



The cost of violence against women and their children in Australia

Final Detailed Report

This Final Detailed Report has been prepared for the
Department of Social Services

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KPMG have indicated within this report the sources of the information provided. We have not sought to independently verify those sources unless otherwise noted within the report.

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Violence against women and their children is a crime and a fundamental breach of human rights. Experiencing violence has significant implications for victims, their children, families, friends, employers and co-workers.

The implications of violence can include long term social, health, psychological, financial, and economic damage. Based on the 2012 Personal Safety Survey (PSS), KPMG estimates that the total cost of violence against women and their children is \$22 billion in 2015-16.

However, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, pregnant women, women with disability, and women experiencing homelessness are underrepresented in the PSS. Taking these groups fully into account may add \$4 billion to these costs in 2015-16.

”

Liz Forsyth

Global Lead: Human and Social Services
Deputy Chair, KPMG Australia

Glossary and Definitions of Terms

Term	Definition
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
Administrative data	Information that is recorded when women receive or access social or justice services after a violent incident. The recording process can differ for each state and territory, as well as for different service types. As the objective of these services is to provide varying forms of care, support and assistance, the recording of information is supplementary to this concern resulting in challenges for the consistency of information.
AIC	Australian Institute of Criminology. Australia's national research and knowledge centre on crime and justice.
AIHW	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. A national agency set up by the Australian Government under the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare Act 1987 to provide reliable, regular and relevant information and statistics on Australia's health and welfare.
ANROWS	Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety. An independent, not-for-profit company established as an initiative under Australia's National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010-2022. It is jointly funded by the Commonwealth and all state and territory governments of Australia, who are the members of the organisation.
CALD	People with a culturally and linguistically diverse background
COAG	Council of Australian Governments.
DALY	Disability Adjusted Life Year. DALYs are published by the United Nations World Health Organisation, and are used to estimate the burden of disease across an entire population.
DHS	Australian Government Department of Human Services.
Domestic and family violence	Broadly defined, domestic and family violence encompasses all forms of direct and indirect violence, in the form of physical, sexual and emotional violence and stalking, committed against women and their children in the context of domestic or family relationships. Due to definitional inconsistencies across jurisdictions, references to domestic and family violence reflect the nuances of their source location, data collection methods and respective organisation of their justice and service systems.
Emotional Abuse	Emotional abuse occurs when a person is subjected to certain behaviours or actions that are aimed at preventing or controlling their behaviour with the intent to cause them emotional harm or fear. These behaviours are characterised in nature by their intent to manipulate, control, isolate or intimidate the person they are aimed at. They are generally repeated behaviours and include psychological, social, economic and verbal abuse.
FDV	Family and Domestic Violence
Incidence	The number of violent incidents experienced by women and their children over a given period, irrespective of whether this is reported to

Term	Definition
police or recorded by service providers.	
LGA	Local government area
LGBTIQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Bisexual, Intersex and Queer
OSCAR	Office of Crime Statistics and Research for South Australia
Partner Violence	Partner violence refers to any incident of sexual assault, sexual threat, physical assault or physical threat, emotional abuse or stalking by a current and/or previous partner.
PC	The Australian Government's Productivity Commission
Physical Assault	Physical assault involves the use of physical force with the intent to harm or frighten a person. Assaults may have occurred in conjunction with a robbery and includes incidents where a person was assaulted in their line of work. This includes being: pushed, grabbed or shoved; slapped; kicked, bitten or hit with a fist; hit with an object or something else that could hurt a women; beaten; choked; stabbed; shot; or any other type of physical assault which involved the use of physical force with the intent to harm or frighten a women.
Physical Violence	Comprises of both the definition of physical assault and the threat of physical violence used in the PSS.
PSS	Personal Safety Survey, ABS Category Number 4906.0
Prevalence	The total number of women who have experienced violence in a 12 month period (annual prevalence) or since the age of 15 (lifetime prevalence). Where specified in the report, prevalence can relate to all violence against women, or more specific relationships between the victim and perpetrator, such as partner and non-partner violence.
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
NCAS	National Community Attitudes towards Violence Against Women Survey
NSW BOCSAR	New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
ROGS	Report on Government Services. The annual report provides information on the equity, effectiveness and efficiency of government services in Australia.
Reported violence (incidence)	The number of incidents reported to, and recorded by, police over a given period. Reported incidence can be measured through direct recording processes carried out in the course of police activity, or through survey respondents indicating the reporting of violence to police following an incident.
Sexual Assault	An act of a sexual nature carried out against a person's will through the use of physical force, intimidation or coercion, and includes any attempts to do this. This includes rape, attempted rape, aggravated sexual assault (assault with a weapon), indecent assault, penetration by objects, forced sexual activity that did not end in penetration and attempts to force a person into sexual activity. Incidents so defined would be an offence under State and Territory criminal law.
Sexual Violence	Comprises of both the definition of sexual assault and threat of sexual violence used in the PSS.
Stalking	Involves various behaviours, such as loitering and following, which the person believed were being undertaken with the intent to harm or frighten. To be classified as stalking more than one type of behaviour had to occur, or the same type of behaviour had to occur on more than one occasion. The definition of stalking is based on State and Territory

Term	Definition
	legislation. It is defined by a range of behaviours which the person believed were undertaken with the intent to harm or frighten
Survey data	Information about violence collected through national, jurisdictional and local surveys conducted specifically to gather data on domestic violence or vulnerable groups. Relevant national surveys draw on a sample of the broader or targeted population to estimate the prevalence of violence across Australia, in different jurisdictions and across other selected identifiers.
Threat of Physical Violence (physical threat)	An attempt to inflict physical harm or a threat or suggestion of intent to inflict physical harm, which was made face-to-face where the person believes it was able to and likely to be carried out. Physical threat includes incidents where a person was threatened in their line of work. It excludes: any incident of violence in which the threat was actually carried out and incidents which occurred during the course of play on a sporting field.
Threat of Sexual Violence (sexual threat)	Involves the threat of acts of a sexual nature, which were made face-to-face where the person believes it is able to and likely to be carried out.
VEMD	Victorian Emergency Minimum Dataset
Violence against women and their children	<p>Acts of direct and indirect harm caused to women and their children. As defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), this includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical violence • Sexual violence • Threat of physical violence • Threat of sexual violence • Emotional abuse • Stalking. <p>The ongoing effects of violence for women and their children are also included within this definition.</p>
WESNET	Women's Services Network. A national women's peak advocacy body which works on behalf of women and children who are experiencing or have experienced domestic or family violence.
WHO	United Nations World Health Organisation
WIRE	Women's Information and Referral Exchange Inc. A Victoria-wide free generalist information, support and referral service run by women for women
WSS	Women's Safety Survey, ABS Category Number 4128.0

Executive Summary

Understanding the total cost of violence against women and their children is critical to support the implementation of The National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children 2010-2022 (the National Plan)

- Violence against women and their children is a crime and a fundamental breach of human rights. It has significant and far-reaching implications for its victims, their children, their families and friends, and the broader Australian economy. It is estimated that in this year alone, over one million women have or will experience violence, emotional abuse and stalking. The implications of experiencing violence can include long term social, health, and psychosocial impacts, death, and broader financial and the economic impacts on individuals and the broader community and economy.
- Addressing the issue of violence against women and their children is complex, and will necessitate generational change and ongoing and targeted investment into long term solutions. The collective commitment by Commonwealth, state and territory governments made by the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) towards the development of the National Plan represented an important step towards developing a national approach to reducing the prevalence of violence.
- The National Plan identified the importance of establishing a more comprehensive and consistent evidence base to better inform policy decisions on a jurisdictional and national level. Significant momentum for change has also been created by Rosie Batty's extensive public awareness raising, the 227 recommendations from the Royal Commission into Family Violence (Victoria), and the release of the Queensland Government report and recommendations Not Now, Not Ever – Putting an End to Domestic and Family Violence in Queensland.
 - Recent studies have found that there are a number of key challenges to understanding the cost of violence, due to limitations in the data in understanding the prevalence and impacts of violence for specific cohorts, geographies, and forms of violence.
 - Our understanding of violence is also evolving – as new research, data and information is made available, the definition of violence is being refined and expanded.
- The purpose of this Technical Report is to progress the development of the evidence base informing The National Plan and the Third Action Plan 2016-2019 – Promising Results. For the purpose of comparability of results, the approach is consistent with previous work undertaken, however, has been expanded and updated to reflect the most recent prevalence information, data and research. **The Report updates and extends KPMG's 2009 calculations and analysis for Estimating the Cost of Violence Against Women and their Children.**

Our understanding of violence is evolving – including its forms, the settings within which it can occur, and its impacts

- Developing a greater understanding of trends in violence against women and their children, including its various forms and settings, is crucial to increasing awareness of its impacts and driving the reform agenda.
 - Following the publication of the original *Women's Safety Survey* by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) in 1996, there has been significant developments in the scope and scale of the evidence base, as well as the definition and understanding of 'violence' and its impacts on victims, perpetrators, governments, and the community.
 - Today, the evidence base also benefits from insights from sources such as the 2005 and 2012 ABS Personal Safety Survey, research and publications from the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW), the Productivity Commission (PC) *Report on Government Services* (ROGS), detailed incidence and service delivery data collected by state and territory governments, and various academic research and publications. Collectively, these data and information sources provide evidence around:
 - the prevalence and incidence of violence against women and their children;
 - information about different forms of violence and the settings in which violence occurs;
 - the demographic characteristics and traits of victims and their perpetrators;
 - the impacts of violence; and
 - in selected cases, patterns of reporting and non-reporting.
 - Importantly, there is a 'hidden' aspect of violence against women and their children in cases where victims do not report their experiences to the police, other authorities, service providers, or family and friends who can provide support and access to the appropriate services. The ABS *Personal Safety Survey* provides limited estimates of the extent of the level of non-reporting, however, other data and information sources (in particular jurisdiction based incidence data) do not capture these hidden aspects of violence.
- **Table 1 outlines estimates of prevalence of violence against women and their children, based on the 2012 PSS results over the 12 months prior to the survey.** Consistent with the PSS, the prevalence estimates avoid double counting in order to ascertain the total number of women who have experienced violence in a single year. The PSS has already performed this calculation for the primary categories of violence (identified in table 1 below). To continue this process for Emotional Abuse and Stalking, we establish the overlap between categories (based on data within the PSS) and applied a percentage reduction to the respective forms of violence.

Table 1: Prevalence estimates, based on the PSS 2012

Primary categories of violence	Prevalence estimates
Physical Assault	263,500
Physical Threat	188,900
Sexual Assault	87,800
Sexual Threat	17,600
Total (sexual and physical)	467,300
Additional categories of violence	Prevalence estimates

Primary categories of violence	Prevalence estimates
Emotional Abuse	272,650
Stalking	237,130
Total (including all violence categories)	Prevalence estimate without double counting
Total (including all violence categories)	1,033,910

Source: ABS Personal Safety Survey 2012; KPMG calculations.

- There is not one ‘single source of truth’ on the prevalence of violence, and although the PSS provides the most consistent source of information, there are limitations in the potential underrepresentation of different cohorts. While broad, the research has also identified that there are challenges with the fragmentation and consistency of data collection and reporting methods. This is evident when seeking to compare trends and impacts over time, comparing insights from different publications, and in seeking to understand the representation of specific groups of women and children experiencing violence, for example women of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent, pregnant women, women with disability and women experiencing homelessness. Contributing risk factors that may impact on the risk of women experiencing violence relate to three main areas, namely:
 - the relationship between demographic characteristics such as age and the risk of experiencing violence. For example, **young women between the ages of 18 and 24 face the highest risk of experiencing violence**, with 12.8 per cent of women in this age cohort having experienced violence over the last 12 months;¹
 - the relationship between level of remoteness and geography and the risk of experiencing violence. For example, **women who live in rural and remote areas of Australia face a higher risk of experiencing violence**, with both the 2012 PSS and the Australian Longitudinal Study on Women’s Health showing that a higher number of women in these areas have experienced partner violence compared to women living in capital cities;² and
 - the experience of socioeconomic advantage and disadvantage and the risk of experiencing violence. For example, there is evidence to suggest that indicators of socioeconomic status such as **level of educational attainment, household income, or employment status may impact on the vulnerability to experiencing violence**. However, the inconsistency of evidence across Australia reinforces that violence can happen to any individual in any circumstance.
- As a result of the limitations in available data, there are three key areas of consideration in interpreting the cost estimates outlined within this Report.
 - **Definition changes between the 2005 and 2012 PSS:** The 2012 PSS included an expanded definitional scope relative to 2005 that drove an increase in prevalence of emotional abuse and stalking (however, due to the reporting approach, it is not possible to attribute the change in emotional abuse and stalking based on the 2005 definition).
 - **Timeliness of data and information:** There are limitations in the timeliness of data reporting around violence against women and their children, with the 2012 PSS representing the most consistent source of prevalence information at a national level. The implication is that the cost estimates may not reflect the most recent trends and experience, and broader evidence should be considered alongside the cost estimates. Timeliness of data is a consistent theme in

¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey 2012*.

² Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey 2012* and Mishra, G. et al. 2014, *Health and Wellbeing of Women aged 18-23 in 2013 and 1996: Findings from the Australian Longitudinal Study on Women’s Health*.

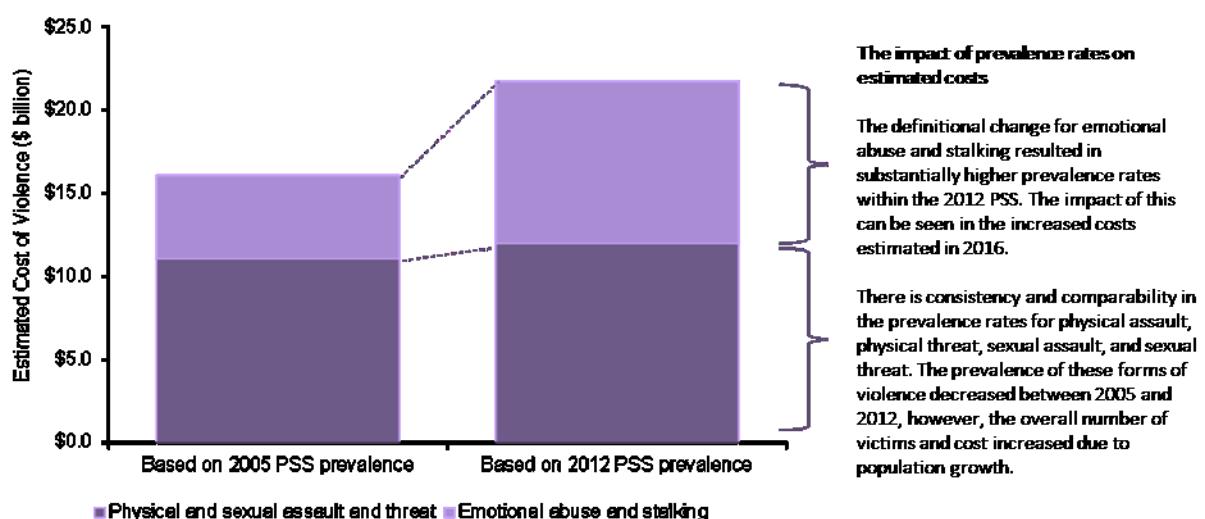
other research and publications around strengthening the evidence base. In addition, it is noted that the ABS is expected to publish the 2016 PSS later in 2017.

