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UNDERSTANDING VICTIM VULNERABILITY IN TECHNOLOGY-ASSISTED CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

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Abstract

Technology-Assisted Child Sexual Abuse (TA-CSA) has emerged as a significant and evolving form of exploitation in the digital age, facilitated by widespread internet access, social media platforms, and encrypted communication technologies. It encompasses activities such as online grooming, live-streamed abuse, and the circulation of child sexual abuse material (CSAM). The increasing digitisation of children's social environments has heightened their exposure to potential offenders operating under anonymity.

This paper focuses on understanding the vulnerability of child victims in online spaces by analysing psychological, social, and technological factors. Psychological vulnerabilities such as emotional dependency, curiosity, and low risk perception, combined with social factors like lack of parental supervision and peer pressure, significantly contribute to victimisation. Technological aspects, including anonymity, ease of access, and lack of digital literacy, further exacerbate these risks.

The research adopts a doctrinal and interdisciplinary methodology, integrating legal analysis with insights from psychology and criminology to examine patterns of victim vulnerability. The study finds that online anonymity, grooming techniques employed by offenders, and inadequate awareness among children and guardians substantially increase susceptibility to abuse.

The objective of this paper is to critically analyse why children become vulnerable in digital environments and to assess the adequacy of existing legal and institutional safeguards in addressing these risks.

Introduction

Technology-Assisted Child Sexual Abuse (TA-CSA) refers to forms of sexual exploitation of children facilitated through digital technologies, including online grooming, sextortion, circulation of child sexual abuse material (CSAM), and live-streamed abuse.[1] The increasing penetration of the internet, smartphones, and social media platforms has significantly enhanced children's exposure to digital environments, thereby creating new avenues for exploitation.[2] Unlike traditional forms of abuse, TA-CSA operates across borders, often involving anonymity, encryption, and ease of access, which complicates detection and enforcement.

There has been a notable shift from physical contact-based abuse to virtual modes of exploitation, where offenders manipulate, coerce, or deceive children through online interactions.[3] Grooming, for instance, involves building emotional trust with a child to facilitate exploitation, while sextortion relies on threats and coercion to obtain explicit content. The proliferation of CSAM and live-stream abuse further reflects the commercialisation and globalisation of such crimes.[4]

In this context, victimology assumes critical importance in understanding cyber-enabled crimes against children. It focuses on identifying factors that render children vulnerable, including psychological, social, and technological dimensions.[5] This study seeks to address key research questions: what makes children particularly vulnerable in digital environments; how offenders identify and exploit these vulnerabilities; and whether existing legal frameworks adequately prioritise the protection and rights of victims.

The scope of this paper is limited to a victim-centric analysis, deliberately excluding an in-depth examination of offender behaviour except where necessary to understand patterns of exploitation. It evaluates the extent to which legal and institutional mechanisms respond to the needs of victims in cases of TA-CSA.

The research adopts a doctrinal methodology, relying on statutory provisions such as the Information Technology Act, 2000 and the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012, along with judicial decisions, reports,

"[1] ECPAT International, "Terminology Guidelines for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse" p.no. 12 (2016).
[2] UNICEF, "The State of the World's Children: Children in a Digital World" p.no. 3 (2017).
[3] Julia Davidson and Petter Gottschalk, *Internet Child Abuse: Current Research and Policy* 45 (Routledge, London, 2011).
[4] ECPAT International, "Online Child Sexual Exploitation: Global Report" p.no. 25 (2018).
[5] Karmen Andrew, *Crime Victims: An Introduction to Victimology* 89 (Cengage Learning, Boston, 9th edn., 2015).

and secondary literature.[6] Through this approach, the paper aims to critically analyse the intersection of technology, vulnerability, and child protection within the evolving legal landscape.

Conceptual Framework

Meaning of Victimology

Victimology, as a sub-discipline of criminology, focuses on the study of victims, their relationship with offenders, and the criminal justice system's response to victimisation. Traditionally, victimology concentrated on physical crimes and direct victim-offender interactions.[7] However, with the rapid advancement of digital technologies, the scope of victimology has expanded to include cyber victimology, which examines victimisation occurring in virtual environments.[8] Cyber victimology recognises that the nature of harm, patterns of victimisation, and offender strategies have significantly evolved in the digital age, particularly affecting vulnerable groups such as children.

