

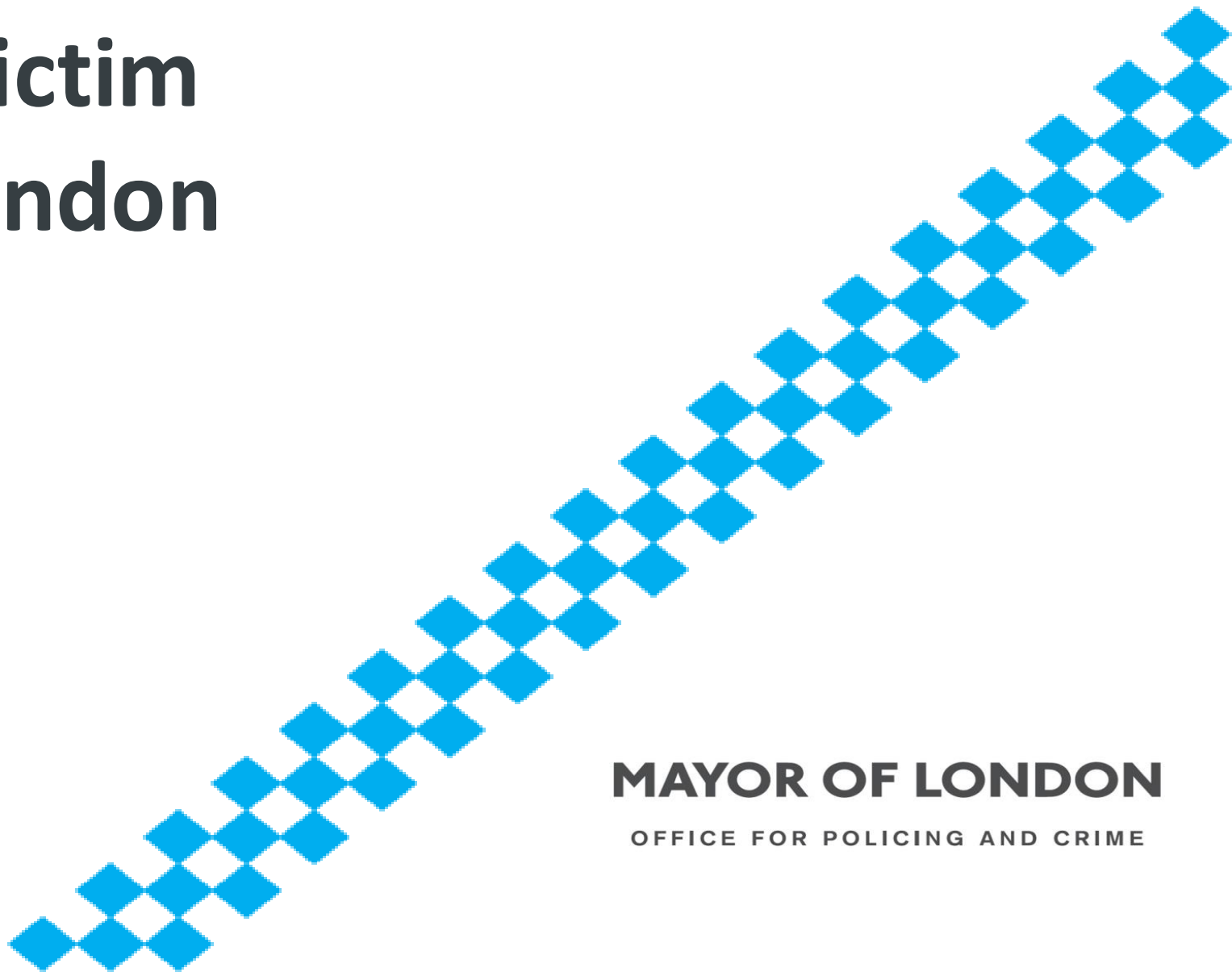
Understanding Victim Withdrawal in London

MOPAC Evidence & Insight

July 2025

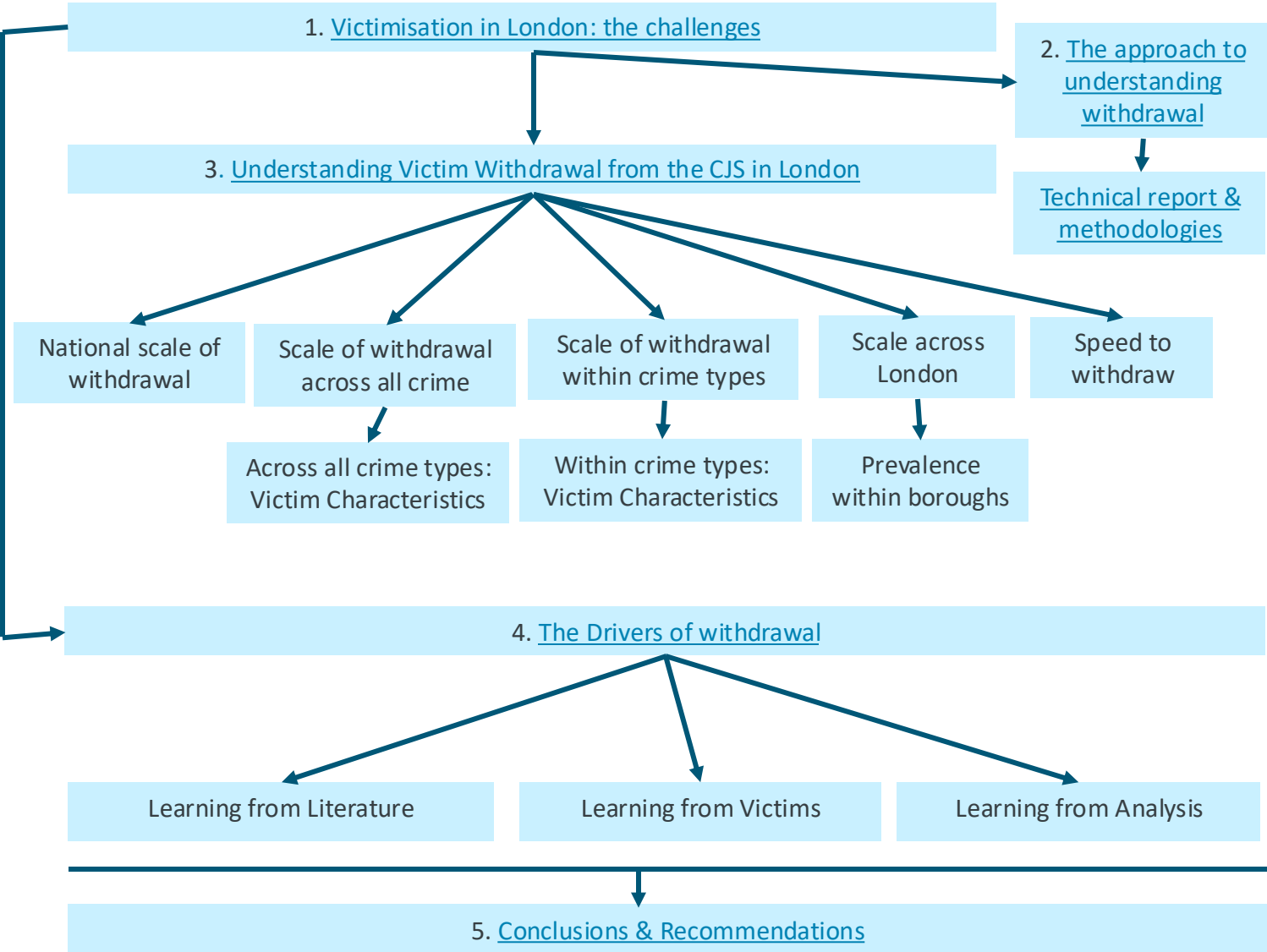
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MAYOR OF LONDON
OFFICE FOR POLICING AND CRIME



Structure & Contents

- The London Police & Crime Plan 2025 – 2029 aims to support victims & support improvement in the criminal justice system.
- Victim withdrawal has featured in many previous MOPAC research products as well as the wider literature.
- The Victims Commissioner asked E&I to explore the nature of the problem; what is driving it; & make recommendations for future focus.
- This learning pack combines insights from police data; academic literature; policy papers; a survey of Londoners & qualitative feedback.
- We present 5 main areas:
 - the **context** of the problem;
 - our **approach to understanding** the problem;
 - the **scale** of the problem;
 - the **drivers** of the problem; &
 - **recommendations** for the future.



Understanding Victim Withdrawal in London – key insights

Key Insight	Supporting Evidence
There is a complex & messy landscape with many systematic issues hindering the ability to fully understand & address victim withdrawal.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">The likelihood of victimisation is not equally spread across London & its inhabitants. High numbers do not even report their crime. There are issues relating to trust & confidence in the police & wider system. Victim Withdrawal is a regular finding in previous MOPAC research & wider.
A varied methodology to explore victim withdrawal is required.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Large scale data analytics both national & in-depth for London, literature reviews, hearing from victims & staff involved in the system.
Victim withdrawal is a consistent & national issue.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Nationally Victim Withdrawal from investigations has been stable over recent years (39% withdraw). MPS are slightly better compared to the national average (i.e., 36% vs 39%). Similarly, CPS data indicates that the proportion of non-convictions due to victim withdrawal has remained relatively stable, ranging between 27% - 32% nationally. London fares slightly better here also. Reaching a finalised prosecution in London takes considerably longer
Victim withdrawal differs across <i>crime types</i> , by <i>location</i> , & occurs at <i>different stages</i> of the process, but demographics are not strong predictors of withdrawal across all crime.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Higher harm/complex cases see higher withdrawal: 69% for Adult Rape, 59% for Domestic Abuse, 51% for CSA, 50% for Adult Sexual Offences.Withdrawal varies across London, the largest variances are seen for DA (16pp range), adult sexual offences (15pp range), & SW (25pp range).Central East had significantly <i>lower rates</i> while West Area had significantly <i>higher rates</i> of withdrawal. While overall rates may be influenced by crime type makeup at BCU level - particularly DA rates - reasons for differing rates at crime type level are unclear.Victims of non-sexual offences generally withdraw <i>within</i> 12 weeks, while sexual & CSA withdraw <i>later</i>. Similar factors drive early & overall withdrawal.
Certain aspects make victim withdrawal <u>more</u> likely...	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Across <u>all</u> crime, the strongest variables that predicted withdrawal were Rape (i.e., x3.2 more likely to withdraw); victims knowing the suspect (i.e., when suspect was current/ex-partner victim was x2.1 times more likely); when the offence takes place in a private place (i.e., private residential venue x2.3 more likely, & x2.2 times more for hotels/hostels) & when the suspect was young (<18 years, x2.1 times more withdraw).There were some unique aspects within specific offences, for example within hate crime, the presence of a domestic incident flag or a knife crime feature were key drivers of withdrawal. For non-intimate partner DA, withdrawal is more likely when it is an HBV offence. For SYV, withdrawal was more likely when the suspect was known to PNC or the offence was reported or found by the police.
Certain aspects make victim withdrawal <u>less</u> likely...	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Victims are less likely to withdraw from Robbery, Arson & Criminal damage cases.Across all crime, the strongest variables that predicted a <u>lower likelihood</u> of withdrawal were; the arrest of the suspect (at scene x2.6, or at a later stage x3.7 less withdrawal); when there was a delay in reporting, especially over a year later (x1.6); when reported by a third-party authority; & when there is a young (<18) or repeat victim.
Victims were clear on their expectations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Victims' feedback highlighted the desire to move on, avoid re-traumatisation, the length of the CJ process, worry about repercussions from the offender & a lack of support from officers / wider agencies as influential in withdrawing. They suggested better emotional understanding, clear updates from police & wider policy changes would encourage them to stay engaged.This is consistent with MOPAC victim surveys demonstrating the importance of <i>ease of contact, police actions, follow up & fair treatment</i>.
Police data often lacks detail to fully understand victim withdrawal.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Gaps & inconsistencies in data hinder full oversight & improvement. For example, officer-recorded victim ethnicity was 'unknown' in over one-third of cases, & officer-recorded suspect ethnicity was missing for 35% of cases, with self-defined suspect ethnicity missing in 78%. Additionally, there were inconsistent outcome codes & suspect details, & reasons for victim withdrawal were not systematically captured.

Understanding Victim Withdrawal in London – recommendations

Strategic Level Considerations

- **The National Scale of the issue** - several concerns were identified such as a lack of victim reporting, the need for trust building for victims, court delays & timings, all the way to the national scale of withdrawal. In this way multi-partner & co-ordinated & large-scale activity/advocacy is required to shape policy change.

Practical Considerations

- **A stocktake of training** - a review of current officer training set alongside the insights within the profile. How much does current victim focus training focus on empathy, fair treatment, communication throughout the process, cultural competence, identifying & addressing vulnerability & consistent recording practices (and other aspects raised). Gaps should be addressed.
- **A tailored initial victim response** - insights identify specific pathways to withdrawal. In this way the victim response ought to be able to flex to individual needs. Whether this is intensive support in the first 12 weeks, or proactive investigation for higher risk groups (i.e., rape, those that know the suspect). A rich evidence base & a static/dynamic split of understanding the varied risks to withdrawal may be a useful framework. Improvements in this space are unlikely without better data capture.
- **Improved follow-up & trust building throughout** - beyond the initial response, the means of positively engaging with victims over the entire process emerged as core to the withdrawal issue. This is a police issue but also applies to wider partners so to enable a joint & procedural response.

Oversight Considerations

- Ongoing oversight should routinely monitor the measurable deliverables alongside the assurances to any new victim focus work. London Policing Board would provide a powerful mechanism in this space.

New research

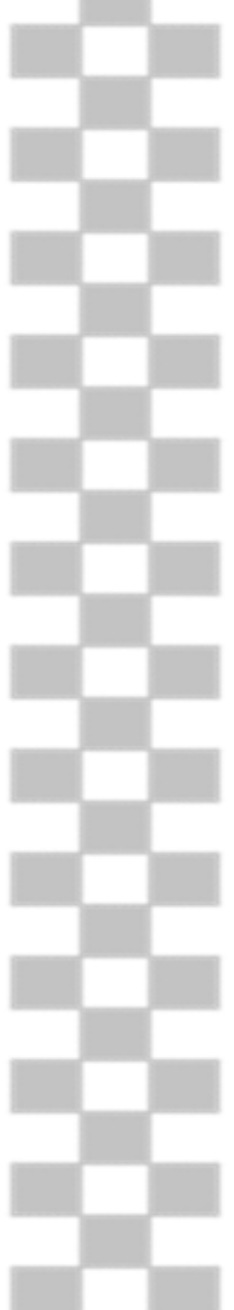
- The profile identified clear geographic differences within withdrawal across BCUs. New work to identify local good practice & understand such variation would be welcome.
- New analytics on exploring predictors of victims, such as latent class analysis may be beneficial to identify unobservable groups of victims who share characteristics. The value of this would be improved with better data (as below).

Data improvements are required

- There is a need to improve **data capture** both at local levels as well as national so enabling better grip. The profile identified a range of data was missing or inconsistent (i.e., completeness of suspect or victim information, plausibility in combination with outcome codes, & a need to capture reasons for withdrawal) & at the national level lacking detail (i.e., not possible to explore outcomes across crime areas like DA & Hate Crime in HO data). These should be addressed. How do current findings align with ongoing national practice (i.e., CJ Data Improvement Programme). Such data & joins would present new analytic opportunities.
- The use of a unique victim identifier to track victim journeys through the CJS & understand experiences over time would be crucial. It is not yet understood how the MPS Connect IT system will address this.

Background: Victimisation in London

The challenges across the system





There is a complex & messy landscape along with many systemic issues that hinder our ability to fully understand & address victim withdrawal



1. [Crime in England and Wales: year ending September 2024](#)
2. [London Policing Board 2024](#)
3. [Victim Support 2016](#)
4. [PAS Victimisation in London 2022-23](#)
5. [Monthly Crime Data New Cats | Tableau Public](#) Note: data begins March 2021
6. [Crime in England and Wales QMI - Office for National Statistics 2024](#)
7. [The Casey Review 2023](#)
8. [HMICFRS Data Integrity Report 2014](#)
9. [MOPAC Victims Strategic Needs Assessment, 2022](#)

10. [London Survivors Gateway Evaluation 2020](#)
11. [London Rape Review 2019](#)
12. [Rape Review Victim Tech 2021](#)
13. [The Lighthouse Evaluation 2021](#)
14. [Serious Youth Violence Deep Dive 2022](#)
15. [Domestic Abuse Deep Dive 2022](#)
16. [Criminal Justice System Statistics 2024](#)
17. [MOPAC: PAS_Victimisation in London 22-23](#)
18. [Victim's & Witness Dashboard 2024](#)

*Judicial outcomes are defined [here](#).

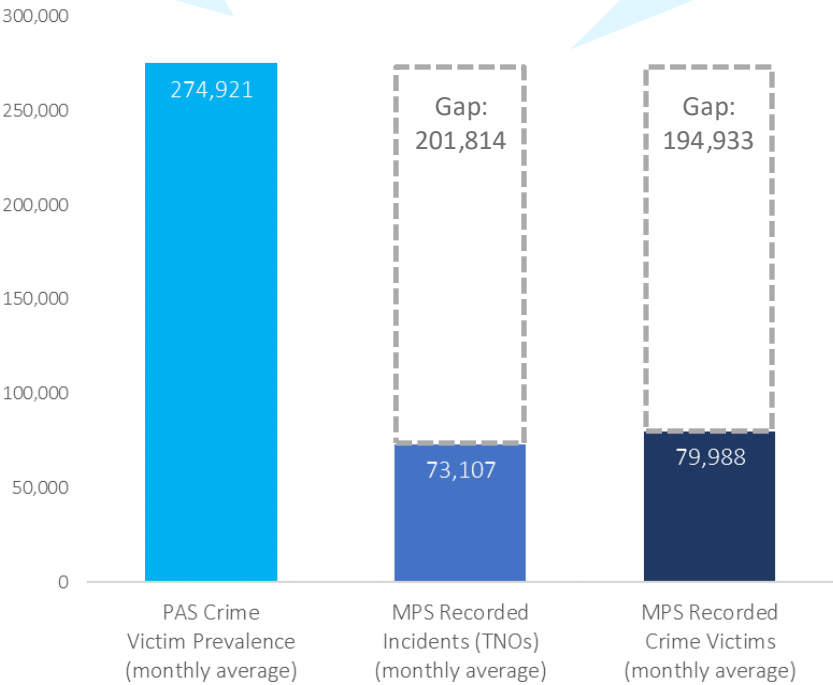
Insight case study: the wider challenge - before addressing victim withdrawal, work needs to focus on encouraging victims to report their crime, alongside wider public perceptions

The MOPAC Public Attitude Survey (PAS) asks London residents whether they have been a victim of a crime. PAS victimisation estimates the proportion of Londoners who stated they experienced at least one crime during the month prior. This is different to looking at Police data (where specific standards are used to identify & record crimes). Nonetheless, using PAS data can supplement official data to understand the potential scale of the challenge.

3.9% of Londoners report to have experienced something they would consider to be a crime during the month prior₁.

Data from the PAS would be equivalent to **nearly 275,000** Londoners.

This is considerably higher than police-recorded figures: **c.3.5 times** the average number of TNOs/victims recorded each month.



In terms of who is more or less likely to be a victim of crime...

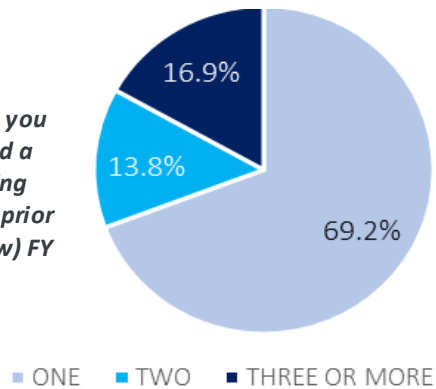
- ... Londoners aged 65+ were *significantly less likely* to have experienced a crime, & no differences were seen by gender.
- However, **LGBT+, disabled, & Mixed Ethnicity** respondents were *significantly more likely* to have experienced a crime.
- Victims have lower perceptions of the police & the wider criminal justice system compared to non-victims. For example:
 - 18pp. lower confidence in the police.
 - 13pp. lower trust in the police.
 - 12pp. less likely to say the CJS is fair.
 - 16pp. less likely to say the CJS is effective₂.

The CSEW estimates that only 41% of crimes are reported to the police₃.

A Focus on Victims: Repeated Crime Experiences

Looking *ONLY* at those who had experienced a crime, over two-thirds had experienced **just one incident** during the last month (69%). However, **16.9% had experienced three or more** – with **3.8% saying they experienced 11+.**

How many times have you experienced a crime (during the month prior to interview) FY 22-23

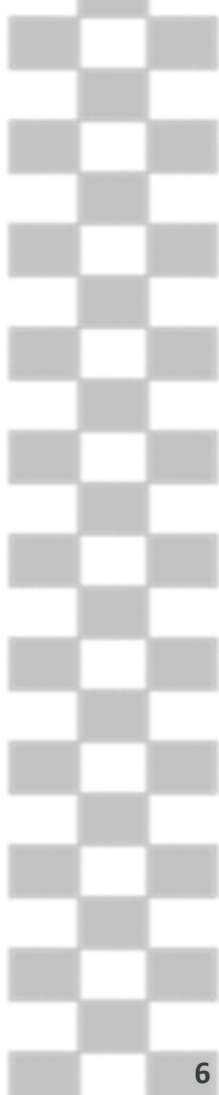


In turn, prevalence of *repeated* victimisation was also higher amongst LGBT+ & disabled Londoners.

1. Victim prevalence data based on 2021 Census population of 7,096,013 adult Londoners aged 16+ (excluding City of London). PAS % data is rounded to 1 decimal place; victim prevalence is calculated using weighted base & weighted frequency rounded to 3 decimal places to increase accuracy PAS data relates to interviews conducted in FY 22-23. MPS data relates to ALL victims & TNOs recorded between March 2022 & February 2023 – reflecting the same calendar month periods that PAS victims are asked about.
 Source: https://data.london.gov.uk/download/56df40cf-fad7-4cba-bc4f-c07f8a8faa0f/cae22b23-6dec-4afa-b098-4460937cf78e/PAS_Victimisation%20in%20London%2022-23.pdf
 2. MOPAC Public Attitude Survey. Trust and confidence figures from FY 22-23. CJS fair and effective figures from FY 24-25.
 3. [Crime in England and Wales OMI - Office for National Statistics](#).



Literature
review

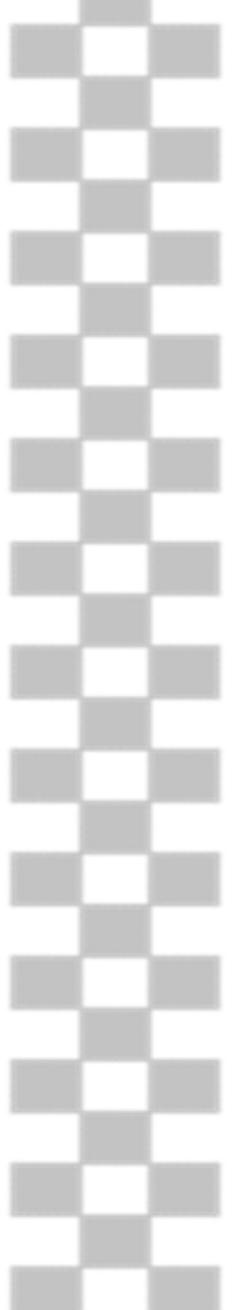


Insight case study: victim withdrawal has been a recurring finding across MOPAC research for years

	Withdrawal rate	Insights into what influences withdrawal	Other findings
London Survivors Gateway Evaluation. Evaluation of service for survivors of sexual violence.	Victim withdrew in 2/62 ISVA cases with recorded outcome.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">A lower rates of victim withdrawal for ISVA cases (compared to Rape Review figures).	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Rape myth reinforcement in police language.Impact of delays within CJ system on survivors.
London Rape Review 2019. Coding & analysis of police recorded rape cases, survivor & officer feedback.	58%	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Lower rates of withdrawal if: witnesses present; injuries present; victim participated in VRI; victim participated in EEK, male victims; victims under 18, reported by third party; suspect had prior police record, suspect was family member, suspect denied rape.Higher rates of withdrawal if: report made via DASH; intimate relationship cases.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Half of respondents experience negative interactions with police.Forensic & other evidential challenges were common.Victims felt cases were being dropped despite significant evidence.Some victims withdrew due to stress & trauma of police investigation.Rape victims often withdrew soon after reporting. Just under half of all withdrawals occurred within 3 & 18% within the first 30 days.
Rape Review Victim Tech 2021. Coding & analysis of police recorded rape cases, survivor & officer feedback with focus on victim tech requests.	65%	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Commonly identified reasons: not intending to report; wanting to move on; external stress factors.Higher rates if: offence location unknown; multiple OICs; tech request refused; intimate relationship; reported via DASH; difficulties with victim / suspect technology.Lower rates if: victim under 18, victim completed VRI.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Police request tech device from victim in 23% of cases & half decline.Victim concern about lack of access to devices & intrusiveness.Inconsistencies in phone downloads, limited knowledge & training & insufficient explanations given to victims.
The Lighthouse Evaluation. Evaluation of multidisciplinary service for victims of CSA/E.	31% - Lighthouse Cases / 45% - NEL CSA Hub.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Reasons for withdrawal: Not wanting to go through investigation, exam stress, general health, desire to move on. (note: small sample).	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Child victims of CSA / CSE were frequently unwilling to be involved in police investigations.
Serious Youth Violence Deep Dive. Coding & analysis police recorded SYV cases.	50%	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Lower rates if: witnesses present.Cases more likely to be submitted to CPS if: injury levels higher; weapon used.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Median of 12 days to victim withdrawal.
Domestic Abuse Deep Dive. Coding & analysis of police recorded DA cases.	72%	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Higher rates if: offence includes physical assault; the severity of the abuse is increasing; there is reconciliation between the victim & perpetrator.Lower rates if: dispute over child access; police make an arrest’ history of Threats to Kill.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">34% of victims reported offence to remove immediate threat.50% of withdrawals on the same day as report.Later withdrawals were often due to protracted investigation.
Stalking in London: A Deep Dive. Deep-coding stalking police crime reports.	45%	<ul style="list-style-type: none">More likely when declassified as s4a, special schemes put on victims’ address & when victims were offered & provided support.Less likely if suspect was arrested or interviewed or if a witness was present, where victim reported to be frightened, older victims (above 35), repeat victims.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">In 89% of cases where victim withdrew, police recorded it was due to the victim not wanting a CJS outcome or was unwilling to prosecute.36% withdrew in the first week which indicates a narrow window to engage.
The 2024 London Child Sexual Abuse Review.	53%	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Rape offences resulted in the highest proportion of withdrawal outcomes compared with other recorded CSA offence types.Victim/survivors aged 14 to 17 years at the time of reporting were <i>more likely</i> to withdraw.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Victim/survivors of rape in CSA cases were 3 times <i>more likely</i> to withdraw.

Methodology

*The MOPAC E&I approach to understanding Victim
Withdrawal*



Mixed method approach

Overall aim of the project






To explore the nature of the problem & what is driving it. To develop an understanding of victims’ experiences through the CJS & barriers to accessing / delivering support, care & justice. To make recommendations for future focus.

Research Approach – a mixed methods approach was adopted to explore:

- 1. **Understanding Victim Withdrawal from the CJS**
 - Scale of withdrawal nationally, across crime overall, within crime types & across geographical areas in London.
 - Characteristics of individuals who withdraw compared to other case outcomes
 - Speed to withdrawal.
- 2. **Drivers of Withdrawal**
 - Learning from literature.
 - What victims tell us.
 - Driver analysis.
- 3. **Key take-aways & implications of findings for policy makers**
 - Summarises main conclusions & takeaways.
 - Suggests policy recommendations.

Research Limitations

- Data is extracted from the MPS Crime Report Investigation System (CRIS), used to record crime & details of any criminal investigation. It is NOT a research tool, resulting in limitations to the data & any subsequent analysis.
- This **does not provide** the rich data E&I have previously obtained through ‘**deep coding**’ of smaller samples of crime reports (e.g. around Rape & DA), so **insights are limited** to factors available in existing police data.
- Unable to identify repeat victims, so their **characteristics may be overrepresented**.
- To create a reliable, robust sample for analysis & modelling, the combined dataset is **biased** towards typically 1-2-1 person crimes like DA. Further analysis could explore drivers of withdrawal when there are multiple victims/suspects.
- Findings are based on a **subset of crime types**; further work could explore whether drivers of withdrawal differ for crime types out of scope for this project.
- Linking data as done for this project is **not something the MPS can standardly run** for ongoing oversight - this is **crucial to address**, as without a process for monitoring victim engagement, any improvements will be hard to measure.
- There is a relatively small pool of qualitative fieldwork. This is useful although caution should be used not to generalise.

