

**A systematic review of experimental studies investigating attitudes towards sexual
revictimization: Findings, ecological validity, and scientific rigor**

Wager, N.M., Goodson, S. & Parton, L. **(in press)** A systematic review of experimental studies investigating attitudes towards sexual revictimization: Findings, ecological validity, and scientific rigor. *Journal of Criminal Justice*

Nadia M. Wager, Simon Goodson & Loren, E. Parton

University of Huddersfield

Corresponding Author

Dr Nadia Wager

Reader in Forensic Psychology

Department of Psychology

University of Huddersfield

Queensgate

Huddersfield

West Yorkshire

HD1 3DH

Email: n.m.wager@hud.ac.uk

Abstract

Background: Evidence from attrition studies indicates that complainants who experience sexual assault on more than one occasion and by different perpetrators (i.e. sexual revictimization) are unlikely to have their cases progress through to prosecution. **Purpose:** The aim of this systematic review was to ascertain what can be learned from experimental studies to aid the understanding of this real-world phenomenon. Specifically, to investigate the attributions made to hypothetical cases of sexual revictimization in mock-juror-type, (quasi)experimental studies. **Methods:** This systematic review entailed searching 13 electronic databases. Over 6,000 potential sources were generated, of which 24 met the criteria for full-text reading. Application of the inclusion criteria, led to this review being based on 12 articles published between 1976 and 2020. These referred to 16 studies involving 4,021 participants. **Findings:** The findings, except for one study, revealed consistent evidence of bias towards victims of sexual revictimization, which related to higher levels of disbelief and victim-blame, and other factors. Complainants were blamed most by women when the context was perceived as risky. **Conclusions:** There were several methodological issues with many of the studies which compromised their ecological validity and applicability. Recommendations are made for future research in this area, and police training and practice.

Key words: attrition, sexual revictimization, attributions, victim-blame, believability, vignettes, experimental methods, mock-juror studies

Introduction

Sexual revictimization, which refers to an individual experiencing sexual assault on more than one occasion, where each assault is typically committed by different perpetrators, is repeatedly associated with attrition in case progression studies (e.g. Feist et al., 2007; Jordan, 2004; Kelly et al., 2005). However, this factor has received comparatively little academic attention despite its high prevalence. Indeed, reviews of prevalence studies suggest that between a half (Walker et al., 2019) and two-thirds (Classen et al., 2005) of victims of child sexual abuse are subsequently sexually assaulted by another assailant later in life.

Furthermore, up to a quarter of victims presenting to the police (Hohl & Stanko, 2015; Jordan, 2004) or sexual response teams (Miller et al., 1978) in the aftermath of a sexual assault are known to have made a previous sexual assault allegation. Despite the high prevalence of this phenomenon cases of sexual revictimization are less likely to be prosecuted than cases where the complaint has only been assaulted on one occasion. It is therefore important to develop an understanding of why sexual revictimization cases are unlikely to proceed through the criminal justice system, which denies a significant proportion of victims attaining justice for the offences committed against them. Such an understanding is fundamental to the creation of effective measures to redress this issue.

There has been a plethora of psychological experimental research conducted over the last four decades examining attitudes towards allegations of sexual assault in general. The aim of many of these studies is to assist in the identification of factors that contribute to understanding and explaining the high rate of attrition of sexual violence cases (see Temkin & Krahe, 2008). For example, ascertaining the types of sexual assault and victims that are most likely to be negatively discriminated against or testing theoretical explanations for the phenomenon.

These studies have highlighted that extra-legal factors, many of which are based on prevalent rape-myths (Burt, 1980), systematically bias decision-making against certain groups victims, and contribute to the attrition of sexual assault cases (Leverick, 2020; Temkin & Krahé, 2008; Willmott et al., 2021). These factors can be grouped according to the victim, offender, or decision-maker/participant characteristics, and incident-related details. Most experimental studies have focused on victim attributes to the relative neglect of the other aspects. In combination, the findings from such studies have identified case-profiles that are more or less likely to end in the prosecution and conviction of the perpetrator. For example, in relation to victim characteristics; less attractive (Deitz et al., 1984; Maeder et al., 2015; Thornton & Ryckman, 1983), sexually active (Cann et al., 1979), young women, who have lower social status than the man against whom they are making allegations (Yamawaki et al., 2007) or have low socioeconomic status (Spencer, 2016), who were wearing ‘immodest’ clothing at the time of the alleged assault (Pollard, 1992; Workman & Orr, 1996), have a physical or learning disability or who are known to have suffered from a mental health problem (Davies & Wager, 2008; Ellison, et al., 2015), who do not conform to traditional gender-roles (‘passive and chaste’) (Krahe, 1988), are known to have reported a previous sexual assault (Wager, 2019), or who do not present as ‘appropriately’ distressed upon arrival at the police station and/or whilst giving evidence in court (Winkel & Koppelaar, 1991), are most likely to experience negative bias.

Despite the potential real-world applicability of experimental, vignette-based studies their impact, in terms of changing policy and practice, has, so far, been limited. Possible reasons for this are the perceived lack of ecological validity of experimental ‘laboratory-based’ studies and the associated inconsequentiality of the views expressed by the participants. However, well-designed experimental studies can potentially add a valuable contribution to

this field of study. Since the experimental design allows for the control and manipulation of variables, and the random allocation of participants to different conditions, it permits the identification of causal relationships which cannot be ascertained by naturalistic studies (e.g. court observations, interviews with criminal justice agents or police-file analysis to investigate attrition) alone. Additionally, experimental studies help unravel the complexity of sexual assault contexts and allow for the investigation of both single factors and the interactions between multiple factors on the measured outcomes. Thus, using ecologically valid and scientifically robust experimental studies in combination with naturalistic studies could therefore offer greater explanatory power and impetus to influence policy and practice.

The ecological validity of experimental studies can be assessed in terms of the concordance between the features of the study and how the researched issue manifests in the real-world. For example, studies of help-seeking victims of sexual assault have identified the characteristics and contexts of sexual revictimization that should be simulated in the experimental studies. These studies indicate that those with known prior histories of sexual assault are more likely to; have been assaulted by a close relative, be unemployed, be new to the area, and have previously sought help for emotional problems (Miller et al., 1978), and be socioeconomically deprived and transient in their living arrangements (Ellis et al., 1982). Additional, methodological factors associated with ecological validity are the; selected dependent variables, sampling frame, perspective from which the hypothetical sexual assault is presented, and operationalization of sexual revictimization. The latter two factors relate to the information presented in the vignettes, or descriptions of hypothetical incidents.

Vignettes have been used in psychological research since the 1950s (e.g. Anderson & Anderson, 1951) and are now widely used in research across different disciplines to

understand the nature and circumstances that influence people's attitudes, social perceptions, beliefs, and decision-making. Within the context of researching responses to sexual victimization, vignettes have been used to investigate; police (e.g., Hind & Murphy, 2017: 2019), mock-juror (e.g., Duke & Desforges, 2007) and mock-jury(e.g., Willmott et al., 2018) decision-making, victim-blaming by the general public (e.g., Ayala et al., 2018), and the believability of sexual assault allegations (e.g., Nason, 2019).

Vignette types have expanded over the years, which is partly due to advances in technology. Originally, vignettes were either written scenarios or live scenes played out by actors (e.g. Shotland & Shaw, 1976), whereas they can now consist of visual and/or audio recorded scenarios. It has been argued that video-recorded and live simulations are superior to written vignettes in relation to their authenticity and thus the potential they have to sway people's judgments (Hughes & Huby, 2002; Loman & Larkin, 1976; Kinicki et al., 1995). However, this argument is less pertinent when the real-world decision-makers (e.g., offence investigators and prosecuting authorities) base their decisions on written case notes. In such instances, the written vignettes might offer greater ecological validity.

How the vignettes are presented to the participants also influences their real-world applicability. In most instances, the vignettes are presented in one sitting, but in a few studies, the participants are exposed to segments of the vignette sequentially (e.g. Nason et al., 2019). This latter approach recreates how new information about sexual assault cases comes to the attention of interested parties such as the investigating police officers (e.g. Barrett & Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2013).

Rationale for, and aims of, this review

Evidence from attrition studies suggest that victims of sexual revictimization are one of the groups of victims of sexual assault who are the most likely to be denied justice following reporting the assault to the police. Why this happens has currently unknown. However, the body of experimental research conducted with community and student samples could elucidate whether this bias is likely to be a consequence of flawed human reasoning in general rather than due to problems with police decision-making per se. Such an understanding could then inform police training programmes and policy directives. Although, the potential for these experimental studies to translate into real-world applications or policy recommendations depends on their ecological validity and scientific rigor. Consequently, this systematic review has four aims: Provide an overview of attributions towards sexual revictimization evident in experimental studies; identify factors that might compromise these studies' ecological validity and scientific rigor; offer directions for future research and, provide tentative suggestions to improve the police response to sexual revictimization.

Methods

A systematic review methodology was used to search for, select, appraise and discuss the literature. A systematic review methodology was selected over a meta-analysis for two reasons. First, due to the heterogeneity of outcome variables, which precluded the potential for generating effect sizes for a homogenous outcome. Secondly, the desire to undertake a critical appraisal of the studies beyond that typically associated with excluding or assigning weight to individual studies. That is, the appraisal also considered whether the studies' portrayals of sexual revictimization matched real-world manifestations of the phenomenon.

Search strategy

The nine computerized bibliographic databases searched in this review included; Criminal Justice Abstracts, PsychINFO, PsycARTICLES, Emerald, Institute of Social Sciences,

Scopus, ISI Web of Science, JISC, Networked Digital Library of Theses and Dissertation and Sciences Direct. Additionally, targeted searches were conducted using Researchgate, Mendeley, Academia.edu, and Google Scholar to capture the grey literature and thus minimise the potential for publication bias.

