

Chapter 1<1>

Introduction<1>

Online child sexual abuse is a concern for many parents, practitioners, policy makers. One dominant fear is that of the stranger approaching children online (OfCom, 2018), lurking in chatrooms masquerading as a child in order to lure victims for abusive ends (Taylor, 2010). This type of abuse is often drawn to public attention in the popular press (Marcum, 2007). Yet other forms of online-facilitated child sexual abuse may be more prevalent. These reflect a growing fluidity between the on and offline world. Child sexual abuse can also begin offline and become online through filming or photography, or it can be virtual, such as in the distribution of child abuse images. It can occur between children and adults or between peers, both known and 'friended', as well as strangers. In what Castells (2000) first called the 'Network Society', distinctions between online and offline facilitated child sexual abuse are increasingly blurred.

Children and young people are living in a digital world where on/offline distinctions do not always represent separate social spaces. The online environment now mediates a multitude of childhood activities, such that analysing online/offline distinctions in the different forms that child sexual abuse takes is challenging. For example, over the last decade the use of digital technology has rapidly expanded both the opportunities for, and the scale of, trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation through false work adverts, cryptocurrency payment which is harder to trace and the production of false documentation on the 'darknet' (Europol, 2014; Hughes, 2014; Leary, 2014; Sarkar, 2015). The internet has become an essential component in the procurement of children, demand for child sex, the business dealings of sex traffickers and the detection of children who have been trafficked for the purposes of sexual abuse and sexual exploitation (Sykiotou, 2007; Latonero, 2011; 2012). So, whilst much of the activity is offline (transportation, sexual abuse and exploitation), it is mediated by many things (GPS navigation, mobile phones, money exchange, and so on) connected in various ways to the internet.

Creating a dualism between reality and virtual reality is a false one, since all activities in everyday life are mediated in some aspect, and increasingly that mediation has an online component.

A further dimension of online-facilitated child sexual abuse is that sex is political (Weeks, 2003). The combination of childhood and sexuality is an inherently moral issue, subject to social judgement. Analysis of morality as it connects to any social phenomenon is critical because what is moral *matters* to people (Sayer, 2011). Childhood and sex are, amongst other things moral categories, and consequently online-facilitated child sexual abuse cannot be fully understood without some consideration of the expectations surrounding them. For example, if the normative position is that childhood should be asexual then clearly any content that involves a child and is sexual is unacceptable and can be deemed immoral or abusive. An alternative position, first put forward by Freud (1905), is that children are inherently sexual and the development of sexuality in childhood is central to a healthy psychosocial adulthood. If it is acceptable that girls and boys do have a sexual life, then the far more difficult task is to discern what is sexually acceptable and what is not, both for children and adults. Decisions on such matters are culturally and historically contingent and there are no easy answers. However, we should not shy away from asking the questions because one thing is abundantly clear from the data on online-facilitated child sexual abuse; children are engaging with sexuality in the digital world.

What is Online Child Sexual Victimization? <2>

The focus of this book is on the victims of child sexual abuse. Victims are made both by the acts perpetrated on them (by perpetrators) and by the social context in which these acts take place and the consequences that are felt. We examine online-facilitated child sexual abuse research through the lens of this social context that contains multiple definitions of what is childhood, sex and abuse as it connects to the internet. Our approach builds on scholarship in childhood studies that distinguishes between the embodied, physical child and diverse social constructions of childhood (Wyness, 2019). The concept of victimisation

extends two prior understandings of child victims. The first, redolent in much of the research literature, is to use the term as a noun simply to describe a child who has experienced CSA, such as in 'child victim', 'victim credibility' and 'victim trauma'. Second, victim can refer to an identity, often contrasted with 'survivor' identities. Feminist debates about agency, and the power of men and women who have experienced abuse to overcome their trauma have influenced this language use (Schott, 2012). 'Survivor' is a descriptor that has therapeutic and political benefit for many people living with the experience of sexual abuse. But both 'victim' and 'survivor' have a tendency to personalise and subjectify the people involved. In this book we examine online child sexual victimisation as an intersubjective situated social practice; by this we mean that victimisation does not only describe the individual child experiences of online-facilitated child sexual abuse but that what children and adults understand as victimisation is also profoundly influenced by cultural expectations of childhood, sexuality and sexual abuse.

As in the offline world, what is identified as sexual abuse is dependent on interpretation across time and space. Children may engage in what they consider to be consensual sexual activities online or do not understand them as sexual at all. However, we know from accounts of sexual abuse prior to the internet that what a child considers acceptable to them in the present may change when they examine activities retrospectively as an adult (Wattam and Woodward, 1996). Further, what is considered as harmful online by a child from one cultural or geographical context may not be so in another (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, Anke and Ólafsson 2011b). For example, the age of consent varies across the world and across time; less than a century ago marriage to a child over 12 years old was legal in England and in some US states (such as Utah and Alabama) the marriageable age is still 14, with parental consent. Thus, the parameters of sexual abuse, what is included under the term, are contingent on time and place. But the meaning of sexual abuse is not entirely relative. Just as money retains its meaning across different currency exchanges, sexual abuse remains sexual abuse

wherever it is experienced, including online, although what is contained in that concept may alter.

Sex (other than as a biological descriptor) is an observable-reportable cultural practice that is understood, gradually or immediately, through the doings, sayings and situations involved; wherever and whenever it is performed in each individual instance of its performance. Every day 'doings and sayings' (Schatzki, 1996) may be patterned some of the time as sexual practices and not others. For example, kissing, touching, licking are all practices that, when linked, and in a particular context can become provisionally indicative of sex. But the point at which they become sexual and not some other practice such as saying goodbye, taking a tube in the rush hour or eating an ice cream, is not prescribed a priori, nor does it follow a rule. Its meaning is derived from the context on each occasion of the event. A multitude of practices connect to become recognisable as sexual practices. They are many, far too many to list here. The implication of this for online child sexual victimisation (hereafter OCSV) is that sexual abuse may only be recognised by children and adults through its context, and its situated performance and may not be recognisable as sexual at all (even if it is so to others).

In surveys about OCSV, 'sex' is often unexplained. For example, children are asked questions such as 'How often in the past six months, did anyone ask you online to talk about sex when you did not want to?' (Baumgartner, Valkenburg and Peter, 2010) or 'Have you engaged in sexual action online with or in front of somebody' (Sklenarova, Shulz, Schuhmann...Neutze, 2018). Children responding to such measurement tools are expected to already share an understanding of what sex is. This stands in contrast to cultural expectations about the relationship between childhood and sex. Childhood, particularly in the early years, is often thought of as asexual (Robinson, 2013). Ideas of 'innocence', not knowing sex, are childhood defining (Postman, 1994). Yet, as we discuss in Chapter 3, some hold that childhood is inherently sexual and that protecting innocence increases vulnerability (Carmody, 2015). This contradiction between assuming children know what sex is and childhoods of not knowing about sex

exemplifies the conflicted moral terrain in which OCSV is identified and responded to.

Childhood Harms Online <2>

The internet is now integral to childhoods in the developed world and becoming an important part of childhoods for an increasing number of children in the global south. Online access for adolescents is almost universal in many countries. In 2016, 98% 12-15 year olds in the UK spent an average of 20 hours and six minutes per week online and 72% had a social media profile (OfCom, 2016). By 2018, this had increased to 99% and 20.5 hours respectively. Of importance to our analysis here, internet use amongst younger children is also growing; in 2016, 40% of UK 3-4 year olds spent an average of 8 hours and 18 minutes online, up from 6 hours and 48 minutes in the previous year and by 2018, 52% were going online for an average of 9 hours per week (OfCom, 2018). By 2013, 95% of 8-11 year olds and 100% of 16-17 year olds in Australia had accessed the internet in the previous four weeks (ACMA, 2013) and in the US 97% of teens aged 13-17 accessed social media in 2018 (Anderson and Jiang, 2018). Internet access is generally lower in the global south but is changing rapidly (Byrne, Kardefelt-Winther, Livingstone and Stoilova, 2016). For example, 70.4% of 9-17 year olds in South Africa access the internet and just less than half (46%) reported they could do so whenever they chose (Burton, Leoschut and Phyfer, 2016).

Positive aspects of childhood internet use include educational and social activities, play and skills development, enabled through the new affordances of the online environment. Creativity is expressed in new ways through activities such as website curation, blogging and music mash ups (Livingstone et al, 2011b; boyd, 2014). At the same time, the internet can be a source of harm including online-facilitated sexual abuse and exploitation. Studies on children's use of the internet find that a significant minority of children experience some form of harm online (Livingstone et al, 2011b; Byrne et al, 2016). For example, 59% of a US sample of 13-17 year olds had experienced cyberbullying in 2018, 25%

received explicit images they didn't ask for and 7% had explicit images of themselves shared without consent (Pew Research Center, 2018). Harms are temporally, emotionally and physically diverse, singular and multiple, even in the context of sexual practices. Online coercive control in a romantic relationship can take the form of sexual harassment and cyberbullying can have psychological and sexual dimensions. One consequence of the wide range of behaviours, circumstances and events involved in OCSV is that gaining an accurate estimate of its nature and extent is fraught with difficulty.

The majority of children go online to engage in communication with their social networks of family, friends and peers (Davis, 2009; Sheldon, 2009; Livingstone et al, 2011b; ACMA, 2013; boyd, 2014; Anderson and Jiang, 2018). Online technologies continue to develop to make such communication easier and more varied than it has ever been. It has always been the case that children communicate with friends but the internet has widened networks exponentially (Mesch and Talmud, 2010). Whilst it appears that children primarily connect to those they already know and that the internet facilitates existing relationships (boyd, 2014), these expanded affordances are a source of concern for some. Parents in Sweden and America worry about children's access to sexual content, for example (Sorbring, 2014), and 41% of UK parents are concerned about children giving personal details to 'inappropriate people' (OfCom, 2018).

EU Kids Online (Hasebrink, Livingstone and Haddon, 2008) classified three new types of risk introduced by the online environment; content, contact and conduct. Content risks describe the receipt of potentially harmful material, such as pornographic images or videos, whether mass-produced or created by the sender. There have always been content risks, but the internet has expanded their scope, scale and accessibility. Extreme and offensive material is readily available, sometimes presented to children in the form of pop-ups or links from sites popular with young people. Contact risks involve an online party attempting to get the child to participate in potentially harmful interaction, moving from the online to offline. The internet extends contact risks because the range of potential contacts covers a much wider population. Conduct risks, where the child

himself/herself is a perpetrator of conduct that may result in harm to others, is also expanded.

May-Chahal, Mason, Rashid...Greenwood, (2014) proposed a fourth category of normative risk following a schools-based study. Children aged between 11-17 years use certain criteria to determine identity in online decisions regarding the age and gender of people who approach them. These mirror normative criteria that also apply offline. For example, gender was categorised through normative expectations of what boys and girls might talk about, such as boys talk about sports, girls talk about fashion. A second normative device was to categorise age and gender according to the way people talk, for example, '*they used slang such as soz which I associate with a younger person*' (May-Chahal et al, 2014, p604). These strategies work offline because there is a visual correlate but online, where the visual correlate can be absent or potentially false, they resulted in correct identification of age and gender of correspondents only 16% of the time. Such normative decision-making *practices* therefore expose children to risks of deception online.

Adults do not always need to conceal their identities or ages in order to gain online and offline contact, as children freely engage with them knowing they are an adult (Taylor, 2010; Whittle, Hamilton-Giachritsis and Beech, 2013). In the psychological literature, such risky behaviour is explained through theories of online disinhibition, which proposes people behave in a less socially controlled way than they do in face to face interaction (Suler, 2004), and deindividuation (Zimbardo, 1969), referring to a tendency towards lower self-awareness online. In particular, features such as anonymity and invisibility, loss of individual responsibility and sensory overload can contribute to disinhibition to established behavioural norms, and predispose some young people to take risks online in an environment where they feel they cannot be identified (Webster, Davidson and Bifulco, 2014). Opportunities to experiment with identity have opened up like never before; children can be adults, boys can be girls and vice

versa along with many other identity possibilities. For example, 16% of children in Europe lie about their age (ranging from 9% in Germany to 27% in Spain) (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig and Ólafsson 2011c), and various individual examples demonstrate highly adventurous masquerading (Turkle, 1996; Hernwall, 2005).

Naming the Problem: the importance of perspective <2>

Debates about terminology may seem abstract to something as harmful as child sexual abuse but as we critically interrogate the research evidence it becomes far from academic. Two narratives demonstrate the importance of perspective on recognition and naming the problem and exemplify two quite different forms of OCSV.

The story of Breck Bednar is by now well-known in the UK. Breck was a 14-year-old boy living in England who was murdered by 18-year-old Lewis Daynes, with whom he had established an online relationship, when he went to meet him for the first time at his flat in February 2014. Beginning with media reports of the court case in November 2014, Breck's murder has been covered by the national press and subsequently featured in TV documentaries. Breck had been introduced to Lewis through a gaming group with friends he knew offline and whom he trusted. Over several months, Lewis groomed Breck following a typical pattern (Webster et al 2014). He made Breck feel special by singling him out from his friends as more intelligent, relating stories that were designed to impress him (such as that he worked for the US government) and ultimately lured him to his home under the pretence of handing over a company to him. Lewis succeeded in reducing the influence of Breck's parents, particularly Breck's mother, who can only be described as having done as much as she possibly could to end the interactions between her son and someone he had never met in person. In 2014, Lewis Daynes pleaded guilty to a "sadistic and sexually motivated" attack that had culminated in Breck's death.

At what might be considered the other end of the spectrum of OCSV there are cases reported in the press concerning the mutual exchange of sexually explicit

self-produced material, which is currently illegal in several countries. For example, in North Carolina in 2015, Cormega Copening and Brianna Densen, exchanged sexually explicit images of themselves when they were in a romantic relationship whilst both were aged 16¹. These images were detected by law enforcement and the teenagers were prosecuted for sexual exploitation. Brianna pleaded guilty and accepted a lesser charge but Cormega contested the case. In September 2017 the US Supreme Court ruled that the conviction against Cormega should be upheld.

These two cases, one from the UK and one from the US, exemplify two extremes; online contact that ultimately leads to offline sexual abuse and murder, and online/offline contact between consenting older children leading to the exchange of self-generated sexually explicit material. Murder linked to online sexual exploitation is rare whilst the exchange of self-generated material is, by comparison, relatively common (see Chapter 3).

Whilst there are many nuances as to what might or might not constitute abuse, the sexually motivated murder of a child would generally be included in any definition. Taking that extreme case, Breck would not have known or claimed he was a victim until the very end of his life, yet acts that might be considered abusive but not immediately identifiable as sexual (such as deception and identity fraud) were ongoing from the inception of his relationship with Lewis Daynes. These micro practices only became recognisable as linked to sexual practices at a certain, fatal point in time. Children such as Cormega and Brianna may not perceive their own consensual practices of sexual image sharing as abuse at all, although they may do later if the images surface online in a different context.

¹ Independent, 03/09/15 <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/north-carolina-teenager-charged-as-an-adult-for-sexting-photos-of-himself-10484292.html>

Meaning depends on context, which results in the need to fix meanings for specific practical purposes, including for the purpose of legal instruments and for measurement in research. Terminology guidelines, known as the “Luxembourg Guidelines” (ECPAT, 2016) were aimed at just this task; to establish meanings in the field of child sexual abuse for policy, data collection and responses to the problem. The Working Group that drafted the guidelines reflects a wide ranging scope of international institutions in this field (UN offices and committees, the African Committee on the Rights and Welfare of the Child), law enforcement (Europol, Interpol) and non-governmental bodies (InHope, International Centre for Missing and Exploited Children, International Telecommunication Union, International Labour Organisation). A definition of online child sexual abuse is provided as:

‘Online sexual abuse can be any form of sexual abuse of children...which has a link to the online environment. Thus, online sexual abuse can take the form of, for instance, sexual molestation and/or harassment through social media or other online channels.

Child sexual abuse also takes on an online dimension when, for instance, acts of sexual abuse are photographed or video-/audio-recorded and then uploaded and made available online, whether for personal use or for sharing with others. Each repeated viewing and/or sharing of such recorded material constitutes a new violation of the rights of the child’ (ECPAT, 2016, pp 22-23).

Breck’s case would be covered by this definition but that of Cormega and Brianna is more questionable and hinges on whether their image exchange can be interpreted as sexual abuse. A key principle in advocating the use of certain terms and not others was that their meaning could be broadly agreed across linguistic and culturally distinct domains and also that use of a word did not have harmful consequences. ‘Child’ fell into this category; its meaning is clearly defined in international legal instruments (such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989) as referring to a person under the age of 18 years. We similarly adopt this definition when using the term child hereafter. However,

even that apparently simple term has multiple legal, social and practical meanings. For example, in international instruments, exceptions can be made where the age of majority within a country falls earlier, in which case a lower limit is generally set which is not less than 16 years. This is reflected in the Council of Europe Convention on Cybercrime (2001) ("the Budapest Convention") which refers to children as minors with reference to the use of 'child pornography'².

'Abuse' is another term that is difficult to define. One source of critique is that it has become so inclusive that almost any unwanted experience can be so labelled (Furedi, 1997; Walby, Towers, Balderstone... Strid, 2017). The Luxembourg Guidelines note that violence is becoming a more acceptable term to replace that of abuse. However, 'violence' is similarly subjective in its interpretation leading some to propose that the concept of violence should be restricted to 'a specific and precise definition connected to intended physical acts that cause harm...distinct from other forms of power and coercion' (Walby et al 2017, p4). But in the social practices of sex, connections between the many physical and virtual elements and their consequences are complex. Virtual sexual interactions that can result in diverse harms (such as blackmail, psychological trauma and emotional distress, suicide, forced sex acts) may not be felt immediately and emerge as the consequences of the interactions unfold. Thus, definitions need to be inclusive, as the Luxembourg guidelines propose.

Is OCSV a Moral Panic? <2>

Difficulties in defining and measuring the problem have reinforced the moral nature of debates about OCSV. Jewkes and Wykes (2012) propose that sexual violence perpetrated by 'cyberpaeds' constitutes a moral panic in Cohen's (2002) definition of the term. They identify three criteria that mark the fear of 'cyberpaeds'. Firstly, the internet enables exaggeration of an existing problem,

that of the sexual abuse of children. Second, it plays on “risk discourses within a process of moral regulation” (Cricher, 2009 p17, cited in Jewkes and Wykes, 2012, 945), generated in the context of large-scale socio-technical change which appears to place institutions such as the family and traditional roles under threat. Third, the moral panic is heightened by fear and ignorance of technology and the challenges for nation states to regulate use of the internet. Finally, referring back to Cohen’s original theory, they ask why ‘has cyber- paedophilia become such a focus of attention while real-world sexual violation of children by those who know them, on whom they depend and whom they should be able to trust, has not?’ (Jewkes and Wykes , 2012, 945-6). The people a child should be able to trust are identified by Jewkes and Wykes as adults within their own families or in caring roles.

There are at least two ways of addressing this argument; empirically and theoretically. The research drawn on throughout this book would support the argument that OCSV is a problem. However, empirical evidence does not, in itself undermine moral panic arguments; moral panics require a ‘real’ problem to perpetuate themselves. More important is the claim that a ‘cyberpaed’ moral panic takes attention away from ‘real world sexual violation’ committed by family members. First, although some child sexual abuse is perpetrated in the family, prevalence research finds that children are still significantly more likely to be sexually abused by a person who is an acquaintance or peer than a family member or carer (Bolen, 2000; May-Chahal and Cawson, 2005; Radford, Corral, Bradley...Collishaw, 2011; Finkelhor, Shattuck, Turner and Hamby, 2014). Second, theoretically, as we noted earlier, it makes little sense to distinguish between online and offline child sexual abuse when contemporary childhoods in the West are ubiquitously mediated by technology and the internet. Increasingly, ‘real world sexual violation’ involves a digital element.

A brief guide to the book <2>

This book begins with a summary of findings from a Rapid Evidence Assessment³ (REA) that addressed the overarching question; what is known about the characteristics, vulnerabilities and on- and offline behaviour of victims of online-facilitated child sexual abuse and exploitation? This question was set by the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse (IICSA). Full details of the methodology, which involved a team of researchers and information specialists, are provided in Appendix A. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the research sources and outlines some general conclusions from the research. The REA led us to question some of the underpinning assumptions about child sexual victimisation in the research we reviewed. In particular, we noted the lack of attention to specificity and context in research and the consequences of atheoretical approaches in developing the field. The focus on victims draws attention to individual children and internalised characteristics, such as levels of self-esteem, their age or ability. These characteristics are treated as qualities inherent in the individual, which ignores their origins and interpretations as socially constituted. Those who are identified as victimising children are also researched in this way; profiles of psychological traits and pathologies, age, relationship status and so on are similarly sought in the individual offender or perpetrator. The online environment is generally assessed in terms of what is being done (chatting, vlogging, gaming, learning and so forth) by the individuals concerned. This separate focus on the child, their victimiser (referred to as perpetrators in most of the literature), and the situation, draws attention away from the social and cultural context of victimisation and, as we conclude in Chapter 6, limits prevention efforts.

Throughout subsequent chapters we draw on theoretical work concerning childhood, sexuality and sexual violence as they are mediated and facilitated by

³ See

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20140305122816/http://www.civilservice.gov.uk/networks/gsr/resources-and-guidance/rapid-evidence-assessment/what-is>

the internet. This cuts across many disciplines, including Sociology, Psychology, Psychoanalytic theory, Sexology, Health, Education, Cyber security and Criminology. An interdisciplinary approach to OCSV victimisation, drawing on this work, is challenging but it is only by moving out of familiar territories that new understandings will open up. Chapter 3 takes up the issue of childhood sexuality, drawing on the wider theoretical literature. The second part considers consensual youth involved sexual imagery online and the difficult task of distinguishing between normative sexual exploration, 'sexting' and OCSV. Some of this material ends up in image databases along with many other sources of child sexual abuse material (CSAM). We review what is known about CSAM in Chapter 4, with a particular focus on the abuse of young children (under 10). We do so because in the overall research review there were no studies centred on young children and only five that mentioned them (briefly). This contrasts starkly with the finding that young children comprise the majority of serious sexual abuse images in law enforcement and NGO databases. In Chapter 5 we turn to the concepts of vulnerability and resilience, noting that most research focuses only on an individualised understanding of these terms. What can be known from empirical research is reviewed through the lens of intersectional theory which accentuates the need for a whole system approach to afford children greater protection. This theme continues into Chapter 6 where we conclude that, firstly there is a need for agreed definitions of OCSV that distinguish between normative childhood sexuality and sexual violence, both on and offline. Secondly, research, policy and practices must reflect that the child is only one element that requires protection. Taking a cybersecurity asset approach, we emphasise the need for coordinated action to enhance and protect social goods, such as trust in technology, law enforcement resources and fundamental rights. Finally, we recommend that guardianship responsibility can be extended to children themselves and consider some of the technical tools that might assist their participation.

Chapter 2 <1>

Online Child Sexual Victimization Research <1>

In this chapter we outline what can be known about the characteristics, vulnerabilities and on- and offline behaviour of victims of online-facilitated child sexual abuse and exploitation as these have been researched over the last decade. We begin with a summary of the main types of research that have been carried out and provide an overview of some general conclusions that can be drawn from it. The research was collected through a systematic rapid evidence assessment involving a team of information specialists and researchers (further details are provided in Appendix A).

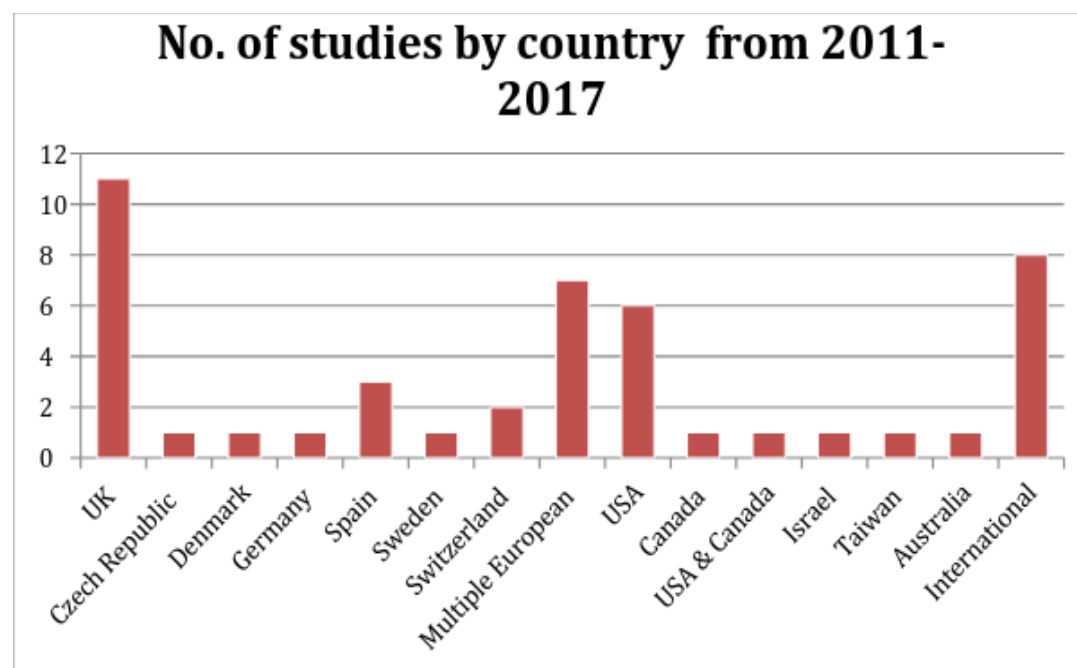
Overview of Retrieved Studies <2>

The 77 studies finally included for appraisal comprise quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods and technical research. Randomised control trials, quasi-experimental design, case control or evaluation studies are rare in the field. Primary data available to answer questions concerning the relationship between online-facilitated child sexual abuse and/or child sexual exploitation and victimisation are therefore only able to demonstrate associations. Although significant relationships may be found between characteristics (such as age or gender, sexuality or socio-economic status), using statistical tests, these relationships are limited, firstly by the number of variables measured and secondly, they do not provide evidence of a causal relationship. Even where a characteristic or factor is statistically significant, it may not be causal. For example, a consistent finding is that girls are more likely to experience OCSV than boys, but this does not mean their biological sex causes them to be more vulnerable. In this example, we know that boys and transgender children can also be vulnerable and that girls are also more likely to be sexually abused or exploited offline (Radford, et al 2011; Finkelhor, Shattuck, Turner and Hamby, 2014). The internet reflects and extends the offline world in many respects and,

in this case, it is more likely to be gender relations in wider society that influence these sex differences.

Many aspects of OCSV have been studied over the last decade in several countries. Most victimisation research is conducted in the Global north, with far less in developing countries and Middle and South East Asia (Figure 2.1). This finding may be an artefact of our search. Although country was not specified as a search term, retrieved studies were limited to those printed in English.

Figure 2.1 Number of studies by country from 2011-2017⁴



Methods included large-scale national and international population surveys, school-based surveys and focus group research, analyses of images harvested online, law enforcement case file analyses, and data from victim support agencies. Several surveys focus on children's internet use in general, with only a few questions concerning sexual victimisation. Secondary analyses of law enforcement and non-governmental organisation (NGO) data (for example Mitchell, Finkelhor, Wolak and Turner, 2011b; Palmer 2015; ECPAT

⁴ This time frame was chosen to follow on from the data in Ainsaar and Lööf (2012, Eds.) literature review

International and Interpol, 2018) and smaller scale qualitative studies of in-depth interviews with children (for example Quayle, Jonsson and Lööf, 2012; Whittle, et al 2013) provide data on children identified as experiencing OCSV. Many of the sources collected data either prior to or during 2010 and are thus somewhat dated in a fast-changing online environment. Access, devices, online platforms, content and behaviours have all changed significantly over the last decade. Some findings retain currency particularly those to do with childhood online relations and vulnerability and resilience to harm. Others, such as class differences linked to device access or use of specific platforms are outdated. Our analysis therefore focuses on findings that have relevance over time.

