



JOIN FORCES AGAINST STALKING: FROM DISCLOSURE TO CONVICTION



#NSAW2024
#JoinForcesAgainstStalking

suzy lamplugh
trust

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

All agencies that come into contact with victims of stalking, including those within the criminal justice and healthcare system, have a responsibility to ensure that the victims of stalking who come to them for help are identified and supported, and that their perpetrators are brought to justice.

However, despite the devastating impact and shocking prevalence of this crime, conviction rates remain woefully low at 1.7%.¹ We are concerned that vast gaps within the data available about victims' experiences suggest a systemic lack of transparency or accountability across criminal justice agencies, with victims being left in the dark and perpetrators free to continue stalking.

Stalking is a crime of psychological terror which disproportionately affects women and girls, with 1 in 5 women and girls and 1 in 10 men experiencing stalking in their lifetimes. Characterised by fixation and obsession, stalking can shatter victims' lives, with 91% of victims experiencing psychological impacts as a result of stalking¹ and 73% experiencing symptoms consistent with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).^{2,3}

There is a critical need for a cohesive, joined-up approach between agencies to support victims. Numerous reports have shown that the best outcomes are achieved when agencies work together, share information and provide evidence, and keep the victim informed at every step of the process. Yet over a year on from the submission of a super complaint in 2022 on the police response to stalking and its recent report into victims' experiences of failures within the courts to address stalking, **the National Stalking Consortium still finds a lack of transparency across all agencies including the police, Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) and courts when trying to understand why attrition occurs in stalking cases.** These long-term failings were highlighted 7 years ago in HMICFRS' report *Living in Fear*, yet we are still seeing a lack of meaningful change for victims of stalking.

In January 2024 the National Stalking Consortium sent freedom of information (FOI) requests to all 43 police forces and to the CPS to better understand the challenges to achieving a conviction. **Data gathered from the results of these FOI requests suggests that there are still systemic issues across agencies when dealing with stalking cases,** including vast gaps in national data, with 16 police forces (37%) not responding at all. There was an inability to show the extent to which stalking is changed to another charge or the decision has been taken to take no further action (NFA) on a case, as well as a complete lack of data showing how many Stalking Protection Orders (SPOs) were not authorised by the police and for what reason, or how many SPOs are refused at court.

This lack of information means it is impossible to track the journey of individual victims or wider patterns of attrition⁴ throughout victims' criminal justice journey. **This shines a spotlight on the extent to which stalking victims are invisible on their journey to justice and the restrictions on our ability to identify significant flaws in the criminal justice system that need addressing nationally.**

The journey of the victim through the criminal justice system can be overwhelming and confusing, from the initial disclosure, reporting to the police, being referred to a specialist stalking service (or negotiating the process without one), and awaiting the charge, trial, and conviction of the perpetrator. **By fostering a shared understanding of the unique challenges posed by stalking cases, agencies can work more cohesively to build strong cases that hold perpetrators accountable and join forces to better support victims.**

Emma Lingley-Clark, Interim CEO of the Suzy Lamplugh Trust

DISCLOSURE

We know that telling someone what's happening can be extremely difficult for victims of stalking, many of whom are worried that they won't be believed, or that what they're experiencing will be trivialised, which sadly we know happens in some cases. While it is common for a victim of stalking to confide in a trusted friend or family member, it is also vital that agencies who may be the first point of contact for such disclosures, including healthcare professionals, are able to offer support and refer victims to a specialist stalking service. One victim told us that it was their GP who helped them report their situation to the police, citing a duty of care to the victim, demonstrating the integral role health can play in the criminal justice response.

General Practitioners (GPs), counselling and mental health services are commonly accessed by victims to address the symptoms resulting from the stalking they are experiencing⁵ such as anxiety, insomnia and depression. Yet research from the Suzy Lamplugh Trust in 2017 into victims' experiences of healthcare responses to stalking found that when asked whether they had received help to deal with the impact of being stalked on their personal wellbeing, **only 13% were referred to advocacy or victims' services or the police, 8% were offered medication and 34% were offered nothing.**⁶ Concerningly, only 28% of respondents felt that their experience of asking for support from the healthcare system was positive, or that their practitioner was able to offer appropriate help.

