

Domestic Homicide Review

Overview Report

Hillingdon

Community Safety Partnership

Report into the death of Anne

December 2022

February 2025

Contents

Glossary	3
Tribute	4
Preface	5
1. Introduction and Background	5
2. Timescales	7
3. Confidentiality	8
4. Methodology and Terms of Reference	8
5. Facts	10
6. Involvement of Family and Friends	12
7. Independence	13
8. Domestic Homicide Review Panel	13
9. Parallel Reviews and Processes	14
10. Equality and Diversity	14
11. Dissemination	16
12. Chronology	17
12.1 Reflections from family and friends	24
13. Analysis	27
13.1 Coercive and Controlling Behaviour and Stalking	27
13.2 Barriers to reporting.....	36
13.3 Offender.....	39
13.4 COVID19 lockdown, Escalation, and Access	44
14. Key findings and Conclusions	45
15. Recommendations	46
16. Action Plan	50
17. Appendix A	54
18. Appendix B	58

Glossary

- **DHR:** Domestic Homicide Review
- **CPS:** Crown Prosecution Service
- **CSP:** Community Safety Partnership
- **MPS:** Metropolitan Police Service
- **HDAAS:** Hillingdon Domestic Abuse Advocacy Service
- **ICB:** Integrated Care Board
- **MARAC:** Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference
- **MASH:** Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hub
- **CCB:** Coercive and Controlling Behaviour
- **DASH:** Domestic Abuse Stalking and Harassment (risk assessment form)
- **ISA:** Independent Stalking Advocate
- **PSED:** Public Sector Equality Duty
- **SIO:** Senior Investigating Officer
- **OM:** Offender Manager

DHR Overview Report into the death of Anne, November 2022

Tribute

Anne's Mum

Anne was a true lover of the environment, finding joy in green open spaces and the wildlife that thrived within them. Her garden was her sanctuary, where she found happiness watching the hedgehogs and foxes that visited. She even had a squirrel that would tap on her window, asking for food—a testament to the special connection she seemed to have with nature.

A passionate advocate for conservation, Anne was an active member of the local Environmental Action Group. On weekends, she could often be found wading into lakes to clear out plastic and rubbish or helping to clean up local parks. She dedicated herself wholeheartedly to making the world a better place.

Anne was well known for her infectious smile, her giggles, and her radiant happiness. She was a kind and generous soul, always willing to help anyone in need, never passing judgment, and embracing people from all walks of life. She adored her nieces and nephews and had a diverse circle of friends who cherished her warmth and compassion.

At Anne's farewell ceremony, many people quoted the words:

"This world was never meant for someone as beautiful as you."

Anne was truly beautiful - inside and out. Words will never be enough to express how much she is missed.

Anne's Brother

I never thought I would write something like this. However, in the last 2 years I have almost lost count of the amount I've needed to produce. Every time I do one for Anne, it feels different. Anne wasn't taken from us due to illness, old age, or a tragic accident. Anne had many close friends and a loving family, but I don't think

even she could fathom the enormous void her loss caused and continues to cause in all our lives.

She was my sister, she was my friend, and I will always miss her.

Preface

The independent author, DHR panel and the Hillingdon Community Safety Partnership wish to offer their deepest condolences to everyone who was affected by Anne's¹ death. We extend our further thanks to those who knew Anne and contributed to this review, their generosity in doing so, considering their loss, is greatly appreciated.

In addition, the author of the report would like to extend sincere thanks to the panel members for their professionalism and the considered manner in which they approached this review.

It should be noted all professionals including the chair and author of this review are kept anonymous – this includes not naming professionals in the public action plan in section 16 of the report. This decision was taken after a risk assessment provided by MPS on the offender's behaviour.

1. Introduction and Background

1.1 This review will examine the circumstances surrounding the death of Anne, aged 39, who was murdered in December 2022.

1.2 Domestic Homicide Reviews (DHRs) came into force on the 13th of April 2011. They were established on a statutory basis under Section 9 of the Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act (2004).

The Act states that a DHR should be a review of the circumstances in which the death of a person aged 16 or over has, or appears to have, resulted from violence, abuse, or neglect by-

¹ Not her real name

(a) A person to whom she was related or with whom she was or had been in an intimate personal relationship or

(b) A member of the same household as herself; with a view to identifying the lessons to be learnt from the death².

1.3 The purpose of a DHR is to:

a) establish what lessons are to be learned from the domestic homicide regarding the way in which local professionals and organisations work individually and together to safeguard victims.

b) identify clearly what those lessons are both within and between agencies, how and within what timescales they will be acted on, and what is expected to change as a result.

c) apply these lessons to service responses including changes to inform national and local policies and procedures as appropriate.

d) prevent domestic violence and homicide and improve service responses for all domestic violence and abuse victims and their children by developing a co-ordinated multi-agency approach to ensure that domestic abuse is identified and responded to effectively at the earliest opportunity.

e) contribute to a better understanding of the nature of domestic violence and abuse; and

f) highlight good practice

Whilst the details of Anne's murder rests within the framework of a DHR within the Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act 2004³, the reader should be under no illusion that this was a long-term intimate relationship featuring domestic abuse in the typical context. The panel wish to highlight from the start that any misconception Anne's relationship with the offender was anything other than friendship was a fantasy on his part and would grossly misrepresent Anne's feelings towards him. Anne was subjected to prolific stalking by the offender, and this is the focus of the review.

² Multi-agency Statutory Guidance for the Conduct of Domestic Homicide Reviews – Home Office - December 2016

³ [Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act 2004](#)

Stalking is often missed both in terms of not being identified correctly and as an offence, and/or not being highlighted in risk assessments. However, stalking is common, and the Crime Survey for England and Wales estimated 1.5 million adults were stalked in the year ending March 2021⁴. It is imperative that agencies and professionals are supported to understand this complex crime, and it is the hope of the panel that this review contributes to both a local and national focus on the issue of stalking, so that victims can be afforded the support they need and deserve.

2. Timescales

This report of a death, where stalking was identified, analyses the involvement and responses afforded to Anne, who was a resident in Hillingdon at the point of her death in December 2022.

The review will consider agency contact with Anne and her house mate Paulo⁵ for the period of:

- January 2015 to December 2022

This time frame was agreed to be appropriate by all panel members in May 2024.

Following a referral from the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), the decision to undertake a DHR was made by Hillingdon in March 2023. The Home Office was subsequently informed, and an independent chair was commissioned. However, the chair was unable to continue with the review owing to circumstances beyond their control, in addition there were changes of staff within the council that impeded continuity, resulting in a delay in commissioning a new chair.

In April 2024 the CSP commissioned a new independent chair and author to the panel and the DHR panel was convened. The panel members met on the following dates:

⁴ <https://somersestdomesticabuse.org.uk/beyond-the-headlines-exposing-the-truth-about-stalking/#:~:text=According%20to%20the%20Crime%20Survey,devastating%20effects%20on%20victims'%20lies.>

⁵ Not his real name

- 1st May 2024
- 10th September 2024
- 12th December 2024

1.5 The overview report and executive summary were sent to the Hillingdon CSP board for approval in February 2025 and submitted to the Home Office in December 2025. The report was considered by the Home Office Quality Assurance Panel in February 2026 and approved for publication in April 2026.

1.6 Hillingdon takes the issue of domestic abuse seriously. The four main priorities in the Domestic Abuse Strategy⁶ for Hillingdon are:

- Prevention and Engagement
- Service Provision
- Pursuing Perpetrators
- Partnership Working

3. Confidentiality

The contents of this report are anonymised to protect the identity of the deceased, family, friends, staff, and others to comply with the Data Protection Act 2018⁷. On advice from Metropolitan Police Force (MPS) the panel members and chair were anonymised, this is due to the risk owing to the perpetrators stalking behaviours.

4. Methodology and Terms of Reference

Following the decision to conduct this DHR, the MPS provided the panel with a timeline of the case. Other statutory and voluntary sector agencies asked to review any relevant information were:

⁶ <https://www.hillingdon.gov.uk/domestic-abuse-zero-tolerance>

⁷ <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2018/12/contents/enacted>

- Hillingdon Domestic Abuse Advocacy Service (HDAAS)
- Northwest London Integrated Care Board (ICB)
- Hillingdon Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference (MARAC)
- Hillingdon Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hub

The search revealed no relevant data for either Anne or Paulo. Although it is unusual to have no information about parties within reviews the panel were provided with information presented by the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) at the trial - in addition the chair of the review was provided statements from six separate witnesses at the trial, these were shared via MPS with consent of the witnesses.

4.2 The Terms of Reference guidance set out the purpose and the scope of the review and the panel focused on the following questions for analysis:

- Consider how (and if knowledge of) all forms of domestic abuse (including the non-physical types like stalking and coercive control) are understood by the local community at large (with particular focus on reporting stalking) – including family, friends, and statutory and voluntary organisations. This is to also ensure that the dynamics of coercive control/stalking are also fully explored.
- Determine if there were any barriers the victim or her family/friends faced in both reporting domestic abuse or stalking and accessing services.
- In addition, whether there were any barriers to interventions that could have been made with the offender over the review timeline period.
- Whether organisations are alert to and aware of all forms of stalking, including cyber stalking.
- Whether COVID19 had any impact in the case.

The full Terms of Reference are available in Appendix A of this report.

4.3 The report is based on:

- Criminal proceedings against Paulo
- The CPS note for opening at the trial.
- Statements by six witnesses at the trial
- Exhibits from the police investigation⁸
- Interactions with Anne’s family
- Interactions with Anne’s friend
- The sentencing remarks.

The chronology is set out below (see section 12). Recommendations are set out in section 15 of the report - with the full action plan presented in section 16.

The conclusions and recommendations are the collective views of the Panel, which has the responsibility through the participating agencies for implementation of any improvement recommendations.

4.4 People involved in the DHR:

Name	Age at time of death	Relationship with the victim	Ethnicity
Anne	39	Victim	White British
Paulo	29	Perpetrator	Goan National

The panel has applied the Home Office guidance and given the pseudonyms identified above to the offender and the victim. It is hoped this humanises the review process and eases the reading of the report. Anne’s family chose her pseudonym.

5. Facts

Anne was a 39-year-old woman living in the London Borough of Hillingdon, she had a vibrant life and a great passion for nature. Anne was well respected by her work colleagues and very much loved by her friends and family, she was fun, happy and had her whole life ahead of her.

⁸ Due to disclosure rules only the chair was permitted to see this evidence

Paulo had been in the UK for approximately 10 years arriving from Goa with his family. Anne met Paulo through work, and she helped him settle into the area – he also lived in the same estate of flats as Anne.

