

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE AND POLICING IN ENGLAND AND WALES?

EVIDENCE BRIEFING FOR THE NATIONAL POLICING LEAD FOR
CHILD PROTECTION AND ABUSE INVESTIGATION

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1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 The purpose of this briefing is to provide the National Policing Lead for Child Protection and Abuse Investigation with evidence for consideration in the development of a National Policing Safeguarding Action plan. The methodology can be found in an associated document¹. This briefing distils key messages from research evidence on policing and child protection in the United Kingdom (UK).
- 1.2 Evidence on policing and child protection/ safeguarding in the UK primarily relates to child sexual abuse (CSA), including child sexual exploitation (CSE), although the evidence base is relatively limited. The review identified no significant UK evaluations of police response in tackling child abuse more broadly, or CSA or neglect specifically. The most substantial area of evidence relates to police forensic interviews in cases of CSA. There are a number of small and discrete research studies that have been carried out in relation to particular child protection issues within the criminal justice system (CJS). These have highlighted promising practice and areas for improvement in relation to some aspects of the process, such as attrition and the experiences of children and young people proceeding through 'the system'. Historically, the research on forensic interviews focussed on the aim of obtaining the best evidence for court but there has been a more recent focus on safeguarding and children's well-being during the process². Experts hypothesize that these two issues are inseparable however; improving children and young people's experiences and addressing their well-being can be also seen as a means of improving attrition rates and gathering better quality evidence.
- 1.3 This briefing is structured to reflect the journey through the CJS with additional messages from research on police preparation and planning. In order to limit the briefing to police-relevant information, findings on the court process have been omitted except where they are relevant for policing. The areas covered align in various ways to the four Ps of policing - a framework for responding to serious and organised crime³:
- 1) Prepare: reduce the impact of this criminality where it takes place
 - 2) Protect: increase protection against serious and organised crime
 - 3) Prevent: prevent people from engaging in serious and organised crime
 - 4) Pursue: prosecute and disrupt people engaged in serious and organised crime.

2. THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM: THE PROBLEM OF ATTRITION

Key messages

- 1) There has been little focussed research in the UK on attrition in sexual offences against children, despite attrition in sexual offences remaining high in relation to other crimes.
- 2) The available evidence suggests however that child cases are more likely than adult cases to result in a conviction.
- 3) Attrition can occur before a report is even made to the police. Once at the police stage, there is a significant amount of drop out for a variety of reasons. Victim withdrawal is one important explanation, but Police, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) and court decision-making and outcomes are others.
- 4) Sexual offences are some of the most complex crimes to investigate and the investigation and prosecution process is one of the most long-lasting which may explain at least some of the attrition observed.
- 5) Recent crime statistics show that more cases than ever before are proceeding to the court stage; yet the successful prosecution rate is falling.
- 6) Further research is required to better understand how to improve attrition, decrease evidential problems, reduce victim withdrawal from the process and increase successful prosecutions.

2.1 In general, the UK has one of the highest rape attrition rates in Europe⁴. Attrition – or the ‘justice gap’⁵ - remains one of the most persistent problems for criminal justice agencies associated with cases of rape, including rape of a child. Attrition is defined as “the process whereby cases drop out of the criminal justice system at one of a number of points of exit”⁶.

2.2 Only two UK studies were identified in the review which solely analysed attrition of sexual offences against children⁷. One of these was carried out 15 years ago, and the other examined crime statistics in Northern Ireland. Several other studies have analysed rape statistics more broadly, with minor reference to statistics on rape of those under the age of 18⁸. There is a real need for new research in this area.

2.3 Attrition can occur at any stage of the CJS process. Kelly and colleagues⁹ identified six specific points in their analysis of adult and child rape cases using data from three sexual assault referral centres in England in 2005:

- 1) Reporting to the police
- 2) No evidence of assault/ false allegations
- 3) Insufficient evidence at the investigation stage
- 4) Early withdrawal from the process
- 5) CPS decision-making
- 6) Court and trial.

2.4 Kelly et al.'s study revealed that attrition can occur for reasons beyond the control of the CJS (for example, a child or young person – or their family – may choose not to report an incident to the police) but they also occur as a direct result of the CJS, during the Police, the CPS or court stage¹⁰.

2.5 Hohl and Stanko's recent study of 587 rape allegations (by females) reported to the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) during April and May of 2012 revealed that the odds of victim withdrawal (which accounted for almost half of the attrition in the sample) increased significantly if:

- A victim did not cooperate with the police and could not be contacted (thus victim-police relationship is central)
- Police could not identify a suspect
- Cases were investigated by Sapphire teams or standard local police (those investigated by Child Protection Units fared much better – the odds of problems with communication and cooperation decreased by 64% if CPU investigated)
- The accused perpetrator did not have a prior police record of any kind.

2.6 Hohl and Stanko's study also found that police-driven attrition (for example, a case being 'no-crimed', which were 19% of the non-withdrawn cases, or assigned 'no further action' - 67% of the non-withdrawn cases) was more likely where:

- A police record noted a previous false allegation
- Evidence existed that casts doubt on the current allegation
- An officer noted doubts about the truthfulness of the allegation
- A victim had mental health issues or learning difficulties
- Inconsistencies in victim accounts were evident
- There was a delay in reporting or if the victim did not resist the assault
- The victim was not a child under the age of 13 (or, what the researchers consider to be a 'non-CSA' case).

2.7 Finally, Hohl and Stanko found that CPS-driven attrition (in other words, where no charges were brought and which accounted for 14% of the attrition of non-withdrawn cases) was significantly more likely where:

- There were inconsistent victim accounts
- Victims had mental health problems or officers noted doubts about the case
- Victim and suspect were both White (in other words, charges were substantially more likely where both victim and suspect were non-White)
- A suspect was not a known sexual offender.

2.8 The available evidence seems to suggest that sexual offences against children are more likely to result in conviction than sexual offences against adults¹¹. However, while earlier research

found that a smaller proportion of child cases than adult cases made it to the court stage¹², recent research, alongside recent police and crime statistics, reveal a different – perhaps changing - story. In Hohl and Stanko's study, non-CSA cases (in other words, adult cases) were much more likely to be assigned 'no further action' than CSA cases. An alternate explanation could be, however, that this pattern of 'no further action' is associated with individual police force practice. Bunting's research on attrition in Northern Ireland, for example, found evidence that patterns of attrition may be influenced by force location¹³. Thus, this is a tentative finding and further research is needed to understand the impact of police practice in different locales.

