMU) is a joint Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Home Office unit which was set up in January 2005 to lead on the Government's forced marriage policy, outreach and casework. It operates both inside the UK, where support is provided to any individual, and overseas, where consular assistance is provided to British nationals, including dual nationals.

**Gang:** Mainly comprising men and boys aged 13 – 25 years old, who take part in many forms of criminal activity, such as knife crime or robbery, who can engage in violence against other gangs, and who have identifiable markers such as territory, a name, sometimes clothing etc. (Berelowitz et al., 2012).

**Going missing:** A break in contact which either the missing person or someone else defines as going missing, and which may be either intentional or unintentional (Biehal, Mitchell and Wade, 2003).

**Group:** Child sexual exploitation by a group involves people who come together in person or online for the purpose of setting up, co-ordinating and/or taking part in the sexual exploitation of children in either an organised or opportunistic way (Berelowitz et al., 2012).

**Gender:** Socially constructed differences between women and men and the beliefs and identities that support difference and inequality (Acker, 2006).

**'Honour' based violence:** Violence arising from attempts to restore damaged 'honour' by punishing the individual concerned (Coomaraswamy, 2005).

**Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference (MARAC):** A forum in which professionals share everything they know about an individual and their family in order to undertake actions that will help mitigate risk and enhance safety.

**Missing child:** A child reported as missing to the police by their family or carers (DfE, 2013: 6).

**Office of the Children's Commissioner (OCC):** Promotes and protects the rights of all children in England in accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

**Runaway:** A child who has run away from their home or care placement, or feels they have been forced or lured to leave (DfE, 2013).

**South Asian:** From India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives.

**Trafficking:** Article 3 of the Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children established that:

Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to

achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (UNODC, 2000)

**Young people:** Individuals between 11 and 18 years (Melrose, 2013).

## INTRODUCTION

In 2009, I was a member of a group that successfully campaigned for the introduction of a special concession so that women who enter the UK on spousal visas and who experience domestic violence are able to access the public funds they need to live independently. Prior to the concession, their immigration status meant that they were unable to claim welfare benefits until they had been granted indefinite leave to remain. This meant that they were faced with the 'choice' of either staying in the abusive situation, or facing financial destitution if they left. Evidence revealed that many women who did flee became homeless and were at risk of sexual exploitation (Anitha et al., 2008; Roy, 2008; Amnesty International/Southall Black Sisters, 2008; HM Government 2009b; Sharma & Gill, 2010).

When, in 2012, the Government widened the definition of domestic violence to include 16-17 year olds (Home Office, 2012) it struck me that there was a parallel between women with no recourse and this group of young people. In this case it was age, rather than immigration status that acted as a barrier to accessing public funds. Because domestic violence refuges rely on the receipt of housing benefit, many are unable to accommodate young people under the age of 18. Even though young people can get married with their parent's permission at 16 they are simultaneously encouraged to be economically dependent. Government policy states that all young people should be in education and training up until the age of 18. This means that it is difficult for 16 and 17 year olds to find full-time paid work and/or claim the welfare benefits required for independent living (O'Brien & Scott, 2007). Thus although the inclusion of 16-17 year olds within the widened government definition of domestic violence means that refuges should be able to accommodate this age

group, Home Office guidance to local areas on the change to the Definition of Domestic Violence and Abuse recognises that:

Refuges tend to provide accommodation and support to victims aged 18 or over and this can act as a barrier for those who are trying to leave their current home in order to escape violence and abuse (Home Office/AVA, 2013: 11).

Therefore, I was keen to explore the links between going missing, domestic violence and child sexual exploitation (CSE) in more detail. As a first step I undertook an extensive review of research and policy literature across the missing persons, domestic violence and CSE fields. I found that links between going missing and domestic violence are recognised in research, policy and practice. Similarly links are also recognised between going missing and CSE. Yet despite these links, the extensive literature review revealed a 'blind spot' when it came to linking all three issues together.

Something that emerged through this process and which helped shape the development of my thinking is a recognised need for more focused research into the issues of going missing and CSE as they relate to young people from different ethnic backgrounds. I therefore decided to narrow my focus from domestic violence generally to forced marriage as it is experienced by South Asian young people more specifically. Not only are young people from South Asian communities at disproportionate risk of being forced into marriage in the UK, but young women who are 16-17 years of age are particularly vulnerable (HM Government, 2014a). I also observed interesting parallels between forced marriage and CSE in the course of my reading. Both often involve multiple perpetrators, different forms of coercion and are

likely to result in the rape or serious sexual assault of a young person. The existing evidence base therefore suggested to me that the risk of CSE to young women from South Asian communities, who might go missing to escape forced marriage situations, has been under-explored and under-acknowledged within the research literature (Sharp, 2013).

In order to 'test' my assertion that a three way link between going missing, forced marriage and CSE was possible I developed the following research proposition:

Given that i) some South Asian young women will run away from home in order to flee forced marriage and that ii) there is a link between young people who run away or go missing from home and CSE iii) South Asian young women who flee forced marriage are at risk of CSE.

This, in turn, informed the development of three research questions:

1. What are the links between going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation?
2. How do South Asian young women experience going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation?
3. How can practitioners support South Asian young women who experience going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation?

Through answering the research questions I sought not only to extend existing knowledge in all three fields but, by identifying how going missing, forced marriage and CSE are linked, also provide a unique contribution to the scholarly literature.

As my doctorate studies progressed, the need for empirical research to address the gap I had identified in the literature grew. For instance, in a review of CSE services in Stoke-On-Trent, Christie (2014) drew attention to overlapping issues, including going missing and forced marriage, but failed to outline what these looked like in practice. In addition, the knowledge base on CSE expanded and developed in ways that both supported and challenged the research proposition. For instance, the inquiry into CSE in gangs and groups undertaken by the Office of the Children's Commissioner (OCC) identified connections between forced marriage and CSE (Berelowitz, 2012; 2013), as did research by McNaughton Nicholls et al. (2014). However, research also indicated that additional patterns of linkages between the three issues might exist including, for example, forced marriage as a response to young people who go missing and are sexually exploited.

In the chapters which follow:

**Chapter one** outlines the existing evidence base on going missing, forced marriage and CSE. It serves to provide a theoretical underpinning for the development of the research proposition and also acts as the backdrop against which the doctorate research findings are later understood and analysed. I present policy definitions of going missing, forced marriage and CSE and critically engage with them in order to identify any tensions that emerge. In so doing I establish what is currently known about the connections between: going missing and



forced marriage; going missing and CSE; and forced marriage and CSE. This process demonstrates that, despite considerable overlap, there is a 'blind spot' when it comes to linking all three issues together in research, policy and practice.

**Chapter two** addresses the tensions which emerge from the literature review, namely that existing responses to going missing, forced marriage and CSE struggle to connect the personal with the structural, and the notion of victimisation with agency. The chapter starts by exploring the literature on risk and resilience in order to understand why these tensions arise. I explore arguments which suggest that the practice of risk assessment places emphasis on individual responsibility and choice to the exclusion of identifying structural inequalities. This means that young people may be considered 'deviant' and understood to be 'choosing' to put themselves at risk. I then turn to the theory of intersectionality which interrogates how power shapes the social and material contexts that young people navigate. I conclude that the strength of adopting an intersectional approach is in its ability to shift between 'structure' and 'individual life'. Not only does intersectionality recognise processes that shape power differentiation within populations but it also accounts for risk and resilience within individuals.

**Chapter three** presents the research methodology which was developed to 'test' the research proposition that South Asian young women who flee forced marriage by running away from home are at risk of being sexually exploited. I outline how I came to choose an exploratory case study approach and developed the criteria for the inclusion of cases. Through seeking to include only South Asian young women (under the age of 18) born and brought up in the UK I sought to respond directly to Ward and Patel's (2006) claims that

research on CSE has 'presented young women as a homogeneous group, assuming similarity across racial and ethnic boundaries' (Ward & Patel, 2006: 341) and that 'little focus is directed towards young people from minority ethnic backgrounds who are born and raised in the UK' (op cit.: 342).

During the 15 month fieldwork period, eight cases were identified in which young people met these criteria and had experienced some combination of all three issues. As well as interviewing the practitioners who supported the young people, I also developed a template which recorded details of each case. Three additional case studies were identified which did not meet the research criteria exactly but which nonetheless provided important insights for inclusion. I conducted interviews with twelve subject experts (key informants) across the issues of going missing, forced marriage and CSE in order to introduce rigour into the research process. Finally, I undertook two focus group discussions with nine young people to understand whether or not the case study findings resonated with those from similar backgrounds or were viewed as exceptional.

In **chapter four** I present findings with respect to the first research question which sought to identify the links between going missing, forced marriage and CSE. This chapter is largely descriptive in nature but is important because it illustrates the complexity of the cases identified. It reveals how the research findings confirmed the research proposition but that this was not what Yin (2009) calls the 'final explanation'. An additional pattern was identified in which forced marriage emerged as a parental response to young people going missing in the context of CSE. Moreover, variation was identified within and across each of these broad patterns which challenged some of the assumptions (outlined in chapter two)

that underpinned them. Thus although I claim that awareness of these patterns will help practitioners to identify and respond to cases where the issues of going missing, forced marriage and CSE overlap, I also warn against assumptions being made on this basis.

For this reason, **chapter five** moves beyond simply outlining the different patterns that link going missing, forced marriage and CSE. It considers how social divides shaped the ways in which young people experienced these issues, thereby addressing the second research question. This chapter shows how young people experiencing all three issues were located within complex axes of power which impacted their ability to access safety. Consistent with previous literature which has identified the components of a model of safety for young people in care affected by CSE (Shuker, 2013) the importance of relational security emerged as a strong theme. The experience of both forced marriage and CSE combined to severely limit young people's access to familial and social networks. The findings here also highlight the importance of economic security.

**Chapter six** explores the challenges that practitioners faced when trying to support young people in these contexts. The location of young people within complex axes of power impacted the ways in which they were able to interact with social systems, including family, friends and community as well as public institutions. This had implications for practice and highlighted the importance of practitioners undertaking a power analysis when working with families in order to 'unpick' what was going on. The integration of woman and child abuse emerged as an issue here. In some cases, young people felt that they had no choice but to self-manage the harms that they faced, leading statutory agencies to suggest that they were manipulators and liars. This leads to an exploration of practice issues linked to

child-centredness and relational working. The chapter then moves on to address power dynamics within multi-agency working arrangements themselves and how this also impacted the ability of practitioners to work with the young people.

**Chapter seven** returns to the questions with which this thesis was concerned and draws conclusions based on the research findings. The conclusions are organised under four broad headings: the linkages between going missing, forced marriage and CSE; working with multiple risks; relational understanding and working; and the importance of analysing power. I present the 'typology of links between going missing, forced marriage and CSE' as a unique contribution to the scholarly literature and identify the ways in which this thesis has extended existing knowledge and arguments. Within this chapter I present recommendations for research, policy and practice. The intention is to remove the current 'blind spot' with respect to links between going missing, forced marriage and CSE and ensure that young people are responded to through relational practice which recognises the social contexts and intersecting axes of power they navigate.

#### **A note on terms and language used**

The terms used throughout the chapters in this thesis and how I understand them are defined in the glossary. At the same time it is important to acknowledge that the key terms which establish the framework of inquiry are not easily defined. Difficulties associated with establishing and applying definitions emerge as important themes across all three bodies of literature connected to forced marriage, going missing and CSE. I refer the reader to chapter one where the difficulties related to defining these specific terms are discussed in detail.

I refer mainly to 'young people' throughout the thesis while recognising that this term will mean different things depending on the legal, policy and practice context (Brodie et al., 2016). All young people are recognised in statute as children until they reach their eighteenth birthday. However 'separating' them in this way recognises that individuals between 11 and 17 years of age are at differential levels of development (Beckett et al. 2013). Use of the term is not intended to undermine the rights and protections owed to all children, rather it seeks to recognise that this age group requires more nuanced and age appropriate responses (op cit.). For instance, Melrose (2013) argues that the terms 'child' and 'young person' are conflated within dominant discourse on CSE and, therefore, misleading since the majority of those affected tend to be 15-17 years old (Jago et al. 2011). Within chapters one and two I also cite literature which refers to adolescents, a term which is often used interchangeably with young people. According to Hanson and Holmes (2015) this term is used to define those who are 'roughly' aged between 10 and 18.

As a review of the forced marriage literature (chapter one) also reveals, much of the UK research literature connected to this issue focuses on the experiences of young women from South Asian backgrounds. This is because the majority of those who seek help from services about forced marriage are South Asian young women between the ages of 16 and 25 (Kazimirski et al. 2009). Since both the literature on going missing and CSE also suggest that young women are more likely than young men to experience these issues, I mostly refer to South Asian young women. Yet I also recognise that that some of the issues raised are also relevant to young women from other communities as well as some young men.

Similarly, when I refer to 'South Asian young women/men' and 'South Asian communities' this is not without an awareness of the diversity within the categories (Anitha & Gill, 2009).

Another linked issue within the forced marriage literature is the concept of so-called 'honour' based violence (HBV). It is widely acknowledged that use of the word 'honour' is problematic when connected to descriptions of violence because the word 'traditionally connotes good deeds, worthy actions and earned respect' (Begikhani, Gill & Hague, 2015: 2). As such, commentators such as Sen (2005) and Siddiqui (2005) have argued that the term HBV can and should be contested. I recognise this by deliberately marking out the term within inverted commas.

## **CHAPTER ONE: THE LITERATURE ON GOING MISSING, FORCED MARRIAGE AND CHILD SEXUAL EXPLOITATION**

### **Introduction**

The literature review which follows is intended to frame the research problem. I present evidence which identifies links between: going missing and forced marriage; going missing and child sexual exploitation; and forced marriage and child sexual exploitation (CSE). I demonstrate how, despite these overlaps, research and policy fail to identify links between all three issues. I argue that this blind spot exists because there are gaps in knowledge about:

- The issue of going missing as it relates to young people from different ethnic backgrounds (Berelowitz et al. 2012; Berelowitz et al., 2013; OCC, 2012; Patel, 1994; Safe on the Streets Research Team, 1999; Stein et al. 1994);
- How child sexual exploitation is experienced by young people from BME communities (Berelowitz et al., 2013; CEOP, 2011b; Chase & Statham, 2004; Jago et al., 2011; Kelly, 2013; Thiara & Gill, 2010; Ward & Patel, 2006); and
- The extent of sexual violence towards and exploitation of young people associated with issues such as HBV, including forced marriage (Beckett et al., 2013; Thiara & Gill, 2010).

Drawing on the existing evidence base I conclude that a three way link between going missing, forced marriage and CSE is theoretically possible but not yet empirically proven. Given that some young people will run away from home in order to flee an unwanted

marriage and that young people who run away or go missing from home are at risk of CSE, I propose that:

South Asian young women who avoid being forced into marriage by running away are consequently at risk of, or are abused, through child sexual exploitation.

This proposition underpins the development of the research questions and methodology that I outline in chapter three. I also draw on the literature review in chapters four, five and six when I come to interpret and discuss the research findings.

### **Chapter structure**

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section provides details about how the literature review was undertaken. Since the identification and inclusion of relevant studies in the literature review was shaped by how each of the three issues is understood, the second section sets out the definitions that I adopted for the study. This involves presenting the statutory definition of each issue and discussing the issues that arise from it. The next section presents research evidence identifying overlaps between: going missing and forced marriage; going missing and CSE; and forced marriage and CSE. Finally I set out how, despite the connections that have been established, there is a 'blind spot' linking all three issues in research and policy. I suggest that this might be the case because insufficient attention has been paid to the characteristics (such as age, gender and ethnicity) of young people who are affected by going missing, forced marriage and CSE. For this reason I present what is known about these characteristics or 'social divides' within the discussion on each issue.



### **Section one: Literature review methodology**

Relevant research about going missing, forced marriage and CSE was identified by searching databases for primary research material. These were: the University of Bedfordshire's library catalogue, London Metropolitan University's library catalogue and Google Scholar. In order to ensure that relevant studies were not overlooked, the search terms were deliberately broad. This was particularly important because: the terms going missing and running away are often used interchangeably; forced marriage is often defined as a form of so-called HBV; and terminology describing the concept of CSE has evolved over the past twenty years.

The search terms selected were: ("running away" or "runaway" or "missing") and ("child sexual exploitation" or "exploitation" or "prostitution") and ("forced marriage" or "honour") and ("ethnicity" or "South Asian"). Article titles and abstracts were then screened to identify those studies most relevant to the research proposition. The review was confined to UK literature and I did not specify a time span within the search parameters since, as Nelson (2016) argues, only including the latest references in a literature search can result in important insights from the past being missed. Drawing on the studies identified, I then used a reference harvesting approach to identify additional material.

Open source searches were used to identify books and grey literature by which I mean NGO reports and conference papers which had not been peer reviewed. This was necessary due to the evolving nature of the topics under examination. In fact over the five year period it took to design, undertake and write up the doctoral research, all three issues were subject to various government inquiries and/or inspections. Moreover research in all three fields

continued to grow. This meant that I was engaged in an ongoing literature review right up until submission.

Creswell (2014) recommends developing a literature map as part of the review process in order to identify groupings of literature and how the study will contribute to the existing knowledge base. I found this approach helpful since, by organising the literature in this way, it was possible to see a narrowing of relevant research to the extent that no studies were found that directly addressed the research proposition.

### **Section two: Defining and understanding the issues**

Before identifying what is known about the links between going missing, forced marriage and CSE, I need to address a number of factors which impact on our understanding of these terms and how they are defined. I also consider the scale of the issues and what is known about the social characteristics of those who experience them.

#### **Going missing**

Statutory guidance makes a distinction between children and young people who 'runaway' or 'go missing' from home or care (DfE, 2013). I start by considering the definition of a young runaway first since this provides the context within which to understand how the definition of a missing child is different.

#### ***Defining going missing***

A 'young runaway' is defined as:

A child who has run away from their home or care placement, or feels they have been forced or lured to leave (DfE, 2013: 6)

By distinguishing between children who 'choose' to run away and those who feel they have been 'forced' or 'lured' into doing so, the statutory definition highlights the issue of intentionality – something that the 'going missing' literature explores in depth. Payne (1995), for example, identifies five different 'types' of missing incident. Reflecting a low level of intentionality are those he describes as 'fallaways'. These are individuals who have 'drifted' out of contact with family members and social networks. In contrast, he labels individuals who 'choose' to end contact with family members and go missing as 'runaways'. Payne (1995) recognises that some individuals who leave home may feel that they have no choice and so this group is labelled as 'pushaways'. Most commonly cited in this respect and particularly relevant in the context of this thesis are young people seeking to escape child abuse and women fleeing domestic violence. In both cases, a decision has been made to leave, but in circumstances where there is perceived to be no other means of achieving safety. His fourth category of 'throwaways' describes individuals who have been told to leave. His final category is of 'takeaways' – individuals who may have been kidnapped or abducted.

I believe that differing levels of intentionality within 'missing' incidents are, however, better captured by Biehal, Mitchell and Wade (2003) within their 'missing continuum'. This encompasses the classifications that Payne (1995) developed but recognises that intentionality operates along a continuum that can accommodate a number of situations including, for example, being 'lured' into leaving as the statutory definition of a young

runaway suggests. At one end of the continuum sit intentional missing episodes whilst unintentional missing incidents sit at the other. The definition underpinning the continuum recognises 'going missing' as:

A break in contact which, either the missing person or someone else defines as going missing and which may be either intentional or unintentional (Biehal et al. 2003: 2).

As well as recognising the issue of intentionality, this definition is useful in that it highlights how being missing can be an attributed status rather than a chosen one. In other words, the power of the definition can be held by those who Biehal et al. (2003) call the 'left behind'. These are the social/kinship networks or statutory agencies that are unable to locate the individual and who determine whether an individual is reported missing or not. It is in relation to this point that commentators such as Rees and Lee (2005) argue that the terms 'running away' and 'going missing' cannot be used interchangeably. This is because the majority of young people who run away are not reported as missing to the police (Rees, 2011). This distinction is recognised within the statutory guidance which defines a 'missing child' as:

'A child reported as missing to the police by their family or carers' (DfE, 2013: 6).

Missing as an attributed status can be problematic. For instance, an individual who is reported missing to the police may not define themselves as such (Evans, Houghton-Brown & Rees, 2007; Parr & Stevenson, 2013). Moreover, unlike adults, young people do not have the 'right' to go missing (Stevenson et al. 2013; Barter et al. 2009). As a consequence, young

people who are reported as missing are considered to be 'deviant' (Payne, 1995) meaning that their behaviour is framed within a deficit-focused, problem model (Coleman & Hagel, 2007; Beckett et al. 2015).

### ***Policy responses to going missing***

Police guidance on the management, recording and investigation of missing persons historically stated that cases involving young people reported missing should never be considered low risk (NPIA, 2010). Plass (2007) notes that:

Running away from home, almost by definition, places any young person in an unprotected and risky situation (Plass, 2007: 32).

On this basis the police used to attend every missing child incident by default. However, following a review of the police response to missing persons, new classifications were introduced in April 2013 (ACPO/CoP, 2013) and further clarified in 2015 (NPCC, 2015). In cases where a young person is not deemed to be at immediate risk of harm, they are now classified as 'absent' instead. This describes a situation where:

A person is not at a place where they are expected or required to be and there is no apparent risk (NPCC, 2015: 5)

The police are required to monitor an absent case with consideration given to escalating it to an 'at risk' category if appropriate. Yet when Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) explored the police response to missing and absent children they found that there

were 'serious inconsistencies' in the way that forces were using the 'missing' and 'absent' categories, meaning that some children were left at 'serious risk of harm' (HMIC, 2016: 7).

***The scale of running away/going missing***

The variation between police forces of the percentage of children and young people classified as 'absent' as opposed to 'missing' means that data sets at police force and, therefore, national level are not reliable (HMIC, 2016). Since not all young people who run away are reported as missing to the police anyway it is clear that there are considerable challenges associated with establishing the true scale of the problem.

The Children's Society has sought to address this by undertaking national surveys of young people who have run away overnight. The most recent survey was undertaken in 2011 and drew on a sample of young people aged 14 to 16 (Rees, 2011). At least 8.9 per cent had run away overnight on at least one occasion (lifetime running away rate) and at least 6.2 per cent (74,000 young people) had run away overnight in the past 12 months. As the report notes, these rates are likely to be under-estimates because there is a known link between truancy and running away, meaning that young people absent from school on the day the survey was undertaken may well have had higher running away rates than those present. Conservative estimates also suggest that 10,000 young people under the age of 14 runaway overnight each year. In total then, around 84,000 young people are believed to run away every year. This is broadly consistent with previous rough estimates of 100,000 (Safe on the Streets, 1999).

### ***The characteristics of individuals affected by going missing***

Children and young people under the age of 18 make up around two-thirds (60 per cent) of all missing incidents that are reported to the police (NCA, 2016). The 15-17 year old age group is identified as reported missing most frequently (35 per cent). In addition, analysis by age and gender indicates that more young women aged 15-17 (57 per cent) are recorded missing than young men. It is, however, important to note that boys and young men are less likely to be reported missing than girls due to gendered perceptions of them being better able to look after themselves whilst away from home or care (NatCen, 2014). Having said this, the self-report surveys undertaken by The Children's Society are consistent with these findings with more girls and young women running away from home than boys and young men (Rees, 2011).

The sexual orientation of young people who run away from home is not explored either by the police or The Children's Society, representing a gap in knowledge. This is also the case for disability within police data although the Children's Society has explored self-defined disability. Their research indicates that there is a higher than average lifetime overnight running rate for physically disabled young people (Rees, 2011). The same is true for young people who have 'difficulties with learning'. Eighteen per cent of the 600 young people who defined themselves in this way had run away overnight at some point in their lives.

Since the research proposition on which the doctoral research is based suggests that there is a 'blind spot' in relation to the links between going missing, forced marriage and CSE, data about the ethnicity of those who run away or go missing is significant. Stevenson et al. (2013) observe that there is yet to be any systematic data collection in relation to the ethnicity of

missing people by the police. Available data shows that nearly three-quarters (71.5 per cent) of missing person reports in 2014-15 related to White European individuals (NCA, 2016). This is followed by: Black (11.2%); Asian (4.3%); Middle Eastern (0.8%); and Chinese (0.4%) individuals. Twelve per cent of reports are classified as 'other'. When the ethnicity of people reported missing to the police is compared with national population data, the number of missing incidents related to Asian people is lower than would be expected. This leads the NCA to suggest that the data for this group represents an 'underestimate of the true figure' (NCA, 2016: 17). Again, this is consistent with the survey findings of the Children's Society. Although these showed variations in ethnicity when the lifetime running away rates of young people were considered, they remained lowest amongst young people of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin at around 4 per cent (Rees, 2011). I explore reasons for why this might be the case in section three when summarising what research tells us about young people who run away from forced marriage. Before doing so, however, I consider how forced marriage is defined.

## **Forced marriage**

### ***Defining forced marriage***

Multi-agency statutory guidance for dealing with forced marriage states that a forced marriage is understood to take place when:

One or both spouses do not consent to the marriage but are coerced into it. Duress can involve physical, psychological, financial, sexual and emotional pressure (HM Government, 2014a:1).



Practicing a deception for the purposes of causing another person to enter into a marriage is also considered to be forced. Deception may include tricking an individual into going abroad to attend a family holiday, funeral or celebration (HM Government, 2014b).

Forced marriage is often contrasted with arranged marriage which is described as a situation in which the families of both spouses take a leading role in arranging the marriage, but the choice of whether or not to accept the arrangement remains with the individuals concerned (HM Government, 2014a). Yet the 'concrete distinction' that the Government definition makes between consent and coercion has been subject to criticism. As Anitha and Gill (2009) observe, 'arranged' and 'forced' marriages are framed in binary terms so that the difference between them hinges on the concept of consent. This is relatively straightforward with regards to certain groups of young people who do not have the capacity to consent. For instance, some young people with learning disabilities do not have the capacity to give informed consent to marriage and engage in a sexual relationship. Where someone is found to lack capacity to make a particular decision, others may be permitted to make decisions on behalf of that person, so long as any such decision is made in their best interests. However, there are certain decisions which cannot be made on behalf of another person and this includes the decision to marry (HM Government, 2010). In addition, young people under the age of 16 are not considered to have capacity to consent to marriage. Coercion is therefore not required for a marriage to be identified as forced and the response to this form of child abuse (also referred to as early or child marriage, see Cloward, 2016) is relatively straightforward.

Responses to young people who are 16 and 17 year olds as well as adults are more complicated. This is because, in practice, the experiences of this age group do not always conform to what Phillips (2013: 145) calls an 'easy profile of coercion'. The coercive power of physical force has long been acknowledged by the courts but it has taken longer for other forms of power to be recognised. In the case of *Hirani v Hirani* [1983], the parents of a 19 year old Hindu woman arranged a marriage to prevent her from associating with a Muslim man. Six weeks later, the woman separated from her husband on the grounds of duress. The young woman had been financially dependent on her parents and they had threatened to throw her out of home if she did not go through with the marriage (Anitha & Gill, 2009; see also Larasi et al. 2014). Phillips and Dustin (2004: 538) observe that the judgment in this case marked a shift in the legal rhetoric, from a restrictive definition of duress based on physical violence to one in which the key issue was 'whether the mind of the applicant (the victim) has in fact been overborne, howsoever that was caused'. Anitha and Gill (2009) outline how, in subsequent cases, the courts have accepted that victims may be subject to various other forms of emotional and/or psychological pressure to 'agree' to a marriage. These may range from constraints on young people's movements, conversations and friendships (see also Jha, 2004; Phillips, 2013; Siddiqui, 2005) to being made to feel responsible for bringing about a loved one's death.

Yet despite this recognition of a spectrum of power from physical force or fear, through to the undue imposition of emotional pressure, Anitha and Gill (2009) observe that:

The notion of 'free will' remains central to the legal discourse of forced marriage in the UK, where what is seen as the norm of self-constituting, free individuals entering

into a consensual marriage is contrasted with a marriage contracted through coercion (Anitha & Gill, 2009: 171).

This means that professionals continue to focus on the individual in forced marriage cases, exploring why some young people 'decide' to give into the pressure to marry when others, such as friends and siblings, do not (Phillips, 2013). As Anitha and Gill (2009) go on to argue, this 'pre-occupation' with individual free will ignores the fact that consent is constructed in the context of power imbalances, gendered norms and implicit threats. Whilst there is increasing recognition of the psychological pressures brought to bear in forced marriage cases, the patriarchal structures that underpin an individual's freedom of choice remain unexplored (op cit.).

Feminists have long recognised the variety of pressures on women to marry, including poverty, pregnancy and social norms and expectations that are underpinned by the patriarchal structures of their culture, religion and state (Anitha & Gill, 2009: 172).

Young people's experiences of forced marriage cannot, therefore, be explored without taking into consideration the social and familial context within which they take place. This necessitates exploration of the concept of 'honour' which the next part of this section explores.

- ***'Honour' codes of conduct***

Young people whose family and community adhere to codes of 'honour' may be unable to refuse a marriage they do not want without bringing shame. Although a difficult concept to define, 'honour' is predicated on 'patriarchal notions of ownership and control of women's bodies' (Sen, 2005: 48). Women and girls 'hold' family 'honour' and are expected to maintain it by following social norms related to restricting their sexual and behavioural autonomy. The role of men and boys is to uphold 'honour' through regulating the actions of 'their girls and women' (Gill, 2014a: 2). Transgression from social norms (whether actual, suspected or potential) results in 'shame' – not only for the individual and their family but also community members. As a consequence, attempts may be made to restore 'honour' by punishing the individual concerned (Coomaraswamy, 2005). It is on this basis that the term 'honour' based violence arises. Sen (2005) argues that the notion of 'honour' exists to a greater and lesser extent in all communities. What is important is the 'scope and methods' of this form of regulation and how they 'vary from one community to another' (An-Na Im, 2005: 68).

Anitha and Gill (2009) point to research that indicates that, for some South-Asian women, the sanctions that exist for challenging dominant moral and social codes are very visible. Past experiences of others in a family and/or community (such as a sister disowned for refusing to consent to a marriage) may convince a young woman that withholding consent is pointless since it will result in the full force of physical and emotional threats being brought to bear on her. Wilson (2010: 64) therefore argues that power relations within family and community settings may undermine the notion of individual choice in matters of marriage, rendering it 'meaningless in practice' (see also Hester et al. 2015). Due to the gendered

expectations that underpin 'honour' codes, men and boys who refuse a marriage do not generally face the same consequences for transgression as women and girls (Siddiqui, 2005). Similarly men and boys who enter into unwanted marriages are unlikely to face the same loss of freedom that women and girls do. This means that they may be able to build an alternative life outside of the marriage (Eaves, 2013).

However Roberts (2014) argues that broader issues of sexuality in relation to 'honour' codes require deeper examination because the upholding of patriarchal norms operates within a broader context of heteronormativity. As Sen (2005: 48) argues, codes of 'honour' construct not only what it means to be a woman but also what it means to be a man. This means that young men who deviate from dominant heterosexual norms by pursuing sexual relationships with other men may also be at risk of being forced into marriage (Roberts, 2014; Samad, 2010) and incur stigma and condemnation in similar ways as young women (Thiara & Gill, 2010). Herek (2009; cited by Roberts, 2014) presents evidence to suggest that gay men appear to be at greater risk of violence related to their sexuality compared with heterosexual men. In such circumstances, family members may use marriage as a mechanism to ensure that their son does not enter into an 'unsuitable' relationship. In some cases it may even be believed that marriage will 'cure' a young man of 'abnormal sexual practices' (Harvey et al. 2014; HM Government, 2014b; Khanum, 2008). Thus, whilst a gay South-Asian man may continue to experience privilege because of his gender he may be marginalised because of his ethnicity and sexuality.

Roberts (2014) claims that this analysis is also useful in understanding the active and passive roles of women in the perpetration of HBV. She cites Kandiyoti (1988) who suggests that

older women utilise power hierarchies to engage in what she calls 'patriarchal bargaining' whereby their subordination to men is offset by their control of younger women. Bond (2014) suggests that women collaborate with monitoring the behaviour of female family members because 'honour' is linked to a family's social and economic standing. When a particular family member acts 'dishonourably' then the community may ostracise the entire family so that daughters may be unable to marry. Baker, Gregware and Cassidy (1999, cited by Roberts, 2014) also suggests that because it is men who control access to resources such as food, accommodation and socialisation opportunities, women's failure to perform their 'responsibilities' represents a threat to their own personal autonomy and safety (see also Dyer, 2015).

### ***The scale of forced marriage and characteristics of individuals affected***

Reflecting the research on going missing, there are no reliable estimates on the extent of forced marriage in the UK. A research report by the National Centre for Social Research (Kazimirski et al. 2009) estimated between 5-8,000 cases in 2008, although this only included victims who approached agencies for help. Of those who did seek help from services, 96 per cent were girls and young women, the vast majority (80 per cent) of which were 23 and under (Kazimirski et al. 2009). In addition, 97 per cent of those seeking help were identified as Asian young women, 94 per cent of whom were South Asian (Pakistani, 72 per cent; Bangladeshi, 13 per cent; and Indian, 9 per cent). The most recent statistics published by the Forced Marriage Unit (FMU; Home Office/FCO, 2016) indicate that it gave advice and support to a higher percentage of possible forced marriage cases involving boys and young men (n=240, 20%). However the top three 'highest volume' countries in 2015 of Pakistan (n=536; 44%), Bangladesh (n=89; 7%) and India (n=75, 6%) are broadly consistent.

On this basis it is unsurprising that the vast majority of the research literature on forced marriage focuses on the experiences of South Asian young women. However it should be noted that these statistics are reflective of the large and established South Asia Diaspora in the UK. As statutory guidance reminds practitioners, forced marriage is not 'solely a South-Asian problem' (HM Government, 2014a: 1-2). Research indicates that some groups of young women from Black African and Caribbean, Middle Eastern, Eastern European and Irish traveller communities (Kazimirski et al. 2009; MoJ, 2010; Sharp, 2010) may also be affected.

The scale of the issue as it affects disabled people is unknown, although anecdotal evidence suggests that as many as twelve per cent of those affected by forced marriage have a disability (Home Office/FCO, 2016). Given the disproportionate number of girls and young women who report concerns about forced marriage, it is interesting to note that more men (62%) than women with disabilities came to the attention of the FMU. Statutory guidance on forced marriage observes that the transition period between child and adult services for young people with learning or physical disabilities is a time of particular vulnerability (HM Government, 2014a). Professionals may, in these circumstances, accept 'cultural norms' such as a marriage partner being identified for a young person with support needs to ensure that there is someone to care for that young person after their parents have died (HM Government, 2010). The next part of this section explores different policy approaches to forced marriage, including approaches based on the concept of culture which has been identified here.

## ***Policy responses***

### ***- The cultural approach to forced marriage***

Thiara and Gill (2010) claim that policy responses to forced marriage reflect an essentialist understanding of this and other forms of HBV. They contend that, as a consequence of the practice of British multiculturalism, a particular 'construction and representation' of the problems affecting the lives of South Asian women is portrayed. This is because multiculturalism presents communities as homogenised and undifferentiated, ignoring the multiple cultural, religious and political differences which exist within them (Dhaliwal et al. 2015; Meeto & Mirza, 2007; Phillips, 2007). In particular communities have become characterised through the prism of religion leading politicians to engage with them through faith leaders. Not only does this fail to reflect all the beliefs of a community's members but it also entrenches power within patriarchal and conservative institutions (Patel, 2013). This makes it hard to analyse the inequality and relationships of power that exist within communities (Thiara & Gill, 2010). Moreover, focusing on problems between rather than within different ethnic communities leads to 'them' and 'us' connotations, marking black and minority ethnic women as somehow 'different' and 'separating the abuse experiences of South-Asian women from those of other women' (Thiara & Gill, 2010: 45).

Through failing to locate forced marriage within the patriarchal power that exists within all communities to a greater and lesser extent, the practice is portrayed as 'deviant' from the 'majority'. South-Asian women are therefore presented as particularly repressed and lacking in agency because they are 'kept from an awareness of self-determination by culture' (Patel & Siddiqui, 2010: 138). This approach consolidates and strengthens the patriarchal systems



which control women's sexuality and lays the foundation for a 'cultural relativist approach to women's rights' (Patel & Siddiqui, 2010: 107). This assumes that when child or women protection issues arise then they are the outcome of a 'culture clash' and can be dealt with within family and community support networks (Ward & Patel, 2006).

- ***Regulatory approaches to forced marriage***

Philips and Dustin (2008) write how the 'cultural' approach to forced marriage feeds into anti-immigration agendas through regulation (see also Gill & Mitra-Khan, 2010; Siddiqui, 2005). From 1 April 2003, the Government introduced new legislation so that UK citizens under the age of 18 were no longer permitted to act as sponsors for the entry of overseas spouses into the UK. The Government presented this change as an attempt to prevent forced marriage, suggesting that the older the individual, the better able they would be to resist family pressure to marry (Dustin & Phillips, 2008). When, five years later, the Home Office increased the upper age limit again from 18 to 21, the change was based on the rationale that prolonging young people's time in education and work would help them establish 'adult' independence (Home Office, 2008).

Yet unpublished Home Office research reveals that the regulation approach has not prevented forced marriages from taking place (Hester et al. 2008 cited by Patel & Siddiqui, 2010). Families intent on marrying their young people either take them abroad to get married and then leave them there until they are old enough to return with their spouse or bring them back to the UK and place them under strict control and surveillance until they reach the relevant age to sponsor their spouse into the country (Patel & Siddiqui, 2010). Research also indicates that the anti-immigration agenda results in many women from BME

communities being less likely to access statutory services for help. This is because their experience of violence at home cannot be separated from wider structures of racism (Anitha & Gill, 2009). Non-disclosure arises from women's desire to avoid reinforcing essentialist stereotypes of them and their communities (Rai & Thiara, 1997). This leads Wilson (2010) to argue that their location at the intersection of multiple dominatory systems creates numerous contradictions for South-Asian women, jeopardising their ability to challenge violence (see also Balzani, 2010).

Another problem with equating overseas marriage with forced marriage is that it implies that families set up marriages only so as to facilitate access to the UK. This places undue emphasis on forced marriage cases involving a foreign spouse and does little to help young women forced to marry partners within the UK. It also suggests that young people are always unwilling participants in overseas marriages, serving to penalise members of ethnic communities who genuinely want to enter into consensual marriages with overseas partners. Since it is assumed that they are unable to assert themselves until they are in their twenties, ethnic minority young people are infantilised (Phillips & Dustin, 2004) and are forced to adopt a higher marriage age than their counterparts.

This leads Thiara and Gill (2010: 18) to emphasise the importance of and making connections between 'the personal and the structural, victimisation and agency and cultures of patriarchy' when considering forced marriage situations. They claim that developments in this sphere have been 'inadequate' because they have tended to 'add on issues of ethnicity and culture rather than scrutinise existing frameworks'. Thus whilst forced marriage and HBV may be specific in their forms, patriarchal cultural practices should not be divorced

from the wider problem of violence against women which captures both the similarities and differences between the exercise of power and control (Anitha & Gill, 2009; Gill, 2014a).

This appeared to have been recognised when the Government expanded its definition of domestic violence to include family as well as intimate partner relationships in 2005 (HM Government, 2005). Yet because young women are particularly at risk of forced marriage from the age of 16 when they are legally able to marry with their parents' consent, the 2005 definition of domestic violence was problematic in that it applied only to individuals aged 18 and over. On this basis, respondents to a Government consultation on expanding the definition of domestic violence still further in 2012 argued that it should be widened to include 16 and 17 year olds. The most recently revised definition of domestic violence therefore describes it as:

Any incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive, threatening behaviour, violence or abuse between those *aged 16 or over*<sup>1</sup> who are, or have been intimate partners or family members, regardless of gender or sexuality. The abuse can encompass, but is not limited to: psychological, physical, sexual, financial and emotional (Home Office, 2012: 19).

- ***The exit approach to forced marriage***

The dominant policy approach to intimate partner violence and, therefore, forced marriage is to encourage victims to 'exit' the abusive situation. Yet the 'right to exit' approach can also be problematised as a solution. Gill and Mitra-Khan (2010: 143) argue that it asks

---

<sup>1</sup> Emphasis added

women to make an ‘imperfect choice’ between individual rights or cultural belonging. As Wilson (2006: 64) observes, as well as ‘individual factors such as low self-esteem, factors such as isolation are also relevant’ in influencing women’s decision making around marriage. Isolation refers to the high emotional and psychological costs associated with refusing a marriage which Phillips and Dustin (2004) claim are frequently underestimated. Cloward (2016) draws on the work of Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) to explain that, when an individual faces conflicting norms then they are being pulled in two different directions at once. Not only do norms have a moral component – a prescriptive quality of ‘oughtness’ – but they also have a social component because they are based on a collective agreement of the ‘proper’ way for group members to behave. Those who violate the norm are subject to the judgement of the group and this may include ostracism from it. Since practice guidelines acknowledge that young people who face forced marriage have often ‘come from [previously] very loving families where the parents’ capacity to provide safety, emotional warmth and stability is excellent’ (2014a: 20) ostracism arising from refusal can be hard for young women to contemplate especially, as Thiara (2013) points out, when they also operate within a societal context of racism.

Such is the fear expressed by young women of risking a ‘final’ separation from family and community (Kelly et al. 1995; Kelly & Regan, 2000) that an evaluation of Forced Marriage Protection Orders<sup>2</sup> (FMPOs) found victims displayed an ‘intense fear’ about their use, even when they had experienced ‘relentless’ psychological and physical abuse (MoJ, 2010: 120). Furthermore, because the criminalisation of parents jeopardises the chance of future reconciliation, a number of groups supporting forced marriage victims opposed the

---

<sup>2</sup> A civil remedy designed to protect individuals at risk of forced marriage

introduction of a specific criminal offence on forced marriage within Section 10 of the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014) on the grounds that this would act as a barrier to young people coming forward. Indeed research suggests disengagement from specialist services since the introduction of the criminal offence (Imkaan/ROW, 2016).

The exit approach suggests that young women can access safety simply by abandoning their own culture and, by implication, adopting another. Yet in no culture are women and girls assured freedom from gender based violence (Chantler, 2006). Without addressing the underlying power relations which lead to individual cases of forced marriage, professionals have to focus on the individual's ongoing protection (Shachar, 2001). It is the mechanisms through which this is approached which is explored next.

- ***Child safeguarding responses***

Forced marriage, when it involves young people, is recognised as a form of child abuse and responded to within child safeguarding policy. However multi-agency practice guidelines for handling cases of forced marriage recognise that:

Due to the nature of forced marriage and honour-based violence, some of the principles and themes within existing guidance may inadvertently place [young people] facing forced marriage at greater risk of harm (HM Government, 2014b: 80).

This includes the practice of attempting to resolve forced marriage cases through family counselling, mediation, arbitration and reconciliation. Not only might the young person be in physical danger as a consequence of disclosing their concerns and bringing 'shame' on the

family, but such processes may be used by family members as a space within which to emotionally manipulate the young person. Forced marriage guidelines recognise this when they state that professionals should never approach family, friends or members of an individual's community if a forced marriage disclosure has taken place. Familial and social networks may deny that the young person is being forced to marry but then move them to another geographical location or expedite the wedding arrangements, even if protective orders are in place (HM Government, 2014b).

Awareness of the power dynamics of HBV is also important within care proceedings. Here, local authorities are required to demonstrate to the court that they have considered family members and friends as potential carers at each stage of their decision-making. But this is inappropriate in forced marriage cases since extended family and community members may pose a risk to the young person's safety. They may disclose to the young person's family their location, seek to punish the young person for bringing shame on the family and community or else seek to persuade them that it is safe to return home.

At the same time forced marriage guidance acknowledges that local authorities are 'frequently reluctant to accommodate older teenagers; especially those aged 16 and 17 and provide them with services as looked after children' (HM Government, 2014b: 63). This is despite legal precedents which recognise that this age group is no less vulnerable than young children and equally at risk of serious harm. A number of reasons have been identified to explain why this is the case. To begin with, the child protection system has historically focused on the abuse of young children within families so that its ability to safeguard adolescents is questioned (Nelson, 2016). Evidence therefore suggests that the

older a young person is, the more likely it is that professionals will be reluctant to intervene (Harris & Robinson, 2007; CEOP, 2011b; Berelowitz et al. 2013).