Over the years Anne and Paulo’s friendship continued and they spent more time in each other’s company, they went on holiday together and became closer during the pandemic, creating a friendship bubble during lockdown. In the early stages of their friendship, they were intimate with each other a few times. The intimacy was short lived and did not materialise into anything more for Anne - and she repeatedly and clearly confirmed her wish to just stay friends with Paulo throughout their friendship. However, Paulo developed a deep obsession with Anne and despite no reciprocation he continued to pursue and try to force a romantic relationship with Anne until her death.

In the spring of 2022 Paulo suggested to Anne that they share a house together which Anne agreed to because she had to move out of her flat. Over the proceeding months Anne became very unhappy with Paulo’s obsession of her and this was exacerbated when she began a relationship with another man. Paulo obsessively stalked Anne by following her around the house and consistently asking where she was going and who she was talking to. Although Anne was unaware of the extent of Paulo’s behaviour, she became suspicious that he was monitoring her through her phone, she also told her partner, John⁹, that she thought Paulo was bugging the house. Anne was aware that Paulo was making vexatious complaints to her work as well as sending threatening messages to her John. In November 2022 Anne told Paulo he had to move out of the house, and subsequently in December 2022 Anne also told John she wanted to move out of the property and find another job.

In late December 2022 Paulo made a call to the police saying he had found Anne brutally murdered at their address. Paulo tried to blame John for Anne’s murder, but he was subsequently found guilty in January 2024 and sentenced to 25 years in prison for murder. At the trial the full extent of Paulo’s sustained campaign of stalking against Anne was revealed.

⁹ Not his real name

May she rest in peace.

6. Involvement of Family and Friends

6.1 Victim

Anne's family members had support from a Victim Support Homicide Caseworker, and the chair of the review contacted them in May 2024 to introduce herself. In June 2024 both Anne's mother and brother met with the review author and the caseworker online. They were both keen to be part of the review and the chair explained the process to them. The family remained involved throughout and it is through their invaluable insight that the analysis for this review is so robust. The review author and panel extend their sincere thanks to Anne's family for their time and valuable contribution.

In addition, one of Anne's friends kindly gave their time and thoughts for the review and this added a further enhanced insight for the panel.

The chair of the review also wrote to Anne's workplace, but no response was received.

6.2 Perpetrator

The chair of the review reached out to Paulo's offender manager (OM) in prison. A meeting was arranged to discuss the risk of engaging Paulo in the process. In a detailed exchanged with the chair the OM was able to explain that Paulo had not made any admission of guilt since being convicted and he was still blaming John for Anne's murder. Given Paulo was a prolific stalker, and his obsession and fixation of Anne became well known throughout the trial, the panel were concerned that speaking to Paulo could fuel and collude with his desire to talk about Anne.

Without an admission of guilt and specialist psychological support for his stalking behaviours the panel were cautious about the impact on Paulo's mental health. Consideration was also given to the safety of Anne's family, and that of the chair and panel members.

After a thorough discussion and risk assessment the panel decided not to contact Paulo for this review. The chair of the review did write to Paulo's workplace, however there was

no response to this request. Therefore, the perspective of the perpetrator within the review is limited.

7. Independence

4.1 The chair and author of this report is accredited to undertake DHRs by the Home Office, they were independent of all agencies involved in the panel. The chair and author has decades experience in the men’s violence against women sector. They had no previous dealings with the initial inquiries and no contact or knowledge of the family members.

Panel members were independent of any direct contact with the subjects of this DHR. None of the panel members were the immediate line managers of anyone who engaged with Anne or Paulo.

8. Domestic Homicide Review Panel

On the advice of the MPS Senior Investigating Officer (SIO) the names of all professionals involved in the review have been anonymised. This is due to the risk owing to the offender’s stalking behaviours and the assessment by MPS of the risk posed to the panel should they be identified.

The DHR panel consisted of the following agencies and professionals:

Agencies and Professionals
Chair and Author
Stalking Expert – Accredited Independent Stalking Advocacy Caseworker
Metropolitan Police Specialist Case Review Group – Review Officer
Northwest London ICB - Safeguarding representative
Hillingdon Council - Community Safety Partnership representatives
Central and Northwest London NHS Foundation Trust – representative

9. Parallel Reviews and Processes

A Home Office post-mortem was conducted in January 2023 and listed the cause of death as head and neck injuries. There were no other parallel reviews undertaken.

10. Equality and Diversity

Relevant TOR point:

Whether practices by all agencies were sensitive to the sex, age, disability, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identity of both the individuals who are subjects of the review and whether any additional needs on the part of either were explored, shared appropriately, and recorded.

9.1 The Equality Act 2010 defines the following as protected characteristics:

- Age
- Disability
- Gender reassignment
- Marriage or civil partnership
- Pregnancy and maternity
- Race
- Religion or belief
- Sex
- Sexual orientation

All the protected characteristics have been considered throughout this process. Services must adhere to the Public Sector Equality Duty (PSED)¹⁰ and have due regard to

¹⁰ <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/corporate-reporting/public-sector-equality-duty>

the protected characteristics of individuals in order to harmonise equalities and foster good relations.

There are generally three aims¹¹ under the PSED and these involve:

- Removing or minimising disadvantages suffered by people due to their protected characteristics.
- Taking steps to meet the needs of people from protected groups where these are different from the needs of other people.
- Encouraging people from protected groups to participate in public life or in other activities where their participation is disproportionately low.

Anne was white British, and heterosexual. Paulo was originally from Goa, a state on the southwestern coast of India. Paulo was only known to identify as heterosexual. The limited data available did not reveal either associated with any particular religion, they were not married, neither had a physical disability and pregnancy/maternity was not relevant to the case. Although there was no IMR data and no significant interactions with agencies the following protected characteristics have been considered below and throughout the context for the analysis of the review:

9.2 **Sex** - Worldwide, over a quarter (27%) of women aged 15–49 years who have been in a relationship report that they have been subjected to some form of physical and/or sexual violence by their intimate partner¹². Women are more likely to be victims of stalking than men with the Crime Survey for England and Wales (2023-24)¹³ revealing that 20.2% of women have been subjected to stalking since the age of 16, compared to 8.7% of men. Statistics also reveal that whilst the majority of victims are female, the majority of stalkers are male¹⁴. Anne’s experience as a female victim of stalking was concurrent

¹¹ <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/corporate-reporting/public-sector-equality-duty>

¹²

https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=8sVqEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR6&ots=bbiOx6Vti6&sig=8hq4EBtcVp_7yTx4_5rci_8zlf4&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

¹³

[https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/ifeellikeiamlivingsomeoneelseslifeoneinsevenpeopleavictimofstalking/2024-09-26#:~:text=Women%20are%20more%20likely%20to%20be%20a%20victim&text=One%20in%20five%20wome n%20\(20.2,was%20a%20victim%20of%20stalking.](https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/ifeellikeiamlivingsomeoneelseslifeoneinsevenpeopleavictimofstalking/2024-09-26#:~:text=Women%20are%20more%20likely%20to%20be%20a%20victim&text=One%20in%20five%20wome n%20(20.2,was%20a%20victim%20of%20stalking.)

¹⁴ <https://saferfutures.org.uk/resources/stalking/>

with that of most victims of stalking in the UK; the fact Anne did not seek support whilst being subjected to stalking and harassment over the timeline period should be taken in the context of the lack of awareness available for stalking victims. The contextualisation of the crimes she was subjected to by Paulo will be analysed further in section 13.1, and the barriers to reporting are contained within section 13.2.

9.2 **Race** – Paulo arrived in this country approximately 10 years prior to the murder. The panel were unable to analyse his formative experiences as a young migrant to the UK. However, we know that when they met Paulo’s English was not as strong as it came to be over the period of their friendship. This may have had an impact on the initial isolation for Paulo and the reason that Anne initially reached out to him at work. However, the panel did not feel this was a significant factor in his motivation or reasons for offending. This will be further discussed in section 13.3.

11. Dissemination

11.1 Whilst it is essential to share key issues with agencies and organisations involved in this DHR, this report will not be disseminated until clearance has been received from the Home Office Quality Assurance Panel (QAP).

Once clearance has been approved by the QAP, the dissemination of the overview report will be published on the Hillingdon Council website: [Domestic Homicide Reviews \(DHR\) | Hillingdon Council](#) and will be widely disseminated including, but not limited to:

- Members of the Community Safety Partnership
- Panel members
- Central and Northwest London NHS Foundation Trust
- Hillingdon Safeguarding Partnership
- Specialist Domestic Abuse providers
- Hillingdon Domestic Abuse Operational Partners

11.2 The Safer Hillingdon Partnership will be responsible for monitoring the implementation of recommendations in section 16 of the review.

12. Chronology

As previously stated much of the chronology data has been taken from court data and witness statements provided to the chair by the MPS. The family reviewed the chronology data and assisted the panel in ensuring the representation of the information was correct.

The review timeline period is taken from January 2015 until December 2022.

- Paulo had lived in the UK for approximately 10 years and Anne had known him for approximately 9 years.
- Anne lived in different properties in Hillingdon over the review timeline period and during that time Paulo lived very close to Anne.
- Anne first met Paulo at work, and she began to talk to him because he was often sat on his own and did not appear to have any friends.
- Anne helped Paulo to settle into the area and friends of Anne's witnessed him visiting her at her flat from time to time, they initially observed him as quiet and reserved.
- As time went on Paulo spent more time at Anne's house and friends of Anne's noted he became more assertive, his English improved and his confidence grew. He would frequently cook for Anne and would bring her cigarettes.
- Anne and Paulo both worked in the same area of Hillingdon although they did not work for the same company.
- At some point in the early years of their friendship Anne and Paulo were intimate together, although evidence suggests that this only happened a handful of times.
- There are messages from Paulo to Anne dating back as far as 2015 where he stated he *"was crazy for her smile"* - to which Anne responded - *"nope"*.
- Over the years Anne consistently rejected Paulo's advances and rejected his repeated suggestion that they should be together. Friends witnessed her saying this to him in front of them. For example, a message exchange in 2021 read:
 - *Paulo: "it hurts to see you every day knowing you'll never like me"*
 - *Anne: "I do like you but just not enough."*

- Messages between Anne and Paulo also reveal arguments between them, with Paulo alleging that Anne treated him badly.
- During COVID19 Anne and Paulo spent a lot more time together forming a friendship bubble due to lockdown measures.
- In spring of 2022 Anne was given notice to leave on her flat and she was struggling to find an affordable place to rent on her own. Paulo suggested they move into a house together to share the bills. Anne was very passionate about nature, so she was excited about the prospect of finally being able to move into a house where she could enjoy a garden.
- After they moved in together the same patterns of messages from Paulo to Anne continued. For example, in late spring of 2022 Anne messaged Paulo to say she only wanted him as a friend, and for eight years she had tried but *“it could not be forced.”* Anne referenced their intimacy together which occurred some years prior stating, *“I knew it was a mistake the first time we went to bed...I shouldn’t have done it.”*
- MPS witness statements noted the following observations from Anne’s friends:
 - Paulo always wanted to know Anne’s whereabouts all the time.
 - Paulo always wanted to know who Anne was meeting.
 - Paulo would get upset and jealous if Anne would go out with her friends.
 - Anne would stop discussing other relationships if Paulo came into the room.
 - Friends noted how technically minded Paulo was and he would boast to Anne’s friends about being able to hack into people’s Facebook accounts.
 - Paulo was *“besotted”* with Anne.
 - Paulo would jump at any opportunity to do something for Anne.
 - Anne would ask Paulo to stop following her around the house and give her some space.
 - All Anne’s friends noted the deep obsession Paulo had with Anne, she told one of them that he would wait outside the bathroom for her.