2.9 Recent figures released by CPS bear out the findings above, however, showing that the volume of prosecutions in cases of CSA are rising; the number of CSA prosecutions completed in 2014/15 rose 23% - from 4,371 to 5,387 the previous year. Furthermore, the number of successful outcomes rose 19% from 3,344 to 3,975 – also the highest volume ever, indicating that findings from earlier studies may now be out of date. However, the conviction rate for CSA fell (from 76.5% to 73.8%) - thus while more cases are making it through to court/trial than ever before, a considerable amount are falling at the last hurdle.

2.10 The most recent Home Office outcome data – using the new outcomes framework – for 2014/2015¹⁴ identify some of the points of attrition at the Police and CPS stage, although further research would be necessary to understand the specifics driving the outcomes:

- 11.3% of sexual offences were recorded as having an outcome of a charge/ summons
- 1.3% were recorded as having a formal community resolution
- 0.7% were recorded as having an informal community resolution
- 4.4% of prosecutions were prevented by CPS or were not prosecuted because they were deemed to be 'not in the public interest'
- 16.3% had evidential difficulties where a suspect was identified and the victim supported prosecution
- 16.8% had evidential difficulties where a victim did not support a prosecution
- 12.2% were recorded as investigation complete – no suspect identified
- And a majority (36.9%) of sexual offences had not yet been assigned an outcome.

2.11 Over one-third of the cases which were assigned an outcome did not proceed to trial because of evidential difficulties, including those cases where victims were in support of the investigation. Here it is not clear whether or not these decisions were made by the Police or CPS. Recent evidence from a review of CSE in Greater Manchester found that CPS are still making 'no further action' decisions based on the 'credibility of the witness'¹⁵. Drop out at this stage may also be due to a decision taken by a victim, as a result of lengthy delays in CPS reaching a decision, which has been found by HMIC inspections to be an on-going issue¹⁶.

2.12 The final bullet point above is not surprising given that sexual offences take the longest time to be assigned an outcome. The Home Office outcome data revealed that, from the moment a

sexual offence was recorded, 39% of cases (and 54% of rape cases) took more than 100 days to be assigned an outcome¹⁷. Furthermore, the greatest proportion of all offences that were still waiting to be assigned an outcome were sexual offences (49%), which may account for the low percentage of charge/summons outcomes for the year and reflect the complexity of investigations of these types of crimes. The latest figures on outcomes unfortunately do not break down sexual offences by age, so it is unclear whether greater or fewer sexual offences awaiting outcome are related to children or young people.

2.13 In summary, given the recognised problem of attrition in cases of rape and sexual assault, remarkably little attention has been given in the research literature to this issue. Only a handful of studies have been carried out, many of them now dated. New research is urgently required to understand the contemporary situation with regard to attrition, and the forces that drive it.

3. PLANNING AND PREPARATION

Key messages

- 1) Clear definitions of all forms of child sexual abuse and related vulnerabilities should be established and communicated to forces, partner agencies and LSCBs.
- 2) Data collection strategies and types of data recorded/ captured should be reviewed and made consistent across forces.
- 3) All forms of child sexual abuse and related vulnerabilities should be locally and regionally profiled and regularly refreshed. Strategies for responding to the problem should be clearly aligned to those profiles.
- 4) Profiling should also include an on-going exercise to 'map' local support for victims of all forms of child sexual abuse to ensure that victims can be effectively linked to agencies that can help them. Strengthening relationships with local services may also facilitate greater intelligence sharing between local services and the Police Service.

Definitions of child sexual abuse

3.1 Critical to preparation in tackling any problem is clarity in defining that problem. An associated briefing¹⁸ on the prevalence of CSA highlights confusion between definitions of CSE and other forms of CSA in the research literature, noting that this confusion is likely to be mirrored within practice contexts. Other researchers have also raised definitional concerns. A rapid evidence assessment on intra-familial abuse found, for example, a lack of consensus regarding definitions of intra-familial CSA¹⁹. The Child Exploitation and Online Protection (CEOP) agency also recently raised concern over the use of CSA-related terms such as 'grooming', 'trafficking' and 'localised grooming' interchangeably, arguing that this can lead to unacknowledged disparities between data sets from different sources²⁰.

Data collection and problem profiling / scoping child sexual abuse

3.2 It has been observed that adequate responses to child sexual abuse (specifically child sexual exploitation) cannot be delivered in the absence of knowledge about the scale and nature of the problem²¹ and the Office of the Children's Commissioner²² Inquiry into sexual exploitation in gangs and groups advised that problem profiling can help to address gaps in local knowledge about the issue²³. A 'problem profile' identifies established and emerging crime and incident 'hot spots' together with the opportunities for preventative work revealed by the intelligence²⁴. A small number of studies have touched on the issue of problem profiling in cases of CSE, but no research could be found in relation to scoping/problem profiling of other forms of CSA.

3.3 For example, recent research found that some areas across the country are implementing CSE strategies in the absence of a comprehensive problem profile. The Inquiry of CSE into gangs and groups found that only 35% of Local Safeguarding Children's Board (LSCB) areas had a

problem profile constructed²⁵. Similarly, a pan-London study of CSE responses found that not all boroughs had yet developed problem profiles. Those boroughs which *had* developed problem profiles reported gaining significant benefits from them for “intelligent commissioning of support services, targeted early help for vulnerable children, and protection for those who have been abused”²⁶.

3.4 A review of the CSE and missing children service in Stoke-on-Trent similarly found that up-to-date problem profiles aid in maintaining an overview of CSE and how it may be changing – particularly where this is supported by a database of high quality information about CSE victims and perpetrators²⁷. Use of a police analyst has been found to be beneficial in making sense of the wealth of data which may be difficult to interpret²⁸, although these analysts need to be trained in all forms of CSA and related vulnerabilities in order to connect the right dots. While the research/reviews described above refer specifically to the specialist area of CSE, it should not be forgotten that CSE is only one form of wider CSA patterns, and that problem profiles should not be limited to CSE only. Links between intra-familial CSA, neglect and CSE have been found²⁹, thus police problem profiles should account for related vulnerabilities to maximise knowledge of local issues.

3.5 Problem profiles will only be as good as the data which exists to populate it, however.

Researchers have noted specific problems within crime data³⁰ and inconsistent recording of important data across forces³¹, for example, failures to consistently record perpetrator identity which will clearly impede forces’ ability to accurately profile local issues and identify the most serious offenders.