 <div>Aggregate data</div>	Analysis of secondary data sources: CPS data (April 21 – March 25), Home Office data on police outcomes (April 21 – March 24).
 <div>Bespoke Data Set</div>	MPS data reworked into new bespoke data set (crimes recorded April 21 – March 22). Crimes included only where there was 1 offence, 1 victim, & 1/0 suspects. Resulting in 273,298 crime reports; 273,298 victims; & 204,390 suspects analysed.
 <div>Driver Analysis</div>	Using bespoke dataset, binary logistical regression conducted on a range of variables relating to offence; victim & suspect characteristics included in the full model. Reported variables are significant set @ 95% confidence.
 <div>Literature review</div>	Review of the literature / evidence base on victim withdrawal, reasons for non-reporting & CJS response to withdrawal (~45 studies & data sources).
 <div>Qualitative Analysis</div>	An online survey was conducted of those who had experiences of being a victim of crime in London who reported to the police but then withdrew from the process before the case concluded, capturing their experiences. Qualitative information from free text comments have been thematically analysed here.
	10 victims through semi-structured interviews/focus groups conducted by London's Victims' Commissioner with victims who had a range of experiences with police investigation, criminal justice process & support organisations. These were complemented with insights from ISVAs from SOLACE & victims' input during a victim attrition working group meeting into MOPAC's VAWG strategy. 15 MPS officers through 2 focus groups conducted by MOPAC E&I focusing on victims of domestic abuse. 5 CPS professionals attended 1 focus group conducted by MOPAC E&I. Thematic analysis was conducted to identify & categorise themes from the participants.

Police recording practices are a barrier to understanding victim withdrawal

Analysis limitations & caveats

- Quantitative analysis does not reveal reasons for withdrawal – as police data does not capture victim motivations. Regression models conducted for this research were relatively weak (the strongest model explained 25% of variance) likely due to the limitations within police data. Such variables do not reflect the complex factors influencing withdrawal.
- Significant predictors in the models suggest the highly complex nature, but reasons behind withdrawal are unclear (i.e., whether a variable reflects victim choice, police responses, or interactions between the two). Hypotheses about findings can be developed through the existing literature, but further analytics such as latent class analysis (a statistical method used to identify subgroups in data based on patterns of responses) may be beneficial.
- Although we can explore how long it took for a victim to withdraw, it is not possible to tell what ‘stage’ a victim reached i.e., they may never have supported, or may have initially supported, provided evidence or a statement, then withdrawn.

Victims told us they learned details of their case they thought they should have known in advance. In one case, a victim discovered evidence had been destroyed (via Court) & in another, a victim discovered their case had been closed on Outcome 16 (via MARAC), which the victim did not agree with, as she did support the investigation going forward. We did not record anyone who withdrew & had been asked to write a victim withdrawal

Poor recording & data inconsistencies

- There were a series of challenges identified pertaining to the **completeness & reliability** of police data. To illustrate:
 - Officer identified victim ethnic appearance was ‘unknown’ for 35% of the sample & self-defined victim ethnicity was missing for 70% of the sample.
 - When a suspect was recorded, data was missing on officer identified ethnic appearance for 35% & 78% for self-defined ethnicity.
 - Data on sex was generally captured better, but still missing for 10% of recorded suspects, & ‘unknown’ in 14% of cases with a recorded outcome indicating a named suspect was identified.
- There were **inconsistent recording combinations** of suspects, relationships & outcomes:
 - Nearly 5% of cases with **no suspect recorded** (i.e., 3427/68,908) were closed with outcome codes indicating a **named suspect had been identified** (15, 16 & charge).
 - In cases where a suspect was recorded (204,390) but closed with outcome codes indicating **no named suspect** was identified (14 & 18), the suspect was known to the victim (current/ex-partner, family member, friend or acquaintance or other relationship) in 30% (4512) & 17% (6553) of cases assigned those outcomes respectively.
- An internal & unpublished **MPS Audit of CRIS Outcome 16 Records** from July 2021 assessed 97 of 334 records as correctly applying Outcome 16. This equals a 29% recording accuracy, giving an overall NCRS/HOCR compliance grading of ‘**inadequate**’ according to HMICFRS’ grading framework. Of the 237 **non-compliant** records:
 - 41 were deemed non-complaint for not having confirmed details of the suspect, with several having no suspect details at all (in line with above findings).
 - 38 reports were deemed non-compliant for not having a clear documented record to show that the victim was not supporting the investigation. Several reports whereby the victim had not been spoken to by the investigating officer or that the victim had failed to get back to the investigating officer.
 - 197 reports were deemed non-compliant for not having an auditable record of the victim withdrawing support (e.g. Withdrawal Statement, Pocket Book Entry or Body Worn Video reference numbers).

Data recommendations

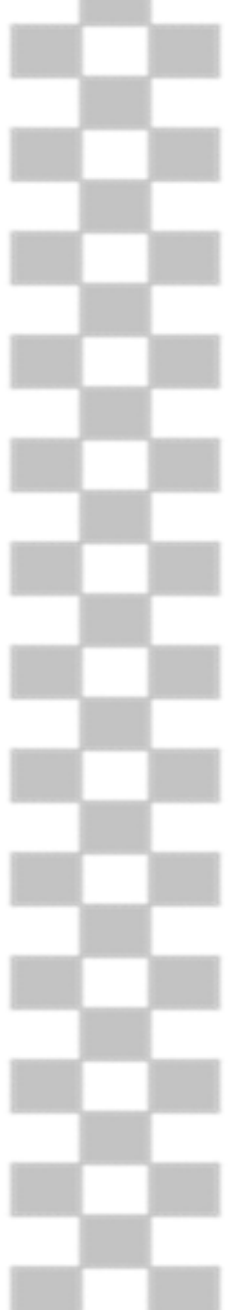
All data has errors, & police data is no exception. However, it still provides valuable insight, as the official organisational record.

Nonetheless, improvements are needed such as:

- Capturing victim expectations of & satisfaction during/after service delivery.
- Recording more in-depth reasons as to why a victim withdraws & how it is linked to victim preferences (i.e., seeking safeguarding or support; wanted an alternative CJ outcome; unwilling to provide digital evidence).
- Developing a greater understanding of need & vulnerabilities.
- Recording of Victim & Suspect demographics & characteristics.
- The use of a unique victim identifier to understand experiences of repeat victimisation & history of contact with police is crucial. It is not yet understood how the MPS Connect IT system will address this.

Understanding Victim Withdrawal from the CJS in London

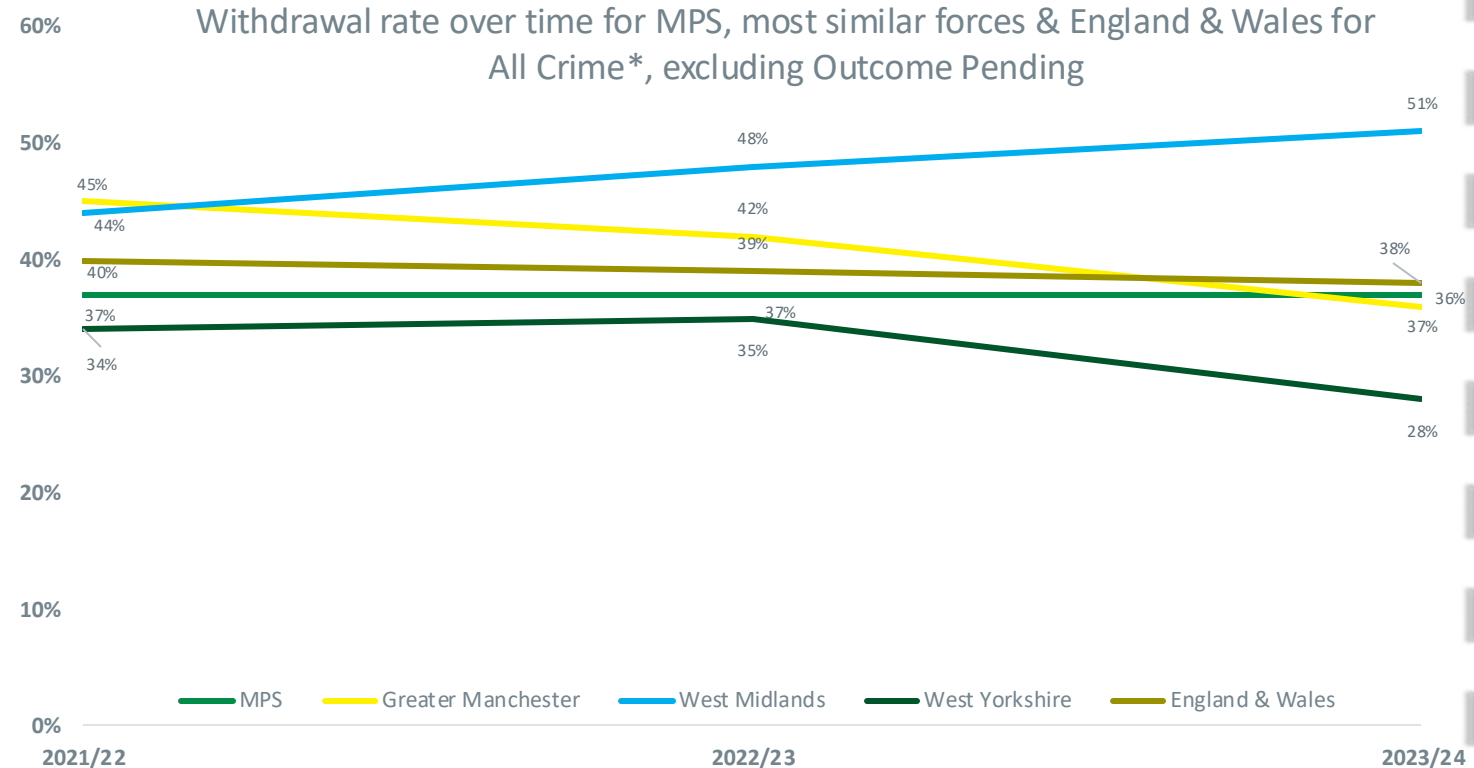
The Scale of Withdrawal



Victim withdrawal from police investigations is a consistent & national issue



- Home Office data provides a snapshot over time for police recorded outcomes including victim withdrawal₁ by force area.
- Looking across **all comparable crime types**₂ & only at cases **excluding outcome pending**₃ (i.e., that have been assigned an outcome) enables comparison to the bespoke dataset used in this report.
- Over a three-year period (2021/22 to 2023/24), **victim withdrawal** has stayed constant in London at **36%**, slightly lower than England & Wales (average = 39%), lower than two of the most similar forces (Greater Manchester = average 41% withdrawal rate, West Midlands = average 48% withdrawal rate, excluding Outcome pending), & higher than one (West Yorkshire = average 32% withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending). Victim withdrawal has been on an upwards trend for West Midlands.
- See opposite & [here](#) for further details₄.



1. Withdrawal Rate based on Evidential difficulties (victim does not support action) outcome (includes outcome 14 - suspect not identified & outcome 16 - suspect identified).

2. All Crime includes Criminal Damage & Arson, Public Order, Robbery, Sexual Offences, Violence Against the Person.

3. Outcome pending based on cases recorded as "Not yet assigned an outcome".

4. Source: Data correct as of 30 January 2025.

[Home Office Outcome Data – April 21 – March 22 - prc-outcomes-open-data-mar2022-tables-300125](#)

[Home Office Outcome Data – April 22 – March 23 - prc-outcomes-open-data-mar2023-tables-300125](#)

[Home Office Outcome Data – April 23 – March 24 - prc-outcomes-open-data-mar2024-tables-300125](#)

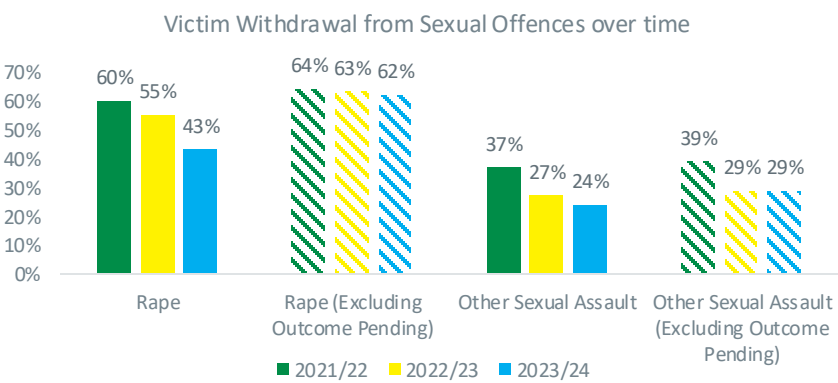
There is clear variation in victim withdrawal by offence type



MPS		2021/22		2022/23		2023/24	
Crime Group	Crime Type	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending
Criminal damage & arson	Arson	9%	9%	10%	10%	9%	9%
	Criminal damage	19%	19%	20%	20%	19%	19%
	Criminal damage & arson Total	19%	19%	20%	20%	18%	19%
Public order offences	Public order offences	34%	34%	34%	34%	33%	34%
Robbery	Robbery	18%	18%	19%	19%	18%	19%
Sexual offences	Other sexual offences	37%	39%	27%	29%	24%	29%
	Rape	60%	64%	55%	63%	43%	62%
	Sexual offences Total	45%	48%	37%	41%	31%	39%
Violence against the person	Death or serious injury - unlawful driving	3%	3%	0%	0%	3%	5%
	Homicide	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Stalking & harassment	42%	42%	41%	42%	40%	43%
	Violence with injury	41%	42%	40%	41%	40%	43%
	Violence without injury	44%	44%	44%	44%	43%	46%
	Violence against the person Total	42%	43%	42%	43%	41%	44%

- Withdrawal rates₁ increase when looking at specific crimes₂.
- In London, victims did not support action on average 29% of Other Sexual Assault cases, **53% of Rape cases**, 33% of Public Order cases & **42% of Violence Against the Person cases** between April 2021 & March 2024.
- Similar patterns are seen for specific crimes types across England & Wales & the most similar forces, particularly for 2023/24 (see [here](#)). In 2021/22 & 2022/23, more victims did not support action in Violence Against the Person cases in Greater Manchester & West Yorkshire.

- In London, recent figures indicate victim withdrawal appears to be decreasing in Rape cases, from 60% to 43% over the three years (2021/22 – 2023/24). However, when looking at cases that have been assigned an outcome₃, victim withdrawal from Rape cases stayed consistent at around 63% highlighting how recent figures including ‘outcome pending’ can distort the withdrawal rate.



- Home Office outcome data does not report on crime areas (e.g. domestic abuse or hate crime), only offences.
- The more detailed MPS bespoke dataset used in this report enables this type of nuanced analysis to be conducted.

1. Withdrawal Rate based on Evidential difficulties (victim does not support action) outcome (includes outcome 14 - suspect not identified & outcome 16 - suspect identified).

2. All Crime includes Criminal Damage & Arson, Public Order, Robbery, Sexual Offences, Violence Against the Person.

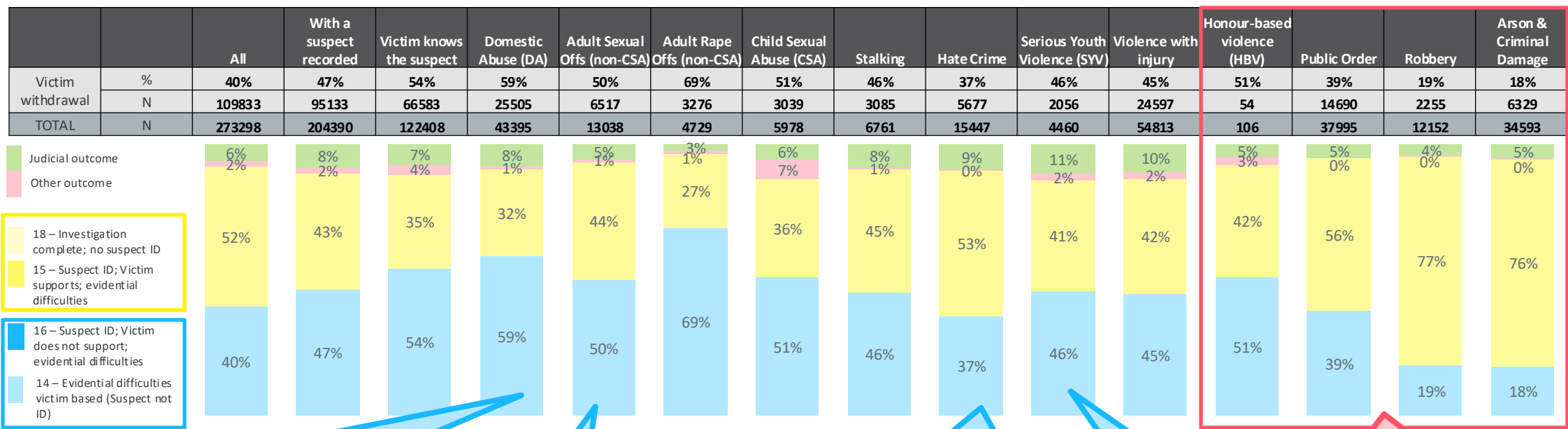
3. Outcome pending based on cases recorded as "Not yet assigned an outcome".

Source: Data correct as of 30 January 2025.
[Home Office Outcome Data – April 21 – March 22 - prc-outcomes-open-data-mar2022-tables-300125](#)
[Home Office Outcome Data – April 22 – March 23 - prc-outcomes-open-data-mar2023-tables-300125](#)
[Home Office Outcome Data – April 23 – March 24 - prc-outcomes-open-data-mar2024-tables-300125](#)

Withdrawal differs across crime types, but is always most likely when the suspect had been identified

Analysis using a bespoke dataset of 273,398 crimes recorded April 21 – March 22 provided insights on police recorded outcomes:

- Withdrawal** (outcome 14 &16) - most common for **Adult rape (69%)**, **Domestic Abuse (59%)**, **Child Sexual Abuse (51%)**, **Adult sexual Offences (50%)** & **Honour Based Violence (51%)**. Withdrawal represents a much smaller proportion of **Robbery (19%)** & **Arson & Criminal Damage (18%)** outcomes.
- Judicial outcomes** were low across the board; the highest proportion were for **Serious Youth Violence (SYV) (11%)**.
- Evidential difficulties** is largest outcome for **Robbery (77%)** & most common outcome for **Arson & criminal damage (76%)** & **Hate crime (53%)**.
- Withdrawal rates were higher when a **suspect was recorded** (47% across all crime) & higher still when the **victim knew the suspect** (54% across all crime).



- Across all crime types, offences flagged as **Domestic Abuse** had a higher rate of withdrawal than average, particularly **Adult Sexual Offences (67%)** & **Adult Rape Offences (74%)**.
- DA flagged offences involving **physical violence** including **Violence with injury (61%)** & **Common Assault (64%)** had higher rates of withdrawal than non-physical offences e.g. **Violence without Injury (57%)**, **Sending letters with intent (51%)**, **Stalking offences (48%)**, **Threat to Kill (56%)**, **Harassment (51%)** & **Controlling / Coercive behaviour (52%)**.

Within Adult Sexual Offences, Rape had a much higher rate of withdrawal (69%) than Other Sexual Offences (39%).

- Hate crime is made up of relevant **Racially & Religiously Aggravated** offences & other offences with a **Hate Crime** flag.
- Withdrawal is **highest for Hate Crime flagged Public Order (39%)** & **Violence against the Person offences (35%)**.
- Rates of withdrawal are **highest for Islamophobic Hate Crime (40%)** & **lowest for Transgender & Antisemitic Hate Crime (both 27%)**.

Withdrawal for **Serious Youth Violence** was much **higher for Violence against the Person (54%)** than **Robbery (23%)** & **Knife Crime flagged offences (29%)**.

Due to low rates of withdrawal (Arson & Criminal Damage & Robbery), low sample sizes (HBV) & the wide range of types of offences included under Public Order, these crime types are excluded from further analysis.



See [Methodology: Creating the bespoke analysis dataset](#) for more information on data source.

Victim withdrawal differs by BCU - up to 25pp for some offences



- Rates of withdrawal varied by crime type across BCUs. There was most variance for **Domestic Abuse** (16pp), **Adult sexual offences** (15pp) including **Adult rape offences** (18pp) & **Serious Youth Violence** (25pp).
- **West Area** had significantly higher rates than average for Domestic Abuse, Hate Crime, Serious Youth Violence & Violence with injury.
- **Central East** had significantly lower rates than average for Domestic Abuse, Adult sexual offences including Adult Rape offences, Stalking, Hate crime, Serious Youth Violence & Violence with injury.
- **Some BCUs have high rates of withdrawal for some crime types, but low for others**, potentially reflecting local differences across demographic populations, crime levels, **policing priorities, practice & recording**. Withdrawal rates at 'All Crime' level may be influenced by the makeup of crime, for example BCUs with higher rates of domestic abuse (e.g. West Area, North West, South West) had high rates of withdrawal overall. Some crime types are also investigated centrally rather than by BCU teams, adding further to complexity to understanding local variation in withdrawal.
- Reasons for the variation at crime type level are unclear & worthy of future work to unpick local good practice.

	DA	Adult sexual Offs	Adult Rape Offs	CSA	Stalking	Hate crime	SYV	Violence with injury	All Crime
Central East	47% ^{s↓}	43% ^{s↓}	59% ^{s↓}	50%	40% ^{s↓}	31% ^{s↓}	38% ^{s↓}	36% ^{s↓}	34%
Central North	58%	47%	67%	51%	41%	36%	41%	44%	38%
Central South	59%	46% ^{s↓}	65%	47%	44%	35%	31% ^{s↓}	42% ^{s↓}	37%
Central West	62%	48%	71%	50%	50%	39%	45%	41% ^{s↓}	39%
East Area	60%	57% ^{s↑}	77% ^{s↑}	54%	42%	39%	56% ^{s↑}	48% ^{s↑}	43%
North Area	56% ^{s↓}	57% ^{s↑}	77% ^{s↑}	55%	46%	41% ^{s↑}	49%	47% ^{s↑}	42%
North East	46% ^{s↓}	44% ^{s↓}	63%	48%	39% ^{s↓}	41%	45%	40% ^{s↓}	36%
North West	62% ^{s↑}	52%	72%	52%	49%	39%	46%	47% ^{s↑}	42%
South Area	61% ^{s↑}	58% ^{s↑}	76% ^{s↑}	52%	45%	31% ^{s↓}	50%	48% ^{s↑}	40%
South East	62% ^{s↑}	48%	59% ^{s↓}	47%	50%	38%	48%	49% ^{s↑}	43%
South West	57%	51%	74%	52%	46%	31% ^{s↓}	44%	45%	41%
West Area	61% ^{s↑}	53%	75%	50%	50%	42% ^{s↑}	53% ^{s↑}	49% ^{s↑}	44%
All BCUs	59%	50%	69%	51%	46%	37%	46%	45%	40%

^{s↑} Significantly higher than rate of withdrawal for crime type across all BCUs
^{s↓} Significantly lower than rate of withdrawal for crime type across all BCUs



METROPOLITAN POLICE

Basic Command Units (BCU)

CENTRAL NORTH (CN)

CENTRAL EAST (CE)

CENTRAL WEST (AW)

EAST AREA (EA)

WEST AREA (WA)

NORTH WEST (NW)

NORTH AREA (NA)

NORTH EAST (NE)

SOUTH AREA (SN)

SOUTH EAST (SE)

CENTRAL SOUTH (AS)

SOUTH WEST (SW)

Note: significance of findings is dependent on sample size for a particular BCU, victim group or suspect group at crime type level. Significance only shown where sample size permits (at 99% confidence).

Withdrawal rates differ across victim characteristics & crime types

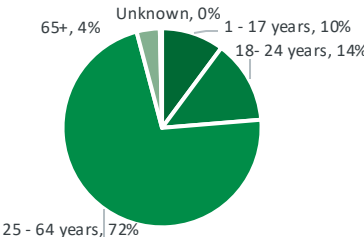
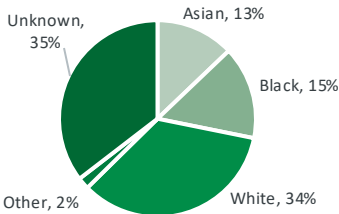
Certain victim groups are more likely to withdraw & this varies by offence (i.e., males generally less likely to withdraw than average, except for DA & stalking. Black & other ethnicities see higher levels of withdrawal overall). **Read DOWN** the columns to compare to average.

		ALL	DA	Adult sexual Offs	Adult Rape Offs	CSA	Stalking	Hate Crime	SYV	Violence with injury
Total offences		273298	43395	13038	4729	5978	6761	15447	4460	54813
Total Victim withdrawal		40%	59%	50%	69%	51%	46%	37%	46%	45%
Sex ₁	Male	37%	62%	45%	63%	43%	50%	37%	42%	42%
	Female	43%	58%	51%	70%	52%	45%	37%	51%	49%
Ethnicity	Asian	44%	59%	53%	68%	47%	48%	37%	42%	45%
	Black	46%	61%	56%	69%	54%	46%	37%	51%	48%
	White	45%	60%	49%	69%	50%	46%	36%	45%	47%
	Other	47%	62%	65%	82%	N<100	46%	46%	50%	46%
	Unknown	31%	53%	47%	69%	51%	45%	36%	46%	36%
Age	1-17 yrs ₂	36%	47%	-	-	51%	45%	38%	47%	36%
	18-24 yrs	43%	60%	51%	68%	64%	51%	36%	44%	48%
	25-64 yrs	41%	59%	50%	70%	48%	45%	37%	-	46%
	65+ yrs	34%	59%	41%	N<100	N<100	44%	38%	-	42%
	Unknown	37%	N<100	N<100	N<100	N<100	N<100	39%	-	N<100

For context, the victim demographic characteristics across total sample / all crime is:

47% Male

52% Female

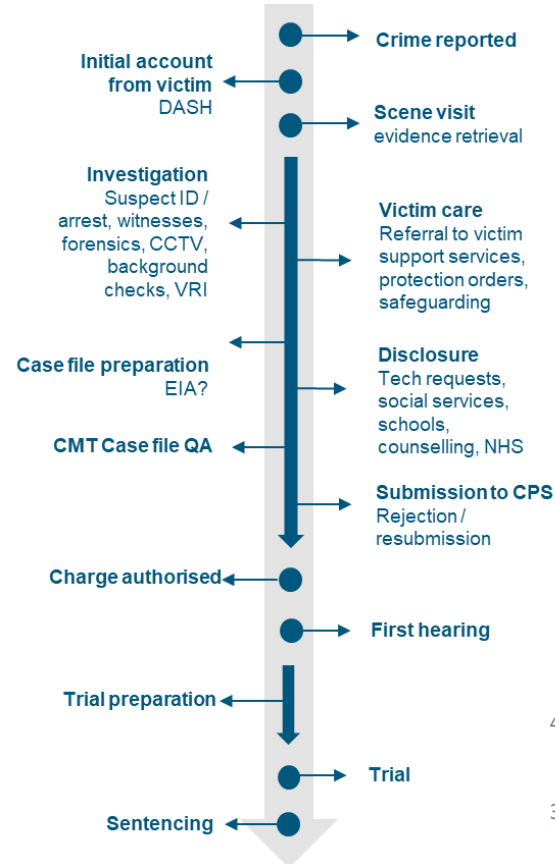


Age/ Crime	CSA	SYV
1-9	22%	21%
10-12	41%	55%
13-15	54%	50%
16-17	59%	40%
18-24	64%	44%
24-65	48%	-
65+	N<100	-

1. e.g., Percentage of females who withdrew compared to other outcomes; Percentage of males who withdrew compared to other outcomes.
2. See table on the right for age < 18 break down.

Victims withdraw at **different stages** of the CJ process depending on the crime

There are multiple stages at which a victim *could* withdraw from the CJ process & the speed at which people can withdraw varies.



