

Being Heard: A Thematic Analysis of the Newspaper Media Response to the Jay Report and the Rotherham Child Abuse Scandal

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Abstract

This study examined the media response to the Jay Report, which brought to national attention the mass failings within the local authority services of Rotherham Metropolitan City Council. Through thematic analysis of articles from nine UK newspapers, (three broadsheets, three tabloids, three regional), this study found that the media used key findings from the Jay Report but ignored positive aspects in order to serve their own narratives. The negative portrayal of social work through print media has been well documented (Ayre, 2001), with social work often at the centre of 'moral panics' and social workers portrayed as 'folk devils'. This study found that newspaper media did attempt to create a moral panic, however this failed to take hold. This dissertation contends that moral panic was averted primarily due to the strong, steadfast voice of social work which was present through the Jay Report's author Professor Alexis Jay. This dissertation concludes that, in order to successfully enhance social work practice, social work needs to effectively engage with the media in a similar manner to Jay through a figurehead that not only speaks, but is heard.

Introduction

On the 26th August 2014 the Jay Report was published. The report, commissioned by Rotherham City Council, investigated how Rotherham local authority services managed cases of child sexual exploitation (CSE) over a 16-year period (1997 – 2014). The Jay Report (2014) found that due to significant failings within the local council, police, and children's services, an estimated 1,400 children were likely to have been victims of CSE. The publication of the report drew a long period of national, political and media attention to the town and local authority of Rotherham. This dissertation will examine the newspaper media response to the findings of the Jay Report during the first week of the report's publication. Through examining published news pieces, this dissertation will examine prevalent themes in the newspaper coverage. It will identify how accurately the findings of the Jay Report were represented in print media, and consider what can be learned in terms of improving future social work practice.

Social Work and The Media

The term 'moral panic' was first used by Cohen (1973) who described it as when "[a] condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylised and stereotypical fashion by the mass media" (Cohen, 1973, p. 28). Moral panics are said to be formed in public dialogue, with members of the media and politicians central to shaping a given narrative (Krinsky, 2008). Social work and the mass media have always had a contentious relationship, and it can be said that social work had been at the centre of several high profile 'moral panics' in the past (Cree, Clapton, & Smith, 2015) with social workers often portrayed as 'folk devils': the group identified as being primarily responsible for the ills of society (Parton, 2014; McLaughlin & Muncie, 2013). Indeed, media coverage of social work tragedies is not new, starting with the death of Maria Colwell in 1973, Victoria Climbié in 2000, and 'Baby P' Peter Connelly in 2007. The Rotherham child abuse scandal is the latest in a line of well-publicised child protection scandals to yield a strong response from the newspaper media.

One of the most high profile and emotive cases tied to child protection social work failure was the death of Peter Connelly, who was murdered by his mother, her partner and a lodger at their London home in 2007 (BBC, 2013). This case sparked a massive public outcry and considerable media attention which lasted several years. A particular aspect of the case which received substantial media attention was that fact that Peter had been seen repeatedly by social workers and child protection professionals and was considered a child at risk of harm (Marsh & Melville, 2014). Newspapers and politicians were seen to work in conjunction with one another in order to mobilise public anger towards the profession of social work (Warner, 2013), thus leading to the creation of a moral panic. The media frenzy which followed placed most of the blame for Peter's death on the social workers involved. This coverage was intense and sustained, culminating with *The Sun* applying pressure to Haringey Council and launching a petition demanding the sacking of the social workers involved and their managers, to which the local authority eventually agreed (Jones, 2014).

The media's negative portrayal of social work has been consistent and sustained, beginning long before the death of Peter Connelly. Ayre (2001) completed an analysis of newspaper coverage

of child abuse scandals in England and Wales over the 1970's, 80's and 90's. He identified that the professional agencies involved in these cases were considered to be responsible for the deaths of the children, with the media often portraying children's social services as either villainous or inept. Another review of newspapers from January to March 2009 concluded that social work coverage was overwhelmingly negative (Lombard & Maier, 2009). The stories involving social work were more likely to focus on children's services, and the language used to describe staff was hostile and often pejorative, as articles frequently "showed a lack of knowledge about the social work role" (Lombard & Maier, 2009, p. 1). These issues of how social work is viewed can have a direct and definite impact on social work practice. Indeed, Ayre's (2001) study found that such coverage contributes to a climate of fear, mistrust, and blame which workers report feeling in day to day frontline practice.

The rapid and intense media response to the story of Peter Connelly did not only affect professionals at the centre of the story, but also impacted on social work as a profession. Research identified that the national coverage of this case had damaged staff morale nationwide (Macleod, Hart, Jeffes, & Wilkin, 2010), and that following the Peter Connelly case councils were reporting difficulty in the recruitment of social workers (Samuel, 2009). The Children and Family Court Advisory Service (CAFCASS), the organisation which represents children in family court cases, reported a considerable spike in referrals, noting that from "2008-09, the year of the Peter Connelly (known as "Baby P") case in Haringey, to 2012-13, care applications in England have risen by 70%" (CAFCASS, 2013). This can be seen as an indication of a more defensive approach to social work practice, with practitioners rather being 'safe than sorry'.

The media coverage of such high profile cases is often swift to identify failings which may have led to the tragedy, and to identify and implicate those perceived to be responsible, as observed with the Peter Connelly case. However, the legacy of this coverage can lead to important and effective change in government policy and social work practice. The inquiry and publication of the Laming Report (2003), which investigated the death of Victoria Climbié, murdered at the hands of her guardians in February 2000, was a case which also received widespread media attention (Warner, 2015). The Laming Report (2003) found a lack of good professional practice and basic failures by the local authorities involved. The recommendations by the Laming Report led to real change in social work practice, such as providing important recommendations for improving information sharing between agencies and the abolition of the Child Protection register (Taylor & Daniel, 2005). So fundamental were the recommendations from Lord Laming that the findings were incorporated into the Children Act 2004 (Corby, Shemmings, & Vilkins, 2012).

There is real potential for the media to be a positive force in social work. However, for this to be effective, social work must engage with the media in the correct manner. Jones (2012) states media attention of social work provides the opportunity to shape the coverage, and actually inform the public of the realities and complexities present in child protection social work. A section of the Munro Report (2011), which was commissioned with an aim to improve child protection procedures in the UK, was dedicated to the public image of social work, and relations with the media and public. The report, similarly to Jones (2012), suggests that the priority must be in improving the public's understanding of social work practice. Munro comments that a clear, strong voice from social work is needed to join the national debate, which at this point is lacking. This is also something which Ayre (2001) identifies as a clear weakness of the historical approach to social work's ethos of not directly

engaging with the media, highlighting that the lack of a voice to challenge the media leaves gaps in the story, and allows newspapers to tell the story that they want to.

Additionally, outside of the United Kingdom, research has identified additional ways in which the media can have a positive effect on child protection practice. Research by Saint-Jacques, Villeneuve, Turcotte, Drapeau, & Ivers (2012) examining the Canadian press identified a significant relationship between the media reporting of child protection and higher levels of public aware of the issue, and in turn more cases being reported to children's services. Furthermore, in the US, Douglas (2009) identified that high levels of media attention on child deaths were directly associated with legislative change to introduce more robust child welfare policies. This positive use of media to identify issues of practice can also be seen in the inception of the Jay Report.

Rotherham Council chief executive Martin Kimber proposed the Jay Report investigation to council leadership following several newspaper articles published by *The Times* newspaper (House of Commons, 2014). In 2012, *The Times* examined confidential police reports into concerns of child sexual abuse in Rotherham by groups of Asian men. The article identified "concerns that girls were being coerced into 'child prostitution'" by a small group of men who regularly collected the victims from residential care homes. These reports were said to show a great deal of information about the crimes being committed and the perpetrators involved, however no charges were brought against these individuals (Norfolk, 2012). As a result of this article the Home Affairs Select Committee investigated concerns of CSE in Rotherham and attempted to enact change. However, in 2013, with the Rotherham prosecution rate of CSE offenders remaining low, *The Times* published further articles concerning widespread CSE in Rotherham. One such story recounted the experiences of Jessica, who as a 14-year-old girl who in 2000, was groomed and sexually exploited by a 24-year-old male of Pakistani origin (Norfolk, 2013). After further political scrutiny by Westminster regarding the contents of these reports, Rotherham council leader Roger Stone announced that an independent inquiry in to CSE in Rotherham would be held and headed by ex-chief social work inspector Alexis Jay (BBC, 2015).

The Jay Report

The Jay Report (2014) examined a randomised sample of CSE caseload files, minutes of council meetings, and interviewed a large number of current and ex-employees from local agencies. Though the Jay Report is very clear about areas of positive practice, it outlines several areas of concern in regards to professional practice. The findings of the Jay Report estimate that 1400 children were sexually exploited in Rotherham from 1997 to 2013. The abuse took the form of rape by multiple perpetrators, trafficking to other towns, abduction, physical assault and intimidation. In over a third of cases children were known to children's services, and the report concluded that "[t]his abuse is not confined to the past but continues to this day." (Jay, 2014, p. 1).

The report also highlighted massive collective failings in child protection practice between 1997 and 2009. The majority of perpetrators were described as 'Asian' by victims, yet senior managers actively discouraged this element being identified by front line workers, and council officials made little attempt to engage the Pakistani-heritage community. The impact of the sexual

exploitation was devastating to the victims, with little post-abuse support. Issues were outlined in regards to risk assessment, safeguarding and interagency working by children's services. Jay also identifies the poor response of other services, noting that South Yorkshire Police displayed a lack of understanding of CSE and grooming, with children as young as 11 deemed to be having consensual sex, and that police gave no priority to CSE and regarded many victims with contempt.

The scale of the problem was underplayed by senior managers in the police and social care. Jay identified that the service faced staffing problems and financial pressure. In 2002, 2003 and 2006, reports presented to leadership outlined the scale of the issue, however these claims were disbelieved by officials and suppressed. Senior managers did not provide clear direction and denied there was a problem. Jay also reported that the head office of the council had a 'macho' work environment, which was not an appropriate climate to discuss the rape and sexual exploitation of young people. The report outlined that by 2005, no senior member of could say they were not aware of this.

While the issues which led to this situation are stark, the Jay report does highlight areas of good practice where possible. The report commends the non-statutory agency 'Risky Business' for providing vital support for victims for CSE, and that there were examples of professional intervening and providing support in an appropriate manner. The report highlighted that 2007 saw significant improvements in the manner in which the police aimed to tackle CSE, and 2009 saw a more effective workforce strategy put in place by the council, which greatly helped with staff retention. Teams were now better trained and had more available resources for dealing with CSE. A dedicated joint social work and police team had been set up and better systems were in place for the Local Safeguarding Board to hold services accountable for their response to CSE.

The Jay Report concludes by acknowledging that in recent years several reviews have been completed by the council in order to reform and improve services. Jay then outlines 15 recommendations for practice in order to continue the improvements that Rotherham has already made. These are based around improving protocol, more comprehensive risk assessments, better support and outreach for victims of CSE, and more support and resources for the joint CSE team. The report also highlights the need to address race as an issue and suggests increased support for the Pakistani heritage community, in order for victims within that group to feel able to come forward.