Different definitions of OCSV influence the design of included studies. Some presume that all children are vulnerable, a position related to their age and dependent status as being under 18. According to this interpretation, framed by the United Nations Conventions of the Rights of the Child (1989), children require protection because of their innate vulnerability. From this perspective all sexual acts occurring under the age of consent and all unwanted sexual acts and content experienced online under the age of 18 would be classified as CSA *a priori*. Others argue that a universal application of vulnerability to all children renders them passive and ignores their 'agency' (James and Prout, 2000). This position would take account of the child's response to unwanted sexual acts and content online and may not include them within a definition of online-facilitated CSA if they do not lead to harm.

Main Data sources <2>

Research has been undertaken mainly in the UK, Europe, the United States of America and Canada. Predominantly, the research found was quantitative in nature including two large-scale and longstanding projects; EU Kids Online (and Global Kids Online) overseen by the London School of Economics in the UK and the work of the Crimes Against Children Centre at the University of New Hampshire, US.

The EU Kids Online project issued a number of reports based on a survey of a random stratified sample of 25,142 children aged 9-16 years across 25 European countries (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, and Ólafsson, 2011a). Their research consisted of a specially developed and piloted survey instrument used for individual interviews at home with children and young people and their parents. Sensitive items were self-completed by children either online or on paper and included questions about a range of on and offline risks and online harm. The authors of this study note a number of limitations including interviews at home with parents in the house (Livingstone et al 2011a). Moreover, despite the random stratified sample from each country, the most socially excluded children may not have been included (Livingstone et al 2011a). The project was extended to include a further eight countries during 2011-2014 and a qualitative interview study was added to the design (Tsaliki, Chronaki, and Ólafsson, 2014).

Exposure to sexual content and the harm caused by such content was enquired into. Three questions were relevant to OCSV: whether the child had received a sexual message (15% had done so), had seen sexual images (14% had this experience) and whether they were upset by either of these (4% were). Details of the sender, whether adult or child, were not collected. The research also considers risk of harm by various groupings of vulnerability that are categorised as: children who have some psychological difficulties, children from a minority or discriminated against group, and disabled children (Livingstone, et al., 2011b). Risk of harm covered a spectrum of online activity and behaviours, including being bullied online and seeing online harmful content, such as hate speech, pro-anorexia and suicide sites.

A second group of survey studies were the Youth Internet Safety Surveys (YISS-1, YISS-2 and YISS-3) conducted in the United States (US) between 1999 and 2010 (Mitchell, Jones, Finkelhor and Wolak, 2013; Tynes and Mitchell, 2014). Parents and children in households selected through random digit dialing (N= approximately 1500 for each wave) responded to a telephone interview. The interviewers spoke first to the parent(s) and, with their consent, asked to speak

to the child alone. The authors do not acknowledge this as a limitation, but clearly parental presence and consent may have influenced children's responses. Limitations that were identified include the reduction in participation rates over the decade, partly due to more people using mobile phones rather than landlines, and the potential impact of changing meanings of online interactions over time.

Unwanted solicitation of children for sexual purposes in the previous year was measured through three screener questions to the children: In the past year, did anyone on the Internet ever try to get you to talk about sex, ask you for sexual information about yourself, or ask you to do something sexual, 'when you did not want to' (Jones, Mitchell and Finkelhor, 2012, p180). Similar to EU Kids Online, distress was measured on a scale asking if the child was 'upset or afraid' by the experience (range 1-5). Children who responded 'very' or 'extremely' to any of the screener questions were grouped as 'solicited youth' and their characteristics analysed and compared with those who were not solicited. In 2010, the final year of the survey, 9% of children experienced sexual solicitation, a decrease from previous waves. The surveys also measured exposure to unwanted pornography, defined as 'pictures of naked people or of people having sex' (Jones et al, 2012). 23% had experienced this, down from 34% in 2005 but similar to the first wave in 2000.

Eleven school-based surveys are included in the review, covering a range of schools (pupil referral units, special educational provision, rural and urban) from Grades 7 and above. Most were administered in a single country. The STIR project (Stanley, Barter, Wood...Overlien 2018) sampled 45 schools across five countries and focused on receiving or sending sexual images or texts in the context of intimate partner relationships. A quarter had sent such material and a third had received it with wide variations between countries; ranging from 10% in Cyprus to 38% in England for sending and 14% in Cyprus to 48% in England for receiving.

School-based studies were generally carried out across several schools and had a range of different foci. For example, Chang, Chiu, Miao...and Chiang (2016) sought predictors of unwanted online sexual solicitation, experienced by 16% of boys and 10% of girls, in a sample of Grade 10 and 11 pupils across 26 schools in Taiwan. Dank et al (2014) surveyed Grade 7-12 students in 10 US schools to explore differences in heterosexual, lesbian, gay, bi and transgender (LGBT) experiences of dating violence. Cyber dating victimisation was significantly higher for Trans (56%) and LGB (37%) students than those who were heterosexual (26%). Mohler-Kuo, Landolt, Maier...Schnyder (2014) examined the prevalence of child sexual abuse through an online survey administered across 177 schools in Switzerland finding the highest prevalence for online compared with offline CSA; 28% of girls and 10% of boys had lifetime experience of sexual harassment via the internet and 15% of girls and 4% of boys of 'being molested by someone verbally or by email/SMS'. Similarly, Monteil et al (2016) sought prevalence rates across 39 Spanish schools, finding that 43% of girls and 36% of boys had experienced some form of online sexual victimisation.

Alongside survey studies, Police investigative files provide a rich source of data, although they only include those cases where an offence has been identified. The largest study of this kind is the National Juvenile Online Victimization study (N-JOV) in the US (Mitchell, Finkelhor and Wolak, 2011a). Data collection included:

- An initial postal survey sent to a representative sample of “law enforcement agencies” (N=2598) which reported involvement in 3,322 arrests meeting the criteria for “internet facilitated child sexual exploitation”;
- Follow-up telephone interviews (N=1,063), sampled on the volume of cases dealt with and type of case. To be included, a case had to involve a child 17 years or younger who had been sexually abused or exploited (or an attempt had been made to do so) during 2006, where money was exchanged (this excluded solicitation of children for sexual purposes through gifts or other means) and the internet played a role in the crime. Where there were multiple victims (30% of cases) the

primary victim was selected for analysis (most seriously victimised or the youngest where victimisation was similar);

- The same methodology was applied in the National Juvenile Prostitution Study (N-JPS) (Wells, et al, 2012), which identified young people involved in 132 cases of CSE.

Two main categories emerged: profiteering (selling child sexual abuse images or selling the child for sexual abuse) and purchasing (buying CSA images or CSA directly). In the case of child sex abuse images, victims were unknown and although 316 victims were identified only 37 fitted the criteria, so that victim data reported relates only to child sexual exploitation involving exchange for money. Shannon (2008) also analysed law enforcement records, this time in Sweden. He conducted a computerised search of offence descriptions across 14 police authorities and identified 315 reports relevant to OCSV. In over half of cases contact was online only (n=179) and cases of online contact leading to commission of an offline sexual offence (n=69).

There are far fewer qualitative studies that are relevant to OCSV. Methods used include individual interviews (Quayle et al., 2012; Whittle et al., 2013), focus groups (Kolpakova, 2012; Smahel and Wright, 2014), online diary recording (Wisniewski, Xu, Rosson...and Carroll, 2016) or a mixture of methods (for example Ringrose, Gill, Livingstone and Harvey, 2012). Most of the qualitative studies examine the issue of online CSA from a child or young person's perspective. Two distinct types of research can be identified. First, studies that explore young people's general experiences and attitudes to online use including unwanted sexual exposure online. Several of these studies ask young people to talk in the third party, so that they are recounting the experiences of their friends not their own direct experience; it is unclear how this affects the data. The second group are children who are known to be victims and survivors of online-facilitated child sexual abuse through records held by police or therapeutic services. Approaches include individual interviews, where children often talk

very frankly about their experiences (Quayle, Jonsson and Lööf, 2012; Palmer, 2015; Whittle, Hamilton-Giachritsis and Beech, 2014) or retrospective analysis of 'victim' accounts in investigated cases (Leander, 2008; Katz, 2008, Whittle, Hamilton-Giachritsis and Beech, 2015).

Six reviews were included for analysis. Exclusion (despite being relevant) was a result of methodology and analysis being absent or of poor quality. Five systematic reviews relevant to some elements of the research question were included (Doring, 2014; Jones, Bellis, Wood...Officer, 2012; Klettke, Hallford and Mellor, 2014; Mishna, Cook, Saini, Wu and MacFadden, 2011; Wager, Armitage, Christmann...Synnott, 2018). Ainsaar and Lööf's (2012) literature review of online behaviour related to child sexual abuse had a similar scope to our question and provided a useful starting point. Their review is based on a database of 218 publications (in 2011) from across Europe as part of the ROBERT ⁵project. An advantage is that publications other than those in English were included. Ainsaar and Lööf (2012) note an increase in literature covering this subject from 2007.

Conclusions from Online Child Sexual Victimization Research <2>

This section provides a springboard for the chapters that follow in which we examine some key gaps that became apparent through our analysis. These emerged through triangulation of data and consideration of theoretical perspectives that were often implicit. None of the research addresses all forms of online child sexual victimization directly. Much of the focus is on online sexual solicitation and 'sexting', with some on grooming. With the exception of image analysis studies, all of the research is based on samples of older children. Although the research is inevitably limited by these restrictions, it is important to identify what can be known about OCSV before consideration of these omissions. First, we outline some general conclusions from the retrieved research. Following this, we examine the connection between the research and theory and finally, the main findings across studies are reviewed.

⁵ ROBERT: Risk Taking Online Behaviour Empowerment through Research and Training. Details available at <http://childcentre.info/robert/about-the-project/>

General conclusions

Four main conclusions can be drawn. First, OCSV is varied, different forms overlap, and it should not be considered as a single form of abuse only as a consequence of its online association. At least five types of OCSV were identified through our analysis of the research; grooming by strangers, primarily initiated in social networking or gaming websites; sexual exploitation by strangers in web-cam centres and similar, sexual abuse by family members or acquaintances that is photographed or videoed, coercive sexual violence between peers leading to youth produced material and trafficking of child abuse material online. There are no reliable measures of prevalence for all five. The primary focus of research has been on online sexual solicitation and 'sexting' or youth involved sexual images. Based on a systematic review, Wager, Armitage, Christmann... Synnott (2018) conclude that approximately one in ten adults will engage in online sexualised conversations with children and 4% of the adult population will engage with CSA images. The majority in both groups will be male. They also find that 5% of boys and 16% of girls will receive unwanted online sexual solicitations annually.

Second, much of the research focuses on children aged 9 years and above, most frequently covering secondary or high school students. An important finding from triangulation of the different data sources is the under reporting, and lack of research, concerning young children who are subject to OCSV. This finding has emerged from comparing studies of internet content and reported cases, although it is not referred to in the research studies themselves and no explanation is offered. We might hypothesise that it is in part due to the fact that infants and younger children may not understand what is happening to them or be able to verbalise their experience (NICE, 2017) but this is clearly an area that needs further investigation. We return to this issue in Chapter 4.

A third finding is that the field encompasses a wide range of behaviours and social phenomena that are often implicit in the research. These include:

- The relationship between sexual victimization and other sources of harm such as cyberbullying, online harassment and stalking;
- Childhood sexual activity that is not violent, such as children's access to adult pornography;
- Gender regimes and patriarchy;
- Social divisions and intersectionality.

Finally, there is a significant variation in definitions and concepts utilised in the research that makes direct comparison problematic. Each of the key terms are open to variation both within a single country and internationally. One example, the literature uses terms such as sexual solicitation, luring or grooming even though there are differences between each of these terms. Such differences highlight the challenges in comparing research between countries and any translation of findings must be done with caution. The lack of consensus on what should be measured, and by whom, is the subject of Chapter 6.

Theoretical Perspectives <2>

Very few studies are designed to test out theories of OCSV. The most common approach is to conduct multi-variate, logistic regression, or factor analyses on cross-sectional or longitudinal survey data to explore a range of characteristics associated with OCSV. This does not explain why these factors may emerge as increasing the probability of OCSV, leaving researchers to hypothesise possible causes. Conclusions are limited by the variables selected for measurement; they are arrived at inductively. A deductive method begins from theory and tests it out. Few took this approach to data collection. Exceptions are Holt, Bossler, Malinski and May (2016) and Marcum, Ricketts and Higgins (2010) who tested the application of Routine Activity Theory (RAT), and the EU Kids Online programme of research, which was broadly underpinned by an ecological model (Livingstone, Mascheroni and Staksrud, 2015).

a) Routine Activity Theory <3>

This theory builds on Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) who proposed that people are inherently rational but commit crimes because of a loss of control over

impulses or desires and Cohen and Felson (1979) who originally developed RAT. Three conditions must occur; 'the presence of a crime opportunity, the presence of an individual ready to seize the opportunity and the absence of a guardian' (the presence of someone or something that prohibits the crime) (ICPC, 2018,p 92).

An early study involving a self-selecting sample of college students found that RAT did predict victimisation. Activities that increased target suitability and exposure to motivated offenders increased online sexual solicitation for children at high school level (Marcum et al., 2010). Blocking and filtering software was found to have no effect but having someone else in the room whilst using a computer did reduce victimisation. More recently, Holt et al., (2016) applied RAT to design data collection from a sample of Kentucky school children, 16% of whom reported receiving sexual solicitations online. Data on opportunity comprised several computer related behaviours that might expose a child to a motivated offender, such as posting images of themselves online, communication with people they did not know, sharing personal information and viewing sexual materials. In addition, peer related behaviours were examined (friends engaging in sexual activities online). The presence of a guardian was measured through questions on computer location and parental software that could limit the child's online activities. Target suitability included variables on age (school grade), 'race' (white/non-white) and sex (male/female). The study also tested low self-control as a predictor, using a 24-item validated scale. All computer related opportunity measures were initially found to be associated with OCSV. However, after statistical modelling many of the routine computer activities became less significant. Significant differences were found between male and female victimisation. Likelihood of victimisation increased for boys who posted pictures online and viewed sexual content, and for girls it increased if they had peers who engaged in sexual activities online and they had a social network profile.

Arntfield (2015) has applied RAT to develop a theory of cybervictimology, that accounts for routine activity both of offenders and victims and the role of technology, using cyberbullying as an example, which often overlaps with OCSV. The utility of RAT could be tested through secondary analysis of existing data sets that contain variables on opportunities, target and guardianship, such as EU Kids Online. However, it is not clear how RAT advances the field, in that most of the computer risks, already understood by children, are unlikely to reduce given that they are routine. One of the shortcomings of RAT is that it does not take account of the ways in which activities that increase target suitability, or victimisation opportunity, are highly gendered. Thus, implied solutions may have the effect of maintaining the status quo of gender relations without this being explicit. For example, although Holt et al (2016) do not say it, to prevent victimisation their findings indicate that girls should not maintain a social network profile and should disassociate themselves from peers who engage in sexual activities online. Or, boys should not post pictures of themselves and look at sexual content. Neither of these options is likely to be adhered to. Further, other studies have found that current methods of technical guardianship such as blocking software are largely ineffective and that due to the growing mobility of devices, physical guardianship is increasingly impossible (Livingstone, Mascheroni and Staksrud, 2015). This indicates that to be effective, first, responsibility for guardianship online must transfer online, and second, prohibitive approaches (such as blocking or denying access) should be replaced by alternatives.

b) Ecological Theory <3>

A framework frequently used to explain violence and child abuse in particular is that of ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This theory simply stated, recognises the importance of a person in context. The framework includes five levels but is often reduced to three or four when applied to child abuse (Bolan, 2000; WHO, 2002; Azzopardi, Alaggia and Fallon 2018). An ecological model underpins the EU Kids Online research (Livingstone and Haddon, 2012; Livingstone et al; 2015). The most recent version also has three levels; individual, social and country. The first contains different aspects of

children's online life from the psychological to online engagement, access and rights. The second crosses the many influences on the child's internet use at the meso level; family, educators, peers, community and digital ecology. The country level (macro) recognises the influence of societal inclusion, technology provision and regulation, education and knowledge and culture, media and values (Livingstone et al; 2015).

Additions from an earlier version are designed to reflect both the benefits and risks of children's engagement with the internet more generally. However, it is relevant to OCSV. The model places the immediate context of victimisation in the micro-system, the individual level, where most of the empirical research rests. Associations of harm, including from OCSV, at this level are connected to individual traits such as age, sensation seeking and self-efficacy (a belief in one's ability to successfully accomplish a task or goal). Some research, particularly that on youth produced material, informs on proximal influences such as peer groups. There is limited data on aspects in the meso and exo-systems that relate to victimisation including schools, communities, internet access, websites, platforms and law enforcement. Finally, victimisation is undoubtedly connected to macro level wider social structures, and influences such as culturally specific constructions of childhood, gender regimes, socio-technical change, the pervasiveness of risk and uncertainty and the legal system. These remain theoretically present but empirically absent. The ecological model establishes that culture, individual behaviour and parental or peer group behaviour are associated with harm online but cannot currently explain the causes of OCSV.

Main findings across studies <3>

The assessment of research enables conclusions to be drawn with varying levels of confidence. In summary these are as follows;

- Girls and transgender children are more likely to be victimised. Boys are also victimised and may be overrepresented for specific types of OCSV;
- Where identified, perpetrators are most often male;

- In approximately one quarter of reported cases and one third of material harvested online, the perpetrator is a family member;
- The majority of children appearing in images or videos are described as white or Caucasian;
- OCSV is perpetuated through the extraction of self-generated and coerced images and videos from their original source;
- Trafficking in images may or may not include financial exchange. The latter is more prevalent.

Characteristics and behaviours found to contribute to children being more vulnerable by association include;

- A history of child maltreatment, especially physical and sexual abuse and witnessing parental conflict;
- Above average internet use, particularly when interacting with other characteristics, such as low self-esteem;
- Disability, with a current research focus on learning disabilities;
- Exploring sexuality online, especially for lesbian, gay, bisexual and queer (LGBQ) children;
- Engaging in certain behaviours, such as posting images, sharing personal information and arranging to meet offline;
- Visiting social networking sites (SNS). Some platforms such as chat rooms (for example ChatRoulette) may increase OCSV risk but these change over time as children migrate to new platforms;
- Spending longer periods of time online;
- Participating in risky offline behaviours such as early use of alcohol and drugs, delinquency, non-school attendance and early sexual intercourse.

Distinguishing characteristics associated with children being more resilient are;

- Being male;
- Being older;
- Psychological characteristics such as having a 'sensation seeking personality' or high self-efficacy.

Research gaps <2>

Most research is cross-sectional, taking data from a single time point. There is a lack of research evidence on longer-term changes in characteristics, vulnerabilities, resilience, impacts and victimization over time. There is also a gap in understanding specific impacts for subgroups such as younger children, children with a disability, children in substitute care, migrant and asylum seeking and lesbian, gay, bi and trans children, all of whom appear to experience higher levels of OCSV. Finally, there is little attempt to distinguish between what is normal sexual behavior in childhood and what constitutes abuse. This finding provides our starting point for the next chapter.

Table 2.1: Summary of Included Studies on Characteristics of Victims of Online-facilitated Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation

(Note; blank spaces occur where the data was not mentioned or unavailable)

Authors	Date	EPPI	Country	Data Source	Method	Sample size N =	Sex	Age	Measure
Ainsaar and Lööf	2011	+	Europe	NA	Literature Review	218 included studies	NA	NA	NA
Baumgartner, Valkenburg, and Peter	2010	++	Holland	Random sample of online Panel	Online Survey	1765	49% female, 51% male	12-17	Risky sexual behaviours and sexual solicitation online; comparing adult and juvenile populations
Beier, Oezdemir, Schlinzig... Hellenschmidt	2016	-	Germany	Self-selecting	Case Study	49	1 female, 48 male	12-18	Children with a sexual preference for children
Hollis and Belton	2016	-	UK	NA	Literature Review	NA	NA	NA	Sexually harmful behaviour in children
Brown, Brady, Franklin... Sealey	2016	+	International	NA	Rapid Evidence Review	NA	NA	NA	CSA and CSE

Canadian Center for Child Protection	2016		Canada	Images and videos reported to Cybertip.ca	Image analysis	43,762	80.4% female	49.6% <8 28.7% 8-11 15.4% 11-12 6% 12-16 0.3% 16-17	Age, ethnicity, and image/video severity (4 levels)
Carrick-Davies	2011	+	UK	Young People in Pupil Referral Units and staff	Focus Groups and interviews	3-7 in each 4 focus groups		15-17	Online risks to young people in PRU's
Chang, Chiu, Miao, Chen, and Chiang	2016	++	Taiwan	Probability-proportionate-to-size sampling method results in sample of 26 schools	Self-administered questionnaires undertaken twice (2010 and 2011)	2315		15-16	Survey based on YISS and Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System

Cooper, Quayle, Jonsson, and Svedin	2016	+	International	NA	Literature Review	88 records	NA	NA	NA
Dank, Lachman, Zweig and Yahner	2015	++	US	Cross sectional sample of 7 th -12 th grade young people in American schools.	Paper survey on a single day at school	5 647	52.3% female, 47.2% male	12-19	Mixture of validated and non-validated measures exploring teen dating violence incl. cyber abuse
Davidson, De Marco, Bifulco... Puccia	2016	+	England, Ireland and Italy	Industry Case studies Stakeholder interviews Police Survey Young People Survey	Mixed methods – surveys and in-depth interviews	1166	837 females, 239 males	Cohort of 18-25	Non-validated measure but available for scrutiny
Döring	2014	+	International	PsycINFO and PubMed	Systematic Review	50 studies	N/A	N/A	Descriptively summarised

ECPAT International and Interpol	2018	++	Inter-national	International Child Sexual Exploitation (ICSE) data Base	Analysis of all CSA Material on ICSE data base	1,081,241	68.4% female 27.9% male 3.8% both	<18	Various image ID, Offender, Country/Place Victim age, sex, ethnicity
				Random sample of series Cases from ICSE database	Image analysis of CSA series material	800	64.4% female 30.5% male 5% both		As above plus categorisation of material severity using COPINE scale
Edinburgh, Blabobil, Harpin, and Saewyc	2015	++	US	Children attending a Child Advocacy Centre for sexually exploited runaway adolescents	In depth forensic interviews and self-report survey	62	55 females, 7 males	12-17	Mixture of measures incl. UCLA PTSD Trauma screen Child's Report of Parenting Behavior Inventory, support and control subscales
Franklin, and Smeaton	2017	+	UK	Young people and Professionals	On line surveys and and interviews	27	20 females, 7 males	12-23	At risk on online CSE
D'Haenens Vandoninck and Donoso	2013		25 European countries incl. UK	Random stratified survey sampling from 1,000 children per country	EU Kids Online methodology	571		9-16	Multiple measures used and raw data available

Helweg-Larsen, Schütt and Larsen	2012	++	Denmark	Nationally representative Sample	Multimedia computer based self-interviewing program	3707	1832 females, 1875 males	14-17	Conflict Tactic Scale, ADHD SDQ and non-validated measures
Holt, Bossler, Malinski and May	2016	++	Kentucky, US	One suburban school	Online Survey Instrument available in school	439	50.1% female	13-18	Non-validated survey
Internet Watch Foundation	2015	++	UK	Proactively sourced content from search engines, historic IWF data and leaked from public	3-month analysis of YouTube produced sexual content	3,803 images and videos	Of under 15: 630 females, 47 males, 10 both sexes	667 <15 3136 16-20 years	NA
Internet Watch Foundation	2018	+	International	Proactively sourced content from search engines, historic IWF data and leaked from public	Image analysis of CSA material hosted in URL's over the previous year	105,047	78% female 17% male	<18	Age, sex, category of abuse using UK sentencing guidelines
Jones, Bellis, Wood... Officer	2012	++	International	17 studies	Systematic Review	NA	NA	NA	NA

Jones, Mitchell and Finkelhor	2012	++	US	Random digit dialing across national sample of households	Three national telephone surveys	4561	51% male	10-17	YISS 1, YISS 2 and YISS 3
Jonsson, Priebe, Bladh, and Svedin.	2014	++	Sweden	Random stratified sample	Paper survey at school	3,288	54.2% female, 45.8% male	16-22, mean age 18.3	Baltic Sea Regional Study of Adolescent's Sexuality with added questions about the Internet.
Katz	2013	+	Israel	Investigative interviews	Exploratory	20	19 female and 1 male	11-14	Online-facilitated CSA
Klettke, Hallford and Mellor	2014	++	International	8 databases	Systematic Review	NA	NA	NA	NA
Kolpakova	2012	+	7 European countries including the UK	Young people who were considered to be at increased risk	Focus groups	27 focus groups			Online-facilitated CSA
Kopecký, Hejsek, Kusá, ... Marešová	2015	-	Czech Republic	Sample of record via counselling centre	Textual analysis	267 records			Online-facilitated CSA
Leander, Christianson and Granhag	2008	++	Sweden	Pre-determined sample	Analysis of Police interviews and chat logs	68	100% female	11-19	Online-facilitated CSA

Livingstone Haddon, Görzig, and Ólafsson	2011	++	25 European countries incl. UK	Random stratified survey sampling of approx. 1,000 children	EU Kids Online methodology	25,142		9-16	Multiple measures used and raw data available
Livingstone and Görzig	2014	++	25 European countries incl. UK	Random stratified survey sampling of approx. 1,000 children	EU Kids Online methodology	18,709	50% split	11-16	Multiple measures used and raw data available
Lobe, Livingstone, Ólafsson and Vodeb	2012	++	25 European countries incl. UK	Random stratified survey sampling of some 1,000 children (9-16 years old per country	EU Kids Online methodology	25,142	50%	9-16	Multiple measures used and raw data available
Marcum, Ricketts and Higgins	2010	+	US	Random course selection at one University	Survey	744	415 females 325 males	High school senior	Measures based on previous surveys and designed to test Routine Activity Theory
Martellozzo, Monaghan, Adler...Horvat h	2017	+	UK	Nationally representative sample	Focus groups Online Survey Online discussion forum	34 1001 40	47% female 52% male 1% non- binary	11-16	Survey questions in appendix

Mishna, McLuckie, and Saini,	2009	+	Canada	Posts from children and young people to free 24-hour, national, bilingual phone and web counselling referral and information service	Exploratory	364	269 females 75 males	6-24. mean = 14.5	Child victims of Internet/mobile and/or sexual victimisation
Mishna, Cook, Saini, Wu and MacFadden	2011	++	International	Systematic review of effectiveness of cyberabuse interventions	Systematic Review	NA	NA	NA	NA
Mitchell, Finkelhor, and Ybarra	2007 a	++	US	Random digit dialing ac national sample of households	One national telephone survey	1501	47% female, 53% male	10-17	YISS 1
Mitchell, Finkelhor and Wolak,	2007 b	++	US	Random digit dialing ac national sample of households	Two national telephone surveys	1500	50% female and male	10-17	YISS 1 and 2
Mitchell, Wolak, Finkelhor	2008	++	US	Random digit dialing ac national sample of households	One national telephone survey	1500	50% female and male	10-17	YISS 2