- Friends witnessed Anne telling Paulo several times that she did not want a relationship with him.
- During 2022 Anne began a relationship with a colleague at work, John. John was married and they spent time together at Anne's house. Paulo was obsessively jealous of Anne and John's relationship and evidence at the trial revealed his online and offline stalking of Anne and latterly John.
- One of Anne's friends recalled buying a wildlife camera for Anne so she could watch the hedgehogs in her garden, as soon as Paulo became aware of this he went online and immediately bought a similar camera which he insisted Anne used instead.
- During the investigation the police found various different online monitoring devices that Paulo was using to spy on Anne, these included:
 - Micromax phone – an open mic which was positioned on a shelf by the TV unit in the house.
 - Spy camera.
 - Spy plug with voice activated call back function.

In November 2022 Paulo flew to India for several weeks to see his family. The following section details the escalation of Paulo's stalking campaign against Anne:

- By this time Paulo had already installed the Micromax phone and listening device. As soon as the number was called by Paulo it would connect to the device in the house and Paulo would be able to listen to everything Anne was doing. It was assumed that during this period Paulo became aware of Anne's relationship with John.
- Whilst Paulo was away in India the evidence reveals that he was ringing the Micromax number for lengthy periods of time and the police investigation suggests this on average amounted to approximately five hours a day.

- Paulo continued to use this device on his return from India and records show that there was a total of 158 hours of him listening to Anne from the point of purchase in November 2022 until he killed her in December 2022.
- Although Anne did not know the extent to which Paulo was stalking her, she did become suspicious that he was listening to her because Paulo messaged her whilst he was in India to ask her why she broke his heart and had brought another man into the house.
- These messages continued, and at one point Anne responded accusing Paulo of spying on her which he denied – but he then revealed he had listened to her having sex with John.
- On one particular day whilst he was in India Paulo persistently called and texted Anne. The perception of the messages during the police investigation revealed Paulo’s temperament ranged from desperation and pleading to furious anger. After a series of calls that Anne did not respond to Paulo wrote to Anne stating, *“fine do what you want, il [sic] do things my way from now. If I have to go prison for you than [sic] so be it.”* He also warned Anne that John was not allowed to come to the house anymore.
- When Anne did not stop inviting John over to the house Paulo became increasingly angry and told her *“nothing to lose...you don’t even think I exist anymore, I don’t care what happens to me.”*
- It was at this stage that Paulo decided to write a vexatious complaint to Anne and John’s workplace. Using a fake name Paulo emailed Anne and John’s boss accusing John of harassing his ‘partner’ (he did not specify who this was) he insinuated that John was and trying to have an affair with his ‘partner’. Anne’s boss spoke to all the women at work separately and Anne told her boss there was no issue with any of the men at work and she was not being harassed.
- Evidence shows that Paulo misspelt John’s name in the email to Anne’s boss, and that same spelling was the way it was listed in Anne’s phone. When Anne asked Paulo why he had contacted her work, he denied any knowledge, but she told him she knew it was him because of the misspelling of John’s name. In this interaction Anne told Paulo he had to move out.

- Paulo then began to send messages to Anne from a registered e-sim account (which when sent to another person's phone appears as a normal text message) pretending to be John's wife, when Anne confronted Paulo, he again denied any involvement.
- After this Paulo sent another anonymous email to Anne and John's boss, this time stating staff were using cannabis at work and suggesting they should drug test staff. Although Anne occasionally smoked cannabis, messages between her and Paulo revealed that she would tell him to reduce his use of '*excessive drugs*'.
- It was just before Paulo returned from India that he purchased the spy camera device, and the evidence at court revealed that Paulo used this to make secret recordings of Anne whilst she was at home. He also purchased the spy plug which was a voice activated function for him to monitor Anne when he was out of the property.

In late November 2022 Paulo returned home from his holiday. The following data reveals the timeline from his return to the UK until he murdered Anne, which was approximately one month:

- In late November 2022 Paulo sent Anne anonymous messages from the e-sim account calling her a '*whorebag*' and a '*bitch*' and telling her that she would be '*hunted down and destroyed*'. Anne enlisted Paulo to try and find out who was sending the messages to her.
- Paulo continued to tell Anne to end her relationship with John, messages revealed that she accused Paulo of creeping around outside the house and staring through the kitchen window.
- Anne revealed her fears to John of her suspicions that Paulo was monitoring her - she had checked the house and found a camera.
- Paulo's obsession with Anne extended to him sending threatening messages to John using a fake Facebook account. The account Paulo contacted was completely private to John and the only other person that knew about it was Anne.
- Just weeks prior to Anne's death Paulo paid a male associate of his £100.00 to drive him around in a car so he could follow John – the associate was under the

misapprehension they were trying to catch Paulo's wife cheating on him – the driver took his two small children with him in the back of the car on this journey. The testimony from John revealed the following: Paulo waited outside John's work and when John drove away Paulo and the driver followed him to a supermarket. As John went inside the supermarket Paulo got out of the car and waited in the car park for him. Paulo ran back to the car as John approached Paulo. Paulo and the driver continued to follow him.

- John realised that he was being followed and called the police, he was able to give the registration details of the car and was told to go to the local police station. At the station John told the officer about being followed and shared the threatening messages he had received on Facebook. At that point Paulo and the driver drove past the police station and John pointed this out to officers who followed the car and stopped the vehicle.
- The police spoke to Paulo who denied any allegation of following John and told the officer: *"it must be a complete misunderstanding."* Due to the two small children in the back of the vehicle the police assessed the situation and allowed the driver and Paulo to leave without further enquiry.
- The next day Anne messaged Paulo about him following John. Paulo denied this and suggested that John was lying about being followed. It was at this stage that Anne told John she needed to move away and find another job. Paulo was listening to and tracking Anne in various ways and the evidence put forward by the prosecution at court suggested Paulo must have been aware that his time of living with Anne was coming to an end.
- During this time Paulo's internet searches revealed the following:
 - 'How to make a woman fall in love with you.'
 - 'Does Viagra make women want sex'
 - 'What can arouse woman's desire for sex'

- Paulo also messaged Anne telling her he wanted to have a child with her, and Anne told him clearly that she saw no future with him stating, *“it’s just friends for me”*. Anne also told Paulo she wanted to move away.
- In late December 2022 Anne and John enjoyed an evening together whilst Paulo was at work on a nightshift. During his shift Paulo used the Micromax device and the spy plug to listen into Anne and John. The evidence revealed that he had ear plugs in at work and that he tapped and looked at his phone or adjusted his ear plugs over 300 times.
- In the early hours of the morning Anne said goodbye to John as she wanted John to leave before Paulo got home - she didn’t know what his reaction would be to seeing John in the house. John told the police that Anne was happy when he left, and this was the last time he saw his girlfriend.
- Shortly after Paulo arrived home, he launched a brutal attack on Anne, stabbing her multiple times. Evidence reveals that he used other objects in Anne’s room to hit her including a fan and a hairdryer. Forensics also evidenced Paulo’s semen was found on Anne’s body. The judge observed Paulo’s sexual gratification from the murder, noting just prior to the attack Paulo carried out several google searches on his phone, including:
 - *‘Uber for prostitutes’;*
 - *‘Does Viagra make women want sex’;*
 - *‘What can arouse women’s desire for sex’.*
- During the attack on Anne Paulo sustained a cut on his hand. The day after the murder Paulo went to a local chemist on the bus to get bandages. Whilst he was at the chemist the CCTV revealed that Paulo was still checking the spy camera placed outside Anne’s bedroom.
- John was calling and sending Anne messages in the day, and he later told police he became increasingly worried for her as she always used to message back or answer her calls to him. Some of the calls were rejected by Anne’s phone. John

became so concerned that he drove over to Anne's house late that night, but there was no response.

- After Paulo had murdered Anne, he stayed in the house with her body. He sent fake messages to her phone pretending he was out shopping, he also rejected incoming calls to Anne's phone.
- Paulo eventually called the police approximately 24 hours later, stating he had just found Anne's body – Paulo made an audio recording of his call to the police.
- Paulo would go on to accuse John of murdering Anne, not only telling the police this but also sending a letter to John's workplace telling them John had killed Anne.
- Despite his proclamations of innocence Paulo was found guilty of murdering Anne and sentenced to 25 years in prison in January 2024.

12.1 Reflections from family and friends

Due to the lack of agency data, the panel reached out to as many people as possible to gain any further information that could be useful for the review. In addition to speaking to Anne's mum and brother, the chair of the panel wrote to a number of other people to ask their views on the timeline of events. These included:

- Three of Anne's friends
- Anne's boyfriend John
- Anne's employer
- Paulo's employer

One of Anne's friends kindly replied to the chair, and they spoke over the phone. This enabled the following interpretations and reflections regarding the timeline from Anne's friend, her mum, and her brother:

Anne's friend

Anne's friend gave this description of her:

Anne was so lovely; she was always happy and never had anything bad to say about anyone. Anne loved her dogs, and her animals so much. I just remember that even if she had no job, she always had a smile and was happy for everyone else when they were doing well. (Anne's friend)

Anne's friend had known her for 13 years and became aware of Paulo in the last eight to nine years of Anne's life.