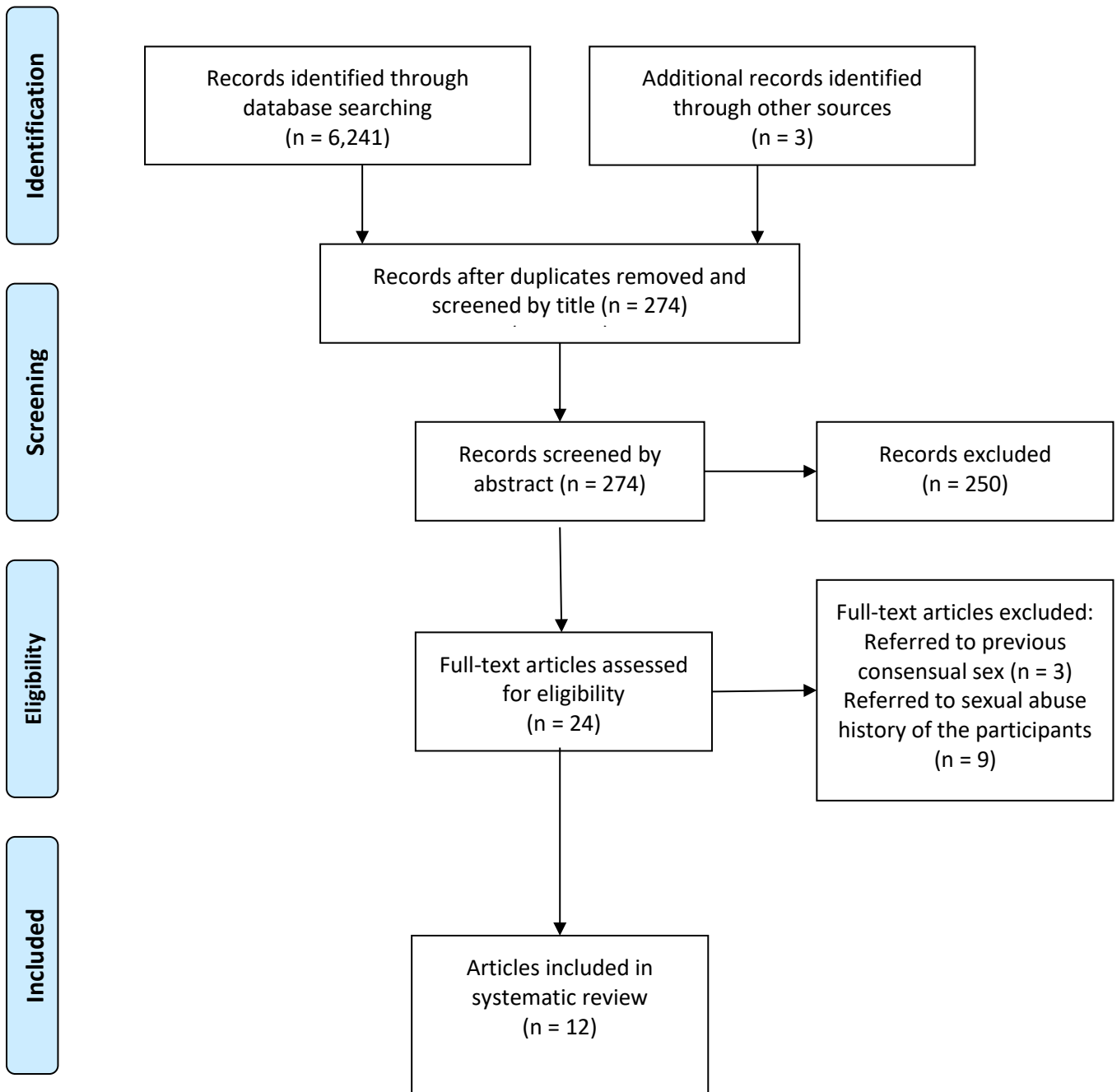
The search terms used to identify the experimental literature on attitudes towards sexual revictimization were:

‘attitudes’ OR ‘attributions’ OR ‘judgments’ OR ‘beliefs’ ‘rape myth acceptance’ OR ‘victim-blame’ OR ‘victim-precipitation’ OR ‘victim culpability’ OR ‘victim responsibility’ OR ‘credibility’ OR ‘believability’ OR ‘veracity’ OR ‘truthfulness’ OR ‘genuine’ AND ‘complainants’ OR ‘allegations’ OR ‘attrition’ OR ‘non-crim*’ OR ‘Unfound*’ OR ‘false allegation’ AND ‘sexual assault’ OR ‘rape’ OR ‘sexual abuse’ OR ‘sexual violence’ OR ‘sexual exploitation’ OR ‘child sexual abuse’ AND ‘prior rape history’ OR ‘previous assault’ OR ‘previous sexual assault complaint*’ OR previous rape complain* OR ‘multiple assaults’ OR ‘sexual revictimization’ OR ‘repeat victimization’ OR ‘recidivist victimization’

The selection criteria used to select studies suitable for inclusion in the review were; the search was restricted to articles published between 1970 and June 2020. The articles had to be published in English and used hypothetical vignettes to simulate case material. The article had to focus on sexual revictimization and not just a single sexual assault and the dependent variables were related to attributions made towards the victims or perpetrations rather than to third parties (i.e. mother-blaming). The PRISMA flow diagram (Figure 1) represents the stages and outcomes of the literature search. Overall, the search generated 6,279 articles, 43 were duplicates, 5,924 were excluded based on their title and 250 were removed after reading the abstracts. Therefore 24 were selected for full-text reading. Of these, a further 12 were

excluded; nine because they examined the sexual abuse histories of the participants rather than the hypothetical victims and three due to their focus on the effect of previous consensual sex between the hypothetical complainant and suspect. Thus 12 articles being retained in the final analysis (See Table 1).

Figure 1: PRISMA Flow diagram of source selection



Quality assurance

Two quality assurance processes were employed during this review. First, two reviewers were involved in the identification and selection of the articles. The first two authors independently searched for appropriate literature. The first author then made the initial selection through the application of the inclusion/exclusion criteria. The second reviewer assessed the accuracy of this procedure by checking both a sample of excluded articles and all the included articles against the inclusion criteria. There was a 100% agreement between the reviewers on the selection of articles to be included and excluded. Second, each article was critically appraised in terms of its scientific merit using the appropriate Joanna Briggs critical appraisal tool (see <https://jbi.global/critical-appraisal-tools>). This entailed the studies being assessed on their sample size and representation, the reliability and validity of the dependant measures used, the robustness of the study design and the controls used to mitigate against possible confounding variables (e.g. the use of manipulation checks to assess whether the participants attended to the variables which were subject to manipulation in the vignettes and holding other factors constant in the vignettes). One of the studies (one of McCaul et al., 1990 studies) was appraised as having low scientific credibility and the remaining 15 had moderate scientific credibility. Since this paper aimed to examine the methodological weaknesses of the existing literature on sexual revictimization, none of the articles were excluded based on this critical appraisal exercise. The appraised scientific merit of each of the papers is included in Table 1.

Data extraction

A data extraction template was devised for this review to assist in the systematic analysis of the pertinent variables. The template was completed for each of the included articles. The extracted data included; the country in which the study was conducted, the theoretical explanations offered regarding attitudes towards sexual revictimization, the research design,

sampling strategy and sample characteristics, description of how sexual revictimization was operationalized (e.g. a previous sexual assault in childhood), the dependent variables and whether these were measured using validated scales, the inclusion of covariates, whether manipulation checks were included, details of the vignettes (e.g. the perspective from which the vignette was written, the gender of the complainant and the accused, the context of the current sexual assault), the data analysis, the procedure for collecting the data, the findings concerning sexual revictimization, any limitations, conclusions, and references that appeared worthy of following up. In several of the articles, some of the details were unclear or missing. Where this was the case, the primary author was contacted, and the information was requested. Most authors were responsive to this request and provided the missing information.

Table 1: Studies included in the review

Authors	Year	Country	Rigor	Design	Participants	Operationalisation of revictimization	Perspective of vignette	Nature of sexual assault	Gender of victim and perpetrator
Calhoun, et al.	1976	US	Medium	Experimental study-independent measures 8 vignettes & participant gender	128 Male and female Psychology UG students Aged 19-36	A previous rape in adulthood one year ago	Presented as a statement of facts Single presentation	Compared acquaintance (student) and stranger rape (25yrs)	Male perpetrator and female victim
Kanekar, et al.	1985	India	Medium	Experimental, independent measures using 12 vignettes 4 studies.	Studies 1&2 240 male and female UG students in each study. Studies 3 & 4 240 female UG each.	Not explicitly stated when the previous rape had happened.	Presented as a statement of facts. Single presentation	It can be assumed this is referring to a stranger rape	Male perpetrator and female victim
McCaul, et al.	1990	US	Low	Experimental, mixed measures 9 pairs of vignettes. Ps presented with all 9 of half the pairs.	Study 1 N = 93 (54 female and 39 male UG students) Study 2: N = 63 (32 female and 31 male UG students)	No indication of when the previous assault occurred.	Presented as a statement of facts Single presentation	An acquaintance rape which occurred outside at a party	Male perpetrator and female victim
Schult & Schneider	1991	US	Medium	Experimental independent measures & 6 vignettes & participant gender	143 Psychology UG students (50% male) Mean age 23.3	First reported incident or raped once before	Presented as a statement of fact. Copy of the vignette not available Single presentation	Stranger assault which occurred at night in a carpark	Male perpetrator and female victim
Schneider	1992	US	Medium	Quasi-experimental independent measures & 7 vignettes & participant gender	270 UG (50% male) mean age 21 & 287 community members (50% male) mean age 34.7	Previous rape history (none, 1, 3 or 8 years ago. Whether the previous assault was reported.	Unknown as the vignette is not presented in the report. Single presentation	Stranger assault at night as the victim walked home though a wooded park.	Male perpetrator and female victim
Anderson, et al.	2001	UK	Medium	Mixed methods study exploring conversations between couples discussing vignettes depicting sexual revictimization:	N = 60 (Males and females) Age range 18-45 Mean age = 21.5 years. 70% were University students	Adult revictimization – previous assault a year earlier. No comparison drawn between revictimization and a single assault.	Intentionally switched between factual account and an allegation, to replicates newspaper reports. Single presentation	Stranger attack at night when taking a short-cut across campus. The incident was witnessed by a passer-by	Male perpetrator and either a female or a male victim Victim 22 years old
Rogers et al.	2007	UK	Medium	Quasi-experimental 12 vignettes and treated gender of the Ps participant as an IV (total of 24 conditions)	N = 397 228 females 169 males Community sample 66.2% completion rate	Revictimization in childhood. Compared single assault, repeated abuse by the same perpetrator or multiple perpetrators	Switches from describing a factual background of the victim and a fly on the wall account. Single presentation	Teacher-pupil abuse	Male perpetrator female victim