- **Trends in the rate of deaths as a result of violence against women and their children:** Within the overall prevalence of violence against women and their children, it is important to also consider the rate of deaths of women and their children that are attributable to violence.
 - o Timeliness of data on deaths of women and their children means that establishing evidence of recent trends is particularly challenging. In 2015, the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) published data on domestic violence related homicides over the period from 2002-03 to 2011-12. This research found that the rate of homicide was 1.8 per 100,000 of the population in 2001-02, and that this decreased to 1.1 per 100,000 by 2011-12, with the decrease found to be across all relationship types.³
 - o More recent data and media around the rates of deaths of women and their children is highly limited. Although there have not been updates to the AIC data since its 2015 publication, the Chief Executive Officer of Our Watch suggested in 2015 that the rate of deaths was increasing to two women per week, and Destroy the Joint, a community based website, estimated 79 deaths in 2015 (approximately 1.5 deaths per week) and 17 deaths to April 2016 (approximately 1.3 deaths per week).

Based on the prevalence estimated within the 2012 PSS, KPMG estimates that the total cost of violence against women and their children in Australia is \$22 billion in 2015-16

- **The cost of violence against women and their children has been estimated at \$22 billion**, with the costs attributable to the seven core cost categories detailed below. Significantly, this estimate captures the expanded understanding and measurement of emotional abuse and stalking included within the latest ABS PSS, which has resulted in an increase in the overall prevalence of violence. Figure 0-1 below shows the impact of this expanded definition between the 2005 and 2012 PSS prevalence rates on the estimated costs of violence against women and their children.

Figure 0-1: Estimated cost of violence based on 2005 and 2012 PSS prevalence rates



³ Australian Institute of Criminology 2015, *Domestic/family homicide in Australia*.

Source: KPMG calculations.

- **The most significant cost impact of violence to women and the economy is from pain, suffering and premature mortality, and is estimated at \$10.4 billion.** This reflects the significance of the ongoing health impacts of violence, including mental health problems and an increased risk of chronic illness and pain, reproductive health problems, as well as a higher likelihood of smoking, and alcohol and substance abuse.
- **The impact of violence on the private and public health systems is estimated to cost victims, their communities and government \$1.4 billion.** The increased demand for hospital and other health services can impact on the availability of service provision, as well as workforce requirements and levels of utilisation of facilities. As a result, substantial challenges may arise within the health system in planning and ensuring adequate care for victims, as well as the broader community.
- **The impact of violence against women and their children on production and the business sector is estimated to cost \$1.9 billion.** The most significant proportion of this cost was from victim absenteeism from paid and unpaid work and the inability to perform household tasks and voluntary work, which is estimated at \$860 million. In addition, it is estimated that perpetrator absenteeism will cost \$443 million and additional management costs, including search, hiring and training replacements, will total \$96 million.
- **The experience of violence can substantially affect a victim's economic opportunities, which is reflected in the significance of costs associated with consumption related activities, estimated to cost \$4.4 billion.** In particular, the impact of loss of economies of scale due to the breakdown of larger households as well as the financial consequences of substantial property damage can have a compounding effect by increasing disadvantage and financial inequality.
 - Emerging research into 'economic abuse' also indicates that where economic inequality and financial control within partner relationships exist, the victim (or their family and friends) may bear significant additional consumption costs. The control of economic resources by one partner can impact the long-term financial security and independence of women and their children.
- **The second generational impacts from violence against women and their children is estimated to cost the Australian economy \$333 million.** Children who are exposed to acts of abuse or violence in the home experience significant lifelong impacts, including potential psychological and behavioural issues, child abuse, health issues, and other impacts on wellbeing and development. Over the longer term, this may contribute to impacts on economic outcomes, including reduced productivity, additional welfare provision, medical costs, and unemployment.
- **The impact of violence against women and their children on the justice, services and funeral sectors is estimated to cost the Australian economy \$1.7 billion.** These services are critical for reducing the prevalence of violence and promoting preventative approaches. As such the increased cost for these services linked with measurable outcomes can be understood as an important step in effectively punishing perpetrators and providing women with the support they require in times of need.
- **Transfer costs resulting from violence against women and their children are estimated to cost the Australian economy \$1.6 billion.** These costs are associated with transfer payments, and the associated cost to government in administering taxation revenue – these include:
 - loss of income tax of victims/survivors, perpetrators and employers;
 - additional induced social welfare payments; and

- victim compensation payments and other government services.
- The distribution of the total estimated costs of violence against women and their children differs across States and Territories. However, based on the prevalence estimates for each jurisdiction with the PSS, this difference is broadly consistent with population levels. Chart 1 below summarises the estimated cost of violence across the jurisdictions.

Chart 1: The estimated cost of violence against women and their children, by jurisdiction (\$ million)



Source: KPMG calculations.

Accounting for potential underrepresentation of prevalence within the PSS for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, pregnant women, women with disability, and women experiencing homelessness, may result in an additional \$4 billion to the cost of violence against women and their children in Australia in 2015-16.

- To provide a greater evidence base around the different patterns of experience across cohorts, KPMG has undertaken supplementary research and analysis, including the preparation of high level analysis to illustrate the cost implications of potential underrepresentation of these cohorts within the ABS PSS.
 - While women across all cohorts, geographies, and settings can experience violence, more recent developments in research and data suggest that women across specific cohorts, geographies, and settings may face a higher risk of experiencing violence over their lifetime.⁴ These cohorts include, but are not limited to, women of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander

⁴ In support of the main cost estimates, KPMG has undertaken detailed supplementary research and analysis to compare and contrast the available evidence. In addition, KPMG has drawn on this evidence to provide illustrations of the potential costs of violence for women across different cohorts and settings. These costs are provided for illustrative purposes and should be considered alongside the limitations in the scope and scale of the underlying data, as outlined in the main body of the Report.

background, women who are homeless, women from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds, and pregnant women.

- Importantly, in some cases, the scope and scale of the prevalence estimates within the ABS PSS may not fully represent these heightened risks across particular cohorts of women. This means that the central cost estimates may underestimate the full extent of costs associated with violence against women and their children in Australia.
- As part of the development of this Report, KPMG has undertaken a package of detailed supplementary analysis with the objective of providing a more comprehensive view of prevalence and impacts across these different cohorts and settings, as a means to complement the main costing analysis and the estimates of prevalence within the ABS PSS. This has involved a number of key packages of work, including:
 - o supplementary data collection and research to highlight differential experience in the prevalence of violence against women and their children, as a means to compare and contrast across cohorts and relative to the ABS PSS;
 - o consideration of the potential impacts and drivers of this experience, drawing on broader domestic and international research; and
 - o the preparation of illustrative estimates of the extent to which the costs of violence against women in these cohorts may be underrepresented, based on the difference between the prevalence identified within the broader research, and that which is implied through the ABS PSS.
- Illustrative estimates of the additional costs, based on available evidence of underrepresentation of prevalence within the PSS, has been undertaken for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, pregnant women, women with disability, and women experiencing homelessness.⁵ In addition, qualitative research is also provided within the main body of the report around broader cohorts where data was insufficient to estimate these additional costs.
- The supplementary cost estimates should be considered preliminary, and in conjunction with the supporting research and the limitations outlined in the main body of the report. However, it is suggested that they are conservative estimates, specifically, because they do not consider:
 - o the extent of potential underreporting of violence;
 - o the potential need for more intensive service provision and support in the event of experiencing violence; and
 - o potential underrepresentation of broader cohorts where data was not sufficient to undertake a similar estimation, for example women from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds, and women who identify as LGBTIQ.
- Going forward, it will be critical that there is additional work undertaken by governments and the sector to improve the understanding of these differential patterns of violence and the associated impacts.
- **Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are at a significantly higher risk of experiencing violence over the course of their life. Underrepresentation in the prevalence of physical and sexual**

⁵ These estimates have been based on the available evidence in respect of prevalence, together with the average cost of violence per victim estimated through the main costing exercise. They are illustrative in nature and are subject to limitations that are outlined in detail within the main body of our report.

violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women within the PSS may result in an additional \$1.2 billion in costs.

- The 2008 ABS National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey found that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are at least four times more likely to experience violence than the rest of the population, with approximately 23 per cent of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women experiencing physical violence in a 12 month period, as opposed to 4.6 per cent for non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women.⁶
- There is also significant underreporting of sexual and physical assault among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. Research suggests that approximately 88 per cent of violence experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is not disclosed to police, with a further study suggesting non-reporting may be as high as 90 per cent.⁷
- **Research has found that the risk of violence against women is higher for women during pregnancy and in the period after childbirth. It is estimated the cost of violence against pregnant women is approximately \$821 million.**
 - The 2012 PSS found that 21.7 per cent of women reported experiencing violence during pregnancy, and that for 13.3 per cent of women, the violence occurred for the first time during pregnancy.⁸ While this figure is relatively high, it represents a decrease from the 2005 rate of 16.8 per cent.⁹
 - These results are significant, given that the presence of domestic violence during pregnancy and childbirth heightens the vulnerability of pregnant women. In these cases, violence against women may also have critical implications on the health and safety of the pregnant mother, the unborn child, and the long term physical and psychological health of the mother and child.
- **Women with disability face a higher risk of experiencing violence, and are also likely to experience violence at a more severe level and over a longer period. It is estimated that the cost of violence against women with disability is approximately \$1.7 billion.**
 - Broadly speaking, people with a disability are more vulnerable in society, due to diminished or limited physical, cognitive, and intellectual capacity, as well as greater dependence on others for financial and physical support. It has been suggested that women with disabilities are 40 per cent more likely to be the victims of domestic violence than women without disabilities, and more than 70 per cent of women with disabilities have been victims of violent sexual encounters at some time in their lives.¹⁰
 - Research suggests that women with disability may also face barriers to reporting violence and seeking support, with contributing factors likely to include financial or care dependency, or limited ability to access appropriate services without the intervention of a carer or family member.
- **One out of three individuals who seek specialist homelessness services results from experiencing domestic violence. It is estimated that women with who experience homelessness as a result of violence costs the victim, their communities and the Australian economy approximately \$407 million.**

⁶ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2008, *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey 2008*.

⁷ Australian Institute of Criminology 2003, *Non-recording and Hidden Recording of Sexual Assault*.

⁸ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey*.

⁹ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2005, *Personal Safety Survey*.

¹⁰ Brownridge, D. 2006, 'Partner violence against women with disabilities: Prevalence, risks and explanations', *Violence against Women and Frohmader, C. 2014, 'Gender Blind, Gender Neutral': The effectiveness of the National Disability Strategy in improving the lives of women and girls with disabilities.*

- Detailed service data from AIHW which identifies the reason for women accessing women's homeless shelters and refuges established that one in three individuals required assistance from specialist homelessness service organisations due to domestic violence, with 64 per cent of victims being female.
- Between 2011-12 and 2014-15, the number of women accessing community services increased by 16 per cent. This is partly the result of an increase in service provision, particularly in Victoria. Across the same time period, single parent households with a child or children accounted for the majority of this increase in the request for services. The most common reason why women accessed community services was for short term or emergency accommodation (42 per cent), followed by material and aid brokerage (37 per cent).

Continued focus on improvements to the scope and scale of the evidence base is required to support the reform agenda

- On the basis of the analysis undertaken in this Report, KPMG has prepared a high level roadmap of key considerations to assist the Department of Social Services (DSS) in identifying the steps required to support the continued implementation of the National Plan and the development of the Third Action Plan. The roadmap considers five areas for consideration in expanding and strengthening the evidence base over time.
 - 1 **Collaboration and integration of reporting across jurisdictions** – there are substantial differences in the reporting of violence and administrative data collection between states and territories which largely reflects their respective legal and social services systems. While it is important to consider the needs of local reporting requirements, it is critical that more consistent data collection and collation activities across the States and Territories is in place, including the identification and measurement of violence to better underpin comparative analysis of the nature, risk and impact of violence across areas. Specifically:
 - a more consistent understanding of both the prevalence and incidence of violence against women is pivotal to understanding the trends in violence and the individual and societal cost of violence; and
 - greater consistency of definitions, reporting methods, and the collection of data across the jurisdictions will improve the comparability of trends over time.
 - 2 **Strengthening our understanding of the economic impacts of violence** – understanding the prevalence and incidence of violence, as well as opportunities to further refine and extend methodological approaches to estimating the cost of violence will be important to supporting evidence-based policy decisions. Over time, this can include:
 - refinements to sector specific costs as data of greater consistency is made available across the jurisdictions on the cost of delivering health care and justice services;
 - understanding the impact on economic abuse on the financial security and independence on women experiencing violence; and
 - ongoing refinements to the costing approach to determine cost differentials for vulnerable and diverse cohorts of women experiencing violence.
 - 3 **Strengthening our understanding of the impact of socio-demographic and geographic characteristics** – understanding the interdependencies between socio-demographic and geographic factors is pivotal to mapping the experience and impact of violence across cohorts. This can include:

- the identification of key demographic cohorts and relationship between socio-demographic characteristics, geography, and the experience of violence; and
 - developing an understanding of optimal services and supports for women experiencing violence in these cohorts.
- 4 Strengthening our understanding of the risk of experiencing violence by vulnerable groups –** recognition of the different level of risk faced by vulnerable cohorts in experiencing violence over the course of their life is important to developing opportunities for targeted services and more informed policy making. This can include:
- further analysis into the cohorts that have been found to face a higher risk of experiencing violence, while acknowledging that for many of these cohorts, the heightened risk is in line with trends for other areas of demand within the human services sector; and
 - ongoing research into the experience of violence for vulnerable cohorts, with each of these groups requiring targeted research, data and analysis to determine relevant drivers, impacts and trends.
- 5 Strengthening our understanding of the linkages and impacts on the broader services system –** recognition of the intersections the experience of violence has with other areas of the service system, for example service provision for homelessness, mental health, and the justice sector is important to better inform holistic policy decision making.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Violence against women and their children is a crime and a fundamental breach of human rights.¹¹ It is a social harm that continues to persist in Australia and around the world. In Australia, around one in three women has experienced physical violence, and almost one in five has experienced sexual violence since the age of 15.¹² Violence can take place in a range of different settings and forms, and includes (but is not limited to) physical and sexual abuse and assault, threats of physical and sexual abuse and assault, emotional abuse, economic abuse, and stalking.

