

## ***Briefing on attrition rates in reported cases of sexual offences against children under 18***

### **Key issues at a glance**

#### **Findings:**

- 54,000 sexual offences against children under the age of 18 were recorded by 43 police forces in England and Wales between 1 October 2015 and 31 September 2016.
- Only around 16% of offences reported where the investigation was completed resulted in charges, summons, community resolution or cautions against the perpetrator.
- For offences that did not result in action against the perpetrator the most common reason was evidential difficulties as a result of victim not supporting the police – this happened in around 27% of cases.
- The percentage of cases that are closed due to evidential difficulties as a result of the victim not supporting the investigation increases with the victim's age. Thus, this outcome is recorded in 1 in 5 cases where the victim is a child under the age of 13 and just over 1 in 4 where the victim is aged 13,14 and 15 and just under 1 in 3 where the victim is 16 and 17. This shows why it is important for the police to have skills to work with children, particularly adolescents.
- The second most common reason for cases closing without actions against the perpetrator was evidential difficulties even where the victim supported the police investigation. This shows the need to improve evidence building beyond reliance on the victim's account.

#### **Key actions recommended:**

- Greater focus on prevention and early intervention through education for children
- Greater use of disruption tools by police such as child abduction warning notices (CAWNs) and Sexual Risk Orders (SROs).
- Monitoring of the local number of offences against children by age groups and outcomes of investigations to understand where improvements are needed.
- The Police need to work with local safeguarding partners to ensure that information about vulnerable children and adults who are grooming them for abuse is shared and gathered in a way that would enable more prosecutions
- PCCs and the police need to review how the Code for Victims is implemented locally and how child victims of crime are kept informed about ongoing investigations and their outcomes as well as provided with therapeutic support to recover.

## **1. Sexual offences against children reported to the police: from the initial report to the investigation outcome**

In recent years there has been an increased focus, both nationally and locally, on tackling sexual offences against children. Some of the focus has been prompted by shocking cases of child sexual exploitation across the country. In other cases, concerted messages in national and local policies, inspections and improved training for professionals has led to a greater recognition that children can be targeted for sexual abuse and exploitation in any part of the country resulting in greater efforts to identify those children who may be at risk of sexual abuse.

Despite the increased efforts across all agencies to tackle child sexual abuse and exploitation the true scale of sexual offending against children and services they receive in response is still not fully known. Firstly, because many victims of sexual offences do not report these crimes to the police<sup>i</sup> and secondly because the data published does not always differentiate between the offences and outcomes as experienced by children and adults.<sup>ii</sup>

In comparing crimes reported against the police and the outcomes of these investigations, the police and the local PCC should be able to better understand both the scale of reported sexual offences against children and the outcomes of these crimes to identify where improvements are needed. Although some of that data is available openly, the sources of data and different approaches and reporting timescales across different agencies mean that it is very difficult to build a comprehensive picture of how offences reported to the police progress through the criminal justice system.

The importance of focussing on the crimes and outcomes of police investigations where a victim is a child can not be underestimated. ONS research showed that children are more likely than the general population to be victims of sexual offences, with young people aged between 15 and 19 accounting for nearly a quarter (23%) of all rape offences, even though this age groups only represents 6% of the total population. This was followed by victims aged 10 to 14 (16 per cent of rapes though only five per cent of the population are aged 10 to 14<sup>iii</sup>).

The scale and level of sexual offending against children and young people makes it paramount that children and young people feel confident in disclosing crimes and seeking help and that perpetrators of these horrific crimes are left in no doubt that the criminal justice system is on the side of the victim.

This briefing aims to provide a closer look at the scale of different sexual offences against children reported to the police and at the outcomes of police investigations in relation to these offences by age groups and children's gender. The briefing is based on responses from 41 police forces in England and Wales to our Freedom of Information requests sent in December 2016 and covers the period from 1 October 2015 to 31 September 2016.

## **2. Sexual offences against children reported to the police**

Our Freedom of Information (FOI) requests to police focused on sexual offences and outcomes of investigations in relation to three age groups - those under the age of 13, children aged 13 to 15, and children aged 16 and 17. The age groupings reflect how the Sexual Offences Act 2003 approaches the issue of sexual offending against children and how some data is currently collected by police forces.