Sommer et al.	2016	US	Medium	Experimental random allocation to one of 12 vignettes, independent measures	N = 332 199 females 133 males Amazon's Mechanical Turk	Adult revictimization. Previous incident occurring one year ago. No reference to substantiation	Vignette presented as a statement of facts Single presentation	Included stranger, acquaintance, date/intimate partner assaults	Male and female victims of heterosexual assault
Wager	2019	UK	Medium	Experimental independent measures Random allocation to one of 10 vignettes	243 female UG students Age range 18-69 years (Mean = 27)	3 revictimization manipulations were (none, CSA when she was 8 years old or a recent sexual assault that occurred three years previously). Examined the impact of the substantiation of previous allegation	Written as an allegation being reported to the police. Single presentation.	Stranger assault in the outside in the early hours of the evening (Victim presented as 21 year-old student)	Male perpetrator and female victim
Theimer & Hansen	2020	US	Medium	Experimental independent measures random allocation to one of 4 vignettes	N = 742 Psychology UG students Age range 19-55 years (mean = 20.4) 74.3% female	Repeat victimisation in childhood. Compared a single abuse occurrence with five instances of abuse by the same perpetrator	Vignette presented as a statement of facts Single presentation	Adolescent girl (15 years) and male neighbour and friend of her parents.	Male perpetrator and female victim
Dhami et al.	2020	UK	Medium	Experimental repeated measures Each officer was presented with a selection of 32 brief vignettes Conducted idiographic analyses	25 specially trained and experienced police officers 68% male Age range 31-60 years	Presented as having made previous allegations of sexual assaults to the police (assaults being plural). Not clear whether in childhood or adulthood.	Statements of facts only relating to the manipulated variables and no details given of the alleged incident Single presentation, but included information about the suspect	Victim was over 18 years Manipulated the relationship between the victim and the offender	Male perpetrator and female victim
Pica et al.	2020	Canada	Medium	Experimental independent measures. Random allocation to one of 8 vignettes	268 Psychology UG students 82.8% female Age range 18-64 years (mean = 20.7)	Revictimization - prior allegation against a different colleague the previous year	Participants acted as mock jurors making pre-deliberation attributions. Vignette is presented as a statement of facts. Single presentation	Repeated workplace sexual harassment by a colleague. Escalated from verbal to physical sexual harassment over successive encounters.	Manipulated the gender of victim and perpetrator allowing for male on female, male on male, female on male and female on female harassment.

Overview of the included studies

The samples included in the studies

The 12 articles referred to 16 studies which when combined, included the views of a total of 4,021 participants. The sample sizes of the individual studies ranged from 25 (Dhami et al., 2020) to 742 participants (Theimer & Hanson, 2020). The studies were conducted in the UK (Anderson et al., 2001; Dhami et al., 2020; Rogers et al., 2007; Wager, 2019), US (Calhoun et al., 1976; McCaul et al., 1990; Schullt & Schneider, 1991; Schneider, 1992; Sommer et al., 2016; Theimer & Hanasen, 2020), Canada (Pica et al., 2020), and India (Kanekar et al., 1985).

Eight of the 16 studies reported equal proportions of male and female participants. Of the remaining studies, one was based solely on female participants (Wager, 2019), five attracted disproportionate numbers of females in relation to males (McCaul et al., 1990 - study 1; Pica et al., 2020; Rogers et al., 2007; Sommer et al., 2016; Theimer and Hansen, 2020), one included more males than females (Dhami et al., 2020) and one did not report on the gender composition of their sample Anderson et al. (2001).

Twelve studies recruited predominately, if not wholly, from undergraduate student populations, with four specifically recruiting from Psychology courses (Calhoun et al., 1976; Pica et al., 2020; Schult & Schneider, 1991; Theimer and Hansen, 2020). Two studies recruited community samples (Rogers et al., 2007; Schneider, 1992), although Schneider's analysis combined his undergraduate and community samples and one study recruited participants via Amazon's Mechanical Turk – a crowdsourcing platform that can be used to recruit research participants (Sommer et al., 2016). Only one study employed police officers as participants (Dhami et al., 2020).

The age range of the participants was referred to in six studies. The upper ages in the sample varied considerably, from 36 years in Calhoun et al.'s (1976) to 69 in Wager's (2019) study. Seven studies stated the mean age of participants and these ranged between 20.4 years (Theimer & Hansen, 2020) and 27 years (Wager, 2019). Thus, despite the apparent variance in the upper age ranges, the mean age of the samples appears to be consistently in the 20s.

Study designs

Most of the studies utilized experimental or quasi-experimental designs employing independent measures and all used vignettes in which the independent variables were manipulated, while other factors were held constant. The exceptions to this were McCaul et al.'s (1990), Anderson et al.'s (2001) and Dhimi et al.'s (2020) studies. McCaul et al.'s (1990) experimental studies used both within and between designs, where each participant was exposed to two vignettes. However, McCaul et al. used numerous vignette pairs in which multiple factors were manipulated, which did not appear to be constructed or analyzed in any systematic way. Dhimi et al. (2020) used a repeated measures vignette design, in which officers were presented with an unknown number of 32 different vignettes in which seven variables were manipulated. They were also asked an open-ended question about their decision-making. Anderson et al. (2001) conducted a mixed-method study exploring the conversations that occurred between pairs of participants when they were discussing vignettes depicting a case of sexual revictimization. All the studies presented the vignette in a single presentation.

Table 2: Key findings for each of the included studies

Authors	Key findings
Calhoun, et al. 1976	Victim of sexual revictimization was attributed greater fault than the victim of a single rape. Females did not distinguish based on of rape history in the context of a rape occurring in a safe area, but when in a rape prone area, they blamed the victim of multiple rapes more than the victim of a single rape. For men, the victim of multiple rapes was more at fault than a victim of a single assault when the latest assault occurred in a safe area.
Kanekar et al. 1985	Previous experience of a similar victimisation was associated by higher attributions of the victim being at fault, particularly for female participants & when the crime occurred at night. Female participants gave longer prison sentences when the victim had not previously been raped
McCaul et al. 1990	Study 1 – findings in relation to sexual revictimization are impossible to ascertain since this pair of vignettes related to an acquaintance rape rather than a stranger rape. Study two – An acquaintance rape in the context of sexual revictimization had the highest levels of victim blame, foreseeability, and pleasure. But the findings were not statistically significant
Schult & Schneider 1991	A main effect of rape history on wanting the recidivist victim of rape to accept more blame than the victim of a single incident of rape. The recidivist victim was viewed as having placed herself in a situation where an assault is probable. No interaction effects were explored in relation to gender of the participants. Assaultants of multiple incident vs single incident victims were deemed to deserve shorter sentences
Schnieder 1992	There are significant differences between the college and community samples – with the community samples demonstrating more compassion for the victim, attributing less victim-blame and as seeing the incident as leading to serious consequences. In relation to revictimization - a lower expectation that the victim would be emotionally upset and less desire for the victim to blame the assailant
Anderson et al. 2001	8% of men’s utterances were victim blaming when discussing male rape and 23% when discussing female rape. 19% of women’s utterances were victim blaming when discussing male rape and 28% when discussing female rape. One of the participants’ quotes appeared to question whether the past rape really occurred.
Rogers et al. 2007	Perpetrator more culpable of: A single assault against an attractive 15 year-old girl than for repeated abuse against an attractive 15 year-old girl. A single assault against an attractive 10 year-old girl than of an assault against an attractive 10 year old girl who had already been abuse by three other perpetrators. Females - perpetrator more culpable when the victim had been abused once than multiple times by the same perpetrator. Females found the perpetrator more culpable than did males in the response to a victim experiencing a single abuse episode.
Sommer et al. 2016	Sexual revictimization associated with higher levels of victim-blame than a single rape scenario, irrespective of whether the victim was male or female.

Theimer & Hansen 2017	Victim more responsible in case of revictimization. No impact of revictimization on perpetrator responsibility Victim deemed more able to prevent/avoid abuse in the context of revictimization
Wager 2019	<p>Previous CSA was associated with lower believability than in cases where there was no previous sexual assault or where there was a previous ASA. In the case of prior CSA, the conviction of the previous offender was associated with higher victim-blame; whereas for prior ASA the conviction of the previous assailant was associated with lower blame.</p> <p>Where there was a lack of substantiation for the previous allegation, the believability of a complainant with prior ASA was enhanced by having a mental health issue. But for a complainant with a history of CSA, their believability is diminished by this.</p>
Dhami et al. 2020	The victim having been previously sexually assaulted was not found to be a predictor of any of the participants' case progression scores. However, eight of the participants stated that they would not want to make a decision without additional information and some specifically referred to wanting details about, and the outcome of, the previous sexual assault allegation. The authors speculate that this desire indicates that prior allegations of sexual assault are important to officers' decision making.
Pica et al. (2020)	Previous sexual harassment was associated with; being less likely to return a guilty verdict and the participants believing the allegations to be fabricated.