Defining Technology-Assisted Child Sexual Abuse

Technology-assisted child sexual abuse (TA-CSA) refers to forms of sexual exploitation of children facilitated through digital platforms, communication technologies, and the internet.[9] One of the most prevalent forms is online grooming, where offenders build emotional relationships with minors to gain trust for exploitation.[10] Sextortion involves coercing children into sharing explicit content, often followed by threats for further material or financial gain.[11] Another critical dimension is Child Sexual Abuse Material (CSAM), which includes the creation, distribution, and possession of explicit content involving minors.[12] Additionally, live-streaming abuse has emerged as a growing concern, where real-time sexual exploitation is broadcast to remote offenders, often across jurisdictions.[13] These forms highlight the transnational and anonymous nature of digital crimes, making detection and prevention more complex.

Theoretical Approaches

Several criminological theories help explain victim vulnerability in TA-CSA. Routine Activity Theory posits that crime occurs when a motivated offender encounters a suitable target in the absence of capable guardianship.[14] In online spaces, children often become "suitable targets" due to increased screen time and lack of supervision.[15] Lifestyle Exposure Theory further explains that individuals' routine behaviours and online engagement patterns increase their risk of victimisation.[16] Children who frequently use social media or gaming platforms may inadvertently expose themselves to potential offenders.

The Online Disinhibition Effect also plays a significant role, suggesting that the anonymity and invisibility of the internet reduce users' inhibitions, encouraging offenders to engage in exploitative behaviour without fear of immediate consequences.[17] This psychological phenomenon not only emboldens perpetrators but also influences victims to disclose personal information more freely, thereby increasing their vulnerability.

Nature and Forms of Victim Vulnerability (500–550 words)

Victim vulnerability in technology-assisted child sexual abuse (TA-CSA) is a multidimensional concept shaped by psychological, social, technological, and situational factors. These vulnerabilities often intersect, making children and adolescents particularly susceptible to online grooming, exploitation, and abuse.[18]

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[6] The Information Technology Act, 2000 (Act 21 of 2000); The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 (Act 32 of 2012).
[7] Nils Christie, "The Ideal Victim" in Ezzat A. Fattah (ed.), From Crime Policy to Victim Policy 17 (Macmillan, London, 1986).
[8] Majid Yar, Cybercrime and Society 52 (Sage Publications, London, 2nd edn., 2013).
[9] ECPAT International, "Towards a Global Indicator on Unidentified Victims in Child Sexual Exploitation Material" 5 (2018).
[10] Julia Davidson and Petter Gottschalk, Internet Child Abuse: Current Research and Policy 38 (Routledge, London, 2011).
[11] Europol, "Online Sexual Coercion and Extortion as a Form of Crime Affecting Children" 12 (2017).
[12] ECPAT International, Supra note 3 at 9.
[13] UNICEF, "Ending Online Child Sexual Exploitation and Abuse" 14 (2020).
[14] Lawrence E. Cohen and Marcus Felson, "Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach" 44 American Sociological Review 588 (1979).
[15] Id. at 590.
[16] Hindelang Michael J., Michael R. Gottfredson and James Garofalo, Victims of Personal Crime 241 (Ballinger, Cambridge, 1978).
[17] John Suler, "The Online Disinhibition Effect" 7 CyberPsychology & Behavior 321 (2004).
[18] Ethel Quayle and Max Taylor, *Online Child Sexual Abuse: Grooming, Policing and Child Protection in a Multi-Media World* 23 (Routledge, London, 2011).

Psychological Vulnerability

Psychological vulnerability plays a crucial role in exposing children to online sexual exploitation. Factors such as loneliness, low self-esteem, and emotional dependency significantly increase susceptibility to manipulation by offenders.[19] Children who lack emotional support systems often seek validation and companionship in online spaces, where offenders exploit their emotional needs through deceptive tactics such as grooming.[20]

Adolescents, in particular, are more prone to seeking validation due to developmental changes and identity formation. Their desire for acceptance and recognition often leads them to engage with strangers on digital platforms, sometimes sharing personal or explicit content in exchange for attention or approval.[21] This emotional reliance creates a power imbalance that perpetrators manipulate, gradually escalating interactions into exploitative situations.

