

# Attrition of Cases of Sexual Offences from The Criminal Justice System of Sri Lanka; A Pilot Study

Izzath MHMA<sup>1\*</sup>, Kodikara S<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Office of the Judicial Medical Officer, District Base Hospital, Dambulla, Sri Lanka.

<sup>2</sup>Department of Forensic Medicine, Faculty of Medicine, University of Peradeniya, Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

## Abstract


**Introduction:** Attrition is a process by which cases dropout from the criminal justice system failing to reach a guilty verdict. The conviction rates in cases of sexual abuse are reported to be very low despite the rise in the number of reported cases, which indicates a higher rate of attrition. This paper reports a retrospective analysis of attrition in sexual offences by identifying the stages and characteristics associated with the loss of cases from the time of initial complaint to a verdict in court.

**Methods:** The research (retrospective descriptive cross-sectional study) utilized the police reports (n=427) of alleged sexual offences in the major crime registries in three police stations in the Polonnaruwa district from 01st of January 1998 to 31st of December 2007. The entries as of 01st of January 2020 were analyzed retrospectively.

**Results:** Most of the victims were female 94% (n=403) while all the perpetrators were male in this study. The observed types of alleged offences included 57% (n=242) rapes, 23% (n=98) grave sexual abuse, 14% (n=59) unlawful apprehensions, 4% (n=18) incest, and 2% (n=10) unnatural offences. As of 1st of January 2020, 21% (n=88) of cases have ended up in a conviction in a trial while 33% (n=141) of cases are pending at courts, and 46% (n=198) of cases were dropped out of the legal system. The overall rate of attrition was 46% (n=198) while 20% (n=87) at high courts, 16% (n=69) at magistrate courts and 10% (n=42) at police investigation level. There was a significant association demonstrated in attrition with the age of the victim, the age gap between the victim and perpetrator, delay in reporting of the offence, and type of offence.

**Conclusion:** A considerable number of cases are dropping out of the legal system at different attrition points and pending in courts for a long period of time. Further study revealed a significant association in attrition with characteristics of sexual offences.

**Keywords:** Attrition, sexual offences, conviction rates, criminal justice system, major crime registry

**Received:** 12 Dec 2022, **Revised version accepted:** 28 Dec 2022, **Published:** 31 Dec 2022. **\*Corresponding author:** Izzath MHMA, ✉ Email: [maizzath@gmail.com](mailto:maizzath@gmail.com)  **ORCID:** <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2749-9051>

**Cite this article as:** Izzath MHMA, Kodikara S. Attrition of Cases of Sexual Offences from The Criminal Justice System of Sri Lanka; A Pilot study. Medico-Legal journal of Sri Lanka. 2022;10(2):7-11.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4038/mlj.v10i2.7466>

**Copyright:** © 2019 with the Medico-legal Journal of Sri Lanka.



This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium provided the original author and source are credited.

## Introduction

Crimes of sexual nature violate both physical and psychological integrity of a person more than any other crime.[1] Prosecution and punishment of sexual offences have become a focal matter of discussion with increase in the number of sexual offences reported in each year. According to the UNICEF, the conviction rates are very low at around 1.5 to 2 percent between 2010 to 2015 in Sri Lanka indicative of a higher rate of attrition.[2]

Attrition is a process by which cases dropout from the criminal justice system at one of

the various potential exit points from that system.[3] These various potential exit points include from the time of reporting the crime to law enforcement, to failure to return a guilty verdict by the judiciary.[4] Therefore, in order to address the issue of low conviction rates in sexual offences, more insight is

warranted regarding the key stages of attrition and associated characteristics.

Several international studies have analyzed the stages and characteristics of attrition in cases of sexual offences,[4,5] but no studies have been conducted in the Sri Lankan context. The statistical data published by the police department provides a simple illustration of broad categories within a given year. This paper reports the findings of a retrospective longitudinal analysis of cases over a longer period with more detailed characteristics.

### Methodology

This is a retrospective descriptive cross-sectional study conducted utilizing police reports on sexual offences as the source of data. The recordings in the major crime registries in three police stations (Polonnaruwa, Aralaganvila, and Medirigiriya) in Polonnaruwa district from 01st of January 1998 to 31st December 2007 were obtained with the permission of the Senior Superintendent of Police, Polonnaruwa. All the complaints under the category of sexual offences were included in the study including convicted and pending trials at a court of law as of 01st of January 2020. The cases established as fabricated (n=24) were excluded from the study.