Mitchell, Finkelhor, Jones and Wolak	2010	++	US	Stratified sample of law enforcement agencies	Mail and telephone survey	2322 arrest cases with SNS	NA		National Juvenile Online Victimization (N-JOV) Study
Mitchell, Jones and Finkelhor	2011a	++	US	Stratified sample of law enforcement agencies	Wave 2 data, which surveyed arrests in 2006 for internet-related sex crimes against minors	569 arrest cases	NA	13-18	National Juvenile Online Victimization (N-JOV) Study
Mitchell, Finkelhor, Wolak...Turner	2011b	+	US	Nationally representative sample via random digit dial (RDD)	Telephone survey	2051	49% female, 51% male	10-17	National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence (NatSEV) using JVQ
Mitchell, Jones, Finkelhor and Wolak	2013	++	US	Random digit dialing across national sample of households	Three national telephone surveys	620 sexually solicited youth	70% female, 30% male	10-17	YISS1, YISS 2 and YISS 3

Mitchell, Ybarra and Korchmaros	2014	++	US	Harris Poll Online (HPO) opt-in panel ($n = 3,989$ respondents) and referrals from GLSEN ($n = 1,918$ respondents)	Self-administered online survey	5542	Data presented by sexual orientation	12-17	Teen Health and Technology Online Survey
Mohler-Kuo, Landolt, Meidert, Schönbucher, and Schnyder	2014	++	Switzerland	National random stratified Sample	Survey using a self-reported computer-assisted questionnaire on a laptop in school	6787	3236 females, 3551 males	13 to 20 but: 97% 14-16	Newly developed Child Sexual Abuse Questionnaire (CSAQ)
Montiel, Carbonell and Pereda	2016	++	Spain	Stratified randomized national sample (39 schools)		3897	2049 females, 1836 males	14-16.9 years	Juvenile Online Victimization Questionnaire
Mueller Johnson, Eisner and Osbuth	2014	++	Switzerland	Probability Proportion Size (PPS) cluster sample via schools and regions	Survey using a self-reported computer-assisted questionnaire on a laptop in school	6749	52.2% males	mean age was 15.41 years	Newly developed Child Sexual Abuse Questionnaire (CSAQ) and Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire
Normand and Sallafranque-St-Louis	2016	-	International	International literature	Literature review	NA	NA	NA	Risk to youth with intellectual disability to online abuse

Palmer	2015	-	UK	Survey data from 15 Barnardo's services	Surveys and interviews	34 staff, 11 young people, 8 parents and carers	Not given	Not given	Online CSE
Priebe, Mitchell and Finkelhor	2013	++	US	Random digit dialling of households	Survey	1,560	50% split	10-17	YISS 3 At risk on online CSE
Quayle and Jones	2011	++	UK	Random hash value selection from ChildBase	Image data extraction	24,550	80.9% female	<18	Coding for age, gender, ethnicity and sexual act
Quayle, Jonsson, and Lööf	2012	+	Sweden, UK, Germany, Italy, Denmark and Russia		Semi structured interviews, coded thematically	27	82% female	12-18	Victims of online-facilitated sexual abuse
Quayle and Cooper	2015	+	UK	International literature	Thematic Review	NA	NA	NA	The role of child sexual abuse images in online coercive and non coercive relationships between young people

Quayle and Newman	2016	++	Canada	Online reports from the public to a national help	Content analysis	264	207 females 34 males. Rest unknown	9-17 with mean of 13.47	'Luring' or online grooming
Quayle, Jonsson, Cooper, Svedin, Göran	2018	++	UK	UK sample of material from ICSE database	Image analysis of CSA material	687	63.2% female 36.7%	<18	Date, age, sex, ethnicity, producer relationship, coercion
Ringrose, Gill, Livingstone and Harvey	2012	+	UK	2 high schools in London	Focus groups, interview and online ethnography	35	17 females, 18 males	12-13 and 14-15	Interview schedules available
de Santisteban and Gámez-Guadix	2018	++	Spain	Students from 11 schools in Madrid community	School based survey, completed in class rooms.	2731	50.6% female 48.3% male	12-15	Questionnaire of sexual solicitation and interactions with adults
Seto, Buckman, Dwyer and Quayle	2018	++	International	NCMEC image database cases involving at least identified child	Image analysis of CSA material	a.933 b.1965 single 633 multiple child	61.5 female 38.5 male 72% female 28% male	<18	Characteristics in images and videos

Shannon	2008	+	Sweden	Cases from 14 out of 21 Swedish Police Areas	Case file analysis	315 cases	90% female	<18	NA
Sklenarova, Schulz, Schuhmann...Neutze	2018	+	Germany	Online panel recruited by market research company	Online survey	2238	53.9% female	14-17	Questionnaire developed for the study
Staksrud, Ólafsson and Livingstone.	2013	++	25 European countries	3 stage random probability clustered sample	EU Kids Online Methodology	25,142	50%	9-16	Multiple measures used and raw data available
Smahel and Wright	2014	++	Belgium, the Czech Republic, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Romania, Spain, and the United Kingdom	School based sample	56 focus groups and 114 interviews	378	185 females, 183 males	9-16	Common topic guide with lists of questions was used across the nine countries

Stanley, Barter, Wood... Overlien	2016	+	Bulgaria, Cyprus, England, Italy, Norway	Non-random sampling	Paper survey administered at school Individual interviews	4564 91	67 females, 24 males	14-17 13-19	Mixture of measures new and previously used by authors to explore Intimate Partner Violence
Tsaliki, Chronaki and Ólafsson	2014	++	25 European countries	EU Kids online and Net Children Go Mobile Reports	Comparative analysis	NA	NA	9-16	EU Kids Online and Net Children Go Mobile
Tynes and Mitchell	2014	++	US	Random digit –dialling national telephone survey	National telephone survey	1560	50% male	10-17	3 rd YISS
Villacampa and Gomez	2017	+	Spain	Regional stratified school sample	Survey administered at school in 2015	489	50.1% female 49.9% male	14-18	Inspired by YISS; 44 item questionnaire
Wachs, Vazsonyi, Wolf and Junger	2016	+	Germany, the Netherlands, the USA and Thailand	School sample but unclear how they were selected in each country	Survey either administered online or via paper in classroom	2,162	54.6% female	11-19	Mixture of validated and new survey instruments
Wager, Armitage, Christmann... Synnott.	2018	++	International	All research on prevalence of online CSA 1999-2017	Rapid Evidence Assessment	99	NA	<18	Prevalence

Walker, Sanci, and Temple-Smith	2013	+	Australia	Purposive sampling through recreation, health and education	Individual interviews; inductive approach	33	18 females, 15 males	15-20	Sexting
Wells, Mitchell and Ji	2012	++	US	Cases reported to law enforcement	Exploratory Analysis	312	91%female, 9% male	69% <15 31% 16-17	National Juvenile Prostitution Study (N-JPS)
Wells and Mitchell	2014	++	US	Random digit dialling a national sample of households	National telephone survey	1560	50% female	10-17	YISS 3
Whittle, Hamilton-Giachritsis and Beech	2014	+	UK	Victims of confirmed internet CSA	Semi-structured inter	8	6 females, 2 males	13-18	Online-facilitated CSA
Whittle, Hamilton-Giachritsis and Beech	2015	+	UK	Victims of confirmed internet CSA	Semi-structured inter	3 dyads	3 females 3 adult males	12-14	Online-facilitated CSA
Wisniewski, Zu, Rosson... Carroll	2016	+	US	Sample achieved via e-r to school, community and one database	Thematic coding of online diary entry	68	42 females, 26 males	13-17	Online risk

Wilkinson, Whitfield, Hannigan ...Hayter	2016	+	International	NA	Meta ethnographic analysis	4 studies included	NA	NA	Sexting
Wolak, Mitchell and Finkelhor	2007	++	US	Random digit dialling and national sample of households	Two national telephone surveys	1500	49% female, 51% male	10-17	YISS 1 and YISS 2
Wolak and Finkelhor	2011	++	US	Sexting cases referred to Police between 2008-2009	Case file analysis	550 cases			Sexting
Wolak and Finkelhor	2016	+	US	Self-selecting sample from Adverts on Facebook	Online survey	1631	83% female	18-25	Sextortion

Chapter 3 <1>

Sexual Practices in Childhood <1>

'What is it about human sexuality that makes it so prone to become a central field of political struggle?' (Gunnarson, 2014, p72)

Childhood sexuality is a contested terrain and is one not easily measured or researched. It is notable that the predominant research focus on the topic is that of child sexual abuse. As CSA has become mediated by the internet, claims of moral panics and talk of crises have strengthened (Jewkes and Wykes, 2012). Strong arguments against cultures of childhood sexualisation prevail in the public domain (Papadopoulos, 2010). A key question that needs to be addressed to deepen understanding of OCSV is whether *any* connection between sex and childhood is bad, wrong or abnormal? Some argue that it is, the American 'abstentionists' for example, whilst others maintain that current discourses on childhood and sexuality, now magnified through the digital world, both deny the everyday sexual behaviours of children and fail to offer them safety from harmful social practices (Robinson, 2013; Carmody, 2015).

What is appropriate or inappropriate sexual behaviour in childhood continues to defy consensus. For example, in a Delphi study of 24 professionals in the UK there was agreement that children up to the age of 10 should not be referred to as abusers (Vosmer, Hackett and Callanan, 2009).⁶ Between 90% and 100% agreed the following were not appropriate for children: penetration of 'private parts'; oral sex, watching pornography, sexual contact with pets, preoccupation with sex including masturbation, 'engaging in sexual acts beyond their physical/cognitive age' and 'engaging in behaviours which elicit complaints from other children'. A majority (over 80%) considered using secrets to engage in sex acts and demanding to 'be touched in a sexual manner by adults' (96%) were inappropriate (Vosmer, Hackett and Callanan, 2009, p.280). Significantly, even

⁶ The age of criminal responsibility in England and Wales is 10.

amongst professionals who work with children, there was no consensus on what acceptable child sexual behaviour and suggestions might be, with widely different views.

In the first part of this chapter we address the ways in which childhood sexuality has been researched in historical, clinical and academic studies outside the REA. We find that firstly, recognition of childhood sexuality is evident in all three fields. Secondly, even when confronted by contradictory evidence, Freud's theory retains currency within which understanding of childhood (sexual) development is reported; acceptance of the latency of childhood sexuality (or asexuality) perpetuates a context for framing childhood as asexual. Actions such as imitations of adult sex, watching pornography and concern about early puberty, stray into the realms of the abnormal as a consequence. In the second part, we examine some of the sexual practices engaged in by children mediated by the online environment. Childhood sexuality presents our first paradox; on the one hand it is thought of as latent yet simultaneously it is a part of everyday life for many children. We conclude by proposing that if children are to be helped to avoid victimisation in OCSV, sexual violence must be conceptually separated from concerns about sexualisation and normative childhood sexual exploration.

Recognition of childhood sexuality <2>

A history of childhood sexuality finds accounts of various child sexual practices across time. The norms of each age manifest a wide range of attitudes both in their time and subsequently; from Spartan sexual initiation of boys to the military, through Greek free male licence to have sex with anyone they chose (including children), to masturbatory phobias in the 19th century. Examples of children being involved in sex are not new. They differ according to the rules and rituals that circumscribed sexual behaviours in time and place, but all are consistent in their normative censure from a present-day view point. As a concept Western childhood itself is a relatively new phenomenon, emerging in

the 18th century (Aries, 1962). Although variously contested in terms of timing, gendering and the nature of that emergence (Pollock, 1983; Gittins, 1998), there is no doubt that childhoods in the West today are very different from those four or five centuries ago. At the very least they have become gradually longer culminating in almost global ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), that establishes the age of childhood from 0 to 18 years. But it is not just international instruments that have extended childhood. Cultural institutions, medicine, education and parenting have played a significant role. Subsequent scholarship on childhood has grown and recognises that, despite institutional agreement on age, there is no universal childhood; the values, expectations and social organisation of childhoods are culturally, bodily and temporally diverse (Jenks, 1996; James and Prout, 1997; James, Jenks and Prout, 1998; Wyness, 2015).

A helpful review of the history of childhood sexuality in modernity (Egan and Hawkes, 2010) begins with Locke (1692) who introduced the idea of the child as *tabula rasa*; an empty slate coming into the world ready to be furnished with ideas. This furnishing was thought to come from the child's physical interaction, through the senses. Hence Egan and Hawkes (2010) commence their analysis with an account of 'sensationism', drawing on the work of Condillac (1754) and Buffon (1749), who drew parallels between children and the animals the latter studied;

'The senses offered the means by which the child learned, through experience and reexperience, to make associations between inputs, to distinguish pleasure from pain (at all levels of intensity) and by these means to develop reason' (Egan and Hawkes, 2010, p20).

Such an attitude towards childhood prioritised the senses but said little about sexuality directly. This changed in the 19th century with the advent of 'masturbation phobia' (Egan and Hawkes, 2010, p24) as attention turned to the medicalized body. Masturbation became understood as a reason for pathologies that could not be otherwise explained. Egan and Hawkes (2010) refer to medical

literature of the time to recount numerous instances of concern about the prevalence and undesirability of masturbation in children, along with recommended cures. Many of these would be considered abusive today, such as clitoridectomy, tying children to cots, putting them in splints and padlocking their genitals in belts. Child masturbation, hitherto barely notable, became a vice to be stopped; it was a 'vital force' that had the potential to "debilitate the whole system", an 'absorbing uncontrollable passion', unless protection was afforded by parental (primarily maternal) protection" (White, 1897 and Lyttleton, 1900 cited in Egan and Hawkes, 2010, p43). Egan and Hawkes (2010) connect these discourses and approaches to wider social and economic forces; this was a time of large scale social and economic change. The child was a metaphor for modernity 'full of potential for vice as well as a site of transformation and hope for the future' (Egan and Hawkes, 2010, p40), echoing the place of childhood in today's concerns with technological transformation and the internet. The masturbating child was both sexual and educable, of particular concern to the popular 'social purity' movement; 'The danger was ignorance but with proper tuition it could be turned into 'enlightened innocence'" (Walsh, 1917, cited in Egan and Hawke, 2010, p.42).

This connection between ignorance and enlightened innocence is emblematic of an enduring relationship between sex, knowledge and childhood, played out differently across time, culture and place, but ever present.

Discourses and Counter Discourses <2>

Foucault observed that children are clearly sexual beings yet discourses around their sexuality focus on 'physical and moral, individual and collective dangers' (Foucault, p115). In the 'History of Sexuality', Foucault (1979/1990) noted the importance of 'local centres of power' governing sexuality in childhood;

'The body of the child, under surveillance, surrounded in his cradle, his bed, or his room by an entire watch-crew of parents, nurses, servants, educators, and

doctors, all attentive to the least manifestation of his sex' (Foucault, 1979/1990, p98).

Presenting the multiplicity of discourses of sexuality (pedagogy, medicine and economics), Foucault (1990 p116) concluding that 'sex became a matter that required the social body as a whole, and virtually all of its individuals, to place themselves under surveillance'. Adults and children censored their sexual behaviour themselves and to others in the confession, on the couch and at school. In trying to understand the importance of this surveillance, Foucault notes that it was initially adopted by the ruling classes. This allowed him to discount a theory of repression or economic power as the cause, since surveillance in those circumstances would have first focussed on groups necessary for productivity, the labouring classes. The deployment of sexuality as a set of effects produced in bodies, behaviours and social relations, operated differently across classes. Ultimately, he connects sexuality with 'bio-power'; a power that develops once endemic death (through disease, famine and war) ceases to be a primary concern. In this context sex 'became a crucial target of a power organized around the management of life rather than the menace of death' (Foucault, 1990, p147). And 'precocious sexuality', the sexuality of children, was a critical danger as it presented a threat that could compromise future health, both of the individual and significantly, of their class and race.

Several scholars have drawn on Foucault to explore current discourses of childhood sexuality. Robinson (2013) notes:

'Nowhere has the governance of childhood and adults – and the use of 'the child' as a technology of power – been more obvious than in the area of sexuality...Over time, children's sexual subjectivities have been constituted through a range of competing and contradictory discourses in Western societies. The discourses ('children are asexual and innocent'; 'children's sexuality is dangerous to society and needs to be regulated'; 'children's sexuality is normal and critical for the development of a creative and vibrant society'; 'sexuality is dangerous to the moral development of the child'; and 'children are vulnerable to abuses and

exploitation by adult sexuality and need to be protected') have all impacted the ways in which children have been and continue to be viewed and treated as sexual subjects' (Robinson, 2013, p6).

Many of these discourses are powered by opinion and are not empirically testable.

Freud's theory of psychosexual development <2>

It is a matter of note that a prevailing theory of children's sexual development remains that first proposed by Freud well over a century ago (initially in 1905). Although the few sources of scientific interest in childhood sex maintain that Freud's theory fails to be objective (Bancroft, 1989), it has nevertheless endured. In brief, Freud maintained children progress through stages from birth to adolescence generated by their desire for pleasure. Initially oral (sucking, use of the mouth), anal (expelling and withholding faeces), phallic (awareness of the clitoris and penis), latency (the sexual drive recedes) ending with the genital phase (sexual intercourse, penetration) lasting through adulthood. The identification of these stages is fundamental to Freud's overarching theory of psychosocial development since each stage has an impact on the id, ego and superego. In short, it is not a theory about sexual development but a theory of human development with sex at its core; in this, children are inherently sexual from birth.

The theory also includes the controversial incest relation; boys desire their mothers but learn through development of the ego that they can assuage this desire by identifying with their same-sex parent (Oedipus complex) and vice versa for girls (Electra complex). This latter part of Freud's theory has been much debated by feminists and others and rigorously critiqued. Initially, resistance came from anger that incest (fundamental to the validity of the Oedipus/Electra complex) had been miscast as a fantasy. The particulars of the cases on which Freud's analysis depends were not, he claimed, special cases but

examples of a universalising conflict that must be transitioned in order to become an adjusted adult. As the feminist movement in the 60's and 70's gained momentum and accentuated the damaging and prevalent role of incest and sexual abuse in the lives of girls, this part of Freud's theory met with dissent (Millett, 1970). A second wave of critique came from post-structural psychoanalysis which repositioned the phallus and the Oedipus complex as applicable to women (Kristeva, 1998) and the social (Deleuze and Guattari, 2001) rather than the family. Recognition of multiple and fluid sexualities brought by Queer theorists further undermined the Oedipus complex as assuming normative sexual development is uniquely heterosexual (Bristow, 1997).

Such critiques most frequently address the validity and site of application of the three stages (oral, anal and phallic) necessary for transition into the hypothesised latency phase (children aged approximately 7-11 years). They do not contest the fundamental positioning of sexuality as a driver of human and social development. Lack of critique of the fourth stage, accompanied by Freud's influence in mid 20th century child rearing texts such as Spock's Baby and Childcare (first published in 1949 and selling over 50 million copies), positions latency almost *de facto* as associated with childhood. Crucially, the latency period depends on repression:

"The period of latency is a physiological phenomenon. It can, however, only give rise to a complete interruption of sexual life in cultural organizations which have made suppression of infantile sexuality a part of their system" (1925, p. 37 n, cited in Knight, 2014, p208).

Thus, the concept of latency both recognises childhood sexuality and authorises its suppression for healthy psychosexual development.

In the latter half of the 20th century acceptance of latency and asexuality in children was briefly challenged. The West witnessed what is referred to as a 'sexual liberation' that led to 'rejecting the diktat of heterosexuality and, in many

cases, to the abolition of all limits to desire, opening up the exploration of transgression' (Castells, 2000, p205). Clower (1976), for example, directly challenged Freud's theory through observations of 'latency girls' masturbating. However, by the 1990's these challenges had receded in the context of the re-emergence of concern over, first physical and then sexual abuse. This period, characterised by risk in reflexive modernity (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992) saw a repositioning of childhood. Protectionist and sentimentalist discourses sought to preserve nostalgic childhoods of innocence (Jenks, 1996) and looked to children to provide security in the context of less certain futures (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Concerns about the growing influence of an expanding mass-media on childhood were emblematic (Postman, 1994), along with greater surveillance of parenting practices (Donzelot, 1980; Parton, 1991). Thus, critiques of childhood asexuality receded as the fear of child sexual abuse increased, a feature that has continued into the online context.

The resurgence of interest in child sexual abuse in the 1970's and 80's extended concerns about incest at the end of the 19th century when legislation was passed in several countries. A wide range of publications appeared during this period from different theoretical perspectives, attempting to explain why child sexual abuse occurs, how to identify it and how to treat the child, the family or the perpetrator (Kelly, 1988; Corby, 2000; Bolen, 2001). What was termed 'inappropriate sexual behaviour' was seen as a key indicator of abuse. The more inappropriate behaviour became the focus, the more it became clear that little was known empirically about sexual behaviour in childhood (Department of Health, 1995). This knowledge gap prompted a limited amount of research that relied heavily on adult reports through surveys of professionals and parents. In sum, the research contradicted the concept of latency and the asexual child. It confirmed that some children masturbate from a very young age (2-3 years), that between 3-7 years children's sexual interest and related activity increases (for example, in games such as 'playing doctors'), by the age of 8 masturbation is not uncommon and that the first experience of sexual attraction occurs between 10-

12 years (Delameter and Friedrich, 2002). Despite this, the dangers of childhood sexuality took precedence in public, professional and parental discourse (Furedi, 1997).

Thus, a brief challenge to theoretical latency was not sustained (Knight, 2014). Freud's pleasure seeking, sexual and then latent child seems to have gradually become a latent sexual child; one that either does not have the ability to understand sex and sexuality (the innocent child of protectionist discourses) or should be suppressed until becoming a healthy adult heterosexual being (the latent child of abstentionist discourses). Many fall somewhere in between these extremes but overall there has been a move towards subverting positive discourses of childhood sexuality (Levine, 2002; Barrett, 2012; Robinson, 2013) in both the global North and South (although with widely different drivers and socio-political contexts).

Predominance of the danger discourse <2>

Childhood sexuality is now overwhelmingly researched in the context of danger, sexual abuse and health risk (Carmody, 2014; Vasilenko, Lefkowitz and Welsh, 2014;). There are surprisingly few studies of children's sexual behavior online that include more than measures of the type of things children search for and talk about, usually older teenagers. That literature finds the main topics are sexual health (Suzuki and Calzo, 2004; Castro-Calvo, Giménez-García, Gil-Llario and Ballester-Arnal 2018). Studies on child sexual behaviours are primarily found referencing the prevention of teenage pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, condom and other forms of contraceptive use and abstinence education (Ybarra and Mitchell, 2014). This in itself stands as evidence that children, boys and girls, are clearly engaging in sexual practices. For example, data from the US Sex and Tech survey (National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy, 2008) finds that almost half of boys and girls kiss each other, over a quarter admit to 'fondling' and 15.5% have practiced vaginal sex. Rates vary across countries; at the lower end, 18% of boys in Finland and 11% of girls in Poland experienced 'sexual initiation' before the age of 15 whereas in Scotland the rates for boys were 33% and 36% for girls (Madkour, Farhat, Halpern,

...Gabhainn, 2010). In terms of cybersex behaviour, Ballester-Arnal, Gimenez-Garcia, Gil-Llario and Castro-Calvo (2016) surveyed 322 adolescents in Spain using the Internet Sex Screening Test. This found that a majority of boys participate in cybersex (60.6%) and do so significantly more than girls (up to 11.5% for some activities).

The online context has many features that feed into fears, including exposure to sexualised images, advertising, language and behaviours. Sex is a major component of online content and activity. In its annual statistical release, for example, Pornhub reported that in 2016 it had 23 billion visits (729 per second) with 4.6 billion hours of porn watched⁷. Further, a survey by the NSPCC in the UK found that just over half of children report seeing pornography, the majority by age 14 and one fifth of children had actively sought it online (Martellozzo, Monaghan, Adler...and Horvath, 2017). Another survey by Bitdefender suggests that 1 in 10 of under 18's accessing porn sites are under 10⁸. These findings are variously described as shocking, harmful and worrying⁹ reinforcing that in the digital world sexuality remains transgressive for children. An important difference, however, is that this transgression has diversified in nature and content, extending beyond the bedroom and the school and into social media and search engines; importantly, it has become more visible to children and less visible to their parents and other adults in positions of care. Surveillance of the cot is far easier than surveillance of the mobile phone, and this inability to scrutinise children's online-facilitated sexual practices inevitably heightens an uncertainty that fuels parental and political concern.

⁷ <https://fightthenewdrug.org/most-popular-porn-genre-search-of-2016> (accessed 20/03/19)

⁸ <https://hotforsecurity.bitdefender.com/blog/one-in-10-visitors-of-porn-sites-is-under-10-years-old-16675.html> (accessed 20/03/19)

⁹ <https://fightthenewdrug.org/most-popular-porn-genre-search-of-2016> (accessed 20/03/19)

Some of these concerns are based on a belief that exposure to sexualised content and practices, including adult pornography, may affect how children understand themselves and others and influence their future sexual relationships (Papadopoulos, 2010). Support for this is offered by studies of children accessing pornography online. In research involving a mixture of online forums, online survey and focus groups with children and young people, Martellozzo et al (2017) find that a 'substantial minority' of children and young people want to copy pornographic acts seen online. They also attribute sexist attitudes and expectations within their own relationships to viewing pornography (Coy, Kelly, Elvines... Kanyeredzi, 2013).

Reflecting these concerns, governments and institutes have commissioned reviews of a culture of childhood sexualisation, with reference to advertising and marketing in online media. Australian and English reviews accentuated a danger discourse (Rush and La Nauze, 2006; Papadopoulos, 2010) whilst a Scottish review (Buckingham, Willett, Bragg, and Russell, 2010) was more balanced (Duschinsky, 2012). The latter noted that the 'debate on sexualisation has often been conducted in very sensationalised and moralistic terms' (Buckingham et al., 2010, p5). The issue rests on whether children are perceived in Locke's 17th century terms as 'tabla rasa', or whether in the context of a significant extension of childhood and socio-technical transformation, it is accepted that children have agency. The Scottish research concluded that;

'Young people rejected the idea that they were passive victims of the marketing of sexualised goods; and this claim was to a large extent supported by their extensive knowledge of marketing techniques and the examples they provided of their active choices and careful readings of products' (Buckingham et al., 2010, p7).

Duschinsky (2012, p 719) notes the English report 'produces a 'hypodermic' narrative: the ascription of sexualisation to media vectors means that young people who come into contact with them are *necessarily* and *indelibly* corrupted by this association'. Papadopoulos (2010) does not deny children are sexual, however. She acknowledges that 'self-motivated sexual play' (Papadopoulos,

2010, p 23) in childhood is normal, but questions if such play is now possible in the contemporary 'sexualisation of culture' (Papadopoulos, 2010, p6). The suggestion is that there was once an option for unmediated sexuality, which has now disappeared.

Many share this view, such that there has been an increase in books aimed at parents responding to concerns about childhood sexualisation over the last decade (Buckingham et al., 2010; Ringrose et al., 2012). In this literature almost any manifestation of child sexuality is a negative concern. Even observations about the changing biology of children's bodies have been referred to as 'crisis articulations' (Roberts, 2015). Roberts' research focused on the fact that physical manifestations of puberty are appearing increasingly early. She convincingly argues the highly gendered nature of the debate, including citing a long-standing reference to 'precocious puberty', commonly used to refer to sexual development between the ages of 6-9 years, which carries a 'pathologising sexual connotation' for girls (Roberts, 2015, p4). Her analysis is situated in broader concerns about 'hurried' or 'disappearing' childhood (Postman, 1994). The topic is highly emotive as this mother's fear of the sexualisation of her child attests:

'We are talking here about threats to that part of my children that I am charged, above all else, with safeguarding: their sexuality, their fertility, their connection to future generations, and thus to the abiding ongoingness of life itself. These are the body parts about which the necessary motherly refrain is "*This is private. This is just for you. No-one else is allowed to touch you there*" (Steinberger, 2011, p239. Italics in the original, cited in Roberts, 2015, p11).