3.6 Identifying, mapping and making links with local support services may also be important in order to ensure victims have access to the breadth and range of services available to them following the reporting of sexual abuse/ assault. A UK-wide audit of therapeutic services found that only 50% of services were receiving referrals from the police, indicating the gap between the police and local services, at least in some parts of the UK³². A review of London sexual assault referral centres (SARCs)³³ also noted that the services were not fully knowledgeable about local provision either; and found there was a perception that the police were so busy that they had little time to devote to ensuring children and young people had emotional support. Researchers in both studies had exceptional difficulties identifying local services themselves, and thus the difficulty for other professionals/ agencies in identifying and linking with services is recognised. However, on-going local service mapping could be one positive strategy of linking children and young people with a range of services in a timely way.

4. THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM: INITIAL CONTACT

Key messages

- 1) Children and young people infrequently report crime. Their decision to report crime is influenced by a range of individual, social and environmental factors. Experiences of sexual abuse/ exploitation add additional barriers to reporting these crimes to professionals.
- 2) Children and young people infrequently turn to the police to disclose sexual abuse/ exploitation in the first instance. More commonly, the police receive disclosures after a child or young person has already told someone else, or if the abuse has been discovered by a third party.
- 3) Children and young people primarily view the police as instrumental in stopping the abuse; children and young people do not typically view the police as professionals who will provide them with other forms of support.
- 4) While for the police, 'disclosure' may be seen as a formal means of giving a statement, it is important to understand that disclosure, for a child/ young person, is a process and they may have faced many challenges in getting to the point where they sought help. This history is likely to influence the account they provide in ABE interviews.
- 5) The research literature suggests that young people's experiences with the police at initial contact may be better if those officers that they have contact with can improve their skills in understanding vulnerability and employ better interpersonal skills.
- 6) Although a considerable amount of non-recent abuse is reported by adults, those reporting it may have a better experience when provided with clear information, given choice in deciding the location to provide a statement, treated sensitively with a recognition of the emotional impact of their abuse and when there is a clear pathway for reporting abuse.

4.1 The academic literature on this stage of the criminal justice process in the UK is sparse. There are a few small scale pieces of work which are relevant to this stage concerning the experiences of children and young people within the process, as well as initial contact with adults reporting historical abuse.

Do children report sexual abuse to the police?

4.2 More than half of all crimes are not reported to the police. The British Crime Survey (now the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW)) found that, in 2010/2011, only 38% of incidents reported in the survey were also reported to the police³⁴. This pattern is found to be similar internationally³⁵.

4.3 Reporting of crime by young people is recognised to be even lower than that of adults. The CSEW found that only 13% of *young people* who reported violent offences and 15% of *young*

people who reported thefts (both considered a crime in law) reported this to the police³⁶. Reporting sexual crime is likely to be even lower, but the CSEW does not ask questions about sexual crime to young people aged 10 to 15.

4.4 A number of factors contribute to low general crime reporting by young people³⁷:

- Young people may not report if they do not understand or define an incident to be a crime
- Perceptions of / previous experiences with the police may negatively influence reporting if those experiences were poor; confidence in the police may be low; young people feel that they are treated differently than adults
- Being from a black and minority ethnic group negatively influences police reporting – this often being due to historical relationships with the police
- Children and young people may feel threatened by negative repercussions to themselves or their family if they report crime
- Parents/ family members may act as gatekeepers and negatively influence reporting
- Some communities may also act as gatekeepers, negatively influencing reporting
- Youth subculture (for example, peers and music) can negatively influence reporting
- Children and young people may feel in some way to blame for the crime
- Incidents may be resolved through other means
- Time or financial reasons may prevent young people from reporting crime.

4.5 The Independent Police Commission surveyed 14,000 police officers up to the rank of chief superintendent in 2012, and found that 54% believed that public opinion – especially that of young people, among other groups - towards the police has deteriorated over the last 10 years³⁸.

4.6 More specifically in relation to child sexual abuse, children and young people face immense barriers to telling (anyone). They may take a long time to tell someone; or they may try to tell directly or indirectly but adults may not immediately – or ever – recognise or accept that they are telling. Sometimes, children and young people never tell anyone at all³⁹. There are a number of important barriers to telling that have been identified by research. These are not exclusive and multiple barriers may be present. They include⁴⁰:

- An inability of a child or young person to recognise CSE or other forms of CSA as abuse. This may be developmentally related whereby younger children may not have a reference point with which to compare their experiences. This may be related to the form of abuse experienced, whereby CSE victims may believe their experiences have occurred by choice. Alternately, the increased sexualisation of children and young people in society may mean that their experiences are normalised
- Emotional barriers, such as shame, guilt and/or embarrassment
- Fears about the impact to their family
- Fear of the abuser who might have threatened them or their family
- Concern that their abuse was not significant/problematic enough to report
- Fear of not being believed – generally, or because of the status or profile of the perpetrator
- Having no one they feel they can trust to turn to

- Lack of recognition by professionals: no one listened in the past, or failed to notice signs and signals the young person thought they were giving off.

4.7 Despite these barriers, when children and young people do make a decision to seek help, it is usually an informal source, such as their mother or a friend, whom they *first* choose to confide in⁴¹. Teachers are the most likely professional group to receive an initial disclosure of abuse⁴², and police rarely receive this first disclosure. However, the police commonly receive 'linked' disclosures, which are reports following initial disclosures made to someone else⁴³. Kelly and colleagues'⁴⁴ analysis of rape statistics found that although 90% of under-16s at the SARCs reported to the police, in over half of these cases, the reporting was made by a 'known other' rather than by the victim themselves. Young people have contrasted the role of the police – seen as one-dimensional/ instrumental – in stopping abuse with that of teachers and youth workers whose role is to provide more holistic support⁴⁵.

Experiences of initial contact with the police – current abuse

4.8 As established above, direct reporting of sexual abuse to the police by children and young people is rare. Instead, initial contact with the police may be more likely to come through one of a number of other routes: 1) a report about abuse or neglect from a family member, neighbour or member of the public; 2) a concern or enquiry raised by another agency; 3) from information or intelligence gathered in another investigation; or 4) through a report of a child who has committed an offence⁴⁶.

4.9 Initial contact by the police with children and young people can set the overall tone of on-going and future contact with the police. In fact, quality of contact has been cited as a key driver behind young people's overall perceptions of the Police⁴⁷. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary's thematic report on child protection cited excellent knowledge, skills and response among call handlers regarding matters of child protection⁴⁸. A number of research studies have found, however, that initial response can be experienced inconsistently by children and young people.