There is recognition amongst government agencies that violence prevention is a public health issue⁷, and that the National Health Service (NHS) has a role in addressing domestic abuse⁸ and other violence against women and girls (VAWG) crimes. Yet our research demonstrates that stalking is often going unrecognised when disclosed to healthcare professionals, leading to delayed intervention and increased risk of escalation, prolonging detrimental psychological impacts. **Healthcare professionals must therefore undergo specialist stalking training to enhance their ability to identify when health related issues are related to someone's experience of stalking, referring patients on to specialist stalking support services to ensure early intervention and that appropriate safeguarding measures are put in place.**

*It was the GP, not the CJS,
who saved our lives.*

Victim

REPORT

Stalking behaviours can be subtle and difficult to identify, requiring a nuanced understanding of perpetrator typologies and the impact on a victim to recognise stalking. It is crucial that police call handlers and police officers have the specialist training to recognise stalking and respond so that victims are supported at this critical stage in their journey to justice.

Despite more than half of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) making a commitment to increase reports of stalking in their jurisdiction as part of our 2022 NSAW campaign, **67% of those forces that also responded to our 2024 FOI request actually recorded a decrease in the number of reports** in their force between year ending March 2022 and year ending March 2023. Only 5 of those that made the commitment recorded an increase in the number of reported stalking cases. This is despite there being an increase of stalking cases recorded nationally, with an estimated 1.6 million victims of stalking in 2023 in comparison with 1.5 million in 2022.⁹

ONLY 7 POLICE FORCES WHO RESPONDED TO OUR FOI EXPLICITLY STATED THAT THEY HAD AT LEAST 1 DEDICATED STALKING OFFICER



TWELVE FORCES EXPLICITLY STATED THEY HAD NONE

It is vital that police forces have in-house expertise to handle the complexity of stalking cases, yet only **7 police forces who responded to our FOI had at least 1 dedicated stalking officer. Twelve forces had none.** Some forces referred to domestic abuse targeted programmes such as 'dedicated domestic abuse investigations' in place of a dedicated stalking officer, suggesting a tendency to subsume stalking within domestic abuse. This is despite almost half of stalking cases coming through the National Stalking Helpline in 2023 being perpetrated outside of an ex-intimate partner context, therefore falling outside of the remit of domestic abuse. Given the low levels of reports being recorded by police forces, we are concerned that forces lack the expertise to correctly identify this highly complex crime and are failing to identify stalking when it is reported as a result.

SUPPORT



Specialist stalking services, such as those which are members of the National Stalking Consortium, provide a vital service to victims of stalking when they need it the most. Independent Stalking Advocates (ISAs) empower victims by offering

them critical emotional support, believing and validating them when other agencies haven't. They also carry out risk assessments, put in place safety plans, and act as a bridge between the victim and the criminal justice system.

Agencies across the criminal justice system and healthcare must refer victims to specialist stalking services so that they receive this vital support. This important service is enshrined in the Victims' Code, which states that "you have the right to be referred to services that support victims, which includes the right to contact them directly, and to have your needs assessed so services and support can be tailored to meet your needs".¹⁰ The code states that this must happen within two working days of a crime being reported and continue throughout the criminal justice process.

However, a 2017 investigation by HMICFRS into the police and CPS response to stalking and harassment found that, concerning, there were "some cases in which, despite there being clear evidence of vulnerability, adequate consideration and referrals for support were not always given to those in need of this support".¹¹ This discrepancy is mirrored in Suzy Lamplugh Trust's 2022 research, which found that, of the 197 respondents who had reported stalking to the police, only 15% were signposted to a stalking advocate by the police.¹² This means that most victims are not being connected to critical stalking specialist support which can markedly improve their well-being and safety, protect their rights, and significantly improves the chances of their case reaching conviction. It is highly concerning that 7 years on from this report that some victims of stalking are still not being referred to specialist support when they need it the most.

ONLY 11 POLICE FORCES THAT RESPONDED TO OUR FOI WERE ABLE TO PROVIDE US WITH A DETAILED BREAKDOWN OF THE NUMBER OF STALKING CASES SUBSEQUENTLY CHARGED AS A DIFFERENT CRIME



CHARGE

Stalking is a highly complex crime, requiring specialised knowledge and training across all criminal justice professionals. However, our research^{13,14} suggests that many professionals, including those in the police and CPS, lack comprehensive training to recognise and respond to the fixation and obsession that characterises stalking. We hear from victims supported across National Stalking Consortium services about deep flaws within the criminal justice system that have impacted their individual case.