The Sexual Offences Act 2003 stipulates that the age of consent for sexual activity is 16. Although children under the age of 16 cannot give consent to sexual activity, in cases of sexual offences against children aged 13, 14 and 15 the defendant can employ the defence that

he/she 'reasonably believed that the young person was aged 16 or over'. In addition, for some offences children aged 16 and 17 are seen differently to children under the age of 16 for sentencing purposes.

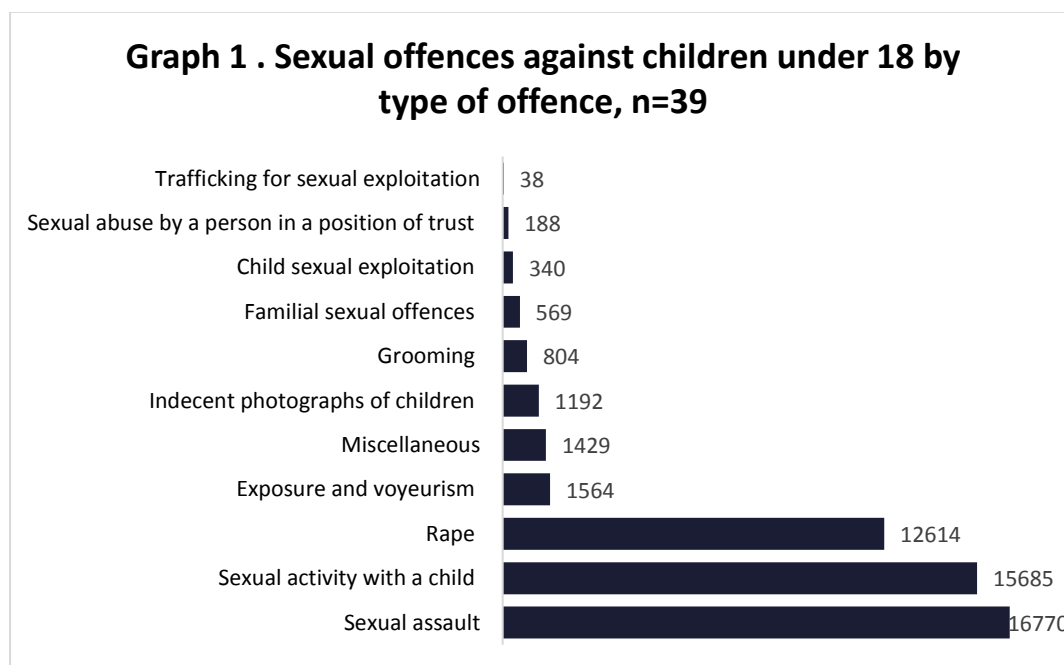
16 and 17 year olds are recognised as children under sexual exploitation legislation including, sexual abuse by a person in a position of trust, and familial sexual offences but not for the purposes of other sexual offences, such as sexual assault, rape or grooming. Some sexual offences against this age imply shorter sentences than if the offence was committed against children under the age of 16 as is the case of child sexual exploitation.<sup>1</sup>

- **The scale of reported sexual offences against children**

We estimate that between 1 October 2015 to 31 September 2016 around **54,000** sexual offences against children under the age of 18 were recorded by 43 police forces in England and Wales. The offences include: child sexual exploitation, familial sexual abuse, sexual abuse by a person in a position of trust, grooming, rape, sexual activity, sexual assault, exposure and voyeurism, trafficking, and indecent photographs of children.

This number does not reflect the full number of sexual offences reported to the police as not all offences recorded include the age of the victim. For example, offences related to abusive imagery online where the victim's age was not recorded and the victim was not known to the police would not be included in this count. The true scale of sexual offending against children is greater as well due to many children not disclosing offences against them out of fear of not being believed, or being blamed, or because of feelings of shame and self-blame.

The sexual offences we asked about in our FOI requests and the distribution of numbers across these sexual offences is presented in **Graph 1**.