The implications of experiencing violence are significant and far-reaching for its victims, their children, families, friends, employers and co-workers. Experiencing violence can result in long term social, health, psychological, financial, and economic impacts on individuals.¹³ While some impacts of violence can be directly measured, there are also significant indirect impacts. Many women and their families experience social, health, and psychological suffering in the years and decades that follow violence and abuse, with higher levels of anxiety, depression and fear often continuing to impact the lives of women on a daily basis.¹⁴ There are also significant second generation impacts as the children of victimised women become the ‘silent victims’ of violence.

Importantly, the experience of violence is not identical across cohorts and geographies. There is a growing body of evidence suggesting that the risk and impact of violence is, in many cases, more significant among vulnerable women. Women identified as vulnerable include Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women¹⁵, women from a culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) background¹⁶, pregnant women, women with disability and women who have experienced homelessness as a result of violence.¹⁷

A number of recent studies have estimated the cost of violence against women and their children on individuals, governments, and the broader society. However, despite substantial developments in research and analysis around the nature, risk and impact of violence, there remains scope for more work. Additional work could create a better understanding of the prevalence of violence among different cohorts, key contributing risk factors that may increase vulnerability to experiencing violence, as well as the extent of unreported violence and the barriers that may prevent women from seeking help and support.

¹¹ CEDAW Committee, General Recommendation No. 19: Violence against Women, UN Doc. A/47/38 (1992), para 7, URL: www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/recommendations/recomm.htm, Accessed: 10 March 2016.

¹² Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey 2012*.

¹³ The National Council to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2009, *Background Paper to Time for Action: The National Council's Plan for Australia to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children, 2009-2021*.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Department of Parliamentary Services 2014, *Domestic, Family and Sexual Violence in Australia: an Overview of the Issues*, URL: parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/3447585/upload_binary/3447585.pdf;fileType=application/pdf, Accessed: 10 March 2016.

¹⁶ Department of Social Services (DSS) 2011, *Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Women and the National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children*.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Addressing the issue of violence against women and their children is complex, and will necessitate generational change and ongoing and targeted investment into long term solutions. The collective commitment by Commonwealth, state and territory governments made in recent Council of Australian Governments (COAG) meetings towards reducing the extent of violence across Australia has been well recognised by key stakeholders as an important step towards achieving this outcome.

1.2 The policy context in Australia

Recognition of the significant and lifelong impacts of violence against women and their children, has driven a number of important policy developments to help address this issue. The National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010-2022 ('the National Plan') represents the most significant recent reform. The National Plan is the first plan to coordinate the individual approaches of individual state and territory governments across Australia. The National Plan consists of four discrete three-year plans, with an overarching strategy and set of directives to be implemented in the period from 2010 to 2022.

The National Plan and the Second Action Plan (2013-2016) both recognise the far-reaching impacts, and the substantial costs, of violence and abuse against women and their children in Australia. These two plans also represent significant steps towards addressing issues within the broader system of services and support for women experiencing violence. The five key national priorities identified in the Second Action Plan are:

- driving whole-of-community action to prevent violence
- understanding diverse experiences of violence
- supporting innovative services and integrated systems
- improving perpetrator interventions
- continuing to build the evidence base.

In particular, the Second Action Plan aims to consolidate the evidence base around the strategies undertaken prior to, and within, the First Action Plan.

In addition to the National Plan, additional funding packages were announced during 2015. In March 2015, the Commonwealth and state governments announced a jointly-funded \$30 million awareness campaign. In September of the same year, the Government outlined an additional \$100 million funding package for women and children with a high risk of experiencing violence. This package resulted from the recommendations of the COAG Advisory Panel of Reducing Violence against Women and their Children. The package includes investments in frontline support services and resources for community education to change attitudes to violence and abuse. At the state and territory level, a number of initiatives were also established in conjunction with the National Plan, including the following:

- In 2014, the NSW Government announced the It Stops Here: Domestic and Family Violence Framework, aiming to improve the way government agencies and non-government organisations respond to, and prevent domestic and family violence in NSW. This was supported with additional funding and was implemented in conjunction with the Domestic Violence Justice Strategy.
- The National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS) was based on a questionnaire developed and implemented in 1987 and 1995 by the then Commonwealth Office of the Status of Women. It was adapted by VicHealth for implementation in Victoria in 2006 and nationally in 2009 (the latter in partnership with the Australian Government). The Australian Government funded the last two surveys in 2009 and 2013 and is funding the 2017 survey.

- Increased public awareness about violence against women and their children also prompted the 2015 Royal Commission into Family Violence in Victoria. The Royal Commission submitted its report on 30 March 2016, putting forward 227 recommendations “directed at improving the foundations of the current system, seizing opportunities to transform the way that we respond to family violence, and building the structures that will guide and oversee a long-term reform program that deals with all aspects of family violence.”¹⁸ The Victorian Premier, Daniel Andrews, has promised to implement all of the recommendations.
- In 2015, the Queensland Government announced the release of the Special Taskforce on Domestic Violence in Queensland report *Not Now, Not Ever*. Chaired by Quintin Bryce, the Taskforce undertook extensive consultation, research and community engagement activities to identify the scope and structure of the problem of violence and provide comprehensive recommendations for a state wide prevention model.

The National Plan, in conjunction with state and territory-based initiatives, speaks to, and further influences, the changing nature of attitudes to violence against women and their children, and the public impetus for change as a key driver for addressing the problem. This growing public understanding of violence against women and their children is particularly relevant given the importance of shifting cultural attitudes to successfully address violence against women and their children.¹⁹

1.3 Purpose and scope of this Report

The purpose of this Report is to update KPMG’s 2009 report and analysis, *The Cost of Violence against Women and their Children*. This Report also seeks to enhance, refine, and extend the previous approach to better contribute to the evidence base for the implementation of the National Plan and the development of the Third Action Plan 2016-2019 – Promising Results (‘the Third Action Plan’).

Specifically, this Report seeks to:

- discuss the strengths and limitations of earlier approaches, and outline the methodological refinements that have been made to better account for the complexity of the issues and the scope of available data and information
- outline all available sources of data and information, including key limitations in the nature, scope and scale of data for the costing exercise
- document the research undertaken to date to support the development of the evidence base, including, but not limited to, targeted case studies on vulnerable and at-risk cohorts of women
- develop an evidence base to understand the impacts of violence, and the costs that are borne by individuals, the broader community, and governments over time, through an update of the cost estimates developed in the 2009 report.

1.4 Structure of this Report

The remainder of the Report is structured as follows:

¹⁸ Royal Commission into Family Violence 2015, *Report and Recommendations*, <http://www.rcfv.com.au/Report-Recommendations>, Accessed: 30 March 2016.

¹⁹ TNS Australia 2015, *Reducing violence against women and their children: Research informing the development of a national campaign*, URL: www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/11_2015/dss_violence_against_women_public_report.pdf, Accessed: 10 March 2016.

- Section 2 provides an overview of the approach, including key considerations in the development of the methodology and key inputs required.
- Section 3 outlines the costs of violence against women and their children across seven core cost categories, and includes detailed analysis for the drivers for each.
- Section 4 discusses the experience of violence across different cohorts and geographies, and includes detailed case studies on cohorts identified to be of greater vulnerability to experiencing violence, as well as the contributing risk factors that may increase the risk of experiencing violence.
- Section 5 provides a roadmap of key considerations for the Department of Social Services (DSS) and other key government stakeholders to support the continued implementation of the National Plan and the development of the Third Action Plan.
- A series of appendices provide additional detail on the trends in violence against women in Australia and the Australian policy context, as well as a full list of data sources, an overview of the domestic and international literature reviewed, and the set of core assumptions used in the costing exercise.

2Overview of the approach

2.1 Overview

There is increasing public awareness of the occurrence of violence against women and their children, and the consequent social and economic costs to victims and the broader community. This is a result of major developments in the reform agenda over recent years, in addition to high profile visibility across the community and in the corporate and government sectors. Events such as Rosie Batty's Australian of the Year Award in 2015 and her extensive efforts in raising public awareness, have contributed to this increasing profile. At the same time, Commonwealth and state and territory leaders have provided endorsement and support through a number of channels. These include the National Research Agenda, a significant body of research to inform the development of a national campaign in November 2015, the family and domestic violence strategy for the Department of Human Services (DHS), and the Male Champions of Change Program.

These developments have added significant momentum to the case for reform and underscore the approach across governments to the development and implementation of short and long term reform initiatives. They have contributed to developments in the community's understanding of different forms of violence and abuse, and their impacts. Continuing to support and inform the reform efforts will require continual developments in the underlying evidence base to ensure that policies and programs are well-informed and targeted to areas and cohorts of women and children most in need of support.

Within this context, KPMG has sought to develop a comprehensive approach to the analysis of the costs of violence against women and their children as part of this study. The following sections provide details on the analytical approach, limitations, and key considerations. Where relevant, additional detail – in particular data sources and key assumptions – is provided in supporting appendices.

2.2 Development of the methodology

In recognition of the challenges and limitations in the evidence base, and with the objective of building on the outcomes of previous research and analysis, KPMG undertook a series of detailed packages of research and consultation to support the development of the approach to this study. Throughout these activities, we ensured that the approach and the analysis outcomes fully reflect the available evidence base, whilst also enabling comparisons to previous research, and recognising and responding to the limitations in this evidence.

Specifically, we undertook three key packages of work with the support of, and in consultation with, the Department, including:

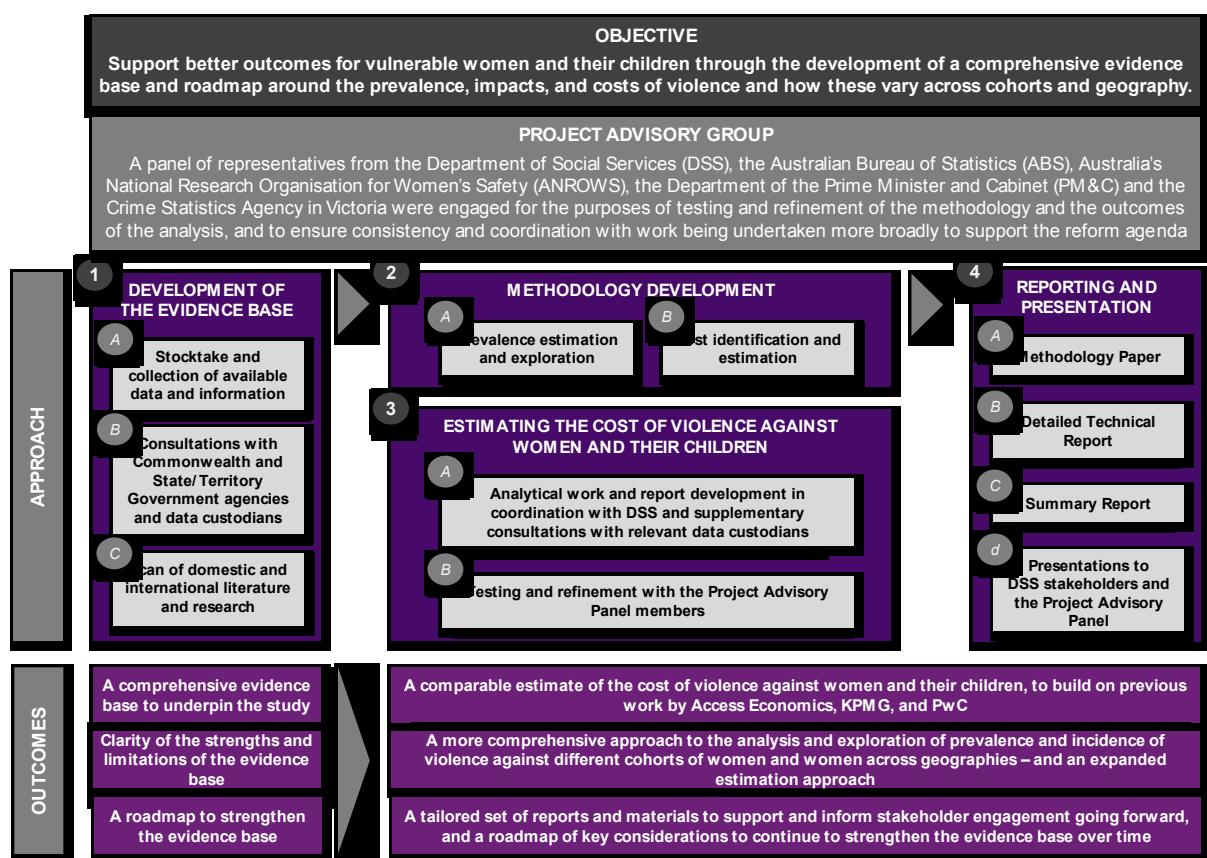
- A comprehensive stocktake of the data and information sources used in previous studies, as well as an appraisal of the strengths and limitations of these sources.
- Consultations with key stakeholders from the Commonwealth and state and territory governments, as well as relevant data agencies (including the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW), and Australia's National Research

Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS). The consultations resulted in a better understanding of:

- the scope and scale of available data (including potential sources of unpublished data)
- the comparability and consistency of measures across agencies and across jurisdictions
- the strengths and limitations of the available data and potential data collection or data management initiatives underway within and/or across agencies.
- A scan of domestic and international literature and research with a particular focus on recent emerging research, to identify additional areas of consideration, and support and update important assumptions within the analysis. A list of the sources is contained in Appendix E.

Together, these packages of work have shaped and underpinned all aspects of the approach and outcomes of this study, and are summarised **Error! Reference source not found.** below.

Figure 2-1: Overview of our method



Source: KPMG.

The section below provides a summary of the primary insights from the background work undertaken to support the development of the approach. The appendices contain detailed supplementary information relating to the various packages of background work.

Important insights from the evidence base development

As outlined above, KPMG undertook a broad package of work in consultation with the Department and other key stakeholders. We gathered available domestic and international evidence, assessed its strengths and limitations, and developed a comprehensive approach that recognised and responded to critical issues. The following points summarise the most critical considerations identified as part of this work.

There is not a ‘single source of truth’ within the evidence base that provides sufficient detail on the prevalence and impacts of violence associated with specific cohorts, geographies, and forms of violence.