4.10 Three studies⁴⁹ were found which examined the experiences of young people with the police following CSE. All three reveal that initial response is not always positive. Some young people across the studies felt that, in the early stages, individual officers:

- blamed them
- were judgemental
- spoke disrespectfully to them
- and made assumptions about them based on their backgrounds (of, for example, being in care or going missing often).

4.11 This final point suggests that officers may not have recognised or understood their vulnerability, a sentiment also noted by professionals who were interviewed in Beckett and Warrington's study and which are echoed in a study of adolescents⁵⁰, where some police

participants were found to hold a different perception of risk for adolescents than for younger children. While this issue is relevant for child sexual abuse and neglect cases, the particular dynamics of child sexual exploitation may mean that vulnerability is more difficult for officers to recognise unless they have been skilled in responding to CSE.

Experiences of initial contact with police – non-recent abuse

4.12 Police must also respond to historical cases of abuse, reporting of which has increased considerably in recent years in response to media exposure of widespread abuse by Jimmy Savile⁵¹ - referred to as the ‘Yewtree effect’⁵² – as well as subsequent and on-going enquiries into historical abuse, and high profile CSE cases emerging⁵³. Voluntary sector services have reported spikes in calls from people seeking support for historical abuse⁵⁴; for example recent Rape Crisis monitoring data show that calls have increased by 50% over a two year period, 75% of which were people seeking support for non-recent abuse⁵⁵. Even more compelling is the recent work on costs to the police of increasing reports of CSE and other forms of CSA which rose by 32% in the year following the Savile case and rose by a staggering 172% in the years 2012 to 2015.

4.13 While no academic studies of police response to non-recent abuse cases were identified, two consultations⁵⁶ with members of the public who have reported non-recent abuse provide some insight into their experiences with the police, citing both good practice and what might be improved at the point of initial contact when a historical report is being made. Key findings from the consultations include the following points:

- *Pathways for making first contact were variable.* Some of those who reported historical abuse visited a police station, others called a police station and yet others were only provided with an email address to make their report. The email pathway sent an automatic reply which was seen by those reporting as impersonal. Some of those reporting historical abuse found links to support groups out of date, leaving them feeling frustrated
- *Being believed was very important.* Those reporting historic abuse were pleasantly surprised when their reports were taken seriously
- *Taking time with initial conversations was viewed positively.* Those reporting felt that they were being taken seriously, and appreciated the practical support offered in arranging formal interviews
- *Insensitive phrasing by officers at initial disclosure can have a traumatic impact.* Insensitive phrasing during an early interview caused some of those reporting historical abuse to feel self-blame for what happened, conjuring up traumatic feelings from the time of the abuse
- *Style of questioning failed to acknowledge the emotional impact of abuse.* Police questioning was described as ‘matter of fact’. Whilst it was recognised that police had a job to do, it was felt that greater sensitivity to the emotional impact would have made the experience more positive
- *Clear information about what would happen and how the case was progressing was not always forthcoming.* Some of those who had reported historical abuse could not recall the

process being explained to them, nor why they had to sign statements or other related documents. Others were not provided with information on what would happen next. Some were unsatisfied with the lack of follow up to inform them of how the case was progressing

- *Those reporting historical abuse were not always given a choice of location for initial interview.* Those that were given a choice appreciated having control over that aspect of their reporting. Others simply had to report in the location specified by the police, which may have been at their home or the police station. It was noted that having a police car turn up unannounced at home would be unwelcome
- *Location of initial interview mattered.* While many liked having the interview in the comfort of their own home, others did not mind providing a statement at the police station provided that the room was comfortable and non-threatening.

5. THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESS: INVESTIGATION

Key messages

- 1) UK-based research on police investigation and safeguarding/ child protection is limited
- 2) No UK-based evaluations of police response to child protection could be identified; in essence, we do not know ‘what works’
- 3) Small-scale and discrete research studies provide evidence of what sorts of police practice *may* contribute to better – or worse - court outcomes; and they *may* contribute to knowledge about better – or worse - safeguarding outcomes for children and young people. But the evidence remains tentative until longer-term studies can evaluate this, linking police response to child outcomes

5.1 Academic research in the area of police investigation is somewhat more substantial than that concerned with initial contact with the police. Even so, more attention has been given to particular aspects of police investigation and child protection than others; for example, there are numerous studies published in the last 20 years on police interviews, but fewer on the overall experiences of children and young people throughout the process. Until recently, particular aspects of investigation – such as the removal of possessions from victims – have remain unrecognised as an important feature of victim experience in the CJS.

5.2 This section of the briefing will present key findings in relation to the following aspects of investigation:

- 1) Recognition by the police of the overlap between different forms of abuse and harm
- 2) Multi-agency working
- 3) Early assessments and provision of special measures
- 4) Police practice in Achieving Best Evidence (ABE) interviews: learning from research with police professionals and children and young people.
- 5) Other aspects of the investigation, such as the removal of possessions and decision-making and preparation for the court process

The overlap between forms of abuse: are the police recognising the overlaps?

Key messages

- 1) Many children do not experience one form of abuse or violence in isolation from others
- 2) Some children experience multiple and overlapping forms of abuse; and where they experience many different forms of abuse or violence *in different domains of their lives* (in other words, they can be categorised as ‘poly-victims’), there is evidence to suggest that these children experience significant long-term effects
- 3) While police recognition of the links and overlaps between different forms of abuse is improving, research and inspections have found that practice remains variable, leaving some children at risk of further harm.

5.3 There is now a fairly clear understanding that many children and young people experience multiple and overlapping forms of abuse. Internationally, self-report victimisation studies have revealed that some children and young people experience many different forms of abuse and violence across multiple social domains (for example, in the home, at school, in the community etc...) ⁵⁷. This dynamic has become known in the literature as ‘poly-victimisation’, and findings from these studies suggest that children who are considered to be ‘poly-victims’ tend to have more serious victimisations, have more non-victimisation adversities and more trauma symptoms than other child victims. This is not to say that children who have experienced fewer forms of abuse do not experience distress and considerable impact; however, findings on poly-victimization stress the need to assess for other forms of victimization that may be continuing hitherto unseen and unrecognised in a child or young person’s life.