Findings

Attributions towards sexual revictimization

There was a consistent finding across the studies that assessed victim blame that in contrast to victims of a single sexual assault, adult victims with previous experiences of adult sexual assault were attributed higher levels of blame for the current assault (Calhoun et al., 1976; McCaul et al., 1990; Kanekar et al., 1985; Schult & Schneider, 1991; Sommer et al., 2016). The tendency to blame victims of sexual revictimization appears to occur in relation to both male and female victims (Sommer et al., 2016).

Although Anderson et al.'s (2001) study did not contrast victim-blame in sexual revictimization and single sexual assaults, they did examine utterances implying victim-blame that spontaneously occurred in discussions of sexual revictimization involving victims of either gender. They found that eight percent of men's utterances were victim blaming when discussing male rape, as were 23% when discussing female rape. Conversely, 19% of women's utterances were victim blaming when discussing male rape and 28% when discussing female rape. Thus, female victims of sexual revictimization were more likely to be blamed by both male and female participants than were male victims. Overall, women more than the men blamed male victims. Although this pattern was similar in response to female victims, the difference between men's and women's attributions was less marked for female victims than it was for male victims.

Wager's (2019) study however, did not find a main effect of previous victimization on victim-blame in the context of a previous rape in adulthood. Although, the results revealed an interaction effect in which blame was higher for victims with a prior history of CSA, where the previous offender had been convicted of the assault.

Wager's (2019) and Pica et al. (2020) found main effects of sexual revictimization on the believability of the recent allegation or of the complainant of sexual assault. Pica et al.'s (2020) participants, who were presented with a case of sexual revictimization in the context of workplace sexual harassment, were not only less likely to see the victim as unbelievable, but to also considered the accusation to be fabricated. Wager's (2019) female respondents were less likely to believe a victim of sexual revictimization in comparison to a victim of a single sexual assault. Pica et al. (2020) found that the impact of making prior allegations of sexual harassment on the believability of the complainant was not differentially impacted by manipulating the gender of the hypothetical suspects and complainants. Thus, suggesting that the tendency to disbelieve victims of sexual revictimization holds for both male and female complainants, and for same sex and opposite sex assaults.

It has been argued that the police decision to no-further-action a case can stem from a disbelief in the truthfulness of the allegation. And although the manipulation of a previous report of sexual assault in Dhami et al.'s study was not identified as predictor of the decision to no-further-action a rape allegation, the police officers reportedly placed significant import on this factor. Eight of the 25 officers reported they were reluctant to make a decision regarding their potential actions. Some specifically referred to wanting details about, and the outcome of, the previous sexual assault allegation.

The apparent riskiness of the situation in which the rape occurred influenced the degree to which victims of sexual revictimization, but not victims of single assaults, were blamed (e.g. Calhoun et al., 1976). It appears that perceived riskiness is linked to factors such as being out alone at night/in the dark, in isolated spaces (e.g. parks or car parks) or in an area that has a

reputation for being rape prone. For example, in Schult and Schneider's (1991) study the rape occurred in a carpark at night. Their participants who responded to the revictimization scenario believed the victim had placed herself in a vulnerable position where an assault was likely to happen and that she should therefore accept some responsibility. In attempt to explain these findings, Schult and Schneider speculated that the study participants may have expected the victim to have learned lessons from her first victimisation experience which should have empowered her to protect herself from, or prevent, any future assaults. The veracity of this speculative interpretation of the findings was supported by Anderson et al.'s (2001) conversation analysis of participant dyads discussing a rape scenario depicting the sexual revictimization. Anderson et al.'s vignettes depicted either a male or a female victim who was assaulted while they were taking a short-cut home across the campus at night. The quotes included in the published article were explicit in expressing that the victim, irrespective of gender, should have known to have been suspicious of the person walking behind them or to have avoided walking in dimly lit areas.

Furthermore, the findings from three of the studies (Anderson et al., 2001; Calhoun et al., 1979; Kanekar et al., 1985) indicated that women are more likely to be negatively influenced by the knowledge that the victim had previously experienced a sexual assault, when the current assault occurred in a risky location. For example, Calhoun et al. (1976) manipulated both prior history of sexual assault and the rape notoriety of the area (no reports of previous incidents vs seven previous incidents reported for the same location). Their findings revealed an interaction effect between the gender of the participant, prior sexual assault history of the alleged (female) victim and the rape notoriety of the area. Women were more likely to believe that the victim's own behaviour had precipitated the assault in the context of revictimization where the recent incident occurred in a 'rape prone' area. Conversely, men

attributed greatest blame to the victim of revictimization when the incident was depicted as occurring in a relatively safe area. Furthermore, Anderson et al.'s study, found that women's tendency to blame the victim in a 'risky' context was more pronounced when they were making judgments about a female as opposed to a male victim.

Schult and Schneider's (1991) contention and Anderson et al.'s (2001) finding that participants expect victims to have learned from their previous victimisation, suggests that the participants assumed the victims knew of the area's 'risky' reputation. If this is true, then women, who generally engage in more varied and frequent precautionary, self-protective behaviours (Gordon et al., 1980), might have expected a fellow woman with a history of sexual assault to have avoided an area known for sexual assaults.

The two studies which explored repeated victimization by the same perpetrator in childhood (Rogers et al., 2007; Theimer & Hansen, 2020), demonstrated divergent but complementary findings in relation the blame attributed to the 15-year old female victims and the older male perpetrators. Rogers et al.'s (2007) participants deemed that the perpetrator of repeated incidents of abuse was less culpable than a perpetrator of a single incident of abuse. However, this effect was only evident in response to scenarios in which the victim was described as attractive. The authors did not find any differential impact of repeat victimisation on attributions of victim responsibility. Conversely, Theimer and Hansen's (2020) participants deemed victims of repeated sexual abuse to be more responsible than victims of a single abuse incident. Specifically, the participants exposed to the repeat victimization scenario indicated that they believed the victim should have been able to prevent or avoid further abuse by the same perpetrator. Such a suggestion conforms with the

likely foreseeability of subsequent abuse (McCaul et al., 1990), which is one of the dimensions of Shaver's (1970) defensive attribution theory.

Rogers et al. (2007) reported on the differential effect of the gender of the participants on perceptions of perpetrator and victim responsibility. Repeat victimization appeared to affect female participants more than males. Women were more likely than men to hold a perpetrator of a single incidence of CSA as responsible. Yet there was no gender difference in perceptions of perpetrator responsibility in response to repeated abuse. Although, women were less likely to see the perpetrator of repeated abuse as responsible, in comparison to a perpetrator of a single incidence of CSA. Only Rogers et al. (2007) explored the impact of sexual revictimization which involved a series of offenders. They found that perpetrators who abused a child aged 10 (but not 15) who had already been victimised by three other perpetrators were deemed to be less responsible than perpetrators whose abuse represented the child's first (or only) experience of CSA.

Other outcomes found in relation to sexual revictimization in comparison to single sexual assaults included; lower likelihood of seeing the suspect as guilty (Pica et al., 2020); the desire for shorter prison sentences for perpetrators (Kanekar et al., 1985; Schults and Schneider, 1991); less likelihood of seeing the victim emotionally harmed than victim of a single assault (Schneider, 1992) and less desire for a victim to blame the offender (Schneider, 1992).

Methodological Considerations

Dependent Variables

Most studies focused on different variants of victim-blame or responsibility. These included characterological and behavioral blame (Calhoun et al., 1976), fault attributed to the victim

(Kanekar et al., 1985), victim- responsibility (McCaul et al., 1990; Theimer and Hanson, 2020), victim- blame (Schult & Schneider, 1991; Sommer et al., 2016; Wager 2019), and victim- culpability (Rogers et al., 2007). Some studies examined additional dependent variables which included; perpetrator responsibility (Rogers et al., 2007; Sommer et al, 2016; Theimer and Hanson, 2020), degree of perpetrator guilt (Pica et al., 2020); how long it would take for the victim to recover (Schult & Schneider, 1991), anticipated future problems likely to be faced by the victims (Schneider, 1992), the likelihood of no-criming the allegation (Dhami et al., 2020), guilty verdicts (Pica et al., 2020; Sommer et al., 2016), perceived foreseeability (McCaul, 1990), length of proposed sentence for the perpetrator (Kanekar et al., 1985; Schneider, 1992; Schult & Schneider, 1991), victim believability (Pica et al, 2020; Wager, 2019), and victim credibility (Rogers et al., 2007).

Notably, only a few of the studies used validated tools used to measure the dependent variables. Those who did were Sommer et al. (2016), Rogers e al. (2007), and Wager (2019). Sommer et al.'s (2016) used the victim and perpetrator blame scales developed by Rayburn, Mendoza, and Davison (2003) in a study of attitudes toward hate-crime. Each scale consisted of the same 14 pairs of adjectives (e.g. violent – nonviolent, blameless – blameworthy). Each scale was treated as though it was unidimensional despite neither the original authors nor Sommer et al. (2016) checking this using a factor analytic technique. This is unfortunate since only three of the 14 adjective pairs were explicitly related to blame, fault, or responsibility, the others would be better described as personality characteristics. The only validation check that has been conducted on the scales was the assessment of internal reliability, which in both studies was reported to be very satisfactory.

Rogers et al. (2007) utilized a 16-item attribution questionnaire which had been adapted from previous research (Graham et al., 2007; Rogers and Davies, 2007), but which had not been previously validated. The items assessed the degree to which the victim, the perpetrator, and the non-offending mother of the child victim were deemed to be blameworthy, responsible for the abuse, guilty, and credible. Rogers et al. (2007) conducted a principal components analysis on the scores for this sample. This revealed five factors; victim culpability, perpetrator culpability, and victim credibility (accuracy, naivety, and competence), mother culpability, and abuse severity.