I would show them all this and then they would say, 'No, it is just messages, just malicious communications... I realised that the police officer wasn't into computers... Because the case is mostly digital, I thought, ... What is going to happen? It turns out the guy has no idea what he is doing so it really impacts on what is going on.

Victim

Inadequate investigation or collation of stalking evidence and downgrading of charges to offences such as harassment and malicious communications, despite there being evidence of stalking, can lead to the lack of identification of risk posed by perpetrators, which can have dire consequences for the victim. Decisions to take no further action from the CPS will mean that perpetrators are left to continue a course of stalking, with high risk of escalation and no safeguards in place to protect victims. **The lack of published data on the prevalence or reasons for these decisions mars our ability to assess these issues as part of a wider systemic failure within the CJS in the identification and management of stalking.**

Indeed, **of the 27 police forces that answered our 2024 FOI request, only 11 were able to provide us with a detailed breakdown of the number of stalking cases subsequently charged as a different crime (such as harassment, malicious communications, etc.) in the year ending March 2023.** Six forces were able to provide us with data for the overall number of stalking cases resulting in the case not being charged as stalking but were unable to tell us what the charge was changed to. **Eleven forces were unable to give us any data on this issue.**¹⁵ Without access to this data nationally it is therefore impossible to determine whether this trend marks a wider systemic issue relating to an inability to distinguish between stalking and harassment and/or a failure to recognise a course of conduct crime in general.

The super-complaint submitted by the National Stalking Consortium in 2022 detailed the prevalence of stalking cases being downgraded to lower-level harassment offences. This trend is replicated within the findings of our 2024 FOI requests, as when comparing the detailed breakdown data provided by 11 forces, the **most common alternate charge is harassment (s2 or s4)**. For example, in North Wales, out of the 85 cases which resulted in recording an alternative offence, there were 70 cases where the charge was changed from stalking to harassment.¹⁶

This continues to be a concerning trend as stalking perpetrators require specific management due to the fixation and obsession towards their victim, and **it can therefore be highly dangerous for the victim if stalking is wrongly charged as harassment and the risk is not specifically recognised and adequately managed.**

Alice Ruggles was murdered by her stalker after police mistakenly identified his behaviour as harassment when she reported him.

A 2023 inspection by HMICFRS¹⁷ of how well the police, the CPS, and the probation service support victims of all crimes found that agencies were often failing to invest the time and attention needed at every stage of a case, due to a combination of 'competing demands, high workloads and lack of experience'. Findings related to a 'lack of experience' reinforce calls from the National Stalking Consortium for specialist stalking training to be completed by agencies and professionals across the criminal justice system that deal with stalking cases. This should be provided as soon as employees begin in their role as there is an evidenced lack of understanding within agencies across the CJS and the wrong charge being made in stalking cases.

The well-evidenced scarcity of data related to charges of stalking hinders proper scrutiny and evaluation of these flaws and the systemic impact on stalking victims. Despite numerous pieces of research attesting to this issue, we are yet to see clear intervention from the Government on how agencies can better publish data and **facilitate better cross-agency working** to improve systems in place to support stalking victims.

SPECIALIST STALKING TRAINING SHOULD BE COMPLETED BY AGENCIES AND PROFESSIONALS ACROSS THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM THAT DEAL WITH STALKING CASES AS SOON AS EMPLOYEES BEGIN IN THEIR ROLE