In addition, research carried out by Kazimirski et al. (2009) indicates that children's services are unwilling to get involved in forced marriage cases involving 16 and 17 year olds who are able-bodied and mentally stable, suggesting that cases of threatened forced marriage where there is no associated physical abuse may also be categorised as lower priority. Radford and Tsutsumi (2004) assert that whilst 'risk discourse' in the domestic violence sphere has been useful in uncovering violence and getting it taken seriously, it has also meant rationing strategies to those who are deemed 'most at risk' thus denying protection to the majority (see also Coy & Kelly 2011; Humphreys et al. 2005; Kelly, 2013; Stark, 2007). This issue will be discussed in more detail in chapter two. I move now to exploring the potential that exists to safeguard 16 and 17 year olds within adult policy frameworks.

- ***Access to adult domestic violence services***

Because young people aged 16 and 17 now come under the domestic violence definition, they are also entitled to access specialist adult domestic violence services. Despite this, research suggests that, in practice, young people may fall between child and adult policy frameworks (for example, see Pearce et al. 2009). Since refuges rely on the receipt of housing benefit, many are unable to accommodate young people under the age of 18. Although young people are able to get married with their parent's permission, they are simultaneously encouraged to be economically dependent. Government policy states that all young people should be in education and training up until the age of 18 meaning that it is difficult for 16 and 17 year olds to find full-time paid work and/or claim the welfare benefits

required for independent living (O'Brien & Scott, 2007). Moreover, only a small minority of young people is considered 'very able' and will be supported via homelessness legislation (Home Office/AVA, 2013).

A small number of specialist forced marriage refuges for 16-17 year olds have been set up to address this particular challenge. Yet there is a funding crisis in the domestic violence sector which is particularly acute for specialist providers of forced marriage and HBV services (Coy et al. 2007; 2009a; Imkaan, 2016). The 'best value' approach to commissioning services means that BME refuges are either being closed down or merged with generic refuges. According to Wilson (2010: 67) this is endangering the lives of South-Asian women and their children as it is 'doing away with the very mechanisms which make women stronger'. This is because specialist, culturally specific support is vital in countering isolation from family and community networks and understands specific safety issues.

The vast majority of domestic violence refuges are for women only. As a consequence, few if any accommodation options exist for young men seeking to flee from HBV. In addition, only one specialist service exists for men or women who flee with a partner of their choice (Quilgars & Pleace, 2010). As commentators such as Shachar (2001) conclude, public authorities have failed to address the substantive conditions that make the 'right of exit' real. Yet some young people may believe that fleeing is their 'only option' (Barter et al., 2009; HM Government, 2014b: 12; Julios, 2015). This is explored in more detail in section three. However, before I do so I consider the issue of CSE which, as section three will demonstrate, is also linked with going missing.



## **Child sexual exploitation (CSE)**

### ***Defining CSE***

Statutory safeguarding guidance frames CSE as a particular form of child sexual abuse (CSA)

because it involves a reciprocal exchange:

...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...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)

As is the case for both going missing and forced marriage, this definition is contested. Historically, CSE was only understood to involve 'material inducement'. This was understood to describe circumstances in which food, accommodation and money may be offered to a young person in return for sex by an adult in a position of economic power (Stein et al. 1994; Payne, 1995; Barrett, 1997; Goulden & Sondhi, 2001; Harris & Robinson, 2007; Jago et al. 2011). In the mid to late 1990s this was understood in policy terms as 'abuse through prostitution' (for example, see DoH/HO, 2000). The introduction of the Sexual Offences Act (2003) extended the protection of the law so that no-one under the age of 18 can consent

to abuse through prostitution or pornography. This development recognised that use of the term 'child prostitution' was inappropriate since it ignored the inverse power relationships between adults and children (Barrett, 1997; Adams et al. 1997) and should never be considered to be a free 'adult' choice, leading to a lack of protective action (Harper & Scott, 2005).

New language was therefore adopted. In the early years of the twenty-first century abuse through prostitution was renamed 'commercial sexual exploitation' (see, for example, Chase & Statham, 2005). Then, in 2009, the language evolved again to recognise an expansion of the concept itself. This signaled that exploitation no longer necessarily related to young people's abuse through commercial markets (Melrose, 2012). Rather 'child sexual exploitation' as we now call it is also understood to include 'intangible commodities' such as emotional and social gain (Hayes & Unwin, 2016). Yet this development has led a number of commentators to suggest that the characterisation of CSE as a 'particular form' of CSA is now problematic (Brayley et al, 2014; Jago et al. 2011; Paskell, 2013; Pearce, 2009). Cockbain et al. (2014: 7) state that this is because 'virtually any form of CSA could, at least in theory, qualify'. Indeed Melrose (2012) has argued that:

The elasticity of the concept appears to do little to help practitioners identify instances where a child or young person is being abused through prostitution or through the commercial exchange of sexual favours. The expansion of this concept ad infinitum does not, therefore, make for greater clarity, but for greater confusion amongst practitioners and amongst those trying to develop policy to respond to young people in these situations (Melrose, 2012: 160).

Nelson (2016) goes on to question the usefulness of differentiating between CSA and CSE as distinct categories, arguing that doing so has resulted in the separation of protective services along these lines. This is despite the fact that young people who are exploited often have histories of other forms of sexual abuse. In light of this debate it is perhaps unsurprising that, as I write, a government announcement on a new statutory definition of CSE is pending (HM Government, 2016).

### ***Forms of CSE***

Reflecting the 'elasticity' of the definition, Brayley et al. (2014: 14) observe that there is 'no overarching study' that systematically sets out and explores 'differences between types of CSE'. Similarly Jago et al. (2011) conclude that there is no 'one model' of how young people are sexually exploited and no 'one method' of coercion. Since varying definitions of the boundaries of CSE exist it is impossible to 'neatly segment' it into different forms (CEOP, 2011b). The models I outline below are those most commonly presented in the research literature but many different models exist and, in practice, overlap.

As already noted, 'material inducement' is most frequently linked to economic gain. With regard to emotional gain, the most commonly recognised form of CSE and one that has been extensively researched is the 'grooming' or 'boyfriend' model (Barnardo's, 1998). This is summarised as an older male adult identifying a young woman and making her feel special and cared for so that she believes that they are in a relationship, before seeking to separate her from family and friends. Once the young woman is dependent on the abuser she is then introduced to other abusers and manipulated into engaging in sexual activity.

A form of exploitation linked to social gain is identified as 'partying'. Melrose (2012) describes how young women and sometimes young men are invited to parties by peers. At the parties, the young people are then encouraged to engage in sexual activities with older men. Coercion is not identified as underpinning these activities, nor is money exchanged but the young people may be supplied with alcohol, drugs or cigarettes whilst they are there. According to practitioners, the gain for the young people is 'sex for popularity' (Melrose, 2012: 162) as a consequence of 'social vulnerability'.

Such parties are believed to be a more organised form of sexual exploitation. This is because a network of abusers is created, rather than a single relationship (Paskell, 2013). Networks may be informal in nature or they may be made up of organised groups of criminals or gangs. The extensive inquiry undertaken by the OCC into gangs and groups identified at least thirteen different types of CSE taking place within this context alone (Berelowitz et al. 2013; see also CEOP, 2011b). This model may also be linked to peer-based exploitation where exploitation takes place within age-appropriate associations or relationships (Barnardo's, 2011a). This latter scenario reveals how different forms of exploitation may overlap in practice. The use of technology may similarly underpin the grooming and partying models, whilst also representing a form of abuse in itself. For instance, young people may be encouraged to share sexualised images which are then sold and widely distributed without their permission (Paskell, 2013). Internet use has broadened the risk of CSE to all children and young people and is therefore believed to be a factor within increased levels of reporting (op cit.). It is to the scale of CSE that this section now turns.

### ***The scale of CSE and characteristics of individuals affected***

As is the case with young people who go missing and young people who are at risk of being forced into marriage, what is currently known about CSE is believed to reflect a substantial under-representation of its true scale in the UK (CEOP, 2011b). The hidden nature of CSE makes it difficult to identify the scale of the issue. In addition to difficulties connected to data recording systems, reasons include: climates of stigma and shame around the issue (Kelly et al. 1995; Kelly & Regan, 2000; Jago & Pearce, 2008); being subject to threats and intimidation from exploiters (Beckett, 2011); and feelings of complicity or guilt as a result of having been compelled to commit criminal activity and/or engage in sexual behaviours (CEOP, 2011b).

Research studies therefore report varying numbers of young people known to be affected. The Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre (CEOP) noted a year on year increase from 5,411 reports in 2008/9 to 6,291 in 2009/10 (CEOP, 2011b). In the same period, Barnardo's reported that the number of young people being intensively supported by its services increased from 1,059 children in 2008/09 to 1,089 in 2009/10 (Barnardo's, 2011a). The Inquiry into CSE in gangs and groups reported that a total of 2,409 children were known to be victims in this context (Berelowitz, 2012). Moreover, the Inquiry identified that from April 2010 to March 2011 at least 16,500 children and young people displayed three or more signs of behaviour which the Inquiry identified as indicating that they were at risk of CSE. Eleven indicators were identified through the Inquiry. Two of them - being reported as missing and consistently absent from school (see section three) - are of particular note in relation to this thesis. In addition to indicators of behaviour, the social characteristics of

young people are also increasingly being explored. These are explored under the subheadings below.

- ***CSE and young women***

The vast majority of young people known to be affected are young women over the age of 14 and, in particular the 15 -17 year old age group (Jago et al. 2011; CEOP 2011; Beckett, 2011; Berelowitz et al. 2012). Indeed, in March 2012, CSE was recognised as a gender inequality issue when it was politically mainstreamed within the coalition Government's work to end violence against women and girls (HM Government, 2012; McNaughton Nicholls et al., 2014). As McNaughton Nicholls, Harvey and Paskell (2014) observe, girls and young women are inherently more vulnerable to CSE because of their gender.

Jago et al. (2011: 53) assert that it is precisely because the grooming model sits 'within traditional notions of power and gender imbalance' that it is the most easily understood form of exploitation. Practitioners who work with sexually exploited young women repeatedly note that responses 'could helpfully draw on work practices developed to address domestic violence as well as child protection' (Pearce et al. 2003: 4; see also Fox, 2016; Nelson, 2016). Like domestic violence, CSE often occurs in the context of some kind of relationship between the victim and the offender, the vast majority of who are known to be men (Berelowitz, 2012; CEOP, 2011b). In addition, research suggests that there are parallels between offenders who sexually exploit children and perpetrators of domestic abuse in that they use similar tactics of physical, sexual, emotional and financial abuse to exert control over their victims (Barnardo's 1998; CEOP, 2011b; College of Policing, 2013; Pearce et al.

2003). Furthermore, in a paper exploring how communities can be involved in efforts to raise awareness of and prevent CSE, Dhaliwal, D'Arcy and Thomas (2015) observe that:

Key elements of learning that have taken place in the broader field of violence against women and girls have not, as yet, been transferred over to discussions on CSE (Dhaliwal et al. 2015: 5).

However, Melrose (2013) argues that, because the grooming model is predicated on a dominant conception of the female child and particular understandings of adolescent female sexuality, boys and young men represent a 'hidden population' within understandings of CSE (see also Chase & Statham, 2005; Harris & Robinson, 2007; Lillywhite & Skidmore, 2006; CEOP, 2011b).

- ***CSE and young men***

CEOP's (2011b) scoping study of localised grooming found that only 12.6 per cent (n=182) of victims of known gender were boys and young men. Similarly the OCC study of sexual exploitation involving gangs and groups found that just 11 per cent of 2,409 suspected victims were male when gender was known (Berelowitz, 2013). More recent in-depth analysis of over 9,000 young people affected by sexual exploitation, however, identified that over a third were boys and young men, suggesting that they may constitute a much larger minority of children affected by CSE than previous research has suggested (Cockbain et al., 2014).

Underestimates of the number of boys and young men experiencing CSE are believed to be associated with measures used to assess levels of risk. Berelowitz et al. (2012) observe that because missing data is used as a tool for identifying sexually exploited young people, it may not be identified for those groups who are less likely to be reported missing. As noted within the 'going missing' part of this section, this may include young men. However a more recent study undertaken by Cockbain et al. (2014) found that 80 per cent of boys and young men were referred to CSE services run by Barnardos on the basis of going missing. Whilst this was also the most common reason for girls and young women to be referred, it was around half as likely for them as for boys and young men at 42 per cent. Girls and young women were frequently referred for other reasons, such as concerns about a relationship with an older man or general suspicions of exploitation.

In contrast the Cockbain et al. (2014) study found that boys and young men were less likely than girls and young women to be referred to a support service because of concerns about an inappropriate relationship with an adult. They suggest that this may reflect societal attitudes linking 'being a man' to having sex, such that a young man in a relationship with an older or unsuitable partner might not be seen as a potential victim (Fox, 2016). Lillywhite and Skidmore (2006: 352) also argue that lower disclosure and detection rates for boys and young men are negatively impacted by gender constructs. Low rates of disclosure and therefore prolonged abuse for boys and men are attributed to masculine characteristics such as unwillingness to express emotion and talk about problems, as well as stigma associated with the sexual victimisation of males (Brayley et al., 2014). It is further suggested that practitioners are less likely to be aware that boys and young men can be sexually exploited so that they do not ask this group questions about sexual exploitation.



Large scale comparative analysis of the characteristics of cases involving boys and girls affected by CSE has indicated similarities as well as differences between genders (Cockbain et al. 2014). Similarities include running away and homelessness (see also Harris & Robinson, 2007), being in care and non-CSE related violence. In contrast, boys and young men at risk of sexual exploitation tended to have a history of sexual abuse, family conflict or domestic violence. Boys and young men were also found to be younger than girls and young women at the point of referral (13.9 versus 14.6 years). In this respect the research was broadly consistent with the CEOP (2011b) and OCC (2012) studies which reported modal ages of 14 and 15 years respectively.

- ***CSE and sexual orientation***

The discussion on gender above highlights how young women and men are responded to through the lens of hegemonic forms of masculinity and femininity – dominant ‘ideal’ social and cultural expectations and stereotypes about male and female sexuality and appropriate behaviour (Connell, 1995; McNaughton Nicholls et al., 2014). Research indicates that sexuality may act as a barrier to disclosure. For instance, stigma around homosexuality may lead to some young men fearing that their sexuality will be wrongly perceived if they disclose being exploited by somebody of the same sex (Brayley et al. 2014; Coy et al. 2011; Harris & Robinson, 2007) or that they will encounter homophobic responses from peers and service providers (Brayley et al. 2014). According to Beckett et al. (2013) this is most clearly seen in research related to the sexual exploitation of boys in hyper-masculine gang settings.

It is also suggested that there may not be an adequate number of 'safe-spaces' in which homosexual or bisexual young men can obtain information and make connections with other young men. In situations where young people are looking to strangers for support then it is believed that they are at higher risk of being exploited and can be influenced to think the abuse is normal (Fox, 2016). Subsequently gay or bisexual young men are believed to be at high risk of exploitation online (Lilywhite & Skidmore, 2006; Berelowitz et al. 2012; Smeaton, 2013). In addition, exploiters may deliberately identify vulnerabilities such as uncertainty around sexuality and gender identity (Berelowitz, 2013) where 'being outed' may result in harassment and isolation from their peers and/or being asked to leave home (McNaughton Nicholls et al, 2014). In a roundtable with professionals working with Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) groups, participants shared experiential knowledge of young men being made homeless as a result of their sexual orientation and then not being able to access benefits and having no choice but to exchange sex for a place to stay (op cit.). McNaughton Nicholls et al. (2014) further reports that BME young men from communities where being gay is stigmatised by family and community face additional risks related to the concept of 'honour'. This is consistent with the knowledge base connected to forced marriage (outlined above) and indicates how gender, sexuality and ethnicity converge to shape young people's experiences of both issues. It is to ethnicity that I now turn.

- ***CSE and ethnicity***

As is the case in relation to going missing, very little research explores the particular challenges associated with the identification and engagement of children and young people affected by CSE from BME communities. A scoping study on localised grooming by CEOP (2011) found that the sexual exploitation of victims from a minority ethnic background was

less likely to be identified compared to their White counterparts. The interim OCC Inquiry report attributed low reporting rates of young people from BME backgrounds to barriers in accessing services. Their evidence collection revealed that exploited children from ethnic minority backgrounds were more likely to be identified by BME, faith and voluntary sector and youth justice agencies than by professionals from police forces or local authority children services (Berelowitz et al., 2012). Other explanations about why BME young people may be less likely to be identified as experiencing CSE in the literature focus specifically on young people with South-Asian heritage. Since the experiences of this group are identified as under-represented in the research on going missing and over-represented in forced marriage data, this is particularly interesting and requires further exploration.

Pearce et al. (2003) suggest in their study on young people at risk of CSE, that exploitation involving Asian young women may be less visible because it takes place in private, rather than public, spaces. This is consistent with missing literature which suggests that South Asian young people may be less likely to hang around on the streets for fear of being seen by somebody who knows their family (see section three). Gohir (2013) also suggests that professionals are failing to identify sexual exploitation cases involving South-Asian young people due to 'cultural sensitivities'. Moreover a number of commentators (Cockbain 2013; Gohir, 2013; Berelowitz et al. 2013; Dhaliwal et al., 2015; Jay, 2014) highlight the negative impact that gendered and ethnicised debates about CSE have had on identifying both victims and perpetrators. It is argued that media coverage of the issue has focused on the stereotype of the white female victim and Asian male offender (Cockbain, 2013). As a consequence, there is a presumption by agencies that Asian girls are protected from CSE by virtue of associated cultural factors – for example, that Asian girls and young women are

confined to the home by the family with little or no interaction with men and are, therefore, not at risk. Yet Gohir (2013; see also Ward & Patel, 2006) argues the opposite - that shared heritage, culture, faith and ethnicity may actually facilitate access to Asian females by offenders from their own communities. This finding may also indicate that there is a presumption that Asian young women do not go missing from home.

As noted in the discussion on CSE and sexual orientation, norms and expectations may also prevent young people from speaking out and disclosing exploitation. Interestingly the comparative research undertaken by Cockbain et al. (2014) challenges research suggesting BME victims of CSE are less likely to be identified. Their study found that victims of sexual exploitation came from all ethnic and faith backgrounds (see also Jay, 2014; Fox, 2016) and that identification rates were broadly consistent with the ethnic composition of the comparable youth population. However, because eighty-one per cent of victims were found to be White it is unsurprising that research on CSE continues to be:

Implicitly centred on young white women' presenting them as 'a homogenous group and assuming similarity in the experience of child sexual exploitation across racial and ethnic boundaries (Ward & Patel, 2006: 341).

Over the past decade therefore a number of researchers have identified the need for increased understanding of how CSE is experienced by young people from BME communities (Berelowitz et al., 2013; CEOP, 2011b; Jago et al., 2011; Kelly, 2013; Ward & Patel, 2006), as well as young people with a disability (Pearce & Melrose, 2013), the final social characteristic explored here.

- ***CSE and disability***

What is known about CSE and disabilities is, once again, consistent with what is known in the literature on going missing and forced marriage – that CSE is experienced by a disproportionately high number of young people with disabilities. Berelowitz et al. (2012) identified physical and mental disability, including learning disorders as factors that increase the risk of exploitation (see also Jago et al. 2011; Smeaton, 2013). Reflecting the forced marriage research, links with disability are also found to be gendered, with boys and young men in one study 2.6 times more likely than girls and young women to have a recorded disability (Cockbain et al., 2014).

***Policy responses to CSE***

The status of childhood and adulthood and their significance when responding to CSE is yet another parallel with the forced marriage literature. In critical discourse analysis undertaken by Melrose (2013) she attributes changes in the language used to describe CSE to the efforts of campaigning organisations seeking to ‘establish a distinction between the involvement of young people and the involvement of adults in commercial sex markets’ (Melrose, 2013:11; see also Melrose, 2012; O’Connell-Davidson, 2005). The intention behind these efforts was to recognise young people’s involvement in commercial sex markets as a form of child abuse so that they would be protected rather than criminalised. However, Melrose (2013) observes that this ‘discursive separation’ between childhood and adulthood has led to a situation in which ‘evidence regarding adult involvement in sex work is largely overlooked when the involvement of young people is considered’ (Melrose, 2013: 12). Coy (2016) observes that, by failing to connect CSE with the sexual exploitation of adult women,

multiple similarities and overlaps are missed – not least the fact that significant proportions of women were under the age of 18 when they first became involved.

Two linked issues emerge from the separation of childhood from adulthood. Firstly, it suggests that when young people exchange sex for financial gain they are believed to be vulnerable in ways that adults are not (Melrose, 2012; see also Jeffreys, 2012). A number of commentators argue that protection from exploitation should be afforded regardless of age (Melrose, 2013; Coy, 2016). Secondly, the definition of adulthood is, in itself, problematic. According to the United Nation's Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), a child does not become 'adult' until they are 18. Yet as Melrose (2013: 13) observes, this 'renders adolescent engagement in sexual activity before that age somewhat problematic' not least because, in the UK, young people can legally consent to sexual activity at 16 years. As such, research literature reveals that consent may be assumed for this age group (Pearce, 2013) 'to the extent that 16-17 year olds are rarely recognised as deserving of protection' (Jago et al. 2011: 51 see also Harris & Robinson, 2007). This is despite the fact that the Sexual Offences Act (2003) established the principle that no-one under the age of 18 can consent to abuse through prostitution or pornography.

The framing of children and young people within policy as inherently vulnerable also precludes the possibility that a young person may be exercising agency (a concept which I explore in chapter two), by making a rational 'choice' to exchange sex as a 'survival strategy'. As is the case within the commentary on forced marriage, application of 'choice' to situations in which there are unlikely to be alternatives to be 'chosen' from is considered by many to be inappropriate (Jeffreys, 2012). However Pitts (1997) argues that the

acknowledgment that young people may exercise agency demands that we at least consider the circumstances in which their 'decision' to 'sell sex' appears to them to be a viable option. This serves to shift our focus from the 'victim orientated approach' which is criticised for its 'individualisation' to consideration of the circumstances in which young people find themselves instead.

The social model of 'abused consent' developed by Pearce (2013) is intended to be used as a tool to facilitate this process. It seeks to move practitioners away from the traditional 'medical model' which links sexual consent with young people's intellectual capacity to understand and use contraceptives, to an understanding of consent which is contextualised within the challenging cultural, social, economic and personal environments that young people inhabit. For instance, within this model, Pearce (2013) identifies the 'survival consent' category. This recognises that poverty may be a 'push factor' for young people 'consenting' to sex in exchange for money and other gifts but encourages practitioners to 'assess the different ways that a young person's capacity to consent can be abused, exploited and manipulated' (Pearce, 2013: 53).

### **Section three: Exploring the overlaps**

Section two explored the definitions of the three issues that are the focus of this thesis and the contestations within them. It also explored the scale of each issue and what is known about the characteristics of the individuals affected. This next section sets out what can be learned from the research and policy literature about overlaps between them. I start with overlaps identified between going missing and forced marriage before moving onto going missing and CSE. Finally I explore the overlaps between forced marriage and CSE.

### ***Going missing and forced marriage***

Research consistently indicates that problems at home are by far the most important determinant of young people running away (Safe on the Streets, 1999; Rees & Lee, 2005; Burgess et al., 2010; Rees, 2011). All young people are understood to experience challenges associated with the development of independence and autonomy in respect of family relationships (Coleman & Hagell, 2007; O'Brien & Scott, 2007). However it is suggested that some groups may be subject to particularly restrictive parenting. Parental rejection of boyfriends and girlfriends emerges as a distinct issue for South Asian teenagers, alongside threats of forced marriage in a minority of cases (Akhtar, 2002; Britton et al., 2002; Biehal et al. 2003; Jha, 2004; Safe on the Streets Research Team, 1999; Social Exclusion Unit, 2002).

#### **- Barriers to leaving home**

As the statistics outlined in section two demonstrate, literature on running away suggests that, for South Asian young people, running away from home is an exception rather than the rule (Jha, 2004). A number of reasons are suggested by commentators as to why running away affects only a very small part of the Asian population. Franks (2004) indicates that lower lifetime running rates amongst South Asian young women may be connected to a high degree of surveillance at home, making it difficult for them to leave (see also Akhtar, 2002; Gangoli, 2009). Kazimirski et al. (2009) also note that victims of forced marriage are often severely restricted in their movements. In this scenario, it is believed that young women have to make a more premeditated escape compared to their White counterparts (Akhtar, 2002; Safe on the Streets Research Team, 1999; Sharp 2010).



Research indicates that only a very small proportion of children and young people who run away from home attempt to access support from statutory services due to issues of trust and confidentiality, alongside concerns about being immediately returned home (Adams et al., 1997; Rees, 2011). However, the fear of approaching statutory agencies is believed to be particularly strong for some South-Asian young people since contact with them may be seen as bringing further shame on the family. Moreover South Asian young women might be at risk of further violence if it becomes known that they have reported violence to an agency (Hester et al. 2015; HM Government, 2014b).

Evidence submitted to the Social Exclusion Unit (2002) further indicates that some ethnic groups may be more distrustful of statutory agencies (see also Jha, 2004; Izzidien, 2008). Some girls and young women from South-Asian backgrounds report facing a dilemma in seeking support due to fears that professionals such as social workers may be prone to sympathising with their parents and breach their confidentiality (Akhtar, 2002; Jha, 2004). Brandon and Hafez (2008) report that women's groups in some parts of the UK are reluctant to go to the police to report a missing person as safe and well because they cannot trust Asian police officers not to disclose the whereabouts of the victim to family members searching for them. Indeed, despite the existence of safeguards within professional protocols, forced marriage guidance recognises that some South-Asian professionals working in public institutions may come under pressure to violate young women's right to privacy by disclosing their location to family members (Akhtar, 2002; Brandon & Hafez, 2008; Jha, 2004; HM Government, 2014b). In addition to police officers, these may include staff in social services, benefits and tax offices, GP and dentist surgeries, schools and colleges and local housing authorities (Akhtar, 2002; Brandon & Hafez, 2008; HM Government, 2014b;

Home Office Communications Directorate, 2000; Izzidien, 2008; NPIA, 2010). Evidence also suggests that a young woman's family may ask a third party such as a local councillor, Member of Parliament or someone with influence within the South-Asian community to approach professionals on their behalf (see, for example, Casey, 2015). The third party may be given a very plausible reason by the family for needing to know the whereabouts of the young woman and may unwittingly think they are helping the family by disclosing details of where she is (Akhtar, 2002; HM Government, 2014b; Home Office Communications Directorate, 2000; NPIA, 2010).

Kelly (2010) further highlights how, by neglecting to consider race dimensions, statutory processes designed to offer protection can endanger certain groups of women (see also Thiara & Gill, 2010). For instance, a young person fleeing forced marriage may be referred to a Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference (MARAC). Yet this is risky for women from minority communities, for whom absolute confidentiality is vital to speaking out (see also Larasi et al. 2014). An evaluation on the effectiveness of specialist forced marriage Independent Domestic Violence Advocates (IDVAs) noted anecdotal evidence that MARACs are too big for forced marriage and 'honour' based violence cases since too many people with access to information are involved (MoJ, 2010). One service in the pilot observed safety issues in cases where family members of the victim were working for the agencies on the MARAC and that in these cases information had to be strictly controlled and shared only with a few agencies on a 'need to know' basis (see also HM Government, 2014a; HMIC, 2016).

Some families will go to considerable lengths to find young women who flee (HM Government, 2014b; Home Office Communications Directorate, 2000; Izzidien, 2008; MoJ, 2010). As well as approaching professionals, they may also make use of organised networks. Information about a young woman's whereabouts may be sought from extended family and community members and her photo may be shown to taxi drivers and shopkeepers. Some attempts to find young women are even reported to involve hiring private investigators or bounty hunters to bring them back to their families (HM Government, 2014b; HMIC, 2016; Richards, 2003; Siddiqui, 2005). Unsurprisingly therefore, young women who flee forced marriage live in fear of being found. This fear is not misplaced since attempts to find missing young women are known to be successful (Bokhari, 2009; HM Government, 2009b; MoJ, 2010). Domestic violence refuges and local authorities have reported cases in which girls and women have been abducted from accommodation services (Bokhari, 2009; MoJ, 2010). Similarly, the police report incidents of young women being forcibly removed from interview rooms by family members (HM Government, 2009b).

- **The repercussions of being found after running away/going missing**

Evans, Houghton-Brown and Rees (2007) observe that whilst tools are used to assess risks faced whilst away from home, less attention is focused on the risks a young person might face when returning home. Hughes and Thomas (2016) found that young people returning from a missing episode often feel anxious about the response of parents. However, professionals working to support young runaways highlight particular concerns about young people from South-Asian backgrounds, noting that they may suffer harsh punishment (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002; Smeaton, 2013; Stein et. al. 1994), especially after running away to escape a forced marriage (Brandon & Hafez, 2008; Chantler et al., 2009; HM Government,

2014b; Smeaton, 2013). The literature on forced marriage recognises that risk of repercussion is central to the decision making processes of some South-Asian young women (Eaves, 2013; Roy et al. 2011). As Brandon and Hafez (2008) suggest, this may discourage them from leaving. Indeed it is suggested that South Asian young women may be more likely to continue coping with a difficult home situation and only leave home as a last resort (Safe on the Streets Research Team, 1999; Akhtar, 2002; Izzidien, 2008).

- **Factors contributing to low levels of runaway/missing reports**

Another explanation for the low lifetime running away rates of young people from Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds is that families may actively avoid involving the police. As the research evidence presented above indicates, they will instead seek to find the young runaway themselves (Akhtar 2002; Dyer, 2015; Gohir 2013; OCC, 2012). This course of action may be undertaken in order to protect family 'honour' (Akhtar 2002; Gohir 2013; OCC, 2012). At the same time, however, Jay (2014) notes that even in those cases where families do want to report young people missing, they may struggle to do so due to language barriers.

Failing to report young people missing is significant in that, when Biehal et al. (2003) looked at both police *and* non-police reported missing cases, they found a difference in runaway rates amongst ethnic groups when age was considered. Their findings suggested that minority ethnic groups were more likely to go missing as teenagers. In particular, 26 per cent of Asian young people who had gone missing did so between 13 and 17 years of age, compared to just 14 per cent of White teenagers in the same age group. In addition, Newiss (2006) observe that there is an over-representation of Afro-Caribbean and Asian groups in

the national outstanding missing person sample. These findings are consistent with research undertaken by Tarling and Burrows (2004) which suggests that missing persons likely to remain missing for prolonged periods of time may be over-represented by people from minority ethnic groups. They cite immigration over-stayers, domestic workers from overseas and females fleeing forced marriages as examples.

Interestingly professionals working with young runaways also identify broadly similar rates of running away across ethnic groups but believe that this behaviour might be less visible amongst South-Asian groups (Safe on the Streets Research Team, 1999). For example, Akhtar (2002) notes how young runaways from South-Asian communities may not hang around on the streets for fear of being seen by somebody who knows their family. Due to the connectedness of family and community, the option of staying with friends and family, whilst common for young people who have run away from home (Rees and Lee, 2005; Rees, 2011), is unlikely to be utilised by South Asian young women fleeing forced marriage (Hester et al. 2015; Safe on the Streets Research Team, 1999). In order to actively avoid contact with family and community members, South-Asian young women may decide to flee some distance from home in their attempts to access safety (Safe on the Streets, 1999; Akhtar, 2002; Chantler, 2006; Izzidien, 2008).

As this review of the going missing and forced marriage literature has demonstrated, there is mixed evidence about going missing as it affects young people from South-Asian communities. It is recognised that a better understanding of the issue as it relates to young people from different cultural backgrounds is required (Berelowitz, 2012; Berelowitz et al.,

2013; Patel, 1994; Safe on the Streets Research Team, 1999; Stein et al. 1994). The next part of this section explores the link between going missing and CSE.

### ***CSE and going missing***

Coy et al. (2011) observe how research has identified certain contexts as being conducive to CSE. These include, histories of violence and/or sexual abuse (Cockbain et al. 2016; Coy, 2008; Pearce, 2009), backgrounds or episodes in local authority care (Cockbain et al. 2014; Coy, 2009; O'Neill et al., 1995; Pearce et al., 2003); and, the focus of this section, running away/going missing (Melrose et al., 1999; Pearce, 2009).

As Pearce (2013) notes, 'financial coercion' was identified by the OCC both within written submissions to its inquiry into sexual exploitation in gangs and groups and via site visits. However, it was particularly apparent in cases where young people were homeless and on the streets, including as a consequence of running away from home. Indeed, back in 1988, Kelly asserted that:

All young women who leave home before they are 16, or who are unable to support themselves and find accommodation after they are 16 are vulnerable to sexual exploitation (Kelly, 1988: 174).

Research by Rees (2011) found that one in six young runaways said that they had slept rough or stayed with someone they had just met for at least some of the time they were away. One in nine also said they had done 'other things' in order to survive (in addition to stealing and begging) which may have included exchanging sex for food and accommodation

(see also Harris & Robinson, 2007; CEOP, 2011a; Jago et al. 2011). In addition there was significant overlap between sleeping rough or with someone the young person had just met, risky survival strategies and being hurt or harmed.

Increasingly, however, research evidence suggests that young people are believed to be at risk of CSE, irrespective of the length of time they are away from home or a caring environment (Plass, 2007; CEOP, 2011b; Berelowitz et al. 2012). Whilst in practice there is substantial variation in the experience of particular risk factors among sexually exploited children (CEOP, 2011b) 'going missing' has been recognised as a risk factor for sexual exploitation within successive research and evaluation studies (see for example, Kelly et al., 1995; Newiss, 1999; Pearce et al. 2003; Hedges, 2002; Pearce, 2003; Scott and Skidmore, 2006; Barnardo's, 2009; Barnardo's, 2011a; Barnardo's, 2011b; Beckett, 2011; CEOP, 2011b; Jago et al., 2011; Phoenix, 2012; OCC, 2012, Berelowitz et al. 2012). Moreover, children and young people experiencing definite and current sexual exploitation are believed to be at the greatest risk of going missing (Scott and Skidmore, 2006). This may be because, as Melrose (2004) observes, gifts such as clothes, accommodation, money and mobile phones which are received as part of the grooming process facilitate the ability of young people to 'survive' away from home.

Within its national scoping study on localised grooming for CSE, CEOP (2011b: 47) describes going missing as particularly 'striking' (CEOP, 2011b:47). Despite information not being available for victim experiences of running away or going missing in slightly over half of cases in the CEOP dataset, the majority of victims in the remaining cases had a history of running away from home and being reported missing on multiple occasions. Similarly, Jago

et al.'s (2011) exploration of what actions are being undertaken by local partnerships to address CSE presented snapshot data showing that well over half of the sexually exploited young people using services on one day were known to have gone missing and, of those, over half had gone missing more than ten times. As noted above, the interim report of the Children's Commissioner's Inquiry into CSE in gangs and groups noted 'going missing' as a particular area of concern (Berelowitz et al. 2012). Fifty-eight per cent of calls for evidence submissions stated that children had gone missing from home or care as a result of CSE. During all fourteen site visits conducted as part of the Inquiry, children who were being sexually exploited were also repeatedly going missing, in some cases three or more times within a two week period. Furthermore, of the sexually exploited children interviewed, 70 per cent had gone missing from home.

CEOP's (2011b) analysis of data was unable to show whether all missing incidents recorded fell before, during, or after, the period of exploitation. Some children and young people began running away from home after having been groomed by an offender, while others were already engaged in a pattern of repeatedly running away prior to sexual exploitation. This is consistent with the research findings of Smeaton (2009), Beckett (2011) and Jago et al. (2011) who suggest that CSE can operate in two directions. Children or young people may seek to get away from something (push factors); or to get to somewhere, someone or something (pull factors). As such sexual exploitation is considered to be both a cause and a consequence of going missing (CEOP, 2011b).

Research showing that a frequent form of sexual exploitation is the opportunistic abuse of a young person in need of help by an adult offering accommodation in return for sex (Stein et



al. 1994; Payne, 1995; Barrett, 1997; Goulden & Sondhi, 2001; Harris & Robinson, 2007; Jago et al. 2011) has already been noted. However homeless young people may also become involved with other vulnerable young people and exploitative adults through a need for somewhere to hang out and to achieve acceptance (Scott & Skidmore, 2006). In some cases, perpetrators may even specifically target locations that runaways are known to frequent (Kelly et al. 1995).

### ***Forced marriage and CSE***

In addition to there being links between going missing and forced marriage and going missing and CSE, the research review also uncovered research pointing to links between CSE and forced marriage. As previously noted, the research literature that is relevant here mostly developed over the course of the five year period that this doctoral research was taking place; however its origins can be traced back over the past ten years to the work of Ward and Patel (2006) which this sections considers first.

#### **- Forced marriage as a 'stressor' for CSE**

In their study of Bangladeshi young women and the risk of CSE, Ward and Patel (2006) presented data suggesting a range of factors that may lead to or exacerbate vulnerability. As well as including material risk factors (such as overcrowded accommodation, economic hardship and unemployment) and personal factors such as high levels of familial conflict (sometimes involving physical abuse), educational failure linked to the prospect of unwanted marriage was also identified (see also Eversley & Khanom, 2002). The outcome was that Bangladeshi young women sought solutions to their problems by becoming engaged in street socialising. This led to them reportedly meeting men and forming

unacceptable relationships with them which 'inevitably met with disapproval and conflict within the family' and so were 'usually highly secretive and hidden' (Ward & Patel, 2006: 345).

Indeed Berelowitz et al., (2012) also present a case study which suggests that concerns about being forced into marriage may act as a 'stressor' for CSE. A 17 year old young woman of Pakistani origin had been threatened with forced marriage as a result of making an allegation of sexual abuse against a family member. Following these threats, it was reported that she began to spend time with older males and was moved to multiple locations by them, discovering she was pregnant as a result of the sexual exploitation she experienced. Analysis of 35 cases of CSE by Gohir (2013) found that some Asian and Muslim young women were making efforts to find their own marriage partner as a way of avoiding an arranged or forced marriage and having greater freedom (Gohir 2013; see also Thiara & Gill, 2012). In recognition of this, exploiters were reported to be purposefully manipulating the young women's desire to meet boys and enter into a relationship by encouraging them to enter into a secret Islamic marriage ceremonies. Once 'trapped' in the marriage the boys then offered their wives around.

- **Forced marriage as a risk to sexually exploited young people**

Berelowitz et al. (2012) and Gohir (2013) both also present research evidence which found that exploiters may use the concept of shame (see also Ward & Patel, 2006) to control victims from BME backgrounds. In the OCC study, exploiters had reportedly told girls and boys that if they disclosed what was happening to them, then they risked their families forcing them into marriage as a consequence (Berelowitz et al., 2012). Barter et al. (2009),

Fox (2016) and (Jay, 2014) all note evidence which suggests that young women from South Asian backgrounds are likely to keep experiences of sexual activity as well as CSE secret due to concerns about their future marriage prospects. This is consistent with research evidence which suggests that forced marriage may be used as a response to the disclosure of sexual abuse, perhaps prompted by the mistaken belief that marriage will put a stop to it (HM Government, 2014b). It is further observed that some young women are forced to marry their rapists in order to restore 'honour' and because they are considered to be 'unmarriageable' as a consequence of what has happened to them (Scutt, 2014).

Professionals supporting young people who are at risk of or abused through CSE often work alongside the family to build protective factors around them (D'Arcy et al., 2015). However, research by Barter et al. (2009) suggests that because of fears about arranged marriage, Asian girls may be unable to seek help from their families or wider community. Indeed D'Arcy et al. (2015) recognise that the practice of forced marriage within some Asian families means that strengthening protective factors could have the adverse effect by strengthening the control exercised by parents. Shuker (2013) presents research findings which suggest that for young people at risk of CSE, safety is multi-faceted. Not only should safety be recognised as comprising immediate protection from harm but it also involves the creation of relational and psychological security. Yet she recognises that, for young people with 'complex identity issues related to issues of ethnicity, class, culture and religion', this may be more challenging since abuse 'may be embedded in networks of friends, family and community' (Shuker, 2013: 132).

- **Forced marriage as a form of trafficking for CSE**

If the parameters of the research literature are extended beyond intentional forms of going missing to include 'unintentional' forms, then another link between CSE and forced marriage can be identified. Mikhail (2002) argues that when forced marriage involves a third party receiving a payment and takes place in a context where it is highly likely that rape or another sexual offence will be committed, then this is itself a form of commercial sexual exploitation (see also Asquith & Turner, 2008). This appears to be recognised within an earlier version of the multi-agency practice guidelines for handling cases of forced marriage (HM Government, 2009b). In addition to recognising that forced marriage victims may be subject to repeated rape, sometimes until they are pregnant in order to stop them from leaving, the guidance cites Article 34a of the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) which sets out that:

State Parties undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse (HM Government, 2009a)

Based on an understanding of forced marriage as a form of CSE, Bokhari (2009) therefore claims that there may be circumstances where forced marriage is a form of trafficking for CSE. Article 3 of the Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (UNODC, 2000) established that:

Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms

of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

Sections 57-59 of the Sexual Offences Act (2003) define trafficking for sexual exploitation as a situation where:

A person intentionally arranges or facilitates the arrival of another person into, within or outside of the UK in the belief that it is likely that rape or a child sexual offence.

Although the research literature on trafficking for sexual exploitation overwhelmingly focuses on young people being brought into the UK for the purposes of forced marriage (see, for example, Beddoe, 2007; Brandon & Hafez, 2008; CEOP, 2010; Kapoor, 2007), CEOP recognises that a young person may be moved within, or outside of, the UK for the purposes of forced marriage. For instance, within a strategic threat assessment of child trafficking, three such cases were identified relating to British Asian girls. Whilst two of the young women (ages not reported) were to be taken to Bangladesh (CEOP, 2010), one of the girls (aged 17) was to be forced into marriage in Leicester. Internal trafficking in this way is also increasingly recognised within the CSE literature (see, for example, Paskell, 2013) where young people are moved between towns and cities or from rural to urban areas.

- **When the relationship between forced marriage and CSE is unknown**

Whilst other references to a link between forced marriage and CSE are made within the literature, the relationship between the two issues is not always known. For instance, a study undertaken by Beckett (2011) on the sexual exploitation of children and young people in Northern Ireland identified 147 sexual exploitation cases, two of which involved females subject to Forced Marriage Civil Protection Orders. However, no further detail is available on the nature of these within the report. In their introduction to a qualitative study on gang-associated sexual violence towards, and exploitation of, young people in England, Beckett et al. (2013) observe that there is little data of the extent of sexual violence associated with issues such as HBV, including forced marriage. Similarly Fox (2014: 26) observes ‘connections between CSE and other manifestations of violence and abuse’ and identifies a need for CSE agencies to ‘link with organisations specialising in forced marriage, female genital mutilation and honour based violence’ so that they are ‘better prepared to respond to the multiple issues that may arise’.

On the basis that the research literature recognises links between going missing and forced marriage, going missing and CSE and forced marriage and CSE (section four) it would be logical to assume that the research and policy literature also makes links across all three issues. The final section of this chapter, however, demonstrates that this is not the case.

**Section four: Links between forced marriage, going missing and CSE**

Despite an extensive review of the research and policy literature, links between going missing, forced marriage and CSE were not identified. The earlier version of forced marriage

statutory guidance referred to above did recognise sexual exploitation as a risk associated with homelessness but only for adults with support needs and care-leavers aged between 18 and 21 (HM Government, 2009b). The risk for children was not identified. It is conjectured that this might be because children and young people under the age of 18 are restricted from leaving home and seeking independent accommodation.

Yet, as discussed in section two, the situation is more complex with respect to 16 and 17 year olds who are situated at the intersection of child and adult policy responses. Parallels can be made between young people who face barriers in accessing welfare benefits on the basis of age and women who are unable to access public funds on the basis of immigration status. Whilst it is recognised that the latter group may face financial destitution and risk of sexual exploitation if they decide to flee an abusive situation (Anitha et al., 2008; Roy, 2008; Amnesty International/Southall Black Sisters, 2008; HM Government 2009b; Sharma & Gill, 2010) the research and policy literature does not make the same connections for young people.

The extensive review of going missing, forced marriage and CSE literature did, however, uncover evidence to suggest that the research proposition may be theoretically valid. In addition to the significant overlaps that have been identified and presented within this review, the 'profile' of young people disproportionately affected by going missing, forced marriage and CSE is remarkably similar. Table one below provides a summary of these findings.