5.4 Domestic violence (DV) research has consistently highlighted the overlap between children witnessing DV in the home and child sexual abuse. A recent analysis of 877 unique cases within CAADA’s Insight Dataset ⁵⁸ revealed that 62% of children receiving a service for DV were also directly harmed; in 91% of these cases, they were harmed by the same perpetrator of the DV they had witnessed. Further, the analysis found that many children living with DV are also exposed to other vulnerabilities resulting from mental health problems and alcohol / drug misuse by both parents. The analysis also revealed that only half of the children who had been exposed to DV were known to social care; and that other agencies were involved with many of the families prior to intake to the service. The children were most commonly known to the police in 30% of cases, highlighting the need for improved police identification of DV and other vulnerabilities.

5.5 Researchers have recognised for some time that the police (and other professionals) do not always identify this overlap. A UK study from 1999 ⁵⁹ found a discrepancy in the number of cases of DV and child maltreatment held by police Domestic Violence Units and Child Protection Units. While the study pre-dates the now established Public Protection Units which bring together these areas of vulnerability, the findings remain relevant given recent HMIC inspections which have noted that practice in protecting children against on-going harm within

contexts of DV remains inconsistent: *The inspection team concluded, overall, that there were a number of occasions when police officers and staff had failed to recognise the signs of obvious, continuing risks of harm or had failed to take action to safeguard children in domestic abuse cases.*

5.6 Police inspections have noted that children are not always spoken to on their own, which may be impeding identification of harm, and recent research supports this finding. In an NSPCC study of disclosure⁶⁰, young people who had experienced sexual abuse and other adversities in childhood reported that police and social services had been involved with their families for reasons other than their abuse, but never spoke to them on their own; as a result, these young people never reported their sexual abuse to those professionals involved.

Multi-agency working

Key messages

- 1) Research evidence about multi-agency working remains fairly limited to what are *perceived* by professionals as good practice and approaches to inter-agency working and what the barriers and challenges are for working together
- 2) Several evaluations of multi-agency safeguarding hubs have documented positive outcomes in terms of the reduction in referral turnaround time, a reduction in the number of cases classified as 'no further action' and increased workloads of professionals providing early intervention. These suggest that the MASH may contribute to improved outcomes for children
- 3) Despite this, there is still a lack of evidence about direct outcomes to children and young people. There is also a lack of understanding about what aspects of multi-agency working are the key components in positive change. Robust research which links models to outcomes for children is urgently required.
- 4) Inspection reports highlight the need for the police service to improve some aspects of information sharing, such as attending case conferences regularly.

5.7 Local authorities in England and Wales have a duty to promote cooperation to improve the well-being of all children in the authority's area⁶¹. Cooperation may be seen through the lens of *multi-agency working*, a concept firmly established as a crucial component of effective child protection and safeguarding⁶². Interestingly, although there is widespread consensus that multi-agency working is critical to improving outcomes for children, no research could be identified that substantiates this in terms of its outcomes for children. Research has sought to refine models of multi-agency working and identify its benefits, but this has not extended to a linkage of models to outcomes⁶³. Research which does so is urgently needed.

- 5.8A Home Office review⁶⁴ of multi-agency models of working found that there are a range of models in operation across England and Wales, although the most common is the Multi-agency safeguarding hub (MASH). One-third of areas surveyed within the Home Office review did not have a multi-agency model in place, however. Where multi-agency models are in place, they tend to be based on three core principles: 1) information sharing, 2) joint decision-making and 3) coordinated intervention.
- 5.9 Perceived positive outcomes identified from respondents across 17 areas in the Home Office review include: more robust decision-making, avoiding duplication of process across agencies, uptake of early help assessments, a reduction in repeat referrals, better information sharing across partners, improved engagement of health partners, improved knowledge management and reducing the risk of 'borderline cases'. A recent evaluation of MASHs in London found a reduction in turnaround time of referrals to safeguarding services at all levels of risk⁶⁵. An evaluation of a MASH in Devon, Cornwall found that the MASH is contributing to an increase in earlier intervention; greater efficiency; and more informed teams. These are positive findings that the Devon MASH is improving multi-agency working and, while this may well be contributing to better outcomes for children, there is still a lack of evidence about *direct* impact for children.

Early assessments and provision of special measures

- 5.10 The Code of Practice for Victims of Crime ('the Victims Code') set out entitlements for child victims of crime. At the early stage after a crime has been reported, victims will be asked to provide a witness statement in an interview. Child victims are entitled, in this process, to have someone with them, ask for help in understanding what is being asked, have the statement recorded and be told about Special Measures to make it easier to give evidence in court. In theory, the police are required to assess a child's needs at a very early stage and use this as a basis for determining whether a statement is provided in writing or by way of video⁶⁶.
- 5.11 A variety of inspection reports and research studies reveal that young victims and/ or their parents/ carers are not consistently consulted regarding special measures at this early stage in the way they should be. A Criminal Justice Joint Inspection⁶⁷, for example, found that in only 49 out of 94 cases inspected (and judged as cases where Special Measures would have been relevant) were young witnesses consulted and in only 24 of these cases were the young witnesses' views recorded. One-third of a sample of 38 registered intermediaries reported in a survey that they receive referrals only after an ABE interview has taken place⁶⁸. The MJW also found a lack of reference to special measures in their interviews with young people, suggesting that requirements to consult fully with children about these are not fully being implemented. Other research with young witnesses supports this finding⁶⁹.

Police practice in Achieving Best Evidence (ABE) interviews: learning from research with police professionals and children and young people

Key messages

- 1) Good practice guidance exists about the conduct of forensic interviews with vulnerable witnesses, but evidence suggests that this guidance is not systematically adhered to across the police forces
- 2) The need for improvements in practice across training for ABE interviews, planning for the interviews, conducting and evaluating the interviews has been identified across a range of research studies
- 3) The environment within which police professionals work can present particular barriers to undertaking effective interviews
- 4) Children and young people will come to investigative interviews with a history of attempted or actual disclosures to other people such as friends or parents. The outcomes of these attempted or actual disclosures is not always positive. Police undertaking forensic interviews with children and young people should be aware of this, and that a child's history of disclosure (pre-police reporting) has been found to influence disclosures within interviews
- 5) College of Policing Applied Professional Practice (APP) guidance should address patterns and dynamics of child disclosure of abuse
- 6) Similarly, Achieving Best Evidence guidance should address patterns and dynamics of child disclosure of abuse with particular reference to the impact this can have on interviews

5.12 The most substantial area of UK research into police practice is related to interviewing child victims. The police are currently guided by best practice as set out in the Ministry of Justice guidance *Achieving Best Evidence in Criminal Proceedings: Guidance on interviewing victims and witnesses, and guidance on using special measures*⁷⁰. The research evidence suggests, however, that adherence by officers to good practice outlined in the guidance is variable.