Social Vulnerability

Social factors further aggravate victim vulnerability. A lack of parental supervision or guidance regarding online activities exposes children to unsafe digital environments.[22] In many cases, parents are either unaware of the risks associated with internet use or lack the necessary digital literacy to monitor their children's online behaviour effectively.[23]

Additionally, peer pressure and the culture of social media validation contribute significantly to vulnerability. Children often feel compelled to conform to online trends, seek likes and followers, and maintain a digital presence, which may lead them to engage in risky behaviour such as sharing personal information or images.[24] The normalization of online interactions with strangers further reduces perceived risks, increasing exposure to potential offenders.

Technological Vulnerability

Technological vulnerability arises primarily from a lack of digital literacy and awareness about online safety. Many children are unaware of privacy settings, data protection measures, and the long-term consequences of sharing personal information online.[25] This ignorance makes them easy targets for cyber predators who exploit such gaps.

The use of anonymous platforms and encrypted applications further exacerbates the risk. Offenders often operate under fake identities, making it difficult for victims to verify authenticity.[26] The absence of strict identity verification mechanisms on several platforms enables perpetrators to approach children without detection. Moreover, features such as disappearing messages and private chats facilitate covert exploitation, reducing the chances of timely intervention.

Situational Vulnerability

Situational factors, particularly those arising from extraordinary circumstances, also contribute to increased vulnerability. The COVID-19 pandemic significantly altered children's interaction patterns, leading to increased reliance on digital platforms for education, communication, and entertainment.[27]

This pandemic-driven online exposure resulted in increased screen time and reduced physical supervision, thereby expanding opportunities for offenders to target children.[28] The sudden and prolonged shift to virtual environments created conditions where children spent extended hours online, often without adequate safeguards or awareness of potential risks. Consequently, situational vulnerability intensified existing psychological, social, and technological weaknesses, creating a conducive environment for technology-assisted abuse.

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[19] Id. at 45.
[20] Janis Wolak, Kimberly Mitchell and David Finkelhor, "Online Victimization of Youth: Five Years Later" 18 National Center for Missing & Exploited Children Bulletin 12 (2006).
[21] Sameer Hinduja and Justin W. Patchin, "Sexting as an Emerging Concern for Adolescent Health" 23 Pediatrics 1 (2010).
[22] David Finkelhor, *Childhood Victimization: Violence, Crime, and Abuse in the Lives of Young People* 67 (Oxford University Press, New York, 2008).
[23] Id. at 72.
[24] danah boyd, *It's Complicated: The Social Lives of Networked Teens* 98 (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2014).
[25] Sonia Livingstone and Leslie Haddon, "EU Kids Online: Final Report" 45 (London School of Economics, 2009)
[26] Ethel Quayle and Max Taylor, supra note 1 at 76.
[27] UNICEF, "Child Online Safety During COVID-19 Pandemic" 5 (2020).
[28] Id. at 9.

Grooming and Manipulation: Victim-Offender Dynamics

Technology-assisted child sexual abuse (TA-CSA) is often facilitated through a structured and deliberate process of online grooming, wherein offenders strategically manipulate victims to gain compliance and control. Grooming typically unfolds in identifiable stages, beginning with **targeting**, where offenders select vulnerable children based on factors such as loneliness, emotional distress, or lack of supervision.[29] The accessibility of social media platforms and online gaming environments significantly aids offenders in identifying and approaching such targets.

The second stage involves **gaining trust**, where the offender establishes a rapport by presenting themselves as a friend, mentor, or romantic interest. This is often reinforced through **emotional manipulation**, including expressions of care, empathy, and validation, which create a false sense of security in the victim.[30] In many cases, offenders also employ **gift-giving techniques**, such as offering digital rewards, game credits, or monetary incentives, to strengthen the relationship and foster dependency.[31]

Subsequently, the offender moves towards **isolation**, encouraging the child to withdraw from family and friends or to maintain secrecy about the interaction. This stage is critical as it reduces the likelihood of external intervention and increases the victim's psychological reliance on the offender. Once isolation is achieved, the grooming process advances to **sexualization**, wherein conversations gradually shift towards sexual topics, often normalising inappropriate behaviour.[32] The offender may introduce explicit content or request images, thereby desensitising the victim over time.