- There have also been changes in the understanding, definition, and measurement of different forms of violence and abuse over time, making it difficult to make consistent comparisons of changes in prevalence rates observed over time. For example, the definitional change for emotional abuse and stalking in the ABS Personal Safety Survey 2012 (PSS), creates challenges when comparing the results of the 2005 and 2012 PSS.
- Different forms of violence are not mutually exclusive. There is evidence that women can often experience different forms of abuse and threats, and that the impacts of different forms of abuse and threats can be interdependent and self-reinforcing.
- In some circumstances, women experiencing violence may not report incidents to police or other authorities. Women may also self-censor information provided to surveys conducted for statistical publications such as the PSS, the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey, and other research studies. Although there are some estimates available of non-reporting, these are difficult to both verify in aggregate, and estimate for specific cohorts of women.
- Prevalence and incidence are captured and reported separately and in different ways across different datasets. This means there are significant challenges in reconciling these different measures to understand the concentration of violence across different cohorts and geographies, and how this has changed over time. Specifically, prevalence data is based on population-level studies across Australia, while incidence data is primarily based on reported crime data collected at a jurisdictional level.

Notwithstanding the above, we conducted a set of consultations with key stakeholders to test and confirm the findings of the data analysis. We conducted consultations with ABS, AIHW, ANROWS, the Crime Statistics Agency Victoria, the Justice and Community Safety Directorate for the Australian Capital Territory (ACT), and the Office for Women in South Australia. Through the consultations, we developed a number of important insights aimed at better leveraging the evidence base within this study and in similar research. Our insights include the following:

- The PSS, funded by the Department and undertaken by the ABS, is cited as a source providing some of the most consistent information on violence against women across Australia. However, considering the length and complexity of the survey, there are limitations to the PSS associated with the representation of particular cohorts of women (e.g. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and women from a CALD background) within the statistics. This is due to the significance of the sample size underpinning the survey development, the difficulty in gaining effective access to communities and vulnerable individuals, and language and cultural challenges that can mean there are communication barriers with researchers.
- As a result of the limitations of the PSS, we undertook additional exploration of other data and information sources, and supporting research, relevant to specific cohorts and geographies. We intended to identify the available evidence and assess how best to leverage this evidence in expanding and refining the insights from the PSS.
- Through the above approach, we identified additional data and evidence to explore the prevalence, nature and impact of violence against women and children for the following cohorts:
 - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women
 - women from a CALD background
 - pregnant women

- women identifying as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex or queer (LGBTIQ)
- women with disability.
- We identified further opportunities for data analysis through key reports developed by state and territory crime statistics bureaus e.g. the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (BOCSAR) and Victorian Crime Statistics Agency and relevant government agencies, particularly in relation to available information within family violence databases. This data provides insights into such areas as hospital visitation in emergency departments, victim helplines and counselling programs and men's behaviour change programs. Where possible and appropriate, we leveraged this data to provide additional insights into the programs and services provided at a jurisdictional level to women who have experienced violence.

There are significant variations in the level of reported incidence of violence to police across different geographic cohorts, with different jurisdictions experiencing varied levels of increase in reported incidence and rates of violence per 100,000 persons. It is important to identify the different trends, drivers and targeted characteristics of violence in each state and territory. For example:²⁰

- Northern Territory's reported criminal incidents of violence involving domestic violence increased from approximately 3,480 in 2010 to 3,970 in 2015, with a peak in 2013 of 4,840, with over half of all domestic violence involving alcohol.
- Victoria's recorded family incidents of violence against women has increased from 31,590 in 2010-11 to 54,376 in 2014-15, with a 9.2 per cent increase in the previous 12 months. Importantly, this does not necessarily reflect a higher level of violence across the state, but rather an increase in violence *reported* to the police. This variation likely reflect changes in the Victoria Police's business practices during this period.
- NSW's reported criminal incidence of domestic violence related assault has marginally increased from 26,748 incidents in 2010-11 to 28,939 in 2014-15, however in the same time period, the incidence of sexual assault has increased from 557 to 865 with an 11.6 per cent increase in the previous two years.
- Across states and territories, there is a relationship between different indicators of socioeconomic status (e.g. the level of household income and the level of educational attainment) and the incidence for domestic violence assaults. However, the data is not consistent across cohorts and geographies. As a result, there are challenges to defining and understanding the relationship between socioeconomic status and the incidence of violence. Further, it is important to understand that higher correlation between areas of lower socioeconomic status and rates of domestic violence assaults may reflect greater relative need for services, and that people of lower socioeconomic status may live in areas of high population density, which is an indicator of domestic violence. Importantly, violence affects women across all groups within society, including women who are experiencing socioeconomic disadvantage and socioeconomic advantage.

The costing approaches used to estimate the economic impact of violence across Australia have consistently shown the scope and scale of violence as a social and economic problem. However, there is also an opportunity to identify the economic impact of abuse against vulnerable groups and different geographical areas.

- In order to identify important trends in violence against women to better inform evidence based policy development, large scale costing studies have taken into consideration surveys, datasets

²⁰ For full references of this state and territory data, and further information and analysis regarding the violence reported to police see 89-96 of this Detailed Report.

and targeted research into disadvantaged groups that may be underrepresented in high level data holdings.

- Costing methods are shaped by the availability of data and the publication of new research and studies, particularly with regards to key assumptions underpinning the estimations of costs.
- New research can be leveraged to identify new cost categories that reflect current issues and policy problems, such as the impact of economic abuse on women who also experience physical and sexual violence. Research identifies that financial inequality and the control of financial resources by one partner in a relationship can significantly impact on the opportunities, wellbeing and autonomy of women. Additionally, it can also reinforce and heighten the impact of violent behaviour by limiting the opportunity for women to seek help or leave an abusive relationship.
- The high level of unreported violence also has implications on the interpretation of data and the developing of costing estimates. While the prevalence data on violence against women takes into account reported and unreported violence, the incidence data collated through reported crime statistics focuses only on reported violence. Without a comprehensive understanding of the socio-demographic characteristics of women who experience violence, and the frequency of the incidences of violence, there may be challenges to attributing the costs in a systematic method.

The impacts of violence against women are significant. Across the costing studies examined, the costs of violence against women have been separated into seven cost categories that seek to provide a holistic view of the lifelong impact of violence, including:

- the cost impacts of the pain and suffering experienced by the victim, which can lead to long term effects on psychological and physical health
- increased demand for access to the health system for delivering treatment and care to victims
- increased costs on business due to absenteeism, presenteeism and retraining
- additional police, court and incarceration costs to manage the perpetrators through the justice system, as well as men's behaviour programs
- greater demand on government programs as well as mainstream and targeted services delivered by the community and non-government sectors, including specialist homelessness and information and linkages services.

For the purposes of consistency and comparability with previous costing studies undertaken by Access Economics, KPMG, and PwC, this Report presents a central set of cost estimates drawing on the 2012 PSS prevalence estimates and the latest available data and research. However, in recognition of the limitations in the available data, we undertook supporting packages of analysis to provide greater insight to the differences in experience of violence across different cohorts and geographies.

2.3 Estimation approach

The approach for estimating the cost of violence against women and their children consists of two critical components, namely:

- The prevalence of violence – this draws on the prevalence information available within the 2012 PSS for the main cost estimates (and this evidence is expanded in later sections of this Report to illustrate the differential trends and experience across different cohorts, geographies, and settings).

- The cost of violence – the costing method applied is consistent with previous approaches developed by Access Economics, KPMG, and PwC, and where relevant, these have been updated to reflect the latest available data and research.

The following sub sections summarise the two core components of the estimation approach, with supporting detail on the requisite data, assumptions, and limitations.

2.3.1 Prevalence of violence

Developing an understanding of the trends and variation in the prevalence and incidence of violence against women and children, as well as how these have changed over time, is critical to estimating the impact of violence. While the evidence base associated with the prevalence and incidence of violence has substantially grown over the past decade, it is fragmented, and definitions and measurement and collection methods have also evolved over time and across jurisdictions.

The PSS is the primary source for estimating the total prevalence of violence against women across Australia. The survey approach was developed through the ABS *Women's Safety Survey (WSS)* in 1996 and enables high level estimates to be established while overcoming the potential limitations of fragmented and inconsistent data, and the challenge of identifying the scope of non-reported violence.

As a broad, high level representation of the national population, the PSS estimates violence against women under four primary categories, namely:

- sexual assault
- physical assault
- the threat of sexual assault
- the threat of physical assault.

To avoid double counting, each woman who identifies as experiencing violence is counted once, prioritising the most severe form of violence as the primary category. The prevalence approach is therefore designed not to identify multiple incidents experienced by a woman experiencing violence, but rather, the total number of women experiencing violence in a single year.

In addition to these four primary categories of violence, the PSS also records women's experience of emotional abuse and stalking. To understand the full scope of violence experienced by women, it is important to incorporate the additional categories of emotional abuse and stalking into the 'primary' category of violence defined by the PSS.

In developing the approach to estimating the prevalence of violence for this Report, KPMG sought to:

- ensure that the method is as comprehensive as possible
- maintain consistency with previous costing studies
- undertake supplementary analysis, where data permits, to expand and refine the evidence base.

In developing this approach, we closely considered previous studies, in particular those undertaken by Access Economics, KPMG, and PwC. A summary of these studies is provided in Table 2-1.

Table 2-1: Summary of key studies on estimating the cost of violence

	Access Economics <i>The Cost of Domestic Violence to the Australian Economy: Part 1 / 2, 2004</i>	KPMG <i>The Cost of Violence against Women and their Children, 2009</i>	PwC <i>The economic case for preventing violence against women, 2015</i>
Focus of study	Focused on domestic violence against both men and women	Focused on the cost of all violence against women and their children, including both partner and non-partner violence	Focused on the cost of violence against all women and the economic impact of prevention
Development on previous approach	Leveraged broader research around the human services sector to develop seven cost categories, and a method for accounting for full lifecycle impacts of domestic violence, including the identification of key cost bearers	Leveraged part of the costing approach established by Access Economics, while expanding the scope to include non-partner violence, and the attribution of costs across jurisdictions and the identification of vulnerable groups	Built on the method developed by Access Economics and refined and extended by KPMG to estimate the updated cost of violence, while also placing greater emphasis on the impact of prevention for the cost of violence
Data sources	ABS Women's Safety Survey 1996	ABS Women's Safety Survey 1996 and Personal Safety Survey 2005	ABS Personal Safety Survey 2012
Unreported violence	Not considered	Not considered	Not considered
Stratification of prevalence data by demographic cohorts	Prevalence data is stratified by age cohorts	Minimal data available and leveraged for four cohorts: immigrant and refugee women; women with disabilities; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women; and children who witness violence	Two defined categories: partner violence and all violence against women
Stratification of prevalence data by geographic cohorts	Not considered	Jurisdictional level identification of the costs of violence.	Not considered

Source: Access Economics 2004, *The Cost of Domestic Violence to the Australian Economy*; KPMG 2009, *The Cost of Violence against Women and their Children*; and PwC 2015, *The economic case for preventing violence against women*.

Table 2-2 outlines estimates of prevalence of violence against women and their children, based on the 2012 PSS results over the 12 months prior to the survey. Consistent with the PSS, the prevalence estimates avoid double counting in order to ascertain the total number of women who have experienced violence in a single year. The PSS has already performed this calculation for the primary categories of violence (identified in table 1 below). To continue this process for Emotional Abuse and Stalking, we establish the overlap between categories (based on data within the PSS) and applied a percentage reduction to the respective forms of violence.

Table 2-2: Preliminary prevalence calculations established from the PSS 2012

Primary categories of violence	Prevalence estimates
Physical Assault	263,500
Physical Threat	188,900
Sexual Assault	87,800
Sexual Threat	17,600
Total (sexual and physical)	467,300
Additional categories of violence	Prevalence estimates
Emotional Abuse	272,652
Stalking	237,130
Total (including all violence categories)	Prevalence estimate without double counting
Total (including all violence categories)	1,033,910

Source: ABS Personal Safety Survey 2012; KPMG calculations.

The PSS also provides further insight into the nature of violence across Australia, including partner and non-partner violence, multiple incidents of violence perpetrated against a single victim, and the level of non-reporting by category of violence and the victim's relationship to the perpetrator. Further targeted research has also been undertaken to test and better understand the prevalence figures within the PSS.

2.3.2 Estimating the cost of violence

In Australia, there have been a number of studies that have focused on measuring the economic cost of violence against women and their children. These studies have focused on two broad approaches to cost estimation. The first approach develops a bottom-up method based on calculating service use costs on an individual level and extrapolation at state or territory level. The second approach uses a hybrid method that draws upon both service use data or data from individual interactions with the system (i.e. recorded crime data), and top-down data on a range of cost categories, including health costs, and production-related and consumption-related costs.

The broad cost categories are intended to be comprehensive, capturing both the direct (or tangible) costs and indirect (or intangible) costs associated with violence. The direct costs are those associated with the provision of services and resources for victims of violence, including crisis support, accommodation services, income support, and health and medical services. The indirect costs refer to the pain, fear and suffering incurred by women and children who live with violence. Specifically, the seven cost categories are:

- pain, suffering and premature mortality
- health costs
- production-related costs

- consumption-related costs
- second generation costs
- administration and other costs
- transfer costs.

The costs have been measured over a 12 month period and provide the basis for an annual cost estimate. To ensure that there is a comprehensive understanding of each cost category and the comparative differences in estimated costs, we have provided research and analysis into the underlying drivers of increased costs and targeted case studies. Research and analysis is subject to availability of data and information. **Error! Reference source not found.**

The estimated costs were distributed in two different ways to further inform the nature, impact and extent of violence against women in Australia, with:

- the distribution of costs across the states and territories based on the prevalence rate of experiencing violence for each jurisdiction
- the distribution of costs across eight specific groups or cost bearers within society, namely:
 - victims and survivors
 - perpetrators
 - children
 - friends and family
 - employers
 - Commonwealth, state or territory and local governments
 - the rest of community and society.

For the purpose of maintaining comparability of results, the approach adopted for this Report is consistent with earlier studies (described in Table 2-1). However, where possible and appropriate, additional data, information and updates to core assumptions have been incorporated to supplement the existing methodology. The consistency with earlier costing approaches will provide government and other policy makers with greater ability to compare the estimated prevalence and cost of violence against women over time.

It is also important to note that for specific cohorts where there is evidence of a higher prevalence or risk of experiencing violence, detailed analysis into the experience of violence and the complex interdependencies between contributing risk factors has been provided in Section 4. Given the challenges around the availability and comparability of data for these cohorts, however, the relevant cost estimates developed are not part of the central costing estimates in Section 3.

2.4 Limitations and key considerations

In undertaking the analysis, it is important to acknowledge the limitations inherent in the underlying data and information, and the associated impact on the interpretation and use of the results. Through the development of the background research and by undertaking stakeholder consultations for this Report, KPMG has developed a detailed understanding of the limitations, and our approach to, and presentation of, the analysis has been tailored accordingly.