- **Offences against children of different ages**

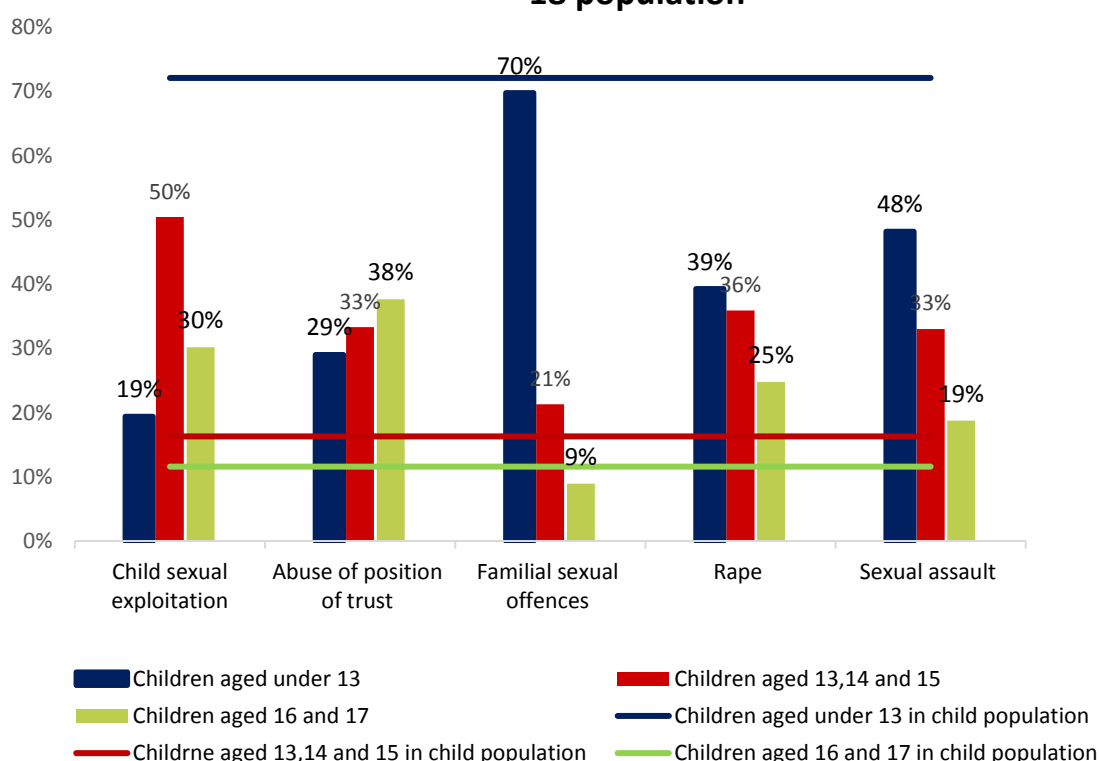
Out of the total number of offences we asked about, in around 23,000 cases the victims age was recorded as being under 13, in around 24,000 cases the victim's age was recorded as

<sup>1</sup> Sexual Offences Act 2013 Section 47 -49

being 13,14 or 15 and in just over 8,000 cases the victim's age was recorded as being 16 or 17.

Comparing the number of offences by age groups to the share of these age groups in the child population shows that the scale of reports made to the police differs by age groups and by offences and highlights where these are disproportionately high compared to their respective population size (see Graph 2). We found that reported sexual offences against adolescents aged 13-17 in 3 categories of offences that apply across all three age groups is disproportionately higher than the share of these age groups in child population in England and Wales. The only exception appears to be familial sexual offences where the age group distribution in crimes reported is almost proportionate to child population age distribution.

**Graph 2. Percentage of offences against children in three age groups in comparison to age groups representation in under 18 population**



It is important to note though that the crimes reported to police where victims are children do not necessarily reflect the true scale of offending against children of different ages, as many children would not feel confident to come forward to report a sexual offence or may not be even able to recognise and articulate their experiences as being a sexual offence. Yet, understanding the age distribution of crimes reported can serve as a helpful insight for police and for safeguarding professionals to help direct preventative actions at children of different ages and make provisions for support services for children of different ages.

### 3. Attrition rates

However shocking the scale of reported sexual offending against children is, it is even more shocking how few of the crimes reported result in the perpetrators being charged with a sexual offence, and that even fewer result in a successful conviction.