Wager (2019) used a modified version of the Victim-Blame and Believability Scale which was developed by Davies and Wager (2008) and previously used by Vine and Wager (2010), although neither of these studies has been published in peer-reviewed journals. This was an 11-item, five-point Likert scale, which included two subscales (victim-blame and victim believability) identified through principal components analysis, both of which were reported as having good internal reliability.

The vignettes

All vignettes were presented to the participants in a written format. Although Calhoun et al. (1976) supplemented the vignette with video footage of an interview with the alleged victim talking about the impact the rape had had on her. Notably, most vignettes were presented as fly-on-the-wall accounts (or a statement of facts) of a rape/or incident that had occurred, rather than of an allegation being made to someone. The exceptions were Wager (2019) who presented a complaint being made to the police and Anderson et al. (2001) and Rogers et al. (2007) who both switched within the vignette between statements of facts and providing an account of a reported allegation. Anderson et al. (2001) stated that the switching was intentional to replicate newspaper reports, although they did not indicate why newspaper

reports in cases of sexual revictimization would be of any importance. No explanation was offered by Rogers et al. (2007) for the change in perspectives taken in their vignette. Wager's (2019) decision to base the vignette on an allegation being reported to the police stemmed from her acknowledgment that attrition of sexual revictimization cases typically occurs at the investigation stage. And that attrition often occurred due to reports not being believed, which often manifests as the reports being labelled as false allegations.

The vignettes in Anderson et al.'s (2001) study referred to a sexual assault that was witnessed by a passer-by who subsequently identified the suspect in a police line-up. Independent witnesses to sexual assaults are rare and their inclusion in a vignette is likely to impact upon the participants' attributions. Since there was confirmation of both the incident and the identity of the perpetrator it is unsurprising that only one participant in Anderson et al.'s study questioned the truthfulness of the allegation. Rather, the negative attributions made towards the victim centred on the victims' negligence rather than questioning the truthfulness of the allegation.

Only two studies employed vignettes that included any details about the suspect's response to the allegation (Dhami et al., 2020; Pica et al., 2020), the others all focused on the incident from the victim's perspective.

With regards to the nature of the current sexual assault depicted in the vignettes, significant proportion focused exclusively on stranger rape (Anderson et al., 2001; Kanekar et al., 1985; Schult & Schneider, 1991; Schneider, 1992; Wager, 2019). McCaul et al.'s (1990) vignette depicted an acquaintance rape that occurred outside. Calhoun et al. (1976) and Dhami et al. (2020) presented both acquaintance and stranger rape in their scenarios, and Sommer et al. (2016) presented stranger, acquaintance, and date/intimate partner scenarios. Both Rogers et

al. (2007) and Theimer and Hansen (2020) presented a sexual assault that occurred in childhood. Rogers et al.'s vignette was based on a teacher-pupil scenario and Theimer and Hansen depicted abuse by a neighbor who was friendly with the child's parents. Pica et al. (2020) focused on sexual harassment in the workplace that had escalated across successive encounters from verbal to physical harassment.

Most studies portrayed the sexual assault of a female victim perpetrated by a male offender. The exceptions being Anderson et al. (2001), who also presented male victims, Sommer et al. (2016) who explored both male and female victims in heterosexual assaults, and Pica et al. (2020) whose manipulations in a case of workplace sexual harassment allowed for the inclusion of same-sex and opposite-sex incidents. The implication of this is a limited understanding of how victims outside of male-to-female sexual assault are perceived. While three studies have explored attitudes towards male victims, only two studies have considered the impact of a female perpetrator. Only Anderson's (2001) and Pica et al.'s studies permitted capturing views regarding homosexual rape and sexual harassment of males, respectively, and none have explored attitudes towards homosexual rape of females.

In the context of the two studies that explored sexual revictimization in childhood, it is noteworthy that both perpetrators were from outside of the family and both would have been considered as adults. Yet, evidence from victimization surveys indicates that a large proportion of perpetrators are other children and from the same family as the victim, albeit more distant relatives (e.g. cousins) than others (siblings) (e.g. Radford et al., 2013).

Regarding the operationalization of sexual revictimization in the vignettes, three studies did not explicitly state the context of sexual revictimization (Kanakar et al., 1985; McCaul et al.,

1990; Schult & Schneider, 1991). Three studies (Anderson et al., 2001; Calhoun et al., 1976; Sommer et al., 2016) referred to a previous adult rape a year before the current allegation. Similarly, Pica et al. (2020) referred to the victim as having made a prior allegation of sexual harassment against a different member of the department the previous year. Schneider (1992) explored three variants of revictimization occurring one, three, or eight years before the current assault. However, since the age of the victim was not presented in the vignette, it is impossible to ascertain whether all three variants are referring to previous sexual assaults in adulthood. Wager (2019) referred to a prior assault or allegation occurring either in childhood (when the victim was eight years old) or young adulthood (three years earlier when aged 18 years). Rogers et al. (2007) and Theimer and Hansen (2020) both examined revictimization in the context of all assaults occurring in childhood. Both compared a single incident of CSA to repeated sexual abuse by the same perpetrator. The number of repeated incidents was four in Rogers et al.'s (2007) study and five in Theimer and Hansen's (2020) study. Additionally, Rogers et al. (2007) compared single and repeated assaults by the same perpetrator to multiple, serial assaults perpetrated by different offenders.

Quality assurance and scientific robustness

Issues related to the statistical analysis

Two key issues were identified with the statistical analysis of some of the studies. Firstly, in some of the older studies there was a tendency to use parametric statistical analyses with ordinal, and hence non-parametric, data (e.g. Calhoun et al., 1976; Kanekar et al., 1985; Sommer et al., 2016 in testing their 5th hypothesis). Secondly, where analyses were conducted on multiple dependent variables, Bonferroni's correction was rarely used to adjust the significance level accepted. The exception was Pica et al.'s (2020) study.

Inclusion and use of manipulation checks

Manipulation check questions are used in these types experimental studies to ascertain whether the participants have read the vignettes thoroughly and have attended to the manipulated independent variables. Five of the studies employed manipulation checks (McCaul et al., 1990 - study 2; Schult & Schneider, 1991; Schneider, 1992; Sommer et al., 2016; Wager, 2019). McCaul et al. asked the participants to answer the manipulation check questions using Likert scales, but they do not report the scale threshold for disregarding any dubious responses or the subsequent loss to the sample size. Schneider (1992) embedded one and Schult and Schneider embedded two manipulation check questions into their questionnaire but neither referred to removing data based on the responses to this item. Sommer et al. (2016) used four manipulation check questions and treated one or more incorrect answers as criteria for removing the participant's responses from the dataset. Wager (2019) included two or three manipulation check questions depending on the scenarios presented to the participants and similarly treated one or more incorrect responses as grounds for removing the participant's responses from the data set. The impact of using removing responses due to the manipulation check findings was reported by Sommer et al. (2016) and Wager (2019), who declared this led to the loss of nine percent and five percent of their original samples, respectively. While neither Schult and Schneider (1991) nor Schneider (1992) removed data due to incorrect answers to the manipulation check item, they did note that six and seven percent of the responses to these questions, respectively, were incorrect. Although Theimer and Hansen (2020) did not include manipulation checks, did employ a different method of excluding data from participants who they believed were unlikely to have fully engaged with the task. Their criterion was based on the length of time the participants took to complete the study. Those who took less than five minutes or over an hour were removed from the dataset.

Sample size considering the number of conditions tested

The studies were scrutinised to determine whether the sample sizes resulted in cell sizes that were too small to allow for meaningful comparisons due to the relatively large number of vignettes employed in the studies and the predominant use of independent measures designs. However, across all the studies employing independent designs only Calhoun et al.'s (1976) study resulted in cell sizes of less than 10 and most other studies had cell sizes upwards of 15.

Purported practical implications of the findings

Half the articles included in this review did not propose any practical implications of their findings (Anderson et al., 2001; Calhoun et al., 1976; Kanekar et al., 1985); Rogers et al., 2007; Schult & Schneider, 1991; Schneider, 1992). Whereas, purported applications or implications of the other studies are discussed, in turn, below.

Reinforcement the internalization of self-blame by victims

Both McCaul et al. (1976), and Theimer and Hansen (2020) warned that the prevalent victim-blaming shown towards victims of sexual crimes might further compound the tendency of many victims to internalize the self-blame, which has been negatively associated with long-term recovery from sexual violence.

Victim-blaming might lead to higher rates of rape

McCaul et al. (1990) proposed that where victim-blaming becomes widespread it might serve to increase the relative impunity of rapists and might be used by rapists to justify their actions, which combined could increase the rate of sexual offending.

Limit access to information

There were a couple of proposals that information about previous allegations of sexual violations should not be shared with key decision-makers in the criminal justice system. Pica (2020) suggested that jurors should not be informed of victims' previous allegations of sexual harassment. Wager (2019) highlighted that investigating officers routinely check to see if sexual assault complainants have a history of making sexual assault allegations. She, therefore, suggested that investigating officers should not be permitted access to this information in the early stages of the investigation while acknowledging that officers need this information later in the investigation process to compile the case for the prosecutors.

Training and awareness-raising

A range of different people (e.g. professionals, parents, and the public) was perceived to require training about repeat sexual victimization and sexual revictimization. Theimer and Hansen (2020) proposed that counsellors, non-offending parents, and the public needed educating so that they could more respond appropriately to children's disclosures of repeated child sexual abuse, whether perpetrated by single or multiple perpetrators. Pica et al. (2020) proposed that training should be developed for jurors about the prevalence of revictimization. Similarly, Wager (2019) proposed training for police officers about sexual revictimization in an attempt to challenge the inclination to disbelieve these cases. Dhimi et al. (2020) not only advocated for more specialist training but in light of their sample being specially trained police officers in the UK, they proposed that there should be a review of the existing training methods and to ensure active-learning methods are used in the delivery of training.

Aid juror selection

Sommer et al. (2016) proposed that their findings might be used to help barristers for either the defense or prosecution to make juror selection decisions. Thus, either increasing or decreasing the likelihood of victim-blaming and offender exonerating depending on their position in the case.

