

## **REVIEW REPORT**

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**An Independent Review Of Allegations That Sandy Marks Was Involved In Pro Paedophile Organisations And Whether They Have An Impact On The Conclusions Of The White Report.**

**Sarah Morgan QC**

**October 2<sup>nd</sup> 2018**

This is my Report of the Independent Review which I was appointed to conduct by Islington Council.

To those who contributed information and views, and to those I invited to meet with me in interview, I am grateful.

A very significant contribution to the work on this Review was made by the researchers and administrative staff who supported it, and by Lucy Sprinz, Counsel who has worked alongside me throughout it and during the production of this Report. I am indebted to all of them. The conclusions reached in the Report are, however, mine.

Sarah Morgan QC

October 2018

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## CHAPTER 1

### Background And Introduction To The Review

- 1.1 In May 1995 a report co-authored by Ian White and Kate Hart, two similarly qualified practitioners from a social services management background, was published. That report followed and was entitled *Inquiry Into the Management of Child Care in the London Borough of Islington*. It has become known as the White Report and so, for convenience, will it be referred to in this Report. The White Report had been preceded by a series of earlier inquiries into the abuse of children and young people in the care of the London Borough of Islington, the first of which was completed in 1989. The White Report itself makes reference to 13 previous inquiry and inspection reports.
- 1.2 In the White Report there were findings about, and serious criticisms made of, the standard of care given to children and young people in the care of Islington or for whom Islington had responsibility in the 1980s and 90s. Part of that criticism was of the prevailing culture and management in social services at the time. Echoes of those criticisms were to be found in the earlier reports.
- 1.3 Those findings, and even at a distance of some 23 years later with all that has gone between in terms of child protection failures, make for sobering reading and retain the power to shock.
- 1.4 A more detailed consideration of the conclusions of the White Report appears at Chapter 10 of this Report.
- 1.5 The London Borough of Islington accepted, following the White Report, that children and young people in its care had suffered abuse. It has been clear – and I accept – that in the years that followed it implemented changes; it closed care homes; it made apologies; it paid compensation to some of those who had been abused; and, it assisted with the reporting and investigation of alleged abusers.
- 1.6 Most recently the apology has been explicitly articulated by Richard Watts, the Leader of the Council, at a Council meeting on 28<sup>th</sup> September 2017. The apology was made initially to those who suffered abuse in the 1980s and 1990s but was extended to include those who had suffered similarly in the 1970s. A more detailed record of the responses from Islington to past failings appears at Appendix 1.

- 1.7 The Council has also been clear – and again I accept – that it continues to offer support to those who are victims and survivors of abuse, with housing; access to legal advice; access to the Islington Survivors Network; and the possibility of specialist counselling provision. There are discussions ongoing between the Council and victims and survivors about the form that the financial and other support should take. That is not something which has formed any part of this Review, nor was it ever intended that it should. That said, it will be clear from Chapter 13 that one of the things which emerged from speaking to victims and survivors is how keenly felt is the need for such provision and how vital it is that such provision should be made. I have felt it appropriate to offer comment about that in the conclusion to this Report.
- 1.8 At the same Council meeting at which the apology was offered there was a commitment to commission this Independent Review into a discrete issue which had been raised as to allegations made about a former Islington Councillor on the Terms of Reference which were recorded in the minutes of that meeting. Those Terms of Reference, which are my Terms of Reference, appear in the next section of this Report.

### **The Commissioning of the Review**

- 1.9 The commissioning of the Review came about in the following way. In May 2017 and into the following month, the Islington Gazette published articles making reference to non-recent sexual abuse, allegations about which had been the catalyst for the White and Hart Inquiry. In the context of those articles a number of assertions were made about Sandy Marks. Sandy Marks had been involved in Islington Council and Islington Children's services for a number of years in different capacities as considered in this Review – in Chapter 9 there is a list of the positions she occupied during her time on the Council following election.
- 1.10 The articles in the Islington Gazette made assertions that Sandy Marks had, only two years before first holding positions of responsibility within the Council, been personally involved with a group with an interest in sexual activity with children and a stated intention to bring forward a more permissive attitude to sexual activity with children. On at least one occasion she had, it was asserted, attended a conference of the International Gay Association held near Barcelona in April 1980, at which conference she had attended associated with a pro-paedophile group called Fallen Angels. A more detailed description of the allegations contained within the Islington Gazette reports is set out at Chapter 11.

- 1.11 The articles in the Islington Gazette and the publicity generated by them clearly raised serious concerns within the Council and Islington commissioned an opinion from James Goudie QC and Holly Stout as to whether, if true, the new information which had come to light called into question the integrity of the White Report.
- 1.12 That opinion was published by Islington Council on or about 28<sup>th</sup> September 2017. It appears at Appendix 2. It concluded that, on the basis of what the new information appeared to be capable of indicating, it could reasonably be said to call into question the integrity of the White Report. The authors of the opinion recommended a limited Independent Review and set out in an annex to the opinion suggested Terms of Reference, which became the Terms of Reference confirmed at the meeting on 28<sup>th</sup> September 2017.

### **The Approach And Appointment**

- 1.13 I was first approached by Peter Fehler, Assistant Director, Corporate and Dispute Resolution at the London Borough of Islington, via my clerk in August 2017 and asked whether I would be willing to be appointed to undertake the piece of work contemplated. I was sent the – at that stage confidential – opinion of James Goudie QC and Holly Stout to give me a background understanding of the context of the proposed investigation.
- 1.14 I then had a conversation with Mr Fehler in which I made it clear to him that whilst I was in principle interested in such an appointment that would only be on the understanding that it would not involve a commitment of time exceeding two, perhaps three, months at the outside.
- 1.15 There followed a telephone meeting on 18<sup>th</sup> September 2017 at which I had further discussions with Peter Fehler and Yinka Owa, Director of Law and Governance at the London Borough of Islington, at which more of the expectations and intentions of the Council were discussed and at which I confirmed that I would be willing to be appointed to undertake such a piece of work on the basis of (reasonably) limited and contained duration and on the basis that Counsel would be engaged to work alongside me on such an investigation. It was my position that I would wish to have a very strong input as to the identity of Counsel. I agreed at that meeting that I would reflect on the possible shape and structure of any investigation were I to be conducting it and would write a confidential discussion note of my thoughts.

- 1.16 The piece of work which I was being asked to think about was neither a re-opening of the White Inquiry nor an inquiry starting afresh into its subject matter. On what I knew then it was best characterised as a review of the integrity of the White Report in the light of the allegations made about Sandy Marks, albeit that I recognised even then that dependant on the conclusions reached there was potential for it to lead to a re-opening of the White Inquiry. To inform my thoughts as to possible shape and structure I looked at other instances where there has been the need either for a second inquiry or a review of an earlier inquiry because of further information which has come to light. In doing so I considered a number of possible approaches to the situation in Islington. Unsurprisingly the examples I looked at had been on a far larger scale but the approaches were, I thought, transferable. In looking at models and comparators there was much that was instructive in *An Independent Review Of The Tribunal Of Inquiry Into The Abuse Of Children In Care In The Former County Council Areas Of Gwynedd And Clwyd In North Wales Since 1974 'The Macur Review'*. I prepared the confidential discussion note in early October 2017.
- 1.17 On 15<sup>th</sup> November 2017 I attended a further meeting along with Counsel who had been identified to work alongside me, Lucy Sprinz. The purpose of the meeting was to consider the confidential discussion note, to discuss the shape and structure of the Review and the practicalities of making available the archived information already held by Islington; of obtaining archived information held elsewhere; and of calling for, and receiving, contributions to the Review from those who might have knowledge relevant to the Terms of Reference. At this stage I had no clear idea of the likely volume and nature of the files and archive material to be provided.
- 1.18 I identified two clear months – February and March 2018 – in which I could work exclusively on the Review and an additional period for any overflow or writing up time if required in September 2018. I was reasonably optimistic – subject to the volume of information and responses once the Review started – that it would be possible to complete the Review and submit the report by the end of March. My other professional commitments meant however that if it were not possible to conclude by the end of March, I would not be able to return to it before the end of the summer. I was also able to set aside a week in December 2017 for some reading in to the Review of files of documents delivered to me in advance.
- 1.19 The Review which I was appointed to hold was to be held in private but I have known throughout, and my letter of appointment provides, that Islington Council intends to



publish, with such redaction as may be necessary, the Report which I submit to it at the conclusion of the Review.

- 1.20 On 19<sup>th</sup> January 2018 I was appointed to lead the Independent Review. Counsel Lucy Sprinz was engaged to work alongside me. My letter of appointment is at Appendix 3.
- 1.21 The Review began on 1<sup>st</sup> February 2018. It was conducted at Islington Town Hall.
- 1.22 As it turned out, there were some unforeseen difficulties, in particular with accessing some of the archive material, which meant that that it became impossible to complete the task by the 29<sup>th</sup> March 2018. I returned to work on it on 7<sup>th</sup> September 2018 with the intention of submitting my Report to Islington by the end of that month.

## TERMS OF REFERENCE

1. To investigate the evidence as to:

- A. The nature, extent and duration of Sandy Marks' involvement in Fallen Angels and any other pro-paedophile groups;
- B. What, if any, impact that involvement had on the way she carried out her duties on the Social Services Committee, whether as a Committee member between 1983 and 1991 or as Chair between 1991 and 1995;
- C. What Ms Marks knew about the 'state of management' of Islington Social Services Department (as it is referred to in the White Report), including in particular whether she had been aware of any abuse allegations prior to the Evening Standard's story in 1992;
- D. Whether in her dealings with Fallen Angels, and possibly other paedophile groups, Ms Marks had become aware of anything relevant to the allegations of 'organised abuse' that were the subject of the White Report

And: -

2. Consider what difference, if any, the evidence in 1 above may have made to the White Report.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **Summary Of Conclusions**

- 2.1 This is a summary of the conclusions I have reached in respect of the questions which appear in the Terms of Reference to which I have worked. Each of the conclusions summarised here appears in a more detailed form in the body of the Report where I have considered and discussed the available evidence as it relates to each of those Terms of Reference. I have deliberately set out in the narrative there, the detail of how I have considered the evidence available to me and how I have drawn the conclusions I have reached. I have done so with the hope that those interested will read this Report as a whole so as to understand the nuance and context of my conclusions. In particular my conclusions as to Term of Reference 1A are not susceptible to reduction to bullet point form and require to be read in full.
- 2.2 I have also offered, at the end of the Report, comment on matters which strictly speaking fall outside my Terms of Reference but which so strongly struck me during my work on the Review that I thought it right to do so.

### **Conclusions on the Terms Of Reference**

- 2.3 I have concluded that Sandy Marks was involved with the pro-paedophile group Fallen Angels and, associated with them, attended in April 1980 a conference of the International Gay Association. As to duration, the earliest association I have found of Sandy Marks with any pro-paedophile group or issue is September 1979 and the latest July 1980.
- 2.4 I have found no evidence that her involvement had any impact on the way she carried out her duties on the Social Services Committee or any other Islington Council committee on which she sat either as member or as Chair. The incongruence between this conclusion and the one set out in paragraph 2.3 above is something I reflect upon at the end of this Report.
- 2.5 I have concluded that Ms Marks knew of the state of management of the Islington Social Services department and that she was aware of abuse allegations prior to the Evening Standard Story in 1992. In this respect my conclusion is that she had no different knowledge than that which was or ought to have been known to other members of the committees and sub committees of which she was a member and / or Chair.

- 2.6 I have found no evidence that in her dealings with Fallen Angels Ms Marks became aware of anything relevant to the allegations of 'organised abuse' that were the subject of the White Report.
- 2.7 In the light of the conclusions I have reached as to terms 1A – 1D of the Terms of Reference, I have concluded that, whilst it is not possible to say what difference knowledge of the evidence may have made to the White Report, it would have made a difference to the Inquiry. Once again the detail appears in the narrative of the body of this Report but I am satisfied that it would have altered the emphasis of the investigations conducted – notably the examination of recruiting processes, and it is likely also to have had the effect that the questions contained in the Terms of Reference to which I have worked, would have become questions for the authors of the White Report. As to which it is obvious of course but warrants explicit comment that the authors would have been addressing those questions much more proximately in time both to the International Gay Association conference of April 1980 and the Evening Standard's stories of 1992 than I have been in 2018.

#### **Additional Consideration and Conclusion**

- 2.8 Whilst it was not expressly contained in Part 2 of the Terms of Reference, having reached the conclusions I have, I thought it right to consider whether I should recommend that there should be either a re-opening of the *Inquiry Into the Management of Child Care in the London Borough of Islington* or a fresh inquiry in place of it. I do not make a recommendation for either. I have detailed my reasoning in reaching that conclusion in Chapter 19 of this Report.
- 2.9 It also seems to me that the focus, energy, and resources of Islington Council, which as I observe in this Report is a very different organisation today from the one which emerged from the White Report, should be on responding to the needs of and making provision for those who were abused as children in its care in non-recent times and on protecting those children for whom it has responsibility today.
- 2.10 The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse ('IICSA') is ongoing. Its terms of reference are at Appendix 4. Included in those terms of reference are the following:
1. *To consider the extent to which State and non-State institutions have failed in their duty of care to protect children from sexual abuse and exploitation; to consider the extent to which those failings have since been addressed; to identify further action needed to address any failings identified; to consider the steps which it is necessary*

*for State and non-State institutions to take in order to protect children from such abuse in future; and to publish a report with recommendations.*

*2. In doing so to:*

- o Consider all the information which is available from the various published and unpublished reviews, court cases, and investigations which have so far concluded.*

2.11 It is my expectation that Islington Council will provide to IICSA a copy of my Report.

## CHAPTER 3

### Independence

3.1 From an early stage it was impressed upon me that it was intended that any review commissioned by Islington should be independent. There was a sensitivity not only to actual but also to perceived independence. Whilst what is set out below explains the way in which independence was maintained and the security and integrity of information coming to and held by the Review was managed, independence is above all a state of mind and an approach to thinking.

#### Venue

3.2 I was asked whether I would feel that to hold the Review physically on Islington owned premises would be problematic in terms of independence. I did not. There were a number of reasons for this.

3.3 I was confident that I would not have difficulty preserving my independence of mind regardless of location. As a matter of practicality, even at an early stage, it was clear to me that this was likely to be a 'document heavy' Review and much of that which I would want to examine would be held on premises owned or managed by Islington and it would also be important for me to have unfettered access to examine that material.

3.4 It also seemed to me that there was a proportionality to be borne in mind. This is a Review commissioned by a Local Council using public money. The unnecessary incurring of the expense of taking a lease on other premises – which those making arrangements at the Council had contemplated doing – was, for me, unconscionable having regard to the other calls on the resources of the Council. Children and young people for whom Islington has responsibility today continue to need protection from the sort of harm which those non-recently abused in Islington experienced as children. It should be understood however that I had no doubt in my discussions with the Council about this that had I taken a different view arrangements would have been made.

3.5 I realised however that my decision meant that scrupulous care would be required to ensure that there was no inadvertent blurring of the lines so as to preserve the independence of the Review.

3.6 It also meant that I needed to have in mind that there might be people who would not want to come to see me on Islington premises and I would need to have other options

for them. I arranged that I would offer anyone I intended to see in person but who did not wish to come to Islington the option of meeting instead at my chambers in central London.

- 3.7 Although we were made welcome by staff at Islington on arrival and offered the use of the staff room facilities during the time that we were working at the Town Hall we elected not to take this up so as to avoid the risk of inadvertent overhearing by us of the conversations of Council employees or of falling into incautious behaviour and conversation ourselves.

### **Support Staff for the Review**

- 3.8 The Review was supported by:
- a. Two researchers – each freelancers with professional qualifications engaged to work on the Review;
  - b. One administrative assistant/ paralegal;
  - c. A nominated solicitor in Islington Legal services [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

- 3.9 At Appendix 5 there is a list of the names of those staff who supported the Review.

- 3.10 The Review also had access to use of and assistance from the Council Press Office. In addition there was support from IT and from an Information Governance Officer who provided practical assistance when required, such as the purchasing of SD cards for photographing documents or providing recording equipment for interviews.

### **Issues Arising as to the Perception of Independence in Relation to Earlier Research**

- 3.11 There are three issues which arose which I set out here for the sake of transparency. I make it clear that none impacted upon the independence of the Review I conducted but importance attached both to independence and the perception of independence means that it is right to include them in this section.

- 3.12 When Islington Council had instructed James Goudie QC and Helen Stout to advise on the action the Council should take, those two Counsel were provided with a body of material to enable them to give that advice. I have not seen an index to that material; I am not clear who was charged with gathering and referencing that material. I have not sought to

go behind the resulting opinion or to question the materials on which the conclusions were reached. I make reference to that material here only to acknowledge that I am aware that there will have been some examination of Islington held papers in connection with their provision and that my own search and examination of papers has been conducted independently from that.

- 3.13 After the receipt of James Goudie QC's opinion but prior to the initial approach to me the Council had set about gathering and collating information likely to be relevant to the remit of what became this Review. The need for this to have been done is obvious but it gave rise to some consequences to which I had to give careful thought once I started work on the Review.
- 3.14 Since Islington had engaged someone to research information in advance of the commissioning of the Review and well before my appointment, the terms of engagement reflected what was at that time thought to be appropriate. Those terms had, not unreasonably at the time, included an element of reporting to the Council and of advising and drawing conclusions, all of which was inappropriate once the Review commenced and the researcher in question became one of the two researchers to the Review, because it was inconsistent with the Review's independence. The relevant extract from those terms of engagement are at Appendix 6.
- 3.15 I drew this to the attention of Sean McLaughlin, then Corporate Director of Housing and Adult Social Services, and explained that those parts of the terms of engagement could not continue. There was immediate agreement and an instruction was issued to that effect. I was also told – and accepted – that although the terms of engagement provided for it in fact there had been no reporting or advising to the Council.
- 3.16 The person collating material in the earlier stages before my appointment had, consistent with the then operative terms of engagement, drawn up some of her own thoughts and preliminary ideas about likely areas of investigation and interview. These I declined to take when offered at the outset of my work since I wanted to be sure that the thoughts and decisions about those matters were mine and formed from my own reading of the available material. Towards the end of my working on the Review, I did ask to see them so as to see whether my own independently formed thoughts and decisions had resulted in a markedly different list of those to whom I might wish to speak and, if so, whether any difference made me think I might be missing a source of evidence relevant to my Terms of Reference. It did not.



- 3.17 In due course I also asked for a copy of all the contacts and discussions the researcher had had in collating material in the period before my appointment. I should stress that in asking for this I was not questioning the integrity of the researcher in question, who has set about her task in a professional and skilled way. The issue for me was that because her engagement had come about in a hybrid way, working first to the Council on one basis and then to the Review on another, I needed to satisfy myself that nothing in the earlier stages of information gathering could have affected either the actual or perceived independence of the Review. I stress also that I was so satisfied and that I record it here solely for the purpose of transparency.
- 3.18 Also prior to my appointment there had been an Islington employee involved in the information gathering exercise. At some point a complaint was made from a representative of the Islington Survivors Network, that that person was potentially someone with a conflict of interest. It had been made clear to the Council that the continued presence of that individual would inhibit provision of information by some to the Review. By the time I arrived a decision had already been taken that that person would not work on the Review.
- 3.19 The fact that the issue of potential for conflict had been raised however highlighted the need for a clear demarcation between the focussed Terms of Reference of the Review and those other strands of work with and on behalf of victims and survivors being undertaken by the Council. I took the decision and gave the instruction that there was to be no transfer or provision of information during the lifetime of this Review to any of those undertaking other aspects of work in the Council. For absolute clarity I extended this prohibition even to information which I had taken or had copied from Islington's own files and records.

### **Conflict Of Interest**

- 3.20 I was asked when my appointment was under consideration to declare whether I had any personal involvement or involvement of family or close friends with Islington Council in the 1970s, 1980s or 1990s. I was able to declare that I had no such connection.
- 3.21 I was not asked to declare any previous professional relationship with the Council but thought it prudent to check. I have been accepting instructions as a barrister in private practice since 1989. I have no memory of having been instructed in that time to appear on behalf of Islington. My current clerk was able to confirm from records that that was

so dating back to 1999. I have on occasion in private practice appeared acting for parties against Islington and, although I do not have a memory of it, may have since 2012 heard, when sitting as a Recorder in the Family Courts, cases in which Islington was a party. Nothing in either my records or memory caused me to identify a conflict of interest. A similar exercise carried out in relation to Lucy Sprinz revealed nothing either in her records or memory which identified a conflict of interest.

- 3.22 The subject matter of the Terms of Reference, the nature of the collated material for the Review and the context in which the White Report came to be written called for a particular sensitivity in the collating of materials for and making of enquiries on behalf of, the Review. I am entirely satisfied that during the time that I have been working on the Review those individuals identified as support staff to the Review have been conscious of the need for that sensitivity and conducted themselves with integrity and I have detected no association with any of the interested groups such as would compromise their independence.
- 3.23 In the course of my identification and examination of original documents held by Islington Council relevant to this Review I have inevitably seen documents which contained other information of a confidential nature not relevant for my purposes. I was not asked to sign any confidentiality agreement before being given free access to the documents held but for the avoidance of doubt I have proceeded as if I were bound by such an agreement. The same approach was taken by Lucy Sprinz.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **Practicalities**

#### **Physical Location and Security and Storage of Materials**

- 4.1 Two rooms were set aside in the Town Hall to house the Review – G10 and G8. G10 was the room in which Lucy Sprinz and I worked and where we stored the documents which we read for the Review. It was secured by swipe card and keypad coded entry. On arrival the keypad code was changed to one known only to me and to Lucy Sprinz. The room contained lockable cabinets in which were kept materials and documents on which we worked during the Review. Only Lucy Sprinz and I had copies of the keys for those cabinets. On the first morning a meeting with Sean McLaughlin as to the practicalities and arrangements was held in this room. There was also a series of visits from IT staff to set up and then solve the inevitable teething problems with IT.
- 4.2 I took a decision on Day 1 that thereafter no other people connected with the Review, including those collating information to be made available to us, and those giving administrative support would have access to the room. Such meetings as would be necessary would be held in G8. We held to that approach throughout. For the avoidance of doubt no one else, except for cleaners who entered G10 to clean the room only while either Lucy Sprinz or I were also there, and on one occasion facility staff to remove a piece of equipment also in my presence, entered that room throughout the duration of the Review.
- 4.3 G8 was a room configured for the purpose of interviewing anyone contributing to the Review. Whilst it was impossible to identify potential interviewees in advance of reading, it was obvious that some would be likely to be victims and survivors of non-recent abuse. The room was set up with that in mind, affording space, quiet, privacy and some informal seating and waiting as well as a table and chairs and recording devices for interviews and meetings. Recognising that a respect for personal space might well be of especial importance to someone who had experienced sexual abuse there were a range of seating configurations available in the interview setting and in relation to victims and survivors I, on each occasion, took my cue from them as to which arrangement was preferred.
- 4.4 During my working on the Review in February and March 2018 G8 was locked when not in use and was used only for purposes associated with the Review. Although used for

meetings and discussions about collation of materials, none were stored or left there. It was important to me that those coming to the room to make contributions to the Review, most especially those who were victims and survivors of non-recent abuse experienced in the care of Islington, should be received in a room designated for that purpose and arranged with their needs in mind. No-one should feel that they were coming to be interviewed in a storage room or office.

- 4.5 The Council has acknowledged and apologised for the abuse and I saw indications of the seriousness which today's Council is addressing its past. There was no sense in which I had to push for this facility; it was largely in place when I arrived. Amongst those members of staff at Islington who set up the room, and who had been working on it before my arrival, I detected not only that careful and sensitive thought had been given to the task but a real desire to ensure that anyone coming to it should feel welcomed, comfortable and respected.
- 4.6 G8 was located on the ground floor of the Town Hall with step-free access and so was appropriate to meet the access needs of all those who came to see me.

#### **Communications with the Review**

- 4.7 Dedicated email addresses were arranged for communications relating to the Review to which Lucy Sprinz and I, but not others providing administrative or research support, had access. Those email addresses were not connected to or associated with the Islington Council server. Save as dealt with in the paragraph below only Lucy Sprinz and I had the passwords to access those accounts.
- 4.8 Those email addresses were set up by the Project Delivery & Solutions Engineer at Islington Council, who, by virtue of setting up and managing the accounts, had administrator access to those accounts. It was agreed in advance of the email address for the Review being made known to the public that he would not access the account for any reason and we established that it would be possible to obtain a log at the end of the Review of whether there had been any administrator access to the account and, if so, the date and time of each access. On that basis I could be sure that no one other than Lucy Sprinz or me accessed those email accounts.
- 4.9 At the conclusion of Review, all communications received to the address [info@2018review.org.uk](mailto:info@2018review.org.uk) were archived. Those coming from people who self-identified as victims and survivors of abuse wishing to share their personal experience were redacted. Others were redacted as to the personal contact details.

- 4.10 Communications received by post were delivered to me in G10 unopened. Notes left at the front desk likewise.
- 4.11 I thought about but did not provide a telephone contact number. It was not practicable for such a number to be permanently monitored either by me or by Lucy Sprinz during the Review; I wished to avoid receiving unidentifiable contributions and I was also keen to avoid the potential for confusion between any such number and the telephone helpline number established by the Council as part of the provision for victims and survivors. I did however, on some occasions when specifically asked to do so, contact or attempt to contact by recorded telephone a contributor who had sent by email or post a request that I did so.

#### **Documents Provided to the Review**

- 4.12 I have characterised this Review elsewhere as 'document heavy'. By that I mean that the greater part of that which I had to examine and consider in order to address the Terms of Reference was in the form of documentary material. At Appendix 7 there is provided a list of the documentary materials received by the Review and those documents which I accessed both within and outwith of Islington for the Review. In the next Chapter there is provided a document setting out the provenance of those documents.
- 4.13 On 9<sup>th</sup> February 2018 I issued a call for information to the Review, as described in Chapter 6 on the process of deciding who to interview, in the terms which appear at Appendix 8.
- 4.14 On 29<sup>th</sup> March 2018 I issued a press release posted on the London Borough of Islington website indicating that the Review was no longer taking contributions.
- 4.15 In some instances, as I have detailed in the body of this report, I identified individuals who I had reason to believe had documents of relevance and in those instances I asked for copies of those documents from them.
- 4.16 All documents which were received by the Review were read regardless of initial impressions as to relevance. In the case of documents with hyperlinks or attachments to digital audio or visual recordings those were listened to or viewed.
- 4.17 Some of the Archive documentation to which I needed access was not in the control of Islington Council but was held elsewhere. I was greatly assisted by the keeper of the London Metropolitan Archives who permitted on my behalf not only access to those parts not normally publicly available but also copying of relevant documents. Significant

assistance was also provided by the keeper of the archives at the London School of Economics.

## **Interviews**

- 4.18 I have described in Chapter 6 how I made decisions about who to interview in connection with this Review. My Review was conducted in private and I did not hold oral hearings. I conducted interviews with those who I had reason to believe had information that was relevant to my Terms of Reference or who had responded to the call for information indicating that they had such information. I had no power to compel attendance or to compel answers to questions. I did not feel disadvantaged by this. All those who attended for interview did so voluntarily and accompanied if they wished. I have described separately in Chapter 12 the specific arrangements I made in relation to my interviews of Sandy Marks. I had no power either to take evidence on oath or affirmation and explained as much to those I saw. I impressed on each also however that if they chose to answer the questions I asked them I expected them to do so truthfully. It was my view that the importance of truthful answers was understood.
- 4.19 The nature of the questions I asked was largely dependant on the interviewee. Where I had questions I asked them openly and often with an explanation of why I wanted to know the answer. I had not intended them to be in the style of cross-examination. Some interviews were more discursive than others. In the case of those who identified themselves as victims and survivors I asked very few questions but instead listened. Where I found I had follow up questions about what I was being told of personal experiences of non-recent abuse or other personal history I asked first if the interviewee would mind if I asked a question about it.

## **Recording of Interviews**

- 4.20 I conducted all interviews myself, on each occasion accompanied by Lucy Sprinz. All but one were in person. One was conducted by telephone. As set out above, all those who came in person were offered an alternative venue to the Town Hall. None required it. On one occasion an arranged telephone interview with someone who had identified as a victim and survivor was missed because of a mistake made by me as to time. I contacted the individual to offer both apology and re-scheduling. The apology was accepted with conspicuous grace but the rescheduling was declined. I told each person in advance of the interview that I would be accompanied, that I would record the interview and that I would provide a transcript following the interview. On a very few occasions when, at the

conclusion of the interview, I reminded the person that I would be providing a transcript I was asked not to do so and on those occasions I did not. On one occasion someone attending for interview also brought their own recording device to record our conversation.

- 4.21 The interviews were recorded using a digital recording device which was kept on for the whole of the meeting. The device was sensitive so as to enable especially victims and survivors to sit wherever in the room they felt more comfortable without losing the recording. The recordings were transcribed using a specialist service independent of Islington Council: this was a service that is regularly used to transcribe court hearings and other recordings involving sensitive and confidential information. The service restricted the access to the audio recordings that they received to the minimum number of people required to provide the transcriptions and signed a non-disclosure agreement prior to receiving any transcripts to guarantee the confidentiality of the material heard. I explained to all who identified as victims and survivors how the transcription would be undertaken.
- 4.22 When sending for transcription interviews with victims and survivors, I provided a name for use in the transcript in place of the person's given name so as to maintain the confidentiality of what are inevitably highly personal contents. I explained this at the conclusion of each interview and offered to those who wished it the opportunity to choose a name from a list of cyphers. The thinking behind this was that should I write about them in this Report, it would enable the individual concerned to know that it is them, whilst not identifying them to the world at large. Some wanted this; some did not. I checked that there was no objection to me writing in this Report about what I had been told with each of those who are mentioned in Chapter 13.
- 4.23 In addition to interviews I also held meetings as set out at Appendix 9 with two members of Islington Council senior staff. On these occasions the meeting was minuted by a note taken by Lucy Sprinz and the minute then offered for comment.
- 4.24 I had one informal meeting accompanied by Lucy Sprinz with another member of Islington Council senior staff which was unminuted. I had one informal meeting alone with the Chief Executive Officer of Islington Council early in the proceedings to ask for factual information so as to enable me to understand the structural set up and working of the Council committee system. This meeting was also unminuted.

## **Additional Comments On Working Method**

- 4.25 Before I started to write up this Report I had intended to include in this part of it a separate and detailed section as to methodology. It has however seemed to me to be more useful to me in explaining, and I hope to those reading in understanding, to incorporate into the relevant part of the narrative in the body of the Report, the way I have set about considering the material and the analysis which has then led to my conclusions as to each part of the Terms of Reference.
- 4.26 In terms of the analysis, I reached a decision on Term of Reference 1A before going on to consider the rest of the Terms of Reference. The reasoning behind this is that, had I reached a different conclusion as to 1A, then 1B and 1D as worded and, probably in reality, 1C would have fallen away. In an ideal world our reading would have matched the sequence of the analysis but, as will be apparent from Chapter 5, the timing of the availability of material meant that in order to make use of the time allocated to the Review material was read as and when it became available.
- 4.27 In the body of this Report I have, for ease of reference, referred on occasion to the Terms of Reference by the numbering as it appears in Chapter 1. During the writing of this Report however, not least because of a degree of overlap in issues raised by the Terms of Reference 1B and 1C and of the documentary evidence which fell to be examined in considering them, it was more convenient to reverse the order. So it is that in this Report 1C appears before 1B.
- 4.28 Where I have reached conclusions I have done so on the balance of probabilities.
- 4.29 In the text of this Report there is sometimes used the first person singular, sometimes the first person plural. The former is reflective of the fact that the conclusions drawn and the responsibility for them is mine; the latter reflective of the fact that throughout the process I have worked with and alongside Lucy Sprinz and that much of the reading and analysis of the source material has been undertaken together. This on the basis not only that two sets of eyes are better than one but on the basis also that a second head is a wise guard against oversight, easy assumption and inadvertent prejudice.