**Table one: Profile of young people disproportionately affected by going missing, CSE and forced marriage**

	<b>Going missing</b>	<b>Forced marriage</b>	<b>CSE</b>
<b>Characteristics</b>			
Age	15-17 (NCA, 2016)	16-17 (FMU, 2016)	15-17 (Cockbain et al., 2014)
Gender	Young women (NCA, 2016)	Young women (FMU, 2016)	Young women (Cockbain et al., 2014)
Sexual orientation	-	-	-
Ability	Physically disabled and difficulties with learning (Rees, 2011)	Physically disabled and difficulties with learning (FMU, 2016)	Physically disabled and difficulties with learning (Cockbain et al. 2014)
Ethnicity	White European (NCA, 2016)	<b>South Asian</b> <b>(FMU, 2016)</b>	White (Cockbain et al. 2014)

This table must, of course, be interpreted cautiously since it is recognised that the true scale of each of these issues remains unknown. However it is interesting to observe that statistics related to sexual orientation are not gathered and/or reported and that ethnicity appears to



be the only point of difference in relation to the characteristics of young people affected. Yet as the literature review has revealed, Asian young people may be under-represented both within recorded missing (NCA, 2016) and CSE (CEOP, 2011b) cases. As this research review has indicated, not enough is known about:

- The issue of going missing as it relates to young people from different cultural backgrounds (Berelowitz et al. 2012; Berelowitz et al., 2013; OCC, 2012; Patel, 1994; Stein et al. 1994; Safe on the Streets Research Team, 1999); and
- How CSE is experienced by young people from black and minority ethnic communities (Berelowitz et al., 2013; CEOP, 2011b; Chase & Statham, 2004; Jago et al., 2011; Kelly, 2013; Thiara & Gill, 2010; Ward & Patel, 2006).

Whilst a three-way link between going missing, forced marriage and CSE for young people is not identified within the findings of any of the research identified for this review, one study suggests that it might be possible. When Christie (2014) reviewed CSE services in Stoke-On-Trent, she drew attention to a number of overlapping issues, including going missing and forced marriage but failed to outline what these looked like in practice. In contrast, another study fails to acknowledge the three way link but in illustrating how young people can become detached presents a case in which each element is present. Smeaton (2009) describes how a 15 year old young man called 'Harif' was fleeing the threat of being forced into marriage after it was discovered that he had been sexually abused by a family friend. Harif therefore ran away from home and swapped sex for somewhere to stay.

Several other studies do not refer specifically to the links but allude to them. For instance, Brandon and Hafez (2008: 16) note that many individuals at risk of forced marriage will run away and, as a result, may face 'additional problems such as homelessness and violence from strangers'. In outlining what happened in the run up to the murder of 17 year old Shafilea Ahmed, Gill (2014b) states that Shafilea ran away from home on several occasions as part of her attempts to avoid being sent to Pakistan and forced to marry and how, on one occasion, she stayed overnight with a 'man she hardly knew' (Gill, 2010: 182; see also Julios, 2015). Similarly Franks (2004) presents an analysis of intervention undertaken by The Children's Society with four South Asian young women who had run away from home. Discussion about one of these cases leads her to observe that:

'T' came to Manchester alone from another city to escape a forced marriage. She had no money or possessions. She was hanging around at night with nowhere to go and with no knowledge of the city. She was fortunate to meet an Asian man who had a female friend who could help her. Her situation could have been very different (Franks, 2004: 6).

It is also noteworthy that the research review identified a case study linking forced marriage, running away and CSE together, but not in the pattern envisaged. In this case presented within research by Gohir (2013) a young woman was forced into marriage abroad when her parents discovered she was being sexually exploited by her stepfather's brother. She then ran away from the marriage.

## **Summary**

The research review has presented evidence which suggests that there is a 'blind spot' linking going missing, forced marriage and CSE in research and policy. I have systemically explored linkages made between: going missing and forced marriage; going missing and CSE; and forced marriage and CSE. Yet despite this extensive review across all three bodies of literature, research evidence demonstrating a three-way link is not identified. What this exercise has successfully identified, however, is that there is considerable overlap in the profiles of young people affected by all three issues. Although ethnicity represents the area of least commonality, the review of literature related to going missing and CSE indicates that there are a number of reasons to suggest that young people from South Asian backgrounds are under-represented in the research evidence connected to these issues.

Another reason why all three of these issues are not connected may be because agencies focus on what Berelowitz et al., (2013) describe as the 'main cause for concern'. In other words, a young person may be at risk of forced marriage whilst at the same time being sexually exploited. However if, in these circumstances, CSE is not the main cause for concern when the case is referred to professionals then it may be ignored. It is certainly the case that a report about responding to forced marriage observes 'siloed, single-issue responses' by professionals which lead to the creation of 'a hierarchy of need and response' (Imkaan/ROW, 2016: 21). Fox (2016) also observes problems with agencies responding to CSE failing to work with other agencies on issues that are not often associated with it. On this basis I argue that we should not conclude that CSE arising from running away from a forced marriage does not happen, rather that the risk of CSE to young women who go missing to

escape forced marriage situations has been under-explored and under-acknowledged within the research literature (see Sharp, 2013).

I contend that this is because insufficient attention has been paid to social characteristics within existing research on going missing, forced marriage and CSE. Whilst gaps in relation to social divides (based on gender, age, ethnicity, sexual orientation and disability) are recognised, research which considers the ways in which these shape the experiences of young people and professional responses to them has only recently begun to emerge. I believe that this is reflected in the tensions identified as arising from the literature review. In particular, what Thiara and Gill (2010: 18) describe as 'connecting the personal with the structural and victimisation with agency'. Before outlining the research methodology which will empirically test the research proposition therefore the next chapter will consider the theories of risk and resilience (personal); intersectionality (structural) and space for action (victimisation and agency).

## CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

### Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted that within the going missing, forced marriage and CSE literature there are common tensions when it comes to connecting the personal with the structural and victimisation with agency. This chapter starts by exploring the concepts of risk and resilience in order to understand why these tensions arise. Whilst acknowledging the strengths of this approach in identifying and protecting young people from harm, I also highlight literature which argues that it places too much emphasis on individual responsibility and choice. This means that young people may be considered 'deviant' and understood to be 'choosing' to put themselves at risk.

I then turn to the theory of intersectionality which was initially developed to inform work to address violence against women but which is increasingly also being used in other disciplines. Rather than focus on the vulnerability of individual young people, intersectionality draws on constructivist ontology to consider how structural inequalities shape the social and material contexts within which young people operate. However I conclude that the strength of intersectionality as a theory is in its ability to shift between 'structure' and 'individual life'. Not only is it important to recognise processes that shape inequalities within populations but account must also be taken of the resilience held by individuals (Palencia, 2014).

### **The 'Risk Society'**

Risk is generated in the institutionally structured environments that characterise what Beck (1992) calls the 'Risk Society'. Beck argues that processes of reflexive modernisation have dissolved the 'traditional parameters' of society. Economic demands for increased flexibility have produced new forms of individualisation and standardisation that increasingly assume a 'kind of representative function for the fading industrial period' (Beck, 1992: 134). Since these processes are institutionally structured and, therefore institutionally dependent, individuals are increasingly open to institutionally generated risks that are understood to emerge as a result of individual decision-making. Because of this it is at the individual level that responsibility for risk sits. Yet, in practice, 'the state' holds the family responsible for the behaviours and dispositions of the 'youthful self' because this is generally the setting for young people's nurturance, care and development (Kelley, 2001: 30). Moreover statutory professionals working with young people and their families are under considerable pressure to predict, measure and mitigate risk or else accept accountability for 'failing to protect' (Cooper & Lousader, 2005; Munro, 2011).

It is argued that risk-taking is essential to the development of a resilient character (Howard, Dryden & Johnson, 1999 cited by Pearce, 2007) – something that I will explore further on in this chapter. Thus, although all children and young people are understood to be vulnerable and in some sense 'at risk' (Kelley, 2001) empirical evidence indicates that the majority of young people manage risk well (Coleman & Hagell, 2007). As a result, increasingly sophisticated attempts have been made to identify the minority that does not through the development of actuarial measurements (Hudson, 2003; cited by Bateman, 2011).

### ***Predicting and measuring risk***

In predicting and measuring risk for individual young people, professionals rely on identifying factors that are statistically correlated with negative outcomes (Smith, 2006; cited by Bateman, 2011). At the individual level, risk factors are understood to be either 'independent' or 'non-independent' variables. Events outside the control of the individual are independent (such as the death of a parent) whereas non-independent events are those related to an individual's own behaviour (such as abusing substances). It is observed by Gest et al. (1999; cited by Masten & Powell, 2003) that the incidence of non-independent variables increases with age and that this is likely to be a result of greater freedoms experienced by young people as they develop into adults.

Risk factors are also present within the environment and are commonly understood to exist within two broad categories: family and community. Since this doctoral research is particularly interested in the experiences of young people who are 16 and 17 years old, Sameroff et al.'s (2003) six groupings of twenty environmental risk factors for adolescents is of particular interest. The first three groupings are directly related to the family environment. 'Family process' includes variables in the family microsystem that are directly experienced by the young person through parent-child interaction. These include: support for autonomy; discipline effectiveness; parental investment; and family climate. 'Parent characteristics' are made up of: level of education; efficacy; resourcefulness; and mental health. The third grouping is 'family structure' and includes: parents' marital status; socioeconomic indicators of household crowding; and receiving welfare benefits. The next three groupings recognise the 'connectedness' of family and community which, as chapter one revealed, is a strong theme in 'honour' based contexts. 'Family management of

community' is composed of: institutional involvement; informal networks; social pressures; and adjustments to economic pressure. 'Peers' represents association with pro- and anti-social peers. Finally, the 'community' is portrayed as representing the 'ecological level most distal to the youth and family' and reflects: the average income and educational level of the neighbourhood; the number of problems in the neighbourhood; and the climate of the adolescent's school.

Masten and Powell (2003) observe that whilst early studies of risk focused on just one risk factor it soon became apparent that risk factors typically co-occur. As a consequence, attention has shifted to cumulative risk. The more risk factors that an individual is exposed to, then the greater the likelihood of a poor outcome (Appleyard et al. 2005; cited by Coleman & Hagel, 2007). Focusing on a single risk factor does not, therefore, address the reality of most young people's lives (Sameroff et al. 2003).

### ***Measuring risk in CSE, forced marriage and going missing cases***

Reflecting the view that all risk is calculable, there is a long tradition of risk prediction methods within criminal justice settings (Tarling & Burrows, 2004). Indeed, over the years, a number of risk factors indicating CSE have become well established and are reflected in a wide range of risk assessment tools (Beckett, 2011; CEOP, 2011b; Jago et al. 2011; OCC, 2012; Berelowitz et al. 2012). One such tool, developed in 2008, is the Sexual Exploitation Risk Assessment (SERA) Framework (Hughes & Thomas, 2016). This model is based on 22 risk factors and incorporates a scoring system to ascertain one of four risk categories (not at risk; mild risk; moderate risk; and significant risk).



The most commonly used tool for assessing risk in domestic violence cases and used both by statutory and voluntary agencies is the Domestic Abuse, Stalking and 'Honour'-Based Violence (DASH) risk assessment checklist. The DASH was developed in 2009 from evidence arising from the analysis of domestic violence homicides. The police version of the DASH contains twenty-seven yes/no questions related to factors that have been identified as predictive of further harm and ultimately death (Robinson, 2006). If HBV is determined on the basis of collectivity, then DASH links to a supplementary annex of questions specific to this issue (Payton, 2014). Answers are weighted and incorporated within a scoring system. Cases judged as 'high risk' of domestic homicide (score of 14 yes answers or more) become subject to a Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference (MARAC) where, as chapter two outlined, information is shared about the victim and actions taken to protect them. Robinson (2010) asserts that it is unclear whether appending HBV assessments to a generic format is sufficient, or whether there is a need to develop more specialised tools. She acknowledges that, whilst the development of risk assessments to address intimate partner violence was the product of a breadth of resources, within HBV specifically such resources are currently lacking. Given the low prevalence of such crimes across the population, the robust quantitative data that underpins actuarial risk assessment methodologies may, therefore, be unattainable.

It is for this very reason that the police and other professionals have been unable to develop a statistical-based tool to predict risk for young people who go missing. Only a very small proportion of missing people come to significant harm and research samples are too small to analyse using standard statistical techniques. This makes it impossible to identify any factors or characteristics that clearly discriminate between different outcomes (Tarling &

Burrows, 2004). The police and other professionals have consequently gone to considerable lengths to find other ways to distinguish between urgent and non-urgent missing person cases. Until 2013, the dominant police approach was to assess missing incidents according to the perceived vulnerability of the individual concerned (see Newiss, 1999). Combined with the experience and judgement of skilled officers, missing persons were classified within a matrix of low, medium and high risk categories (Hedges, 2002; Tarling & Burrows, 2004).

Although a useful tool for prioritising caseloads, this approach was criticised on a number of levels, not least because classifications of vulnerability fail to provide a clear indication of the specific risk faced by the individual or the particular basis of police concern (Newiss, 1999). What is interesting in the discussion which follows is that many of the problems associated with measuring risk in missing cases are also reflected in the wider literature. This means that they are also relevant to measuring risk of harm from CSE and forced marriage. I refer to these where appropriate.

### ***Over-recording of risk***

It is widely accepted that police policy in relation to missing young people has historically reflected police anxiety (Newiss, 1999). Not only can a poor response be potentially life-threatening but it can pose 'severe reputational risks for the force' (HMIC, 2008: 3). Reflecting the discourse of risk theory, a series of reports exploring the overall effectiveness and efficiency of the police from 2007 onwards suggest that the over-recording of risk was a consequence of concerns about 'missing something' and being vulnerable to criticism (Flanagan, 2008).

This is reflected by the fact that, historically, missing young people were never placed in a low risk category (NPJA, 2010). The default position was to attend every missing incident. Yet tensions arose since the 'one size fits all' response to missing children (Newiss, 1999) was believed to be disproportionate relative to risk (Bayliss & Quinton, 2013). As noted in section two of the literature review chapter, this led to a change in the approach taken to missing persons, with a new category of 'absent' introduced in April 2013 and expanded in 2015:

A person is not at a place where they are expected or required to be and there is no apparent risk (NPCC, 2015: 5)

In cases that are classified as 'absent' police take no immediate action, but keep them under review. In contrast, cases in the 'missing' category receive an active police response determined by a further assessment of whether there is a low, medium or high risk of harm (HMIC, 2016). According to the guidance, there are two important elements to assessing risk. The first is the degree of harm to which a person might be exposed and the second is the immediacy of the risk.

Voluntary sector partners expressed anxiety about the new approach from its inception. The management of absent cases relies on proactively identifying patterns of concern and a missing person coordinator from within the police is expected to work alongside partner agencies and the parents/care providers of the young person to monitor the case and undertake regular and robust re-assessments of how it should be investigated. However,

the reduction in the numbers of missing person coordinators in police forces raised questions about their ability to monitor cases effectively (Bayliss & Quinton, 2013).

***Variance in the 'interpretation' of risk***

Three years later an HMIC inspection into the police response to missing and absent children found that these concerns were well-founded. The inspection report uncovered examples of police forces categorising some young people as absent when the risk they faced clearly meant that they needed an immediate response and should be categorised as missing. Police did not always consider factors such as CSE within their assessment of risk. As noted within the literature review chapter, the link between these two issues can indicate serious risk of harm. Yet the inspection findings suggested that the police were 'confusing' seriousness with urgency (HMIC, 2016). If a case was not assessed as urgent, then action was often minimal, leaving cases where the longer term cumulative risk was high unaddressed. In addition, only in 'missing' cases are measures such as return home interviews used. Return home interviews are intended to identify longer term risks after a missing episode. However police forces do not undertake them when a young person returns from being absent (APPG, 2016).

The inspection report further discovered that some young people were assessed as low or medium risk when available information suggested that risk was high. Proponents of risk theory argue that structured decision making on the basis of risk indices is 'superior' to unstructured approaches, because discretionary decisions open the door to bias (Hoyle, 2008). However, as the HMIC findings illustrate, risk can be interpreted differently. In their assessment of the use of the DASH risk tool, Robinson et al. (2016) also found evidence of

risk being interpreted differently both within and across agencies. Such scenarios reveal how the de-escalation of risk on the part of one agency has the potential to affect the provision of services by another (Beckett et al., 2014).

### ***Risk as a social construct***

One reason why different professionals may interpret the same information in different ways is because risk is itself a social construct (Hoyle, 2008). An evaluation of a domestic violence risk assessment tool that pre-dated DASH, for example, found that the category 'cultural issues/sensitivity' was open to stereotyping and racism (Humphreys et al., 2005). The category was included to signify heightened risk of homicide through isolation, attitudes and barriers to help seeking. But, in practice there was very limited use of it beyond families of BME origin, meaning that it was not being used to designate more general risks associated with these factors.

This suggests a lack of knowledge on the part of professionals who use risk assessment tools (Robinson et al. 2016). As Baker et al. (2011, cited by Baker, 2012) argue, structured assessment tools are most use when they are understood as supporting professional practice, rather than replacing it. The importance of professional discretion (Munro, 2011) in their use was highlighted by the Jay (2014) inquiry into CSE in Rotherham when it was revealed that staff struggled to reconcile the outcome of the numeric scoring system that was being used<sup>3</sup> with their professional judgements of risk (Jay, 2014, see also Beckett et al., 2014). Work was, therefore, undertaken to address these tensions, including allowing for the assessor to override the score where necessary. This reflects the approach to DASH

---

<sup>3</sup> Based on Barnardo's best practice model and adopted across South Yorkshire

where the checklist states that its completion is 'not a definitive assessment of risk' and that 'professional judgement' can override the numerical score if the assessor feels that the risk is higher than suggested.

### ***Resilience***

Another methodological limitation of risk theory is that it suggests that young people who present identifiable risk factors are automatically likely to experience negative outcomes (Michaud, 2006). In this way the shared conceptual emphasis of risk assessment means that young people are treated as homogenous. The risk assessment process places individuals into broad groups without taking into account factors that might make one person more vulnerable than another (Hedges, 2002). In this way it:

Obscures what may be important distinctions in the nature of resources and threats children have faced (Masten, 1999 cited by Masten & Powell, 2003: 8).

O'Brien & Scott (2007) argue that it is wrong to assume that young people's lives are determined by risk factors. Instead, risk factors may interact with protective factors and mechanisms in ways that develop young people's resilience (Rutter et al., 2006). Defined by Luthar et al. (2000 cited in Cicchetti, 2003) as 'a dynamic developmental process reflecting evidence of positive adaptation despite significant life adversity' resilience is described by Cicchetti (2003: xxii) as the 'more optimistic component of the psychopathology-risk equation'. Indeed some resilience frameworks adopt an asset-focused design which attempts to 'directly provide more or better assets in the lives of children' (Masten & Powell, 2003: 19-20).

Two major approaches characterise research on resilience. Person-focused strategies are concerned with identifying individuals who meet definitional criteria for resilience (Masten & Powell, 2003). This reflects situations in which those who have similar levels of risk or adversity as other young people display markedly better outcomes, suggesting that some patterns of resilience occur naturally. 'Turnaround' cases of young people who restructure their environments to improve competence are often observed to be transitioning from youth to adulthood through such events as moving, marriage and joining the military.

Variable-focused approaches examine links between competence, adversity and potential protective factors. Like risk factors, protective factors are understood to operate at individual, familial and community level because, broadly speaking, both exist as different labels for the same underlying concept (Farrington, 2000). As such, risk factors assume: an extreme category of an explanatory variable (for example, poor parental supervision); a dichotomous variable (for example, poor/good parental supervision); or a continuous explanatory (for example, scale of parental supervision from poor to good). In recognition of this, Sameroff (1999, cited by Sameroff et al. 2003) proposes that a better term for the positive end of the risk dimension is 'promotive factors' rather than 'protective factors' since this would have a positive effect in both high and low risk populations.

Key resources consistently linked with competence include: individual factors such as good intellectual skills, positive temperament and positive views of the self; family qualities such as high warmth, cohesion, expectations and involvement; and supportive systems outside the family such as strong social networks and good schools. However, in light of the issues

being explored within this doctoral research, it is important to note that Luthar and Zelazo (2003) observe that there is a need for 'greater consideration of cross-cultural variations in resilience processes' something that the literature is 'markedly lacking' (2003: 525).

### ***Blaming the victim***

Goldson (2005: 259) argues that the prioritisation of risk as a guide to appropriate intervention has resulted in entitlement to services being drawn along negative lines. This means that, in order to 'qualify' for an intervention, young people must demonstrate some form of 'deficit'. This has two implications. The first is that young people who do not display risk factors are assumed to be protected (Michaud, 2006). Yet a study by Newiss (1999) found evidence to suggest that some of the individuals who came to harm when missing are not those who would necessarily have been considered vulnerable. This highlights another of the key criticisms of positivist methods: that a dangerous situation may still arise for young people, even when no risk factors are present. Indeed this difficulty is also highlighted within the literature on assessing CSE where it is recognised that whilst some cases will be characterised by a complex interplay of risk factors, some will not exhibit any of them (CEOP, 2011b).

The second implication is that boundaries are drawn which differentiate the 'normal' from the 'deviant' (Kelley, 2001). The explicit focus on positive behaviours and processes within the resilience paradigm has a number of benefits but it also has the potential to foster perspectives that blame the victim. Luthar and Zelazo (2003) note that:



The very term resilience is construed by many to represent a personal trait that allows some youth-at-risk to succeed in life, with the corollary, of course, that those who do poorly are personally responsible for their problems (Luthar & Zelazo, 2003: 513).

This means that young people who run away are subsequently regarded as troublesome or problematic rather than as in need of support (HMIC, 2016). Attempts are made to manage and control the behaviour of young people in order to prevent them from ‘posing a risk’ through challenging social norms whilst, at the same time, protect them from their own ‘risky’ behaviours. As recognised within the literature review chapter, this theme also emerges within the research on responses to CSE. Young people in sexually exploitative situations may undertake certain actions in order to gain a sense of control in a context where they perceive that there are few other opportunities available to exert their own wishes (Pearce, 2006), even when this involves harmful environments (Coy, 2009). However the response from professionals may be one of ‘blaming the victim’ (Haines & Case, 2008: 23) in that they are perceived as having ‘chosen’ to put themselves at risk.

### ***The concept of agency***

This illustrates yet another tension – that between agency (exercising rational choice) and coercion. Current debates tend to understand these concepts in a binary relationship where one is present only by virtue of the other’s absence (Kelly, 2011; see also Madhok, Phillips & Wilson, 2013). Again, an illustration of this can be found in the independent inquiry on CSE in Rotherham (Jay, 2014). This revealed systemic failings in statutory responses, many of which were rooted in a misunderstanding of young women’s agency. Instead of being seen

as making choices in a context of coercion and constraint, young women were imagined as free, autonomous agents. As Warrington (2013) observes, displays of agency in such circumstances are rarely viewed as a resource.

The tension between agency and coercion is also reflected in the literature on domestic violence where there is a common tendency to equate the agency of victims of intimate partner violence solely with the act of leaving (Laing & Humphreys, 2013). Tuerkheimer (2013) writes that:

Unless and until they leave the relationship, women are believed to consent to the controlling course of conduct...separation marks the moment of non-consent: non-consent to the relationship and thus non-consent to relationship violence – the two are equated (Tuerkheimer, 2013: 17).

Women who 'choose' to stay with an abusive partner are often viewed as being weak and passive and, therefore, 'tolerant' of the abuse that they are experiencing (Chantler, 2006). Yet the theory of coercive control developed by Stark (2007) reveals how control in this context 'is ongoing rather than episodic' and 'that its effects are cumulative rather than incident-specific'. As a consequence abused women may have little volitional space within which to exercise autonomy. Kelly (2003) argues that it is this narrowing of options that diminishes women's 'space for action' making it hard to physically leave. Indeed, in anticipation that their partner will attempt to exit the relationship, efforts will be made by the abuser to prevent them from accessing the material and social resources required to do so. As such, intimate partner violence is not a simple crime of assault but a 'liberty crime'

which links broad social inequalities to individual acts of victimisation. Stark (2007) observes that:

If women's right to full autonomy in personal life was widely accepted or realised through substantive equality, coercive control would not be effective in the first place since the gendered micro-regulation would be visible and condemned (Stark, 2007: 381).

Whilst some women accommodate to the 'gender regime' (a concept that I will discuss in relation to intersectionality) which underpins the use of coercive control, others challenge it. Yet there are dangers associated with doing so. Intimate partner homicide is most likely to take place at the point of ultimate challenge – separation or just after. However despite this, victims may be 'punished' for taking a different view to professionals about the management of risk in this context (Neville & Sanders-McDonagh, 2014). Professionals who lack an understanding of coercive control focus on the victim's choice to stay, rather than the actions of the perpetrator. Indeed Radford and Gill (2006) assert that:

Risk assessment that fails to deal with perpetrator responsibility for the violence can support victim blaming and the categorisation of individuals into deserving and undeserving victims (Radford & Gill, 2006: 379).

### ***Structural inequalities and social divides***

Against this backdrop, it is clear that another limitation of risk assessment tools is that they treat the characteristics of young people as 'static' with no practical implications in relation

to understanding risk (Farrington, 2002). As a consequence, practitioners fail to consider how factors such as gender, race and class intersect with each other and structural hierarchies of power to determine access to resources and support (Thiara & Gill, 2010). There are, as Michaud (2006) observes, certain aspects of adolescent behaviour that reflect the only possible outcome in some extreme situations. For individuals who live in poverty, behaviours that are usually considered deviant may represent the only solution for survival. This leads him to assert that current approaches to framing risk are ethically questionable since emphasis on individual responsibility results in the neglect of social and structural inequalities that young people have to navigate. Indeed Hoyle (2008) argues that:

Risk assessment tools must be sensitive to differences between victims, not just gender differences but other cultural and structural differences as strategies of risk management differently impact gendered, stratified and racialised groups (Hoyle, 2008: 333).

Madhok et al. (2013) suggest that agency and coercion cannot be thought of as:

Separately constituted or existing in a relationship of achieving/overcoming, but as connected in a dynamic continuum of simultaneity (Madhok et al., 2013: 3).

Through accepting that agency in coercive contexts is present but 'constrained' (Melrose, Barrett & Brodie, 1999; Scott & Skidmore, 2006) it is possible to recognise that although choice allows for agency it does not imply free consent (Melrose, Barrett & Brodie, 1999; Harper & Scott, 2005). In her work on 'pathetic' and 'heroic' victim paradigms, Tietjens

Myers (2011) adopts a similar approach but instead refers to 'full' and 'burdened' agency. Through acknowledging that people are more or less agentic in different spheres of life she argues that the 'innocence criteria' embedded within judgements by professionals should instead be replaced by a 'burdened agency' criterion which recognises that how diminished or distorted a person's agentic capacities become depends on the force, fraud or coercion applied.

Stepping outside of what Widdows (2013) calls the 'choice paradigm' and framing abuse within the context of power inequalities therefore provides a framework of analysis which accounts for the different pressures facing young people without invalidating their understanding and perspectives. This is consistent with a sociological understanding of the behaviour of young people which recognises that they can be social actors in their own right (Oswell, 2013). It also reflects a shift in paradigm within risk discourse, away from labelling young people's behaviour as risky towards understanding the role, meaning and motives of these behaviours (Michaud, 2006).

The recognition of power differentials within populations is, as chapter one indicates, central to understanding the different pressures that young people face with respect to forced marriage and CSE. The discussion above demonstrates how tensions between connecting the personal and structural begin to ease when 'choice' is considered in the context of family and community pressure to comply with norms. When choice is recognised as present, but constrained then the tension between victimisation and agency is also lessened. Shifting the emphasis away from individual responsibility and choice and towards an appreciation of the social and material contexts within which young people act results in

a recasting of their behaviour as a form of survival. The next section of this chapter therefore moves onto exploring intersectionality which I believe provides a theoretical framework through which to achieve this.

### **Intersectionality**

Intersectionality is an interesting framework since its potential to challenge the homogenising and universalising tendencies of risk theory reflects its conception as a mechanism through which to challenge similar tendencies within feminism. Black feminist scholars had argued for years that much scholarship by White feminists had ignored the reality that the category of 'gender' was inflected by other differences, including race and class (Acker, 2006). In this way the concept of intersectionality was developed to:

Refine theoretical approaches to gendered power relations by revealing new ways of understanding the complexity of black and minority ethnic women's experiences and lives (Thiara & Gill, 2010: 29).

Whilst the starting point for intersectional research can be traced back to the 1970s (Thiara & Gill, 2010) the term 'intersectionality' is generally attributed to the work of Kimberle Crenshaw (1993). The essence of intersectionality is that an individual's experiences are not shaped by single identities but multiple forms of oppression based on gender, race and class (Yuval-Davies, 2006). Crenshaw (1993) describes how 'structural intersectionality' locates BME women at the intersection of these three forms of oppression, making their experience of domestic violence qualitatively different than that of White women.

She illustrates this by drawing on the ‘waiver for hardship caused by domestic violence’ within the US Immigration and Nationality Act (1990). This provides that an abused spouse who has conditional permanent resident status can be granted a waiver to meet the requirements of remaining ‘properly’ married for two years before applying for permanent resident status if she can show that she was physically abused or subjected to extreme mental cruelty by a US citizen or permanent resident spouse. However, in practice, many immigrant women are unable to meet the conditions established to access these provisions because they face particular obstacles in accessing the evidence required. For example, isolation and language barriers mean that some women will not have had contact with statutory agencies and been able to disclose the abuse that they were experiencing. Patterns of subordination intersect so that women are positioned to ‘absorb the simultaneous impact of anti-immigration policy and their spouses’ abuse’ (Crenshaw, 1993: 1250). Thus in developing a legal remedy that does not consider the intersectional location of BME women, Crenshaw shows how legislation intended to be available to ‘all women’ is ‘made inaccessible to some’ (op cit.).

### ***Additive intersectionality***

In writing about intersectionality, Kelly (2013: 2) asserts that it is important to recognise that layers of inequality are ‘not simply additive’. This means that gender plus race plus class does not result in Black women being equally marginalised. As Yuval-Davies (2006) writes:

Any attempt to universalise ‘blackness’ or ‘womanhood’ or ‘working classness’ as specific forms of concrete opposition in additive ways... cannot assume the same effect or constellation each time and hence the investigation of the specific social,

political and economic processes in each historical instance is important (Yuval-Davies, 2006: 195).

Moreover the simple additive response encourages the construction of what Barnes and Mercer (2010: 85) label a 'misleading league table of oppressions'. This is illustrated by Begum (1992) who describes how the 'double oppression' of being a disabled woman may 'yield' to the 'triple oppression' of being a black, disabled woman, In practice, these dimensions are not 'separate' oppressions but are interlocking and complex.

Differences across time, space and socio-economic status mean that individuals will be situated in powerful/less ways to one another (Begikhani et al. 2015). Availability and access to economic resources will either enable or limit a Black woman's options after experiences of violence. So too will access to social resources such as the quality of support received from formal and informal networks (Laing & Humphreys, 2013). This illustrates how it is different contexts that define individual responses to similar situations and problems (Gill & Mitra-Khan, 2010).

Thiara and Gill (2010: 36) claim that the additive approach to intersectionality 'serves only to highlight experiential diversity'. This then reproduces stereotypical representations of BME women and girls (the cultural differences approach outlined in chapter one). The literature review revealed that commentators within the violence against women and girls sector argue against the labelling of forced marriage and other forms of HBV as 'culturally' specific forms of violence or 'harmful traditional practices' for this reason. The reproduction of stereotypical representations of BME women means that professionals may believe that



women in minority ethnic communities experience only certain ‘types’ of violence against women to the exclusion of other forms. As such and as I will argue in chapter six, these other forms of violence, including CSE, may be overlooked.

### ***Constitutive intersectionality***

Thiara and Gill (2010) argue for the adoption of the ‘constitutive’ model of intersectionality (the racial equality approach). This model contests the hierarchies of oppression proposed within the additive approach; rather difference and commonality are figured in non-reductive relationality (Brah, 1996). Each social construct signifies a specific type of power relation ‘produced and exercised in and through a myriad of economic, political and cultural practices’ (ibid: 211). Each axis signifies specific modality of power relation. Specific articulations are produced through the way in which the different fields of power ‘collide, enmesh and configure’ (Brah, 1995: 248). Brah calls this a ‘multiaxiality’ of power within which race, gender, class, sexuality, ethnicity and disability cannot be ‘separated out’.

Not only does this recognise ‘differential positionings’ but also how, in specific historical situations, there is ‘differential access’ to economic, political and cultural resources (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 1999). Through recognising this, it possible to analyse the ways in which individual women and girls experience violence; the options open to them in dealing with that violence; and the extent to which they have access to services to help them (Thiara & Gill, 2010).

In articulating intersectionality as common ground for all feminisms (structuralist, liberal and post-structuralist) Thiara and Gill (2010) summarise the main points of intersectionality on which all academics agree:

- Factors such as race, gender, ethnicity, class, nationality, disability, age and sexuality are all socially defined and the meanings attached to them are historically contingent;
- Specific locations in this matrix of intersecting axes create a unique set of experiences;
- Intersecting forms of discrimination create both oppression and opportunity;
- Because axes are cross-cutting, it is likely that a person will be simultaneously advantaged by certain identities and disadvantaged by others; and
- These axes of power intersect at all levels of social life both through social structure and social interaction.

Gill, Begikhani and Hague (2012) assert that, when forced marriage and other forms of HBV are understood in this way, it is possible to recognise both the specificity and difference of some forms of violence against women as well as the commonality (Thiara & Gill, 2010). I turn now to the 'continuum of sexual violence' as an existing framework through which to achieve this.

### ***The continuum of sexual violence***

In 1988, Liz Kelly developed the continuum of sexual violence which recognises behaviours ranging from sexual harassment to sexual touching, rape and physical assault committed by men against women. Upon reflection of the continuum over thirty years later, it is

significant that she acknowledges that, although they were not included within the continuum at the time, there is 'no reason in principle' why the concept cannot accommodate sexual exploitation and other forms of violence against women, including forced marriage and HBV (Kelly, 2011: xix).

Kelly (2011) goes on to suggest that 'being dishonoured' can also be considered along a continuum. As she observes, the status of 'victimhood' carries stigma and reputational risks such as being seen and treated differently by friends and family regardless of ethnicity. However the meaning attributed to this will be more or less explicit depending on the socio-cultural context. Indeed Bourdieu (1977 cited by Gill, 2014) argues that 'honour' is not a specific aspect of cultural practice but emerges from a constellation of interpersonal exchanges. Consequently he argues that each social and cultural context should be individually evaluated since different meanings will be ascribed to 'honour' in different communities. The literature review presented evidence that the consequences of disclosing abuse may be lethal for some BME women, representing the extreme end of the continuum.

Warrington (2013) shows how the meaning attributed to victimhood also exists within the 'majority' culture. The non-engagement with support services by a sexually exploited young woman may lead professionals to conclude that the young person is not really a victim. Yet the act of declining help may instead be the result of a complex decision making process in which she has balanced the harms that might result from her relationship with the perpetrators, against the harms that might result as a consequence of interacting with professionals. The young woman may anticipate that disclosure of her exploitation will lead to her becoming an object of gossip, shame and derision within her community. She may

also be mindful of the possibility that 'being a known victim of rape may be reinterpreted by others in terms of prostitution and promiscuity' (Warrington, 2013: 122). As a consequence, the young woman's desire to maintain control over her self-image and, therefore, her future well-being overrules her need to access support. The young woman's decision to disengage with professional support in such circumstances is not only rational but, as Warrington (2013) argues, it is also protective. This leads Begikhani et al. (2015) to assert that intersectional location and identity impacts on the construction on subjectivity, shaping whether an individual remains silent or speaks out about abuse. Recognition of this, Kelly (2013) argues, necessitates moving away from the current practice of agencies to focus on needs and instead focusing on the 'particular situations' of individuals (Kelly, 2013: 4).

### ***Heteronormativity***

As the literature review chapter illustrates, the issues of CSE and forced marriage are not only located in structures of patriarchy but also heteronormativity (Jackson, 2003). I have noted how intersectionality was developed to challenge gender as the only significant marker of difference. Walters (1996: 845) references the work of Crenshaw (1993) to observe how 'this point has been forcefully made in regard to both race and class' but not in relation to sexuality. It has been argued that the development of queer theory has stepped into this gap by 'reinvigorating' the study of sexuality and pushing scholars to 'think of social categories more critically' (Green, 2007: 30). The capacity of queer theory to deliberately challenge binary categories such as man/woman and gay/straight has indeed been valuable. Yet, as Walters (1996) argues, in moving towards a more universalizing dissociation of gender and sexuality, the theory erases 'the enormous difference that gender makes' (Walters, 1996: 843). This is not to say that she disagrees with moving beyond gays and

lesbians as an oppressed minority, but she contends that ‘in a culture in which male is the default gender’ it cannot be ‘ignored, dismissed, or transcended’). Indeed Connell (2000) argues how societies are composed of multiple ‘gender regimes’ in which peoples’ lived experiences are configured through ‘gender relations’ between individual women and men.

### ***A balanced combination of perspectives***

Carbin and Edenheim (2013: 233) observe that intersectionality has ‘expanded from being primarily a metaphor within structuralist feminist research to an all-encompassing theory’. This is due to its potential to overcome unitary and exclusionary approaches to studying social issues and capture complexity (Begikhani, Gill and Hague, 2015). Indeed Yuval-Davies (2006) cites Lutz (2002) as having identified fourteen ‘lines of difference’ (social divides) including: gender, sexuality, race/skin colour, ethnicity, nation/state, class, culture, ability, age, sedentariness/origin, wealth, North-South, religion and stage of social development.

The theory has not been lost in postmodernist discussions about individual ‘difference’ (Yuval-Davis, 2006) because its ability to shift between ‘structure’ and ‘individual life’ means that its structuralist roots also fit into post-structuralism. This means that not only does intersectionality recognise processes that shape power differentiation within and between groups in society but it also accounts for individual risk and resilience (Palencia, 2014). As Kanyeredzi (2013) summarises:

Intersectionality is a tool to think not only about how some black women are marginalised, but to argue that marginalisation is never totalised without opportunities albeit constrained, to resist (Kanyeredzi, 2013: 207).

## **Summary**

This chapter has addressed the tensions which emerge from the literature review, namely that existing responses to going missing, forced marriage and CSE struggle to connect the personal with the structural, and the notion of victimisation with agency. The chapter started by exploring the literature on risk and resilience in order to understand why these tensions arise. I then explored arguments which suggest that the practice of risk assessment places emphasis on individual responsibility and choice to the exclusion of identifying structural inequalities. This means that young people may be considered 'deviant' and understood to be 'choosing' to put themselves at risk. I turned to the theory of intersectionality which interrogates how power shapes the social and material contexts that young people navigate. This led me to conclude that the strength of adopting an intersectional approach is in its ability to shift between 'structure' and 'individual life'. Not only does intersectionality recognise processes that shape power differentiation within populations but it also accounts for risk and resilience within individuals. It is on this basis that the young people's experiences will be understood within the findings chapters that follow. However, before moving onto these I will outline how the research was designed and undertaken.

## **CHAPTER THREE: THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **Introduction**

The research literature presented in chapter one shows that overlaps between going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation (CSE) are not explored in research, policy, or practice. This gap in knowledge means that we do not know how these overlaps present themselves; we do not understand how young people experience all three issues and, as a consequence, we are not aware of how best to respond to and support young people.

Having established the research problem, this chapter sets out the purpose of the research and how it was designed, undertaken and analysed. I start by setting out the proposition underpinning the research and how this informed the development of the research questions. I then outline the rationale that led me to adopt an exploratory case study inquiry which relied on interviews with practitioners supporting young people affected by all three issues. At this juncture I set out the ethical considerations that were taken into account within the research process. Next, I outline the actions that were adopted to help validate the practitioner interviews, including interviews with key informants and focus groups with young people. I explain the data collection process and how this led me to discover an additional although linked proposition leading to the identification and analysis of two 'sets' of cases. Finally, I provide reflections on the research process itself.

### **The research proposition**

The purpose of this research was to identify: how going missing, forced marriage and CSE overlap; how South Asian young women experience all three issues; and how practitioners can best respond to, and support, South Asian young women. Drawing on the going missing, forced marriage and CSE research literature presented in chapter one and using the theory of intersectionality outlined in chapter two, I developed a theoretical proposition suggesting that:

Given that i) some South Asian young women will run away from home in order to flee an unwanted marriage and that ii) there is a link between young people who run away or go missing from home and CSE iii) South Asian young women who flee forced marriage are at risk of, or abuse through, CSE.

### **The research questions**

My proposition about the way in which going missing and forced marriage overlap with CSE is underpinned by research literature on forced marriage as it is understood to affect young women from South Asian communities living in the UK. I therefore purposefully chose to focus my research on young women of Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Indian heritage. This meant that I would be able to interpret and compare my findings to the current knowledge base. Additional criteria were identified on the basis that there is a lack of knowledge around how CSE is experienced by minority and ethnic young women born in the UK (Ward and Patel, 2006) and that 16 and 17 year olds face particular challenges accessing economic resources, since they fall between gaps in child and adult policy frameworks. As such I



stipulated that my 'unit of analysis' would be South Asian young women of British origin who are 16-17 years old. On this basis, the following research questions were developed.

1. What are the links between going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation?
2. How do South Asian young women experience going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation?
3. How can practitioners support South Asian young women who experience going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation?

**The research design: case study inquiry**

Having considered a range of different methodologies, including surveys, I selected a case study approach. There were a number of reasons for this. In general the case study approach is the best method when 'how' questions are being posed. Another factor which distinguishes case study research from other methodologies is that it is suited to studies where contextual factors are important by enabling the researcher to investigate:

A contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context: especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2009: 19).

Yin (2009) goes on to observe that case study inquiry benefits from starting with a theoretical proposition as it helps to guide data collection and analysis. Since a research proposition underpinned the development of the research questions this was another reason to select a case study methodology.

Of course every research methodology has disadvantages as well as advantages. The most common criticisms of case study research is that 'subjective judgements are used to collect the data' (Yin, 2009: 41). There are a number of ways in which validity can be addressed within case study design and I was mindful of these from the beginning. I chose to undertake a multi-case inquiry since evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling and the overall study more robust (Herriott & Firestone, 1983 – cited by Yin, 2009). I also sought to address internal validity by developing a case study template which contained the substantive questions reflecting my line of inquiry. I drew on the learning from the literature review and my proposition of how going missing and forced marriage overlap with CSE in order to develop the case study template.

### **Preparation for data collection**

#### ***Interviews with key informants***

In order to introduce rigor into the research process, I identified experts in the going missing, forced marriage and CSE fields for the purpose of reviewing the template. The experts were academics, members of the policy community and experienced practitioners. As well as approaching experts known to me through my employment, several experts also proactively contacted me having heard about the research through my efforts to identify

relevant cases (see the section on interviews with supporting practitioners from the voluntary and statutory sectors below).

In total, I interviewed twelve experts (KII-12): three from the going missing sector; four from the forced marriage sector; four from the CSE sector; and an expert on working with abused women from BME groups (KI12). Seven of the interviews took place face-to-face and five were conducted over the telephone. Permission was sought to record all interviews. Since feedback was given within an interview context but one in which the experts were 'informant' rather than a 'respondent' (Yin, 2009: 107), I describe the experts as 'key informants' (KIs) throughout the thesis.

The purpose of asking KIs to review the case study template was threefold. I was keen to ensure that any bias in the form of poorly articulated questions could be identified and addressed before the field work began. The final template used reflected amendments recommended as a result of this exercise. Given that I was unable to identify any research, policy or practice literature addressing a three-way link between going missing, forced marriage and CSE, I was also interested in establishing whether the KIs believed that the purpose of the research was important in theoretical as well as policy and practice terms. All of the participants except for one believed that this was the case:

For me it's been the complete absence of any kind of narrative [in CSE literature] around honour issues...there has been so much work around the issue of how ethnic communities may or may not be linked to perpetration...but I think in some respects

that has masked any other issues about what is happening to young Asian women who may be victims (KI3).