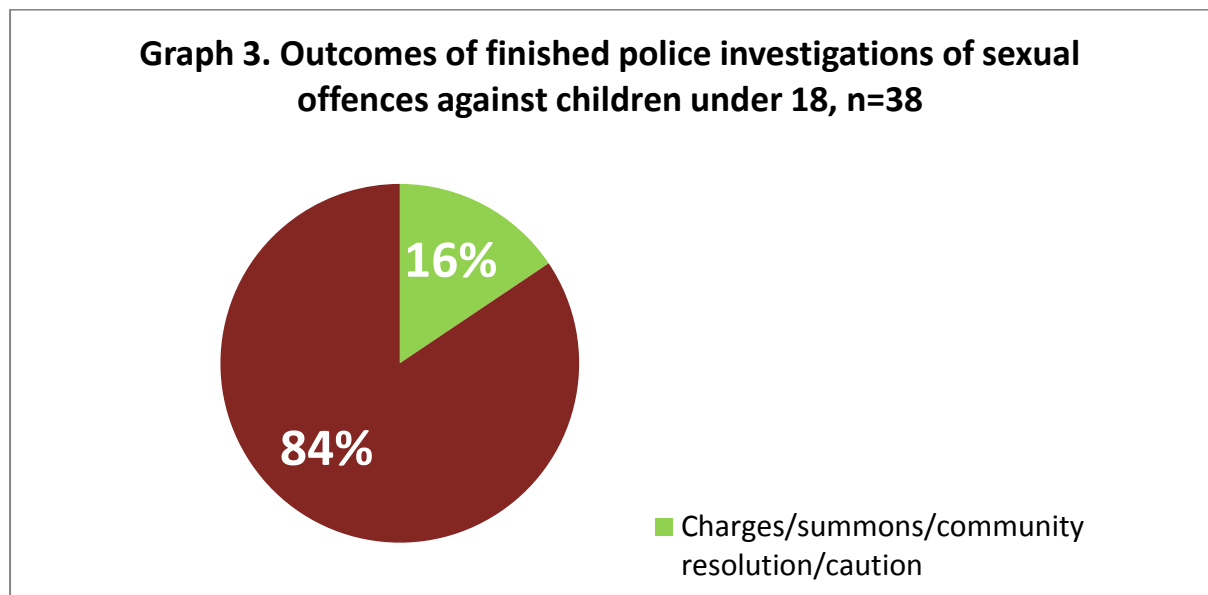
High attrition rates – the number of cases that ‘drop out’ as they progress through the criminal justice system – have been persistently highlighted in research<sup>ivv</sup> as a cause for concern in responses to victims of sexual offences.

The Home Office data on outcomes by crimes shows, for example, that in a year to September 2016 only 8.3% of sexual offences resulted in charges and summons compared to around 50% of possession of weapons offences and 33% of drug offences. The same data shows that sexual offences take longer to investigate, with 36% of sexual offences at the end of that period not yet having an outcome assigned compared to only 10% of drug related offences<sup>vi</sup>.

Little research is available on attrition rates in sexual offences against children or the reasons behind them. Improvements are therefore necessary to ensure that more reported cases progress to court and result in conviction. From our direct work, we know that many sexual offences against children reported to the police do not result in charges against the alleged offender and/or conviction even if the case goes to court. This often acts as a deterrent for young people to come forward and report crime.

Analysis of responses received to our FOI showed a very similar picture to the outcomes for sexual offences across all ages in the year to September 2016. 9% of sexual offences against children had charges/ summons recorded as outcomes and in around 30% the investigations were still ongoing at the end of September.

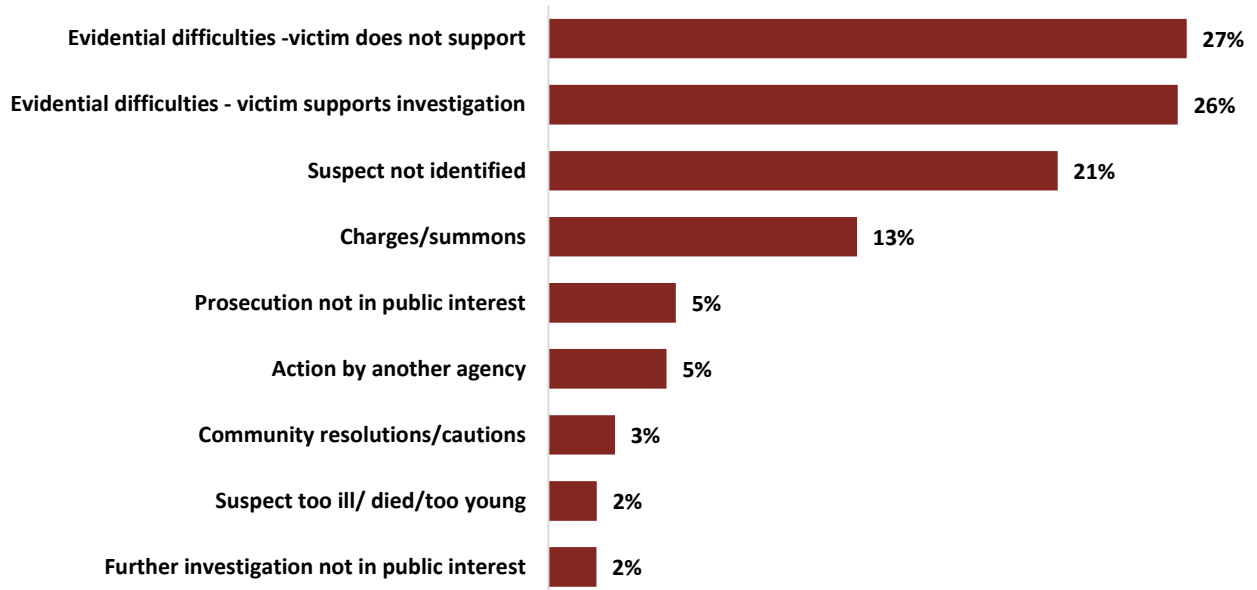
Analysis of cases that have been assigned an outcome show that the majority of sexual offences against children reported to police result in no action against the perpetrator. And just around 16% result in charges, summons, community resolutions, or cautions. More detailed analysis by police forces also shows that the rates vary greatly between police forces, ranging from as low as 4% in some areas to over 35% in another.