The following sub sections outline the various limitations of the approach and key considerations.

2.4.1 Scope and scale of the PSS

The PSS data on the prevalence of violence has a number of limitations that need to be taken into consideration in terms of its coverage, scope, and scale. As part of the development of the methodology for this study, the various strengths and limitations have been considered and tested through consultations with the ABS and broader stakeholders.

Representation of cohorts

There are limitations in the representation of different cohorts within the PSS estimates, as outlined below. Importantly, broader evidence and research demonstrates that both incidence and prevalence can vary significantly across different cohorts, including age, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander status, CALD status, and geography, and these are not necessarily fully reflected within the PSS estimates.

- **Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women** – there are limitations relating to the representation of this cohort within the PSS as the sampling and reach of the survey does not include a large enough sample size to establish prevalence estimates.
- **Women from a CALD background** – there are limitations relating to the sample size of this cohort within the broader survey to extrapolate data for Australia wide estimates. While data is available on country of origin among women who experienced violence, and the primary language spoken at home, it should be further noted that CALD is a broad category of reference. More detailed data is required on subsets of women from different countries of origin to establish unique trends and the levels of violence within different communities.
- **Women experiencing homelessness as a result of violence** – the survey captures the experience of homelessness based on previous partner violence, and therefore, it is possible to extrapolate this figure to the present population. However, due to the absence of data for women residing in refuges and women's homeless shelters during the period the survey was conducted, this cohort is excluded from the estimates.
- **Women with a disability** – within the survey, there is a demographic stratification relating to the presence of a disability or a long term health condition, however there are limitations in collecting data from women with disability due to potential communication barriers and the need for carer involvement in completing the survey. Due to the sensitive nature of the survey, the PSS does not allow for intermediaries, which places likely limitations on the inclusion of women with disability in the survey, and suggests that there may be an underrepresentation of women within this cohort in the data that is collected.
- **Geographical changes below the state and territory level** – the survey provides jurisdictional breakdowns, however due to the limitations of the survey size, there are challenges to providing granular data on where women experience violence.

Geographic reporting

While the PSS provides information at a national and jurisdictional level, there is no granularity at the sub-jurisdictional level. This can limit the extent of analysis of the distribution of violence and the potential association between levels of violence and broader socio-economic and demographic characteristics.

Experiences of multiple forms of violence

The PSS provides information on physical assault and threat, and sexual assault and threat. However, due to the method of measuring counts of violence, there are challenges to understanding the prevalence of individuals who experience multiple forms of violence and/or threats.

2.4.2 Costs and impacts of violence in different settings

The costs and impacts of violence differ depending on the nature of violence, and specific characteristics relating to the incident of violence and the victim. For example, whether the incident was physical or sexual assault, or emotional abuse would have significant impacts on the experience of violence, the extent of injury, and on the types and intensity of services demanded. Similarly, incidents of domestic violence are likely to be more complex than other incidents of violence, particularly in cases where the safety and wellbeing of children is at risk.

While these considerations are noted, there are limitations relating to the scope and scale of available data. Therefore, in estimating the cost of violence, an assumption has been made within the core costing estimates outlined in Section 3 that the impacts and costs of different forms of violence across different cohorts is similar.

2.4.3 Definitional changes and comparability

There are a number of definitional changes between the 2005 and 2012 PSS that need to be taken into account in considering the comparability of results. One important definitional change relates to the refinement and extension of emotional abuse and stalking as categories of violence in the 2012 PSS. Given this change, there are challenges to drawing direct comparisons between prevalence rates for emotional abuse and stalking over time. To manage this discrepancy, an illustration of the comparable components of the cost estimate has been provided within this Report when appropriate.

Further, changing opinions and attitudes in the community towards what is classified as violence against women may mean that even if an incident is reported, it may be inconsistently classified or not recorded at all. An example of this is the better understanding and classification of economic abuse as a form of violence against women. However, while the definition of domestic violence has broadened in recent years to include economic abuse and other forms of non-physical abuse, there remains a lack of available comparable data to supplement existing results from the PSS.

Understanding domestic violence, therefore, requires a multi-layered approach that acknowledges the complexities of the issue, and the challenges of the data in capturing the full scope and extent of violence against women.

2.4.4 Non-reporting of violence

There are a number of barriers that may prevent victims from reporting violence, including the fear of retaliation, economic dependence on the perpetrator, the desire to keep the issue private, or the inability to report due to disability. As such, the circumstances of disclosure create limitations on the data in the form of under-reporting or non-reporting of violence. Further, there are challenges to extrapolating data for particular demographic cohorts such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, women with disability, and women who have experienced homelessness, as these cohorts are often underrepresented in survey results in large statistical publications such as the PSS. Similarly, data on the incidence of violence from reported crime statistics does not provide a view on the scope and scale of violence that goes unreported across the jurisdictions.

2.4.5 Availability of underlying cost data

At present, there is limited research into the critical dynamics and implications of violence to validate the assumptions underpinning the estimation of costs across the cost categories. For example, there are data limitations to ascertaining the number of working days or productive output lost due to

absenteeism among women who are victims of violence. Given this, a number of the calculations are underpinned by assumptions defined up to 20 years ago through survey research. Similarly, there are challenges to updating some of the costs due to the absence of current data sources or the discontinuation of data collection in certain areas. Overall, while the use of existing assumptions enables consistency in approach and greater comparability of results across the earlier studies conducted, further research and analysis is required to ensure that the underlying assumptions reflect the latest possible data and information.

Another limitation of the estimation of costs relates to the availability of underlying cost data. For the cost categories where costs are estimated through a ‘top-down’ approach, improved availability of costs by sector (e.g. the costs of violence on the health and justice system by state and territory) could play a key role in further refining and strengthening the costing approach, and provide more nuanced insights into the costs of violence across the sectors. Further, for areas that are currently being explored in greater detail, for example, the impact and financial cost of economic abuse, a detailed case study and qualitative analysis approach has been adopted.

3 The cost of violence against women and their children

3.1 Understanding the cost of violence

Violence against women and their children is a critical social issue that continues to persist around the world, including in Australia. It is an often invisible, but common form of violence, and is a fundamental breach of human rights.²¹ It has a substantial economic and non-economic impact, affecting women and their children, the broader community, as well as the health care, justice, social services and business sectors.

These impacts are exacerbated when considered in the context of other interdependent social issues and risk factors that are associated with violence against women and their children. These factors include other forms of abuse (such as economic abuse, drug and alcohol abuse, or child abuse), homelessness, problem gambling, social and physical isolation or separation.²²

Based on the prevalence data published in the 2012 PSS, as well as the most recent data and research, KPMG estimates that violence against women and children will cost Australian society and the Australian economy \$22 billion in 2015-16.

In 2009 KPMG estimated that violence against women and their children cost victims, their friends, family and the broader Australian economy \$13.6 billion. The cost associated with sexual and physical violence has remained largely consistent with this estimate. However, the portion of the costs resulting from emotional abuse and stalking has substantially changed.

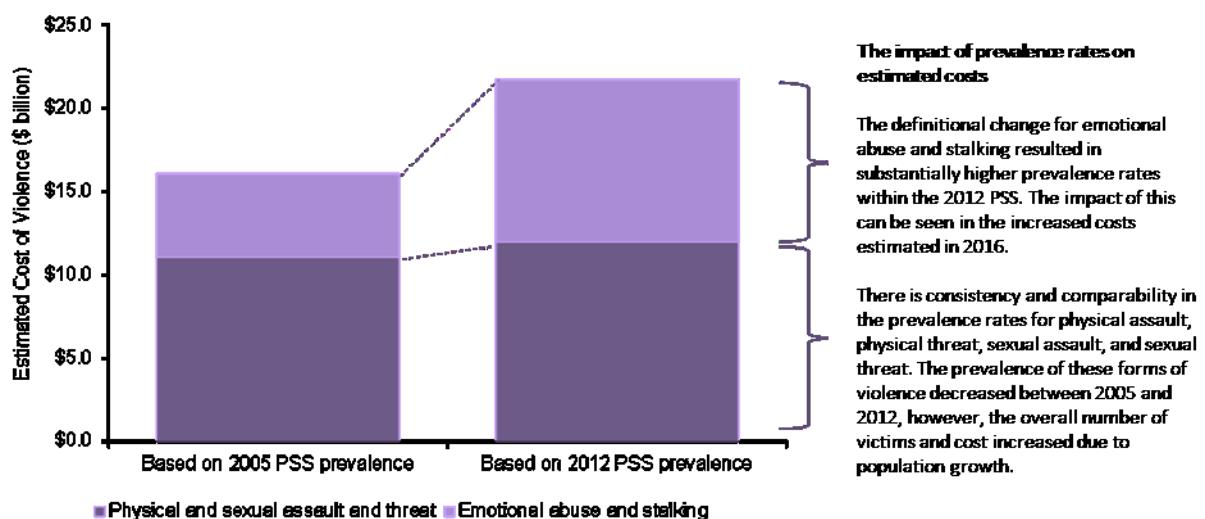
As a result, the increase in the cost of violence between KPMG's 2009 and 2016 reports is largely attributable to the expanded definition of emotional abuse and stalking captured within the PSS. In the 2016 costing, we estimate that physical and sexual violence has marginally increased to \$12 billion per year, while the cost of emotional abuse and stalking has risen from \$5 billion to \$10 billion.

To illustrate the impact of the changing definitions of violence in the PSS on KPMG's costing, Figure 3-1 highlights the estimated cost of violence in 2015-16, based on the most recent data and information and the 2005 and 2012 PSS prevalence estimates.

²¹ CEDAW Committee 1992, *General Recommendation No. 19: Violence against Women*, UN Doc. A/47/38 URL: www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/recommendations/recomm.htm, Accessed: 10 March 2016.

²² Ibid.

Figure 3-1: Estimated cost of violence based on 2005 and 2012 PSS prevalence rates



Source: KPMG calculations.

As a result of the limitations in available data, there are three key areas of consideration in interpreting the cost estimates above, and these are summarised below.

Definition changes between the 2005 and 2012 PSS: The 2012 PSS included an expanded definitional scope relative to 2005 which caused the increase in prevalence of emotional abuse and stalking. As a result, it is not possible to compare the change in emotional abuse and stalking based on the 2005 definition to the 2012 PSS outputs.

Timeliness of data and information: There are limitations in the timeliness of data reporting around violence against women and their children, with the 2012 PSS representing the most consistent source of prevalence information at a national level. The implication is that the cost estimates may not reflect the most recent trends and experience, and broader evidence should be considered alongside the cost estimates. Timeliness of data is a consistent theme in other research and publications around strengthening the evidence base. In addition, it is noted that the ABS is expected to publish the 2016 PSS later in 2017.

Trends in the rate of deaths as a result of violence against women and their children: Within the overall prevalence of violence against women and their children, it is important to also consider the rate of deaths of women and their children that are attributable to violence.

- Timeliness of data on deaths of women and their children means that establishing evidence of recent trends is particularly challenging. In 2015, the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) published data on domestic violence related homicides over the period from 2002-03 to 2011-12. This research found that the rate of homicide was 1.8 per 100,000 of the population in 2001-02, and that this decreased to 1.1 per 100,000 by 2011-12, with the decrease found to be across all relationship types.²³
- More recent data and media around the rates of deaths of women and their children is highly limited. Although there have been no updates to the AIC data since its 2015 publication, the Chief Executive Officer of Our Watch suggested in 2015 that the rate of deaths was increasing to two women per week, and Destroy the Joint, a community based website, estimating 79 deaths in 2015 (approximately 1.5 deaths per week) and 17 deaths to-date in 2016 (approximately 1.3 deaths per week).

²³ Australian Institute of Criminology 2015, *Domestic/family homicide in Australia*.

Based on the prevalence of violence across each jurisdiction, Table 3-1 below provides high level cost estimates for each jurisdiction. The distribution in costs is broadly aligned to the total distribution of population for each jurisdiction.

Table 3-1: The cost of violence against women and their children by each jurisdiction

Jurisdiction	Cost (\$ million)	Proportion of total cost (%)
New South Wales	6,020	28
Victoria	5,332	25
Queensland	4,765	22
South Australia	1,641	8
Western Australia	2,822	13
Tasmania	502	2
Northern Territory	228	1
Australian Capital Territory	414	2
Total	21,722	100

Source: KPMG.

Table 3-1 shows the scale of violence across Australia, as well as the scale of the impacts of violence on the physical and psychological health of victims, their families, and the productivity of the broader economy. The impacts of violence can also be understood through the costs borne by the key cost bearers:

- **Victims and survivors bear 52 per cent of total costs (\$11.3 billion)** – costs are attributable to all cost categories, including the impacts on pain/suffering and premature mortality, and production-related costs.
- **The Commonwealth, state and territory governments bear 19 per cent of total costs (\$4.1 billion)** – costs are attributable to the impact on the broader services system, including the health, justice, and human services sectors.
- **The remaining 29 per cent of total costs (\$6.5 billion) are borne by the community, children of women experiencing violence, the perpetrator, employers, and friends and family** – costs are attributable across all cost categories, with children facing long-term and significant impacts of being exposed to violence.

Box 3-1: The cost implications of violence for women, family and friends

Women who experience violence can face substantial economic and non-economic costs that extend from and sometimes far beyond the immediate impact. As the costing estimate above identifies, women who are victims and survivors of violence bear the largest portion of the total costs (estimated at 52 per cent, or \$11.3 billion in 2015-16).

Although victims and survivors bear the largest costs associated with violence, family and friends are often the first point of contact for women seeking advice or support. According to the PSS, 68.1 per cent of women seek support or advice after a violent incident, and by far the largest group from which the support or advice is first sought is from family and friends (64.1 per cent). This places family and friends in a unique position in which they can offer support, both financial and non-financial, and advice as to where a victim or survivor can seek additional assistance.

However, there is currently limited research with a targeted focus on the impact of violence on friends and family and as such, understanding the full extent of the associated economic and non-economic costs will require further research.

3.2 Cost impacts

The following sections provide further analysis of the results of the cost estimations, including a detailed discussion of each of the seven cost categories and the key cost drivers for each. The following sections provide a broad evidence base around the cost impacts of violence against women on the broader Australian economy and society. The seven cost categories include:

- the pain and suffering experienced by the victim, which can lead to long term effects on psychological and physical health
- health costs including public and private health system costs associated with treating the effects of violence against women
- production-related costs, including the cost of being absent from work, and employer administrative costs (for example, employee replacement)
- consumption-related costs, including replacing damaged property, defaulting on bad debts, and the costs of moving
- second generation costs are the costs of children witnessing and living with violence, including child protection services and increased juvenile and adult crime
- administrative and other costs, including police, incarceration, court system costs, counselling, and violence prevention programs
- transfer costs, which are the inefficiencies associated with the payment of government benefits.