The data extracted from these registries through proformas entered in Microsoft Excel worksheets and chi square test of independence and Fishers exact test were carried out using Number Cruncher Statistical Systems (NCSS, Version 2020) to identify the relationship between forensic medical factors and attrition. The p-value of 0.05 or lower considered as significant.

The data in this retrospective study obtained from the police occurrence reports did not include identification details and the ethical clearance was obtained from the Ethical Review Committee of the District General Hospital, Polonnaruwa.

### Results

A total of 427 cases of alleged sexual offences (excluding 24 cases established to be fabricated) were reported to all three police stations during the 10-year study period from 1998 to 2007. The vast majority of the victims (94%, n=403) were female while all the perpetrators were male in this study. In 18% (n=76), the victims were over 16 years old while 20% (n=87) of victims were less than 12 years old, and 62% (n=264) of victims were aged 12 to 16 years. Approximately 01% (n=06) of those victims were either physically or mentally disabled.

The number of different types of sexual offences reported each year is summarised in Table 1, with rape and grave sexual abuse being the major type of offence. There was no notable change in the total number of reported cases during the study period.

Table 1. Sexual offences reported in each year between 1998 to 2007.

| Year | Rape<br>N = 242<br>n (%) | G. Sex A*<br>N = 98<br>n (%) | Appreh@<br>N = 59<br>n (%) | Incest<br>N = 18<br>n (%) | Un. Off#<br>N = 10<br>n (%) | Total<br>N = 427<br>n (%) |
|------|--------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1998 | 21 (09)                  | 02 (02)                      | 02 (03)                    | 04 (22)                   | 01 (10)                     | 30 (07)                   |
| 1999 | 29 (12)                  | 08 (08)                      | 08 (14)                    | 02 (11)                   | 02 (20)                     | 49 (11)                   |
| 2000 | 37 (15)                  | 04 (04)                      | 03 (05)                    | 01 (06)                   | 00 (00)                     | 45 (11)                   |
| 2001 | 38 (16)                  | 05 (05)                      | 08 (14)                    | 02 (11)                   | 00 (00)                     | 53 (12)                   |
| 2002 | 26 (11)                  | 09 (09)                      | 04 (07)                    | 01 (06)                   | 02 (20)                     | 42 (10)                   |
| 2003 | 20 (08)                  | 08 (08)                      | 08 (14)                    | 03 (17)                   | 01 (10)                     | 40 (09)                   |
| 2004 | 20 (08)                  | 15 (15)                      | 03 (05)                    | 00 (00)                   | 01 (10)                     | 39 (09)                   |
| 2005 | 13 (05)                  | 24 (24)                      | 08 (14)                    | 00 (00)                   | 01 (10)                     | 46 (11)                   |
| 2006 | 10 (04)                  | 14 (14)                      | 08 (14)                    | 04 (22)                   | 00 (00)                     | 36 (08)                   |
| 2007 | 28 (12)                  | 09 (09)                      | 07 (12)                    | 01 (06)                   | 02 (20)                     | 47 (11)                   |

\*Grave Sexual Abuse, @Apprehension, #Unnatural Offences

As of 2020, the number of cases that received a guilty verdict at a trial was 21% (n=88), while 33% (n=141) of cases are pending in magistrate/high courts or waiting for Attorney General's advice. The acquitted cases (n=24) on the basis of fabrication were excluded from the study and the cases received a verdict of not guilty on the basis of no evidence, conflicting evidence, not proven, etc. were considered as attrition. The shortest period that resulted in a guilty verdict from the date of the initial complaint was 263 days while the median was 1978 days (more than 5 years).

Conviction rates for different types of sexual offences were 16% (n=39) in rape, 33% (n=32) in grave sexual abuse, 15% (n=09) in apprehension, 28% (n=05) in incest, and 30% (n=03) in unnatural offences. The conviction rates of different types of sexual offences in each year between 1998 to 2007 are shown in Table 2 (rape, grave sexual abuse, and apprehensions) and Table 3 (incest and unnatural offences).