Anne's friend gave the following reflections on Paulo:

He was harmless, quiet, and initially had quite broken English, but that improved. I always thought he was a bit weird, and I thought he maybe was a bit controlling behind closed doors. I noticed as well how 'tech savvy' he was; he could put together a completely broken iPhone. Every time Anne moved, he seemed to move nearer to her, he would cook at hers and just be there all the time. During COVID I know she was struggling to pay her rent, and he was there a lot, I think his suggestion of moving in together was him trying to be seen to help Anne out. Anne did say that whenever she was in the bath he would sit outside the door and knock repeatedly on the door, when she would come out of the bathroom he would just be sat outside and she would tell him to go away all the time, but she described Paulo as "harmless". When I heard what had happened, I thought straight away it was Paulo that had killed her, the fact he showed absolutely no remorse during the trial was just awful. (Anne's friend)

Anne's mum and brother:

Anne's mum and brother also observed that Paulo seemed harmless. Anne's mum reflected that Anne was a very private and independent person, she never wanted to worry her mum. Both Anne's mum and brother said it was quite hard to give any indicative events on the timeline because there was absolutely nothing that concerned them about Paulo, and Anne mentioned nothing to either of them.

Anne's mum gave the following thoughts:

Anne met Paulo at work. She started talking to him because he was on his own and she was just like that, she always looked after the waifs and strays and never liked to

see anyone without friends. I met Paulo about five or six years ago, and I always found him to be very quiet and shy, he would only speak to me when I spoke to him and sometimes if he came to the house, I would ask him questions because otherwise he would just sit there saying nothing. There was no issue with his English though, so I don't think that was the issue, he was just shy. Anne never thought she wasn't in control, and she wasn't scared of him, she just thought that Paulo was annoying, and she would tell him to leave her alone and go away all the time. Anne wasn't someone that would mince her words, she was short, sharp, and blunt when she felt she needed to be.

I did notice that whatever she liked to do Paulo also all of a sudden liked too, he was weird like that, for example Anne loved twitching and so he took it up as well, and during COVID he went with her on loads of bike rides. I think the suggestion of them moving in together was something he played on, not just because of the bills but because a house meant a garden and for Anne that meant access to wildlife, and she loved animals so much. In fact, she had only been in the house two weeks before she managed to get the neighbours to raise the fence so the hedgehogs could get in.

Anne mentioned towards the end of her life that there was some conflict between Paulo and John, and Anne was concerned that Paulo would tell John's wife that they were in a relationship. (Anne's mum)

Anne's brother corroborated his mum's account and added the following additional observations:

Paulo wasn't significant in Anne's life, she barely mentioned him, he was just a friend she lived with but not important in the way her boyfriend was who she mentioned to me as soon as they started seeing each other. Although I think Anne wanted to get away from Paulo and move jobs it wasn't because she was frightened of him, it was more about getting out of London because of house prices. (Anne's brother)

Anne's mum, brother, and friend gave suggestions on recommendations which are reflected in section 13 and section 15.

13. Analysis

The benefit of hindsight enables the Chair and the panel to analyse if different decisions or actions could have acted as a catalyst for support for Anne or interventions for Paulo. This analysis is based on information provided in the chronology data, and perhaps more importantly Anne's family and one of her friends, who provided a more accurate context for a holistic perspective of the situation.

It is unusual to have such limited agency data within a review, however, this goes some way to revealing how skilled Paulo was in his stalking behaviour, the true extent of which was only discovered after he murdered Anne. This also speaks to the lack of awareness on what constitutes stalking behaviours from a victim's perspective, because although Anne was aware of some of Paulo's behaviours, and her friends commented on his obsession of her, none of them were aware that his actions could constitute stalking and would warrant a report to the police or the support of specialist stalking services. It is with this mindset the author approached the analysis section of the review.

13.1 Coercive and Controlling Behaviour and Stalking

Relevant TOR points:

- Consider how (and if knowledge of) all forms of domestic abuse (including the non-physical types like stalking and coercive control) are understood by the local community at large (with particular focus on reporting stalking) – including family, friends, and statutory and voluntary organisations. This is to also ensure that the dynamics of coercive control/stalking are also fully explored.

- Whether organisations are alert to and aware of all forms of stalking, including cyber stalking.

Although it is important to recognise that any intimate relationship between Anne and Paulo was very brief, the perception of their romantic connection was entirely different from their counter perspectives. Anne confided in her friend that she had slept with Paulo

a few times and regretted it. She was also very direct with Paulo about her feelings, and he could be in absolutely no doubt that she did not want anything other than a friendship with him. As noted by her mum, Anne would tell Paulo to go away repeatedly, and this was corroborated by the messages revealed during the investigation and subsequent court case. For example, when Paulo continued to pursue a romantic relationship with Anne years after they were intimate, she told him directly:

“I knew it was a mistake the first time we went to bed...I shouldn’t have done it.”

The chair was able to view an exhibit from the police investigation, which catalogued the relevant messages between Paulo and Anne dating back to 2015. Having read the evidence in full the chair was able to see how clear Anne was with Paulo about her feelings and how many times she rebutted his advances. Anne would often point out to Paulo how controlling he was being about who she spent time with and what she was doing with her life. To punish her Paulo would turn off the camera to view the hedgehogs (the hog cam) – threatening permanent removal unless Anne:

“gave him answers”

Anne would also have to request the password and login details to the Netflix account, and it was clear Paulo used his advanced technical ability to dictate, remove, and/ or punish Anne from accessing devices, simply for not wanting to be with him.

The through line between coercive and controlling behaviour (CCB) and stalking is notable to track in cases where ex-intimate partners develop an obsession with their victim. There are many behaviours that constitute CCB, and they are generally designed to make a victim feel isolated and subordinate, although Paulo did not succeed in making Anne feel subordinate, it is important to reflect that Paulo did subject Anne to common examples¹⁵ of CCB which include but are not limited to:

- monitoring their time

¹⁵ <https://www.cps.gov.uk/legal-guidance/controlling-or-coercive-behaviour-intimate-or-family-relationship>

- monitoring a person via online communication tools or using spyware
- using digital systems such as smart devices or social media to coerce, control, or upset the victim including posting triggering material.

Importantly CCB legislation explains the offence occurs when the victim and the offender are ‘personally connected’, an example¹⁶ of which includes:

- they are, or have been, in an intimate personal relationship with each other.

Notably ‘intimate personal relationship’ is not defined in statute, and the CPS guidance explains that whilst many intimate relationships will involve sexual contact it is not a requirement. In addition, the acknowledgement of the similarities and overlaps of CCB and stalking behaviours is noted within the legislative guidance:

There is overlap in some elements of the offences of CCB, stalking and harassment. Monitoring a person’s movement or social media may constitute both stalking and CCB; controlling who they meet and when they leave the house may constitute both harassment and CCB¹⁷.

Although there is currently no statutory definition, experts define stalking in the following ways:

“a pattern of **fixated** and **obsessive** behaviour which is **repeated, persistent, intrusive** and causes fear of violence or engenders alarm and distress in the victim”.

The Suzy Lamplugh Trust¹⁸

OR

“A one-sided attempt to create or sustain a close relationship.”

¹⁶ <https://www.cps.gov.uk/legal-guidance/controlling-or-coercive-behaviour-intimate-or-family-relationship>

¹⁷ <https://www.cps.gov.uk/legal-guidance/controlling-or-coercive-behaviour-intimate-or-family-relationship>

¹⁸ [https://www.suzylamplugh.org/what-is-stalking#:~:text=Suzy%20Lamplugh%20Trust%20defines%20stalking,'](https://www.suzylamplugh.org/what-is-stalking#:~:text=Suzy%20Lamplugh%20Trust%20defines%20stalking,)

i.e. – The imposition of a relationship where one would otherwise not exist¹⁹?

Stalking and harassment offences can be found in sections 2, 2A, 4, and 4A of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997²⁰, the definitions of stalking include the following:

2A offence (Stalking without Fear/Alarm/Distress)

A course of conduct that amounts to stalking. Summary only offence

4A offence

A course of conduct which causes another to fear that violence will be used against them. A course of conduct which causes another serious alarm or distress which has a substantial adverse effect on his or her usual day-to-day activities. Either way offence

The College of Policing guide²¹ officers to remember the mnemonic **FOUR** to identify whether a case is stalking or harassment:

- **Fixated**
- **Obsessed**
- **Unwanted**
- **Repeated**

The CPS guidance²² sets out examples that constitute stalking, and whilst this is not an exhaustive list it is relevant to many of Paulo's stalking behaviours as can be evidenced below:

[CPS guidance example 1 - following a person.](#)

We know that during the last few weeks of Anne's life Paulo followed John. Having paid an associate £100.00 to follow John in a car, Paulo waited outside John's work one

¹⁹ Emerson et al (1998, cited by Mullen, Pathe and Purcell, 2000)

²⁰ <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1997/40/contents>

²¹ <https://library.college.police.uk/docs/college-of-policing/Stalking-and-Harassment-2020.pdf>

²² <https://www.cps.gov.uk/legal-guidance/stalking-or-harassment>

evening and they followed him to a supermarket where he got out of the car and watched John. When John realised, he was being followed he called the police and was advised to go straight to the police station. It is there that he shared his concerns, alongside the online harassment that he had been receiving via his private Facebook account. Paulo was so confident and determined in his behaviour he directed his acquaintance to drive past the police station. The police subsequently stopped the vehicle and spoke to Paulo who denied following John, the police allowed them to drive away without any further inquiries. This is the only identifiable missed opportunity by an agency to explore the situation further and could have possibly led to further investigation and use of the aforementioned College of Policing guide²³. By utilising the mnemonic **FOUR** it may have prompted further interrogation about John, subsequently Anne's, experience of Paulo.

In relation to the driver, it is important to note that recruiting others to collude with the stalking is evidenced in research by leading stalking expert Lorraine Sheridan via a US study²⁴, which revealed 40% of stalkers were helped by a friend and or family member.

[CPS guidance example 2 - contacting, or attempting to contact, a person by any means.](#)

Paulo consistently contacted Anne via phone and text message, and if she did not reply he would relentlessly persist. In the last months of her life Paulo became increasingly angry when Anne did not reply to these messages, accusing her of being with John. Anne warned her friends not to talk about anyone she was dating in front of Paulo, which evidences Anne had to change her normal behaviour and routine to appease him.

[CPS guidance example 3 - publishing any statement or other material relating or purporting to relate to a person or purporting to originate from a person.](#)

Although Paulo did not publish material purporting to be either Anne or John, he did send a vexatious email to their employer pretending to be the partner a woman who worked at the company and insinuated that John was making sexual advances at this 'partner'. Paulo did not state who this fictitious partner was during this targeted campaign, but he

²³ <https://library.college.police.uk/docs/college-of-policing/Stalking-and-Harassment-2020.pdf>

²⁴ <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2311.00204>

did enough to make things uncomfortable for Anne at work and point a finger of blame at John. Later Paulo sent another email to Anne and John's workplace suggesting they should test employees for drugs. Anne was a recreational cannabis user and during the police investigation the employer noted that this accusation caused Anne a lot of distress. Ultimately it could have cost Anne her job and Paulo knew this.