The quote exemplifies two important elements of childhood sexuality in the present. First, in support of Foucault's analysis, the importance of the regulation and surveillance of childhood sexuality in the context of progeny in making the 'connection to future generations'. Second, it highlights the intense emotions that are evoked. Whilst writing this book, for example, a range of protests are being

organised outside schools in England where parents are challenging sex education that includes coverage of lesbian, gay, bi and queer sexualities. Sexuality in childhood is something that *matters* to people, something they *care* about, something that is not open to objective logic; childhood sexuality mediated by the internet is a thoroughly moral and political issue. Rush and La Nauze (2006) are explicit;

‘(T)he sexualisation of children is morally reprehensible. One of the central concerns of morality is to ensure the treatment of human beings as ends in themselves, and never simply as means to other ends’ (Rush and La Nauze, 2006, p.2).

As Sayer (2011) notes, analysis of such moral matters is instructive. In addition to concerns that marketers are using sexuality inappropriately as an end in itself, two further moral threats may underpin concerns about childhood sexuality. Drawing once again on Foucault, it is certainly the case that the internet offers the potential to cross boundaries of class or race like never before, of which the case of Breck Bednar outlined in Chapter 1 is an example. As far as it can be known, death resulting from online-facilitated child sexual abuse is rare. However, the case has become iconic as a warning to parents of children participating in gaming communities. The murderer was described in media reports as lonely, abandoned by his parents and struggling financially, although he presented himself as plausibly successful, rich and powerful. Breck, whose parents were attentive and middle class, was profoundly deceived and, as his mother states, it is easy for grooming to occur to any child¹⁰. If we were to follow Foucault, the discursive knowledge-power nexus surrounding the murder represents a pervasive threat to secure, loved, middle class children; if they cannot be protected then all children are in danger.

Following Freud, a second possibility is that the emotions, fear and moral concerns are evidence of ‘pollution behaviour’ centred on incest. In her book

¹⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UqMkPctWGLs>

'Purity and Danger' Douglas (1966/2002) observes that all cultures have ways of organising themselves through exercising boundaries between different types of behaviours and social artefacts. Transgression of these boundaries results in a kind of social pollution. She proposes that;

'Our pollution behaviour is the reaction which condemns any object or idea likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications' (Douglas, 2002, p36).

As we noted earlier, for many adults sexuality marks a boundary between adulthood and childhood; knowing sex is potentially transgressive of childhood innocence. But this may have deeper roots. The incest taboo, which is almost universal, is often presented in the context of discussions about sex and childhood as lying at the bottom of a 'slippery slope'. In a review of legal arguments Cahill (2005) identifies the connections between sexual taboos and 'slippery slopes' providing a further indication of why childhood sexuality may be in itself dangerous;

'Sexual taboos and slippery slopes often go hand in hand in both legal reasoning and political debate. In fact, we might even say that one of the primary functions of the sexual taboo is to define the parameters of the slippery slope (or at least a certain kind of slippery slope), for the more taboo the prohibition, the steeper, and hence more slippery, the slope. Sexual taboos and slippery slopes, or rather sexual taboos *on* slippery slopes, have been key players in the culture wars over the extent to which the state may control the intimate realms of family and sexuality – to say nothing of the highly contested issue of whether the state has any business interfering in the latter of those two realms at all' (Cahill, 2005, p1550).

Perhaps growing fears about childhood sexuality and the internet concern this 'slippery slope'; a profound fear of transgression of the lines between parental love and care and unspoken and unspeakable parental desire. This is a horror

that the majority of parents will not want to admit into their consciousness. But as Kincaid (1992) proposes, when the sentiment of love invaded childhood during the 18th century, the boundary between that love and sexual desire needed reinforcement. In heightening awareness of childhood sexuality, for both children and their parents and with apparently *boundaryless* options online, the internet may have exposed and deepened the need for re-establishing those boundaries once more.

Youth Involved Sexual Imagery and OCSV <2>

One form of OCSV concern is that of the sharing of sexualised content between children. From a Foucauldian perspective power is constantly produced and reproduced through multiple discursive elements; what it is possible to communicate and just as important, what it is not. In many countries the exchange of sexual material between minors is now an illegal discourse. Whether they are self-generated, made by third parties, voluntary or coerced is a matter for investigation but the material is all *a priori* potentially illegal. Cormega and Brianna (see Chapter 1), and other children like them, have been criminalised for expressing their sexuality, engaging in adolescent sexual social practices, in the new normal of online activity. Value positions amongst researchers are mixed. Of 50 studies retrieved in a systematic review of consensual sexting, 17 were assessed as emphasising a 'normalcy discourse' and 33 a 'deviancy discourse' (Döring, 2014).

The majority of young people consider that if material is self-generated then whoever produced it is at least partially to blame if the material is subsequently shared (Brennan and Phippen, 2018). This leads Brennan and Phippen (2018) to advocate use of the term youth involved sexual imagery (YISI) as a more neutral descriptor. YISI material comprises a wide range of media; photographs, including those that are time limited and disappear from the receiver very quickly (such as in SnapChat), videos made by phone or webcam, blogs, avatars, text messages and emails. Content can include partial or total nudity, exposed genitals, masturbation and live webcam recording of sexual intercourse, or other sexual acts (Jonsson, Priebe, Bladh and Svedin 2014). Many studies find that

consensual sexual communication is not commonly perceived as problematic by young people; in fact, it may be done for amusement or fun (Livingstone et al., 2011c; Smahel and Wright, 2014; Phippen, 2017). The more likely a child is to see sexual images the less likely they are to be bothered by it (Lobe, Livingstone, Ólafsson and Vodeb, 2012; Smahel and Wright, 2014; Wisniewski et al., 2016). This may be because some children seek out explicit sexual images as a way of experimenting and learning about sex (Quayle et al., 2012; Wisniewski et al., 2016; Whittle et al., 2013). Some boys and girls actively seek high risk experiences online (Wisniewski et al., 2016) and there may be a link between high-risk offline behaviours and high-risk online behaviours. Livingstone et al (2011a) define this process as 'risk migration'.

Such activities are sometimes referred to in the research as 'sexting', a term that has several potential components. First, it involves the intentional sharing of sexualised images of the self with another or receiving such electronic communication (Klettke et al., 2014). Second, it occurs between peers, irrespective of whether they have any form of intimate relationship. Some research limits its definition of sexting to just the sharing of images or videos whilst others include text messages of a sexualised nature (Klettke et al., 2014). 'Sexualised' is not always clearly defined. Most studies ask about children's experiences of sending or receiving sexual messages, further clarified by reference to nudity or sexual activity. Third, this communication can be limited to just cellular phone use (Klettke et al., 2014) or via the Internet (Kopecký, 2015) and SNS. Walker, Sancu and Temple-Smith (2013) note that sexting is not a term used by young people and that there is no single word that captures this relatively new phenomenon.

'Sexting' Prevalence <3>

Random probability samples from the US between 2009-2012 give a mean prevalence of receiving sexually suggestive texts of 15.64% (Klettke et al 2014). This is similar to the rate found in the EU Kids Online study during the same

period (2009-10) for receiving a sexual message (15% of 9-16 year olds) (Hasebrink et al 2011). In Hasebrink et al (2011) sexting is limited to the sending of sexual messages and does not include images and it is not clear if these sexual messages are from peers or adults. Owing to variation in definition, country and age of study, prevalence covers a wide range. A considered prevalence estimate following systematic review of studies for children sending sexual content is 12% and 17% for receiving (Wager et al 2018).

Some studies find higher rates. The Safeguarding Teenage Intimate Relationships (STIR) project found just under half of a pan European sample (n= 3277) of 14-17 year olds in a boyfriend or girlfriend relationship sent and received sexts (Stanley, Barter, Wood...Överlien 2016), illustrating that sexting is a normalised and reciprocal activity within some peer relationships. As a multi country study, there were national differences. The English sample (n=401 girls and 323 boys) reported the highest rates (44% of girls and 32% of boys sent 'sexts' and 49% of girls and 47% of boys received them). Sexting is often a mutual peer activity; approximately three quarters of those sending also received sexts. Higher rates found in the STIR project may be explained by their sample only included teenagers in dating relationships. As part of a study into young people's use of pornography, Martellozzo et al (2017) asked their sample why they take and share nude or semi-nude photos of themselves; 69% wanted to take such photos and 20% did not. Again, a gender difference is apparent with girls sharing images because they have been asked to, whereas boys share without being asked.

Moving from consensual sexting to OCSV <3>

Several literature reviews explore an expanding research base (Cooper, et al 2016; Wilkinson, Whitfield, Hannigan...Hayter, 2016). A systematic review of empirical and non-empirical studies into young people and 'sexting' found 88 studies from 2009 to 2014. The search criteria extend beyond a focus on under 18's to include up to 25's. They find that sexting can move from being consensual to non-consensual amongst peers and that some 'vulnerable' children (understood in this study as having a history of child abuse, depression, social

isolation or lack of family and community/peer support) become victimised in unwanted sexual solicitations or exploitation (Cooper et al 2016, p712).

Wilkinson et al (2016) conducted a meta-ethnographic synthesis on five research papers on sexting, including a qualitative cost benefit analysis. Costs included threats to reputation and moral blame, the possibility of images being made public and increased difficulty for children to make considered choices. Benefits were that sexting provided a safer alternative to offline sex, joking and bonding as constructive in relationships, and the affordance of a space for exploration (Wilkinson et al 2016, p8-9). An additional benefit for boys was the absence of blame, although this is tempered by potential challenges to their (hetero)sexuality and exclusion from male friendship groups if they refused to look at sexual images.

Consensual sexting is not gender neutral; according to several studies girls face considerable pressure from boys to share sexual images (Cooper, et al 2016; Ringrose et al 2012; Walker et al 2013; Wilkinson et al 2016). The boundary between consent that is informed and freely given and that which is pressured in the context of peer relationships is difficult for children to distinguish.

For an unknown proportion of children there are harmful consequences of sharing images generated within an intimate relationship. Images can be saved by the recipient and used to humiliate and shame the sender as a form of revenge and to gain peer approval and status (Cooper et al 2016). Walker et al (2013) note images being posted on SNS such as *Rate my Girlfriend*. Klettke (2014) reported one study (the AP-MTV survey, 2009) that found 17% of those who received sexts passed them on to someone else and 14% of those who had sent a sext suspected it would be shared without their permission. In the STIR project 9-42% of girls and 9-13% of boys reported their partners had shared their self-generated images; the range represents the differing experiences of girls and boys across four of the five countries in the study. Whilst it is unclear from the data whether these images had been shared with consent or not, the

likelihood is the latter given that in England 97% of girls report a negative impact (impact data for boys not given) (Stanley et al 2016). This study and many others report that there can be considerable coercion and sexual abuse within peer relationships mediated by the internet, variously described as sexual cyberbullying, harassment and extortion (Ringrose, et al 2012; Dank et al 2014; Açar, 2016; Stanley et al 2016; Ehman and Gross, 2019).

Request for images from adults <3>

A clear relationship between consensual sharing and sexual exploitation and coercion is demonstrated through law enforcement case examples, provided in prevention materials aimed at young people (for example, “Don't fall for it - Say No!”, Europol, 2017). These show how material can be freely and consensually produced but then deliberately used to extort money or sexually motivated contact. In such cases the subjects believe they are exchanging information with a peer but are being deceived, either by an organised crime syndicate or an adult groomer.

Three studies report on children who were asked to produce and share sexual images in response to an adult request (Leander et al 2008; Shannon, 2008; Quayle and Newman, 2016). Leander's (2008) detailed analysis of police interviews and records of chat logs between one perpetrator and multiple female victims (n=68), aged between 11-19 at time of contact, demonstrate a graduated response. This was a high-profile single case in Sweden, in which a male perpetrator groomed girls online masquerading as a female recruiter for a modelling agency. The range and frequency of the behaviours of the girls involved, included discussion of sexual preferences (84%), meeting up (65%), sending nude photos (40%), websex (28%) and taking clothes off in front of a live webcam (19%).

Quayle and Newman's (2016) study of public reports to an online site, found that 93.37% of perpetrators (both young people and adults) requested images from a child. A third of the sample, received a request to meet offline although actual contact was recorded in 7.38% (n=13). This figure is much higher than Shannon

(2008) found in analysis of police reports (n=315). In cases where contact was only online, children were asked to send sexual images in 12% of cases and 13% of them were sent a range of sexual material by an adult. Where contact was both online and offline, sending and receiving was experienced by 23%.

Even where the perpetrator was an adult, for some children, image sharing was understood to be part of a developing romantic relationship (Whittle, Hamilton-Giachritsis and Beech, 2015). In contrast, others have told researchers that they experienced image sharing as threatening and that they felt under pressure to comply with requests to share images with adults (Quayle and Newman, 2016). In some cases, there is a financial motive. Nine children were offered money for sexualised images or offline sex in Quayle and Newman's (2016) study; in one of these cases it was the child, aged 13 who was offering sexual acts in return for money. Wells et al (2012, p.337) note in their US study that in their sample 7 out of 14 'child pornography production cases with payment or promises of payment' it was family members and adults in a child's life that were making financial requests. These authors also found that another manifestation of this 'exchange' includes, in one case, siblings who advertised their younger sibling for child sexual exploitation (Wells et al 2012).

Online Sexual Extortion and Coercion <3>

There is limited data on unknown individuals making such requests of children and young people (Kopecký Hejsek, Kusá...Marešová, 2015). Quayle and Newman (2016) note a range of threats to pressurise children into complying with their demands in nearly 25% of their sample; threats included image sharing, hacking a child's computer or threatening suicide. The use of such threats is referred to as online sexual coercion and extortion of children (oSCEC) (Europol, 2017). Wolak, Finkelhor, Walsh and Treitman (2018) report a range of these including posting sexual images or other information about the child online, creating fake accounts, getting the child into trouble at school, stalking, harming family, friends or pets, demanding money and beating, rape and killing.

These threats were carried out in approximately half of cases. The most frequent was stalking online or through cell phone (72%), followed by image sharing (49%), 42% got into trouble at school, in a third of cases the perpetrator succeeded or tried to beat, rape or physically hurt the child, a fifth had their online accounts hacked and in 11% family, friends or pets were harmed or harassed. In this study 41% of perpetrators were unknown to the child and the majority were male (92%). Similar findings are reported by NCMEC (2016) and Europol (2017). Of interest from a victimisation perspective are the tactics used by perpetrators, including deception and what are referred to as 'human hacking' and social engineering techniques (Europol, 2017) (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: oSCEC manipulation tactics

- Reciprocation: 'I'll show you if you show me';
- Developing a bond by establishing a friendship/romantic relationship online;
- Using multiple online identities against a given child, such as the person coercing or extorting for sexual content as well as pretending to be a supportive friend or a sympathetic victim of the same offender;
- Pretending to be younger;
- Pretending to be female when they are really male;
- Accessing the child's online account (for example social media) without authorisation and stealing sexual content involving the child;
- Recording the child unbeknownst to them while on a video chat;
- Initially offering something to the child, such as money or drugs, in exchange for sexually explicit material;
- Pretending to work for a modelling agency.

(source: Wolak and Finkelhor (2016) cited in Europol, 2017:12)

With the exception of a few small-scale qualitative studies, there is not any research that clarifies the relationship between the mutual consensual exchange of youth involved sexual imagery (YISI) and being coerced into actually doing something following the requests, either online or offline. This is not just an

omission. Delineating the line between YISI and OCSV is challenging for children, law enforcement and researchers.

Gendering oSCEC <3>

Coercion and coercive control are known to be hard to recognise and to define in the context of gendered relationships (Walby and Towers, 2018). Starting from the observation that inequalities between men and women endure even in economically equal societies, Gunnarson (2014, p 44.) posits that ‘sexuality encompasses a power in the elemental, creative sense of the term – ‘a world creating capacity’ and this power becomes constitutive of oppressive power structures’. She emphasizes the gendering of sex in that women develop a sexuality that at root is on the side of giving and being taken, whilst men take. Gunnarson acknowledges this does not have to be the case, but that if either women or men, position themselves outside of this dominant relation of power they risk rejection from one or the other; they are not acting like ‘real’ women or men; to which we might add ‘real’ girls and boys. She emphasizes that sexual violence lies at the extreme end of the continuum of sexual power relations, and that (following Butler, 1993) it is the everyday manifestation of this performance of sexuality that reproduces unequal giving and taking as a general disposition for both sexes. YISI lies within this continuum and distinguishing between normative power relations and those that are coercive is challenging, especially as it is rarely fixed; within intimate relationships consent and coercion can be fluid and changeable (Whittle et al., 2015).

These inequalities are both gendered *and* aged in childhood, defined by children’s exclusion from sexuality (as evidenced in such formal structures as the age of consent). Over the last century Freud, Foucault, Erikson and others made the child - as sexual subject - visible but all these analyses have omitted consideration of power relations between adults and children. Adult power over child sex is exerted through the micro-practices of parenting, formal legal powers and education. Sex education provides a legitimated discourse of child

sex, carefully negotiated between the institutions of governments, health, education and the family. In general, and from the age of 5-15 years, sex education acknowledges the sexual subject as becoming adult primarily through the biological basis of sexual maturation. The social organization of its acceptable expression is within marital and/or close heterosexual partnership relationships, with the ultimate goal of reproduction at its core. Abstinence sex education in the US is an extreme manifestation of this position but even in European countries the primary focus is on relationships and reproduction; not the intimacies, intricacies, conflicts and gendering of sexual practices for children of all sexual identities.

Crucially, for the digital age, sex education has mostly ignored desire, both erotic and romantic and the human hacking techniques of peer and adult offenders. Playground games, sexting, fondling and social practices associated with intimacy, romance and feelings of desiring love seem to belong to a different ontology to that of sex education. This leaves gendered intimacy practices to be figured out in the context of wider domains of gendered structural power. These structures are reflected most strongly for children in and through their parents, teachers, the media and peer groups. Robinson (2013) researched understandings of sex in focus groups of children in early childhood centres in Australia. The attention given to the talk of children themselves is rare and important. She finds that children of 4 and 5 years have sexual subjectivities including views and opinions on sex, marriage, families. It is also apparent that these subjectivities, even from an early age, regulate the subjectivities of peers such that being different (that is, other than heteronormative) can be a focus of ridicule. Robinson concludes that children need 'comprehensive and inclusive sexuality education', which at first sight appears to echo earlier ideals of education and 'enlightened innocence'. However, her vision is for collaboratively designed 'counter discourses (that) allow readings of childhood that are founded not on innocence, but in agency, competency and knowledge' (Robinson, 2013, p137). An approach is advocated that challenges myths and contradictions of childhood sexuality such as that 'children are asexual and sexuality is irrelevant to young children's lives', 'talking with children about sexuality is

developmentally inappropriate' and 'children who transgress normative gendered behaviours in childhood will turn out to be gay' (Robinson, 2013, pp. 137-9). Robinson's conversations did not stray into the areas of sexual violence that are our focus here. However, she highlights that it is possible and desirable to improve the ways that children in the early years come to know and share understandings of sex. At the very least it might afford some protection from those who might exploit their sexuality, which is the subject of our next chapter.

Carmody (2015), also in Australia, similarly challenges biologically focused heteronormative sex education, advocating an ethics-based approach for older children. In interviews with 57 women and men aged 18-25 about their early sexual experiences as adolescents, she found evidence of a pervasive culture that positioned women and girls as 'sluts' if they engaged in 'casual sex' but the more boys engaged in sexual activities with girls the more valued their identities became as 'studs' (Carmody, 2015, p32). Homosexual sex was a source of both vulnerability and insult. Several examples are offered, such as;

'Definitely at high school I was bullied a lot and the word [that] was used, the insult primarily was "faggot" and it was, it was about being gay and 'cause I was a singer and actor' (Alex, 24 quoted in Carmody, 2015 p35).

Legal approaches to consent are limited, failing to address the intricacies of negotiation and relationships. The young people in Carmody's study reveal how consent should not be a one off or an absolute concept but a gradual process, consenting incrementally as different aspects of sexual interaction occurs (see also Coy et al 2013). Messages such as 'just say no' contribute to a 'traditional model of heterosexual sex' (Carmody, 2015, p41) where girls are the refusers and boys need to convince or coerce them to change their minds. Ringrose et al (2012) in research using interviews and focus groups in two London schools find similar values apply to girls willing to share variously sexual images;

R: Well, I know lots of times I've been asked and sometimes I will say 'No' and they will say, 'Okay' and they will be like nice to you and then they will ask again and then they will put pressure on you and stuff like this and I will just be like, 'I'm sorry I don't want to' and they will say 'Why' and I will say 'I just don't want to', and they will say, like 'There's nothing wrong like all you need to do is just suck on it' and I will be like, 'But I don't want to do that' and just keep going and they put the angry face on BBM and dedicate their status to you in a negative way.

I: Like say what kind of thing?

R: Like, 'Oh this girl is pissing me off'.

...

R: It is not a joke because boys get really serious because they just get really angry at the time and say, 'Do it, there's nothing to it. Oh you are pissing me off, I know where you live you know' and they will try for it in any type of way even if they don't even know you' (Cherelle, year 8, School Two cited in Ringrose et al 2012, p. 38).

Consent is complex even in offline sexual interaction, involving verbal and non-verbal cues. The following description by 'Don', 19, describes the way in which many social practices connect to lead to a sexual encounter;

'(I)t's more like maybe standing outside the pub – unless something's happened inside the pub, you know, the dance floor and start dancing with a girl and then it starts there – [but] it's more like you've left the pub, you're out in the taxi rank or buying your pie to munch on or something and they'll come and say, or you'll go to them and say, where are you going now, what's going on? And if you happen to end up in a taxi together and end up in the same place it goes from there. Once again, I don't think there's too much communication involved, well there might be communication but it's not about what's actually going to happen.' (Carmody, 2015, p44).

The practices of waiting (outside a pub), dancing, hailing and getting into a taxi, buying and eating food, asking a (non-sexual) question about future activity, and

some (non-sexual) communication are linked by Don to the practice of gaining consent to sex. These are gradual, non-verbal and verbal, culturally attuned cues that can often be missing in a digital context. For example, Kamal (a Year 8 pupil in the study by Ringrose et al (2012)) talks about his profile picture which contains a picture of his girlfriend's cleavage;

I: Would you put it on like BB?

R: Yeah, I have put it on BB.

I: So do you put it as your profile picture?

R: Yeah, my profile picture.

I: And does anyone know who it is?

R: No, not unless I tell them ... she is in her bra.

I: Just cleavage in her bra?

R: Yeah just cleavage.

I: And is that like, so with that example, did you ask her for it or did she just like send it to you?

R: I asked her for it. (Ringrose et al 2012, p36)

Here there is no gradual lead up, Kamal simply states he asked for the picture and his girlfriend sent it. We do not know whether she consented to its exposure on his profile or not but there are several examples in the study of girls having explicit images and sexual information exposed without their consent.

Carmody (2015) indicates the importance of emphasising how consent should be a negotiated and gradual process and has developed this in a 'Sex and Ethics Framework' for sex education. The programme, which has been trialled successfully in Australia, is derived from a Foucauldian perspective that recognises power is inherent in all relationships and discourse. It emphasises the ethics of recognising diverse sexual subjectivities and includes the concepts of mutuality, a constant state of reflection, negotiation and care of the self (Carmody, 2015, p. 111). This framework, administered over six weeks and

drawing on a range of questions for mixed group discussion, is sex positive. It provides a way of thinking reflectively about 'moral codes', behaviours and events to encourage informed choice. However, it is primarily focussed on offline peer sexual relations. Only one element references the online in questions derived from 'the Sunlight Test' (which is associated with US Supreme Court Judge Justice Brandeis);

'Would my behaviour stand up to being exposed in the light of day to those people whose opinion of me is most important'

'Would I like to see what happened written about or filmed and put on social media or in the newspaper?' (Carmody, 2015, p. 116)

Having argued that refusal and 'Just say no' are inadequate and negative, Carmody does not consider the implications of this test to digital communication, firstly in terms of differential gendered impact and secondly, on the viability of any form of sexual communication between peers online. From the limited data available it would appear that it is primarily boys who expose girls online. Boys presumably would not mind, therefore, as it is they who do it. Indeed, within their own peer groups such behaviour is interpreted as accentuating and valorising their masculinity (Ringrose et al 2012). Furthermore, rather than a focus on individual choice and negotiation which underpins the framework, it introduces a social context that few would knowingly agree to, given the potential of exposure is always contained in online communications. Thus, the concept of consent is important but also troublesome as a boundary marker between consensual sexual activity and OCSV.

Conclusion <2>

Childhood sexuality is a contested moral terrain. Clearly children, in different ways, do engage in sexual social practices and these practices are now ubiquitously mediated by the online environment. In this chapter we have shown that childhood sexuality presents a paradox; on the one hand childhood can be thought of as asexual, yet simultaneously sexuality is part of everyday life

for many children. So, is greater transparency in what childhood sexuality *should be* online possible? One issue is that what adults perceive as sexual is not necessarily the same as a child's understanding. In other words, sex is in the eye of the (adult) beholder (Buckingham et al 2010). This is not saying children do not understand what is sexual but rather that they understand it differently as the work of Ringrose et al (2012) and Robinson (2013) shows. A four-year old's understanding of marriage is different (not less adequate but qualitatively different) to that of a 15-year-old. And the emotional and co-produced meaning of sex for a 12-year-old is different to that of a 24-year-old in a romantic relationship.

The fear of new media 'ending childhood' is not a new problem, as Postman (1994) noted with reference to television, and there is little evidence that childhood has disappeared. Ubiquitous access to the secrets of sex has not diminished the sentiment and protections afforded in the childhood space. Indeed, if anything these have increased, and we would suggest they are specifically strengthened by public, political and moral concern about OCSV. There is no doubt that children are indeed abused and exploited through online-facilitated sexual violence. But we suggest that if children are to be helped to avoid victimisation, the nature and extent of this violence must be separated from concerns about sexualisation and normative childhood sexual exploration, both in future research, public, pedagogic and political discourse and by children themselves.

Robinson's recommendation for 'counter discourse' sex education was reached after attending a 'tween' pop concert where she witnessed the children had fun whilst singing along to sexualised lyrics and performing 'provocative dance moves' (Robinson, 2012, p.136). She observed the embracing of a particular genre of popular culture. The internet now affords massive exposure to popular culture, imbued with sexual content, messages and images, lyrics and movement. This multiplicity of forms itself, arguably, offers counter discourses by virtue of

their diversity, if children know where and how to look. What might also be needed, therefore, are not just counter discourses but collaboratively designed tools for navigation that acknowledge gender and adult power relations. Tools that strengthen resilience to 'human hacking', whilst enabling children to experiment, learn and explore.

Chapter 4 <1> Online Child Sexual Victimization of Young Children: A visibility paradox <1>

Introduction <2>

The previous chapter discussed youth involved sexual imagery with an emphasis on concerns about older children and the distinction between consensual and coercive practices. In this chapter we turn to examine the situation of young children. They are seldom the subject of research on sexual violence, yet the online-facilitated sexual abuse of these children is known to exist, primarily through studies that focus on the detection of child abuse images online and law enforcement reports. In the past CSA has been described as a hidden phenomenon that is made visible through a child's disclosure or evidence in and on their bodies (Wattam, 1992). OCSV experienced by young children is still hidden in this traditional sense but at the same time highly visible through images that are both detached from the child yet traumatically attached through their creation and continued circulation throughout childhood.