#### **4. Reasons behind a low number of cases resulting in actions against the perpetrator**

Analysis of cases that do not result in charges, summons, cautions or community resolutions further shows the breakdown of reasons why the cases did not result in actions against the perpetrator as presented in Graph 4 below.

**Graph 4. Outcomes of investigations of closed cases of reported sexual offences against children, n=38**



- **Evidential difficulties – victim does not support**

One of the significant findings is the high number of cases that do not result in actions against the perpetrator as a result of evidential difficulties linked to the victims not supporting police investigations. A quarter of cases have this outcomes assigned.

More detailed analysis by age groups shows that the percentage of cases that are closed due to evidential difficulties as a result of the victim not supporting the investigation increase with the victim’s age. Thus, this outcome is recorded in 1 in 5 cases where the victim is a child under the age of 13 and just over 1 in 4 where the victim is aged 13,14 or 15 and just under 1in 3 where the victim is 16 and 17.

Very limited research is available on children’s experiences of criminal justice system but where it exists it consistently highlights some poor experiences that children have of involvement with the police which often result in children disengaging from the criminal justice process.<sup>vii, viii</sup> This may explain the findings above and corresponds to what we see in our direct work with young people.

### Case study from our practice

Margaret, aged 16, through her early childhood and adolescent years has had many interventions from children's services. She was in and out of the care system, known to children's services because of the risk of sexual exploitation and frequent missing episodes.

Margaret disclosed to family that she was raped and was a witness to another young person being sexually assaulted. She also disclosed that she was scared of reporting the offence to the police as she was threatened with violence. With support from her family the report of rape was made to the police.

Margaret was reluctant to make the full disclosure to the police. She was not provided with any consistent support to enable the full disclosure to happen. Police officers who worked with her changed and the young person reported to The Children's Society's support worker that she could not trust the police to keep her safe.

Her distrust of the police further deepened when her phone was taken away for analysis and was not returned for 10 months. Long delays, change of police staff who worked on the case meant that gradually the young person stopped supporting the police investigation. The case was closed and did not progress to prosecution. Margaret learnt in a phone call from police that the case was on the cusp of forensic evidence limit, yet no further attempts were made to help Margaret make a full disclosure or seek other evidence to support investigation.

The young person remains at risk of sexual abuse.

Adolescents, who have previous negative experience of statutory services, including the police, often do not believe that they will be taken seriously or that they and their families will be kept safe during police investigations.

Young people's experience of the police is not always related to their experiences of reporting an offence against them. Many young people come into contact with the police in a variety of situations – from day-to-day contact on high streets and public transport to being found after a missing episode. Research highlights that children's overall impression of the criminal justice system could be largely influenced by their experience with the individual police officer that they saw.<sup>ix</sup> If those day to day contacts and experiences are not positive, it may be more difficult for young person to trust police if they become a victim of a sexual offence.

Young people who have been involved in The Children's Society's projects recommend that the whole police workforce should have training on how to work with children and young people, including those who have experienced trauma. The main call of the youth-led ['Big Up The Bill'](#) Campaign, developed by young people involved in The Children's Society's projects, is for recognition of instances where police staff work well with young people to encourage the promotion and spread of good practice.