## CHAPTER 5

### Documents Received And Considered By The Review And Their Provenance

- 5.1 References to the alphabetical sections refer to the sections of documents listed in the index at Appendix 7 which sets out a list of all documents received.
- 5.2 11<sup>th</sup> December 2017 – Sections B and C:
- a. Section B – copies of previous review and investigation reports conducted by Islington prior to the White Report. These were read in December 2017 as background to the Review.
  - b. Section C – copies of documents from a box of files in children’s services archives. These arrived on 11<sup>th</sup> December 2017 in two royal mail sacks. They totalled 10 lever arch files of double sided documents and contained a wide range of documents, the details of which are set out within the index at Appendix 7 but in summary contained: historical correspondence that had been provided to James Goudie QC and Holly Stout prior to the preparation of James Goudie QC’s opinion; a wide variety of documents provided by the Evening Standard to the Social Services Inspectorate and to the London Borough of Islington in 1992 – 1995 to enable them to investigate their allegations and for the various reviews to be conducted; case files in respect of a number of children who had suffered sexual abuse in Islington care homes in the 1980s – 1990s, and case files in respect of investigations into organised abuse in Islington in the late 1990s. This is not an exhaustive list, which is provided in the index, but provides an overview of the content of these papers. These files were read throughout the course of the Review as the extent to which they might or might not have relevance only became clear as the Review continued.
- 5.3 19<sup>th</sup> December 2017 – Section A:
- a. A bundle of approximately 300 pages of what were described as ‘key documents’. These were documents that had been collated by one of the researchers to the Review.
  - b. These were provided on 19<sup>th</sup> December 2017 and read prior to the Review formally commencing.
- 5.4 26<sup>th</sup> January 2018 – Section D:

- a. A section described as 'media sources' – this section of materials comprised approximately 1,350 pages of documentation that had been printed off by an administrative assistant to the Review from various publicly accessible websites, comprised of copies of newspapers and tabloid articles collated in blogs. Much of the material was illegible due to the online resources having poor copies or being so small as to be indecipherable.
- b. These were provided on 26<sup>th</sup> January 2018.
- c. All of this material was read and those documents that were illegible were studied for relevance and then enhanced electronically to read if relevant.

5.5 1<sup>st</sup> February 2018 – Section E:

- a. 39 pages of documents described to be copies of those documents provided to the Press Officer for the Islington Council by the Islington Gazette in May 2017 following publication of the Islington Gazette's articles. The documents were copied by an administrative assistant to the Review.
- b. These documents were provided on 1<sup>st</sup> February 2018. Subsequently a copy of the emails sent by the Islington Gazette to the Press Officer for Islington Council were provided.
- c. This section comprised many of the documents and materials referred to in the Islington Gazette.

5.6 The Strong Room Files: we had access to the Strong Room having been provided with our own key and obtained all documents in the list below ourselves. We read everything in the order that they were filed in, although sometimes this was not chronological. We did not alter the filing system and left the documents as we found them aside from: stapling certain documents that had clearly had staples holding them together previously; flagging with removable tags relevant sections. The list below is a list of the files that were accessed by us and the dates on which they were accessed: a complete list of each document read is contained in Appendix 7:

- a. 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2018: Social Services and Health Committee Minute Book 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1989.
- b. 5<sup>th</sup> February 2018:
  - i. Neighbourhood Services Committee Minutes – 18.6.1990 – 23.3.1993.

- ii. Case Review Sub-Committee Minute Book - 26.6.1989 - 30.1.1997.
- c. 6<sup>th</sup> February 2018: Case Review Sub-Committee Interleavings files – volumes 12 and 13 – covering 7.6.1991 – 8.4.1993.
- d. 12<sup>th</sup> February 2018:
  - i. Liam Johnson Working Group Number 1 file
  - ii. Working Group number 2 file which is markedly less full and obviously incomplete than the Working Group Number 1 file.
  - iii. A box file, which, so far as I can tell appears to be a file that is Sandy Marks' own personal file, by which I mean personal as Councillor using it for Council business, containing documents to do with Working Group 2 and documents to do with publication of the Liam Johnson report generally and what looks to me to be her own copy of the Liam Johnson report marked up personally by her with comment.
- e. 15<sup>th</sup> February 2018: we returned to the Strong Room to access the Islington Gay and Lesbian Committee files the entirety of which were missing. I discussed this with a senior manager who immediately directed a search as a result of which they were found in another part of the building. For the avoidance of doubt and because missing files have been an issue of concern in earlier investigations, it is right to record that there was nothing sinister in what turned out to be the temporary removal of these files from the place they should have been. They were finally received and read on 7<sup>th</sup> March 2018. While in the strong room on the afternoon of 15<sup>th</sup> February 2018 we studied every file and folder in every shelf in the Strong Room to check whether there were other relevant documents that we had not previously accessed. We were able to confirm that I had accessed and read all those documents that seemed relevant to the Terms of Reference of my Review.
- f. A full list of those files that were accessed and read is set out at Appendix 7. All of those documents that I have read and which are referred to in the Appendix as the Strong Room Files have been copied and have been archived along with the other materials which form the basis of this Review.

5.7 6<sup>th</sup> February 2018 – Section F:

- a. On 29<sup>th</sup> January 2018 Dr. Liz Davies provided an administrative assistant to the Review with a USB stick containing various documents that she had collated and deemed relevant to the Review.
- b. The contents of the USB stick were printed off and paginated by the administrative assistant and provided to us on 6<sup>th</sup> February 2018 in lever arch files that contained 1,800 pages of documents ranging from newspaper articles relating to child abuse in Islington in the 1980s – 1990s; to articles relating to child abuse and child deaths across the UK; to documents relating to the Paedophile Information Exchange; copies of correspondence with Islington councillors and minutes of Islington Council meetings and files; and what were referred to as dossiers of evidence about child abuse within Islington.
- c. These documents were all read during the course of the week of 6<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> February 2018.

5.8 LSE Archives: as detailed in Chapter 14 of this Report Lucy Sprinz attended the LSE archives on 21<sup>st</sup> – 22<sup>nd</sup> February and 26<sup>th</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> February 2018. She had been very helpfully assisted by the archivist at the LSE prior to arrival who had confirmed which files contained those documents referred to in the Islington Gazette articles. However, I did not want to limit my search to only those files and therefore a wider search within the LSE Archives was undertaken using those key words relevant to the Review. A full list of those files that were accessed and read are set out at Appendix 7. From those documents read, all of those with potential relevance to the Terms of Reference of the Review were photographed and copied and have been archived along with the other materials which form the basis of this Review, in the Section entitled LSE archives.

5.9 Charlotte Russell documents:

- a. Over the period 21<sup>st</sup> February 2018 to 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2018 Charlotte Russell provided a number of documents by email to the Review's general information email address, that she had collated and deemed relevant to the Review.
- b. The contents of those emails were printed off and paginated by Lucy Sprinz. They comprise approximately 200 pages of documents. Once studied it became clear that they were, in the main, the same documentation that had been provided by the Islington Gazette and that Ms Sprinz had independently accessed in the LSE archives but also contained some more detailed information in relation to the Campaign Against Public Morals.

- c. These documents were all read at the time that they were provided.

#### 5.10 London Metropolitan Archives – Section G:

- a. Another set of Archives identified as likely to contain information relevant to the Terms of Reference to the Review was the London Metropolitan Archives, which contained the minutes and files relating to meetings held by the London Borough Children’s Regional Planning Committee, on which Sandy Marks was a Chair and / or member.
- b. During February and March 2018 two researchers to the Review attended at the London Metropolitan Archives and identified all documents contained within those archives which may be relevant to the Terms of Reference of my Review. In the main body of this Report I have detailed the criteria I gave them to work to as to relevance. They then photographed (as the only permissible means of copying) all of those documents.
- c. These photographs were then printed off and paginated by an administrative assistance and provided to me in the weeks of 5<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> March 2018 in lever arch files that contained approximately 1800 pages of documents.
- d. These documents were read in the weeks of 5<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> March 2018 when they were provided to us.

5.11 Responses to the Call for Information: as detailed in the Background to the Review section of this Report I sent out a call for information as part of the process of gathering information for this Review. In response to that call for information I received numerous emails to the Review email address, all of which have been saved and stored. Some of those emails contained confidential and highly personal information which did not go to or touch on the Terms of Reference to this Review. I have not thought it right to archive those emails unredacted and so in those instances they are archived only in redacted form. I recognise that sometimes that has resulted in an email which is almost entirely redacted but where that is so it is because I have felt it consistent with the assurance given to the sender that absent a child protection issue it would be seen only by me or by Lucy Sprinz. Some of those emails were lengthy and contained a good deal of information thought by the sender to be relevant to the Review. All emails received to the Review email address were printed off and read by Lucy Sprinz and I. Where the contents of them was relevant to the Terms of Reference of my Review it is mentioned within the body of this Report.

5.12 On 29<sup>th</sup> March 2018 an announcement was made on the Islington Council website (which was tweeted and reported in the Islington local press) setting out that the Review was no longer accepting contributions. Despite that the Review email address continued to receive a few further emails over the next few months, and in one instance a letter was sent to Islington Town Hall marked for my attention, which the senders believed contained information relevant to the Review. The approach I took to these late contributions on returning to work on the Review was to examine them to identify whether they contained information which was relevant; whether I believed I would need to make arrangements to speak to the sender or to ask Sandy Marks about the issue raised and, regardless of relevance to my Terms of Reference, whether they raised any safeguarding concern or allegation of abuse not previously made. It was not my view that it would have been safe simply to ignore those contributions as being too late. Where the contents of those contributions was relevant to the Terms of Reference of my Review it is mentioned within the body of this report.

## CHAPTER 6

### The Process Of Deciding Who To Interview

- 6.1 It had been evident to me from the outset that a good deal of the material which I would need to examine to conduct the Review would be in the form of documentation and that a significant amount of my time would be spent reading rather than interviewing people. It was also obvious to me that there would be individuals I would be able to identify from those documents from whom I would like to hear and of whom I would be likely to have questions. Those individuals I contacted and invited to speak to me in interview.
- 6.2 I also knew from the outset that I would want to talk to Sandy Marks. I had been unsure whether she would be willing to be interviewed and so had in mind contacting her immediately to establish this. In fact she was keen to speak to me, to the extent that because of a slight delay in being able to set up a secure email address, she had contacted the Council asking to speak to me before I had been able to make contact with her. Since the Terms of Reference fell into two distinct parts: first, the allegations made in the Gazette; and then those parts which related to her time on Islington council; I decided that it would be both useful to me and fair to her to talk to her more than once. I wanted also to be able to talk to her when I had read sufficient archive and other relevant documentary material to be able to put to her and ask her about those parts which were relevant to my thinking.
- 6.3 In addition, I wanted to ensure that, in the event that a victim or survivor made any allegations about Sandy Marks during the course of my Review, I had the chance to speak to her about those allegations so as to give her a fair opportunity to respond. As it transpired no one made any allegations about her conduct and so this issue did not arise.
- 6.4 At Appendix 9 I append a list of those who I have interviewed. As part of my reading for this Review I had read a suggestion from one contributor that the authors of an earlier report, as part of their process, had held 'off the record' discussions or accepted 'off the record' submissions. I took the opportunity when speaking to Kate Hart to ask her if there had been 'off the record' interviews in the White Inquiry. To her knowledge there had not been. There were confidential annexes to the report of those who were spoken to but if a name was redacted that did not mean that there had been an informal conversation. She also made the point that not all of what every person they spoke to said to them would have appeared in the final report. I did not need to investigate

further whether that had in fact happened. It was not an approach that I was prepared to take. Similarly I had decided that I would not be prepared to take anonymous contributions – as distinct from contributions from people whose identities were known to me but which I might decide should remain confidential. As it turned out I was not approached by any respondent anonymously.

6.5 Amongst the late communications I received was one from someone asking to remain unidentified. As it turned out the communication was not one which has informed or been part of my analysis in this Review.

6.6 In deciding who I would need to interview I tried to take a pragmatic and proportionate approach and to keep in mind the following: because I had a large volume of documentary material available to me I was able to find in it information which made it unnecessary for me to seek information by interview as I may otherwise have had to; I was not reopening and investigating afresh the substance of the White Inquiry, still less the articles preceding it in the Evening Standard and I did not take the view that I needed to re-interview all of those who had been interviewed in connection with that Inquiry or those who responded to and implemented the changes arising from its report. Save in respect of those who self-identified as victims or survivors (as to which more below) I only sought to interview those who I had reason to think could help me with the Terms of Reference to which I was working. In some instances people I would have liked to speak to had died. In some instances people I would have liked to speak to did not respond to my request.

6.7 There are two other instances where I had hoped to speak to someone but was ultimately unable to do so.

6.8 In one instance a third party during interview told me that they remained in contact with a particular individual and offered to ask any question I might have of and relay back to me the answer from that person who, in their view, would not wish to be interviewed. Although I accept that that offer was made in good faith I did not think it was an appropriate approach. As it happens I had in any event contact details for that person, who had previously indicated to one of my research team a willingness to have contact. I did approach them but received no response. I was able ultimately to resolve by looking elsewhere what I had intended to discuss with this individual but I felt some disquiet that someone who had previously expressed themselves as willing to receive contact was unresponsive when contacted by the means given. Very late in the day as I was writing up this Report I received a response to my approach, although not one that



indicated a willingness to assist substantively. As indicated, by then I had resolved what I would otherwise have wished to ask them about.

- 6.9 The other instance also arose following an attendance at interview when I was contacted to ask whether I would wish to hear from (but not offered contact details for) a named individual who, it was said, remembered information about one of the addresses with which the Fallen Angels were said to be connected in 1980. I said that I did and asked for the contact details of the Review to be passed to that person, or theirs to me. I heard nothing more, despite my further enquiry. In this instance I do not know how talking to this person might have added to my knowledge of the situation in 1980. I was however, as detailed elsewhere in this report, able to identify from archive material sufficient evidence of the connection between addresses in North London, Fallen Angels and Sandy Marks to reach the conclusions I have.
- 6.10 I thought it would be unsafe and unwise to proceed on the basis that I would be able to identify for myself all of those who might have useful information or experiences to contribute to my Review and I therefore released a call for information drawing attention to the Terms of Reference of the Review and inviting those who believed that they had information relevant to those terms to contact me and providing both an email address and a postal address at which they could do so. The call for information was posted on the London Borough of Islington website; on twitter and re-tweeted on social media; and published in the local Islington press. Most of the responses I had to the call for information came from within Greater London but I also received responses from other parts of the country and from abroad.
- 6.11 Not all of the responses to the call for information seemed at first glance to bear directly on the Terms of Reference. I cautioned myself however against taking too prescriptive a view, without further exploration, of whether a contribution was likely to be relevant. Sometimes it is only by hearing further that the relevance emerges.
- 6.12 Some responses came from people who identified themselves as victims and survivors of abuse experienced whilst children in the care of Islington Council. I was especially conscious in relation to those respondents that their lived experience and the desire to contribute it to a process of review relating to the Council in whose care they had been when abused required some careful thought. It seemed right to me to listen to, rather than to shut out, those who were willing to share their personal experiences if they related to the time frame of the Terms of Reference which I was examining in relation to

Sandy Marks, even if to me it did not seem likely that their experiences would be directly relevant to the relatively focussed Terms of Reference of my Review.

- 6.13 Even in those instances where I thought it was right to invite to talk to me personally someone who had come forward and asked to do so, I retained some anxiety about where the line should be drawn. There is also underway as part of the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse ('IICSA') a valuable and overdue opportunity for those who have experienced abuse to speak of that experience and be heard in a confidential and supportive setting – 'The Truth Project'. A question I asked myself was whether those who came forward to tell me of their experiences in Islington should be redirected to that resource – though I note that in fact in at least one instance a respondent had already spoken to the Truth Project. I was conscious that the interviews I offered victims and survivors were neither the same model, nor for the same purpose as the Truth Project. I hope that anyone attending for interview in whatever capacity would feel that they were heard and listened to with respect and courtesy and that such questions as I asked were clear and straightforward. Nevertheless the primary purpose of interviewing people was to hear from those who had, or might have, information relevant to my Review and to help me in addressing the questions I had been asked about Sandy Marks.
- 6.14 After considered reflection I decided that the right approach was invite to interview those victims and survivors who expressed a wish to speak to me if, so far as I was able to tell – they fell into the time frame I had been asked to look at in relation to Sandy Marks. Insofar as it has helped me with my Terms of Reference I have said so. In so far as what I have heard should, in my view, inform and form part of the thinking of others I have similarly indicated that.
- 6.15 A balance however had to be struck. Some respondents wished to tell me of experiences which related to the early 1970 and 1960s and into the 1950s. Those responses I received from people whose lived experiences were far outside the time frame of the events I had been asked to consider in connection to Sandy Marks I did not interview. In those instances I knew that to do so could not assist my Review whether as to the direct questions I had been asked to address or as to the context of Sandy Marks' state of awareness either of management or of allegations of abuse.
- 6.16 There were other responses from individuals who, whilst obviously feeling a keen interest were not (or did not identify themselves as) victims or survivors of time in Islington's care. Sometimes those responses were voluminous and clearly directed at

what the respondents felt should be far wider terms of reference. Some respondents included in their communications lengthy written submissions to the Review.

- 6.17 There is an active and well-organised survivors network organisation in Islington called the Islington Survivors Network ('ISN'). It was incorporated as a company limited by guarantee in January 2017 and is run by a combination of victims and survivors and people who advocate for victims and survivors. ISN has represented the interests of victims and survivors to good effect with Islington Council.
- 6.18 Some individuals who contacted me to speak of their experience did so making explicit mention of the fact that they had been alerted to the Review by the ISN. In one instance the respondent had left on the email trail an email sent out by the ISN to members, giving the Review contact email address along with its own advice to members in relation to contacting the Review. It was surprising to me that on this email, amongst the information being sent to members by the ISN, the Terms of Reference of the Review did not appear. This caused me to worry that those being encouraged to contact me might not have a proper understanding of the purpose for which I had been appointed. I was anxious that an already vulnerable group should not misunderstand either the purpose or remit of this Review and so from that point on, each time an individual contacted me I included in my reply a link to the call for information and Terms of Reference. I did not want them to come to speak to me thinking that I was investigating allegations of non-recent child abuse, re-investigating the terms of reference of the White Report or looking at a wider remit than I was.
- 6.19 Dr Liz Davies has been a dedicated supporter of the ISN. She appears as guarantor on its incorporation documents and has been its spokesperson and staunch advocate. She has devoted decades to her investigations in relation to child abuse in Islington. As will be apparent from Chapter 17 of this Report she has had significant involvement in the police investigations into reports of organised and network abuse. In the context of this Review she was a person who was generous in her contribution both in terms of the large volume of written material which she provided and in terms of her time in making herself available to speak to me.
- 6.20 I realised – not least because some told me so – that there was an element of sharing of knowledge and feeding back of information within the ISN and with Dr Liz Davies by some victims and survivors who had contacted me and been interviewed and others who had contacted me but who I had not asked to talk to me. There was some discontent and upset felt by some at decisions I made which was communicated to me. I thought

seriously about whether for that reason alone it would be better to see everyone who wanted to talk to me, and, if I adopted that course, where the balance of respect and potential for harm lay when I considered the purpose for which I would be talking to people. It may be that I occasionally made the wrong decision. My own view is that if I did, it was by inviting someone to see me for whom the distress of speaking was disproportionate given my purpose. Certainly in at least two instances when I interviewed people who expressed a very strong wish to come and who told me they had been put in touch with me by the ISN, I had serious misgivings about whether, on reflection, it had been emotionally harmful for them to have come for interview.

6.21 In deciding whether to interview these respondents, or any of them, I took in to account the following:

- a. That the Terms of Reference had been clear throughout my appointment – and indeed prior to it when the Leader of the Council announced the Review on 28<sup>th</sup> September 2017.
- b. That there is underway in Islington a range of pieces of work to address that which has been acknowledged as serious failure in the past, namely the continuing dialogue and negotiation about the provision of ongoing support for the now adult victims and survivors of non-recent child abuse; and what I understand to be proceedings on foot in relation to legal action. The remit of the Review should not without good reason trespass into that territory.
- c. That where there were written submissions provided to me, especially where those were of some length and detail, the need for an interview was often lessened or obviated.
- d. That the question of '*the adequacy or otherwise of the way in which public bodies have responded in the past to allegations of sexual abuse*' is specifically provided for in the terms of reference of IICSA to which I have always anticipated that the conclusions of this Review will be submitted.
- e. That my Review is not a substitute for police investigation where allegations have already been reported to the police.

6.22 There was no occasion when, in the course of speaking to me, someone made an allegation not previously made in relation to a named abuser or of an experience of previously unreported abuse. Against the possibility that such an occasion might arise I

had identified a named officer at Islington Police working in cooperation with Operation Winter Key with whom I could have encouraged contact or if appropriate made a referral.

6.23 For the avoidance of doubt no one who came to speak to me gave me any information suggesting a risk to a child or children such that I would have had to report it to the Local Authority Designated Officer.

## CHAPTER 7

### The Impact Of Time And The Impact Of Language

- 7.1 One of the particular challenges of conducting a Review the subject matter of which is now some significant distance into the past was, I found, to tread the line between identifying that which was always unacceptable and should have been regarded as such at the time, and that which should not have been accepted but which I am looking at from a time when greater understanding has developed which would not have been in people's minds then. I found that I needed on occasion to guard against looking with too modern an eye and judging by too modern a standard. As I worked, I found it helpful to stop from time to time and remind myself quite how long ago some of these events were.
- 7.2 Similarly with memory: in reflecting on what people were able to tell me and not tell me of their memory of events of the early 1980s I found it helpful from time to time to pause and reflect on how difficult an exercise that is.
- 7.3 The experience of reading archive documents brought home to me that the practicalities of professional and safeguarding communications of the time were also very different. Urgent communications in the 1980s and early 90s might be faxed. Mobile phones were not all pervasive. A 'file' means a paper file not an electronic one – so it isn't backed up and it isn't distributed at the press of a button and it is not copied. All of that I realised had an impact on the immediacy of communication which I take for granted today.
- 7.4 Language is something which is especially troublesome. I was startled by some of the attitudes to sexuality and to read for example of allegations that young people were being '*seduced into homosexuality*'. It was of course close to the time of the controversial enactment of 'Section 28' enjoining local authorities to '*not intentionally promote homosexuality*' and schools not to '*promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship*'.
- 7.5 I found it shocking and offensive to hear and to read of children being described as '*prostitutes*' or as having been '*working as prostitutes*' before coming into care. I would have expected to see them characterised as '*abused*' or '*exploited*' and it caused me some very real disquiet. An example of this which gave me real pause for thought was a publicly available video clip of Sandy Marks herself saying in interview by way of partial explanation of the difficulties of providing care that young people had been '*prostitutes before they were taken into care*'.

- 7.6 My initial thought was that this might be indicative of someone who had a distorted view of children and the sexual abuse of children and I remained troubled by this. As with all issues which I thought had a potential relevance for my Terms of Reference, I asked Sandy Marks about this in interview. She said to me that what I had to understand was that this was how people spoke back then: anyone would have used the term without it raising comment. I continued to be troubled by it – but as I read on I found that it was indeed widely used. It had been used even in the White Report itself. When I met Kate Hart I found her to be a most impressive child-centred social work professional. I had to recognise that it was an indication of how commonly accepted it then was, that so impressive a professional working in the field of child protection would have seen nothing alarming in it at the time. I realised that I would be being unfair to allow my intense distaste for it to influence my conclusions in relation to Sandy Marks.
- 7.7 Elsewhere in this Report I have noted that I had heard directly the distress that the use of the word '*prostitute*' has caused to victims and survivors.
- 7.8 I am conscious also that the unthinking and unintentionally careless use of language continues to have the scope for causing hurt and offence today. In this Report, save where it is a repeat of a word used by others, I have avoided when talking about abuse the use of 'historic' and preferred instead 'non-recent'. Later on in this Report, in Chapter 13, I have recorded some of the impressions that speaking to those who had been so abused made on me. The extent to which carelessly chosen words can cause real hurt was one of the things that I understood more clearly from that experience. I have no illusions that it is easy to avoid unwitting offence however. Some of those to whom I spoke did not wish to be spoken of as 'victims', yet I know that others felt that the word 'victim' properly recognised what they had experienced; others preferred the use of the word 'survivor'; others preferred both; still another disliked either and impressed on me that they particularly did not like being called a survivor. The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse recommends the use of both – so 'victims and survivors'.
- 7.9 Similarly I have come to appreciate the way in which to have one's own lived experience described as a 'version' or a 'story' carries with it a sense of being disbelieved. I recognise that although in this Report I have tried, when discussing non-recent abuse and the experience of those who have lived through it, to choose words with care and to avoid using language which it is obvious to me will be offensive, there are very likely to

be occasions when I will not have succeeded. To those who are continuing to live with the effects of their experience of abuse I offer my apology if that is so.



## CHAPTER 8

### Pro Paedophile Thought And Activism In The 1970s And 1980s

- 8.1 The context for this Review and the allegations which lay behind it call for at least an outline understanding of the way in which pro-paedophile organisations were active in the 1970s and 80s.
- 8.2 The Paedophile Information Exchange ('PIE') was an organisation in existence from 1974 – 1984. Its stated aims and purpose were to effect the removal of stigma towards and bringing about of a more permissive attitude in respect of those who had an interest in sexual activity with children. It was not an underground organisation which was hidden away from view. Startling though it is to see now for example, its members were interviewed on Newsnight in 1983. Its members contributed to and wrote textbooks which appeared on some social science undergraduate courses. As recently as December 1980, the former Chairman of PIE, Tom O'Carroll's book entitled *Paedophilia: The Radical Case* was being reviewed in the London Review of Books.
- 8.3 There are some things which viewed through the lens of time and experience take on a different aspect or are easier to understand. It is not my view that the Paedophile Information Exchange falls in to that category. The clue is in the title. It is beyond my comprehension that such an organisation with such aims could ever have attained, as I see from the archive material that it did to an extent, mainstream acceptance.
- 8.4 In doing so it took, at least for a time, a place alongside other groups which sought a future free of the discrimination and prejudice of the time: those representing gay men and women; those advancing the equal treatment of women through feminist organisations. It is mystifying and dispiriting to see, looking back at archive material from that period, how it came to be interlinked with notions of sexuality and how to the very great detriment of the perception of gay men in particular, as I see it, organisations like the Gay Liberation Front allowed themselves to become aligned with it.
- 8.5 The Paedophile Information Exchange featured relatively prominently in the mainstream press in 1979 when five of its members faced trial for conspiring to corrupt public morals. The charges arose following a raid on the members' homes in 1978 and were related to the printing of contact advertisements calculated to promote indecent acts between adults and children and the sending of correspondence between members of PIE containing indecent material. In support of those five defendants there was

formed, by August 1979, an organisation called The Campaign Against Public Morals ('CAPM'). The CAPM had four stated aims:

- a. To do whatever seems possible to bring about a satisfactory outcome for the defendants.
- b. To draw attention to the implications for civil liberties of the case, in particular its attack on the fundamental freedoms for people of like mind to meet each other, the freedom of association.
- c. To further discredit the law of 'conspiracy to corrupt public morals', the abolition of which has already been recommended by the Law Commission.
- d. To raise public awareness of the repressive attitude towards sexual politics that led to the charges.

8.6 In various places and within a number of organisations there was debate about the first of those points, namely support for the PIE defendants. That included at the conference which the article in the Islington Gazette alleged Sandy Marks had attended in 1980 and within Fallen Angels. It was necessary for me in this Review to see whether and if so over what period there was evidence of her engaging with CAPM notwithstanding the fact that that organisation was not formed as a 'pro-paedophile' organisation.

8.7 The Paedophile Information Exchange has been the subject of much press attention in more recent years and, as part of that, considerable debate and media discussion as to how an organisation with such stated aims and purpose either came to be affiliated to mainstream perfectly respectable organisations, most notably the National Council for Civil Liberties (as it then was), or existed for so long. How those affiliations came about is again beyond the remit of this Review and I neither offer further comment on that aspect nor seek to go behind the conclusions others have reached elsewhere about it.

8.8 Part of the reason why the debate and discussion continues is because the (perfectly proper libertarian) organisations to which it was from time to time affiliated or associated included individuals/members who, over time, have attained some degree of public prominence in politics, law and other professions. The association has caused variously a need for explanation from, and in some instances investigation of, those individuals. It is no part of the remit of this Review to comment on those investigations, all of which have reached conclusions which do not impugn the integrity of those concerned.

- 8.9 It is right to observe that because the Terms of Reference invited me to consider *the nature extent and duration of Sandy Marks' involvement in Fallen Angels and any other pro-paedophile groups*, some of the documentation I read related to and reproduced some of the material generated by Fallen Angels and by the Paedophile Information Exchange. Some of the material and contributions provided to me for this Review also repeated earlier allegations that named public figures had been involved in and sympathetic to the PIE and CAPM despite previous investigation of those allegations and claims. I don't consider it necessary to consider here the repeated but already investigated allegations, or to reproduce the names which were reported of those now prominent individuals in connection with the investigations. I was not investigating or revisiting the conclusions of others in that respect. The relevance of the material which I read was to detect whether there was documentary evidence which linked Sandy Marks to those organisations.
- 8.10 The organisation known as Fallen Angels appears to me to have been much less widely known and established than the Paedophile Information Exchange. I had heard nothing of it prior to this Review. In the course of the research and information gathering for this Review, it was strikingly little found in material held in archive. Consideration of the newsprint press of the 1970s and 80s, whilst revealing reporting of the Paedophile Information Exchange, had nothing on the Fallen Angels. Similarly when I came to interview contributors for this Review. Even those who I interviewed who had been heavily invested over many years, in exploring, investigating and collating material relating to what they believed to have been organised paedophile activity in the London Borough of Islington had not heard of the Fallen Angels save as reported in the Islington Gazette in May 2017.
- 8.11 Some who contributed to the Review noted, as did I, that there was, in the 1980s, a gay pub in Islington called The Fallen Angel at which early meetings of gay men's and women's groups in Islington met. I found a good deal of evidence of it being a social hub for gay people in North London; of politically active causes of the time such as support for the miners strike and for organisations meeting head on the overwhelming challenges of the mid 1980s – AIDS and HIV. Although I looked for it I found no evidence whatsoever of any link to the Fallen Angels or paedophile information. No one who mentioned it to me suggested or had any evidence of any link but simply speculated on the coincidence of the name.

8.12 As far as I have been able to discover Fallen Angels did not generate a body of campaigning literature. If it did then it does not appear to have survived. What I have seen of it is limited to the submissions prepared for and then arising from the International Gay Association conference in April 1980. That was quite sufficient for me to form a clear view of the organisation.

## CHAPTER 9

### Sandy Marks And Her Role On Islington Council

- 9.1 Sandy Marks became a member of the Labour Party while living in Islington in 1976. She was elected as a councillor for the London Borough of Islington on 6<sup>th</sup> May 1982 and remained a councillor until 2001. During those 19 years she progressed through the council, joining the Social Services Committee in 1983, becoming Chair of that committee in 1986, a post she held intermittently until 1995, and becoming Mayor of Islington for the period 1996 to 1997.
- 9.2 I have sought to identify as comprehensive a list as possible of the elected and appointed positions Sandy Marks has held on Islington Council and elsewhere as its representative. I had thought that there would be a register or log held somewhere in the Council of those who had been elected which would be updated after each set of local elections. This is however not the practice. The list which appears below I was able to compile with the assistance of a senior and longstanding manager on Islington Council from information contained within the annual council meeting minutes, the minutes of the relevant committee or sub-committee meetings and the election notices and outcomes for elected posts.
- 9.3 Through her role on the Council she was also a member of multiple other committees and sub-committees both within the London Borough of Islington and the Londonwide Borough committees. Because of the nature of the way that committees were created and elected it was the case that councillors often held multiple posts on various committees and sub-committees throughout their time as councillors.
- 9.4 Whilst I have tried to identify below each and every committee and sub-committee upon which Ms Marks sat – and thus the areas in which she had the opportunity to influence – I cannot be certain that this list is exhaustive. It does however reflect that which has been possible to draw from the archive material that I have been able to see. As a working tool it also gave me an overview of Ms Marks' appointments and roles so as to enable me to identify and read the relevant documents to analyse what they told me of her role, her conduct, and her opportunity for influence and the exercise of powers.
- 9.5 I made the list available to Sandy Marks when I spoke to her. She did not disagree with those posts identified but volunteered the additions that she thought that she had been on the Women's Committee right from the outset and that she had been Chair rather

than a member of the Education Advisory Committee in 1983. Both are marked with an asterisk in the list below.