The final stage involves **control through threats**, frequently manifesting as **sextortion** or blackmail. Offenders exploit previously shared images or information to coerce victims into continued compliance, creating a cycle of abuse that is difficult to escape.[33] At this stage, fear becomes a dominant tool, ensuring the victim's silence and submission.

From the victim's perspective, grooming significantly distorts perception and agency. Many victims experience an **illusion of consent**, believing that they are voluntarily participating in the interaction due to the emotional bond created by the offender.[34] Simultaneously, feelings of **fear and shame** prevent disclosure, as victims may internalise guilt or fear social stigma and punishment. This psychological manipulation underscores the complexity of TA-CSA, where apparent consent masks coercion and exploitation.

Thus, understanding the dynamics of grooming and manipulation is essential for recognising the subtle yet coercive mechanisms that underpin technology-assisted child sexual abuse, and for developing effective legal and policy responses.

Impact of TA-CSA on Victims

Technology-Assisted Child Sexual Abuse (TA-CSA) has profound and multifaceted consequences on victims, extending beyond immediate harm to long-term psychological, social, and digital repercussions. The unique nature of online abuse intensifies victim vulnerability, as the harm is not confined to a single incident but is often continuous and pervasive.[35]

Psychological Impact

Victims of TA-CSA frequently experience severe psychological distress, including anxiety, depression, and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).[36] The invasive and exploitative nature of abuse, often accompanied by coercion, manipulation, or grooming, leads to a persistent sense of fear, helplessness, and emotional instability.[37] Unlike traditional forms of abuse, the digital dimension exacerbates trauma, as victims remain aware that the abusive material may resurface at any time.

[29] Ethel Quayle and Kurt M. Ribisl, "Understanding Online Child Sexual Exploitation: The Role of Grooming" 18 Journal of Sexual Aggression 45 (2012).
[30] Julia Davidson and Petter Gottschalk, Internet Child Abuse: Current Research and Policy 72 (Routledge, London, 1st edn., 2011).
[31] Sara M. Grimes, "Kids' Play, Corporations' Profits: Children's Online Games and the Digital Economy" 10 Journal of Consumer Culture 45 (2010).
[32] Janis Wolak, Kimberly J. Mitchell and David Finkelhor, "Online Victimization of Youth: Five Years Later" 12 National Center for Missing & Exploited Children Bulletin 1 (2006).
[33] Europol, "Online Sexual Coercion and Extortion as a Form of Crime Affecting Children" 15 (2017).
[34] Ethel Quayle and Max Taylor, "Child Pornography and the Internet: Perpetuating a Cycle of Abuse" 6 Deviant Behavior 331 (2003).
[35] Ethel Quayle and Kurt M. Ribisl, "Understanding Technology-Facilitated Child Sexual Exploitation" 12 Journal of Child Sexual Abuse 45 (2013).
[36] David Finkelhor, Child Sexual Abuse: New Theory and Research 102 (Free Press, New York, 1984).
[37] Id. at 110.

Additionally, victims may suffer from an identity crisis, particularly during formative developmental stages. The exposure and exploitation of their images or videos can distort self-perception, leading to feelings of shame, guilt, and self-blame.[38] This psychological fragmentation often affects their ability to form healthy relationships and may result in long-term mental health disorders if not addressed through adequate support mechanisms.

Social Impact

The social consequences of TA-CSA are equally severe. Victims often experience isolation due to fear of judgment, lack of trust, and social withdrawal.[39] The stigma attached to sexual abuse, compounded by its digital dissemination, discourages victims from seeking help or reporting the offence. This results in a cycle of silence and continued victimisation.

Furthermore, TA-CSA has a detrimental impact on the academic performance of victims. Emotional distress, lack of concentration, and absenteeism contribute to academic decline, thereby affecting their future prospects.[40] The disruption of social and educational development further marginalises victims, making reintegration into normal life increasingly difficult.

