Stalking and Harassment JSNA Topic Summary

This topic summary was requested by the Strategic Commissioner for Domestic, Sexual Violence & Abuse and Violence against Women & Girls.

What does this topic summary cover?
- How common is stalking and harassment and why is it important?
- What do we know about stalking and harassment locally?
- What do we know about who commits these offences?
- What more can be done to prevent stalking and harassment, support and protect those involved, and prosecute offenders?

Executive Summary

- Stalking can cause significant psychological and physical harm to victims, most (but not all) of whom are women. One in five women and one in ten men have experienced stalking; one in ten women and one in thirty men domestic stalking.
- Stalking became a crime in 2014 and recorded offences have increased since then, however, just 238 stalking offences were recorded by Sussex Police locally in 2017/18, representing the tip of the iceberg in terms of victim experience.
- Despite significant under-reporting, Brighton and Hove has a higher rate of police recorded stalking offences than seen in Sussex or England and Wales as a whole.
- Locally, more than half of recorded stalking cases involved domestic stalking.
- Victims of stalking locally are predominantly young, as well as female, particularly intimate partner stalking victims.
- Although offenders are a diverse group, men and those with psychiatric problems are more likely to stalk. Locally, a high proportion of offenders are in their thirties, and nearly half have a disability, a large proportion of which have a mental health condition.
- Research highlights the importance of the relationship between victim and stalker to identifying and predicting risk. Victims who previously had an intimate relationship with their stalker are at much higher risk of suffering a violent attack. However, the most important predictor of serious violence is a high level of victim fear, suggesting that victims are often adept at assessing their own risk of stalker violence and their concerns should be taken seriously.
- Despite this, there is evidence that the greater degree of prior intimacy between victim and perpetrator, the less likely the police are to label behaviour as stalking.
- This topic summary concludes with a summary of the current evidence of what works in terms of prevention and early intervention, provision of immediate and ongoing support, and protection and prosecution.
Why is this topic important?

Stalking can be life changing. It can have a significant impact on victims and is frequently harmful to their psychological, physical and social functioning. Stalking can have a damaging effect on mental health, with 50% of victims of online and offline stalking found to have symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). As such there is a need for provision of ongoing emotional and psychological support for victims.

Physical violence has been shown to occur in between 25% and 46% of stalking cases, and sexual violence in between 11% and 19% of known cases. Victims can endure years of abuse and some stalking cases end in homicide. In a recent study of 358 homicides of women in the UK, stalking behaviours were found to be present in 94% of cases.

How common is stalking?

Estimated prevalence

Stalking victimisation is higher in women than men but common in both. The Crime Survey for England and Wales estimates that nationally, 20.0% of women and 9.7% of men aged 16-59 have experienced stalking since the age of 16. In the last year, 4.9% of women and 2.4% of men aged 16-59 have experienced stalking. When applied to the latest ONS mid-year population estimates (2016), an estimated 18,941 women, and 9,558 men aged 16-59 in Brighton and Hove have experienced any stalking since the age of 16. In the last year, 4,640 women, and 2,365 men in Brighton and Hove are estimated to have experienced any stalking.

In terms of domestic stalking (including both partners and family members), 9.3% of women and 3.5% of men aged 16-59 are estimated to have been a victim since the age of 16. In the last year, 1.7% of women and 0.7% of men aged 16-59 are estimated to have been a victim.
Women are almost **three times more likely** than men to be stalked by a partner in their lifetime (8.2% of females compared with 2.9% of males). When these prevalence rates are applied to the latest ONS mid-year population estimates (2016), an estimated 8,807 women, and 3,449 men aged 16-59 in Brighton and Hove have experienced domestic stalking since the age of 16. In the past year, 1,610 women, and 690 men are estimated to have experienced domestic stalking.

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**Table 1: Estimated no. of stalking victims aged 16-59, Brighton & Hove**

**Recorded prevalence**

Whilst there has been a rapid increase in the number of offences since 2014, when specific stalking offences were introduced, **stalking remains a hugely under-reported crime**. There were just **238** stalking offences recorded by Sussex Police in Brighton and Hove in 2017/18. Research shows that victims will often only contact police when behaviour escalates, meaning that reported crimes are often the ‘tip of the iceberg’ of victim experience.