9.6 The following represents an overview of the various posts held by Ms Marks on Islington council from 1982 to 2001:

**Annual Council 18<sup>th</sup> May 1982**

Member of:

- Case Review Sub Committee
- Social Services Committee

**Annual Council 10<sup>th</sup> May 1983**

Member of:

- Development and Planning Committee
- Social Services Committee
- Policy (Finance and Expenditure) Sub-Committee
- Education Advisory Committee\*
- Case Review Sub Committee

**Annual Council 8<sup>th</sup> May 1984**

Member of:

- Development and Planning Committee
- Social Services Committee
- Policy (Finance and Expenditure) Sub-Committee
- Case Review Sub Committee
- Adoption and Custodianship Panel

**Annual Council 8<sup>th</sup> May 1985**

Member of:

- Direct Labour Committee
- Policy and Partnership Committee
- Social Services Committee

- Policy (Finance and Expenditure) Sub-Committee
- Case Review Sub Committee
- Adoption and Custodianship Panel

**Annual Council 8<sup>th</sup> May 1986**

Chair of Social Services Committee

Member of:

- Representative on Association of Metropolitan Authorities Social Services Committee
- Representative on Association of London Authorities Social Services Committee
- Representative on London Boroughs Grants Committee
- Case Review Sub Committee
- Adoption and Custodianship Panel

**Annual Council 29<sup>th</sup> April 1987**

Chair of Social Services Committee

Member of:

- Adoption and Custodianship Panel
- Case Review Sub Committee

Nominee for Association of Metropolitan Authorities Social Services Committee

Representative on Association of London Authorities Social Services Committee

Representative on London Boroughs Grants Committee

**Annual Council 29<sup>th</sup> April 1988**

Chair of:

- Social Services and Health (Health) Sub-committee
- Policy and Partnership (Finance and Expenditure) Sub-Committee

Vice Chair of Social Services and Health Committee

Member of:

- Development and Planning Committee

- Technical Services Committee
- Women's Committee\*
- Adoption and Custodianship Panel
- Case Review Sub-Committee

**Annual Council 28<sup>th</sup> April 1989**

**Member of:**

- Education Committee
- Policy and Partnership (Finance and Expenditure) Sub-Committee
- Social Services and Health Committee
- Adoption and Custodianship Panel
- Case Review Sub-Committee

**Nominee for Association of Metropolitan Authorities Voluntary Sector Committee**

**Representative on London Boroughs Grants Committee**

**Annual Council 24<sup>th</sup> May 1990**

**Chief Whip**

**Chair of Adoption and Custodianship Management Panel**

**Member of:**

- Neighbourhood Services / Social Services Committee
- Education Committee
- Social Services and Health (Health) Sub-committee
- Case Review Sub-Committee
- Joint Safety Sub-Committee
- Finance and Property Services Sub-Committee
- Contracts Panel Sub-Committee

**Nominee for Association of Metropolitan Authorities Social Services Committee**

**Representative on London Boroughs Grants Committee**



**Annual Council 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1991**

**Chief Whip**

**Chair of Adoption and Custodianship Panel (until June 1991 when different Chair appointed)**

**Member of:**

- Neighbourhood Services Committee
- Police and Crime Prevention Sub-Committee
- Social Services and Health Policy Sub-Committee
- Contracts Panel Sub-Committee
- Case Review Sub-Committee

**Nominee for Association of Metropolitan Authorities Social Services Committee**

**Representative on London Boroughs Grants Committee**

**Annual Council 7<sup>th</sup> May 1992**

**Chair of:**

- Adoption and Custodianship Panel (re-appointed Chair on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1992)
- Case Review Sub-Committee

**Member of:**

- Neighbourhood Services Committee
- Joint Safety Committee

**Nominee for Association of Metropolitan Authorities Social Services Committee**

**Representative on Association of London Authorities Social Services and Health Committee**

**Representative on London Boroughs Grants Committee**

**Annual Council 6<sup>th</sup> May 1993**

**Chair of Adoption and Custodianship Panel (last meeting 14.05.1993)**

**Chair of:**

- Social Services and Health Policy Sub-Committee
- Case Review Sub-Committee
- Contracts Panel Sub-Committee

**Member of:**

- Neighbourhood Services Committee
- Police and Crime Prevention Sub-Committee
- Ex-officio member of Housing Sub-Committee

**Nominee for Association of Metropolitan Authorities Social Services Committee**

**Representative on Association of London Authorities Social Services Committee**

**Representative on London Boroughs Grants Committee**

**Annual Council 26<sup>th</sup> May 1994**

**Chair of:**

- Social Services and Health Policy Sub-Committee
- Case Review Sub-Committee
- Adoption and Residence Order Sub-Committee

**Vice Chair of:**

- Neighbourhood Services Committee

**Member of:**

- Youth Affairs Sub-Committee
- Joint Consultative Committee with Camden and Islington Area Health Authority

**Nominee for Association of Metropolitan Authorities Social Services Committee**

**Representative on London Boroughs Grants Committee**

**Deputy Member on the London Waste Regulatory Authority**

**Annual Council 4<sup>th</sup> May 1995**

**Member of:**

- Neighbourhood Services Committee
- Personnel Sub-Committee / Personnel Education Staff Committee
- Finance and Property Sub-Committee
- Police and Crime Prevention Sub-Committee
- Representative on London Boroughs Grants Committee

**Annual Council 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1996**

**Mayor**

**Representative on London Boroughs Grants Committee**

**Annual Council May 1997**

**Chair of:**

- Policy and Resources Finance and Property Sub-Committee
- Personnel (Education and Staff) Committee
- Personnel Sub-Committee
- Staffing Sub-Committee
- Joint Trade Union Sub-Committee

**Vice Chair of:**

- Policy and Resources (Personnel)
- Islington Building Services Sub- Committee

**Member of:**

- Education Committee

**Representative on London Boroughs Grants Committee**

**Representative on the Greater London Employers Association**

**Annual Council 7<sup>th</sup> May 1998**

**Labour Group Lead Member for Personnel**

**Member of:**

- Strategic Planning and Resources Committee
- Cleansing and Transport Joint Venture Committee

**Representative on London Boroughs Grants Committee**

**Representative on the Greater London Employers Association**

**Annual Council 13<sup>th</sup> May 1999**

**Member of:**

- **Community Safety Panel**

**Representative on London Boroughs Grants Committee**

**Substitute on:**

- **Strategic Planning and Resources Committee**
- **Social and Health Services Committee**
- **Race Equality Committee**

## CHAPTER 10

### The Evening Standard Articles And The White Report

#### The Evening Standard Articles 1992

- 10.1 On 6<sup>th</sup> October 1992 the Evening Standard published the first of a two part series of articles by journalists Eileen Fairweather and Stewart Payne. Those articles made serious allegations about the care of children who were the responsibility of the London Borough of Islington Neighbourhood Services Department. The first article, called '*The Scandal at the Heart of Child Care*', reported that the journalists had '*studied hundreds of pages of confidential documents, and taped many hours of interviews with staff, parents, children and police during the past 12 weeks*' and that what had emerged from those investigations was '*a scandalous dereliction of duty by the Council, institutionalised neglect that has exposed the most vulnerable children in its care to paedophiles, pimps, prostitutes and pornographers.*'
- 10.2 The Evening Standard articles alleged that, as summarised in the White Report, '*children in residential care were not safe, both because staff failed to act appropriately to protect them from paedophiles and that staff themselves in some cases had been directly responsible for the abuse of children in their care, and that Residential Homes care was very poor. Furthermore the Evening Standard claimed that some staff had tried very hard to bring these matters of serious concern to the attention of the neighbourhood and senior managers within the department, but that their concerns had been met with a lack of concern and an absence of any appropriate action.*'
- 10.3 That outline is intended to be no more than a thumbnail sketch of the Evening Standard's investigation since it is not the focus of this Review albeit that there is reference to it in the Terms of Reference. It was ultimately as a consequence of that reporting that the White Report came about.
- 10.4 Following these newspaper reports Islington Council commissioned a variety of investigations into the state of child care practices in Islington at the time (the names and dates of those reports are set out in Appendix 1). However, those reports, which were each commissioned to focus on specific aspects of the various concerns and allegations made, failed fully to address the public concern that the Evening Standard articles had understandably given rise to. Furthermore, in the course of the work required to complete those reports further allegations were made and during the course

of 1992 - 1994 more people approached the Evening Standard to raise additional concerns in relation to their experiences of being in the care of Islington's Neighbourhood Services Department. Consequently Islington decided that there was a need for a composite report in order to '*pull all this work together, to explore previously unpublished dossier information provided by the Evening Standard, and to produce a final overview picture to these various and serious allegations*'. So it was that the White Report came about.

### **The White Report**

10.5 In October 1994 Ian White, Director of Social Services for Oxfordshire County Council and Kate Hart, Principal Officer for Service Development and Practice Standards for Oxfordshire County Council, were commissioned by Islington Council to prepare a Report of the Inquiry into the Management of Child Care in the London Borough of Islington (for reasons explained in Chapter 1, hereinafter referred to as 'the White Report').

10.6 The terms of reference for the White report were, in summary:

- a. The Inquiry team should identify and list all allegations of misconduct by staff employed (currently or formerly) by the London Borough of Islington and all allegations of inappropriate treatment, including neglect and abuse, of children accommodated by the London Borough of Islington. Thereafter the team should check this list against the previous reports investigating child care practices in Islington following the Evening Standard reports and identify those allegations, the handling of which has yet to be fully and independently reviewed.
- b. The Inquiry team should collate information in respect of each allegation, prepare a clear chronology of events and comment and advise on what should happen in respect of each allegation, namely whether the information indicates possible criminal activity which the Inquiry must convey to the police without delay; whether staff disciplinary measures are required; whether measures are needed to protect children; whether there are legitimate complaints by or on behalf of children's services users that remain to be resolved; or whether the information indicates that staff grievance procedures should be invoked.
- c. The Inquiry team should review the investigation undertaken for the Borough into missing files and, if appropriate, enquire as to the disappearance of relevant files in the period being enquired into and comment and advise on the explanations for

disappearance, the possible culpability of any staff members concerned and advise on appropriate management and / or disciplinary action.

- d. The Inquiry should make general comments on the implications of the Inquiry for the state of practice in the Council's Social Services child care provision.

### ***Investigations Undertaken For the White Report***

10.7 During the course of their inquiry the team interviewed over 30 people, including Islington Council officers and ex-officers, the Evening Standard Press reporters who had written the articles publicly exposing the allegations, the authors of previous independent reports into child care practices in Islington, police officers, social workers and residential workers, Department of Health officials, Social Services Inspectorate officials, and Islington councillors, including Sandy Marks, who was at the time the Chair of the Social Services Sub-Committee. They read and analysed 13 previous reports commissioned by Islington council looking at the provision of child care in the Borough and they analysed all dossiers and other information presented to them in the course of the inquiry and conducted a detailed analysis of the allegations that had been made in relation to staff members and specific children.

### ***Conclusions Reached in the White Report***

10.8 The White Report reached the following general conclusions about the state of child care practice in Islington:

- a. *'There are a series of issues which consistently run as a thread through [the previous Inquiries and independent reports] and indicate bad and deficient practice at the time. In summary, the key themes emerged were: -*
  - *Issues about delay.*
  - *Practice where there was an absence of thorough consideration of facts, information, history and planning.*
  - *An inadequate level of administrative support.*
  - *Poor supervision of staff*
  - *Unavailability of expertise for complex cases.*
  - *A lack of up-to-date training in child protection.*
  - *Poor standards of case records.*

- *An absence of management monitoring and reviewing in critical case decision making.*
- *The confusion of roles between staff between the department and a consequential confusion of accountability.*
- *A lack of systems for monitoring the department's work, quality standards and implementation.*

*Islington did not respond as quickly and as comprehensively as it should to these various reports and there are still a number of areas not completely and satisfactorily covered which we believe should be addressed quickly.*

- b. *'This Inquiry has sought to bring together all the previous work, and has charted an organisation in the late 1980's and early 1990's that was for many different reasons chaotic. Such a chaotic organisation breeds the conditions for dangerous and negligent professional practices in relation to child care and the possibility that many of the allegations made were true remains. What is sad is that Islington did not systematically investigate them as they should have and as a result, the possibility remains that children have been abused and that abusers are still working in the field elsewhere. We nevertheless now know that many changes have been made within Islington to bring the child care function back to "centre stage" with a new Chief Social Services Officer and Head of Neighbourhood Services with newly established child care management arrangements and new managers too. We very much hope that this report ends what must be a disastrous chapter in Islington's history.'*
- c. *'The Assistant Director with policy responsibilities for services to children and families was someone to whom staff frequently referred matters of concern and who featured in the Evening Standard as a key figure in the Department's Senior Management Team. There was an implied expectation that the person in this role would respond and take action in respect of matters made known to her but, structurally, the department did not provide for this. This person was in a key role – as the most senior staff member carried over from the Social Services Department; as a senior child care figure and someone it is alleged knew much of the problems subsequently brought to light. This person was also the key staff 'interface' with Members and on whose judgment much rested. Responsibility for much of the departmental quality of management and its response as concerns were raised, rests with her.'*



- d. *'We have interviewed the key managers and their names are set out in the confidential annex to this report. It seems inconceivable to us that allegations of the kind outlined at the beginning of this chapter could not have surfaced to their level. In our view, if they did know, they should have initiated the action outlined earlier in this chapter; if they did not know, then they should have done... It is possible, therefore, to conclude the existence of some kind of managerial vacuum or weariness amongst managers working in what must have been at certain times a very demoralised department with poor and fragmented leadership, if that. Again, however, whilst understanding these dynamics, it cannot be ignored that line managers should have visited those Homes, should have taken necessary action, should have spoken to children, should have had proper supervisory systems, should have had proper appraisal arrangements, should have carried out spot checks, and should have responded to allegations as serious as the ones made and now investigated.'*
- e. *'When the allegations became public Islington did not respond as they should have on many counts.'*

10.9 In respect of allegations of staff misconduct and inappropriate treatment of children and young people the White report concluded as follows:

- a. *'Many of these allegations involved criminal behaviour as well as staff misconduct and the standard response of any Social Services Department then and now should have been as follows:*

*\* Suspension of staff implicated and a full disciplinary investigation with a concluding investigative disciplinary hearing;*

*\* A review of the particular child's case on a multi-disciplinary basis supervised by ACPC.*

*\* A joint Police and Social Services investigation in those circumstances where it appears there might be criminal behaviour.*

*The responsibility for ensuring that such an investigative system was in place rested with the Council and Senior Officers of Islington during the period in question. It is clear that Islington did not initiate the type of investigation they should have and as a consequence the possibility remains that staff engaged in abusive behaviour are now working elsewhere in the field with potentially serious consequences. Islington should have known and acted; they clearly did not.*

- b. *'The personnel implications of this report are profound and may have far reaching consequences. Islington's response at the time was far from satisfactory and this report feels like "closing the door when the horse has long bolted".'*

10.10 In respect of the allegations about named children, which included *'investigation of organised sex rings and network abuse'* the conclusions reached were:

- a. *'The state of some Children's Homes at the time was very poor indeed.'*
- b. *'There had been lack of investment in those Children's Homes.'*
- c. *'That line management standards throughout the complete period were very poor, often with middle managers with responsibility for children's centres not carrying out those responsibilities professionally or knowledgeably.'*
- d. *'Some of the allegations involved the response Islington made to allegations of organised abuse. These were checked out and investigated fully with the Metropolitan Police, Social Services Inspectorate and others and we found that with the exception of one conviction in relation to a staff member at a residential school, Islington did investigate these allegations and we found no evidence to support assertions of organised abuse.'* *'The Social Services Inspectorate has reviewed the paperwork and has come to a similar conclusion'.*
- e. *'We have concluded above that allegations of organised abuse were investigated but not substantiated. With regard to all the other matters, the overall picture presented by enquiring into the allegations concerning the abuse or neglect of children is one where there was no strong ethos of promoting children's rights and protecting children at risk. The welfare of young people, particularly those in residential homes, received insufficient time and attention at management levels and children were not afforded basic standards or accommodation or care'.*

10.11 And, in relation to the allegations about missing files, conclusions were reached on each specific case, with the overall conclusion that *'there is no evidence to support the allegations of collusion, but there is significant evidence to support the assertion that 'missing files' were a feature of poor administrative systems'.*

10.12 Ultimately, the White report was extremely critical of the state of child care practice and management in Islington and made a raft of recommendations for how such management and practices should be improved.

## CHAPTER 11

### The Islington Gazette Allegations

- 11.1 On 11<sup>th</sup> May 2017 the Islington Gazette published the first of a series of articles by Emma Youle and Ramzy Alwakeel relating to Sandy Marks, entitled '*Kids' abuse scandal: shame of ex-councillor's pro-paedo past*'. The articles relied upon documents obtained from the London School of Economics archives dating back to the 1980s which, the paper reported, evidenced Ms Marks' '*links to a pro-paedophile group that supported child sex in early 1980*'. The documents relied upon included newsletters, periodicals and decades-old minutes of meetings, in particular in relation to an International Gay Association conference in Spain in April 1980, at which members of a pro-paedophile group called Fallen Angels attended and advocated for '*the right to form alternative relations with kids - on their terms, and to affirm the erotic in those relations*' (as quoted in the Islington Gazette).
- 11.2 The specific allegations made against Sandy Marks in the various Islington Gazette articles published in May 2017 can be summarised as follows:
- a. She attended a meeting of the Conspiracy Against Public Morals to discuss tactics for a Paedophile Information Exchange defence campaign on 11<sup>th</sup> September 1979. Paedophile Information Exchange Chairman Tom O'Carroll was also at this meeting.
  - b. She attended a conference with a radical pro-paedophile activist group, Fallen Angels, in 1980. The conference was the International Gay Association conference in April 1980 in a village outside Barcelona. At that conference:
    - i. Sandy Marks is listed as a delegate and as a contact person for Fallen Angels at an address in Hornsey Rise, N19;
    - ii. Fallen Angels circulated a 10,000-word paper called *Corrupting Children: Children, Paedophilia and the Struggle* '*that decried child protection as "a racket" and gave a summary submission on paedophilia, which had Ms Marks' initials on it.*
  - c. She was a planned co-author of a book with ██████████, a member of Fallen Angels. Handwritten minutes of the Gay Rights Committee of the National Council for Civil Liberties meeting on 13<sup>th</sup> June 1980 record a discussion about this.

d. She met with Eileen Fairweather and Stewart Payne approximately one month before their story was published in October 1992 and [A148]:

i. She was told about the abuse they were going to report.

ii. She '*indicated that she was indifferent to what the kids got up to sexually – she had a very libertarian view, and spoke as if they were free agents.*' (Eileen Fairweather as quoted in the Islington Gazette in May 2017).

iii. She asked to see the evidence but would not agree to protect sources' confidentiality.

11.3 It was these articles and Islington Council's concern about the allegations made therein about a previous Councillor and Mayor of Islington, that initiated the process which resulted in my instruction, the details of which have been set out in Chapter 1 of this Report.

## CHAPTER 12

### Sandy Marks' Response To The Islington Gazette Allegations

- 12.1 As I came to consider the first of the Terms of Reference I wanted, as well as talking to Sandy Marks myself about the allegations which had been made in the Islington Gazette, to look at how she had already responded to them.
- 12.2 Prior to her discussions with me, Sandy Marks had provided four responses to the Islington Gazette allegations relating to her involvement with the Fallen Angels: the first in an interview with journalists Emma Youle and Ramzy Alwakeel when they attended her home on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2017 in the course of their pre-publication investigation; the second in two phone calls with Ramzy Alwakeel on 4<sup>th</sup> May 2017; the third in an email to the Islington Gazette journalists following their attendance at her home and prior to publication; and the fourth by way of an email to the Corporate Director of Housing and Adult Social Services at Islington Council in September 2017 when he provided her with a copy of James Goudie QC and Holly Stout's opinion before the Council published that opinion.
- 12.3 I have set out in the passages which follow a summary of the various responses that Sandy Marks has given on those occasions.

#### Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2017

- 12.4 As part of their investigations Emma Youle and Ramzy Alwakeel doorstepped Sandy Marks on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2017. They had in their possession a copy of a letter to Sandy Marks of the same date which set out that they were contacting her to '*offer a right of reply to a story that is due to be published in the Islington Gazette*' which will '*report on documents seen by the Gazette that show your links to pro-paedophile activist groups in the late 1970s and early 1980s*' and then set out a summary of the allegations they intended to publish (which are set out in the previous Chapter of this report). A copy of that letter was provided to Sandy Marks on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2017 and an interview conducted with her that day when she invited the journalists into her home.
- 12.5 The interview was recorded, about which I say more in Chapter 14. I have seen a transcript of that interview prepared by Emma Youle and Ramzy Alwakeel from the audio recording and their short hand notes made contemporaneously and I have listened to the recording.

12.6 The interview was lengthy with many matters discussed that it is not proportionate or necessary for me to set out here. However, with specific reference to the allegations about Sandy Marks' alleged involvement with the pro-paedophile group the Fallen Angels, Ms Youle told Ms Marks about certain documents from the London School of Economics Archives relating to Fallen Angels (I discuss the detail of those documents in my analysis at Chapter 14) and asked if she could remember the name Fallen Angels. In response Sandy Marks initially said, *'Remember I've been really ill and I have a memory problem anyway. I don't see how I can comment without seeing it. Just because it says my name doesn't mean it's me, apart from anything else. I do believe my name is not unique'*. She said she did not remember attending a conference in Barcelona in 1980 and denied ever having been to Barcelona. She denied being a paedophile saying *'And no I'm not a paedophile'*.

12.7 She was shown by the two journalists a photograph from the April 1980 IGA newsletter which the Islington Gazette alleged was a photograph of her. Sandy Marks said the following in response – I set out in full the relevant passage taken from the transcript of the recording:

*'Emma: Would you like to see this picture?*

*Sandy: Does it look like me?*

*Emma: We've been led to understand it is you Sandy, but it's only fair to let you have a look at it. So...*

*Ramzy: so this is from an account of that conference.*

*Sandy: God, right.*

*Emma: That is you, yeah?*

*Sandy: Yep, well, there you go.*

*Emma: Listen Sandy you've been very open... we are responsible journalists and we really wanted to give you as full an opportunity to comment. I understand the nuance of what you're saying to us... We are confident in what we've seen and I would just like to give you every opportunity to make sure you have a response.*

*Sandy: Well there's nothing more I can say is there.*

*Ramzy: Well you've given a very full response.*

*Sandy: But, what can I say.*

*Emma: Is it fair to say that you don't feel you can comment.*

*Sandy: Well I don't remember it, I can see the picture but to be really honest I don't remember it.*

*Sandy: I could have sworn blind that I wasn't there. I don't have any recollection at all of being there. But are you sure that picture is taken there?*

*Emma: I've seen it in the conference newsletter.*

*Sandy: No, no, no but are you sure it wasn't taken in London.*

*Emma: As I understand it Sandy I think it's pretty clear that it was there.*

*Ramzy: It's in contemporaneous minutes basically.*

*Sandy: What can I say? I could pretend it's not me - terrible haircut. But that's a picture of me.'*

#### **Telephone Calls 4<sup>th</sup> May 2017**

12.8 On the morning of 4<sup>th</sup> May 2017, the day after the interview, Sandy Marks phoned the Islington Gazette, the primary purpose of which call appears to have been to establish whether they were going to publish the story. The note of these phone calls that I have seen are transcripts drawn up by Ramzy Alwakeel from the shorthand notes that he made during the conversation rather than formal transcripts of the entire discussions: the phone calls were not audio recorded.

12.9 During this short phone conversation with Ramzy Alwakeel Sandy Marks is noted as having said the following:

*'You said it was in the public interest. That makes the assumption that I knew, [about the abuse]. If you put all of that stuff in, I just have to go away. I can't talk to anybody about it. I don't have anybody who can write on my side about why what I thought when I was twenty-something doesn't count' and later 'If you write associations then people will read it like they want. How do you tell your children that something stupid you did for a little while before most of them were born is going to be on the front page of the newspaper?.'*

12.10 In relation to the photograph in the IGA Conference April 1980 newsletter she is noted as saying, *'I could have pretended it wasn't me, that it - so you have got this photograph which you tell me was taken there. You're telling me, and I'm believing you, that the picture was linked to something else'.*

12.11 Throughout the interview on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2017 and repeated in this phone call on the following day Sandy Marks denied knowledge of any abuse going on within Islington's children's homes prior to being informed of the Evening Standard allegations by Eileen Fairweather - Sandy Marks repeatedly distinguished between what she described as 'historic' abuse, about which members of Islington council were made aware prior to the Evening Standard allegations, and abuse that was, at the time of her being informed by Eileen Fairweather, on-going. It was the latter that she was saying she did not know

about prior to Eileen Fairweather informing her. In the phone call with Ramzy Alwakeel on 4<sup>th</sup> May 2017 Sandy Marks is noted as saying,

*'I believe [the investigation into abuse] was done properly, but then I didn't know that any of it [the abuse] was current. And if I had known that it was current then that's – there's a difference between history, which needs to be investigated too, but things going on at the time, that I tried to stop, and that was terrible.*

*If children were being abused while I was chair of social services and I didn't stop it, that's shameful. But I didn't know and so – it's my fault that I didn't know and that's why there should be another [illegible] because if there was – if the investigation had been done properly, then people should have been charged.*

*If I had known – that's why my original response [to Eileen] was a bit cold – I was getting second-hand knowledge from somebody who wasn't giving any names, and it would have been completely different if I had known who, why, where. Because then I wouldn't have stopped. But being told that there was no evidence or it was in – anyway, it was all in the past...*

*I genuinely didn't know and wouldn't have allowed it.*

12.12 Later that same day Ramzy Alwakeel called Sandy Marks to inform her that the paper was planning to publish the story as discussed. During this brief discussion Sandy Marks is noted as saying:

*'I don't' really understand how, from the way I am now, how I could have been so stupid as to have – there's no point me saying – I don't – it's not – I don't understand how I could have got myself into it.*

*Because I can't believe – maybe I didn't read the stuff – I don't know. Maybe – I can't see me having stood up and said 'These are my views and they are the ones that believe that men of any age can have sex with anybody of any age that they feel like.' I can't believe – that's just not anything'.*

And later,

*'If what you're saying Fallen Angels think, that five year olds can consent – they can't even consent to cross the road without someone holding their hand. I don't think I would have ever had agreed with that, although I can't tell you – no. It's not in my nature'.*

12.13 Shortly afterwards, and in advance of the publication date (which was 11<sup>th</sup> May 2017) the Islington Gazette provided Sandy Marks with copies of the relevant archive



documentation upon which they were basing their story; in particular the sections of the April 1980 IGA conference newsletter that mentioned Sandy Marks by name, and the page containing the photograph alleged to be Sandy Marks which she had identified as herself on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2017.

#### **Email 9<sup>th</sup> May 2017**

12.14 On 9<sup>th</sup> May 2017, prior to publication of the Islington Gazette articles, Sandy Marks emailed Emma Youle and Ramzy Alwakeel to provide a written response to the allegations they had raised with her during their meeting on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2017 and in the letter of that date that they had provided to her on that day. In that email she wrote as follows:

*'I write in response to your letter of 4<sup>th</sup> [sic] May and our subsequent conversations, to clarify my response to the untrue, unfounded and malicious allegations made against me.*

#### *Fallen Angels*

*I completely deny that I have ever been a member of a group called Fallen Angels, either before, during or since the early 1980s.*

*I did not attend an International Gay Association conference in Barcelona in April 1980 and therefore am unable to comment as to what may or may not have been discussed at that event. Any photograph you have of me could not have been taken at that event, as I again strongly reiterate I was not in attendance.*

#### *CAPM*

*I completely deny that I attended a meeting of the Conspiracy/Campaign Against Public Morals in September 1979 or at any other time. I can also state that I have never been a member of that organisation.*

#### *NCCL Gay Right Committee*

*You do not say whether or not you are claiming I attended the alleged meeting on 13<sup>th</sup> June 1980, which I can categorically state I did not. I can also state that I was never a member of the NCCL Gay Rights Committee. I can also categorically state that I never had any plans to write a book on paedophilia with [REDACTED]. I would therefore suggest that the minutes that you claim to have are a complete fabrication.*

#### *Paedophilia & Public Morals*

*I am unclear as to what you are claiming in regard to this, but as I have never been a member or had any connection with either Fallen Angels or CAPM, I would be completely unaware as to what those organisations publications were.*

*For the record I do not recall having ever met Tom O'Carroll, [REDACTED] or [REDACTED].*

#### *Evening Standard*

*I do not deny that I spoke to journalists from the Evening Standard and other members of the press, but I do deny that in those interviews I was ever hostile or indifferent to notions of abuse.*

*In light of this I also deny Islington Survivors Network claim that I held pro-paedophile views in 1979 and 1980 and therefore such views had any influence over inquiries in 1991 and 1985 [sic], when I was chair of Islington's Social Services Committee.*

*If despite my strong rebuttal and denial of the allegations you have made, you continue to publish them, I will have no option but to consult my lawyers for redress.'*

#### **Email 10<sup>th</sup> September 2017**

12.15 By email of 10<sup>th</sup> September 2017 to Sean McLaughlin, then Corporate Director of Housing and Adult Social Services, in response to him having sent her a copy of James Goudie QC's opinion, Sandy Marks provided a detailed response to the proposed Terms of Reference for the Review which appeared at the conclusion of that opinion, which, in summary, stated as follows:

12.16 In relation to Term of Reference 1A:

- a. *'I dispute [that I was involved with Fallen Angels and other pro-paedophile groups] for the following reasons. I have no knowledge of the International Gay Association. My knowledge of PIE is based on public knowledge of one of its members, Tom O'Carroll [sic], being imprisoned. I do not and did not know Tom O'Carroll [sic]. There is insufficient evidence to prove that I was at the IGA event near Barcelona in April 1980. The newsletter does not state that I am one of the people in the picture or that the photo was taken at that event' .*
- b. *'I believe my initials are very common and could belong to any number of people... I believe that Sandy is a fairly common name and is used by both genders' .*
- c. *'The idea of me writing a book is preposterous. I am not dyslexic, as stated in the document and with reference to the report by the Gazette, but struggled with English in school.*

12.17 In relation to Term of Reference 1B she wrote *'As I was not involved with any of the above mentioned grounds I do not believe that there would have been any impact on my work on the Adult Social Services Committee'*

12.18 In response to Term of Reference 1C she wrote that *'I was aware of some problems in Social Services before 1992. When I became Chair of the Social Services Committee in 1986 I visited several sites to get an understanding of how things worked operationally.*

*This included visiting some of the neighbourhood offices, children's homes, older people homes and a mental health day centre. I spoke with staff who raised concerns about organisational structure as well as issues about practice. Any issues raised were relayed to the Director of Social Services who then took them to the senior management team'.*

12.19 And in respect of Term of Reference 1D, she simply repeated that '*as I was not involved in any of these groups I have no comment to make on this point'.*

12.20 In that email Sandy Marks also challenged the reporting of her discussion with the Islington Gazette journalists from the 3<sup>rd</sup> May interview that had been quoted in the May 2017 articles, writing that,

*'there were mixed messages and confusion during the interview as I believed they, the journalists, were talking about one thing, abuse in children's homes, when they were in fact talking about another thing, my involvement with organisations. The interview was recorded without my knowledge or consent. The journalists arrived at my home as I came home from work. They were aware of my illness, ME, and the fact that my father had passed away recently. I was exhausted and confused as happens with my condition. The questions they asked confused me and this is evident in the transcript'.*

#### **Interviews as part of my Review**

12.21 All of this I had seen and read carefully before meeting Sandy Marks to interview her for this Review. The process of how I made decisions about who to interview and how those interviews were conducted is detailed elsewhere within this Report.