The Newspaper Response

The publication of the Jay Report gained immediate national media attention. Figure 1 shows images of the front pages for the 10 most popular national newspapers on 27/08/2014. As can be seen, the Jay Report findings featured on all 10 of these newspapers' front pages. Many of the headlines focus on the estimated 1400 abuse victims over the time the report investigated. Some also highlight the systemic failures which led to the report, whilst other papers focus on the culture of political correctness (PC) in Rotherham and the unwillingness to address the issue of race in these cases of abuse.

The collage displays the front pages of several major UK newspapers, all reporting on the Rochdale child sexual abuse scandal. The papers shown include:

- The Independent:** Headline: "The streets where child abuse was part of growing up".
- Daily Mirror:** Headline: "HORRIFIC BETRAYAL OF 1400 CHILDREN". Sub-headline: "Asian gangs' appalling sexual abuse of young girls lasted 16 YEARS because people in authority were scared of being labelled racist if they tackled it..."
- The Sun:** Headline: "1,400 VICTIMS OF PC BRIGADE". Sub-headline: "Children abused for 16 yrs".
- Daily Mail:** Headline: "BETRAYED BY THE PC COWARDS". Sub-headline: "Kate Bush makes triumphant return - after 35 years".
- The Daily Telegraph:** Headline: "Town turned blind eye to sex abuse".
- The Guardian:** Headline: "Failures led to sexual abuse of 1400 children".
- The Times:** Headline: "Scandal of the 1,400 lost girls".
- Daily Express:** Headline: "FURY OVER BRITAIN'S 2m ILLEGAL MIGRANTS". Sub-headline: "Scandal of 1,400 children abused in a single town".
- Star:** Headline: "WHITE DEE AND 'MAD' GARY IN BB FIGHT NIGHT".

Social work has been at the centre of many negative instances of media coverage (Ayre, 2001), in some cases these negative reports are sensationalised or exaggerated in order to highlight the most negative aspects of social work practice and create a ‘moral panic’. Where this case differs compared to other high profile cases such as Victoria Climbié and Peter Connolly is in that the source of the news coverage, The Jay Report, was written and published by Professor Alexis Jay OBE, someone who has an extensive career and professional experience of practice in social work. This puts the Jay Report in a unique position by putting forward the social work point of view before the media response, as opposed to the reverse situation, which has been observed in many previous high-profile cases.

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Methodology

News Stories

This study examined news articles that appeared in nine newspapers over a one-week period from 27/08/2014 to 02/08/2014, immediately following the publication of the Jay Report on 26/08/2014. Six nationally circulated newspapers were examined, and these were selected based on the paper's readership and political leaning in order to collect the most diverse sample possible. Three broadsheet newspapers including their Sunday counterparts were examined: these were The Guardian & The Observer (Centre-left), The Telegraph & Sunday Telegraph (Right leaning), and The Times & The Sunday Times (Right leaning). Three tabloid newspapers and their Sunday counterparts were also examined, including The Daily Mail & The Mail on Sunday (Right leaning), The Sun & The Sunday Sun (Centre-Right) and The Daily Mirror & the Sunday Mirror (Centre-Left).

Additionally, this study examined three regional newspapers local to Rotherham. These were daily newspapers (Mon – Sat) and did not have Sunday editions. These papers were selected based on number of readers and availability. The three regional newspapers examined were The Yorkshire Evening Post (Centre-Left, tabloid), The Yorkshire Post (Centre-Right, broadsheet), The Sheffield Star (Centre-Right, tabloid).

Once the news outlets were chosen, news stories were identified by using the online news database LexisNexis (2015). The search term "Rotherham" was used on all six of the national newspaper sources. For the regional newspapers, the search was restricted to articles where "Rotherham" & "abuse" appeared in the same article together. This was done because using the search term "Rotherham" alone in each regional newspaper returned 500+ articles, many of which had no relevance to the current study.

The search results were then checked to ensure that the articles identified pertained to the Jay Report and the Rotherham scandal. Those which were not relevant were discarded. The researcher's discretion was used to determine whether articles which only made mention of Rotherham and the Jay Report should be included. For example, the Daily Mail ran a story examining UKIP's odds of gaining control of an MP seat in Rotherham. This story was omitted, as the Rotherham scandal was mentioned as a passing reference and in relation to political punditry.

News articles, editorials and features were all included in this study, however reader correspondence such as letters, emails, and tweets were not part of this analysis due to time constraints. Using this method, a list of the relevant news articles was created (see Appendix A) and the articles were downloaded into Word document format.

This study was specifically interested in examining the news stories which were printed in the newspapers directly after the Jay Report was published. Therefore, hard copies of these newspapers were examined in order to ensure that the articles printed on the page matched the digital articles which LexisNexis provided. This was accomplished by obtaining hard copies of the relevant newspapers through the newspaper library service at the British Library. On several instances it was found that LexisNexis returned articles from Scottish and Irish newspaper editions which were different from what was printed. In these cases, the Scottish and Irish stories were

discarded. In other cases, the content of the digital article was amended by hand to accurately reflect what had been printed. This created a collection of 218 news articles on which the thematic analysis could be conducted.

There were some issues in retrieving the data from three newspapers, in the Daily Mail, The Sheffield Star and The Yorkshire Post. The search on LexisNexis provided articles from the newspaper's website which often did not correspond completely to what was printed. The website versions of these news articles often differed from the printed versions, and had been updated several times with additional information. In these cases, a hard copy of each article was obtained through the British Library, and analysis was conducted on photographs made of these articles.

In the original data collection phase the Sheffield Telegraph was examined, however this was replaced by the Yorkshire Evening Post once it was established that the Sheffield Telegraph was a once weekly newspaper. It was also noted that the most popular regional newspaper in Rotherham was the Rotherham Gazette, however this paper was unavailable through LexisNexis or in hard copy format through the British Library.

Thematic Analysis

Once the articles across the nine newspapers were collected to make up the corpus of data, the process of thematic analysis was started. A thematic analysis is used to identify themes which emerge from and describe a given episode (Daly, Kellehear, & Gliksman, 1997). In this case, the themes were taken from the newspaper articles that described the Rotherham abuse scandal. The identification of themes comes through the process of "careful reading and re-reading of the data" (Rice & Ezzy, 1999, p. 258).

The themes were derived as they emerged from the data. The information was read and themes identified on a sentence by sentence basis, with the underlying or wider message of an article not considered as part of this analysis. Although the Jay Report and its findings were in mind from the outset of this project, they were not consciously considered when themes were being identified in the data. This analysis was conducted across all 218 news stories.

This study followed Braun & Clarke's (2006) 6 step process for conducting thematic analysis in social sciences. Firstly, the researcher familiarised themselves with the data. From this quite general initial codes and categories were generated, for example 'Victims' and 'council leadership. Within these categories potential subthemes were gathered. These themes were reviewed to ensure they fit the nature of the theme and maps of the analysis were created. The themes were further defined and named, final the report was produced reporting on the thematic analysis. The qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti (2015) was used in order to catalogue and categorise the themes. Appendix B shows two examples of coded articles.

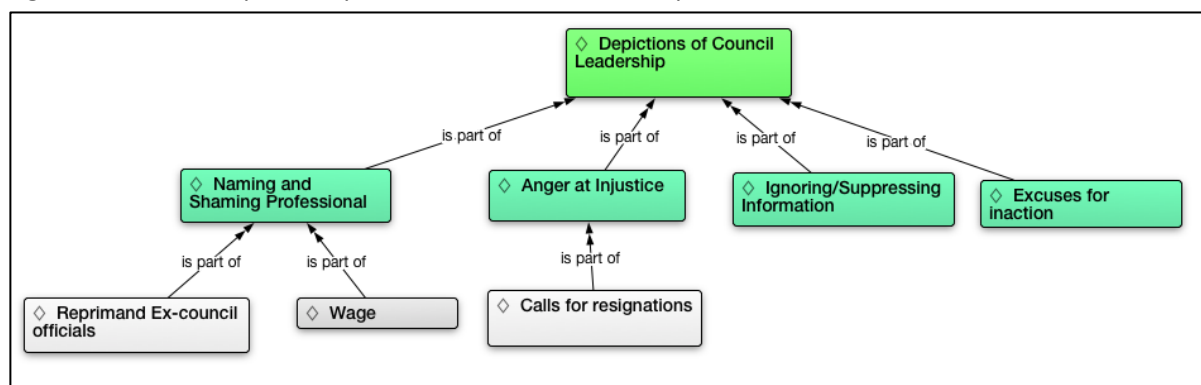
It is acknowledged that the use of this qualitative method of thematic analysis is a highly interpretive measure, and the can often be based biased due to the researcher's own views and feelings in relation to the source material. Included in Appendix C is a reflection by the researcher of their own thoughts and feelings in approaching and completing this analysis.

Results

In conducting the thematic analysis, five main themes were identified from the corpus of data. These thematic categories included 'depictions of council leadership', 'depictions of abuse', 'depictions of perpetrators', 'depictions of victims' and 'descriptions of practice'. Each of these themes will be discussed in the following section along with relevant sub-themes, maps were also created to highlight the relationships between some of the themes.

Depictions of Council Leadership

Figure 2: Theme map for 'depictions of council leadership'



The media view of the council leadership during the Rotherham child abuse scandal was one which was marked by hostility. The media depicted the council as being ineffective and in many ways complicit in not tackling the abuse, including actively suppressing information. The media names the council leaders specifically and expresses anger that they are still in high paying jobs, with no plans for disciplinary action to take place, implying that justice has not been served.

Naming and Shaming Professionals

The Jay Report does not mention any individuals by name, however newspapers did not shy away from naming the council officials currently in post. The main name which is mentioned by the newspaper is that of Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) Shaun Wright. Mr Wright was head of Rotherham children's services from 2004 to 2010, and resigned from post in 2010 following failures in the handling of child sexual exploitation cases. In the aftermath of the Jay Report, Mr Wright resigned as a member of the Labour Party. Mr Wright, however, insisted that he had already taken responsibility for some of these issues by his aforementioned resignation in 2010 as the head of Rotherham children's services, and he outlined that the actual scale of the abuse was a surprise to him. Many of the media reports highlighted his determination to stay in post as PCC, and that he was ignoring high profile political calls to resign, labelling him as "defiant".

"Crime tsar Shaun Wright defiantly repeated his refusal to quit yesterday in the wake of the Rotherham grooming scandal." (DailyMail37)

“Those singled out for criticism include Shaun Wright, South Yorkshire's police and crime commissioner, who has so far refused to resign...” (Telegraph10)

The second council official most commonly referenced was Joyce Thacker, the then head of Rotherham children's services when the report was published. In her initial statement to the media, Mrs Thacker stated that the root causes of CSE cases are often neglect and agreed changes needed to be made. The media highlighted this, including previous statements where Mrs Thacker outlined that CSE only accounts for “2.3% of safeguarding cases” (Times13), and that parents should be proactive in protecting their children if they have concerns. The media identified this as Mrs Thacker perpetuating the culture of victim blaming which the Jay Report had highlighted and refusing to acknowledge the extent of the problem.