Table 2. Conviction rates of rape, grave sexual abuse, and apprehensions between 1998 to 2007

| Year | Rapes          |                     |            | Grave sexual abuse |                     |            | Apprehensions |                     |            |
|------|----------------|---------------------|------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------|---------------|---------------------|------------|
|      | Report#        | Convic <sup>®</sup> | Conv       | Report#            | Convic <sup>®</sup> | Conv       | Report#       | Convic <sup>®</sup> | Conv       |
|      | N=242<br>n (%) | N=39<br>n (%)       | rate*<br>% | N=98<br>n (%)      | N=32<br>n (%)       | rate*<br>% | N=59<br>n (%) | N=09<br>n (%)       | rate*<br>% |
| 1998 | 21 (09)        | 04 (10)             | 19         | 02 (02)            | 00 (00)             | 00         | 02 (03)       | 00 (00)             | 00         |
| 1999 | 29 (12)        | 07 (18)             | 24         | 08 (08)            | 01 (03)             | 01         | 08 (14)       | 00 (00)             | 00         |
| 2000 | 37 (15)        | 06 (15)             | 16         | 04 (04)            | 00 (00)             | 00         | 03 (05)       | 00 (00)             | 00         |
| 2001 | 38 (16)        | 06 (15)             | 16         | 05 (05)            | 02 (06)             | 40         | 08 (14)       | 00 (00)             | 00         |
| 2002 | 26 (11)        | 04 (10)             | 15         | 09 (09)            | 04 (13)             | 44         | 04 (07)       | 00 (00)             | 00         |
| 2003 | 20 (08)        | 03 (08)             | 15         | 08 (08)            | 02 (06)             | 25         | 08 (14)       | 02 (22)             | 25         |
| 2004 | 20 (08)        | 05 (13)             | 25         | 15 (15)            | 07 (22)             | 47         | 03 (05)       | 02 (22)             | 67         |
| 2005 | 13 (05)        | 01 (03)             | 08         | 24 (24)            | 06 (19)             | 25         | 08 (14)       | 00 (00)             | 00         |
| 2006 | 10 (04)        | 00 (00)             | 00         | 14 (14)            | 06 (19)             | 43         | 08 (14)       | 04 (44)             | 50         |
| 2007 | 28 (12)        | 03 (08)             | 11         | 09 (09)            | 04 (13)             | 44         | 07 (12)       | 01 (11)             | 14         |

#Reported, @Convicted, \*Conviction rate

Table 3. Conviction rates of incest and unnatural offences between 1998 to 2007.

| Year | Incest        |               |                 | Unnatural offences |               |                 |
|------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|
|      | Reported      | Convicted     | Conviction rate | Reported           | Convicted     | Conviction rate |
|      | N=18<br>n (%) | N=05<br>n (%) | %               | N=10<br>n (%)      | N=03<br>n (%) | %               |
| 1998 | 04 (22)       | 00 (00)       | 00              | 01 (10)            | 01 (33)       | 100             |
| 1999 | 02 (11)       | 02 (40)       | 100             | 02 (20)            | 00 (00)       | 00              |
| 2000 | 01 (06)       | 00 (00)       | 00              | 00 (00)            | 00 (00)       | 00              |
| 2001 | 02 (11)       | 00 (00)       | 00              | 00 (00)            | 00 (00)       | 00              |
| 2002 | 01 (06)       | 01 (20)       | 100             | 02 (20)            | 00 (00)       | 00              |
| 2003 | 03 (17)       | 01 (20)       | 33              | 01 (10)            | 00 (00)       | 00              |
| 2004 | 00 (00)       | 00 (00)       | 00              | 01 (10)            | 01 (33)       | 100             |
| 2005 | 00 (00)       | 00 (00)       | 00              | 01 (10)            | 00 (00)       | 00              |
| 2006 | 04 (22)       | 00 (00)       | 00              | 00 (00)            | 00 (00)       | 00              |
| 2007 | 01 (06)       | 01 (20)       | 100             | 02 (20)            | 01 (33)       | 50              |

#Reported, @Convicted, \*Conviction rate

Several key stages of attrition were identified in the 46% (n= 198) of cases dropped out of the criminal justice system failing to receive a guilty verdict. Varying factors resulted in attrition at the level of police investigations, at the magistrate courts level, and high courts level are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Attrition points and cited reasons.