There is such a strong link between missing and CSE but not in my opinion forced marriage to be honest. I dealt with over 2,000 [forced marriage cases] in my time and I do have to say I didn't come across it at all (KI4).

Due to the nature of the research problem, I had also anticipated that it might be challenging to source relevant case studies for the research. Inclusion of KIs in the research design enabled me to widen my search. Three of the KIs were involved in the Inquiry being undertaken by the OCC and so had extensive contact with the statutory agencies and voluntary organisations submitting evidence. They were able to identify possible leads and helpfully approached individuals who they thought could assist, asking them whether they were happy for their contact details to be shared with me.

### ***Ethical considerations***

It is common in research undertaken through a transformative lens to adopt a collaborative form of data collection (Creswell, 2015). A number of positive impacts can arise through the direct participation of those impacted by the phenomenon being explored (see, for example Downes et al., 2014). At the same time I am also aware that abused young women are, in research terms, considered to be a vulnerable population (Melrose, 2011). Having carefully considered both these perspectives, I chose not to interview young women who had direct experience of going missing, forced marriage and CSE. I made this decision on the basis that I believed that I could access the data required to develop the case studies and answer the research questions by interviewing practitioners who had worked to support young women

whose experiences matched the research criteria. Since this was the case, interviewing the young women themselves felt unnecessarily intrusive, especially given that:

The experience of being interviewed by a *range of*<sup>4</sup> different practitioners can be experienced as abusive in itself, irrespective of how sympathetic and supportive the interviewers are' (Pearce, Hynes & Bovarnick 2009: 155).

In order to ensure that young people's perspectives were included, I decided instead to run focus group discussions with young people based on the emerging findings. Details about these are outlined below.

As this discussion illustrates, the guiding ethical principle for the research was that no harm should come to any individual as a result of their agreement to take part in the research (University of Bedfordshire, 2012). I developed information sheets to share with the practitioners who expressed an interest in the study (appendix one). These addressed the core conditions of informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity and reciprocity. Participants were assured that the information they shared during the interview was confidential unless they disclosed something which suggested that a child or vulnerable adult was at risk of serious harm or it raised a public protection concern. I communicated that nothing would be attributed to participants personally and information would not be presented in a way that enabled them, or the young woman they had supported, to be identified within the thesis. Professionals would only be identified by participant type and any reference to projects and field work locations would be anonymised. In recognition of the power imbalance which is

---

<sup>4</sup> Emphasis added

inherent in interview situations (Creswell, 2014), I undertook to send the interviewees a copy of the research report to demonstrate reciprocity for their involvement.

The ethics application I submitted to the University also addressed how the wellbeing of research participants would be closely monitored. This included such factors as: choosing a safe and staffed location for the interview; providing the opportunity to request the removal of something that was said during the interview from the transcript for up to a month afterwards; and ensuring that the interviewee was aware of sources of support at the end of the interview. Another consideration was to prepare for the emergence of unexpected/unplanned for ethical issues arising during the course of the interviews (see 'ethics in process' in the data collection section below).

### ***Identifying supporting practitioners***

After establishing my case criteria, developing a case study template and obtaining ethical approval for the research I set about collecting data. I adopted a convenience sampling approach to identify practitioners. Since my proposition suggested a particular pattern linking going missing, forced marriage and CSE, my efforts initially focused on identifying practitioners working in the fields of going missing and forced marriage.

I contacted individuals in voluntary and statutory sector services via networks I was already a member of due to my employment. As indicated above I also contacted individuals suggested to me by KIs as well as individuals suggested to me by my doctorate supervisors. The Association of Chief Police Officer (ACPO) lead on going missing also wrote a letter in support of the research and this was e-mailed to relevant force leads. In addition, I attended and spoke at as many relevant seminars/conferences about my research as possible. Given

that one of the major difficulties with undertaking research is that organisational 'gatekeepers' restrict access to participants (Hayes & Devaney, 2004), existing relationships and recommendations helped me overcome this particular barrier.

### ***The pilot***

I decided to pilot the case study template (appendix two) using the first three cases that were identified so that any learning could be used to refine my data collection plans. I made the decision to construct each case study by interviewing the practitioner who had been supporting the young person. I believed that this would be a more expedient approach than examining the case files themselves. This is because case files can often be incomplete (Fortune & Reid, 1999) and contain contradictory information that is difficult to clarify (Cockburn, 2000). The template worked well for the first two interviews albeit I had to adapt the research tool in order to collect additional data. This was due to the complexity of the cases involved. For instance, it was necessary to include a section within the template which captured missing episodes that did not last overnight. It was also necessary to ask about pregnancy not only in relation to 'actual' forced marriage but also in relation to young women who were simultaneously at risk of forced marriage and CSE.

During the third interview however I inadvertently began to pursue a new investigation. In this case the pattern between CSE, going missing and forced marriage was different to that envisaged within the research proposition. Whilst all three issues were present within the case, the young woman was not at risk of CSE due to fleeing a forced marriage; rather she was at risk of forced marriage as a consequence of going missing in the context of CSE. Yin (2009) emphasises the need to be adaptive when undertaking case study research. As such,

I continued the interview and found that the case study template was flexible enough for me to accommodate this additional scenario.

### ***A new pattern***

It is generally recognised that the research process rarely proceeds in a way that it is envisaged in the planning stages. Moreover, Yin (2009) observes that:

The final explanation may not have been fully stipulated at the beginning of a study... the case study evidence is examined, theoretical positions are revised... an important aspect is to entertain other plausible or rival explanations (Yin, 2009: 143).

Because the other scenario had also been noted in one of the KI interviews and was emerging through the growing evidence base related to CSE I decided to pursue this new pattern in addition to the original one. This meant expanding my efforts to identify practitioners working to support young women who met the research criteria within the CSE sector. I also adapted the text I used to 'appeal' for cases so that the new scenario was reflected as an example of the 'types' of case I was looking for.

Creswell (2014) observes that a multi-case study design should include about four to five cases. Since I was working to identify cases reflecting two patterns I decided to aim to collect ten cases and hoped for an even split. Exhaustive effort was expended to achieve this, but the remaining five cases all reflected the second pattern. Two of these matched the research criteria exactly. Another two involved young women who were slightly younger than the age range specified (CS4 & CS7) but were included within the sample given the challenges involved with identifying relevant cases. In addition I was approached by a



practitioner whose CSE service was supporting a young man who was going missing in the context of sexual exploitation and who had raised concerns about being forced into marriage. I decided to incorporate this case too since I believed that the knowledge gained from it had the potential to contribute towards the debates around gender across all three fields of literature.

## **Data collection**

### ***Interviewing supporting practitioners***

In total, I conducted eight interviews related to young people who had experienced some combination of going missing, forced marriage and CSE. Permission was sought to record all interviews. In constructing six of these case studies I interviewed the practitioner who had been supporting the young person (two practitioners from the statutory sector and four practitioners from the voluntary sector). In one case I spoke to the supporting practitioner and their line manager who had also been involved in the case (both voluntary sector). In the eighth interview the voluntary sector practitioner had not been directly involved in the case but had met the young person as part of a serious case review into the way she had been supported.

It is important to note here that because the young people were subject to multi-agency approaches the practitioner who was interviewed was not the only practitioner who had been working with the young person. Ideally, I would have interviewed all the practitioners involved in each case. In light of the number of case studies I was collecting and the number of practitioners involved with each young person this proved impractical given time and resource implications. Despite this, many of the interviewees made reference to the role of other practitioners when they were discussing the case that they worked on. Not only did

this highlight different perspectives, but interesting issues also emerged in relation to the approach of practitioners from voluntary organisations compared to statutory agencies. This is something I discuss in more detail in chapter six.

Table two below sets out the details of each case. It includes the gender, age, ethnicity and sexual orientation of the young person and the presenting and linked issues. The interviews were conducted either at the practitioners' place of work (n=6) or over the telephone (n=2). As indicated in the ethics section above, an information sheet was shared with participants and they were asked to sign a consent form. On average, the interviews lasted between 60-90 minutes.

**Table two: Overview of research case studies**

	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Sexuality</b>	<b>Disability</b>	<b>Presenting issue</b>	<b>Linked issue</b>
<b>CS1</b>	Young woman	16	Pakistani	Heterosexual	-	Missing and forced marriage threat	CSE risk assessed
<b>CS2</b>	Young woman	16	Bangladeshi	Heterosexual	-	Missing	Forced marriage disclosed and CSE risk assessed
<b>CS3</b>	Young	17	Bangladeshi	Heterosexual	Learning	Missing	CSE

	woman				disability	and forced marriage threat	
<b>CS4</b>	Young woman	15	Pakistani	Heterosexual	-	CSE and missing	Forced marriage
<b>CS5</b>	Young woman	16	Indian	Heterosexual	-	CSE and missing	Forced marriage threat
<b>CS6</b>	Young woman	16	Pakistani	Heterosexual	-	CSE and missing	Forced marriage threat
<b>CS7</b>	Young woman	14	Bangladeshi	Heterosexual	-	CSE and missing	Forced marriage risk assessed
<b>CS8</b>	Young man	16	Pakistani	Homosexual	Learning disability	CSE and missing	Forced marriage threat

The interviews were semi-structured. Although they were guided by the template, there was no rigid ordering of the questions since the emphasis of each interview was different depending on what the 'presenting issue' had been and/or the specialism of the agency within which the practitioner sat. I started by asking the practitioner to give an overview of the case and filled in the relevant sections of the template as they were addressed, asking for additional information in a conversational manner. This meant that I was able to satisfy

the need of the protocol while simultaneously being able to ask questions about issues that arose but that were not addressed within the case study template. The interviews were recorded but the use of the template meant that I had a record of the key information and I made additional notes in the margins. This was important in case the recording failed.

Yin (2009: 108) observes that interviews are an 'essential source of case study evidence because most case studies are about human affairs or behavioural events'. Speaking to practitioners who were involved in the case meant I was able to build an understanding of what happened based on what I heard. There are, of course, limitations associated with this research method. Verbal reports of events that have happened and explanations of how they occurred are subject to the problems of bias, poor recall and poor or inaccurate articulation (op cit.). I addressed the issue of poor recall by requesting that the SPs had the case files of the young people that they had supported to hand so that if I asked a question that they could not answer then the information would be easy to locate. An advantage of the semi-structured interview approach was that it also elicited information that would not have been recorded within individual case files. For instance, some practitioners referred to other cases that they had worked on in ways which 'added weight' to the case under discussion.

Furthermore it is important to note that the reported experiences of the young people had already been through a process of interpretation based on the view and perceptions of the practitioners who supported them. It is very likely that the accounts given were different to the ways in which young people would interpret their own experiences (see also, for example, McNaughton Nicholls et al., 2014). The intention however was to capture the

patterns that existed and to assess and display the range of experience and expertise that professionals could provide on this hidden issue. The interviews also appeared to offer the practitioners a space for reflection; talking through the cases provided them with the opportunity to offer a narrative that set out their rationale for supporting the young person in the way they did. However, it also raised an ethical issue which I address within the 'ethics in process' section below.

### ***Ethics in process***

As noted above, part of my preparation ahead of interviews was to plan for the emergence of unexpected and unplanned ethical issues that might arise during the course of the research. The University of Bedfordshire (2012) describes this as 'ethics in process'. During the data collection one such scenario arose. I was interviewing a practitioner about a young woman who she had supported when it emerged that the young woman had recently been back in contact with the service. Aware of the implications of learning details about 'live cases' and having access to intelligence relevant to a police case, I indicated that the supporting practitioner should only answer the questions I was asking on the basis of the previous contact.

Also noted in the ethics section above, is the importance of monitoring the well-being of the interviewees during the interview process. The interview represented a space within which to reflect about the case and several practitioners actively reframed their understanding of what had happened as a consequence of talking about it. This is illustrated by the following quote:

Would you consider that – are young women who are taken away and forced to be married; are they considered to be trafficked young women? (SP2).

My own well-being was also a consideration during the fieldwork stage. This was because I was undertaking two research projects simultaneously. Although my doctorate research did not involve direct contact with victims of abuse the timing of the fieldwork (July 2013 - August 2014) coincided with me starting a new role that did. Hearing about the young people's experiences was therefore more emotionally draining than anticipated due to the combined impact of the projects. I was, however, well supported in my work environment and was able to discuss the cumulative impact of both projects during clinical supervision.

### **Data analysis procedures**

#### ***Writing a summary report***

After I had transcribed each of the case study interview recordings, I wrote a summary report setting out whether the facts and conclusions within the case were convergent or divergent with the research proposition. This exercise was undertaken in line with 'pattern matching logic' (Trochim, 1989 cited by Yin, 2009) which is a way of comparing empirically based patterns with predicted patterns. If the patterns coincide, then the results can help demonstrate internal validity. Although the pattern envisaged within the research proposition was confirmed, another pattern emerged from the literature review process, the KI interviews and the case studies.

#### ***Running focus groups***

I arranged two focus groups with young people in order to facilitate immediate reaction to the emerging research findings. A focus group is a research tool that elicits views and opinions (Creswell, 2014) and the discussion enabled me to understand whether or not the

experiences of the young people in the case studies resonated with young women and men from similar backgrounds or were viewed as exceptional (Gaizauskaite, 2012).

Since my case studies involved the experiences of seven young women and one young man, the design of the focus groups reflected this. One group was made up of four South Asian young women (FGW1) and the other five South Asian young men (FGM2). I accessed the young people via a local authority in an ethnically diverse London Borough. Focus groups had already been arranged to inform the development of the local authority's violence against women and girls strategy. I was given slots within what was a broader discussion on gender roles. One of the focus groups took place in a youth group setting. The other took place in a school setting. Given the nature of the issues involved, I welcomed the decision of the local authority to arrange the focus groups according to gender believing that this would facilitate a safe space for participation and lead to more open discussion (see also D'Arcy, et al., 2015).

I approached the focus group discussions by sharing a composite case study drawn from the research findings. The case study was broken down into parts and each part was presented to the young people in turn, seeking their views about the experience of the young person as the story developed. In the focus group made up of young women the case study was about a young woman and in the focus group made up of young men the case study was about a young man. However I then asked each group what might have been different if the young person in the case study example was of the opposite gender. As chapters 4-6 will illustrate, this uncovered gendered differences in perspectives.

The participation of young people under the age of 18 within the focus groups raised particular issues in relation to consent, safeguarding and disclosure of illegal activity and these were addressed within the ethics application I submitted to the University and shared with the Local Authority. A number of steps (drawing on best practice developed by the University of Bedfordshire, 2012) were identified to ensure that the young people who participated in the focus group discussions were safe. The ethics application set out plans in which it was envisaged I would set up the focus groups. However because it was possible to integrate my focus groups within a local authority-led discussion about gender, a number of important safeguards had already been put in place. The young people were made aware of safeguarding procedures at the outset so knew what action would be taken if they disclosed something that suggested they or someone they knew were at risk of harm. I reiterated this ahead of my slot by making clear that I was not asking the young people to talk about personal experience in their discussion about the case study.

Ahead of introducing the composite case study I explained to the young people who I was and what I was doing. I provided information sheets which outlined what the research aimed to do, how the findings would be presented, who they would be shared with and for what reason. I also addressed the core conditions of informed consent. I had arranged for my section of the focus group to take place in the last 45 minutes so that young people who did not want to take part could leave the room – something which some young people chose to do. It was explained that there would be no negative repercussions as a result of doing this. Equally, I indicated that there was no expectation that everyone should speak – it was ok just to listen if that is what a young person wanted to do. I told the young people



that they could withdraw their participation at any time and could withdraw their consent for up to six months after the focus group had taken place.

An advantage of running the two discussions together was that I was able to monitor the well-being of participants throughout the first part of the discussion led by the local authority staff. This role was then reversed during the discussion that I led. Each discussion ended with us asking the young people about what support agencies they were aware of and how they would go about accessing them. This enabled us to highlight sources of support if any of the young people wanted to discuss the issues we had addressed in more detail.

### ***Qualitative data analysis***

I used an inductive process to establish the themes arising from the interview and focus group data. This process began at the same time as I was collecting the data, since I made a note of themes arising as I went along. I also transcribed the first three interviews in order to get a first impression of the overall depth of the data. At the end of the fieldwork period I uploaded the transcribed interviews and focus group discussions into the qualitative computer data analysis program Nvivo 10. I read through each transcript, coding the data according to the themes that I had already identified as well as new themes which emerged through this exercise. I then identified themes that could be clustered together and merged into one. I also considered whether themes containing little data were significant or should be excluded. Creswell (2014) suggests that data in case studies should be aggregated into a small number of themes, suggesting that 5-7 is adequate.

A factor that was integral to the process described above was learning from three 'outlying' case studies. I have already explained how, during the process of identifying case studies for inclusion in the research, I was contacted about a case involving a young man. Whilst this did not meet the criteria related to gender I chose to include it because the young man had experience of all of the issues being explored. The three 'outlying' case studies were not included within the case study sample: one because the young woman was not at risk of CSE (CS9); one because the young man involved was over 18 years of age and so did not face the same economic constraints as 16 and 17 year olds (CS10); and the other because the case involved a young woman of Turkish heritage (CS11). However, despite this, I judged that the cases could provide important insights so I went ahead and interviewed the practitioners supporting these young people. CS11, for example, was useful in that it provided an opportunity to understand how similar the experiences of South Asian young women might be to a young woman from another ethnic background. It was important to me to do this given the racialised nature of mainstream debates related both to forced marriage and CSE (as outlined in chapter one). The young woman in the case had been going missing in the context of CSE and had been risk assessed in relation to both forced marriage and HBV. The latter risk was, however, believed to be the most likely since the young woman was pregnant as a consequence of the sexual exploitation she had experienced. The learning gained through the interview informed my thinking about the other cases. This was largely due to the fact that the young woman's mother was also at risk of HBV as she was seen to be 'responsible' for the behaviour of her daughter. Not only did this prompt me to think more about the gender regimes that the young people in the case studies experienced at home but it also prompted me to analyse the transcripts in relation to the integration between woman and child abuse. Although not included in the case study sample therefore

I do make reference to the outlying cases in my findings chapters when it is appropriate to do so.

Yin (2009: 129) notes that:

Most case studies pose a serious challenge in efforts to use computer-assisted tools... the case study will typically be about complex events and behaviour, occurring within a possibly more complex, real life context.

This was certainly the case in my experience. Given the complexity of the experiences of the young people I found that, having created different thematic nodes in Nvivo, I felt too 'distant' from the research findings. After some reflection, I realised that many of the themes were interrelated but that it was difficult to establish this through the use of an electronic data package. As a consequence I read the transcripts multiple times. Whilst this process was both laborious and time consuming it meant that I eventually became familiar with the commonalities and complexities both within the subsets and across the sample as a whole. In this way and whilst still taking the themes identified in Nvivo as a lead, I was able to read across them.

### ***Quantitative data analysis***

I converted the information in the case study template into codes and numbers within SPSS, making the data open to quantitative as well as qualitative analysis (Bryman, 2001). Due to the small size of the sample it was not possible to apply statistical tests to assess the significance of the variations observed. It was possible to run simple cross tab tests on the variables which helped me recognise some of the interrelations I describe above. For

instance, I was interested in why one young woman's mother proactively approached statutory agencies when other families sought to minimise contact. Another theme I had noticed was fathers who were absent from the family home. When I cross referenced these two variables I saw that in this case the father lived abroad, suggesting that the mother was not constrained in her engagement. Using the qualitative and quantitative data together in this way illustrates how they represent different ends of the same continuum (Newman & Benz, 1998 cited by Creswell, 2014).

### ***The 'cross over' case***

Another point of interest was that one of the cases reflected both of the patterns linking going missing, forced marriage and CSE identified through analysis. I refer to this as the 'crossover case'. The young woman ran away from the threat of forced marriage and went on to be sexually exploited by a man offering her accommodation (pattern one). However the young woman had already been going missing from home in the context of CSE and it was during an argument about this that the forced marriage threat was made (pattern two). This highlighted to me that there were no 'neat patterns' – something which I return to when discussing the findings in chapter four.

I locate the crossover case in pattern one since running away from forced marriage was the presenting issue. However I also refer to it in relation to pattern two. That only three of the eight cases reflected the original pattern envisaged compared to the five which matched the second pattern identified is not a cause for concern. Coy et al. (2011) observe how high levels of prevalence are unlikely to be found when specific patterns of abuse are less common and/or more hidden. Since the intent of case study inquiry is not to generalise findings to individuals outside of those under study (Gibbs, 2007 cited by Creswell, 2014),

Greene and Caracelli (1997, cited by Creswell, 2014) observe that particularity rather than generalisability is the hallmark of good qualitative research. As one of the KIs observed: 'sometimes exceptional cases tell you quite a lot' (KI7).

### ***Ethics in writing up***

Additional ethical considerations were factored into writing the findings chapters. After transcription, I removed names and places to protect the identities of the young people. Given that the repercussions of disclosing information could result in harm to participants this was particularly important and something that several participants expressed concern about.

I am worried about that because I think that it is beginning to be identifiable because it is unique and I don't how you'll reflect that (SP1).

The only thing I was going to ask you is I know you are mindful of confidentiality... but some of those numbers... is there any chance you could change those because in [locality] that is very well known and little details like that will completely set her apart and the forced marriage stuff as well because I think that is quite rare it doesn't come up very often so I know you need to talk about it but kind of anonymising a bit further than you would normally do might help (SP3).

The Data Protection Act guided how data was stored. All primary data was kept on a password protected computer. Original primary data such as written notes and audio recordings were securely destroyed within six months of completion of the research.

## **Summary**

This chapter has presented the research methodology which was developed to ‘test’ the research proposition that young people who flee forced marriage by running away from home are at risk of being sexually exploited. I outlined how I came to choose an exploratory case study approach, how I developed the criteria for the inclusion of cases and how I designed a case study template for data collection with the input of key informants. I also set out the preparation I undertook before interviewing practitioners who supported the young people whose cases I explored. This included gaining ethical approval from the University of Bedfordshire. I have provided an account of the interview process itself and how I responded to ‘ethics in process’. I have also discussed how I went about ‘sense-checking’ the research data with a group of specifically selected young people to understand whether or not the research findings resonated with them. An account is provided of how I used both qualitative and quantitative methods to analyse the data.

Having outlined how going missing, forced marriage and CSE are defined and understood (chapter one), theoretical considerations (chapter two) and now methodology (chapter three) I turn next to look at the findings which emerged from analysis of the primary data. Chapters four, five and six which follow focus on each of the research questions respectively. I then move on to drawing conclusions across them and making recommendations for research, policy and practice in chapter seven.

## CHAPTER FOUR: 'IT'S VERY MUCH LINKED TOGETHER'

### Introduction

In this chapter I draw on analysis of the interviews with the Key Informants (KIs) and the Supporting Practitioners (SPs) who supported young people to answer the first research question. This asks:

What are the links between going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation (CSE)?

I present research findings which confirm the proposition that young people who flee forced marriage by running away from home are at risk of, or abused, through CSE. I also present findings which reveal that the research proposition was not what Yin (2009) calls the 'final explanation' (chapter three).

Three of the eight case studies related to South Asian young women who ran away from home in order to avoid being forced into marriage. Yet the risk of CSE arose, not from being homeless, but from the possibility that they had been groomed by men they met online and then went to live with. An alternative pattern also emerged in which forced marriage was a parental response to five South-Asian young people (four young women and one young man) who were already being sexually exploited and who had gone missing in that context. In 'pattern one' forced marriage is a trigger to missing incidents leading to risk of, or abuse through CSE. However, in 'pattern two' forced marriage operates in the opposite direction and emerges as a response to missing incidents taking place in the context of CSE. Both

patterns were found to resonate with the young women (FG1) and young men (FG2) who took part in the focus group discussions.

This chapter is largely descriptive in nature, but is important because it serves to illustrate the complexity of the cases. Although awareness of these patterns will help practitioners to identify and respond to cases where the issues of going missing, forced marriage and CSE overlap, assumptions should not be made on this basis. Nor should the diversities attached to individual cases be underestimated (see Pearce et al. 2009). Critical commentary of ‘additive’ intersectionality (see chapter two for more details) has already demonstrated the problems associated with stereotyping young people within particular communities.

#### **Pattern one: Forced marriage leading to missing and CSE**

Analysis of interviews with SPs, KIs, as well as focus group discussions with young people uncovered evidence linking forced marriage, going missing and CSE in the pattern set out within the research proposition. The first part of this chapter starts by exploring the findings that were consistent with the research proposition before exploring the variants identified.

#### ***Running away from home with nowhere to go***

Research and practice evidence shows that poverty can be a ‘push factor’ for young people ‘consenting’ to sex in exchange for money and/or accommodation (Pearce, 2013). Economic coercion has been found to be a risk for young people who run away from home or care and who are homeless (OCC, 2012). Some young people run away from home in order to flee forced marriage (HM Government 2014b; Julios, 2015).



One KI and one SP described cases that reflected this pattern. KI1 referred to a written submission to the Office of the Children’s Commissioner (OCC) as part of its Inquiry into CSE in gangs and groups. The submission came from a specialist support service for Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic and Refugee (BAMER) young women experiencing forced marriage. It stated that in-between running away from home and accessing the service, some of the young women it supported had been sexually exploited during a period of street homelessness.

Young women fleeing forced marriage situations and then turning up in [city] and then being placed in a refuge. On that journey being sexually exploited and that was being disclosed once they were in refuge for forced marriage... they were running from home to [city] then being sexually exploited in [city] because they were vulnerable and homeless and then being picked up and then when asked why they had run away they were saying forced marriage (KI).

SP1 referred to an historic case where two South-Asian young women (aged 16) had been referred by the police to the refuge service she used to manage. Again, the basis of the referral was forced marriage but it emerged that in-between leaving home and accessing safe accommodation, the young women had been sexually exploited by men offering them money and somewhere to stay.

What was happening was that pimps were picking [the young women] up. It was very much a strategy to get money and somewhere to stay. But it was the family violence that the police were placing them for, the risk of forced marriage (SP1).

It is notable that in both these examples the 'presenting issue' was forced marriage, leading the young women to be placed in refuge accommodation. That they had also been exploited sexually was not identified immediately. This could help explain why the links between going missing, forced marriage and CSE are not always recognised since the 'presenting issue' may mask additional forms of harm. I will discuss this in greater detail within chapter six when I explore how practitioners frame their response to young people. One clear implication for practice however is the importance of practitioners exploring with young people their experiences between running away from home and accessing a place of safety.

The risk of being sexually exploited as a consequence of running away from the threat of forced marriage was also identified by the young women (FG1) and young men (FG2) within two focus group discussions. As outlined in chapter three, I shared a composite case study with the young people and asked them to identify what dangers a young person fleeing forced marriage by running away from home might face. Both the young women (FG1) and the young men (FG2) immediately identified lack of money and somewhere to stay as an issue. They then went on to make a link between economic vulnerability and sexual exploitation, but only when the runaway was a young woman.

If she's 16 right - it depends if she has a job – so if she's got no money, no shelter; no nothing – what is she going to live on really? The last resort that you might have to do is prostitution (FG1).

You don't have a job – you have no sense of support, money...she might go into prostitution – it is worse I think for women – they have more options. Worse options to head towards and people take advantage of them (FG2).

Different links were made between economic vulnerability and survival for young men, including being forced to steal, sell drugs, or beg.

Boys they can steal – yeah that's fine but boys know how to defend themselves because they are more masculine the dominant gender and boys have more of a say in their lives than women as well so – (FG1)

He probably didn't have a wage, didn't have much savings...the obvious option is to sell drugs (FG2).

The only other thing is to beg (FG2)

It is notable that the young people did not identify the risk of CSE for young men who go missing. Indeed one of the young men (FG1) specifically stated that the risks facing young women are 'worse' than for men. The gendered and heterosexual frameworks within which the young people considered risk are reflective of dominant social 'norms' and stereotypes within society. As chapter one suggests, this is also the prism through which young people are often responded to by practitioners (McNaughton Nicholls et al., 2014). Intersectionality (chapter two) is therefore a valuable tool for considering how gender and sexuality might come together in ways that alter young men's location in hierarchies of power (Anderson,

2008). Indeed, the only example of the pattern suggested within the research proposition identified through the extensive literature review (chapter one) related to a young man (Smeaton, 2009).

***Running away from home with somewhere and someone to go to***

Analysis of the SP interviews found that the issues of going missing, forced marriage and CSE were linked in the pattern envisaged within the research proposition. The way in which this pattern of linkages emerged within three of the case studies was, however, not the same as that identified by the SPs. The young women were not homeless in these cases; rather they had all identified someone and somewhere to go before running away from home. The risk of CSE was identified on the basis that SPs considered the young women might have been groomed by the men they met online. Two of the young women returned home before it was possible to ascertain whether this was the case (CS1 & CS2) but the third (CS3) was known to have been sexually exploited. These different scenarios are illustrated within the case study summaries below.

**Case Study 1 (CS1)**

The young woman was 16 years of age and British Pakistani. She had been taken to Pakistan on the pretense of a family holiday. She was woken up in the middle of the night and made to take part in an engagement ceremony. It was intended that she would marry her cousin. On return to the UK she posted an online appeal for help. She reportedly screened the many responses she received on the basis of whether the person offering to help her had money and a house. She accepted the 'help' offered by a man (16 years her senior) and travelled

several hundred miles by train to go and live with him. On seeing the man at their agreed meeting spot she changed her mind. Instead she went to a police station and explained that she had run away. When asked why she had run away she disclosed that she was being forced into marriage.

### **Case Study 2 (CS2)**

The young woman was 16 years of age and British Bangladeshi. She was referred to a voluntary sector missing service which undertakes return interviews after a missing incident reported to the police by her family. During the interview, the young person disclosed that she feared being forced to marry. Her father had gone to Bangladesh to make wedding arrangements because she was due to leave school after her GCSEs. She remembered being told about the intended marriage at the age of eight when she first visited Bangladesh. The young woman decided she wanted to find her own husband so she started talking to young men via BBM Asian Network. She truanted from school on several occasions in order to meet a young man (aged 18) who became her boyfriend. She then ran away from home after her exams and married him in an Islamic ceremony.

### **Case Study 3 (CS3)**

The young woman was 17 years of age, British Bangladeshi and was suspected by her supporting practitioner of having a learning disability. She presented to a homeless charity, stating that her mother had threatened to force her into marriage following an argument about her talking to a man she met on Facebook. The young woman in this case was already

known to children's services because she had previously experienced CSE and been on a child protection plan. When children's services closed the case she was taken by her parents to Bangladesh. Upon her return the young woman disclosed that another trip to Bangladesh was planned and that she would be made to marry a man who was twice her age. After the local authority decided it was safe for her to return home the young woman arranged to go and live with the man she had met on Facebook.

Suspicious about grooming emerged from the fact that none of the young women knew the men they went to live with very well.

Child sexual exploitation was identified afterwards following an analysis of the missing episode. The fact that she'd met someone over the internet and gone off and met them was a risk of child sexual exploitation...you can only allude to what might have happened had she have liked the look of that chap (SP1).

Trying to get it through to her – that you know, you've only met this lad a few times – you really don't know anything about him. He might be really nice at the moment but - (SP2).

My worry was - here is this man, has he been risk assessed? Who has met him? He was going to come and pick her up from the train station, and all of those kinds of things (SP3).

There were also additional factors in each case which, based on the SP's knowledge of CSE caused concern. For instance, the young woman in CS1 indicated to her SP that, when she saw the man she had been chatting to online, he looked older than in the photo that he had shared. This suggests that he may not have been truthful when communicating with her, including what he might 'expect' in return for his help.

One of the things that she said, seeing that person – he'd obviously put up a really old picture of himself... when she got there she didn't like the look of him (SP1).

In CS2, the SP noted parallels with a CSE case that she was also working on. Both involved British Asian young women communicating with older men via BBM Asian Network and meeting them in the same geographical location. Intelligence following high profile CSE cases has highlighted the need for a consistent approach to identifying risks and safeguarding young people. This includes identifying platforms through which exploiters identify vulnerable young people and locations of concern.

She had met him via the BBM Asian Network. Now what concerned me about that when she said that initially was because I have been working with 5 other Asian girls who have [been sexually exploited] - I said well look this is my concern and I base this on the stuff I've been doing with them and the similarities - the BBM Asian Network and the location of where she was meeting him (SP2).

The SP in CS3 became concerned when the young woman announced where she was going to go and live. This is because the man that the young woman had been chatting to via

Facebook lived in the same city. In this case the young woman had previously been sexually exploited and the risk was considered to be ongoing.

When I went out to see her she'd managed to find a place in [city] that she was going to go and stay – this was ringing all kinds of alarm bells in my head... because [young woman] had an argument with [her] mum about some man [she'd] been talking to in [city] (SP3).

Analysis of the case studies was undertaken on the basis of their 'presenting linkages' – in other words, the configuration of going missing, forced marriage and CSE that presented itself to the practitioner who was supporting the young person. Yet, as noted above, the young woman in CS3 had previously been sexually exploited and had a history of going missing. The forced marriage threat that she ran away from was made by her mother in an attempt to stop this from happening. Two overlapping patterns therefore emerge from this case: the pattern identified within the research proposition and another pattern whereby going missing in the context of CSE leads to threats of forced marriage. It is this second pattern that the next section of the chapter explores.

### **Pattern two: CSE and missing leading to forced marriage**

The second pattern identified within CS3 was also consistent with analysis of KI interviews. KI1 reported that she was aware from the OCC Inquiry that missing and sexually exploited young Turkish women in a local authority area were at risk of forced marriage.



There were a couple of cases that the social workers were talking about which were definitely child sexual exploitation and the fathers were like – she is a street girl we need to just marry her off (K11).

Being forced into an unwanted marriage following a missing episode was also identified by an SP when she made reference to a past case.

We have worked with two Asian girls that were exploited and the issue of forced marriage came up for one...she was running away, she was in risky situations – the people she was mixing with. We knew they were exploitative...her missing episodes were reported and [the threat of forced marriage] came out from that situation (SP8a).

In addition, one of the young women in the focus group discussions responded to the composite case study by suggesting:

They'll force her [to get married] because they'll think she did prostitution for money or something else [whilst she was missing] (FG1).

What is interesting about the quote above is how displaying physical autonomy by going missing may lead to assumptions being made about 'sexual misconduct'. As the literature review noted 'honour' can be damaged even when transgression from social norms are only suspected (Coomaraswamy, 2005). It follows therefore that forced marriage might be used

as a tool to protect against the social rejection of young women if their 'going missing' leads them to be labelled a 'prostitute' (Kazimirski et al., 2009; Richardson et al., 2009).

Five case studies matched the second pattern and are summarised below. One young woman was forced into marriage (CS4). Two young women and one young man were threatened with forced marriage (CS5, CS6 & CS8) and one young woman was assessed as being at risk of forced marriage (CS7). All of the young people had histories of going missing in the context of CSE.

#### **Case Study 4 (CS4)**

The young woman was 15 years old and British Pakistani. She had been sexually exploited by several groups of older men. As part of the exploitation she had regularly gone missing from home and was taken to hotels and parties. Her parents took her to their country of origin under false pretences, saying that a family member had died. However, when the young woman arrived they bribed her into marrying one of her father's cousins (a man who was in his late forties) by offering her money and other incentives.

#### **Case Study 5 (CS5)**

The young woman was 16 years of age and British Indian. She was groomed by an older man whom she believed was her boyfriend. However he introduced her to a group of men who exploited her. As part of the exploitation she was often missing from home. Her father, who

lived outside of the UK, returned home and made plans to take her back with him and get her married.

#### **Case Study 6 (CS6)**

The young woman was 15 years old and British Pakistani. She disclosed that she had been groomed by an older 'boyfriend' whom she met aged 11. He gave her drugs and alcohol and took her to have sex with men at various properties on a weekly basis. The young woman feared that she would be taken to her parents' home country and forced into marriage because they had started to introduce her to potential husbands.

#### **Case Study 7 (CS7)**

The young woman was 14 and British Bangladeshi. She was going missing from home in the context of exploitation and was staying away overnight in hotels. The young woman in this case did not disclose a forced marriage threat. However this was assessed as a risk by the practitioner who was working with her. The young woman's older sister had previously been identified as at risk of HBV. Furthermore, her father was reported to have talked about the need to secure 'good marriages' for his daughters.

#### **Case Study 8 (CS8)**

The young man was 16 and British Pakistani. He was groomed by an older man who then introduced him to a group of men who sexually assaulted him. This led to several years of exploitation during which he would go missing. The young man feared that he would be forced into marriage after he was seen by his uncle with an openly gay man. This was because a family holiday to Pakistan was planned.

Forced marriage emerged as a parental response to what was happening to the young people. However, it was not always clear whether forced marriage was linked to restoring damaged family 'honour' as the research evidence presented in chapter one would suggest or, as CS3 indicates, forced marriage represented more of a tactic through which to 'disrupt' the exploitation and missing behaviour. This is something that I will explore in chapter five.

***'The linking gets very messy'***

Presentation of the two broad patterns has illustrated how different dynamics underpinned them. This led to variation within patterns as well as across them. As one of the SPs in an outlying case observed:

I suppose the linking gets very messy (SP11).

Further analysis of the KI interviews suggested an additional theory. KI6 suggested that young women who run away from home in order to escape being forced into marriage may be targeted by exploiters *after* arrival at a refuge or other safe place, rather than before. The KI suggested that because the experience of living away from family may lead young women to become emotionally vulnerable they might be particularly susceptible to

manipulation. She noted how some young women go missing from refuge accommodation. Whilst they may be abducted by family members (see Bokhari, 2009; MoJ, 2010) or choose to leave under their own volition, another possibility might be that are lured into leaving by exploiters.

Someone from that background can easily get groomed. The problems start when they don't have lots of support. With the older ones it is assumed that they left [refuge] on their own will but... (K16).

There are interesting parallels between this argument and the research evidence which suggests that some young people in local authority care may be at risk of sexual exploitation, due to lack of support networks (Melrose, Barrett and Brodie, 1999, cited by Shuker, 2013). If young women fleeing forced marriages are similarly at risk of sexual exploitation because of this, then the important role of specialist BME services cannot be overestimated. Not only do they understand culturally specific safety issues, but they also counter isolation from family and community networks (Wilson, 2010). I discuss the issue of relational security (Shuker, 2013) in more detail within chapter five.

- **Intended and unintended forms of missing**

Moreover, if 'unintended' as well as 'intended' forms of going missing (Biehal et al. 2003) are also considered (see chapter one for details), then linkages between going missing, forced marriage and CSE may become even more complex. Of course, the extent to which the missing behaviour outlined in the case studies described above was 'intentional' is debatable. The three young women who ran away from home may be better described as

'pushaways' in that they did not want to leave their home and families, but did not perceive any other means of achieving safety (Payne, 1995). Similarly the young people who went missing from home in the context of sexual exploitation may have been bribed or coerced into doing so.

However, in three-quarters of the case studies (n=6) the young people reportedly expressed concern to their SPs that they would be taken out of the UK against their will. As noted within the literature review (chapter one) moving a young person without their consent and forcing them into marriage may be defined as trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation (Mikhail, 2002).

In some of the cases, if you are going to force someone under the age of 16 to get married, say 14 or 15 it is sexual exploitation (KI6).

This represents another set of circumstances through which going missing, forced marriage and CSE may be linked. Perhaps more importantly however identification of this pattern illustrates how missing is used as a 'mechanism' both by young people and their parents. The young people truanted from school in order to expand their space for action (Kelly, 2003) and ran away from home as a form of resistance.

She's truanted and obviously when she has truanted she has gone off to meet [boyfriend] but she has stuck within the limits of being away to be absent without it being recognised as her going so – I think that's part of her wanting to conceal. She

knows that if she is gone from that time to that time they [parents] don't realise that anything's gone on (SP2).

In contrast, parents responded to young people displaying acts of physical autonomy in this way by reasserting control through making plans to traffic their children out of the UK. This mechanism thereby sought to reduce the young people's space for action and counter their resistance. As the next chapter will show, parents also put in place other coercively controlling mechanisms that limited the young people's physical autonomy, illustrating why Stark (2007) terms coercive control a crime of 'liberty'.

Details of how different forms of missing featured in each case are summarised in bold within table three below. CS2 is a particularly good example of the interplay of intended and unintended forms of missing being used as mechanisms to either expand or reduce the young women's space for action. In this case the young woman truanted from school to meet up with a young man who she later ran away from home to go and live with. Her mother and uncle found out where she was and insisted that she return home against her will. When she got home she was not allowed to leave the house on her own and was concerned that her parents were planning to take her out of the UK and force her into the marriage she had run away from.

**Table three: Patterning of going missing**

Case	
------	--

CS1	<b>Ran away</b> following a row	Forced marriage imminent	<b>Ran away from</b> <b>home</b> to avoid forced marriage	At risk of CSE from man she went to meet	<b>Risk of</b> <b>trafficking</b> from parents
CS2	Forced marriage imminent	<b>Truanted from</b> <b>school</b> and reported missing	<b>Ran away from</b> <b>home</b> to live with husband – CSE risk assessed	Forced to come home with mother and uncle	<b>Risk of</b> <b>trafficking</b> from parents
CS3	<b>Missing</b> in the context of CSE	<b>Ran away</b> from forced marriage threat	<b>Risk of</b> <b>trafficking</b> from parents	-	-
CS4	<b>Missing</b> in the context of CSE	<b>Trafficked</b> and forced into marriage	-	-	-
CS5	<b>Missing</b> in the context of CSE	Concerns about being forced into marriage	<b>Risk of</b> <b>trafficking</b> from parents	-	-
CS6	<b>Ran away</b> from home as a child	<b>Missing</b> in the context of CSE	Concerns about being forced into marriage	<b>Risk of</b> <b>trafficking</b> from parents	<b>Ran away</b> from secure unit
CS7	<b>Missing</b> in the context of	Threat of forced marriage risk	-	-	-



	CSE	assessed			
CS8	Missing in the context of CSE	Concerns about being forced into marriage	<b>Risk of trafficking</b> from parents	-	-

Table three further reveals how, in two cases (CS1 and CS6) the young women had previously been reported as missing to the police. In CS1 the young woman had argued with her parents about what she was wearing. In CS7 it is unclear why the young woman had run away but she was very young when she did so. This may indicate that the young women had previously attempted to challenge the control their parents sought to exert over them and may act as a warning sign for future missing episodes.

- **Additional patterns of links**

Within the methodology chapter (chapter three) I explain how the growing evidence base related to CSE uncovered links between forced marriage, going missing and CSE that led me to recognise that other patterns might exist in addition to the pattern I initially proposed. Research by Gohir (2015) reported a case in which a young woman was sexually exploited and then forced into marriage by her parents when they found out. She subsequently ran away from the marriage. The OCC study uncovered a study whereby the threat of forced marriage acted as a 'stressor' (Ward & Patel, 2006) for a young woman leading a young woman to spend time with men who sexually exploited her and, as part of the abuse, moved her to multiple locations (Berelowitz et al., 2012).

Furthermore one of the KIs made reference to two cases that she was aware of in which young women had been abducted and sexually exploited. When the young women managed to escape, their parents indicated that they should marry the men who abducted them. These two cases were not included within the sample since they involved non-British Nationals and therefore did not meet the research criteria. Yet they are discussed here since it is possible that the same pattern could exist for British Nationals. Indeed a young woman within one of the focus groups discussions identified this as a possibility when she was talking about why parents might not want to let young women out on their own:

I think it's just because of the things that have been happening right now, like women getting kidnapped etc. they [parents] want to take care of you (FG1).

KI1 described the case of a Romany young woman who was abducted from the street and drugged. She woke up in a house where she was held and raped by a number of men. She eventually escaped and the police managed to find the man who abducted and exploited her. However, when she told her father what had happened, he told her that she was either going to have to marry him or else the rapist would have to pay the family compensation as nobody would want to marry her given what had happened. In the second case KI1 described how a young woman was looking for accommodation and was told by a man that he had a friend who could put her up. After getting into the man's car, she was abducted and held in a flat where she too was raped by different men. The young woman believed that her parents would force her to marry the man who abducted her since she too would no longer have any marriage prospects.

## **Summary**

This chapter has revealed that going missing, forced marriage and CSE are linked in two overarching patterns. Awareness of the different ways in which these three issues are connected in practice will help practitioners to identify and respond to relevant cases more effectively. Yet, at the same time, caution should be exercised when considering categories as this might lead to practitioners overlooking diversity. The exploration of the 'theories' that underpin each pattern reveals that there is both variation within and overlaps across them. I believe that other combinations of linkages are likely to exist, especially given that the case study sample was not random.