Paulo also sent Anne abusive text messages, from a fake account, pretending to be John's wife.

[CPS guidance example 4 - monitoring the use by a person of the internet, email, or any other form of electronic communication.](#)

Paulo's extensive use of electronic devices to monitor Anne was incredibly sinister. When the chair spoke to Anne's friend, she stated that Paulo was very technically advanced, and we now know he utilised his expertise to hack into Anne's phone and her Facebook account. Anne knew this because she had misspelt John's name in her phone and when Paulo sent the email into their workplace he spelt John's name in the same way.

[CPS guidance example 5 - loitering in any place \(whether public or private\)](#)

As referenced above, Paulo followed John at the end of the relationship, but Anne also accused him of creeping around outside the house and staring through the kitchen window. Anne also described to friends that Paulo would sit outside the bathroom whilst she had a bath and repeatedly knock and try to get in. Anne would continuously tell him to go away but when she opened the door to the bathroom Paulo would be sat there waiting for her.

[CPS guidance example 6 - interfering with any property in the possession of a person](#)

The extent to which Paulo interfered with Anne's property cannot be fully known; however we can glean from his behaviour that he monitored Anne's daily activities. An example of his interference with Anne's property includes the obvious monitoring of her phone and social media, however, the swiftness with which he ensured the camera used

for Anne's love of watching hedgehogs in her garden, gives an indication of the extent of Paulo's desire to control any device that would give him some kind of access to her – as previously stated we also know that he cut the access to the 'hog cam' when he became angry with Anne as a way of punishing her.

Ultimately Paulo had knowledge and access because he knew Anne well and had been friends with her for such a long time. They worked near each other and spent a lot of time socially together, especially during COVID19 lockdown periods (see section 13.4). When Paulo suggested to Anne, they move in together he knew she was struggling financially – and this gave Paulo perhaps the biggest opportunity to monitor, interfere with, and control Anne's life and possessions.

CPS guidance example 7 - watching or spying on a person

Data from the Office of National Statistics for 2023/24²⁵ evidence approximately 42% of victims reported that the stalking had involved online methods, like using electronic communications. The impact of digital stalking is not lessened because it is online and the behaviours are not distinct from other forms of stalking, they should be seen as a course of conduct in line with all other stalking behaviours. Research²⁶ by the Suzy Lamplugh Trust²⁷ revealed that 75% of stalking cases involve both offline and online conduct.

As already evidenced, Paulo's extensive use of spy ware during his campaign of stalking meant he had access to Anne anytime of the day or night. He had both a listening device in the house which he monitored, especially when John was visiting - informing Anne that he had listened to them have sex - and he also had a spy camera device trained on Anne's bedroom.

There is no way of knowing whether Paulo had previously used any software to monitor or spy on Anne in any of the other properties she lived in, but if he had wanted to place a

²⁵

[https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/ifeellikeiamlivingsomeoneelseslifeoneinsevenpeopleavictimofstalking/2024-09-26#:~:text=Women%20are%20more%20likely%20to%20be%20a%20victim&text=One%20in%20five%20women%20\(20.2,was%20a%20victim%20of%20stalking](https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/ifeellikeiamlivingsomeoneelseslifeoneinsevenpeopleavictimofstalking/2024-09-26#:~:text=Women%20are%20more%20likely%20to%20be%20a%20victim&text=One%20in%20five%20women%20(20.2,was%20a%20victim%20of%20stalking)

²⁶ <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/unmasking-stalking-a-changing-landscape-report>

²⁷ <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/what-we-do>

listening device and or camera in any of her homes, he would have had the opportunity to do this. When Paulo and Anne moved in together this undoubtedly gave him the opportunity to place cameras, listening devices and spy ware wherever he wanted, giving him full access to monitor her 24/7.

As the timeline data revealed when he was in Goa on holiday Paulo spent up to 5 hours a day listening to Anne, resulting in an escalation in his behaviour both in terms of sending emails to her workplace and monitoring Anne and John's Facebook accounts.

The police investigation gave us many insights into how much Paulo accessed the spy ware he had in place in the house. On the night before the murder, on a night shift, Paulo tapped his phone and/or adjusted his ear plugs over 300 times. Perhaps the most sinister recording of Paulo checking his phone to monitor Anne was when he attended the chemist because of the cut on his hand and the investigation revealed he was accessing his phone to view the camera feed outside her bedroom. This was after he had murdered Anne.

CCB and stalking legislation is deliberately similar - ensuring offenders like Paulo can be investigated and convicted of either one or both crimes. Having viewed the case in detail the panel felt the most appropriate route to justice had Anne ever felt able to access support, would be through stalking legislation. However, with the lack of agency data available we cannot know what the responses would have been like if Anne had spoken to any specialist stalking organisations or reported Paulo's behaviour to the police.

The panel were more confident of the professional knowledge around CCB, but the complexities of stalking and the responses needed were less well understood in Hillingdon, and because of the lack of resources for the specialist stalking sector and the inadequate responses in the criminal justice system this picture is reflected nationally²⁸.

For legislation to protect victims and bring offenders to account, people need to be aware of what constitutes stalking and or CCB. On its most basic level Anne knew that Paulo was monitoring her, and her loved one's thought that his behaviour was 'controlling' and

²⁸ <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/national-stalking-awareness-week-2024>

‘weird’. But none of them were aware that Paulo was committing a serious criminal offence, neither were they aware that the context of his behaviour placed Anne at significant risk of serious harm or murder. Had she, her friends, or her family been made aware of that risk they reassured the chair that they would have reported to the police.

The chair of the panel met with an investigating officer in MPS to discuss the case, and his observations were insightful. He pointed out that although on the face of it the cyber stalking tools may seem advanced, the software Paulo used is not complicated and very easily accessible. The devices were purchased on eBay and Amazon, and although the platform Paulo used to send text messages to Anne purporting to be John’s wife may take the user longer to set up it was very accessible once the initial set up was complete.

The representative from MPS noted the slow build of the situation for Anne, and although she knew Paulo was monitoring her and spying on her to some degree, the incremental nature of stalking in this context – combined with the general lack of awareness or support - meant neither Anne nor her friends were able to understand the risk Paulo posed or the remedies available should she decide to report. This also points to a younger generation of the community who are used to incorporating tracking devices, and online monitoring, in their everyday existence – in many cases it isn’t sinister – parents track their children via safe apps, and in turn groups of friends track each other via social media and tagging. Whilst the use of these tools is done to minimise risk it has also normalised amongst younger people; and although Anne was in her late 30s, the MPS officer did note that she lived a young life and therefore her routine use of these tools and thus Paulo’s behaviour may be very different to other people her age, or older generations.

The fact that Paulo appeared to pose no physical threat to Anne is a misnomer in terms of risk. Clare Bernal was stalked and murdered by a man she had been on a handful of dates with in 2005. Clare had met the offender, Michael Pech, whilst working at Harvey Nicols in London when he was a security guard. After Clare made it clear to Pech, she was not interested in pursuing a relationship with him, he began a campaign of stalking against her. The timeline of the risk escalation for Clare was swift, within months of meeting Pech, he had murdered her. Although Anne knew Paulo for years prior to the murder, there are similarities in Pech and Paulo’s motivations (see section 13.3). Notably

Clare's mother, Tricia Bernal, describes²⁹ how they did not understand the risk Clare was in, and had she known they would have done more to protect Clare.

Professionals and victims are routinely looking for evidence of physical injury to assess risk, but as was the case with Clare and with Anne, the first physically violent incident was the fatal one – it is therefore of paramount importance that professionals and the general public are made more aware of the risks of stalking behaviours and supported to get specialist help and advice.

13.2 Barriers to reporting.

Relevant TOR point:

Determine if there were any barriers the victim or her family/friends faced in both reporting domestic abuse or stalking and accessing services.

Hindsight is a luxury that is ill afforded to victims and their families, and it is clear that neither Anne or any of her loved ones could have predicted or foreseen the final outcome of Paulo's growing obsession, fixation, and ultimate rage towards her. Anne's mum and brother explained to the chair of the review that Anne was not afraid of Paulo:

She just felt she was in control, but obviously she wasn't. (Anne's mum)

She wasn't frightened of him. (Anne's brother)

There were some touch points where had Anne or her loved one's been made more aware of the risks associated with stalking they could have reached out for help and advice or reported the stalking to the police. When the chair spoke to Anne's friend she explained:

²⁹ <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1216578/Mothers-heartbreak-Why-daughter-saved-chances.html>

It wouldn't even occur to me to tell her to call the police, or to call them myself, but I knew he was weird, and I knew straight away it was him that killed her. (Anne's friend)

Anne knew that Paulo was monitoring her and latterly John, and had she been aware of the context of stalking and the services available she could have been offered support by the police and or specialist agencies. The only report to the police came from John and this was dealt with swiftly. However, research reveals³⁰ that victims of stalking experience on average 100 incidents before they report to the police, therefore the fact that John was concerned enough to go straight to the police is noteworthy. Although we cannot know whether the response from the police to John's report had an impact on Anne or John's perception of criminal justice responses, it is not outside the realms of possibility to assume that if the police had taken the report more seriously, it may have led to Anne disclosing other incidents, including the fact that she thought Paulo was listening to her and that she had found a camera in the house. The police have specialist officers who are adept at finding hidden spy ware and often in cases of stalking, victims are not fully aware of the extent to which they are being monitored. It is often not until the police gain access to search a victim's property that hidden spy ware is found, and given Anne lived with Paulo the police would not have been required to secure any warrant to search the house.

The panel requested information from the Hillingdon Domestic Abuse Advocacy Service³¹ (HDAAS) to understand their responses to stalking within their client group. HDAAS confirmed that stalking is flagged and highlighted on the standard Domestic Abuse Stalking and Harassment (DASH)³² risk assessment form. When stalking is a feature of the abuse the victim has a safety plan which responds to risk, but within the DASH stalking is not flagged above any other types of harm or risk. This is a standard approach for domestic abuse related organisations across the country, although there are further risk assessments available to assess need and risk within the domestic

³⁰ <https://veritas-justice.co.uk/what-is-stalking/#:~:text=Research%20conducted%20by%20Lorraine%20Sheridan,for%20how%20common%20stalking%20is.>

³¹ <https://www.hillingdon.gov.uk/article/11408/Hillingdon-Domestic-Abuse-Advocacy-Service-HDAAS>

³² <https://safelives.org.uk/resources-library/dash-risk-checklist/>

abuse sector, including a specific stalking DASH³³ the need to prioritise different risks and respond to the complexities of stalking as a crime is reserved for the specialist stalking sector, rather than the domestic abuse sector. Moreover, from Anne's perspective it is unlikely she would have thought to contact a domestic abuse agency to seek support, given Paulo was not and had never been her partner. In fact, victims like Anne may avoid contacting domestic abuse agencies altogether, as the insinuation gives legitimacy to the notion that they are in some way connected romantically to the person harassing them – in turn this validates the stalkers obsession.