STALKING PROTECTION ORDERS

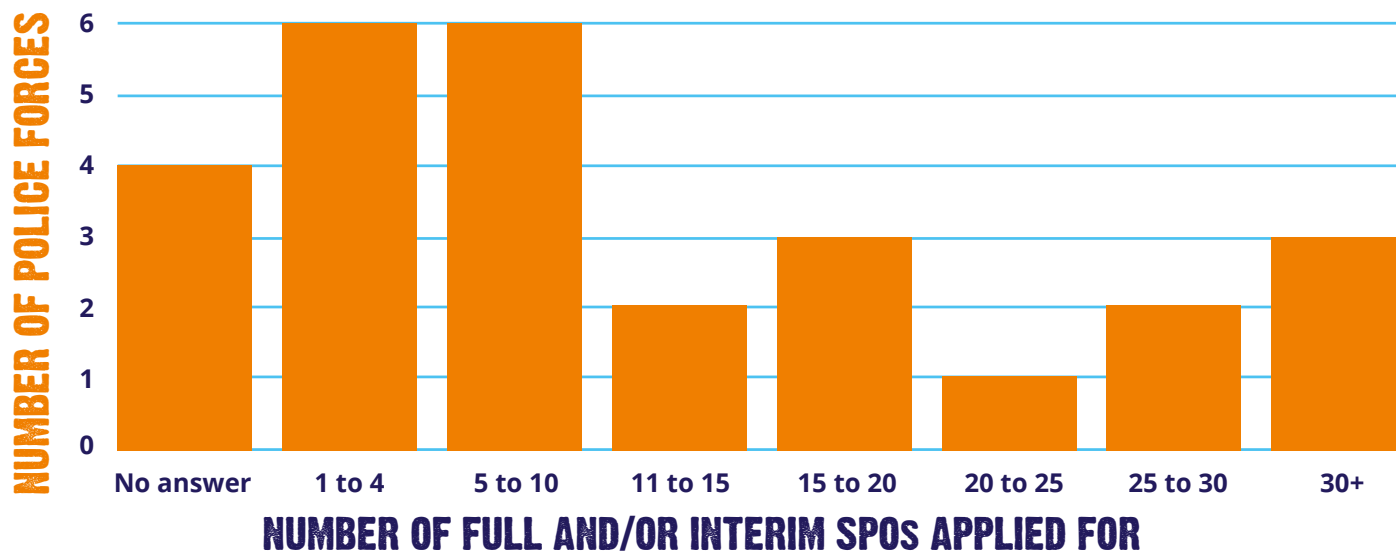
Stalking Protection Orders (SPOs) are civil orders which provide victims with legal safeguards against further harm from their stalkers by prohibiting the perpetrator from certain activities, such as contacting the victim by any means or being in certain locations, particularly those in proximity to the victim. Effective collaboration between the police and courts to share information about the needs of victims and details of the perpetrator is needed to secure an SPO which can include positive requirements directed at perpetrators. These can include undertaking a mental health assessment, surrendering their devices, attending a substance rehabilitation programme, or a requirement to attend a perpetrator intervention programme, such as the Multi-Agency Stalking Intervention Programme (MASIP)¹⁸ established by the Suzy Lamplugh Trust in its 2018 project pilot.



PERPETRATORS MAY BE REQUIRED TO UNDERTAKE A MENTAL HEALTH ASSESSMENT, SURRENDER THEIR DEVICES, ATTEND A SUBSTANCE REHABILITATION PROGRAMME, OR ATTEND A PERPETRATOR INTERVENTION PROGRAMME, SUCH AS THE MULTI-AGENCY STALKING INTERVENTION PROGRAMME (MASIP)

In order to provide a more holistic assessment of the risk posed by the perpetrator to a victim it is vital that agencies work together to share information and provide evidence that will ensure the most appropriate positive requirements and prohibitions are put in place for the perpetrator. This would better ensure victims are adequately protected and supported, and that perpetrators are required to take active steps to address stalking behaviours. Despite this, of the 27 police forces who responded to our FOI request, **12 of them applied for 10 or less SPOs (full and interim combined) in the year ending March 2023.** Eight applied for between 11 and 30 SPOs. Only 3 applied for more than 30 SPOs in the year ending March 2023.

NUMBER OF SPOs APPLIED FOR BY POLICE FORCES IN THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 2023*



*27 Police forces responded to our Freedom of Information (FOI) request

It is vital for stalking victims' long-term safety and well-being to have an SPO in place, yet these findings show that **5 years on from the introduction of SPOs they are widely under-utilised, with a lack of understanding within police forces about the positive requirements that are unique to this behavioural order and vital in the management of risk.** Only 19 of the police forces that responded to our FOI could provide data regarding the number of SPOs they applied for that included positive requirements. Of those 19 forces, 7 of them stated that none of their SPO applications contained positive requirements. Only 2 forces stated that 100% of their applications contained positive requirements.