“...Joyce Thacker suggested parents should share the blame for not looking after their children when a gang of Asian men was jailed for sexually abusing girls...” (Daily Mail10)

The majority of the media coverage of council officials portrays them as ineffective in their job. The media coverage however does cast one member in a positive light, which was Council Leader Roger Stone, who handed in his resignation upon publication of the report.

“Roger Stone is the only senior figure at Rotherham council to take personal responsibility ...” (Times4)

This highlights the acknowledgement on the part of Stone that the council leadership have failed in their duty to protect children.

Reprimanding ex-council officials

Within this naming of current council members, the media also identifies members of the council who were in post during the 1997-2014 period which the Jay Report investigated. In some cases, direct quotes from the individuals in question are used, although many of the articles simply mention the individual's current position, and in particular if they are still involved in children's services. The two quotes below highlight the newspapers' view that these officials should be reprimanded for their role in this scandal, and not be allowed to continue in their current positions.

“Rotherham's ex-director of children's services should be forced out of her job in Australia, it was claimed...” (Mirror19)

“A Tory MP has raised concerns over whether Pam Allen, who was in charge of child protection at Rotherham from 2004 to 2009, can remain as head of safeguarding at East Riding council” (Times16)

Wages

A sub-theme to naming and shaming of the council's leadership was the publication of their annual salaries. The lowest reported salary for these officials was £85,000 per year.

"Joyce Thacker, the £130,000-a-year strategic director of children's services"
(Telegraph⁷)

[In relation to Shaun Wright] "...calls for him to resign from his £85,000-a-year post..." (Daily Mail¹³)

This adds to the feeling of injustice which the media creates, in that not only are these professionals continuing in their jobs, but that they are also receiving very high wage packets to do so. In essence, that they are being rewarded for their roles in Rotherham.

Excuses for inaction

Adding to the media portrayal of inaction and ineptitude of council officials, the media include numerous quotes from officials explaining that they did not know about the scale of abuse, which is why they did not act.

"...had no knowledge of the "industrial scale" of the abuse" (Yorkshire Post⁴)

This is often coupled with the quote from the Jay Report which concludes that, by 2005, no member of the council could say that they did not know about what was going on. This theme is expanded further by the newspapers identifying examples of council officials giving weak excuses for how the exploitation was allowed to continue.

[In relation to an official being told about the abuse years ago through a letter] "Mr Hedges said he had "no recollection" of receiving the correspondence" (Times¹⁷)

Additionally, the media highlighted other scandals which the council had been involved with in recent years, such as South Yorkshire Police being involved in leaking information when raiding the home of Sir Cliff Richard, and the council being involved in a race concern regarding a fostering placement.

[Mrs Thacker] "faced criticism two years ago after backing a social worker's decision to remove three children from foster parents because the carers were Ukip members. The three east European children were taken because of concerns that the parents supported "racist" policies" (Times⁸)

These factors, bolster the picture of the council leadership as not being fit for purpose, and are again often paired with Jay's conclusion that by 2005 no member of the council leadership could claim ignorance of the on-going abuse.

Anger at injustice

Current council leader Martin Kimber reported there would be no disciplinary action against council officials as there was not enough evidence to do so. This, as highlighted by *The Sun*, points out how the council continue to be ineffective.

"Pathetically, the chief executive claimed he had insufficient specific proof to fire anyone else" (Sun5)

Other papers, such as the *Daily Mail*, identified this as an injustice, citing an example of Rotherham city council continuing to ignore their responsibility in this case.

"... council executives, police chiefs and local politicians at the centre of the furore appeared to be turning a blind eye for demands that anyone should be held responsible." (Daily Mail10)

Calls for resignation

Following the lack of disciplinary action, the newspapers outlined through editorial, opinion pieces, and quotes from politicians that council officials should resign. Some of these calls outline that all members who are involved in the scandal should step down, as highlighted below.

"...I categorically call for the resignation of everyone involved in this" (Sun2)

The majority of the calls to resign were directed at Shaun Wright in his role as PCC. These calls came from prominent members of Rotherham council, MPs, and the media, all bringing attention to a public petition which called for him to resign.

"Mr Wright has refused to resign from his post as the county's Police and Crime Commissioner, prompting outrage from over 2,500 people who have signed a petition calling on Home Secretary Theresa May to remove him from his £85,000-a-year post" (Star 31)

Eventually, as Mr Wright continued to stay in office, the then Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg, Labour Party Leader Ed Miliband, and Prime Minister David Cameron added to the voices demanding his resignation.

"David Cameron said the report which found 1,400 children had been abused over 16 years was "deeply shocking". He said: "The right decision would be to resign." Mr Clegg said Mr Wright should "do the decent thing" (Mirror15)

Ignoring/Suppressing information

Senior members of council leadership were confronted with several reports outlining concern of child sexual exploitation. However, these reports were dismissed by council leadership, who claimed that the figures were being exaggerated by frontline workers.

“Senior Rotherham Council managers and South Yorkshire Police ignored repeated warnings from frontline workers about the scale of the problem” (Star2)

The newspaper articles then go on to report on the great lengths that council officials went to prevent this information from being released to the general public. These measures included the council pursuing a high court injunction to prevent *The Times* from publishing claims of CSE in 2012.

“The council went to court in an attempt to suppress the hidden information after an uncensored copy of the report was leaked” (Mirror5)

The media also used the Jay Report’s examples of workers being punished and labelled as racist when the issue was brought up.

“A researcher ... was sent on an "ethnicity and diversity course" by child protection bosses who refused to act on evidence in her report” (Daily Telegraph32)

Most extremely, there is the implication by some newspapers that Rotherham’s council officials were behind the break in and removal of records from a non-statutory organisation which had been working with CSE victims in Rotherham since the early 2000’s.

“Council staff in Rotherham raided one of their own offices to remove files and wipe computer records in a 'high-level cover-up', it was claimed yesterday” (Daily Mail28)

These several differing angles on the same concern paint the council as desperate and in denial regarding the scale of the problem, going to any means necessary to prevent this information from being leaked.

Depictions and descriptions of professional practice

Figure 3: Theme map for ‘depictions and descriptions of professional practice’

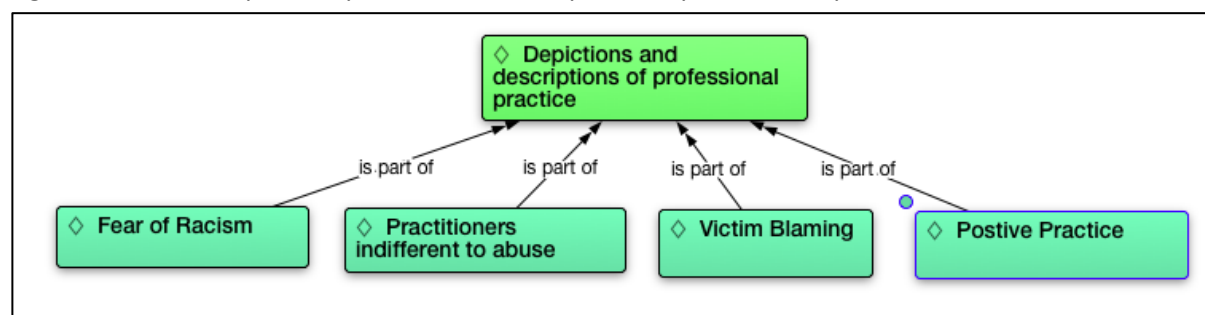


Fig 3, highlight the main themes seen in the reporting of professional practice. Many examples of practice used by the newspapers were taken directly from the Jay Report, as well as interviews with victims of the abuse and some frontline staff. As a result, the themes identified in this section mainly reflect issues with practice between 1997 and 2010. The Jay Report however reflects and acknowledges that there had been substantial improvements in practice since 2010, which is missing from much of the media coverage.

Fear of Racism

One of the central themes the newspapers focus on in relation to practice are the concerns around identifying race as a factor in the abuse. The media takes from the Jay Report that frontline workers were given instructions to play down issues of race by senior managers, and that the council could have been much more proactive in its approach to engaging with the Pakistani community.

"... the police and council in Rotherham failed to act for fear of being labelled racist"
(Star27)

Some papers speculated that this inaction was actually a strategic politic manoeuvre, but also that this was an indication of Rotherham council holding values of 'political correctness' over that of the welfare of children. *The Sun* highlights both of these viewpoints.

"They prioritised political correctness over the gang-rape of children. Councillors doubtless feared upsetting Labour-voting Muslims too" (Sun5)

Practitioners indifferent to abuse

The Jay Report highlights numerous missed opportunities and examples where practice could have been improved. However, the media portrayal of issues regarding practice focuses on child protection practitioners' apparent indifference, implying the ignoring of substantial risk factors when engaging with victims of the abuse/exploitation.

"They told the police and social workers and their cries for help were ignored"
(Times7)

"Eventually she referred herself to children's social services and was given advice about benefits. No further action was taken" (Times 23)

This theme is one that the media perpetuates with its coverage, but which is not explicitly outlined as an issue in the Jay Report. The media goes on to highlight specific instances from victims where child sexual exploitation had taken place, but when reported to the police no further action was taken.

"Her parents were furious and contacted the police within days, but Jessica said officers did little to intervene" (Star15)

As a result, victims and families expressed a growing lack of faith in services over time, resulting in a reluctance or apathy about reporting additional exploitation concerns to local authority services.

Victim blaming

These news stories highlight numerous examples from victims of professionals blaming them for the abuse that they experienced. The Jay Report does not explicitly cite this as an issue, although it is mentioned in cases the Jay Report considers. For example, the report highlights an example where social workers responded to a mother's concerns by saying that she could not accept that her 14-year-old daughter was growing up. Additional information is presented from interviews with victims as they came forward.

"The police said I was 'asking for it' and that I didn't do myself any favours by hanging around with these men" (Star15)

The media highlights that the professional view of victims was that they were seen to have agency and that they made choices which put them in harm's way.

"Police ignored the abusers and arrested her for being drunk and disorderly" (Daily Mail5)

This blaming of victims extended beyond the children and young people themselves, and also to the families of the victims who were turning to services for help.