| Reasons cited for attritions     | Police investigation | Magistrate Courts | High Courts   | Total           |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|
|                                  | stage                |                   |               |                 |
|                                  | N=42<br>n (%)        | N=69<br>n (%)     | N=87<br>n (%) | N= 198<br>n (%) |
| Victim marrying the perpetrator  | 07 (17)              | 12 (17)           | 29 (33)       | 48 (24)         |
| Not proved/Insufficient evidence | 00 (00)              | 04 (06)           | 24 (28)       | 28 (14)         |
| Withdrawals by the victim        | 04 (10)              | 10 (14)           | 06 (07)       | 20 (10)         |
| On Attorney General's advice     | 02 (05)              | 12 (17)           | 00 (00)       | 14 (07)         |
| No evidence                      | 02 (05)              | 01 (01)           | 10 (11)       | 13 (07)         |
| Nonparticipation of the victim   | 02 (05)              | 02 (03)           | 09 (10)       | 13 (07)         |
| Settlements                      | 02 (05)              | 07 (10)           | 01 (01)       | 10 (05)         |
| Death of the accused             | 03 (07)              | 07 (10)           | 00 (00)       | 10 (05)         |
| Accused not identified           | 10 (24)              | 00 (00)           | 00 (00)       | 10 (05)         |
| Conflicting evidence             | 04 (10)              | 03 (04)           | 03 (03)       | 10 (05)         |
| Death of the victim              | 03 (07)              | 05 (07)           | 01 (01)       | 09 (05)         |
| Consented                        | 01 (02)              | 01 (01)           | 01 (01)       | 03 (02)         |
| Reason not documented            | 02 (05)              | 05 (07)           | 00 (00)       | 07 (04)         |
| Victim cannot lead evidence      | 00 (00)              | 00 (00)           | 03 (03)       | 03 (02)         |

At the high court level, 20% (n=87) of total reported cases failed to end up in a guilty verdict and the rate of attrition in magistrate courts and police was 16% (n=69) and 10% (n=42) respectively. Another 19% (n=81) of cases are waiting for Attorney General's

advice pending at magistrate courts and 14% (n=60) in high courts. As of 01st January 2020, the average period of pending cases from the date of initial reporting of the offence was more than 16 years.

Several characteristics of the victim and forensic medical factors including the age and sex of the victim and the gap between the alleged incident and reporting date were analyzed to identify their relationship to attrition. Attrition rates in different age groups of victims are shown in Table 5, and the attrition rate was higher when the victims were more than 12 years old. A chi-square test of independence showed that there was a significant association between attrition and age group, X<sup>2</sup> (2, N = 427) = 38.044, p < .0001.

Table 5. Relationship between the age of the victim and attrition.

| Age of the victim       | More than 16 years | 12 to 16 years | Less than 12 years |
|-------------------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|
|                         | N=76<br>n (%)      | N=264<br>n (%) | N=87<br>n (%)      |
| Number of attritions    | 48 (63)            | 134 (51)       | 16 (18)            |
| Number of convictions   | 20 (26)            | 48 (18)        | 20 (23)            |
| Number of pending cases | 08 (11)            | 82 (31)        | 51 (59)            |

The relationship between the attrition and age gap between the victim and perpetrator is shown in Table 6. A chi-square test of independence showed that there was a significant association between attrition and the age gap between victim and perpetrator, X<sup>2</sup> (3, N=427) = 47.117, p < .0001. The rate of attrition was highest in cases where the age gap between the victim and perpetrator was less than 10 years.

Table 6. Relationship between the age of the perpetrator and attrition.

| The age difference between victim and perpetrator | 0 to 10 years        | 10 to 20 years | More than 20 years | Not known     |
|---|----------------------|----------------|--------------------|---------------|
|   | N=198<br>n (%)       | N=106<br>n (%) | N=73<br>n (%)      | N=50<br>n (%) |
|   | Number of attritions | 107 (54)       | 28 (26)            | 24 (33)       |
| Number of convictions                             | 29 (15)              | 32 (30)        | 18 (25)            | 09 (18)       |
| Number of pending cases                           | 62 (31)              | 46 (43)        | 31 (42)            | 02 (04)       |

The attrition rate was 47% (n=191) in female victims (total 403 reported cases) while 29% (n=07) in male victims (total 24 reported cases). A Fishers exact test showed that there was no significant association between attrition and gender (p=0.094>0.05). The relationship between the type of sexual offence and attrition is shown in the Table 7.

In cases where the alleged offence is apprehension (59 reported cases), the attrition rate was 59% (n=35) and 27% (n=26) in cases of alleged grave sexual abuse (98 reported cases). A chi-square test of independence showed that there was a significant

association between attrition and the type of sexual offence,  $X^2(4, N = 427) = 23.75, p < .0001$ .