When the research proposition was developed it was not envisaged that the linkages would also encompass unintended forms of missing initiated by parents alongside intended forms of missing initiated by young people. It is clear that there is a need to move beyond simply outlining the different patterns that link the three issues and to extend the analysis to consider structures of power. As such, the following chapter presents findings which explore the ways in which the social divisions identified within the literature review shaped how young people experienced going missing, forced marriage and CSE (chapter five) and how this positioned them in relation to family, community and public institutions.



## CHAPTER FIVE: 'RATHER THAN JUST RUNNING AROUND'

### Introduction

Thiara and Gill (2010: 47) state that 'intersectionality ultimately indicates the need for practitioners and researchers to take account of the complex interplay of major social divisions and systems of domination in shaping the lives and experiences of individuals and groups'. In this chapter I move beyond simply outlining the different patterns that link going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation (CSE) to consider how social divides and social systems shaped the ways in which young people experienced these issues. In doing this, I address the second research question which asks:

How do South Asian young people experience going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation?

Since so-called 'honour' based violence takes place in patriarchal and heteronormative frameworks (Roberts, 2014), this chapter focuses mainly on the intersection of gender and sexuality and the systems of family and community but I also make reference to other social divisions and systems where appropriate.

When reading this chapter it is important to bear in mind that the case study findings reflect the understanding of the supporting practitioners (SPs) and not the perspectives of the young people themselves (see chapter three for more detail). For this reason, I draw on the findings of the focus group discussions which were undertaken with the young people to 'sense check' the findings. I also discuss the findings in relation to existing evidence

wherever possible. Since the majority of the young people in the case study sample are South-Asian young women, the sample reflects the same 'unit of analysis' (Yin, 2009) as previous studies.

### **The case study sample**

The case study sample was made up of eight young people, seven young women and one young man, whose ages ranged from 14 to 17. That the majority of the young people in the sample are young women is consistent with the bodies of research literature on forced marriage, going missing and CSE (Kazimirski et al. 2009; SOCA, 2013; CEOP, 2011b). The seven young women were heterosexual and the young man was homosexual. Research evidence for both forced marriage and CSE suggests that young men may be at greater risk of violence due to their sexuality (Herek, 2009, cited by Roberts, 2014; Lilywhite & Skidmore, 2006; Berelowitz et al. 2012; Smeaton, 2013). Seven of the young people were between 15 and 17 years old, again reflecting the age at which the majority of young people are most at risk of going missing, forced marriage and CSE (NCA, 2016; Cockbain et al., 2014; FMU, 2016).

All of the young people in the case studies were of South-Asian ethnicity. Four of the young people were British Pakistani, three were British Bangladeshi and one was British Indian. Once again the make-up of the sample is consistent with existing data on forced marriage which shows that the majority of those who seek help are not only young women but South Asian young women, most commonly of Pakistani ethnicity (Kazimirski et al., 2009). Two of the outlying cases concerned British Asian young people (one young woman and one young man) and the other a British young woman of Turkish heritage (CS11). One of the KIs also

referred to cases involving Turkish young women (see chapter five) and another to young women of Afghani heritage. This is congruent with guidance which states that forced marriage is not 'solely a South-Asian problem' (HM Government, 2014b). The review of literature in chapter one further reveals that disability increases young peoples' vulnerability to all three of the issues which this thesis is exploring. It is significant then that two of the young people in the sample of eight were believed to have a learning disability (CS3 & CS8). None of the young people were in paid employment. Four young women lived at home, one young woman lived with an uncle, one young woman was in care and the young man was homeless.

Having set out the characteristics of the young people I turn now to consider how they shaped individual experiences of going missing, forced marriage and CSE. I also consider how young people's location on different axes of power interacted with social systems, including family, community and public institutions.

### **The experience of going missing**

Across the two broad patterns identified in chapter four, three young women ran away from home in order to escape the threat of being forced into marriage (CS1-CS3). The young woman in the crossover case (CS3) had previously gone missing in the context of CSE. This was also the experience of the five remaining five young people (CS4-8). However, unlike the young woman in CS3, none had ultimately run away from home with the intention of not returning.

### ***Running away from forced marriage***

The three young women who ran away from home to avoid being forced into marriage made arrangements to go and live with someone they had met over the internet. None were known to have approached a statutory agency for help before leaving. As the evidence presented in the literature review indicates, this is not unusual for young people who go missing (Rees, 2011). Yet research does suggest that for some South Asian young people the ‘shame’ associated with disclosing abuse and concerns about reinforcing racist stereotypes against them may act as a barrier to approaching public institutions such as statutory agencies (HM Government, 2014b; Women’s Aid, 2014). The issue of shame was acknowledged by the young men in FG2 who also linked it to the social division of ethnicity.

YP1: I think that – from *our background*<sup>5</sup> – going for external help is a bit like; it’s not ordinary.

YP2: Yep – definitely. It’s another *pride* issue.

YP3: It’s something you’re not supposed to do.

YP2: It just comes back to that *pride and ego* thing – they [parents] just want their pride amongst other families, how other families perceive them.

The young men in the focus group also assumed that professionals in statutory agencies would come from a different ethnic background and, therefore, not understand how to

---

<sup>5</sup> Emphasis added



respond to a young person seeking help in relation to forced marriage. This was also linked to the belief that it would be 'pretty much impossible' for professionals to change the minds of parents who are intent on their child getting married. This final point might also suggest that age acts as a social divide for young people in this situation, with generational power impacting perceptions of what is and what is not possible.

It's quite hard to teach a social worker about all these different cultures and how they should tackle that issue [forced marriage] because everyone comes from different backgrounds but I mean, if you wanna, for social workers it's quite hard to tackle that issue – I mean you may be able to educate the parents about how the right way of thinking is but to educate someone who has been taught for fifty or sixty years this is the way to do it and to try changing it in a matter of a few months it's pretty much impossible. So in that sense there is pretty much nothing you can do (FG2).

One young woman also indicated that power was balanced towards her parents when she suggested that social workers might, in some circumstances, agree with parents about forcing children into marriage.

If you talk to a social worker or someone else if they [parents] force you to marry or say you can't go outside to meet a boy – than they [social worker] can help if it is better for me then they can say look sorry you should listen to your mum and dad (FG1).

At the same time, however, it was recognised that in some situations young people have no choice but to tell a professional about their concerns.

I think some people will turn to help out of desperation (FG2).

Yet it was also suggested that some professionals might be easier to speak to than others. Teachers were identified as being more approachable than the police for example.

If I tell my teacher...then they will give me some advice so I can decide so I can know what is good for me (FG1).

I don't think the police are at all confident [to talk about the issue of forced marriage], teachers maybe so and teachers are there to help – they've helped us all of our lives (FG2).

This might again reflect young people's perception of who holds power and the implications associated with this. Anitha and Gill (2009) observe that violence at home cannot be separated from wider structures of racism. Whilst the young women within the focus group discussions did not explicitly make reference to racism, the young men did with one suggesting that they were viewed as terrorists. The exchange below indicates that they believed that this was linked this to religion, ethnicity and class.

YP1: The typical one [stereotype] is because of our religion – we are just deemed terrorists – I mean, that's just the basic thing and racism is still prevalent... if you look

at the European elections and so on and so forth where people are voting for UKIP... some of these people that think they are talking about immigration because it is necessary are actually closet racists and that was their way of coming out. I've somewhat accepted it – it is what it is.

YP2: I wanted to write a book saying why I can't be Prime minister or something like that – but I wouldn't be able to would I? Because I am Muslim first of all and second of all I'm Asian so it won't happen –

YP3: It seems like there is a certain type of Prime minister – there's not many Asian MPs is there?

YP2: Yeah – I'm not from Eton!

It is notable that the young woman in CS1 reportedly discussed the issue of arranged marriage with a teacher before she ran away. Without speaking to the young woman directly it is impossible to know what led her to do this. She may have been confused about the difference between an arranged marriage and a forced marriage as chapter one suggests and/or she may have been seeking an opportunity 'to tell' but was not asked suggesting that the teacher may, as the young people discussed, not been familiar with the issue of forced marriage and the risks facing South Asian young women.

### ***Informal networks***

The literature on going missing suggests that it is more common for young people who have run away from home to rely on informal networks (Rees & Lee, 2005; Rees, 2011) but none of the young women or the young man in this study were known to have turned to family members or friends for support either. Once again, the forced marriage literature suggests that the connectedness of family and community and the existence of ‘honour’ codes is a factor here. It is notable that all three of the young women in the cases explored travelled several hundred miles away from home and that their choices about where to run to were shaped by an active avoidance of areas where extended family and community members lived. For instance, the young woman in CS3 was reported to have made it very clear that:

She didn’t want to stay in [home city] and she didn’t want to be in a city that had a high Asian population because she’d constantly be looking over her shoulder (SP3).

Similarly, the young woman in CS2 is reported to have given careful consideration to where she met her boyfriend before she ran away to marry him. Cities where extended family members lived were discarded, as well as areas that had a large South-Asian population. The SP described how she had initially been confused about these choices until she understood why.

I was saying well, why did you choose [city 1] to initially meet up with him – when he’s in [city 2], you’re in [city 3] why not [city 4] and obviously family live in [city 4] dad’s brothers - so it was like ok now I can understand that (SP2).

Consistent with the forced marriage literature, a KI observed that the fear of so-called HBV drives these choices. He also suggested that young women operating in 'honour' contexts go to greater lengths to hide their tracks when they go missing than their White British counterparts in order to minimise the chances of being found.

With these HBVs they are very much clued up and switched on right from the very start and that is part and parcel of the difficulty with [finding] them... one girl we had went as far as removing the hard drive out of her computer because she knew the family would take the family laptop to a 'family friend' whereby they would try and find out the information that she'd deleted from it... she was so aware of how deep her family would go (KI2).

This may be based on the particular repercussions of being found which, for some South-Asian young people may be death.

***Reported as missing***

Contrary to the research literature which suggests that South Asian young women may be less likely to be reported missing than their White British counterparts, police reports were made in all three cases. The SP in CS2 expressed surprise at this since it had not been the case in her experience. Again she attributed this to the shame associated with doing so.

The police coming to their door because of how it is viewed by the community...the shame – people make judgements and they won't have it (SP2).

The experience of one of the police KIs was that South Asian young women are reported missing but only because parents feel that they have to. As such he suggested that only minimal information is given to the police.

They [South Asian parents] don't want the police involved and want to sort it out themselves... I mean they will report their daughter missing because they know they have to because of social services...but they will be very wishy-washy about everything (KI2).

SPs also noted the speed with which the young women in CS1 and CS2 were reported missing. This is consistent with the forced marriage literature which suggests that because young women 'hold honour' their movements are subject to a high degree of surveillance at home and within the wider community (Akhtar, 2002; Franks, 2004; Gangoli, 2009).

Interestingly her [young woman's] mother reported her missing and reported her within half an hour of her being gone because she didn't go to college – the college reported her to her mum when they couldn't get hold of her (CS1).

This was also observed by KI2 when he referred to a forced marriage case he had previously worked on.

Her father dropped her off at the small local supermarket and within half an hour of her telling her manager she was going out back to break up some boxes – she ran out the back and into the waiting car of her boyfriend – within half an hour the dad

was already back at the store and it was like how do you know? Does the family have 24 hour surveillance on her workplace? (K12).

In addition, the young women in CS2 and CS3 were not allowed to leave the family home on their own. This led the young woman in CS2 to regularly truant from school with her sister. She also truanted from school when she went to meet the man she later ran away to marry. Apart from the occasion when she lost her train ticket and was reported missing, she always returned home at the time her parents expected so that they were not aware of her movements.

She's truanted and obviously when she has truanted she has gone off to meet [boyfriend] but she has stuck within the limits of being away to be absent without it being recognised as her going so – I think that's part of her wanting to conceal. She knows that if she is gone from that time to that time they [parents] don't realise that anything's gone on (SP2).

All three of the young women used the internet as a mechanism through which to meet the men they went to live with. This may represent another indicator of their physical autonomy being limited. As the practitioner working with the young woman in CS1 observed, 'this was very much a planned route out of the home' also reflecting literature which suggests that South-Asian young women may have to make a more premeditated escape (Safe on the Streets Research Team, 1999; Akhtar, 2002; Sharp 2010).

The literature further suggests that there is a presumption by agencies that Asian girls are protected from CSE by virtue of the fact that they are contained in the home with little or no interaction with men (Cockbain. 2013; Gohir, 2013). Yet this does not account for the risks associated with online grooming. Moreover, it suggests that male family members do not pose a risk to Asian young women. Yet, as one of the Gohir (2013) case studies and one of the OCC case studies (Berelowitz, 2013) reveals, this is not the case.

### ***Attempts to find runaway young women***

An attempt was made to find the young woman in CS2 on the second occasion she was known to be missing. Rather than report her missing to the police though, her mother contacted the young woman's social worker who, despite being aware of the forced marriage threat, disclosed where she was living. The social worker in this case was also Asian. It is not possible to say whether her actions were based on a conflict between personal belief and professional duty as some literature suggests (Akhtar, 2022; Brandon & Hafez, 2008; Jha, 2004; HM Government, 2014b). However, the power of this pressure was highlighted by one of the KIs who explained that, due to the nature of her work there were a number of people in her family and community that will not speak to her (KI6).

Analysis of the SP interviews identified references to other runaway cases where attempts had been made to find South Asian young women. SP1 spoke about supporting a young woman who had run away from a forced marriage and received regular text messages from her brother who was threatening to find and murder her. Similarly SP2 referred to a case she had worked on where the male cousins of a South-Asian young woman had tried to find her when she went missing:



[South-Asian young woman] was saying she had concerns about extended family members and on one of the occasions that she was on the run around and did an overnighter...the cousins – they'd jumped in the car and were allegedly hunting her on the streets (SP2).

In both of these cases, it is important to note how it was male family members (a brother and male cousins) who went looking for the young women. Since the role of men in upholding family 'honour' is through the regulation of 'their' girls and women (Gill, 2014a) these examples appear to represent such attempts.

The SP who worked with the young man in outlying CS10 was told how his sister had run away from a forced marriage and that their parents had hired a private detective to try and locate her.

The sister got forced into marriage and she ran away...apparently the family hired a private detective to go and find her (SP10)

One of the key informants (KI3) also referred to 'bounty-hunters' in this context.

I understand that there are people within the South-Asian community who are effectively hired to do this work – bounty hunters (KI3).

When young people are aware such measures may be taken to find an individual who goes missing, it is hardly surprising that many are discouraged from attempting to do so (Roy et al. 2011).

### **Going missing in the context of CSE**

The five young people who went missing in the context of CSE were known to have done so on multiple occasions, ranging from three to more than seventy. The duration of the missing episodes varied from returning home on the same day, staying away from home overnight, being away from home for a few days and, in one case, being missing from home for weeks on end. Unlike the young women in CS1-3, the young people intended to return home and their SPs stated that when they went missing they did not go far. A number of studies have noted that it is challenging to pinpoint whether missing incidents fall before or during a period of exploitation (see, for example, CEOP, 2011b). This was certainly a difficulty in relation to analysis of the cases explored here. Since missing incidents can fall within the 'grooming' stages of CSE as well as being part of exploitation itself (see chapter one for more detail) the sequence of events was hard for SPs to untangle.

As was the case for the young women who ran away from home, three of the four young women in the second set of cases were known to have been reported missing to the police. In contrast, the young man in CS8 was not reported as missing either to the police or another agency.

He'd go places straight from school and not go back until late at night but the parents didn't see that as a concern so didn't report him missing; and that was quite regular and that is how he was groomed (SP8b).

This was also true for the young man in outlying CS10 who would go missing for several days when 'things were bad in the family home'. One of the two SPs who supported the young man in CS8 suggested that gender was a factor related to him not being reported missing.

No big formal report to the police that he was missing...he will have been given free rein...to be away for a weekend without a lot being said...he's a boy – he'll be ok and he is just sowing his wild oats (SP8a).

This is consistent with both the literature on going missing and HBV, the latter of which suggests that the physical autonomy of South Asian young men is not constrained in the same way as young women's (NatCen, 2014; Eaves, 2013; Siddiqui, 2013). In fact, the quote above explicitly identifies the point of difference. Young men are not subject to the same controls as young women because, unlike them, they do not 'hold' family 'honour' by virtue of being sexually chaste (see chapter one for more details). Neither was it reported in CS8 or outlying CS10 that attempts were made to find the young men. Yet this lack of protective action is significant because it links back to the observation made in chapter four that, by responding to young men through the prism of heteronormativity, the risk of CSE may be overlooked for boys and young men (Berelowitz et al. 2012; Brayley et al. 2014; McNaughton Nicholls et al., 2014).

### **Repercussions of running away/going missing for young women**

One of the young women in the focus group discussion suggested that a young person's parents might be more understanding following a missing episode so as not to drive them away again.

Well, I think they might be more cautious about what they say to their child because – when you first come through the door after like a week or a few days etc. they won't be like 'where have you been?' because obviously they'll drive them away... so if she comes back and sees that they are still angry and she's feeling the same how she felt before then she'll say 'why did I come back?'. But they will be more cautious by saying, 'what do you want, what do you want for tea? Do you want chips?' So that she will stay (FG1).

Unfortunately, this was not believed to be the case for the young women in the cases studies. Both runaway and missing young women reported to their SPs that they experienced negative repercussions after returning home. It is challenging to differentiate between the type of response that any young person might experience upon returning home from a missing episode and those that might have been particular to this sample. What was clearly noticeable however was that the repercussions reported by the South Asian young women were specifically linked to an assumption that that they would interact with men whilst missing. For instance, one SP reported that the father of the young woman she was supporting was verbally abusive towards her and called her a slag following missing episodes.

What had come out in some of our sessions with the young woman that he [father] had started to be verbally abusive towards her...dad had called her a slag because she was going out...and that really, really hurt her she said 'How can you say that to me you know I'm your daughter how can you call me that?' (SP7).

It was also reported that the young woman in CS2 had been hit by her mother when it was discovered that she had entered into an Islamic marriage and was living with her husband. This had only ever happened on one other occasion.

If I remember rightly she's been hit twice...and that's happened on two occasions - one was after she had run away – the mother slapped her (SP2).

In CS5, the young woman told her SP that, although her father had previously been aggressive, when he learned that she had a boyfriend he had slapped her.

She said he was aggressive – he shouts a lot, but this time he slapped her... dad was really unhappy with the relationship and wanted her to break it up straight away (SP5).

Links between physical violence and interaction with men were also made by the young women within focus group discussions.

They will strike me and say where have you been, outside with your boy? They will be angry. If any girl goes outside for some days, going with a boy, then it is not good - it is haram [forbidden] (FG1).

The focus group discussions indicated that parents attempted to try and stop young women associating with boys and young men more generally. Several young women (FG1) stated that their families were unhappy with them being friends with boys and young men. They explained that this was because they were told that they could 'do anything' to them.

YP1: Yeah – they [parents] don't like me being with boys -

YP2: Same as me.

YP1: The boy can do anything to you because you are a girl or a woman so – it is better if you are friends with girls and not boys.

YP2: They say you must avoid the boys; they can do anything with you (FG1).

Once more, links were made between physical and sexual autonomy and preserving collective 'honour'.

### ***Restricted physical autonomy***

SPs said that following runaway/missing incidents all of the young women reported that their physical autonomy was curtailed. Mobile phones and computers were taken away and

young women were locked in the family home. Attempts to keep some of them at home were facilitated by the fact that reaching marriageable age coincided with leaving school. This meant that being in education no longer acted as a protective factor showing how young women were not only located at the intersection of gender and ethnicity but also age.

Obviously whilst she was in school they were able to monitor her and keep her safe, but their concern was that she was due to be finishing you know and the day after her final exam she wouldn't be going there anymore; therefore they'd be no more they could do (SP2).

Her parents were keeping her locked in the house and then you know she had no mobile phone access, no access to social networks – wasn't going to school (SP3).

That these responses might be consistent with those of the parents of White British young people was acknowledged by one SP who observed that she knew of cases where White British young women were also kept locked in the family home to prevent them from running away. Similarly a young woman in one of the focus group discussions observed that isolation tactics such as these might represent a protective response.

Parents who are very strict and very protective they might lock you in – seal the windows, lock the bedroom door so you have to stay in there so the only time you can come out is for dinner and then have to go straight back (FG1).

Yet these actions may not have been protective in intent but deliberately designed to reduce young women's access to social support and resources outside of the family home, reflecting the tactics of coercive control identified by (Stark, 2007).

### ***Harm from extended family***

Several SPs also expressed concern about risks posed by extended family members. In CS1, the young woman was not only threatened with physical violence by her parents but also by her grandparents. In addition, a threat was identified in relation to family members who lived in Pakistan.

There are threats of violence from both her parents and her grandparents as a result of not engaging in the arranged marriage... the other thing that concerned me and which came out of the multi-agency meeting was there was a risk of honour-based violence – family members in Pakistan and that was one of the things that the parents said at their interview, if this doesn't happen she's clearly at risk (SP1).

Similarly, the SP in CS2 conjectured that the young woman was at risk of HBV if the brothers of her father found out that she had fled home to avoid being married.

I had no concerns in terms of mum's side of the family, in terms of any risk of any repercussions or HBV but again it may have been a different story if dad's brothers knew (SP2).



Another notable theme to arise from the analysis was that pregnancy outside of marriage appeared to be specifically associated with so-called 'honour' killings. In CS4 the young woman became pregnant as a consequence of the sexual exploitation that she experienced. The SP who was supporting her located the young woman at the intersection of gender, ethnicity and religion in order to identify this risk.

I was really concerned...and so was the social worker because again in the area that she lives in...it is quite populated by a Muslim Asian community – you could imagine a pregnant Asian girl walking around the streets – there was definitely a risk of that [honour-based killing] (SP4).

Pregnancy and 'honour' killing was connected in outlying CS11 as well. In this case the SP was supporting a young Turkish woman who was pregnant and unmarried but intending to keep her baby.

We talked about future relationships and what dad would want for her and I suppose here, an honour killing was more a risk [than forced marriage] because of the baby and how dad would react to her being pregnant outside marriage (SP11).

Whilst suspicion of being 'sexually deviant' led to negative repercussions for young women who had been missing, it appeared that there was still an opportunity to restore family 'honour', either through ensuring that existing marriage plans were expedited (HM Government, 2014b) or that such plans were put in place. Conversely, 'proof' of sexual deviancy through pregnancy appeared to carry a higher risk. Aside from an 'honour' killing,

the only other way of protecting 'honour' identified in such circumstances was forced abortion. This was the experience of the sister of one of the case study young women (CS7) and it is an issue that I return to in chapter six.

### ***Harm from the community***

No reference was made by the SPs to the young people experiencing harm from community members as part of familial attempts to restore the 'honour' of young women who had gone missing or been sexually exploited. This was surprising given the interconnectedness of family and community. In the next chapter, I outline the efforts that families went to in order to contain 'problems at home'. This may, to some extent, explain why community involvement was prevented or curtailed. It is not to say that the power exerted by community members was not felt however. The SP in CS6 stated that there had been community 'gossip' about the young woman's behaviour which 'included her being out late at night in the company of men'. Community perception was also highlighted by the SP in CS4. After the young woman had been bribed into marriage her parents publicised that this was the case. This was presumably to guard against her being labelled a 'prostitute' (Kazimirski et al., 2009; Richardson et al., 2009).

Mum and dad obviously started telling people in the community and people would come up to her and say 'Oh, you are married' (SP4).

### **Repercussions of going missing for young men**

As well as not being reported missing, the young man in CS8 was not known to have suffered any negative repercussions when he returned from missing episodes. Neither was

the young man in outlying CS10. The young men's gender accorded them some physical and sexual autonomy without repercussion. Yet this was only the case when family members believed that the young men were acting within heteronormative frameworks. When gender and ethnicity intersected with sexuality, family responses changed. After the young man in CS8 was seen by his uncle to be with an openly gay Asian man, he reported that control started to be exerted around his physical autonomy in ways similar to those described for young women above.

I think one of his uncles had seen him with this adult Asian male who was openly gay in the community and there was a bit of a fight – the uncle had hit this man and told him to stay away from the young lad...once that incident happened they started to put a lot more control around him, they kept checking up on him, they used to pick him up from college so he couldn't go anywhere and things like that really – lot of that sort of stuff – a lot of control (SP8b).

This finding reflects forced marriage literature which suggests that young men who are perceived to deviate from dominant heterosexual norms may also be targets of HBV, including forced marriage (Roberts, 2014; Samad, 2010; Thiara & Gill, 2010). In outlying CS11, concerns about HBV also only arose after footage of the young man performing a sexual act on another man was placed online.

He'd been to a party and was videoed performing oral sex on another male by one of his friends and it got put on Facebook and his family found out – his mother and his brothers and his sisters– you can imagine, they went off the wall and threatened to

tell his dad. They were using the threat – if he finds out he'll either kill you or he'll send you to [country] to get married (SP10).

The differential positioning of South Asian young men who are gay was also identified by the young men in the focus group. When asked what the experience of the young man in the composite case study might have been if he was gay, they immediately stated that the dynamics of the situation would be different.

Interviewer: What do you think this young man's experience might have been if he was gay?

YP1: I think he would have seen it as he has no solutions.

YP2: Definitely.

YP2: Especially if he was from that background because obviously religion doesn't exactly allow for sexual relationships and it's quite sort of explicit I'd say and him knowing that would mean him not being able to be with the person he wants to be with and not being able to tell his parents and sort of disgracing maybe their reputation and he probably would have faced that – no solutions.

Interviewer: And his parent's response?

YP1: I think it would be harsher.

YP2: Yeah.

YP3; But that depends – because raised up from our background -

YP1: Yeah but he's from a similar background

YP3: He's from a similar background – oh, ok. Backgrounds might influence it. But I mean you can come from a white background and your parents may not be accepting of you being homosexual.

As the quote from YP3 acknowledges, the intersection of gender and sexuality may be problematic for young men from other ethnic backgrounds too. Yet whilst all young people may share a common fear of being 'disowned' by family on the basis of sexuality, what is important when considering risks associated with disclosure is the 'scope and methods of this regulation' (An-Na Im, 2005). These will vary between communities but for South Asian young men professionals need to be aware that risk of forced marriage and/or an 'honour' killing is present – something that the next section will explore.

### **The experience of forced marriage**

Six of the young people (five young women and one young man) reported that they had been threatened with forced marriage, one young woman was forced into marriage and one young woman was believed to be at risk of forced marriage.

In two of the three runaway cases (CS1 & CS2), the threat of being forced into marriage pre-existed; it was the fact that marriage plans were imminent that led the young women to run away.

She said that she would have been about 8 years old when something was mentioned and – I don't know whether she was out in [country] or whether it was when she came back – dad mentioned something about marriage (SP2).

When the two young women returned home after running away, it was reported that their parents continued to pursue the marriage plans and, in one case, expedite them.

This young person was really fearful of her grandparents as well as her parents... The grandparents seem to be the working force if you like in order to push this [the forced marriage] forward (SP1).

When she [young woman] came back [from running away] she overheard a conversation with her mum who was speaking to her grandma in [country]...gran's response was get her married off as soon as possible (SP2).

These quotes are illustrative of the finding that, in both cases, the grandparents of the young women were identified as being the 'working force' behind the ongoing threat of forced marriage. It is possible that the parents of the young women might have changed their minds after their daughters ran away from home as suggested by the young women in FG1. Indeed, one of the SPs indicated that she thought the parents of the young woman she

was working with appeared to agree with preventing the marriage from happening, but at the same time felt under pressure from extended family members for it to go ahead.

At the professional meeting it felt that they [young woman's parents] agreed with it [the marriage not happening] but that they also felt a great deal of pressure or shame if it didn't go ahead (SP1).

As the theory chapter suggests, risk factors within young people's environment may include the ability of family to be able to 'manage' the community, including social pressures (Sameroff et al., 2003). In these cases the parents of the young women appeared to struggle to do so.

The threat of forced marriage also pre-existed for the young man in CS8. However, once more, it was only when his family started to limit his physical autonomy due to concerns about his sexuality that he disclosed to his SP concerns that a forced marriage was imminent.

His parents were trying to arrange for him to marry a cousin and he felt that because of his sexuality it was imminent really – that's where his concerns around the arranged marriage came from...they [his parents] spoke about going to [country] for a family get together type of thing and he was concerned there was a possibility that he might be getting married (SP8b).

In the third runaway case, forced marriage had previously been explored as a risk to the young woman but dismissed. It was not something that she had been threatened with before. This led the SP to explain that the young woman's disclosure was 'quite out of the blue'.

I mean I'd made sure that I'd done sessions with her and covered the whole forced marriage issue because of her cultural background – it was just kind of a safety thing. I'd said you know if it happens here is a phone number you can call, keep photocopies of your passport – all those kinds of things. So we had kind of touched on it but it was not something that she'd kind of said she'd been threatened with before (SP3).

She therefore suggested that the threat of forced marriage might represent a practical 'disruption' strategy and was not necessarily linked to the concept of 'honour'.

If your daughter has been sexually exploited since the age of 12 and it's still happening when she is 17/18 and you have tried everything and you cannot just keep her safe you know. What is your response going to be? Your response is probably going to be right I need to find something that is going to keep you safe. Shall I take you to another country, shall I get you married off to someone because then I am removing the problem from here (SP3).

Certainly the SP in outlying CS9 was of the opinion that forced marriage might be used by parents in this way.



Forced marriage fits in terms of her mum not knowing what else to do really in terms of trying to manage her daughter's behaviour. So her daughter is missing...she is not adhering to any boundaries, her curfews – she is beyond parental control. There's a link we think between her behaviour and this notion that she would be taken away to [country] and enter into a marriage against her will because it would be a way of managing the situation (SP9).

The SP in this case went on to indicate that forced marriage was in fact a common strategy used by the parents of some South-Asian young women. Forced marriage as a response to 'deviant' behaviour has certainly been noted in other contexts and was observed by one of the KIs as a tool through which to reassert control.

They [male relatives] saw it [forced marriage] in terms of they [Afghan young women] were hanging out with boys and dad and the brother were unhappy and this was a way to keep them in check – to say, if you carry on like this we're going to marry you off basically (KI9).

In contrast however the forced marriage threats made in the remaining three cases were more clearly linked to restoring damaged 'honour'. The italics in the quote below reinforce the earlier assertion that displays of physical autonomy were synonymous with perceived sexual deviance.

They were taking her [outside of the UK to be married] against her will...I think the expression she [mother] used was, to make her an *honest, decent woman* rather than just running around (SP5).

Concern about 'honour' was also very much why the SP assessed forced marriage as a risk in CS7. This was because a history of so-called 'honour' based violence existed within the family.

One of the things we were considering is obviously the risk of forced marriage or honour based violence... in light of what happened with her sister... when I said the sibling above her found out that she was pregnant her partner was actually engaging with Youth Offending services and he had actually told his keyworker there that he was concerned about her and that she would be at risk of honour based violence (SP7).

Furthermore, the young woman's father was reported to have previously put pressure on his wife to take him back following a separation, reportedly stating that:

We have daughters – if we want them to get married and have eligible partners it's not going to look good if we are living separately – that kind of thing (SP7).

### ***Disclosing forced marriage***

As noted in the literature review, for some South-Asian women, the sanctions that exist as a consequence of challenging dominant norms can be very visible (Anitha & Gill, 2009).

Experiences of others in a family may convince a young woman that withholding consent is pointless. In several of the cases, SPs explained how they suspected that siblings of the young people had been forced into marriage. In two case studies and one outlying case the siblings were sisters.

It [forced marriage] was always alluded to...basically there had been some concerns around the older sister having inappropriate boyfriends or meeting up with men; her mum said to me 'Her sister was starting to behave the way she did but we managed to sort her out and it stopped' (SP4).

A huge concern...was that sister looked like she'd married uncle (SP6).

He spoke about his family – he said there was a family wedding over in [country] and his family went over and it was actually her [sister's] wedding when she got there (SP10).

However in one case the brother of a young woman was suspected to have been forced into marriage. Unlike the South Asian young men in the case studies whose sexuality made them vulnerable to forced marriage, in this case it was because the young man was disabled.<sup>6</sup>

Rather than convincing these young people that refusing a marriage was 'pointless' the experiences of siblings had the opposite effect. All of the young people were clear that they

---

<sup>6</sup> This case is not referenced due to it potentially being a factor that would lead to the identity of the young woman being identified. It is included however since despite two of the young people having learning difficulties, analysis did not reveal how this intersected with other social characteristics.

withheld consent. In fact four of the forced marriage disclosures that were made (three young women and one young man) were purposeful – that is the young people actively sought help and support (Pearce, Hynes & Bovarnick, 2009). Three of these young people were already being supported in relation to going missing in the context of CSE, perhaps suggesting that they had developed trust in their SPs and felt confident to speak about their fears.

The young woman in CS3 had received support but still chose to run away. Yet this may reflect the fact that she was no longer accessing services at the time that the forced marriage threat was made. Moreover it could be conjectured that her decision to present at a homeless charity was made on the basis that her SP had previously undertaken work with her specifically around forced marriage and what to do if the issue arose. Indeed this was the belief of the SP.

It is nice that she did go to [homeless charity] – it shows that when you do preventative work with them [young people] and say there are these organisations that can help you in different situations, that somewhere in their head that sticks or they have kept it written down somewhere because you don't always realise how significant those sessions are (SP3).

In contrast the young women in CS1 and CS2 appeared to believe that running was 'their only option' (Barter et al., 2009; HM Government, 2014b: 12; Julios, 2015). In these cases, action was taken only as a last resort (Safe on the Streets Research Team, 1999; Akhtar,

2002; Izzidien, 2008) with the young woman 'pushed away' as Payne's (1995) classification suggests.

This was the view of both the SP in CS1 and one of the young women in the focus group discussions.

I get the impression that she was going along with things until it became a reality and then she had to do something about it (SP1).

If she thinks that is the only way of her avoiding the situation really, that's the only way out (FG1).

Yet when the two young women in CS1 and CS2 were asked why they had run away/gone missing, this elicited disclosure from them both. It could be that, as noted earlier, they were waiting for an invitation to tell.

When they [police] asked her why she ran away she said 'because they are forcing me to marry someone'. There was no guesswork, no digging (SP1).

So then [worker] did the initial return home interview with the young person and then some of the concerns that came up were around the forced marriage (SP2).

In fact one of the KIs had been involved in a government-led consultation with young people on violence against women and girls and she suggested that the importance of creating safe spaces in which young people can 'tell' is critical.

I think young people, like all people respond to expectation. So if you set the limits of their discussion...you are only going to get certain information... I was incredibly struck – when we interviewed young people and asked them why they hadn't come forward, why they had not said something sooner...almost unanimously, they said it was because they weren't asked (KI5).

On this basis the current police policy that only young people who are classified as 'missing' receive return home interviews and not 'absent' young people is concerning (APPG, 2016).

In contrast, disclosure in the case of the young woman who was deceived into getting married (CS4) was accidental – a 'slip of the tongue' on the part of the young woman's mother.

It was only mum's slip of the tongue really that we all found out really because [she] never told anybody because she was receiving things from mum and dad to keep quiet (SP4).

That she was reportedly being bribed to keep quiet about the marriage is an important factor to consider since access to economic resources represents another imbalance of power between adults and young people.

They [parents] were giving her money, she had got a lot of gold, Pakistani gold jewellery from the wedding and she pawned it all (SP4).

The young woman in CS1 went back to live with her parents after disclosing her concerns about forced marriage to the police. She did so because a forced marriage protection order was put in place and she no longer felt under threat of harm. Yet the young woman's parents had applied to the court to have her passport returned so that they could take her on holiday. The SP in this case noted how the parents and the grandparents of the young woman in this case were offering her 'treats'. As was the case in CS4 it may be that these treats were actually being used as bribes to encourage her to go.

We consider this young person is incredibly naïve – there have been treats from the parents and grandparents (SP1).

Mention was made of bribes by KIs too. A police officer described how one young woman returned to the family home following the threat of forced marriage when her family offered to give her £50,000 and set her up in business if she went to 'study' with her uncle for two years first (KI2). In another case a young woman told a police officer that her father had 'promised her the earth' if she came home (KI4). The next section explores the role of economic resources in more detail.

### ***Access to economic resources***

In outlying CS10 it was observed that keeping track of the young man's finances was a way of controlling him.

The family got quite controlling with him and restricted his activities – so didn't let him go out the house unless he had a genuine reason to go out, you know – kept track of his mobile phone calls, things like that really; and his finances as well (SP10).

In CS3 it was noted that the young woman did not have her own bank account and that her parents might have been deliberately keeping her financially dependent.

She didn't have a bank account...because she wasn't allowed out by herself she was never going to have money of her own; in the family context they would give her money when they took her out. They allowed her to have whatever she wanted but they held the money (SP3).

This could potentially explain why some of the young people did not run away from home. It may have been that some of the young people were waiting until they were old enough to access the economic resources required to 'establish adult independence' (Home Office, 2008) and survive away from home. As noted above, the imminence of marriage plans meant that several of the young people felt that they had no choice but to take action when they did. Yet in the case of the young woman for whom forced marriage had been risk assessed it was reported by her SP that she planned to move out of home as soon as she was eighteen.



She was adamant that when she was 18 she was moving out and getting as far away as possible...when she was truanting she would just say 'sometimes I just need to get out I just feel overwhelmed'... I think just generally she finds her dad quite suffocating so it's like a circle the more suffocating he is the more she tries to get away (SP7).

In CS1, it was reported by the SP that the young woman had stolen money from her mother's purse before running away. When she decided against going to live with the man she had arranged to meet however she felt she had no choice but to go the police for help because she had no money or other means of returning.

She didn't have any money, she was in another city – she said she had very little left. She didn't know how she was going to get back. She left with the primary aim of staying (CS1).

The SP in CS3 conjectured that the young woman might have become involved in sexual exploitation as a way of accessing money. This would represent another 'theory' underlying the pattern which suggests that forced marriage is a stressor leading to running away/going missing and CSE (see table five in chapter seven).

It makes you wonder was she running away because she wanted money (SP3).

Given that Melrose (2013) observes that the 'discursive separation' between childhood and adulthood has led to a situation in which evidence regarding adult exploitation is 'largely overlooked' this theme adds weight to the argument that there needs to be a 'joining up' of policy agendas in order to recognise structural linkages and to prevent the same social divisions extending into adulthood (Coy, 2016). Once again, I return to the issue of child and adult policy in the next chapter. At this juncture, however, I pick up on the link made between forced marriage and CSE by moving the discussion onto how young people experience this third and final issue.

### **The experience of CSE**

Two of the young women were believed to be at risk of sexual exploitation when they ran away. The six young people (five young women and one young man) who were regularly going missing before a forced marriage threat was disclosed were known to have been abused through CSE. In all of these cases, the perpetrators were men reflecting what is known about the majority of abusers (CEOP, 2011b). The ethnicity of perpetrators was described as 'Asian', Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian, Kurdish, Albanian and White British challenging the racialised media reporting of this issue as a crime only committed by South Asian men (Cockbain, 2013). The men were all reported to be older than the young people (CEOP, 2011b). In those cases where ages were given (n=5) they ranged from eighteen to thirty-two.

As noted in chapter four, the two young women at risk of CSE may have been groomed by the men they went to live with. Intersections of age, gender and ethnicity situated both young women in positions that made them vulnerable to forced marriage. Yet nothing

indicated that their risk of experiencing CSE was any different to young women of other ethnic backgrounds meeting men online. Unless, as already conjectured (see chapter four), young women seeking to run away from forced marriage are more likely to use the internet as a tool compared to other young people. As chapter one reveals, gay or bisexual young men are believed to be more likely to look to strangers for support through online forums as a consequence of isolation based on their sexuality (Donovan 2014; Fox, 2016). The young women in these cases were also isolated in that they were under a high degree of surveillance, rarely allowed to leave home alone and actively discouraged from having men as friends. One of the KIs suggested that this set of circumstances might lead young people to be more vulnerable.

There is something about young people being kept in the house a lot being more vulnerable on line – they haven't got a reality check so to speak about what they are being exposed to online; they haven't formed normal healthy peer group friendships and relationships outside of home (KI1).

When the circumstances of CS2 are considered in relation to the Gohir (2013) findings (see chapter one for more details) then it may have been the case that the man the young woman met via BBM was 'purposefully manipulating' her efforts to avoid being forced into marriage by finding her own partner. Reflecting the Gohir (2013) research, the young woman was encouraged to enter into a secret Islamic marriage ceremony. Because she was found and taken home by her mother and uncle shortly afterwards it is not known whether 'once trapped' in the marriage she would have been 'offered around' by the young man to

his friends for sex. This pattern was, however, observed as increasingly prevalent by one of the KIs working in the field of sexual violence.

I am seeing more cases of women who are in Islamic marriages and may not be the first wife, the second wife – and her husband pops in for sex and food and brings a couple of friends as well (KI2)

### ***Economic vulnerability***

The previous section on forced marriage observed that young people at risk of forced marriage may deliberately be kept financially dependent as a form of control and to stop them running away. It also suggested that access to economic resources might act as a ‘pull factor’ towards men who would seek to exploit them sexually. The young woman in CS1 was reported to have deliberately screened responses to her ‘appeal for help’ on the basis of whether the men who contacted her had money and a house.

So she is at home, she is concerned about being forced into this and being taken because they had already organised to go [abroad] – so she was online looking for somewhere to go and chatting to older males and she was looking for someone who would have money and would have a house... she’d had a number of responses to this request for help – ‘I need somewhere to go’ (SP1).

In addition, the young woman in CS3 reportedly told child protection officers that if they sent her back home following her discourse of forced marriage then she would instead:

Run back to those perpetrators who were sexually exploiting her because at least she would have somewhere to stay and food to eat (SP3).

***The use of 'honour'***

Three of the young people (two young women and one young man) who were sexually exploited had been groomed by an older man who then passed them onto other men (CS3, CS6 & CS8). The young people reported being 11, 12 and 15 years of age with 'boyfriends' aged 19, 25 and 23 respectively when the exploitation began. Imbalances of power based on age were clear. One of the young women was reported to have been manipulated by her sister's boyfriend into sleeping with multiple men (CS7) and in two cases it was stated that the young women were exploited by groups of men (CS4 & CS5). That five of the young people who were exploited were women compared to one man also illustrates patterns of victimisation based on gender (NCA, 2016; Cockbain et al., 2014; FMU, 2016).

The exploiters in three of the cases involving young women employed a number of strategies to control and manipulate them (see Berelowitz et al., 2012). What was different about these strategies compared to those experienced by White British young people, however, was that exploiters deliberately used the concept of 'honour'. For instance, in CS3 the exploiter threatened to show photos and footage of exploitation to family members.

One of the ways of keeping her in control – she said they had pictures and they had videos and they would show them to people if she didn't do as they were saying so there was a big concept of honour and shame; the perpetrators often said we know

what your mum looks like, do you want us to show her these films or these pictures; so that was another layer (SP3).

The SP in this case also believed that the young woman's 'boyfriend' played on the risk of HBV to convince the young woman to have a termination.

She was adamant she was going to keep it [baby] and we were going to financially help her and stuff but then once she had the abortion she was saying the community what would they think? There would be retribution from the community for him and for her I'm sure that's what he sort of told her, think about me, think about my family (SP3).

As chapter one makes clear, all young people experience climates of stigma and shame around the issue of CSE (Kelly et al. 1995; Kelly & Regan, 2000; Jago & Pearce, 2008) but in the context of 'honour' based violence the potential repercussions may make such threats particularly powerful.

### ***Disclosing CSE***

The repercussions of disclosing their experiences of CSE meant that it was far less straightforward for the young people to do so as compared to disclosing forced marriage. As the literature review uncovered, family is usually a protective factor in CSE cases but in this context family actually represented a danger to the young people (Barter et al., 2009; D'Arcy et al., 2015). Indeed the section on forced marriage above outlined how, upon discovery of actual or suspected sexual exploitation, young people were verbally and physically abused,

suffered increased restraints on their physical autonomy and were at risk of HBV (including so called 'honour' killings).