When the Government introduced the Victims Bill in 2023, the National Stalking Consortium recommended³⁴ Independent Stalking Advocates (ISAs) as a key element of support for victims. The consortium notes that professionals across the criminal justice system (CJS) and other agencies lack the specialist training and knowledge of stalking behaviours, and when reported these behaviours are often seen in isolation as one-off occurrences, thus they may not appear to be a course of criminal conduct. This is further supported by the research of Sheridan who explains that stalking is really about the motivation for the behaviour rather than the behaviour itself and in many cases, it involves the targeted repetition of otherwise ordinary or routine acts³⁵.

Paulo repeatedly pleaded with Anne to be with him romantically; his obsession became so routine for Anne that she understandably felt she had control of the situation – she also told Paulo to move out. We now know the prospect of them not living together combined with Anne's continued rejection of his advances, and her clear commitment to John, saw a huge escalation and risk from Paulo to Anne. What Anne needed was a safe, planned exit strategy to move away from Paulo - she simply wasn't aware of that fact.

Specialist ISAs can help victims in a plethora of ways³⁶, by acting as the conduit between agencies and the victim, and they can assist in raising awareness by leading campaigns in local areas - ensuring that more victims come forward to report stalking:

³³ <https://www.paladinservice.co.uk/dash-risk-assessment>

³⁴ <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/an-advocate-for-every-victim-independent-stalking-advocates-isas-in-the-victim-and-prisoners-bill>

³⁵ <http://ereserve.library.utah.edu/Annual/SOC/3561/Melton/soc3561stal.pdf>

³⁶ <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/an-advocate-for-every-victim-independent-stalking-advocates-isas-in-the-victim-and-prisoners-bill>

I think if we'd have known more about how to support Anne or if we could be more aware of understanding how easy it is for someone to track and monitor you, it might help more victims in the future. (Anne's friend)

13.3 Offender

Relevant TOR point:

Whether there were any barriers to interventions that could have been made with the offender over the review timeline period.

The chair of the panel reached out to Paulo's current OM to assuage whether any previous relationships of Paulo's posed any useful insights for the review panel. Paulo had shared that he had a brief relationship whilst he was in Goa, but they went their separate ways; in addition, he stated he had a relationship with a woman in the UK, but it was non-sexual. This limited data did not reveal any notable learning points, and the OM confirmed the information shared could not be corroborated and was only taken from what Paulo had divulged himself. The panel are however grateful for the OM sharing the information.

As a result, and given the limited agency data and the aforementioned analysis regarding the lack of awareness in reporting stalking it is difficult to assess what interventions could have been made in relation to Paulo, however, it is vital to analyse what we do know.

Typologies

Stalkers do not easily fit into any one type, but clinical experts³⁷ have offered descriptions and motivations for some behaviours. The Rejected Stalker is the most common type of

³⁷ <https://www.stalkingriskprofile.com/about>

stalker, they are also the most dangerous and most likely to be violent. Paulo would readily fit into this category, and experts place stalkers into this typology when there has been any sign of previous intimacy:

The Rejected Stalker³⁸ is a type of stalking that occurs when a close relationship has broken down. Typically, the victim is a former sexual partner, but family members, close friends, or others with a strong emotional connection to the stalker can also be targeted. The initial motivation of the Rejected stalker is usually one of two things: either attempting to reconcile the relationship or seeking revenge for a perceived rejection. In some cases, the stalker may have mixed feelings about the victim, vacillating between wanting to restore the relationship and wanting to inflict harm. For some, the stalking behavior may serve as a substitute for the past relationship, allowing the stalker to maintain a sense of closeness with the victim. For others, the behavior may serve to boost their damaged self-esteem and improve their self-image.

In addition, Paulo could arguably be assessed as engaging in one of the other five typologies, namely **Intimacy Seeker**:

Intimacy seeking stalking arises out of a context of loneliness and a lack of a close confidante. Victims are usually strangers or acquaintances who become the target of the stalker's desire for a relationship. Frequently Intimacy Seeking stalkers' behaviour involves delusional beliefs about the victim, such as the belief that they are already in a relationship, even though none exists.

The murder of Gracie Spinks by Michael Sellars³⁹ in June 2021 provides a tragic example of the motivation, escalating anger, and subsequent violence of an intimacy seeker. Sellars became obsessed with Gracie after meeting her at work in April 2020 and she immediately tried to distance herself. Sellars used both online and offline tactics to target Gracie and he recruited others to spy on her and find out where she was. Gracie informed the police of her concerns and a few months before her death Sellars left a '*bag of weapons*' near a field where Gracie kept her horse, this was found by dog walkers and

³⁸ <https://www.stalkingriskprofile.com/what-is-stalking/types-of-stalking>

³⁹ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-derbyshire-67440814>

reported to the police. However, despite Sellars previously targeting seven female colleagues, the risk to Gracie was not recognised. Sellars risk to the women he targeted and his anger towards Gracie, his eighth known victim, was apparent, and the trial judge noted the level of violence Sellars used against Gracie was *'beyond comprehension'*.

Similarly to Paulo, and the aforementioned case of Pech, Sellars is additionally an example of a murderer where the first violent incident was the fatal one.

The panel's stalking expert observed the following:

Paulo became obsessed post intimacy which categorises him as a 'rejected stalker', but what we don't know is whether or not he was obsessed with Anne prior to intimacy – which would make him a 'successful intimacy seeker'. Some victims will have no idea they are being stalked and will end up being intimate or enter relationships with their stalker. This could be the case with Paulo as nobody had any idea as to the extent of his obsession and subsequent stalking behaviours. There are cases where people have married their stalker because the stalking behaviour is 'romanticised' rather than understood in its entire sinister reality. (Stalking expert – panel member)

As we know Paulo became obsessed about reconciling the brief intimate relationship he had with Anne, and he pursued this with her for years. It is clear during the last months of Anne's life that Paulo's anger towards Anne was tangible. The fatal incident indicates such rage that Paulo's deep-seated revenge against Anne for rejecting him repeatedly was obvious in his final brutal act against her. But Paulo's contempt for Anne was noticeable in the months leading up to her death, the messages he sent to her pretending to be John's wife were an insight into his mindset and motivation, they included calling her a *'whorebag'* and a *'bitch'* and telling her she would be *'hunted down and destroyed'*. In hindsight the threats and language reveal a dark and sinister tone and ultimately Paulo carried out his threat of *"hunting down"* and *"destroying"* Anne.

It is also clear that Paulo had delusional beliefs about being able to reconcile any past intimacy with Anne, and when the chair spoke to Paulo's offender manager, they noted he was still in denial about murdering Anne – and he also insinuated that he and Anne

were partners. In addition, we know that intimacy seekers engage in the longest duration of stalking against their victims⁴⁰, and rejected stalkers that persist the longest may be the most malicious⁴¹.

Substance Use

We know that Anne raised the issue of Paulo's excessive use of drugs with him on occasion. Academics acknowledge⁴² a gap in research relating to the correlation between problematic substance use and stalking behaviours, interestingly though victims were more likely to report substance use in stalkers than the stalkers would themselves. Further early indications of the, as yet, limited academic literature⁴³ reveal that substance misuse predicts men's stalking violence.

It is important to note that although Anne expressed concern at Paulo's use of substances, there was no indication this impacted on his life, the most obvious of which would be at work. There were therefore no opportunities for professionals to become alert to Paulo's behaviours. Had he sought help at any time for his use of substances, this could have provided an insight into his stalking behaviours, but that would only occur if he was a) willing to admit he had a problem with substances, and b) willing to admit he was obsessed and fixated with Anne – both of these scenarios were unlikely.

Ethnicity

The panel spent some time deliberating the intersection of Paulo's ethnicity to ensure that they had considered all possible compounding factors of his background and any impact this may have had in terms of his behaviours. The chair organised a meeting with a leading national violence against women expert specialising in working with minority

⁴⁰ <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1068316X.2016.1197225>

⁴¹ <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1068316X.2016.1197225>

⁴²

<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S135917892400017X#:~:text=Interestingly%2C%20for%20both%20alcohol%20and,4%20%25%20of%20stalkers%20indicated%20it.>

⁴³ <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0306624X241228977?icid=int.sj-full-text.citing-articles.29>

communities and explained the case in detail. Together the chair and VAWG specialist analysed the following:

- the possible isolation Paulo felt when coming into the country,
- the fact English was not his first language and initially friends of Anne's noticed Paulo's English was broken (although his English did improve significantly).
- Anne's mum's observation of the reason why Anne made friends with Paulo was because she noticed he was lonely and sitting on his own at work appearing not to have many friends.

The conversation with the leading expert was incredibly valuable and having analysed the information both the expert and the chair agreed that there was no data that indicated an undue influence of patriarchal culture in Paulo, moreover the specialist expert noted any insinuation that this was a factor could point the review in the direction of making excuses for Paulo's behaviour under racial bias. With the information the panel have to hand there are no culturally specific behaviours evident, and it is clear that Paulo held down a job, was integrated into the workplace, and ultimately had very good English – this was evidenced in his written English which was viewed by the chair and was exemplary. It is the view of the expert, the chair, and the panel, that Paulo had the same motivations as any stalker and his ethnicity made no definitive difference to that fact.

Interventions for stalkers

Programmes⁴⁴ to address stalking behaviours are in their infancy internationally, however, there are some interventions⁴⁵ being piloted⁴⁶ across the UK – albeit currently unregulated. Although we cannot know if any of these programmes would have worked with Paulo, it is important to keep abreast of developments in these areas of work to assess what may reduce stalking behaviours in offenders in the future and thus reduce harm to victims.