Discussion

The first aim of review was to ascertain whether there is a negative bias towards victims of sexual revictimization which might partly account for the high rates of attrition of these cases. The findings indicated a consistent tendency to blame adult victims more in cases of revictimization than in single assaults, and some indication that this response relates to both male and female victims. There is more recent evidence that complainants who report previous sexual victimization are less likely to be believed than those reporting a first/only victimisation. And that women will disbelieve a complainant of rape who is known to have experienced historic CSA.

Except for Wager's (2019) study, sexual revictimization consistently demonstrated a main effect on victim-blame across the studies investigating responses to adult sexual assault. Wager's study differs in four significant ways to the other studies, which might account for the lack of a main effect on victim-blame. First, the participants were presented with a vignette which was written as an allegation of rape being reported to the police, rather than as a definitive statement of fact taken from a fly-on-the-wall perspective. Second, and relatedly, the participants were asked to consider the believability of the allegation as well rating the victim's level of culpability. Since the vignette was written as an alleged rape rather than a definitive account of a rape, it allowed for the possibility of any negative attribution towards the victim manifesting as disbelief and/or victim-blame. Indeed, Wager found a main effect

of sexual revictimization on the perceived believability. Her findings suggest that a victim with a history of CSA is less likely to be believed than a victim without a prior history of sexual victimization. Third, the context of the rape in Wager's vignette was not described in terms that implied victim had taken any unnecessary risks (e.g. the rape happened in the centre of the town and not somewhere isolated, and it had occurred at a relatively early hour of the evening – 7pm, rather than at a later hour e.g. 10pm). Thus, possibly making it harder for participants to justify blaming the victim on the grounds of her failure to learn from her previous assault. Finally, Wager's sample were all female and although it appears that female observers are particularly likely to blame victims of sexual revictimization, they are most likely to do so when the victim is perceived to engage in somewhat risky behaviour.

Victim-blaming was the most studied attribute despite the attrition studies suggesting that disbelief is the most likely cause of reported cases failing to progress beyond investigation stage. Only two studies examined the believability of the allegation (Pica et al., 2020; Wager, 2019). Other findings which could lead to negative bias against victims who report sexual revictimization included; lower levels of perpetrator culpability and guilt, lower sentences for guilty offenders, and a belief that victims are less harmed by subsequent sexual assaults than they are by a first or only experiences of sexual assault.

With regards to the studies that explored repeat victimisation by a single perpetrator in childhood, this variously found either higher levels of victim (Theimer & Hansen, 2020) or lower levels of offender culpability (Rogers et al., 2007) compared with when victims experienced a single assault. In contrast to Rogers et al. (2007), Theimer and Hansen (2020) found no impact of repeat victimization on levels of perpetrator responsibility. There was a key difference between the scenarios presented in the two studies which might partly account

for their divergent findings. In Rogers et al.'s study the abuse was portrayed as occurring in a school setting where a teacher was abusing a pupil, which might have been seen as difficult for the victim to avoid and thus accounting for the lack of impact on victim blame. In contrast, the abuse in Theimer and Hansen's study was presented as perpetrated by a neighbour and friend of the victim's parents. Consequently, the participants may have deemed repeated instances of abuse to have been more avoidable for the victim since they were not obliged to have contact with this person.

Only Rogers et al. (2007) investigated the impact of childhood sexual revictimization by multiple perpetrators, and this demonstrated lower levels of perpetrator culpability when they offended against a child who had already been abused by others. The lack of other studies substantiating this finding is unfortunate due to the current concerns over child sexual exploitation (CSE). The perceived lesser impact of repeat victimization on victim and the perceptions of the perpetrator being less responsible may help explain the delayed and at times a lack of response to victims' allegations of CSE in the UK that have been highlighted over recent years in a series of independent inquiries (e.g. Jay, 2014).

The review not only highlighted consistent negative bias towards cases of sexual revictimization, but also identified factors that moderated the relationship between having made previous allegations for sexual assault and the examined outcome measures. The findings tentatively indicate that victim-blaming is greater among female as opposed to male participants, particularly when the victim is presented as female, irrespective of whether the victim is in their 20s or a young teenager, when the recent sexual assault occurred in a potentially risky or avoidable context, and the previous victimization occurred in childhood. There is some evidence that women will disbelieve a complainant who is known to have a

prior history of CSA, but further research is needed to substantiate this finding. Our current understanding of the contexts most likely to lead to biased responses is limited by the range of scenarios and the nature of the samples used in experimental studies. Only one study has so far explored sexual victimisation of both men and women, and both same and opposite sex assaults (Pica et al., 2020).

It is noteworthy that victim-blaming in response to sexual revictimization was found to be greater in women than men, since this contrasts with the gender differences found in response to single assaults, where men have shown higher levels of blame than women (Burczyk & Standing, 1989; Grubb & Harrower, 2009). This finding relates to objective four; to provide tentative suggestions for the policing of sexual revictimization. The National College of Policing in the US contends that one of the ways that the police response to victims of sexual violence can be improved is through the increase in the proportion of female officers.

Although this might assist in improve the response to victims of a single sexual assault, the findings here suggest that such a strategy might further deny victims of sexual revictimization access to potential justice. Although, it should be noted that victim-blaming is not the only way in which negative bias to victims of sexual revictimization can be expressed and there may be gender differences in the expression of bias. For example, a recent study exploring public opinions regarding criminal injuries compensation for rape victims in the UK, revealed that men were less in favour of awarding compensation to a hypothetical 15 year-old victim of multiple-perpetrator CSA than were women (Smith et al., in 2021).

The second and third aims of this paper were to identify methodological weaknesses in the extant literature, and to assist experimental social scientists to conduct more ecologically valid and scientifically robust studies when exploring this phenomenon. Ultimately, in

anticipation that the findings from empirical studies could inform practice and policy changes. The key weaknesses identified related to sampling issues, the perspective from which the vignettes were written, the nature of the recent sexual assault, how sexual revictimization was operationalized and the rarity of using validated measures that have real-world meaning in light of the most common point of attrition for sexual revictimization cases. Additionally, only half of the reviewed articles made any reference to the practical implications and applications of their findings. It is unlikely that research findings will have any real-world impact if the authors fail to articulate their findings in terms of the presenting issue and the current policies and practices that perpetuate the issue.

Sampling

Since nearly a third of the studies were either based solely on female participants or the samples disproportionately represented women, the findings might less accurately reflect the views of men. However, it should be noted that there are more women than men in roles working with victims/survivors of sexual violence. Twelve of the 16 studies recruited from undergraduate samples and thus the attitudes of less-educated sections of the represented societies are left unknown. However, since the introduction of widening participation initiatives in higher education in the 1990s, it is likely that many professionals to whom victims disclose their experiences will have been educated to undergraduate or a similar level. However, due to the over-reliance on undergraduate samples, the mean age of participants in their early to mid-20s, the existing literature overrepresents the views and attitudes of young adults which neither represent of the average age of either police officers or jurors, whose attitudes have significant implications for the victims they encounter. For example, the Home Office statistics in 2016 suggested that 48% of police officers across England and Wales were in their 40s (Hales, 2017). And since the eligible age range for jury service is 18-75, the average age within any jury is likely to be considerably higher than the mid-20s

The perspective of the vignettes

Most of the studies employed vignettes that were written as statements of facts, which imply the incident happened as described and thus reduce the potential for questioning the truthfulness of the allegation. Exposure to vignettes written in this way typically leaves research participants with only one option for protecting themselves from acknowledging that bad things happen, that is to blame the victim. Victim-blaming might be more evident for jurors in a courtroom due to how the barristers portray with certainty the nature of the facts during their closing statements. However, in Pica et al.'s (2020) mock-juror study they presented the vignette as a statement of the events as would be presented by the prosecution barrister to the members of the jury, and their dependent variable was the believability of the allegation. This was unlike most of the other studies. At the initial reporting stages, the recipients of the disclosures may be more likely to disbelieve the allegation than they are to blame the victim. This notion is concordant with the findings from field studies that police officers tend to disbelieve significant proportions of rape allegations (e.g. Jordan, 2001; Kelly et al., 2005). The combination of using vignettes written as a statement of facts and an excessive focus on attributions of blame suggests that the existing experimental studies may overestimate the tendency for victim-blaming and neglect the readiness to disbelieve rape allegations.

Unfortunately, only two of the studies included any detail about the suspects' response to the allegation, this might be partly due to many of the vignettes depicting a stranger assault and thus their response may never be known. However, to increase the authenticity of the vignettes, future research should strive to include statements given by both the complainant and the suspect, where appropriate to do so. Also, concerning authenticity, none of the study authors reported that the creation of the vignettes had been informed by genuine cases of

sexual assault or co-produced with experts by experience (e.g. police officers, advocates working in sexual assault referral centers or sexual assault survivors).

The sexual assault contexts

Most of the vignettes relating to recent assaults experienced in adulthood, referred to stranger assaults, and assaults that occurred in public, rather assaults by acquaintances or intimate partners and those that occur in private spaces. Additionally, while the vignettes portraying revictimization occurring in childhood depicted known perpetrators, these were portrayed as extra-familial adults. Thus, the most likely contexts for sexual assault were excluded from most of the studies. That is, adult rape between (ex) intimate partners or acquaintances that occur in the homes of either the victim or the perpetrator, or child sexual abuse perpetrated by other children and family members have been largely ignored. Most of the studies focused on scenarios that involved female victims and male perpetrators. The implication of this is a limited understanding of how victims outside of male-to-female sexual assault are perceived. While three studies have explored attitudes towards male victims, only two studies have considered the impact of the perpetrator being female. Only Anderson et al.'s (2001) and Pica et al.'s studies allowed for the potential to capture views regarding homosexual rape of males. Only Pica et al. explored attitudes towards female-on-females sexual harassment, and there has been no study on attitudes towards female-on-female sexual assault. Thus again, the full range of contexts and those in which revictimization is most likely to occur have not been included.