Table 7. Attrition rates of different types of sexual offences.

| Type of sexual offence | Total reported<br>N=427<br>n (%) | Attritions<br>N=198<br>n (%) | Attrition rate<br>% |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| Apprehension           | 59 (14)                          | 35 (18)                      | 59                  |
| Rape                   | 242 (57)                         | 126 (64)                     | 52                  |
| Unnatural              | 10 (02)                          | 03 (02)                      | 30                  |
| GSA                    | 98 (23)                          | 26 (13)                      | 27                  |
| Incest                 | 18 (04)                          | 08 (04)                      | 13                  |

The time gaps between the time of the alleged incident and the time of initial reporting to the police are summarised in Table 8. The attrition rate has increased, and the conviction rate has reduced with the increase in the time gap. A Fishers exact test showed that there was a significant association between attrition and delay in reporting of the offence ( $p < .001$ ).

Table 8. Relationship between delay in reporting and attrition.

| Time of reporting after the alleged incident | Less than 3 days<br>N = 283<br>n (%) | 3 days to 2 weeks<br>N = 61<br>n (%) | More than 2 weeks<br>N = 83<br>n (%) |
|--|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Number of convictions                        | 64 (23)                              | 13 (21)                              | 11 (13)                              |
| Number of attritions                         | 110 (39)                             | 32 (52)                              | 56 (67)                              |
| Number of pending cases                      | 109 (38)                             | 16 (27)                              | 16 (20)                              |

**Discussion**

The study demonstrated no notable pattern of change in the number of reported cases of sexual offences in each year which included alleged rape, grave sexual offence, apprehension, incest, and unnatural offences during the 10-year study period. Most of the victims were female while all the perpetrators were male and the majority of those were serious charges of rape and grave sexual abuse. The largest proportion of victims, 62% (n= 264) belonged to the age group of 12 to 16 years old, which is in keeping with the findings of an observational study in Taiwan.[6]

According to the UNICEF country reports and statistics published by the police, the conviction rate in sexual offences in Sri Lanka is very low amounting to 1.5 to 2 percent.[2] However, this study revealed a much higher conviction rate of 21% of total cases (one in five cases) as of 01st of January 2020 which is at least 13 years after the initial reporting of the cases. The discrepancy is possibly

because the UNICEF reports and statistics published by the police had considered only the convicted cases during the relevant calendar year where court procedures had not been initiated in many cases. The conviction rates in many countries are reported to be considerably low, for example in New South Wales, 12% of offences reported in 2006 to police had resulted in a conviction by 2020. [7] The same trend of low conviction rate is noted in many European countries and attributed to a drastic increase in the reporting of sexual offences. [8] This observation warrants further research on the prevalence and reporting of sexual offences in Sri Lanka.

Three key stages of attrition were identified after the offence is reported to the authorities namely at the police investigative level and at trial levels in the magistrate courts or high courts. Attrition at the investigative level was one in ten reported cases (one in five cases of attritions). This is far less in comparison to one in two cases in Victoria during 2015/16 – 2016/17. [9] This observation indicates a possibility of non-reporting of cases by victims along with the finding of no drastic increase in the number of reported sexual offences in this study while many international studies have reported a drastic increase in the reporting of sexual offences.

The study revealed several reasons cited for attrition of sexual offences including marriage, acquittal in the courts due to insufficient evidence, withdrawals, non-participation by the victim, and prosecutors dropping the case citing insufficient evidence. The most cited reason for attrition was the marriage between the victim and perpetrator. It has been reported a significant number of underage girls are produced for medicolegal examination following eloping with their boyfriends and engaging in sexual intercourse as this amount to statutory rape. [10] The court of law allows them to marry at the age of eighteen before judgment is given. [10] These types of cases are likely to drop at the initial stages of the investigation. Given this study has demonstrated 60% (n=28) of cases of attrition due to marriage occurred at the high court level, raises a possibility of other factors resulting in the marriage between the victim and the alleged perpetrator.

Conviction rates for male and female victims were almost identical at 21%, however, the attrition rate was noted to be high in female victims (47% vs 29%). The number of male victims in this study was very low and there was no significant association between attrition and gender on Fishers exact test.