None of the surveys retrieved in the REA made reference to the online sexual abuse of children under 9. The majority of studies researched children aged 11 upwards, leading to the impression that most victims of OCSV are aged between 14-17 years of age. Data about children under nine only emerges as a by-product of data collected on wider samples of children or cases. A small minority have been identified through case file analysis of arrest data (Leonard, 2010; Mitchell, Jones, Finkelhor and Wolak, 2011a; Wells, Mitchell and Ji, 2012). However, most of what can be known about OCSV and younger children is through analyses of images harvested online (IWF, 2014; 2016; 2018) and analyses of law enforcement and NGO image databases (ECPAT International and Interpol, 2018; Quayle et al 2018; Seto et al 2018).

These sources suggest that OCSV involving young children is different to that experienced by those who are older. It more often involves parents, carers and family members, it is legally and developmentally impossible for children to consent and images and videos of the abuse are more likely to be trafficked (in other words traded for financial or other gain). By young children, we refer here to girls and boys who are prepubescent, that is generally under the age of ten (Blanchard, 2013). We use this distinction on three grounds. First, as noted, the research on online sexual practices in childhood has been on children aged 9 and upwards, so little is known about this group. Second, analyses of OCSV images harvested online have been categorised where possible by age bands: 0-2 years, 3-6 years and 7-10 years or older (IWF, 2014). Therefore, there is some data by age group for under 10's both in relation to the detected volume of images and the nature of the acts depicted. Third, although the age of puberty onset is lowering (Roberts, 2017; Biro et al 2010; Herman-Giddens et al 2012), in clinical discourse paedophilic disorder has been referred to as a sexual preference for prepubertal children for many years, and this generally refers to children under 10 (Blanchard, 2013)¹¹. A systemic approach that overcomes the fragmented visibility of these children must begin with a better understanding of the problem, a willingness to see it, and involve a wide range of people in noticing and responding.

'Olivia's' Story (IWF, 2019) <3>

In their 2019 annual report, IWF present Olivia's story (not her real name) as an account by one of their analysts.

"I first saw Olivia when she was about three. She was a little girl with big green eyes and golden-brown hair. She was photographed and filmed in a domestic setting. Sadly, it may well have been her home and she was with someone she

¹¹ DSM-IV-TR lists three diagnostic criteria for pedophilia. Criterion A, describes the nature of the paraphilia: "Over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child or children (generally age 13 years or younger)" (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, p. 572). DSM 5 retained this definition despite considerable debate concerning the exclusion of older children (see Blanchard, 2013).

trusted... Olivia should have been playing with toys enjoying an innocent childhood. Instead, she was subjected to appalling sexual abuse over a number of years. I've seen Olivia grow up through cruel images and videos, suffering hideous abuse. She was repeatedly raped and sexually tortured. It's highly likely that it was this man, her abuser, who first shared the images of Olivia's suffering. Other offenders may have followed his lead and done the same. It's also likely that some have profited financially from sharing this abuse. The suffering of children like Olivia is frequently a commercial crime. And for us, anyone who subsequently shared or paid to view this heinous material contributed to Olivia's torment. The police rescued Olivia in 2013— she was eight years old at that time—five years after the abuse first began. Her physical abuse ended and the man who stole her childhood was imprisoned. But those images are still in circulation and heartless offenders continue to share and probably profit from Olivia's misery" (IWF, 2019, p11).

IWF monitored how often they saw images of Olivia over a three-month period in 2018, which amounted to 347 times and averaged approximately five times a day. This finding is used to emphasise the importance of repeat victimisation of children through viewing. Olivia's story is redolent of many of the themes that have been drawn on in the literature. Firstly, the reference to 'innocent childhood' reinforces themes picked up in the previous chapter, conveying expectations of how childhood should be (being nurtured, playing) and how it is not this; in this account childhood is lost through sexual abuse. Secondly, the emotional aspect is emphasised through the use of terms such as 'appalling', 'cruel', 'hideous', 'suffering', 'heinous', 'torment' and 'heartless'. This language accentuates the importance of the moral dimension of OCSV. Third it is noted that Olivia probably knew her abuser who was likely to have been 'someone she trusted' locating trust as a feature in the commission of and consequences of OCSV. Fourth, she was abused in a domestic setting, reinforcing as many feminist accounts of interpersonal violence have done in the past, the dangerousness of the home for many women and children. Fifth, people are

profiting from Olivia's abuse; OCSV has a commercial dimension. Finally, the images have been circulating over an extensive period of time and been seen by thousands of people. Unlike the first four, the last two themes mark a significant change from offline CSA. Buying and selling child abuse images is not in itself new (Finkelhor, Williams and Burns, 1988) but the opportunity to view, and the scale of commercial opportunity are both massively expanded by the Internet. Without this, Olivia's sexual abuse may not have been discovered, remaining an offline secret crime.

Alongside coercive sex messaging, OCSV involves the digital in the production, distribution and consumption of child sexual abuse images and media (CSAM). According to ECPAT International (2016, p 23) it is not a "new and distinct form of sexual abuse" but a familiar crime that is facilitated through technology. However, this technology is creating new forms of visibility of child sexual abuse specific to the circulation of images and thus changes its ontology from being primarily a private, secret activity involving single or multiple (but small group) perpetrators and multiple victims, most commonly at single, repeated points in time to becoming public, multiply perpetrated, on multiple victims in multiple time points, on a mass scale, with an extension of perpetration that endures long after a physical human sex act has ceased. The consequences for victims can be profound (as with other forms of CSA) and should not be understated because of the subject's apparently less than human character (as an image). As 'Olivia's story' attests, for the children involved, virtual extension of their abuse is potentially lifelong.

The affordances of the Internet for OCSV in young children <2>

As noted in Chapter 1, internet access has greatly expanded over the last decade, such that most children in the West, and an increasing number in the global south, now go online on a regular basis. Of relevance to the content reviewed in this chapter, internet access by younger children is now common.

It is inevitable, particularly in the context of childhood sexuality addressed in the previous chapter, that concerns have emerged about the internet affording new

opportunities for offenders to access children for sexual purposes. Internet technology is both widely available and has inherent technical features that facilitate OCSV including speed of communication, massively increased scale of opportunity, an absence of guardians and perceived anonymity. Those involved in the trade of images have been quick to develop new ways of avoiding detection to support the development of a lucrative marketplace (Leary, 2014) as well as maximising the potential of cryptocurrencies to hide transactions (Europol, 2014). Larger screens and the higher processing power of devices make webcam easy to use (IWF, 2015). Such images and recordings can be shared via decentralised networks (no main operating system) using peer to peer (P2P) file sharing (CEOP, 2013). Distribution techniques allow live video streaming of child sexual abuse, which occurs both domestically (Mitchell, et al 2011a) and commercially, as a source of income generation particularly in resource poor countries (CEOP, 2013; UNODC, 2017). Finally, content can be easily manipulated; images can be harvested from their original sources and altered, sometimes referred to as morphed images (Houtepen et al 2014) so that any control between the subject of the original content and the original image is lost. According to the IWF (2014) 89.9% of images found in their study had apparently been harvested from their original upload location and were being redistributed via third party websites.

Other features thought to contribute to OCSV are that the Internet allows perpetrators to mask their identity both in relation to potential victims and law enforcement. This deception can include age, gender (Wolak and Finkelhor, 2016) and familial relationship. Men pretend to be women (Leander et al 2008) or a known adult may contact the child online disguised as a stranger. A multitude of identity tactics are possible. In research using machine learning training data to detect deception online, children aged 11-16 were likely to make erroneous attributions of age and gender in online communications, getting it right less than 20% of the time despite a high degree of self-belief that they could do so (May-Chahal et al 2013). However, the use of identity information has

changed over time and now appears to be less about adults pretending to be children and more about managing their adult identity in ways that make them more acceptable to the child, such as lowering their age (Winters et al 2017). Further, in the American N-JOV study (Mitchell et al 2011a) found that the perpetrator was known to the child in over half of law enforcement cases, either as acquaintances (27%, including neighbours, teachers, family friends) or family members (26%). Identity masking also takes place through various techniques used to search, upload, download and store material online in cyberlockers, and sites hosted in the 'darknet', using peer to peer software such as BitTorrent (Shavitt and Zilbermann, 2013) and Gnutella (Liberatore et al 2010).

Mitchell et al (2011a) make a distinction between offenders who use the internet for the purchase and sale of images and those who are more interested in the transmission and sharing of images. The former includes advertising both images and live-sex experiences, either recorded or in person (Leary, 2014). However, most of the traffic in images is free. Motivations vary, some offenders trade images to build up collections about a specific child, others may source images depicting specific sexual acts (Quayle and Taylor 2002).

Volume of OCSV images of young children <2>

Several studies have examined OCSV internet activity in file sharing sites. These P2P sites have millions of users who primarily use them to share music, games and films, sometimes illegally. An early study on eDonkey found that 0.25% of queries were described as 'paedophilic' although they covered a broad category of child abuse images and videos (Latapy et al 2013). Queries were identified from more than 300 million submitted over 10 weeks in 2007 and 28 weeks in 2009, amounting to almost 800,000 relating to child abuse. Hammond et al (2009) conducted a further analysis of paraphilic search terms (sexual behaviour that is considered deviant or abnormal) submitted over one week. 25 sexually related category themes emerged relating to 79,427 sexually motivated searches, 8.27% of which were paraphilic. Of these, the largest category was 'hebephilic' in other words post pubescent children (2.29%). Pre-pubescent searches comprised 0.82% of the total (n=657). Analysis of child abuse material search

terms in Gnutella over 'several weeks' found that they comprised just less than 1% of approximately half a million queries, with the most common of these being PTHC (an abbreviation of Pre-Teen Hard Core)(Steele, 2009), replicating findings from earlier studies (Hughes et al 2008). Finally, research on three BitTorrent portals over 8 weeks in 2009 found almost 100,000 child sexual abuse material search terms (Shavitt and Zilbermann, 2013).

Other studies have confirmed that the volume of this activity continues to be high, but its distribution is uneven. Over 12 months between 2010-11, Hurley et al (2015, p1) observed 'over 1.8 million distinct peers on eMule and over 700,000 peers on Gnutella, from over 100 countries, sharing hundreds of thousands of files verified as CP (child protection). Only 30% of files were available online for more than 10 days with new files being uploaded on a regular basis. A high degree of image overlap was found between the two sites and a relatively small number of peers collect and retain large volumes of images, such that 82% have fewer than 10 images in their collection (see also Wolak et al 2014).

Thus, thousands of online searches for child abuse material online are submitted every day across the world. One estimate is that 3 in 10,000 of the world's internet users (amounting to approximately 1.3 million people¹²) share CSA images every month (Bissias et al 2015), a proportion of which is specific to young children. Owing to restrictions on viewing it has been challenging to find specific data on image content. Growing awareness of OCSV and the involvement of law enforcement in image detection and victim identification, nationally and internationally, means that data is now available over time. Three sources of data are particularly important: data collected by the Internet Watch Foundation (IWF) pursuing the detection and take down of websites hosting child abuse images; the database managed by the National Centre for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) in the US and the International Child Sexual Exploitation

¹² In March 2019 <https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm>

Image Database (ICSE) managed by Interpol. Research conducted on these databases provides an estimate of the numbers of young children depicted.

The Internet Watch Foundation (IWF) <3>

IWF is a not for profit organisation based in the UK offering a public portal for reporting child sexual abuse images online. Following a report, it tracks the URLs of websites and alerts law enforcement and relevant industry partners to have the material taken down and the source followed up. Detailed public information is provided on annual trends (Table 4.1). The images are categorised on one of three severity levels based on the UK Sentencing Council's Sexual Offences Definitive Guidelines:

Category A: Images depict sexual activity between adults and children including rape or sexual torture

Category B: Images involving non-penetrative sexual activity

Category C: Other indecent images not falling within categories A or B (IWF, 2019)

Table 4.1: Child Sexual Abuse Images identified by IWF 2014-18

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Reports to IWF			105,420	132,636	229,328
Confirmed URLs	31,226	68,092	57,335	78,589	105,047
% <10	80%	69%	53%	55%	39%
% 0-2	4%	3%	2%	2%	1%
Girls	80%	85%	89%	86%	78%
Boys	10%	9%	5%	7%	17%
Both genders	7%	5%	5%	5%	4%
Category A	43%	34%	28%	33%	23%
Category B	30%	28%	19%	21%	21%
Proportion Cat A <10				44%	35%
Domains	1,694	1,991	2,416	3,791	3,899
Countries			50	54	54

Posts removed from newsgroups			60,466	43,767	29,865
Commercial		21%	10%	11%	7%

Source: IWF 2015, 2018

Trend data show that the percentage of images and videos of the sexual abuse of children under 10 has decreased over the last 5 years, from 80% to 39%, as has the proportion of images involving children under 2, down from 4% in 2014 to 1% in 2018. However, as the number of detected URL's has substantially increased over the period, the number hosting material depicting children under 10 has actually doubled (from approximately 25,000 URL's in 2014 to approximately 50,000 in 2018). IWF note that a higher proportion of these images contain the most serious content year on year. The location of images is constantly changing (moving from newsgroups to cyberlockers, for example), which recognises the fast changing and emergent character of the Internet. As with older children, this data confirms that girls are significantly more likely to be the subject of such images than boys.

National Centre for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) <3>

Seto et al (2018) conducted an analysis of cases held in the NCMEC database, comprised of children reported to their CyberTipline or reviewed in NCMEC's Child Victim Identification Programme (CVIP). Their research was based on two samples; 933 children involved in 518 actively traded cases between 2002 and 2014 and a 'modern data set' collected between 2011 and 2014 following a change in the reporting format that allowed more specific details to be recorded. Actively traded cases were those where a child's OCSV image had been 'seen in five or more CyberTipline reports and/or CVIP case reviews' (Seto et al 2018, p.9). The modern data set held a total of 2,598 children, 1,965 of whom were involved in one to one cases and 633 with multiple offenders. Whilst all of the historic data set were sampled as actively traded, the modern data set included all cases involving an identified child. In total, 8% of images in the 'modern' sample were actively traded; 7% in the one to one group and 12% of the multiple

child/offender group. NCMEC uses a '4 Point Sexual Activity Scale' to categorise severity of content:

Level 1 – Nudity or erotic posing with no sexual activity

Level 2 – Non-penetrative sexual activity between children, adults and children, or masturbation

Level 3 – Penetrative sexual activity between adults and children

Level 4 – Sadism or Bestiality (Seto et al 20018, p.18)

9.3% of images in the historic (actively traded) dataset involved infants and toddlers and 64.9% were of prepubescent children. Girls comprised 61.5% of the total. It is noted that there were no obvious trends over time regarding the child's gender or age although there was significant variation in gender distribution across the years. For example, boys featured in 28.2% of cases in 2002-3, 45.9% in 06-7 and 18.6% in 2012-13. Actively traded cases were more likely to involve familial offenders and be associated with more 'egregious sexual content' (Seto et al 2014, p4). They were also more likely to involve female offenders, although in a significant minority as compared to males.

Over one-half of multiple cases (58%, including 24% with mixed ages) and 39% of one to one material, involved prepubescent children (including infants and toddlers 3% and 6% respectively) in the modern dataset. Girls were significantly more likely to be victimised than boys in one to one cases (76% v 24%), and slightly less so in multiple cases (62% v 22% with 16% involving a mixture of boys and girls). Images of prepubescent children were most likely to be actively traded (15.8%) followed by those of infants and toddlers (8.9%), with images of pubescent children least likely to be actively traded (2.6%). The most serious images (Level 3 and 4) were most likely to be actively traded (16% of level 4 and 9% of level 3 images, compared with 4.4% of level 1 images).

One to one material involved a family member in just over a quarter of cases (27%), whereas family members were involved together or with others in two fifths (41%) of multiple offender/victim cases. 37% of one to one and 50% of multiple cases were rated at the most serious levels. Overall male perpetrators

were featured in significantly higher numbers than females. One to one cases involving female offenders were more likely to be perpetrated within a familial relationship (61% of female offender cases v 28.2% of male offender cases). However, the numbers here are small (25 women compared to 487 men). Infant and toddler and prepubescent cases were more likely to involve a family member (59% (N=66) and 43% (N=274)) compared to older children (14.4%, N=174). It is notable that cases involving a family member were also more likely to have the most serious content.

Interpol and the International Child Sexual Exploitation (ICSE) database <3> In 2018 an analysis of Interpol's International Child Sexual Exploitation (ICSE) database was conducted in partnership with ECPAT (ECPAT International and Interpol, 2018). This was the first systematic and expert review of over 1 million images and videos. Interpol's collaborative arrangements enabled law enforcement in 53 countries to link to the ICSE database in 2017, which has meant that images have been retrieved and victims identified across the world. The analysis focused on two samples; the first analysed the media file (image or video) and the second was a randomised stratified sample of series of distributed cases (those that had been seen online 5 or more times) in which children were still unidentified. Data was collated according to victim (age, gender, ethnicity and number), offender (age, gender, ethnicity) and severity of the abuse depicted using the ten-point COPINE Scale (Taylor, Holland and Quayle, 2001) (see Table 4.2). In addition, other paraphilic themes observed in the material were noted.

The first sample was made up of 1,081,241 media files, extracted in May 2017. 43% of children in these files had been identified (N=466,091), 57% unidentified (N=615,150). Across the sample, children were more likely to be female; 73% of identified children and 65% of those who were unidentified. The second sample, comprised of 700 image and 100 video series (800 series), was subject to a more detailed analysis identifying age, ethnicity and severity of abuse.

Prepubescent children featured most frequently in the series analysis; 4.3% were 'very young', 56.2% pre-pubescent and 14.1% of cases comprised children in multiple age categories (80% of these including pre-pubescent and pubescent children in the same series). The largest ethnic group for both children and perpetrators was 'white' (77% and 79% respectively), followed by Hispanic-Latino (10% and 12%) and Asian (10% and 7%). Most of the series involved single children (72%), as exemplified by 'Olivia's story', with 28% involving two or more. Once again, girls were the most likely to be victimized (64.4%). Boys featured more frequently in the series sample (30.5%) and 5% were of both sexes. The perpetrator was identifiable in just less than half of the cases and 93% of these were male. Where women were perpetrators they were more often acting with a male (5.5%). In these cases, the male was most often the recorder of the abuse. 84.2% of the series were graded within COPINE levels 6-10 (just under half reached 8-10) (Table 4.2). 11.5% of series were dominated by another paraphilic theme (most commonly object fetishism and voyeurism). Boys were more likely to feature in more serious images.

Three further studies have also provided data on image analysis; Quayle and Jones (2011) analysed a sample from ChildBase in the UK, the Canadian Center for Child Protection (2016) analysed reports to their tip-line (Cybertip.ca) in 2016 and Quayle et al (2018) analysed a sample of UK material from the ICSE Database. There may be a small level of overlap in each of these datasets, for example, there is potential for some overlap between the ICSE UK and ECPAT and Interpol sample. A summary analysis of the seven data sources (see Table 4.3), finds that in five of these, material featuring pre-pubescent children is in the majority (NCMEC's historic and modern multiple case sample, CEOP's ChildBase, Canada's Cybertip data and Interpol's ICSE database). Whilst there is an indication that OCSV involving young children may be decreasing from the other two data sources, these children are still found in approximately two fifths of OCSV material.

Table 4.2: Severity of ICSE image series graded on the COPINE scale

Level	Name	Description of Picture Qualities	ICSE DB N=800
1	Indicative	Non-erotic and non-sexualised pictures showing children in their underwear, swimming costumes, etc. from either commercial sources or family albums; pictures of children playing in normal settings, in which the context or organisation of pictures by the collector indicates inappropriateness	1.63%
2	Nudist	Pictures of naked or semi-naked children in appropriate nudist settings, and from legitimate sources	0.13%
3	Erotica	Surreptitiously taken photographs of children in play areas or other safe environments showing either underwear or varying degrees of nakedness	1.63%
4	Posing	Deliberately posed pictures of children fully, partially clothed or naked (where the amount, context and organisation suggest sexual interest)	3.63%
5	Erotic posing	Deliberately posed pictures of fully, partially clothed or naked children in sexualised or provocative poses	8.77%
6	Explicit erotic posing	Emphasising genital areas where the child is either naked, partially or fully clothed	16.42%
7	Explicit sexual activity	Involves touching, mutual and self- masturbation, oral sex and intercourse by child, not involving an adult	21.18%
8	Assault	Pictures of children being subjected to a sexual assault, involving digital touching, involving an adult	8.02%
9	Gross assault	Grossly obscene pictures of sexual assault, involving penetrative sex, masturbation or oral sex involving an adult	31.45%
10	Sadistic/ bestiality	a. Pictures showing a child being tied, bound, beaten, whipped or otherwise subjected to something that implies pain b. Pictures where an animal is involved in some form of sexual behaviour with a child	7.14%

Source: Adapted from Interpol and ECPAT, 2018.

There is general agreement across the studies that OCSV material of young children is the most serious, not because of the age of the children but because of the severity rating of the content. It can also be concluded from the NCMEC and ICSE data that images of prepubescent children are more likely to be trafficked. It would appear that the trade is in distribution and circulation of images of abuse committed offline or committed live online, and not always for commercial gain. Of note, a proportion of children victimised are described as babies/infants and toddlers. Six studies find widely ranging rates for this group, ranging from 1% (IWF, 2018) to 9.3% (Seto et al 2018). This is partly due to different age classifications and material that contains children of different ages in the same image or video. For example, Cybertip.ca only provide data for children under 8 and 4.3% of images in the ICSE database only depict infants and toddlers but 80% of the multiple age series include a mix of ages from babies through to older children. We estimate an average prevalence across the data available is that young children comprise over half of known OCSV (Table 4.3).

Finally, these analyses of data harvested online confirm findings from others, that the majority of children victimised (both younger and older) appear to be white; they can be victimised in countries across the world and their perpetrators are only apprehended in a minority of cases. Where perpetrators are identified they are also predominantly white and male. It is notable that data on ethnicity is missing in several studies and available data may be an artefact of the regions in which data is collected (Quayle and Jones, 2011). However, even in these regions the proportion of black children appears low and there is no way of knowing whether this is because fewer black children are abused or whether there are other reasons. One possible explanation is that of inherent inequalities in data processing due to 'algorithmic bias' (Garcia, 2016). Image detection software based on artificial intelligence methods, may not be sufficiently sensitive to detect black skin.

The visibility gap <2>

A number of challenges account for why children under 10 are rarely asked about online-facilitated sexual abuse. We might hypothesise that it is in part due to the fact that infants and very young children may not understand what is happening to them or be able to verbalise their experience (NICE, 2017). However, in their study of youth produced sexual content online IWF (2015) found that a number of under tens were performing sexual acts (category B and C) live, interacting with the viewers through chat functions. The IWF give case examples of girls aged seven revealing their genitalia to a webcam commenting that they do not want their parents to know. Having established in Chapter 3 that children of all ages do participate in sexual practices as perceived by adults, a significant challenge is learning more about what understanding a child might have of such actions. Winter (2010) has demonstrated that very young children, with language acquisition, can describe their experiences of abuse. Although barriers to disclosure of any form of sexual abuse are well documented (Lemaigre, Taylor, and Gittoes, 2017), a failure to talk about sexual practices with young children can only enhance their vulnerability. The barriers here may have more to do with adult inability or unwillingness to talk about sex with young children, yet as Robinson (2013) has demonstrated, it is entirely possible to explore sexuality with them.

Table 4.3: Summary Data on OCSV Material Harvested Online

Data Source	IWF	NCMEC CVIP ⁱ Database		Interpol ICSE ⁱⁱ Database		CEOP ⁱⁱⁱ ChildBase	ICSE Database UK only	Cybertip.ca ^{iv}	Mean %
Date	2018	2002- 2014	2011-2014	As at 2017		2005-2009	2015	2016	
N Images	105,047 (URL)	933	2,598 (1,965 single, 633 multiple)	1,081,241	800	24,550	687	43,597	
<10 years (%)	39	64.9	44	-	67.5	51.4 _v	43 _{vi}	78.3 _v	55.4
<2 years (%)	1	9.3	5	-	4.3	0.7	3	-	3.8
Female (%)	78	61.5	72	68.4	64.4	80.9	63.2	80.4	71.1
Male (%)	17	38.5	28	27.9	30.5	20.1	36.7	19.6	27.2
White (%)	-	-	85	-	77	91	93.3	87.1	86.7
Asian (%)	-	-	-	-	10	7	3.3	7.6	6.9
Hispanic/Latino(%)	-	-	-	-	10	1.7	-	1.7	4.5
Black (%)	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	-	1.3	0.8

- i. National Center for Missing and Exploited Children Child Victim Identification Database
- ii. International Child Sexual Exploitation Database
- iii. Child Exploitation Online Protection Command UK
- iv. Canada
- v. Under 11
- vi. Estimated from text information

Nursery Crimes <3>

The sexual abuse of babies and very young children is not a new phenomenon. Gebhard and Gagnon (1964) report an interview study of 1,356 white males convicted of a sexual offence between 1938-1956. 60 (4.4%) of these men had committed offences against children under 5. The majority (61%) were young men, in their teens or twenties. Significant differentiators from other sex offenders, matched prisoners and matched controls, was participation in zooeroticism (sexual contact with animals), admitted by 22% of the sample, and devout religiosity (23%). Of interest is the finding Zoophilia is commonly associated with CSA media search terms (Steele, 2009). However, in the ICSE database analysis, although approximately one third of OCSV material contained a dominating paraphilic theme, Zooeroticism featured in only 0.4% of cases. The largest was 'object fetishism' (15.9%) followed by voyeurism (14.5%) (ECPAT and Interpol, 2018).

During the 1980's, following the controversial case of the McMartin PreSchool in the US, Finkelhor, Meyer-Williams and Burns (1988) conducted research on sexual abuse in day care (defined as care for children 6 years and under). Using a range of different sources from child protection agencies, licensing authorities and law enforcement, they collected data on substantiated cases from 270 day care facilities across fifty states. 1,639 children were confirmed as victims of sexual abuse, including 484 girls and 296 boys (gender was not specified for over 50%). 6% were aged <1, 19% <2 and 35% <3, with the remainder aged between 4-6 years. Four perpetrator types were established: lone child care workers (35%), lone 'peripheral' persons (for example a bus driver) (13%), lone family members (of day care staff) (25%) and multiple perpetrators (childcare workers and others) (17%). Men were the perpetrators in 64% and women in 36% of cases. The researchers note that although the rate of female perpetrators is higher than with other forms of sexual abuse, three quarters of women were involved together with other male and female abusers. 76% of multiple perpetrator cases involved sexual penetration compared with 42% of the lone

child care worker cases. Of particular relevance here, 67% of multiple perpetrator cases involved the production of 'pornography' (that is child abuse images) versus 3-5% for all other perpetrator types. So, similar to OCSV, female perpetrators and higher severity of abuse were features of multiple cases. However, the proportion of cases involving female perpetrators appears to be lower in OCSV.

OCSV cases concerning the sexual abuse of young children in day care continue to be reported, usually emerging after police have found evidence online. Since 2013, three cases subjected to serious case review in England and Wales relate to online-facilitated sexual abuse. One involved the sexual assault of babies and toddlers at a nursery (Wonnacoot, 2013). In this case, a 20-year-old man was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment after admitting two charges of rape, sixteen counts of causing or inciting a child to engage in sexual activity, twenty-five of making indecent images and three of distributing images of children. The images came to light after alleged online grooming of a thirteen-year-old resulted in the police seizing the nursery worker's computer. In a second case, a child was exposed to home produced pornography involving the female foster carer by the male foster carer (Ibbetson, 2014). This child was one of five primary school aged children who were sexually abused by the male foster carer between 1999-2008. Again, the Police found many images of the abuse on the male foster carers computer, as well as many downloaded child abuse images. There is no evidence that he shared any of his images.