5.13 Factors which impede and facilitate good ABE interviews have been distilled from the research literature which has focussed on professional practice and experience, as well as children and young people's experiences. These impeding and facilitating factors are presented in Box A, structured to reflect findings across key stages of ABE guidance sections.

5.14 The findings derive from studies which both pre-date ABE guidance (and relate instead to the previous version of ABE - *the Memorandum of Good Practice (MGP)*), and which have been carried out within the current framework of guidance. For example, the findings in the box below have drawn on earlier studies such as a survey of police officers in England and Wales⁷¹ and evaluations of the MGP which found, among other things, training to be too short and insufficient. While these studies may now feel out-dated, more recent research echoes similar issues and therefore the findings remain relevant⁷².

5.15 The research studies also vary in focus. Many, especially the older studies, focus on the process of obtaining reliable and credible accounts from children that will be acceptable to Crown Prosecution Services (CPS) and the courts. More recently, research has taken a safeguarding focus, with experts hypothesizing that better attention to children and young people’s experiences and protecting them from further trauma within the process will result in better evidence and less attrition.

5.16 The messages in the box below are detailed in order to highlight specific practice which impedes and facilitates good interviews and safeguarding children and young people within that process. The text highlighted in blue reflects findings derived from professional/ police focussed studies while the text highlighted in red are findings from studies focussed on children and young people’s experiences.

Box A: Messages from ABE reviews and research with police professionals⁷³ and children and young people⁷⁴

Police practice which has been found to impede good interviews	Police practice which has been found to be associated with good interviews
Training	
<p>ABE training is too short, or lacking follow-up refreshers Interviewers lack feedback about the quality of interviews Not everyone who completes ABE training puts their skills into practice Not having time to do practice interviews Too few police professionals skilled in ABE interviewing carrying them out at one time</p>	<p>Pre-interview practice training enhances the amount of detail obtained Experience in conducting ABE interviews Skills and ability to communicate well with children of different ages Clear understanding of ABE guidance Recently completed training or refresher course</p>
Planning	
<p>Lack of consultation with children Not knowing enough about certain disabilities/ disorders Failure to use intermediaries when relevant Formulaic routines, failing to account for children’s differences Not informing children or young people they can have a supporter in the room Not using video recording Rigid interpretation of the process Developmentally inappropriate interview environment (e.g. interviewing a 15 year old in a room set up for 5 year olds) Technical difficulties with recording equipment – lead to children or young people having to ‘retell’ their story Being given age-inappropriate exercises (e.g. truth or lie exercise)</p>	<p>Planning found to be crucial to a good interview Discussing interview objectives with a second interviewer Consulting with the child witness and social services during the planning phase Use of registered intermediaries in assessing the child’s communication needs and developing alternative strategies Adequate time to complete the interviews Access to communication aids (e.g. dolls, pictures) Child friendly interview rooms; flexibility as to the location of the interview Consideration of the gender of the interviewer Continuity of involvement of the interviewing officer Use of a second interviewer; and good relationship between first and second interviewer Easy availability of video recording equipment Comfortable rooms that feel relaxed and like a ‘sitting room’ Consistent police officer present</p>

The interview	
<p><i>Establishing rapport</i></p> <p>Lack of rapport building phase Not having time to build rapport Feeling judged; overhearing judgemental comments made by officers; or feeling that the tone of the interview is accusatory or intimidating Not having a supporter in the room</p>	<p>Rapport is seen by interviewers as essential to the process Good rapport building with both child and parent Pace of the interview should be child-led; taking breaks during the interview Providing a relaxed environment and making the child feel comfortable (rapport-building)</p>
<p><i>Free narrative account</i></p> <p>Children being prevented from giving a free account of events/ not allowing free narrative Feeling pressured in the interview to get their account 'right'; recounting a story they felt the interviewer wanted rather than the one they were comfortable giving</p>	<p>Free narrative is essential to the process Feeling in control, not under pressure</p>
<p><i>Questioning</i></p> <p>Accusatory questions used/ or intimidating and accusatory tone of interview Use of too many peripheral questions Children being barraged with questions Leading questions Use of specific and closed questions, as opposed to open questions Use of adult complex language</p>	<p>Flexibility and adaptability during the interview process highlighted as key skills</p>
<p><i>Closing the interview</i></p> <p>Closure most often omitted from interview phases</p>	<p>No particular findings to report</p>
Evaluation	
<p>Supervisors not reviewing interviews Lacking monitoring and on-going review of the process</p>	<p>Reviewing the interviews afterwards</p>
Other contextual/ environmental constraints which may impede a good interview	
<p>Time constraints Interview environment not conducive to interviews High staff turnover leading to lack of continuity in expert experience of ABEs Poor interviews being passed between the police, CPS and the courts Specialist skills and time involved in ABE interviews not recognised by managers Systems making continuity difficult Concerns about evidential requirements may push interviewers to closed questions No agreed use of a specific protocol Lack of a process to share good practice among interviewers and stakeholders Those supervising not having the skills to evaluate ABE interviews</p>	

5.15A key element missing from research and guidance relating to ABE interviews is reference to the process of child disclosure of abuse. Although Police professionals tend to understand *disclosure* to be a verbal account of the abuse given during a forensic interview⁷⁵, there is good evidence to suggest that children and young people inevitably come to the forensic interview with a history of attempted or actual disclosure to other people. In many cases, they will not have been believed, heard or supported, although some children may never have attempted to tell anyone at all. Research on forensic interviewing has found, in fact, that history of disclosure to informal sources (friends, parents) influences the account given within the forensic interview. The only reference to disclosure provided in the ABE guidance is related to difficulties that

asylum seeking and refugee children may face, when in fact all children and young people face enormous challenges to telling. Guidance, including the ABE guidance and APP guidance produced by the College of Policing should engage with the issue of disclosure given the significance it has within the evidence-gathering phase.