In 2017/18, 290 clients of RISE, a Sussex based charity supporting people affected by domestic abuse and violence, were experiencing current stalking and harassment, and a further 24 clients had experienced historic stalking and harassment. This represents 22% of all clients worked with in 2017/18. In the same time period, 76 clients reported ever experiencing surveillance or harassment online or through social media (5%). In 2017/18, 42% of RISE clients where a DASH RIC was completed answered yes to the question, ‘does the perpetrator constantly text, call, contact, follow, stalk or harass you?'

Between September 2017 (when it was established) and March 2018 the Veritas Stalking Advocacy Service received 56 referrals from Brighton & Hove residents, representing 67% of all referrals to the service. Demand for the service has so far been high. The project was designed to provide support to 40 people per annum; however, this figure was exceeded in the first quarter alone. Many clients accessing local stalking advocacy services suffer from complex-PTSD, due to the often relentless nature of stalking.

Locally, we know that between 2015/16 and 2017/18, 55% of police recorded stalking offences in Brighton & Hove had a victim who was an intimate of the offender. In 29% of offences the victim was an acquaintance of the offender, 3% had a family relationship, and 14% were strangers. The majority of referrals received by Veritas were for stalking by ex-intimates (91%), and 9% were for stalking by non-intimates.
Data from RISE in relation to domestic abuse clients identified as experiencing current harassment and stalking between April 2016 and March 2018 showed 71% of perpetrators in this time period were ex-intimates, 14% were current intimate partners and 8% were spouses.

How does Brighton & Hove compare?

Brighton and Hove has a higher rate of police recorded stalking offences than seen in Sussex or England and Wales as a whole (0.13 offences per 1,000 people, compared with 0.09 for Sussex, and 0.03 for England and Wales).

In the last year for which data is available (2016/17), Brighton and Hove had the third highest rate of police recorded stalking offences of the 15 ‘most similar Community Safety Partnerships’, with a rate of 0.21 offences per 1,000 population. This is nearly twice that of the average most similar Community Safety Partnerships (0.11 offences per 1,000 population).

Trends over time

In the UK, stalking became a crime in June 2014. As expected after the introduction of a new offence, the number of recorded stalking offences in England and Wales has increased steeply since then. The increase is particularly noticeable, in both Sussex and England and Wales as a whole, towards the end of 2016/17.

It is important to note that there have also been ongoing and significant changes to the way the broader category of violence against the person (VATP) offences are
recorded in recent years which will influence trends in stalking offences. Nationally, we have seen a large rise in the number of police recorded VATP offences in response to Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) work on police data integrity undertaken since 2013. This trend has been replicated locally, with a steep rise in the number of police recorded VATP offences since 2014, especially in 2014/15 and 2015/16.\(^{10}\)

Despite ongoing data integrity work across all types of violent crime, a joint inspection into the national police and Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) response to stalking and harassment found that stalking offences are still not accurately recorded by police forces, which in many cases record these as harassment offences, or at worst, not at all.\(^{22}\)

Brighton & Hove has followed the same upward trend in the number of police recorded stalking offences as seen nationally and regionally, with four times the number of offences recorded locally in 2017/18 than the previous year - a 296% increase compared with 2016/17.

**Local inequalities**

**Gender and gender identity**
As noted above, one of the main inequalities in relation to stalking victimisation is gender. Research shows that women are twice as likely to be victims of stalking compared to men, and three times more likely to be stalked by a partner.

This is the case in Brighton & Hove as nationally. 84% of police recorded stalking between 2015/16 and 2017/18 (where gender was recorded) had a female victim, 16% had a male victim. Those offences which were flagged as domestic violence were also more likely to have a victim who was female than those which were not (89% compared with 77%). When men are victims of stalking this is more likely not to be related to domestic violence. In addition, of the 56 referrals to the Veritas Stalking Advocacy Service between September 2017 and March 2018, 95% were for women, 5% were for men.

Local data on the number of trans and non-binary victims of stalking is not currently available.