Whilst a number of inhibitors for disclosure are identified when attempts are made to estimate the number of young people at risk of CSE (see chapter one for more detail) levels of fear attached to concerns about repercussion emerged as a distinct issue for a number of the young people in the case studies. The following quotes serve to illustrate this:

She is very, very aware of the different consequences of disclosing different things so that's why we really took it seriously when she told us about her fears because she's very guarded...it's about mum knowing; it's about the family knowing - she wants the family to know as little as possible about what she's been involved in because that's where the fear of consequence is; not so much the threat from the males, it's the threat from the family (SP5).

She's very fearful of them [family] actually finding out about things that have happened previously...it's her sense of shame and then I think how she will be viewed and treated by her family (SP7).

You have to bear in mind that sometimes when they [South Asian young people] get back they don't want to think about their past they are not even going to share it with the case workers so no one will know unless it is necessary to come out. They think it is going to increase their risk, lead to more trauma (KI6)

The fear expressed by the young people was further illustrated through the choice of language used by the SPs in describing the young people's reactions to family finding out.

She became really, really concerned because her father, her adoptive father was coming from India and when dad came there really were issues – her anxiety levels were very clear, she was petrified – she was crying in school (SP5).

When she initially disclosed to one of the teachers at school and the substance use worker she'd sort of had like a total meltdown and they were actually really, really scared (SP7).

In several cases the fear that the young people expressed led to professionals 'holding' certain information to protect the young person. This reinforced the seriousness of the threat posed to them but as guidance suggests (HM Government, 2014a; HMIC, 2016) a more protective response would have been to strictly control access to the information.

One of the big issues with this case was practitioners holding certain information and in a sense kind of colluding with the young person and I think practitioners may be doing that because they see or feel it's in the best interest of the young person. I know staff at the school has withheld information because they haven't wanted the referral to go to social services because of what they think the families reaction might be (SP7).



He was really let down by CAMHS because they were aware of all these concerns for a couple of years and didn't refer him to us... no safe guarding process was put in place (SP8).

### **Overlaps across issues**

This chapter has highlighted how social divisions and interaction with social structures shaped the ways in which the young people experienced going missing, forced marriage and CSE. Yet, as chapter four illustrated, the issues themselves did not stand alone but also intersected. It is clear that for some South Asian young women, physical autonomy demonstrated through running away/going missing is considered to be synonymous with 'sexual deviancy'. The disclosure of experiences of sexual exploitation in this context results in the risk of other forms of harm as opposed to support. The nature of 'honour' means that the young men had greater autonomy and enjoyed privileged locations in hierarchies of power. Yet when gender and ethnicity intersected with sexuality they faced risks similar to young women.

Young people were therefore navigating multiple power dynamics. Not only were they at risk of harm from family members but also the men who were exploiting them. This was summarised by one of the SPs who supported the young man in CS8:

So for him in a sense there were two fears going on, [in] parallel really (SP8b).

Shachar (2001) observes how failure to address the underlying power relations which lead to individual cases of forced marriage means that when young women flee, professionals

have to focus on the individual's ongoing protection from family and community members. The same may also be true when it comes to disrupting CSE. There was evidence in two case studies to suggest that exploiters sought to try and find young people who were moved as part of disruption efforts (CS6 & CS8).

I think he was more worried about the exploiter finding him at that point and he actually did find him...he went out of the care home one day and he seen his [exploiter's] car on the other side of the road (CS8).

Shuker (2013) has written how the potential to achieve relational security for young people who have been sexually exploited is more challenging when abuse is 'embedded in networks of friends, family and community'. This was certainly the situation in the case studies explored here. The findings presented in this chapter have already indicated that the young people were unable to rely on friends or family when they went missing. What also became clear was that as well as being discouraged from having male friends, the young women were also isolated from their peers.

She doesn't have many friends and again that was something that we are looking into in the sense is that an isolation tactic, that kind of thing. So that's part of the plan to work with them and find out why she doesn't associate with her peers (SP1).

Her one friend who she is allowed to go and see is away from the 6 weeks summer so the only time she seems to be going out is when we go and get her out of the house and bring her away (SP2).

The older Asian males who were exploiting her – they were her friends... I think even you know to this day perhaps she still thinks of them as her ‘friends’ (SP4).

There were a lot of problems around bullying in school and her peer relationships being really poor so one of the reasons why she felt safer to be with the group of males was because she had very poor relationships with girls (SP5).

She was bullied at school (CS6).

This led to an almost complete absence of relational support and it meant that some of the young women relied very heavily on their SPs.

She’d often talk about [how] in her world lots of people were her family, the community or the perpetrators – there was no other network...she used to get quite attached to us as professionals so she’d constantly be phoning me up. She’d have nothing to say to me, it’s not that she had anything to say to me but because I think she wanted someone to talk to (SP3).

One of the challenges related to the implications of this was the need for SPs to foster trust with the young people while also retaining a professional relationship (Pearce et al. 2009). I go onto explore relational support in more detail in the next findings chapter which will also consider how young people were worked with in light of the themes that have emerged here.

**Summary**

Individual experiences of going missing, forced marriage and CSE were shaped by social divisions related to age, gender, ethnicity, class, sexuality and, to a limited extent, disability. The young people were located within complex axes of power which impacted their ability to access support from social systems including family, friends and community as well as public institutions. Consistent with previous literature which has identified the components of a model of safety for young people in care affected by sexual exploitation (Shuker, 2013) the importance of relational security also emerged as theme, as did the importance of being able to safely access economic resources. The next chapter identifies the challenges that the SPs faced when trying to support young people in these contexts. It also highlights that power axes also existed within multi agency frameworks, compounding some of the difficulties that SPs faced when supporting young people.

## **CHAPTER SIX: 'PICKING AND CHOOSING'**

### **Introduction**

The previous chapter revealed how the young people in the case studies were located within complex power hierarchies which impacted their ability to access support from social systems including family, friends and community as well as public institutions. This chapter explores the challenges that supporting practitioners (SPs) faced when trying to work with young people and their families in these contexts. As the title of the chapter suggests, young people were very aware of the potential harms that they faced, leading SPs to describe them as 'picking and choosing' who they engaged with and how much information they disclosed. It then moves on to consider how power dynamics within multi-agency working arrangements also impacted the ability of SPs to work with the young people. In setting out these challenges, I address the final research question which asks:

How can practitioners support South Asian young people who experience going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation (CSE)?

### **Working with young people and their families**

#### ***Keeping interventions confidential***

The findings presented in chapter five made clear that disclosure of CSE can carry particular risks for some South Asian young women and men. Because of this, two of the SPs were working with young people without parental knowledge (CS7 & CS8). In another case, the

young person's parents had only partial knowledge of the work that was being undertaken to support their daughter (CS2).

In CS7 the SP described how she met the young woman she was supporting in school but that care had to be taken to conceal the resources she shared with her during their sessions so that her parents would not find them.

And then as well I do take hand-outs etc. so I just double checked - did she want to hold onto them or did she want me to hold on to them - certain things does she want me to send her by e-mail rather than physical paper hand-outs (SP7).

The SP in CS2 also arranged for support sessions to take place at school. Yet, even in this environment, measures had to be taken to hide evidence of the work being undertaken in case the young woman's sister became aware of it and told their parents. This reveals the difficulties involved in gaining 'access' to young people when their movements are closely monitored by family members.

She has got a sister who is a year younger than her at school so what the teacher at school did – the numbers we wrote down for her on our little help cards – school took that to her friend and said can you keep that safe because we didn't want to be seen passing anything to her in case (SP2).

Support was provided to the young man in CS8 within a community setting. However the SP described how the young person said he would have to lie about where he was going when he went to see him.

He used to say he had to make stories up about who he was going to see; that in order to see me he would tell his family a lie (SP8).

Practitioners felt that concerns about family members finding out about experiences of sexual exploitation also influenced what services young people would access and/or how they would engage with them. For instance, the SP in CS3 noted how the young woman would not engage with Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS) for fear that her parents would find out. Whilst the young woman in CS7 did access CAMHS there was only so much the CAMHS worker could do to support her without family intervention.

I know the CAMHS worker [was] quite limited in terms of the fact that he couldn't really do any family intervention work (SP7).

The SP in this case reported that the young woman also refused to go and see the family doctor as she was concerned that he would break confidentiality and tell her parents.

She doesn't want to go to the doctor because there's a fear of her parents finding out (SP7).

Several SPs noted that accessing group based support could be risky for young people since this could be another mechanism through which networks might learn about what had happened to them. As the SP in CS8 observed, young people wanted as few people to know about what had happened as possible.

I've spoken to her about group work and in one way I think it's good but considerations do have to be made because as far as I'm aware there would actually be a couple of young women from her school attending the group as well so...(SP7)

He wasn't a young person that wanted to do any group work. He was always frightened of anybody else knowing anything; we do a lot of group work but he didn't seem to want to fit into that. I think he was that frightened that the less that we knew the better (SP8).

The issue of confidentiality impacted the willingness of one sexually exploited young woman to enter into the criminal justice system. She had been raped but did not want to pursue a criminal prosecution through fear of the repercussions if this was discovered by her family or the wider community (CS4). Interestingly, one of the KIs explained that she had been able to successfully support a young South-Asian woman through a criminal trial but noted that professionals had needed to go to considerable lengths to ensure that the her family and community did not learn that she had given evidence for the prosecution.

The case went to court. The family knew nothing – I have no idea how she did it; to have to go in [to the family home] after court and pretend to be normal (KI7).



The KI in this case talked about how hard it was for the young woman since she had to 'pretend to be normal' once she got back home. One SP explained how the young woman she supported pursued a criminal conviction for rape but that this caused a rift with her family. In fact her own mother testified against her (CS6). The repercussion of discovery in another case reported by KI7 was that a young woman she was aware of had gone to court and was later disowned by her family. Disclosure was therefore not only linked to risk of harm but also risk to family relationships and belonging.

### ***Hiding problems at home***

SPs reported that in those cases (n=5) where parents knew their daughters were accessing external support this was not welcomed by them. In the same way as some of the young people tried to keep the support they were receiving secret from their families, so parents tried to keep interventions from professionals secret from extended family members, neighbours and the wider community.

In CS4 the SP was told she was not allowed to work with the young woman in the family home. As with the cases described above, support work instead took place in the school setting. Yet because the young woman was not a regular school-attender, this limited the number of sessions that the practitioner was able to undertake with her.

Her parents didn't really 'approve' of the sessions we were having so we were able with the school to get them to consent – they didn't want to have any session to be had at home (SP4).

One concern held by parents appeared to be the negative impact that awareness of outside involvement would have on the marriage prospects of other daughters. This was communicated by the young woman's mother to her SP in CS3.

Mum would often say to me – she'd worry...they lived in a predominantly Muslim area where people knew their family and mum would be like of course everyone knows what's going on ...the police are always round the house...the neighbours are always seeing professionals walking up and down, people know what's going on and that then causes difficulties for them culturally because they're the parents of three daughters. So actually who is going to want to marry my oldest and youngest daughter if they think their sister is behaving like this? (SP3).

The same concern was observed by the SP in outlying case CS9.

They [parents] don't even want to have agencies intervene because again it's the shame and what the community is going to say about this and also because it has implications on kind of future marriage arrangements – not just for that young person; their siblings and sometimes their extended families like cousins (SP9).

Even when statutory support was actively sought by the mother of one young woman (CS5), she still reported concern about the 'neighbours talking'. As such she would not always report her daughter missing in order to minimise this.

Mum did not always call the police when her daughter went missing because she was worried about neighbours talking (SP5).

An explanation as to why the mother in this case proactively sought out the support of statutory agencies when in the other cases it was avoided may be because her husband lived abroad. The 'gender regimes' discussed earlier can be configured at multiple levels, including the household. In this case, the absence of patriarchal power could have resulted in the mother having increased behavioural autonomy.

### ***The impact of social pressure***

Indeed one of the emerging findings was that the social pressure connected to keeping 'problems at home' secret meant that parents felt unable to undertake protective action when their young people went missing even when they wanted to. The SP in CS2 talked about work she was doing with another South-Asian young woman who was running away. In this case, her father wanted to go out looking for her, but did not do so because of the way this would be perceived by community members.

Normally the expectation will be that you contact their friends – but it's frowned upon for you to go knocking – so it makes it very, very hard to chase around – so the dynamics and cultural sensitivities add a set of complexities whereas if it were a white girl it's like well go and knock on their door (SP2).

One SP observed how, for the parents of the young woman she was supporting, the social pressure exerted by the community outweighed the needs of their daughter.

The parents don't want the community to know because they think that will bring shame so they are keeping it a secret... they were more concerned about what the community and the family would think than their own daughter's wishes (SP1).

The social power exerted also meant that parents were unwilling to access services for themselves. For instance, several of the practitioners offered to link them in with organisations that provide support to the parents of sexually exploited young people, but these offers were also declined on the basis of them bringing shame.

PACE [Parents Against Child Sexual Exploitation] offered mum and dad some support, especially mum, but she didn't want any support around it [...] I think she saw it as bad and bringing shame (SP4).

The containment strategies outlined above demonstrate how young people's willingness to access support was linked to minimising what their parents found out. In turn, the willingness of parents to engage in support was linked to minimising community awareness of 'problems at home'. The existence of 'honour' codes at individual, family and community levels therefore meant that neither the young people nor their parents were able to fully access the support that was available to them.

### ***Containment from fathers and brothers***

Another theme which emerged from analysis of the data was the need to consider the differential responses of fathers and mothers. This was important since, as chapter two

acknowledges and has been described in chapter five, codes of 'honour' prescribes particular roles based on gender (Sen, 2005). The SP interviews suggested that, in some cases, knowledge about the young person was deliberately withheld by mothers in an apparent attempt to manage how much fathers and/or brothers knew.

Dad doesn't know what is going on at home... what [young woman] was saying is she doesn't feel that anything imminent would happen unless mum tells dad (SP2).

I would be very suspicious of whether dad was ever told the full story because he never came to any of the child protection plan meetings – he was never at the core groups (SP3).

He thought his mother knew and his sisters knew about his sexuality but they were keeping it secret from dad...I'm not sure what they told dad – he sort of made out that dad didn't know anything of what was going on (SP10).

Reference again to chapter two helps identify possible reasons for why this was the case. Mothers may have been trying to protect their children from harm knowing the potential repercussions if fathers and brothers found out what was happening and sought to restore damaged 'honour'. This may even go some way in explaining collusion with and even initiation of acts of HBV in some cases since the intention of mothers may have been to minimise the severity of repercussions. It is noted in chapter five that pregnancy outside of marriage appeared to be linked to 'honour' killings. This was recognised by the exploiter in one case when the SP described how he convinced the young woman to have an abortion.

There would be retribution from the community for him and for her I'm sure that's what he sort of told her, think about me, think about my family (SP3).

Indeed in CS7 and outlying CS11, young women were reported to have been forced to have abortions by their mothers as a way of 'managing' the situation.

The older sister became pregnant but her mother turned round to her and said 'your brother is not going to find out about this' so that's indirectly saying you're not keeping it and she had an abortion (SP7).

She talked about being worried about the mum forcing her to have a termination; more to manage dad's reaction (SP11).

It may be that some mothers did not tell their husbands what was happening through fear that they would be held responsible for their daughter's behaviour. As Baker, Gregware and Cassidy (1999, cited by Roberts, 2014) suggest, women's failure to perform their responsibilities represents a threat to their own personal autonomy and safety.

Mum alluded to the fact when I'd see her that her husband's family was blaming her for what was happening with her daughter because they were saying you are her mother 'you should stop her, why are you not stopping her?' (SP3).

Holding such knowledge might lead to mothers also being at risk of harm. In outlying CS11, mother and daughter had been jointly referred to a Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference (MARAC) on the basis that the young woman's father posed a risk to both of them.

Mum has been at MARAC before because of dad's level of violence so the honour killing doesn't just extend to the girl but it extends to her as well as the pregnancy has happened with mum's knowledge... it was acknowledged that the risk to mum would increase (SP11).

In fact several SPs indicated that some mothers deliberately chose 'not to know' what was going on – possibly for this reason.

Mum just wanted her to be a good girl and stay home. Mum didn't want to know what was going on (SP4).

Her mum turned a blind eye (SP7).

In light of these dynamics, it is clear that great care needs to be taken to unpick who is doing what to whom. When power was assumed to be shared equally within families, the act of young people resisting marriage was framed as a 'cultural clash'.

There is a real culture clash (SP1).

[We need] to understand people's culture... this is how these people have been brought up and this is their norm – this is your norm (SP2).

There was also a tension about her cultural background and becoming westernized (SP6)

This is not to suggest that the SPs failed to take protective action. In fact it was clear that practice has moved beyond the view that issues such as forced marriage are better resolved by the family or community as Ward and Patel (2006) suggest would have happened ten years ago. However, reflecting practice related to domestic violence more widely, the focus of children's services in these cases was very much on the mothers of the young people, and little communication with fathers (Munro, 2011). Of course, the case studies explored here reveal that involving fathers may have increased risks to the young people and, perhaps, to their mothers. But their invisibility meant that although child protection frameworks considered risks to siblings, they did not consider risks to mothers too. As the SP in outlying CS11 suggested:

Sometimes there is a blinding to professionals when they are considering cultural needs and that creates a risky situation... he [father] was a very dangerous man (SP11).

In contrast, other SPs adopted a power analysis which not only considered risk of harm to the young woman being supported, but also other girls and women in the household. The importance of exploring gendered power relationships was illustrated through analysis of



the case study template. The mothers of three of the young women were known to have experienced violence from their husbands and, in one case, also a son (CS4, 5 & 7).

She disclosed to me at the time [previous referral] that there was domestic violence between mum and dad and brother to mum as well (SP4).

She said that dad was aggressive towards mum... [There are] records from previously, years ago...there had been a few accounts of police being called because of domestic violence (SP5).

I know they [social services] spoke about seeing if mum would like to re-engage with [name of organisation] they work with women from South East Asia that have been affected by domestic violence and mum had engaged with them previously (SP7).

As noted in the previous chapter, practitioners discovered that the siblings of three of the young people had already been forced into marriage. In addition, one young woman suspected her sister was at risk (CS2).

What she's [young woman] also said is that potentially - because her sister is only a year younger than her, they [parents] may wait until her exams are finished this time next year and then ship both of them out (SP2).

Furthermore, in four cases it was alleged that the young women had experienced child sexual abuse from their fathers (CS3, 4, 6 & 7).

At a later date she said that there was some inappropriate touching by dad (SP4).

There were actually reports of possible sexual abuse of the youngest sibling in early childhood - there were claims of inappropriate sleeping arrangements (SP7).

Whilst child sexual abuse did not emerge as an issue for the young man in CS8, it was the case that he had experienced physical abuse and neglect as a child. Interestingly one of the SPs who supported the young man attributed the abuse to him not 'performing' gender to his father's expectations. This was also reported to be the case for the young man in outlying CS10.

Because he was quite effeminate... he didn't want to study the Koran and play football and he didn't fit in with their expectations really. His dad used to say things like you're no son of mine and he used to make him eat in a separate room away from the family, things like that (SP8b)

He spoke about from a very young age there being a lot of physical violence aimed towards him from his father I think because he didn't fit in with the family culture (SP10).

Taken together, the findings reveal how the risks of forced marriage to the young people did not exist in isolation but sat within continuums of abuse shaped by patriarchal and heteronormative power (Kelly, 2011). Again, this serves to highlight the usefulness of an

intersectional approach so that gender is considered in relation to other factors such as ethnicity and sexuality.

***The implications of 'othering'***

One of the criticisms within the literature (Thiara & Gill, 2010) is that separating forced marriage from other forms of violence against women leads to the 'othering' of young women from ethnic minority communities. The findings here also suggest that the same may be true of young women's own understanding of abuse. As one KI observed:

The discourse on forced marriage is there for [South Asian young women] to pick up whereas they are sort of invisible within the domestic violence discourse more generically and that can be problematic – it's only when violence is racialised that they can make sense of their experience (KI9).

For instance, although all of the young women recognised that they were being forced into marriages that they did not want, it took longer for them to recognise that they were experiencing CSE.

The sad thing was that she said that it wasn't until she saw two programmes quite close together around sexual exploitation that she thought that is what's happening to me and then she was able to tell her CAMHS worker which is really disturbing isn't it? If you don't have the language then no-one is going to hear you (SP6).

This reinforces the arguments made within the forced marriage literature for ‘cultural’ forms of violence to be located within the violence against women and girls framework (Thiara & Gill, 2010). Whilst Dhaliwal et al. (2015) have previously asserted that community awareness-raising of CSE could usefully draw on the broader experience of the violence against women sector, I argue that the experience of the violence against women and girls sector should be extended to working with young people and their families around CSE too.

Furthermore, since four of the young women who were sexually exploited had previously experienced other forms of child sexual abuse, these findings lend themselves to the argument that research evidence underpinning adult policy agendas should not be ‘overlooked’ within the child protection agenda (Melrose, 2013; Coy, 2016). Nor should child sexual abuse when it takes place within the family and CSE when it takes place outside of the family be responded to separately (Nelson, 2016). Again, this may explain disconnects between the issues of forced marriage and CSE. This was summarised by one of the SPs who observed:

I don’t think we understand exactly the amount of abuse that goes on in families and external to those families with exploitation – so there’s the sexual abuse, there’s physical abuse, then there’s the domestic violence and then the exploitation that might happen by other males outside (SP8).

The point that young people experience abuse both within and outside of their families also reinforces Chantler’s (2006) assertion that in no culture are women and girls free from violence. The three young women who ran away from forced marriage found themselves to

be at risk of CSE instead, highlighting that the patriarchal structures from which they ran also existed in the majority community. Indeed, like forced marriage, sexual exploitation is predicated on power and control. It may also involve multiple perpetrators and sexual assault and rape are likely outcomes in both scenarios. The issues sit within the violence against women and girls policy framework and as Kelly (2011) has also acknowledged, they fit within her continuum of sexual violence.

The power and the control that they had over her in those days was so strong that actually them just saying you can't go what are we going to do without you – was a real power and control issue...if you are a young person that hasn't got a lot of confidence and you don't think you are important to anyone and then you have someone saying you are so important I can't cope without you, please don't go anywhere – that's a way of keeping you in against your will without you realising (SP3).

The trend is the same – power, control and ownership (SP8a).

A power analysis could therefore usefully assist professionals who are confused about how to respond to young Asian women. It can also guard against cultural relativism (Patel & Siddiqui, 2010).

If you are looking at a situation and saying just because they are Asian I am going to be treating them differently, are you positively discriminating against them? (K12).

I always wondered if she wasn't a young Asian Muslim girl, would children's social care and the police have said it was alright to keep her locked up because in any other context that would have been an obstruction of liberty and certainly I have worked with young white British girls where the parents have locked just the back door or a front door and the young person has still to get out and the authorities have decided well actually no that is false imprisonment so the young person has been moved to emergency foster care (SP3).

Similarly men who abuse women outside of the family home are likely to abuse women inside of it too. This is important to recognise since, as the literature review revealed, the racist discourses surrounding CSE have assumed that South Asian young people are somehow protected from this form of abuse (Gohir, 2015). This was also the observation of one of the KIs.

The other issue is an overriding assumption that South Asian young women aren't going to be sexually exploited because the perpetrators are South Asian and South Asian people didn't exploit their own because the whole community would turn on them and they would be ousted...so that's why they exploit white children and so BME children are safe... and so rarely are questions asked about the girls in the home or the girls connected to the perpetrators' extended family (KI1).

The analysis here highlights the need for work to be undertaken in an integrated way when child abuse overlaps with woman abuse. It also suggests a need for child and adult policy agendas to be linked, an issue that I will turn to in the next section. Having explored the

challenges of working with young people and their families, I turn next to exploring the challenges that were involved in working within multi-agency contexts.

### **Multi-agency working**

It is widely accepted across the going missing, forced marriage and CSE fields that multi-agency work is necessary to identify young people at harm and keep them safe (Munro, 2011). All of the SPs involved with the young people worked to support them within multiagency frameworks and recognised the value in doing so. Yet, at the same time, analysis of the SP interviews also identified a number of challenges that arose from this way of working. The young people in the case studies were experiencing multiple forms of harm. However, different professionals working on the same case had different standpoints, both in relation to how they framed the ‘main cause for concern’ (Berelowitz et al., 2013) and the young person within their response.

### ***Framing the ‘cause for concern’***

Table four below sets out which multi-agency partners were first aware of the young people and for what reason. It also indicates how additional issues were identified and by whom. Lastly it shows whether the case was categorised as child-in-need or protection.

**Table four: Identification of issues by agency/organisation**

Case	Presenting issue(s)	Identification of additional issue(s)	Child in need/protection

<b>study</b>			
CS1	Ran away due to fear of forced marriage (police)	Risk of CSE identified through analysis of case (children's services)	Child protection
CS2	Missing (police)	Forced marriage disclosed in return interview and CSE identified through analysis of case (missing NGO)	Child protection
CS3	Ran away due to forced marriage threat (homeless charity)	CSE identified when the young woman made her own living arrangements (CSE NGO)	Child protection
CS4	Missing in the context of sexual exploitation (school)	Forced marriage disclosed by mother accidentally (multi-agency meeting; CSE NGO supported young person)	Child protection
CS5	Missing in the context of sexual exploitation (multi-agency group)	Forced marriage threat arose when father found about agency involvement (CSE NGO)	Child in need
CS6	Sexual exploitation and missing (CAMHS worker)	Forced marriage threat (school; children's services)	Child protection
CS7	Sexual exploitation and missing (CAMHS worker)	Forced marriage threat (DV NGO)	Child in need
CS8	Sexual exploitation and	Forced marriage (CSE NGO)	Child protection



	missing (CSE NGO)		
--	-------------------	--	--

Overall, six of the cases met the threshold for child protection plans with the remaining two cases classified as child-in-need. Although the young woman in CS1 was initially put on a child protection plan the fact that she was not abused through CSE meant that this case was described as relatively straightforward by her SP.

It was risk assessed thoroughly for child sexual exploitation and it was very clear that it was linked to one incident so the child sexual exploitation case has been closed and she is being supported through the domestic violence and forced marriage unit...she's one of the least complex cases we've had (SP1).

The same was also true of CS2. When the findings of the case study template were coded into SPSS there was a clear difference between the cases that fell into the two broad patterns linking going missing, forced marriage and CSE in chapter four. Although all eight cases involved going missing and forced marriage, no additional harms were identified for the young women in pattern one (CS1-2) who had been at risk of but were not abused through CSE.

In contrast, the crossover case (CS3) and the five cases that fell into pattern two (CS4-8) were far more complex. Additional issues relating to alcohol and drugs (CS4-8) mental health, including self-harm and suicide (CS3-8), pregnancy (CS3-7) and involvement with gangs (CS3-4, CS7) were identified for the five young women and one young man who had been abused in this way.

I know they [young woman and sister's friends] did start hanging around with gang members...I don't know how far up the chain these people were...but I would presume that's how they started to get hold of some substances (SP7).

The six voluntary sector organisations working closely with the young people described how they used a child-centred approach. This meant that they worked holistically with the young people and were guided by the needs that the young people themselves identified. They were mindful of all of the risks facing the young people and also that the balance of power held by family/community and the exploiters could shift so that, in some circumstances, family/community was feared more than the exploiters and vice versa.

In the end the lad was at worse risk I felt from the exploitation but protection was also needed for the forced marriage (SP8a).

The SPs in the voluntary sector organisations reported that statutory agencies tended to adopt a more narrow approach, usually focusing on the 'main cause for concern' (Berelowitz et al. 2013) to the exclusion of the other issues that were present.

Everyone else [statutory agencies], they were just more concerned around the issue of forced marriage and how imminent that would be and I said well look [child sexual exploitation] is my concern and I base this on this reason (SP2).

This could lead to situations in which action taken to reduce risk in relation to one issue could inadvertently increase risk in relation to another (Beckett et al. 2014). For instance, in CS2 the focus on safety planning around forced marriage led some professionals to suggest that they should provide the young woman with a mobile phone so that she could call for help if her parents tried to take her out the country. The SP made the point that whilst this safety measure might decrease risk of forced marriage it might increase risk of CSE by providing the exploiters with a way of maintaining contact with her.

We still didn't know whether the boyfriend was safe or not so if we gave her a phone we could have inadvertently been colluding with him to exploit her (SP2).

In three cases young women were moved out of the family home after sharing concerns about being forced into marriage. However, consistent with existing literature, placing them in local authority housing resulted in them becoming more, rather than less vulnerable to sexual exploitation (O'Neill et al., 1995; Pearce et al., 2003; Cockbain et al. 2014; Coy, 2009). This was because the exploiters found it easier to gain access to them.

I remember an argument with the social worker and the young person where the young person was saying 'No you need to find me a place outside of [city] because now all these men know where I am and they keep getting in touch with me' because obviously they then know she is not in the family home now she is easier access (SP3).

And they [the exploiters] were also getting her - at one point when she was in the hostel...she was often still under their influence, she was erratic, she'd lost a lot of weight and even though we kept giving her food parcels and stuff you could just see like... they were definitely supplying her with drugs and drink (SP4).

Indeed, research evidence was also presented in the literature review suggesting that exploiters may tell a young person to claim that they are being forced into marriage so that they are placed in local authority accommodation for this very reason (Gohir, 2015). This 'strategy' was also noted by one of the KIs who described how evidence to the OCC Inquiry heard from fathers of young women who claimed that:

Muslim boys are telling our daughters to tell professionals they are at risk of forced marriage so that they will get placed in a hostel where they are easier to control (K11).

Several of the SPs observed that domestic violence refuges may have been better forms of accommodation to place the young people in. Yet at the same time it was observed that age and gender acted as a barrier to access, again showing how young people's locations shaped the way in which they were able to access to resources.

So the plan was put in place to find her some kind of accommodation. They were looking into domestic violence refuges but the issue with that was her age – she was under 18 (SP3)

It was either a residential placement or this foster care placement...if you had said this was a young person suffering domestic violence, she could have gone into a women's refuge... but you wouldn't find anything like that for young men (SP8a).

### ***Hierarchies of need***

Different framings of risk could also result in hierarchies of need and response (Fox, 2016) which varied depending on the agency/organisation involved. In CS3, the SP described how a multi-agency meeting took place after the young woman ran away from home in which it was agreed that action needed to be taken to protect her from the forced marriage threat that she had reported. It then transpired that the police and children's services had arranged another meeting without partners at which they decided that the young woman was at greater risk of CSE and that this should be the focus of intervention instead.

We had that initial meeting and, at the end of the meeting the outcome was yes, she is at risk of forced marriage...but then what happened was they [children's services] went off and had another strategy meeting with just them and the police and didn't ask the original chair of any of us to that meeting and basically overturned the decision that we'd made... and went down the line of we think she is at greater risk of sexual exploitation than she is of forced marriage (SP3)

Intersectionality recognises that young people will be positioned along intersecting axes of power which will, in turn, intersect with social systems of power. Yet what the theory does not appear to account for and which emerged from analysis was that hierarchies of power also exist within the social systems themselves. Analysis of the SP interviews suggested that

statutory agencies held more power within multi-agency working arrangements so that it was their framings that prevailed and ultimately impacted the young people. This is what happened in the case described above. Similarly in CS6, the SP described how a social worker denied a young person support around CSE because she held the view that the young woman had 'fabricated' what had happened and 'did not believe a word she said' (SP6). It is reported in this case that children's services described the voluntary sector organisation that was supporting the young woman as naïve because, in their view, she was 'manipulating them but they could not see it'.

### ***Young people framed as manipulators and liars***

It was not uncommon for SPs to describe how statutory agency professionals believed that young people were manipulative. Analysis of the interviews with SPs suggested that this was grounded in the perception that young people displayed inconsistent behaviour. So, for example, in CS1 the young person self-signed out of an emergency care placement and went back home. In CS3 the young person made an allegation of forced marriage and expressed fear of her family members but then continued to have contact with them.

Even though she was living at the hostel she was going home and getting mum to cook food for her...some professionals were feeling that she was kind of holding her parents to ransom because she was getting all these services involved and saying all this stuff was happening and then changing her mind...the professionals involved felt that maybe she was manipulating the system or manipulating the professionals involved (SP3).

According to her SP, children's services and the police believed that the young woman liked to be the 'centre of attention' and was lying about the forced marriage threat because she wanted free accommodation.

Children's social services and the police were saying 'oh no, there is no risk here she's making it up, she always lies'... the words 'we believe she is only doing this because she wants free accommodation' were said (SP3).

Yet as the quotes below make clear, family acted as both a push and a pull factor for the young people.

She wanted to stay with her parents and with her family, but she didn't want to get married. And it really was as basic as that. I want to choose who I marry (SP1).

She wants to be independent but that doesn't mean she won't see mum ever again she just wants to be out of mum's control (SP5).

Before the forced marriage threats were made, young people had previously generally enjoyed warm and loving relationships with their families (HM Government, 2014a). Indeed the SP in CS1 noted that the young woman had run away from what was, in many respects, a 'very warm, very caring family, loving environment'. As several of the young people in the focus group discussions observed:

The problem of running away is – you just move away from your family I mean. That must be tough. Families are important (FG2).

People who have been to social services and in foster care they don't enjoy it because the problems aren't solved and they just take them away from the family (FG2).

The emotional and social costs of fleeing were, therefore, vastly underestimated by professionals from statutory agencies (Phillips & Dustin, 2004).

According to the SPs it was also common for statutory agency professionals to suggest that young people were liars. Analysis revealed that this accusation was based on the fact that some of the young people later retracted their allegations of forced marriage threats and/or sexual exploitation and other forms of harm. Once more, however, this behaviour appeared to be linked to concerns relating to family relationships. As noted in chapter five, young people only left home as a last resort. One young woman told her SP that she had tried to 'go through' with the marriage that was arranged for her but was unable to do so.

She thought he [her cousin] was ok and that maybe she could go through with it [the marriage] but the more she got to know him, the more she realised that she didn't particularly like or want to be with him (SP1).

Several other young women explained that they did not want to upset or disappoint family members or get them into trouble, despite the harm that faced (see MoJ, 2010).



She didn't really want to be going against mum and dad's wishes or speaking against them regardless of the risk she could be put at which I still find - wow. I don't think she was scared of them I think she didn't want to upset or disappoint them. That is the impression I got (SP2).

She'd often talk in sessions about the shame and honour thing and you know I am letting my family down, I am letting people down this is what I am doing (SP3)

The fear of causing parents to be disappointed in their children for not acting according to their wishes was also noted by one of the young people in the focus group discussions.

Some kids would just be scared to disappoint their parents. I mean for me I don't wanna disappoint or upset them – they've got to accept it but you don't wanna do that at the end of the day (FG2).

Retractions of CSE accusations were also linked in several cases to protecting families. In CS6 the exploiters were reported to have made threats to rape the young woman's mother and sister and to burn the house down.

Professionals appeared to find retraction easier to accept when young people had made other allegations and withdrawn them in the past. For instance, the young woman in CS3 had previously alleged physical abuse by her parents and rape by the men who exploited

her but then retracted the allegations. When confronted about allegations of forced marriage the young woman's parents then used her history to discredit her to professionals.

The parents' response was oh no, this is all lies you know, we wouldn't do that [force her into marriage]... their response was along the lines of 'well you know she lies, she's always lied; she always makes these allegations' (SP3).

This section highlights how the child protection system has historically focused on the abuse of young children meaning that its ability to engage with and relate to older children and adolescents is questioned (Nelson, 2016; Shuker, 2013). Indeed one SP described this as being an issue of professional challenge.

Even at age 17 they are a child and I think lots of agencies forget that, particularly in the statutory sector for whatever reason....Where we professionally challenge other professionals is around the child centredness – you've got to say if I were you [the young woman] if I was stood in your place what would this feel like for me. And I think lots of agencies miss that (SP3).

### ***Professionals breaking protocol***

The practice of discussing allegations of forced marriage with the alleged perpetrators is, as chapter one describes, not recommended in cases of forced marriage. Nevertheless, as the section above reveals, SPs referred to this happening in some cases.

Bearing in mind that children's social care at this point had not followed any of the forced marriage protocol – they shouldn't have discussed it with the parents, the parents shouldn't have been made aware of it... They wanted to attempt mediation with the parents and this young person and educate the parents around forced marriage. Well the second and third bullet points on the forced marriage protocol say; the first one is do not discuss it with the parents - the second one is do not return the young person to the family home until the risk has been fully assessed and the third one is never attempt mediation. Already they had contravened what the policy and procedures say (SP3).

Similarly in CS2 the young woman was interviewed about the forced marriage allegation by children's services at home and with her parents present. This led the young woman to retract the accusation even though it was true leading children's services to close the case.

So social care go out and do a visit, don't see the young person on her own, dad is back and young person is saying no, no I was never at risk of forced marriage – it was all made up... social care's attitude is that everything is fine - she's said that she's making it up so we're closing it [the case] (SP2).

These examples reinforce how adopting a child safeguarding approach in cases of forced marriage may inadvertently place young people at greater risk of harm (HM Government, 2014b). Yet these cases were also unusual in that the concurrent response to CSE clearly required a child safeguarding response making it tricky to reconcile the two approaches. Complicating things still further was that, although young people may have been responded

to via child safeguarding frameworks, statutory agency professionals were reported to assume that 16 and 17 year olds had reached adulthood given their lack of child-centredness.

***How professionals interpreted young people's agency***

The SPs appreciated that the young people had agency but, at the same time, they also recognised that it was 'constrained' (see chapter two: Melrose, Barrett & Brodie, 1999; Scott & Skidmore, 2006). This was illustrated through recognition that although the young women's actions might be considered to be 'risky' the context in which they were operating afforded few options to choose from. As such their actions often represented the most viable form of resistance based on their circumstances (Pits, 1997; Kanyeredzi, 2013).

She's quite an articulate and resilient young person but forced to make a serious judgement error (SP1).

It's quite sad that this is her way out, to choose a boyfriend very quickly who she really knows very little about [but] at least that way she feels like she's had some say and it is her choice (SP2).

There were elements of her where the running away, you know the going to different groups of men, was her trying to assert her freedom and authority if that makes sense? I think there was an element of 'I'm in control here...yes I am being abused in this process, but this is my way of asserting my control of this situation' (SP3).

The exploration of social divides in chapter five reveals that their agency was constructed and played out within a range of power imbalances. In the absence of support to address the underlying power relations which lead to individual cases (Shachar, 2001) the situations in which young people found themselves were the outcome of social, political and economic factors located in time and space (Thiara & Gill, 2010). As such there were limited ways in which young people could exercise control over their lives. They had as Tietjens Myers (2011) describes 'burdened agency'.

It was suggested by one of the KIs that measures need to be taken to somehow 'bring together child and adult responses so that young people can be treated within more respectful policy frameworks.

[We need to] try and marry the adult world with the child world...the young people, they don't want a social worker knocking on their parent's door...we're constrained by child protection legislation – keep the family together, first contact is with the parents - we need to have the expertise of child protection and know what the disposals are but mediate it through a much more respectful framework for young people (KI9).

### ***How young people attempted to balance harm***

In the absence of a framework that had the ability to account for the different pressures facing them, some young people were reported to have felt that they were left with no alternative but to develop their own strategies to 'manage' the different forms of abuse

they were experiencing. This and the previous chapter have shown how the overlap between forced marriage and CSE meant that young people were being pushed and pulled in multiple directions by different perpetrators on the basis of economic and relational factors.

The most illustrative example of this is crossover CS3. As described in the previous section, the young woman was placed in local authority housing after disclosing that she had been threatened with forced marriage. However this action increased the risk she faced from the men who were exploiting her. When the local authority broke with protocol and spoke to her parents, they accepted the claim that the young woman was lying and decided it was safe for her to return home. This meant that the young woman perceived there was no other choice but to arrange alternative accommodation herself. Yet because she lacked economic resources she ended up going to live with a man who also turned out to be exploitative. Her SP believed that the young woman then had no choice but to assess which set of perpetrators and what form of harm represented the 'lesser' evil. She is reported to have decided that this was the threat of forced marriage and so retracted the allegations she had made and returned home.

I think that for this young person the way she viewed it when she was being exploited – you know it was physical harm but in her home it was just psychological; but depending on where she was and how she felt [the threat of forced marriage] was less of an evil...for her to go back to that old habit of saying oh well I lied, I made it up. What kind of pressure had been put on her? (SP3).

This case, in particular, taken with the case study findings more generally, suggests that young people at dual risk of forced marriage and CSE need to have simultaneous access to safe accommodation and relational security. Just one young person within the case study sample was supported to achieve this, the young man in CS8. What makes his case unusual is that he was placed within a specialist fostering project for young people who experience CSE. The specialism of the foster carers alongside the fact they were an Asian couple meant that the young man was able to build a positive relationship with them.

The foster parents were also an Asian couple – but very broad minded in terms of the needs and protection of children. He hated having to leave that house; he hated having to leave that supportive environment (SP8a).

They were the best foster carers that I've met actually....they treated him like a son... they were Muslims themselves, they were Iranian so they understood a lot of the issues and that really helped him... they could understand where he was coming from and he felt really safe with them (CS8b).

Chapter two also presented forced marriage guidance which states that young people who have left home because of concerns about forced marriage should not be placed with foster carers who are from the same community (HM Government, 2014) due to concerns about the potential for them to collude with family members. Yet in CS8 the fact that the couple shared the same ethnic background turned out to be an important factor in the success of the project. Not only did they understand the issues that he was facing but he felt

supported and accepted by them. The impact this had was recognised by one of the young men within the focus group discussion.

I think it was ok that they put him into foster care because then if he experienced an accepting environment of his choices then he would have understood how things can work and then he would have got a wider perspective of life (FG2).

### ***Young people feeling judged***

Interestingly, one of the young women in another of the case studies was also placed into foster care (CS6) and she too went to live with a South-Asian carer since the local authority believed this course of action was 'culturally' appropriate. The foster carer had, however, not been trained in CSE and the young woman reported that she felt that she was being judged. As such she stated that it was not possible to develop a secure relationship with the woman who was caring for her.

Little consideration appeared to be given to how the foster carer may have viewed or judged [young woman's] behaviour... [young woman] told NGO worker that she was unhappy about being placed with an Asian foster carer...[because] the foster carer came from the same background there was that kind of feeling for her that the foster carer was disapproving of her (SP6).

It is noted in chapter five that, for some young people, disclosure was inhibited by the fear that professionals from the same ethnic background would collude with family members.



The young woman in CS3 refused to work with any Asian workers apart from her SP for this reason. She also communicated to her SP that, like the young woman in CS6, she felt judged.

The social worker that had initially picked up this case at the forced marriage point was also Asian and they just completely clashed...she felt she was being judged and that the social workers and the professionals were colluding with her parents and kind of blaming her... in the end she wasn't willing to work with any Asian workers with the exception of me (CS3).

For these reasons, one of the SPs questioned whether South Asian young women should be supported by Asian social workers.

And also one of the other frustrations from my point of view is [social worker] was from the Asian community – and again they think that if they find someone from the same culture and send them in its ok but it could inadvertently put them [young women] at even higher risk (SP2)

Yet such framings position 'Asian' workers as embodied subjects – something which is contested by the theory of intersectionality which highlights the importance of recognising heterogeneity (see chapter two). This is reflected within an interview with another supporting practitioner who reported how the young woman she was working with had a positive relationship with a social worker from the same ethnic background (CS4).

I know she had one, older, white lady and then I think they started doing joint work with a young Asian social worker and that seemed to work really well for a period of time...The younger Asian social worker was really good (SP4).

Indeed the fact that research suggests that young people of all ethnic backgrounds may feel and/or are 'judged' by professionals of all ethnic backgrounds suggests that decisions about care and support should focus on the 'particular situations' of individuals (Kelly, 2015). When two different issues such as forced marriage and CSE come together and both child and adult policy frameworks guide responses then this approach is particularly important.

### ***Young people feeling overwhelmed***

A consistent preference of the young people, as reported by their SPs, was that they would rather work with fewer professionals because they found the number of agencies involved in their cases overwhelming. Again, this has also been reported by young people from other ethnic backgrounds but when absolute confidentiality is vital to speaking out (Kelly, 2010; HMIC, 2016; Larasi et al. 2014) the number of professionals involved in a case creates another dynamic. It should be noted here that because of the overlaps between going missing, forced marriage and CSE, the number of agencies involved in the cases were numerous making this even more important.

There were a lot of professionals involved...the police were looking at taking statements from her against mum and dad about how they forced her to get married and then the bribery to keep her quiet. She had moved out by this point too and had a housing support worker, a substance misuse worker, a Connexions worker... (SP4).