"...council staff and police officers with whom his family came into contact "made us feel we were bad parents and made our daughter feel like it was her fault, that she was Just a silly little girl"" (Times17)

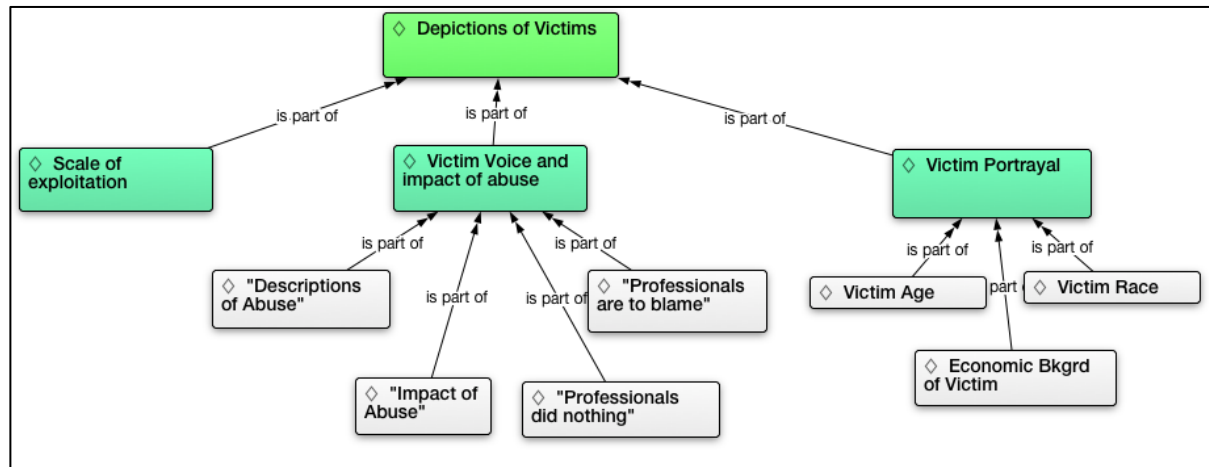
Positive practice

A much more marginalised theme is examples of current good practice in Rotherham, which the Jay Report mentions throughout. Some articles use Jay's acknowledgement that improvements have been made by reporting on higher CSE prosecution rates, increase in staffing in the CSE team, and better training and appropriate support for families (Times1, Mirror22). However, this is almost insignificant compared to the issues the media raise with practice.

The media also gives a voice to those who provide suggestions on how things should improve. These come mainly from journalists and politicians who outline that local authorities requires better guidelines on abuse, that a national inquiry into how CSE is handled is required, and more cooperation between professionals (Times12, Mirror38). Interestingly, of these calls for improvement on practice, notably absent are the details of the 15 recommendations that Jay makes in the conclusion of the report.

Depictions of Victims

Figure 4: Theme map for 'depictions of victims'



The Jay Report's main representation of victims is through case examples, which it examined in order to assess practice. Figure 4 shows these main themes. The newspapers make use of these examples, but also conduct interviews with victims of the abuse, often providing a more emotional and personalised portrayal of the abuse than the Jay Report.

Scale of exploitation

In relation to the victims, the newspapers' main focus was with the estimated 1400 potential victims likely to have suffered abuse, as is outlined in the Jay Report.

"Rotherham has been labelled a town of shame in the wake of revelations that 1,400 children were sexually exploited over a 16-year-period" (Guardian6)

"...revealed authorities ignored 1,400 cases of child abuse by mostly Asian Men" (Yorkshire Post 15)

"Around 1,400 children were sexually exploited in one town over a 16-year period, a report has said" (Yorkshire Evening Post1)"

Initially in the newspaper coverage studied, the Jay Report is relied on heavily and quoted extensively regarding stories presenting the scope of the abuse. However, as the week went on, the Jay Report findings were reduced and simplified until it became shorthand for '1400 girls were abused over a 16-year period by gangs of Asian men'.

Victim Voice and impact of Abuse

The media outline a number specific cases of sexual exploitation, some which were taken directly from the Jay Report, and some from interviews conducted with victims regarding their response to the report. When the victim was quoted directly, this most often included descriptions of the abuse that was perpetrated against them.

"Lizzie, who described the men as "pure evil", said she was 12 the first time she was raped and was "abused hundreds of times". She said she was "passed around" by all five of them and added: "Not one of them has ever given us an apology. They dragged people in to cars and drugged them." (Mirror14)

Interviews with victims also highlighted that they did not feel the professionals did enough to help them.

"I was taken in by social services half a dozen times and had an assigned social worker who was very much aware of what was happening. I was being viciously groomed and locked in strange homes with dirty, filthy men. I had no voice to speak. No-one listened" (Star15)

Victims also identified that professionals should be blamed just as much as the perpetrators for the exploitation they experienced.

"Those professionals have sat behind their desks, taken their wages, known this was happening, and done nothing about it. To me that makes them as bad as the perpetrators." (Times2)

This aspect of interviewing the victims provided an interesting perspective which the Jay Report was unable to do.

Victim Portrayal

Of the 15 case examples used in the Jay Report, it is outlined that victims ages ranged from 11 to 15 years old, and of these cases three involved victims who were 11-years-old. The newspapers' reporting on the ages of the victims tended to focus on the youngest victims.

"...police officer dismissed the case of a 12-year-old girl who had been having sex with up to five Asian men, because he said she had been "100 per cent consensual in every incident" (Telgraph3)

In cases where the specific age of the victim was not known, the media continued to portray the victims as very young, using language to describe them as 'school girls' and 'children'.

"She spoke out on behalf of all the victims as it emerged terrified children were gang-raped and threatened with guns by Asian predators" (Sun2)

The Jay Report does outline that the race of the victims is predominantly white. The media reflects this in their reporting of victims as white, however there is a very limited acknowledgement that there were also likely to be a number of non-white victims, including those from the Pakistani community as the Jay Report points out.

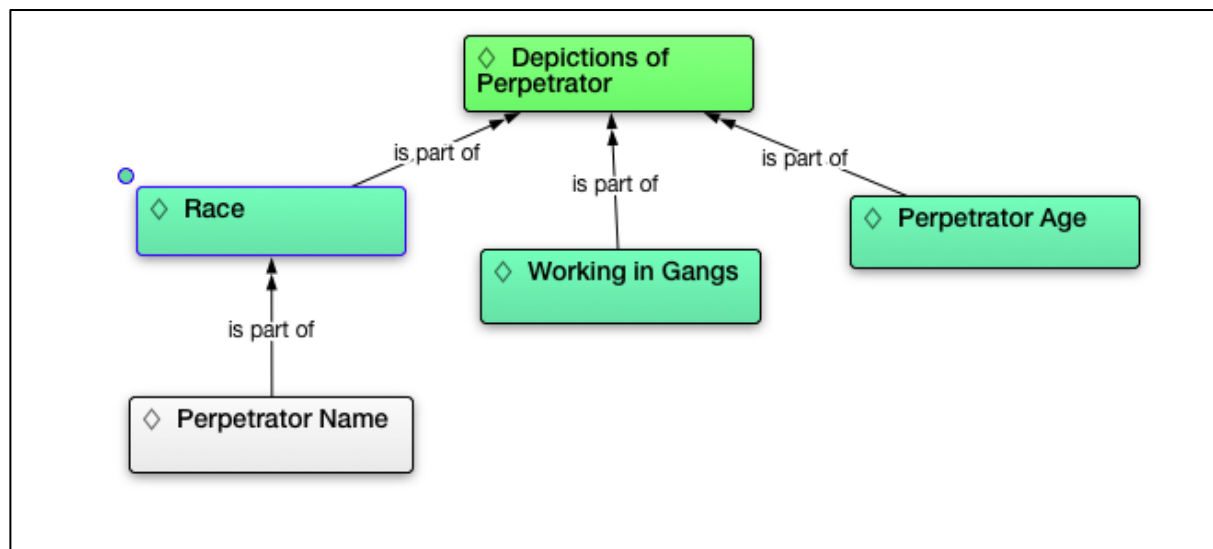
The Jay Report identifies that some of the victims came from difficult family backgrounds. This is not picked up on by the media, although the victims are often described as being from working class or poor economic backgrounds.

“...has been poor, working-class girls, often from some of the towns' roughest housing estates, who have either not been believed by police...” (Daily Mail17)

This again provides a view of local authority services being ineffective, as the victims from areas of high social deprivation would require the most support from services.

Depictions of Perpetrators

Figure 5: Theme map for ‘depictions of perpetrators’



The depictions of the perpetrators in the Jay Report identifies that there were multiple perpetrators of abuse, and that they were mainly identified as Asian males. The media uses some emotive language to describe the perpetrators, namely identifying them as “predators” (Guardian16) and “paedophiles” (DailyMail10). This can be seen to create a more stereotypical picture of the people committing the abuse.

Race of Perpetrators

The main descriptor in referring the perpetrators is identification of their race, mainly referring to them as “Asian” or “Pakistani”. Some of the media reports describe perpetrators as coming from the “Pakistani Origin Community”, although the actual nationality of the perpetrators is not directly addressed by any of the articles highlighted.

“...Asian grooming gangs” (Yorkshire Post7)

“The men, all of Pakistani heritage ...” (Telegraph14)

A further but perhaps more indirect manner of identifying race is the use of the names of perpetrators. The names of the perpetrators which the papers choose to print are exclusively those of Asian origin. This seems to continue to lend support to the issue of race in the abuse.

“The other men in the predatory gang were Zafran Ramzan, his cousin Razwan Razaq, Adil Hussain and Mohsin Khan” (Mirror14)

Working in gangs

Perpetrators were often described as working in ‘gangs’. While this is not something explored in the Jay Report, the author does outline that there were often multiple offenders perpetrating the abuse. The media described how these gangs would ‘sexually abuse young girls’ and trafficked them to different towns, however little detail is given in regards to how these gangs actually operated.

“For 16 years, 1,400 children in Rotherham were subjected to appalling sexual abuse by gangs of mainly Asian men” (Mirror12)

The repeated media use of the term ‘gang’ can be seen to play into the public understanding of these types of sexual abuse crimes, creating a perpetrator group which is larger, more organised and much more threatening than a single perpetrator alone.

Age

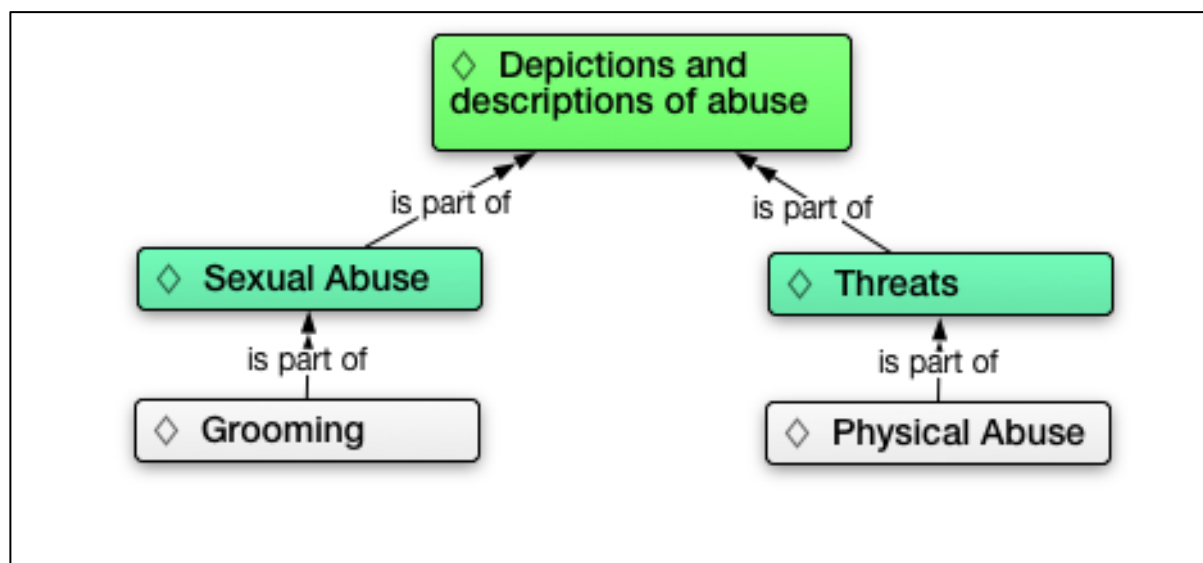
When the newspapers refer to the age of the perpetrators they are mainly classified simply as “older” or “adult”, although some sources do identify them as “young men”.