STALKING PROTECTION ORDER

ONLY 2 FORCES STATED THAT 100% OF THEIR APPLICATIONS CONTAINED POSITIVE REQUIREMENTS



My advocate from the National Stalking Helpline told me about SPOs. She approached the police directly. It took about 9 months to put an Interim Stalking Protection Order in place from the date that it was requested by the advocate. The perpetrator has since breached it and a month later, there has been no response from the police. I had to send [the police officer] a copy of my SPO because he didn't actually have it, he didn't know. I don't have the energy to fight the police and the stalker at the same time.

Victim

Given this trend, and our inability to form an analysis of how many SPOs are not authorised by the police or refused at court due to this information not being recorded, **it is vital that minimum standards for the application of a SPO are established and data is collected and published on the effectiveness of SPOs across England and Wales.** This would unify the process across all police forces and enable us to examine potential barriers to implementation.

TRIAL

In November 2023, the National Stalking Consortium launched a report that highlighted difficulties faced by victims of stalking when dealing with the CPS and the judiciary.¹⁹ The cases explored in the report drew attention to issues which could be systemic within the CPS, such as the decision to take no further action (NFA) or erroneously drop cases, charges of stalking being downgraded to harassment or malicious communications, a lack of communication with the victim about their right to review, and continuous delays in court cases. We know that much of the data needed to review the issues that came out of these cases at a national level is not publicly available, hindering proper scrutiny of the system.



ONLY 1.7%
OF STALKING CASES IN
THE YEAR ENDING MARCH '23
ENDED IN A CONVICTION

For National Stalking Awareness Week 2024, the National Stalking Consortium sent FOI requests to the CPS to ascertain the scale of the issues we hear from the victims we support. This included how many cases investigated as stalking (2a or 4a) by a police force between 2022 and 2023 did the CPS change to a harassment charge; in how many cases of stalking investigated under a 4a stalking charge by a police force did the CPS change the charge to 2a stalking, and in how many cases investigated as stalking (2a or 4a) brought forward by a police force did the CPS decide to take no further action. **The CPS rejected all three of our FOI requests because they did not collate the data sought. The CPS therefore reportedly holds no recorded data showing specific offences pre-charge, preventing a comparison of how pre-charge offences differ from the final charge.**

Likewise, many of the police forces we sent FOI requests to were either unable (bar manually reviewing each case) to tell us whether there had been a change of charge, or, if they could retrieve that data, they were unable to indicate what the charge was changed to. This was the most

common reason for rejecting our FOI request. **This is highly concerning as we are unable to get an accurate overview of how many cases of stalking end up with the charge being changed from the original investigated offence, and the common offences that stalking cases are mis-charged as.** Many forces were also unable to provide data for how many cases the decision to take no further action was made by the CPS, despite us hearing from the victims we support across National Stalking Consortium services that this has happened to them. The insufficient data on this subject makes it hard to identify the exact point at which stalking is dismissed or downgraded, the reasons for this and how that issue could be addressed.

In HMICFRS' 2023 report, *Meeting the Needs of Victims in the Criminal Justice System*,²⁰ they found that, despite local criminal justice boards' (LCJBs) crucial role measuring how well criminal justice bodies comply with the Victims' Code, they 'didn't always have access to clear and reliable data from criminal justice bodies', meaning that the boards 'couldn't accurately assess the quality of services to victims and take action to improve it'. Without this information, it is therefore impossible for LCJBs to adequately scrutinise the functioning of the system, exposing the ineffectiveness of such processes. These recent findings suggest that **the lack of transparent data to map a victims' journey through the criminal justice system extends beyond victims of stalking, pointing to much more entrenched gaps and omissions in the way we evaluate the effectiveness of our criminal justice system.**

A recent report by the Justice Lab²¹ also highlighted large data gaps across the criminal justice system, particularly with regards to demographic information, protected characteristics, data around vulnerability, repeat victimisation, and relationship between victim and perpetrator. There was also a failure to capture data on victims' experience of navigating the system. Their report supports many of the systemic issues with data collection that we highlight with this research, as well as the clear need for national standards for data collection to ensure the consistency and comparability of data. This would enable agencies to better identify issues impacting all victims of stalking and to work together to tackle these discrepancies.