12.22 I interviewed Sandy Marks on two occasions: the first on 6<sup>th</sup> March 2018 to ask her about the first of my Terms of Reference and the Islington Gazette allegations regarding her links to the Fallen Angels; the second on 27<sup>th</sup> March 2018 to ask her about Terms 1B – 1D of my Terms of Reference and her role on Islington council.

12.23 Sandy Marks was, although offered an alternative venue, willing to come to Islington Town Hall to meet me: she was generous with her time. I had been clear with her that I would provide her with the opportunity in advance of talking to her to see and read copies of documents which I wished to discuss with her. I was unwilling to circulate or to allow off the premises those parts of the archive documents which contained paedophile material or propaganda, although as it turned out, the great majority of it she had already had provided to her by the Islington Gazette. I asked her whether she needed access to advice or assistance and whether she wished to be accompanied by

anyone at our meetings. She did not want advice or assistance but informed me that she would be accompanied at each meeting by her advocate [REDACTED].

12.24 In speaking to me Sandy Marks denied that she had any involvement with Fallen Angels; denied that that she had attended the IGA conference in April 1980; denied that she had in fact ever been to Barcelona; and denied that she appeared in the photograph which appeared in the IGA conference newsletter.

12.25 I set out in Chapter 14 which follows my analysis of the documentary and archive material; of Sandy Marks' responses to me in interview and her responses to others which were made available to me; and what I learned from my interviews with others.

## CHAPTER 13

### The Contribution Made By Victims And Survivors To This Review

- 13.1 None of the victims and survivors I spoke to were able to give me information which bore directly on the Terms of Reference which had been set for the Review. None had met Sandy Marks when they were children in the homes and she was either a member or Chair of the Social Services Committee although I knew from other records, and from speaking to her, that she had visited some of the homes when she first became Chair in 1986 and also once the allegations of abuse were raised by the Evening Standard. Only one of the victims and survivors I spoke to told me that he remembered seeing her in conversation with someone else at a home. One told me she had seen her signature on documents in her file. That was not something that was either surprising or sinister to me once I had read the minutes of the committee meetings since before the Children Act 1989 social workers wishing to make an application for secure accommodation could not make such an application to court until approved by a panel consisting of a social worker, a member of the Social Services Committee and often, a lay individual. I deal with this in more detail in relation to consideration of my Term of Reference 1B.
- 13.2 On a strictly narrow interpretation then, some might take the view that I learned nothing beyond confirmation of that which I could find elsewhere that Sandy Marks' role when a member or Chair of social services was not one which was 'hands on' in the day to day running of the children's homes in the borough. I take a different view. I think I learned something more of the context in which the Terms of Reference are set.
- 13.3 It is easy to give offence and I know that some of those who survived a childhood in the care homes of Islington will be reading this Report, and that many have felt patronised and condescended to in the past. I hope that they will not feel it patronising when they read here that it was, for me, a humbling experience to meet those I met, and to listen to what they wished to tell me.
- 13.4 It would be crass to suggest that listening to those victims and survivors who came to talk to me meant that I could fully understand what they had lived through as a result of past failures in the Islington Care homes. What it is right to say however is that hearing it is something quite different from reading about it.

- 13.5 Each of those who trusted me with their experience and who spoke of their own past said to me that they wanted to be sure that other children in the care system should have better lives and proper care.
- 13.6 I promised each that I would not write about their experiences in a way which identified them and I will not. None of the names I have used are their real names.
- 13.7 Lucie told me that even today she feels shame that she was sexually abused and that although she has been told many times it is not her fault *'it's hard really to believe that and you have to keep telling yourself'*. She told me that she didn't like really to be called a survivor; she preferred to be called a thriver. She said I could borrow that word.
- 13.8 Marian told me that she had only very recently been able to give a name to the earliest feeling she could remember having; and that name was fear. She explained that as a child and young person in care she had never been asked what she thought or felt about any of the decisions made for her and had no memory of ever making a choice. She told me that even today the stigma of having been in the care system is bad enough – she sees it in the way people look at her when they hear it – but to have lived with having been abused in that system makes it impossible to live with. She never speaks of it. She has a family of her own who know nothing of it. She has a responsible job and is good at it. It had taken her a long time to ask for help and she is not yet ready to take more help even though she thought the fact that the Council is now offering it is *'fantastic'*. She hoped it would remain available for when she felt what she called *'brave enough'* to do it.
- 13.9 Denis told me not only of the abuse and humiliation he had suffered but also the continuing pain he felt that he could not remember a single occasion during his childhood when someone had given him a cuddle and that even today in middle age he struggles to form relationships with others and really to understand how family life works. He told me how the anger he has been left with affects all areas of his life and has a knock on effect on how people misunderstand and react to him. This includes for example accessing health services such as GP surgery visits.
- 13.10 Amongst those who contacted me were several who found the use of the word 'care' to describe their earlier lives offensive. I noticed that more than one when writing wrote 'care' exactly in that way. Joanne was one of several people who told me that she had felt that there was no one looking after her who cared about her. At 13, she told me, she was visiting the homes of people who were, she said, known in the area to be sexually

abusing children and who were abusing sexually her own boyfriend. It was when she became a mother herself that she looked back and wondered why no one had cared enough to make sure she was safe. During her years in care she was raped three times but had, she told me, thought nothing much of it because she thought she was worthless. It was again as her own daughters grew up and she thought about how she would want to protect them, that she realised how little was done to protect her. She had had her first child soon after leaving care. There were occasions when she needed help. She told me that she did not ask for help until her youngest child was old enough to be beyond the reach of social services. As she told me this she remarked on the irony that it should feel unsafe to ask for help from the people who were supposed to be there to help.

13.11 Gail was an especially telling contributor because from a distance of many years she remembered still with fondness and warmth her experience of being well cared for when she first found herself in an Islington care home. She told me that those who ran the home were fair, treated her kindly listened to her and imposed boundaries and rules she could understand. The shock remains with her of the stark contrast when later she was moved to a home in which, she told me, she was treated harshly and was sexually abused by a member of staff. Even today, decades on, she feels that the abuse was her fault because she could not stop it. In an echo of what I heard from others she said that understanding it was not her fault is different from being able to feel it is not her fault. Being diagnosed only very recently with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder after a referral from her GP has helped her to understand why her experiences in the second home seem to play like a video tape on a loop in her head. Her hope from therapy is to slow the tape and eventually to stop it.

13.12 Elsewhere I have expressed a view about some of the language which has been used in the past to speak about children. Marian, who told me she had been sexually abused in care, had seen the press interviews with Sandy Marks in which she described children as '*working as prostitutes*' before they came into care. '*Was I a prostitute at 14?*' Marian asked me.

13.13 At the time of the White Report there was adverse comment about the loss of files and the Council's failure to keep safe records. This had impeded to an extent that Report's authors in their work. Incredibly, the original/archived papers from Ian White and Kate Hart's inquiry could not be found by the time I came to conduct this Review and so the consequence of missing files was something I too had well in mind. Talking to Joanne gave me another and different perspective on it. She had asked for and received the files

from her time in care. She found that they were incomplete with significant events in her life unrecorded or removed. It left her feeling, she told me, as if experiences she had lived through, and which still affected her today, were either not important enough to record or were being hidden away. It meant to her that part of her life and history was missing. I had heard similar confusion and distress from Marian who had also asked for and received her file, but found barely anything in it. From birth she had been in care, though never in a family. So, for her, her files would cover her whole childhood and she had hoped to find something of her birth identity – the name perhaps of her mother and whether she had birth family somewhere. As I listened to her, I thought about the importance we in the Family Justice system today attach to life story and identity work for children who leave their families of origin and are placed for adoption. The consequence of a lost file in forensic terms for those conducting Reviews and Inquiries is one thing; this was something other.

13.14 What I have recounted here are no more than glimpses of the individual experiences of pain, fear and humiliation which lie behind words like 'victims', 'survivors' and 'abused'.

13.15 These lasting and life long consequences of abuse experienced as children illustrate that the support and provision for victims and survivors must also be lasting and life long. Several of those who talked to me said that they were pleased about the idea of specialist counselling being part of the support offered but some also told me of the difficulty of just scratching the surface of the work and then the counselling ceasing to be available. I have been impressed by the commitment of Islington Council today in its determination once and for all to put in place support. I hope that that determination includes, as it should, a will to make sure that all those who need it will have it for as long as they need it and whenever they feel able to take it.



## CHAPTER 14

### Term Of Reference 1A

#### *Sandy Marks' Attendance at the International Gay Association Conference in April 1980 and Involvement in Fallen Angels*

- 14.1 The following section sets out in some detail the evidence which I considered in relation to the allegation of Sandy Marks' association with pro paedophile groups. The detail is intended to make it possible for those reading this report who will not have the documents and archive material I saw, to understand the way in which I have reached conclusions. I made available to Sandy Marks, in advance of speaking to her, copies of all the documents to which I make reference here. I asked her questions and gave her the opportunity to comment on any documents which appeared to me to have relevance. I was explicit in doing so as to what I thought that relevance was.
- 14.2 The allegations of Sandy Marks' association with pro paedophile groups were first made public in the Islington Gazette articles of May 2017, the detail of which is set out in Chapter 11 of this report. It is those allegations that formed the start of my enquiries.

#### **The Archive Material**

- 14.3 The evidence on which the assertion that Sandy Marks was associated with Fallen Angels and attended at the International Gay Association conference ('IGA conference') in April 1980 comes from the Hall Carpenter Archive at the London School of Economics. The archive is well kept and catalogued but some of it is not itemised or particularised. Thus from the index one would not pick up the name Sandy Marks or Fallen Angels: it requires more than that. Although I had the material from that archive which had been provided to the Review by the Islington Gazette and by Charlotte Russell, at my request Lucy Sprinz conducted an independent inspection of the archive. I asked her to carry out that task because I wanted to be sure that there was nothing more available in those archives which might cast further light on the first of my Terms of Reference and might have been missed by others. I had also wanted to be sure that any search should be conducted in a way which would identify evidence which ran contrary to, as well as evidence which supported, the allegations made. Finally I wanted to have a sense of the wider canvass against which the allegations about the IGA conference were being made. In the event her inspection of the archive drew from it further relevant material which had not been amongst that which had come to the Review from elsewhere.

- 14.4 The IGA conference in April 1980 is reported in the first IGA Newsletter of 1980 and that newsletter is in the Hall Carpenter Archive. 'Fallen Angels' is listed as an attending organisation. It is also amongst the member organisations of the International Lesbian and Gay Association, which had paid membership fees for the year 1979/80. The address given in the address list in the IGA newsletter for Fallen Angels is [redacted] Davenant Road N19 but the contact person is given as Sandy Marks at [redacted] Hornsey Rise London N19.
- 14.5 This is one of two appearances in the IGA Newsletter which link the name Sandy Marks to the address 41 Hornsey Rise London N19. In this first appearance the name is listed under a '*List of Lesbian Organisations and Contact Women*' with the detail '*Fallen Angels (do not write the name of the organisation and put private on the envelope) CP: Sandy Marks 41 Hornsey Rise London N19*'. The other appearance is in a list of addresses in the newsletter and 41 Hornsey Rise appears as a c/o address for Sandy Marks.
- 14.6 Given the Terms of Reference of my Review and what appeared on the face of it to be a connection between Sandy Marks, Fallen Angels and an Islington address, I wanted to explore with her that connection. From the electoral roll in 1980, current at the time of the conference, I knew that Sandy Marks was registered as living at an address in Hillrise Road N19 (a few minutes walk away from Hornsey Rise). Sandy Marks confirmed to me that 41 Hornsey Rise was an address at which she worked in 1980 when she was Finance Officer of Islington Community Housing. This is corroborated elsewhere when she is reported in August that year in the press as 'spokeswoman' for Islington Community Housing and the address 41 Hornsey Rise given for Islington Community Housing. Sandy Marks told me that there were in 1980 working at 41 Hornsey Rise about five people. She was the person who dealt with finances – she described herself as the finance officer. Islington Community Housing was very much a creature of its time as I understand it: houses which would otherwise lie empty and borderline derelict would be restored to a minimally habitable standard – to my ears barely more than a squat – and a licence to occupy a room in it given by the Council in return for low, but not nominal, rent. Also working at 41 Hornsey Rise she told me were some part time rent collectors.
- 14.7 In her conversation with me about Fallen Angels and the IGA conference in April 1980 Sandy Marks did not say that she could not remember or that she was unable to recall any involvement or that her memory of the time was affected by her intervening ill health including ME – all of which had featured in her conversation with the Gazette.

What she said to me was a complete denial and that she was certain that she had had no involvement either with Fallen Angels or with the conference. I wanted to understand how, given her denials to me either that she was involved in Fallen Angels or that she had attended the conference, she should be one of relatively few people working at an address recorded in the documentation from that conference as a contact address for Fallen Angels.

14.8 I considered carefully the point that she made to me that Sandy Marks is not a strikingly unusual name and that Sandy is used as a diminutive both for men and women. In the context I am examining however it is not a name which appears in isolation. It appears in connection with the address at which she, and no other Sandy Marks, worked in 1980. It did not seem to me that the appearance in the archive documents was explicable by simple coincidence of a common name. I considered also her explanation that at the time the Islington Community Housing address at 41 Hornsey Rise was used by all sorts of people as a postal address from where they would pick up their post and that it was perfectly possible therefore that someone attending the conference and/or involved with Fallen Angels might have used the address in exactly that way. That might have been a very likely explanation were the listing simply the address, or had that which had emerged from the archives been evidence of a number of people associated with Fallen Angels receiving post or having post directed to an address at which Sandy Marks happened to work at the time. But this was not that. The contact provided for Fallen Angels was Sandy Marks at her work address. The effect of addressing mail with her name, would be the precise reverse of using the address as a general one from which to pick up mail without it coming to anyone's attention – because anything sent would go direct to her. I was satisfied that the far more likely explanation on the balance of probabilities is that Sandy Marks was the contact person listed for Fallen Angels in the IGA conference newsletter.

14.9 The newsletter in which these appearances of the name Sandy Marks were recorded also gave details of the workshops which had been run at the conference and included writing up of the outline of the presentations; of the discussions and the resolutions given and made during the conference. One of them, Workshop C, had two parts entitled 'Human Rights' and 'Pedophilia' [sic]. The newsletter reported that on the Sunday afternoon the workshop had continued with a discussion on paedophilia and included the following: *'The workshop began by hearing reports about three paedophile groups in IGA and a report from the women's discussion held earlier'*. One of the groups was Fallen Angels which was described as *'Fallen Angels/UK: FA is a small group that seeks*

*support from the gay movement, trying to persuade us to re-examine adult + child relationships and the links between oppression of children and the oppression of gays'.*

There followed in the newsletter a report of the women's workshop report. Included in the discussion there was the PIE case – in which five members of the Paedophile Information Exchange had been at the time charged with an offence of conspiracy to corrupt public morals, as detailed earlier in this report. There was also a record of the general discussion on paedophilia which, it is recorded, took the form of a dialogue between paedophile groups and gay groups. I have read the summary of that discussion. I have read also the submissions which had been prepared by the organisation Fallen Angels for the conference. They were entitled '*Pedophilia – Summary Submission to the IGA Conference Barcelona 1980*' and '*Corrupting Children: Children, Paedophilia and the struggle (for) Women's and Gay Liberation*'. The first of those documents concludes as being written by '*CS, SM, TB for Fallen Angels (Britain)*'. The second is simply recorded as being from the '*Fallen Angels Collective 3/4/80*'. It is unnecessary for me to detail their contents in this Report but I observe in passing that, as I have said elsewhere, I find it impossible to understand how the warped and distorted thinking evidenced by the writing had ever found a place in mainstream debate.

14.10 Tracing through whether amongst this there was other material which indicated Sandy Marks' involvement with Fallen Angels besides the connection by address to which I have made reference above, I was interested to see with the conference material in the archive some handwritten notes which were obviously made by someone who had been in attendance at Workshop C since they matched the agenda and followed the discussions I had seen listed. They were notes made at first on blank paper and then (it seems when the supply of blank paper ran out) moving on to use the back of other sheets of paper associated with the conference. They were numbered in the top right hand corner. Amongst the notes under the handwritten heading *Workshop C Sunday pm* appears the note: '*Sandy Marks from Fallen Angels*'. There were in the notes three people identified by initials as being from Fallen Angels. Elsewhere in the notes are references to initials SM/FA which in the context are noting the Fallen Angels part of the discussion as distinct from other notes about pro-paedophile groups from other European countries.

14.11 The initials SM are very common. Even with the connection detailed above between Sandy Marks and 41 Hornsey Rise I would have been sufficiently cautious that those initials would not be enough for me to draw the conclusion that they were a reference to Sandy Marks without the starting note of *Sandy Marks from Fallen Angels*. With that

starting note, and in the context of the other written information, however, I am satisfied on the balance of probabilities that the notes are notes taken of Sandy Marks' contribution with Fallen Angels to the workshop during her attendance at the conference.

- 14.12 The typed submission of the Fallen Angels which bears her initials inter alia may or may not have been her work – for the sake of argument I was content to assume it is someone else's but I am satisfied on the basis of the combination of the workshop agenda and the handwritten notes of the attendee that Sandy Marks was one of those people making an oral presentation to that workshop on behalf of Fallen Angels.
- 14.13 At the conclusion of the IGA conference and after the workshops, the Resolution to demand the dropping of the charges against the five members of the PIE, the abolition of the conspiracy laws in Briton and freedom of association for paedophiles was passed . A series of actions to be taken in support of the PIE defendants was also decided upon. The coordination of those actions was to be through the PIE defence campaign – the contact address for which was given in the newsletter as 'Fallen Angels'. This returns me to the earlier analysis of the connections between Fallen Angels/41 Hornsey Rise/Sandy Marks.
- 14.14 The material which I saw from that conference left me in no doubt that Fallen Angels, the organisation, and those who spoke for it, of whom I am satisfied Sandy Marks was one, expressed support for; a position which was supportive of those members of the Paedophile Information Exchange who faced a forthcoming trial; and support for an abolition of age of consent laws; and for what was described as the right to sexual self determination for all, irrespective of gender and age.
- 14.15 The latter requires some comment because from time to time in all of the material which I have read, the discussion in relation to age of consent ranged widely encompassing this (wholly unjustifiable and abusive) position that there should be no age of consent and a different (wholly understandable and proper) position that the then pertaining differing ages of consent for sexual relations between gay men (21) and for heterosexual relationships (16) should be brought into parity. These different strands of the debate became entangled. My reading of the papers is that they probably became entangled for a number of reasons amongst which was that those in pro paedophile organisations found it useful to become associated with the debate which was properly about seeking equality. As so often in this Review I have paused to consider whether in looking back from this distance I am judging too harshly when I observe that the position adopted by

the Fallen Angels at this time was pernicious and a charter for child abuse and should have been obviously so to any right thinking person. In this instance I am quite sure that I am not. If I needed reassurance in that, I find it in the fact that the Campaign for Homosexual Equality, which organisation was properly concerned to achieve parity of age of consent, expressly required its dissent from the Resolution on Paedophilia and age of consent laws in the minutes of the conference to be noted.

14.16 The July 1980 edition of the PIE Periodical reported gratefully and approvingly of the outcome obtained by the Fallen Angels at the IGA conference, stating that,

*'It fell to fallen angels rather than PIE to take advantage of a heaven-sent opportunity earlier this year and get together some much needed international support for we oppressed Britons. The Angels a group of radical gays who more than most are aware of the devastating potential of the conspiracy trial took wing to Barcelona for the international gay association conference and came away having achieved a remarkable degree of solidarity against the persecution of PIE and in favour of recognizing the legitimacy of consensual [sic] paedophilic relations - significantly only the British contingent from CHE felt unable to offer its support to the paedophilic movement'.*

14.17 Having reached those conclusions about Sandy Marks' involvement with Fallen Angels and her attendance at the IGA conference in April 1980 I went on to examine further the material from the Hall Carpenter Archive which might allow me to form a view about the duration of that involvement. I did not find evidence of involvement in Fallen Angels prior to the 1980 conference.

14.18 Although I did not find evidence of her involvement in Fallen Angels prior to 1980, I knew that the Campaign against Public Morals had been formed in August 1979 at the conference of the Campaign for Homosexual Equality Conference in Brighton. There is no evidence that I have seen that Sandy Marks was one of those who was involved in its formation. Nor have I seen minutes or evidence of its early meetings.

14.19 I did however see from the Archives, minutes of the third meeting of the Conspiracy Against Public Morals from 11<sup>th</sup> September 1979. Those recorded as in attendance are listed using first names only. One such name is 'Sandy'. Rather in the same way that I applied caution to how I might interpret the initials 'SM' in the notes from the paedophilia workshop at the IGA conference I paused to reflect whether there is a danger of attaching too much significance to the name 'Sandy' and of leaping too readily to a conclusion all these years on that it is more likely than not Sandy Marks. In the light of the tracing back through the evidence of her involvement and connection with Fallen

Angels as a contact person; her presence at the April 1980 IGA conference; her involvement in the Fallen Angels presentation at the workshop; the resolution accepted (CHE dissenting) at the conclusion of the workshop; the congruence between the purpose for which the CAPM was formed and the resolution accepted at the conclusion of the conference as a whole on the proposed motion from Fallen Angels which is then written up in the PIE Periodical, it seems to me that it is more likely than not that she is the 'Sandy' listed as one who was in attendance at the CAPM meeting on 11<sup>th</sup> September 1979.

14.20 It is important to recognise that association with the CAPM in and of itself would be neither here nor there in assisting me with the Terms of Reference of this Review without the other elements of Fallen Angels and the IGA conference. Amongst its aims, discussed elsewhere in this Review are wider considerations of civil liberty and law reform. Unsurprisingly those aims attracted sympathy from people who had no alignment with, involvement in, or sympathy with any pro-paedophile groups.

14.21 There is a significance nevertheless for me in identifying Sandy Marks as more likely than not to be the 'Sandy' who attends the third meeting of the CAPM. It is that in the light of her involvement with the Fallen Angels and the fact that part of the focus of that group at the conference was the five Paedophile information Exchange defendants – the coordination of whose support Fallen Angels was to be the contact address, it helps me with the question of the 'duration' as well as the 'nature and extent' of Sandy Marks' involvement.

14.22 As I have observed elsewhere, the Fallen Angels are strikingly under reported in comparison with the Paedophile Information Exchange. Also in contrast with PIE I have been unable to identify either a date for when the organisation was formed or a date when it was disbanded. Her involvement with CAPM in September 1979 – and through that with the campaign on behalf of the PIE defendants, dates for me the earliest evidence of her involvement with what are referred to in my Terms of Reference as 'pro-paedophile groups' as approximately six or seven months before the IGA conference. I did not find anything to suggest that there had been any involvement at an earlier time. My investigations included conducting a search of the local and national press during the relevant time for mentions of Fallen Angels, Sandy Marks and any other articles that may be of relevance to my Terms of Reference. There was nothing in either the local or national news press that suggested Sandy Marks' involvement with Fallen Angels or any other pro-paedophile groups prior to September 1979.

14.23 I turned back to the Archive material to identify if possible the extent to which if at all Sandy Marks' involvement with any pro paedophile groups continued beyond the IGA conference in April 1980.

14.24 In the IGA newsletter of July 1980 – that is the one which follows the report of the international conference – under the heading '*Paedophile Information Exchange*', there is an entry reminding members to support the international campaign on behalf of the five PIE members and to be sure to:

*Make a petition*

*Hand it to British embassies and consulates*

*Contact as many organisations as possible that would be sympathetic on paedophilia and children's sexuality*

*Inform Sandy Marks about it (c/o 41 Hornsey Rise London N19)*

This is followed up with '*To date Sandy has heard nothing*'.

14.25 From this I concluded that, at least until July 1980 her involvement continued to the extent reflected in this entry. I did not find or hear from anyone else during my Review any further or later involvement of Sandy Marks with Fallen Angels, the Paedophile Information Exchange or any other pro-paedophile group. Certainly I found no suggestion that Sandy Marks had been present at or attended the IGA summer meeting held in August 1980 in Belgium. [REDACTED] is identified at that meeting as the contact point for Fallen Angels and by the newsletter published in September of 1980 his address is given as the Fallen Angels contact address – '*Fallen Angels c/o [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Davenant Road London N19*' and with a similar proviso '*don't put "Fallen Angels" on the envelope*'.

14.26 There is then occasional reference to the organisation Fallen Angels in papers from the IGA until June 1981. In the course of this Review I did not find any later or other trace of Fallen Angels. After the July 1980 entry referred to above, I found no other reference to Sandy Marks in connection with any pro paedophile groups. In the minutes of a National Council for Civil Liberties meeting from May 1980, I found reference to Sandy Marks, as had been reported in the Gazette, perhaps writing or having written a book with [REDACTED] [REDACTED]. I did not find any suggestion that she had been present at the meeting at which that was seemingly discussed by others. The fact that the possibility of a book was mentioned in this way did not help me in reaching conclusions on the Terms of Reference of this Review. Had I not found evidence of her association



with [REDACTED] elsewhere, I might have found greater significance in the linking of her name with that of [REDACTED] but I was already satisfied that there was some connection between them since both attended the April 1980 IGA conference as part of the Fallen Angels group. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was a vocal and unapologetic pro-paedophile voice in the 1980s. I do not believe that anyone who had come across him in the context in which he appeared at the conference in 1980 could not have known that. I have been unable to trace [REDACTED]. In part this has been because his name is so common. For that reason I have taken the view that his name should be redacted in this report because there is, as I see it, a strong possibility that others who share so common a name may be wrongly thought to be him.

14.27 In the course of the Review I heard on a number of occasions from different people speculation as to other ways in which Sandy Marks might have been involved in pro-paedophile organisations and views. Speculation as to whether she had taken one of her children to the IGA conference; whether she had left her children in the care of paedophile baby sitters; a suggestion that a photograph of a child included in one of the publications from the Campaign against Public Morals, entitled Paedophilia and Public Morals, might be a photograph of one of her own children; speculation that she had been involved in the running of an adult book shop in Kings Cross which might have distributed paedophile material; a concern that amongst her friends on Facebook was an individual called [REDACTED] a member of both the NCCL and the CHE who had in the past attracted press attention for views said to be supportive of the PIE and most notably the affiliation to the NCCL. I have taken a very careful approach to those allegations, although I have asked Sandy Marks for her comment on them. I was acutely conscious that I am coming to these allegations many years on. In conducting this Review I have wanted to examine evidence which might support or run counter to allegations made. I have had well in mind that without care it is an exercise which can become a witch-hunt. It has seemed to me that the best guard against that is to maintain as closely as possible a focus on what is demonstrated on available evidence and to strive to keep suspicion in its proper place. To that end I have found it helpful where possible to look at archive and original material and to trace that through so as to reach conclusions as I have been able to do in this part of the Report. I have found it less helpful to speculate and have tried to resist the temptation to do so. I have similarly resisted reaching conclusions based on the speculation of others.

- 14.28 A central plank of the story carried by the Islington Gazette which led ultimately to this Review was the publication of a photograph said to be of Sandy Marks and taken at the IGA conference. The story related that until very shortly before publication Sandy Marks had accepted in interview with the paper that the photograph was of her but that on the eve of publication she issued a denial.
- 14.29 Against that background I have found it helpful to analyse the available documentary and archive material first without reference to the photograph and the interview and only after that analysis and having reached the conclusions above to turn to the photograph and interview.

### **The Photograph**

- 14.30 The story in the Islington Gazette linking Sandy Marks to the Fallen Angels and attendance at the International Gay Association Conference in April 1980 out of which the commissioning of this Review arose was the work of two journalists, Emma Youle and Ramzy Alwakeel, who is the Editor of the Islington Gazette. I interviewed those two journalists whose published work had strongly suggested to me that they were very likely to have information, and sources of information, which would be relevant to the Review. At their request I interviewed them together and in the presence of their Managing Editor, Tim Williams.
- 14.31 It is right to record that there had been an approach from the Gazette which was open and helpful even before I invited its two journalists to come in for interview. Those gathering information for Islington Council prior to my appointment had been provided with copies of the archive material which the newspaper had referred to in publication. Once my appointment was underway and I had identified from the publication that there had been interviews held with Sandy Marks by the Gazette, I asked whether there were transcripts of those interviews and, if so, for copies of them. I received promptly and without objection copies of the transcripts. This despite the fact that the ordinary policy of the Gazette would be, I was told and accept, to require a Court Order. The transcripts had, unbeknown to me at that stage, already been provided to Ms Marks and her solicitors following the contact with her.
- 14.32 I had been interested to understand how the information which had become the story published about Sandy Marks had come to the Islington Gazette. I had been further interested to understand how they had gone about authenticating – before approaching Sandy Marks – the photograph with which the story was accompanied. I had thought,

from reading, that the story was triggered by information brought to them by someone I had believed from the reporting was Charlotte Russell; but apparently it was another (unnamed) source.

14.33 One of the things which was not clear to me was the basis on which the Gazette had reached the point where it was sufficiently confident that one of the several women appearing in the photograph in the IGA newsletter from April 1980 – which was uncaptioned – was Sandy Marks, to make it appropriate to ask her to comment on it and to publish the story. From my interview with the Editor, the journalist and the Managing Editor it was evident to me that the paper had taken a responsible approach to authenticating its information. There was an appreciation of the seriousness of allegations made about pro-paedophile groups and the need to substantiate such material as was provided to them. There was also, notably, a sensitivity to the fact that the conference to which the Fallen Angels had made submissions was a conference of the International Gay Association, not a conference of paedophiles, and to the fact that distributing a photograph from that conference unredacted might have the potential for misunderstanding and consequences for the personal lives of those others who also appeared in the photograph. I was told that the journalists from the Gazette had taken care to consult with more than one person who identified Sandy Marks from the photograph.

14.34 I was interested to know who (other than Sandy Marks herself once it was shown to her) had been in a position to identify the photograph as being of Sandy Marks in 1980. Although the story named Charlotte Russell as the Postgraduate researcher who had found the photograph in archives, in interview the Editor confirmed that it was not she who had first brought the information to them. It was confirmed to me in other interviews that the newspaper already had the documents upon which they relied when Charlotte Russell went to them. Charlotte Russell herself was clear with me about that.

14.35 I did not discover in the course of my interviews who had first approached the Gazette with the information. Charlotte Russell told me that she did not know Sandy Marks personally and was not the person who identified her from the photograph. In summary what she told me was that she had had the newsletter containing the photograph for some time and had not had any idea who any of the people in it were. At the time of the Fallen Angels and the April 1980 IGA conference Charlotte Russell was a child and did not live in Islington. She was not of an age to have known her in the early 1980s.

14.36 At the time I spoke to Ms Youle and Mr Alwakeel in interview they did not have permission from any of those to whom they had spoken in order to authenticate the photograph to tell me their identity. The Editor of the Gazette, protective of the publication's sources in a way I fully understand, declined to inform me who the original source of the story was and declined to answer my question as to whether it was Dr Liz Davies who had identified the photograph as being Sandy Marks. Dr Davies also declined to answer the same question when I asked her.