There was a significant association between attrition and the type of sexual offence. A higher rate of

attrition in cases of apprehension followed by alleged rape and incest was noted. Apprehension in essence would have no material evidence, which would explain the higher rate of attrition. However, in terms of alleged rapes, the observed higher attrition rates require further research to identify the reasons. One of the objectives in this study was to identify the relationship between attrition and forensic medical actors. However, except for very few cases, the records in police registries were highly inadequate (on details regarding medico-legal examinations and findings of examination and trace evidence analysis) which limited the scope of the study.

The highest number and proportion of attrition was noted in victims belonging to the 12 to 16 years age group and in cases where the age difference between the victim and perpetrator was less than 10 years. This phenomenon demonstrates the relationship between statutory rapes/elopes and a large number of cases dropping out of the criminal justice system not reaching a verdict.

The study aimed to identify the relationship between forensic medical factors at the time of the initial presentation of the victim and attrition. A higher conviction rate and lower attrition rate were noted as expected in cases with shorter intervals between the alleged incident and initial presentation. However, the records were insufficient to analyze the relationship between the presence/absence of medical evidence, trace evidence, and other forensic medical factors.

The major limitation of this study was not having a centralized source/database to obtain important data on cases of sexual offences. Many countries employ computerized databases to store the data and manage sexual offences which enabled research studies to shed light on attrition and its characteristics.

### Conclusions/recommendations

The study has clearly demonstrated that a considerable number of cases drop out of the legal system at different levels and pending in courts for a very long period. In order to address the issue, further insight on factors leading to attrition is necessary. However, the necessary data is scattered over many places including police, judicial medical units, and courts. We recommend establishing a centralised data recording mechanism with necessary legal provisions and data protection mechanisms and further research in this area.

### Disclosure statement

**Conflicts of Interest:** The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

**Funding:** None

### References:

1. Rao TSS, Banerjee D, Sawant NS, Narayan CL, Tandon A, Manohar S, Rao SS. Forensic and Legal Aspects of Sexuality, Sexual Offences, Sexual Dysfunctions, and Disorders. *Indian J Psychiatry* 2022;64(1):108-29.
2. Preventing Violence Against Children in Sri Lanka. Country Discussion Paper 2017. [cited on December 1, 2022] Available from: [http://www.developmentpathways.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Sri\\_Lanka\\_Report\\_WEB.pdf](http://www.developmentpathways.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Sri_Lanka_Report_WEB.pdf)
3. Olivia S. The attrition problem: The role of police officer's decision making in rape cases. *J. Investig. Psychol* 2022;19(3):135-50.
4. Murphy A, Hine B, Yesberg J, Wunsch D, Charleton B. Lessons from London: A contemporary examination of the factors affecting attrition among rape complaints. *Psychology, Crime & Law* 2022;28(1):82-114.
5. Marianne H, Sarah-JL. Rape investigation and attrition in acquaintance, domestic violence and historical rape cases. *J Investig Psychol Offender Profil.* 2017;14(2):175-88.
6. Chwo MJ, Huang SH, Huang YC, Lin IJ, Yu CP, Chung CH, et al. Sexual Assault Is the Biggest Risk Factor for Violence against Women in Taiwan-A Nationwide Population Cohort Study from 2000 to 2015. *Int J Environ Res Public Health* 2022; 19(6): 3473.
7. Judith C, Alan T, Patrick P. Fourteen-Year Trends in the Criminal Justice Response to Child Sexual Abuse Reports in New South Wales. *Child Maltreatment* 2020;25(1):85-95.
8. Reported and cleared rapes in Europe. Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention 2020. [cited on December 1, 2022] Available from: <https://bra.se/bra-in-english/home/publications/archive/publications/2020-09-30-reported-and-cleared-rapes-in-europe.html>
9. Bright S, Roach C, Barnaba L, Walker S, Millsteed M. Attrition of sexual offence incidents through the Victorian criminal justice system: 2021 Update. Melbourne: Crime Statistics Agency. 2021 [cited on December 1, 2022] Available from: <https://files.crimestatistics.vic.gov.au/2021-09/Crime%20Statistics%20Agency%20Attrition%20of%20sexual%20offence%20incidents%20through%20the%20criminal%20justice%20system.pdf>
10. Senanayake SMHMK. Reasons of female children for elope with boyfriends in Anuradhapura district of Sri Lanka. *Medico-Legal Journal of Sri Lanka* 2017;5(1):6-11.