Types of OCSV involving young children <2>

In Chapter 1 we identify five different types of OCSV that are not mutually exclusive; four of which are most relevant to young children. First, in oCSEC perpetrator contact can be virtual and there is no intention to meet the child offline. This can include the abuse of young children locally and beyond as the internet broadens the possibilities for global access through webcams and the ordering of 'live sex' (CEOP 2013; Europol, 2014; Leary 2014; UNODC, 2015). Second, a child may be contacted by an adult online, groomed and then asked to meet offline (Webster, Davidson and Bifulco, 2014; Whittle et al 2015). In the

third type, the child is sexually abused offline, but the abuse is recorded (through mobile phones, webcams and cameras) and made available online either for sale or for circulation. Through grooming or cooperation of carers, abuse can be ordered on demand, a carer can agree to contact and enable access to the perpetration of abuse, and the abuse can be recorded as with other age groups.

In addition to abuse perpetrated in the making and taking of child sexual abuse media (CSAM), possible in each of the three types above, a fourth type is that of distribution and possession of CSAM, where the perpetrator and child have never met virtually or otherwise. This digital child abuse (DCA) is a distinct form of OCSV. The body of the child, and in this case a baby or very young child, is translated into an image, open to mass scale distribution. It has been suggested that the viewing of images is less harmful and may even be beneficial as displacement activity for perpetrators, diverting attention from the 'real thing' (Elliot and Beech, 2009). Some uphold the possibility that these are not real victims and that the only negative aspect (apart from the original abusive act which is viewed but not created by the digital user) is that it may lead to the abuse of a 'real child'.

This complex ethical area is challenging. Set against claims of preventing offline abuse and no harm, is the trauma of repeat victimisation and equivocal data on cross over offending. Children of all ages find knowledge of their abuse circulating online difficult to live with, as this excerpt from a 13-year old's witness statement illustrates;

"Usually when someone is raped and abused, the abuse ends. But since [offender name] put those pictures on the internet, my abuse is still going on. Anyone can see them. People ask for them and are downloading them. Day after day. People want to see me abused" (R. v. Kwok, 2007, CanLII 2942 (ONSC) cited in Canadian Center for Child Protection, 2016, p5).

The extent of crossover offending, where perpetrators of OCSV also sexually abuse children offline, is difficult to assess. People charged and prosecuted for such offences are clearly in the minority, given the volume of material circulating online. Any data collected from them will not be representative, and data that relies on voluntary reports is similarly biased. Estimates vary considerably depending on the population sampled. Studies have been conducted on those arrested, charged or found guilty of offences as well as help-seeking and treatment seeking individuals. Each finds different rates ranging between 17% and 43% in retrospective offence data, 2% and 4% prospective offence data, and up to 57% in undetected self-report cases (Wager et al 2018).

Spaces of Visibility <2>

An unknown quantity (at least in the hundreds of thousands) of images of the sexual victimisation of young children are circulating online but the majority of children remain unidentified offline (ECPAT and Interpol, 2018). They may be known to safeguarding services as being victimised in other ways (see Chapter 5) but their OCSV remains undetected. It is not just because these images circulate in cyberlockers or in peer to peer networks that young children experiencing OCSV are out of the view of carers, early years practitioners and others. It is also because OCSV challenges moral boundaries and taboos. As our discussion of childhood sexuality attests, seeing this sexual violence is difficult because for the majority of people it is profoundly transgressive. As such, it is almost incomprehensible. Media reports are replete with language that emphasizes the shock of such content and even a trained analyst for IWF singles out images of babies as being the ‘worst’:

There are always images that are harder to view than others. I have difficulties whenever I see images of babies, of new-born babies, being tortured or raped. It gets me thinking – how could anybody do this to a baby, to something that small, that fragile? (IWF, 2016, p51)

Thus, OCSV of young children is *principally* noticed through image detection. In addition to web crawling and public reports to organisations such as IWF,

Cybertip.ca and NCMEC, sexual abuse images of young children also come to light through police seizure of computers. This often occurs when suspicions have been raised about an individual's behaviour but not necessarily in relation to an infant or young child. However, images do not automatically mean a child will be identified. Children may not be identifiable either because of the position of the recording device or key details may be obscured (ECPAT and Interpol, 2018). Images can be divided into digital parts so that no single person distributes the whole file. These, amongst many other strategies, enable perpetrators of OCSV to avoid being subject to a range of legislation designed to criminalise the distribution and possession of such material (Gillespie, 2016). Furthermore, given the volume of images online, law enforcement nationally and internationally, lack sufficient resource for comprehensive victim identification.

Sting operations, that include masquerading as a child on social media (Taylor, 2010) or creating child Avatars and false websites (Terres des Hommes, 2016) are focused on the child as a victim. In the case of young children, the focus must additionally be on the grooming of parents or substitute carers. An example of a parent grooming sting operation deployed a four-month-old baby who did not exist and her 'father' as an undercover police officer, resulting in a man's arrest <http://www.itv.com/news/central/2017-11-20/man-jailed-after-encouraging-sexual-abuse-of-four-month-old-baby/>. However, the development of software to track the grooming of adults for the purposes of OCSV is a non-trivial technical and professional challenge. With a child as a target it is possible to deploy image analysis software, such as Microsoft's Photo DNA, or to identify deception by adults through Natural Language Processing (NLP) and machine learning algorithms (Rashid et al 2014). The grooming of mothers, fathers, early years workers and other substitute caregivers online presents quite different technical and practical challenges. A perpetrator grooming a child is *a priori* a potential crime in the UK, US and many other countries around the world. A possible perpetrator grooming an adult is not a crime in any jurisdiction unless their intent to access a child for sexual purposes is evident. Grooming parents for the

purposes of OCSV may also occur offline, for example, the case of the Lanarkshire nursery worker who befriended parents over several years <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-26546250> . In this case colleagues reported concerns about his behaviour, but these were not acted upon. In the context of a wider problem of the under reporting of child sexual abuse more generally (Radford et al 2011), at what point can OCSV of young children be noticed?

Identification through medical examination <2>

Medical examination for suspected child sexual abuse has a complex history. With regard to CSA pre-internet a major public inquiry in Cleveland (UK) highlighted the ambiguities surrounding the medical diagnosis of sexual abuse. In that case 121 children were removed from their homes following a controversial reflex anal dilation test. The public, police and politicians strongly reacted, and the majority of children were returned home (although investigative journalists later claimed that many of these diagnoses were valid¹³). Doubt centred on *the volume* of cases being diagnosed (Campbell, 1988) and this continues with reference to OCSV, as do questions about the 'veracity' of the digital image (Quayle and Jones, 2011).

Paediatricians can become involved either through direct referrals or because the presentation of a young child causes concern. Identification can also occur accidentally, as with the discovery of suspected child sexual abuse during a post mortem examination of Poppi Worthington (Hyde, 2017), an infant living in a rural part of the North of England. Poppi died aged 13 months in December 2012 of asphyxiation; she was co-sleeping with her father after he allegedly sexually abused her (Guardian, 2018). The paramedics noted indicators of possible CSA, as did the attending doctor in hospital and the pathologist, however this line of inquiry was not followed up. The laptop her father was using at the time was never recovered. In parallel with events such as Cleveland (although still contested) clinicians made the abuse visible, but others still fail to

¹³ <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/child-abuse-scandal-resurfaces-1263578.html>

grasp its significance. Cooper (2011) comments that in America clinicians have disputed the truth of OCSV images, with suggestions that the images have been manipulated or are not real. Health professionals charged with looking at such images for identification and protection of children find themselves literally unable to.

Conclusion <2>

Fragmented on-offline visibility of these young children must begin with a better understanding of the problem, a willingness to see it, and involve a wide range of people in noticing and responding. Across the world, daily, thousands of people, mainly men, are searching for CSAM. Sexual violence perpetrated on young children provides the content of over half these images. 67.79% of the random sample of images on Interpol's ICSE database were Level 7-9 on the COPINE scale. Unlike offline CSA, it would appear that young children are now at higher risk in their families; where this data is retrievable, the lowest estimate is that approximately one third of the material is created by family members (Seto, et al 2018). Parents are vulnerable to grooming by those they trust, just as children themselves are, or they may see an opportunity to make money they desperately need, as happens in some forms of child trafficking (Walby et al 2016). Counter to danger discourses, it is a minority of parents or carers who abuse children for their own gratification, and they know who they are. It is not all parents, or even a majority, who are vulnerable; just as it is not all children who are vulnerable to victimisation. The problem is that it is not possible to identify which children and which parents are or will be. There are some clues in the images themselves. In the following chapter we analyse what can be known about vulnerability and resilience both from the empirical research and wider literature.

Chapter 5 <1>

Vulnerability and Resilience Intersections in Online Child Sexual Victimisation <1>

The role of social divisions and identities, culture and patterns of social organisation in OCSV is clearly present but poorly understood. In this chapter we develop an intersectional analysis of OCSV research. The empirical data and the wider literature are drawn on to identify how theory on vulnerability and resilience might assist in preventing victimisation. The data almost exclusively situates vulnerability in the context of individualised risk, whereas theory expands these concepts into a wider social frame. We conclude with a framework that incorporates a broader understanding of resilience and intersectionality as it applies to OCSV.

Inherent vulnerability and resilience <2>

Resilience in its conventional meaning is the capacity to return to a steady state after experiencing a negative event (Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker, 2000). In relation to OCSV, it does not mean that a child is not harmed but rather, having experienced harm, there is not a continuing adverse impact. In the included research, this resilience to harm was most frequently analysed in terms of 'not being bothered' or 'distressed' by sexual content or online solicitation for sexual purposes. This is then associated with individual characteristics, parent mediation of online activity and levels of social support.

Vulnerability in the empirical research refers to the *risk* of being victimised; characteristics that heighten the probability of OCSV through association are similarly identified through analyses of data collected from individuals. These attributes include being a girl, a younger child, disabled, other than heterosexual, scoring low on self-efficacy or self-esteem and having a history of previous victimisation. Behavioural attributes include high levels of risk taking both on and offline (such as meeting a person first met online face to face), posting sexually explicit material (boys) or associating with peers who do so (girls). Such

characteristics are ‘inherent’ vulnerabilities (Walklate, 2011); they pertain to what individual children are or what they do.

Many children show resilience to a broad spectrum of sources of online harm, of which exposure to sexual content or sexual solicitation are only a part. A wider range of harms can have a sexual dimension, including cyberbullying, online harassment, and information sharing breaches. Children employ a range of strategies to deal with different threats, enabling them to develop a portfolio of online skills. For example, in Wisniewski et al (2016) US study children adopted active strategies such as ‘laughing’ about unwanted content and simply deleting it. Sixty-eight children aged 13-17 recorded their weekly online experiences over two months. The diary was pre-coded so that participants had to select if their ‘risk experience(s) online’ were about information sharing problems, online harassment, sexual solicitation and exposure to sexual content. Only three of the sample sent sexual messages. However, 28% noted at least one sexual solicitation in the period (it is unclear if this was from a peer or an adult). Two girls (14 and 15 years) were asked for offline meetings, one of whom met the individual, was given alcohol and then sexually assaulted (Wisniewski et al 2016).

Developing digital skills and literacy enables most children to manage a degree of potential harm online (Livingstone and Görzig, 2014; Ringrose et al 2012; Wisniewski, et al 2016). This includes being exposed to unwanted sexual content, being approached by a stranger online to become ‘friends’, requests to send sexual images and requests to meet offline. A distinction is made between active and passive coping strategies. Active coping strategies involve blocking and deleting contacts that children no longer feel comfortable with and telling someone about their experience. Passive coping strategies include ignoring sexual solicitations or content, stopping or avoiding online use, adopted by 18% - 25% of children in the EU Kids Online study (D’Haenens, Vandonink and Donoso, 2013). The strategy adopted may depend on the type of experience: the YISS 3

study found children who reported sexual solicitation were more likely to use active coping strategies, whilst those exposed to sexual material used passive strategies (Priebe, Mitchell and Finkelhor, 2013). Children who described themselves as very upset or embarrassed were more likely to disclose serious sexual solicitation to their parents. Other than being upset, being female and living with both biological parents, few other characteristics were found to be predictive of disclosure. However, it is not clear how effective telling others was in reducing the harm and building resilience.

Girls develop resourceful ways of managing continuous sexualised pressure both on and off-line such as; lying about having a boy/girlfriend, delaying and deferring requests, and being assertive (Ringrose et al 2012). These methods resonate with the concept of self-efficacy (a belief in one's ability to successfully accomplish a task or goal), one of the psychological variables explored by Hasebrink et al (2011). The potential for harm in such situations is more likely to result from being younger, having lower levels of self-efficacy and if the child already has 'psychological difficulties' as measured by the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman, Ford, Simmons...Meltzer, 2000).

Another individual characteristic associated with high internet use and positive exposure to risk is 'sensation seeking' behaviour. This is characterised by children who seek out new experiences, take risks [on and offline] and are disinhibited. EU Kids online tested whether sensation seeking provided resilience to harm from receiving sexual messages on the basis that sensation seekers may find these experiences 'more pleasurable' (Livingstone and Görzig, 2014). Some support for sensation seeking as a protective factor was found, but this reduced when sex (being female), age (being younger) and psychological difficulties were included.

An alternative to a focus on inherent vulnerabilities is offered in criminological theory (Walklate, 2011; Walklate, McGarry and Mythen, 2014) and youth work (Ungar, 2004). These theories emphasise the importance of external social influences such as family, community and culture on vulnerability and resilience.

Intersections of these wider sociological factors are theoretically significant to the development of resilience in OCSV.

Intersectional Vulnerability and Resilience <2>

At its heart, intersectionality is simply a device that helps to understand how different social divisions, such as gender, race, class, age and ability, might connect and impact on each other as they are experienced by people in their everyday lives. But, as Hill Collins and Bilge (2016) illustrate, it is more than this. An intersectional analysis examines how social divisions also intersect across what are referred to as 'domains of power: interpersonal, disciplinary, cultural, and structural' (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016, p 7). Application of this framework to OCSV is instructive and lends coherence to what have hitherto been disparate studies within the field.

Interpersonal power refers to interactional practices; virtual and face to face. Studies that research child sex offenders demonstrate how they use interpersonal power with children (Webster, Davidson and Bifulco, 2014). But perpetrators are only one element of victimisation. Research reporting on grooming practices as they are articulated by both children and perpetrators are few. A rare exception is the work by Whittle et al (2015) which collected data from three dyads. Their analysis focused on the different elements of grooming, however their accounts also provide evidence of the way in which interpersonal power plays out through the micro-practices of interaction. For example, all three talked about time;

Dyad 1

It was just constant talking everyday all day . . . every time I looked at my phone there was a message or a missed call. [Joanne, 14]

She had my mobile phone number she used to text me quite a lot. [Sam, 49]

Dyad 2

I couldn't like hardly ever have any time to myself. [Kelly, 13]

I'll come back and there'll be missed phone calls, text messages, "Why aren't you answering . . . your phone? Why haven't you been on Facebook?" And it was just getting a bit all too much at first. . . she was constantly on the phone. [Pete, 28]

Dyad 3

It had got to about, probably about four hours a day and that's not including texting. [Mona, 14]

I would phone and text, but that was very much the minority [of victims] that tended to be the ones that I spoke to for longer periods of time. [Chris, 20]
(Whittle et al 2015, p. 550)

The children and the perpetrators differ in their interpretation of time use. Joanne's use of 'constant' talking is reported by Sam as Joanne texting him 'quite a lot'. Kelly having no 'time to myself' is reported by Pete as her being 'constantly on the phone'. Mona's report of Chris phoning 'four hours a day not including texting' was described by Chris as just 'phone and text'. These discrepancies point to a power differential; namely, one person's command of another's time, with the children clearly remarking on the length of time given to the perpetrator, and the perpetrators either minimising the amount of time involved or claiming the children were taking their time. Other sources of interpersonal power include 'human hacking' (Europol, 2017) using methods such as deception and uncertainty; the use of erratic behaviour by the perpetrators, such as stopping contact and then starting it again and manipulation techniques.

Disciplinary power refers to rules, limits and constraints both formal and informal; with regard to OCSV this can be seen in national legislation concerning the age of consent, internet regulation and the debates surrounding this (Gillespie, 2016). Cultural power dictates what is allowed and is not allowed in childhood sexual relations (an issue we addressed in Chapter 3). Inequalities in relationships between adults and children and between men and women are part of a wider set of structural relations that intersect with OCSV. These

provide a context that facilitates victimisation. Structural power also connects OCSV with global capitalism, for example, mass consumption of a culture of sexualisation that markets youthful and highly gendered sex (Gill, 2009; Buckingham et al 2010; Montgomery, 2009). Within and across each power domain there are children who are differently gendered, raced, classed, aged and able. As a consequence, multiple OCSV victimisations are experienced whilst retaining some characteristics that are shared; primarily the exploitation of trust to commit illegal sexual activity.

Gender <2>

Similar to research on harvested digital media in the previous chapter, studies that measure large representative samples of children at a single point in time (cross sectional studies) across European countries and the US find that girls are significantly more likely to be victims of OCSV than boys (Baumgartner, Valkenburg and Peter, 2010; Helweg-Larsen, Schütt and Larsen, 2012; Mitchell et al 2013; Mohler-Kuo, Landolt, Maier...and Schnyder 2014; Tynes and Mitchell, 2014; Davidson, DeMarco, Bifulco...and Puccia, 2016; Wachs et al 2016).

Measures used to define online child sexual abuse and sexual exploitation vary and there are clear indications that victim sex characteristics differ depending on the type of victimisation experienced. EU Kids Online reports 15% of 9-16 year olds had received a sexual message with sex differences described as 'negligible', but boys were more likely to have seen sexual images online. Of those children who experienced sexual content 25% were upset by it (4% of the total) and girls were 'more upset' (Hasebrink et al 2011). Montiel et al (2016) find that in Spain, girls are significantly more likely to be victims of online grooming and sexual pressure online but there were no sex differences in exposure to sexual content or sexual coercion. Girls are also more likely to be the subject of law enforcement reports. 92% of 358 OCSV reports held by Police in Sweden concerned females (Shannon, 2008). In the US National Juvenile Online Victimization (N-JOV) study, 82% of victims of Internet facilitated sex crimes where the child could be identified (N=316) were female (Mitchell et al 2011a).

As girls get older online sexual solicitation increases. Research on a sample of 1765 Dutch children randomly selected from 110,000 online participants, reports on the experiences of girls and boys separately as they progress through adolescence (12-17 years) (Baumgartner, Valkenburg and Peter, 2010). Responses to the questions; 'being asked to talk about sex' and 'being asked to do something sexual' online were measured. Across both sexes, sexual activities online increased as age increased. However, girls had significantly higher rates for being asked to talk about sex and being asked to do something sexual online, which dramatically increased between the ages of 14-17. Girls were significantly more likely to consider seeking sex online as dangerous; they were less likely to engage in risky sexual behaviour or to perceive the benefits of talking or seeking out sex online. In addition, middle to late adolescent girls were most likely to be solicited online (compared to boys and adult men and women). Typically, the researchers speculate that the cause is the girl's behaviour:

'Our findings suggest that more frequent use of online communication, such as chatting and instant messaging, increases the chance of unwanted online sexual solicitation. Thus, the preference for online communication of young females may have increased their risk of receiving unwanted online sexual solicitation' (Baumgartner et al 2010, p444)

The solution that follows from this (although not stated in this way in the report) is that in order to reduce risk girls should communicate less online. Furthermore, the researchers seem to suggest it is girls who are being provocative rather than boys or men who are being sexually aggressive. For example;

'in their online self-presentation some girls may give implicit or explicit cues to others that may provoke sexual requests even if they did not intend to do so' (Baumgartner et al 2010, p444).

Some findings on sex differences are mixed. In one Spanish region, Villacampa and Gomez (2017) report no significant sex differences in children groomed online where an adult perpetrator specifically tried to get the child to talk about sex. However, girls were significantly more likely to be victims of grooming which commenced with them talking about themselves. Further, a systematic review of 'sexting' reported that out of twelve studies, six find no sex differences, three find girls are more likely to send sexual content than boys and two find boys are more likely to receive such content (Klettke et al 2014). Findings from single studies suggest girls send sexts in response to boys' requests but that they may be pressured into doing so (Ringrose et al 2010; Stanley et al 2016).

Gender intersections <3>

Much of the research on OCSV can be read as testament to the pervasiveness of gendered sexual violence and coercion in Western society. As many feminist theorists have argued, child sexual abuse is not abnormal, not something that happens to others and not 'here'; it is a product of wider social practices linked to gender relations more broadly (Kelly, 1987; Nelson, 1987; Dominelli, 1989; Bolen, 2000; Walby et al 2016).

Feminist informed research involving focus groups with 35 children in London schools endorsed the gendered relations underpinning sexting;

'We found considerable evidence of an age-old double standard, by which sexually active boys are to be admired and 'rated', while sexually active girls are denigrated and despised as 'sluts'. This creates gender specific risks where girls are unable to openly speak about sexual activities and practices, while boys are at risk of peer exclusion if they do not brag about sexual experiences' (Ringrose et al 2012, p6).

For boys, talking about sex or claiming access to it is part of a homosocial masculine culture (Sedgwick, 1985; Flood, 2008) through which their masculinity is performed and produced (Weeks, 2003; Ševčíková, 2016). This may help to explain why boys are less likely to admit being upset by experiencing sexual content online (Hasebrink et al 2011), and they may be less likely to disclose OCSV where they are victimised. Their gendering may be a source of resilience. However, prevalence of digital media depicting OCSV of boys is somewhere between a quarter and a third of all images and videos. The marketable value of this media is exemplified in one of the N-JOV cases, which:

‘(I)nvolved a 32 year old male offender who police found had established and was operating his own for-profit C(hild) P(ornography) website. They discovered more than 300,000 images of boys and more than 6,000 images of girls engaged in sex acts and various states of nudity on his several computers. The offender was not found to have produced the images’ (Mitchell et al 2011a, p 56).

Thus, OCSV is gendered and boys or girls experience different forms in different ways. According to the UK Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre (CEOP) males account for a higher proportion of online sexual extortion than other CSA types (NCA, 2016). In Spain, García, López and Jiménez (2014) find boys are significantly more likely to be exposed to unwanted ‘strong sexual content’ (45.1% v 31.0%). Similarly, boys in Taiwan are significantly more likely to be exposed to unwanted ‘online pornography’ (25.8% v 19.1%) and here unwanted online sexual solicitation was also more frequent for boys (15.9% v 10.2%) (Chang, Chiu, Miao...and Chiang, 2016). Others have also noted that sex differences are not as significant in Asian samples (Chang et al 2016; Wachs et al 2016).

With the exception of Ringrose et al (2012), there are no accounts of gendered childhoods as they relate to boys and girls who experience OCSV. The gendering of girls and boys is an everyday practice that is evident from birth onwards, beginning in the delivery room (‘it’s a girl’) and continuing through playgroup

(for example, in play opportunities and choices) and school (Bancroft, 1989). Mediated childhoods are suffused with gender practices. To assert that boys spend more time gaming in war zones whilst girls are more likely to chat and blog would not be wrong (see Haselbrink et al 2011) but it may be too simplistic to afford an explanation of gender differences in OCSV. In their research on childhoods, Thompson, Bragg and Kehily (2018) find that gender comes 'into and out of view' in their observations; it was occasionally relevant to children's media practices. For example:

'Saffron's media worlds appear to be surveilled in a way that we did not notice among the boy children: she asks her mother if she can look up particular (controversial) women performers such as Lady Gaga or Katy Perry online. Saffron's mother is aware that she needs to monitor and denies her request at that moment, but in practice, misses the fast-moving content that Saffron accesses by following all things Katy Perry. Debates about so-called 'sexualization', with their emphasis on the spectacular aspects of media consumption, and the threat to girls in particular, hover over such requests and their refusal' (Thompson et al 2018, p103).

Here we can see how a child's sex influences a mother's gendering of her daughter's online practices. The fear of sexualization and the degree of surveillance afforded to this girl were not observed in the same way with boys. It is clear that from the early stages of development of the Internet, some boys and girls embrace the opportunity to experiment with their gender and sexuality online (Turkle, 1996). Related to this, US studies indicate that the risk of receiving unwanted and distressing sexual advances online is significantly higher for transgender young people. In one study, 45% of transgender young people experienced these, in contrast to 11% for boys and 19% for girls who do not identify as transgender (Mitchell, Ybarra and Korchmaros, 2014). Research on cyber dating abuse, which included being pressured into sending sexual images, supports this finding with rates of 56.3% for transgender young people in

comparison to 23.3% v 28.8% for others (Dank, Lachman, Zweig, and Yahner, 2014). Thus, OCSV resilience and vulnerability intersect with gender regimes, especially as they are manifest in interpersonal relationships and community and global contexts, on and offline.

Sexuality <2>

Research has explored whether LGBQ young people may be at greater risk of online grooming than heterosexual peers, with the hypothesis that these children might prefer to explore sexuality online rather than off-line. This assumption manifests in a review of NGO services for children at risk of CSE. Support workers identified a rise in the number of young gay males using their services after online contacts resulted in abuse; suggesting that young gay males go online for social interactions and positive sexual identity confirmation that is much harder to source offline (Palmer, 2015).

Findings from five focus groups with LGBQ children as part of the ROBERT project indicate that the sample had a good understanding of potential risk, and employed a number of strategies to help them 'test' the identity of an online contact before they agreed to meet up in person (Kolpakova et al 2012). However, as Staksrud, Ólafsson, and Livingstone (2013) report, digital competence does not appear to reduce harm from OCSV. In a US study of cyber dating abuse (CDA), including sexual abuse, Dank et al (2014) found being a victim of CDA in the total sample (n=3745) was 26.3%, but was significantly higher for lesbian, gay and bisexual young people in comparison to heterosexual youth (37.2% v 25.7% p<0.01). A further US study finds that LGBQ youth are significantly more likely than heterosexual boys and girls to receive unwanted and distressing sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, and sexual comments or gestures online. 42% of lesbian/queer girls, 41% of bisexual girls and 30% of gay/queer boys reported this, compared with 4% for heterosexual boys and 12% for heterosexual girls (Mitchell et al 2014).

Further insight into the kind of abuse experienced is offered by Wisniewski et al (2016) in their online diary research. One boy's entry illustrates both the

frequency and continuity of online victimisation. It also exemplifies the naturally occurring overlap between features identified by other studies such as 'risky' online behaviours, the connections between harassment and sexual solicitation and viewing sexually explicit material;

Week 1: *"I viewed some pornographic content, and some excessive violence. I intended for both to happen, hear me out. I'm a 15 year old boy, and the violence was from a video game I was playing with a friend."*

"The same person I mentioned earlier harassed me over the aforementioned website, tumblr. For at least 30 minutes to an hour, they made rude, disgusting, annoying comments about me and my boyfriend."

Week 2: *"I viewed explicit material... I'm a 15 year old male, hormones and whatnot, man."*

Week 3: *"The boyfriend wanted to 'chat,' so I obliged him."*

Week 4: *"The pornographic content made me feel happy, isn't that essentially why we masturbate? Although the video games didn't do much for my boredom, so I stayed that way."*

Week 8: *"I was in a game of Dota and some dude started making rude and homophobic comments about me/ my voice"* (Wisniewski et al, 2016, p3924).

Intersectional sexualities

Gender regimes have long been theoretically associated with patriarchy (Walby, 1992) but as can be seen from the above, evidence for the link between OCSV and gender or gender regimes is not straightforward. Boys and girls are both impacted, and so gender is only partially explanatory. Attention to the gendered sexualization of children and the persistence of heteronormativity in the child's social environment (as evidenced in schools and sex education curricula), may offer a more fruitful explanatory direction. Lesbian and gay depictions in new media are differently gendered and sexualised. For example, lesbian images in advertising media show body contact, kissing and 'writhing about', whereas gay images rarely present this (Gill, 2009).