“A naive child who was desperate for affection, she was exploited by older men she thought were her boyfriends” (Guardian1)

This juxtaposition of the older man with much younger, child victims can be seen to continue the well-trod narrative surrounding the media’s portrayal of such sex abuse cases.

Depictions and descriptions of Abuse

Figure 6: Theme map for 'depictions and descriptions of abuse'



The Jay Report includes details of abuse through its case examples. Similarly to the manner in which victims were depicted, the media rely heavily on the Jay Report case examples, along with information from interviews with victims.

Sexual Abuse and Grooming

Both the media and the Jay Report use the term 'rape' when elaborating on the aspects of the sexual abuse perpetrated. However, neither the news articles nor the Jay Report make a clear distinction between the statutory rape of a child, and forcing victims to take part in sexual acts through violence and intimidation.

[in regards to 11 year old being abused] "They were deemed to be having consensual sex when in reality they were being raped and abused (Daily Mail6)

Due to both the Jay Report and the media covering the grooming aspect of the abuse quite extensively, the difference between grooming and other forms of abuse should be an important distinction to make in regards to improving future practice. The media coverage of grooming and how the perpetrators took advantage of and exploited their victims is covered in great detail, with the papers highlighting that the victims perceived of their abusers in a romantic light.

"Sexually exploited by adult males she thought were her boyfriends" (Star11)

Additionally, specific grooming practice were also identified.

"Hannah's grooming began with men presenting her with "gifts" including alcohol, cash, phone credits and even a necklace - with nothing asked from her in return" (Sun28)

The focus on grooming in the media is interesting as it was identified as a key failure by the Jay Report by professionals in underplaying the severity of these concerns.

Threats of Violence/Physical Abuse

Many articles outlined the threats and intimidation the victims experienced. Again these descriptions go from general threats to intimidation tactics that were actually used.

"...the rapists began circling her estate and making threatening calls, saying they would gang-rape her mother and make her watch" (Mirror8)

Of the 15 case examples in the Jay Report, the most heavily quoted by the media can be seen as the most extreme. For example, the use of petrol in threatening victims was only mentioned in one case example, but was referred to consistently throughout the media coverage, making it seem as though this was more commonplace than the report suggests.

"Children who refused to acquiesce were doused in petrol, threatened with guns, made to witness brutally violent rapes and told they would be next if they told anyone" (Guardian10)

"Some had guns pointed at them or were doused in petrol and threatened with being set alight. (Telegraph27)

The theme of physical abuse is linked with the threats the perpetrators made and the control they maintained over their victims. It is interesting to see that the coverage of threats greatly outweighed the discussion of actual physical abuse reported by the victims.

"The level of intimidation physical beatings and rape amongst exploited girls..." (Yorkshire Post7)

"Hannah's ordeal began when she was 14 and lasted for two years, during which time she was abused by more than 100 Asian men - and told to keep quiet or be killed." (Sun28)

Discussion

The analysis shows that the themes identified from the news articles can be divided into five over-arching categories. These include *'the depictions of council leadership'*, *'descriptions of professional practice'*, *'depictions of victims'*, *'depictions of perpetrators'* and *'descriptions and depictions of abuse'*, with each of these main themes containing several sub-themes. Broadly speaking, the newspaper reporting of the Jay Report from 27/08/2014 to 02/09/2014 does include many of the report's main findings. The Jay Report (2014) presents a very even-handed account regarding the failings and the improvements of Rotherham council, however it can be said that the newspaper reporting uses its ability to maximise or minimise certain findings for its own agenda.

Franklin (1999) identified that the media seeks out most extreme and shocking cases when it is reporting on an event, and as Robinson, Else, Sherlock, & Zass-Ogilvie (2009) point out, bad news sells and sensationalism attracts an audience. This can be seen in the manner in which the media uses the 15 case examples mentioned in the Jay Report. The mostly commonly reported cases in these articles are the ones with the most shocking content, for example instances where victims were threatened with guns, and covered in petrol and threatened to be set alight. The consistent use of these extreme case examples creates an image that these events were common occurrences to many victims, and presents a distorted view of the exploitation many experienced.

The media goes on to simplify the complexity of the Jay Report and does not provide full details behind some of the report findings. Following the report's publication, the newspaper coverage on 27th August 2014 extensively quotes the Jay Report findings and provides a largely effective summary. However, as the week continued, this summary of the Jay Report became reduced to the what media viewed as the key findings of the report, primarily that '1400 have been abused between 1997-2014 by gangs of Asian men'. This simplification of the report findings can be seen further with the media focus on the large number of victims, consistently highlighting the 1400 estimated victims. However, none of the articles report how Jay came to this figure, and that it was based on reviewing multiple documents from several different agencies, meaning that many of the 1400 were likely to have been known to services in some way. Instead, the media portrayal of these 1400 is one of a large number of victims whose needs are completely unknown to services.

In the coverage of the victims and perpetrators the media focuses on the age of the youngest victims and often refers to them as school children, then identifies perpetrators as 'older men' and 'paedophiles'. This is a discourse which the British public are familiar with (Jewkes & Letherby, 2002), and reduces much of the complexity of the situation which was identified by the Jay Report. The media does not instil the victims with any agency (a stance in complete opposition to the victim blaming culture identified by the media and seen by some professionals in Rotherham), and reports on their poor economic background, thus suggestion that these young people were the most vulnerable within society. This portrayal can be seen at attempting to maximise public sympathy (Taylor & Wagg, 2014) and increase public anger towards those who have let this abuse happen. Comparatively, the language used in the depictions of perpetrators is very much one that 'others' them, that 'alienates and demonises' the perpetrators (Greer & Jewkes, 2005). Repeated use of the terms "predatory" and "paedophile" create a stereotypical view of individuals who are deviant from society (Jewkes & Letherby, 2002). Rather than considering them as taxi drivers and

restaurant workers the discourse creates something entirely different and overly simplified.

The media maximising and minimising certain aspects of the Jay Report is very much in line with the work of Jewkes (2010), who identifies the media's reporting of high profile crime as a careful construction which allows the reader to avoid the realities of the situation. This then means that the reader does not need to confront the complexities that are often behind these issues. Radford (2012) identified that such reporting, especially in relation to child protection concerns, actively misleads the public and creates a false belief that simple solutions exist to these issues. This simplification can be seen when examining areas of the Jay Report which are largely ignored or given limited column space by the media. The most notable absence is the lack of reference by the media to the recommendations the Jay Reports makes for future practice in Rotherham. These 15 recommendations outline that the council must put in place improvements to risk strategy, provide better and ongoing support for victims, and that the council should more effectively engage with the city's Pakistani community. The impression that these recommendations give is that the situation in Rotherham, though difficult, is salvageable. The choice to ignore the Jay Report's recommendations is compounded by the media's reluctance to highlight that substantial improvements in practice have been made around the handling and working with child sexual exploitation cases within Rotherham.

The methods of construction which the media use in relation to this story can be seen as attempting to create a 'moral panic'. The relationship between moral panics and child protection social work have been well established (Cree, Clapton, & Smith, 2015), with not the perpetrators, but often social workers, portrayed as the 'folk devils' of the story (Parton, 2014). Cree, Clapton, & Smith (2012) outline that moral panics should contain the following four criteria of "a threat or concern, stereotypical presentation of this, consensus about what the problem is and hostility towards it and disproportionality in the presentation of the problem" (Cree, Clapton, & Smith, 2012, p. 4). These factors can all be seen to be met in some terms by the newspaper coverage of the Jay Report:

1. The *threat or concern* in this case is the prolonged and large scale of sexual abuse of young girls within the city of Rotherham.
2. The media attempt to create a *stereotypical presentation* of this occurs through highlighting the innocence of the victims, and 'othering' the perpetrators by using labels and value-laden language to describe them.
3. The media outlines that the *consensus of the problem* is that this is happening, and up to this point the local authority services have been either unwilling or unable to do anything to stop this.
4. Through the media coverage, there is a certain sense of *disproportionality in the presentation of the problem*, not in the scale of the abuse, but through consistently highlighting the most shocking and extreme cases of abuse.

Despite these factors being identified, Cree, Clapton, & Smith (2015) note that the media coverage of the Rotherham child abuse scandal does not become an all out demonisation of social work, as has been seen in many past child protection cases. Indeed, based on the results of this study, this author would agree with their conclusion. The media identify social work as one

profession amongst many professions that failed in this case, however, there is no one entity or individual who is given all of the blame.

The role social work is mainly explored through the depictions of professional practice to professional practice, the Jay Report outlines missed opportunities and the failure to identify the sexual grooming of children by professionals, however taking all of the information presented, the media construct a picture of practice where the authorities have ignored or were indifferent to victims' pleas for help. These themes of indifference are informed by the case examples which the Jay Report use, and through interviews with the victims, that professionals were aware of the abuse but did nothing to help. The media also construct a picture of professional practice that is not just indifferent, but due to the professionals' fear being labelled as racist, gives the impression that professionals are powerless to stop the exploitation that was going on. This image of professionals as dismissive of concerns is in line with Ayre's (2001) identification of social workers being portrayed as inept. However the dimension of powerless, in that many frontline workers were aware of what was going on and reported it to senior managers who ignored their concerns, is not a portrayal that is commonly seen in relation to social work.

Cree, Clapton, & Smith (2015) outline that due to "several interacting factors, namely newspaper politics, the Jay Report, the nature of the case, and the sensitivity of the topic of ethnicity", no folk devil is identified in this coverage. This analysis did find, as with many child protection scandals, that the blame for these crimes in the media coverage does not just lay with the perpetrators alone. Instead, the blame is extended to those in power who failed to act appropriately, and in this case the majority of that blame appears to be put upon senior council leaders. In this way, more so than the actual perpetrators, the closest representation in this case of 'folk devils' are the members of the senior council leadership. Indeed, leadership comes under heavy fire, with the media strongly painting them as the target of blame. Despite this however, this group of high ranking and well paid officials does not fulfill the full criteria required to create a folk devil.

The media does not heed the advice of Munro (2011), that the media should hold this abuse accountable to the perpetrators and them alone, providing much wider coverage of the council officials than the perpetrators of the abuse. That being said, the profession of social work is certainly not held primarily culpable as was seen in the cases of Victoria Climbié and Baby P. This dissertation would contend that the main reason why social workers are not held up as 'folk devils', and a complete moral panic is not achieved, is due to the clarity and depth of the Jay Report. Indeed, it is believed that this would be the main point that the profession of social work can learn from the media coverage of the Rotherham abuse scandal in order to enhance future practice.