Other elements of the investigative process

Key messages

- 1) Entitlements under the Victims Code are applied inconsistently. Young people report feeling uninformed about the investigative process and that police use of jargon could make information that they do receive confusing and inaccessible. Police need to ensure they are informing child victims at every stage of the process and recognise the anxiety that a lack of communication imposes.
- 2) Young people report that the removal of their possessions during a police investigation can be isolating and make them feel vulnerable. Police professionals need to be aware of the significance of this for young people, respond sensitively and inform young people about when their possessions will be returned.
- 3) Police inconsistently utilise registered intermediaries (RIs); and at times they are brought in very late in the process. Specialist officers undertaking ABE interviews should always be considering the use of RIs in consultation with the child.

5.16 The evidence-gathering phase of an investigation is complex. Apart from the interview process, few studies have addressed aspects of this process. The MJW study, however, revealed the experiences and perspectives of young people in relation to: 1) the removal of possessions; 2) on-going communication about the process; and 3) the impact of the investigative process.

5.17 The MJW study found that the *removal of possessions* from young people during the course of gathering evidence could be problematic. The young people felt professionals failed to understand the significance of the items; that there was a lack of communication about when their items would be returned to them; and that there was a failure to return the items in a timely manner. Practical issues such as young people having to continue to pay their bills while their phones were with the police were also mentioned by the young people. These experiences subsequently resulted in young people feeling disempowered and punished. In particular, mobile phones play a central role in young people's social networks and friendships, and without them, they feel isolated and in some cases, less safe.

5.18 Children and young people are entitled, under The *Victims Code*⁷⁶, to receive *timely information* about what is happening during the police investigation, including how often the police will be in contact and information about whether a suspect is found, arrested, interviewed or released information about why a case is closed or if a suspect is not found. The MJW

study found little evidence from information provided by the young people and professionals interviewed, that these entitlements were being upheld⁷⁷. Timeliness and regularity of communication was described as problematic, with experiences of abrupt periods of no contact by the police with young people struggling to adjust to the shift in pace. In contrast, young people highly valued proactive engagement and information sharing. Accessibility of information was also an issue for some, where young people found professionals' use of jargon difficult to understand. Lack of information provided by the police to young people was a similar theme which emerged in an NSPCC study of disclosure among young people who experienced childhood abuse⁷⁸.

5.19 Other entitlements under the *Victims Code*, such as *access to an intermediary*, also appear to be applied variably. The MJW study found little evidence that police had offered or used registered intermediaries (RIs) with young people in the study. A survey of intermediaries found that under one-third of referrals accepted occurred after an initial interview had already taken place⁷⁹. Late involvement of intermediaries can mean that intermediaries have less time to develop rapport with a child or young person and they feel under pressure to produce a report. Intermediaries in this survey felt that police could do better at identifying children's communication needs earlier on. Intermediaries had positive experiences with police officers, however, where the officers were dedicated to supporting vulnerable witnesses and where intermediaries encountered officers who were open to learning about what intermediary services could offer.

5.20 The MJW study found that the *investigative process* could impact negatively on young people in a number of ways:

- The young people described difficulties in keeping their police contact private, and the negative impact of peers holding only partial knowledge about their experiences
- Young people were fearful, and at risk in some cases, of suspects and their supporters, leaving them feeling vulnerable following their reporting to the police
- Young people described their schooling being disrupted as a result of being a part of criminal proceedings, leaving them feeling very isolated
- Young people felt guilty when seeing their parents struggling to cope with the criminal proceedings – also often feeling guilty about not having protected their child
- Young people felt low self-worth and self-blame about their experiences, impacting their emotional well-being.

Decision making and preparation for court

5.21 The MWJ study⁸⁰ and a study of young witnesses in criminal proceedings in Northern Ireland⁸¹ highlight the challenges young people encounter at the decision-making stage of the process. Key themes arising from these studies include:

- Lack of communication and knowledge about decisions being taken, resulting in young people and parents feeling isolated and being critical of this aspect of police engagement

- Young people felt the onus was on them to keep in touch with professionals about their case
- Young people were not offered opportunities to meet with professionals to discuss or question difficult decisions taken
- No further action (NFA) decisions were particularly difficult for young people who felt professionals did not grasp the significance and impact of these decisions.

5.22 Experiences of children and young people in preparing for court are also variable, and detailed across a number of studies⁸²:

- Preparing for court often impacted physically on young people, who described losing their appetites, feeling anxious, scared and confused and, in some cases, resorting to self-harm in order to cope. Young people also reported feeling anxiety about intimidation from the suspect or suspect's friends/family
- Young people described being anxious about what to wear to court, sometimes receiving mixed messages from professionals
- Young people provided little evidence that professionals helped them refresh their memory through, for example, the use of the pre-recorded ABE interview prior to court⁸³
- Pre-trial support - such as making a visit to the court prior to the trial or meeting with a supporter before the trial to help prepare a child or young person for court – was not routinely offered to children and young people
- Young people described long delays, and changes to court dates; experiences at odds with current guidance on vulnerable witnesses
- Young people had no access to pre-trial therapy at a time when they were under considerable strain and stress. Professionals in the MJW study reported difficulties in accessing emotional support for young people, and a recent mapping study of therapeutic services found that some services will not provide therapy until a court case is finished. Thus professional confusion exists about this issue despite clear guidance by the CPS on pre-trial therapy⁸⁴
- Access to a supporter who can help young people familiarise themselves with the court process is variable. Where this happens, some young people report feeling better while others report feeling worse

6. CONCLUSION

- 6.1 This briefing has drawn on the academic literature investigating the policing role in safeguarding/ child protection to inform the development of a National Safeguarding Action Plan. The key messages throughout the briefing are directly linked to the actions recommended, thus (most) actions are informed by the best available evidence.
- 6.2 The evidence cited here, however, largely reflects child sexual abuse with the more recent evidence drawn directly from studies on CSE. Other areas of child protection and safeguarding, such as neglect, are largely absent from the research literature related to policing. A separate but associated briefing on neglect can be read alongside this briefing.
- 6.3 A range of key messages and recommendations have been made across police processes, including initial contact, the investigative process, decision making and preparation for court. Many of the findings derived from research highlight that practice guidance is not systematically applied. Applying and adhering to the guidance would be a first step in improving practice in this area with children and young people.
- 6.4 However, it is also notable that evaluative evidence about 'what works' is almost entirely absent. Few studies demonstrate the ways in which 'good' practice is linked with better outcomes for children, for example, reduced attrition and improved prosecution and conviction rates. Therefore this briefing also calls on researchers to urgently fill the significant gaps in knowledge within the criminal justice system, with specific reference to child abuse and neglect.