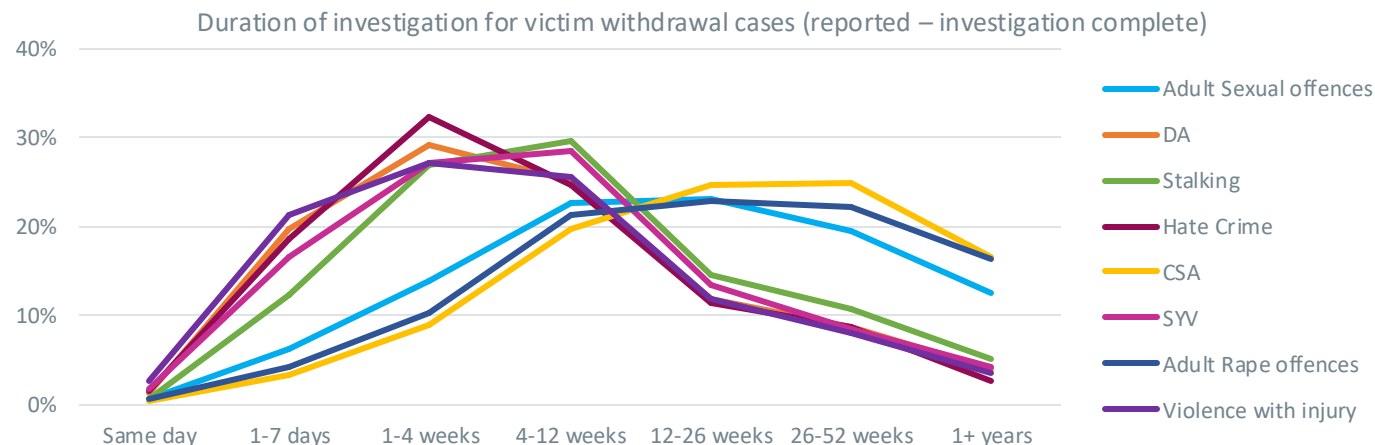
The speed to withdraw is different across crime types

- For non-sexual offences, victims were most likely to withdraw in the first 12 weeks of the investigation (victims across these crime types withdrew **between the same day & 12 weeks** from reported to investigation complete)₁.
- In contrast, for **Sexual Offences & CSA**, most victims withdrew **after 12 weeks** (55% & 65% respectively).
- This could suggest victims are withdrawing at a later stage from sexual offence investigations, but may also reflect the complexity of investigations, with Sexual Offences taking longer to reach any outcome than other crime types.

Drivers of early withdrawal* (vs late) are like drivers of withdrawal overall

- Regression analysis based only on offences where victims withdrew showed early withdrawal was **more likely** in cases where:
 - The venue of the offence was private residential or hotel.
 - The suspect was female or under 18.
 - The suspect was no trace on PNC or a PNC check was not performed.
- Early withdrawal was **less likely** in cases where:
 - The suspect was arrested/interviewed (both on scene & a later stage).
 - The crime was reported at a police station, via email/internet or by a third-party authority.
 - There was a delay to reporting the crime to the police (not reported on the same day).
 - The victim was female, recorded as intimidated or a repeat victim.
 - A knife crime feature was present.
 - The suspect was known to PNC.

See [appendix](#) for full results from early vs late withdrawal models.



Withdrawal time here has been calculated using the police 'investigation complete' outcome. In other coding work (e.g. Rape Review, DA deep dive) this was manually applied to the date on which the police note the victim has withdrawn, so results are not comparable.

*In regression models early withdrawal was defined as <4 weeks for all crime types except CSA, Adult sexual offences & Adult Rape offences, where early withdrawal was defined as <12 weeks due to longer investigation periods for these offences.

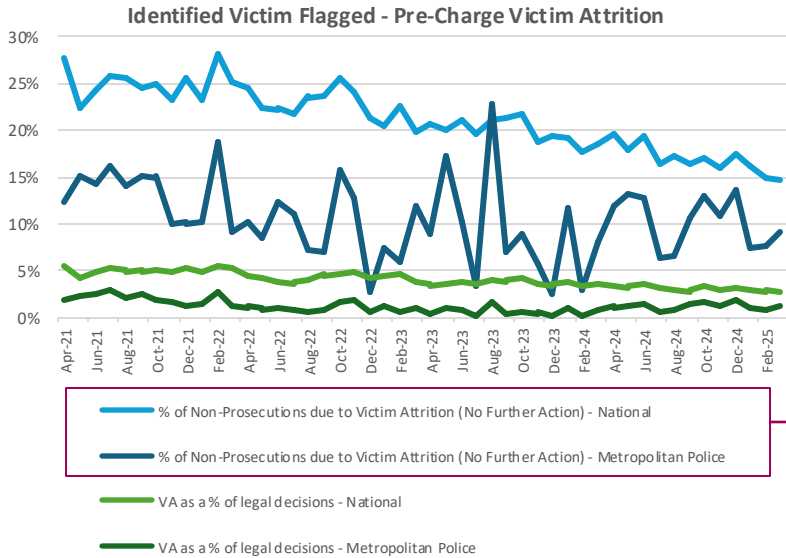
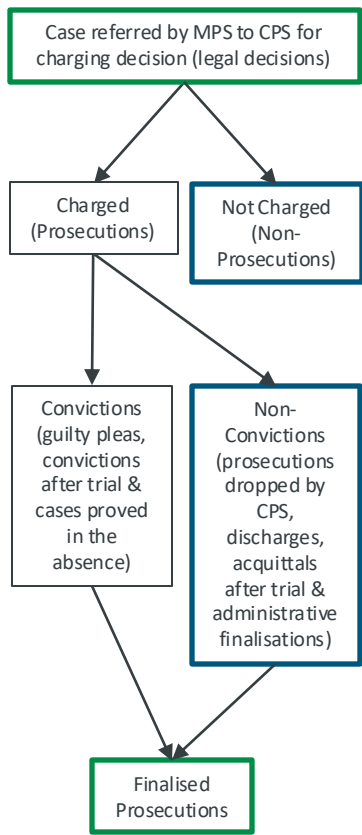
1. Investigation complete date used in place of outcome changed date for a more accurate representation of the point at which a victim withdrawal case stops progressing. In most withdrawal cases, the outcome code was changed **after** the investigation was marked as complete, likely reflecting police recording practices rather than the date of withdrawal. A more accurate date of withdrawal can only be obtained through in-depth case coding, as used for MOPAC Rape Review & DA Deep Dive products. Note: significance of findings is dependent on sample size for a particular BCU, victim group or suspect group at crime type level. Significance only shown where sample size permits (at 99% confidence).

After CPS charge, Victim withdrawal accounts for a quarter of all non-convictions



Although most victims withdraw prior to a CPS charging decision, the justice process is not confined to the police investigation. Victims continue to withdraw whilst waiting for a charging decision, post charge & prior to a trial.

Analysis of CPS data from 2021 – 2025 explored cases only where an Identified Victim flag has been applied⁶. Victims can withdraw at any point despite what legal decision is made, or the result of the final prosecution. However, this analysis focuses on two subsets of cases, 1. where cases are not charged (non-prosecutions), & 2. where the case results in a non-conviction.

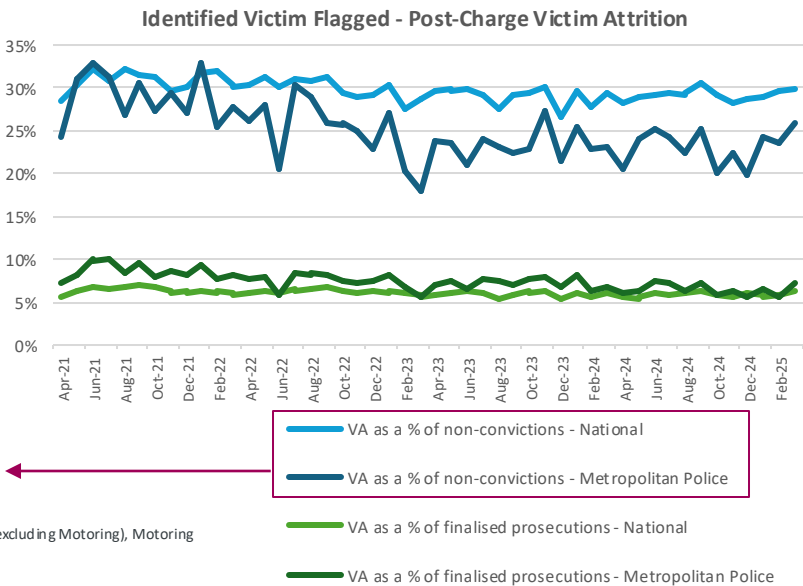


Pre Charge₁

- Across **all crime**₂ in England & Wales the proportion of non-prosecutions due to victim withdrawal₄ has declined from 28% to 15% (average of 395 per month). **In London it is more variable, ranging between 3% & 23%, but hovering around 10%** (average of 14 per month).
- Offences Against the Person that resulted in non-prosecution due to victim withdrawal in London reflected the trend of ‘all crime’, with proportions ranging between 3% - 21%.
- When a Domestic Abuse flag has been applied to any crime, the proportion of non-prosecutions due to victim attrition is variable but consistently higher than across all crime at around 20%.

Post Charge₁

- Nationally, across all crime, the proportion of non-convictions due to victim withdrawal remained relatively stable, ranging between 27% - 32% (average of 865 per month). **London followed a more fluctuating trend, ranging between 18% - 33% over the period**, an average of 146 per month.
- Offences Against the Person are also variable but consistently higher than across all crime.
- When a Domestic Abuse flag is applied to any crime type, victim withdrawal is high & accounts for between 35% - 59% of non-convictions, reflecting a similar withdrawal rate seen by the MPS.



1. Source: Data from MOPAC Victim Attrition data from CPS April 2021 – March 2025 (received May 2025). Note: these are not counts of victims, but a count of suspects.

2. All crime includes Homicide, Offences Against the Person, Sexual Offences, Burglary, Robbery, Theft & Handling, Fraud & Forgery, Criminal Damage, Drug Offences, Public Order Offences, All Other Offences (excluding Motoring), Motoring Offences, & Undefined.

3. Measured by counting all suspects in cases where the ‘identified victim’ flag has been applied.

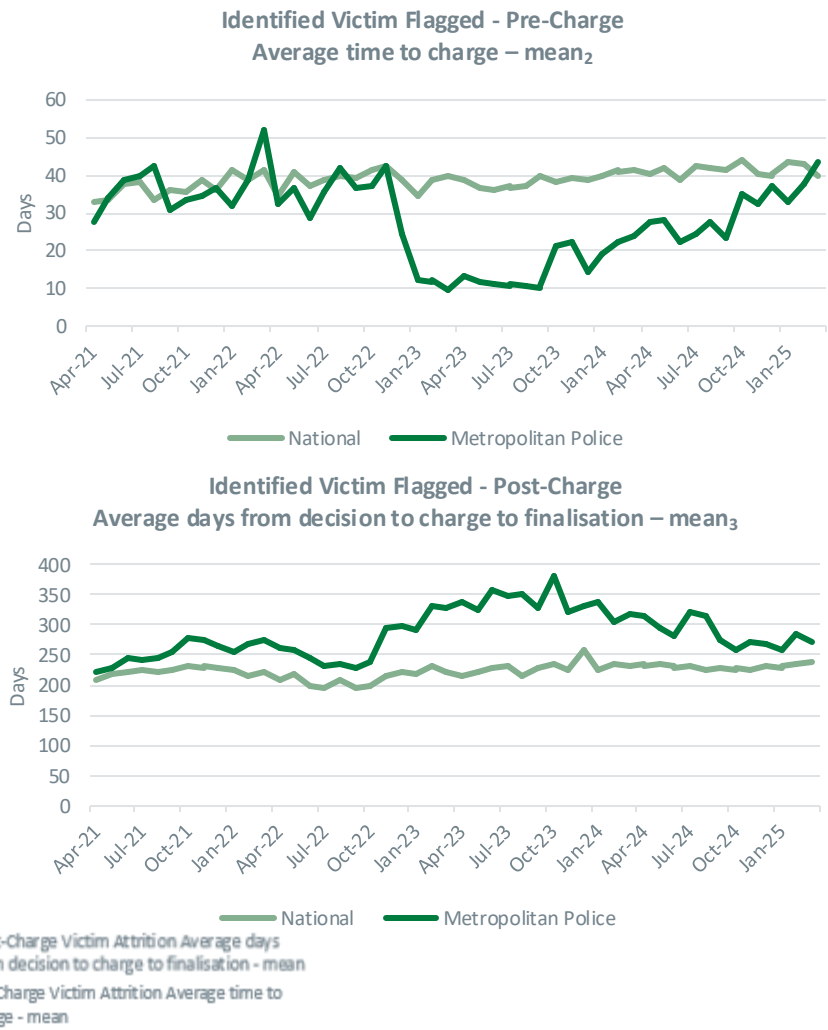
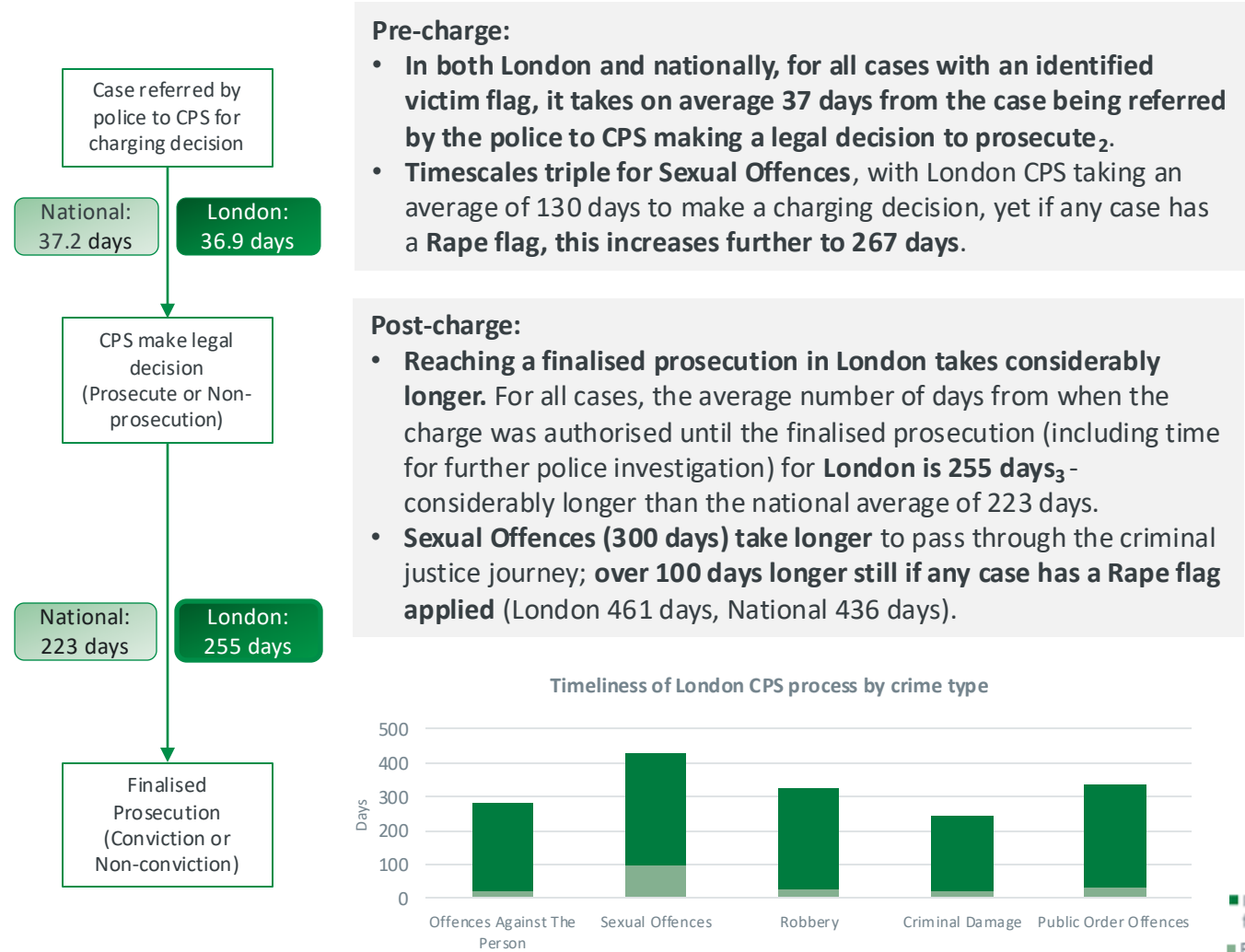
4. “Non-prosecutions due to victim withdrawal” means the number of suspects where an evidential victim reason was recorded as the primary reason the reviewing lawyer decides there is insufficient evidence to provide a realistic prospect of conviction.

5. Finalised prosecutions means the volume of defendants in completed prosecutions. Completed prosecution outcomes comprise **convictions** (guilty pleas, convictions after trial and cases proved in the absence of the defendant) and **non-convictions** (prosecutions dropped by the CPS, discharges, acquittals after trial and administrative finalisations).

6. Except for specific crime types & when other flags have been applied.

Delays at the prosecution stage increase for specific crimes

Timeliness₁ of the process once a case reaches CPS for prosecution can also impact whether a victim continues to engage, both at the stage where CPS review the case to make a legal decision whether to charge or not (pre-charge), & in the lead up to the court case (post-charge).



1. Source: Data from MOPAC Victim Attrition data from CPS April 2021– March 2025 (received May 2025).

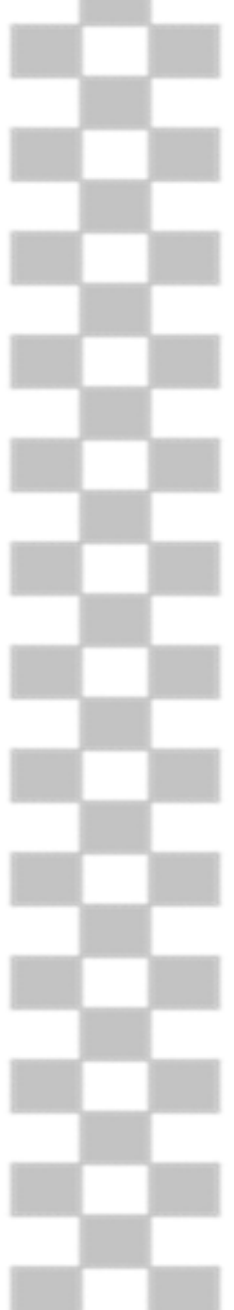
2. Average (mean) number of calendar days being the days that have elapsed between each suspect being referred (for a charging decision or early advice) and the date each decision to charge was made. This metric is the total time taken and may include multiple CPS consultations and time taken by the police to complete further investigative work. Measured by counting average (mean) time from police referral to legal decision in cases where the 'identified victim' flag has been applied.

3. Average (mean) number of days from charge to finalisation includes both cases prosecuted in magistrates' courts & at the Crown Court. Calculation of the average number of calendar days that have elapsed from the date charges were authorised by CPS against suspects until the finalisation of the prosecution case. Includes time taken by police to charge a suspect once the decision to authorise a charge or charges has been made by the CPS. Data is only available in respect of charging decisions made by the CPS. Measured by counting average (mean) number of days from when the charge was authorised until finalised prosecution in cases where the 'identified victim' flag has been applied.

4. CPS national data comprises suspects and defendants dealt with by the 14 CPS Areas and the specialised casework handled by the Central Casework Divisions. This includes those proceedings previously conducted by the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra), the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP), the Department of Health (DoH) and the former Revenue and Customs Prosecution Office.



What is driving victim withdrawal?





Literature provides insights into victim withdrawal

- Literature findings can be split into 11 themes across 3 main groups (Victim, Offence, Police/CJS Processes), that influence **victim engagement** with the CJS (but differently across crime types).
- Some factors are **fixed** (e.g., victim/suspect relationship or if a weapon was used) whereas others are more **open to being influenced** by CJ partners (e.g., engaging with the victim, catering for vulnerabilities).
- Many drivers of withdrawal are the **same for non-reporting** (e.g., offence occurring within an intimate relationship, impact of investigation & trial).
- However, **victims have reported, suggesting something has changed** – either the risk or their motivation, but this leaves them **vulnerable to disengaging**.

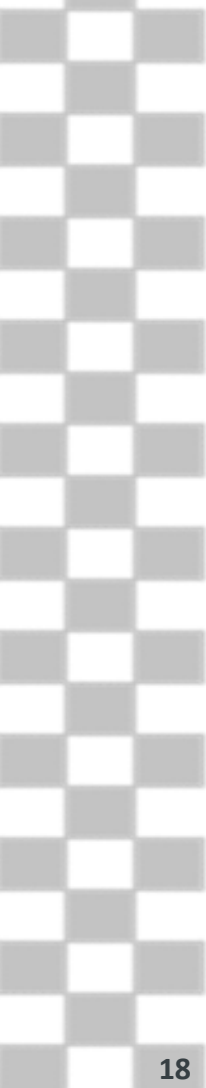
Key:

- Increases likelihood of victim withdrawing
- Decreases likelihood of victim withdrawing
- Mixed findings – different effects seen on victim withdrawal

VICTIMS	Theme	Finding	Withdrawal
	Victim Factors	Victim/Suspect Relationship - When the victim knows suspect.	↑
		Vulnerability - “Inequality factors” e.g. victim gender, vulnerability, impact case progression.	↑
		Neighbourhoods - Victims living in lower deprivation areas.	↑
	Trust	Not being believed - Victims feel police are critical of their actions or give no credence to their report, creating a lack of trust in the police.	↑
	Personal Cost	Culture - Victim wishing to maintain family ties, fears of ostracism from community.	↑
		Relationships - Victim & perpetrator reconciliation, or victim reliance on perpetrator.	↑
	Fear	Shame - Victims’ fear of shame & embarrassment, particularly from families & communities.	↑
		Secondary Victimization - Victim fearful of retaliation or repercussions.	↑
	Outcome	Rehabilitation of perpetrator - The arrest achieved the changes that the victims sought in their partners behaviour, & felt prosecution was no longer necessary.	↑
		Alternative outcomes – Victims not seeking judicial outcomes, would prefer the perpetrator to be rehabilitated or wish to explore Restorative Justice.	↑
OFFENCE	Theme	Finding	Withdrawal
	Offence Factors	Use of a weapon - Different effects seen on withdrawal when a weapon is used and/or injuries sustained.	↔
		Alcohol - Mixed findings if either victim or suspect were under the influence of alcohol or drugs at time of offence.	↔

POLICE/CJS PROCESSES

Theme	Finding	Withdrawal
Police Processes	Police Interviews - Distress for victims from recounting their stories & repeated probing from officers.	↑
	Barriers - Not knowing how to report; language/cultural barriers & disabilities make reporting difficult.	↑
Evidence & Disclosure	Reporting - Victim not wanting to report in first place e.g., Third Party reports, further offences discovered by or disclosed to police e.g., via risk assessments, ‘telling not reporting’.	↑
	Evidence Collection – Use of Video Recorded Interviews & Early Evidence Kits, seizure of suspect technology, other digital evidence, witness statements & collection of Victim Impact Statement.	↓
Resourcing & Capability	Technological Resourcing – Police face challenges in accessing ‘online’ evidence, requiring the victim to provide the evidence themselves. Not helped by police having poor infrastructure, equipment & resources.	↑
	Capability to Respond Appropriately – Victims dissatisfied when police don’t have a good understanding of legislation or effective investigation of a crime.	↑
CJS Processes	Impact of the Trial - Victims concerned about the court process, particularly giving evidence, perception of juries, psychological impact & disruption to their lives.	↑
	Timeliness – Investigations/criminal proceedings too long, exacerbated by court delays, prolonging recovery & the victim moving forwards.	↑
Victim Care	Poor Communication - Including the manner, frequency, consistency & amount of info provided.	↑
	Cultural Awareness - Understanding victims’ culture, including sensitivity to language used & assumptions made about the victim.	↑
	Victim Support Services - specialist support services are vital in supporting both police & statutory services along with victims, particularly ISVAs & Havens attendance.	↓



Victim voice: what makes victims withdraw from the criminal justice process?

Research conducted via interviews, focus groups & a survey enabled the capture of victim voices around reasons for withdrawal from the criminal justice process. These important voices provide crucial context, but it should be noted that these victims may not be representative of the whole cohort of victim withdrawers.

Wanting to move on from the crime, & avoid re-traumatisation

Some victims mentioned that they withdrew because they wanted to move on from what they had been through. Others didn't want to risk being re-traumatised by subsequent process, particularly because some felt they may not get the outcome they were hoping for.

I was moving on with my life & didn't want to bring the perpetrator back to my life.

I knew that I would continue to feel anxious if an investigation was going on.

I didn't want to go through the trauma again knowing its likely to not be charged.

Worried about repercussions from offender

Some victims also said that they withdrew because they were concerned with what the offender might do to them if they proceeded.

Due to feelings of intimidation & fear of retaliation.

Repercussions from the abuser.

Experiencing a lack of support from officers or other agencies

Several victims spoke about police officers dissuading them from reporting in the first place or, once they had reported, being made to feel like they shouldn't progress with the investigation. Some felt they were not believed by officers or felt they were being brushed off or not being taken seriously.

I'll be honest, if their response at that first point of contact with me had been one that where I was taken seriously & supported, I think the trajectory of my future then could have been very different. If they'd have made me, even just with words, made me feel like I was important & what I was telling them was serious, I think it really could have changed things...

Length of process & lack of updates

Many victims spoke about the length of the process as having an impact on their decision to withdraw, as well the lack of updates. Where cases progressed past charge, victims mentioned court delays & adjournments having an impact on withdrawal.

Being left in limbo.

I didn't hear anything from the police, no updates from the investigation.

Sources: Focus groups, interviews & a survey with victims who withdrew from the criminal justice process. 2025.

Victim Voice: What would encourage victims to stay engaged in the process?



Better emotional understanding & support from officers to victims

Victims often mentioned that if officers showed greater understanding for what the victim was going through, & they were provided with better emotional support, then they may have been more likely to remain engaged in the process. This included looking for empathy from officers, & showing understanding to victims, as well as taking victims seriously.

An empathetic approach that was supportive.

Additionally, being believed & having my concerns taken seriously would have helped me feel more confident in the system.

I just needed someone to say, "you're safe, we've got you."

Greater emotional support.

Clear updates & explanations from the police

Victims also mentioned that updates & explanations from the police would have encouraged them to stay engaged. This included being transparent & upfront about the reality of the CJS process & requirements for a charge, whilst remaining committed to the investigation & providing reassurance & tailored support based on victim need. Overall, it was clear that being informed about the process was important to victims.

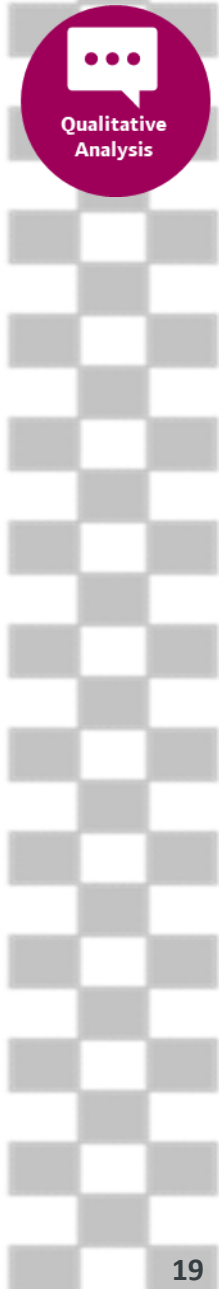
Regular updates on the case would have encouraged me to stay engaged.

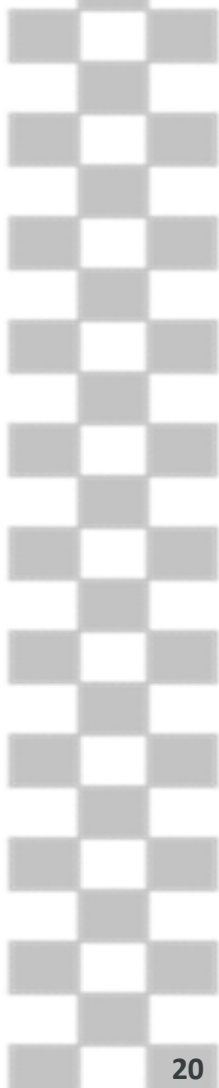
If the police were in contact with updates.

Policy & process changes

Some victims suggested changes to policy & process of the criminal justice system which might have encouraged them to stay engaged in the criminal justice process for longer. These included:

- Feeling the police should be **held more accountable** in instances where policy is not followed.
- Ensuring response & support for those who experience **non-physical domestic abuse matches that for physical abuse**.
- Making sure **children to report are listened to** & letting them share their experience without judgement.





What are practitioners' perspectives on victim withdrawal?

Focus groups conducted with MPS officers & London CPS enabled the capture of practitioners' perspectives on victim withdrawal from the criminal justice process.