As previously mentioned in this dissertation, there have been several suggestion regarding how social work can engage more effectively with the media. These views have been summed up in the Munro Report (2011), which outlined that it is important that social work has a clear and strong voice when engaging with the media. Following the publication of the Munro Report, The College of Social Work (TCSW) was set up in an aim to promote excellence in social work practice. TCSW also included a media centre, which could release statements on behalf of social work regarding issues involved in practice. An excerpt from a statement from the TCSW's media centre reads:

“Professor Jay’s report starkly reminds us how important it is that practice is unremittingly child focussed and non-blaming. Professionals must share information carefully, be prepared to challenge one another and think the seemingly unthinkable about what may be happening to children” (The College of Social Work, 2014, p. 1)

This statement was released 27/08/2014, the day after the publication of the Jay Report. However, it is worth noting that none of the nine papers that were examined for the one-week period following the Jay Report publication made reference to or use of this quote. In addition, the College of Social Work announced on 19/06/2015 that due to financial pressures it would be closing, leaving social workers again with little support or guidance when it comes to dealing with the media. The recommendations of the Munro Report (2011) also saw the creation of the role of chief social worker for children Isabelle Trowler, although again this voice was not heard in the media coverage of Rotherham.

Social work’s previous approach to engaging with the media has started to change whereby the media are engaged with rather than ignored. The media is a vital part of our culture to identify wrong-doing and holding to account organisational failures, however in cases of social work which are potential moral panics, if not handled correctly this has the potential to cause more harm than good. Professor Jay’s report provides a strong, clear voice, but it is also one that is listened to by the media and politicians. This dissertation recommends that social work continues to actively engage with the media and develop a media strategy that informs and challenges in the same way that the Jay Report did. This can be accomplished through continued development of the Chief Social Worker role, and more open and transparent practices when it comes to such high profile social work failings.

There were some limitations in completing this study, and the researcher acknowledges that the use of qualitative analysis is highly interpretative and open to influence by the views of the researcher himself. An additional limitation was that the data from all of the newspapers were being considered together, it would have been extremely use to have identified how the different political leanings of these newspapers influenced the narrative construction, if some papers were more accurate in exploring the Jay report findings than others..

If this research were to be taken further there are several areas which could be explored in more detail. In collecting data for this study the timeline initially covered the entire first month, which saw the resignation of both Shaun Wright and Joyce Thacker. However, the scope of the project was reduced due to time constraints. In addition, pictorial analysis and layout of the images used in these news stories could provide insight into how these factors shape the narrative which the media have constructed around this case

Conclusion

The media will not change its views of social work unless social work changes how it engages with the media. The Jay Report, written by Professor Alexis Jay who has a strong career in social work, provides a clear and in-depth analysis of the mass failing of CSE victims in Rotherham. Despite apparent media attempts to create a moral panic of this situation, this was stifled by the presence of the Report. As such, social work, the police and the council were rightly held to account for the mass failings, and interestingly social work avoided vilification in this coverage, as is common in similar past incidents. This study would encourage social work to continue to engage in the media conversation around such scandals, primarily through the voice of the Chief Social Worker role. This voice should give more detail and transparency to such cases thus directly influencing the media construction of these news stories, and ensuring that the point of view of social work is not just being spoken, but is being heard.

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Appendices

Appendix A – List of news articles examined

No.	Date	Headline	Paper	Code Name
1	27/08/14	Rotherham Abuse Scandal: Lost Children	The Guardian	Guardian 1
2	27/08/14	Rotherham abuse scandal: One victim's experience: Groomed, raped and trafficked - then left isolated	The Guardian	Guardian2
3	27/08/14	Rotherham abuse scandal: Police and politicians heard repeated, explicit warnings - but they didn't act	The Guardian	Guardian3
4	27/08/14	Front: Failures led to sexual abuse of 1,400 children: Report damns politicians and police:	The Guardian	Guardian4
5	27/08/14	Protection, not blame: The scale of sexual abuse in Rotherham is shocking, but let's avoid racial stereotyping	The Guardian	Guardian8
6	27/08/14	Leading article: Beyond belief: Rotherham child abuse	The Guardian	Guardian9
7	27/08/14	Rotherham abuse scandal: Analysis: A putrid scandal perpetuated by a broken system	The Guardian	Guardian10
8	28/08/14	Child sex abuse is endemic, says charity: Rotherham report could provide a glimpse of scale of abuse across the country	The Guardian	Guardian5
9	28/08/14	Front: 'Wilfully blind' authorities put children at risk	The Guardian	Guardian6
10	28/08/14	Shaun Wright: Crime commissioner quits party but insists he will stay in his job	The Guardian	Guardian7
11	28/08/14	Leading Article: Child sexual exploitation: No excuse	The Guardian	Guardian12
12	28/08/14	The abuse in Rotherham was not as the right claim a matter of ethnicity, but of class the rape of poor children by men	The Guardian	Guardian13
13	28/08/14	Comment: Turning a blind eye	The Guardian	Guardian14
14	29/08/14	Comment: It's not about individuals	The Guardian	Guardian11
15	30/08/14	Comment: The 'PC gone mad' defence is itself a form of racism	The Guardian	Guardian16
16	30/08/14	Saturday: Everyone in Britain is too busy slagging off other people's 'isms'	The Guardian	Guardian15
17	31/08/14	ROTHERHAM SCANDAL: Sorry isn't good enough. When will Britain learn to protect its children?	The Observer	Guardian18
18	31/08/14	Rotherham report 'reduced me to tears', says MP who exposed abuse a decade ago:	The Observer	Guardian19
19	31/08/14	My shame has gone. Now I'm angry for the thousands of us who've been abused	The Observer	Guardian20
20	31/08/14	Cooper calls for change in law in wake of South Yorkshire grooming scandal	The Observer	Guardian21
21	31/08/14	Front: Call to change law after abuse scandal	The Observer	Guardian22
22	31/08/14	Will James Harding be allowed to edit?	The Observer	Guardian23
23	27/08/14	Officials hid evidence for a decade	The Times	Times1

24	27/08/14	'Professionals who did nothing to help me are as bad as my rapists';	The Times	Times2
25	27/08/14	Scandal of the 1,400 lost girls	The Times	Times3
26	27/08/14	Council chief resigns and says sorry	The Times	Times4
27	28/08/14	Care chief tried to play down sex claims	The Times	Times5
28	28/08/14	Muslim leader demands full investigation	The Times	Times6
29	28/08/14	Lawyers seek £100,000 payout for each victim	The Times	Times7
30	28/08/14	Former MP says 'lefties feared rocking the multicultural boat'	The Times	Times8
31	28/08/14	Shame of Rotherham;	The Times	Time9
32	28/08/14	They spoke out, asked for help, and were treated with contempt;	The Times	Times10
33	29/08/14	Muslims must tackle the misogyny in their midst;	The Times	Times11
34	29/08/14	'They're Just sorry it's been exposed'	The Times	Times12
35	29/08/14	Investigate police boss, says MP	The Times	Times13
36	29/08/14	Case files wiped after report on grooming gangs	The Times	Times14
37	29/08/14	Police still dismissing child rapes and sexual violence as non-crimes;	The Times	Times15
38	30/08/14	Muslims disown grooming gangs	The Times	Times16
39	30/08/14	Police chief was sent details of girls raped in his town;	The Times	Times17
40	31/08/14	QUOTES OF THE WEEK	Sunday Times	Times18
41	31/08/14	24 lost chances to halt Rotherham sex abuse	Sunday Times	Times21
42	31/08/14	HOW TO MAKE OUR CHILDREN SAFE; How could anyone think girls of 11 were having consensual sex?	Sunday Times	Times22
43	31/08/14	She kept her clothes as evidence. The police lost them	Sunday Times	Times23
44	31/08/14	Officials tried to have abuse report rewritten;	Sunday Times	Times24
45	02/09/14	One abuser, 18 'girlfriends	The Times	Times25
46	02/09/14	Woman accused of Rotherham cover-up still in child safety Job	The Times	Times27
47	27/08/14	Senior staff who have moved on unnamed and unpunished	The Telegraph	Telegraph1
48	27/08/14	Victims of appalling abuse ignored by those whose job was to protect them	The Telegraph	Telegraph3
49	27/08/14	Yet again, the cries of the innocent are ignored;	The Telegraph	Telegraph4
50	27/08/14	Councils turned a blind eye to sex abuse gangs;	The Telegraph	Telegraph5
51	28/08/14	Authorities face millions in pay outs for victims	The Telegraph	Telegraph6
52	28/08/14	Executive at centre of the scandal took children off Ukip voters;	The Telegraph	Telegraph7
53	28/08/14	Abuse 'a national scourge'	The Telegraph	Telegraph8
54	28/08/14	MacShane: My Leftie views stopped me delving into issue	The Telegraph	Telegraph9
55	28/08/14	Chiefs who ignored child abuse 'must quit';	The Telegraph	Telegraph10
56	28/08/14	Scandal? What scandal, declares council website	The Telegraph	Telegraph11
57	28/08/14	Child-abuse officials must face a reckoning;	The Telegraph	Telegraph12
58	28/08/14	In the face of such terrifying, evil, who is the	The Telegraph	Telegraph13