The young people believed that the more people who knew what had happened to them, the greater the possibility that their family and/or the community would find out. As revealed earlier on in this chapter this influenced how, and in what ways, young people would engage, leading them to pick and choose who they would talk to.

She'll pick and choose when she engages with and what she tells to whom - it is about controlling what they know... keeping some stuff back – she wouldn't tell professionals (SP11)

SPs described how this was not always recognised and understood by other professionals so that some statutory agencies believed that the young people were 'difficult to engage'.

Because she was very resistant to talk to them [statutory agencies]...immediately she came with all these labels of well she won't speak to, she is very hard to engage - she lies...she is just guarded about what she's prepared to tell you which if you respect that then its ok (SP4).

This concern was, however, recognised by one of the KIs who talked about how she recommends to South Asian young women that they limit the number of people they tell to those who will support them.

I've had a couple [South-Asian young women who have been sexually exploited] and this is something [I've] spent quite a lot of time talking to them about – do I tell my

family? Sometimes I think they [the young women] have been through enough already – limit the amount of people you tell, tell the right people who are able to hold you and support you. If you tell mum and then they book a ticket to [country] and force you into marriage that is not what you want (K17).

Somewhat ironically and, again, reflective of where the power was held within multi-agency working, the young people were compelled to work with the statutory agencies and not the voluntary services. This meant that several of the young people chose to disengage with their SPs, despite the positive relationships they had developed.

Then she disengaged. I think she felt overwhelmed... she just said you're the only ones I can say no to, so I am saying no (SP4).

Its understanding that she is very overwhelmed at the moment – there's a lot going on (SP11).

Another reason linked to disengagement was that some of the young people were about to turn eighteen. Reflecting the literature on resilience (chapter two), some of the young people felt that this represented a transition from childhood to adulthood and the chance to 'turnaround' their lives and start again.

By this point she was just about to turn 18 and she said she didn't want anything to do with me, she didn't want anything to do with any other organisation – she wanted us all to leave her alone because she wanted a new start in [city] (SP3).

There is often a winding down before the 18th birthday – often young person driven because they feel they are going to be ok because they are going to be adults and everything else (SP5).

### ***Young people's access to adult services***

In any case, statutory support was usually withdrawn for young people nearing their eighteenth birthday. Voluntary services found this frustrating because they believed in the importance of long term work. One of the SPs in CS8 lamented how the young man in the specialist fostering placement had to leave it when he was eighteen. She believed that if he had been able to stay then his outcomes would have been very different.

Here we have a young fella who is sofa surfing, continues to be at risk – is in his 20s you know, actually if they'd [local authority] continued to support the lad over a period of time, I think he might not be in the situation where he is sofa surfing now and he is a bit out of control and actually there are very few services that are supporting him (SP8a).

Several more SPs expressed ongoing concerns for the young women that they had supported too.

I know that she'll be slightly over 18 now; so whether they've managed to get her an adult social worker I very much doubt. Every time we've tried to refer to adult social care they've said no. So I don't know whether she's got that ongoing support (SP4).

It was also important for the SPs to convey to the young women that they knew that the service would always be there for them, something which again highlighted the importance of relational working for good long term outcomes.

I think that's really important – that they [young people] know that you are always there and that it is a long term service. You know in a world where we are all under pressures, where we've all got funding pressures, where we've all got to meet targets you know, when you look at the young person – when you look at the child, the child is...the funding pressures aren't important; you know sticking to a work plan isn't important if that young person has come to you for help you've got to do what you can to help them regardless of whether that victim is a nice neat programme of work (SP3).

### **Summary**

This chapter has identified challenges for SPs in their support of young people experiencing going missing, forced marriage and CSE. The locations of the young people within complex hierarchies meant that some work had to be done without parental knowledge and that limiting what parents and especially fathers knew was an activity that both the young people and their mothers were engaged in. Indeed analysis revealed that gender regimes operated within the family home meaning that mothers and sisters were often also at risk of harm. This highlighted the need for a power analysis to be undertaken when working with families in order to 'unpick' what is going on as well as undertake integrated working in some cases. Challenges in relation to multi-agency working were also explored with regards

to child-centredness and relationality. The importance of professionals recognising the constrained contexts that the young people navigated was also highlighted and, in particular, the push-pull forces they experienced in relation to family and the men who exploited them. Power dynamics within multi-agency settings also emerged as an issue that needs to be addressed, as did the number of organisations and agencies involved in working with young people which risked breaching confidentiality and which were experienced as overwhelming for many of them.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **Introduction**

This final chapter draws conclusions from the findings which emerged from the doctoral research. In order to frame the significance of the findings I begin the chapter by briefly revisiting the need for the research, its purpose and the questions it set out to answer. I then organise the conclusions within four sections: the linkages between going missing, forced marriage and CSE; working with multiple risks; relational understanding and working; and adopting a power analysis. Within each of these sections I make recommendations for research, policy and practice. A summary of the recommendations is contained in appendix three.

### **A work in progress...**

At the beginning of the research process an extensive review of research and policy literature revealed that links are made between: going missing and forced marriage; going missing and CSE; and forced marriage and CSE. However, despite these overlaps, no links were made between all three issues (chapter one). Given that some South Asian young women will run away from home in order to escape a forced marriage and that young people who run away or go missing from home are at risk of, or abused through CSE a research proposition was developed on the basis that a three way link was theoretically possible. Over the four years it took to undertake the research, the knowledge base on CSE expanded and developed in ways that both supported and challenged this proposition. For instance, the OCC inquiry into CSE (Berelowitz, 2012; 2013) identified additional connections between forced marriage and CSE, as did research by McNaughton Nicholls et al. (2014).



However, research also indicated that additional patterns of linkages between the three issues might exist including, for example, forced marriage as a response to young people who go missing and are sexually exploited. The need for empirical research to address the gap I had identified in the literature also became more urgent. For instance, in a review of CSE services in Stoke-On-Trent, Christie (2014) drew attention to overlapping issues, including going missing and forced marriage, but failed to outline what these looked like in practice.

As outlined in chapter three, a case study methodology was developed to test the research proposition. Eight cases were identified in which South Asian young people (under 18 years of age) had experienced some combination of all three issues. Interviews were undertaken with practitioners who supported the young people (Supporting Practitioners, SPs) and a template was completed for each case. Interviews were also undertaken with twelve subject experts (Key Informants, KIs) across the going missing, forced marriage and CSE fields. In addition, nine South Asian young people took part in two focus group discussions (FG1 & FG2) to 'sense check' the findings. The following three questions framed the research design.

1. What are the links between going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation?
2. How do South Asian young women experience going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation?

3. How can practitioners support South Asian young women who experience going missing, forced marriage and child sexual exploitation?

In the sections which follow I summarise the research findings and draw conclusions about them. The findings are organised according to four key themes.

### **Linkages between going missing, forced marriage and CSE**

The research findings confirmed the research proposition that South Asian young women who run away from home in order to escape forced marriage are at risk of, or abused through CSE (chapter four). Yet the pattern identified within the research proposition was not the 'final explanation' (Yin, 2009). Analysis of the research findings revealed that variation existed within the pattern proposed. Moreover, a second pattern was identified in which forced marriage emerged as a parental response in cases where both young women and one young man were already being sexually exploited and going missing in this context. Forced marriage can, therefore, be both a cause and consequence of CSE: triggering missing incidents leading to risk of, or abuse, through CSE and; representing a response to young people who go missing in the context of CSE.

The typology of links between going missing, forced marriage and CSE outlined in table five below summarises the two overarching patterns identified. Under each, a summary is given of the different circumstances which were found to underpin them (i.e. variation within the patterns). The summary includes both intentional (I) and unintentional (NI) forms of missing and draws on the KI interviews as well as the case studies. Given the variety of

circumstances underpinning these two patterns, I believe that other variations are likely to exist.

**Table five: Typology of links between going missing, forced marriage and CSE**

Pattern linking missing, FM and CSE	Circumstances underpinning the pattern
<p>1. Forced marriage as a <b>cause of</b> intentional/unintentional forms of missing leading to risk of/actual CSE</p>	<p>(1) A young woman ‘consents’ to sex in exchange for money and/or accommodation because she is homeless (I)</p>
	<p>(2) A young woman seeks to identify someone/somewhere to run to before leaving home and is befriended by an adult (s) who seeks to sexually exploit her (I)</p>
	<p>(3) A young woman runs away from the threat of forced marriage to a refuge. The young person is then targeted by an adult(s) who seeks to sexually exploit her (I)</p>
	<p>(4) A young woman fears being forced into marriage. She starts to go missing and becomes involved in CSE as a way of accessing the financial resources she requires to leave home.</p>
	<p>(5) A young woman is trafficked out of or within the UK for the purpose of forced marriage (UI)</p>

	<p>(6) A young woman is threatened with forced marriage. This threat leads her to spend time outside the family home with men who move her to different locations within the UK and sexually exploit her (UI)</p>
<p>2. Threats of/actual forced marriage as a <b>consequence of</b> CSE and/or going missing.</p>	<p>(1) The parents of a young woman who has been going missing in the context of CSE force her into marriage in order to restore family honour</p> <p>(2) The parents of a young person seek to disrupt CSE and missing behaviour by threatening the young woman with forced marriage.</p> <p>(3) A young woman is abducted and sexually exploited. This leads her to believe that she will be forced by her parents to marry the exploiter.</p> <p>(4) The parents of a young woman force her into marriage after discovering she has been sexually exploited. The young woman runs away from the marriage.</p>

The development of a typology showing how going missing, forced marriage and CSE are linked in practice provides a unique contribution to the scholarly literature. I argue that its use will help practitioners to identify and respond appropriately to cases where the issues of going missing, forced marriage and CSE overlap. Due to the complexity of the cases, however, I also urge caution in the use of categorisations (see also Pearce et al. 2009). As I

have argued throughout the thesis, it is important not to overlook diversity and adopt 'additive' approaches associated with the stereotyping of young people within particular communities.

Through testing the research proposition, I have addressed a recognised need for more focused research into the issue of going missing as it relates to young people from different ethnic backgrounds (Patel, 1994; Stein et al. 1994; Safe on the Streets Research Team, 1999) as well as furthering knowledge about how CSE is experienced by young people from BME communities (Chase & Statham, 2004; CEOP, 2011; Jago et al., 2011; Berelowitz et al., 2013; Thiara & Gill, 2010; Kelly, 2013; Ward & Patel, 2006). In drawing attention to the risks specifically faced by British Asian young women I have also extended the work of Ward and Patel (2006) who highlight a significant gap in the understanding of CSE as it relates to young people from South Asian backgrounds.

The inclusion of intended and unintended forms of going missing in the typology has further highlighted how 'missing' can be used as a mechanism by young people, their parents and their exploiters. Young people used 'intended' forms (running away, truanting) in order to resist forced marriage and to expand their 'space for action' (Kelly, 2003). Some of the young people had previously run away from home over what were perceived as 'minor' incidents with their parents. I argue that such incidents may represent an early warning sign. In contrast, parents and exploiters used 'unintended forms' (abduction, trafficking) to assert or re-assert control of the young people and reduce their space for action. Awareness of the different 'use' of missing will also inform the identification of ongoing risks to South Asian young people (and possibly other young people) affected by these issues.

### **Working with multiple risks**

The typology presented above confirms previous research which suggests that sexually exploited young people may experience multiple risks (Pearce, 2006), sometimes concurrently (Berelowitz et al., 2013) and sometimes in forms that are rarely identifiable in isolation from each other (AVA, 2013). Quantitative analysis revealed that the more complex the case, the greater the number of issues that arose for the young people involved.

### ***Recognising multiple risks***

The research findings identified a number of reasons why the links between going missing, forced marriage and CSE might not always be recognised. I outline these here and argue that their identification helps explain current 'blind spots' in practice.

It was found that the 'presenting issue' may mask additional forms of harm. One learning point arising from this research is the importance of practitioners exploring with young people their experiences between running away/going missing from home and accessing a place of safety. Return home interviews for both missing *and* absent children is one mechanism through which this might be achieved. In addition, I argue in my book chapter (Sharp, 2013) that the risks faced by young people should be assessed using multiple indicators. This would mean that those escaping forced marriage situations should be assessed for risk of CSE so that young people receive a holistic response rather than just a 'forced marriage' response. On the basis of these research findings I extend this argument to suggest that young people who operate within 'honour' based contexts and at risk of, or

abused through CSE are risk assessed in relation to forced marriage and similarly receive a holistic response which addresses both forms of harm.

Young men and women are often responded to through the prism of heteronormativity (McNaughton Nicholls et al., 2014) meaning that the risk of CSE may be overlooked (Berelowitz et al. 2012; Brayley et al. 2014; McNaughton Nicholls et al., 2014). This is also linked to a lack of protective action for when boys and young men go missing due to an increased likelihood of non-reporting.

Different professionals working on the same case may frame the 'main cause for concern' differently (Berelowitz et al., 2013). This means that protective action may only be taken in relation to one issue and not the other issues that are present. Disconnects between issues may also be linked to situations in which some forms of child abuse are taking place within the family setting whilst others are concurrently taking place outside of the family setting. Because these different forms of abuse are responded to separately within protective agencies (Nelson, 2016) the presence of one might not inform professional thinking about the presence of another. Here I am referring specifically to the young women who had been sexually abused by their fathers as children and who then went on to be sexually exploited and at risk of forced marriage.

The point that young people experience abuse both within and outside of the family setting reinforces Chantler's (2006) assertion that in no culture are women and girls free from violence. This means that it cannot be assumed that South Asian young women at risk of forced marriage are not also at risk of CSE. The patriarchal power from which the three

young women in these case studies ran also exists in the majority community. I argue that this is a reason why responses to forced marriage must sit within existing frameworks of violence against women and girls so that it is not 'othered' and so that young women are aware of and are indeed able to recognise multiple forms of violence against them – not just 'cultural' forms.

The literature further suggests that there is a presumption by agencies that Asian girls are protected from CSE by virtue of the fact that they are contained in the home with little or no interaction with men (Cockbain. 2013; Gohir, 2013). Yet this does not account for the risks associated with online grooming which were apparent in three of the case studies. If young South Asian women are unable to stay with extended family and friends and do not want to be seen on the streets by a community member then it is logical that efforts will be made to identify somewhere and someone to run to before leaving home. This 'planned route out of home' phenomenon may be a pattern particular to South Asian women and may explain why their runaway behaviour may not be as visible compared to young people from other ethnic groups.

### ***Responding to multiple risks***

A number of repercussions were seen to flow from situations in which just one issue was acted upon to the exclusion of others.

In some cases, action taken to reduce risk in relation to one issue inadvertently increased risk in relation to another (see also Beckett et al. 2014). For instance, moving young people



out of the family home due to concerns about forced marriage protected young people from their family but made it easier for exploiters to gain access to them.

Different framings of risk can result in hierarchies of need and response (Fox, 2016). The absence of a response in all but one case (CS8) which was able to account for the different pressures facing the young people meant that they were often left with no alternative but to develop their own strategies to 'manage' the competing harms that they faced. Yet the retraction of allegations and inconsistency of their actions was not understood by statutory agencies in all cases, leading to the young people being labelled manipulators and liars.

Professionals from statutory agencies were reported to vastly underestimate the emotional and social costs of fleeing for young people. As highlighted within the findings, young people only left home as a last resort and before the forced marriage threat had generally enjoyed warm and loving relationships with their families (HM Government, 2014a). The desire to maintain links with their family and to protect them was strong because young people hoped that they would be able to resume these relationships one day without fear of being forced into marriage. Disclosure was linked not only to risk of physical harm but risk to family relationships and belonging.

One of the conclusions drawn here is the need for professionals to understand that when young people are at risk of harm both from their families and exploiters, the balance of power will shift between the two so that, in some circumstances, family/community members will be feared more than the exploiters and vice versa. As such, young person may be pushed and pulled between them. The practice of practitioners scoping the extent of

family and community networks in forced marriage cases (Payton, 2014) could, therefore, be extended to include exploiters so that responses consider the harm young people face both within the family home and in external contexts.

Linked to this point is that the priority for young people at risk of going missing, forced marriage and CSE is the need to have simultaneous access to safe accommodation and relational security. Safe accommodation will protect young people from family members as well as exploiters. It will also provide young people with a sense of economic security. Material inducement acted as a 'pull factor' in the form of bribes from family members to return/stay at home and offers of accommodation/food/money from exploiters encouraging the young people to live with them instead of with their parents or in local authority housing. Interestingly, one SP described how part of her efforts to engage the young woman and counteract the power of family and exploiters was to provide food parcels and money.

The thing I tried to pull her in with was food parcels...and we managed to get some money together and take her to [shop] to get the basics so we were all trying to entice her in with what we could offer her (SP4).

Explicitly connecting the concept of economic security to safe accommodation I believe extends Shuker's (2013) model of safety for young people in care. In addition to physical safety at the individual, familial and environmental levels, it encompasses the economic factors identified within ecological assessments of risk and resilience (for example, in the Sameroff et al., 2003 model). Access to safe accommodation may also provide an alternative

option for young people, deterring them from running away from home and/or putting up with abuse until they are old enough to 'establish adult independence'. Recognition of the economic aspects of forced marriage and CSE adds weight to the argument that there needs to be a 'joining up' of policy agendas in order to recognise the structural inequalities that young people operate within (Melrose, 2013; Coy, 2016) and to prevent the same social divisions extending into adulthood.

Relational safety will also counteract the 'pull' of both family and exploiters. The two case studies (CS6 & CS8) presented as contrasts in chapter six further lead me to suggest that, young people could be fostered by individuals from a similar ethnic background but only in the form of what Wilson (2010) describes as specialist support that understands specific safety issues. Moreover this would only be the case if the young person wanted to be fostered within a family where the carers share the same ethnic background thereby helping to counter feelings of isolation and loss as opposed to some young people who may feel unsafe and judged in such a living situation. As such I concur with Kelly (2013) that decisions about care and support should focus on the 'particular situations' of individuals.

### **Relational understanding and working**

The theme of relational security was also relevant to the way in which young people were worked with. This operated on two levels. It was clear that, rather than represent a protective factor (chapter three) family posed a risk to young people (Barter et al., 2009; D'Arcy et al., 2015). The findings presented in chapter five made clear that disclosure of CSE carries repercussions for some South Asian young women and men depending on the context. Upon discovery of actual or suspected sexual exploitation, young people were

verbally and physically abused, suffered restraints on their physical autonomy and were at risk of 'honour' based violence (including so called 'honour' killings). Differences emerged in relation to gender here with young women at risk of harm on the basis of exercising physical autonomy which was automatically assumed to involve 'sexual deviancy'. The young men had greater physical and sexual autonomy and enjoyed privileged locations in hierarchies of power. Yet when gender and ethnicity intersected with homosexuality they faced risks similar to young women.

Whilst all young people may fear repercussions associated with returning home from a missing incident and/or of family discovering that they have been sexually abused, it is clear that the 'scope and methods' of the regulation (An-Na Im, 2005) that existed within the family and community settings that these young people navigated were particularly dangerous. Similarly all young people experience climates of stigma and shame around the issue of CSE (Kelly et al. 1995; Kelly & Regan, 2000; Jago & Pearce, 2008) but in the context of HBV the potential repercussions resulted in levels of fear that were so high that they also caused professionals to fear for the young people and, in some circumstances, led to them failing to disclose information that they were aware of in an attempt to protect them. In particular, pregnancy outside of marriage appeared to be specifically associated with so-called 'honour' killings. Whilst suspicion of being 'sexually deviant' led to negative repercussions for young women who had been missing, it appeared that there was still an opportunity to restore family 'honour'. Conversely, 'proof' of sexual deviancy through pregnancy appeared to carry a higher risk.

Alternative relationships were 'not easily viable' for young people when the abuse they were experiencing was 'embedded in networks of friends, family and community' (Shuker, 2013: 132). Indeed chapter four revealed how the young women who ran away did not turn to statutory agencies or friends and extended family for help and support. The key factors here were 'honour' and the risk of violence in doing so. It was clear that young people were under a high degree of surveillance, rarely allowed to leave home alone, had poor peer relationships and were actively discouraged from having friends of the opposite gender. Indeed the discussion in chapter six reveals the difficulties even the SPs had in gaining 'access' to the young people that they were supporting. The almost complete absence of relational support in some cases meant that these young people relied very heavily on their SPs and one of the implications of this is the need for professionals to be able to foster trust with young people while also retaining a professional relationship with them (see also Pearce et al. 2009).

Another argument which I developed within my book chapter (Sharp, 2013) drew on the existing evidence base which suggested that, like young women in local authority care, South Asian young women who run away from forced marriage might be a distinct group at risk of CSE. This was based on the premise that 'honour' codes might shape their behaviour when missing in ways that might lead them to be more likely to encounter someone who would seek to exploit them sexually. Yet the strong emphasis on relational security within the research findings would suggest that both groups lack support networks and may be vulnerable to exploiters seeking to offer them emotional support and belonging. I argued within chapter four that, if this is the case, then the important role of specialist BME services cannot be overestimated. As I argue above, services of this nature should not only exist

within the domestic violence sector but also within the CSE sector through specialist fostering and potentially even specialist CSE refuges. Given the three way overlap in the issues explored within this thesis then this argument could even be extended to specialist runaway refuges.

I discussed in chapter five how no reference was made by the SPs about community involvement in family attempts to restore the 'honour' of young women who had gone missing or young women and men who had been sexually exploited. I also noted how this was surprising given the interconnectedness of family and community. Chapter six described how in the same way as young people used containment strategies to minimise what their parents found out, similar efforts were exerted by parents to try and keep external interventions secret from extended family members, neighbours and the wider community. The power of social pressure from extended family and community members was reflected within the case studies. The grandparents in two cases were described as being the 'working force' behind the ongoing threat of forced marriage. Similarly the social pressure connected to keeping 'problems at home' secret meant that parents felt unable to undertake protective action when their young people went missing (chapter six). Once again, this may explain the under-reporting of missing South-Asian young people. The existence of 'honour' codes at individual, family and community levels therefore meant that neither the young people, nor their parents were able to fully access the support that was available to them.

The second way in which the theme of relational security emerged through the research findings was linked to the approach SPs and other professionals used when engaging with the young people. Chapter six explored in detail how 'honour' codes and fear of

repercussions shaped the ways in which young people worked with their SPs and the ways in which they accessed and engaged with other agencies. This revealed how young people's positioning within complex axes of power also intersected with community and public institutions. Focus group discussions with the young people which I referred to in chapter five suggested that the young people might have had preconceived ideas about the support that external organisations and agencies could or could not provide and balances of power, perhaps indicating why the young people who ran away from home did not seek help. I suggest that the trust that the young people who were already engaged in services had developed with their case workers may have been the reason why these young people, when they later shared concerns about being forced into marriage did so purposefully.

This is in contrast to statutory agency professionals who reportedly described some of the young people as hard-to-engage. By describing young people in this way, professionals showed that they did not always recognise that young people feared family/community members finding out the full extent of what had happened to them. Young people wanted as few people involved in their cases as possible, believing that the more people who knew then the more likely it would be that family/community members would become aware. This led them to pick and choose who they would talk and disclose information to. It also reinforces the importance of protective responses strictly controlling access to information about young people.

Although the evidence and data informing national level findings on forced marriage, going missing and CSE presented within the literature review are the most thorough and comprehensive to date, there are (as the literature review chapter notes) limitations in data

collection across all three issues. Self-reported surveys undertaken by the Children's Society indicate that running away rates are lowest among South Asian young people. Yet I assert that the repercussions associated with disclosing missing behaviour and any harm experienced whilst away from home means that this group of young people may be particularly wary of disclosing missing incidents, even in self-reported surveys.

A consistent preference of the young people, as reported by their SPs, was that they would rather work with fewer professionals because they found the number of agencies involved in their cases overwhelming. Again, this has also been reported by young people from other ethnic backgrounds but when absolute confidentiality is vital to speaking out (Kelly, 2010; HMIC, 2016; Larasi et al. 2014) the number of professionals involved in a case creates another dynamic. Because young people were at risk of multiple forms of harm it also meant that more agencies were involved than in less complicated cases.

The lack of understanding of young people and tendency to treat them as adults rather than in a child-centred way appears to reinforce the literature (Nelson, 2016) which questions the ability of the child protection system to engage with and relate to older children and adolescents. One of the SPs described how this was a point on which she would professionally challenge. Another SP described how this challenge was reversed when a social worker accused a voluntary sector organisation for being naïve in believing all that a young person told them. Although voluntary sector and statutory agency partners were mainly positive about joint working, Jay (2014) notes how youth workers were perceived as treading on social worker's territory in her review of Rotherham, pointing again to the existence of power dynamics within multi-agency working.



Chapter six describes how some young people also felt overwhelmed by the number of agencies involved with them and so sought to exercise what power they did have by saying 'no' to those organisations they did not *have* to work with. As noted, it was ironic and reflective of where the power was held within multi-agency working, that the young people chose to disengage with their SPs, despite the positive relationships they had developed, because they worked for the only organisations that they *could* say 'no' to. I observed how intersectionality theory does not appear to account for hierarchies of power which exist within different systems of social support and the balance of power identified here suggests that this it was at the expense of the young people. Since statutory agencies held more power within multi-agency working arrangements, it was their framings that prevailed leading, in some cases, to additional and/or ongoing risks being overlooked and cases being closed too early. This latter point was also linked to support being 'wound down' as the young people approached their eighteenth birthday. Whilst some young people viewed the transition from childhood to adulthood as an opportunity to 'turnaround' their lives and start again, voluntary services found this automatic cut off frustrating because they believed in the importance of longer term work.

### **The benefits of an analysis of power**

The issue of power and control was very clearly threaded throughout the thesis, from the literature review (chapter one), to the exploration of theory (chapter two), within the methodology (chapter three) and throughout analysis of the findings (chapters four-six). A recurring theme within the literature has been that responses to CSE 'could helpfully draw on work practices developed to address domestic violence' (Pearce et al. 2003: 4; see also

Fox, 2016; Nelson, 2016). Through asserting that community awareness-raising of CSE could usefully draw on the broader experience of the violence against women sector Dhaliwal et al. (2015) have broadened this debate. I broaden it still further to argue that the experience of the violence against women and girls sector should be extended to working with young people and their families around CSE too. Indeed this provides a congruent framework within which to tackle cases in which both CSE and forced marriage are present. It is also recommended that responding agencies and organisations refer to forced marriage guidance when responding to this issue rather than just child safeguarding guidance in order to ensure that the safety principles inherent in adopting a power and control framework are not inadvertently undermined. Not only is this danger recognised within forced marriage guidance (HM Government, 2014b) but it clearly emerged as an issue from the interviews with SPs.

Analysis of the cases revealed that patriarchal power dynamics existed within the young people's homes. Three of the mothers had experienced domestic violence from their husbands and/or sons, four of the young people's siblings had been forced into marriage or were at risk of being forced into marriage, and four of the young women had experienced child sexual abuse from their fathers. In addition, physical abuse emerged as an issue for two young men as a consequence of them not 'performing' gender to their fathers' expectations. This also serves to highlight the usefulness of an intersectional approach when considering gender so that it is viewed in relation to other factors such as ethnicity and sexuality.

Taken together, the findings revealed how the multiple risks facing the young people did not exist in isolation but sat within continuums of abuse. Reflecting practice related to domestic violence more widely, there was little communication with fathers on the part of children's services (Munro, 2011). The findings discussed within the thesis reveal that involving fathers may have increased both the risk of harm that the young people faced and also risk of harm to mothers. However their invisibility meant that, although child protection frameworks considered risks to siblings, they did not consider risks to mothers too.

Complicating things still further was that, despite responding to young people through child safeguarding frameworks, statutory agency professionals were reported to assume that 16 and 17 year olds had reached adulthood. Analysis revealed that this caused statutory agency professionals to question the actions of the young people as 'risky', but the SPs who used a power analysis recognised that the young people were operating in situated contexts which meant that, when they did exercise agency it was constrained (Melrose, Barrett & Brodie, 1999; Scott & Skidmore, 2006) or burdened (Tietjens Myers, 2011). As such, the context in which the young people were operating afforded few options to choose from and their actions often represented the most viable form of resistance based on their circumstances (Pits, 1997; Kanyeredzi, 2013).

SPs who adopted a power analysis not only considered risk of harm to the young woman being supported, but also other girls and women in the household. The SP interviews suggested that, in some cases, knowledge about what had happened to/the behaviour of the young person was deliberately withheld by mothers in an apparent attempt to manage how much fathers and/or brothers knew. Yet, despite seeking to protect their children, this

still negatively impacted on the standard of care they were able to provide. The analysis, therefore, highlights the need for work to be undertaken in an integrated way when child abuse overlaps with woman abuse so that both parties are offered help.

It was clear that exiting from abusive situations at home did not guarantee safety because the underlying power relations leading to individual cases were not addressed (Shachar, 2001). As a consequence, the emphasis of the SPs and other professionals was on the young people's ongoing protection from both family/community members and the exploiters. This also made clear that in no culture are young people safe from violence because they experience it in the majority culture too. This undermines approaches which frame missing behaviour and the act of resisting marriage as outcomes of a 'cultural clash'. Therefore I conclude by arguing that gendered power analysis through the lens of intersectionality could usefully assist professionals who are confused about how to respond to South Asian young people.

### **Reflection on research methodology**

In recognition that my own experiences and background will have shaped the development of the research problem and design as well as interpretation of the research findings, this final section reflects on the research process itself and outlines what I could have done differently.

### ***Participation of affected young people***

In retrospect, I would have explored a fewer number of cases but interviewed more people connected to them, including the affected young person where possible. The issue of young

people's agency came up repeatedly during interviews with the supporting practitioners who gave their perspective on how they believed the young people were trying to exert control over their life. The research would have benefitted from hearing the young people's own perspectives and voices.

### ***Adult and woman focused***

The research process also led me to recognise that my theoretical lens is adult and woman focused. This is due to the fact that for the past ten years my professional work has been concentrated on the issue of domestic violence. On reflection, I see that I approached the design of the case study template from this perspective rather than a safeguarding children perspective. This framing also surfaced during my writing of the literature review in which I initially struggled to focus on how forced marriage affects young people under the age of 18. Similarly my research criteria initially focused on young women and not young people more generally.

I recognise that my own experiences and background shaped the development of my research problem and design as well as interpretation of the research findings, for example, how I advanced certain themes and the meaning I ascribed to the data (Creswell, 2014). I am a gendered, raced, classed and politically motivated individual and am naturally orientated towards what Creswell (2014) describes as the 'transformative' worldview. I hold a feminist set of beliefs which inform how I understand the problems of oppression, domination and power relationships.

### ***My 'relationality' to BME women***

Indeed, as the research progressed, I began to feel anxious about being a white middle class woman undertaking research on the issue of forced marriage. Although comfortable with self-identifying as a feminist, I had less understanding of the ways in which power can be more than one-dimensional and I had questions about my ability to represent the lived experiences of young women from BME backgrounds and concerns about inadvertently reinforcing negative stereotypes.

In their edited book on violence against women and girls in South Asian communities, Thiara and Gill (2010: 48) note how 'dealing with difference can be a scary business for practitioners'. This statement was both reassuring and re-affirming. It was reassuring in that it gave me 'permission' to be scared and it was re-affirming in that one of the objectives of the research was to help practitioners better respond to 'dealing with difference' in their responses to girls and young women for minority ethnic backgrounds. Moreover, research findings noted in the literature review and also within this thesis indicate that some South-Asian young women feel safer and less judged as a consequence of being supported by a practitioner of a different ethnicity.

Thiara and Gill's book also provided me with a list of bullet points that acted as a useful guide for self-reflection. I revisited these regularly during the design of my research and also in the process of writing up the findings.

- How am I located in the context of social divisions and systems of oppression and discrimination? What is my 'relationality' to BME women?

- How am I influenced by the wider construction and representation of BME women affected by violence and abuse in my responses to them?
- How do I contribute to the reinforcement of such representations and oppressions and how can I contribute towards challenging these?

Perhaps even more importantly the book 'reintroduced' me to the theory of intersectionality. This was a concept that I was familiar with from my MA studies but which I had not previously studied in great detail. As the theory chapter reveals, intersectionality provided me with a framework within which I was able to think about power. Initially this was in respect to age, gender, ethnicity and class, however as the research progressed and my case study sample expanded to include a young man who was gay, the issue of sexuality also emerged as a strong theme.

Another helpful action was arranging to meet an expert on Black women in order to confront and discuss these concerns. This led to an increased awareness of cultural bias and the need to be aware of operating from a position of entitlement. Actions taken as a consequence included, for example, ensuring that tick box options within the case study template were listed alphabetically.

### **Summary**

In this chapter I have drawn conclusions from the findings which emerged from the doctoral research. I presented these under four broad headings but, as the discussion illustrates, the conclusions drawn within them are interrelated in practice. I have identified how this thesis makes a unique contribution to the scholarly literature and also where it has extended

existing knowledge and arguments. My intention, through making recommendations for research, policy and practice is to remove the current 'blind spot' linking going missing, forced marriage and CSE and ensure that young people are responded to through relational practice which recognises the social contexts and intersecting axes of power they navigate. In recognition that my own experiences and background will have shaped the development of the research problem and design as well as interpretation of the research findings, I have concluded this chapter by reflecting on the research process itself.



## APPENDICES

### Appendix one: Information Sheet for Professionals

*My name is Nicola Sharp and I am a student at the University of Bedfordshire. I am undertaking research for my Professional Doctorate in the Leadership of Children and Young People's Services.*

*I would like to invite you to participate in my research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way.*

*Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish.*

#### **What is the aim of the research?**

The aim of the research is to understand the experiences of 16 and 17 year olds exiting a forced marriage by going missing.

#### **Why have I been approached?**

You have been approached because I would like to interview professionals who have been involved in cases where a young people has escaped an actual or threatened forced marriage. I want to understand what happened to the young people and what informed professional responses to them.

#### **What will happen if I agree to take part?**

If you agree to take part you will be asked to take part in an interview with me at a time that is convenient to you. The interview will take place at your place of work and will last for about an hour.

#### **Will my answers be confidential?**

The answers you give to me will be confidential and will not be shared with anyone else. The only exception to this is if you tell me something which suggests a child or vulnerable adult is at risk of serious harm or there is a public protection concern. If you agree to the interview being recorded, I will personally transcribe the recording.

#### **How will the information be stored?**

The Data Protection Act will guide how data is stored. All primary data will be kept on password protected computers within encrypted files and/or stored within locked cabinets. Original primary data such as written notes and audio recordings will be securely destroyed within 6 months of completion of the research.

#### **What are the risks of being involved?**

You may find reflecting on the cases and talking about the issues that come out of them distressing. If you want to stop the interview you can do so at any time. I will also monitor

your well-being throughout the interview and I will leave information of useful support agencies with you if you need to contact them after the interview.

**What are the benefits in taking part in the research?**

I would like to use the research findings to help improve professional responses to this group of young people. I will share the research report with participants and, if appropriate, will develop a model or materials based on the findings that can be used by professionals.

**Will I be identified within the report?**

Nothing that you tell me will be attributed to you personally, in other words, I will not use your name. In addition, information gained from the interview will not be presented in a way that enables you to be identified within the research report. You will only be identified by participant type. Any reference to names and locations will be anonymised.

**Plans for publication**

As noted above, I will produce a research report which will be shared with my supervisors and examiners as well as the people who take part in the research. The report will then be held by the University in its library. I may use material from the research report to form the basis of presentations, journal articles and book chapters for other professionals who come into contact with this group of young people.

**What if I change my mind about taking part?**

You can change your mind about taking part at any time: before the interview or during it. You can choose to pass on any of the questions I ask you or terminate the interview completely. If you decide that you don't want any of what you said to be used in the report then you can notify me of this for up to a month after the interview.

**How do I take part?**

If you would like to take part then please contact me using the contact details below.

**What if I have more questions?**

If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please contact me.

**Contact details**

**E-mail:** [nicola.sharp@beds.ac.uk](mailto:nicola.sharp@beds.ac.uk)

**Phone:** 020 7133 5024

## Appendix two: Case study template

### Case study template – for services in contact with young people experiencing threatened/actual forced marriage and who have gone missing

This is a case study template to explore the relationship between ‘forced marriage’ and ‘going missing’ and whether both these things are connected to child sexual exploitation. The following definitions will guide the inclusion of cases:

**Forced marriage:** A forced marriage is a marriage in which one or both spouses do not or cannot consent to the marriage and duress is involved.

**Going missing:** A break in contact which; *either* the missing person *or* someone else defines as going missing and which may be either intentional or unintentional

**Child sexual exploitation:** Children and young people receiving something – for example, accommodation, drugs, gifts, or affection – as a result of them performing sexual activities, or having others perform sexual activities on them.

The researcher is interested in forced marriage cases involving girls of 16 and 17 years of age who are British Nationals (including young people with dual nationality) and who have gone missing in circumstances that include the following (this list is not exhaustive):

- In order to escape the threat of forced marriage
- As part of the process of being forced into marriage
- In order to escape an actual forced marriage
- From supported accommodation obtained as a consequence of threatened/actual forced marriage

The researcher will fill in the template through discussion of cases with key workers.

The researcher is interested in how risks for forced marriage victims who go missing are identified and responded to. As such, service providers working within both the forced marriage and going missing sectors will be approached for case studies. This will include ‘generic’ services (for example, domestic violence service providers for forced marriage cases) as well as specialist providers (BME specific services).

Because the researcher is interested specifically in risk related to child sexual exploitation, this will be explained to service providers who will be asked to identify cases with an actual or possible (i.e. at risk of) element. ‘Risk’ is taken to include individual, familial and community factors.

Contact will also be made with services engaging with sexually exploited children to explore whether: any sexual exploitation cases involve young people who have gone missing as a consequence of forced marriage; or forced marriage is considered as a risk by the service for young people who have gone missing and are sexually exploited.

## SECTION 1: Initial identifying features of case

### 1. Type of service:

Forced marriage (specialist)

Domestic violence (general)

Missing

Child sexual exploitation

### 2. Date case opened:

### 3. Length of time the service has known of the young person:

### 4. Length of time the service has worked with the young person:

### 5. Is the case still open or is it closed?

### 6. Gender

Female

Male

Transgender

### 7. How old is the young person?

Age 16

Age 17

### 8. Date of birth:

### 9. What is the young person's sexual orientation?

Bisexual

Heterosexual

Homosexual

Unsure of sexuality

### 10. Ethnicity

Asian Pakistani

Asian Bangladeshi

Asian Indian

**11. Is the young person solely a British National or of Dual Nationality?**

British National

Dual nationality – British and: .....

Place of birth:

**SECTION 2: Background details of case**

**PART A: FORCED MARRIAGE**

**12. Why is the young person in contact with the service? What was the presenting issue?**

**13. If forced marriage element was not the presenting issue, how did this come to the service's attention?**

**14. How is the forced marriage situation best described:**

Young person already in a forced marriage

Young person worried about being forced into marriage

If so, why:

Young person agreed to an arranged marriage but changed their mind

Rejected an arranged marriage

Young person was deceived into agreeing to a 'false' marriage

Young person lacks consent to agree to marriage

Young person threatened with a forced marriage

If so – why:

As a response to sexual assault/rape of young person

As a response to control apparent or deemed 'deviant' behaviour

If to control 'deviant' behaviour – what behaviours:

.....  
.....

**15. What are the views of the young person/family/carer/significant other /professionals about the forced marriage?**

**Young person views:**

**Family/carer/significant other views:**

**Professional views:**

**16. How old was the young person when the forced marriage situation came about?**

- Age 8
- Age 9
- Age 10
- Age 11
- Age 12
- Age 13
- Age 14
- Age 15
- Age 16
- Age 17

**17. Was there a history of concerns about the young person prior to the forced marriage i.e. in need/at risk of harm?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

**18. If yes, what were the concerns? Tick all those that apply.**

**In need:**

- Health (child development)   
*Disability*
- Education (child development)   
*Missing from school*
- Emotional and behavioural development (child development)   
*Self-harm/mental health issues*
- Identity (child development)   
*Unsure of sexuality*
- Family and social relationships (child development)

- Social presentation (child development)
- Self-care skills (child development)
- Basic care (parenting capacity)
- Ensuring safety (parenting capacity)
- Emotional warmth (parenting capacity)
- Stimulation (parenting capacity)
- Guidance and boundaries (parenting capacity)   
*Coercive control*
- Stability (parenting capacity)
- Family history and functioning (family and environment)   
*Domestic violence*
- Wider family (family and environment)   
*History of missing/missing from school/forced marriage*
- Housing (family and environment)
- Employment (family and environment)
- Income (family and environment)
- Family's social integration (family and environment)
- Community resources (family and environment)
- Risk of significant harm:**
- Child sexual abuse
- Child sexual exploitation
- If yes, what type i.e. model – grooming, peer-to-peer, party, gang/group context, survival  
.....
- Psychological abuse
- Emotional abuse



Physical abuse

Financial abuse

**19. If yes, who was the young person at risk from?**

Parents .....

Brother

Sister

Wider family .....

Community elders .....

Religious elders .....

Wider community .....

Someone else known to victim .....

Stranger .....

Other .....

**20. Had the young person ever had contact with and/or reported these concerns to a professional/statutory agency?**

Yes .....

No

Don't know

**PART B: MISSING**

**INTENTIONAL MISSING**

**21. From where did the young person run away/go missing on the first (only) occasion?**

Family home within the UK

Family home outside the UK

Home of new spouse within the UK

Home of new spouse outside the UK

Other .....

**Go to question 25 unless case also features a non-intentional missing element.**

**NON INTENTIONAL MISSING**

**Has the young person been taken out of the UK? If so, to which country has the young person been taken?**

**22. If outside the UK: was the young person taken abroad without their consent? This includes coercion and being enticed abroad under false pretences.**

Yes

No

Don't know

**If yes:**

Was the young person coerced – how?

.....  
.....

Was the young person enticed – how?

.....  
.....

**23. If yes, by who?**

Parents

Brother

Sister

Wider family .....

Community elders .....

Wider community .....

Friends

- Someone else known to victim
- Stranger
- Other .....

**Go to question 25.**

**INTENTIONAL AND NON INTENTIONAL MISSING**

**24. Where is the young person now?**

- Back at home
- Staying with family
- Staying with friends
- Staying with boyfriend/girlfriend
- In local authority housing
- In refuge accommodation
- Homeless
- In another form of accommodation
- Don't know

**25. Did the young person go missing from school prior to the threatened/actual forced marriage?**

- Yes
- No
- Maybe
- Don't know

**26. If applicable, has the young person's siblings every run away, been missing from school or been forced into marriage?**

- Yes
- No

Don't know

**27. If the young person experienced a forced marriage did he/she experience any other form of abuse within the marriage?**

Yes

No

Don't know

**If yes, what forms of abuse? Tick all those that apply.**

Child sexual abuse/violence

Child sexual exploitation

Psychological abuse

Emotional abuse

Physical abuse

Financial abuse

False imprisonment

**28. If yes, by who?**

Spouse

Spouse's family .....

Young person's family .....

Wider community .....

Community elders .....

Other .....

**29. Is the young person pregnant/is the young person's spouse pregnant? ASK FOR ALL**

Yes

No

Don't know

**30. Has the young person had a baby/has the spouse had a baby?**

Yes

No

Don't know

**31. Has the young person/spouse been pregnant before but not had the baby?**

Yes

No

Don't know

**SECTION 3: Details of the referral**

**32. Who made the referral to the service?**

- Young person (self-referral)
- Friend of young person
- Boyfriend/girlfriend:
- Family of young person
- Work colleague
- Community organisation .....
- National helpline .....
- Mental health professional
- Sexual health professional
- Physical health professional
- Police
- Forced Marriage Unit
- Social worker
- Education
- Housing
- Domestic violence agencies
- Other .....

**33. In addition to the reason for referral, were any other risks identified by the referring agency?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

**34. If yes – what were the additional risks?**

- Abduction
- Trafficking
- Forced marriage
- Going missing
- Homelessness
- Homicide  In the name of 'honour'?
- Domestic violence  In the name of 'honour'?
- Other punishment undertaken in name of 'honour'   
i.e. false imprisonment
- Self-harm
- Mental health
- Suicide
- Sexual exploitation
- Substance misuse
- Other

**35. Was the young person reported missing to the police on the first (only) missing occasion?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

**36. If yes, please give details of the police force and investigating officer if known.**

**37. If yes, who reported the young person missing?**

- Young person's family
- Spouse's family
- Friends
- Boyfriend/girlfriend
- Education
- Work colleague
- Statutory agency .....
- NGO .....
- Other .....