⁴⁴ <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/pages/category/multi-agency-stalking-intervention-programme>

⁴⁵ <https://interventionsalliance.com/services/crime-and-harm-prevention/reducing-stalking/>

⁴⁶ <https://www.college.police.uk/support-forces/practices/early-awareness-stalking-intervention>

13.4 COVID19 lockdown, Escalation, and Access

Relevant TOR point:

Whether COVID19 had any impact in the case

As with previous analysis the following section does not address any impact of the COVID19 pandemic in agency responses, but the lockdown period does necessitate reflection of Anne and Paulo's relationship and what it may have meant in terms of access and escalation.

The chair noted that Anne's mum and friend both mentioned the lockdown period and the subsequent COVID bubble⁴⁷ that Paulo and Anne formed together during that time. Anne's friend noted that the lockdown period meant that Anne and Paulo spent a lot more time together. Anne's mum recalled seeing her after a period of lockdown, and she had lost a significant amount of weight. When her mum mentioned this Anne told her that she had been cycling everywhere with Paulo. As previously mentioned in section 12.1 Anne's mum reflected to the chair that whatever Anne wanted to do Paulo would suddenly be interested in as well, and cycling was one of those examples.

The panel wanted to analyse Anne's weight loss further to ensure there were no indicators to health agencies that she was struggling with anything. The panel member for the ICB reached out to Anne's GP who checked the records and noted there were no appointments for Anne in relation to weight loss and there was nothing in the records to suggest any stress at home.

We do know the pandemic meant that many people, especially women⁴⁸, struggled financially, and Anne was no different in that aspect. It was during this time that Anne lost

⁴⁷ <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/making-a-support-bubble-with-another-household#:~:text=Once%20you're%20in%20a,if%20you%20are%20in%20one.>

⁴⁸ <https://www.bma.org.uk/advice-and-support/covid-19/what-the-bma-is-doing/the-impact-of-the-pandemic-on-population-health-and-health-inequalities#:~:text=People's%20experience%20during%20the%20pandemic,financial%20losses%20and%20employment%20insecurity.>

her job, and she had to spend all her savings to keep afloat, this left her struggling to pay her rent, and gave Paulo an opportunity to suggest they house share. Anne's mum noted:

She was so good with money, and really independent, I know that time was really hard for her. There is also no way she would have considered moving in together unless Paulo had suggested it. (Anne's mum)

Ultimately the pandemic meant that Paulo had unlimited access in spending time with Anne, and this has the potential to have increased his obsession of her. Additionally, research evidences⁴⁹ the lockdown periods gave stalkers, who were already deeply invested, time and opportunity to modify their behaviours, particularly in relation to cyber stalking. It is common sense to note the lockdown period meant Paulo had Anne's company pretty much to himself during that time, and the move to a shared property may have been a motivation on his part to continue that isolated access.

However, after the pandemic Anne moved on with her life, she got a new job, and lived independently from Paulo. She continued to repeatedly state her clear desire to have only a platonic relationship with Paulo and she subsequently met and fell in love with John. This meant that despite the move to a shared property Paulo's loss of control saw the stalking escalate exponentially and it ultimately drove him to murder Anne.

14. Key findings and Conclusions

In line with the above analysis and the TOR aims the key findings and conclusions are as follows:

14.1 Stalking and Coercive Control:

- Paulo exhibited extensive stalking behaviours, including monitoring Anne's movements, hacking her phone, and installing spyware in their shared home.

⁴⁹ <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10896-020-00201-0>

- Anne consistently rejected Paulo's advances and was unaware of the full extent of his stalking.

14.2 Barriers to Reporting:

- Neither Anne nor her friends and family recognised or were aware of the severity of Paulo's behavior or categorised it as stalking.
- There was a lack of awareness about the risks associated with stalking and the available support services.

14.3 Impact of COVID-19:

- The pandemic lockdowns increased Paulo's access to Anne, as they formed a support bubble and later moved in together.
- Anne's financial struggles during the pandemic meant Paulo took advantage of the opportunity and led Anne into the decision to share a house with him, which gave him greater access and his stalking behaviours escalated.

14.4 Professional and Community Awareness:

- There is a need for improved understanding and recognition of stalking behaviours among professionals and the community, both locally and nationally.
- The local Domestic Abuse Partnership's strategy includes some training on stalking, but more comprehensive awareness and support are needed.

15 Recommendations

It is sometimes tempting to over complicate recommendations within reviews, however, Paulo's stalking behaviours and his deliberate act of murdering Anne offer us the simplest of actions to develop the knowledge and recognition of stalking as a crime both

in the area of Hillingdon and nationally. Having read the final version of the review, Anne’s mum and brother were supportive of the overall approach, in addition they contributed their own suggestions towards the recommendations, which are incorporated below.

The panel hope the following recommendations offer a pathway of exploration, both to honour Anne’s vibrant life, and to protect victims now and in the future.

15.1 Single Agency Recommendations:

There are no single agency recommendations for this review.

15.2 Multi-Agency Recommendations:

Recommendation: Seek to ensure that the community of Hillingdon are able to recognise stalkers behaviours, making them more aware of the crime of stalking and its consequences.

Outputs/Outcome: -

- Link to National Stalking Awareness week April 2025 and promote the material produced via this campaign.
- Invite local businesses to join the campaign and promote amongst their workforces.
- Invite nighttime economy venues to display posters and support material in their venues.
- Increased reports of stalking into MPS and specialist services

Recommendation: Seek to ensure that professionals are able to recognise and respond to stalking behaviours

Outputs/Outcome: -

- Delivery of 4 specialised stalking training sessions per annum (PA) over a two-year period from April 2025 – inclusive of risks associated with stalking and awareness of online and offline behaviours.

- 250 to 500 professionals trained across multi-agency partners PA.
- Multi-agency partners will be better equipped to respond to stalking victims and identify/share risks associated with offenders
- MPS to feedback on stalking crime data and progress made in Hillingdon since Anne's death

Recommendation: CSP to ensure advocacy services are trained and equipped to support victims of stalking within their services and recognise the risks of stalking offenders. In addition, promotion and awareness raising of national stalking advocacy and support services should be disseminated amongst professionals and public.

Outputs/Outcome: -

- Professionals working in advocacy services will understand the unique risks and dynamics of stalking victims and perpetrators.
- Public and professional promotion and awareness of Paladin National Stalking Advocacy Service⁵⁰, and the National Stalking Helpline⁵¹.
- Victims who are being stalked by ex/intimate partners will get the specialist support they need from advocacy services.
- Victims who are being stalked by non-intimate ex/partners will have access to national services.

Recommendation: CSP feedback to Anne's family on the progress of the recommendations above.

Outputs/Outcome: -

- Provide a progress update on the recommendations above to Anne's family, within one calendar year of publication of review.

⁵⁰ <https://www.paladinservice.co.uk/>

⁵¹ <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/forms/national-stalking-helpline-enquiry-form>

15.3 National recommendations:

Recommendation: Review to be sent to national stalking consortium, the Suzy Lamplugh Trust, and the London Victims Commissioner

Outputs/Outcome: -

- Key stakeholders and experts will be made aware of the unique learning points raised for victims of stalking via this review - including highlighting the need for more academic research into the links and associated risks of stalking offenders' substance use issues.
- National Stalking Consortium to assess whether a statutory review process into deaths related to stalking is an issue to lobby for on behalf of the stalking sector, families, and victims.

16. Action Plan

Multi-Agency Action Plan

Focus	Recommendation	Action	Outcome	Lead Agency	Target Date
Community Awareness	Seek to ensure that the community of Hillingdon can recognise stalkers behaviours, making them more aware of the crime of stalking and its consequences.	Link to National Stalking Awareness week April 2025 and promote the material produced via this campaign. Invite local businesses to join the campaign and promote amongst their workforces. Invite nighttime economy venues to display posters and support material in their venues.	Increased reports of stalking into MPS and specialist stalking services Measure: CSP to monitor feedback from stalking victim engagement and reports	CSP	April 2026
Workforce Development	Seek to ensure that professionals can recognise and respond to stalking behaviours	Delivery of 4 specialised stalking training sessions per annum (PA) over a two-year period from April 2025 – inclusive of risks associated with stalking and awareness of online and offline behaviours.	Multi-agency partners will be better equipped to respond to stalking victims and identify/share risks associated with offenders	CSP	Initiate from April 2026

Workforce Development	Explore improvements in stalking crime data	MPS to feedback on stalking crime data and progress made in Hillingdon since Anne's death	Offer reassurance that measures have been made to increase crime reporting and outcomes for victims of stalking Measure: MPS to present at CSP board	MPS/CSP	July 2026
Workforce Development	Local learning event	Use the learning from this review to hold a local learning event in Hillingdon	Accessible webinar to be organised, recorded and disseminated via CSP	CSP	December 2026
Advocacy Services	CSP to ensure advocacy services are trained and equipped to support victims of stalking within their services and recognise the risks of stalking offenders. In addition, promotion and awareness raising of national stalking advocacy and support services should be disseminated amongst professionals and public.	Professionals working in advocacy services will understand the unique risks and dynamics of stalking victims and perpetrators. Public and professional promotion and awareness of Paladin National Stalking Advocacy Service, and the National Stalking Helpline.	Professionals working in advocacy services will understand the unique risks and dynamics of stalking victims and perpetrators. Public and professional promotion and awareness of Paladin National Stalking Advocacy Service ⁵² , and the National Stalking Helpline ⁵³ .	CSP/Advocacy Services	Initiate from April 2025 rolling for 2 years

⁵² <https://www.paladinservice.co.uk/>

⁵³ <https://www.suzylamplugh.org/forms/national-stalking-helpline-enquiry-form>

			<p>Victims who are being stalked by ex/intimate partners will get the specialist support they need from advocacy services.</p> <p>Victims who are being stalked by non-intimate ex/partners will have access to national services.</p>		
Family	CSP feedback to Anne's family on the progress of the recommendations above.	Provide a progress update on the recommendations above to Anne's family, within one calendar year of publication of review.	Anne's family will be kept informed of the outcomes of the review		

National Recommendations

Focus	Recommendation	Action	Outcome	Lead Agency	Target Date
Stakeholder learning	Review to be sent to national stalking consortium, the Suzy Lamplugh Trust, and the London Victims Commissioner	Send review to named stakeholders	Key stakeholders and experts will be made aware of the unique learning points raised for victims of stalking via this review - including highlighting the need for more	CSP/ Chair	On publication of review

			<p>academic research into the links and associated risks of stalking offenders' substance use issues.</p> <p>National Stalking Consortium to assess whether a statutory review process into deaths related to stalking is an issue to lobby for on behalf of the stalking sector, families, and victims.</p>		
--	--	--	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--	--

17. Appendix A

TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR REVIEW PANEL

1. Introduction

- 1.1 The chair of the Hillingdon Community Safety Partnership (CSP) commissioned this DHR in response to the death of a 39-year-old woman in December 2022. The victim was found at her address after a call from her flat mate, who she had previously had a brief relationship with. The flatmate was subsequently found guilty of her murder in January 2024 and sentenced to 25 years in prison. The trial of the offender revealed a sustained campaign of stalking against his victim.
- 1.2 All other responsibility relating to the review, namely any changes to these Terms of Reference and the preparation, agreement, and implementation of an Action Plan to take forward the local recommendations in the overview report will be the collective responsibility of the panel and subsequently the CSP.