One study on undocumented youth accentuates the connections between queer and migration identities;

‘we both feel vulnerable and unsafe because of policies, institutions, and attitudes that keep us on the margins. We are frequently ignored, misrepresented, or made fun of by the dominant culture!’ (Terriquez et al, 2018, p271).

In this research it is proposed that intersectionality offered both a diagnostic and prognostic frame for young adults to recognise complex identities and challenge their oppressions. Of note, many identified the connection between being ‘in the closet’ and their legal status being hidden from authorities; once ‘out’ it prompted ‘coming out’ as well. Barriers to disclosure for LGBTQ youth may also prevent OCSV disclosure. Resilience for this group of children might be enhanced by a more empowering approach toward sexual identities in childhood. If sexual identity is unspeakable, then so is online sexual activity and online sexual violence.

Ethnicity and Race <2>

Most studies treat ethnicity in the same way as gender, as a demographic characteristic. This finds that the majority of victims of OCSV are white/Caucasian. The review identified little published evidence that met the quality criteria that extended this approach, either in terms of basic data collection or as a specific thematic feature. Two studies specifically focused on race and both are from the US. The first, by Tynes and Mitchell (2014), found no significant differences in rates of solicitation of children for sexual purposes between black and other children in YISS 3. The second by Peskin, Markham, Addy... Tortolero (2013) focused on sending and receiving self-generated sexual images or texts. Of a sample of 1034 children, 43% were black and 57% Hispanic. 21% of these had sent a nude or semi-nude photo or video and 31% had received one, whilst a quarter had sent and one third had received a sexually suggestive message. These rates are higher than in other majority white samples of 12-13-year olds (Döring, 2014). Of significance is that of those sending or

receiving nude or semi-nude images or video, 36.5% had shared this with someone other than the person it was originally meant for, providing clear evidence that such images are in circulation.

Where ethnicity is recorded in other studies, it is difficult to estimate its importance beyond the country in which data is collected. For example, in the EU Kids Online study, experiences of online harm and being of minority ethnic group status were found to vary across countries. There is some evidence to suggest that minoritized groups are under-represented in OCSV digital media, as noted in Chapter 4. Similarly, the N-JOV study (Mitchell et al, 2010) identifies 84% of cases where the CSA offence was internet-facilitated (n= 316) as 'non-Hispanic white', 5% as 'Hispanic white', 3% as 'non-Hispanic black', 4% as mixed race or other, 1% as Asian and 1% as American Indian or Alaskan Native (AIAN). Comparative figures for the US national population at the time suggest that non-Hispanic white groups were overrepresented (65% of the US population in 2010) and Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, Asian and AIAN were underrepresented¹⁴.

Beyond ethnicity, geographical location and migration have been identified as significant. OCSV digital data in the ICSE database have been retrieved in at least seven world regions (Table 5.1) (ECPAT and Interpol, 2018). The highest percentage of media where the child remains unidentified appears to derive from Eastern Europe. However, when images and videos of identified and unidentified children are merged, the largest source is North America (18%). It is noted that countries with higher identification rates are likely to have greater investment in law enforcement dedicated to this task, rather than necessarily reflecting the geographic spread of OCSV. Given the absence of data from some world regions this is a likely explanation.

¹⁴ <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2009/demo/us-pop-proj-2000-2050/analytical-document09.pdf>

Table 5.1: Region of Country of Abuse (ECPAT and Interpol, 2018)

	Unidentified (N = 65606) %	Identified (256,350 est.) %	Total %
Eastern Europe	24.3	1.4	6
Southeast Asia	17	-	3.5
North America	10.5	20	18
Western Europe	12.2	14.8	14.3
Latin America	2.4	-	0.5
East Asia	2.2	-	0.4
Central Europe	-	5.9	4.7

Most of the self-generated content harvested from websites in the IWF study (2015) which is UK focused, appeared to involve children described as ‘from overseas’. This assessment was mainly based on analysis of video content where background items, regional accents and explicit references make it possible to estimate geographic location (IWF, 2015). It has also been found that male migrant children in Sweden were more likely to engage in ‘risk-taking sexually in both online and offline environment’ (Jonsson et al, 2014, p 187).

Intersecting ethnicity to structural disadvantage <3>

Some minoritized children are disproportionately disadvantaged across class lines as a consequence of economic and educational inequalities, depending on the country in which they live and their ethnicity. However, racism exists across the world and there are many ways in which this, in itself, might impact on OCSV. We noted the potential for algorithmic bias in the previous chapter, which may reflect these prejudices. The fact that studies have found sexually explicit material depicting black and ethnic minority children is shared more widely than the intended recipient (Peskin et al, 2013) means that images of this population exist. However, they do not appear to feature in relative proportions to white children in image databases. Other sources of data gaps may derive from a lack of detection in minoritized groups, or community fears of disclosure because of honour based systems or systemic insecurities derived from minority status. Whatever the reason, little is currently known about OCSV for children from

black, Asian and minority ethnic groups than white children, and this may heighten their vulnerability.

There is also no reliable data on geographical region. However, literature on child trafficking suggests that trafficked, migrant and asylum-seeking children may be more vulnerable to abuse (Lay and Papadopoulos, 2009). OCSV can be seen by some children and their families as the only source of survival in a climate that is increasingly hostile to migrants (Tyler, 2013). Studies of trafficking, including child victims note the use of technology and websites such as Backpage and Craigslist to advertise sexual services (Latonero, 2011; Roe-Sepowitz, Gallagher, Hogan...Bracy, 2017). Child trafficking is caused by various macro factors such as climate change, economic crises, war and ethnic cleansing, gang violence and poverty. It is organised around demand, such that the trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation is fuelled by knowledge that this form of exploitation will find a market that is highly gendered; girls are trafficked primarily for men to exploit them (Walby et al, 2016). Child sex web-cam centres in the Philippines and Thailand exist to meet this demand, for example (UNODC, 2017). These global social concerns intersect with OCSV, and initiatives designed to address them may therefore offer some resilience to OCSV. The general principles of addressing vulnerability to OCSV linked to trafficking include intervening as early as possible, and reducing or mitigating the social and economic risks that directly affect children by establishing income generating work opportunities for their parents (UNICEF 2009).

Disability <2>

Research indicates that disabled children may be at higher risk for OCSV as is the case with offline CSA (Jones, Bellis, Wood... and Officer, 2012). Disabled boys may be at equal or greater risk than girls (Mueller-Johnson, Eisner and Osbuth 2014). Several tentative explanations are offered to account for this finding including that physical disability renders boys more vulnerable, whereas girls are seen as vulnerable a priori. An alternative explanation relates to the

perpetrator who is often a peer; within this context “male-on-male sexual bullying [may be] reflective of dominance-related strategies to gain status within the peer group” (Mueller-Johnson et al, 2014, p3198). Mohler-Kuo et al (2014) examined lifetime and past year sexual online victimisation in a sample of physically disabled (self-defined) Swiss schoolchildren. All had higher prevalence when compared to non-physically disabled children, but physically disabled boys experienced OCSV significantly more than girls: lifetime rates for boys were 17.26% v 9.08% for girls. Disabled children in the EU Kids Online study, comprising 6% of the sample, found meeting new online contacts offline more upsetting and were at heightened risk for seeing or receiving sexual content (Livingstone et al, 2011b).

The YISS 3 study compared physically disabled children and those without a physical disability, finding they were equally likely to experience online sexual solicitation. In terms of demographic characteristics, the disabled children were more likely to be male, described as ‘black race’, living in a low income, low education, household and not living with both biological parents. Differences were found between disabled children in specialist education (that is those with educational rather than parental supervision) and those who were not. The former group were significantly more likely to experience OCSV. Furthermore, girls receiving special services at school were three times more likely than boys in similar services to report sexual solicitation online (Wells and Mitchell, 2014). The girls were also more likely to have been a victim of statutory rape, although numbers were small. Finally, ten of 27 focus groups in the ROBERT project involved disabled children¹⁵, ranging from 13-to 18+. These found disabled children had poorer skills relating to risk-management online, and that disabled children are more likely to be socially isolated (Kolpakova et al, 2012).

In contrast, Normand and Sallefranque (2016) propose that greater parental and carer involvement in learning disabled children’s lives may instead be a protective factor. In a literature review of 57 papers related to online sexual

¹⁵ These included physical disabilities, global developmental delay, downs syndrome, dyslexia, learning difficulties (dyslexia), ASD, hearing-impairment.

solicitation, only two of which referred to children with learning disabilities, this suggestion is based on only one empirical study, so the evidence for this is not strong.

Disability intersections <3>

The very concept of disability is demonstrative of structural inequalities within the social model of disability (Oliver, 1990). Children who have an impairment that results in their differentiation are disabled by the social context in which they live and the failure of wider social and political institutions to adapt to their needs. Following the social model, disabled children are *de facto* more structurally disadvantaged than their able-bodied peers are, and socio-economic inequalities, ethnicity and gender intersect with their disabled status. As a group they are also interpersonally disadvantaged; children receiving special education services report higher rates of physical or sexual abuse offline and higher rates of depression. Whilst findings on online risk are tentative, disabled children may spend more time online to relieve social isolation, which may enhance their situational risk as a target for grooming. Heightened vulnerability of disabled children to OCSV intersects with cultural disadvantage. A lack of recognition by adults and wider society, that children with learning disabilities have developing sexual needs, contributes to “over protection, disempowerment, social isolation” in their lives (Franklin and Smeaton, 2017, p476). Thus, multiple and various inequalities influencing vulnerability to OCSV intersect differently for disabled boys and girls compared with those who are not disabled.

Relationship <2>

Children identified in law enforcement cases are likely to know the perpetrator of their victimisation. The N-JPV study (Wells, et al, 2012) found online-facilitated ‘juvenile prostitution’ (CSE) cases were more likely to involve perpetrators who were family members or acquaintances (26% v 5% of non-online-facilitated cases). It is not clear from these studies whether the family member was also a member of the victim’s household. In a sample of UK, Irish

and Italian adults, only 15% were solicited online by someone they did not know during their childhood (Davidson et al, 2016). 19% were solicited by someone met online, and in addition to those not known, 51% were solicited by people described as boyfriends/girlfriends, a friend/acquaintance or someone else the respondent knew.

For the three dyads in Whittle et al's study (2015) romantic relationships were a central feature. In dyad 1 (Sam and Joanne), Joanne described how they were 'in love with one another' and 'planned to run away together'. Kelly, in dyad 2 (Pete and Kelly), similarly stated 'they were in a relationship and in love'. Mona's description of the relationship in dyad 3 (Chris and Mona) was 'up and down...at times we were in love and in a relationship' (Whittle et al, 2015, p546-54).

The element of love in the relationship is exploited to gain control. Two dyads provide examples; Kelly (13) and Pete (28), Mona (14) and Chris (20);

Kelly: 'in some ways it wasn't just all him doing it, it was me too . . . it is classed as raped, but where I'm coming from I don't class it as that because with me, I thought I loved him' (Whittle et al, 2015, p556).

Pete: 'I turned round and said something along the lines of, "If you loved me you wouldn't say that, you wouldn't do that," I think I said, or used something along them lines, one time. And she bent over backwards to make sure she was there' (Whittle et al, 2015, p552).

Mona: 'It was a bit of a rollercoaster, because there were times when I thought I loved him and then others when I hated him and didn't want to speak to him ever again and it went on like that for about a year'

Chris: 'I knew that she had feelings for me that were stronger than the feelings I had for her and I played on them' (Whittle et al, 2015, p552).

In a similar vein, Ringrose et al (2012) report children talking about how love is used to coerce them into sending sexually explicit texts and pictures, which they can sometimes resist, for example;

‘a lot of girls ... think the guy is going to look at them like, ‘Oh you don’t love me because you haven’t done this, that and the other and my friend’s girlfriend’s doing it’. They kind of blackmail you saying love, love, love when actually love has nothing to do with it, it is just your complete lust to get a bit excited about something that is not that great’ (Monique, year 10, School One) (Ringrose et al, 2013, p40).

Love intersects <2>

Writing more generally about love, Gunnarson (2014, p49) develops the concept of ‘love power’. She conceives of ‘sexuality as rooted in natural human needs and capacities, while stressing that the mode of meeting these needs and realizing these capacities are historically contingent’. The digital world draws in girls and boys as experimental adults to express these needs through new technologies. In the same way as labour power in Marxist theory is understood as exploited by owners of the means of production so, it is argued, women and girl’s love power is exploited by men and boys. Unlike labour, love cannot be seen to be extracted by force or bought, otherwise it loses its affect, as Monique confirms above. This line of analysis connects to the importance of deception and the dynamics of interpersonal power and wider gendered power relations inherent in OCSV. Girls, such as those in Whittle et al (2015) study, must believe they actually are in love in order for that love to be exploited for sex.

The limited focus on gendered sexual relations in OCSV research remains silent about the inherent asymmetry of ‘love power’. Yet this is an important characteristic of OCSV not just in its perpetration (which may not include a ‘love’ relationship), but also in its consequences. Gunnarson (2014, p100) defines love as ‘the act of recognition and affirming another person and her needs and goals as valuable in their own right, in a way not directed by one’s own needs and goals’. Narratives of the abuse of trust, lost childhoods and not knowing that what was happening was wrong, as evidenced by CSA survivor accounts

(Wattam and Woodward, 1996), all signify the taking of something of profound value; the exploitation of a basic and fundamental need for a caring relationship that can be trusted. The harm done by this is physical, psychic and emotional. Girls in particular report a loss of trust, experiencing the world as a dangerous place to live as a consequence (Herrenkohl, 2011). Such positioning can enhance vulnerability, suggesting that finding ways of safely rebuilding trust into online interaction may support resilient environments.

Overlapping Victimization <2>

Research finds that the majority of children are likely to experience at least one form of victimization during childhood. For example, in the US National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence (NatSCEV), 70% of all children sampled were victims of peer and/or sibling abuse including bullying and 59% had been exposed to community violence (Mitchell et al, 2011a). This compares with 63.2% and 66.5% respectively in the UK (Radford et al, 2011) using similar measures. Approximately 20% of children will experience multiple forms (Finkelhor, Ormrod and Turner, 2007). Multiple and accumulative stressors, sometimes referred to as adverse childhood experiences (Dong, Anda, Felitti... Giles, 2004), that some children experience have led to claims 'that victimisations create vulnerability for other victimisations' (Finkelhor et al, 2010, p291).

Children who experience unwanted exposure to sexual content online are significantly more likely to report peer or other interpersonal victimization in the past year, compared with those who had no exposure (Wolak et al, 2007). Further, in US arrest data, 96% of victims of online abuse (including solicitation for sexual purposes) had experienced multiple forms of victimization, as measured by the Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire (Mitchell et al, 2011a, p133). European research lends support to findings of repeat victimization. Wachs et al (2016) tested whether 'cyberbullying' made children more vulnerable to online grooming. Results revealed significant direct effects of online bullying victimization on the likelihood of having experienced online grooming victimization in the past and on self-esteem. Prior victimization was

also the most significant risk factor for school children in Spain (Monteil, Carbonell and Pereda 2016) and physically disabled children in Switzerland (Mueller-Johnson, 2014).

Violence intersections <2>

The direction of the relationship between multiple victimisation and OCSV is not clear; whether prior victimisation predisposes towards a vulnerability to future abuse or whether it indicates an underlying vulnerability caused by some other factor. In the field of gender violence and also hate crime research there is some work that identifies the importance of intersectional analyses of revictimization (Balderstone, 2012; Matos, Conde and Santos, 2014). This work finds that responses to victims must recognise intersecting and changing identities if help is to be meaningful and useful. Findings on the impact of loss of trust lend support to the need to probe further into what it is about victimisation that decreases resilience and enhances further abuse. Given the salience of revictimisation in OCSV this is a major knowledge gap.

Towards Intersectional Digital Resilience to OCSV <2>

As noted earlier, five types of OCSV can be identified and just as OCSV is not homogenous, neither are children. Their ages, genders, races, sexualities, migration status and class¹⁶ intersect and change over time. Vulnerability and resilience can be time and identity specific, such as when a girl looks for a romantic relationship to escape home in the context of domestic violence. They can also be fluid; a prior victimisation does not necessarily result in vulnerability, and resilience to one form of OCSV may not provide resilience to another. From a child's perspective, OCSV experience holds similarities and

¹⁶ Associations between OCSV and socio-economic status suggest that children from higher SES groups may be more likely to experience unwanted sexual contact or exposure (Hasebrink et al, 2011; Mitchell et al, 2010). However, representation of higher income households in these sample might be influenced by device ownership and access at the time. As this has increased over the last 10 years since these studies were conducted, any conclusions from these findings are limited.

important differences in terms of perpetration and consequences, requiring tailored intersectional responses at the appropriate level.

Approaches to prevention must take account of the way in which different the power dimensions interact within childhood if violence, including OCSV, is to be reduced. A whole system approach to resilience takes account of the individual (inherent resilience) but also the ecology of the child (Figure 5.2). Challenging intersectional sources of power that enhance the vulnerability of children to the different types of OCSV must be central. Taking an ecological approach, at the meso level, families and immediate social networks (online and off) can be helped to recognise the various intersecting sources of vulnerability and the potential for resilience. Parent education and schools have a key role to play here, but as Breck Bednar's mother illustrates, community members and other children's parents need to take action together. Within the exo-system community institutions such as law enforcement, social work and health could bring awareness of the intersecting sources of vulnerability and resilience to their practice to extend their organisational focus; to work not just on the child, the perpetrator, or the crime as a singular issue (rescue, protection and prosecution) but also attend to wider needs in the child's environment. At the national level, laws and policies must also be able to recognise that some elements of childhood sexuality are normal, not all children are the same. Digital companies have a major role; critical to reducing vulnerability are the tools, within app options and software that need to be developed in parallel with children. Delays in responding to reports made by children to service providers should be a primary target for regulation. Sensitivity to the different forms of OCSV is critical, with each requiring a different response.

Prevention education is not working. A systematic review of programmes aimed at preventing cyber abuse found only three interventions meeting robust evaluation criteria (using pre-/post-test measures and control group participants who did not receive the prevention campaigns) since 2000. Two of these were aimed at preventing risk online including sexual victimisation risks. Both were associated with an improvement in internet safety knowledge but had

no effect on behaviour (Mishna et al, 2011). Intersectional, integrated digital *and* sex *and* relationship education must address the different types of OCSV but will not work on their own. At the national and global level, the internet industry could help to design intersectional resilience into their services. As Wisniewski et al (2016, p3917) note building solutions means designers partnering with social media platforms to provide access to users, to ‘deeply understand the problem space... and test viable interventions to effectively change the status quo’.

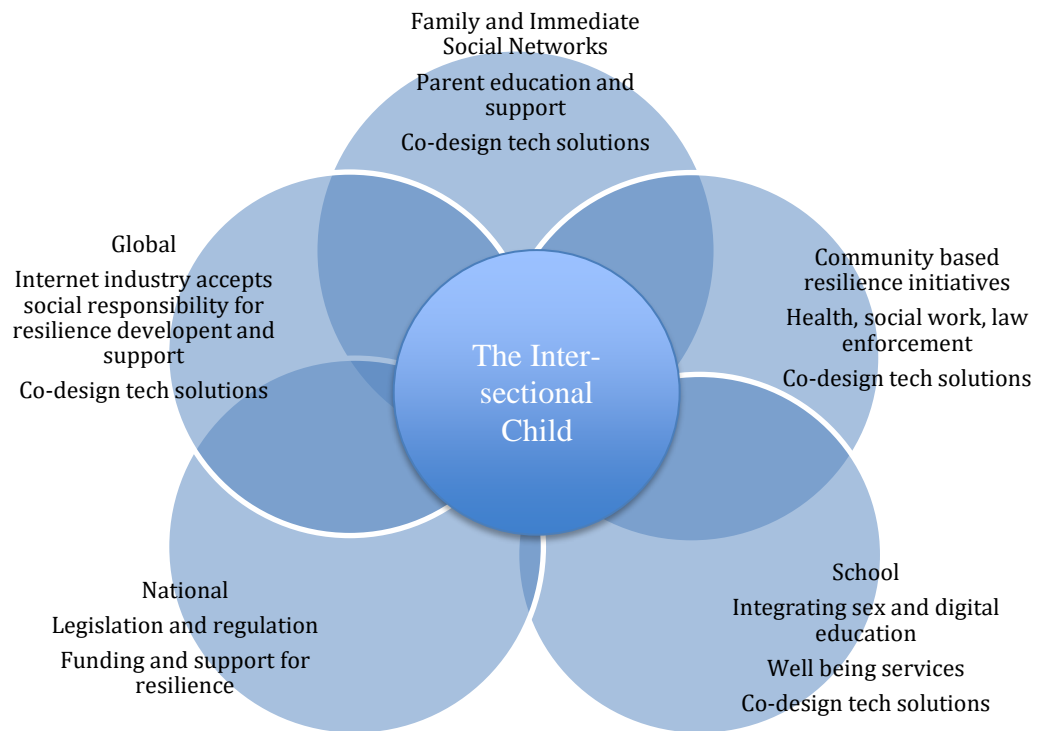
Governments across the world call for greater cooperation from internet industries to assist with the prevention of online harms to children. Much attention has been placed on the role of service providers in monitoring and reporting what happens on their sites and in their products. Hypothetically, such notifications could provide indicators of the types of OCSV present and emerging along with data on the volume of threats. At a point where children are increasingly monitored by schools and parents this surveillance approach has led some to question children’s rights to privacy (Leaton Gray and Phippen, 2017). Furthermore, children can develop and share the capacity to navigate software designed to block, filter, monitor or locate them. And not least, this software may hinder their access to educational material and creative digital opportunities, essential to their future life and wellbeing.

We suggest children need technical solutions that are empowering, operating under informed consent, tailored to their needs and are targeted at multi-level responses. Yet few software interventions are designed *with* and *for* use by children for safeguarding purposes, drawing on their digital creativity (Carlick, 2018). In addition to children’s involvement in tool development several other options are possible. For example, what would be needed to establish trusted peer support platforms that could manage some of the more routine online harms? Given the range of possibilities for misuse and online hate this is a non-trivial technical question but that does not mean it cannot be done. Older

children specifically have the potential to contribute to a strengthened, promoted and innovative system of sentinels and peer support, including options for voluntary and informed reporting into platforms, law enforcement and helping services. This would build on the evidence that children are most likely to confide in peers where they do experience online harms, including OCSV. And it is not just children's reporting capacity that needs reinforcement. Even where the option to report is currently available, platform providers and law enforcement have not responded positively, appropriately or with the immediacy that is required (Europol, 2017). This too needs to change. A further contribution to strengthening resilience is designing in consent, not just at the point of access or production but also the multiple points of potential sharing. In the context of General Data Protection Regulation in Europe many technology solutions already apply to intellectual property. Enabling children to understand their bodies and their information as IP is critical to empowering self and peer-safeguarding. A further critical need is for better detection and support of ethnic minority and black children, so that their victimisation can be responded to. This requires technical skill to address algorithmic bias in skin detection methods and working alongside communities on and offline.

Given the volume of CSAM, law enforcement across the world are struggling to cope but transferring that responsibility to ISP's is also problematic. Wider resilience must be arrived at in partnerships involving children, parents and community agents, law enforcement and technology designers. Ultimately, reducing vulnerabilities and enhancing resilience at all levels must be directed by what can be known about OCSV. This knowledge needs development and it is to better measurement of OCSV that we turn in our final chapter.

Figure 5:2 Whole System Resilience to OCSV



Chapter 6 <1>

Deepening Knowledge of Online Child Sexual Victimisation <1>

The main sources of data on OCSV are research and administrative data (data collected by organisations such as the police, health, social services and charities). As with other forms of violence, these sources have varying definitions and purposes (Walby et al, 2017). OCSV encompasses a wide range of behaviours and media. In this chapter, we call for greater clarity and agreement on definitions and measurement practices. A failure to acknowledge distinctions between the different types of violence contained within OCSV is unhelpful.

There is an important difference between ‘sexting’ and the videoed or photographed rape of an 8-year-old. This is not to suggest that some image and text sharing between older children is not coercive and violent, but it may have different antecedents and consequences from the rape or sexual assault of children perpetrated by carers and other adults. Improved understanding of these differences in OCSV form *and* context is critical to refining prevention efforts.

Defining what needs to be measured <2>

In Chapter 1 we began with the ECPAT International definition of online-facilitated child sexual abuse, which provided a working definition. That is;

‘Online sexual abuse can be any form of sexual abuse of children...which has a link to the online environment. Thus, online sexual abuse can take the form of, for instance, sexual molestation and/or harassment through social media or other online channels.

Child sexual abuse also takes on an online dimension when, for instance, acts of sexual abuse are photographed or video-/audio-recorded and then uploaded and made available online, whether for personal use or for sharing with others. Each repeated viewing and/or sharing of such recorded material constitutes a new violation of the rights of the child’ (ECPAT, 2016, p22-23).

Whilst helpful for general purposes, this definition does not enable critical distinctions to be made for measurement. The guidelines note that several definitions of child sexual abuse include the criteria of coercion, manipulation or force but the definition of child sexual abuse is broad. Primarily, it is concluded that:

‘(I)t is noteworthy that, when the child has not reached the age of sexual consent, there is no legal requirement to establish any of these elements. The mere fact of the sexual activity taking place is sufficient to constitute abuse’ (ECPAT, 2016, p 19).

This does not sufficiently distinguish between consenting and normative childhood sexuality.

The World Health Organisation defines sexual violence as:

‘Any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person’s sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work’ (WHO, 2002).

The definition is generic to adults and children and all forms of sexual violence. An addition specific to child sexual abuse includes:

‘the involvement of a child in sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend, is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared and cannot give consent, or that violates the laws or social taboos of society’ (WHO, 1999).

This qualification attempts to account for sexual violence perpetrated without coercion, where a child may be groomed and, not understand what is happening

to them as wrong, may willingly participate in what they understand as a caring or romantic relationship. It also references the legal context but does not exclude other forms, that may fall outside the legal boundary. The inclusion of social taboo widens application to cover countries where a legal context is insufficient or absent. This concept recognises the moral harm of OCSV and is therefore important from a social justice and therapeutic perspective. However, it is problematic in a measurable definition. First, it could potentially be used as justification to omit sexual activity with a child where the act does not meet the other criteria in the definition and where a taboo does not exist in a specific society. Second, related to this, what may be considered taboo by one population group *within* a given society may not be agreed on by another.

In addition to coercion, the definition also refers to the relationship between the child and the adult, that is:

‘Child sexual abuse is evidenced by this activity between a child and an adult or another child who by age or development is in a relationship of responsibility, trust or power, the activity being intended to gratify or satisfy the needs of the other person’ (WHO, 1999).

The addition is important for therapeutic purposes in that it captures the duty of care of adults to children and also an expectation that other children will not be sexually harmful. However, the inclusion as part of a measurable definition is also problematic. First, because all adults are in a position of power over children through generational hierarchy and second, there are many reasons that CSA may occur, not just to gratify or satisfy need. Establishing the criteria of relationship as one of responsibility and trust also excludes secondary victimisation through the distribution of images and videos.

Combining the adult and child definition provides a more measurable proposition. Child sexual abuse is;

Any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed against a child's sexuality, that he or she is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared and cannot give consent, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including online.

This definition has two measurable components; the sexual act and the context. Each can be sub-divided:

- At minimum, the sexual act includes; rape, sexual assault, distributing images of a child that depict sexual content in COPINE level 6-10, trafficking a child, or their image, for the purposes of sexual exploitation and unwanted sexual comments or advances (including sexual touching) and attempts.
- The context includes; the child's age (below the legal age of consent), gender, ethnicity, sexuality, capacity for consent if below the legal age (which includes developmental considerations), level of coercion, the relationship to the perpetrator (romantic, familial, online only etc.), the perpetrators age, gender and ethnicity and the setting.