Victims' trust in the police can impact their expectations

Officers reflected that victims can have **high expectations of what an officer can do for them**. This can have a detrimental impact on trust when expectations are not met & lead to more incidents of withdrawal. Sometimes with third party reporting, the victim may not be as willing to engage with the process. **Some victims want to report but do not want to pursue a criminal justice outcome** & need support to de-escalate a situation but do not want to pursue a charge.

I would say they have a high expectation of us with a lack of trust for us.
MPS Officer

It's balancing the expectations & the practicalities of what we can & can't do with the main aim of trying to ... reduce the risk & provide the best care to the victims.
MPS Officer

We have a very narrow window of time to secure the confidence of a victim survivor... so the quicker we can get there, the better the response, the quicker that we can do some sort of offender intervention, either through an arrest or otherwise, the more likely it is that we will secure a criminal justice outcome.
MPS Officer

Relationship strengthening is important

Practitioners noted communicating with the victim & building a relationship is important to keep them engaged with the process. It was acknowledged this was particularly inconsistent at the post-charge stage, often due to capacity issues.

Trying to make sure that the police are not only giving referrals to other agencies, but also trying as far as they're able to maintain a positive relationship with victims & then that just comes down to sort of resources, doesn't it?
CPS Crown Prosecutor

Difficult to underpin why victims withdraw

It is hard to fully understand why a victim disengages, & the CPS felt withdrawal statements provided by the victim to the police are often too generic, leaving the CPS little to work with. Due to the long duration of the CJ process, it was felt victims had often moved on with their lives & withdrawal was not always for a negative reason, it may just be to do with life circumstances.

We are trying to progress these cases as much as possible, but you can only work on what's in the withdrawal statement & what the officer puts in the risk assessment.
CPS Crown Prosecutor

Improving the response to victims

Factors that could improve a response, to help prevent victim withdrawal:

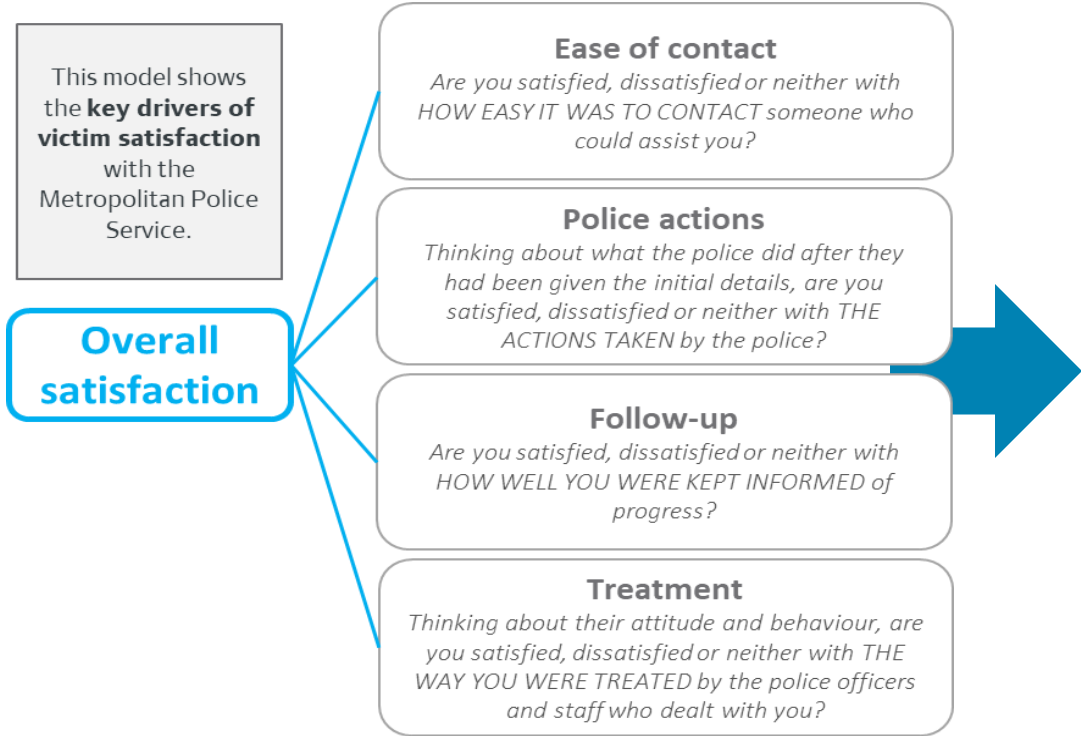
- Encouraging **engagement with victims post-charge**, providing reassurance throughout.
- **Be empathic but don't overpromise.** It is important to give victims clarity, be clear on process, keep to deadlines.
- Officers were positive about training on the job from experienced peers, but capacity issues make it difficult to keep up with training. They mentioned **scenario-based training as particularly useful for training on communication with victims.**

A good service underpins victim satisfaction & suggests a way forward to address withdrawal



MOPAC hear from approximately 20,000 victims of crime a year through a range of victim surveys.

Results are clear as to what drives victim satisfaction.



A good service underpins victim satisfaction

‘Good service’ covers the provision of behaviours such as; *the investigation of the scene, explanation of the process, offering victim services, providing crime prevention advice, information on Restorative Justice, an opportunity to provide a Victim Personal Statement, providing updates without the victim asking, taking the matter seriously, clear communication, prompt communication...* **These behaviours reassure victims & meet their needs.**

Identifying & catering for victim vulnerabilities is essential in this.
Victim satisfaction with police service is highest when a vulnerability is identified & catered for (78%), & lowest when it is identified but not catered for (20%).

Delivering a ‘good service’ is more important for victims than the outcome.
The more aspects of a good service, the higher the satisfaction (i.e., 0-4 aspects 29%, 5-6 aspects 64%, 7-8 aspects 84%, 9+ 95%). A victim with a crime with no outcome but a good service is more satisfied (91%) than a victim with a detection but low-quality service (64%).

As the impact of the crime on the victim increases, there is an increasingly negative impact of receiving a poor service on overall satisfaction. That is, victims who say the impact of the crime is high are more impacted by a poor service (i.e., Low impact, low quality service Satisfaction = 43%, vs. High impact, low quality service, satisfaction = 19%).

Effective communication has been shown to improve satisfaction. A Randomised Control Trial showed clearly that effective & well-designed victim call backs can lead to huge increases in satisfaction.

The initial investigation & response is a unique opportunity to engage with victims to a high standard.

Source: MOPAC User Satisfaction Survey/ MOPAC TDIU survey.
These two surveys both speak to approximately 9-10,000 high volume victims of crime every year.

Key findings on withdrawal from statistical modelling

Factors significant in driving withdrawal differ by crime type

Withdrawal more likely

1. Rape offences are driving withdrawal across crime areas (3.2x more likely).

2. The suspect relationship to the victim is a key driver of withdrawal.

For most crime types, the victim is most likely to withdraw when the **suspect is a current/ex-partner** (2.1x). This is strongest for **SYV** (3.1x) & **Violence with injury** (2.8x).

3. Withdrawal is more likely where the offence takes place in a private or indoor place (vs outdoor/open spaces).

This is strongest for **Adult Sexual Offences** (2.3x for **private residential venues**, 2.2x for **hotels/hostels**, 1.6x for **leisure/retail/transport** & 1.5x for **institutions***). For **Hate Crime**, the venue being a hotel / hostel is the strongest driver of withdrawal of those included in modelling (2.1x).

4. Withdrawal is more likely when reported by a third party.

This is strongest for **Adult Sexual Offences** (1.5x).

5. Withdrawal is more likely when the suspect is under 18.

Withdrawal is more likely when the **suspect is under 18** vs 25-64 (2.1x). This was strongest for **Stalking** (3x), **Violence with Injury** (2.1x), **CSA** (1.9x where suspect was 13-15 or 16-17) & **Domestic Abuse** (1.8x).

6. Withdrawal is less likely when the suspect is arrested.

This was the only factor that was significant across all crime type level models. Withdrawal is less likely both when the suspect is **arrested on the scene of the offence** (2.6x) & when the suspect is **arrested at a later stage** (3.7x).

7. Withdrawal is less likely when the victim reports at a later stage.

Withdrawal is less likely if there is a **delay to victim reporting** after offence, particularly if the report is **over a year later** (1.6x). This is strongest for **SYV** (2.3x), **Violence with Injury** (2x) & **Domestic Abuse** (1.9x).

8. Withdrawal is less likely when the offence is reported by a third-party authority**

Strongest for **Violence with injury** (3.1x), **Stalking** (3.1x) & **SYV** (1.8x)

9. Withdrawal is less likely when the victim is young.

Withdrawal is less likely when the **victim is <18** (1.7x). This is strongest for **non-intimate relationship DA** (2.8x), & **Violence with Injury** (1.7x). Withdrawal was less likely when the victim is **<9** for **SYV** (3.9x) & **CSA** (2.6x).

10. Withdrawal is less likely when the victim is a repeat victim.

This was strongest for **Hate crime** (1.6x) & **Stalking** (1.6x).

Withdrawal less likely

Figures provided are at all crime level unless otherwise stated.

See following slides & [Technical Appendix](#) for crime type level findings.

*Institutions includes educational establishments, hospitals/clinics, criminal justice facilities, administrative buildings & religious buildings

**3rd party authority includes education authorities, social services, doctor/hospitals, fire brigade & havens.

Drivers of withdrawal across all crime

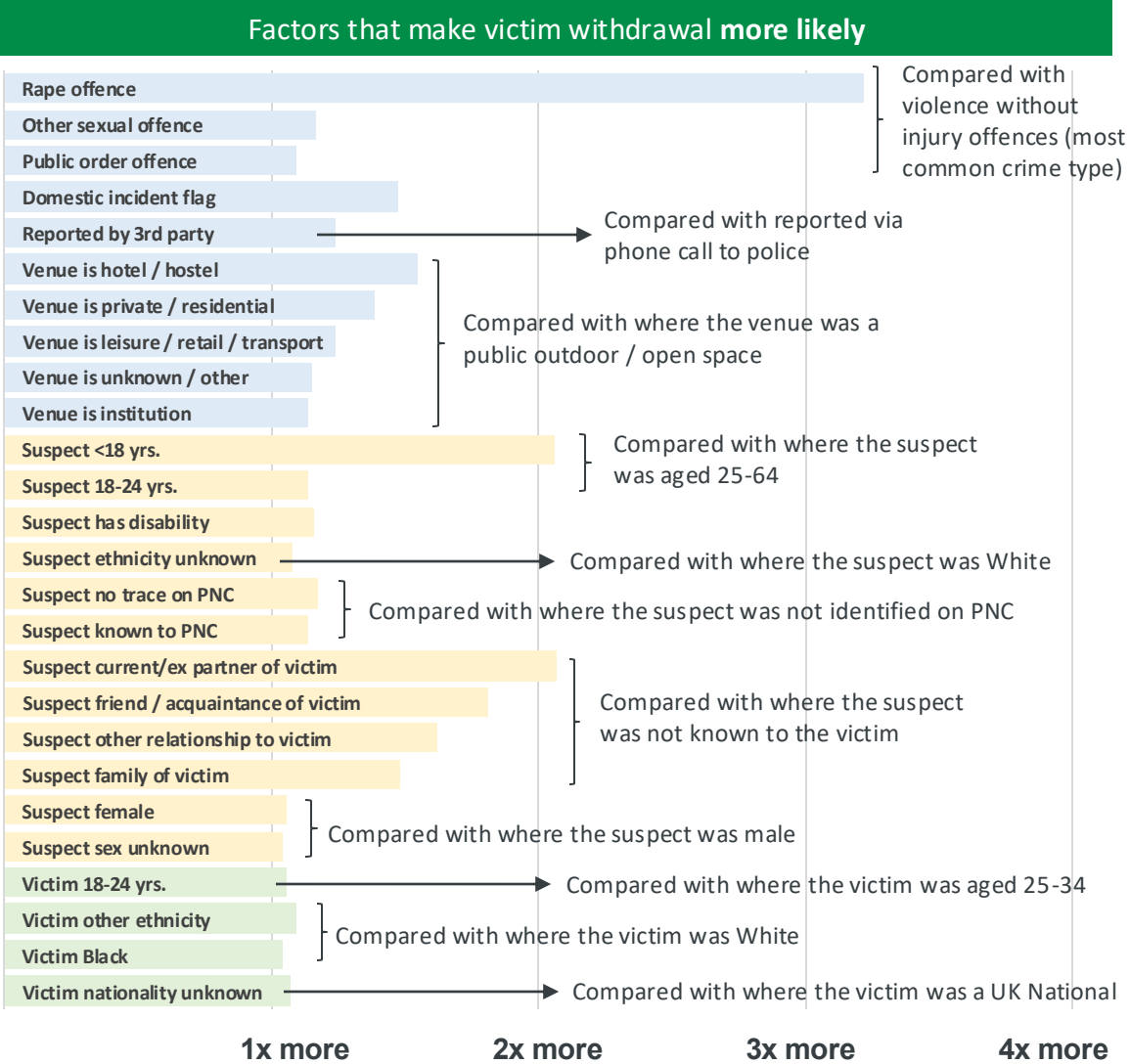
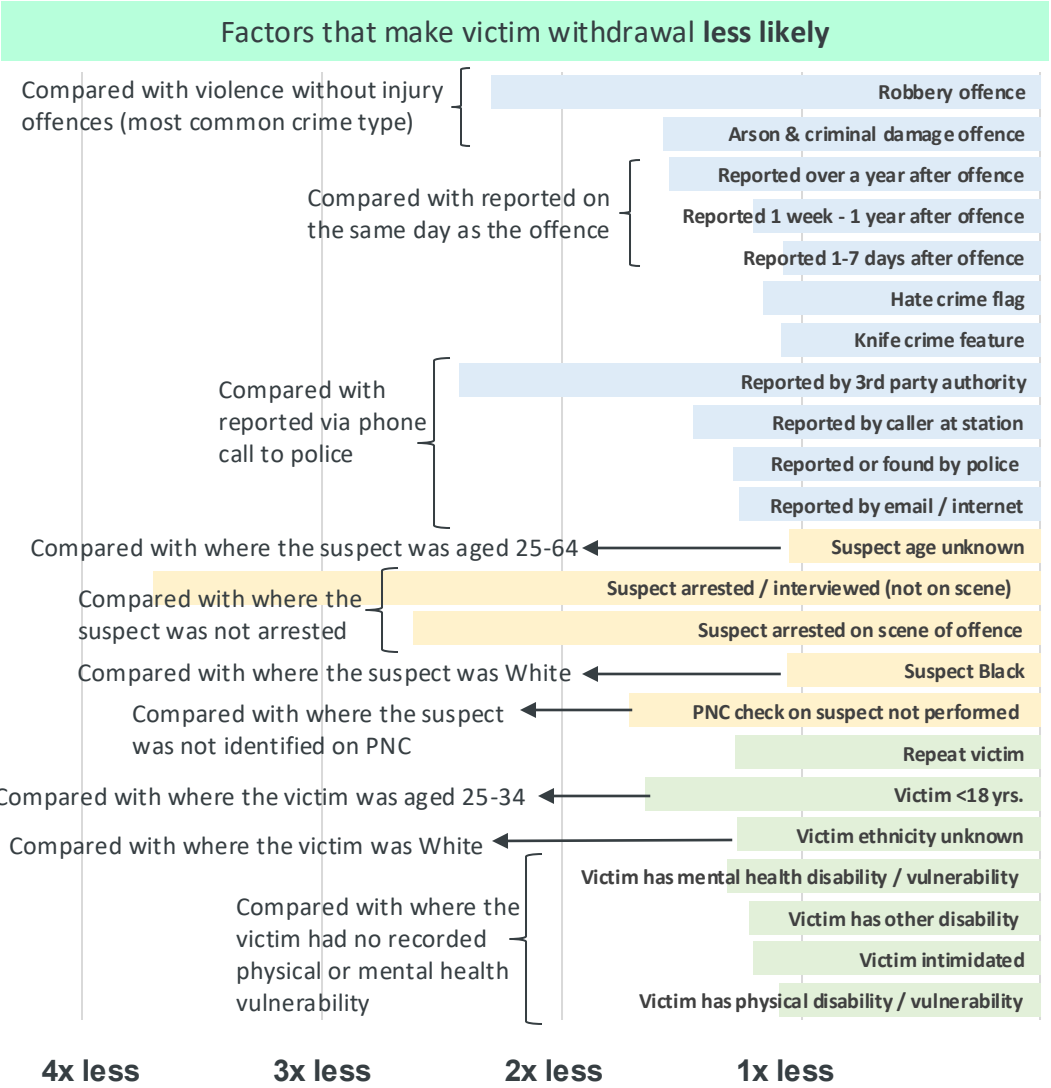
Offence characteristics

Suspect characteristics

Victim characteristics

Model 13

Strength of model: Explained 17% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 65% of cases.



See [Technical Appendix](#) for driver methodology & results from additional models

Key findings by crime type

↑3

Top 3 drivers (withdrawal more likely)

↓3

Top 3 drivers (withdrawal less likely)

★

Crime type specific drivers (not present in or different from all-crime model)



Hate crime

- ↑3

Venue is hotel/hostel (2.1x) Domestic incident flag (1.8x), Knife crime feature (1.7x).
- ↓3

Suspect arrested/interviewed (not on scene) (10.5x), suspect arrested on scene of offence (7.7x), PNC check on suspect not performed (1.6x).
- ★

- Compared with violence without injury, withdrawal is **less likely** for **arson & criminal damage offences** (1.4x) but **more likely** for **public order offences** (1.2x).
 - Withdrawal is **less likely** when the offence is **homophobic hate crime** (1.2x) compared to racial hate crime, or the **victim is female** (1.1x).
 - Withdrawal is **more likely** when there is a **knife crime feature** (1.7x), while at all crime level, a knife crime feature makes withdrawal less likely.

[Full results from driver analysis](#)

SYV

- ↑3

Suspect current/ex-partner of victim (3.1x) Suspect known to PNC (1.7x), Suspect friend/ acquaintance of victim (1.7x).
- ↓3

Suspect arrested/interviewed (not on scene) (4.5x), victim <9 yrs (3.9x), Suspect arrested on scene of offence (3x).
- ★

- Compared with violence with injury, withdrawal is **less likely** for **robbery offences** (2.1x).
 - Withdrawal is **more likely** when the offence is **reported or found by police** (1.5x) & when the venue is an **institution** (1.3x).
 - Withdrawal is **more likely** when the suspect is 10-12 yrs (1.4x) or 13-15 yrs (1.4x), compared to when the suspect is 18-24 yrs.

[Full results from driver analysis](#)

Violence with injury

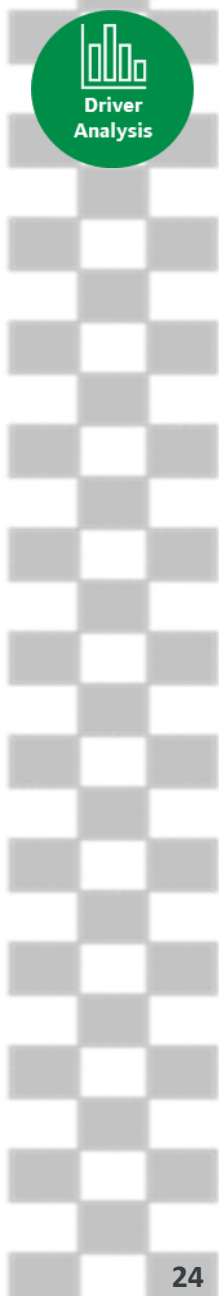
- ↑3

Suspect current/ex-partner of victim (2.8x) Suspect <18 yrs (2.1x), Suspect friend/acquaintance of victim (1.9x).
- ↓3

Suspect arrested/interviewed (not on scene) (3.4x), Reported by 3rd party authority (3.1x), suspect arrested on scene of offence (2.6x).
- ★

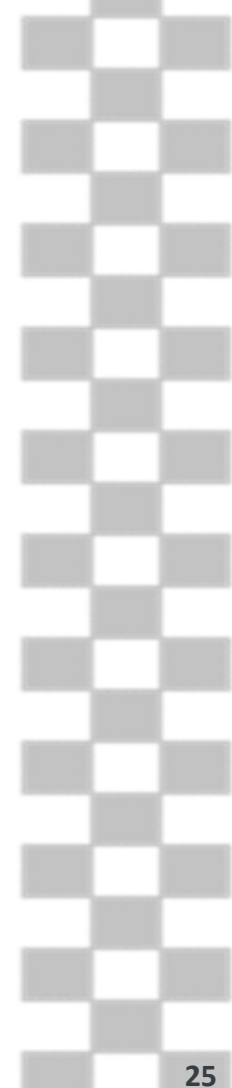
- Withdrawal is **less likely** when the victim is **Asian** (1.1x), **female** (1.1x) or **65+** (1.1x).
 - Withdrawal is **more likely** when the victim is **injured** (1.1x).

[Full results from driver analysis](#)





- ↑3 Top 3 drivers (withdrawal more likely)
- ↓3 Top 3 drivers (withdrawal less likely)
- ★ Crime type specific drivers (not present in or different from all-crime model)



Key findings by crime type

Domestic abuse

- ↑3 Rape (3.1x) suspect <18rs (1.8x), crime transferred from other force/agency (1.3x).
- ↓3 Suspect arrested/interviewed (not on scene) (2.7x), victim <18 yrs. (2x), Reported >1 year after offence (1.9x).
- ★
 - Compared with violence without injury, withdrawal is **less likely** for **public order** (1.4x) & **more likely** for **violence with injury** (1.3x).
 - Withdrawal is **less likely** when the **suspect is 65+ years old** (1.2x) or the **victim is female** (1.1x).
 - Withdrawal is **less likely** when the victim is **65+** (1.4x) & **more likely** when **reported by a 3rd party authority** for **current/ex-partner DA** (1.4x).
 - Withdrawal is **more likely** when it is an **HBV offence** for **other relationship DA** (3.8x).

[Full results from driver analysis](#)

CSA

- ↑3 Rape (2.3x) Suspect current/ex-partner of victim (2.1x), Suspect 13-15 yrs. (1.9x).
- ↓3 Suspect <9 yrs. (14.1x), Suspect arrested/interviewed (not on scene) (3.3x), Victim <9 yrs. (2.6x).
- ★
 - Withdrawal is **less likely** when it is a **disclosure of sexual photographs offence** (1.8x).
 - Withdrawal is **less likely** when the victim is **10-12 yrs.** (1.4x), or is **25-64** (historical reporting cases) (1.3x), compared with when the victim is 13-15.
 - Withdrawal is **more likely** when the suspect is a **teenager or young adult: 13-15** (1.9x), **16-17** (1.9x), or **18-24** (1.5x).
 - Withdrawal is also **more likely** when the victim is a **teenager or young adult: 18-24** (1.5x), **16-17** (1.3x).

[Full results from driver analysis](#)

Adult sexual offences

- ↑3 Rape (2.6x) venue private/residential (2.3x), suspect current/ex-partner of victim (2.3x).
- ↓3 Suspect arrested/interviewed (not on scene) (6.9x), suspect arrested on scene of offence (2.8x), disclosure of sexual photographs offence (1.6x).
- ★
 - Withdrawal is **less likely** when the **victim is 65+** (1.5x).
 - Withdrawal is **more likely** when the **suspect is Black** (1.1x).
 - Withdrawal is **less likely** for **rape offences** when the venue is an **institution** (1.9x), while for sexual offences (and at all crime level) it is **more likely** (1.5x).

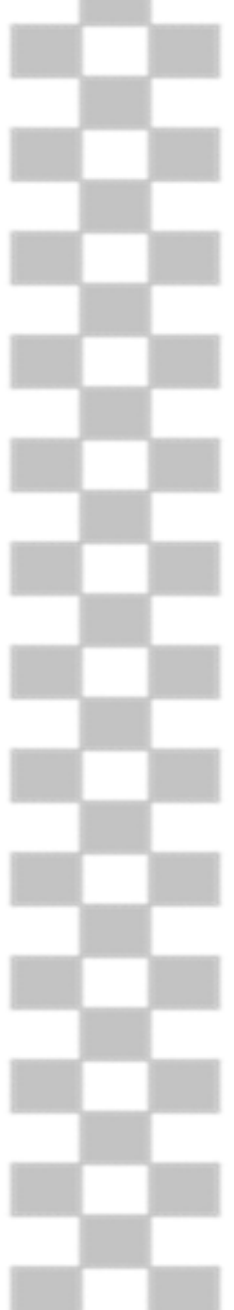
[Full results from driver analysis](#)

Stalking

- ↑3 Suspect <18 yrs (3x) Suspect current/ex-partner of victim (1.7x), Suspect family of victim (1.4x).
- ↓3 Suspect arrested/interviewed (not on scene) (3.3x), Reported by 3rd party authority (3.1x), Suspect arrested on scene of offence (2.8x).
- ★
 - Withdrawal is **more likely** when the suspect is **Asian** (1.3x).

[Full results from driver analysis](#)

Technical Appendix



Victim Withdrawal rates over time for MPS & most similar forces

- Withdrawal rates across all crime* for the MPS & most similar forces over time (2021/22 – 2023/24).
- Withdrawal rate reported twice – including & excluding cases recorded as “Not yet assigned an outcome” (Outcome Pending).

All Crime	Home Office April 2021 – March 2022					Home Office April 2022 – March 2023					Home Office April 2023 – March 2024				
	Withdrawal Rate* including outcome pending			Withdrawal Rate* excluding outcome pending		Withdrawal Rate* including outcome pending			Withdrawal Rate* excluding outcome pending		Withdrawal Rate* including outcome pending			Withdrawal Rate* excluding outcome pending	
	%	No.	Total	%	Total	%	No.	Total	%	Total	%	No.	Total	%	Total
MPS	37%	149,366	405,751	37%	401,899	36%	145,864	407,856	37%	398,062	35%	148,014	428,139	37%	148,014
Greater Manchester	45%	105,419	234,766	45%	234,345	42%	102,353	243,180	42%	242,078	35%	77,481	218,531	36%	214,422
West Midlands	43%	106,509	245,178	44%	241,019	48%	112,087	232,889	48%	232,283	50%	101,268	201,021	51%	198,434
West Yorkshire	34%	70,359	209,440	34%	205,192	34%	73,639	216,441	35%	210,756	26%	49,970	190,516	28%	179,239

- Withdrawal rates over time (2021/22 – 2023/24) across crime types for the MPS.

MPS		2021/22		2022/23		2023/24	
Crime Group	Crime Type	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending
Criminal damage & arson	Arson	9%	9%	10%	10%	9%	9%
	Criminal damage	19%	19%	20%	20%	19%	19%
	Criminal damage & arson Total	19%	19%	20%	20%	18%	19%
Public order offences	Public order offences	34%	34%	34%	34%	33%	34%
Robbery	Robbery	18%	18%	19%	19%	18%	19%
Sexual offences	Other sexual offences	37%	39%	27%	29%	24%	29%
	Rape	60%	64%	55%	63%	43%	62%
	Sexual offences Total	45%	48%	37%	41%	31%	39%
Violence against the person	Death or serious injury - unlawful driving	3%	3%	0%	0%	3%	5%
	Homicide	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Stalking & harassment	42%	42%	41%	42%	40%	43%
	Violence with injury	41%	42%	40%	41%	40%	43%
	Violence without injury	44%	44%	44%	44%	43%	46%
	Violence against the person Total	42%	43%	42%	43%	41%	44%

Withdrawal Rate based on Evidential difficulties (victim does not support action) outcome (includes outcome 14 - suspect not identified & outcome 16 - suspect identified).
Outcome pending based on cases recorded as “Not yet assigned an outcome”.
All Crime: Criminal Damage & Arson,, Public Order, Robbery, Sexual, Violence Against the Person.