¹ See Allnock (forthcoming 2015)

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³ HM Government (2013) *Serious and Organised Crime Strategy*. HM Government: London. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/serious-organised-crime-strategy>

⁴ Lovett J and Kelly L (2009) *Different systems, similar outcomes? Tracking attrition in reported rape cases across Europe*. CWASU: London. Available at: https://fellowship.birm.eu.com/en/file/show/jelena_blog4_lizkellyreport.pdf

⁵ Brown J (2011) We mind and we care but have things changed? Assessment of progress in reporting, investigating and prosecution of rape. *Journal of Sexual Aggression* 17(3): 263-272.

⁶ Lea, S., Lanvers, U., & Shaw, S. (2003). Attrition in rape cases: Developing a profile & identifying relevant factors. *British Journal of Criminology*, 43(3), 83–599 (p. 583)

⁷ Gallagher, B (1999). Understanding the attrition of child sexual abuse cases in the criminal justice system: Full Research Report, ESRC End of Award Report, R000236981. Swindon: ESRC. Available at: <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/5986/>; Bunting, L. (2008) Sexual offences against children: An exploration of attrition in the Northern Ireland criminal justice system. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 32, 1109-1118.

⁸ Hohl, K. and Stanko, E. (2015) Complaints of rape and the criminal justice system: fresh evidence on the attrition problem in England and Wales, *European Journal of Criminology*, 12(3): 324-341; Kelly L, Lovett J and Regan L (2005) *A gap or a chasm? Attrition in reported rape cases*. Home Office. Available at:

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110218135832/rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs05/hors293.pdf>; Bunting (2008).

⁹ Kelly et al. (2005)

¹⁰ While researchers conceptualise 'pre-reporting' as a stage in attrition, police and other criminal justice professionals may conceptualise attrition as occurring only once a police report has been made See for example: Christensen, L., Sharman, S. and Powell, M. (2014) Professionals' Views on Child Sexual Abuse Attrition Rates, *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, DOI: 10.1080/13218719.2014.960036.

¹¹ Kelly, L., Lovett, J., & Regan, L. (2005). *A gap or a chasm? Attrition in reported rape cases*. Home Office Research Study 293. Home Office, London; Bunting (2008)

¹² Bunting (2008); Gallagher (1999)

- ¹³ Bunting (2008)
- ¹⁴ Allan, J. (2015) *Crime outcomes in England and Wales 2014/2015*. Home Office: London. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/crime-outcomes-in-england-and-wales-2014-to-2015>
- ¹⁵ Coffey, A. (2014) *Real voices: Child sexual exploitation in Greater Manchester*. Available at: <http://anncoffeymp.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Real-Voices-Final.pdf>
- ¹⁶ HMIC (2015) *In harm's way: the role of the police in keeping children safe*. London: HMIC. Available at: <http://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmic/wp-content/uploads/in-harms-way.pdf>
- ¹⁷ McKee, C. (2014) *Crime outcomes in England and Wales, 2013/2014*. Home Office: London.
- ¹⁸ Allnock (2015)
- ¹⁹ Horvath, M., Davidson, J., Grove-Hills, J., Gekoski, A. and Choak, C. (2014) *"It's a lonely journey": A rapid evidence assessment on intrafamilial child sexual abuse*. London: The OCC. Available at: <http://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/Its%20a%20lonely%20journey%20REA%20on%20Intrafamilial%20child%20sexual%20abuse.pdf>
- ²⁰ CEOP (2013) *Threat assessment of child sexual exploitation and abuse*. London: CEOP. Available at: http://ceop.police.uk/Documents/ceopdocs/CEOP_TACSEA2013_240613%20FINAL.pdf
- ²¹ Beckett, H., Firmin, C., Hynes, P. and Pearce, J. (2014) *Tackling child sexual exploitation: A study of current practice in London*. University of Bedfordshire, Luton and London Councils and London Safeguarding Children Board. Available at: [file:///C:/Users/g_man_000/Downloads/cse_scoping_full_final_report%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/g_man_000/Downloads/cse_scoping_full_final_report%20(1).pdf)
- ²² The previous 'Office of the Children's Commissioner' (OCC) is now known as simply the 'Children's Commissioner'
- ²³ Berelowitz, S., Clifton, J., Firmin, C., Gulyurtlu, S. and Edwards, G. (2013) *"If only someone had listened". The Office of the Children's Commissioner's Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Gangs and Groups. Final Report*. London: the OCC. Available at: https://secure.toolkitfiles.co.uk/clients/22965/sitedata/files/OCC_inquiry_final.pdf
- ²⁴ The National Intelligence Model, National Criminal Intelligence Service, Page 18
www.intelligenceanalysis.net/National%20Intelligence%20Model.pdf
- ²⁵ Berelowitz et al. (2013)
- ²⁶ Beckett et al. (2014), p. 5.
- ²⁷ Christie, C. (2013) *The Child Sexual Exploitation Service and Missing children service for young people in Stoke-on-Trent: A Review*. University of Bedfordshire: Luton. Available at: http://www.beds.ac.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0011/449948/CSE-Missing-Service-Review-Stoke-on-Trent.pdf
- ²⁸ Jago, S., Arocha, L., Brodie, I., Melrose, M., Pearce, J. and Warrington, C. (2011) *What's going on to safeguard children and young people from sexual exploitation?* University of Bedfordshire: Luton. Available at: http://www.beds.ac.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0004/121873/wqoreport2011-121011.pdf
- ²⁹ For example, links between family abuse (including intra-familial CSA and neglect were found in Berelowitz et al. (2012) *"I thought I was the only one. The only one in the world". The Office of the Children's Commissioner Inquiry into child sexual exploitation in gangs and groups*. Interim report. London: the OCC. Available at: <http://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/!%20thought%20I%20was%20the%20only%20one%20in%20the%20world.pdf>
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- ³¹ The Children's Commissioner (forthcoming 2015) *Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse in the Family Environment – interim report*, *Children's Commissioner*.
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- ³³ Goddard, A., Harewood, E., and Brennan, L. (2015) *Review of pathway following sexual assault for children and young people in London*. London: The Havens, Kings College Hospital. Available at: <http://www.england.nhs.uk/london/wp-content/uploads/sites/8/2015/03/review-pathway-cyp-london-summary.pdf>.
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- ⁴² May-Chahal, C. and Cawson, P. (2005) Measuring child maltreatment in the United Kingdom: A study of the prevalence of child abuse and neglect. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 29(9), 969-984; Allnock & Miller (2013)
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- ⁴⁶ HMIC (2015)
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