**Age**
Age is also a factor. Although *young women* are significantly more likely to be victimised than older women, this profile changes notably when the type of stalking behaviour is controlled for. *Intimate partner* stalking victims are typically younger, whilst victims of *non-intimate* partner stalking are more likely to be middle aged.\(^{14}\)

Victims of police recorded stalking locally are overwhelmingly young (as well as female); 36% of stalking offences between 2015/16 and 2017/18 (where victim age was recorded) had a victim who was aged 20-29. Overall victim numbers decreased in every subsequent age group after this. As seen in national research, however, a higher proportion of offences which were flagged as domestic violence had a victim aged 20-29, whereas non-intimate stalking offences, whilst still peaking in the 20-29 age group, were more evenly distributed across age groups and contained a larger proportion of middle-aged and older victims.
In the two year period between April 2016 and March 2018 RISE clients who had experienced stalking and harassment showed a slightly older age profile than seen in police data, with 32% aged 26-35, 28% aged 36-45 and 25% who were aged 18-25.

**Sexual orientation**

There is a paucity of data around the sexual orientation of stalking victims locally; Sussex Police do not currently record any information on victim sexual orientation. Of RISE clients between April 2016 and March 2018 who had experienced stalking and harassment, 16 (7%) described themselves as lesbian, gay or bisexual (LGB). There were less than five referrals to the Veritas Stalking Advocacy Service between September 2017 and March 2018 for LGB victims. This suggests possible under-reporting from LGB victims, as it is estimated that lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) residents make up 11% to 15% of the Brighton & Hove’s population aged 16 years or more.

**Ethnicity**

Victim ethnicity was only recorded in 59% of police recorded stalking offences between 2015 and 2018. Of those offences where ethnicity was recorded, 89% were White – North European, 4% were White – South European, 4% were Black, 2% were Middle Eastern, and 1% were Asian.

In the two year period between April 2016 and March 2018 77% of RISE clients who had experienced stalking and harassment were White British, and 23% were BME. This is in line with latest census data (2011) which showed the BME population made up 19.5%. The largest ethnic group amongst RISE clients after White British was White other (8%).

**Disability**

Of RISE clients between April 2016 and March 2018 who had experienced stalking and harassment, 86 (34%) reported having a disability. Of these, 69 (18%) had a mental health disability, 18 (5%) had a physical health disability and 10 (2.7%) had a learning disability. The proportion of RISE clients who have mental health, physical health or learning disabilities is reflective of the proportion of the local population with these disabilities. Data regarding victim disability is not available from Sussex Police.

**Pregnancy**

Between April 2016 and March 2018, 17 (5%) RISE clients who had experienced stalking and harassment were pregnant. Data regarding pregnancy is not available from Sussex Police.
What do we know about offenders?

Kent, Surrey and Sussex Community Rehabilitation Company (KSS CRC) worked with 58 offenders in 2017/18 in Brighton and Hove who had been convicted of stalking and harassment offences, an increase from 36 the previous year, and 41 in 2015/16. In the three year period between April 2015 and March 2018, the Building Better Relationships programme worked with 15 domestic abuse perpetrators from Brighton and Hove who had committed stalking or harassment offences.

Stalking is a wide-ranging behaviour that is perpetrated by a diverse group of offenders. Risk factors for stalking behaviour are multifaceted. Stalking occurs as a result of an inter-relationship between factors such as sociodemographic characteristics, intimate partner relationships, and broader societal and cultural factors such as gender-role socialisation.

Gender
While both men and women commit stalking, research has shown that men are more likely than women to stalk. Data from a variety of sources show that between 85% and 96% of stalking offenders locally are male. Sussex Police data shows that of 66 offenders charged with stalking offences between April 2015 and March 2018, 89% (n=59) were male and 11% (n=7) were female. Data from the Kent, Surrey and Sussex Community Rehabilitation Company (KSS CRC) shows that 90% of offenders of both stalking and harassment offences worked with between April 2015 and March 2018 were male, and 10% were female.

Of RISE domestic abuse clients who were identified as experiencing current harassment and stalking in the two year period between April 2016 and March 2018, 96% (n=334) had a perpetrator who was male, and 4% (n=13) had a perpetrator who was female. Data from Veritas Stalking Advocacy service also shows that perpetrators were predominantly male (85%) and known to the victim in some way.

Data on stalking is not currently available for non-binary gender identities.

Age
The highest proportion of offenders worked with by KSS CRC between April 2015 and March 2018 were aged 30-39 (32%). A further 26% of offenders were aged 40-49. Police recorded offender data also shows a peak in the 30-39 age group (n=20, 30%), followed by the 20-29 age group (n=17, 26%), however overall numbers here are low.