**THE GOVERNMENT MUST
PUBLISH A NATIONAL
TACKLING STALKING PLAN
THAT SETS OUT A WHOLE-
SYSTEMS APPROACH TO
TACKLING STALKING ACROSS
DIFFERENT AGENCIES**



BEST PRACTICE EXAMPLE: MULTI-AGENCY STALKING INTERVENTION PROGRAMMES (MASIPS)

The Suzy Lamplugh Trust's Multi-Agency Stalking Intervention Programme (MASIP) is an example of best practice multi-agency working that offers bespoke intervention that addresses the needs of victims and perpetrators alike. Effective multi-agency working is crucial for ensuring victims of stalking are appropriately safeguarded and perpetrators are robustly monitored and brought to justice. The MASIP seeks to address the fixation and obsession in perpetrators that characterises the stalking offending as well as coordinating support around the victim to create an integrated response. The MASIP model draws expertise from across multiple agencies including specialist stalking advocates, the police, NHS psychologists, and probation to identify risk, manage stalking cases including safeguarding the victim and intervening with perpetrators.

Under MASIP, agencies work together in an embedded co-located way (unlike regular information sharing meetings such as Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Centres) to ensure early intervention and a robust criminal justice response is paired with perpetrator intervention, while remaining victim-centred and trauma-informed to ensure robust risk management from the earliest opportunity. MASIP aims to reduce risk and reoffending by identifying and addressing the specific patterns of fixated and obsessive behaviour at the earliest possible stage, as well as individual motivations of stalkers depending on their typology and motivations. As part of this approach, there is a specific focus on NHS based therapeutic interventions with perpetrators where appropriate. These interventions are psychologically informed, and the length of the intervention depends on the particular case at hand.

If you'd met me last year, I was half of what I am now. I was an absolute mess. I genuinely couldn't have done what I've done or got where I am without the help of the stalking clinic. Because I've not got that family support on the outside so it was just... I rely on [victim advocate] for all my support.

Victim

The Suzy Lamplugh Trust originally piloted three MASIP sites, Hampshire, Cheshire and London, all of which saw reductions in re-offending, and has since initiated a further site in Cambridgeshire. This multi-disciplinary approach has led to a range of wider system benefits across partner agencies, including improving the overall responses to stalking cases and victims and sharing expertise. An evaluation of the MASIP pilot by researchers at University College London found positive outcomes across all three pilot sites. Stakeholders felt that the multi-agency approach improved the response to stalking, with better investigation and appropriate charging. They also highlighted the importance of information sharing for risk management. We believe that multi-agency working and where possible inter-agency, is therefore crucial when addressing issues such as appropriate charging, which we have identified as an area of particular concern within this report.

Rather than having to battle to get information or assistance, having multiple agencies on your doorstep has been a massive assistance.

MASIP Stakeholder

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- The Government to publish a national Tackling Stalking Plan, to complement the Tackling Violence Against Women and Girls Strategy published in July 2021 and the Tackling Domestic Abuse Plan that was published in 2022, that sets out a whole-systems approach to tackling stalking across different agencies.
- £243,810,000 ring-fenced funding for specialist stalking support services to be able to meet the needs of victims and the increasing demands posed by referrals from the police, CPS and healthcare.
- The Government must include stalking within clause 12 (duty to collaborate) of the Victim and Prisoners Bill to ensure a join-up between agencies that deal with stalking victims is enshrined in legislation.
- Relevant individuals across the police, CPS, and healthcare that deal with stalking cases must undertake independent specialist stalking training.
- The police, CPS and healthcare must signpost all stalking victims to a specialist stalking service (national or local) when victims report stalking, and work with stalking advocates to best protect victims.
- The police, CPS and healthcare professionals should adopt a trauma informed approach when working with victims of stalking, implemented through specialist training.
- A national process, such as minimum standards for the application of a Stalking Protection Order, should be established to ensure SPOs are applied for as standard when stalking is being investigated unless there are clear and evidenced reasons why this should not be the case as agreed by a police officer.
- Police must work with the CPS, Home Office, Ministry of Justice and HM Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS) to implement a unified recording system and consistent and comparable data sets across all agencies to make it possible to follow the journey of a victim and all incidents associated with them from reporting stage through to conviction and sentencing across all police forces in England and Wales in order to track attrition rates.
- The collection and publication of data in a format that enable disaggregation by both crime type and protected characteristics under the Equality Act 2010.
- It is vital that all police forces and Police and Crime Commissioners look to implement piloted and evaluated stalking specific perpetrator interventions, such as the MASIP, in their local area as part of their strategy to reduce and manage stalking across England and Wales.
- The creation of an independent task group to look further into the criminal justice process beyond the scope of the super-complaint when it comes to stalking cases in England and Wales, from the point of charge to the trial in court. This group must ensure that all issues raised in this report are investigated thoroughly at a national level and addressed in order to ensure that the CPS, His Majesty's Court and Tribunal Service (HMCTS) and the judiciary adequately support victims of stalking.