It is important to note that the cost estimates below provide a baseline estimate of total costs. Due to limitations around the scope and availability of data, there are challenges to identifying the costs for at-risk and vulnerable cohorts of women and as a result, the baseline figure may not necessarily reflect the full extent of the costs of violence associated with more complex cohorts and the intersections between different risk factors faced by women.

A more detailed discussion of the risks of these vulnerable cohorts and the likely cost impacts on the broader system is provided in Section 4.

3.2.1 Pain, suffering and premature mortality

Key insights

Pain, suffering and premature mortality arising from violence against women and their children is estimated to cost women, communities and the economy

\$10.4 billion this year.

- Research consistently identifies that individual incidents of violence can lead to long term health impacts, including mental health problems and an increased risk of chronic illness and pain, reproductive health problems, smoking, drinking alcohol and drug use.
- An estimated 58 per cent to 60 per cent of violence against women also results in feelings of fear and/or anxiety. This demonstrates the long term impacts of a violent incident as well as the concurrent effects of violence and psychological impacts.
- An estimated 50 per cent to 80 per cent of women using psychiatric services are recorded as having experienced a history of sexual abuse or assault. This highlights that violence may be a substantial cause of women's mental health issues across Australia.

In addition to being a contributing factor in violence against women, research has identified that women who had been exposed to at least one form of violence report a 23 per cent rate of lifetime substance use disorder.

Violence against women can cause substantial pain and suffering, with long term impacts on psychological and physical health continuing well after the incident. The ongoing emotional, physiological and physical impacts are a common experience amongst women who are the victim of violence or abuse. For example, based on Victorian Police data, between 2006 and 2010 over 50 per cent of women over the age of 18 who had experienced violence identified being fearful of the perpetrator. Consistent with this conclusion, the PSS identifies that 58 per cent of women who have been physically assaulted and 60 per cent who have been sexually assaulted have subsequently experienced fear or anxiety.²⁴

These estimates identify the high proportion of women who suffer emotional and psychological impacts from their experience of violence. The multilayered experience of violence is also apparent, with individual incidents of one type of violence leading to ongoing impacts that are very different in nature. The long term health impacts can be significant, with research conducted by VicHealth in 2008 indicating that verbal, emotional and psychological abuse may have a larger and more prolonged impact on women than physical violence.²⁵ Equally important is the conclusion that some of the most significant risks to women's long term physical health are heightened after experiencing partner violence – this can include increased risk of chronic illness and pain, reproductive health problems, smoking, and drug and alcohol abuse.²⁶

Table 3-2 identifies the cost impact of each individual psychological, physical and emotional consequence resulting from domestic violence across Australia.

Table 3-2: Estimations of the cost impact of violence on women's physical and mental health

	Cost (\$ million)	% of total
Depression	3,812	37
Anxiety	2,359	23
Suicide	1,280	12
Alcohol	1,024	10
Tobacco	1,014	10
Drug use	509	5
Femicide	421	4
Physical injuries	374	4
Cervical cancer	162	1
Eating disorders	137	1
Sexually transmitted diseases	59	1
Total	10,416	100

Note: These calculations are determined by disability adjusted life year (DALY) fractions published by the World Health Organisation and AIHW, which estimate the varied impacts of violence on the quality of life of affected women. These impacts are measured based on different consequences of violence, such as depression and anxiety, and the approximate reduction in mental, physical health and capacity caused or interrelated with the experience of violence. As such, the DALY fractions provide a proxy measure for the economic and non-

²⁴ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey 2012*.

²⁵ VicHealth 2008, *Violence against women in Australia as a determinant of mental health and wellbeing*.

²⁶ Campbell 2002, *Health consequences of intimate partner violence*; Astbury et al 2000, *The impact of domestic violence on individuals*.

economic impact of violence on women's life and the resulting reduction in personal wellbeing that continues to affect them over the longer term.

Source: KPMG breakdown of pain, suffering and premature mortality.

Table 3-2 indicates that depression and anxiety are the most substantial impacts on women's mental and physical health (60 per cent), followed by substance abuse in relation to alcohol, tobacco and drug use (25 per cent). Suicide and femicide account for approximately 16 per cent of cost impacts; increased significance is attached to this category given the nature of impacts on women's lives. The sections below provide more detailed analysis and description of these three impact categories and the long term consequences for affected women.

Anxiety and depressions – mental disorders and violence against women

Mental disorders such as anxiety and depression are a major factor contributing to the burden faced by women and their children who are victims of violence.²⁷ According to a 2007 report by AIHW, depression and anxiety are predicted to be the single greatest contributor to the disease burden for Australian women by 2023.²⁸ In addition, an estimated 50 per cent to 80 per cent of women using psychiatric services are recorded as having a history of sexual abuse or assault.²⁹ This indicates that over half the mental health issues experienced by women (and their associated long term health impacts) may be related to the experience of violence.

Consistent with these studies, a large national research project based on the 2007 Australian National Mental Health and Wellbeing Survey explored the prevalence of gender based violence in women and the relationship with mental disorders and psychosocial function. The study of 4,451 women found that gender based violence was associated with more severe current mental disorder, higher rates of three or more lifetime disorders, lower quality of life, physical disability, an increase in disability days, and overall disability. The study found that:

- The prevalence rate for any mental disorder was 57.3 per cent for women exposed to a single form of gender based violence, compared to a prevalence rate of 28 per cent among women who had not been exposed to any form of gender based violence.
- The prevalence rate for any mental disorder was 89.4 per cent of women exposed to more than two types of gender based violence, defined by the study as intimate partner violence, stalking, sexual assault, or rape.
- Multivariate analysis concluded that women who have been exposed to one form of gender based violence reported a 30.7 per cent (weighted figure) rate of lifetime mood disorder, 38.5 per cent of lifetime anxiety disorder and a 15.2 per cent rate of lifetime post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).³⁰

These statistics identify the significant co-occurrence of violence and mental health – and also the importance in understanding mental illness as simultaneously a cause of violence, a factor increasing the risk of violence, and an impact of violence. As a result, victims of violence may experience a wide range of disorders in attempting to cope with the trauma and psychological impact of incidence of violence – particularly if the impacts of violence continue over the long term.³¹

²⁷ Council of Australian Governments, 2009, *National Framework for Protecting Australia's Children 2009-2020: Protecting Children is Everyone's Business*, p. 21.

²⁸ VicHealth 2008, *Violence against women in Australia as a determinant of mental health and wellbeing*.

²⁹ Cox et al 1994, *The prevention of violence at work: Application of a cognitive behavioural theory*.

³⁰ Rees et al 2011, Lifetime Prevalence of Gender-Based Violence in Women and the Relationship with Mental Disorders and Psychosocial Function. *Journal of the American Medication Association*, Vol. 306, No. 5.

³¹ VicHealth 2011, *Preventing Violence against Women in Australia – Research Summary: Addressing the social and economic determinants of mental and physical health*.

Drug and alcohol abuse

As identified by the World Health Organisation (WHO), women's exposure to violence is associated with risk behaviours such as substance abuse disorders, smoking and alcohol abuse as well as broader negative health outcomes.³² As with mental disorders, research identifies drug and alcohol abuse as both a risk factor for, and an impact of, incidents of violence.³³ As an impact of violence, research has highlighted drug and alcohol abuse as an important factor contributing to the long term harm and costs faced by the victim as well as their families, communities and the Australian society as a whole.³⁴ For example, research based primarily on 2007 survey data from the Australian National Mental Health and Wellbeing Survey found that women who had been exposed to at least one form of violence reported a 23 per cent rate of lifetime substance use disorder.

Alcohol and drug usage by perpetrators can be a contributing factor in increasing the vulnerability of women to violence. The 2012 PSS collected information about the involvement of drugs and alcohol in the most recent incident of violence against women. The survey found that 53 per cent of women aged 18 and over who had been physically assaulted by a male, stated that alcohol or drugs had been involved in their most recent incident of physical assault. The following points are drawn from Table 3-3 below:

- Of all females aged 15 and over who experienced an incident of sexual assault by a male, 48.2 per cent (410,900), responded that the perpetrator was under the influence of alcohol or drugs.
- Of all females aged 15 and over who experienced an incident of physical assault by a male, 51 per cent (874,700), responded that the perpetrator was under the influence of alcohol or drugs.
- In over half a million incidents of sexual or physical threat, the perpetrator was under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

Table 3-3: 2012 PSS survey data for females who have experienced violence since the age of 15, whether drugs/alcohol was involved in the most recent incident of violence

	Respondent was under the influence of drugs/alcohol		Perpetrator was under the influence of drugs/alcohol	
	Number	% of total	Number	% of total
Sexual Assault	162,800	19.1	410,900	48.2
Physical Assault	132,700	7.7	874,700	51.0
Sexual Threat	25,600	10.9	125,500	53.5
Physical Threat	43,000	6.1	339,500	48.3

Source: ABS Personal Safety Survey 2012, Table 18. Note: estimates for sexual threat have a relative standard error of 25 per cent to 50 per cent.

Available crime statistics present a consistent picture in regards to the contribution of drugs and alcohol to domestic violence incidents. For example, between 2001 and 2010, NSW BOCSAR found that 41 per cent of all incidents of domestic assault reported to the police were alcohol related. This varied geographically – the percentage of alcohol related incidents in Sydney was 35 per cent, and the percentage of alcohol related incidents for far western NSW was 62 per cent.³⁵

³² Ibid.

³³ Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC), Morgan et al 2009, *Key Issues in Alcohol Related Violence*

³⁴ Mitchell 2011, *Domestic Violence in Australia – an overview of the issues*, Australian Parliamentary Library, *Background*.

³⁵ NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research , K Gretch and M Burgess 2011, *Trends and patterns in domestic violence assaults: 2001 to 2010* .

Femicide and Suicide

Given the significance attributed to suicide (12 per cent) in the cost categories above, there is substantially less research conducted in Australia about the impacts of violence on the instigation of suicidal intent, and the links between victims of violence and suicide attempts. This suggests an area of data collection and analysis that may require further research in the Australian context.

Internationally, several studies have been conducted examining this link. A 2007 American study of 113 psychiatric inpatients reported that 73 women indicated having attempted suicide, and that women who reported a history of attempted suicide were more likely to report an incident of domestic violence compared to those with no history of attempted suicide.³⁶

3.2.2 Health costs

Key insights

KPMG estimates that the impact on the health system resulting from violence against women and their children will cost victims, communities and government \$1.4 billion this year.

- Increased demand for hospital and other health services can impact on the availability of service provision, as well as impacting workforce requirements and levels of utilisation of facilities, providing substantial challenges for the health system in planning and ensuring adequate care for victims, as well as the broader community.
- The effects of violence on the hospital system also continue well after the initial incident with additional costs to the health system resulting from ongoing or subsequent physical and mental health impacts sustained following an incident, or over time.

Hospitals and emergency departments in particular are an important site for identifying violence against women who do not seek assistance from intervention services, providing insight into the prevalence, frequency and severity of violence and the health impacts.

Violence against women and their children has a substantial effect on the health of victims and on the hospital system providing assistance and support to women experiencing violence. Based on updated cost calculations, KPMG estimates that the total cost of health impacts and care is \$1.4 billion each year. Table 3-4 below provides an overview of these health related costs and the cost burden faced by government, victims, the community and also the perpetrator across Australia. The analysis demonstrates that Commonwealth and jurisdictional level governments are responsible for meeting the majority of the health costs resulting from violence against women.

Table 3-4: The bearer of costs from the impact of violence on health

Cost bearer	Cost (\$ million)	% of total
Commonwealth, state and territory governments	923	68
Victim/survivor	271	20
Community/society	149	11
Perpetrator	14	1
Total	1,358	100

Source: KPMG.

³⁶ Sansone, R., Chu, J., and Wiederman, M. 2007, *Suicide attempts and domestic violence among women psychiatric inpatients*.

The cost estimates above comprise impacts on the public and private health system associated with treating a victim of violence. The increased demand for hospital and other health services can impact on the availability of service provision, as well as contributing to workforce requirements and facility utilisation levels. Together these demands, provide substantial challenges for the health system in planning and ensuring adequate care for victims, as well as the broader community.

Costs are directly accrued from the health impacts sustained at the time of the incident. The most common health impact is physical injury sustained as a result of the incident of violence. Physical injuries present a range of cost impacts for Australia's health system. Individuals requiring medical attention may present at hospital emergency departments, see a general practitioner, or present at targeted health services for women who are victims of violence. The nature of the health impact may mean ongoing treatment is necessary. Hospitalisation, surgery, rehabilitation and recovery may also add to the cost burden for health systems.

Box 3-2: The impact of violence on hospital emergency departments Box 3-2 below identifies the impact of violent incidents on emergency departments, where victims of violence and abuse often find support in crisis situations.

Box 3-2: The impact of violence on hospital emergency departments

Given the nature and severity of physical and sexual assault, many women attend emergency departments following an incident or are directed to hospitals by police, family and friends, and services providers. As a consequence, emergency department records can provide insight into the extent and severity of violence, the frequency of violence and the impact of violence on vulnerable women. For example, research based on 400 pregnant women within Victoria identified that 27 per cent experienced physical and psychological violence and abuse in their current relationship, and 20 per cent reported experiencing substantial levels of physical violence throughout their pregnancy.

The Victorian Emergency Minimum Dataset (VEMD) collects information from those attending an emergency department in the state. Analysis of the VEMD identifies that:

- Between 2007 and 2013, approximately 65 per cent of adult females attending an emergency department experienced physical injury through being struck by another person.
- Adult females recorded within the VEMD hospital data were more than twice as likely to have multiple injuries as were adult male patients.

These statistics illustrate the importance of the information gathered by hospitals as a means of identifying the prevalence of violence against women, particularly those who do not seek assistance from intervention services.³⁷ However, there are limitations to the data collected. It is particularly difficult to accurately identify the full scope of patients presenting to hospital because of barriers to the detection and disclosure of domestic violence. For example, records of emergency departments across Victoria indicate that of the 1,352,129 admissions in 2007-08, three per cent or 568 were deemed to be the result of either maltreatment/assault by a domestic partner or child neglect/maltreatment by a parent or guardian. However, analysis of the VEMD suggests domestic violence may form a larger percentage of the 17,981 presentations to emergency departments because of human intent injuries.

Source: Victorian Emergency Minimum Dataset; KPMG analysis.