**38. Did the police come to learn the young person had run away through different means (i.e. other than a missing person report)?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

**39. If the missing incident was reported to the police, how long was it before the young person was referred to the support service?**

- Immediate
- 1-2 days
- 2-4 days
- Up to a week
- Up to a month
- Up to 3 months
- Up to 6 months
- Up to a year
- Longer than a year



**40. If the young person was not immediately referred to the service, where did the young person stay during the missing period? Tick all those that apply.**

- Incident resolved same day
- Homeless
- Friends
- Family .....
- Boyfriend/girlfriend
- Hotel/bed and breakfast
- Member of church
- Local authority care
- DV refuge/specialist provision
- Stranger
- Other .....

**41. If more than one, what was the sequential account of accommodation?**

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**42. How long did it take to identify forced marriage or missing as an issue for the young person?**

- Immediate
- 1-2 days
- 2-4 days

- Up to a week
- Up to a month
- Up to 3 months
- Up to 6 months
- Up to a year
- Longer than a year

**43. Has the young person gone missing before?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

**44. If yes, how many times?**

- 1-2
- 3-5
- 5-10 .....
- More than 10

**45. What is the average period of missing?**

**46. Did the young person disclose that they came to harm on any occasion when missing?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

**47. If yes, for each missing incident;**

**Who was supporting the young person?**

- Family .....
- Friends

- Boyfriend/girlfriend
- Education
- Work colleague
- Statutory agency .....
- Other .....

**Did the young person come to harm?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

**If yes, how (tick all those that apply)**

- Child sexual abuse
- Child sexual exploitation
- Type of CSE (model):.....
- Psychological abuse
- Emotional abuse
- Physical abuse
- Financial abuse

**48. Did the young person have a return interview?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

**49. Have attempts been made to find the young person by anyone other than the police?**

- Yes

No

Don't know

**50. If yes, who?**

Parents

Brother

Sister

Other family member .....

Husband (if married)

In-laws .....

Wider community .....

Private investigator/Bounty hunter

Someone in position of power  
MP, religious leader etc. .....

Friends

Boyfriend

Groups/gangs

Someone else known to victim

Stranger

Other .....

**51. Are there any gaps in the trajectory of the young person's experiences since they went missing?**

Yes

No

Don't know

**SECTION 4: Response from service**

**52. What kind of response did the young person receive?**

- Child in need
- Child protection
- Domestic violence response
- Specialist FM response
- Other

**53. What services have (1) - been provided? (2) - represent unmet need?**

Signposting

Referral to:.....

Advice

Housing / accommodation

Financial assistance

Health - physical

Health – sexual

Health – emotional

Safety planning

Legal

Other

.....  
.....

**54. Have other forms of harm been considered and risk assessed? This includes past and future.**

Yes

No

Don't know

**55. If yes:**

**(1) - past**

**(2) - future**

Abduction

Trafficking

Forced marriage

Going missing

Homelessness

Domestic violence

Homicide

Other punishment undertaken in name of 'honour'

Self-harm

Mental health

Suicide

Sexual exploitation

Substance misuse

Other

.....  
.....

**56. Has the young person gone missing whilst accessing the service?**

Yes

No

Don't know

**57. If yes, how many times?**

- Once
- Twice
- Three times
- More than three times .....

**58. If yes, was the young person reported missing to the police by the service?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

**59. If yes, please give details of the police force and investigating officer if known.**

.....

**60. If yes and if the young person returned, did the young person have a return interview?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

**61. Did the young person disclose that they came to harm whilst missing?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

**62. If yes, what type(s) of harm? Tick all those that apply.**

- Child sexual abuse
- Child sexual exploitation
- Type of CSE (model):.....
- Psychological abuse

Emotional abuse

Physical abuse

Financial abuse



**SECTION 5: Young person centred perspectives**

**63. Has the young person participated in identifying their needs?**

Yes

No

Don't know

**64. If yes: How was this facilitated?**

**65. What did the young person want?**

**66. What kind of service was offered?**

**67. Were the young person's needs met?**

**68. Which other services was the young person referred to:**

**69. What was the young person's view of other services they came into contact with?**

.....  
.....  
.....

**Thank you for working with me to fill this template in. Please contact me at: [n.sharp@beds.ac.uk](mailto:n.sharp@beds.ac.uk) if you have any questions/would like to follow anything up.**

### Appendix three: Summary of recommendations

- Practitioners working with young people who have run away should explore with them their experiences between running away from home and accessing a place of safety.
- Risks faced by young people should be assessed using multiple indicators – the presence of one form of harm should inform thinking about the presence of another.
- Young people with experience of both forced marriage and CSE should receive a holistic response rather than just a ‘forced marriage’ or ‘CSE’ response.
- Practitioners working with young people should be aware that young people may concurrently experience abuse within and outside of the family setting.
- Responses to forced marriage should sit within existing frameworks of violence against women and girls so that the issue is not ‘othered’ and the links between them are recognised.
- Practitioners should be aware that when young people are at risk of harm from more than one perpetrator, the balance of power will shift between the two so that the young person may be ‘pushed and pulled’ between them.
- The practice of scoping the extent of family and community networks in forced marriage cases should be extended to other individuals who pose a risk to young people i.e. exploiters.
- In some cases it might be appropriate for young people at risk of forced marriage to be fostered by individuals from a similar ethnic background, but only if foster carers have specialist training and this is what the young person wants.
- In cases where there are multiple professionals working with young people, consideration should be given to what can be done not to ‘overwhelm’ them.
- Responses to CSE (including work with community, family and individuals) should draw on the broader experience of the violence against women sector.
- Risk assessments should consider structural factors and adopt an intersectional approach so that the particular context of individual young people is understood and appreciated.

- A power analysis should be undertaken when working with families to identify overlaps between child and woman abuse and to ensure that integrated work is undertaken.

## REFERENCES

Association Chief Police Officers/College of Policing (2013) *Interim Guidance on the Management, Recording and Investigation of Missing Persons* London: Association Chief Police Officers/College of Policing

Acker, J. (2006) Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class and Race in Organizations *Gender and Society* 20(4) 441-464

Adams, N., Carter, C., Carter, S., Lopez-Jones, N. and Mitchell, C. (1997) Demystifying child prostitution: A street view in D. Barrett (ed.) *Child prostitution in Britain* London: The Children's Society

Akhtar, S. (2002) *No-one asked us before!* Manchester: The Children's Society

APPG (2016) *Inquiry into the safeguarding of 'absent' children 'It is good when someone cares': final report* London: The All Party Parliamentary Group for Runaway and Missing Children and Adults

Amnesty International/Southall Black Sisters (2008) *No Recourse No Safety: The Government's Failure to Protect Women from Violence* London: Amnesty International

Anitha, S. and Gill, A. (2009) Coercion, Consent and the Forced Marriage Debate in the UK *Feminist Legal Studies* 17: 165-184

Anitha, S. with Chopra, P., Farouk, W., Haq, Q. and Khan, S. (2008) *Forgotten Women: Domestic Violence, Poverty and South Asian Women with No Recourse to Public Funds* Manchester: Saheli

An-Na Im, A.A. (2005) The role of 'community discourse' in 'combatting crimes of honour': preliminary assessment and prospects in Welchman, L. and Hossain, S. (eds.) *"Honour" Crimes, Paradigms, and Violence Against Women* pp.64-77 Spinifex Press and Zed Books: London

Asquith, S., and Turner, E. (2008) *Recovery and reintegration of children from the effects of sexual exploitation and related trafficking* Geneva: Oak Foundation

Balzani, M. (2010) Masculinities and Violence against Women in South Asian Communities: Transnational Perspectives in Thiara, R. and Gill, A. (2010) *Violence Against Women in South Asian Communities: Issues for Policy and Practice* pp. 80-101 London: Jessica Kingsley

Barnardo's (1998) *Whose Daughter Next? Children abused through prostitution* Barking: Barnardo's

Barnardo's (2009) *Whose Child Now? Fifteen Years of Working to Prevent the Sexual Exploitation of Children in the UK* Barnardo's: Barking

Barnardo's (2011a) *Puppet on a String: The Urgent Need to Cut Children Free from Sexual Exploitation* Barnardo's: Barking

Barnardo's (2011b) *Reducing the Risk, Cutting the Cost: An Assessment of the Potential Savings from Barnardo's Interventions for Young People Who Have Been Sexually Exploited* Barnardo's: Barking

Barnes, C. and Mercer, G. (2010) *Exploring Disability* Cambridge: Polity Press

Barrett, D. (ed.) (1997) *Child prostitution in Britain: Dilemmas and practical responses* London: The Children's Society

Barter, C., Mc Carry, M., Berridge, D., and Evans, K. (2009) *Partner exploitation and violence in teenage intimate relationships* Bristol: University of Bristol School for Policy Studies/NSPCC

Bateman, T. (2011) Punishing Poverty: The 'Scaled Approach' and Youth Justice Practice *The Howard Journal* 50(2): 171-183

Bayliss, A. and Quinton, P. (2013) *Risk, bureaucracy and missing persons: An evaluation of a new approach to the initial police response* London: College of Policing

Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, London: Sage

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

Beckett, H., Brodie, I., Factor, F., Melrose, M., Pearce, J., Pitts, J., Shuker, L. and Warrington, C. (2013) *"It's wrong...but you get used to it" A qualitative study of gang associated sexual violence towards, and exploitation of, young people in England* Luton: University of Bedfordshire, Children's Commissioner

Beckett, H., Firmin, C., Hynes, P. and Pearce, J. (2014) *Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation: A Study of Current Practice in London* London: University of Bedfordshire/London Safeguarding Children Board/London Councils

Beckett, H., Warrington, C., Ackerley, E. and Allnock, D. (2015) *Children's Voices Research Report – Children and young people's perspectives on the police's role in safeguarding: a report for Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabularies* Luton: University of Bedfordshire

Beddoe, C. (2007) *Missing out: A study of child trafficking in the North West, North East and West Midlands* London: ECPAT

Begikhani, N.; Gill, A. K.; and Hague, G. (2015) *Honour-Based Violence: Experiences and counter-strategies in Iraqi Kurdistan and the UK Kurdish Diaspora* Farnham: Ashgate

- Begum, N. (1992) Disabled Women and the Feminist Agenda *Feminist Review* 40: 70-84
- Berelowitz, S., Firmin, C., Edwards, G. and Gulyurtlu, S. (2012) *"I thought I was the only one. The only one in the world" interim report* London: Office of the Children's Commissioner
- Berelowitz, S., Clifton, J., Firmin, C., Gulyurtlu, S. and Edwards, G. (2013) *'If Only Someone Had Listened' final report* London: Office of the Children's Commissioner
- Biehal, N., Mitchell, F. and Wade, J. (2003) *Lost from View: Missing Persons in the UK* London: The Policy Press
- Bokhari, F. (2009) *Stolen futures: Trafficking for forced marriage in the UK*. London: ECPAT/UK and Wise
- Bond, J. (2014) Honour as Familial Value in Gill, A. K., Strange, C. and Roberts, K. *'Honour' Killing and Violence: Theory, Policy and Practice* pp. 89-107 UK Palgrave Macmillan
- Brah, A. (1996) *Cartographies of diaspora: contesting identities* London and New York: Routledge
- Brandon, J. and Hafez, S. (2008) *Crimes of the Community: Honour Based Violence in the UK* London: Centre for Social Cohesion
- Brayley, H.; Cockbain, E. and Gibson, K. (2014) *Rapid evidence assessment – the sexual exploitation of boys and young men* Barking: University College London
- Britton et al. (2002) *Missing Connexions: The career dynamics and welfare needs of black and minority ethnic young women at the margins* Bristol: Policy Press
- Brodie, I. with D'Arcy, K., Harris, J., Roker, D., Shuker, L. and Pearce, J. (2016) *The participation of young people in child sexual exploitation services: A scoping review of the literature* Luton: University of Bedfordshire
- Bryman, A. (2001) *Social Research Methods* Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Burgess, C., Malloch, M., Mitchell, F., Chan, V. and Eunson, J. (2010) *Grampian Pilot Return Home Welfare Interview Pilot for Young Runaways: Pilot Evaluation* Edinburgh: Scottish Government
- Carbin, M. and Edenheim, S. (2013) The intersectional turn in feminist theory: A dream of a common language? *European Journal of Women's Studies* 20: 233-248
- Casey, L. (2015) *Report of Inspection of Rotherham Council* London: Department for Communities and Local Government
- CEOP (2010) *Strategic threat risk assessment: Child trafficking in the UK* London: CEOP

CEOP (2011a) *Scoping Report on Missing and Abducted Children* London: CEOP

CEOP (2011b) *Out of Mind, Out of Sight: Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation* London: CEOP

Chantler, K. (2006) Independence, dependence and interdependence: struggles and resistances of minoritized women within and on leaving violence relationships *Feminist Review* 82(1): 27-49

Chantler, K Gangoli, G. and Hester, M. (2009) Forced Marriage in the UK: Religious, Cultural, Economic or State Violence? *Critical Social Policy* 29: 597-612

Chase, E. and Statham, J. (2004) *The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Young People: An overview of key literature and data* London: Thomas Coram Research Unit

Christie, C. (2014) *The Child Sexual Exploitation Service and Missing children service for young people in Stoke-on-Trent: A Review* Luton: Consulting/University of Bedfordshire

Cicchetti, D. (2003) Foreword in Luthar, S. S. (2003) (ed.) *Resilience and vulnerability: Adaptation in the Context of Childhood Adversities* pp. xix-xxvii New York: Cambridge University Press

Cloward, K. (2016) *When Norms Collide: Local responses to activism against female genital mutilation and early marriage* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Cockbain, E. (2013) Grooming and the 'Asian sex gang predator': the construction of a racial crime threat *Race and Class* 54(4): 22-32

Cockbain, E., Brayley, H. and Ashby, M. (2014) *Not just a girl thing: A large scale comparison of male and female users of child sexual exploitation services in the UK* Location: University College London/Barnardo's/NatCen

Cockburn, C. (2000) *Writing Effective Use Cases* US: Addison-Wesley

Coleman, J., and Hagell, A. (eds.) (2007) *Adolescence, risk and resilience: Against the odds.* London: Wiley

College of Policing (2013) *Public Consultation Draft – Guidance on Child Sexual Exploitation* London: College of Policing

Coleman, J. and Hagell, A. (eds.) (2007) *Adolescence, Risk and Resilience: Against the Odds* Wiley: London

Connell, R. W. (1995) *Masculinities* US: University of California Press

Coomaraswamy, R. (2005) Preface: violence against women and crimes of honour in Welchman, L. and Hossain, S. (eds.) xi-iv *"Honour" Crimes, Paradigms, and Violence Against Women* London: Spinifex Press and Zed Books

Cooper, A. and Lousader, J. (2005) *Borderline Welfare: Feeling and Fear of Feeling in Modern Welfare* London: H Karnac Books

Coy, M. (2009) 'Moved Around Like Bags of Rubbish Nobody Wants' How Multiple Placement Moves Can Make Young Women Vulnerable to Sexual Exploitation Child Abuse Review 18(4): 254-266

Coy, M. (2016) Joining the dots on sexual exploitation of children and women: a way forward for UK policy responses *Critical Social Policy* 36(4): 1–20

Coy, M., Kelly, L. and Foord, J. (2007) *Map of Gaps* London: End Violence Against Women/Equality and Human Rights Commission

Coy, M., Kelly, L. and Foord, J. (2009) *Map of Gaps 2* London: Equality and Human Rights Commission/End Violence Against Women

Coy, M., and Kelly, L. (2011) *Islands in the stream: An evaluation of four London independent domestic violence advocacy schemes* London: Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit

Coy, M., Thiara, R. and Kelly, L. (2011) *Boys think girls are toys? An evaluation of the Nia Project prevention programme on sexual exploitation final report* London: Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit

Crenshaw, K. (1993) Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1241-99

Creswell, J. W. (2014) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* US: Sage Publications

D'Arcy, K., Dhaliwal, S., Thomas, R. Brodie, I. and Pearce, J. (2015) *Families and Communities Against Child Sexual Exploitation (FCASE) Final Evaluation Report* Luton: University of Bedfordshire

Department for Children, Schools and Families (2009) *Safeguarding children and young people from sexual exploitation: Supplementary guidance to working together to safeguard children* London: HM Government

Department for Education (2013) *Statutory guidance on children who run away and go missing from home or care* London: Department for Education

Dhaliwal, S., D'Arcy, K. and Thomas, R. (2015) Community awareness raising on child sexual exploitation: possibilities and problems *Safer Communities* 14(1): 4-15



Department of Health/Home Office (2000) *Safeguarding Children Involved in Prostitution: Supplementary Guidance to Working Together to Safeguard Children* London: Department of Health, National Assembly for Wales, Home Office, Department for Education and Employment

Donovan, C. (2014) *The Ace Project: Developing an Agenda for Change in the North East and Beyond on Young LGBTQ People and Child Sexual Exploitation* Sunderland: University of Sunderland

Downes, J., Kelly, L. and Westmarland, N. (2014) Ethics in violence and abuse research – a positive empowerment approach *Sociological Research Online* 19(1) 2

Dustin, M. and Phillips, A. (2008) Whose agenda is it? Abuses of women and abuses of 'culture' in Britain *Ethnicities* 8(3): 405-424

Dyer, E. (2015) *'Honour' Killings in the UK* London: Henry Jackson Society

Eaves (2013) *"It's a human rights abuse...end of!" A study of young people's attitudes to forced marriage and its gendered dimensions* London: Eaves

Evans, K., Houghton-Brown, M. and Rees, G. (2007) *Stepping up: The future of runaways services* London: The Children's Society

Eversley, J. and Khanom, H. (2002) *Forced Marriages in the Bangladeshi Community – A Report* London: Queen Mary University of London

Farrington, D.P. (2000) Explaining and preventing crime: The globalization of knowledge—The American Society of Criminology 1999 presidential address *Criminology* 38(1): 1–24

Flanagan, R. (2008) *The Review of Policing: Final report* London: The Review of Policing

Fortune, A. E. and Reid, W. J. (1999) *Research in Social Work: Third Edition* New York: Columbia University Press

Fox, C. (2016) *'It's not on the radar' The hidden diversity of children and young people at risk of sexual exploitation in England* Barkingside: Barnardo's

Franks, M. (2004) *The work of safe on our streets with minority ethnic runaways: An analysis of work carried out with four young women from South Asian, Muslim backgrounds* London: The Children's Society

Gaizauskaite, I. (2012) The Use of the Focus Group Method in Social Work Research *Social Work* 11(1): 19-30

Gangoli, G., McCarry, M., and Razak, A. (2009) Child marriage or forced marriage? South Asian communities in North East England *Children and Society* 23: 418-429

- Gill, A. K. (2014a) Introduction: 'Honour' and 'Honour'-Based Violence: Challenging Common Assumptions in Gill, A. K., Strange, C. and Roberts, K. (eds.) *'Honour' Killing and Violence: Theory, Policy and Practice* pp. 1-26 Location: UK Palgrave Macmillan
- Gill, A. K. (2014b) 'All they think about is honour': The Murder of Shafiea Ahmed in Gill, A. K., Strange, C. and Roberts, K. *'Honour' Killing and Violence: Theory, Policy and Practice* pp. 177-198 UK Palgrave Macmillan
- Gill, A. K., Begikhani, N. and Hague, G. (2012) "Honour"-based Violence in Kurdish Communities *Women's Studies International Forum* 35(2)75-85
- Gill, A. K. and Mitra-Khan, T. (2010) Moving toward a 'Multiculturalism without Culture': Constructing a Victim-Friendly Human Rights Approach to Forced Marriage in the UK in Thiara, R. and Gill, A. (eds.) *Violence Against Women in South Asian Communities: Issues for Policy and Practice* pp.128-155 London: Jessica Kingsley
- Gohir, S. (2013) *Unheard Voices: The Sexual Exploitation of Asian Girls and Young Women* Birmingham: Muslim Women's Network
- Goldson, B. (2005) Taking Liberties: Policy and the Punitive Turn in H. Hendrick (ed.) *Child Welfare and Social Policy*, pp. 255-268. Bristol: The Policy Press
- Goulden, C., and Sondhi, A. (2001) *At the margins: Drug use by vulnerable young people in the 1998/99 Youth Lifestyles Survey Home Office Research Study 228* London: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate
- Green, A. I. (2007) Queer Theory and Sociology: Locating the Subject and the Self in Sexuality Studies *Sociological Theory* 25(1): 26-45
- Haines, K. and Case, S. (2008) The Rhetoric and Reality of the 'Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm' Approach to Preventing and Reducing Youth Offending *Youth Justice* 8(5): 5-20
- Hanson, E. and Holmes, D. (2014) *That Difficult Age: Developing a more effective response to risks in adolescence* Totnes: Research in Practice and ADCS
- Harper, Z. and Scott, S. (2005) *Meeting the needs of sexually exploited young people in London* Barkingside: Barnardo's
- Harvey, S.; Mitchell, M.,; Keeble, J.; McNaughton Nicholls, C. and Rahim, N. (2014) *Barriers faced by Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People in Accessing Domestic Abuse, Stalking, Harassment and Sexual Violence Services* Cardiff: Welsh Government
- Harris, J. and Robinson, B. (2007) *Tipping the Iceberg: A pan Sussex study of young people at risk of sexual exploitation and trafficking* Barkingside: Barnardo's
- Hayes, D. and Devaney, J. (2004) Accessing social work case files for research purposes: some issues and problems *Qualitative Social Work* 3(3): 313-33

Hayes, S. and Unwin, P. (2016) Comparing the Cultural Factors in the Sexual Exploitation of Young People in the UK and USA: Insights for Social Workers *Social Work Review* 1: 27-39

Hedges, C. (2002) *Missing You Already: A Guide to the Investigation of Missing Persons* London: Home Office

Hester, M., Gangoli, G., Gill, A., Mulvihill, N., Bates, L., Matolcsi, A., Walker, S. J. and Yar, K. (2015) *Victim/survivor voices – a participatory research project: Report for HMIC Honour-based violence inspection* Bristol: University of Bristol

Home Office (2005) *Domestic violence: a national report* London: Home Office

Home Office (2008) *Marriage to Partners from Overseas* London: Home Office

Her Majesty's Government (2009a) *Multi-agency Practice Guidelines: Handling Cases of Forced Marriage* London: Home Office/Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Her Majesty's Government (2009b) *The Right to Choose: Multi-agency Statutory Guidance for Dealing with Forced Marriage* London: Home Office/Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Her Majesty's Government (2010) *Forced Marriage and Learning Disabilities: Multi-Agency Practice Guidelines* London: Home Office/Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Her Majesty's Government (2012) *Call to End Violence Against Women and Girls: Taking Action – the next chapter* London: Home Office

Her Majesty's Government (2014a) *The Right to Choose: Multi-agency Statutory Guidance for Dealing with Forced Marriage* London: Home Office/Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Her Majesty's Government (2014b) *Multi-agency Practice Guidelines: Handling cases of Forced Marriage* London: Home Office/Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Her Majesty's Government (2016) *Statutory definition of child sexual exploitation: Government consultation* London: Home Office

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (2008) *Protecting vulnerable people* London: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (2016) *Missing children: who cares? The police response to missing and absent children* London: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (2016) *The depths of dishonour: Hidden voices and shameful crimes – an inspection of the police response to honour-based violence, forced marriage and female genital mutilation* London: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary

Home Office (2012) *Cross government definition of domestic violence: A consultation – summary of responses* London: Home Office

Home Office Communications Directorate (2000) *A Choice by Right: The Report of the Working Group on Forced Marriage* London: Home Office

Home Office/AVA (2013) *Information for Local Areas on the change to the Definition of Domestic Violence and Abuse* London: Home Office

Home Office/Foreign and Commonwealth Office (2016) *Forced Marriage Unit Statistics 2015* London: Home Office/Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Hoyle, C. (2008) Will she be safe? A critical analysis of risk assessment in domestic violence cases *Children and Youth Services Review* 30: 323-337

Hughes, C. and Thomas, M. 'You can trust me...' *Young people going missing and at risk of, or abused through, child sexual exploitation in North Wales* Barkingside: Barnardos

Humphreys, C., Thiara, R., Regan, L., Lovett, J., Kennedy, L. and Gibson, A. (2005) *Prevention not Prediction: A preliminary analysis of the MPS Domestic Violence Risk Assessment Model (SPECSS)* London: Metropolitan Police Service

Imkaan (2016) *Capital Losses: The State of the Specialist BME ending violence against women sector in London* London: Imkaan

Imkaan/Rights of Women (2016) *Creating a Clear Pathway for Practice: Working Towards More Effective Responses to Survivors of Forced Marriage* London: Imkaan/Rights of Women

Izzidien, S. (2008), *I Can't Tell People What is Happening at Home Domestic Abuse within South Asian Communities: The Specific Needs of Women, Children and Young People* London: NSPCC

Jackson, S. (2003) Heterosexuality, heteronormativity and gender hierarchy: some reflections of recent debates *Sexualities and Society* 69-83

Jago, S. and Pearce, J. (2008) *Gathering evidence of the sexual exploitation of children and young people: A scoping exercise* Luton: University of Bedfordshire

Jago, S., Arocha, L., Brodie, I., Melrose, M., Pearce, J. and Warrington, C. (2011), *What's Going on to Safeguard Children and Young People from Sexual Exploitation? How Local Partnerships Respond to Child Sexual Exploitation* Luton: University of Bedfordshire

Jay, A. (2014) *Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Rotherham, 1997-2013* Rotherham: Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council

Jeffreys, S. (2012) Beyond 'Agency' and 'Choice' in Coy, M. (ed.) *Prostitution, harm and gender inequality: theory, research and policy* pp. 69-83 Farnham: Ashgate

Jha, K. (2004) Runaway Asian girls in Glasgow: the role and response of the community *Scottish Affairs* 48: 66-80

Julios, C. (2015) *Forced Marriage and 'Honour' Killings in Britain: Private lives, community crimes and public policy perspectives* Farnham: Ashgate

Kanyeredzi, A. (2013) Finding a Voice: African and Caribbean Heritage Women Help Seeking in Rehman, Y., Kelly, L. and Siddiqui, H. (eds.) *Moving in the Shadows: Violence in the Lives of Minority Women and Children* pp. 205-224 Surrey: Ashgate

Kapoor, A. (2007) *A scoping project on child trafficking in the UK* London: CEOP/Home Office

Kazimirski, A., Keogh, P., Kumari, V., Smith, R., Gowland, S., Purdon, S. and Khanum, N. (2009) *Forced Marriage: Prevalence and Service Response* London: National Centre for Social Research, Department for Children, Schools and Families

Kelly, L. (1988) *Surviving sexual violence* London: Blackwell Publishing/Policy Press

Kelly, L. (2003) The Wrong Debate: Reflections on why force is not the key issue with respect to trafficking in women for sexual exploitation *Feminist Review* 73: 139-44

Kelly, L. (2010) Foreword Thiara, R. and Gill, A. (2010) *Violence Against Women in South Asian Communities: Issues for Policy and Practice* pp. 9-13 London: Jessica Kingsley

Kelly, L. (2011) Standing the test of time? Reflections on the concept of the continuum of sexual violence in Brown, J. and Walklate, S. (eds.) *Handbook on Sexual Violence* pp. xvii-xxvi USA and Canada: Taylor and Francis

Kelly, L. (2013) Introduction in Rehman, Y., Kelly, L. and Siddiqui, H. (eds.) *Moving in the Shadows: Violence in the Lives of Minority Women and Children* pp. 1-11 Surrey: Ashgate

Kelly, L., and Regan, L. (2000) *Rhetorics and realities: Sexual exploitation of children in Europe* London: Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit

Kelly, L., Wingfield, R., Burton, S. and Regan, L. (1995) *Splintered Lives: Sexual Exploitation in the Context of Children's Rights and Child Protection* Barkingside: Barnardo's

Kelley, P. (1998) Children, parents and risk *Health and Social Care in the Community* 6(1): 16-24

Kelly, P. (2001) Youth at Risk: processes of individualisation and responsabilisation in the risk society *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education* 22(1): 23-33

Khanum, N. (2008) *Forced marriage, family cohesion and community engagement; national learning through a case study of Luton* Luton: Equality in Diversity

Laing, L., Humphreys, C., Cavanagh, K. (2013) *Social Work and Domestic Violence: Developing Critical and Reflective Practice* London: Sage Publications

Larasi, M., Roy, S. and Tweedale, R. (2014) *"This is not my destiny" Reflecting on responses to forced marriage in England and Wales* London: Imkaan/Rights of Women

Lillywhite, R. and Skidmore, P. (2006) 'Boys are Not Sexually Exploited? A Challenge to Practitioners' *Child Abuse Review* 15: 351-61

Luthar, S. S., Cicchetti, D. and Becker, B. (2000) The construct of resilience: A critical evaluation and guidelines for future work *Child Development* 71: 543-562

Luthar, S. and Zelazo, L. B. (2003) Research on Resilience: an integrative review in Luthar, S. S. (ed.) *Resilience and vulnerability: Adaptation in the Context of Childhood Adversities* pp. 510-551 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Madhok, S., Phillips, A. and Wilson, K. (2013) Introduction in Madhok, S., Phillips, A. and Wilson, K. (eds.) *Gender, Agency and Coercion* pp.1-13 London: Palgrave Macmillan

Masten, A. S. and Powell, J. L. (2003) A resilience framework for research, policy and practice in Luthar, S. S. (2003) (ed.) *Resilience and vulnerability: Adaptation in the Context of Childhood Adversities* New York: Cambridge University Press

McNaughton-Nicholls, C.; Cockbain, E.; Brayley, H.; Harvey, S.; Fox, C.; Paskell, C.; Ashby, M., Gibson, K. and Jago, N. (2014) *Research on the sexual exploitation of boys and young men: A UK scoping study. Summary of findings* Barking: Barnardo's

McNaughton-Nicholls, C.; Harvey, S. and Paskell, C. (2014) *Gendered perceptions: what professionals say about the sexual exploitation of boys and young men in the UK* Barking: UCL/Barnardo's

Meeto, V. and Mirza, H. S. (2007) Lives at risk: Multiculturalism, young women and 'honour' killings in Thom, B., Sales, R. and J. Pearce (eds.), *Growing Up With Risk* pp. 149-164 Bristol: The Policy Press

Melrose, M. (2004) Young People Abused through Prostitution: Some Observations for Practice *Practice Social Work in Action* 16(1): 17-29

Melrose, M. (2010) What's Love Got to do with it? Theorising Young People's Involvement in Prostitution *Youth and Policy Special Edition* 104: 12-30

Melrose, M. (2011) Regulating social research: Exploring the implications of extending ethical review procedures in social research *Sociological Research Online* 16(2) 14

Melrose, M. (2012) Twenty-First Century Party People: Young People and Sexual Exploitation in the New Millennium *Child Abuse Review* 22: 155-168

Melrose, M. (2013) Young People and Sexual Exploitation: A Critical Discourse Analysis in Melrose, M. and Pearce, J. (eds.) *Critical Perspectives on Child Sexual Exploitation and Related Trafficking* pp.9-22 Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Melrose, M., Barrett, D. and Brodie, I. (1999) *One Way Street: Retrospectives on Childhood Prostitution* London: The Children's Society

Michaud, P. A. (2006) Adolescents and risks: Why not change our paradigm? *Journal of Adolescent Health* 38: 481–483

Mikhail, S. (2002) Child marriage and child prostitution: Two forms of sexual exploitation *Gender and Development* 10(1): 43-49

Ministry of Justice (2010) *Findings of the Forced Marriage IDVA Support Pilot (September 2009-February 2010)* London: Ministry of Justice

Munro, E. (2011) *The Munro Review of Child Protection: Final report – a child-centred system* London: The Stationary Office

NatCen/UCL (2014) *Hidden in plain sight: A coping study into the sexual exploitation of boys and young men in the UK* Barkingside: Barnardo's

National Crime Agency (2016) *Missing Persons Data Report: 2014/15* London: UK Missing Persons Bureau

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

Neville, L. and Sanders-McDonagh, E. (2014) *Preventing Domestic Violence and Abuse: Common Themes Lessons Learned from West Midlands' DHRs* London: Middlesex University London

Newiss, G. (1999) *Missing presumed...? The police response to missing persons* London: Police Research Series Paper 114

Newiss, G. (2006) Understanding the risk of going missing: estimating the risk of fatal outcomes in cancelled cases *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management* 29(2): 246-260

National Police Chiefs' Council (2015) *Changes to the definition of absent and other matters* Wiltshire: Association of Chief Police Officers

National Police Improvement Agency (2010) *Guidance on the Management, Recording and Investigation of Missing Persons* London: National Policing Improvement Agency

Office of the Children's Commissioner (2012) *Briefing for the Rt. Hon Michael Gove MP, Secretary of State for Education, on the Emerging Findings of the Office of the Children's*

*Commissioner Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Gangs and Groups with a Special Focus on Children in Care* London: Office of the Children's Commissioner

O'Brien, C., and Scott, C. (2007) The role of the family in J. Coleman, and A. Hagell (eds.) *Adolescence, risk and resilience: Against the odds* pp. 17-40 London: Wiley

O'Connell-Davidson, J. (2005) *Children in the Global Sex Trade* Cambridge: Polity Press

O'Neill, M., Goode, N. and Hopkins, K. (1995) Juvenile Prostitution: The Experience of Young Women in Residential Care *Childright* 113: 14-16

Oswell, D. (2013) *The Agency of Children: From family to global human rights* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Palencia, L., Malmusi, D. and Borell, C. (2014) *Incorporating Intersectionality in Evaluation of Policy Impacts on Health Equity* London: Sophie

Parr, H. and Stevenson, O. (2013) *Missing People, Missing Voices: Stories of Missing Experience* Glasgow: University of Glasgow

Paskell, C. (2013) *The Tangled Web: How Child Sexual Exploitation is Becoming More Complex* Barkingside: Barnardo's

Patel, G. (1994) *The Porth Project: A study of homelessness and running away amongst young black people in Newport, Gwen* London: The Children's Society

Patel, P. (2013) Multi-faithism and the Gender Question: Implications of Government Policy on the Struggle for Equality and Rights for Minority Women in the UK in Rehman, Y., Kelly, L. and Siddiqui, H. (eds.), *Moving in the Shadows: Violence in the Lives of Minority Women and Children* pp. 41-58 Surrey: Ashgate

Patel, P. and Siddiqui, H. (2010) Shrinking Secular Spaces: Asian Women at the Intersect of Race, Religion and Gender in Thiara, R. and Gill, A. (2010) *Violence Against Women in South Asian Communities: Issues for Policy and Practice* pp.128-155 London: Jessica Kingsley

Payne, M. (1995) Understanding 'going missing': issues for social work and social services *British Journal of Social Work* 25(3): 333-48

Payton, J. (2014) 'Honor', Collectivity and Agnation: Emerging Risk Factors in 'Honor'-Based Violence *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 29(16): 2863-2883

Pearce, J. (2006) Finding the 'I' in Sexual Exploitation: Young People's Voices within Policy and Practice in *Sex Work Now* Campbell, R. and O'Neill, M. (eds.) chapter eight Devon: Willan Publishing

Pearce, J. (2009) *Young people and sexual exploitation: It isn't hidden, you just aren't looking* London: Routledge Falmer



Pearce J. (2013) A Social Model of 'Abused Consent' in Melrose, M. and Pearce, J. (2013) (eds.) *Critical Perspectives on Child Sexual Exploitation and Related Trafficking* pp.9-22 Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Pearce, J. and Melrose, M. (2013) Concluding Thoughts in Melrose, M. and Pearce, J. (2013) (eds.) *Critical Perspectives on Child Sexual Exploitation and Related Trafficking* pp. 9-22 Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Pearce, J., Williams, M. and Galvin, C. (2003) *It's Someone Taking a Part of You: A Study of Young Women and Sexual Exploitation* London: National Children's Bureau and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Phillips, A. (2013) Does the Body Make a Difference? in Madhok, S; Phillips, A; and Wilson, K (2013) *Gender, Agency and Coercion* pp. 143-156 London: Palgrave Macmillan

Phillips, A., and Dustin, M. (2004) *UK initiatives on forced marriage: Regulation, dialogue and exit* London: LSE Research Online

Phoenix, J. (2012) *Out of Place: The Policing and Criminalisation of Sexually Exploited Girls and Young Women* London: Howard League for Penal Reform

Pitts, J. (1997) Causes of youth prostitution, new forms of practice and political responses in Barrett, D. (ed.) *Child Prostitution in Britain: Dilemmas and Practical Responses*, pp.139-157 London: The Children's Society

Plass, P. S. (2007) Secondary victimizations in missing children events *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 32: 30-44

Quilgars, D., and Pleace, N. (2010) *Meeting the needs of households at risk of domestic violence in England* London: Communities and Local Government

Radford, L. and Gill, A. (2006) Losing the Plot? Researching Community Safety Partnership Work Against Domestic Violence *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 45(4): 369-387

Radford, L. and Tsutsumi, K. (2004) Globalization and violence against women—inequalities in risks, responsibilities and blame in the UK and Japan *Women's Studies International Forum* 27(1): 1-12

Rai, D. and Thiara, R. K. (1997) *Redefining spaces: The need of black women and children and black workers in Women's Aid* Bristol: Women's Aid Federation England

Rees, G. (2011) *Still running 3: Early findings from our third national survey of young runaways* London: The Children's Society

Rees, G. and Lee, J. (2005) *Still Running 2: Findings from the Second National Survey of Young Runaways* London: The Children's Society

Richards, L. (2003) *MPS Domestic Violence Risk Assessment Model* London: Metropolitan Police Service

Roberts, K. (2014) Towards a Psychologically Orientated Motivational Model of Honour-Based Violence in Gill, A. K., Strange, C. and Roberts, K. *'Honour' Killing and Violence: Theory, Policy and Practice* pp. 69-87 Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Robinson, A., Myhill, A. Wire, J., Tilley, N. and Roberts, J. (2016) *Risk led policing of domestic abuse and the DASH tool* London: College of Policing

Roy, S. (2008) *No Recourse – No Duty to Care? Experiences of BAMER Women and Children affected by Domestic Violence and Insecure Immigration Status in the UK* London: Imkaan

Roy, S., Ng, P. and Larasi, I. (2011) *The Missing Link: A Joined Up Approach to Addressing Harmful Practices in London* London: Imkaan

Rutter, M., Lester, B. M., Masten, A. S., and McEwen, B. (2006) Implications of resilience concepts for scientific understanding *Resilience in Children* 1094: 1-12

Safe on the Streets Research Team (1999) *Still Running: Children on the Streets in the UK* London: The Children's Society

Samad, Y., and Eade, J. (2002) *Community perceptions of forced marriage* London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Sameroff, A., Morrison-Gutman, L. and Peck, S. C. (2003) Adaptation among Youth Facing Multiple Risks: Prospective Research Findings in Luthar, S. S. (2003) (ed.) *Resilience and vulnerability: Adaptation in the Context of Childhood Adversities*, New York: Cambridge University Press

Scott, S. and Skidmore, P. (2006) *Reducing the Risk: Barnardo's Support for Sexually Exploited Young People – A Two-Year Evaluation* Barking: Barnardo's

Scutt, J. (2014) (Dis)honour, Death and Duress in the Courtroom in Gill, A. K., Strange, C. and Roberts, K. (eds.) *'Honour' Killing and Violence: Theory, Policy and Practice* pp. 1-26 Location: UK Palgrave Macmillan

Sen, P. (2005) Crimes of Honour: value and meaning in Hossain, S. and Welchman, L. (eds.), *"Honour": Crimes, Paradigms and Violence Against Women* pp. 42-63 London: Zed Books

Shachar, S. (2001) *Multicultural jurisdictions: Cultural differences and women's rights* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Sharma, K. and Gill, A. K. (2010) Protection for All? The Failures of the Domestic Violence Rule for (Im)migrant Women in Thiara, R. and Gill, A. (eds.) *Violence Against Women in South Asian Communities: Issues for Policy and Practice* pp.211-236 London: Jessica Kingsley

Sharp, N. (2010) *Forced Marriage in the UK: A Scoping Study on the Experience of Women from Middle Eastern and North East African Communities* London: Refuge

Sharp, N. (2013) Missing from discourse: South Asian young women and sexual exploitation in Melrose, M. and Pearce, J. (eds.) *Critical Perspectives on Child Sexual Exploitation and Related Trafficking* pp. 96-109 Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Shuker, L. (2013) *Evaluation of Barnardo's Safe Accommodation Project for Sexually Exploited and Trafficked Young People* Luton: University of Bedfordshire

Siddiqui, H. (2005) 'There is no honour in domestic violence only shame!' Women's struggles against 'honour' crimes in the UK in Hossain, S. and Welchman, L. (eds.), *"Honour": Crimes, Paradigms and Violence Against Women* pp. 263-81 London: Zed Books

Smeaton, E. (2009) *Off the Radar: children and young people on the streets in the UK* Sandbach: The Railway Children

Smeaton, E. (2013) *Running from Hate to What You Think is Love: The Relationship between Running Away and Child Sexual Exploitation* Barking: Barnardo's and Paradigm Research

Social Exclusion Unit (2002) *Young Runaways* London: Department for Communities and Local Government

Stark, E. (2007) *Coercive Control: The Entrapment of Women in Personal Life* New York: Oxford University Press

Stein, M., Rees, G. and Frost, N. (1994) *Running the Risk: Young People on the Streets of Britain Today* London: The Children's Society

Stevenson, O., Parr, H., Woolnough, P. and Fyfe, N. (2013) *Geographies of Missing People: Processes, Experiences, Response* Glasgow: University of Glasgow

Tarling, R., and Burrows, J. (2004) The nature and outcome of going missing: The challenge of developing effective risk assessment procedures *International Journal of Police Science and Management* 6(1): 16-26

Thiara, R. (2013) Post-separation violence in the lives of Asian and African –Caribbean women in Rehman, Y., Kelly, L. and Siddiqui, H. (eds.) *Moving in the Shadows: Violence in the Lives of Minority Women and Children* Farnham: Ashgate

Thiara, R. and Gill, A. (2010) *Violence Against Women in South Asian Communities: Issues for Policy and Practice* London: Jessica Kingsley

Thiara, R. and Gill, A. (2012) *Domestic violence, child-contact and post separation violence: issues for South Asian and African Caribbean Women and Children. A report of findings* London: University of Warwick/NSPCC/University of Roehampton

Tietjens Meyres, D. (2011) Two Victim Paradigms and the Problem of 'Impure' Victims in Humanity *International Journal of Human Rights* 2(2): 255-275

Tuerkheimer, D. (2013) Breakups *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 51: 1-49

University of Bedfordshire (2012) *Ethical statement: research into 'gang associated sexual exploitation/abuse of children and young people'* Luton: University of Bedfordshire

Walters, S. D. (1996) From Here to Queer: Radical Feminism, Postmodernism and the Lesbian Menace (Or Why Can't a Woman Be More Like a Fag? *Feminist Theory and Practice* 21(4): 830-869

Ward, J. and Patel, N. (2006) Broadening the discussion on 'sexual exploitation': ethnicity, sexual exploitation and young people *Child Abuse Review* 15(5): 341-50

Warrington, C. (2013) Partners in Care? Sexually Exploited Young People's Inclusion and Exclusion from Decision Making about Safeguarding in Melrose, M. and Pearce, J. (eds.) *Critical Perspectives on Child Sexual Exploitation and Related Trafficking* pp.9-22 Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Widdows, H. (2013) Rejecting the Choice Paradigm: Rethinking the Ethical Framework in Prostitution and Egg Sale Debates in Madhok, S; Phillips, A; and Wilson, K (2013) *Introduction in Gender, Agency and Coercion* New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Wilson, A. (2006) *Dream, Questions, Struggles: South Asian Women in Britain* London: Pluto Press

Wilson, A. (2010) Charting South Asian Women's Struggles against Gender Based Violence in Thiara, R. and Gill, A. (2010) *Violence Against Women in South Asian Communities: Issues for Policy and Practice* London: Jessica Kingsley

Yin, R. Y. (2009) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* California: Sage, Thousand Oaks

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006) Intersectionality and feminist politics *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3): 193-209