14.37 Revisiting, as I was writing up this report, some of the detail of the documentation from media sources that I had been provided with, yielded some further assistance on this point. On 14<sup>th</sup> July 2017 in a Camden Community Radio Podcast, Dr Davies and two people from the Islington Survivors Network were interviewed. In the course of the interview they were asked if they had approached the Islington Gazette with the story and Dr. Davies told the interviewer that this was the case. The relevant exchange is as follows:

*'Interviewer: maybe we should talk a bit about the Islington Gazette and the stories that you've, they've been running recently which you, which Liz, the Islington Survivors Network have been involved with, I mean helping them. Did you come to them with that story? How did that come about?'*

*Dr. Liz Davies: yes we approached the Gazette because we want the stories to get out there so more people will come forward and know about what we are doing and also to call to account those who were responsible for the horrors that happened and that's really important.'*

That exchange gave me a more complete picture than I had felt able to have following my own interviews.

14.38 Ultimately then the position I reached on this once I had spoken to the Islington Gazette, was that I was unable to discover who had either at the outset or during the period before the approach to Sandy Marks identified the woman in the photograph to the Gazette as Sandy Marks. I was unable to discover the process by which Charlotte Russell came to believe it to be a photograph of Sandy Marks some time after she had found it in the archives at the LSE. When I spoke to Charlotte Russell about it her position was that she had not asked anyone about the identity of anyone in the photograph and I did not have a clear sense from her whether, and if so when, anyone had said anything to her to lead her to think that Sandy Marks might be one of those in the photograph. I found that curious. I was satisfied however following the interview with the Islington Gazette that

they had done sufficient to authenticate it as likely to be her before approaching her with it.

- 14.39 As it turned out however some more information came to the Review about this aspect. I paused work on the Review at the end March 2018 until September 2018 for the reasons recorded in Chapter 1. Over the Easter bank holiday weekend, I was sent a further e mail by the Editor of the Islington Gazette forwarding email confirmation from the person who compiled the IGA April 1980 newsletter that the photograph had been taken at the conference and was of Sandy Marks and providing a further photograph taken at the same meeting from a different angle. When I came to return to work on the Review I made that photograph available to Ms Marks for comment along with the name of the person from whom it had come. She did not accept it was a photograph of her.
- 14.40 My interest in the identification of the photograph before the visit by Ms Youle and Mr Alwakeel to Ms Marks was only part of what I had wished to understand by interviewing those to whom I spoke from the Islington Gazette. It is apparent from the reporting that Sandy Marks, when shown it by the journalists on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2017, had agreed that the photograph was of her and only some time later had changed her position on that and withdrawn that agreement.
- 14.41 As detailed earlier in this report, the visit to, and interview of, Ms Marks on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2017 had been recorded. Recorded, that is to say, both in the sense of a shorthand note being taken and an audio/digital recording being made. There had then been two follow up calls on 4<sup>th</sup> May 2017 with the Gazette in which Sandy Marks spoke to Mr Alwakeel and which had been recorded in the sense of a shorthand note. The transcripts of these had then been provided to Ms Marks and her solicitors and, later, when I asked for them, were provided to me.
- 14.42 I asked those I interviewed from the Islington Gazette a number of questions about how the 3<sup>rd</sup> May interview came to be recorded and in particular about the interplay between the obvious shorthand note taking and, what appeared to me once I had seen it, to be a simultaneous audio recording which was not known about by Ms Marks at the time it was made (albeit that a transcript was provided to her afterwards). I had wanted to understand whether the impression I had of the audio/digital recording being carried out covertly was correct; if so, how and why that came about; and how that did or did not comply with the expectations of the Independent Press Standards Organisation ('IPSO'). My questions were probing – to the extent that it was suggested to me at one

point that it felt like cross-examination – because the situation was not obvious to me from the transcript.

14.43 I was sure (from reading) that Ms Marks knew that a shorthand note was being kept. What did seem to be the case however, was that there came a time when the taking of a shorthand note stopped (and that was recorded in the transcript) and what followed was described as 'off the record'. In response to my (again probing) questions the Editor and Managing Editor of the Islington Gazette were clear that the covert recording – as it appeared to me to be – was not a breach of IPSO and/or was in the public interest. It was not part of my function to investigate the probity of the conduct of interviews or to establish whether for example they had been conducted in a way which complied with the expectations of IPSO. Any complaint as to that would in any event have to be made by Ms Marks herself. The reason I wished to discuss with the Islington Gazette the issues in relation to the recording was because in the light of Sandy Marks' immediate acceptance, when first shown the photograph, that it was her, I wanted to consider whether she had had words put in her mouth; had been confused as to what was being suggested; or had in some way been duped into agreement. The telephone calls on 4<sup>th</sup> May were not digitally recorded. I don't know whether Ms Marks was told that a note was being taken of them but it was an entirely reasonable expectation, after her interview on 3<sup>rd</sup> May, that notes would also be taken of those calls.

14.44 I asked those I interviewed from the Islington Gazette whether there would be any objection to my listening to the recording of the interview on 3<sup>rd</sup> May of which I had read a transcript. There were places where in transcription I was not completely sure that I was seeing a clear run of question and answer; there were some instances where it seemed there was an element of talking over each other; but most importantly for me, by the time I spoke to those from the Islington Gazette I had already talked to Ms Marks who had spoken of it being a rushed meeting at which she did no more than glance at the photograph. I wanted to have a better sense of what had taken place than simply reading a transcript could give me. In keeping with the cooperation I received from the newspaper throughout I was sent a digital file very shortly after I made the request. Listening to it was very helpful. I did not hear anything which disturbed me or seemed to me to be unfair in the way the journalists asked questions. Most notably, that part of the transcript where the photograph was given to Sandy Marks had not the character of a hurried glance but rather of a distinct pause in the dialogue.

- 14.45 It was, to me, noteworthy that Ms Marks had, on being shown the photograph by the journalists, at once agreed it was of her. Later in the meeting with the journalists she went on to observe that she '*could pretend it is not me*'. During the later phone call made by her to the Editor she repeated that – that she could have pretended. I found her own choice of words telling. It was notable to me also that when she emailed the Gazette a few days later with her denials of attendance at the IGA conference and involvement with Fallen Angels, which denials the Gazette included in its published story, as to the photograph the point that she made was that any photograph that the newspaper had of her could not have been taken at that conference, as distinct from a denial that it was a photograph of her.
- 14.46 I had wanted in this Review to understand from Ms Marks how her position had changed to one of flat denial; no longer accepting the photograph was of her. About this aspect she told me that her memory is not good and that she had at the time recently been bereaved and so on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2017 she was not in a good frame of mind to answer questions. She told me also that, as she remembered it, she did not do more than glance at the photograph and that therefore she easily misidentified a photograph of a young woman with dark hair as herself. I could see that that might have been an explanation for identifying someone else, but it seemed to me that it did not explain her immediate recognition of it as being of her. Nor did it explain the remarks which she later made that she could have pretended it was not her. Nor did it fit with the email she sent some days later in which she suggested it had perhaps been taken elsewhere. Nor did it appear congruent with the recording I later listened to.
- 14.47 Ms Marks and her advocate had brought with them to the meeting for me to see, some photographs of her taken closer to 1980 than 2018. Although I understood why it had been thought helpful to bring them, and although I understood that Ms Marks' perception was that they were so unlike the Gazette photograph as to demonstrate it could not be her, I did not find they helped me one way or the other. Nor did I think it appropriate to embark on any attempt to make my own lay person's comparison of the photographs.
- 14.48 I had also had amongst the material provided to me which I had read in advance of my first meeting with Sandy Marks a written submission on her behalf by [REDACTED] which was in the form of a character reference setting out knowledge of Ms Marks over a number of years, expressing not only the strongly held view that she would never have been involved with Fallen Angels, but also that the woman said to be her in the

photograph appeared to its author to have had professional hair styling which would have been beyond her means.

14.49 For the reasons I have detailed earlier in this Chapter, the documentary and archive evidence setting the photograph to one side, has enabled me to reach the conclusions I have about Sandy Marks' attendance at the IGA conference in April 1980. Having examined, and had the benefit of being able to hear, the responses Sandy Marks gave when first shown the photograph and then going on to look at how she continued to respond the following day and into the 9<sup>th</sup> May 2017 and having discussed with her those responses from which she has since resiled, I have concluded that the photograph is more likely than not a photograph taken of her when she attended the IGA conference.

14.50 I have considered what the receipt of the later photograph adds to that analysis. It confirmed and reassured me in my already formed impression that the Islington Gazette had been responsible in their approach to seeking in advance to identify the photograph and its provenance information. It took me no further forward with who first had approached the Gazette with the material. The photograph was obviously taken at the same meeting as the other. As indicated above when I made it available to Ms Marks she denied that it was at her. She reiterated her denial that she had been at the conference or had ever visited Barcelona.

14.51 As I was in the last days of writing up this Report I received, by email from Sandy Marks, an additional statement which she asked me to add to the Review. I have read carefully its contents to establish whether the document contains any new information or comment which I had not heard from, or reported as being said by, Ms Marks previously. I re-read, having received it, those parts of my Report at Chapters 12 and above in this Chapter, to see whether in the light of the statement she had sent me I needed either to look again at conclusions I had reached or whether I needed to ask Ms Marks about anything contained in it. In fact, the statement contained nothing that added to that which I had heard already from Ms Marks and so it neither altered the conclusions I had by then arrived at, nor raised any additional questions in my mind. Since Ms Marks has asked me to add it to my Review I have included the statement at Appendix 10.



## CHAPTER 15

### Term Of Reference 1C

*What Ms Marks knew about the 'state of management' of Islington Social Services Department (as it is referred to in the White Report), including in particular whether she had been aware of any abuse allegations prior to the Evening Standard's story in 1992*

- 15.1 I had unrestricted access to the Strong Room at Islington Town Hall in which the Council, committee and subcommittee minutes and reports are stored.
- 15.2 My interest in these files was to understand for myself when Sandy Marks had joined the Council; on which bodies or sub committees within the Council she had been active and in which decision making processes she had been involved; what role if any she had played in recruitment; which reports to the Council or committees she had known about and any other information relevant to my Terms of Reference which might emerge. Inevitably, although my Terms of Reference were specifically focussed on Sandy Marks, her role, involvement and state of knowledge, reading the documents from the Strong Room gave me a sense of the extent to which fellow committee members and preceding and subsequent chairs were or were not provided with the same information. I was concerned in the analysis of these documents and the drawing of any conclusions to tread properly and fairly the line between identifying that which related to Sandy Marks and the questions about her individual knowledge and responsibility on the one hand and allocating to her as an individual solely, knowledge and responsibility which was in reality more widely located in a collective way with a group or committee.
- 15.3 A full list of the documents which we read from the Strong Room is set out at Appendix 7. From the documents we examined – which we believed reasonably to be those relevant to my Terms of Reference – I came to understand the following.
- 15.4 Meetings of the Social Services committee were held approximately every month for most of the year. There were some obviously explicable gaps – seeming to coincide with local elections or the August vacation and others when it seemed that there was no monthly meeting (since the approval of minutes from the previous meetings made it clear that there were not missing minutes) but I was unsure why.
- 15.5 Meetings of the various other committees upon which Sandy Marks sat took place at differing frequencies, most notably for my Terms of Reference, the Case Review Sub-Committee of the Social Services & Health Committee ('Case Review Sub-Committee')

which met approximately monthly, like the Social Services committee, and the Neighbourhood Services Committee, which met approximately bi-monthly.

- 15.6 The minutes for these meetings, and the meetings of the other committees and sub-committees that we read, were divided into non-confidential and confidential parts. Non-confidential sections recorded those parts of meetings that took place in the presence of members from the public, if members of the public chose to attend. Confidential minutes recorded those items discussed when the public were excluded from the meeting. I was, when I started to look at documents from the Strong Room, interested to see whether there was anything which had the character of concealment rather than privacy about the holding of sections of these meetings in private, whether this provided an opportunity, for example, to keep information relevant to the care of children secret from the public. After having read numerous of these documents, it was clear that those items that were discussed in confidential session were so treated for legitimate reasons; for example in relation to children, in order to keep the identifying names confidential so as not to breach their privacy.
- 15.7 Both sections of the minutes were written in a way which meant that, to the reader, it was not usually possible to glean the detail of that which had been discussed during the meeting without going back to the Strong Room to locate the reports under discussion. Of itself this was perhaps not surprising but what I did find startling was that even when some extremely serious issue had been received by a meeting it was registered even in confidential minutes as simply 'noted'. This meant that to have a picture of what was known to Sandy Marks and others at the meetings it was necessary to look at the reports to those meetings. These were also held in the Strong Room.
- 15.8 One of the questions I have been asked to examine in this Review is what Sandy Marks knew about the 'state of management' of Islington Social Services Department, including in particular whether she had been aware of any abuse allegations prior to the Evening Standard's story in 1992. We looked carefully at the reports and minutes to see what, if anything, was being reported about the state of management of Islington social services and in particular any reports of abuse prior to the Evening Standard story. I wanted to try to identify what those on Islington Council, including Sandy Marks, either knew or ought reasonably to have been aware of from reports and information received quite apart from that which was drawn to the Council's attention by the Evening Standard investigation.

15.9 In 1991, from the minutes of the Case Review Sub-Committee, I learned that there was instituted a programme of inspection of Residential Children's Homes in Islington. This appears to have been as a response to a national change of approach rather than an in borough decision by Islington. From March 1992 there were monthly reports to the Case Review Sub-Committee of those Children's Homes Inspection Reports, initially in the non-confidential sessions but after the first of such reports they were received in the confidential session. The contents of those reports were therefore known to, and discussed in the presence of, anyone attending those meetings which included Sandy Marks. She was Chair of that committee from 26<sup>th</sup> May 1992 until 16<sup>th</sup> May 1995 and a member throughout. It has been clear from the minutes of the meetings which I have examined – meetings of the council; of committees; and of sub committees – that Sandy Marks attended most meetings of those of which she was a member. I have found relatively few meetings when she was listed under apologies for absence. From that I am confident to conclude she was fully aware of that which was reported to meetings she attended. Owing to the style of minuting, to which I make reference above, I would not have the same confidence of her knowledge in relation to meetings at which she had not attended because it was not possible always to detect how far in advance reports were circulated – some were clearly brought to the meeting – or whether they were always sent later to absent members. It is also important to remember again in this context, reading at a distance of more than two decades that 'papers' in this time meant exactly that. It does not mean email circulation of documents.

15.10 The reports of the inspections of residential homes were disturbing on a number of levels. Before further discussion of them it is important to acknowledge that, it was transparently obvious that there were financial and resource constraints operating on those who were trying to provide care for children and young people at this time and that some of the children and young people coming into these homes had life experiences which left them with needs which were not easy to meet. Some of the reports of the inspections of some of the homes gave a picture of dedicated staff in resource-starved circumstances managing to provide care and a semblance of 'home', in the sense that most would understand that word to mean, for groups of vulnerable and damaged young people. Appreciating and understanding that however did not make it any less shocking to read in other inspection reports of other homes accounts of events and circumstances which caused me real alarm when reading them for this Review.

15.11 As examples of that which was being reported in the period March 1992 onwards we read the following:

- a. Inspection report of [REDACTED] for the Case Review Sub-Committee meeting on 12<sup>th</sup> March 1992: *'Very unsettled period for the residents. This has been caused by the presence of several young men who have been getting into the Unit through unsecured doors and windows, or let in by other residents... The young men are banned, but frequently come into the Unit late in the evening or in the early hours of the morning... At least one violent incident has occurred when one young man refused to leave. Although the police are called they are reluctant to take any action unless a crime has been committed... The window frames in every room are in various stages of decay, and present a serious security risk. The window in the lounge can be completely lifted up from the outside allowing access to intruders, despite having a security lock attached. The windows in the basement and ground floor either have no security locks or inadequate ones. Again these windows are a delight for intruders.'*
- b. Inspection report of [REDACTED] for the Case Review Sub-Committee meeting on 29<sup>th</sup> April 1992: *'There have been a number of problems with and faced by the group of residents since my last report. In one incident [REDACTED] was threatened with a cord around her neck and made to sign a 'prostitutes contract' by two men who had come up into her room. Staff and other residents were unaware of this until the following morning when the police were called but were unable to take any further action because [REDACTED] would not press charges. According to [REDACTED] if she did, then these men and their peers would make life intolerable for her and it would be impossible for her to continue living in the area.'*
- c. Inspection report of [REDACTED] for the Case Review Sub-Committee meeting on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1992: *'same-sex visitors are allowed in children's rooms till 9pm and all visitors in the communal rooms till 10 pm. There are sometimes concerns as to the kind of friends children are mixing with and whether there is a sexual element to these friendships. There has been a break-in (via drainpipes and roof skylight) suspected to have been the work of two homeless young men who had been hanging around with the accommodated young people. They appear to have slept in an empty room and caused only a little damage to roof tiles... The atmosphere of trust is reflected in the fact that some of the children and young people have disclosed abuse (outside of the unit) to the workers and one child was able recently to share his concerns about a particular worker.'*

- d. Inspection report of [REDACTED] for the Case Review Sub-Committee meeting on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1992: *'some of the sexual language and interaction between [REDACTED] and the teenage girls has been quite inappropriate, given [REDACTED] age and highlights how unsuitable the centre is for working with such a wide age range of children. [REDACTED] needs to be separated as far as possible from the sexually inappropriate behaviour of other residents as he is currently being interviewed by the Children Protection Team having allegedly been sexually abused.'*
- e. Inspection report of [REDACTED] for the Case Review Sub-Committee meeting on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1992: *'at present there is some unease in the staff group and amongst the residents, as the disciplinary investigation of the staff member commences. There are a lot of rumours and speculation about the staff member and her relationship with an ex-resident.'*
- f. Inspection report of [REDACTED] for the Case Review Sub-Committee meeting on 8<sup>th</sup> September 1992: the following concerns were raised about a resident *'constant verbal abuse of others an anti-social behaviour such as defecating his room, spitting and soiling staff clothing with semen'*.
- g. Inspection report of [REDACTED] for the Case Review Sub-Committee meeting on 8<sup>th</sup> September 1992: *'I have noted over a period of time an absence of any concern regarding possible issues of child protection. This is an area where staff are not experienced and indeed does not seem to fall within the remit of any staff job description.'*

There are seven examples given above. Any one alone I would have expected to be indicative to those hearing of it of something seriously awry in the way children were being cared for in the homes. I have decided that the names of the homes should be redacted before this report is distributed to avoid unwelcome curiosity directed at those who may be known to have lived in a particular home when they were children.

- 15.12 Quite apart from the truly shocking subject matter of the reports there were a range of other things about them which I found striking as I read the documents. There did not appear to be any apparent questioning or anxiety recorded in the minutes at which the sort of alarming detail coming out of the inspections was presented. A cord put around the neck of a young person in care by intruders to secure the signing of a *'prostitute contract'* is something I would have expected to provoke a response.

- 15.13 On occasions when very heightened risk to young people is identified and recorded – obvious breaking in; people not being safe; ‘prostitute contract’; homeless people sleeping in room; anxieties about risk to safety and well being in home – those did not seem, as far as I could tell, to generate immediate responsive action from the meeting to which they were being reported. It may be that there were responses of some urgency – the press release to which I refer at paragraph 15.22 below certainly includes reference to police involvement – but it was the muted way in which the reports seemed to be received and minuted which seemed wholly incongruent with their subject matter.
- 15.14 In the Terms of Reference of my appointment I was invited to consider whether Sandy Marks had been aware of any abuse allegations prior to the Evening Standard stories in 1992. From the context it is obvious that what was contemplated by the Terms of Reference was sexual abuse. I have chosen in the course of this Review to interpret ‘abuse’ more widely for a number of reasons. It seems to me that if children and young people are abused by others the experience of being abused is what lives with them, and the label attached or category into which that sort of abuse – physical; sexual; emotional – is allocated is not reflective so much of their lived experience but of the wish of others to categorise it. Second there is, as I see it, little that is helpful and much that is dangerous in seeking to draw artificially a line between sexual and physical abuse – or to break down sexual abuse into different types, or worse, severity, of abuse. It is my view that that sort of thinking is what leads to a failure to acknowledge the reality and respect the experience of victims and survivors. Third in my reading of those recordings dating from the 1980s and 90s I was struck by the fact that those who were reporting did not always seem to me to be thinking clearly about the implications of that which they were reporting for the welfare of the young people in the homes. I wondered why that might be and whether it might be a question of a different time in which a wider and public understanding of child abuse was not yet as developed. I did not however think that was always the explanation. To give one telling illustration: one report of a home included an account of what was expressed as a young person soiling staff clothing with semen, as set out above, and the context of the reporting was related entirely to staff morale and the containment of challenging behaviour. There was, neither in that report, nor recorded in the minutes of the meeting at which that report was received, any apparent reflection on what that might mean in terms of sexual risk within that home. I would expect that to be an immediately obvious link for anyone concerned with child protection and welfare whether hearing that report now or hearing it 25 years ago.

- 15.15 The reports of inspection of the homes being fed back to meetings of the Case Review Sub-Committee members were, after a very short period, re framed to be written to a particular template with specific headings. I see how some type of standard format might have been felt to be useful but I found it dispiriting to see that the headings under which reports were made to the committees appeared not to be centred on the welfare of the young people living in those homes and did not include a heading for that to be reported. Rather the focus was staff morale; building structure; the physical state of the homes. Of course those things are important, and, in some of the examples I have given above, the lack of security from the poor repair of buildings increased the vulnerability of children. But so far as the heading related to children was concerned it was couched in terms of disruptive or challenging behaviour, the need to manage that and the knock on effect on the home. These days we would think of that as akin to victim blaming – that may be a response which is too strongly derived from modern thinking. What is not derived from modern thinking however is an expectation that, in whatever era, an inspection regime of children's homes would have as its primary question: *is this a home in which the children who live there are safe and well cared for?* with all else subsidiary to that.
- 15.16 With an eye also on question 1B of my Terms of Reference, I looked for evidence that Sandy Marks, in carrying out her duties on the Social Services committee, or any other committee, caused or used her influence to bring about that system of standardised format reporting. I looked for this because if someone with an interest in sexual abuse of children were using their position to facilitate abuse within homes then one way of doing so would be to shift the focus of any inspection reports away from child welfare questions. I found no evidence that she did. In fact the evidence I found was that the creation of the template form and the suggestion/direction that that should be used came from one of those carrying out the inspections and reporting to the Case Review Sub-Committee. Influence might be indirect as well as direct and so I also looked for evidence in the archive documents held by Islington that Sandy Marks had selected or been in a position to influence the selection of those who carried out the inspections. Again I found no evidence of this.
- 15.17 Looking more widely than those files particular to Islington and held in the Strong Room there, I also examined files from the London Metropolitan Archives where the London Borough Children's Regional Planning Committee are stored to see whether there was any evidence there of influence or connection in relation to the implementation of the inspections of children's homes. This revealed nothing adverse as to her influence. I have

dealt in more detail with what I was able to deduce about the Sandy Marks' role on this London wide committee in the section of this report dealing with my Term of Reference 1B.

- 15.18 Whatever the drawbacks of the inspection pro-forma there were however, as outlined above, reports received by the committees which Sandy Marks either chaired or attended which could have left her in no doubt prior to the Evening Standard reports, that there were allegations of abuse being made by and about children within Islington's Children's homes.
- 15.19 As I read both the minutes of the Case Review Sub Committee meetings and the inspection reports which were being received at those meetings I found it startling that the voices of the children and young people living in the homes were entirely silent. It is wholly alien to me in my professional life to read accounts of how children and young people are living and being cared for and not, as part of that, to read at least some record of what those children and young people say of their experience. I realise it was another time but I remain struck by how infrequently in all I read for this Review children had been spoken to.
- 15.20 It is established, and Ms Marks agreed, that Eileen Fairweather and Stewart Payne spoke to her in 1992 about the allegations they were intending to report on. Although there have been various different precise timings reported as to when this was, it seems from everything I have read and heard that this was in about July 1992. I have interpreted the question about knowledge of abuse before the Evening Standard story as meaning what, if anything, Sandy Marks knew from her role in the Council and independent of any Evening Standard story. I have not in those circumstances thought it useful in the body of this report to discuss all that I have read about the pre-publication discussions between the Evening Standard and Islington or to try to determine the extent to which, if at all, Sandy Marks was involved in those. I am aware that on the occasion Eileen Fairweather spoke to Sandy Marks, Sandy Marks asked for evidence and that on her account she wished to know if abuse was ongoing. I return to this below at paragraph 15.24. I know also that the Evening Standard provided Islington Council with their documentation relating to their investigations on 11<sup>th</sup> November 1992.
- 15.21 From all of the contemporaneously generated documents and archive material which I read I have concluded that Sandy Marks was well aware of the state of management, though, for the avoidance of doubt, no more so than others members of the Council who sat on the Case Review sub-committee. The evidence is clear that the Case Review sub-



committee on which she sat received reports of conditions in Islington's children's homes which could have left those present in no doubt that young people in them were experiencing abuse and/or were at risk of abuse. As I have said above, it is my view that the style of the reporting did not have at its focus the welfare of the children and young people; but I did not find any evidence that Sandy Marks directed or skewed the reporting to those committees so as to minimise the reporting of abuse.

#### **An Observation About The Inclusion Of 1C In The Terms Of Reference For This Review**

15.22 Since it appears as part of my Terms of Reference I have addressed the question of the state of management and whether Ms Marks knew of any abuse allegations prior to the Evening Standard's story in 1992. At the beginning of my work on this Review I knew nothing of the circumstances but as I learned more, I have found myself slightly nonplussed by the inclusion of 1C. In the course of my work on the Review I have found that much of the answer to it is already in the public domain. Ms Marks, as a longstanding member of the Council, was aware by reason of that role of the state of management of Islington Social Services department. On the 6<sup>th</sup> October 1992, the day of publication of the Evening Standard stories, Islington Council issued a press release included in which Sandy Marks was quoted as saying this:

*'Following publication of allegations in the Evening Standard today (Tuesday) Islington Council's chair of social services Cllr Sandy Marks made the following statement: "The individual circumstances of these young people are known to us and have been the subject of casework or detailed investigation – some involving the police, the health authority or the courts. All of our homes are inspected monthly and reports provided both to senior management and elected members. The Evening Standard have been asked for three months to furnish us with any new evidence. They have singularly failed to do so." [Emphasis added].*

15.23 So it seemed to me that although the question at 1C was included in the Terms of Reference identified following the opinion from James Goudie QC, the answer to it had to all intents and purposes been given already in this Press release.

15.24 Having read the inspection reports to which the Press release referred I now know the detail of what was contained in those reports. I have given earlier by way of illustration some of the accounts. I wondered towards the end of my work on the Review whether the inclusion of 1C might have been intended to probe Sandy Marks' response to the Islington Gazette last year in which she said that what she had wanted to know from

Eileen Fairweather was whether abuse was ongoing or, as she called it 'historic'. On reflection however I did not see that that could be the intention since not only was it obvious to me that the monthly reports were informing the Committee members – including Sandy Marks – of abuse that was ongoing at the time of reporting, but that was acknowledged in the Press Release. So whether or not abuse was 'ongoing' at the time of the Evening Standard allegations, what I have seen and had been publicly acknowledged well before the Goudie QC opinion was that it was 'ongoing' at the time the inspection reports were being presented.

- 15.25 Ultimately, notwithstanding my observations above as to the inclusion of 1C in the Terms of Reference I have taken the same approach to it as to the others, namely to seek to answer it to the best of my ability on the evidence I could find. My conclusions in relation to it are set out above.

## CHAPTER 16

### Term Of Reference 1B

*What if any impact that involvement had on the way she carried out her duties whether as a committee member between 1983 and 1991 or as chair between 1991 and 1995*

- 16.1 Everything which I have been able to read tells me that Sandy Marks was, from the time she was elected, an active and engaged member of Islington Council. The list of committees on which she sat is to be found at Chapter 9 and is extensive. It will have been noted from that document that, whilst this Term of Reference refers to Sandy Marks as having been Chair of the Social Services committee from 1991, she in fact first became Chair of that committee in 1986 and was intermittently Chair of that committee until 1995. Each of those committees upon which she sat required attendance at meetings and a commitment of time. Once again it is worth remembering that that meant physical presence and that these were not the days of dialling in to a telecon or joining by video link. She also, in time, sat as Islington's representative on the London Borough Children's Regional Planning Committee ('LBCRPC') which was a further significant commitment of time. Her attendance and involvement was assiduous as far as I could see. I have referred elsewhere to how infrequently I saw her name recorded in the apologies for absence section of any minutes.
- 16.2 I held in my mind when I was reading the contemporaneous minutes that what I was seeing of her involvement could well be exactly what it appeared to be at face value – an elected local politician working hard in local politics for her party and her constituents. With an eye to the Terms of Reference however, I also had to consider the possibility that it would also fit with someone quite recently involved with a pro-paedophile organisation at the International Gay Association conference seeking to find her way into positions in which she would have influence over arrangements for children in the Council's care and the opportunity to enable those with a sexual interest in children to have access to them. Once or twice people from whom I heard or had responses speculated to me – though not with either evidence or example – that there might be something sinister in her membership of so many committees and subcommittees.
- 16.3 In the responses I received to the call for information I did not receive any which offered information about inappropriate or concerning behaviour by Sandy Marks in the discharge of her duties. I did not hear for example allegations that she put other people under pressure to vote a particular way on issues relating to children's care or

placements; that she tried to stifle debate. I did not hear anything in response to the call for information which went to the way in which she carried out her duties on the Social Services or other committees.

- 16.4 As is set out in Chapter 5 I read a significant number of the Council's committee minutes and records of the Council committee meetings and decision making processes during the time of Sandy Marks' involvement with the Council. It was not that had there been any such sinister activity I expected to find it recorded expressly, it was more that, since I had not received any contributions to the Review which helped me with this aspect, I wanted to examine carefully the minutes and papers from the committee meetings at the time to see whether they revealed anything which caused me any disquiet when set against the backdrop of what I had learned in my investigation of the evidence relating to Term of Reference 1A. I wanted also to see whether I could detect from the recordings anything that seemed different about the way in which she carried out the duties on the Social Services or other committees as compared with other members of those committees. Although my Terms of Reference specified the Social Services Committee, I interpreted that more widely so as to include all other Islington committees and sub committees on which she served as well as the London Borough Children's Regional Planning Committee. It seemed to me that if there were a pattern of behaviour or influence to see, to look only at the Social Services Committee would have a blinkering effect. It was my intention with this part of the Review, as it had been with Term of Reference 1A, to make available to Sandy Marks any documents from those which I examined which seemed to me to have potential relevance and about which I wanted to ask her questions or to invite her to comment.
- 16.5 The examination of the materials was time consuming and painstaking. A good deal of that which I read did not involve Sandy Marks at all. Wherever I found her name, or a reference to her, or a comment recorded as being made by her in a committee or sub-committee discussion - whether or not on the face of it linked to services for children and young people - I considered what if anything might be the relevance of it for this part of the Review. As a guard against missing either a relevant document from the files or the relevance of a reference within a document the documents were read by me and then by Ms Sprinz working together.
- 16.6 In addition to the documents held by Islington Council, I also examined relevant documents retrieved from the London Metropolitan Archive. These documents were collated and copied for me by two researchers and an administrative assistant who on

my behalf had access to the Archive, including with the permission of the keeper of the Archive to those parts not ordinarily publicly available. The documents were retrieved working to the same criteria of relevance which I had applied in identifying documents within Islington's control – namely any document in which Sandy Marks' name appeared or contained reference to her; comment recorded as being made by her in a discussion along with a time frame which continued about a year beyond that identified by the years in the Terms of Reference so as not to miss anything of relevance which might have been put in train but not come to fruition during her term. I wanted to see the London Metropolitan Archive material so as to have an understanding of the way in which London Boroughs, and the representatives of those boroughs on the London Borough Children's Regional Planning Committee, shared information and might become aware of events outside their own borough. This seemed to me to have relevance not only to the Terms of reference 1B and 1C but also was of interest to me given the extent to which the question of organised abuse had featured in the White Inquiry and continued to be raised with me.