With these recommendations, we can achieve a step-change in the way we support and deliver justice to victims of stalking, so that no victim falls through the gap.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/08862605231185303>
- ² <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/Handlers/Download.ashx?IDMF=7d7e3529-cb56-4743-acdf-46a12c1f5c9d>
- ³ Whilst we have used the term 'Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)' due to this being the wording used in our research, we recognise that many may prefer the term 'Post Traumatic Stress (PTS)' as a resistance to stigma associated with the term 'disorder'. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1536504215609300>
- ⁴ "The term 'attrition' as used in criminological literature generally refers to the process by which criminal cases fail to reach, or progress through the criminal justice system".
https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/migrated/criminal_justice_hub_proposals_-_garg.pdf
- ⁵ In 2017 the Suzy Lamplugh Trust carried out a pilot study into victims' experiences of healthcare responses to stalking, which found that 58% of respondents had accessed healthcare services specifically because they were a victim of stalking. The most commonly accessed services were the victim's GP (68%), counselling services (38%) and mental health services (33%). <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/health-care-responses-to-stalking-implications-recommendations>
- ⁶ When asked whether they had received help to deal with the impact of being stalked on their personal wellbeing, 29% of respondents reported that they had accessed counselling (some privately or via a third-sector organisation rather than on the NHS), 13% were referred to advocacy or victims' services or the police, 8% were offered medication and 34% were offered nothing.
- ⁷ <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7cd6f7ed915d71e1e4df40/Violence-prevention.pdf>
- ⁸ <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-9233/CBP-9233.pdf>
- ⁹ Police recorded crime and outcomes open data tables, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/police-recorded-crime-open-data-tables>
- ¹⁰ Code of Practice for Victims of Crime in England and Wales (Victim's Code), updated February 2024. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-code-of-practice-for-victims-of-crime/code-of-practice-for-victims-of-crime-in-england-and-wales-victims-code>
- ¹¹ <https://assets-hmicfrs.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/uploads/living-in-fear-the-police-and-cps-response-to-harassment-and-stalking.pdf>
- ¹² <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/Handlers/Download.ashx?IDMF=36e87aea-15ba-437a-97f6-d5966360878f>
- ¹³ <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/Handlers/Download.ashx?IDMF=cf3fdc8b-f958-4cc0-9fc7-9ce6de3e9137>
- ¹⁴ <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/Handlers/Download.ashx?IDMF=1c2de425-3272-4d4f-a913-59c45761dcca>
- ¹⁵ Police forces stated that it was not easily retrievable by their systems and would therefore require a manual review of all stalking cases thus exceeding the time and cost limit of the FOI.
- ¹⁶ For North Wales, 4.5% of number of stalking cases recorded in year ending March 2023 resulted in a 1A outcome (i.e. charge was changed from stalking to something else). 3.7% of stalking cases recorded by the force in the year ending March 2023 ended in a changed charge specifically of harassment (s2 or s4).
- ¹⁷ <https://hmicfrs.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/publications/meeting-the-needs-of-victims-in-the-criminal-justice-system/>
- ¹⁸ <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/Pages/Category/multi-agency-stalking-intervention-programme>
- ¹⁹ <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/i-just-want-this-to-be-over-stalking-victims-experience-of-failures-by-the-cps-and-the-judiciary>
- ²⁰ <https://hmicfrs.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/publications/meeting-the-needs-of-victims-in-the-criminal-justice-system/>
- ²¹ https://justicelab.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Workshop-note_-Making-Victims-Count_-Improving-the-collection-and-use-of-data-across-the-criminal-justice-system.pdf



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 www.facebook.com/stalkinghelpline

The National Stalking Helpline and Advocacy Services are run by Suzy Lamplugh Trust.

Calls to the helpline are confidential and free from most telephone networks.

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 www.facebook.com/suzylamplughtrust

Suzy Lamplugh Trust
The Foundry, 17 Oval Way, London SE11 5RR
For more information call 020 7091 0014
or email info@suzylamplugh.org