Ethnicity
Data from KSS CRC shows that of those offenders worked with between April 2015 and March 2018 (where information was collected), 84% (n=107) were recorded as White British, and 16% (n=21) were recorded as BME. There was not enough information recorded by Sussex Police to report on offender ethnicity.
Sexual orientation

There is a lack of data available around sexual orientation. In 60% of cases over the three year time period, this information was either not disclosed or not recorded by KSS CRC. For those offenders where information was recorded, 93% (n=50) were heterosexual, and 7% were recorded as lesbian, gay, bisexual or other. This is less than the estimate that between 11 - 15% of Brighton & Hove’s population are LGB. Sussex Police do not collect data on offender sexual orientation.

Disability

Of those offenders worked with by KSS CRC between April 2015 and March 2018 (where information regarding disability was recorded), 44% (n=54) were recorded as having a disability. Of these, 74% (n=40) suffered from a mental health condition (offenders were often recorded as having more than one disability). Overall, one in three offenders for which this information was collected suffered from a mental health condition. Information regarding offender disability was not collected by other agencies.

Mental health

Research shows that perpetrators of stalking are more likely than non-perpetrators to be diagnosed with psychiatric problems such as schizophrenia and obsessive-compulsive disorders. However there is a paucity of local data around offender mental health.

Military background

Fewer than five victims informed Veritas of their perpetrator having a military background, although this information is not routinely recorded in referral forms. Data about the possible military backgrounds of offenders was not routinely recorded by Sussex Police.

Nature of offending in Brighton & Hove

Data from Veritas showed that 80% of cases involved some use of cyber stalking, including texting, online abuse, tracking and revenge porn. An evaluation of the Stalking Advocacy Pilot in Brighton & Hove also found that perpetrators will use a variety of methods to continue their stalking campaigns, often using the family court process to maintain contact with victims. Services therefore need to be better equipped to deal with these cases. Of 52 referrals between September 2017 and January 2018, 23 clients were accessing the Family Court where the other party was their alleged stalker.

Fewer than 5 police recorded stalking offences between April 2015 and March 2018 had a weapon identified in the offence; none of these related to a firearm.

What do we know about risk?

Research shows that the relationship between victim and stalker is predictive of potential violence. Victims who previously had an intimate relationship with their stalker are at much higher risk of suffering a violent attack. In one UK study, 70% of stalking between intimates resulted in violence compared to only 27% of cases in which the victim was a stranger or acquaintance. However, another study showed that whilst having a stalker who is an ex-partner is indeed predictive of assault, prior intimacy failed to predict more serious violence. Furthermore, only an abusive relationship predicted assault, not a prior relationship per se.
According to this research there was a lack of an association between an abusive relationship and **more serious violence** which may reflect that victims who were previously in an abusive relationship **may be more aware of the risks** posed by their former partner and take steps to mitigate this. The most important predictor of serious violence found in the study was a **high level of victim fear**, suggesting that victims are often adept at assessing their own risk of stalker violence and their concerns should be taken seriously.\(^\text{17}\)

A recent large-scale study into cases of criminal homicide in the UK perpetrated against women concluded that it was more likely to be the **frequency, persistence and escalation in behaviour**, rather than just the severity of actions which could be considered as potential indicators of risk or threat.\(^\text{3}\)

Research also shows that the **greater degree of prior intimacy** between the stalking victim and perpetrator, **the less likely the police are to label behaviour as stalking** - despite evidence which shows that ex-partner stalkers are in actual fact more persistent, dangerous, and resistant to legal intervention. Both English and Scottish police officers were more likely to label behaviours as harassment and to believe it necessitated intervention when the perpetrator was a stranger. English officers perceived stranger stalkers to cause victims more alarm, distress, and fear of the use of violence than acquaintances or ex-partner stalkers. The research also found that police officers apportioned a stronger level of victim responsibility when the perpetrator was an ex-partner of the victim.\(^\text{18}\)

Whilst we know that violence in intimate relationships often leads to future stalking, the nature of this transition remains unclear, and the evidence conflicting. The type, severity, and context of interpersonal violence may indeed affect future stalking, but little is currently known about the relationship between these factors.\(^\text{14}\)

**What works?**

Stalking is difficult to investigate, prosecute and prevent, and there is limited evidence currently available concerning the effectiveness of policies to prevent or reduce stalking\(^\text{24}\).