Digital Permanence

One of the most distinguishing and harmful aspects of TA-CSA is the digital permanence of abusive content. Once circulated online, such material becomes nearly impossible to completely erase, leading to continuous trauma for victims.[41] The knowledge that the content may be repeatedly accessed, shared, or redistributed creates a constant state of psychological distress.

This phenomenon leads to what is often described as "re-victimization," where victims relive the abuse each time the material resurfaces or is viewed by others.[42] Unlike physical abuse, which may have a temporal limitation, TA-CSA perpetuates harm indefinitely, amplifying the severity of its impact. The enduring nature of digital abuse thus necessitates stronger legal, technological, and psychological interventions to protect victims and mitigate long-term harm.

Legal Framework and Victim Protection

Protection under the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012

The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 (POCSO Act) constitutes the primary legal framework in India for safeguarding children against sexual offences. It provides a comprehensive and gender-neutral mechanism to address various forms of abuse, including penetrative and non-penetrative assault, sexual harassment, and use of children for pornographic purposes.[43] With the rapid proliferation of digital technologies, courts have increasingly interpreted the provisions of the Act to include technology-assisted child sexual abuse (TA-CSA), such as online grooming, exploitation through social media, and circulation of abusive material.[44] The Act also incorporates child-friendly procedures during investigation and trial, ensuring the protection of victims from secondary victimisation.

Provisions under the Information Technology Act, 2000

The Information Technology Act, 2000 complements the POCSO Act by specifically addressing cyber-enabled sexual offences. Section 67B criminalises the publishing, browsing, downloading, or transmission of child sexual abuse material in electronic form.[45] This provision plays a crucial role in tackling online exploitation and targeting digital platforms used for dissemination of such content. The combined application of the POCSO Act and the IT Act reflects a legislative attempt to bridge gaps between traditional offences and emerging cyber threats. However, enforcement challenges remain due to anonymity, encryption, and cross-border jurisdictional issues inherent in cyberspace.

[38] Ethel Quayle and Max Taylor, "Child Pornography and the Internet: Perpetuating a Cycle of Abuse" 18 Deviant Behavior 331 (2002).
[39] Jon Brown, "Online Child Abuse and Exploitation: Emerging Issues" 20 Journal of Sexual Aggression 90 (2014).
[40] Id. at 95.
[41] UNICEF, "Child Safety Online: Global Challenges and Strategies" 25 (2017).
[42] Id. at 28.
[43] The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 (Act 32 of 2012).
[44] Id.
[45] The Information Technology Act, 2000 (Act 21 of 2000), s. 67B.

Role of National Commission for Protection of Child Rights

The National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) plays a pivotal role in monitoring the implementation of child protection laws and recommending policy measures to address emerging threats. Established under the Commissions for Protection of Child Rights Act, 2005, it ensures that laws and policies are aligned with the best interests of the child.[46] The Commission actively engages in awareness campaigns, digital safety initiatives, and coordination with law enforcement agencies to combat online child sexual abuse. Its advisory and supervisory functions strengthen institutional responses to victim vulnerability in the digital environment.

International Framework

At the international level, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) establishes a foundational framework for the protection of children against all forms of exploitation and abuse, including those facilitated by technology.[47] It obligates State Parties to adopt legislative, administrative, and social measures to safeguard children's rights. Additionally, the Budapest Convention on Cybercrime provides an international legal instrument for cooperation in combating cyber offences, including child pornography and online exploitation.[48] Although India is not a signatory, its principles significantly influence domestic cybercrime policies and enforcement strategies.

In sum, while India has developed a robust legal framework to address victim vulnerability in technology-assisted child sexual abuse, the dynamic nature of digital offences necessitates continuous legal adaptation, stronger enforcement mechanisms, and enhanced international cooperation.

Challenges in Addressing Victim Vulnerability

One of the most significant challenges in addressing victim vulnerability in technology-assisted child sexual abuse (TA-CSA) is the persistent issue of underreporting. Victims often refrain from reporting abuse due to stigma, shame, fear of social ostracisation, and threats from perpetrators. In many cases, children are manipulated or groomed into silence, making disclosure even more difficult.

A related concern is the lack of awareness among both parents and children regarding online risks. Many guardians remain unaware of digital threats such as grooming, sextortion, and exploitation through social media platforms.[49] Children, due to their age and psychological vulnerability, may not recognize abusive patterns, thereby increasing their susceptibility.