2. Aims of The Domestic Homicide Review Process

- 2.1 Establish the facts that led to the death in December 2022 and whether there are any lessons to be learned from the case about the way in which local professionals and agencies worked together to safeguard the victim and or wider family.
- 2.2 Identify clearly what those lessons are both within and between agencies, how and within what timescales they will be acted on, and what is expected to change as a result.
- 2.3 To produce a report which:
 - summarises concisely the relevant chronology of events including:
 - the actions of all the involved agencies.
 - the observations (and any actions) of relatives, and/or friends relevant to the review
 - analyses and comments on the appropriateness of actions taken.
 - makes recommendations which, if implemented, will better safeguard people experiencing domestic abuse and stalking, irrespective of the nature of the abuse they've experienced.
- 2.4 Apply lessons to service responses including changes to policies, procedures, and awareness-raising as appropriate:
 - Identify what those lessons are, how they will be acted upon and what is expected to change as a result.

- Apply these lessons to service responses including changes to policies and procedures as appropriate.
- Aim to prevent domestic violence and abuse related death, including stalking behaviours, and improve service responses for all domestic abuse and stalking victims through improved intra and inter-agency working.
- Establish the facts that led to the incident and whether there are any lessons to be learned from the case about the way in which local professionals and agencies worked together to support or manage the person who caused the harm.

2.5 Domestic Homicide Reviews are not inquiries into how the victim died or who is culpable. That is a matter for coroners and criminal courts.

3. Scope of the review

The review will:

- Consider the period from January 2015 until December 2022, subject to any significant information emerging that prompts a review of any earlier or subsequent incidents or events that are relevant.
- Request Individual Management Reviews by each of the agencies defined in Section 9 of the Domestic Violence Crime and Victims Act (2004) and invite responses from any other relevant agencies or individuals identified through the process of the review.
- Seek the involvement of the family, employers, neighbours & friends to provide a robust analysis of the events. Taking account of the coroners' inquest in terms of timing and contact with the family.
- Aim to produce a report within 6 months of the DHR being commissioned which summarises the chronology of the events, including the actions of involved agencies, analysis and comments on the actions taken and makes any required recommendations regarding safeguarding where domestic abuse or stalking is a feature.
- Review the communication between agencies, services, friends, and family including the transfer of relevant information to inform risk assessment and management and the care and service delivery of all the agencies involved.
- Review documentation and recording of key information, including risk assessments where relevant.
- Review the interventions, care, and treatment and or support provided. Consider whether the work undertaken by services in this case was consistent with each organisation's professional standards and domestic abuse/stalking policy, procedures and protocols.
- Whether practices by all agencies were sensitive to the sex, age, disability, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identity of both the individuals who are subjects of the review and whether any additional needs on the part of either were explored, shared appropriately, and recorded.
- To discover if all relevant civil or criminal interventions were considered and/or used.

Key Analysis for Review

- Consider how (and if knowledge of) all forms of domestic abuse (including the non-physical types like stalking and coercive control) are understood by the local community at large (with particular focus on reporting stalking) – including family, friends, and statutory and voluntary organisations. This is to also ensure that the dynamics of coercive control/stalking are also fully explored.
- Determine if there were any barriers the victim or her family/friends faced in both reporting domestic abuse or stalking and accessing services.
- In addition, whether there were any barriers to interventions that could have been made with the offender over the review timeline period.
- Whether organisations are alert to and aware of all forms of stalking, including cyber stalking.
- Whether COVID19 had any impact in the case.

4 Role of the Independent Chair

- Convene and chair a review panel meeting at the outset.
- Liaise with the family/friends of the deceased or appoint an appropriate representative to do so. (Consider Home Office leaflet for family members, plus statutory guidance (section 6))
- Determine brief of, co-ordinate and request IMR's.
- Review IMR's – ensuring that incorporate suggested outline from the statutory Home Office guidance (where possible).
- Convene and chair a review panel meeting to review IMR responses.
- Write report (including action plan) or appoint an independent overview report author and agree contents with the Review Panel
- Present report to the CSP (if required)

5 Domestic Homicide Review Panel

5.1 Membership of the panel will comprise:

Agency	Representative

This was confirmed at the first Review Panel meeting on June 5th 2024.

- 5.2 Each Review Panel member to have completed the DHR e-learning training as available on the Home Office website before joining the panel. (online at: <https://www.gov.uk/conducting-a-domestic-homicide-review-online-learning>)

6 **Liaison with Media**

- 6.1 Hillingdon Comms Department (via CSP)

18 . Appendix B

Home Office QA letter



Interpersonal Abuse Unit
2 Marsham Street
London
SW1P 4DF

Tel: 020 7035 4848
www.homeoffice.gov.uk

Manpreet Singh Panesar
Senior Community Safety & Vulnerabilities Advisor
Safer Hillingdon Partnership
High Street, Uxbridge
UB8 1UW

15th April 2026

Dear Manpreet,

Thank you for submitting the Domestic Homicide Review (DHR) report (Anne) for Hillingdon Community Safety Partnership (CSP) to the Home Office Quality Assurance (QA) Board. The report was considered at the QA Board meeting on 26th February 2026. I apologise for the delay in responding to you.

Please find the QA Board's feedback in the form below. On completion of the changes suggested the DHR may be published.

Once completed the Home Office would be grateful if you could provide us with a digital copy of the revised final version of the report with all finalised attachments and appendices and the weblink to the site where the report will be published. Please ensure this letter and the feedback form is published alongside the report.

Please send the digital copy and weblink to DHREnquiries@homeoffice.gov.uk. This is for our own records for future analysis to go towards highlighting best practice and to inform public policy.

The DHR report including the executive summary and action plan should be converted to a PDF document and be smaller than 20 MB in size; this final Home Office QA Board letter and feedback form should be attached to the end of the report as an annex; and the DHR Action Plan should be added to the report as an annex. This should include all implementation updates and note that the action plan is a live document and subject to change as outcomes are delivered.

Please also send a digital copy to the Domestic Abuse Commissioner at DHR@domesticabusecommissioner.independent.gov.uk

On behalf of the QA Board, I would like to thank you, the report chair and author, and other colleagues for the considerable work that you have put into this review.

Yours sincerely,

Home Office DHR Quality Assurance Board

DHR QA Board Feedback for the Community Safety Partnership

TITLE OF DHR	Anne
COMMUNITY SAFETY PARTNERSHIP	Hillingdon
DATE REVIEWED BY QA BOARD	26 th February 2026
DECISION	Publish with amendments
GOOD PRACTICE COMMENDED	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This is a very well-written report, demonstrating a high level of sensitivity and respect towards the victim's family and friends who contributed to the review. A heartfelt tribute to Anne from her mother and brother is appropriately included and adds meaningful personal context. The panel benefits from the inclusion of an Accredited Independent Stalking Advocacy Caseworker, providing specialist expertise. The Chair's engagement with a Metropolitan Police Service Investigating Officer adds valuable insight. The Chair has gone above and beyond to understand the complexities of stalking, which adds depth and richness to the analysis. The review gives careful and balanced consideration to ethnicity. It shows that this was properly explored with expert input, while avoiding cultural assumptions or stereotyping.
FEEDBACK FOR FUTURE DHRs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Where reviews take longer than expected, future reports should briefly confirm that delays did not affect family engagement or the implementation of learning. Awareness and training are appropriate responses, but future reviews should also include practical system changes. Recommendations should consistently include up-to-date timescales, clear and measurable outcomes, defined completion dates, and clear arrangements for governance and monitoring.

	DHR SECTION	DHR QA BOARD FEEDBACK (improvements required before publication)
1	Title Page	The Independent Author's name and the report completion date should be included on both the Executive Summary and the Overview Report title pages.
2	Contents Page	No amendments required.
3	Pen Portrait	No amendments required.

4	Condolences	No amendments required.
5	Confidentiality and Anonymity	No amendments required.
6	Terms of Reference	No amendments required.
7	Equality and Diversity	While the Equality and Diversity section references prevalence data, statistics and protected characteristics, it does not sufficiently connect this contextual information to the specific dynamics of the case. Please consider expanding the analysis accordingly.
8	Background Information	No amendments required.
9	Combined Chronology	The combined chronology is detailed and clearly shows how the stalking behaviour escalated, including the use of technology and increasing hostility after rejection. However, it would be stronger if it more clearly separated factual events from interpretation. It should also more clearly highlight key safeguarding or intervention points, particularly around police contact.
10	Overview	No amendments required.
11	Analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The analysis shows a strong understanding of stalking. The use of expert input adds credibility and depth. However, the section would be stronger if it were tightened to reduce repetition and lengthy explanations of legislation. The tone should also be reviewed to ensure that there is no language that could be considered victim-blaming. For example, wording such as: "The fact that Anne knew... should have been enough for her to contact the police..." The analysis ends with "May she rest in peace", which would be better placed in a tribute or pen portrait.
12	Conclusions	The section would benefit from being more concise.
13	Lessons learnt and recommendations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The recommendations could be strengthened to ensure that they are fully SMART. This includes clearly naming lead agencies, setting measurable outcomes, confirming monitoring arrangements, and including clear timescales. The report should also consider whether it is proportionate not to include any single-agency recommendations, particularly given the identified police contact.
14	Timescales	No amendments required.

15	Involvement of family / friends / community	No amendments required.
16	DHR contributors	No amendments required.
17	DHR Panel	No amendments required.
18	DHR Author	There is no specific detail on the DHR author/chair, her background and the specific training that she has undertaken, which should be added.
19	Parallel Reviews	No amendments required.
20	Dissemination	No amendments required.
21	Action Plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Action Plan refers to implementation dates starting in April 2025, which are now out of date. Please update accordingly and set out any progress made to date. It should also explain how progress will be reported and monitored.
22	<p>Has there been a request to withhold publication?</p> <p><i>If Yes, include the reason for the request. Is it proportionate and appropriate?</i></p>	No request to withhold publication.
23	Any other comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The QA Board noted that holding a local "lessons learned" event would further support awareness of the issues identified and the recommendations made, particularly around stalking.