The issue of children's experiences with the police is particularly of importance for adolescents who have been victims of sexual offences. From our direct work, we know that some of them become vulnerable to sexual abuse as a result of earlier adverse child experiences of neglect or abuse and may find it more difficult to recognise the situations of grooming or seek help from services. The research also highlights the risk of repeat victimisation in adulthood. This makes the response to adolescents who experience sexual abuse of paramount importance.

## Tips for police officers from young people involved in *Big Up the Bill* campaign

No matter what your job is, think of the safety of children first.

See and treat a child or a young person as if they are in trouble, not as if they are a trouble.

Don't judge the young person, but try your best to understand what's going on. Judge and assess risks, suspicious people or circumstances – not a young person.

Communicate well. Speak to young people as normal human beings, make small conversations before asking big questions, and use simple language to explain things.

Know how to stay calm even if a young person isn't – and learn how to calm a challenging behaviour without having to restrain a young person.

Know the laws and signs of a child being groomed or exploited.

Understand the impact that the trauma of being abused or exploited can have on child's mental health and behaviour.

Understand confidentiality and the importance of keeping a young person updated about the progress of their case.

Work well with other professionals to help get the best outcomes for a young person.

Treat young people how they wish to be treated.

Another important issue is long delays between the crime being reported and the decision reached<sup>x</sup>, along with further extended delays before the case reaches court. Considering that our FOI requests were sent at the end of December 2016 – almost three months after the period the data was requested for, around a third of cases still did not have an outcome assigned demonstrating that investigating sexual offences can be a lengthy process lasting many months.

To keep a young person who is a victim of crime engaged and supported during this long period of investigation is key. From our own direct work with young people we know that in practice young people experience poor communication about what is going on and a lack of support to deal with the ongoing emotional turmoil they may be experiencing due to uncertainty and worries about the outcome of investigations.

- **Evidential difficulties – victim supports police**

The second most common outcome was evidential difficulties in cases where victims have supported the police investigation. Around 26% of cases where victims were children under 18 have this outcome recorded with very small variations across the three groups we looked at.

Building evidence for prosecution is a very important issue. The CPS crime report for 2015-16 indicates that 60% of successful prosecution in rape cases were due to the defendant pleading guilty which may suggest that the evidence presented would have been difficult to contest in court. Understanding what good evidence can be built by professionals and other adults involved in a child's life is crucial to ensure that the onus is not on a child to provide all the evidence needed.

From our direct work we know that often the successful outcome of an investigation depends on the young person's ability to provide evidence. Considering that many children and young



people can take a long time to find the courage to disclose abuse and due to trauma experienced, they may find it difficult to recall details that would be sufficient for a successful outcome.

In many cases young people who experience sexual offences are known to a range of agencies and statutory services who may hold vital pieces of evidence that could help with prosecution. For example, they may be aware that a child is going missing and spending time with a person and there is a risk of sexual abuse. Currently, there is little guidance for professionals in safeguarding roles about what information would be helpful as possible evidence in cases where a child discloses abuse.

### Case study from practice

Kelly, aged 15, was frequently going missing and found in the home of Jeff, aged 28, who she believed she was in a relationship with. Jeff was known to police for drug-related offences and was suspected to be involved in facilitating child sexual exploitation. It was feared that Jeff was grooming Kelly for sexual exploitation. Following Kelly's missing episode, police issued Jeff with a Child Abduction Warning notice, which not only stated that Jeff was not allowed to harbour Kelly during missing episodes but also informed him of her age. That was used as evidence in court and prevented Jeff claiming in his defence that he thought Kelly was over the age of 16.

## 5. Need for change

Due to their developmental needs, lack of experience and high dependency on adults, children need to be treated differently to adults. The special vulnerability of children who have been victims of crime is recognised in The Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999 and the Code of Practice for victims<sup>xi</sup> which advocate for special measures to be put in place to enable children to share evidence. The code, in particular, requires that *'at all times service providers must have the child's best interests as a primary consideration and that a child who is a victim is presumed to require specific protection measures for interviews, and is eligible for Special Measures when giving evidence'*.

Despite this recognition in the law and statutory guidance of the special vulnerability of children, their experiences of the justice system often remain unsatisfactory<sup>xii</sup>.