- **Prevention and Early Intervention**
  In the US, **community oriented policing approaches**, which take a multi-disciplinary approach, and incorporate **early identification and early intervention** to enhance victim safety and prevent repeat victimization, have been identified as the most effective in preventing stalking. Effective **anti-stalking teams** include law enforcement and criminal justice personnel, mental health professionals, and victim advocates all working collaboratively and sharing information.\(^\text{24}\) This approach is being piloted in the UK, with the launch of the Stalking Threat Assessment Centre in May 2018 by the Metropolitan Police Service, designed to be a centre of excellence. The centre is a **multi-agency partnership** between the police, NHS trusts and charities working together to rehabilitate offenders.\(^\text{19}\)

Early identification and intervention in stalking cases is crucial in avoiding serious harm. In particular, fixated and **obsessed stalkers should be identified at the earliest possible opportunity**, along with cases where surveillance activity occurs, as these were most frequently present in the antecedent histories of homicide cases.\(^\text{3}\)
Whilst there is limited research on stalking amongst the adolescent population, a 2016 study demonstrates that **early identification of adolescent stalkers** may also have positive implications for the prevention of multiple forms of violence and the adverse health outcomes associated with this, as youths who engage in stalking behaviour tend to be youths who are violent. Prevention strategies are therefore needed that focus not just on preventing stalking, but identifying common underlying factors that predispose some young people to violence across different contexts and victims.\(^{20}\)

- **Provision of Immediate and Ongoing Support**
  In order for the police to deal effectively with stalking and harassment, they must fully understand the history of any prior relationship between the victim and offender, and place the most recent incident in the context of a pattern of behaviour. This is particularly the case in cases of domestic abuse.\(^{21}\) Veritas found in 2016 that this could also be improved upon locally, with Police in Brighton and Hove still viewing stalking incidents in isolation.\(^{15}\)

The HMIC review into victim experience of stalking and harassment included recommendations for the police to review their training to ensure that appropriate action is taken, as well as to consider introducing specialist officers to respond to stalking and harassment, and ensure that victims are referred to appropriate support services. **Specialist knowledge and understanding** is needed to effectively support victims of stalking and harassment and the review recommended that Police and Crime Commissioners consider whether existing organisations and services in their area have the required expertise.\(^{21}\)

- **Protection and Prosecution**
  A joint inspection by HMIC and Her Majesty’s Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate (HMCPSI) into the police and CPS response to stalking and harassment assessed 112 cases from six forces and CPS areas and concluded that none of these cases had been dealt with well. Many of these victims were also survivors of domestic abuse. The inspection found that positive action was only taking place after numerous reports by the victim, that good investigations were often followed by poor victim care during the criminal justice process, and that despite successful prosecutions, there was often a failure to apply for restraining orders, leaving victims vulnerable to repeat victimisation and serious harm.\(^{22}\)

Harassment and stalking offenders often have specific and complex needs in order to address the sometimes fixated and obsessive nature of their behaviour. The inspection noted that there is a lack of suitable programmes for harassment and stalking offenders that will reduce the likelihood of reoffending and protect the public.\(^{22}\)

Latest CPS guidance states the importance of a **strong and co-ordinated prosecution team** to proactively build and manage cases of stalking and harassment, whilst also stressing the importance of ensuring victims are able to access specialist support to ensure their safety and reduce risk throughout and beyond the criminal case. It is important to **quickly and accurately identify the risks** posed by a defendant, as victims are often at increased vulnerability due to the persistent nature of the suspect’s behaviour. Prosecutors should ensure a **full risk assessment** has been recently conducted by the police and that other agencies involved also identify all risks to both the victim and others.\(^{23}\)
The review into the police and CPS response to harassment and stalking also highlighted that police forces’ approach to digital crime has been inconsistent, and that some forces are struggling to respond effectively to harassment that takes place online or via digital media. Some cases showed evidence of poor practice and a lack of understanding about how to gather evidence when offences are committed online.

The review highlights areas of best practice where considerable investment in digital technology has meant that investigators can quickly and easily download digital evidence, helping to hold perpetrators to account and to inform charging and bail decisions. Where forces have good systems in place for digital evidence retrieval, cases can be investigated more efficiently, there is an increased likelihood that the correct charges will be laid, and of perpetrators pleading guilty, as well as courts making more appropriate sentencing decisions. Victims will also have greater confidence in the police and criminal justice system. Again there is some evidence this could also be improved upon locally, with Veritas finding in 2016 that the police of ten had a poor understanding of online threats, and a lack of investigative resources locally for online abuse.