The effects of violence toward women can lead to ongoing or subsequent health impacts, resulting in continuing costs for the health system. Research suggests that incidents of violence against women can increase risk factors that impact health and wellbeing, including depression, anxiety, smoking,

³⁷ Department of Justice, Victoria 2012, *Measuring Family Violence in Victoria*.

alcohol abuse and substance abuse.³⁸ For example, a 1998 study estimated that around one third of all people with mental health problems presenting to hospital emergency departments attributed these problems to family violence. As such, hospitals are also affected by the emotional and physiological results of past episodes of violence, and are often responsible for supporting women who are suffering the consequences of violence.

Supporting the service system to treat these health problems is a significant cost burden for governments. Costs may be incurred over a long period of time, or may not present for a time after an incident of violence. Repeated instances of violence and abuse may also increase the risks of long term health impacts, with ongoing instances of violence contributing to longer-term mental and physical health problems.³⁹

3.2.3 Production-related costs

Key insights

KPMG estimates that the impact of violence against women and their children on production and the business sector will cost the victim, community and Australian economy \$1.9 billion this year.

- Victim absenteeism from paid work and inability to perform household chores and voluntary work is estimated to cost \$860 million, while perpetrator absenteeism is estimated to cost \$443 million and additional management costs, including search, hiring and training replacements is estimated to cost \$96 million.

Sexual harassment affects approximately one in seven women every year across Australia. Within the workplace, the economic and non-economic impacts of harassment can affect women's emotional and psychological health, their ability to perform tasks, and can impact on their desire or motivation to attend work.

Violence against women and their children affects a range of business-based activity; in particular absenteeism and reduced productivity levels. Consistent with our previous approach, we have included in our cost analysis the economic impact of domestic violence on production as follows:

- Victim absenteeism from paid work and inability to perform household chores and voluntary work costs \$860 million.
- Perpetrator absenteeism from paid and unpaid work costs \$443 million.
- Additional management costs, including for search, hiring and training replacements costs \$96 million.
- The cost of lost production from premature death is \$519 million.

Our analysis indicates that violence against women and children can result in a significant cost impact on the workplace. The cost derives principally from the experience and long term effects of violence on victims, however costs also derive from perpetrators (for example, time spent in the criminal justice system).

The long term impacts of violence on women can also lead to a reduction in productivity through reduced concentration and participation in the workforce, and reduced productive capacity for generating future income. These consequences may, in turn, lead to increased use of government financial support and, if violence occurs in parallel with or causes experiences of economic abuse, result in increased financial inequality in an abusive relationship and a lack of control or a feeling of inability to escape the situation.

³⁸ McCarthy 2003, *Public Health, mental health and Violence Against Women*

³⁹ Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC), Morgan et al 2009, *Key Issues in Alcohol Related Violence*.

Box 3-3: The impact of sexual harassment on the workplace

Violence against women can also affect the functioning of workplaces and relationships between employees. While the impact of sexual harassment is not costed in this study, it should be identified as a key issue affecting business activity and workplace health and safety. It affects women across different social environments. The ABS has released additional data, collected in the 2012 PSS, that relates to questions asked about sexual harassment. The answers to those questions indicate that:

- Women experiencing sexual harassment in the 12 month period prior to the survey numbered 1,297,000, with 94 per cent of incidence from harassment by a man.
- Women experiencing sexual harassment in their lifetime numbered 4,221,000, with 98 per cent of incidence from harassment by a man.
- The most common form of sexual harassment in the 12 month period prior to the survey was from experiencing inappropriate comments (150,000 women), followed by indecent text, email or posts (73,000 women).

These figures indicate that sexual harassment is not a marginal occurrence, but affects approximately one in seven women every year across Australia. Within the workplace, the economic and non-economic impacts of harassment can affect women's emotional and psychological health, their ability to perform tasks, and can impact on their desire or motivation to attend work.

Source: ABS Personal Safety Survey 2012; KPMG analysis.

3.2.4 Consumption-related costs

Key insights:

KPMG estimates that the impact of violence against women and their children on consumption related activities and personal goods will cost the Australian economy \$4.4 billion this year.

- Incidence of violence against women can force victims to relocate if they reside with the perpetrator, causing a loss of economic scale and increased individual costs. This is likely to result in changes to consumption spending patterns. This can substantially affect a victim's economic opportunities, indicating the compounding effect of multiple forms of violence and the importance of further analysis on the relationship between violence and financial inequality.
- Damage to personal property as an act of violence or caused by a violent incident can have a significant impact on women's economic assets. The cost of replacing goods and material possessions affects household finances. In some circumstances, women in an abusive relationship may not be able to afford full replacement costs, leading to the potential for a lower standard of living as a result of the violence.
- New research into 'economic abuse' indicates that where economic inequality and financial control within partner relationships exist, the victim (or their family and friends) may have to bear a significant consumption cost. This can lead to debt through a partner accumulating inappropriate loans, and defaulting on bad debt, damaging the financial security and well-being of women who experience these form of economic abuse.

Victims may suffer ongoing financial consequences of economic abuse, even after separation. For example, a perpetrator of economic abuse may withhold financial support for, or refuse to relinquish financial control over, victims and their children.

Consumption costs refers to costs which are incurred when consumption patterns are affected by violence against women and their children. These consumption related costs are estimated at 20 per cent of the total costs calculated in this report, and are largely borne by the victim of violence, along

with their family and friends. The most significant of these costs are the short-term costs of replacing damaged property and the long-term loss of economies of scale in consumption.

Loss of economies of scale: incidence of violence against women can force victims to relocate if they reside with the perpetrator, causing a loss of economic of scale and increased individual costs that affect consumption spending patterns. This can substantially affect a victim's economic opportunities, indicating the compounding effect of multiple forms of violence and the importance of further analysis on the relationship between violence and financial inequality.

Property damage: the damage of personal property as an act of violence or caused by a violent incident can have a significant impact on women's economic assets, with the cost of replacing goods and material possessions having a negative effect on household finances. In some circumstances, women in an abusive relationship may not be able to afford full replacement costs, leading to the potential for a lower standard of living resulting from violence.

Box 3-4: Economic abuse and consumption costs

New research into the category of 'economic abuse' indicates that where economic inequality and financial control within partner relationships exist, individuals can bear significant consumption costs, particularly the victim or their family and friends. Economic abuse can be closely linked with other forms of domestic abuse. A 2014 Women's Information and Referral Exchange (WIRE) report estimates that 80 to 90 per cent of women who seek support from domestic violence services have experienced financial abuse.⁴⁰ Consumption costs which are linked to economic abuse may include:

- **Accumulation of debt:** a partner with financial control in the relationship may accumulate inappropriate loans, purchases or debts – a form of economic abuse where the ongoing cost is likely to be borne by the victim. This debt burden may be shared, or financial obligations may be taken out in the name of the victim – presenting additional costs for the victim.
- **Defaulting on bad debts:** In circumstances where the victim or perpetrator of economic abuse is unable to repay accumulated debts, a default may be necessary. This can have long-term impacts on the financial security and well-being of women who experience this form of economic abuse.
- **Controlling access to economic resources/withholding financial support:** victims may suffer ongoing financial consequences of economic abuse, even after separation, where a perpetrator of economic abuse may withhold financial support or refuse to relinquish financial control for victims and their children.

Source: ABS Personal Safety Survey 2012; KPMG analysis.

3.2.5 Second generation costs

Key insights

KPMG estimates that the second generational impacts from violence against women and their children will cost the Australian economy \$333 million this year, including the ongoing psychological consequences of experience and exposure to violence by children in different development stages.

- Psychological, behavioural and health issues vary greatly for the different developmental stages of childhood.
- In the majority of cases, violence perpetrated against women by a current or previous partner is witnessed (seen or heard) by children in their care.

⁴⁰ WIRE Women's Information, August 2014, *WIRE Research Report: Relationship Problems and Money - Women talk about financial abuse*, URL: http://www.wire.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/WIRE-Research-Report_Relationship-Problems-and-Money-Women-talk-about-financial-abuse-August2014.pdf, Accessed: 9 March 2016.

Research suggests that there is a higher risk of child abuse (physical and sexual) in households where violence against women occurs.

Violence against women can have long term consequences for family members in the presence of an abusive or violent relationship that extends beyond the victim and the perpetrator. According to the 2012 ABS PSS, over half a million children are estimated to have seen or heard an incident of violence against their mother or female carer.⁴¹ Research has identified that children are highly susceptible to the long term impacts of violence, particularly those in early stages of physiological development.⁴² This can lead to mental health issues through teenage years. Statistics indicate a correlation between children who have been in the presence of domestic violence and higher levels of incarceration.⁴³ This future adult and juvenile crime is estimated by KPMG to cost the Australian economy \$222 million each year.

A child's mental health can be significantly affected by their experience of, or exposure to, violence in the home. The psychological, developmental and wellbeing impacts for children who are raised in a household where violence occurs indicate that the consequent effects and issues can extend across generations, with attendant impacts on family dynamics and developmental patterns. These impacts are particularly notable for children in the first few years of life, when they can be highly susceptible to external influences, such as parental influence and the home environment.

As a result, children who witness violence in the household are at greater risk of anxiety, mood disorders, and trauma symptoms, along with other issues such as experiencing ongoing loneliness, fear, peer conflict and antisocial behaviour. They are also at a higher risk of developmental problems, with impaired social and learning outcomes that may have longer term impacts on education outcomes and their capacity in the labour market.⁴⁴

According to 2012 PSS estimates, over half a million children are estimated to have seen or heard an incident of violence against their mother or a female carer. The survey also found that:⁴⁵

- Of those who experienced violence with a current partner, 58 per cent reported that children in their care had heard, or seen, the incident of violence.
- Of those who experienced violence with a previous partner, defined in the survey as the most recently violent partner, 78 per cent stated children in their care has seen or heard the incident.

Table 3-5 shows the prevalence of children witnessing violence across the WSS (1996) and PSS (2005, 2012)

Table 3-5: Change in the number of children witnessing violence, 1996 and 2012

For women with children in their care during the relationship:	Experienced violence with current partner (%)			Experienced violence with previous partner (%)		
	1996	2005	2012	1996	2005	2012
Children had seen/heard incident of violence	63	59	58	68	63	77
Children had not seen/heard incident of violence	37	41	42	32	37	23

⁴¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey 2012*.

⁴² Australian Human Rights Commission, 2015, *Children Experiencing Domestic Violence: A Research Review*.

⁴³ Bagshaw et al. 2010, *Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearing House 2011, the Impact of Domestic Violence on Children: A Literature Review*, The University of New South Wales

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey 2012*.

Note: A woman could have experienced violence with a current partner and a previous partner. The category of 'children had not heard/seen violence' also includes a small number of reports where women were not sure if the children had heard/seen the incident.

Source: ABS Personal Safety Survey 2012 and 2005, Women's Safety Survey 1996.

It can be seen that regardless of whether the incident of violence occurred with a current or previous partner of the mother or female carer of a child, the majority of children had been witnesses of violence. The rates of children witnessing violence are higher when considering previous rather than current partners. This may suggest that multiple incidents of violence may have occurred over the period, or that women may be more likely to report a higher rate when considering a previous abusive partner.

Significant research has been conducted, internationally and in Australia, about the direct and indirect impacts for the children of women who are victims of violence.⁴⁶ The impacts identified in recent research as issues for children in households where violence against women has occurred – even if the incident of violence is not explicitly witnessed by the child - are summarised below.

Psychological and behavioural issues. Research in the Australian context has shown that children of victims of violence often experience a range of psychological issues such as depression, fear and anxiety. They may also face loneliness, peer conflict and impaired cognitive functioning, which has a critical impact on education achievement and attainment over the medium term.⁴⁷ Changing schools and remedial and special education due to the impact of violence is estimated by KPMG to cost \$5 million per year to the Australian economy.

Child abuse. It is estimated that family and domestic violence is present in 55 per cent of physical abuse, and 40 per cent of sexual abuse cases against children.⁴⁸ Furthermore, incidents where children witness, or are exposed to acts of violence against women are increasingly considered as acts of child abuse, both in Australia and internationally.⁴⁹

Health issues. The incidence of domestic violence in the presence of children has been found to have severe implications on the health of children. The Australian Crime Commission found links between family and domestic violence, and incidents of intentional self-harm or suicide.⁵⁰ Living in the presence of violence in the home has been associated with other long term health conditions, such as substance abuse and depression.⁵¹

Ongoing impacts from separation. Conflicts may arise between the interests of the child and the interests of the parents, presenting complexities involving the right to parental contact, engagement in mediation, or separation issues for the child. In a 2010 Australian study, 39 per cent of children did not feel safe with their father post-separation, and nearly 68 per cent of children reported they felt scared or frightened in fights between their parents post-separation.⁵² This presents challenges for healthy and cohesive families, as well as concerns for family law and child protection services. Additional child protection and out of home care services due to violence against women are conservatively estimated by KPMG to cost the Australian economy \$83 million per year.

These impacts are significant – though not all children are affected in the same way by violence. However, the ongoing impacts of these considerations, as they interact or present in combination,

⁴⁶ The Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse, The University of New South Wales, 2011, *The Impact of Domestic Violence on Children: A literature Review*.

⁴⁷ Australian Institute of Criminology, Kelly Richards 2011, *Children's Exposure to Domestic Violence in Australia*.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Australian Human Rights Commission 2015, *Children's Rights Report 2015: National Children's Commissioner Annual Report*.

⁵¹ Australian Institute of Criminology, Kelly Richards 2011, *Children's Exposure to Domestic Violence in Australia*.

⁵² Bagshaw et al. 2010, in the Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearing House 2011, *The Impact of Domestic Violence on Children: A Literature Review*, The University of New South Wales

may have long term impacts on children's wellbeing and development. Over the duration of childhood, these factors may compound, contributing to the identified long-term impacts on economic outcomes, with resultant reduced productivity, welfare provision, medical costs, and unemployment.⁵³ Box 3-5 provides a discussion on the different impacts of violence experienced by cohorts of greater vulnerability.

Box 3-5: The impact of violence on children within vulnerable groups

The impact of violence on children within vulnerable groups

The co-occurrence of violence against women that are within at-risk cohorts may compound the impact of violence on children. Understanding these intersectionalities and the differing impacts of violence is critical to understanding the experience of violence across cohorts. In particular:

- **Young people of an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander background** have been identified as a cohort that faces higher vulnerability to experiencing violence. Further, among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, 42 per cent reported witnessing violence against their mother or stepmother, compared to a national figure of 23 per cent of either Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander or non- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children.
- **Homelessness** has been identified as an important factor to consider in understanding violence against women and children. In 2003-04, the total number of children of women escaping domestic violence made up two-thirds of child clients accessing Supported Accommodation and Assistance Program services.⁵⁴

Furthermore, underreporting – and the fragmented nature of data measuring violence against women and their children – is a significant challenge for estimating the impacts of violence, particularly in accessing and recording accurate information for children. The provision of information is reliant on parents' accounts, and this presents difficulties where parents may underestimate the extent to which children know about, or are involved in an incident of violence; or where parents and carers are concerned about family separation.⁵⁵

Children themselves may also be perpetrators of violence against women. An 11 year study conducted for the Victorian Family Violence Database found that the incidence of violence against a parent or step-parent perpetrated by a child or step-child was consistently around 14 per cent over the period between 1999 and 2010. The majority of these incidents were committed by adolescent children, and one quarter were committed by adult children. According to both police and court data, victims of both male and female perpetrators were more likely to be mothers or step-mothers, although male perpetrators were more common.⁵⁶

3.2.6 Administration and other costs

Key insights

KPMG estimates that the impact of violence against women and their children on the justice, services and funeral sectors will cost the Australian economy \$1.7 billion this year.