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59	29/08/14	Just three officers run Rotherham's abuse unit;	The Telegraph	Telegraph14
60	29/08/14	No hiding place;	The Telegraph	Telegraph15
61	29/08/14	'We suspected the abuse went further';	The Telegraph	Telegraph18
62	29/08/14	Clegg: Don't let police investigate themselves;	The Telegraph	Telegraph19
63	29/08/14	Ripe for abuse: the ghostly figures in Britain's shadowlands;	The Telegraph	Telegraph20
64	29/08/14	Police boss must quit, demands Cameron	The Telegraph	Telegraph21
65	29/08/14	'We always had suspected that the abuse went further'	The Telegraph	Telegraph22
66	30/08/14	'Breach of her rights' to investigate abusers names on girl's phone	The Telegraph	Telegraph23
67	30/08/14	Drugged and targeted for sex. They were the lucky ones;	The Telegraph	Telegraph24
68	30/08/14	The toxic legacy of multiculturalism	The Telegraph	Telegraph25
69	31/08/14	Labour MPs: Left ignored sex abuse;	Telegraph-Sun	Telegraph27
70	31/08/14	Rotherham is not an isolated incident;	Telegraph-Sun	Telegraph28
71	01/09/14	It's no good just being shocked at Rotherham - budgets mustn't be cut;	The Telegraph	Telegraph31
72	01/09/14	Researcher told to hide Muslim link to abuse;	The Telegraph	Telegraph32
73	27/08/14	1,400 FAILURES; SHOCK REPORT: CHILDREN BETRAYED BY THE SYSTEM	The Mirror	Mirror1
74	27/08/14	Muslims disgusted justice was not done	The Mirror	Mirror2
75	27/08/14	HORRIFIC BETRAYAL OF 1,400 CHILDREN	The Mirror	Mirror3
76	27/08/14	Abused girl 'invisible' to system was killed for exposing abusers	The Mirror	Mirror5
77	28/08/14	Wright's wrong	The Mirror	Mirror7
78	28/08/14	I told police the who raped me... names of 250 men They did NOTHING;	The Mirror	Mirror8
79	28/08/14	'I raised the alarm & was called racist'	The Mirror	Mirror9
80	28/08/14	Defiant Wright clings to cop job but quits Labour	The Mirror	Mirror10
81	29/08/14	SORRY STATE OF AFFAIRS	The Mirror	Mirror11
82	29/08/14	Punish all who let abuse go on;	The Mirror	Mirror12
83	29/08/14	COP CHARGED OVER GIRL SEX	The Mirror	Mirror13
84	29/08/14	GROOMER: I'M LIVING HIGH LIFE; CHILD SEX SCANDAL	The Mirror	Mirror14
85	29/08/14	Wright's deputy quits as he clings on to job	The Mirror	Mirror15
86	29/08/14	The "Welcome to Rotherham" signs [...]	The Mirror	Mirror16
87	29/08/14	Policing tsar must be next out the door	The Mirror	Mirror18
88	30/08/14	Former boss 'should lose Aussie role'	The Mirror	Mirror19
89	30/08/14	RAZEN BEASTS PICKED UP GIRLS AT CARE HOMES; ROTHERHAM: NEW CHILD SEX ABUSE SCANDAL	The Mirror	Mirror20
90	31/08/14	Abused girls failed by lack of oversight	Sunday Mirror	Mirror21
91	31/08/14	He made I was 14, but I was me pregnant twice. I thought it was love groomed& abused	Sunday Mirror	Mirror22
92	31/08/14	Why clueless UKIP beats gutless Cam	Sunday Mirror	Mirror23
93	31/08/14	SHAMELESS COP CHIEF WRIGHT'S IN THE WRONG	Sunday Mirror	Mirror24

94	31/08/14	Break Asian conspiracy of silence on sex	Sunday Mirror	Mirror25
95	31/08/14	Horrific abuse going on all over the UK	Sunday Mirror	Mirror26
96	01/09/14	100 babies; ...heartbreaking legacy of the Rotherham child sex scandal	The Mirror	Mirror27
97	01/09/14	Esther blasts 'cover-up' on Rotherham	The Mirror	Mirror28
98	01/09/14	A TOWN LACKING IN RESPECT	The Mirror	Mirror29
99	02/09/14	'Investigate cops' failure'	The Mirror	Mirror30
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101	27/08/14	I was raped, beaten and sold for sex at 13 so why is there still no justice?;	The Sun	Sun2
102	27/08/14	'Like part of growing up'	The Sun	Sun3
103	27/08/14	THE PREDATORS	The Sun	Sun4
104	27/08/14	THE Sun SAYS Left's blind eye to child rapes	The Sun	Sun5
105	28/08/14	ABUSED ACCUSED	The Sun	Sun6
106	28/08/14	You were meant to protect me... but I suffered years of torment;	The Sun	Sun7
107	28/08/14	He quits Labour... now go, says May	The Sun	Sun8
108	28/08/14	UNMASKED: MAN 18 GIRLS NAMED	The Sun	Sun9
109	28/08/14	Wright wrong	The Sun	Sun10
110	28/08/14	Cops who raided Sir Cliff ignored mass rape	The Sun	Sun11
111	29/08/14	I'VE GONE, YOU MUST GO TOO	The Sun	Sun13
112	29/08/14	The Sun Says The cling-ons	The Sun	Sun14
113	29/08/14	Will failure Shaun do Wright thing?	The Sun	Sun15
114	29/08/14	SICK JOKE; Shamed council won award... for tackling paedos	The Sun	Sun16
115	30/08/14	'These Pakistani men think white girls deserve it'	The Sun	Sun17
116	30/08/14	Kid molesters were hiding in plain sight	The Sun	Sun18
117	31/08/14	THE Sun ON SUNDAY SAYS It's vital you sign petition	Sunday Sun	Sun22
118	31/08/14	ABUSE GANGS UK; CHILD SEX SCANDAL POLICE TO REOPEN 1,000 MORE FILES	Sunday Sun	Sun23
119	31/08/14	Shamed Wright is still in job 5 days on	Sunday Sun	Sun24
120	31/08/14	'Listened to at last'	Sunday Sun	Sun25
121	31/08/14	ANYONE who thinks the Rotherham [...]	Sunday Sun	Sun27
122	31/08/14	It's identical to my ordeal in RochdaleS	Sunday Sun	Sun28
123	01/09/14	MOST of the gangs raping children in Rotherham [...]	The Sun	Sun21
124	27/08/14	Betrayed by the PC cowards:	The Daily Mail	DailyMail1
125	27/08/14	Taxi Drivers Ferried girls from school gates	The Daily Mail	DailyMail2
126	27/08/14	CPS let gangs carry on	The Daily Mail	DailyMail3
127	27/08/14	'I was called a liar and a racist for exposing this sex gang abuse horror	The Daily Mail	DailyMail4
128	27/08/14	Girls Doused in Petrol and told they would be raped next	The Daily Mail	DailyMail6
129	27/08/14	Police: Dismissed Victims as Undesirable and out of control	The Daily Mail	DailyMail6
130	27/08/14	Council: Terrified of being called, racist, it suppressed the scandal	The Daily Mail	DailyMail7
131	27/08/14	Social Workers: No had the Skills	The Daily Mail	DailyMail8
132	27/08/14	HOW CAN THIS HAPPEN IN A CIVILISED	The Daily Mail	DailyMail11

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133	28/08/14	SOCIAL WORKERS AND COUNCIL CHIEFS WHO ARE IN THE FRAME	The Daily Mail	DailyMail9
134	28/08/14	WE WON'T TAKE THE BLAME!	The Daily Mail	DailyMail10
135	28/08/14	LABOUR'S MACSHANE: MY LEFTIE VIEWS KEPT ME QUIET	The Daily Mail	DailyMail12
136	28/08/14	Crime tsar quits the Labour Party - but won't give up his job...	The Daily Mail	DailyMail13
137	28/08/14	THIS INSULT TO THE 1400 VICTIMS. Monster returns to Rotherham:	The Daily Mail	DailyMail14
138	28/08/14	Police tsar must go says girl who was abused at 11:	The Daily Mail	DailyMail15
139	28/08/14	VICTIMS SUE COUNCIL AND POLICE	The Daily Mail	DailyMail16
140	28/08/14	Even our police are blinded by liberal dogma, writes SIMON DANCZUK	The Daily Mail	DailyMail17
141	28/08/14	From sex abuse gangs to jihadis, the State's fear of seeming 'racist' is letting evil thrive, writes MANZOOR MOGHAL	The Daily Mail	DailyMail18
142	29/08/14	'My abuser is out of jail... and tormenting me on Facebook	The Daily Mail	DailyMail19
143	29/08/14	HOW POLICE REFUSED TO TREAT RAPE ALLEGATIONS AS CRIMES	The Daily Mail	DailyMail20
144	29/08/14	POLICE CHIEF'S PRIORITY: SPEEDING	The Daily Mail	DailyMail21
145	29/08/14	Revealed: Officers' callous treatment of sex gang victim	The Daily Mail	DailyMail22
146	29/08/14	SHAMELESS CRIME TSAR STILL WON'T GO	The Daily Mail	DailyMail23
147	29/08/14	ASIAN LEADERS 'COMPLICIT IN HUSHING UP RACE ELEMENT'	The Daily Mail	DailyMail24
148	29/08/14	HOW Council Tried to keep public in dark	The Daily Mail	DailyMail25
149	29/08/14	Rotten to the Core	The Daily Mail	DailyMail26
150	29/08/14	MANAGERS HIRED	The Daily Mail	DailyMail27
151	30/08/14	Damning files were 'removed in a cover-up'	The Daily Mail	DailyMail28
152	30/08/14	OFFICIAL BROKE HER PROMISE TO VICTIM'	The Daily Mail	DailyMail29
153	30/08/14	The abuse is still going on - and now it's even WORSE;	The Daily Mail	DailyMail30
154	30/08/14	Yes, it's old-fashioned. But a word of advice for those who make colossal blunders in public life...RESIGN!	The Daily Mail	DailyMail31
155	31/08/14	POLICE PLAN MASS RAIDS ON SEX GANGS	Mail on Sunday	DailyMail32
156	31/08/14	REVEALED: DAMNING DOSSIER THAT PROVES POLICE TSAR WAS ALERTED TO HORRIFIC SCALE OF GROOMING	Mail on Sunday	DailyMail33
157	31/08/14	POLITICALLY CORRECT - AND TOTALLY WRONG	The Daily Mail	DailyMail35
158	01/09/14	13 YEARS AGO THIS MAN WAS ACCUSED OF ABUSING 18 GIRLS.	The Daily Mail	DailyMail36
159	01/09/14	MORE APOLOGIES BUT CRIME TSAR STILL WON'T QUIT	The Daily Mail	DailyMail37
160	01/09/14	Labour accused of turning blind eye to abuse:	The Daily Mail	DailyMail38
161	01/09/14	Unvarnished truth about Rotherham	The Daily Mail	DailyMail39
162	01/09/14	WHAT A VERY HOLLOW BOAST	The Daily Mail	DailyMail40

163	27/08/14	1400 Children sexually abused over 16-year period 'Never Again'	The Star (Shef)	Star1
164	27/08/14	Damning Report Says Problems ignored for years	The Star (Shef)	Star2
165	27/08/14	Scandal: Nobody could say 'we didn't know'	The Star (Shef)	Star3
166	27/08/14	Hidden Report 'could have stopped abuse'	The Star (Shef)	Star4
167	27/08/14	PCC's Seconds apology – but no resignation	The Star (Shef)	Star5
168	27/08/14	Dads were arrested after tracking down abusers	The Star (Shef)	Star6
169	28/08/14	Child Abuse: Youngsters afraid to walk the streets or take a taxi in Rotherham	The Star (Shef)	Star7
170	28/08/14	Unsackable Chief Vows not to Quit	The Star (Shef)	Star8
171	28/08/14	EDL plan new rally in town following inquiry scandal	The Star (Shef)	Star9
172	28/08/14	Abuse victims take legal action	The Star (Shef)	Star10
173	28/08/14	A catalogue of suffering abuse and exploitation	The Star (Shef)	Star11
174	28/08/14	Five Jailed for grooming young girls	The Star (Shef)	Star12
175	28/08/14	POLICE 'HID THE TRUTH ABOUT ABUSE'	The Star (Shef)	Star13
176	28/08/14	Police: 'Lessons to learn' but report also highlights positives'	The Star (Shef)	Star14
177	28/08/14	Police were informed of abuse – but didn't act	The Star (Shef)	Star15
178	28/08/14	MEP: British Pakistanis must speak out on abuse	The Star (Shef)	Star16
179	28/08/14	Ex-Rotherham council boss backed by new Australian employer	The Star (Shef)	Star17
180	28/08/14	Hundreds of suspects being investigated over South Yorkshire child abuse	The Star (Shef)	Star18
181	28/08/14	PPC's deputy resigns - and says he should too	The Star (Shef)	Star19
182	28/08/14	Call for law changes on reporting of sex abuse	The Star (Shef)	Star20
183	30/08/14	Babies of the Rotherham child abuse girls	The Star (Shef)	Star21
184	30/08/14	CHILD ABUSE VICTIMS HAD BABIES TAKEN AWAY	The Star (Shef)	Star22
185	30/08/14	Report 'laid bare' our failings –police chief	The Star (Shef)	Star23
186	30/08/14	Former Chief was 'not aware' of abuse issue	The Star (Shef)	Star24
187	30/08/14	Council's child budget under extreme pressure'	The Star (Shef)	Star25
188	30/08/14	Police recording of Rotherham rape cases was weak' - report	The Star (Shef)	Star26
189	01/09/14	Police chief Wright will stand down in two years	The Star (Shef)	Star27
190	01/09/14	Bosses look at city links to child abuse	The Star (Shef)	Star28
191	01/09/14	MP was never told about child sex abuse	The Star (Shef)	Star29
192	01/09/14	Extra patrols for protests	The Star (Shef)	Star30
193	02/09/14	Calls for police chief to be sacked from top job	The Star (Shef)	Star31
194	02/09/14	Fears that child sexual exploitation is widespread	The Star (Shef)	Star32
195	02/09/14	Crime Panel to discuss future of county's commissioner	The Star (Shef)	Star33
196	27/08/14	Police tsar urged to quit over town's child sex shame	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP1
197	27/08/14	Victims put through hell	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP2
198	27/08/14	Agendas put before welfare	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP2
199	27/08/14	Abuser doused his young victim in petrol and threatened to set her alight	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP2a