Source: Data correct as of 30 January 2025.
[Home Office Outcome Data – April 21 – March 22](#)
[Home Office Outcome Data – April 22 – March 23](#)
[Home Office Outcome Data – April 23 – March 24](#)

Crime specific withdrawal rates across E&W & MSF

England & Wales		2021/22		2022/23		2023/24	
Crime Group	Crime Type	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending
Criminal damage & arson	Arson	9%	9%	8%	8%	8%	9%
	Criminal damage	19%	20%	19%	20%	19%	19%
	Criminal damage & arson Total	19%	19%	19%	19%	18%	19%
Public order offences	Public order offences	33%	33%	32%	33%	30%	31%
Robbery	Robbery	25%	25%	24%	25%	23%	24%
Sexual offences	Other sexual offences	35%	36%	33%	35%	31%	35%
	Rape	55%	58%	54%	59%	50%	62%
	Sexual offences Total	43%	44%	41%	43%	38%	44%
Violence against the person	Death or serious injury - unlawful driving	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%	4%
	Homicide	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Stalking & harassment	47%	47%	46%	47%	43%	45%
	Violence with injury	43%	44%	43%	44%	42%	43%
	Violence without injury	49%	49%	48%	49%	46%	47%
	Violence against the person Total	47%	47%	46%	47%	44%	45%

Greater Manchester		2021/22		2022/23		2023/24	
Crime Group	Crime Type	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending
Criminal damage & arson	Arson	16%	16%	14%	14%	9%	9%
	Criminal damage	26%	26%	24%	24%	19%	19%
	Criminal damage & arson Total	26%	26%	24%	24%	18%	18%
Public order offences	Public order offences	36%	36%	36%	36%	29%	29%
Robbery	Robbery	29%	29%	29%	29%	20%	21%
Sexual offences	Other sexual offences	40%	40%	37%	38%	31%	34%
	Rape	48%	50%	49%	53%	44%	52%
	Sexual offences Total	43%	44%	41%	43%	36%	40%
Violence against the person	Death or serious injury - unlawful driving	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%	4%
	Homicide	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Stalking & harassment	55%	55%	51%	52%	43%	44%
	Violence with injury	48%	49%	43%	43%	37%	38%
	Violence without injury	56%	56%	51%	51%	43%	44%
	Violence against the person Total	54%	54%	49%	50%	42%	42%

Source: Data correct as of 30 January 2025.
[Home Office Outcome Data – April 21 – March 22 - prc-outcomes-open-data-mar2022-tables-300125](#)
[Home Office Outcome Data – April 22 – March 23 - prc-outcomes-open-data-mar2023-tables-300125](#)
[Home Office Outcome Data – April 23 – March 24 - prc-outcomes-open-data-mar2024-tables-300125](#)

Crime specific withdrawal rates across E&W & MSF

West Midlands		2021/22		2022/23		2023/24	
Crime Group	Crime Type	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending
Criminal damage & arson	Arson	13%	13%	19%	19%	22%	23%
	Criminal damage	23%	24%	30%	30%	33%	33%
	Criminal damage & arson Total	23%	23%	29%	29%	32%	33%
Public order offences	Public order offences	32%	32%	38%	39%	41%	41%
Robbery	Robbery	27%	27%	23%	23%	27%	28%
Sexual offences	Other sexual offences	46%	48%	45%	46%	47%	49%
	Rape	70%	74%	69%	72%	69%	75%
	Sexual offences Total	57%	60%	55%	56%	56%	61%
Violence against the person	Death or serious injury - unlawful driving	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Homicide	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Stalking & harassment	46%	47%	52%	52%	59%	60%
	Violence with injury	51%	52%	56%	56%	56%	57%
	Violence without injury	52%	53%	57%	57%	56%	56%
	Violence against the person Total	50%	50%	55%	55%	57%	57%

West Yorkshire		2021/22		2022/23		2023/24	
Crime Group	Crime Type	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending	Withdrawal Rate	Withdrawal rate excluding outcome pending
Criminal damage & arson	Arson	5%	5%	5%	5%	4%	4%
	Criminal damage	14%	14%	15%	15%	13%	13%
	Criminal damage & arson Total	14%	14%	14%	15%	12%	13%
Public order offences	Public order offences	27%	27%	27%	28%	18%	19%
Robbery	Robbery	11%	11%	10%	10%	7%	8%
Sexual offences	Other sexual offences	22%	23%	21%	23%	14%	18%
	Rape	27%	30%	28%	32%	23%	32%
	Sexual offences Total	24%	25%	24%	26%	18%	23%
Violence against the person	Death or serious injury - unlawful driving	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	2%
	Homicide	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Stalking & harassment	43%	44%	43%	44%	31%	33%
	Violence with injury	37%	37%	38%	39%	32%	34%
	Violence without injury	43%	43%	43%	44%	34%	35%
	Violence against the person Total	42%	42%	42%	43%	32%	34%

Source: Data correct as of 30 January 2025.
[Home Office Outcome Data – April 21 – March 22 – prc-outcomes-open-data-mar2022-tables-300125](#)
[Home Office Outcome Data – April 22 – March 23 – prc-outcomes-open-data-mar2023-tables-300125](#)
[Home Office Outcome Data – April 23 – March 24 – prc-outcomes-open-data-mar2024-tables-300125](#)

Methodology: outcome definitions

Individual outcomes included within each outcome **group**

Judicial Outcomes
01 - Charged/Summoned
1A - Charge/Summons Alternate offence
02 - Caution - youth
2A - Youth offender cautioned alternate offence
03 - Caution - adult
3A - Adult offender cautioned alternate offence
04 - Taken into consideration
06 - Penalty Notice for Disorder
08 - Community Resolution
Evidential difficulties
15 – Susp id; V supports; evidential difficulties (Suspect identified)
18 – Invest. complete: no susp id (Suspect not identified)

Other Outcomes
05 - The offender has died (all offences)
09 - Not in public interest (CPS)
10 - Not in public interest (Pol)
11 - Prosecution prev. - Suspect Age
12 - Prosecution prev. - suspect ill
13 - Prosecution prev - VIW ill/dead
17 - Prosecution time limit expired
20 - Transferred to External Agency
21 - Further Investigation NIPI (Police)
22 - Diversionary, educational or intervention
Victim withdrawal
14 - Evidential difficulties victim based (Suspect not identified)
16 - Susp id; V not support; evidential difficulties (Suspect identified)

Methodology: Creating the bespoke analysis dataset

Data limitations meant E&I had to think creatively - how to draw insights from the MPS crime reporting systems.

Data approach:

- ✓ MOPAC E&I requested a static snapshot of all MPS offences recorded during **April 2021 – March 2022** with a recorded outcome code (timeframe selected to increase likelihood of outcome code being applied by date of extraction – July 2023).
- ✓ 5 separate datasets extracted from CRIS were provided by the MPS (**offences, victims, suspects, flags & knife crime features**).
- ✓ The **Knife crime features, flags & offences** datasets were merged to create an **'All offences' dataset** with 1 row per offence (including subsidiary offences).
- ✓ The **'All offences' dataset & victims** datasets were merged to create an **'All victims dataset'**, including offence characteristics with 1 row per victim. Where multiple victims were recorded for the same crime report, the classification & outcome of the 'Main' offence from the offences dataset was matched to each victim, as it was not possible to accurately match the correct sub-classification & outcome with the correct victim.
- ✓ The **'All offences' dataset & suspects** dataset were merged to create an **'All suspects dataset'** with 1 row per suspect as above.
- ✓ Cases were excluded from all three datasets where the following applied:
 - ✓ 'No crime' outcome or 'an admin' outcome was recorded.
 - ✓ Crime type not Arson & Criminal Damage / Robbery / Public Order / Violence Against the Person / Sexual Offences.
 - ✓ There was no corresponding victim for a crime report in the **victims** dataset (victimless offences).
- ✓ Where multiple victims &/or suspects are recorded multiple offences will be recorded, but it is not possible to link each victim to a specific offence, suspect or outcome. To improve reliability of results a bespoke **combined dataset** was created to look across – including only cases with **1 recorded victim & 0 or 1 recorded suspects**. This ensures the outcome relates to the correct victim.
- ✓ This combined dataset was used for all descriptive & driver analysis reported on in this research.

Data limitations:

- X Data is extracted from the MPS Crime Report Investigation System (CRIS), used to record crime & details of any criminal investigation. It is NOT a research tool, resulting in limitations to the data extracted & any subsequent analysis.
- X This **does not provide** the rich data E&I have previously obtained through **'deep coding'** (used on the [London Rape Review](#)), so **insights are limited**.
- X Unable to identify repeat victims, so their **characteristics may be overrepresented**.
- X Combined dataset is still **flawed / biased** (e.g. to 1-2-1 person crimes like DA).
- X It is **not something the MPS can standardly run** for ongoing oversight - this is **crucial to address**, as without a process for monitoring victim engagement, any improvements will be hard to measure.



From the bespoke **combined dataset**, analysis conducted on the case outcome. Specifically, **'Victim Withdrawal' outcomes** which include Evidential difficulties where the **victim does not support** the investigation:

- 16 – Suspect ID; Victim does not support; evidential difficulties
- 14 – Evidential difficulties victim based (Suspect not ID)

Methodology: Crime type definitions

Offence group definitions (defined by MOPAC E&I)

As well as using police recorded offence classifications, this research explores withdrawal within the priority crime areas below. Not all offences included in dataset used for analysis will be categorised as one of the below crime areas. Offences can be categorised as more than one of the below crime areas.

Offence group	Police recorded offence categories	Flags	Other criteria
Domestic abuse (DA)	Offence = Breach of a Restraining Order / Breach of a Non-Molestation Order / Engage in controlling/coercive behaviour in an intimate/family relationship	OR Domestic incident flag	
Adult Sexual offences	Major crime = Sexual Offences OR Offence = Breach a SRO/SHO / Breach SHPO/SOPO / Disclose or Threaten to disclose w/o consent private sexual photographs or film with intent to cause distress / Failure to Comply with Notification Requirement / Offences relating to notification		AND Non-CSA offence (as defined below)
Adult Rape offences	Minor crime = Rape		AND Non-CSA offence (as defined below)
Child Sexual abuse (CSA)	Major crime = Sexual Offences OR Offence = Take/permit to take/make distribute/publish indecent photographs/pseudo - photographs of children / Possession of an Indecent or Pseudo Indecent Photo of a Child / Possessing prohibited images of children / Disclose or Threaten to disclose w/o consent private sexual photographs or film with intent to cause distress		AND Victim apparent age at time crime was recorded = 1-17 <i>Exception for indecent images of children offences & offences which explicitly state that the victim is under 18 (included regardless of victim age)</i>
Stalking	Offence = Breach of Stalking Order/Interim Stalking Order / Pursue Course Of Conduct Which Amounts To Stalking / Stalking Involving Fear of Violence / Stalking Involving Serious Alarm/Distress / Breach of the Conditions of an Injunction: Protection from Harassment Act Only		
Hate crime	Offences described as being racially or religiously aggravated or intended or likely to stir up racial or religious hatred	OR Any of the following hate crime flags applied: Transgender Hate Crime / Racial Incident / Islamaphobic Hate Crime / Homophobic incidents / Faith Hate / Disability Related Hate Crime / Anti-Semitic Racial Incident	
Serious Youth Violence	Major crime = Violence Against the Person AND Minor crime = Homicide / Violence with injury (excluding offences committed against officers of the law) OR Major crime = Robbery		AND Victim apparent age at time crime was recorded = 1-24 AND Suspect apparent age at time crime was recorded – 1-24 AND Non-DA offence (as defined above)
HBV	Offence = Female Genital Mutilation / Forced Marriage	OR HBV flag applied	

All crime types in scope (defined according to police recorded offence classifications)

Note: All offences included in dataset used for analysis will be categorised as one of the below offence groups. Offences are mutually exclusive.

	Violence with injury	Violence without injury	Rape	Other Sexual offences	Arson & Criminal Damage	Robbery	Public Order Offs
Major crime group	Violence Against the Person	Violence Against the Person	Sexual Offences	Sexual Offences	Arson & Criminal Damage	Robbery	Public Order
Minor crime group	Violence with injury & Homicide	Violence without injury	Rape	Other Sexual offences	ALL	ALL	ALL

Methodology: Key variables

Category	Name	Description	Reference category variable for regression analysis (excluded from model)
Location	Borough	Categorical variable as recorded by police.	N/A not used in regression analysis
	BCU	Categorical variable calculated by E&I based on borough field.	N/A not used in regression analysis
Outcome	Outcome group	Categorical variable grouped by E&I based on police recorded outcome code.	N/A not used in regression analysis
	Victim withdrawal	Binary (Y/N) variable grouped by E&I based on police recorded outcome code (where outcome code was 14 or 16).	N/A dependent variable only
Time to withdrawal	Duration of investigation.	Categorical variable calculated by E&I based on no. days between crime recorded & investigation complete date.	N/A not used in regression analysis
	Investigation complete early (<4 weeks)	Binary (Y/N) variable grouped by E&I based no. days between crime recorded & investigation complete date.	N/A dependent variable only (models 19-24)
	Investigation complete early (<12 weeks)	Binary (Y/N) variable grouped by E&I based no. days between crime recorded & investigation complete date.	N/A dependent variable only (models 25-28)
Offence	Venue type	Categorical variable grouped by E&I based on police recorded venue type field. Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Venue type = public outdoor/open space
	How reported to police	Categorical variable grouped by E&I based on police recorded ‘how notified’ field. Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	How reported = phone call to police
	Delay to reporting	Categorical variable calculated by E&I based on no. days between crime committed & crime reported dates. Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Delay to reporting = 0 days (same day as offence)
	Modern slavery flag	Flag recorded by police where present. Recoded into Y/N binary variable where 1 = present, 0 = not present.	N/A binary variable
	Knife crime flag		N/A binary variable
	HBV flag		N/A binary variable
	Domestic incident flag		N/A binary variable
	Hate crime flag		N/A binary variable
	Racial incident flag		Racial incident flag present
	Transgender hate crime		
	Islamophobic hate crime		
	Homophobic hate crime		
	Faith hate crime		
	Disability hate crime		
	Antisemitic hate crime		
	Crime type	Crime type recorded by police (see previous slide for crime types in scope). Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Crime Type =Violence without injury offence OR Crime Type =Other sexual offences (models 7, 8 & 9 only)



Methodology: Key variables continued

Category	Name	Description	Reference category variable for regression analysis (excluded from model)
Victim	Victim sex	Categorical variable based on police recorded data. Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Victim sex = male
	Victim transgender / non-binary	Binary Y/N variable calculated by E&I based on police recorded gender data (where victim gender was recorded as transgender or non-binary).	
	Victim has physical disability / vulnerability	Binary Y/N variable calculated by E&I based on police recorded disability & vulnerability data (where victim was recorded as having a physical disability incl. blind, deaf, speech or a physical vulnerability).	Victim has no physical or mental disability / vulnerability
	Victim has mental health disability / vulnerability	Binary Y/N variable calculated by E&I based on police recorded disability & vulnerability fields (where victim was recorded as having a mental health disability, learning disability or a mental health vulnerability).	
	Victim has other disability	Binary Y/N variable calculated by E&I based on police recorded disability (where victim was recorded as having ‘other’ disability).	
	Victim intimidated	Binary Y/N variable calculated by E&I based on police recorded vulnerability fields (where reason for vulnerability was victim intimidated).	N/A binary variable
	Repeat victim	Binary Y/N variable calculated by E&I based on multiple police recorded fields (VIW_Reported CR in Last 12 months?, VIW_CRIS Repeat Victim?, VIW_Repeat Victim?).	N/A binary variable
	Victim injured	Binary Y/N variable calculated by E&I based on injury degree field recorded by police (where injury was recorded as minor, moderate, serious or fatal).	N/A binary variable
	Victim age group (1)	Categorical variable grouped by E&I based on exact age of victim recorded by police at time of report. Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Victim age group = 25-64
	Victim age group (2)	Additional categorical variable grouped by E&I based on exact age of victim recorded by police at time of report, including more detailed age splits for under 18s. Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Victim age group = 13-15 for model 9, 18-24 for model 12
	Victim ethnicity group	Categorical variable grouped by E&I based on Ethnic Appearance desc recorded by police. Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Victim ethnicity group = White
	Victim nationality	Categorical variable grouped by E&I based on victim nationality recorded by police (grouped as UK National, Non-UK National, Not Recorded). Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Victim nationality = UK National
Suspect	Suspect recorded	Binary Y/N variable calculated by E&I based on whether suspect data was recorded for an offence.	N/A binary variable
	Suspect known to victim	Binary Y/N variable calculated by E&I based on whether the relationship between a victim & a suspect was recorded (1= suspect known to victim, 0=no relationship recorded, i.e. stranger).	N/A binary variable
	Suspect arrested on scene of offence	Field recorded by police where applicable. Recoded into Y/N binary variable where 1 = present, 0 = not present.	Suspect not arrested/interviewed
	Suspect arrested / interviewed (not on scene)	Binary Y/N variable calculated by E&I based on police recorded fields (where suspect was arrested/interviewed but suspect arrested on scene of offence did not apply).	
	Suspect has disability	Field recorded by police where applicable. Recoded into Y/N binary variable where 1 = present, 0 = not present.	
	Suspect age group (1)	Categorical variable grouped by E&I based on exact age of suspect recorded by police at time of report. Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Suspect age group = 25-64
	Suspect age group (2)	Additional categorical variable grouped by E&I based on exact age of suspect recorded by police at time of report, including more detailed age splits for under 18s. Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Suspect age group = 25-64 for model 9, 18-24 for model 12
	Suspect sex	Categorical variable based on police recorded data. Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Suspect = male
	Suspect ethnicity group	Categorical variable grouped by E&I based on Ethnic Appearance desc recorded by police. Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Suspect ethnicity group = White
	Suspect nationality	Categorical variable grouped by E&I based on victim nationality recorded by police (grouped as UK National, Non-UK National, Not Recorded). Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Suspect nationality = UK National
	Suspect PNC status	Categorical variable based on police recorded data. Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Suspect PNC Status = Not identified
	Suspect relationship to victim	Categorical variable grouped by E&I based on police recorded SUSP How Known field. Answer options dummy coded for regression analysis.	Suspect relationship to victim = not recorded (stranger) OR suspect relationship to victim = current/ex partner of victim (model 4 only)

Note: Missing data within each variable receives its own category of ‘Unknown’ which is included within the models.

Methodology: Driver analysis

- **Binary logistic regression was conducted** on a range of variables relating to offence; victim & suspect characteristics. All variables included in the model were **binary variables** coded as 1 or 0 (categorical variables were dummy coded & reference categories were selected based on comparison groups of interest, default/baseline groups (e.g., the most frequent) or ease of interpretation).
- **Model testing** using different variables & different subsets of the data (models 0, 00, 000, 1, 2) was conducted to select a final model.
- **The final model has been reported on at all crime level (model 3) & crime type level (models 5-13).** At crime type level, where appropriate the model was adapted for each crime type (e.g., including relevant sub-crimes as independent variables & adjusting the age group categories for CSA & SYV to reflect younger victims/suspects). Results of these models are presented in the Appendices.
- **Further model were conducted** to explore drivers of **victim withdrawal vs judicial outcomes (model 14; results)**, drivers of withdrawal where the suspect is recorded vs not recorded (models 15-16; results), & drivers of withdrawal where the suspect is known vs not known to the victim (models 17-18; results).
- **The dependent variable for the above models was victim withdrawal** (withdrawal = outcome 14 or 16, not withdrawal = any other outcome).
- **Further models were conducted to explore drivers of early withdrawal vs late withdrawal** at all crime level & crime type level (models 19-26; results). These models included only cases where the victim withdrew, & the dependent variable was early withdrawal (investigation complete <4 weeks post report for domestic abuse, stalking, hate crime, SYV & violence with injury & <12 for adult sexual offences, adult rape offences & CSA). The use of different time periods is based on average durations of investigations, which are longer for sexual offences than other offence types (see speed to withdrawal analysis).
- **Reported variables are significant set @95% confidence.**

Step 1: Including only offence variables in the model

Model 0

Some offence factors were found to significantly influence withdrawal. However, the model strength is poor (explained 11% (Nagelkerke R^2) of the variance in withdrawal outcomes).

Step 2: Including only victim variables in the model

Model 00

Some victim factors were found to significantly influence withdrawal. However, the model strength is poor ($R^2 = 3\%$).

Step 3: Including offence & victim variables in the model

Model 000

When we include offence & victim variables, the model strength improves ($R^2 = 12\%$).

Step 4: Adding suspect variables to the model

- When we include **suspect recorded** (Y/N) as a variable in the model (along with victim & offence variables), the model strength improves again ($R^2 = 15\%$).
- When we include **suspect known to victim** (Y/N) as a variable in the model the model is slightly stronger again ($R^2 = 16\%$).

Model 1

Model 2

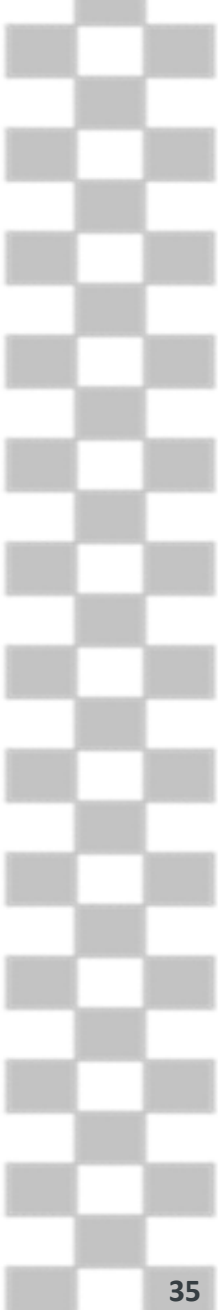
Step 5: Selecting the final model

Model 3

- Step 4 shows that suspect characteristics are key to model strength. To include a range of suspect characteristics in the model, it was necessary to exclude cases **where no suspect was recorded**, as blank values for these variables where no suspect was recorded would skew results. Filtering on cases where the suspect was recorded rather than where the suspect was known to the victim provides a more robust sample size & allows inclusion of cases where suspect details were known, but the suspect was a stranger.
- **For the all crime level model (model 3) & crime-type level models (models 5-13) regression was conducted on a range of offence, victim & suspect characteristics, including only cases where a suspect was recorded.** Note: For the domestic abuse model (model 4), due to the nature of the crime type only cases where a suspect was known to the victim were included.

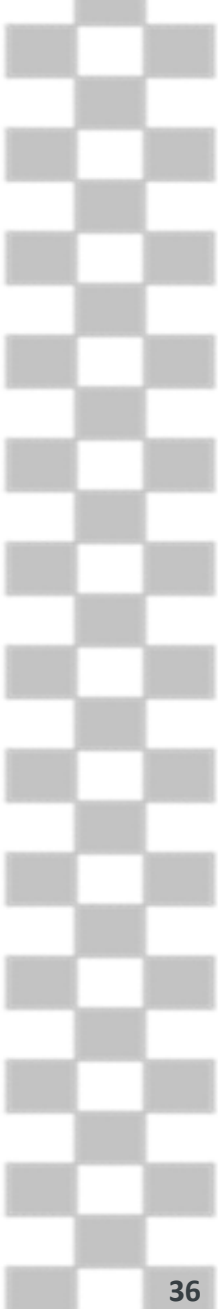
Methodology: Regression models

Model number:	Model description:	Model filters:	Crime types:	Sample size:	R2	% correct 0	% correct 1	% correct overall
Model 0	MODEL TESTING: All cases, offence variables only	No filters	ALL	273298	11%	84.95	31.38	63.42
Model 00	MODEL TESTING: All cases, victim variables only	No filters	ALL	273298	3%	94.6	8.8	60.1
Model 000	MODEL TESTING: All cases, offence & victim variables	All	ALL	273298	12%	82.32	36.76	64.01
Model 1	MODEL TESTING: All cases, offence & victim variables + suspect recorded (Y/N)	All	ALL	273298	15%	79.6	42.7	64.7
Model 2	MODEL TESTING: All cases, offence & victim variables + suspect known to victim (Y/N)	None	ALL	273298	16%	77.2	48	65.46
Model 3	SELECTED MODEL: offence, victim & suspect variables where suspect is recorded	Suspect recorded	ALL	204390	17%	70.06	59.57	65.18
Model 4	CRIME TYPE MODELS: selected model at crime type level (some variations in variables used depending on relevance to crime type)	Suspect known to vic, DA	DA	39171	8%	27.27	87.15	63.5
Model 5		Suspect recorded, DA, Current/ex partner	DA	29629	8%	28.98	85.9	62.87
Model 6		Suspect recorded, DA, Other relationship	DA	9542	11%	27.15	84.05	59.83
Model 7		Suspect recorded, Adult sexual offences	Adult Sexual Offs	11269	26%	67.22	71.83	69.61
Model 8		Suspect recorded, Adult rape offences	Adult Rape Offs	4386	18%	26.4	81.9	52
Model 9		Suspect recorded, CSA	CSA	5196	25%	63.55	73.46	68.69
Model 10		Suspect recorded, Stalking	Stalking	6033	13%	62.3	64.8	63.5
Model 11		Suspect recorded, Hate crime	Hate crime	11429	19%	77.4	50.88	66.93
Model 12		Suspect recorded, SYV	SYV	4460	24%	71.4	68.3	70
Model 13		Suspect recorded, violence with injury	Violence with injury	45458	18%	72	53	63.2
Model 14	WITHDRAWAL VS JUDICIAL OUTCOMES MODEL: Selected model on cases where victims withdrew or received a judicial outcome only	Suspect recorded, Victim withdrawal or judicial outcome	ALL	112485	23%	14.65	98.54	85.6
Model 15	SUSPECT NOT RECORDED MODEL: offence & victim variables where suspect is not recorded	Suspect not recorded	ALL	68908	16%	99.72	2.37	78.95
Model 16	SUSPECT RECORDED MODEL (FOR COMPARISON): offence & victim variables where suspect is recorded	Suspect recorded	ALL	204390	8%	69.7	49.4	60.2
Model 17	SUSPECT NOT KNOWN TO VICTIM MODEL: offence, victim & suspect variables where suspect was not known to victim	Sus recorded, Vic doesn't know suspect	ALL	81982	17%	86.3	38.6	69.7
Model 18	SUSPECT KNOWN TO VICTIM MODEL (FOR COMPARISON): offence, victim & suspect variables where suspect was known to victim	Vic knows suspect	ALL	122408	12%	48.23	76.31	63.5



Methodology: Regression models cont.