Better measurement of OCSV, including its nature and extent is important, both to reinforce resource requests and to tailor responses. Measurement instruments must be sufficiently sensitive to enable the collection of relevant data. As we noted in Chapter 3, some elements of childhood sexuality are 'normal'. Thus, any data collection instrument must sufficiently distinguish between normal sexual behaviour and should not confuse this with sexual violence. Not only does this confusion net widen the problem, such that any and all childhood sexual behaviour has the potential to be captured, it allows victimisers and others to undermine claims to the validity of OCSV. Gender is included because of the existing evidence that OCSV is a form of gendered violence; girls are victimised more frequently than boys and perpetrators are most frequently male. Whilst gender may operate in many different ways it is

essential that these can be better understood. Similarly, ethnicity and sexuality have been identified as significant. The relationship between the victim and perpetrator requires much clearer definition whether this be someone first met online, someone in the child's immediate social network, a boyfriend/girlfriend, family member, a family friend, an acquaintance or a stranger. In order to enhance the visibility of OCSV it is important to know where the victim and the perpetrator are when each incident occurs. In addition to the online context, what is the location; is it domestic or in the child's home, in a community location such as a school or club, or a public place such as a park?

How surveys measure OCSV <2>

Henry and Powell (2015) categorize technology facilitated sexual violence in six manifestations;

'(a) the unauthorized creation and distribution of sexual images (including non-consensual sexting or "revenge porn"), (b) the creation and distribution (actual or threatened) of sexual assault images, (c) the use of a carriage service to procure a sexual assault, (d) online sexual harassment and cyberstalking, (e) gender-based hate speech, and (f) virtual rape' (Henry and Powell, 2015, p759).

The research evidence in this book identifies five forms of OCSV (see Chapter 1). There are only estimates and no reliable measures for all five. A growing literature reports on the unauthorized (unwanted) creation and distribution of sexual images, some (primarily analyses of image databases) on the creation and distribution of sexual *assault* images and limited research on online sexual harassment and cyberstalking in childhood, which only focuses on older children. Nothing can be known from the victimisation research on; virtual rape or children who are procured for sexual exploitation in webcam centres or similar or, for almost all younger children involved in OCSV, about their lives, histories and contexts and about how they are being abused.

No research offers a level of precision that measures the different forms of OCSV. The majority measure unwanted sexual comments or advances, referred to

variously as sexual solicitation, grooming or sexual harassment. Whilst their findings have greatly expanded knowledge about the nature of emerging risks online across a wide range of activities, they are insufficiently sensitive to measure OCSV. Furthermore, their starting point for measuring online sexual risk and activity is 'on the internet' or 'online'. For example, 'In the past year, did anyone *on the Internet* ever ask you to do something sexual you did not want to do?' (Jones et al, 2012, our emphasis). This is quite different from a position that starts from a sexually violent act and considers how that might be mediated or facilitated by the internet. Thus, some of the more serious forms of sexual violence, such as those categorised by Henry and Powell (2014), are likely to be missed.

Childhood Asset Protection Measures <2>

Building from individualised harms to children it is important to ask what, in the context of OCSV, is also under threat? There are at least two categories of social goods that are undermined by OCSV; human rights and security. Both are critical to ongoing social life in an increasingly digital world. As qualitative research on youth produced sexual imagery material attests, gender-based insults and negative communications are inherent, authorising a lack of consent and cyberbullying. The protection of free speech and several other rights connect in this field. In order to protect the child and prevent OCSV, abuse of these rights also requires measurement. Carriage services are critical to security. Childhood security and rights online are afforded through the systems, technologies, companies and associated regulations and legal services in which children trust and through which they conduct their lives. The integrity of these also needs protection as a central strategy in stopping OCSV. For this purpose, we propose including an asset-based approach to measurement.

The European Union for Network and Information Security Agency (ENISA) works in the field of cybersecurity encompassing a wide range of threats that challenge economic, social and political stability. In 2011, they conducted a

future scenario assessment on cyberbullying and online grooming (ENISA, 2011). The subject was Kirstie, a technically capable 13-year-old girl, active and creative in social media. She constructed two profiles only one of which her parents knew about, had her own fanzine and website and interacted with friends through gaming and GPS apps. Her parents were similarly technologically capable and wanted to develop a trusting rather than a restrictive approach. Kirstie begins to experience online harassment and threats to expose her private profile when Jeffrey who claims to be a 16-year-old boy contacts her. Kirstie's parents have previously agreed the installation of parental monitoring software with her, at the lowest level, and begin to notice discrepancies such as the time Kirstie is spending online compared with the time she is on social media (in her 'official profile'). Eventually they increase the level of surveillance, find messages and emails from Jeffrey of a sexual nature, and seeing that Kirstie and Jeffrey are arranging to meet they alert the police. The police go to the place of the meeting and find Jeffrey, a 35-year-old man who, on further investigation, has a history of child sex offences and a large amount of child abuse material on his computer.

The familiarity of this scenario has more to do with media coverage than its large-scale prevalence. However, the implications are instructive. The ENISA methodology suggests that as well as harms to the child, the tangible and intangible assets that are threatened as a consequence of OCSV require identification and protection (Figure 6.1). Until now, the primary focus of victimisation measurement has been the child. As noted in Chapter 5, this approach fails to acknowledge the wider socio-technical context in which childhood is now situated. The consequence is that, although some children may be helped, many are not. To widen protections, tangible and intangible assets must also be reinforced. Further, a singular focus on child sexual abuse (whether online or offline or both) misses the importance of connections to other threats; put simply, vulnerability appears to be related to a range of factors that are social, technical, commercial and intersecting. An asset protective approach has potential to offer a different set of solutions that target assets about which there

is a consensus that they are a moral and social good, helping to extend the current focus on inherent vulnerabilities to those that are systemic.

Figure 6.1: Assets threatened in OCSV

Intangible Assets	Tangible Assets
The right to be treated with dignity and respect	Identification and authentication data (credentials) used to access devices and services
Reputation	Publicly available personal data (IP address, email, name etc)
The right to privacy and protection of personal data	Personal data with restricted access
Effective and efficient law enforcement and policy investigation process	Inferred data such as proximity of networks of contacts, communication patterns
A sense of security	Police investigation data
A right to safety	End user computing devices
Parental duty of care	Mobile personal services
Added value online services (such as online shopping, social networking etc.)	Communication infrastructure (mobile, fixed line, location-based services, wireless, bluetooth, infrared)
(Online) social networking/socialising	Storage media (USBs, disk drive, various SSDs, data storage media, cloud hosting)
	Application provider systems (email, instant messaging, SMS/MMS, SNS, e-commerce systems and services, other online software/apps)
	Data collection and profiling tools (in this scenario assets for the perpetrator and law enforcement)
	Filtering tools/functions

(Source: ENISA, 2011)

We take research by Wolak et al (2018) on online child sexual extortion to examine how an asset protective approach could apply. The study reports on 1,385 participants sampled through adverts on Facebook, 572 of whom were under 17 when the incident took place. We use the range of elements identified by Wolak et al (2018) and translate these into an Asset Protection framework, to assess how OCSV might threaten fundamental social goods (see Figure 6.2). In

the study, respondents were directed to a range of helplines and websites that offer services to people who experience sexual abuse and dating violence, both on and offline. Similar to others, the authors also recommend educational prevention programmes aimed at school students. Each of these solutions is focused on the child; the victim as a physical, embodied, human being. But the victim is only one part of the situational experience. Victimisation encompasses a multitude of practices and things; digital, human, material and moral in a network of victimisation. The moral and social goods and bads may have an equivalence to the child's importance in that network if trust in the digital world is to be maintained. The child as victim is important in an individual sense and responses to their suffering are critical. Perpetrators are similarly in need of a response that seeks to change behaviour. But education and support programmes, current legal frameworks and interpreting guardianship from an adult centric or technological perspective (as with parental mediation or filtering and blocking software) will only afford partial and selective responses. A whole network approach is required to address the problem, one that understands the system as comprised of the child, the perpetrator(s), their physical and social environment and associated assets and threats to each of these.

Wolak et al (2018, p72) define child sexual extortion as 'threats to expose sexual images to coerce victims to provide additional pictures, sex, or other favors'. Their questionnaire asked about the relationship, motivations for providing images, other ways of acquiring the images, image content, what was demanded in the threat, how the threats were made (device, time period), whether the threats were actualised and the consequences, thereby moving closer to an extended understanding of context required by our proposed definition. An asset framework brings a different perspective to these threats and their realisation (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2: Online child sexual extortion through an asset protection lens

Sexual extortion characteristics (%) (Wolak et al 2018)	Asset Threats (adapted from ENISA, 2011)
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Reason for providing image	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – In a wanted romantic or sexual relationship (69.8) – Pressured, tricked, threatened, or forced to provide images (67.3) – Recorded image of R without consent (21.7) – Someone else gave image of R to P (11.5) – Created a fake image (8.6) – Hacked into a device or online account to acquire image (3.8) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The right to be treated with dignity and respect – (Online) social networking/socialising – A sense of security – A right to safety – Reputation – The right to privacy and protection of personal data – Identification and authentication data (credentials) used to access devices and services – Personal data with restricted access
Image content	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Sexual acts, like masturbation or with another person (21.3) – No sexual acts, but genitals (32.7) – No sexual acts or genitals, but other nudity (23.3) – Sexual poses in revealing clothing, like underwear (18.2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The right to be treated with dignity and respect – The right to privacy and protection of personal data – Personal data with restricted access – Application provider systems (email, instant messaging, SMS/MMS, SNS, e-commerce systems and services, other online software/apps)
What was demanded	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Sexual pictures or videos of R (66.1) – For R to stay in or go back to relationship with P (42.1) – To look a certain way or do certain things in pictures (36.4) – To meet R in person (21.9) – To meet R online for sex (29.7) – For R to harm her or himself (13.1) – Sexual pictures or videos of someone else (7.5) – Money (4.0) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The right to be treated with dignity and respect – The right to privacy and protection of personal data – A sense of security – A right to safety – Parental duty of care – Freedom of association – Economic security
Threats of online harm	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Post sexual image of R online (64.5) – Send or show image to friend or acquaintance of R or P (63.8) – Send sexual image to R's family (47.4) – Tag or include R's name with posted image (41.1) – Create fake accounts or sexual images depicting R (25.9) – Post other personal information about R with picture (14.2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Reputation – The right to be treated with dignity and respect – A sense of security – The right to privacy and protection of personal data – (Online) social networking/socialising – Identification and authentication data (credentials) used to access devices and services – Personal data with restricted access – Application provider systems (email, instant messaging, SMS/MMS, SNS, e-commerce systems and services, other online software/apps)
Threats of offline harm	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Get R in trouble at school or work (40.4) – Come after R or stalk R in person (33.7) – Beat, rape, kill, or otherwise physically hurt R (29.2) – Harm R's family, friends, or pets (13.6) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The right to be treated with dignity and respect – Reputation – The right to privacy and protection of personal data – Effective and efficient law enforcement and policy investigation process – A sense of security – A right to safety – Parental duty of care
P made threats via	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Cell phone (66.4) – Computer or related device (54.4) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Application provider systems (email, instant messaging, SMS/MMS, SNS, e-commerce systems and services, other online software/apps)
How P carried out threats (47.2)	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Stalked online (repeated unwanted online or cell phone contact) (72.2) – Sent a sexual image of R to someone (49.3) – Posted a sexual image of R online (38.1) – Posted personal information about R online (25.6) – Hacked into an account belonging to R (20.0) – Created fake accounts or photos depicting R (16.7) – Acquired personal information about R's family (13.3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Application provider systems (email, instant messaging, SMS/MMS, SNS, e-commerce systems and services, other online software/apps) – The right to be treated with dignity and respect – Reputation – The right to privacy and protection of personal data – Effective and efficient law enforcement and policy investigation process – A sense of security
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R = child who experienced sextortion

P = perpetrator of sextortion, who may also have been a child at the time

Primary assets under threat fall into three groups: trust in internet systems, services and devices; social goods and law enforcement and policy investigation processes.

Trust in internet systems and services<3>

Media communications surveys suggest that trust in online services is diminishing (OfCom, 2019). Trust is critical to the business model and the more that it is eroded, the less companies will be commercially successful. If not for moral reasons, then for commercial reasons internet companies need to invest their profits in making the internet a safer childhood space. OCSV plays a key role in public concerns about the internet and finding new ways for carriage services, particularly the element providing SNS and gaming platforms, to collaborate with children, designers and law enforcement, will be important for its survival. It is in the industry's interests to monitor instances of OCSV in its sites and to deepen knowledge of its perpetration. This includes understanding technical and human computer interaction (HCI) vulnerabilities, which could lead to improving resilience in systems. As the number of platforms multiplies, the only way in which reliable data can be gathered across providers is through

coordinated multi-organisation actions that focus on threats encountered; where, when, how and in what context.

Social 'goods' <3>

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child is an international treaty that places responsibility on governments to ensure that children's rights are protected. In the asset framework we identify at least six of the named rights that are threatened by OCSV (see Figure 6.3). We point to these here to emphasise the broad nature of threats to rights that are internationally agreed as essential to childhood wellbeing. This is necessary because OCSV is often associated with Articles 19 and 34, but the online context of OCSV means that other rights are just as important. We have noted that children's views are rarely sought on how they wish to be protected from harm online and governments must ensure that services provided through the internet do uphold this right. Further, as the sexual exploitation example demonstrates, OCSV can prevent freedom of association, impede the child's right to privacy and harm their reputation. These are not just consequences of online sexual exploitation; they are harms in and of themselves that need remedy equivalent to that for Article 19 (protection from violence, abuse and neglect). Such harms are rarely monitored or measured, perhaps because they are somehow understood as of a lesser importance to CSA, but from a prevention perspective they are critical.

Figure 6.3: Children's Social Goods Under Threat from OCSV

Article 12 (respect for the views of the child) Every child has the right to express their views, feelings and wishes in all matters affecting them, and to have their views considered and taken seriously. This right applies at all times, for example during immigration proceedings, housing decisions or the child's day-to-day home life.

Article 13 (freedom of expression) Every child must be free to express their thoughts and opinions and to access all kinds of information, as long as it is within the law.

Article 15 (freedom of association) Every child has the right to meet with other children and to join groups and organisations, as long as this does not stop other people from enjoying their rights.

Article 16 (right to privacy) Every child has the right to privacy. The law should protect the child's private, family and home life, including protecting children from unlawful attacks that harm their reputation.

Article 17 (access to information from the media) Every child has the right to reliable information from a variety of sources, and governments should encourage the media to provide information that children can understand. Governments must help protect children from materials that could harm them.

Article 19 (protection from violence, abuse and neglect) Governments must do all they can to ensure that children are protected from all forms of violence, abuse, neglect and bad treatment by their parents or anyone else who looks after them.

Article 34 (sexual exploitation) Governments must protect children from all forms of sexual abuse and exploitation.

Source: A Summary of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (unicef.org.uk/crc)

Effective and efficient law enforcement and policy investigation processes <3>

Law enforcement struggles to cope with the volume and nature of OCSV. This not only means that children are continuing to be victimised, but also that limited resources are diverted from other crimes. Given the rapid expansion of CSA media online, police in the US report having to prioritise cases by age and severity¹⁷. Wolak et al (2014) find that 'high-contribution computers', comprising less than 0.5% of all U.S. computers, contributed almost all of the U.S. OCSV content in the Gnutella network. This led them to recommend law enforcement target these contributors where possible. However, law enforcement cannot police this problem alone. Others, such as social workers, community health workers, teachers and early years workers, must all be open to the *possibility* that some of the children they work with may be victims OCSV, even if the majority will not be. There is a need to be aware of the stereotypical image of the adult groomer in children's chat rooms, and to recognise this is only one form of OCSV. Those in children's immediate online and offline social

¹⁷ <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/09/28/us/child-sex-abuse.html>

networks must pay much more attention to the possibility of other sources of online-facilitated sexual harms.

Each of the five forms of OCSV require different targeted responses. As a priority, coerced OCSV between peers could be addressed through strategies informed by gender-based violence initiatives. This could include integrated digital, ethical, sex and relationship educational measures and positive peer monitored, online peer support networks funded and promoted by industry. Online child sexual exploitation also requires these, particularly in terms of reducing demand, but with additional attention to socio-economic disadvantage and other intersecting sources of vulnerability. Grooming and the distribution of CSA material requires disruptive technical interventions and the skills of law enforcement to track offenders, which requires investment. The recorded CSA of younger children requires the awareness and attention of those who work offline with children and their families and their willingness to see this abuse. This places the emphasis on joint working between the police and other agencies that respond to the needs of children living in vulnerable situations.

Conclusion <2>

We conclude by noting first that children do behave in a sexual way and that this is normal; childhood is not asexual. The internet offers an opportunity for children to explore and experiment but more needs to be done to help them do this safely without problematising or medicalising sexuality in childhood. Ignorance and lack of overt, acceptable, normative opportunities makes children vulnerable *a priori*. Secondly, we have argued that OCSV is variously caused or exacerbated by intersecting sources of differential power regimes; specifically, age hierarchy, gender, (dis)ability, citizenship and migration and sexuality.

An integrated monitoring system that links data, from law enforcement, administrative sources and internet companies in partnership with children, is needed to address the multiple forms of OCSV for children who are victimised. This would more accurately reflect volume and identify where resources should be prioritised. It is neither sufficient nor morally acceptable to expect that

details of the nature and scope of OCSV is only measured by research in which there is no agreed definition of victimisation and which does not distinguish between normal sexual exploration between peers and coerced or exploitative sexual violence to children of all ages.

Finally, whilst it is important to protect and support individual children who experience OCSV, this crime will not be ended without serious and concerted multi-level effort to protect the social goods that are threatened by it. These are encompassed within the UNCRC framework and within the technical systems and businesses that service the internet. The latter can do more through partnership in design to promote these rights and take actions to empower children, to promote positive social exchange and build (or rebuild) their trust in online life. In the digital world OCSV and the harms to which it connects, such as cyberbullying and harassment, are as much a problem for the future of the internet as they are for the future of children.

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Appendix: Rapid Evidence Assessment Methodology <1>

An REA gathers, analyses and reports on as much literature as possible within a specified period, generally to inform policy development (GSRC, nd). The search is systematic and follows agreed methods. Our search adopted a SPIDER design (Cooke, Smith, Booth, 2012) which offers greater relevance to social science research questions than models directed at assessing interventions. This framework was applied to the research question; ‘what is known about the characteristics, vulnerabilities and on- and offline behaviour of victims of online-facilitated child sexual abuse and exploitation?’ (see Figure 1A).

Figure 1A: The SPIDER protocol applied to Online Child Sexual Victimization

S ample (Population of Interest)	Children <18
P henomena of I nterest	Online-facilitated CSA/CSE
D esign	All relevant (such as meta-analysis, survey, longitudinal, interview, focus group, case study).
E valuation	Characteristics, vulnerabilities, behaviours, resilience, typologies, victimisation
R esearch	Quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods

Search Methods

Two information specialists conducted a pilot to test the search strategy to ensure that relevant results would be retrieved. Our search strategy was made up of a number of search strings, each of which are key terms that are searched for individually and together to build up to a sensitive and specific overall search (see Figures 2A and 3A). The pilot results illustrated the power of key words in the right search order to influence outcome. For example, the number of results retrieved from combining the Sample, Phenomena of Interest and Evaluation strings returned 1588 research reports, but when combined with the ‘Design’

string this reduced to 78 results. The design category was removed at this stage as it was limiting the results far too drastically. After some testing we also added solicitation/ blackmail/extortion to the sample as this found new and relevant results.

For some databases the search strings were too long for example JSTOR, ATM digital. Other databases place a limit on the number of wildcards (a way of truncating a search term so that all the possible variations of that word are searched for such as child*, sext*) and Boolean operators (AND/ OR) that can be used. Such restrictions led to the development of bespoke search strings for these databases. One platform would only allow a single study to be extracted at a time; we therefore limited results to the first 50 searches on the database.

Figure 2A: Final Search Strategy

Search String	Keywords/Phrases
#1	child* OR young OR peer* OR youth* OR adolescen* OR minor* OR teen*
#2	“sexual exploitation” OR “sex* abuse” OR extortion OR blackmail OR coerc* OR solicit*
#3	#1 AND #2
#4	victim* AND child sex*
#5	#3 OR #4
#6	online OR technology OR internet OR digital OR cyber OR game OR gaming OR mobile OR smartphone OR Facebook OR Snapchat OR Instagram OR WhatsApp OR Tumblr OR Twitter OR “social media” OR “social network*” OR “file sharing” OR filesharing OR “cell* phone” OR offline OR sexting OR image* OR video*
#7	characteristics OR vulnerab* OR behavio* OR typolog* OR profil* OR risk* OR factors OR attitude* OR resilience
#8	#5 AND #6 AND #7
#9	Limit to 2007-present
#10	Limit to English

Figure 3A: Sample of a tailored search string

Search String	Keywords/Phrases	Number of results	Comments/Observations
#1	child* OR youth* OR adolescen* OR teen*	1,002,054	Removed young, peer, minor
#2	"sexual exploitation" OR "sex* abuse" OR extortion OR blackmail OR coerc* OR solicit*	39,099	
#3	#1 AND #2	24,107	
#4	victim* AND child sex*	10,584	
#5	#3 OR #4	27,421	Superset of Population of Interest
#6	online OR technology OR internet OR digital OR "social media" OR "social network*" OR offline	258,120	Removed facilitated from Online and Technology. Also removed cyber, game, gaming, mobile, smartphone, facebook, snapchat, Instagram, whatsapp, tumblr, twitter, file sharing, fileshearing, cell* phone, sexting, image*, video*.
#7	#5 AND #6	1,145	Superset of Phenomena of Interest
#8	characteristics OR vulnerab* OR behavio* OR typolog* OR profil* OR risk* OR factors OR attitude* OR resilience	2,403,667	Superset of Population of Evaluation
#9	#5 AND #6 AND #8	1,017	Of the 821 results if these are limited to English and DOP within last 10 years then there are 624 results.
#10	"literature review" OR "systematic review" OR "meta-analysis" OR "meta-synthesis"	71,398	Superset of Design
#11	#9 AND #10	25	
#12	Limit to 2007-present	23	
#13	Limit to English	21	

A range of databases was included spanning social science, humanities and technology research (see Figure 4A). Grey literature, such as reports, conference

proceedings and government publications, was accessed through online searching in national and international non-governmental organisations, Research Councils, Government and European Union websites. A call for literature was issued to key academics and other figures known for their work in the field (N=51).

Figure 4A: Record of Database Searches

DATABASE/SITES	HITS
Academic Search Complete	765
ACM Digital	56
CINHAL	230
Campbell	1
Cochrane	254
Directory of Open Access	215
EMBASE	623
Europe Pubmed (last 12 months only)	11
IEE Xplore	27
Ingenta	42
JSTOR	147
Medline	601
NHS evidence	6
PSYCHINFO	1218
PROQUEST CENTRAL	523
SCIENCE DIRECT	687
Web of Science	783
Taylor Francis J	50
SAGE	50
Springer Link	50
OUP	12
ZETOC	125
JRF	0
RAND	0
ESRC	0
Social Care Online	42
EU kids Online	50
Gov.uk	5
CORE – (first 100)	4
NGO and other sites (Barnardos, ECPAT International, Marie Collins, NSPCC, NCMEC, Europol, Interpol etc)	43

Following the pilot, a complete search of the relevant databases with the bibliographic results was imported into EndNote¹⁸. To maintain quality assurance, a second information specialist re-ran and checked the search. Duplicate papers were then removed from the results.

Retrieval and coding <2>

Retrieved sources were imported into a software program that enabled three researchers to double- or triple-blind code titles and abstracts independently and interrater agreement was achieved after the first 20 (*kappa*+1). Remaining papers were double blind coded on a full-text basis, applying the agreed inclusion and exclusion criteria (see Figure 5A). References were handsearched. To be included the studies had to report on primary research, or on secondary analyses of relevant data, collected between 2007 and 2018. The team discussed and noted any coding disagreements before making a decision to include or exclude. 4,697 sources were excluded at this point.

The subsequent 610 included studies were screened using EPPI¹⁹ criteria for methodological rigour (internal/external validity, ethics, clarity of reporting, conflict of interest) and relevance to the research question(s). They were coded as belonging to one of four groups represented symbolically as follows (see Chapter 2, Table 2.1 for final quality assessment):

- ++ Rigorous study, method and analysis clearly articulated, discussion supported by results/findings, highly relevant to research question;
- + Good study, most aspects of method /analysis explained, relevant to research question;
- Limited study, some parts of method or analysis not fully explained, or only partially relevant;

¹⁸ Endnote is a reference management software package, used to save and manage references.

¹⁹ <https://eppi.ioe.ac.uk/cms/Default.aspx?tabid=63>

-- Poor study, key aspects of method/analysis not explained, limited relevance to research question.

Figure 5A: Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Inclusion/ exclusion criteria		Guidance	Comments
1	EXCLUDE: date of publication before 2007		
2	EXCLUDE: language not English		
3	EXCLUDE publication type: not journal, research report or conference proceeding	Exclude books, dissertation abstracts, professional magazines ad policy and guidance	
4	EXCLUDE: not about child victims	Exclude if focus is adult perpetrators/offenders	Unless it is child on child offending
5	EXCLUDE research type: Not primary research	Exclude descriptive studies, blogs, editorial, commentary, opinion piece of other ephemera. Include quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods	
6	EXCLUDE by scope: Not about online-facilitated child sexual abuse/child sexual exploitation and victims living in any country	Must include online-facilitated child sexual abuse	Key is facilitation; abuse may occur off line but grooming occurs online or vice versa.
7	EXCLUDE: Not relevant to research question(s)		
8	EXCLUDE: Insufficient details to make a decision	for example the full article not available	
9	INCLUDE		

Summary data and the quality of the research was recorded using extraction sheets for quantitative, qualitative and secondary review data (Figure 6A). The data were then summarised descriptively and synthesised qualitatively. Reviewers extracted data that addressed each element of the research question. For example, research that contained findings on sexual solicitation and self-generated sexual content/material involving children, or where characteristics that heightened vulnerability or resilience were recorded. No studies directly addressed the overarching research question.

Figure 6A: Critical Appraisal for Single Studies (Quantitative example)

Internal validity – sample and approach	Internal validity - performance and analysis.	External validity	Overall validity rating (--/- /+ /++)
Clearly focused question or hypothesis?	Has the data collection instrument been validated?	Does the study's research question match the REA question?	
Sample type and size (demographics)	Possible effects of administration of data collection		
How was the sample achieved?	Quality of statistical analysis (confidence intervals, significance tests appropriate, weighting)	Does the study population match at least one of the groups covered by the REA question?	
Is the sample representative (of what)?			
Response rate?			
Adequate description of methodology?	Are conclusions commensurate with statistical analysis?		
	Has the study dealt appropriately with any ethical concerns?		

77 primary or secondary research sources were finally included in the analysis as meeting the inclusion and quality criteria. The overall process of search, retrieval, inclusion and exclusion is presented in Figure 7A.

The project was granted ethical approval by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Lancaster University Management School Research Ethics Committee and by IICSA's own internal Research Ethics Committee²⁰.

Challenges and Limitations <2>

A number of challenges followed the initial screening. First, the difficulties in disaggregating data relating to online-facilitated CSA/CSE from a large sample covering a wide range of related topics, such as internet harassment and cyberbullying research. Second, lack of definitional clarity meant that few studies compare the same phenomena, and third, extracting data on children from studies that also sampled young adults was sometimes not possible.

²⁰ The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse <https://www.iicsa.org.uk/research-seminars/research>

Figure 7A: Flow Chart of Data Selection Process

