

Institution: University of West London

Unit of Assessment: UoA 20 - Social Work and Social Policy

Title of case study: Improving Rape Investigation in London and Male Victim Support

nationally

Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: January 2015 to November 2019

Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:

Name(s):	Role(s) (e.g., job title):	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:
Dr Benjamin Hine	Senior Lecturer in Psychology	January 2014 to date
Dr Anthony Murphy	Lecturer in Psychology	January 2014 to January 2018

Period when the claimed impact occurred: January 2016 to December 2020

Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? No

1. Summary of the impact (indicative maximum 100 words)

Improving the response to rape allegations is a challenging issue for public authorities and the police in the UK and elsewhere. Research undertaken by Hine and Murphy in collaboration with the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime – published as The London Rape Review in 2019 - provided predictive models of attrition of rape allegations, generated from coded London case data, and prompted the adoption of new approaches to rape investigation in the capital. Their novel findings on male-on-male cases have also contributed to the inclusion of male victim-survivors of domestic and sexual violence in Crown Prosecution Service and Home Office policy. Moreover, their research into police officers' attitudes have directly resulted in changes to Metropolitan Police training on responding to rape cases, delivered to c10,000 first-responding officers by the police and directly to 56 specialist officers by Hine and Murphy.

2. Underpinning research (indicative maximum 500 words)

Dr Benjamin Hine and Dr Anthony Murphy undertook two research programmes on the investigation and prosecution of rape cases in London with important implications for policy and for policing. One programme utilised real case data to investigate why so few rape allegations resulted in prosecutions. The other assessed how the attitudes of individual police officers may influence their response to rape allegations.

Case Review projects

Hine and Murphy conducted two comprehensive case reviews in collaboration with the London Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) that involved the coding and examination of Crime Report Information System (CRIS) data for rape cases in London. CRIS data is critical to rape investigation in the capital and provides the most comprehensive and representative source of information on the reported incident.

The larger of these - The London Rape Review - sought to identify the key factors that affected different outcomes for victims / survivors and the progression of rape cases through the criminal justice system. A total of 501 rape cases reported to the MPS in April 2016 were assessed. One of the key findings concerned the attrition of allegations. Of the total alleged cases, 86% were not submitted to the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS); only 9% were charged by the CPS; only 6% proceeded to trial; and only 3% resulted in a conviction. The review also identified predictors of attrition. The strongest predictor of victim withdrawal was found to be procedural characteristics with withdrawal, for instance, six times less likely to occur where the victim-survivor participated in a Video Recorded interview. [R1]

Hine and Murphy also reviewed 122 male-on-male cases reported to the MPS between 2005 and 2012 in the only research at present to assess the attritional pathways of such cases (e.g., the likelihood of referral to the Crown Prosecution Service). CRIS data, coded by various teams under MOPAC and Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) jurisdiction, was provided to Hine and Murphy for



analysis. They found that although there were several similarities with cases involving female victims, male cases were more likely to involve strangers, substance use, and a victim with mental health issues, alluding to specific vulnerabilities. Younger victims, victims with poor mental health, and victims who had consumed alcohol or drugs were less likely to have their cases referred to prosecutors and more likely to be 'no-crimed' by police. [R2]

Hine and Murphy's joint role in these reviews included the development of an extensive case coding framework expanding on previous rape reviews conducted internally by the MPS. They also worked with MOPAC to develop the strategy to analyse the data generated from the case-coding, particularly in relation to predictive analyses.

Police attitudes to rape cases

In 2015, Hine and Murphy conducted a large-scale study on rape investigation in collaboration with the Metropolitan Police involving approximately 1000 officers across London. The first part of this study investigated attitudes predictive of rape myth acceptance (RMA) in officers. Results provided strong evidence for a predictive model of attitudes, where broader beliefs such as general hostility towards women, the relationship between power and sex, ambivalent sexism (i.e., prejudicial attitudes towards women), and years of service are strongly predictive of RMA scores. [R3]

The second part investigated officers' judgements of victim blame, perpetrator blame, and rape legitimacy when assessing hypothetical scenarios of rape varying on three key factors associated with common rape myths, namely victim-perpetrator relationship, victim reputation, and initial point of resistance. Results showed significant variations in judgements of responsibility of both victim and perpetrator, as well as perceived rape authenticity, suggesting a possible influence of subjective beliefs on officer's evaluations of rape cases containing information extraneous to the transgression of law. Importantly, this study also demonstrated that officer sex and whether they had received specialist training also predicted judgements, with male officers and those with specialist training providing more negative judgements than female officers and those without training. [R4]

The third part of this project identified the relationship between officers' attitudes and judgements, revealing that officers high in RMA made more negative judgements than those who scored low in RMA. [R 5] Results from this study therefore had significant implications for police policy, specifically in the development and delivery of rape myth training for officers; as a result, Hine and Murphy have since been involved in rape response training in the capital as detailed in Section 4. As the final stage in this programme, Hine and Murphy conducted a follow-up replication study between October and December 2020 to assess changes in both attitudes and judgements across the five years since the original study. Survey results were obtained from 101 police officers, with results showing that officers' judgements improved between 2015 and 2020, as they judge victims are less responsible for their victimisation, and their judgements were less affected by the information presented to them in the replication study as compared to the original. It is intended that the findings will be used for a further publication from this programme.