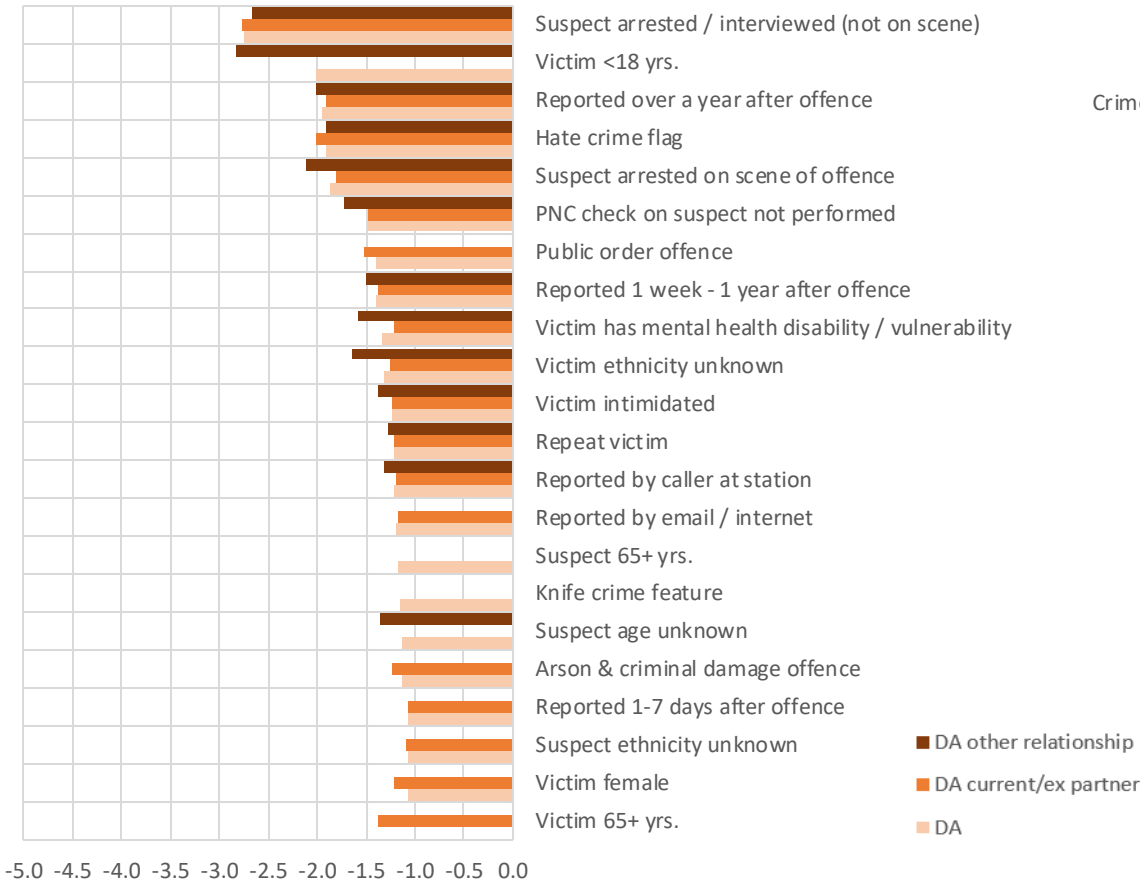
Model number:	Model description:	Model filters:	Crime types:	Sample size:	R2	% correct 0	% correct 1	% correct overall
Model 19	EARLY VS LATE WITHDRAWAL MODEL (<4 weeks): Selected model on cases where victims withdrew only, comparing early & late withdrawal	Victim withdrew, Suspect recorded	ALL	95133	18%	34.15	90.24	68.21
Model 20		Victim withdrew, Suspect known to vic, DA	DA	23702	13%	37.12	84.57	63.60
Model 21		Victim withdrew, Suspect recorded, Stalking	Stalking	2869	12%	63.10	57.50	60.50
Model 22		Victim withdrew, Suspect recorded, Hate crime	Hate crime	4509	11%	25.48	91.52	66.22
Model 23								
Model 24	EARLY VS LATE WITHDRAWAL CRIME TYPE MODEL (<4 weeks)	Victim withdrew, Suspect recorded, SYV	SYV	2056	15%	48.36	78.55	65.13
		Victim withdrew, Suspect recorded, Violence with injury	Violence with injury	21637	9%	30.69	85.41	62.96
Model 25	EARLY VS LATE WITHDRAWAL MODEL (<12 weeks): Selected model on cases where victims withdrew only, comparing early & late withdrawal	Victim withdrew, Suspect recorded	ALL	95133	19%	22.34	96.97	83.83
Model 26		Victim withdrew, Suspect recorded, Adult sexual offences	Adult sexual offences	5833	10%	67.99	51.82	60.59
Model 27		Victim withdrew, Suspect recorded, Adult rape offences	Adult rape offences	3039	10%	81.40	31.54	61.48
Model 28		Victim withdrew, Suspect recorded, CSA	CSA	2694	11%	85.78	31.04	64.77



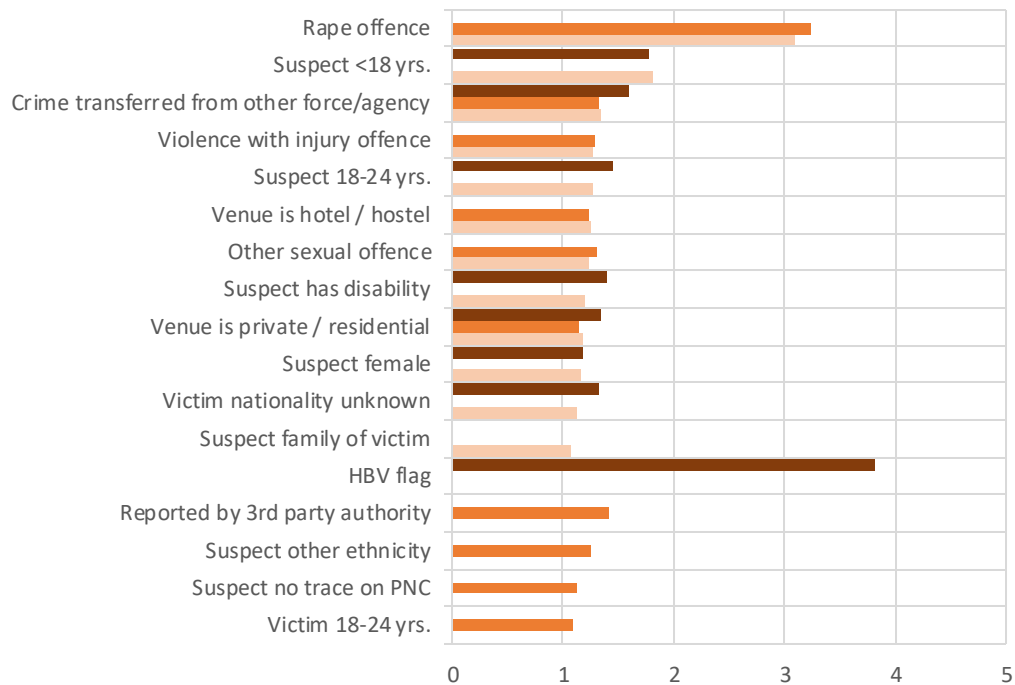
Driver analysis results: Domestic abuse

Model 4 Model 5 Model 6

Factors that make victim withdrawal less likely



Factors that make victim withdrawal more likely



Strength of model:

Domestic abuse: Explained 8% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 64% of cases.

Domestic abuse (current/ex-partner): Explained 8% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 63% of cases.

Domestic abuse (other relationship): Explained 11% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 60% of cases.

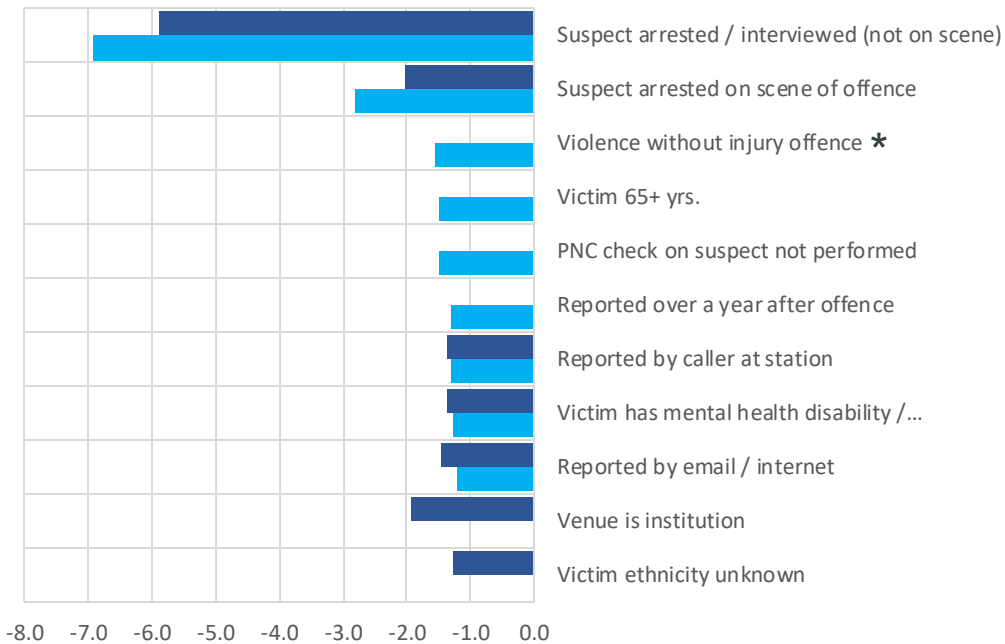
Driver analysis results: Adult sexual offences

Model 7

Model 8

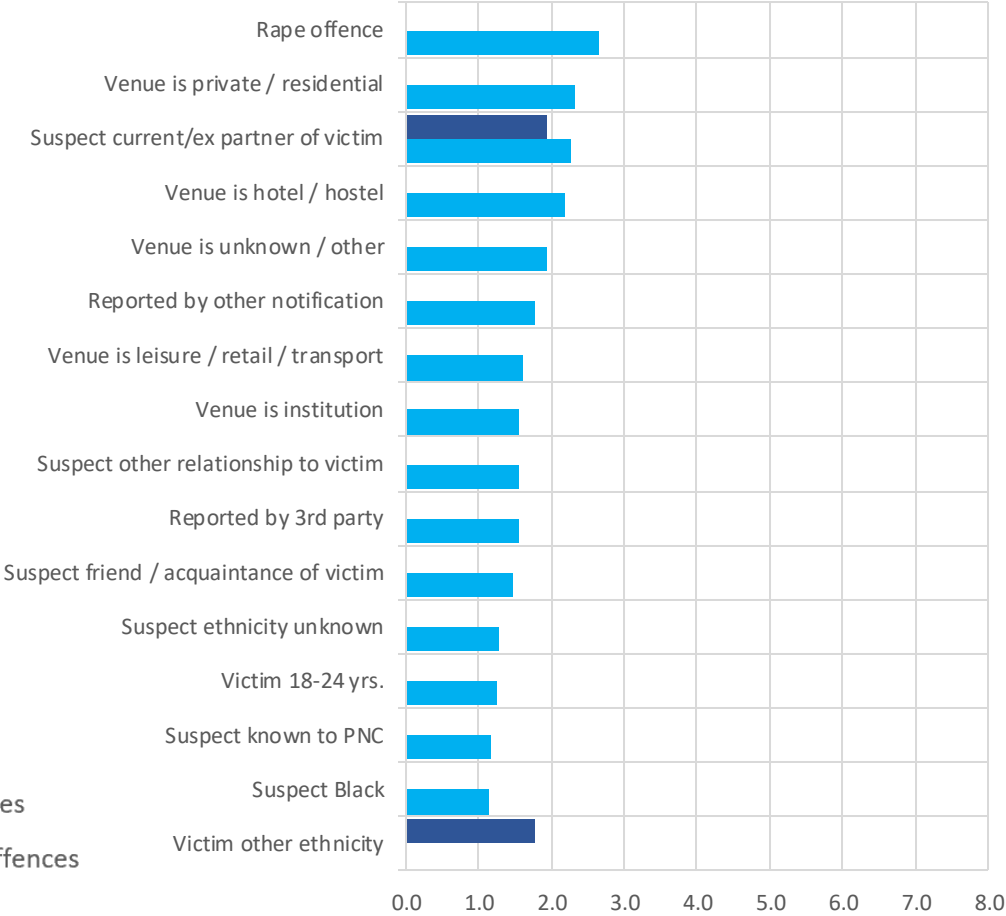
Factors that make victim withdrawal less likely

Factors that make victim withdrawal more likely



* In the context of sexual offences, violence without injury offences relates to 'Disclose or Threaten to disclose w/o consent private sexual photographs or film with intent to cause distress' (categorised as a violence against the person offence based on police recorded minor crime classification).

■ Adult rape offences
■ All adult sexual offences



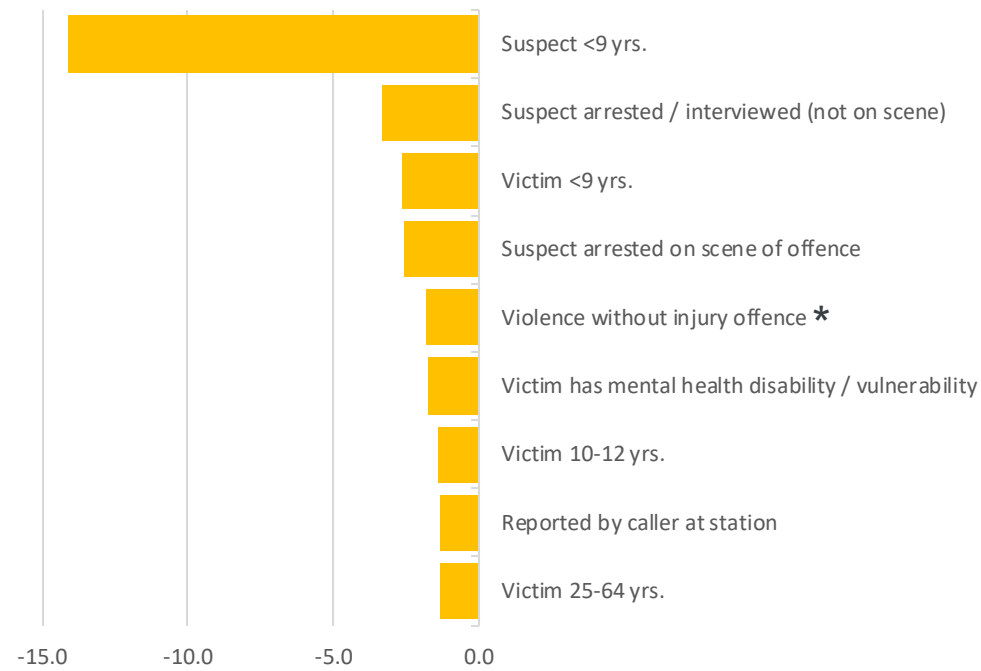
Strength of model:

All adult sexual offences: Explained 26% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 70% of cases.
Rape offences: Explained 18% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 52% of cases.

Driver analysis results: CSA

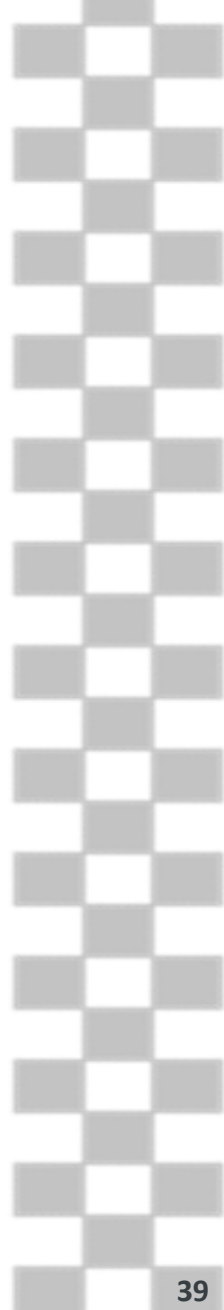
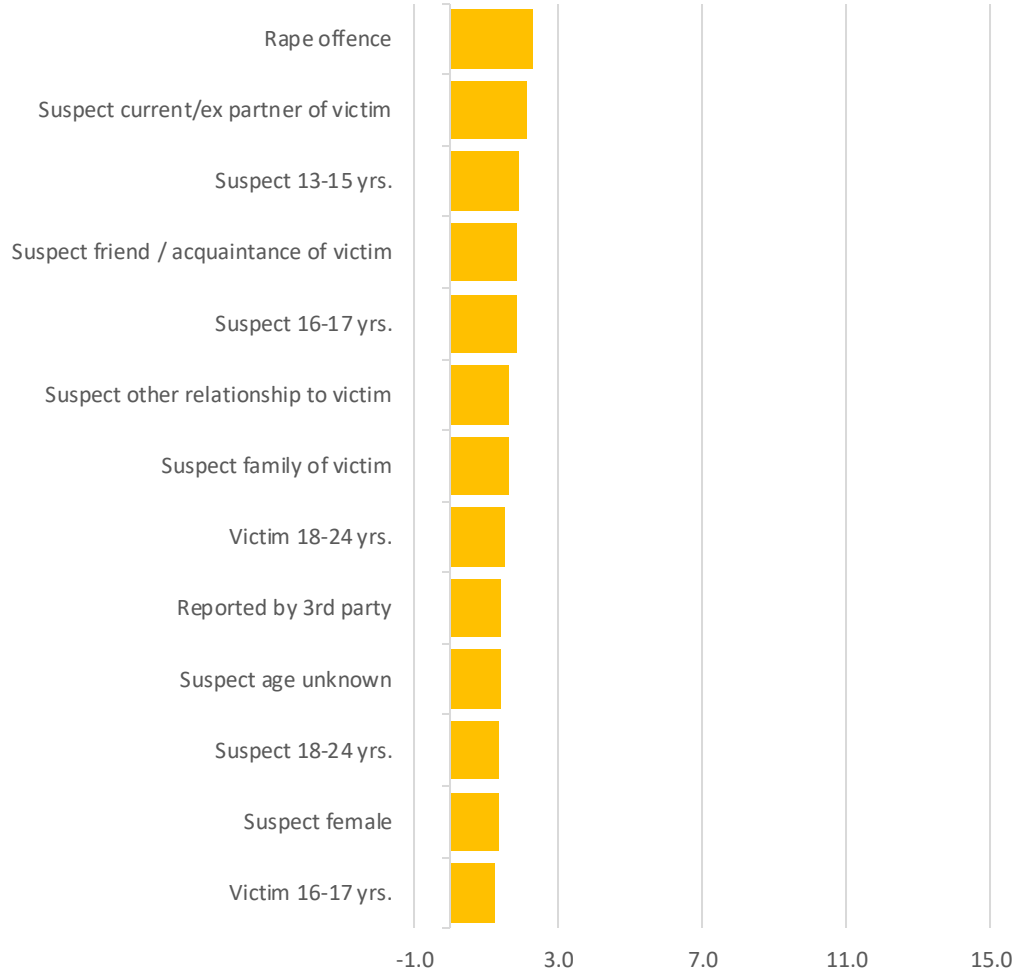
Model 9

Factors that make victim withdrawal less likely



* In the context of sexual offences, violence without injury offences relates to 'Disclose or Threaten to disclose w/o consent private sexual photographs or film with intent to cause distress' (categorised as a violence against the person offence based on police recorded minor crime classification).

Factors that make victim withdrawal more likely



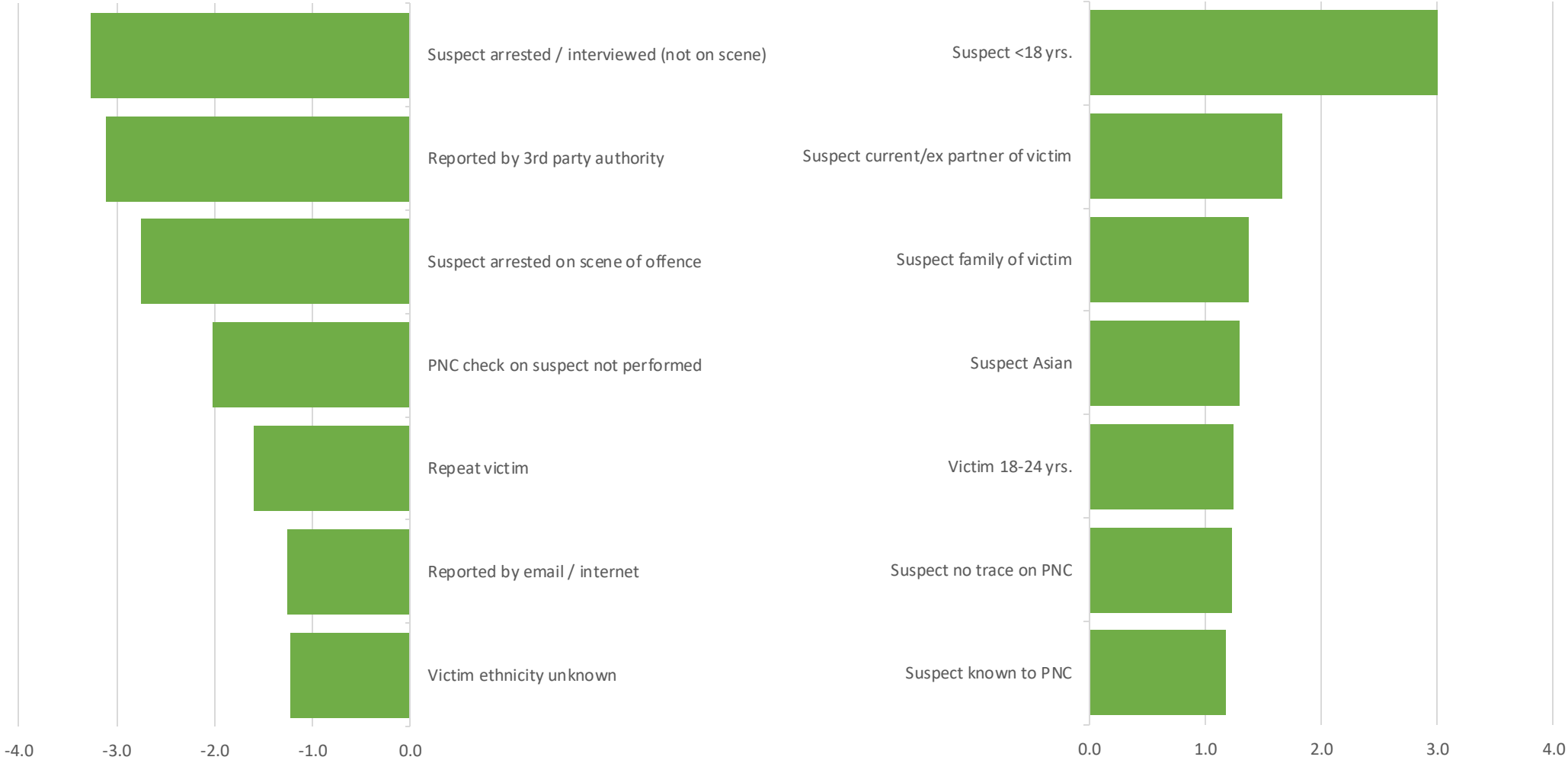
Strength of model: Explained 25% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 69% of cases.

Driver analysis results: Stalking

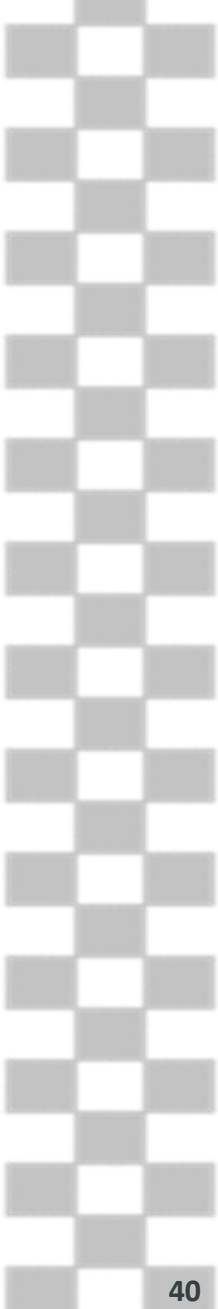
Model 10

Factors that make victim withdrawal **less likely**

Factors that make victim withdrawal **more likely**



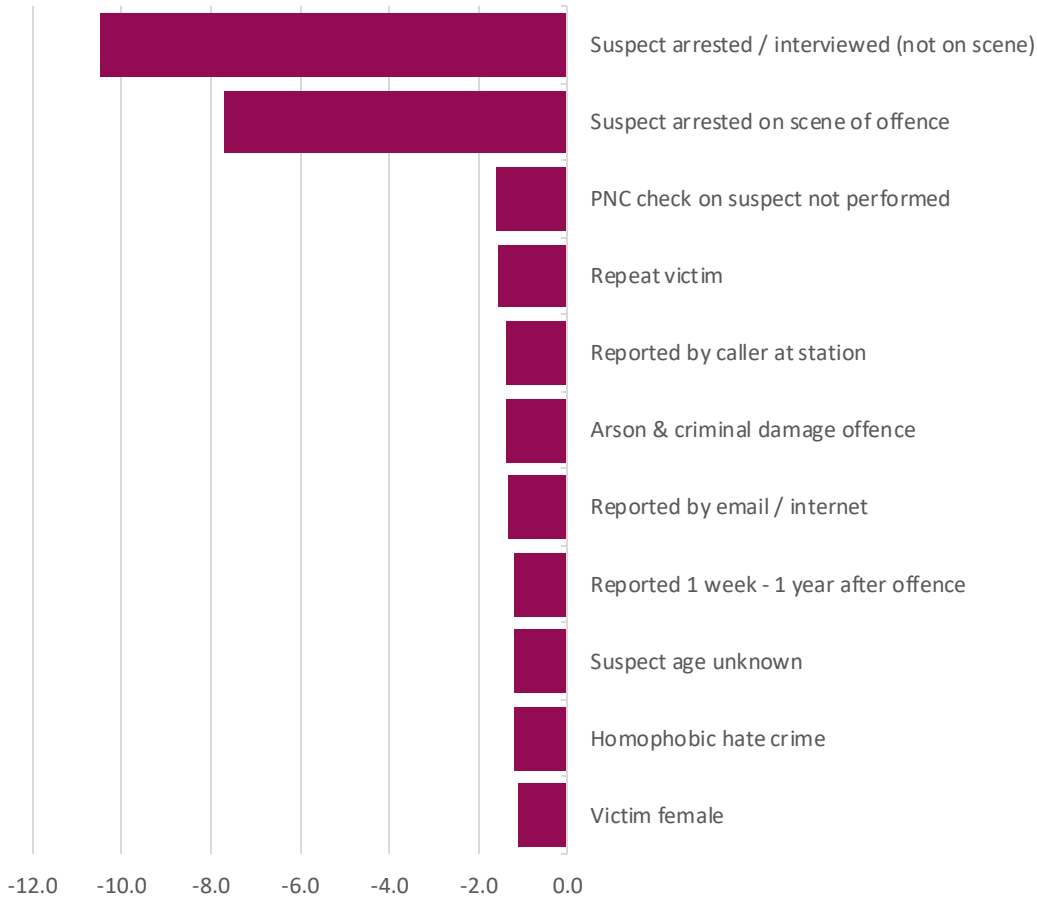
Strength of model: Explained 13% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 64% of cases.



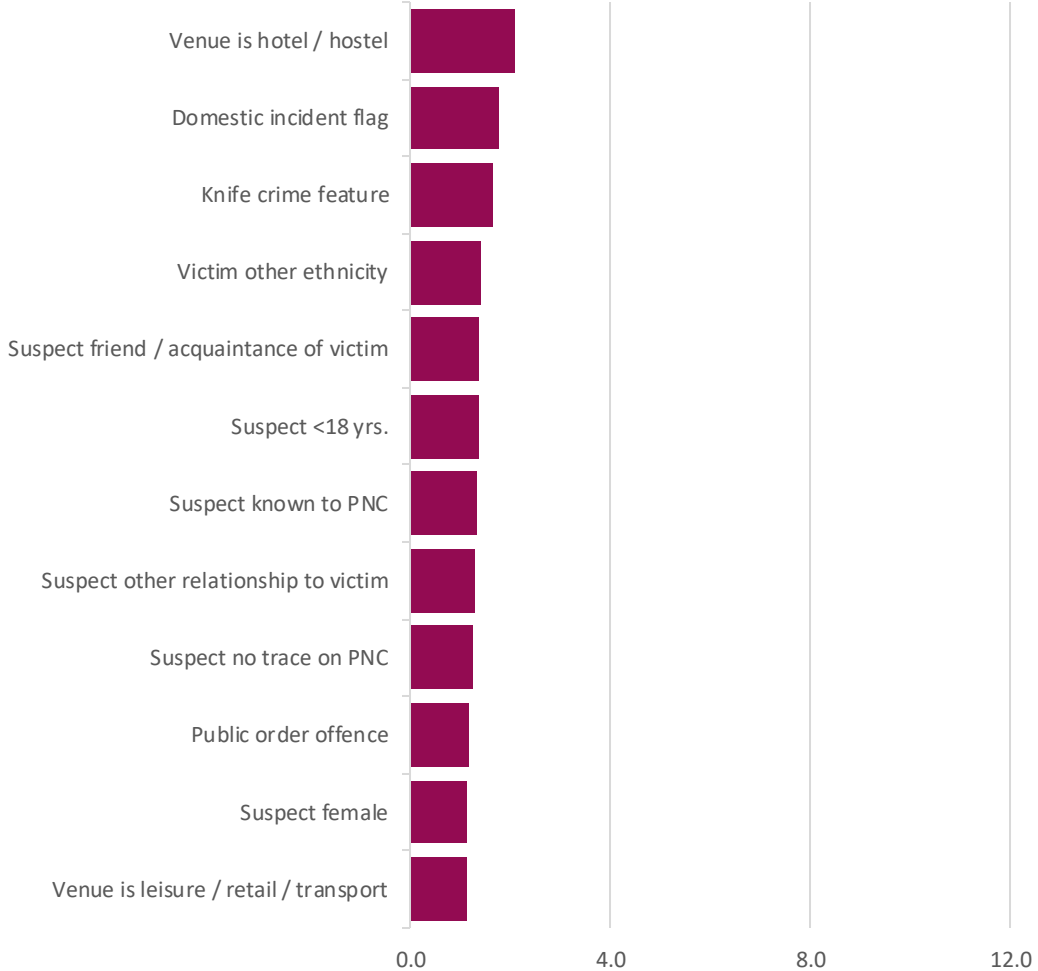
Driver analysis results: Hate crime

Model 11

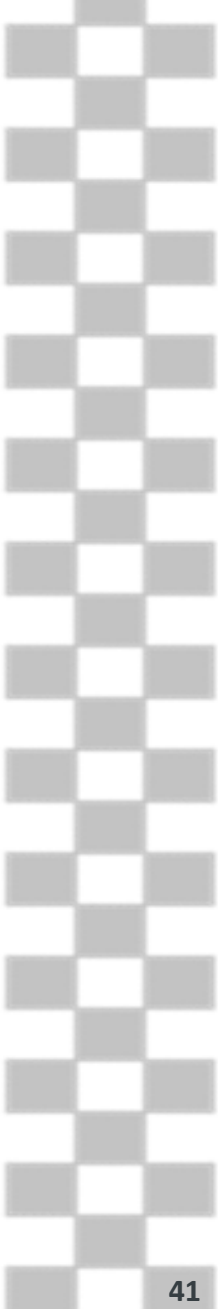
Factors that make victim withdrawal **less likely**



Factors that make victim withdrawal **more likely**



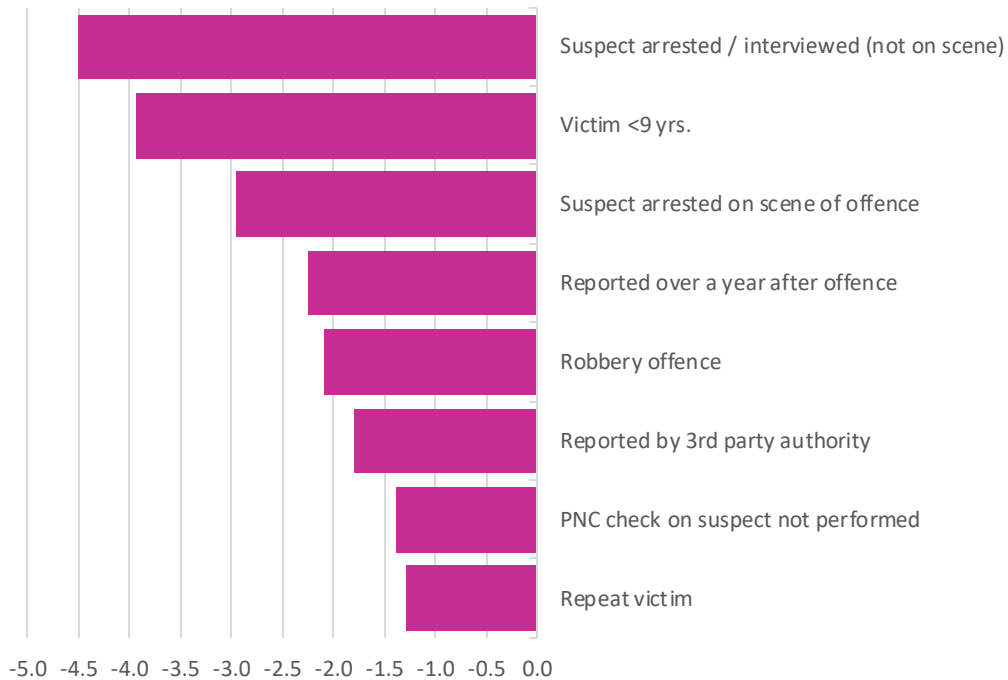
Strength of model: Explained 19% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 67% of cases.