- 16.7 From that extensive reading there were a number of issues which I highlighted for further consideration and for discussion with Ms Marks.
- 16.8 I did not find evidence that Ms Marks appeared to be exercising control and direction in relation to children and their placement in care. In my reading of the confidential minutes section of the Case Review Sub Committee of the Social Services & Health Committee ('Case Review Sub-Committee') minutes however I noted that she featured as signatory on a number of emergency meetings at which decisions were taken in relation to secure accommodation for children and young people. These meetings were ones to which I paid very close attention. Often there was a note of the intended home at which the child or young person would be placed. Sometimes those homes were ones which had attracted adverse findings in the White Report and were homes at which it is now established that other children and young people have been abused. I was not at the outset clear what these meetings, whose confidential minutes I was reading, were but it emerged that, in the period to which they related, when a social worker wished to make a court application to place a child or young person in secure accommodation authorisation from the Council was required before that application could be made. That is what the authority I was seeing, signed by the chair of the meeting, was authorising. The meetings typically were convened at what appears to be relatively short notice and as a matter of some urgency; a panel of typically two or three people made the decision as to authorise the application. I did not see, any in which the decision was made by one

person and certainly none in which Sandy Marks alone made the decision. The decisions were then reported in the confidential session of the next meeting. My interest was in knowing whether there was the possibility through this route that someone so inclined could channel children into particular homes so that they were available for abuse and/or whether there was evidence that Sandy Marks had done so. In the instances I saw there was a description of the child; the circumstances which meant that the application was being made and the proposed placement was presented to the panel by the social worker seeking authority. I did not see any meeting at which those making the decision amended or overrode the care plan to substitute a different or other home. Nor did I see a process for that to happen. In short I did not find evidence of Sandy Marks doing anything other on these meetings than carrying out essentially an approval function on a panel resulting in a decision which enabled an application to be made to a Court. I later asked Ms Marks about this process and nothing in what she told me conflicted or differed from the impression that I had formed from studying the documents.

- 16.9 In 1989 – 1990 there was a well-publicised scandal in relation to a residential home for girls in Greenwich, Melanie Klein House, where girls were provided with inadequate care, subjected to undue force and some alleged sexual misconduct by staff. The care at Melanie Klein House was investigated and a report produced in 1990. Ultimately the home was closed.
- 16.10 In the documentation provided by Dr. Liz Davies I had seen a letter dated 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1989 which had been sent to Sandy Marks (then vice chair of the Social Services Committee) from a Greenwich Councillor (Chris Fay). It set out allegations of ill treatment including what was described as sexual misconduct by members of staff towards girls resident at the unit. The letter in terms raised concern for the welfare and safety of children living there; highlighted the need for a full investigation and inquiry into the running of that home and informed Sandy Marks that both the London Borough of Greenwich and the Secretary of State were being pressed for action. I was very troubled indeed by that letter. When I first read it in isolation it appeared to be highly significant in the sense of alerting Sandy Marks to a risk of harm to children yet I had not seen in my reading of the Islington files evidence of her taking any action on receipt of it. It was the first time in my reading that I had come across something which evidenced directly Sandy Marks being personally told of a risk to children. I was also troubled by the fact that it raised a serious issue in relation to sexual risk at a home outside the

London Borough of Islington. It raised for me the prospect that from this there could be evidence to follow of children being sent from one borough to be abused in another.

16.11 From the London Metropolitan Archives I was able to read more documents which gave me a wider perspective on that and enabled me to see that one letter I had been provided with in isolation in its factual context. From examining the London Metropolitan Archive documents I discovered that once the allegations contained in the letter came to light an investigation was set up by the London Borough Children's Regional Planning Committee into the running of Melanie Klein House. Sandy Marks was Islington's representative on that body. There followed, a period when the investigating panel was completing its investigation, and then a delay before it was complete and findings could be published. That delay caused members of the London Borough Children's Regional Planning Committee to express concern. Sandy Marks was at the time Chair of that committee. I did not detect any evidence that she tried to stall or delay the publication of it. The outcome of the concern about delay by the committee was the expression of that concern to Greenwich to try and encourage progress of the report. I also noted that during her time as Chair on this committee and during the time that the investigation into Melanie Klein House was ongoing Sandy Marks informed the Committee that the Committee could only take advice from the investigation and care authorities and she was also explicit in saying that if at any time the Investigating Panel should inform her that the home was not safe for young women she would ensure that Greenwich was asked to take immediate action to close the home.

16.12 The effect of being able to make sense from the material held in the London Metropolitan Archives of the follow up to the letter was that it cast it in a very different light. What I had thought it might signify, at paragraph 16.10 above, as it turned out was the reverse of what the evidence showed. I have set out in some detail in this part of the report how it was that seeing the full picture helped my understanding because I recall very clearly the alarm that seeing the letter in isolation raised in my mind. Reflecting on that I realised that without the detail others who might see the letter might similarly understand it to be indicative of something that it is not.

16.13 Once the report was received there were detailed discussions about it on the London Borough Children's Regional Planning Committee that ultimately resulted in the closure of the home. It will be evident from what I have described here that nothing I saw of Sandy Marks' knowledge of and involvement in investigating the allegations in relation to Melanie Klein House was inappropriate. It is also right to record that I saw no

evidence that she was arranging or giving approval for young people for whom Islington were responsible being sent to live in Melanie Klein House, although I was looking for documents that gave any indication of that.

- 16.14 I made all of the material about Melanie Klein House which had seemed relevant to me available to Ms Marks before I spoke to her about this aspect of the Terms of Reference. This was because although I had been able to trace through much of what I needed to understand, none of which had proved adverse to her, there was something arising out of it about which I wanted to know more. I would expect that a representative of a London Borough hearing on this London wide organisation of the behaviour of staff at units at other boroughs would want to have in place safeguards against the same staff coming to work in their own. I wanted to ask Ms Marks about this and thought it fair to do so having given her access to the discussions about Melanie Klein House.
- 16.15 I asked her in interview what system there was for making sure none of the staff who had been a problem at Melanie Klein House ended up at Islington and whether any steps were taken to make sure that didn't happen. She told me that there was not a system. She went on to explain that as she put it *'if you've got your personnel structures right, when somebody applies for a job you actually get references from their last job.'* She told me that she knew that wasn't always happening in Islington or indeed as she put it anywhere at the time. Hearing this underscored for me the need which Kate Hart had impressed on me for organisations to have robust structures in place around personnel and recruitment. I consider further that issue at Chapter 19. The example of Melanie Klein House illustrated for me the potential for harm to children if there are not such structures in place. I did not, as it happens, find any instance of staff moving across. I had one instance amongst a volume of documents contributed to the Review in which by email in 2013 a question was raised as to whether a particular name 'rings any bells', it being said that they had left Melanie Klein House and had got a job in an unknown children's home in Islington, saying that there were sexual allegations raised which could not be proved. That email did not help me with the Review nor did the name it contained. I include it here for transparency only.
- 16.16 Moving on later into the 1990s from the time of Melanie Klein House I saw that one of the committees on which Ms Marks had sat in 1995 was the Personnel sub-committee/ Personnel Education Staff Committee. She was chair of those two same committees in 1997 as well as of the Staffing sub-committee. I asked Ms Marks about her membership of those committees and whether the activity of those committees extended to direct



recruitment activity. She told me that this was not something that was undertaken by those committees. In the course of my wider reading I had not seen evidence that she had any role of that sort. I consider both below at paragraph 16.19 and in my discussions with Kate Hart, which appears at Chapter 19, the need to be alert to more intangible influences on recruitment.

16.17 I had been interested to see from the London Metropolitan Archives documents as part of the question about how Sandy Marks carried out her duties whether her role on the LBCRPC gave her wider influence which might be relevant to network abuse allegations. She had when she was Chair a key role and features heavily in discussions. I found no evidence of a sole decision making power. Decisions were made by committee on a majority vote. If there were such a thing as a casting vote by the Chair I found no reference to it.

16.18 I had wondered also whether there might have been the opportunity to dispense finances; whether for example she had her own discretion to award grants or to give from public funds sums of money for children's activities or for projects in children's homes. At least one contributor had speculated to me – with no evidence offered in support of the speculation – that that might be so. From the minutes and meeting papers it emerged that during the time that Sandy Marks was Chair of the LBCRPC a huge proportion of the time was taken up with the Future Management Arrangements sub-committee. To add the detail of that to this Report would be to no purpose. In outline what was useful to me to see was that that sub-committee was charged with overseeing the plans for a more cost effective management structure, prepared by Price Waterhouse, and that one side effect of this was that there were external agencies looking closely at finances. Not only did I find no evidence of Sandy Marks as Chair or otherwise directing or dispensing finances but I did not see the opportunity for her to exercise discretion in that way.

16.19 In this part of the Report when I have been discussing what influence Sandy Marks may have had, or been in a position to exert in her roles on committees I have meant by 'influence' conscious and deliberate influence. I have reached conclusions as to that. I have also had in mind however the possibility of another sort of influence which is more nebulous. As I have been reading the information from Sandy Marks' time on the Council I have wondered what it might mean, especially in the early years of her career in local politics (i.e. closer in time to 1980), that someone who in 1980 had been associated with Fallen Angels was now a Council member. Would that attract others who had similar

associations? I return to this at Chapter 19 in the context of my discussions with Kate Hart and my Term of Reference 2.

16.20 I have in my descriptions of what I have seen and read in the files concentrated because of the focus of the Terms of Reference on those areas which might reveal information relevant to those Terms. I was actively looking for evidence that might show an impact from her earlier associations on the way Ms Marks carried out her duties. It is right however to record, since otherwise it remains unknown to those reading this Report that I found contained in the documents a good deal about Sandy Marks' conduct that was positive and demonstrated what appeared to me to be a legitimate concern for child welfare. To give but a flavour of that: in the discussions about Future management restructuring, I saw repeated references to Sandy Marks countering suggestions about cost effectiveness with a riposte that it could not be at the expense of children's welfare; in discussions about secure accommodation, she it was who made the point that there should be good child care reasons before a child should be so placed; in a discussion about alternatives to prison she raised concerns about young people in penal custody and the lack of educational provision for young people; she drew attention in a debate about the 'Who Cares Trust' to the need for young people's voices to be heard.

16.21 I received in response to the call for information a submission drawing my attention to the fact that Clifford Heap, who had been the Superintendent of Shirley Oaks Children's Home, was later 1971 - 1980 an Assistant Director in Islington. The same submission expressed certainty that there had been organised crime networks exploiting children across the authorities during the time period of this Review. Mr Heap's time in Islington pre-dates Sandy Marks' election to the Council and the submission did not help me in considering Term of Reference 1B and I did not need to discuss it with her. I have discussed in Chapter 17 the question of ongoing allegations of organised abuse and the Term of Reference 1D which relates to any knowledge Sandy Marks may have had from Fallen Angels of organised abuse. I mention the submission I received here however in part for the sake of transparency since it was sent to me but more because in the context of considering that which I learned from reading about Sandy Marks' carrying out of her duties on the Social Services committee I have not seen any association of her with Clifford Heap.

16.22 In summary as to 1B I did not find anything which suggested to me that Ms Marks was carrying out her duties on any committee or sub-committee or any combination in a way

which was affected by the involvement in Fallen Angels as to which I have reached conclusions earlier in this report.

16.23 Before leaving this part of the report it is appropriate to recognise that if there were, as a number of contributors have communicated their belief that there was, a network of those sexually abusing, seeking or facilitating the sexual abuse of children across London and nationally it might well not be detectable in archive documents such as those I have been examining for the purpose of this Review. What I have been looking for in order to conduct this Review is any evidence that indicated to me that Sandy Marks was involved or engaged in anything of that sort. I have not found any evidence of that.

16.24 If there are those who continue to believe that there is evidence of organised abuse which has not been investigated and which relates not necessarily to Sandy Marks, but to others, then those are matters properly to be referred to the police and to IICSA.

## CHAPTER 17

### Term Of Reference 1D

*Whether in her dealings with Fallen Angels, and possibly other paedophile groups, Ms Marks had become aware of anything relevant to the allegations of 'organised abuse' that were the subject of the White Report*

- 17.1 The White report considered as part of its remit the allegations made in the Evening Standard that there had been organised sexual abuse and ritual abuse of children who were in the care of Islington and living in residential homes. The overall conclusion reached by the White Report in relation to allegations of organised / network abuse was as follows: *'Some of the allegations involved the response Islington made to allegations of organised abuse. These were checked out and investigated fully with the Metropolitan Police, Social Services Inspectorate and others and we found that with the exception of one conviction in relation to a staff member at a residential school, Islington did investigate these allegations and we found no evidence to support assertions of organised abuse'*.
- 17.2 Throughout the time that I worked on this Review I heard from individuals and organisations of strongly held belief that there had been within the London Borough of Islington organised network and/or ritual abuse. It has seemed to me in my reading for and in interviewing contributors to this Review that 'organised' 'network' and even 'ritual' are on occasion used interchangeably but intending to convey something which was of a widespread and coordinated character. One person I interviewed made reference to a belief that there had been abuse which included torture and killings.
- 17.3 When I met Kate Hart in interview I learned from her that when she and Ian White had been conducting their enquiries, they had spoken to people who were completely convinced that there was organised abuse in Islington and who, in some instances, had made their own enquiries on the basis of which they had become still further convinced. She and Ian White therefore took this aspect of their remit very seriously. She told me (as is reflected in the White Report) that they visited and had a meeting at Scotland Yard and were satisfied that the police investigations were proper and robust investigations over quite lengthy periods. They did not result in prosecutions not because there was a lack of will to investigate, but because the evidence which resulted from those investigations was insufficient. Ian White and Kate Hart had similarly scrutinised the

way in which Islington Council had responded in 1990, 1991 and 1992 to allegations made in the forum of the Area Child Protection Committee ('ACPC').

17.4 In the White Report there is set out detail of the way in which the working party set up met and considered in partnership with the police allegations of network abuse including allegations in late 1991 of organised ritual abuse. When I met her for this Review I asked Kate Hart about the extent to which she and Ian White had been satisfied that what they were seeing and hearing of was a robust investigating response. I was interested to hear her view of this given how strongly critical the White Report had been of other aspects of Islington's management of, and response to, reports of the appalling circumstances in which children in residential homes were living. She told me that her memory was that it was the breadth of involvement and length of time which had provided assurance as to the investigation of the allegations of organised abuse; social services, police, health services, probation services and education were all involved and the meetings went on over a number of months – from her memory approaching a year. Both the Police and the ACPC had been involved – fully and actively – in considering the allegations of network abuse.

17.5 The conclusion that Kate Hart and Ian White reached was that however strongly those who believed that there was organised abuse held that belief, the Inquiry had not found evidence to support that finding. Kate Hart recognised, both at the time and years later when speaking to me, that there would be those who were dissatisfied with that conclusion and would continue to believe that there was organised abuse happening but, for her, it came down to what the evidence showed and she and Ian White had not had evidence of organised abuse.

17.6 I similarly continued to hear concern that although the issue of organised network abuse had been raised, it had never been investigated or taken seriously. I encountered also urging from some quarters to look in a much wider way than the Terms of Reference of the Review at allegations of organised abuse and/or to recommend such an Inquiry.

17.7 My primary interest was to try to identify evidence as it related to Sandy Marks and the Terms of Reference. I was open minded to the prospect that one possible outcome of the Terms of Reference to which I was working was that I might find evidence of organised abuse – whether or not relating to Sandy Marks. Were I to find such evidence, I would have to consider how that should be referred on for investigation as to the criminal offences involved (including of course an immediate report to the authorities if the information revealed current risk to children) and to IICSA, whose terms of reference

embrace the response of State and non-State institutions to allegations of abuse. One of the confirmed inquiries to be undertaken by IICSA is that into Child Sexual Exploitation by Organised Networks. I therefore found it helpful to consider the extent to which there had been response to allegations of organised abuse. To my surprise, having taken at face value before starting work on the Review the assertions that there had not been any or any proper investigation into organised abuse I found that there had been social services, inter-agency and Police investigation. The following sets out the nature and extent of those investigations.

#### **Actions taken by Islington Social Services at the time**

- 17.8 On 27<sup>th</sup> July 1990 there was a meeting between senior members of the Irene Watson neighbourhood, the neighbourhood in Islington at the centre of the organised abuse allegations, including senior social services members, the social services neighbourhood officer who had been raising concerns about sexual abuse and a 'sex ring' and members of the Islington police child protection team . Concerns were discussed and information shared between the social work team and the police which resulted in children and adults being interviewed by the police, although no charges resulted.
- 17.9 At a subsequent meeting on 21<sup>st</sup> November 1990 it was agreed that an inter-agency working party should be set up to look at the concerns being raised by social workers and officers in the Irene Watson neighbourhood about allegations of organised or network abuse involving multiple children and abusers . The working party included people from social services, probation, education, health and the police. The working party was set up to, amongst other things, '*effect liaison over all the individual children whose names had been included in the list of those for whom there was serious concern [that they were possible victims of abuse] and relevant information was shared*'. The working group liaised and shared information with the police and the police were able to undertake enquiries based on that information. This working group had its first meeting on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1990 and met three times in the period 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1990 to 14<sup>th</sup> January 1991 at which stage it was agreed there was at present no need to meet again as the police investigations into the Irene Watson Neighbourhood were not yet completed .
- 17.10 On 16<sup>th</sup> August 1991 a Neighbourhood and Social Services meeting was held to discuss further allegations around organised abuse in the Irene Watson Neighbourhood. There were three meetings held by this policy sub group to discuss those allegations between 16<sup>th</sup> August 1991 and 31<sup>st</sup> October 1991 at which professionals were present from social

services, health, education and the police child protection team. On 31<sup>st</sup> October 1991 at the third of those meetings 'it was agreed that an Inter Agency Working Party be set up to examine the network of abuse issues which relate to the Irene Watson Neighbourhood. 'The Terms of Reference for the Working Party will be those stated in para 5.19.4 of the Child Protection Manual. A core group will be established with one senior representative from each Agency participating in the ACPC. The group will co-opt other members as necessary' .

17.11 The first meeting of the Inter Agency Working Party on 'Networks of Abuse' took place on 29<sup>th</sup> November 1991. Those in attendance were from the Neighbourhood services department, health, police, education and probation. The group identified two meanings of 'networks of abuse': '(i) an adult abuser involving a network of children ... (ii) A network of adults in contact with each other and with a degree of organisation, involving abuse of children.' . This working group met at least seven times between October 1991 and August 1992 and involved social services, education, police, health, probation and the London Borough of Islington's legal department. As part of both working groups the Irene Watson neighbourhood staff who held concerns about organised abuse wrote multiple reports to feed into those working groups detailing their concerns and identifying those adults and children whom they feared or alleged may be involved in networks of abuse. In addition, social workers and neighbourhood officers from Irene Watson were present at many of the meetings of the second ACPC Working Party on Network Abuse.

17.12 At the final meeting of this working group held on 18<sup>th</sup> August 1991 the minutes report that:

*'1. All outstanding work noted in minutes of 2.6.92 has been completed, exceptive interview with head of [REDACTED]. However, [REDACTED] has studied her statement prepared for care proceedings. No relevant information or connections have been established that go any way towards substantiating [REDACTED]'s allegations.*

*2. Noted that ongoing enquiries in progress re: [REDACTED] case but no information has come to light indicating any suggestion of connections with any network of abuse.*

*3. Noted that exhaustive enquires have been undertaken over 12 months into [REDACTED] [REDACTED]'s allegations, which have not produced any evidence to substantiate*

them. *All agreed that there was no further action to be taken on her allegations of a network of abuse.*

- 17.13 I note from their necessarily more detailed review of the workings of these inter-agency groups that Ian White and Kate Hart report as follows '*The minutes of the inter-agency working groups have been made available to this Inquiry. They are not detailed but do demonstrate that Islington ACPC did meet, in broad terms, the expectations identified by [the Department of Health guidance on the management of allegations of organised abuse published in October 1991]*'. I have seen as part of my own reading the minutes that the White Report refers to, along with multiple other archive documents from the time. Whilst the focus of my reading was different and I was not reopening their investigation into the allegations of organised abuse, I did not see anything which either caused me to form a different view about these working groups or the conclusions they reached about organised abuse or which led me to recommend a further investigation into organised abuse.

#### **Social Services Inspectorate**

- 17.14 Following the publication of the Evening Standard articles in 1992 relating to the standard of care in Islington's Children's homes the Social Services Inspectorate became involved in inspecting and reviewing the London Borough of Islington's social services department, ultimately resulting in the Social Services Inspectorate inspection of child protection at Islington report provided on 8<sup>th</sup> September 1994. From the documents I have seen the view formed by the Social Services Inspectorate in relation to the allegations of network abuse and the investigations undertaken by Islington was that the allegations had been fully examined and further re-examination would not be constructive. In particular I note the following documents:

- a. A minute of a meeting of the Chief Executive of Islington, Eric Dear, the Director of Neighbourhood Services, Martin, Higgins, Independent Reviewer Emyln Cassam and David Lambert and Rob Morton of the Social Services Inspectorate to discuss the third stage of Emyln Cassam's independent review on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1993 at which the view of the Social Services Inspectorate, expressed by David Lambert was that: '*SSI's view expressed to Mr. Bowis in July that there was no point in doing a retrospective investigation into network abuse at Irene Watson still holds good. D. Lambert stated that SSI as a result of various enquiries which they have made have been unable to find any substantiation to the allegation that there is currently a LBI paedophile link, although there was once in the past.*



- b. A letter from Herbert Laming, Chief Inspector of the Social Services Inspectorate, to Eric Dear on 19<sup>th</sup> January 1994 which set out the position of the Social Services Inspectorate regarding network abuse: *'I would like to take this opportunity of clarifying our position on the matter of the investigation of network abuse. Our understanding is the matters concerning Irene Watson Neighbourhood have been fully examined by inter-agency working groups under the auspices of Islington ACPC on two earlier occasions, December 1990 and November 1991. On that basis we have concluded that further re-examination of these matters would not be fruitful. We consider that it is now important to address current and future management arrangements and I anticipate that the present SSI inspection of Islington's child protection services will inform and support that end.'*

## **The Police**

17.15 It is not possible to set out a full chronology of each police investigation that was undertaken in relation to the allegations of organised abuse as that is far outside the remit of this Review and the details of those police investigations have accordingly not been made known to me. What I have learned in the course of my work on this Review however is that:

- a. Social workers, including Liz Davies, worked with the Islington Police Child Protection Team from at least 1990 onwards in relation to the allegations that were being made by social workers in the Irene Watson Neighbourhood about organised abuse.
- b. Social worker Liz Davies reported her concerns to Scotland Yard in the early 1990s, before the Evening Standard articles.
- c. The Islington Police Child Protection Team were involved in the inter-agency working parties set up by the London Borough of Islington specifically to look at allegations of organised and network abuse in 1990 – 1992 as detailed above.
- d. Ian White and Kate Hart discussed the allegations of organised abuse with officers from New Scotland Yard and were advised by those officers that: *'The allegations of ritual abuse made by social workers in Islington in 1991 were part of a second dossier which was passed by the Department of Health to the Metropolitan Police... These matters were fully investigated by Police who worked with Islington child protection team. Some other allegations were investigated by Golders Green police. Islington Police advised [the White and Hart inquiry] that they concluded that*

*“there was insufficient evidence to support the allegations of network abuse at that time.” Scotland Yard officers have told us that despite full enquiries “there was insufficient evidence on which to base any criminal proceedings” and no basis for them to make any further enquiries in this regard .*

- e. Furthermore, Ian White and Kate Hart passed all of the information they had gathered in respect of specific allegations relating to adults and children to the police as part of their inquiry: *‘We were asked in the Terms of Reference to ensure that information collated in this Inquiry is passed to the Police. All the confidential information contained in the annex has not only been passed to the Police and checked with them, but with the Department of Health consultancy register too. We believe that the information presented in the annexes, together with our general commentary fulfils the Terms of Reference in relation to all matters concerning staff.’* This provided a further opportunity for the police to have access to the information and concerns that had been raised.

17.16 In the course of this Review and within the limitations of my Terms of Reference it has not been necessary or proportionate to speak to police officers. I have, however, seen minutes of meetings at which police attended relating to organised abuse and correspondence from the police in relation to their investigations in the early 1990s and I note that all of that documentary evidence supports the conclusions reached by Ian White and Kate Hart in relation to the police view of the allegations of organised abuse, namely that there was insufficient evidence to support the allegations of network abuse. As the assertions that those allegations have not been properly investigated have continued and were being made again to me I have thought it useful to set out the following passages from some of that correspondence:

- a. By letter of 31<sup>st</sup> October 1991 Chief Inspector Jarratt wrote to Lyn Cusack to set out, amongst other things, that *‘The allegations made to Golders Green Police are of rape, assault and murder. The background is that this is part of a webb [sic] of ritual abuse within this family. All the allegations to date have been fully investigated by police. The matters relating to the rape away the result of analysis by the Forensic Laboratory and may lead to charges. There is NO evidence to support any of the other allegations made.’*
- b. A letter from Detective Inspector John Sweeney, Islington Child Protection Team, to Hannah Miller, Chief Social Services Officer, London Borough of Islington, on 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1996 contained the following:

*'I am aware that there has been a request that an enquiry, headed by a Q.C., be set up to investigate paedophile activity in Islington. I do not feel that such an enquiry is necessary or desirable. I am all too well aware that wherever there are children particularly vulnerable children, there is an ever present risk that paedophile will be attracted to them. It is for this reason that no agency can afford to be complacent and must remain vigilant.*

*Islington Social Services are focused on measures to prevent opportunities for any paedophile activity occurring. Whilst no measures will give 100% protection, I know that Islington's procedures are robust and capable of dealing with past or present allegations. I am confident that the management of the Social Services will ensure that any concerns are brought to the attention of police.*

*Since service on the police child protection team I know that my officers have always received the full co-operation of Social Services in any police investigation. The painful history of paedophile activity in Islington has meant that there is already heightened awareness of the risks to children and the importance of adequate safeguards. The police child protection team will continue to fully investigate any evidence of paedophilia'.*

17.17 I do not have detailed knowledge of what other police investigations have been conducted in the more than 20 intervening years between then and now. I do however note that police interest has continued until at least as recently as last year. Most recently it was reported in the Islington Gazette on 18<sup>th</sup> May 2017 that '*Islington Police began a new investigation in October to work towards criminal prosecutions*' and that in the course of those enquiries '*two officers met Dr Liz Davies*'. I understand that that police enquiry has concluded without prosecution though I have not sought to ascertain the detail given the Terms of Reference of this Review.

#### **Allegations of Organised Abuse and the Question posed at 1D of the Terms of Reference**

17.18 I have set out the above information in more detail than I might otherwise have done because I have been so forcibly struck by the strength of feeling with which those who continue to make the allegation of organised abuse make both the allegation itself and the assertion that there has been no investigation of it.

17.19 My remit was not to re-open the question of organised abuse nor to look afresh at the conclusions reached by White and Hart, but because my Terms of Reference invited me to consider *whether in her dealings with Fallen Angels and possibly other paedophile*

*groups Ms Marks had become aware of anything relevant to the allegations of 'organised abuse' that were the subject of the White Report, and because I was also looking at the way in which she carried out her duties on the Social Services Committee, I did consider whether I, in this Review, was seeing anything different in relation to organised abuse.*

17.20 With regard to my Terms of Reference my particular interest was to consider this aspect in relation to the questions I had been asked to examine relating to Sandy Marks. Put bluntly, I wanted not only to ask Ms Marks directly in interview what she knew of the allegations of organised or network abuse and the investigation of it, but to see whether I could detect anything in the archive material, documents and contributions provided to me which seemed to me to evidence that she used her position on the Council or her knowledge to facilitate paedophiles having access to children and young people in Islington's care so as to abuse them – for example that she influenced the selection of or recruitment of staff to homes or that she influenced the placement of children in particular residential locations. I looked for, but found no evidence of, any circumstances which led me to think it that she had. It is worthy of note in fact that none of those whose contributions included allegations or speculation of organised abuse named her as involved.

17.21 I further wanted to see whether I could detect anything which seemed to me to evidence that she had impeded or frustrated the investigations held into organised abuse or influenced the way in which they were set up. Since those features might not be obvious I wanted also to see whether – regardless of evidence that she had or had not done so – she had the power or opportunity to do any of the above because of her position as a Council member generally or as Social Services committee member and Chair in particular. In that respect it was of importance to me to note that from the extensive documents I have seen Sandy Marks had no involvement with or connection to any of the investigatory meetings held (which I have set out above), nor was she included on any circulation list of any of the minutes of those meetings, nor was she included in any of the correspondence.

17.22 When I talked to Kate White I asked her about this aspect and her recollection of the practicalities of the commissioning of the White Report. I asked her whether to her knowledge Sandy Marks had been involved in commissioning the White Report, having any pre-appointment meetings with its authors or identifying the terms of reference, to which the answers were in the negative. Ian White had been first appointed and he had then brought Kate Hart in to work with him so it is possible that there may have been

earlier meetings with him of which Kate Hart was unaware but given that not only was Kate unaware of any involvement but that I did not find indications of it elsewhere it seems to me unlikely. I bear in mind that in the absence of the White Report Archive I have not been able to look at any notes and interviews from it.

17.23 It follows from that that I did not find evidence that she had had the opportunity to influence any of the investigations into organised abuse set out in the foregoing section.

#### **Other Observations on Allegations of Organised Abuse**

17.24 I was acutely aware, as mentioned elsewhere, that some victims and survivors had spoken to the police as part of Operation Winter Key, the overarching police investigation into child abuse and the possibility of the bringing of criminal prosecutions associated with the IICSA.

17.25 I did not speak to any victim or survivor about the subject matter of any statement given to the police. It has been my view in conducting this Review, that if there is to be investigation into allegations of non-recent organised child abuse so as to prosecute those who are the alleged perpetrators, not only is that a matter for the police but that I should be astute not to risk contaminating such evidence as the police are gathering.

17.26 In interviewing one individual (who was not a victim or a survivor), I was told that they had gathered and collated information relevant to abuse in Islington (which was not amongst the documentation they had contributed to my Review and which I did not see) but that they had decided not to provide it to Operation Winter Key because the Police were not willing to work in partnership with the individual concerned and to have the material explained by that individual. I have, of course, no way of knowing the nature of the material or whether that material does or does not evidence organised or network abuse in Islington. I was nonetheless perplexed that if the holder of it believed it relevant, that it was felt appropriate not to make it available to the police. It seemed to me that the police are the right agency to be investigating organised abuse and that I would expect anyone holding relevant information to make it available to them to do so independently and without prerequisites.

17.27 I did not see evidence of organised abuse. What I did see was evidence that one of the ways in which children living in Residential care in Islington in the time before the White report were vulnerable, was to being abused sexually, and that they were so abused. Elsewhere in this Report I have written of the life-long harm victims and survivors have suffered from their lived experiences. It is to Islington's shame - which

has been acknowledged following the White report and more recently by the current Leader of the Council in his apology – that the reason children were so vulnerable to that abuse is because the care given to them was so inadequate.

## **CHAPTER 18**

### **An Incongruity**

- 18.1 It was surprising to me, as I anticipate it will be to some reading this Report, that having examined the available evidence and reached the conclusion that Ms Marks had been involved with Fallen Angels, when I then examined the available evidence as to how, if at all, that had affected the discharge of her duties on the Council, I found no evidence that it had.
- 18.2 Those two conclusions seem not to sit easily together. Yet they are what the evidence showed me.
- 18.3 I have asked myself the question which I imagine others will have: how can it be that someone could be associated with an organisation so malign and yet, in the years following that association, it had no detectable impact on her conduct of a role in public office which included the oversight of the welfare of children in care.
- 18.4 I realise that if there were records that were missing then I will not have seen them but as I have documented in this Report I have seen and read a very considerable quantity of archive material. I realise also that a great deal of time has passed and that may have diminished both the availability and the quality of evidence – yet that cannot be an answer as the evidence from the International Gay Association conference in April 1980 is clear nearly 40 years later.
- 18.5 Although I asked myself the question I could find no evidence that provided an answer. There is a temptation to speculate as to possible explanations but without evidence it would remain speculation and, as I have noted elsewhere, I have resisted the temptation to speculate. I have examined the evidence and reached conclusions accordingly.