Research into Intervention Orders shows that although they are commonly used to try and curtail stalking, their effectiveness has not yet been fully established. Studies which examined breach rates among stalkers found that they ranged from 35% to 80%. Restraining orders tend to be less effective in certain types of stalker, such as in cases of domestic abuse between ex-intimates, where the perceived public humiliation of a restraining order can occasionally have violent consequences. This can also be the case for deluded stalkers, where such orders are considered irrelevant or regarded as a further test. In these cases injunctions not only fail to resolve the problem, but may in some cases exacerbate it.

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Information on the data used
Stalking prevalence data was calculated using data from the Crime Survey for England and Wales, year ending March 2017. Accessed: 03/04/2018

Comparison with most similar Community Safety Partnerships was calculated using Police recorded crime Community Safety Partnership open data tables, from year ending March 2016 to year ending December 2017. Accessed: 10/04/2018

All information on levels and trends of the number of stalking offences locally has been analysed using Sussex Police performance data. Further analysis of police recorded stalking offences (such as in the local inequalities section) uses data which is not publically available. Data used in this report is downloaded from the live system at Sussex Police each month. This data has not been audited or verified by Statisticians at Police HQ, therefore it represents a reflection of crime and disorder in the area, rather than the authorised and fully verified ‘Performance Data’.
Other relevant information:

- Brighton & Hove, Preventing Violence against Women & Girls: An Integrated Strategy and Action Plan
- Brighton & Hove Community Safety and Crime Reduction Strategy, 2017 -2018
- Offenders & Offending JSNA
- Domestic Violence & Abuse, Sexual Violence and Violence against Women & Girls JSNA

REFERENCES
The evidence search used for this report was carried out by Frankie Marcelline. (12th February, 2018). BRIGHTON, UK: Brighton and Sussex Library and Knowledge Service.

1 College of Policing, ‘Briefing Note for Amendments to the Protection from Harassment Act 1997’, January 2013
5 This data is for all RISE services – this data relates predominantly to work carried out in Brighton and Hove but also includes a small amount of specialist work carried out in East Sussex.
6 The DASH Risk Assessment Checklist is a standard risk assessment tool used to help front line practitioners identify high risk cases of domestic abuse, stalking and ‘honour’- based violence.
7 The Veritas Stalking Advocacy Service has been running across Sussex since September 2017, following a pilot scheme in Brighton and Hove in 2015/16, and is funded by the Office of the Sussex Police and Crime Commissioner and Sussex Police. The service provides support, advice and advocacy to all stalking victims regardless of gender and of whether or not they have reported to the Police.
8 The rate of police recorded stalking offences has been calculated as a rolling average for the 12 months from October 2016 – September 2017 (the latest comparable data available).
9 The Home Office has allocated each Community Safety Partnership a group of fifteen peer partnerships which are ‘most similar’ in order to enable meaningful comparisons between areas.
10 Brighton & Hove City Council, ‘2017 Strategic Assessment of Crime and Community Safety’, 2017
11 This estimate draws on information collected via large scale surveys and audits conducted over the last ten years (including Count Me In Too).
12 Estimates are provided by PANSI (Projecting Adult Needs and Service Information) and are based on the number of 18-64 year olds predicted to have a mental health disability, physical health disability or learning disability in 2017, based on ONS subnational population projections, published 23 May 2016, 2014-based.
13 The Building Better Relationships Programme is a structured programme aimed at male perpetrators of domestic abuse who have been ordered by a court to attend, or are required to attend as part of their prison licence.
15 Veritas Justice, ‘Stalking Advocacy Pilot report 2015/16’
17 Sheridan, L and Roberts, K ‘Key Questions to Consider in Stalking Cases’, Behavioural Sciences and the Law 2011
Accessed: 15/05/2018
21 HMIC, University of Worcester, ‘The Victim Journey: A participatory research project seeking the views and experiences of victims of stalking and harassment’, 2017
24 The Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research, ‘Violence against women: effective Interventions and practices with perpetrators: A literature review, 2014’