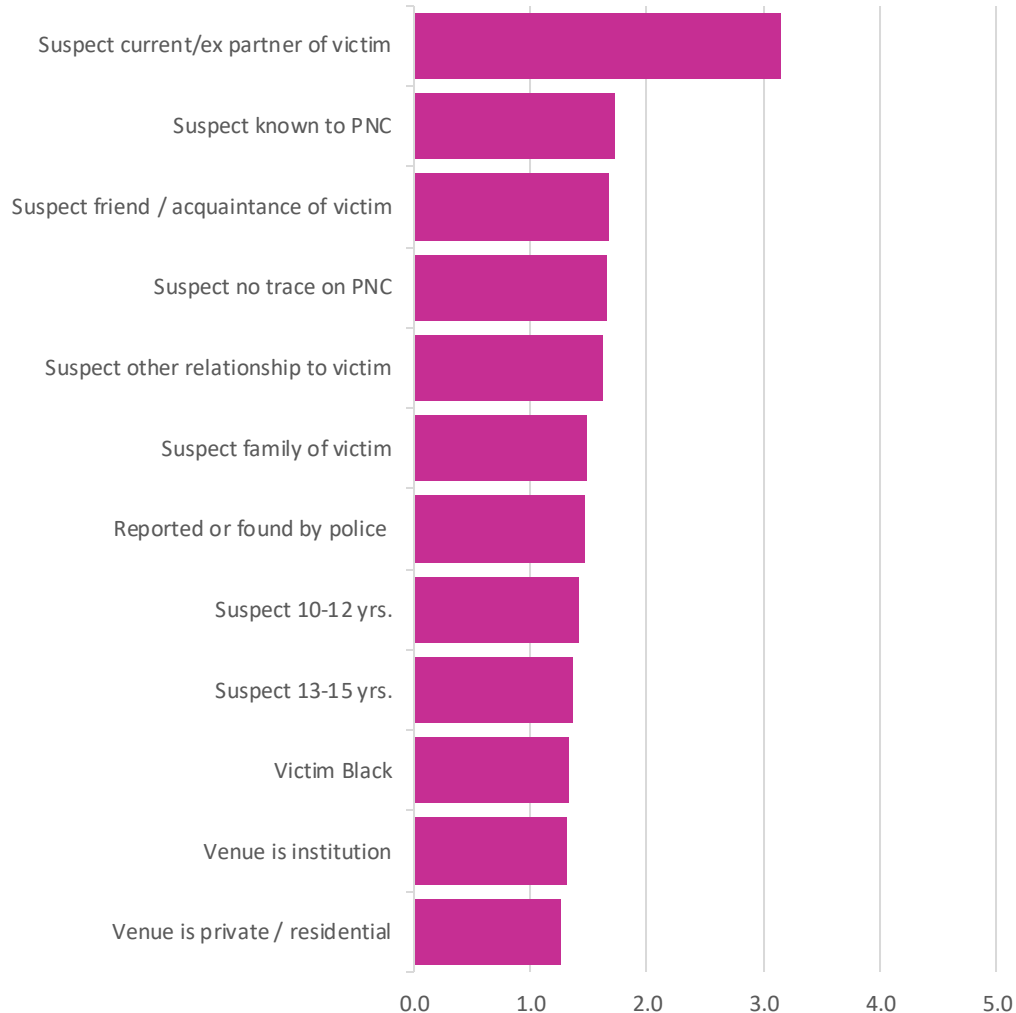
Driver analysis results: SYV

Model 12

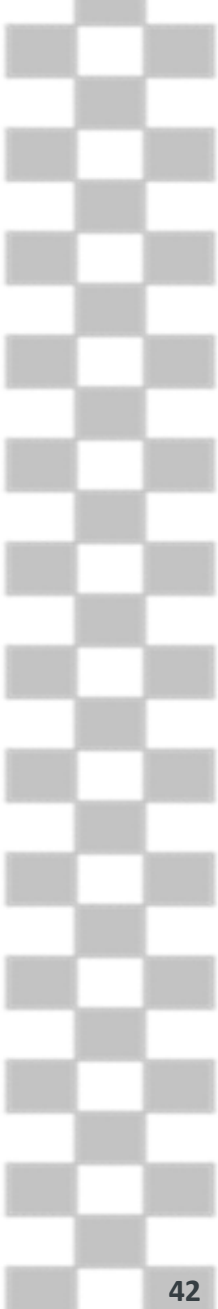
Factors that make victim withdrawal less likely



Factors that make victim withdrawal more likely



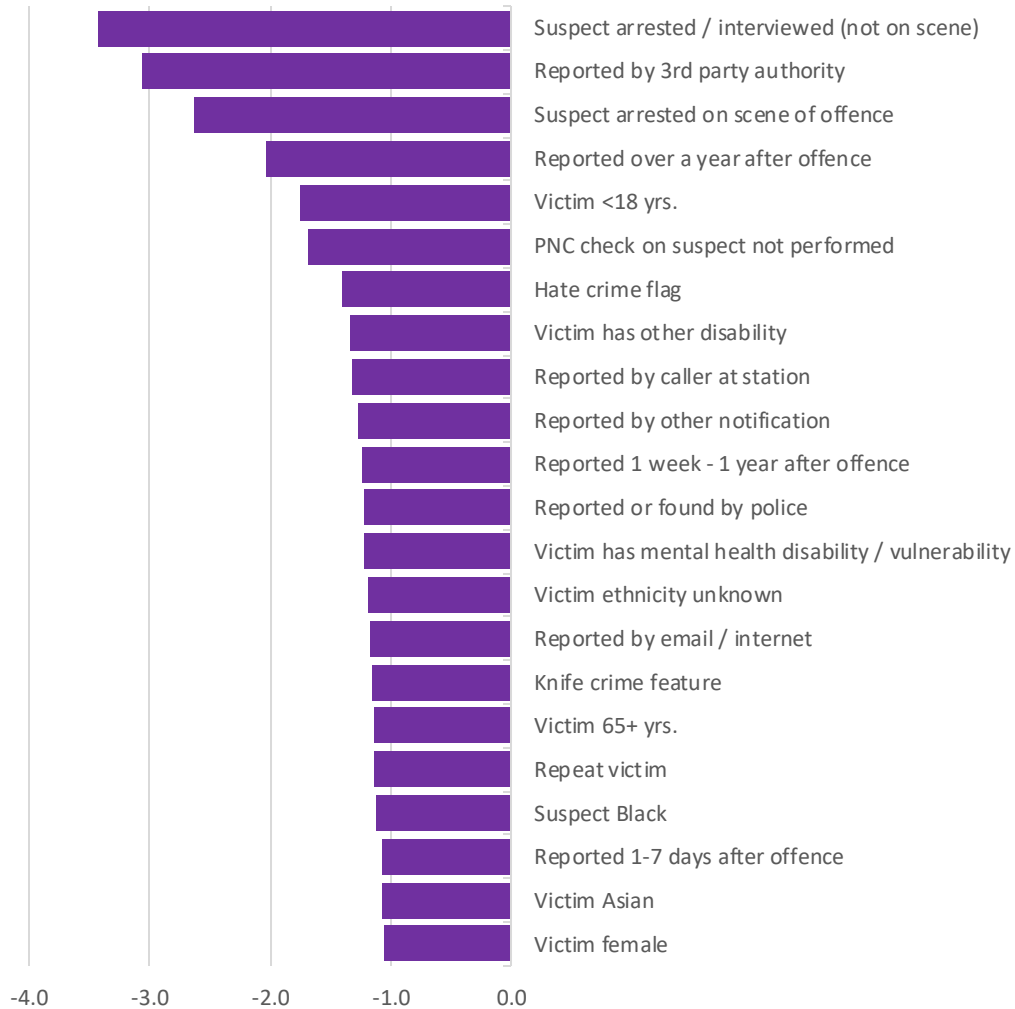
Strength of model: Explained 24% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 70% of cases.



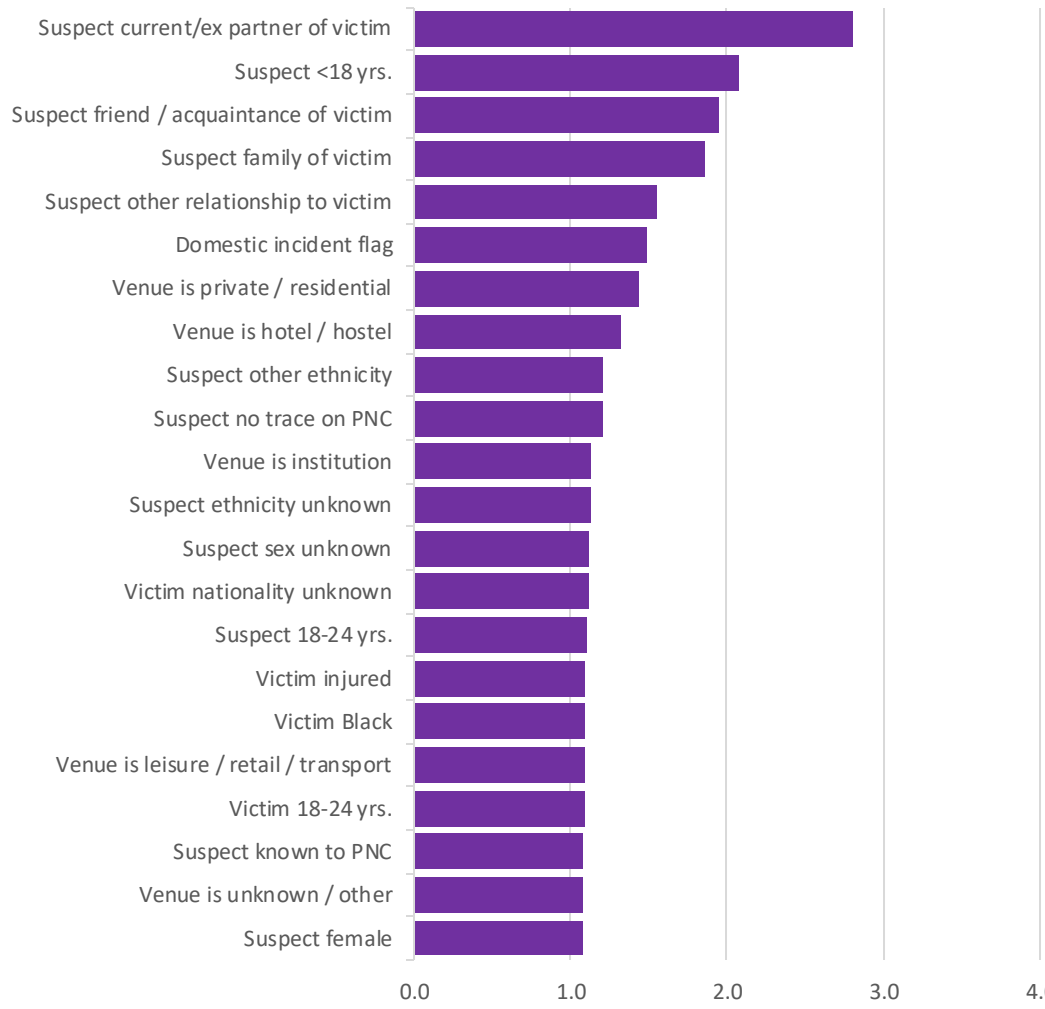
Driver analysis results: Violence with injury

Model 13

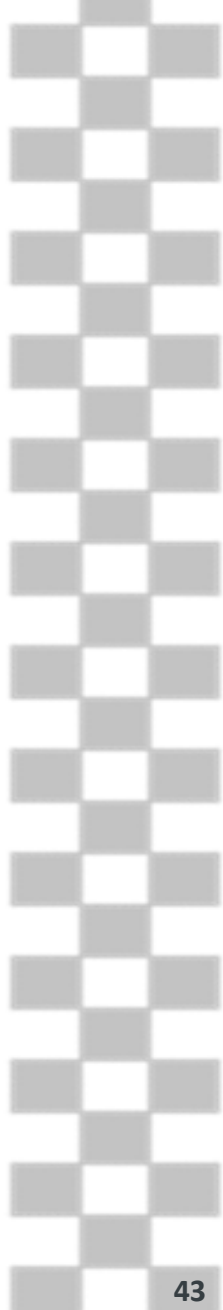
Factors that make victim withdrawal less likely



Factors that make victim withdrawal more likely



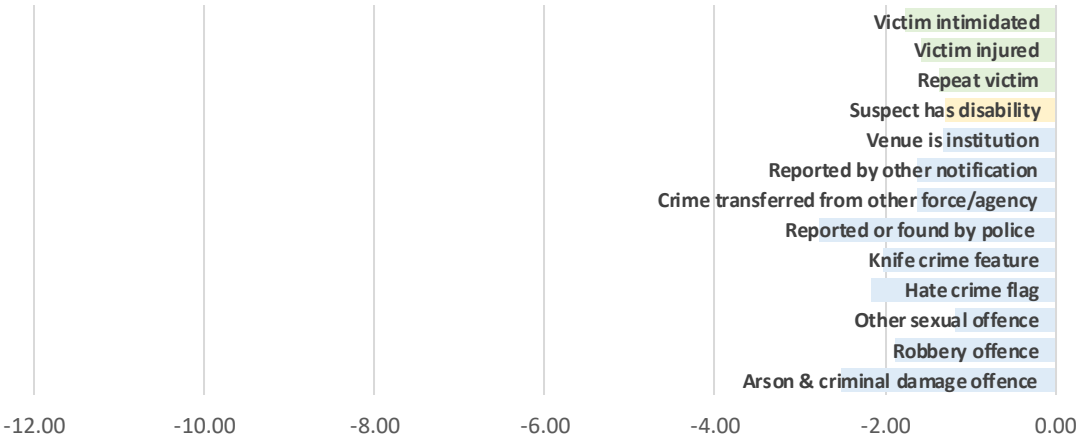
Strength of model: Explained 18% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 63% of cases.



Driver analysis results: Withdrawal vs judicial outcomes

Model 14

Factors that make victim withdrawal **less likely** vs judicial outcomes

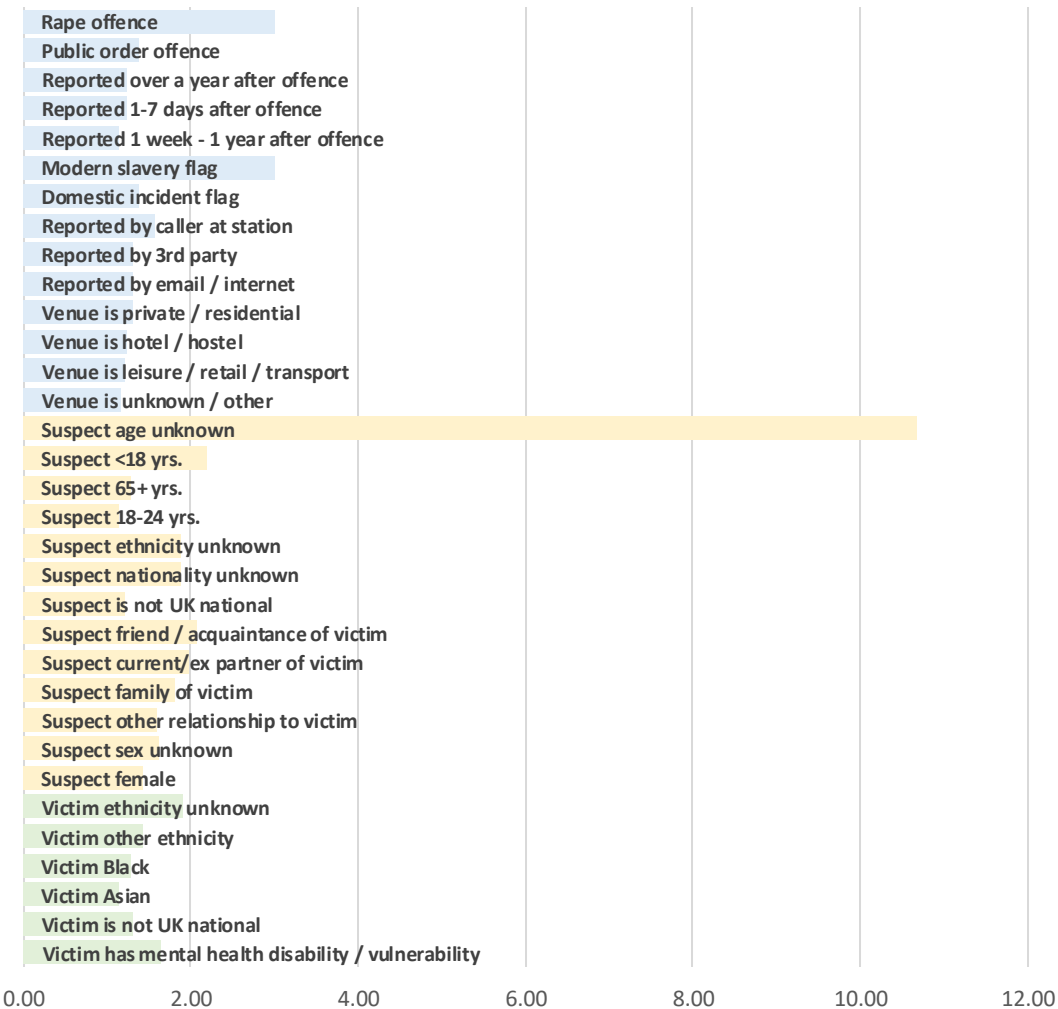


Offence characteristics

Suspect characteristics

Victim characteristics

Factors that make victim withdrawal **more likely** vs judicial outcomes



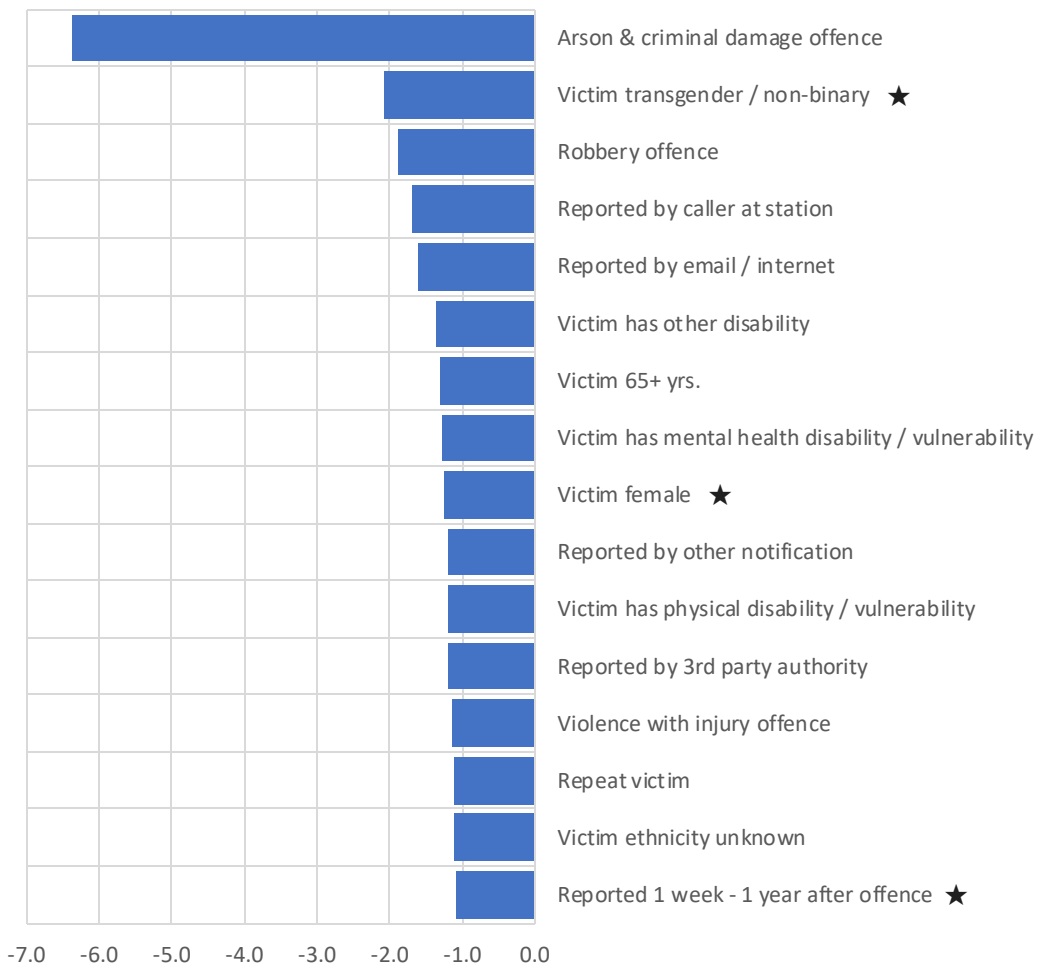
Strength of model: Explained 18% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 68% of cases.

Driver analysis results: Suspect not recorded

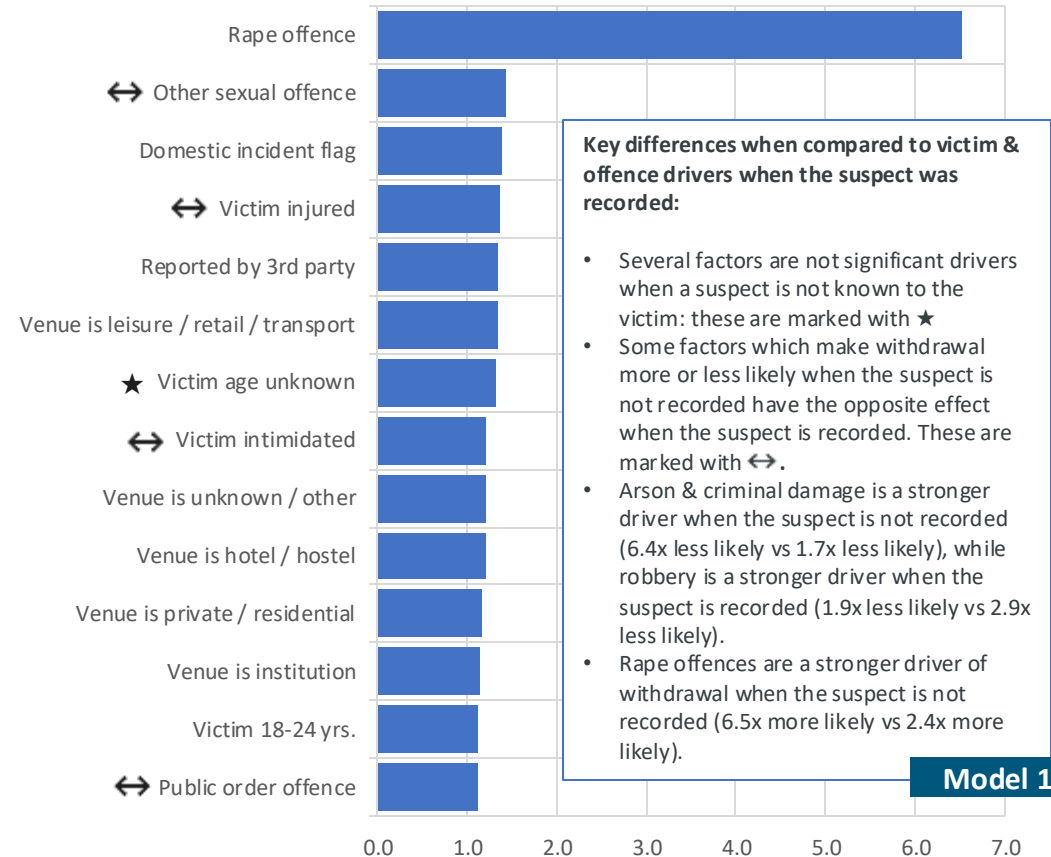
Model 15

Model includes victim & offence characteristics only, as suspect characteristics are not present where no suspect is recorded

Factors that make victim withdrawal less likely



Factors that make victim withdrawal more likely



Key differences when compared to victim & offence drivers when the suspect was recorded:

- Several factors are not significant drivers when a suspect is not known to the victim: these are marked with ★
- Some factors which make withdrawal more or less likely when the suspect is not recorded have the opposite effect when the suspect is recorded. These are marked with ↔.
- Arson & criminal damage is a stronger driver when the suspect is not recorded (6.4x less likely vs 1.7x less likely), while robbery is a stronger driver when the suspect is recorded (1.9x less likely vs 2.9x less likely).
- Rape offences are a stronger driver of withdrawal when the suspect is not recorded (6.5x more likely vs 2.4x more likely).

Model 16

Strength of model:

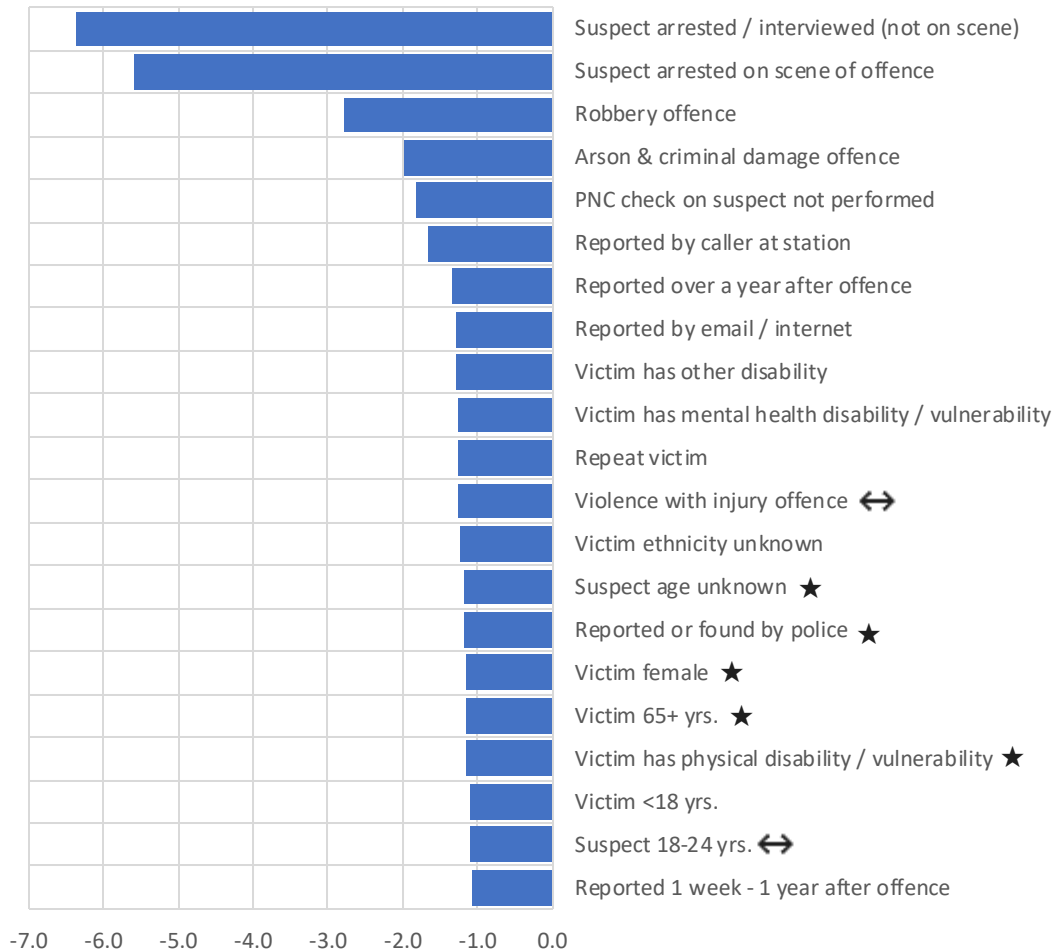
Suspect recorded: Explained 16% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 79% of cases.