## CHAPTER 19

### Term Of Reference 2

#### *What difference, if any, the evidence in 1 above may have made to the White Report?*

- 19.1 It had not been possible to find the papers from Ian White and Kate Hart's working on the White Inquiry and so they were not available to me.
- 19.2 I was unable in this Review to talk to Ian White who had died by the time I was appointed but I was able to speak to Kate Hart who agreed, when contacted, to speak to me. Her only reservation had been whether she would be able to remember anything of use. Such papers as Kate Hart had retained (which were the confidential annexes to the White report) had been shredded on her retirement but she was able to re-read a copy of the report which I provided to her before we met and then, following our meeting, she examined copies of the confidential annexes in case they jogged her memory.
- 19.3 I found it informative and very useful to talk to her. The main reason I had wanted to meet and discuss with her was that it seemed to me that the final question posed in my Terms of Reference – *consider what difference if any the evidence in 1 above may have made to the White Report* – was one as to which I could draw my own conclusions now as to the likely outcome, as I have below, but which she, as one of its authors, would have a far more certain idea of what it would have meant to her at the time.
- 19.4 My own sense was that if I reached a conclusion that Sandy Marks had any kind of past association with pro-paedophile organisations and, if I found also evidence that such had had an impact on the way she carried out her duties on the Social Services Committee, it was almost inevitable that if that had been known to those conducting the Inquiry and completing the report in 1994/5 it would have made a difference to their conclusions. Yet more so if I found evidence that Sandy Marks had knowledge relevant to 'organised abuse' from her past association.
- 19.5 What I was less sure of was what might have been the effect were I to conclude that there was evidence of some but not all of the above. Whether the impact of that would be subtler and less obvious. When I had been thinking elsewhere in this Review about what the question of 'influence' might mean, I had grappled with how the question of the mere presence of someone who had been associated with the Fallen Angels might have an influence which was far harder to detect than might be a deliberate or conscious



influencing of decisions. From Kate Hart I would hope to learn what the difference would have been for her.

- 19.6 I talked to Kate Hart in some detail about the way in which the evidence in relation to my Terms of Reference 1A-D might have affected the White Report.
- 19.7 I asked Kate Hart whether from her perspective, if the only part of the Terms of Reference about which I had sufficient evidence to reach a conclusion were in essence the allegations carried in the Islington Gazette story, that would of itself have had an impact on the White Report. She made the fair point that it is probably impossible to say what effect anything would have had on the Report itself but that she thought it would have had an impact on their Inquiry and some of their recommendations.
- 19.8 I wanted, in my discussions with her, to understand how she saw the potential impact arising. Her view was that had Ian White and she known of the association with Fallen Angels, it was the fact that 1980 was so recent in relation to Sandy Marks' appointment to Islington Council that would have been significant for her. It would have led to her wanting to have a much closer look at what happened with personnel. This would not have been so much in the way of looking at direct responsibility for recruitment and direct recruiting influence – but rather looking at whether the checks and processes in personnel were sufficiently robust.
- 19.9 What Kate Hart described as the 'vulnerability' for Islington is the signal that, in effect, goes out if someone who has had an association with paedophile organisations becomes a senior political figure in a borough. The signal to others who know of the association and are of like mind is that it is a 'safe' place to go; that questions may not be asked; that a blind eye may be turned. It was that signal that Kate Hart felt she would have been really worried about if she had at the time of the White Inquiry been aware of Sandy Marks' attendance at the International Gay Association conference in association with Fallen Angels. It may have had no effect on the Report but as part of the Inquiry her strong feeling was that it would have had the result of identifying a need for a much more robust look at all of the personnel processes which would include the recruitment information, the references for those appointed, all of the records of appointments made following Sandy Marks' first election as Councillor. It might have given rise to a need for some extra terms of reference or an extra time frame or perhaps even a separate freestanding investigation but the knowledge would have made a difference. Essentially the impact of knowing of the association would have been that the Inquiry would expand to ensure that the Council's policies were robust so that if there were a

'greenlight' effect from Islington for those who had a sexual interest in children because of an association of one of its Councillors with Fallen Angels the processes in place would be sufficient to guard against that effect. As part of the White Inquiry Kate Hart told me that they had looked at how robust the procedure for references was. Knowing this would have caused that part of the investigation to be done in a more detailed way with attention to every aspect of recruitment.

19.10 I found listening to the way in which Kate Hart talked about this interesting because the way in which she spoke of the signal that might be sent to the outside world chimed for me closely with the unease I had felt about when I had been thinking about questions of influence.

19.11 Stepping back from my conversation with Kate Hart I reflected on whether there might be more than the issues she identified surrounding personnel that might have made a difference to the White Report. It seemed to me likely that, just as in the wake of the publication of the story by the Islington Gazette the Terms of Reference for this Review included those designed to identify how Sandy Marks carried out her duties on Social Services Committee, had the association with Fallen Angels been known similar questions would have arisen. It is my view that, had they known of the association, Ian White and Kate Hart were likely in their Inquiry to have wanted to do precisely the sort of exercise which I have carried out in this Review: to examine all relevant sources of evidence so as to be able to discover what if anything was the impact of the involvement on the way in which she carried out her duties on the Council. Whether in 1994/5 they would have reached any conclusion different to that which I have reached 24 years later is impossible to say. It is my view nevertheless that there would have been a difference at least to the carrying out of the Inquiry.

19.12 In Chapter 17 I have included in my discussion of organised abuse the way in which Ian White and Kate Hart approached it in their Inquiry. One further easily foreseeable difference that knowledge of Ms Marks' involvement with the Fallen Angels would have made is that I have no doubt that they would have wanted to factor that knowledge into their investigation of organised abuse. Once again it is impossible to say what, if any, difference it would have made to the Report but I am confident that it would have added to their Inquiry.

19.13 The Terms of Reference to which I have worked invite me to *consider what difference, if any, the evidence in 1.... may have made to the White Report* without separating out the

different strands of 1A – 1D. I have found it helpful in this analysis to separate them out in the way I have in the preceding passage.

- 19.14 Had I in relation to Terms of Reference 1B and 1D reached different conclusions, i.e. that I had found evidence of an impact on Sandy Marks' conduct of her duties on the Social Services Committee and that I had found evidence of her having knowledge relevant to 'organised abuse', it is my view that the authors of the White Report, knowing of those aspects, would have made a difference to the Inquiry and perhaps to the Report. As it is, the conclusions I have reached in Chapters 16 and 17 speak for themselves.
- 19.15 As I turned to consider the Term of Reference at 1C in relation to the White Report, and what difference if any the evidence in respect of that might have made to it, I have found that in the light of what I have discussed at the conclusion to Chapter 15 there is nothing arising out of that which has relevance to my consideration here since essentially nothing I have learned was not there to be seen by those conducting the White Report.
- 19.16 One other observation which Kate Hart made to me was that she thought it likely that had they known, she and Ian White would have raised the question of whether someone with that past association was a fit and proper person to hold a position as an elected member of the Council. It is my view that it is overwhelmingly likely that any inquiry which knew of a past association of a Chair of social services with a pro paedophile organisation would be likely have made recommendations for at the very least consideration to be given to whether that person should hold such a position.
- 19.17 Before I had embarked on this Review I had been aware that one possible outcome might be that I would recommend that the White Inquiry should be re-opened or started afresh. I had no way of knowing what the available evidence might show before I had examined it but from the Terms of Reference that was a possibility I could see. As I neared the end of my work on the Review I returned to give some further consideration to that possibility as I took stock of what I had learned from the various sources of documentary and interview evidence and how it seemed to me that impacted on the White Report.
- 19.18 The terms of my Review are narrow and focussed on what can be discovered about Sandy Marks, her associations, her activities, her state of knowledge and her discharge of her duties on the Council. I found it useful to remind myself that the terms of reference to which Ian White and Kate Hart had worked were not focussed on the impact of one individual in the same way. When I spoke to Kate Hart it was illustrative

that she was able to think of how she and Ian White might have shifted the emphasis of their inquiries and increased the intensity of the way that they looked at issues around recruiting and personnel policies. She was sure that they would have wanted really to ensure that Islington's approach to taking up references, to doing background checks and probing unexplained gaps in CVs was robust. It was notable that she would have wanted to look at those aspects for individuals who had come to work with children and been employed by the Council since the time of Sandy Marks' election. It was notable too however that she expressed herself in this way, and that as one of those who had conducted the Inquiry her response was not that had they known about Sandy Marks' associations it would have entirely changed their view and that not knowing of it completely undermined the report. Reflecting on that I looked again at the White Report and noted that Sandy Marks was but one of more than thirty interviewees to whom they spoke. She had not been to their Inquiry, as she had been to my Review, a key focus. Their investigation had been far more wide-ranging and their conclusions were reflective of systemic failure.

- 19.19 I thought also about the responses I had received to my call for information, most especially about those which came from victims and survivors. I have recorded in Chapters 6 and 13 that Sandy Marks did not feature when victims and survivors I spoke to told me of their terrible experiences as children. I had asked all explicitly about her. I thought also about what had not come. I had anticipated that I might have received responses, whether true or not, containing allegations of paedophile behaviour from Ms Marks during her time on the Council, but there were none.
- 19.20 It was not my opinion that the views I have come to above as to what may have been different about the way the White Inquiry was likely to have been conducted were such that it undermined the Report as a whole and made it appropriate to recommend that it should be re-opened.
- 19.21 It was not my view either, having looked not only at the documentary evidence which would have been available at the time of the White Report but also at that which has been generated since, and then at all of the information that had come to me for this Review, that it was appropriate to recommend an entirely fresh inquiry into the abuse in Islington's children's homes.
- 19.22 I am very aware of the pressure, some of which has been brought to bear on me, from those who continue to believe that there was network and organised abuse in Islington. I have discussed in Chapter 17 in this Report the question of organised abuse and

recorded that I did not see or hear material during that part of this Review which caused me to make a recommendation for an inquiry into organised abuse. The overall conclusions I have reached in relation to my Terms of Reference and in relation to the impact of those conclusions on the integrity of the White Report as set out here do not alter that conclusion.

19.23 The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse is ongoing. Included in its terms of reference are the following:

*3. To consider the extent to which State and non-State institutions have failed in their duty of care to protect children from sexual abuse and exploitation; to consider the extent to which those failings have since been addressed; to identify further action needed to address any failings identified; to consider the steps which it is necessary for State and non-State institutions to take in order to protect children from such abuse in future; and to publish a report with recommendations.*

*4. In doing so to:*

- o Consider all the information which is available from the various published and unpublished reviews, court cases, and investigations which have so far concluded.'*

19.24 As set out at the start of this Report, it is my expectation that Islington Council will provide a copy of my Report to IICSA.

## CHAPTER 20

### Comments And Observations In Conclusion

- 20.1 This Review was commissioned in a time when there is already established the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse, the terms of reference of which are wide ranging and which has an overarching remit to examine, inter alia, the way in which public and other bodies have responded to allegations of child sexual abuse in the past. The IICSA terms of reference are attached at Appendix 4. It is beyond question that past responses have failed children – and the adults those children have become – and have meant that different, later children have also suffered harm which should have been prevented. That state of affairs is nationwide and is not something which applies peculiarly to Islington.
- 20.2 One of the questions which I came to think about, in reading and in interviewing people in connection with this Review, was the extent to which, coming across as I did, evidence of past failed responses, it was appropriate, given my Terms of Reference, to discuss those in further detail in this Report; to comment on their wider possible relevance going beyond the bearing they had on the questions I was examining in relation to Sandy Marks; or whether the right course was simply to make no further observation or comment.
- 20.3 It was the experience of hearing from some of the victims and survivors which drove me to the conclusion that it was right to offer more by way of observation.
- 20.4 As the Review continued and my knowledge of the past failures of the Council and the experiences of the victims and survivors increased, I was forcibly struck by the extent to which characterisation of abuse as ‘non-recent’ and of failings of a Council as ‘past’ is entirely inapposite when it comes to understanding the life long and continuing effects on those who were abused. I saw and heard from adults who were able to explain to me how their experience affects their lives, their children’s lives and, as the next generation is born, their grandchildren’s lives, on a daily basis. In some ways, the message was conveyed to me even more clearly by those who could not find the words to explain, but in whose presence I could see for myself the enduring harm and the continuing need for help.
- 20.5 It is in my view, impressive and right, that the Islington Council of today, which is different from the Islington Council of the 1980s and 90s, is committed to the provision

of support for the victims and survivors, and is working with the victims and survivors to make sure that the support which is offered is that which is needed.

- 20.6 The direct contact I had with victims and survivors – as distinct from those advocating or organising on their behalf – helped me to understand, in a way I had not previously, the need to be able to trust that what is being offered will be enough and will not be taken away. Many will need access to specialist counselling or therapy; some will be ready to take that up as soon as it is offered; some may not be ready to take it up yet but may find that they are in a few years. It must still be available to them when they are ready. Those who do take it up need to be secure in the knowledge that they will not face a situation in which they will reach the end of their allocation of sessions and feel that they are cast adrift.
- 20.7 Elsewhere I have written about how ordinary words like 'home' and 'care' have become loaded for some of those from whom I heard either in person or on email. Part of the assistance offered by Islington Council – for which again in my view it is to be commended – is assistance with housing. It was made clear to me through my conversations with victims and survivors that that assistance must mean being helped to have a home and that that is something different from 'being housed'.
- 20.8 I give those two illustrations here because although it is my view that commitment to help and support is absolutely what is needed, it would be completely undermined were it to be insufficient or time limited. I recognise that an open-ended commitment is likely to be unattractive to a Council beset by all of the budgetary and financial constraints under which public bodies operate and I do not presume to suggest what model or package of provision should be used. That is for others to decide. For my part I simply make the point that I do not see how enduring harm can be mitigated other than by an enduring commitment.
- 20.9 I have written of my own experience of listening to some of the victims and survivors who responded to the call for information and also of my lingering reservation about whether in some instances it had been right to do so. I was left however with the sense that there is a need – not for all but for some – for an appropriate space to be able to talk of their experiences and to be heard. I have mentioned at Chapter 6 the opportunity provided by The Truth Project. It may be that the project would be an opportunity which might find its place in the provision to be offered to victims and survivors. It is not for everyone. I am aware it has attracted adverse comment in some quarters but it seems to me that if it is of value to some it should be considered.

20.10 Before concluding this Review and again although recognising that it falls outside my Terms of Reference and so is offered by way of comment, I should like to say something about the public apology offered on September 28<sup>th</sup> 2017 by the Leader of the Council to those who suffered abuse in Islington's care. This was first in relation to the 1990s and 1980s but was then extended back to cover the 1970s. The apology made was, it seems to me, genuine and unreserved. It was a striking statement of intent also to make amends. Yet I was not sure that the impact of it had been felt by all of those to whom it had been directed. This caused me to wonder whether there might be a place, for those who felt it likely to be helpful, for the opportunity of a one to one meeting with an appropriately senior member of the Council for the apology to be given in person. After all, whilst many, including me in this Report speak of 'victims and survivors' as if they are one homogenous group, for each of those who experienced abuse in the care of Islington it was their own individual experience. It seems to me at least possible that, were it wanted, an individual apology for that experience might be heard more clearly and felt more personally.



## **APPENDIX 1**

### **Islington's Previous Responses To The Evening Standard Allegations; To The White Report And To The Islington Gazette Allegations**

1. In the course of this Review I was going to be hearing from and speaking to those who had experienced abuse when children in the care of Islington. I wanted before I did so to identify as far as I could how Islington had responded to the allegations made in the Evening Standard in 1992 and then to the recommendations of the White Report and more recently.
2. Tracing through those responses, which have not always been highly publicised, I have been reliant on recordings made of them and, because it has not been the focus of the Review, I have not conducted an exhaustive search for every response or action. What is set out below however, I identified and from it I have had a sufficient understanding of what has been the response of the Council to date.

#### **Investigations and Inquiries**

3. Report of the Inquiry into the Management of Child Care in the London Borough of Islington; by Ian A White CBE MSc and Kate Hart MSc CQSW – completed May 1995.
4. Following the publication in the Evening Standard of the allegations, 11 reports were conducted into various aspects of Islington's organisation, management and child care practice prior to the White report, which were as follows:
  - a. Independent Management Review into Aspects of Child Care in Islington: Tunnard & McAndrew – February 1993.
  - b. Report for London Borough of Islington on the Management of Child Care within the Neighbourhood Services Department: Cassam & McAndrew – July 1993.
  - c. Independent Investigator's Report into Complaints made by Child X: Jo Moad – October 1993.
  - d. Independent Person's Report into Complaints made by Child X: Eva Lerner – October 1993.
  - e. Independent Management Review into Missing Files: Brian McAndrew – interim report December 1993 and final report in February 1994.

- f. Independent Management Review into the case of Child B: Emlyn Cassam – March 1994.
- g. Report of the Quality Assurance Unit on London Borough of Islington Children's Homes: Croydon Social Services Department – independent inspection of children's homes – June 1993 – March 1994 when report submitted.
- h. Report on the Inspection of Child Protection Services Provided by London Borough of Islington: Social Services Inspectorate – August and September 1994.
- i. Independent Report for Islington Borough Council into the Care and Protection provided by the Council to Child Y: Emlyn Cassam – September 1994.
- j. Independent Report for Islington Borough Council into the Care and Protection provided by the Council to Child Z: Emlyn Cassam – February 1995.
- k. Paul – Death Through Neglect: The Bridge Child Care Consultancy – February 1995.

#### **Changes to Islington's Children's Services Following the White Report**

- 5. Following publication of the White Report Islington Council approved the social services management's 'action plan' which had been drawn up in response to the White Report [F967 – F978]. Of particular note from that plan are the following actions:
  - a. All Social Services Departments in the UK were written to by the new Chief Social Services Officer suggesting that they review their current employees who may have come to them via Islington and Islington co-operated in checking any staff names raised by other Social Services Departments against the confidential annex to the White report which named those individuals who had had allegations made against them.
  - b. A wholesale review of Islington's equal opportunities policy in relation to its application to child care in order to remove any possible problems that this policy could create in addressing competency and management issues in Islington.

- c. Introduction of a new supervision policy and supervisions contracts for all Social Services Staff.
  - d. Training priority being given to residential child care managers and fieldwork managers in areas such as staff supervision, handling complaints and managing child protection issues and to include communication with children and working with children and their families.
  - e. Contraction of an NSPCC inspector to audit professional standards through spot-sampling of case records and interviews with social workers and their managers.
  - f. Review of the personnel selection in line with the Warner Report to ensure proper controls and quality checks on personnel, including the centralisation of the processing of police and Department of Health Consultancy register checks.
6. As Alan Clinton, then Leader of Islington Council, informed the BBC in a 1995 news report that *'Since I've become leader of council we've instituted a review of our equal opportunities policy so there's no excuse now for slippy, sloppy unprofessional personnel decisions. We're overhauling every aspect of the service itself and over the past two years we've been rigorously scrutinising every nook and cranny, children's homes, social work practice, administrative systems, lots of people have gone as we've said and we've an excellent new team.'*

### Apologies

7. In 1995, Alan Clinton, then Leader of Islington Council, apologised for the *'state of affairs'* uncovered by the Evening Standard in Islington. Stewart Payne, co-author of the Evening Standard reports informed the BBC in a news report following the publication of the White report that *'Alan Clinton has thanked the Evening Standard for the inquiry and apologised for the state of affairs that we uncovered in Islington'*.
8. In the intervening period until the Islington Gazette story about Sandy Marks there has been from time to time reference in the national press to the scandal and reference back to and reiteration in connection with those press article of the council's apology but not, as far as I have seen on my reading of documents any further or additional formal responses or statements.

9. At the start of May 2017 when Richard Watts, Leader of Islington Council, was informed about the evidence the Islington Gazette had been provided with relating to Sandy Marks' alleged involvement with pro-paedophile organisations he made the following statement:

*'I'm shocked and concerned at the information as presented by the Islington Gazette. Support for paedophilia is abhorrent.*

*This information raises new questions about the council's response to the allegations in the 1990s. I have instructed that we will appoint an independent QC to examine the issues, and provide advice on the best action to take. They will be free to pursue any line of inquiry, and we will be bound by their recommendations. We will also present their report to the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse. On behalf of Islington Council, I'm extremely sorry for the council's past failure to protect vulnerable children. I know that those who were abused continue to suffer today.*

*The council today is a very different organisation and protecting children from harm is our top priority. We will always take new information, allegations or evidence extremely seriously and we encourage survivors to take evidence of abuse to the police so that those responsible can be brought to justice' [A202].*

10. That response and the promise to seek advice resulted in the instruction of James Goudie QC and Holly Stout. The Opinion provided to the council, in which were set out what have become the Terms of Reference of this Review, was, following receipt, made public.

11. On 28<sup>th</sup> September 2018 Richard Watts, Leader of Islington Council, made the following public apology during the Council meeting,

*'Tonight's meeting includes a report relating to abuse of children in Islington's care homes in the 1980s and 1990s. It is no exaggeration to say that this was the darkest chapter in the council's history. Children, placed in our care, were subjected to terrible physical and mental abuse which, understandably, has had a deeply traumatic effect on those who are now adults and continue to suffer.*

*As Leader of Islington Council I want to say again we are deeply sorry for the council's past failure to protect vulnerable children. Although the word 'sorry' feels inadequate, I offer this apology to every single person who has been scarred by the events of that terrible time. Today it is our duty as a council to do the right thing and to try to address the failings of the past. The report recommends that the Executive as a whole formally apologises for past failures, and I am sure all my colleagues will strongly support this recommendation.*

*In recent years, we have worked closely with many survivors of this abuse. We are grateful for the help we have received from the Islington Survivors Network, and for the support they offer to survivors. We also want to thank Liz Davies for her dedication to the survivors and for her ongoing work with the council.*

*The Council has helped people to report allegations to specialist police officers without the need to visit a police station. We've also helped survivors to get extra priority for council housing, and advice about legal representation, and we are commissioning a specialist counselling service for abuse survivors.*

*The council appointed James Goudie QC and Holly Stout to examine the issues raised in May this year by the Islington Gazette about former mayor, Ms Sandy Marks. We said at the time that they would be free to follow any line of inquiry they felt appropriate, and that the council would be bound by their recommendations.*

*In 1995 the Council received a report of an investigation by Ian White and Kate Hart – known as the White Report – into the council's management of allegations of abuse of children in Islington's care. This report is very much of its own time, and some of the language used is insensitive by today's standards. The report was deeply critical of the council and led to profound changes in the council's management of childrens' [sic] services.*

*Tonight, the Executive receives the Joint Opinion of James Goudie QC and Holly Stout as to whether the Islington Gazette's information about Sandy Marks could reasonably be said to call into question the integrity of the White Report. Their conclusion is that the new allegations do have an impact, albeit a limited one, and that a new, independent investigation should examine the issues the White Report would have covered had the allegations about Sandy Marks been known at that time. The Executive should note that the allegations are denied by Sandy Marks.*

*We will continue to keep in close contact with the Islington Survivors Network and to keep them updated on developments. We have already shared the Joint Opinion with the Islington Survivors' Network and the national Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse.*

*Islington Council today is a very different organisation, and protecting children from harm is our top priority. But we rightly remain deeply sorry and ashamed of the failings of the past.'*

12. At that Council meeting Richard Watts informed those present that the Council was putting in place new services to provide trauma and abuse counseling for those victims and survivors who would wish to have it and that a range of care packages were being made available for victims and survivors. Those packages include help to access specialist counselling; help with welfare or housing-related matters; and help with accessing individual's records relating to their time in care. The fact of the availability of that support and the means by which to access it are currently set out on the Islington Council website, and have been since March 2018.



**APPENDIX 2**

**Opinion of James Goudie QC**





**In the matter of**  
**THE WHITE REPORT**  
**-and-**  
**THE ISLINGTON GAZETTE**  
**-and-**  
**SANDY MARKS**

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**JOINT OPINION**

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**Introduction**

1. We are instructed by the London Borough of Islington ("the Council") to advise in relation to new information that has been brought to light by the Islington Gazette. The information concerns a former Islington Councillor and some-time Chair of Islington's Social Services Committee and Mayor of Islington, Sandy Marks. We are instructed to advise as to whether or not this new information could reasonably be said to call in question the integrity of a report known as "the White Report".

**The White Report**

2. The White Report was a report commissioned by the Council in 1995 following serious allegations about child care practices in the borough. The allegations had been made principally by the Evening Standard. The allegations were investigated by Ian A White CBE MSc (then Director of Social Services for Oxfordshire County Council) and Kate Hart MSc CQSW (Principal Officer of

Oxfordshire County Council) who completed their *Report of the Inquiry into the management of child care in the London Borough of Islington* ("the White Report") in May 1995.

3. As summarised in the White Report itself, the Evening Standard articles *"asserted that children in care were working as prostitutes and using Children's Homes to entertain customers, that children were seduced into drugs, homosexuality and prostitution, that some children were sexually abused, gang raped, knifed and that fears of an organised child sex ring were dismissed by management and not properly investigated ... that Children's Homes had been out of control at times with lapses in security and discipline as a result of low staff levels and poor management"*.
4. The terms of reference for the White Report were, in summary, that:
  - a. The Inquiry team should initially identify and list all allegations of misconduct by staff employed (currently or formerly) by the Council and of inappropriate treatment, including neglect and abuse, of children accommodated by the Council, including specific allegations by the London Evening Standard Newspaper in November 1992 and December 1993;
  - b. The Inquiry team should check this list against Reports on similar issues previously provided to the Council and identify which allegations have yet to be fully and independently reviewed;
  - c. The Inquiry team should collate information in respect of each allegation and prepare a clear chronology of events and advise as to what should happen in relation to each allegation, e.g. whether it should be referred to the police, or investigated internally, whether staff disciplinary or grievance procedures should be invoked;

- d. The Inquiry team should review an earlier investigation undertaken by Mr McAndrew (completed February 1994) concerning missing files and, to the extent that they consider appropriate, should enquire into the disappearance of relevant files in the period being enquired into, advise on the explanations, if any, for their disappearance and whether any management or disciplinary action should be taken;
  - e. The Inquiry team should also advise generally on the state of practice in the Council's Social Services child care provision, cross-referencing to anything recommended in an earlier report by Mr Cassam and Mr McAndrew (July 1993).
5. The Inquiry Team interviewed over 30 people, including Islington Council officers and ex-officers, the press, Mr Cassam and Mr McAndrew, police officers, Department of Health / Social Services Inspectorate officials and three Islington Councillors, including Sandy Marks who was then Chair of Social Services Sub-Committee.
6. In summary, and with particular reference to the matters that may be pertinent to the issue on which we are instructed to advise, the White Report concluded that:
- a. The policy of decentralisation based on Neighbourhood offices from 1982 onwards, combined with much changed personnel and equal opportunities policies, began to create an environment where the morale, management competencies and professional standards of the department declined. These problems were exacerbated by financial considerations, the way the departmental organisation changes were imposed, the appointment of middle managers who were not qualified to manage social services practices, the poor quality of residential care management,

the aftermath of lengthy industrial action and working relationships with other agencies which were not as good as they should have been.

- b. They identified 32 allegations against named staff including sexual assaults on other staff, encouraging boys to be rent boys, sexual misconduct with residents, sale of drugs, poor child care, staff involvement in paedophile rings and child pornography. Of those, four were subject to disciplinary action, following which two were dismissed, one faced charges of child abuse, 13 were not subject to any investigation and in others investigations or disciplinary action were not completed. The Inquiry team concluded that it was clear that Islington did not initiate the type of investigation they should have and as a consequence the possibility remains that staff engaged in abusive behaviour are now working elsewhere in the field with potentially serious consequences.
- c. The management system was demoralised, unsupported and with fragmented leadership and in parts staffed by people not from a Social Services background and therefore who would not know what to look for and how to respond to the management of child care issues.
- d. Use of agency staff presented a risk. However, the Inquiry had not been able to substantiate (one way or another) an allegation that at least one staffing agency in Islington was run by paedophiles and heavily used by Children's Homes and therefore a natural conduit for paedophiles to infiltrate the system.
- e. The state of some Children's Homes at the time was very poor indeed. There had been a lack of investment in Children's Homes. Line management standards were poor.

- f. Allegations of organised abuse were checked out and investigated fully with the Metropolitan Police, Social Services Inspectorate and others and (with the exception of one conviction in relation to a staff member at a residential school), Islington did investigate these allegations and the team found no evidence to support assertions of organised abuse.
- g. All individual children's cases were checked by the team and the team concluded that the Council had maintained contact with them where possible and provided or offered ongoing support appropriate to their individual needs and circumstances.
- h. There is much evidence of confusion and poor management of written records at the time. Islington did not deliberately withhold key information, nor is there evidence to support the allegations of collusion, but there is sufficient evidence to support the assertion that missing files were a feature of poor administrative systems.
- i. Generally, the key themes from earlier reports included that there was a lack of up-to-date training in child protection, poor supervision of staff, absence of management monitoring and reviewing in critical case decision-making and a lack of systems for monitoring the department's work, quality standards and implementation.
- j. Islington did not respond as quickly and comprehensively as it should to these earlier reports and, although considerable strides have been made, there are still a number of areas that need to be addressed. (The Report made a number of recommendations as to what needed to be addressed.)

7. The record of the Inquiry team's interviews with Councillors, such as it is, is to be found in Chapter Seven of the Report, which is headed "*The Position Today*".

The Report records (p 60):

#### **The Political Situation**

When the Evening Standard articles were first published, Members told us that they had no prior knowledge of the state of management in Islington Social Services Department and that indeed in some respects, Member/Officer relationships were very poor, if not at breaking point. Comments such as "*The department had drifted a long way from the corporate centre*" and "*the department had developed a reputation for poor management and negative attitudes*" were made.

Today there is a new Chief Social Services Officer and senior team responsible for child care services and there is a new head of Neighbourhood Services. From the work we have carried out it is clear that there is a heavy commitment by the Members of Islington Council to put things right and to put Islington's sad history behind them. We know of the investment in residential child care services and the way they have adapted the neighbourhood structure to reflect the professional needs of a modern child care service. We know from the Chief Social Services Officer of open access to the Leader and Committee chairs and much improved trust and credibility existing between senior Members and Senior Officers in the department. We know that there are for example regular meetings, that there is a 'need to know system' in place and that the Council has spent a considerable amount of time thinking through the criticisms that have been made of it. It is our view that the department is now very much more to the centre of the corporate and political management arrangements in Islington and that this position creates the basis for future strengthening and development of the service.

#### **Organisational Arrangements**

Many of the previous reports outlined in section 2 drew attention to the inadequacies of the management structure ... The position today seems to be very different. In the last six months the Council has responded to these criticisms by making significant changes to the child care management structure of the department.

#### **Sandy Marks**

8. Sandy Marks was elected to the Council in 1982, joined the Social Services Committee in 1983, became Chair of Social Services Committee in 1991, ceased to be Chair of the Social Services Committee in 1995 and became Mayor of Islington in 1996.
9. She was therefore on the Social Services Committee during the period that the allegations of abuse that ultimately formed the subject of the White Report were made, with the first of the earlier reports considered in the White Report being

made in 1989, and she was still Chair of the Social Services Committee when the White Report was commissioned. Although we have seen no documentary evidence confirming this, it seems likely that she stepped down around the time that the White Report was completed in May 1995, with a view to becoming Mayor the following year.