Researcher Affiliations and Roles

Hine has been employed at University of West London throughout this period. After leaving UWL in January 2018, Murphy was employed by Middlesex University, and subsequently by the University of Birmingham as Head of Department for Psychology. Hine and Murphy have contributed equally to their jointly-conducted research and publications.

- 3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)
- R1 The London Rape Review: A review of cases from 2016 (MOPAC, July 2019) https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/london_rape_review_final_report_31.7.19.pdf
- R2 Hine B., Murphy, A., Yesberg, J., Wunsch, D., Charleton, B., & Widanaralalage Don, B. K. S. (2020). Mapping the landscape of male-on-male rape in London: An analysis of cases



involving male victims reported between 2005 and 2012. Police Practice and Research https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2020.1843458

- R3 Murphy, A., & Hine, B. (2019). Investigating the Demographic and Attitudinal Predictors of Rape Myth Acceptance in U.K. Police Officers: Developing an Evidence-base for Training and Professional Development. Psychology, Crime & Law, 25, 69-89. https://doi.org/10.1080/1068316X.2018.1503663
- R4 Hine, B., & Murphy, A. (2017). The impact of victim-perpetrator relationship, reputation and initial point of resistance on officers' responsibility and authenticity ratings towards hypothetical rape cases. Journal of Criminal Justice, 49, 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2017.01.001
- R5 Hine, B., & Murphy, A. (2019). The Influence of 'High' vs. 'Low' Rape Myth Acceptance on Police Officers' Judgements of Victim and Perpetrator Responsibility, and Rape Authenticity. Journal of Criminal Justice, 60, 100-107. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2018.08.001

Quality statement: Outputs R2, R3, R4 and R5 have all been published in peer-reviewed journals. R4 and R5 have each had 12 citations (as at Dec. 2020). R3, R4 and R5 have been submitted as outputs in REF 2021 in UOA 20.

4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)

Improving the response to rape allegations continues to be a challenging issue for public authorities and the police in the UK and elsewhere. In London, the Mayor has made tackling violence against women and girls a key priority. The research undertaken by Hine and Murphy in collaboration with MOPAC and the MPS has contributed to this work and been described as "highly influential in both policy and practice around rape investigation and provision of support to victim-survivors within the capital". [S1]

Specifically, their research provided predictive models of attrition of rape allegations, generated from coded London case data, and prompted the adoption of new approaches to rape investigation in the capital. Moreover, their novel findings on male-on-male cases contributed to the inclusion of male victim-survivors of domestic and sexual violence in Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) and Home Office policy. Finally, their research into police officers' attitudes directly resulted in changes to MPS training on responding to rape cases.

The London Rape Review

The research conducted for The London Rape Review has played an important role on approaches to these issues in the capital and has begun to influence practice more widely in the UK.

The review's detailing of the specific case characteristics responsible for the high levels of attrition - drop-out of rape cases from the criminal justice system - haS been utilised by the MPS to improve their response to rape cases and informed the delivery of the Mayor's Police and Crime Plan (2017-2021) and the London Violence against Women and Girls (VAWG) Strategy (2018-2021). [S1]

The Independent Victims' Commissioner for London has also made extensive use of the review. She has said that Hine and Murphy's research findings "directly shaped" the review's policy recommendations and that these, in turn, formed the basis of her lobbying of national government and statutory partners. She noted that:

Since its publication, partners have accepted a number of the recommendations in the review such as introducing trauma-informed training [for police investigators] and improving practice around the sharing of third-party material. Such changes should help to tackle unnecessary case delays and ensure that victims' trauma is better understood. [S2]



Public awareness of these issues has been enhanced through the widespread national and regional press coverage of the review. The *Guardian* (31/7/19), for instance, headlined their report "Only 3% of rape claims in London result in convictions, study says", whilst the report in the *Independent* (31/7/19) drew out the attrition findings:

The London Rape Review, conducted by the Mayor of London's Office for Policing and Crime and the University of West London, found that the most common reasons for victims withdrawing were "stress and trauma caused or exacerbated by the investigation", a desire to move on from the rape and concerns for their own safety.