Suspect not recorded: Explained 8% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 60% of cases.

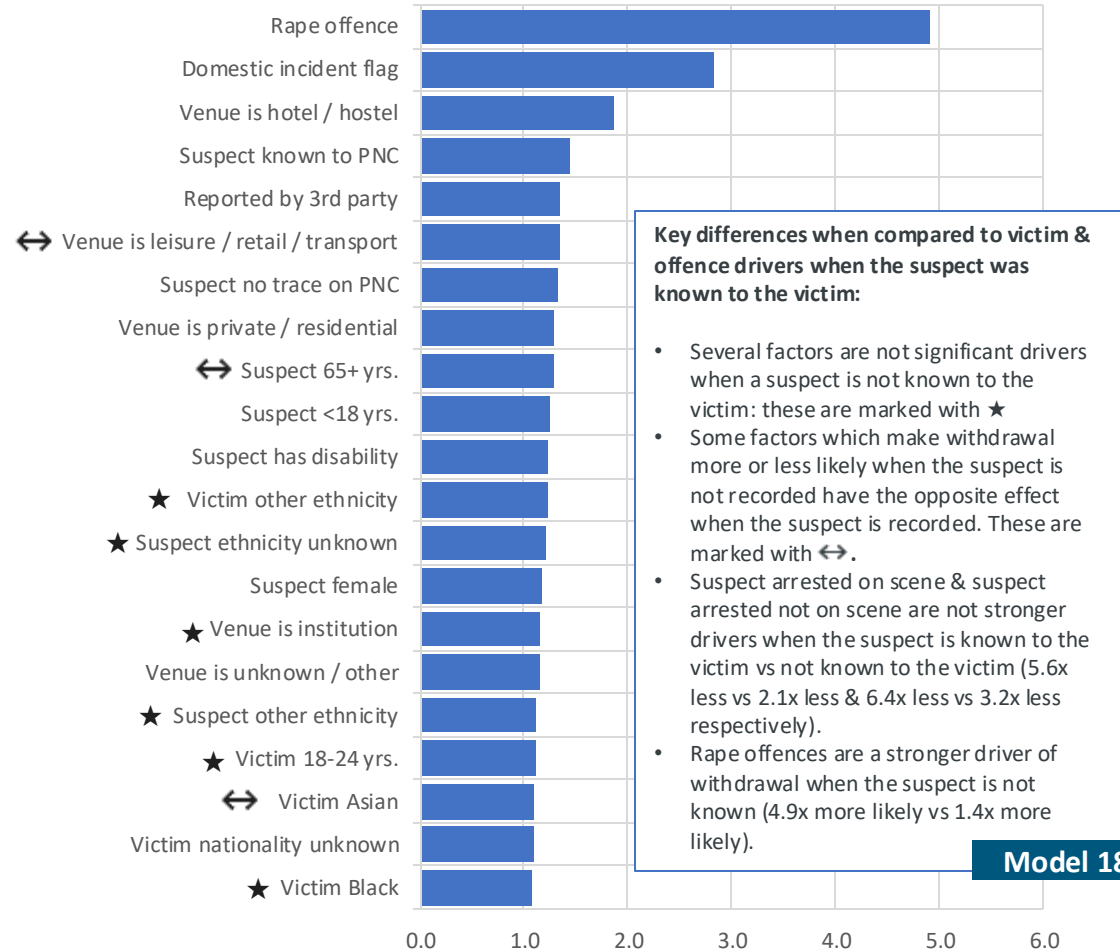
Driver analysis results: Suspect not known

Model 17

Factors that make victim withdrawal less likely



Factors that make victim withdrawal more likely



Key differences when compared to victim & offence drivers when the suspect was known to the victim:

- Several factors are not significant drivers when a suspect is not known to the victim: these are marked with ★
- Some factors which make withdrawal more or less likely when the suspect is not recorded have the opposite effect when the suspect is recorded. These are marked with ↔.
- Suspect arrested on scene & suspect arrested not on scene are not stronger drivers when the suspect is known to the victim vs not known to the victim (5.6x less vs 2.1x less & 6.4x less vs 3.2x less respectively).
- Rape offences are a stronger driver of withdrawal when the suspect is not known (4.9x more likely vs 1.4x more likely).

Model 18

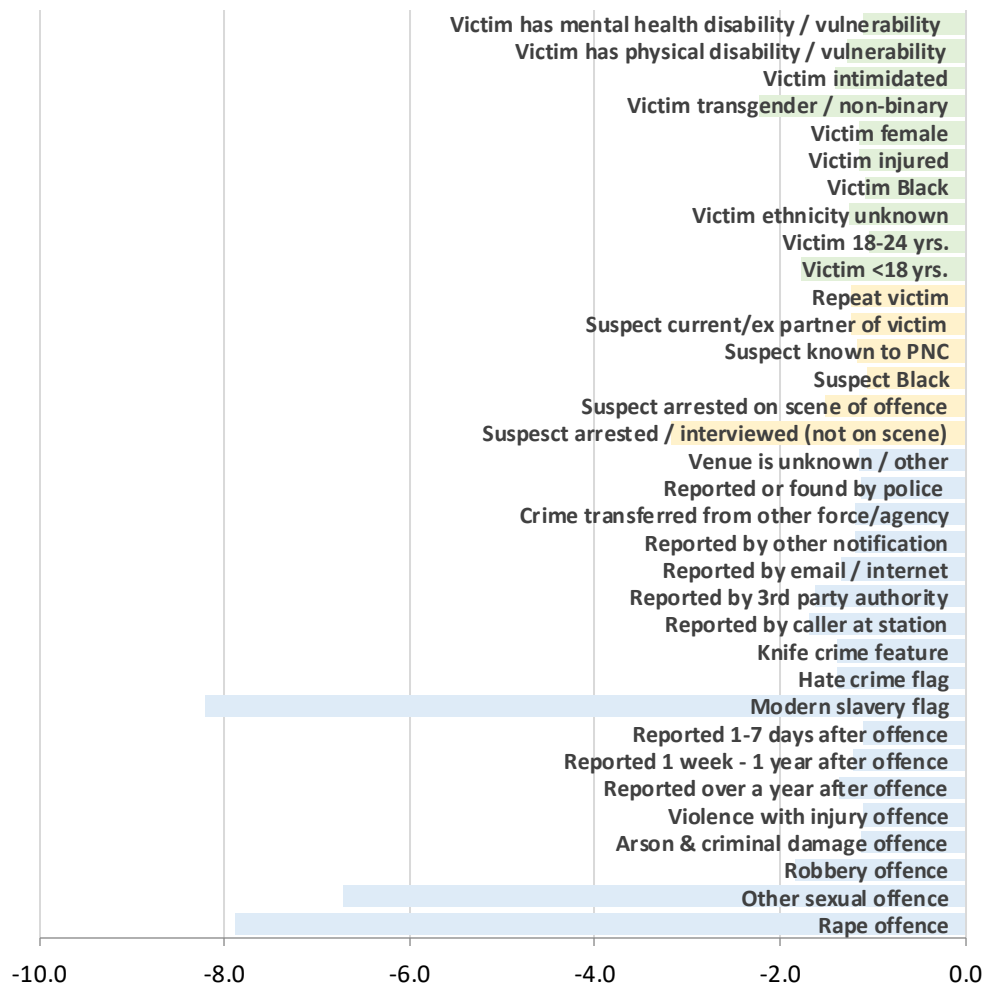
Strength of model:

Suspect known to victim: Explained 17% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 70% of cases.
Suspect not known to victim: Explained 12% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 64% of cases.

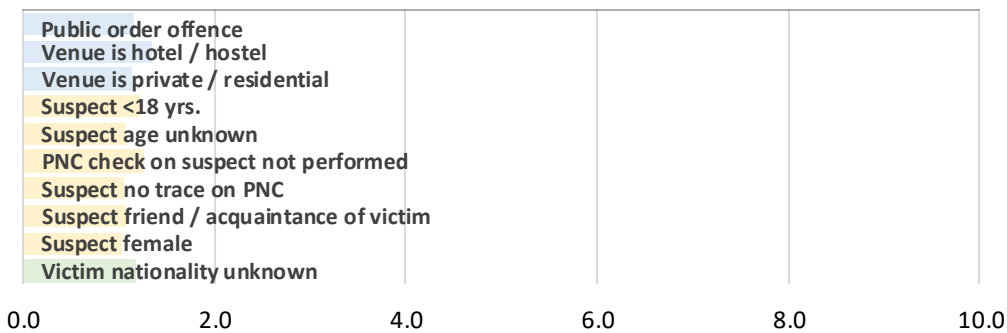
Driver analysis results: Early vs late withdrawal

Model 19

Factors that make victim withdrawal (<4 weeks) **less likely**



Factors that make victim withdrawal (<4 weeks) **more likely**



Note: Picture very similar when you define under <12 weeks as early withdrawal, no change in direction for any variables but some variables that are significant in <12 model & not <4 model (More likely: HBV flag, Suspect not UK national, Suspect nationality unknown, less likely: Domestic incident flag, suspect family of victim, venue is leisure/retail/transport). Some variables significant in <4 model & not in <12 model.

Model 25

Offence characteristics
Suspect characteristics
Victim characteristics

Strength of model: Explained 23% (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance in withdrawal outcome & correctly classified 86% of cases.

Driver analysis results: Early vs late withdrawal continued

Model 20	
DA	
Early withdrawal (<4 weeks) more likely	
PNC check on suspect not performed	1.4x
Suspect has disability	1.3x
Suspect family of victim	1.3x
Crime transferred from other force/agency	1.3x
Suspect <18 yrs.	1.2x
Venue is private / residential	1.2x
Suspect sex unknown	1.2x
Suspect female	1.1x
Suspect no trace on PNC	1.1x
Early withdrawal (<4 weeks) less likely	
Other sexual offence	7x
Rape offence	6.4x
Suspect arrested / interviewed (not on scene)	2.3x
Knife crime feature	1.8x
Victim <18 yrs.	1.7x
Reported by 3rd party authority	1.7x
Robbery offence	1.5x
Reported over a year after offence	1.4x
Victim ethnicity unknown	1.4x
Victim intimidated	1.4x
Reported by caller at station	1.3x
Reported 1 week - 1 year after offence	1.2x
Repeat victim	1.2x
Suspect arrested on scene of offence	1.2x
Reported by email / internet	1.2x
Victim injured	1.2x
Suspect known to PNC	1.1x
Victim female	1.1x
Victim Black	1.1x
Victim 18-24 yrs.	1.1x
Reported 1-7 days after offence	1.1x

Model 21	
Stalking	
Early withdrawal (<4 weeks) more likely	
Suspect family of victim	1.6x
Suspect age unknown	1.4x
Early withdrawal (<4 weeks) less likely	
Suspect arrested / interviewed (not on scene)	4.8x
Victim intimidated	1.5x
Repeat victim	1.3x

Model 22	
Hate crime	
Early withdrawal (<4 weeks) more likely	
Reported by 3rd party	3.1x
Victim nationality unknown	1.3x
Venue is private / residential	1.3x
Early withdrawal (<4 weeks) less likely	
Victim transgender / non-binary	7.1x
Suspect arrested / interviewed (not on scene)	6.8x
Other sexual offence	5.2x
Suspect arrested on scene of offence	4.9x
Victim intimidated	2.2x
Reported by caller at station	1.8x
Victim <18 yrs.	1.7x
Victim has physical disability / vulnerability	1.6x
Homophobic hate crime	1.5x
Suspect sex unknown	1.3x
Victim female	1.3x
Reported by email / internet	1.2x
Suspect family of victim	1.2x

Model 23	
SVV	
Early withdrawal (<4 weeks) more likely	
Venue is private / residential	1.5x
Early withdrawal (<4 weeks) less likely	
Reported over a year after offence	5.8x
Suspect arrested / interviewed (not on scene)	4.9x
Victim is not UK national	3.0x
Suspect arrested on scene of offence	2.5x
Robbery offence	2.3x
Reported by caller at station	2.0x
Victim 10-12 yrs.	1.8x
Knife crime feature	1.8x
Victim nationality unknown	1.6x
Victim injured	1.6x
Victim 13-15 yrs.	1.4x
Victim female	1.4x

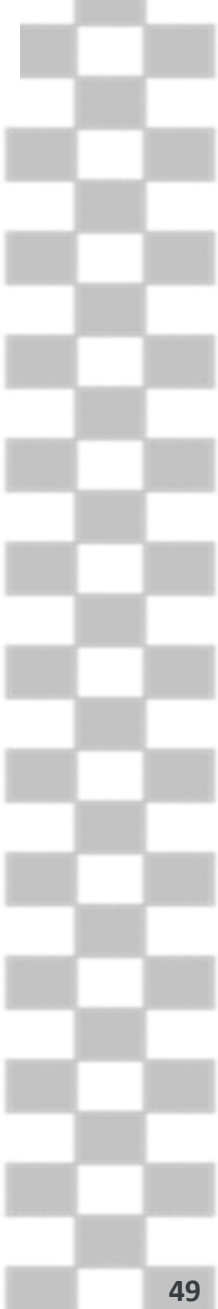
Model 24	
Violence with injury	
Early withdrawal (<4 weeks) more likely	
Venue is hotel / hostel	1.5x
PNC check on suspect not performed	1.3x
Suspect 65+ yrs.	1.3x
Venue is private / residential	1.3x
Suspect family of victim	1.2x
Suspect friend / acquaintance of victim	1.2x
Suspect <18 yrs.	1.2x
Suspect female	1.1x
Early withdrawal (<4 weeks) less likely	
Suspect arrested / interviewed (not on scene)	2.9x
Hate crime flag	2.0x
Reported by 3rd party authority	1.8x
Reported by caller at station	1.7x
Victim <18 yrs.	1.7x
Knife crime feature	1.7x
Suspect arrested on scene of offence	1.6x
Reported by email / internet	1.5x
Victim has physical disability / vulnerability	1.4x
Victim intimidated	1.4x
Reported over a year after offence	1.3x
Victim ethnicity unknown	1.2x
Suspect known to PNC	1.2x
Repeat victim	1.2x
Victim female	1.2x
Reported 1 week - 1 year after offence	1.2x
Victim Black	1.1x
Reported 1-7 days after offence	1.1x

Driver analysis results: Early vs late withdrawal continued

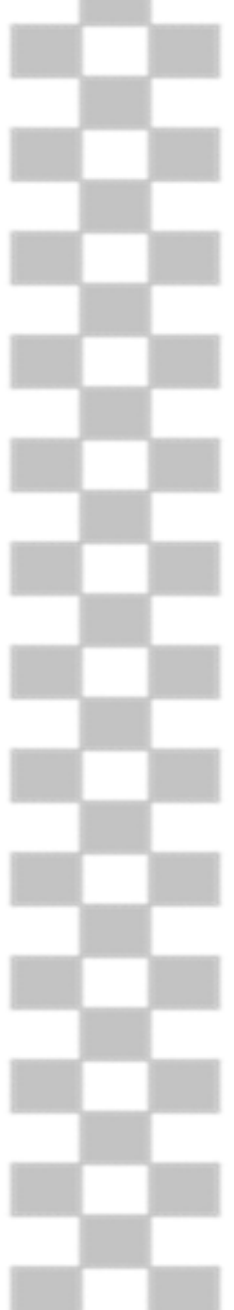
Adult sexual offences		Model 26
Early withdrawal (<12 weeks) more likely		
Venue is hotel / hostel	1.5x	
PNC check on suspect not performed	1.3x	
Suspect 65+ yrs.	1.3x	
Venue is private / residential	1.3x	
Suspect family of victim	1.2x	
Suspect friend / acquaintance of victim	1.2x	
Suspect <18 yrs.	1.2x	
Suspect female	1.1x	
Early withdrawal (<12 weeks) less likely		
Suspect arrested / interviewed (not on scene)	-2.9x	
Hate crime flag	-2.0x	
Reported by 3rd party authority	-1.8x	
Reported by caller at station	-1.7x	
Victim <18 yrs.	-1.7x	
Knife crime feature	-1.7x	
Suspect arrested on scene of offence	-1.6x	
Reported by email / internet	-1.5x	
Victim has physical disability / vulnerability	-1.4x	
Victim intimidated	-1.4x	
Reported over a year after offence	-1.3x	
Victim ethnicity unknown	-1.2x	
Suspect known to PNC	-1.2x	
Repeat victim	-1.2x	
Victim female	-1.2x	
Reported 1 week - 1 year after offence	-1.2x	
Victim Black	-1.1x	
Reported 1-7 days after offence	-1.1x	

Adult rape offences		Model 27
Early withdrawal (<12 weeks) more likely		
No significant variables		
Early withdrawal (<12 weeks) less likely		
Suspect arrested / interviewed (not on scene)	7.8x	
Suspect arrested on scene of offence	3.3x	
Victim is not UK national	3.0x	
Victim nationality unknown	1.7x	
Victim 13-15 yrs.	1.7x	

CSA		Model 28
Early withdrawal (<12 weeks) more likely		
Venue is hotel / hostel	1.8x	
Public order offence	1.6x	
Victim nationality unknown	1.5x	
Early withdrawal (<12 weeks) less likely		
Victim transgender / non-binary	25.3x	
Suspect arrested / interviewed (not on scene)	6.8x	
Suspect arrested on scene of offence	6.1x	
Other sexual offence	3.9x	
Reported by other notification	2.3x	
Homophobic hate crime	1.8x	
Suspect family of victim	1.4x	
Victim female	1.2x	



References



- A large range of literature, policy papers & MOPACs E&I research were reviewed, including those focusing on victim withdrawal & non-reporting.
- Common themes were identified across the crime types (as indicated).
- Similar themes were identified between the reasons victims did not report a crime to the police & why the decided not to support the investigation when the incident was reported.

Domestic Abuse	Article Title	Author / Year	Methodology	Themes
	Criminal justice responses to domestic violence and abuse in England: an analysis of case attrition and inequalities using police data	McPhee et al. (2021)	Quantitative analysis of coded data for 400 Domestic Violence cases	Offence Characteristics; Victim Characteristics
	Understanding the factors that predict victim retraction in police reported allegations of intimate partner violence	Sleath & Smith (2016)	Mixed methods: quantitative analysis of characteristics and victim retraction; qualitative analysis of 524 case files	Victim Characteristics; Personal Cost
	Understanding Victim Retraction in Cases of Domestic Violence: Specialist Courts, Government Policy, and Victim-Centred Justice	Robinson & Cook (2006)	Quantitative analysis of 216 Domestic Violence cases	Outcomes; Evidence & Disclosure; Personal Cost; Fear
	Police Response to Domestic Violence: From Victim Choice to Victim Empowerment	Hoyle & Sanders (2000)	Qualitative interviews with 65 victims of Domestic Violence	Outcomes; Fear
	Fear or Failure: Why victims of domestic violence retract from the criminal justice process	Artz (2014)	Qualitative interviews with 503 victims of Domestic Violence	CJS Process, Timeliness & Delays
	Attrition Rates in domestic abuse: time for a change? An application of temporal sequencing theory	Barrow-Grint (2016)	Qualitative interviews with 50 victims of Domestic Violence	Outcomes
	Victim and Witness Retraction and Disengagement: A Systematic Review	McGuire et al. (2021)	Systematic review of 39 papers	Outcomes; Offence Characteristics; Victim Characteristics; Personal Cost

Rape & Sexual Assault	Article Title	Author / Year	Methodology	Themes
	Responding to 'revenge pornography': Prevalence, nature and impacts.	Henry et al. (2009)	Mixed methods: a survey of 4,274 victims (National online survey of Image Based Sexual Abuse), and interviews with 44 stakeholders	Demand, Resourcing & Capability; Evidence & Disclosure
	Shattering Lives and Myths: A report on Image Based Sexual Abuse	McGlynn et al. (2019)	Mixed methods: 75 semi-structured interviews with victims; 50 interviews with stakeholders; 6000 respondents to an online survey	Trust, Belief & Bias; Fear
	Deep Dive Scrutiny Review into Victim Withdrawal within Dyfed-Powys Police	PCC for Dyfed-Powys (2021)	Mixed methods: performance analysis; literature review; victim feedback surveys	Trust, Belief, & Bias
	Review into the Criminal Justice System response to adult rape and serious sexual offences across England and Wales	George & Ferguson (2019)	Mixed methods: Online surveys; focus groups and interviews; quantitative analysis of crime data	Evidence & Disclosure; Victim Care; CJS Process, Timeliness & Delays; Demand, Resourcing & Capability; Outcomes
	Recorded Withdrawal from The Police Investigation Among Victims of Rape: A Mixed Method Approach to Identifying Case Characteristics and Police Documented Reasons	Hansen et al. (2020)	Mixed methods: logistic regression on case characteristics; qualitative content analysis of case files	Evidence & Disclosure; Police Processes; Victim Care; Trust, Belief & Bias
	The London rape review. A review of cases from 2016	Wunsch et al. (2016)	Quantitative analysis of 501 case files	Evidence & Disclosure; Demand, Resourcing & Capability
	Complaints of rape and the criminal justice system: Fresh evidence of the attrition problem in england and wales	Hohl & Stanko (2015)	Quantitative analysis of 587 case files	Victim Care; Trust, Belief & Bias
	Attribution of blame in cases of rape: an analysis of participant gender, type of rape and perceived similarity to the victim	Grubb & Harrower (2008)	Questionnaire with 156 respondents	Trust, Belief & Bias
	Attribution of blame in cases of rape: a review of the impact of rape myth acceptance, gender role conformity and substance use on victim blaming	Grubb & Turner (2012)	Literature review	Trust, Belief & Bias
	The influence of high vs low rape myth acceptance on police officers' judgements of victim and perpetrator responsibility, and rape authenticity	Hine & Murphy (2019)	Quantitative vignette study with 808 police officers	Trust, Belief & Bias
	Investigating the demographic and attitudinal predictors of rape myth acceptance in UK police officers: developing an evidence-base for training and professional development	Murphy & Hine (2018)	Survey analysis of 912 responses	Trust, Belief & Bias
	Police perceptions of rape victims and the impact on case decision making: a systematic review	Sleath & Bull (2017)	Systematic review of 24 articles	Trust, Belief & Bias; Victim Care
	What can we learn from police data about timeliness in rape and serious sexual offence investigations in England and Wales	Lovett et al. (2022)	Quantitative analysis of case files from five police forces	Police Processes
	Memory as evidence: how normal features of victim memory lead to the attrition of rape complaints	Hohl & Conway (2016)	Quantitative analysis of 679 case files	Police Processes
	Different systems, similar outcomes? Tracking attrition in reported rape cases in eleven countries	Lovett, J. & Kelly, L. (2009)	Quantitative content analysis of 100 case files	Evidence & Disclosure
	Operation Soteria Bluestone Year 1 Rerpot 2021-2022	Stanko (2022)	Mixed methods: analysis of rape and serious sexual offences, case file reviews, observation, surveys, interviews, focus groups, document reviews.	Fear; Trust, Belief & Bias; Police Processes' Evidence & Disclosure; Outcomes

Stalking	Article Title	Author / Year	Methodology	Themes
	Stalking among young adults: A review of the preliminary research	Ravensberg & Miller (2003)	Literature Review	Trust, Belief & Bias
	Stalking Victimization in the United States	Baum et al. (2009)	Survey with 65,270 respondents	Trust, Belief & Bias; Personal Cost; Demand, Resourcing & Capability
	Stalking: Victims' and professionals' views of legal and institutional treatment	Villacampa & Salat (2019)	Semi-structured interviews with 17 victims and 27 professionals	Demand, Resourcing & Capability; Evidence & Disclosure; Fear; CJS Process, Timeliness and Delays
	Research on Partner Stalking: Putting the Pieces Together	Logan (2010)	Literature Review	Police Processes; Trust, Belief & Bias
	Formal coping strategies for victims of stalking: Factors associated with reporting to the police.	Fernandez-Cruz (2021)	Survey with 1773 university students	Fear

Hate Crime	Article Title	Author / Year	Methodology	Themes
	Stressors or facilitators? Exploring the factors that impact police officers' abilities to respond to disablist hate crime	Tyson (2022)	Qualitative research: Ethnography; semi-structured interviews with 10 police officers; 4 focus groups with victims	Demand, Resourcing & Capability
	Leicester Hate Crime Project: Findings and Conclusions	Chakraborti et al. (2014)	Mixed methods: surveys, semi-structured interviews and field diary observations with 1421 victims	Trust, Belief & Bias; Fear
	Hate Crime and the Legal Process	Walters et al. (2018)	Mixed methods: qualitative interviews, coding and case analysis	Victim Care; CJS Process, Timeliness & Delays; Trust, Belief & Bias
	Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2021 to 2022	Home Office (2021)	Quantitative analysis of Hate Crime statistics	Evidence & Disclosure; Police Processes
	Successes and challenges of delivering hate crime community projects: a summary of evaluations from the Hate Crime Community Project Fund, waves 1 and 2	Pullerits et al. (2020)	Summary of 15 evaluation projects	Trust, Belief & Bias; Outcomes; Police Processes; Fear; Demand, Resourcing & Capability
	The Sussex Hate Crime Project	Paterson et al. (2018)	Mixed methods: Surveys, experiments and interviews	Offence characteristics; Trust, Belief & Bias

Violence	Article Title	Author / Year	Methodology
	The code of the street and cooperation with the police: Do codes of violence, procedural injustice, and police ineffectiveness discourage reporting violent victimization to the police?	Kwak et al. (2019)	Survey analysis of 687 respondents
	To snitch or not to snitch? An exploratory study of the factors influencing whether young people actively cooperate with the police	Clayman & Skinns (2012)	Qualitative study using interviews with 24 young people and 2 focus groups with teachers, police officers and youth workers.
	Neighbourhood disadvantage and police notification by victims of violence	Baumer (2002)	Survey analysis of 6193 responses
	Youth Voice Survey	Ramshaw et al. (2018)	Survey analysis of 7832 responses
	Illegal Behavior, Neighbourhood context, and police reporting by Victims of violence	Berg et al. (2013)	Quantitative analysis of self-reported data from 832 victims
	A Longitudinal Analysis of Factors Associated with Reporting Violent Crimes to the Police	Conaway & Lohr (1994)	Longitudinal survey analysis
	Monopolizing force?: police legitimacy and public attitudes towards the acceptability of violence	Jackson et al. (2013)	Qualitative interviews with 1017 participants

Harmful Practices	Article Title	Author / Year	Methodology	Themes
	Perceptions and Barriers: Reporting female genital mutilation	Gangoli et al. (2018)	Interviews with 14 adult survivors	Trust, Belief & Bias
	Honour based abuse has increased in the UK by 81% over the past five years. Why?	Waheed (2021)	Media Article	Police Processes; Personal Cost; Fear; Demand, Resourcing & Capability
	Your Choice: 'honour'-based violence, forced marriage and domestic abuse.	Safe Lives (2017)	Quantitative analysis of data from 37 services, representing 8,988 victims	Trust, Belief & Bias; Outcomes; Police Processes;
	Honour Based Violence and Abuse, Forced Marriage and Female Genital Mutilation: Shaping Services for Priority victims in Hertfordshire	Gill et al. (2017)	Mixed methods: Interviews with 10 victims and analysis of secondary data	Trust, Belief & Bias; Victim Care; Personal Cost; Fear
	Intervention with Victims of Forced Marriage	Torres & Villacampa (2022)	Qualitative research with 14 professionals	Trust, Belief & Bias; Outcomes; Personal Cost