Operationalization of sexual revictimization.

Five of the articles, which was 35 percent of the articles exploring a recent sexual assault in adulthood, did not make clear it in their operationalization of sexual revictimization whether the original assault occurred in childhood or adulthood. This is unfortunate as it has several implications for both the interpretation of findings and for the ecological validity of the study.

First, there is some indication that victimization in childhood can carry more stigma (Rind, 1998), and older children suspected of experiencing CSA are deemed less credible than victims of sexual assaults in adulthood. Consequently, current complainants with previous histories of CSA may well incur more negative attributions than complainants with histories of adult sexual assaults. Only one study has so far explicitly compared these two revictimization contexts (Wager, 2019) which found a negative bias against prior victims of CSA. This suggests that making generalizations from studies where both instances of sexual assault occur in adulthood to those where the individual is victimized in both childhood and adulthood might underestimate the extent of negative bias against some victims.

Furthermore, three of the studies included an allegation of repeated victimization by the same perpetrator (the two studies examining revictimization in childhood, and Pica et al.'s (2020) study on sexual harassment). Although, only the studies examining sexual revictimization in childhood (Rogers et al., 2007; Theimer & Hansen, 2020) compared the impact of allegations of repeated victimization with single assaults. In these studies, allegations of multiple instances of child sexual abuse by the same perpetrator were associated with relatively high levels of victim-blaming. In Pica's study, the repeated nature of the harassment was held constant across all the vignettes and thus the impact on the believability of the allegation could not be ascertained. A significant proportion of child sexual abuse (as indicated by the duration of abuse in Flatley, 2016) and sexual abuse perpetrated in the context of intimate partner abuse involves multiple sexual assaults (Bergen & Barnhill, 2006), and the abuse is unlikely to be disclosed after the first assault (McFarlane & Malecha, 2005). Thus, the impact of repeat victimization should, where appropriate be investigated in future research. Additionally, all the studies depicted completed sexual assault or sexual harassment that involved physical touching, therefore it is unknown whether similar impacts of sexual

revictimization and repeat victimization would be evident for reports of attempted sexual assault.

Most of the studies included in the review referred to a previous allegation being made in the previous year, which is concordant with the experiences of many survivors of sexual assault. However, the duration between the sexual assaults might have implications for how the participants make sense of the revictimization. For example, victim-blame was found to be highest in cases of sexual revictimization that involved prior child sexual abuse in comparison to adult sexual assault or no prior sexual victimization (Wager, 2019). It may be that a shorter duration between sexual assaults is more comprehensible than assaults that happen many years apart. Where the revictimization is temporally close to the initial sexual assault, the participants might believe that the trauma that arises due to the initial assault might explain their vulnerability for the subsequent victimization. However, when there is a longer duration between the sexual assaults, the participants might feel that the victim has had sufficient time to process the original assault and to have learned to preserve their safety.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Overall, experimental studies demonstrate that participants have a tendency to have a negative bias against reports of sexual revictimization in comparison to reports of a first (single) sexual assault. Regarding the ways in which the negative bias manifests, most research to-date has examined and found higher levels of victim-blaming in response to sexual revictimization than a single sexual assault. However, there is also evidence of disbelieving these allegations, seeing the victims as being less harmed by the recent sexual assault, and of viewing the perpetrator of repeated sexual abuse or sexually victimising someone with a previous history of sexual assault as less responsible than if they had committed an assault against someone for the first time or if they were the first person to

offend against a victim. There is some indication of the types of contexts in which complainants of sexual revictimization are most likely to experience a negative response to a disclosure. This is when the recipient is a female in her 20s, the previous victimisation occurred in childhood and the current assault occurred in a situation perceived as risky for a survivor of sexual assault (e.g. out alone after dark).

Several limitations of the research methods were noted throughout the review, which has led to several recommendations for future studies and researchers. First, there is a need to understand the real-world context of the issues and to design studies that reflect this understanding. This will ultimately facilitate researchers to conduct studies that have the potential for impact. In the context of sexual revictimization, this means that mock-juror studies are largely superfluous since most attrition occurs at the reporting/investigation stage of the criminal justice process. Consequently, vignettes should be worded as accounts of reports being made, rather than statements of facts taken from a 'fly-on-the-wall' perspective. The details given in the vignettes, or some more realistic alternative, need to reflect the details of common revictimization scenarios, which is not necessarily being raped by a lone stranger, outside, at night, and where there is a witness who reports the incident to the police.

Approximately 85% of sexual assaults are committed by someone known to the victim, and thus there is a readily identifiable suspect who could be interviewed. Since most of the studies were presented as a fly-on-the-wall account of events, there was no sense of needing to include details of the account given from the offender's perspective. However, future research, particularly that which includes sexual assault scenarios in which the victim and offender know each other, should strive to include accounts from both the complainant and the accused, or at least examine the impact of including the accused's account of events.

Although women are more likely to be victims of sexual assault, it is important to also explore attitudes towards male, non-heterosexual, transgender, and non-binary victims, in relation to both male and female perpetrated sexual assault. Other demographic characteristics could also be examined in combinations to explore intersectionality on potential bias against victims (e.g. attitudes towards Black, male victims of sexual revictimization).

Regarding the choice of dependent measures, where possible it would be helpful to use, or to create meaningful and validated measures, and to use these more consistently across studies. This would permit better comparison across studies and samples and enable meta-analyses in the future. Importantly, concerning sexual revictimization, due to the early point of attrition and the relatively high rate at which these cases get labeled as false allegations, it is important to measure the believability of the allegation, as well as the perceived credibility of the victim, and blameworthiness of the victim (and perpetrator).

Future research in this area should endeavour to recruit samples beyond the undergraduate population whose average age is in the low to mid-twenties. There is a need to engage frontline professionals who work with victims and complainants of sexual violence and to recruit samples that appropriately match these professionals' demographic characteristics.

Finally, the findings here lend support to the notion that attrition in sexual revictimization cases may well be fuelled by biases that are prevalent in the general population rather than being specific to the police officers. Thus, attitudes towards revictimization might be aptly challenged within existing 'unconscious bias' training. Additionally, adoption of the

recommendation made by Wager (2019) and Pica et al. (2020), that decision-makers should, where possible, be blind to a complainants' history of prior victimization might help to reduce attrition.

References

NB. References marked with an asterisk (*) indicate the articles included in the systematic review.

* Anderson, I., Beattie, G. & Spencer, C. (2001). Can attributing blame to victims of rape be logical? Attribution theory and discourse analytic perspectives. *Human Relations*, **54**(4): 445-467. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726701544003>

Anderson, H.H. & Anderson, G.L. (1951). *An introduction to projective techniques and other devices for understanding human behavior*. Prentice Hall: Englewood Cliffs, NJ, USA.

Ayala, E., Kotary, B., & Hetz, M. (2018). Blame attributions of victims and perpetrators: Effects of victim gender, perpetrator gender, and relationship. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, **33**(1): 94-116. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260515599160>

Barrett, E.C. & Hamilton-Giachritsis, C. (2013). The victim as a means to an end: Detective decision-making in a simulated investigation of attempted rape. *Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*, **10**(2): 200-218. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jip.1385>

Bergen, R.K. & Barnhill, E. (2006). Marital rape: New research and directions. Applied Research Forums: National Online Resource Centre on Violence Against Women. (February) Retrieved from:

<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/bb85/391a1ad741fa88a2976c2b833ae8cd04a566.pdf>

Burczyk, K., & Standing, L. (1989). Attitudes towards rape: Effects of victim status, sex of victim, and sex of rater. *Social Behaviour and Personality*, **17**(1): 1-8.

<https://doi.org/10.2224/sbp.1989.17.1.1>

- Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **38**(2), 217-230. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.38.2.217>
- *Calhoun, L. G., Selby, J. W. & Warring, L. J. (1976). Social perception of the victim's causal role in rape: An exploratory examination of four factors. *Human Relations*, **29**: 517-526. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872677602900602>
- Cann, A., Calhoun, L.G. & Selby, J.W. (1979) Attributing responsibility to the victim of rape: Influence of information regarding past sexual experience. *Human Relations*, **32**(1): 57-67. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872677903200104>
- Classen, C.C., O.G. Palesh, & Aggarwal. R. (2005). Sexual revictimization: A review of the empirical literature. *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse*, **6**(2): 103–29. [10.1177/1524838005275087](https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838005275087)
- Davies, G., and Wager, N. (2008). Victim believability and implied mental disorder: Are mental health workers less likely to demonstrate bias? *BPS North East of England Branch Annual Conference*. University of Leeds. 25th-27th June.
- Deitz, S. R., Littman, M., & Bentley, B. J. (1984). Attribution of responsibility for rape: The influence of observer empathy, victim resistance, and victim attractiveness. *Sex Roles*, **10**(3/4): 261-280. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00287780>
- *Dhami, M. K., Lundrigan, S. & Thomas, S. (2020). Police discretion in rape cases. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, **35**: 157–169. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11896-018-9299-4>.
- Duke, L.M. & Desforges, D.M. (2007). Mock juror decision-making in sexual abuse cases. *Applied Psychology in Criminal Justice*, **3**(2): 96-116.
- Ellis, E. M., Atkeson, B. M., & Calhoun, K. S. (1982). An examination of differences between multiple- and single-incident victims of sexual assault. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, **91**(3); 221-224. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-843X.91.3.221>