The BBC's report (31/7/19) focused on victims, heading their story "Rape support 'needs drastic improvement". Many other press outlets covered the story, including the *Metro* (31/7/19), *Belfast Telegraph* (1/8/19), *New Statesman* (19/8/19), often linking this story to the related topic of Digital Processing Notices which - controversially - required complainants of sexual assault to allow police to download and examine the contents of their electronic devices. [S3]

The development of a robust coding framework through this project has also improved the ability of MPS, and other police forces, to continue these assessments. [S4] The MOPAC Evidence and Insight Team has been able to advise other police and crime commissioners and police forces on replicating the research in other areas of the UK. Thus, the approach pioneered in London through the collaboration with UWL has contributed to expanding the evidence-base nationally. Furthermore, follow-up work instigated between MOPAC and the Crown Prosecution Service has led to a full end-to end review of cases to investigate key issues and identify areas for improvement as cases move from the police to the CPS. [S1]

Male victims of rape

Work specifically exploring the progression of cases involving male victims of rape led to invitations from 2016 onwards, to a series of annual CPS and Home Office consultations on male victimisation, where Hine presented his research to representatives from across government. In these consultations, he consistently argued for the inclusion of male victim-survivors in various policy initiatives and spoke on the unique challenges that men face upon victimisation.

A testimonial provided by the CPS Policy and Strategy Directorate has said the advice received from this and other consultations resulted in the publication of a CPS Position Statement on male victims for crimes covered by the CPS Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) Strategy in September 2017, which was the first of its kind. The testimonial stated that the Position Statement contained direct recognition of some of the points raised by Hine and others, including reference to the barriers faced by male victims in relation to damaging gender stereotypes, stigma around mental health, and fear of losing children.

Publication of the CPS statement has had a significant impact on shaping approaches by investigators and prosecutors responding to cases of domestic and sexual violence involving men and has served to highlight the numerous gender-specific considerations necessary when securing justice for these victims.

Hine has continued to contribute through to 2020 to CPS roundtable events on male victims, and the testimonial stated that his input has been "highly valuable to CPS policy makers and have resulted in update guidance which has improved the standard of support and service provided to male victims." [S5]

Police training to address rape-myths

Hine and Murphy's research on police attitudes provided MPS-focused evidence to support previous assertions that officers' attitudes and subsequent judgements may help to reinforce rapemyth perceptions. Following presentation of their research findings, Hine and Murphy were commissioned in 2016 by the MPS to design and deliver several training packages for specialist and first-responding officers.

For specialist sexual offences investigation trained (SOIT) officers this consisted of a half-day package focusing on the nature of rape myths, their relationship to broader concepts surrounding



gender and society, their influence in the investigative process (specifically by police officers), and the results of the large-scale MPS study. This was delivered to 32 new SOIT officers over four sessions and to 24 existing SOIT officers over two sessions.

Hine and Murphy also delivered a full-day "train the trainers" package detailing the basics of social cognition, the nature and purpose of rape myths, how rape myths are products of broader beliefs around gender and sex, and how both theirs and others' research can help explain and help combat levels of attrition for rape cases within the criminal justice system. The trainers subsequently delivered this to first-responding officers, with the MPS estimating this had reached c10,000 officers by March 2019. [S6]

Testimony from both frontline and SOIT officers provides insight into the changes gained, with statements such as "It made me really think about attitudes towards rape", "All aspects made me think about how I would interact with victims" and "has made me think and given me confidence in my new role" all demonstrating the impact of the programme on officers' thinking and behaviour [S7]

Although restructuring of specialist officer training and budgetary constraints meant that the MPS were unable to continue direct delivery of the training after 2017, the lead officer at the MPS confirmed that Hine and Murphy's work continues to be used in training as "evidence based examples of the influence rape myths can have in the investigative decisions of officers" and has been "highly influential in the training of rape investigation within the capital". [S6]

The results of the replication study in 2020 described in section 2 provided evidence that officers' attitudes towards "rape myths" have changed. As the corroboration received from the MPS and their support of the replication study demonstrates, the training and knowledge transfer through Hine and Murphy's work, is considered to be making an influential contribution to this welcome development. [S8]

5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

- S1. Letter from Principal Research Officer, MOPAC, dated 6th July 2020.
- S2. Letter from Independent Victim's Commissioner for London, dated 3rd July 2020.
- S3. Media summary. See also: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-49162886
- S4. The London Rape Review: Methodological Note Coding Framework (MOPAC, n.d.)
- S5. Letter from Operational Policy Advisor, Policy and Strategy Directorate, Crown Prosecution Service dated 3rd February 2021, and CPS Public statement on male victims for crimes covered by the CPS VAWG Strategy https://www.cps.gov.uk/publication/cps-public-statement-male-victims-crimes-covered-cps-vawg-strategy
- S6. Letter from Detective Chief Inspector, MPS, dated 28th March 2019.
- S7. Feedback from Officers attending training (report available from the University)
- S8. Research Briefing: 2020 Replication of Research Conducted with Metropolitan Police Service Officers in 2015 on Attitudes and Judgements Towards Hypothetical Rape Cases (report available from the University)