The data examined in this briefing sends an alarming message that in too many cases of sexual offences against children, the children do not see the perpetrator of crime brought to justice, leaving them at risk of repeat victimisation and leaving other children at risk of being abused.

In recent years there has been a welcome national drive to improve responses to children who are victims of Child Sexual Exploitation,<sup>xiii</sup> and violence<sup>xiv</sup>. Some changes have been piloted in how vulnerable witnesses give evidence in courts. National campaigns have taken place to raise awareness about issues of consent. Yet despite these national changes individual children's experiences and outcomes often remain unsatisfactory. It is clear that more needs to be done to make the criminal justice system work for children at both the national and local level.

## Our recommendations

### Prevention and early intervention

- The commitment by the government to introduce statutory Sex and Relationship Education (SRE) is welcome<sup>xv</sup>. SRE should make sure that children are taught to recognise when they are being groomed for sexual abuse and understand when abuse happens. The education should focus on consent and for 16 and 17 year olds in particular, who are outside the SRE provision in secondary schools and additional awareness raising campaign should be planned to understand the issue of consent and what constitutes a criminal offence.
- The CPS and the College of Policing should consider what guidance is needed for professionals in safeguarding roles on recording and sharing information with the police that can help both protect a child from escalating sexual abuse and serve as evidence in prosecution cases.
- The Police and PCCs should review how disruption tools, such as CAWNs and SROs, are used locally both to disrupt cases of sexual abuse of children and to provide supportive evidence for prosecution where appropriate.
- Local police forces should audit cases where CAWNs have been applied and review the approach taken to escalation into more severe orders.
- All police staff should have training on how to work with children and delivered with the support from local young people

### Victim's rights

- Victim's rights, currently included in the Victims Code should be enshrined in law to ensure consistent approach and support for victims across the country.
- Police forces and PCCs should put in place systems for monitoring how the victim's rights to be informed about the progress of investigations, outcomes of investigations, access to therapeutic support are implemented locally and to adjust practices as needed.

### Reducing attrition rates

- PCCs and the police should monitor offence rates against children of different ages in their areas and attrition rates in cases of sexual offences against children to better identify areas for preventative activity, areas for improvement and commissioning of support services for children.
- The Association of PCCs should work with those areas that have a higher rate of prosecutions to identify and share good practice across other forces.

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## Appendix 1. Outcome Types

[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/560132/pprc-user-guide-oct16.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/560132/pprc-user-guide-oct16.pdf)

**Outcome 1:** Charge / Summons: A person has been charged or summonsed for the crime (irrespective of any subsequent acquittal at Court).

**Outcome 2:** Caution – youths: A youth offender has been cautioned by the police.

**Outcome 3:** Caution – adults: An adult offender has been cautioned by the police.

**Outcome 4:** Taken into Consideration (TIC): The offender admits the crime by way of a formal police interview and asks for it to be taken into consideration by the court. There must be an interview where the suspect has made a clear and reliable admission of the offence and which is corroborated with additional verifiable auditable information connecting the suspect to the crime.

**Outcome 5:** Offender died: The offender has died before proceeding could be initiated.

**Outcome 6:** Penalty Notices for Disorder: A Penalty Notice for Disorder (or other relevant notifiable offence) has been lawfully issued under Section 1 – 11 of the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001.

**Outcome 7:** Cannabis/Khat Warning: A warning for cannabis or khat possession has been issued in accordance with College of Policing guidance. Note: Khat warnings were introduced from 24 June 2014 and numbers are likely to be small.

**Outcome 8:** Community Resolution: A Community Resolution (with or without formal Restorative Justice) has been applied in accordance with College of Policing guidance.

**Outcome 9:** Not in public interest (CPS): Prosecution not in the public interest (CPS decision). The Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) by virtue of their powers under the Criminal Justice Act 2003 decides not to prosecute or authorise any other formal action.

**Outcome 10:** Not in public interest (Police) (**from April 2014**): Formal action against the offender is not in the public interest (Police decision).

**Outcome 11:** Prosecution prevented – suspect under age (**from April 2014**): Prosecution prevented – named suspect identified but is below the age of criminal responsibility.

**Outcome 12:** Prosecution prevented – suspect too ill (**from April 2014**): Prosecution prevented – Named suspect identified but is too ill (physical or mental health) to prosecute.