Jurisdictional challenges further complicate the enforcement of laws in TA-CSA cases. Cybercrimes frequently transcend national boundaries, making investigation and prosecution difficult due to differences in legal frameworks, lack of cooperation, and delays in mutual legal assistance. Additionally, anonymity on digital platforms allows offenders to conceal their identities through encryption and fake profiles, making identification and tracking a complex process for law enforcement agencies.

Another pressing issue is the phenomenon of secondary victimization during legal proceedings. Victims are often subjected to repeated questioning, insensitive investigation practices, and prolonged trials, which exacerbate their trauma. The adversarial nature of the criminal justice system may unintentionally re-traumatize victims, discouraging them from pursuing justice.

Thus, victims of TA-CSA frequently suffer double trauma: first from the abuse itself and subsequently from the inadequacies of the justice system.[50] Addressing these challenges requires a holistic approach that prioritizes victim protection, sensitivity in legal processes, and systemic reforms to reduce barriers to reporting and justice.

Suggestions and Policy Recommendations

Addressing victim vulnerability in TA-CSA requires a multi-pronged strategy combining legal, social, and technological interventions. One of the foremost measures is the strengthening of digital literacy programs aimed at both children and parents. These programs should focus on safe internet practices, identification of online threats, and mechanisms for reporting abuse.

[46] The Commissions for Protection of Child Rights Act, 2005 (Act 4 of 2006).
[47] The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, arts. 19, 34.
[48] The Convention on Cybercrime (Budapest Convention), 2001, art. 9.
[49] UNICEF, "Child Online Protection: Global Challenges and Strategies" (2019).
[50] Supra note 5.

School-based awareness initiatives play a crucial role in early prevention. Educational institutions must integrate age-appropriate modules on cyber safety, consent, and digital behavior into their curriculum. Teachers should also be trained to identify signs of abuse and respond appropriately.

The establishment of victim-friendly reporting mechanisms is essential to encourage disclosure. Anonymous reporting platforms, child helplines, and simplified complaint procedures can significantly reduce fear and hesitation among victims.[51] Additionally, ensuring confidentiality and protection of identity is critical in maintaining trust in the system.

Psychological counseling and rehabilitation services must be strengthened to address the long-term impact of abuse. Victims require continuous mental health support to recover from trauma and reintegrate into society. Specialized child psychologists and support systems should be integrated into the justice delivery process.

Platform accountability is another key area requiring reform. Social media companies and digital platforms must be mandated to implement stricter monitoring systems, prompt content removal mechanisms, and cooperation with law enforcement agencies.

Furthermore, the establishment of specialized cyber units dedicated to child protection can enhance investigative efficiency. These units should be equipped with advanced technological tools and trained personnel to handle sensitive cases.[52]

A paradigm shift is required from a purely punitive approach to a preventive and rehabilitative framework. Emphasis must be placed on early intervention, awareness, and victim support systems to effectively combat TA-CSA.

Conclusion

Technology-assisted child sexual abuse has emerged as a rapidly growing global concern, exacerbated by the increasing accessibility of digital platforms. The vulnerability of victims in such cases is multi-dimensional, encompassing psychological, social, and digital aspects. Children are particularly susceptible due to their limited awareness, emotional dependency, and exposure to unregulated online environments.

While legal frameworks such as the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 and the Information Technology Act, 2000 provide mechanisms to address such offences, their implementation often falls short in effectively safeguarding victims. The evolving nature of technology necessitates continuous adaptation of legal and institutional responses.

A child-centric and victim-sensitive approach is essential in addressing the complexities of TA-CSA. This includes ensuring dignity, privacy, and protection of victims throughout the legal process, along with minimizing secondary victimization.

Future efforts must focus on prevention through awareness, strengthening digital safety ecosystems, and fostering collaboration between governments, institutions, and technology platforms. A balanced approach that integrates legal enforcement with social and psychological support systems is crucial to effectively mitigate victim vulnerability and ensure justice.

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7. National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, “Child Protection Guidelines” (2018).
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[51] National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, “Child Protection Guidelines” (2018).
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