- Ellison, L., Munro, V. E., Hohl, K., and Wallang, P. (2015). Challenging criminal justice? Psychosocial disability and rape victimization. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 15(2): 225-244. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895814543535>
- Feist, A., Ashe, J., Lawrence, J., McPhee, D. & Wilson, R. (2007). *Investigating and detecting recorded offenses of rape*. Home Office Online Report. Accessed 01/12/2018 @<https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110218140524/http://rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs07/rdsolr1807.pdf>
- Flatley, J. (2016). *Abuse during childhood: Findings from the crime survey for England and Wales for the year ending March 2016*. Office for National Statistics. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/abuseduringchildhood/findingsfromtheyearendingmarch2016crimesurveyforenglandandwales>
- Gordon, M., Riger, S., & LeBailly, H. (1980). Crime, women and the quality of urban life. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 5: 144-160.
- Graham, L., Rogers, P. & Davies, M. (2007). Attributions in a hypothetical child sexual abuse case: roles of abuse type, family response and respondent gender. *Journal of Family Violence*, 22(8): 733-745. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-007-9121-z>
- Grubb, A., and Harrower, J. (2009). Understanding attribution of blame in cases of rape: An analysis of participant gender, type of rape, and perceived similarity to the victim. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 15(1): 63-81. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552600802641649>
- Hales, G. (2017). Police officers aren't getting younger every year and there's a debate to be had about the implications. A report for the Police Foundation. Accessed on 3/12/2018 @http://www.policefoundation.org.uk/uploads/blog/police_officers%20arent_getting%20younger_every_year.pdf
- Hine, B. & Murphy, A. (2017). The impact of victim-perpetrator relationship, reputation, and initial point of resistance on officers' responsibility and authenticity ratings towards

hypothetical rape cases. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 49: 1-13.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2017.01.001>

Hine, B. & Murphy, A. (2019). The Influence of 'high' vs. 'low' rape myth acceptance on police officers' judgements of victim and perpetrator responsibility, and rape authenticity. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 60: 100-107.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2018.08.001>

Hohl, K. & Stanko, E. (2015). Complaints of rape and the criminal justice system: Fresh evidence on the attrition problem in England and Wales. *European Journal of Criminology* 12(3): 324–341. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370815571949>

Hughes, R. & Huby, M. (2002). The application of vignettes in social and nursing research. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*. 37(4): 382-386. <https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2648.2002.02100.x>.

Jay, A. (2014). Independent inquiry into child sexual exploitation in Rotherham 1997-2013. *Report commissioned by Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council*. Accessed on 01/02/19 @ https://www.rotherham.gov.uk/downloads/file/1407/independent_inquiry_cse_in_rotherham

Jordan, J. (2001). 'Worlds apart?' Women, rape and the police reporting process, *British Journal of Criminology*, 41(4): 679–706.

Jordan, J. (2004). Beyond belief? Police, rape, and women's credibility. *Criminal Justice*, 4(1): 29-59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466802504042222>

*Kanekar, S., Pinto, N.J.P. & Mazumdar, D. (1985) Causal and moral responsibility of rape and robbery. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 15(4): 622-637.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1985.tb00905.x>

Kelly, L., Lovett, J. & Regan, L. (2005). A gap or a chasm? Attrition in reported rape cases. *Home Office Research Study 293*. Retrieved from:

<https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110218141141/http://rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs05/hors293.pdf>

Kinicki, A.J., Hom, P.W., Trosm, M.R., & Wade, K.J. (1995). Effects of category prototypes on performance-rating accuracy. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 80: 354-370.

<https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.80.3.354>

Krahé, B. (1988). Victim and observer characteristics as determinants of responsibility attributions to victims of rape. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 18(1): 50-58.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1988.tb00004.x>

Leverick, F. (2020) What do we know about rape myths and juror decision making?

International Journal of Evidence and Proof, 24(3): 255-279.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1365712720923157>

Loman, L.A. & Larkin, W.E. (1976) Rejection of the mentally ill: an experiment in labeling.

Sociological Quarterly. 17: 555-560. [https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.1976.tb01722.x)

[8525.1976.tb01722.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.1976.tb01722.x)

* McCaul, K.D., Veltum, L.G., Boyechko, V. & Crawford, J.J. (1990). Understanding attributions of victim blame for rape: sex, violence, and foreseeability. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 20(1): 1-26. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1990.tb00375.x>

Maeder, E.M., Yamamoto, S. & Saliba, P. (2015). The influence of defendant race and victim

physical attractiveness on juror decision-making in a sexual assault trial. *Psychology, Crime, and Law*, 21(1): 62-79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1068316X.2014.915325>

<https://doi.org/10.1080/1068316X.2014.915325>

McFarlane, J. & Malecha, A, (2005). Sexual assault among intimates: Frequency,

consequences and treatments. Report for the US Department of Justice@

<https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/211678.pdf>

- Miller, J., Moeller, D., Kaufman, A., Divasto, P., Pathak, D., & Christy, J. (1978).
Recidivism among sex assault victims. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, *135*(9),
1103-1104. <https://doi.org/10.1176/ajp.135.9.1103>
- Nason, E.E., Rinehart, J.K., Yeater, E.A., Newlands, R.T., & Crawford, J.N. (2019). Prior
sexual relationship, gender, and sexual attitudes affect the believability of a hypothetical
sexual assault vignette. *Gender Issues*, *36*: 319-338. <https://doi.org/10.1007/S12147-018-9227-Z>
- *Pica, E., Sheahan, C.L., Pozzulo, J. (2020). Prior allegations of harassment impact on mock
jurors' perceptions of sexual harassment in a criminal trial. *Sex Roles*, *82*:541-549.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01076-2>
- Pollard, P. (1992). Judgments about victims and attackers in depicted rapes: A review.
Journal of Social Psychology, *31*: 307-326. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1992.tb00975.x>
- Radford, L., Corral, S., Bradley, C. & Fisher, H. (2013) The prevalence and impact of child
maltreatment and other types of victimization in the UK: Findings from a population
survey of caregivers, children and young people and young adults. *Child Abuse and
Neglect*, *37*(10): 801-813. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2013.02.004>
- Rind, B., Tromovitch, P. & Bauserman, R. (1998). A meta-analytic examination of assumed
properties of child sexual abuse using college samples. *Psychological Bulletin*, *124*: 22-
53. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.124.1.22>
- Rogers, P. & Davies, M. (2007). Perceptions of victims and perpetrators in a depicted child
sexual abuse case: Gender and age factors. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *22*(5):
566-584. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260506298827>

- *Rogers, P., Josey, N. & Davis, D. (2007). Victim age, attractiveness, and abuse history as factors in the perception of a hypothetical child sexual abuse case. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, **13**(2): 121-137. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552600701644835>
- * Schneider, L.J. (1992). Perceptions of single and multiple incident rape. *Sex Roles*, **26**(3/4): 97- 107.
- *Schult, D.G. & Schneider, L.J. (1991). The role of sexual provocativeness, rape history, and observer gender in perceptions of blame in sexual assault. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, **6**(1): 94-101. <https://doi.org/10.1177/088626091006001007>
- Shotland, R.L. & Straw, M.K. (1976). Bystander response to an assault: When a man attacks a woman. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **34**(5): 990-999. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.34.5.990>
- Smith, O., Daly, E., Herriott, C., & Willmott, D. (2021). State compensation as rape justice: are public attitudes a legitimate foundation for reform of the UK's Criminal Injuries Compensation Scheme? *Journal of Gender-Based Violence*. doi:10.1332/239868020x16057277095797
- *Sommer, S., Reynolds, J.J. & Kehn, A. (2016) Mock juror perceptions of rape victims: Impact of case characteristics and individual differences. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, **31**(17): 2847-2866. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260515581907>
- Spencer, B. (2016). The impact of class and sexuality-based stereotyping on rape bale. *Sexualization, Media and Society*, (April-June) <https://doi.org/10.1177/2374623816643282>.
- Temkin, J. & Krahé, B. (2008). *Sexual assault and the justice gap: A question of attitude*. Oxford: Hart Publishing.

- * Theimer, K. & Hansen, D.J. (2020). Attributions of blame in a hypothetical child sexual abuse case: Roles of behavior problems and frequency of abuse. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 35(11/12): 2142-2163. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260517716943>.
- Thornton, B. & Ryckman, R.M. (1983). The influence of rape victim's physical attractiveness on observers' attributions of responsibility. *Human Relations*, 36(6): 549-561. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872678303600604>
- Vine, J. & Wager, N. (2010). Lightning doesn't strike twice: Blame toward and believability of rape victims and the effects of prior sexual allegations. *BPS Psychology of Women Section Annual Conference*. Cumberland Lodge: Windsor (July 15th) (Poster Presentation).
- * Wager, N. (2019). An experimental investigation of the perceived credibility of complainants of sexual revictimization: Disbelief or victim-blame. *Violence and Victims*, 34(6): 992-1010. <https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708..>
- Walker, H.E., Freud, J.S., Ellis, R.A., Fraine, S.M. & Wilson, L.C. (2019). The prevalence of sexual revictimization: A meta-analytic review. *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse*, 20(1): 67-80. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838017692364>
- Willmott, D., Boduszek, D., Debowska, A., & Hudspith, L. (2021). Jury Decision Making in Rape Trials: An Attitude Problem? In G. Towl & D. Crighton (Eds.), *Forensic Psychology*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Willmott, D., Boduszek, D., Debowska, A. & Woodfield, R. (2018). Introduction and validation of the Juror Decision Scale (JDS): An empirical investigation of the Story Model. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 57:26-34. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2018.03.004>

- Winkel, F. W., & Koppelaar, L. (1991). Rape victims' style of self-presentation and secondary victimization by the environment: An experiment. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, **6**(1): 29-40. <https://doi.org/10.1177/088626091006001003>
- Workman, J. E., & Orr, R. L. (1996). Clothing, sex of subject, and rape myth acceptance as factors affecting attributions about an incident of acquaintance rape. *Clothing & Textiles Research Journal*, **14**(4): 276–284. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0887302X9601400407>
- Yamawaki, N., Darby, R., & Queiroz, A. (2007). The moderating role of ambivalent sexism: The influence of power status on perception of rape victim and rapist. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, **147**: 41-56. <https://doi.org/10.3200/SOCP.147.1.41-56>