**Outcome 13:** Prosecution prevented – victim/key witness dead/too ill (**from April 2014**): Named suspect identified but victim or key witness is dead or too ill to give evidence

**Outcome 14:** Evidential difficulties: suspect not identified; victim does not support further action (**from April 2014**): Evidential difficulties victim based – named suspect not identified. The crime is confirmed but the victim declines or is unable to support further police action to identify the offender.

**Outcome 15:** Evidential difficulties (suspect identified; victim supports action) (**from April 2014**): Evidential difficulties named suspect identified – the crime is confirmed and the victim supports police action but evidential difficulties prevent further action. This includes cases

where the suspect has been identified, the victim supports action, the suspect has been circulated as wanted but cannot be traced and the crime is finalised pending further action.

**Outcome 16:** Evidential difficulties: suspect identified; victim does not support further action **(from April 2014):** Evidential difficulties victim based – named suspect identified. The victim does not support (or has withdrawn support from) police action.

**Outcome 17:** Prosecution time limit expired **(from April 2014):** Suspect identified but prosecution time limit has expired (from April 2014).

**Outcome 18:** Investigation complete – no suspect identified **(from April 2014):** The crime has been investigated as far as reasonably possible – case closed pending further investigative opportunities becoming available.

**Outcome 19:** National Fraud Intelligence Bureau filed (NFIB only) **(from April 2014):** A crime of fraud has been recorded but has not been allocated for investigation because the assessment process at the NFIB has determined there are insufficient lines of enquiry to warrant such dissemination.

**Outcome 20:** Action undertaken by another body/agency **(from April 2015):** Further action resulting from the crime report will be undertaken by another body or agency other than the police, subject to the victim (or person acting on their behalf) being made aware of the action being taken. **Note:** during 2014/15, these were included within outcome 18.

**Outcome 21:** Not in the public interest – suspect identified **(from January 2016):** Further investigation resulting from the crime report that could provide evidence sufficient to support formal action being taken against the suspect is not in the public interest – police decision. **Note:** previously these offences could have received any outcome type.

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<sup>i</sup> Disclosure or exposure? Why young people may not seek or want your help (at first), A Briefing for the Police March 2017 Dr. Sophie Hallett<sup>1</sup> available from <https://www.uobcsepolicinghub.org.uk/responding-to-cse/briefing-papers>

<sup>ii</sup> MOJ report

<sup>iii</sup> Experimental Statistics 1: New data on police recorded violent and sexual offences, year ending March 2015. Available at:

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/compendium/focusonviolentcrimeandsexualoffences/yearendingmarch2015/experimentalstatistics1newdataonpolice-recorded-violent-and-sexual-offences-year-ending-march-2015#violent-offences-by-age-and-sex-of-the-victim>

<sup>iv</sup> A gap or a chasm? Attrition in reported rape cases Liz Kelly, Jo Lovett and Linda Regan Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit, London Metropolitan University. Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate February 2005

<sup>v</sup> Angiolini E (DBE, QC) Report of the Independent Review into the Investigation and Prosecution of Rape in London. 2015. Crown Prosecution Service. [http://www.cps.gov.uk/publications/equality/vaw/dame\\_elish\\_angiolini\\_rape\\_review\\_2015.pdf](http://www.cps.gov.uk/publications/equality/vaw/dame_elish_angiolini_rape_review_2015.pdf)

<sup>vi</sup> MoJ report on crime outcomes

<sup>vii</sup> Becket et al (2015) Children and young people's perspectives on the police's role in safeguarding: a report for Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabularies

<sup>viii</sup> Warrington, C. (2014) Making Justice Work. Experiences of criminal justice for children and young people affected by sexual exploitation as victims and witnesses

<sup>ix</sup> Becket et al (2015) Children and young people's perspectives on the police's role in safeguarding: a report for Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabularies

<sup>x</sup> HMIC (2015) In harm's way: The role of the police in keeping children safe

<sup>xi</sup> Code for Victims issued in 2014 to implement relevant provisions of the EU Directive 2012/29/EU establishing minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime; Directive 2011/92/EU combating the sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of children; and Directive 2011/36/EU preventing and combating the trafficking of human beings.

<sup>xii</sup> <http://victimscommissioner.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Are-we-getting-it-right-for-young-victims-of-crime.pdf>

<sup>xiii</sup> Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation document. 2016

<sup>xiv</sup> Ending violence against women and girls strategy: 2016-2020

<sup>xv</sup> Children and Families Act 2017