200	27/08/14	Evidence of abuse made known in 1990's	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP2b
201	27/08/14	Abuse Scandal: Heads must roll	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP3
202	28/08/14	May and labour ramp up pressure on Wright	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP4
203	28/08/14	Compensation claims on the way	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP4a
204	28/08/14	Sexual abuse of children, obvious years ago	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP5
205	28/08/14	Funding cuts highlighted	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP5a
206	28/08/14	Question: Should Shaun Wright resign as South Yorkshire Crime Commissioner	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP6
207	28/08/14	Where is the Accountability	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP6a
208	28/08/14	Damned by own words: the police tsar in denial	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP7
209	29/08/14	Police tried to disprove abuse claims	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP8
210	29/08/14	Now Cameron joins in battle to persuade Wright he is wrong	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP9
211	29/08/14	Changes would be need to force out office holders	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP9a
212	29/08/14	Sex abuse reports in 2005 were 'tip of an iceberg'	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP9b
213	30/08/14	Taxi drivers face tough regime in wake of town's sex abuse scandal	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP10
214	30/08/14	Time for law of accountability	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP11
215	30/08/14	Make reporting abuse Mandatory	Yorkshire Post	YorkshireP12
216	27/08/14	1,400 kid 'sexually exploited' in 16 years	Y Evening Post	YEveningP1
217	28/08/14	Labour Party calls for commissioner to quit	Y Evening Post	YEveningP2
218	01/09/14	Council Boss in Scandal Quiz	Y Evening Post	YEveningP3

Appendix B – Examples of transcribes articles

13 YEARS AGO THIS MAN WAS ACCUSED OF ABUSING 18 GIRLS. ONLY NOW ARE POLICE ACTING

BYLINE: BY ROSIE TAYLOR

LENGTH: 570 words

THIS is the man named as an alleged serial child abuser 13 years ago by victims of the Rotherham grooming scandal.

Yet despite being accused of vile crimes by 18 young girls, Arshad Hussain was never questioned by police.

Now, though, officers are investigating Hussain, who these days is confined to a wheelchair following a shooting.

The girls, some as young as 12, all allegedly named him as their boyfriend' in interviews with council workers in 2001.

But Hussain was not questioned about the allegations and police are only investigating the 39-year-old father in the wake of last week's report into the Rotherham scandal by Professor Alexis Jay. Yesterday one alleged victim said it was unbelievable' young girls had not been protected.

Katie - not her real name - got into a relationship with the violent man she knew as Big Ash' when she was 14 and he was 24.

She claimed he was controlling and aggressive but police dismissed her concerns and those of her parents. They did not question him even after she made an official statement. She said: 'I just think it is disgraceful. It wasn't just me, there were so many of us and nothing was ever done.'

For two years she believed she was in love with Hussain, who had been married twice by the time she met him.

Her parents did everything they could to stop the relationship. They even put her into care in a bid to separate them - but carers openly allowed him to see her and she twice became pregnant by him.

HIS is t...

Depictions of Perpetrator

Depictions of Victims

et des...

Professional Practice

Ignored by Authorities

Perpetrator Name

Now, t...

Depictions of Perpetrator

Other Illegal Perpetrator Beh...

The gr...

Professional Practice

Depictions of Victims

Failure to identify abuse/groo...

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Specific victim age

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She claim...

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Victims Voice

"Professionals did nothing"

or two years she believ...

Depictions of Perpetrator

Depictions of Victims

Perceived Romantic Relation...

Failure to identify abuse/groo...

She went to police aged 16 after realising she couldn't take any more, but said she was treated with derision.

On one occasion, she claimed, she called police saying she was scared because Hussain was sat outside her house in his car but was told because she lived on a main road he was allowed to be there.

Katie said: He should have been arrested and questioned and taken to court. To not even question him is just unbelievable.'

The former deputy leader of Rotherham Council, Jahangir Akhtar, is a cousin of Hussain and lives a few doors from his family home.

Mr Akhtar was accused in a report in The Times last year of helping to arrange a deal where Hussain returned one of his young alleged victims who had gone missing from home to police.

Mr Akhtar has denied protecting Hussain or knowing about any inappropriate relationships. Hussain was named as a boyfriend' by up to 18 girls who spoke to social workers as part of the Risky Business outreach group, aimed at youngsters who were at risk of being lured into prostitution.

The council-funded project, which has since been absorbed into the council's safeguarding team, allegedly passed his name to police in 2001. Professor Jay's report said Risky Business was often the only agency to take victims seriously but was too often seen as something of a nuisance, particularly by children's social care'.

Hussain was shot in the stomach in 2005 and now uses a wheelchair. He and his wife Fatima moved to a council bungalow near Goole, East Yorkshire, around a year ago.

Hussain refused to speak to the Mail and his solicitor Riyaz Shaikh did not respond to repeated requests for comment about the allegations. South Yorkshire Police said: A number of investigations looking at historical sexual offences in Rotherham are currently ongoing.

These are large-scale investigations and are very much live and dynamic. We would be compromising those investigations if we were to provide any details at this stage.'

She w...

Depictions of Victims
Specific victim age

On one occasi...

Professional Practice
Depictions of Victims
Threats
Ignored by Authorities
Failure to identify abuse/groo...

The former deputy leader of Rotherham Council, Jah...

Council Leadership
Naming and Shaming Profes...
Additional Scandal

Hussain w...

External Agencies
Social Work
Positive Practice

The council-funded p...

External Agencies
Jay Report
Examples of Report used to f...

Hussain w...

Perpetrator Behaviour
Depictions of Perpetrator

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Police

'We suspected the abuse went further'; SOCIAL WORKERS

BYLINE: Gordon Rayner

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 294 words

ROTHERHAM'S former director of children's services has apologised to victims of abuse and admitted staff had always suspected the reported cases were just "the tip of an iceberg".

Sonia Sharp, who worked for the council from 2005 to 2008, said she wished she and other staff "could have done more" to help them, though she did not explain why she had not.

Dr Sharp, who now works for the Australian state of Victoria's department of education and early childhood development, is among those who have been blamed for the failures to prevent 1,400 children being abused in **Rotherham** over a 16-year period. She said: "You can't be a director of children's services and not take responsibility for what happens to children."

"I am sorry that these children and young people suffered terrible abuse and I wish we could have done more to prevent the abuse of children and young people in **Rotherham**."

"As soon as I commenced in April 2005 as **Rotherham's** first director of children's services, I was briefed by politicians, senior managers and frontline staff about the issue of sexual exploitation of young people."

"We knew that there were many children in the community at risk and feared that this was the tip of an iceberg."

Dr Sharp was director of children's services in the middle of a 16-year period when an estimated 1,400 youngsters suffered widescale sexual exploitation including gang rapes, grooming and trafficking.

She added: "I regret every case of exploitation of vulnerable girls that was not prevented, but feel strongly that our collective efforts led to gradual but essential improvements in the situation for many young people."

Also criticised was Ged Fitzgerald, who was chief executive at **Rotherham** council between 2001 and 2003. He declined to comment.

ROTHER... Council Leadership
Remorse
Dismissal of Seriousness of ...

Sonia Sh... Professionals Cannot Hide fr...
Naming and Shaming Profes...

Dr Sharp, wh... 16 years?
Large numbers of victims

1,4... Jay Report

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"I am sorr... Remorse

"As soon as I... No victim agency/Taken adva...

by politicians, sen... Political
Council Leadership

Dr Sharp... No victim agency/Taken adva...
Multiple Perpetrators
Jay Report

She added: '... No victim agency/Taken adva...

Appendix C - Qualitative Analysis Researcher Reflection

Pre analysis reflection

Approaching this dissertation I was drawn to the media's portrayal of social work and its public image. I have always been struck by the negative media coverage that it receives in comparison to the Police and other professions who do vital work when it comes to ensuring child safety.

When the Jay Report was published I noted the intense media attention that the report received, however as the weeks of news coverage went on, it did not appear to me that social work was being vilified in the same way that it had been in previous child protection scandals such as Baby P. The aim of this study was to try and identify if there was something specifically different or something missing from the media coverage which meant that social work was not demonised as perhaps would have been expected from a scandal of this nature.

Post analysis reflection

Prior to completing the analysis, I read through the Jay Report. I was surprised to find that there had been such an emphasis on areas of positive practice and that improvements had been made in relation to Rotherham. Initially, my plan was to see how well the recommendations of the report matched up to newspaper coverage. As I started my analysis, it became clear that I would have to readjust this, as the recommendations hardly feature in any of the news coverage. Therefore, the analysis was changed to see if the newspapers accurately represented the main findings of the Jay Report.

Completing the thematic analysis I let the themes emerge from the data. The results showed that the newspapers coverage did cover many of the main findings of the report, however I was surprised to see had the media omitted the parts of the Jay Report which highlighted positive practice. I was able to see the media attempt to construct certain narratives by focusing their attention on certain areas of the report compared to others. Though the analysis did confirm that social work was not vilified to the same extent, however this may not have been the case, had the media been able to successfully create a moral panic around this story as I felt they were trying to do.

In reviewing the data, I felt that main difference between this and other similar child protection concerns was the Jay Report. The Jay Report outlined the complexities that social work faces regarding these cases and this was the first voice regarding this scandal and the national media had to engage with it. I think Jay was instrumental in the non-vilification of social workers and make suggestions for social work to continue this positive engagement with the media in order the enhance practice.