### **Islington Gazette: most recent allegations**

10. In May/June 2017 a series of articles appeared in the Islington Gazette concerning historic allegations of the sort investigated in the White Report, and stories of survivors of historic abuse in Islington children's homes. Included within these articles were a number of revelations about Sandy Marks. The Islington Gazette has provided to the Council some of the background evidence for those articles, and we have reviewed this. We understand that Sandy Marks disputes the content of the Islington Gazette articles. The material concerning Sandy Marks in the articles is as follows:

- a. In the article "Secret papers show how Archway was nerve centre for child sex apologists in early 1980s" (11 May 2017) there is a photograph of an extract from conference papers from 1980. It is headed "*List of \_\_\_\_\_ organizations and contact – women*". Under "*England – Fallen Angels*" it says "*(do not write the name of the organization, and put private on the envelope) CP: Sandy Marks, \_\_\_\_\_Hornsey Rise, London N19*".
- b. The article describes Fallen Angels as "*a particularly confrontational community of N19 paedophile rights activists*" who were campaigning for a trial against five members of the Paedophile Information Exchange ("PIE") to be dropped (the trial was for "*conspiracy to corrupt public morals*" by way of adverts encouraging paedophiles to contact each other). The Gazette states that documents found in the LSE library show that in April 1980 the

Fallen Angels travelled to a village on the outskirts of Barcelona to attend the annual conference of the International Gay Association ("IGA"). The Gazette states that *"Over that weekend workshops on paedophilia were held and the conference newsletter reports Fallen Angels came away having won a remarkable degree of support for the trial against PIE to be dropped"*.

- c. The same Gazette article states that *"Sandy Marks is also pictured in the newsletter, which lists her as a delegate"*. The photograph in question is included in the article. It does not appear that the newsletter identifies Ms Marks as the individual in the picture, but the Gazette reports *"after being confronted with the picture of herself in the newsletter she said she was vulnerable and had been manipulated and brainwashed by those around her"*. However, the Gazette says that as the article went to press *"Ms Marks denied being at the conference, saying the photograph 'could not have been taken at the event'"*.
- d. The same Gazette article states that at the conference, the Fallen Angels circulated a 10,000-word paper called *Corrupting Children: Children, Paedophilia and the Struggle* that *"decried child protected as 'a racket' and gave a summary submission on paedophilia, which Ms Marks' initials on it"*. The Council has been provided with a copy of that paper, which does indeed contain three sets of initials including "SM" at the end. It is, of course, possible that the initials "SM" refer to someone else.
- e. The same article alleges that another document found, typed minutes of a meeting of a group calling itself Conspiracy Against Public Morals ("CAPM"), appears to show Ms Marks attending along with PIE chairman Tom O'Carroll (who was subsequently jailed for possessing child pornography). The Gazette reports Ms Marks as saying that *"she did not know Tom O'Carroll and strongly denied being at the meeting or a member of the*



organisation". We have seen these minutes. A "Sandy" is listed as being present at the meeting and the minutes record "Sandy is to work on designs for lettering and a logo". Of course, this may be a different "Sandy".

- f. The Gazette also reports that a set of handwritten minutes for the Gay Rights Committee of the National Council for Civil Liberties records a discussion about Sandy Marks and Tim Brown allegedly producing a book on paedophilia. Ms Marks is reported as describing this as "*the most ridiculous suggestion ever*", that she has dyslexia, struggles to write even a few hundred words, and has never met Tim Brown. She is reported as saying the minutes were a "*complete fabrication*". We have seen some handwritten notes which state: "*Suggested AF write a book(let) on the age of consent. An attempt to find alt. to Tim Brown/Sandy Marks' book on paedophilia?...*".
- g. In the article *Islington kids' homes scandal: shame of ex-mayor Sandy Marks' pro-paedophile past* (11 May 2017), the Gazette reports that when first approached Ms Marks had said that she had "*no memory of the period*" and she has "*huge gaps*" in her memory for health reasons caused by the illness ME, but that she "*later came clean about her pro-paedophile past after being shown evidence – saying she was 'a complete bloody idiot' who had been manipulated by those around her*". The Gazette states that the evidence she was shown was "*a key piece of photo evidence*". This is presumably a reference to the photograph of the IGA conference, but it is not clear.
- h. In the same article, Ms Marks is reported to have said "*I'm not a paedophile*" and "*I don't really understand how I could have been so stupid. I don't understand how I could have got myself into it. Maybe I didn't read the stuff – I don't know. I can't see me having stood up and said: 'These are my views'.*" She added:

*"There's no defence for thinking that it's OK, but there were reasons why at the time. And I guess with growing up – becoming more my own person – I was able to say: 'This is what I think, not what somebody else tells me is what I think.'" The report says she also said: "If children were being abused while I was chair of social services and I didn't stop it, that's shameful. But I didn't know. It's my fault that I didn't know." And "If the investigation had been done properly then people should have been charged. If I was in their shoes, I would want something done, even this long after."*

- i. However, the article also says that *"just before the Gazette went to press, she changed her story again to say the allegations were 'untrue and unfounded'"*.
- j. In the same article, the Gazette refers to an interview with Dr Liz Davies, *"the original whistleblower on the scandal"* and reports that Dr Davies *"tried to alert senior Islington officers and councillors – including then leader Mrs Hodge – to fears a paedophile sex ring was operating in the borough"* and that Dr Davies said *"Sandy Marks was at the centre of the council through this time"*.
- k. In the same article, the Gazette claims that *"Labour stalwart Ms Marks ... was in a key position to advise former council leader Margaret Hodge after the abuse scandal was exposed"* and reports Margaret Hodge as saying *"If Sandy Marks did hold those views, I was not aware of them. Furthermore, I signed a petition calling for the banning of the PIE in 1983"*. (Although it is not mentioned in the Gazette article, by way of context, we note that Margaret Hodge was Leader of Islington Council from 1982 to 1992. It has been reported that when the Evening Standard allegations that became the subject of the White Report were first published in 1992, Margaret Hodge described the newspaper report as a *"sensationalist piece of gutter journalism"*. A Telegraph article by Eileen Fairweather, *Jimmy Savile sex abuse: 'Islington is still covering*

up' (6 April 2014), states with regard to this remark that *"Mrs Hodge has since apologised and explained that her officials lied to her."*)

1. The same Gazette article contains details of an interview with the Evening Standard journalists who exposed the abuse scandal in October 1992 (Eileen Fairweather and Stewart Payne). The Gazette reports that Ms Fairweather and Mr Payne *"met Sandy Marks a month before the story was published [in 1992] and say they were 'shocked' by her response. Eileen Fairweather and Stewart Payne ... wanted to inform the then chair of the social services committee of the horrors they were uncovering. In the meeting, they laid out damning evidence of abuse gathered from whistleblowers. 'We spoke to Sandy Marks to ask for her to help protect the whistleblowers, and to tell her that their claims were true', said Ms Fairweather. 'But she didn't seem to want to engage at all with notions of abuse. I can't now remember her exact wording, but she indicated that she was indifferent to what the kids got up to sexually – she had a very libertarian view, and spoke as if they were free agents. She said she saw the role of the councillors when they inspected the homes as being to check things like: were the washing machines working? I have never forgotten it. It was very shocking."* The Gazette continues: *"Ms Marks asked to see the evidence but would not agree to protect sources' confidentiality"* and that Ms Marks, for her part, said *"she was presented with no evidence of current abuse and only fully understood the seriousness when she saw the articles"*. The Gazette reports Ms Marks saying: *"The first evidence, if it was evidence, I read in the Evening Standard. So that was the first time I'd seen anything in writing"*.
  
- m. Sandy Marks remains active in the Islington area in the field of disability rights. The Gazette reports that she is a director of Islington Personal Budgets Network Community Interest Company, which has received a grant from the Council to establish a *"centre for inclusive living"* including a

£27,457 salary for Ms Marks. The Gazette understood that this grant was to be "reviewed" by the Council. However, we understand that Ms Marks resigned as a director in July 2017.

### Advice

11. We are instructed to advise as to whether or not this new information about Sandy Marks could reasonably be said to call in question the integrity of the White Report.
12. In our view, this new information can reasonably be said to call in question the integrity of the White Report in certain limited respects as follows.
13. First, while there is clearly dispute about Sandy Marks' involvement in Fallen Angels collective and other pro-paedophile groups, the evidence of her name as a contact for the group in the 1980 IGA conference papers suggests that she had some (not insignificant) involvement with the Fallen Angels.
14. Secondly, as set out above, Sandy Marks was one of three Councillors interviewed by the White Inquiry team. On the basis of those interviews, the White Report recorded apparently as a finding of fact that *"When the Evening Standard articles were first published, Members told us that they had no prior knowledge of the state of management in Islington Social Service Department ..."*. In our view, had the Inquiry team been in possession of the new information about Sandy Marks set out above, it is unlikely that they would have accepted this assertion at face value. They would in our view have been likely to have wished to question Ms Marks more carefully on the following issues:
  - a. Her own involvement in Fallen Angels, and possibly other pro-paedophile groups (as set out above), its nature, extent and duration;

- b. What, if any, impact that involvement had on the way she carried out her duties on the Social Services Committee, whether as Committee member between 1983 and 1991, or as Chair between 1991 and 1995;
- c. What Ms Marks knew about the "*state of management*" of Islington Social Services Department (as it is referred to in the White Report), including in particular whether she had been aware of any abuse allegations prior to the Evening Standard's story in 1992;
- d. Whether in her dealings with Fallen Angels, and possibly other paedophile groups, Ms Marks had become aware of anything relevant to the allegations of "*organised abuse*" that that were the subject of the White Report.

15. Although these issues may appear on their face to be serious substantive issues that are potentially relevant to some of the Report's main conclusions, we have described them above as having a "*limited*" impact on the integrity of the White Report because they are unlikely to be issues that open up significant further lines of inquiry. This is because as a 'mere' member of the Social Services Committee between 1983 and 1991, Ms Marks is unlikely to have been in a position to have had any significant impact on the Council's handling of the abuse allegations that were made during this period, or on any of the management issues that form the core of the White Report. As Chair, it is apparent from the documents we have seen that there was more scope for her to influence these matters, but there is nothing in the White Report that indicates that the reason why allegations were not investigated as they should have been was because of any action or inaction by Ms Marks. Rather, the problems appear from the White Report to have been lower down the organisational structure.

16. Nonetheless, the matters we have identified are matters that should be investigated.

**Next steps**

17. In our view, it would be appropriate for the Council to commission an independent investigation to consider the new evidence that has emerged in relation to Ms Marks. The investigation should focus on the four matters we have identified above. We have set out suggested terms of reference in Annex A. It should be up to the appointed investigator to decide which witnesses to interview and which documents to review, but based on the information we have seen relevant witnesses are likely to include: Ms Marks and ... (names of suggested witnesses have been redacted).

---

**JAMES GOUDIE QC**

**HOLLY STOUT**

11 September 2017

## **Proposed Terms of Reference for Independent Investigation**

The Independent Investigation should:-

1. Investigate the evidence as to:
  - a. The nature, extent and duration of Sandy Marks' involvement in Fallen Angels, and any other pro-paedophile groups;
  - b. What, if any, impact that involvement had on the way she carried out her duties on the Social Services Committee, whether as Committee member between 1983 and 1991, or as Chair between 1991 and 1995;
  - c. What Ms Marks knew about the "*state of management*" of Islington Social Services Department (as it is referred to in the White Report), including in particular whether she had been aware of any abuse allegations prior to the Evening Standard's story in 1992;
  - d. Whether in her dealings with Fallen Angels, and possibly other paedophile groups, Ms Marks had become aware of anything relevant to the allegations of "*organised abuse*" that were the subject of the White Report.

And:-

2. Consider what difference, if any, the evidence in 1. above may have made to the White Report.





**APPENDIX 3**

**Letter of Appointment**



Copy of letter signed  
returned to Islington in  
hand copy from



**ISLINGTON**

Resources Department  
Law and Governance  
7, Newington Barrow Way,  
London N7 7EP

T 020 7527 3277

DX 324802 Hornsey2  
Please reply to :  
David Daniels  
E david.daniels@islington.gov.uk  
W www.islington.gov.uk

Our Ref: DJD  
Your Ref:

Sarah Morgan QC,  
1, Garden Court,  
Temple,  
London EC4Y 9BJ

18 December 2017

Dear Sarah,

**Appointment Letter to Lead the Review into the White Report**

I am delighted to confirm your appointment as lead investigator to chair the independent review of the allegations in relation to former councillor Sandy Marks published in the Islington Gazette in May / June 2017 and their relevance, if any, to the findings of the Report of the Inquiry into the Management of Child Care in the London Borough of Islington 1995 known as the White Report.

Counsel, Lucy Sprinz also of 1 Garden Court will be engaged to work alongside you following your recommendation.

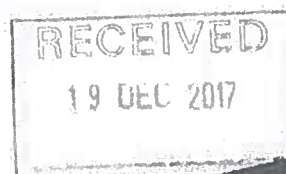
The independent review will begin in February 2018.

You are instructed by Islington Council to consider and investigate new information provided to the Council by the Islington Gazette and to focus on the terms of investigation set out at the end of these instructions.

In particular, you are referred to the Joint Opinion of James Goudie QC and Holly Stout of 11 Kings Bench Walk (previously sent).

The review will take place on Council premises at the Town Hall, you having advised in relation to a specific question raised by Islington Council that you see no issue in relation to the independence of your review if it is held on council owned premises. In the event that in the course of the independent review interviews are arranged with anyone who expresses a wish not to attend at the Town Hall you have indicated that you would be willing to make arrangements through your clerk to accommodate those interviews at your Chambers.

You have been invited to meet and discuss with us further our expectations and the practical arrangements to be made, some of which are reflected in the detail of this letter.



The room allocated at the Town Hall will be laid out and equipped as required by Counsel. Only you and Ms Sprinz will have keys to access this room which will be kept locked on days when it is not in use by you. Leading Counsel will be supported by Junior Counsel as above and also by a researcher who is also a qualified solicitor who will undertake much of the identification and collating of documents and source materials to be made available to you. There will be appropriate administrative / secretarial support supplied by Sean McLaughlin, Corporate Director of Housing and Adult Social Services, who is the Council's lead officer for the review. I will be the lead solicitor at Islington.

We have asked you to set aside time to read in advance of February and you have indicated that you will use the week commencing 11 December 2017 to read available documentation relating to the review and you would intend to do that reading largely in chambers since the room will not be ready until the new year. You have also indicated that you would like to be provided with copies of some of these documents.

Arrangements have been made for you to visit the Council's Children's Services offices at Elwood Street, London N1 to read the Children's Services files stored at that location.

The review will be conducted in private and you have confirmed that you are content with that provided that there will be the facility available to record and transcribe any interviews from those you identify as appropriate to interview once you have read the documentary materials which we will make available to you.

You will encourage those who you identify or who come forward as likely interviewees to provide written statements in advance of their interviews.

Attendance by those to be interviewed will be voluntary as the review has no power to compel them to give evidence or to participate.

You estimate (without yet having seen the volume of documents or identified who if any might be interviewed) that the investigation should take a minimum of six weeks.

At the end of the review you will submit a report to the Council and it will be for the Council to publish the report. There will be discussion with the Council in relation to any redaction felt necessary or appropriate although you have indicated that your approach will be to have as little redaction as possible.

During the Course of your investigation you must immediately report to the appropriate authorities any evidence you receive that a child may be at risk or an adult who poses a risk might be working with children; or any evidence you receive which raises an immediate child protection risk. For these purposes the appropriate authorities means the Local Authority Designated Officer or the Police depending on the nature of the information you receive. In the event that you decide that the circumstances are such that a report to the police is appropriate it is expected that you will also report the matter to the LADO unless there is good reason not to do so.

### **Reason for the Review**

The Islington Gazette published a number of allegations in relation to a former Chair of Social Services at Islington Council, Sandy Marks (SM), and her alleged involvement in

an organisation called Fallen Angels in 1979-80. The Council promised a lawyer-led investigation into those allegations. Richard Watts, Leader of the Council, said in a public statement:

"I'm shocked and concerned at the information as presented by the Gazette. This raises new questions about the council's response to the allegations in the 1990s. I have instructed that we will appoint an independent QC to examine the evidence, and provide advice on the best action to take. They will be free to pursue any line of inquiry, and we will be bound by their recommendations."

### **Goudie's Opinion**

The Council obtained a Joint Opinion from James Goudie QC and Holly Stout of 11 Kings Bench Walk.

The Council committed itself to appoint an independent QC (James Goudie) to examine the issues raised recently by the Islington Gazette. Specifically, the QC was tasked to review whether, in essence, there is evidence that the Gazette's information could reasonably be said to call in question the integrity of the White Report. The QC was free to pursue any line of inquiry, and the Council declared it would be bound by the QC's recommendations. The Council committed itself to present the QC's report to the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse which it has since done and to share all findings openly and transparently with survivors and IICSA.

The Joint Opinion has been referred to the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse (IICSA).

The Council's Executive endorsed the statement by the Leader and agreed to issue an apology to victims of child abuse in Islington care homes for the Council's past failings.

### **Background**

In 1989-1995, Islington Council held a series of inquiries into abuse of children in its care, most of them after extensive media coverage of a scandal in Islington's children's homes reported in the Evening Standard in 1992 and 1993. There were 13 council-led inquiries, which became the basis of the White Report of 1995, carried out by Ian White, then-director of social services for Oxfordshire County Council. Following the White Report, Islington's social services went through huge changes, including the closure of all Islington's children's homes. The Council helped survivors to access their records relating to their time in care, and settled compensation claims.

In recent years, the Council worked closely with many survivors. Since 2014, Islington's Local Authority Designated Officer has been contacted by a number of survivors with details of abuse they suffered. The Council has helped survivors report allegations to specialist police officers, without the need to visit a police station. Survivors have shared the names of abuse perpetrators with the Council, and the Council has initiated formal safeguarding procedures. They include investigating names of suspected abusers mentioned in the confidential annexe to the White Report and doing everything possible to make sure abusers are not working with children today. The Council has helped survivors to secure extra priority for council housing, advice about legal

representation, and are actively looking into commissioning a specialist counselling service for abuse survivors.

The Council has also put survivors in contact with the Islington Survivors Network (ISN). ISN was set up in 2014, and the Council has ongoing meetings with ISN to discuss how best to work together. Together, the Council and ISN are working to ensure children are safe today; to ensure investigations of allegations and concerns by both social workers and police; to achieve prosecutions, if possible; to give survivors a voice and respond to their concerns; to achieve justice for survivors; and if possible to hold individuals and the system to account.

Council officers are talking to the ISN about how we can best work together to examine the files the council has, including potentially providing a social worker to help research the files and take any further appropriate actions.

The Council fully supports police investigations into any new allegations relating to historical abuse of Islington children, and will offer all assistance and access to files to any police-led investigation.

The following is a brief **Chronology of events**:

1979/1980: SM allegedly active in Fallen Angels

1982: SM elected to Council

1983: SM joins Social Services Committee

1989: Report No.1

1991: SM becomes Chair of Social Services Committee

1992: Report No.2

1992/1993: Evening Standard revelations

1993: Reports Nos. 3-6

1994: Reports 7-11

1995: Reports 12-13

1995: White Report

1995: SM ceases to be Chair of Social Services Committee

1996: SM Mayor

## Terms of the Review



Leading Counsel is instructed by Islington Council to consider and investigate new information provided to the Council by the Islington Gazette and to focus on the terms of investigation set out below.

As set out in the Joint Opinion by Goudie QC and Stout, the terms of reference for the Independent review are for independent investigator to:

1. Investigate the evidence as to:
  - a. The nature, extent and duration of Sandy Marks' involvement in Fallen Angels, and any other pro-paedophile groups;
  - b. What, if any, impact that involvement had on the way she carried out her duties on the Social Services Committee, whether as Committee member between 1983 and 1991, or as Chair between 1991 and 1995;
  - c. What Ms Marks knew about the "state of management" of Islington Social Services Department (as it is referred to in the White Report), including in particular whether she had been aware of any abuse allegations prior to the Evening Standard's story in 1992;
  - d. Whether in her dealings with Fallen Angels, and possibly other paedophile groups, Ms Marks had become aware of anything relevant to the allegations of "organised abuse" that were the subject of the White Report.

and: -

2. Consider what difference, if any, the evidence in 1. above may have made to the White Report.

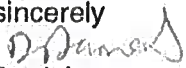
The Council instructs you as lead investigator to carry out an independent review accordingly.

### Documents

I attach the first set out documents for your perusal as discussed.

I enclose an additional copy of this letter which I should be obliged if you would sign and date and return to the Council confirming your agreement to the above terms and conditions

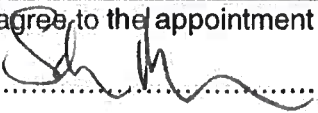
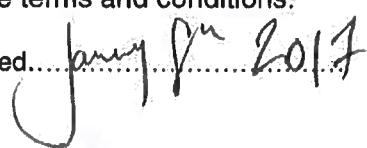
Yours sincerely

  
David Daniels  
Assistant Director of Law  
and Deputy Monitoring Officer  
London Borough of Islington

I hereby agree to the appointment on the above terms and conditions.

Signed.....

Dated.....





## APPENDIX 4

### Independent Inquiry Child Sexual Abuse Terms Of Reference

The Terms of Reference describe the purpose and scope of the Inquiry.

#### Purpose

1. To consider the extent to which State and non-State institutions have failed in their duty of care to protect children from sexual abuse and exploitation; to consider the extent to which those failings have since been addressed; to identify further action needed to address any failings identified; to consider the steps which it is necessary for State and non-State institutions to take in order to protect children from such abuse in future; and to publish a report with recommendations.
2. In doing so to:
  - Consider all the information which is available from the various published and unpublished reviews, court cases, and investigations which have so far concluded;
  - Consider the experience of survivors of child sexual abuse; providing opportunities for them to bear witness to the Inquiry, having regard to the need to provide appropriate support in doing so;
  - Consider whether State and non-State institutions failed to identify such abuse and/or whether there was otherwise an inappropriate institutional response to allegations of child sexual abuse and/or whether there were ineffective child protection procedures in place;
  - Advise on any further action needed to address any institutional protection gaps within current child protection systems on the basis of the findings and lessons learnt from this inquiry;
  - Disclose, where appropriate and in line with security and data protection protocols, any documents which were considered as part of the inquiry;
  - Liaise with ongoing inquiries, including those currently being conducted in Northern Ireland and Scotland, with a view to (a) ensuring that relevant information is shared, and (b) identifying any State or non-State institutions with child protection obligations that currently fall outside the scope of the present Inquiry and those being conducted in the devolved jurisdictions;

- Produce regular reports, and an interim report by the end of 2018; and
- Conduct the work of the Inquiry in transparent a manner as possible, consistent with the effective investigation of the matters falling within the terms of reference, and having regard to all the relevant duties of confidentiality.

## Scope

3. State and non-State institutions. Such institutions will, for example, include:
  - Government departments, the Cabinet Office, Parliament and Ministers;
  - Police, prosecuting authorities, schools including private and state-funded boarding and day schools, specialist education (such as music tuition), Local Authorities (including care homes and children's services), health services, and prisons/secure estates;
  - Churches and other religious denominations and organisations;
  - Political Parties; and
  - The Armed Services.
4. The Inquiry will cover England and Wales. Should the Inquiry identify any material relating to the devolved administrations, it will be passed to the relevant authorities;
5. The Inquiry will not address allegations relating to events in the Overseas Territories or Crown Dependencies. However, any such allegations received by the Inquiry will be referred to the relevant law enforcement bodies in those jurisdictions;
6. For the purposes of this Inquiry "child" means anyone under the age of 18. However, the panel will consider abuse of individuals over the age of 18, if that abuse started when the individual was a minor.

## Principles

7. The Inquiry will have full access to all the material it seeks.
8. Any allegation of child abuse received by the Inquiry will be referred to the Police;
9. All personal and sensitive information will be appropriately protected; and will be made available only to those who need to see it; and
10. It is not part of the Inquiry's function to determine civil or criminal liability of named

individuals or organisations. This should not, however, inhibit the Inquiry from reaching findings of fact relevant to its terms of reference.



## **APPENDIX 5**

### **Staff who Supported the Review**

1. David Daniels – solicitor to the Review
2. Marina Azhar – researcher to the Review
3. Penny Nicholson – researcher to the Review
4. Yasmin Amevor – paralegal and administrative assistant to the Review



## **APPENDIX 6**

### **Researcher's Terms of Engagement by Islington Council Prior to the Commencement of the Review**

#### **2. Services Provision**

**The Consultant shall:**

**2.1 with the support of Council staff and others, locate and secure all relevant documentation through appropriate investigation and liaison and keep such documentation secure and confidential at the Consultant's expense.**

**2.2 review the documents for relevance and report to the Council on findings within the period of the contract specified.**

**2.3 consult the Islington Survivors Network to ensure all relevant evidence they have is available to the Council and the QC.**

**2.4 use their equipment to securely prepare summary reports and advise, verbally and in writing, the Council on the contents and significance of the documentation.**

**2.5 catalogue all relevant information in consultation with the Council to the agreed standard and rectify errors at the expense of the Consultant.**





**APPENDIX 7**

**Documents Read During The Course Of The Review**

REDACTED VERSION NOT YET  
AVAILABLE



## APPENDIX 8

### Call for information - Statement from Sarah Morgan QC - 9th February 2018

On 1st February 2018, I started work on the Independent Review of allegations in relation to former councillor Sandy Marks.

I would very much like to hear from anyone who believes that they have information to contribute to this Independent Review. That contribution may either be something relevant that you have within your own personal experience or it might be something that you have as a document, photograph or other record.

The questions which Islington has asked me to look at and on which I would welcome contributions are these:

1. The nature, extent and duration of Sandy Marks' involvement in Fallen Angels and any other pro-paedophile groups;
2. What, if any, impact that involvement had on the way she carried out her duties on the Social Services Committee, whether as a Committee member between 1983 and 1991 or as Chair between 1991 and 1995;
3. What Ms Marks knew about the 'state of management' of Islington Social Services Department (as it is referred to in the White Report), including in particular whether she had been aware of any abuse allegations prior to the Evening Standard's story in 1992;
4. Whether in her dealings with Fallen Angels, and possibly other paedophile groups, Ms Marks had become aware of anything relevant to the allegations of 'organised abuse' that were the subject of the White Report.

The time frame I am looking at is the period from 1979 to 1995.

If you would like to contribute information which you think is relevant would you do so by sending an email.

The only people who have access to the e mail address above are Sarah Morgan QC and Lucy Sprinz.

If you prefer to send me your contribution by post rather than email you can send it to:

Sarah Morgan QC  
Room G10  
Islington Town Hall  
Upper Street  
London  
N1 2UD

It would be helpful to me if you set out in any contribution what it is that you wish to tell me and why you think it will help me answer the questions above. Please send anything you wish to contribute by 28th February.

It may be that I will want to arrange to talk in person to anyone who contacts me with a contribution. For this reason I would be grateful if you would let me know when you send me your contribution how you would like me to contact you if I want to arrange to talk to you in person or hear more from you. I expect to be doing that in March 2018.

Contributions received by post or printed out from email will be held securely in a room to which only Sarah Morgan and Lucy Sprinz have access and in our absence in locked cabinets in that room.

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### **Confidentiality**

I intend that the contributions made will, where relevant, form part of my Report to Islington. To that extent contributions will be made public since Islington Council will publish my report. I would not intend to include the names and identities of victims and survivors of abuse or anyone living against whom allegations of abuse are made but who has not been the subject of findings or a conviction. If you would like me to consider treating any of the information contained in your contribution confidentially please say so, identifying the particular information and explaining why, clearly in the opening lines of the email or in a covering note if sending by post. Although most emails have a standard wording on the bottom about confidentiality this is not enough. I cannot guarantee that even if there is a request information will remain confidential and there are some circumstances in which I am obliged to pass on information even before the completion of my report.

Once I complete my review, all the information that I have had for it will be held securely by Islington council.

**Sarah Morgan QC**

**9th February 2018**



## APPENDIX 9

### List Of Those Interviewed During The Course Of The Review

I interviewed the following individuals in the course of my Review:

1. Sandy Marks (who attended with her advocate [REDACTED] present). I interviewed Sandy Marks on two separate occasions.
2. Ramzy Alwakeel (editor of the Islington Gazette, who attended with Tim Williams, the managing editor of the Islington Gazette and was interviewed at the same time as Emma Youle)
3. Emma Youle (investigative journalist at the Islington Gazette, who attended with Tim Williams, the managing editor of the Islington Gazette and was interviewed at the same time as Emma Youle)
4. Tim Williams (managing editor of the Islington Gazette who, by reason of his presence during the interview of Ramzy Alwakeel and Emma Youle also took part in the interview process).
5. Dr. Liz Davies
6. Charlotte Russell
7. Kate Hart (co-author of the White report)

I interviewed also the following individuals who fall into the category of victims and survivors. These individuals I have listed below using the non identifying ciphers used in the body of this report and in archived transcripts.

#### Victim and Survivor Ciphers

8. Denis
9. Gail
10. Jessica
11. Joanne

12. Joseph

13. Lucie

14. Marian

15. Peter

#### Other Meetings

As well as the formal interviews above, I held minuted meetings for the purpose of the Review with:

16. Sean McLaughlin, Corporate Director of Housing and Adult Social Services, Islington Council.

17. Philippa Green, Democratic Services Manager, Islington Council.

I held two informal meetings as set out in the body of this report with:

18. Lesley Seary, Chief Executive Officer, Islington Council.

19. Carmel Littleton, Corporate Director of Islington Children's Services, Islington Council.



**APPENDIX 10**

**Sandy Marks' Stated Dated 25<sup>th</sup> September 2018**

## ENQUIRY SUMMARY

As this enquiry seems to be finally drawing to a close, I would at this point wish to re-iterate what I have already stated at the two separate interviews and by various e-mails and documentation. The enquiry seemed to focus on two separate "time periods" – one in late 1970's and a further one when I was a councillor in the late 1980's and early 1990's. I will cover these separately below:

1970's :

As I stated in the interview, I worked for the short-life housing group "Islington Community Housing" [ICH] as an admin worker. I had no control over the lettings and allocations policy of the organisation and did not visit tenants or occupiers in their homes. The group was not well run or managed when I started work there and it allowed a lot of bad practices to develop – including various members using the organisation's office as a "mail-box". Once Mick Munby took over as the Co-ordinator, these sort of actions were gradually stopped and a more professional approach adopted that turned the organisation around.

I was asked about a number of groupings and organisations. These seem to be:

- "The Fallen Angels"
- "The International Gay Alliance"
- "The Paedophile Information Exchange"

and a number of others. I made clear when interviewed that I was never a member or supporter of the organisations named and can state clearly that my attitude to any paedophile organisation or to any form of organised child abuse would have been one of active hostility and distaste – as it still is today.

Since the enquiry started, I have found out that the "Fallen Angel" is the name of a public house near City Road in the far south of Islington. I never used this pub nor attended any event there, though I believe it was popular with some members of Islington South Labour Party. As I lived and worked in the far north of the Borough near the Archway it would not have been an area I frequented.

I have been presented with two black and white photographs of an event allegedly held in Barcelona and implying that I was the woman in the photo. I can only repeat that I have never attended a conference in Barcelona and, whilst the woman bears a superficial resemblance to me, I had a total different hair style at the time. I produced a photo of myself in early January 1981 at the birth of my second child and it shows me with quite long hair parted in the middle – totally different from the "page boy"

bob cut this woman has. I can only repeat that this is not me and I do not recognise anyone else in either photograph. The allegation, I am told, was made by a Mr Rob Pistor. I do not know this man and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, have never met him.

1990's:

As I have had no further questions asked of me in this regard, I can only assume the Enquiry accepts the fact that I had no role or function in respect to investigations at this time. As Chair of Social Services, I had no audit facilities and limited powers. I was told clearly and unequivocally to hand this investigation over to the then Leader of the Council, Margaret Hodge, which I did. Margaret herself covers this in some detail in her book "Called To Account" and whilst the investigation was perfunctory and did not speak to any of the victims / complainants, I was in no way at fault and had no influence over either the way it proceeded or its eventual outcome. I presume your Enquiry will exonerate me in this matter.

I am happy for this statement to be included in your findings and have no problem in it becoming "public desmesne". I have suffered enormous distress and personal loss at these baseless accusations – partly as a result of these drawn out proceedings. Hopefully this will now end this matter.

SANDY MARKS - 25/9/2018

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