- The pathways of perpetrators through the justice system is a substantial cost to government, from the first call to police, to the costs associated with the legal procedure for obtaining an apprehended violence order (AVO), to prosecution and incarceration of a perpetrator. It is

⁵³ Australian Institute of Criminology, Kelly Richards 2011, *Children's Exposure to Domestic Violence in Australia*.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Victorian Government Department of Justice, Victims Support Agency 2012 – *The Victorian Family Violence Database Volume 5: Eleven-year Trend Report*.

estimated that violence against women and their children cost the justice sector \$1.1 billion in 2015-16.

- Domestic violence places greater demand on community service organisations. For example, one in three individuals requiring assistance from specialist homelessness service organisations are doing so because of domestic violence.

It is estimated that community services, including counselling, accommodation, interpreter services, as well as imputed carer cost and paid care totals \$596 million over a 12 month period.

Violence against women and children has a substantial impact on the justice system, through the management of perpetrators, and on the services system, through the provisioning of homelessness services, crisis support and other services types. Our calculation of administration costs identifies key costing impacts for these two sectors, as well as the cost of funeral services. A detailed overview of the cost impact on the justice and service sectors is outlined below.

Impact on the justice sector

Violence against women and their children is a crime, and this means that the justice sector is central in providing key services for addressing violence in Australia. The provision and funding of these services is a cost burden for both Commonwealth and state and territory governments in Australia.

The primary cost types incurred by the justice sector in engaging with violence against women and their children are set out below. Each of the cost types has been estimated to contribute to roughly one third of the costs of the justice system as a whole. According to KPMG estimates, this corresponds to an estimated cost of \$1.1 billion in 2015-16.

Court systems: includes court dealings with the perpetrator, perpetrator defence and AVO and Family Court custody orders, all of which are important components of the process to ensure the crime is handled in accordance with the law, and provide appropriate protection for victims. Following an incident of violence, a victim may seek an AVO or custody order, an important act to ensure the ongoing safety of the victim and their family.

Police and incarceration costs: the immediacy of police services are critical in ensuring the safety of victims of violence. Conversely, incarceration costs are incurred at the end of the justice process for perpetrators of violence. Incarceration follows court appearances and sentencing – all of which represent individual cost phases.

Other costs includes coronial costs, counselling services, perpetrator programs, interpreter services, funeral costs, imputed carer costs and paid care. These miscellaneous costs are incurred over the lifetime of the justice process for perpetrators and victims. They may be required throughout court or formal procedures (for example interpreter services), or perpetrator programs and counselling services. Some costs and services are required only in certain instances, such as in the incidence of homicide.

Impact on community services

Support services are an essential component of addressing incidents of violence, by ensuring the immediate and ongoing safety, care and wellbeing of the women and their children who are victims of violence. These services are a central component of the overall policy response to violence against women and their children, and the costs of these services are primarily borne by governments in the provision and funding these services. These care and support services may be more general, or specifically targeted for women and their children who have experienced violence:

- **General services:** range from transportation and communication services to refuge shelters and homelessness. These services are provided to a range of clients, alongside women and their children who are victims of violence.
- **Specific support services:** are specific to dealing with incidents of violence, and may include crisis hotlines, emergency support and may have specialised staff with extensive training and capability for dealing with victims or perpetrators of violence.

Specialist homelessness services are an example of the services accessed by women and their children who are victims of violence. Box 3-6 examines the need for specialist homelessness services and patterns of usage in Australia among victims of violence, and includes a discussion on the role of specialist services in contributing to the wellbeing of victims.

Box 3-6: The impact of violence on specialist homelessness services

Many women access community services, particularly homelessness and refuge services, as a result of violence by an intimate partner or family member. Detailed service data from AIHW which identifies the reason for women accessing women's homeless shelters and refuges established that one in three individuals required assistance from specialist homelessness service organisations due to domestic violence, with 64 per cent of victims being female.⁵⁷ It is significant to note that the determination of domestic violence as the cause of homelessness is based on self-identification while the individual is present at the community service, indicating the possibility for women to non-disclose and be underrepresented in the statistics.

Across Australia, estimates established in the PSS suggest that one in seven women who temporarily separate from their partner are forced to experience homelessness as the result of partner based violence. Further, one in 12 women sleeping rough are doing so following a violent incident or separation from an abusive former partner.⁵⁸ Although many women who temporarily or permanently leave a violent relationship are able to stay with family or friends, a substantial number of women experience homelessness as a result of leaving that relationship. Specialist homelessness services data released by AIHW provides the following insights.⁵⁹

- Between 2011-12 and 2014-15, the number of women accessing community services increased by 16 per cent. This is partly the result of an increase in service provision, particularly in Victoria.
- Across the same time period, single parent households with a child or children accounted for the majority of this increase in the request for services.
- The most common reason why women accessed community services was for short term or emergency accommodation (42 per cent), followed by material and aid brokerage (37 per cent).

The points above indicate that there has been a substantial increase in women accessing community services organisations at the same time that the availability of these services at a national level has increased, with particular states increasing at a faster rate than others. As a result, there may be a high level of unmet need within the system. It is critical that there is a greater understanding of these needs developed over time to appropriately inform policy responses.

The data also provides an important window into the intersections of disadvantage for vulnerable women. For example, 24 per cent of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women who access specialist homelessness services do so because of domestic violence, while 18 per cent of elderly

⁵⁷ Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) 2015, *Specialist Homelessness Services collection data cubes 2014-15*.

⁵⁸ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey 2012*.

⁵⁹ Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) 2015, *Specialist Homelessness Services collection data cubes 2014-15*.

clients over the age of 55 use these services for the same reason. In addition, 15 per cent of women with a disability who access homeless services identify themselves as the victim of family violence.⁶⁰ As discussed further in Section 4, this indicates that levels of need across communities are potentially impacted by intersections of vulnerability and disadvantage.

3.2.7 Transfer costs

Key insights

KPMG estimates that transfer costs resulting from violence against women and their children will cost the Australian economy \$1.6 billion this year.

Transfer costs are associated with economic distortions or inefficiencies characterised as 'dead weight loss' and are created by the reallocation of resources in the economy. These inefficiencies may result from transfer payments, namely taxation and government funded benefits and services - and accumulate as the government is responsible for:

- loss of income tax of victims/survivors, perpetrators and employers
- additional induced social welfare payments
- victim compensation payments and other government services.

There are no net economic costs for society to provide services and benefits to victims of violence, as these are funded by the taxation system as a redistribution of resources from one group of society to another. Rather, transfer costs are associated with the distortions that result from taxation systems. It is estimated that the burden of these costs are borne by governments, as they are faced with reduced tax revenue, and are therefore required to collect additional tax dollars, increasing the impact of the dead weight loss.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

4 The experience of violence – cohorts and geographies

4.1 Background

In Australia, violence against women is pervasive across all age groups, ethnic backgrounds, cultures, socioeconomic groups, and geographies. The experience of violence has a significant immediate and long-term impact on the lives of women and their children, and as discussed in Section 3, the impacts of violence are reflected in, and accrue to, a number of direct and indirect costs borne by victims and their families, as well as the broader Australian society.

While women of all cohorts and geographies may experience violence, data on the prevalence and incidence of violence against women shows that there are specific demographic and geographic cohorts where the risk of experiencing violence over the course of one's life is significantly higher. For example, the prevalence of violence is significantly higher among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, women with disability, and women living in rural and remote areas across Australia. **These higher rates of violence for specific cohorts and the need for tailored service provision to provide appropriate assistance and support, indicate that there may be higher costs associated with the incidence and impact of violence among particular cohorts.**

Understanding the full breadth of the economic and non-economic impacts of violence on women, their families and the broader economy is complex and challenging. There is a need for a more nuanced identification of the effects of violence, as well as the social dynamics or geographic factors that may reinforce the impact of violence over the longer term. In particular, attaining a reliable understanding of the increased prevalence of violence for vulnerable women requires targeted data collection and survey design. This is to ensure the increased rates of violence experienced by vulnerable communities are accounted for, so the needs of high risk cohorts can be adequately addressed. Due to the broad scope of the PSS in estimating the prevalence of violence across the whole Australian population, the rate of violence for vulnerable cohorts is underrepresented.

Specifically, the cost differential in the impact of violence among different cohorts relates to:

- There are differing rates of violence across different cohorts of women, with some cohorts more vulnerable to experiencing violence over the course of their life.
- A variety of unique and overlapping characteristics impact the cost of violence against women, including barriers that may prevent women from reporting victimisation, differences in the level of targeted service provision for different cohorts and geographies, and the presence of other risk factors such as drug and alcohol abuse and mental health issues for the perpetrator of violence.

In addition to the baseline estimate of \$22 billion outlined in Section 3, the underrepresentation of vulnerable women within the PSS means that the full cost of violence likely exceeds the central costing estimates.

Accounting for potential underrepresentation of prevalence within the PSS for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, pregnant women, women with disability, and women experiencing homelessness, may add \$4 billion to the cost of violence against women and their children in Australia in 2015-16.

The following sections provide further discussion on the potential impact of socioeconomic characteristics and geography on the risk and experience of violence, the nature and prevalence of violence among vulnerable groups of women, as well as the intersections between the experience of violence by these groups and the broader service system.

4.2 The relationship between socio-demographic characteristics and geography on the prevalence of violence against women

Violence against women can be found across cohorts and geographies. However, research identifies a number of important risk factors that may contribute to the risk of women experiencing violence, and influence their ability to access appropriate services and support following an incidence of violence. These contributing risk factors relate to three main areas, namely:

- the relationship between **demographic characteristics such as age** and the risk of experiencing violence
- the relationship between **level of remoteness and geography** and the risk of experiencing violence
- the **experience of socioeconomic advantage and disadvantage** and the risk of experiencing violence.

It is important to note that the evidence is mixed, and there is limited conclusive evidence to suggest that demographic characteristics, geography, and the experience of socioeconomic advantage or disadvantage contributes to a higher risk of women experiencing violence. Whilst the data on prevalence rates of violence shows higher risks of violence among women living in regional and remote areas, and women experiencing socioeconomic disadvantage, there are a number of other risk factors such as drug and alcohol abuse and mental health issues, as well as barriers that may prevent women of certain cohorts from seeking support and accessing the appropriate services following experiences of victimisation.

Key findings

- **Young women between the ages of 18 and 24 face the highest risk of experiencing violence**, with 12.8 per cent of women in this age cohort having experienced violence over the last 12 months. The rate for the 18-24 cohort is over four per cent higher than the age cohort with the second highest prevalence rate.
- In comparison to other age cohorts, **elderly women have a lower prevalence rate of experiencing violence, but may face a number of barriers to accessing appropriate support** given that they may experience limited financial and emotional independence, diminished cognitive functioning, mental or physical disability, or social alienation.
- **Women who live in rural and remote areas of Australia face a higher risk of experiencing violence**, with both the 2012 PSS and the Australian Longitudinal Study on Women's Health showing that a higher number of women in these areas have experienced partner violence compared to women living in capital cities.
- There **are challenges relating to social and geographical isolation that may also impact on the ability of women in rural and remote areas to seek help or leave an abusive relationship**, including restricted social networks and support, limited services and support, lack of privacy and anonymity, and financial dependence.
- There is **inconsistent evidence to suggest any definitive relationship that links socioeconomic status and the prevalence of violence against women and children**,

However there is evidence that indicators of socioeconomic status such as level of educational attainment, level of household income, and employment status **may impact on a woman's**

vulnerability of experiencing violence when other contributing risk factors such as drug and alcohol abuse and mental health issues are present.

4.2.1 Women across different age cohorts

Violence is experienced by women across different age cohorts in Australia, although analysis of the data shows that the risk of experiencing violence is highest for young women between the ages of 18 and 24. Table 4-1 illustrates this point.

Table 4-1: Prevalence of violence against women in Australia across age cohorts, 2012

Age cohort	Number of women who experienced violence over the last 12 months ('000s)	Proportion of total women who experienced violence (%)
18 to 24 years	137.4	12.8
25 to 34 years	131.1	8.1
35 to 44 years	88.2	5.5
45 to 54 years	65.8	4.3
55 years or more	44.9	1.5

Source: ABS Personal Safety Survey 2012.

While young women face a higher risk of experiencing violence, many elderly women in Australia are also more vulnerable to experiencing violence. Elderly women also often experience barriers to reporting incidents of violence, or leaving an abusive relationship.

The experiences of young women and elderly women are described in further detail below.

Violence against young women

As highlighted in Table 4-1 above, young women are at a higher risk of experiencing violence (across all recorded categories) in comparison to other age cohorts.⁶¹ This is also reflected in the historical trends, with young women being overrepresented among female victims of violence. Table 4-2 below shows that the number of young women who have experienced violence over a 12 month period increased between 2005 and 2012 from 117,000 to 137,400, but decreased between 1996 and 2012 from 178,500 to 134,400.

Table 4-2: Estimated number of women aged 18 to 24 who have experienced violence in the past 12 months

	1996	2005	2012
Number of women	178,500	117,000	137,400
Percentage of all women (%)	36.4	26.4	12.8

Source: ABS Personal Safety Survey 2012.

Young women are also at the highest risk of sexual assault. The 2012 PSS estimated that of all women who experienced an incident of sexual assault in the 12 months to 2012, over 50 per cent were aged between 18 and 34. This represents a total of 44,800 women.⁶² Recorded crime statistics collected by the ABS also highlight a higher prevalence of sexual assault amongst

⁶¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey*.

⁶² Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey*.

young woman, as shown in Table 4-3. The table illustrates that the prevalence of sexual assault is highest among females between 10 and 34 years across the three year period. This reflects the significant risk faced by both young women and young girls.

Table 4-3: Female victims of recorded sexual assault incidents by age cohort, 2012-14

Age	2012		2013		2014	
	Number of victims ('000s)	Proportion of total (%)	Number of victims ('000s)	Proportion of total (%)	Number of victims ('000s)	Proportion of total (%)
0–9 years	1,747	11	1,874	11	1,916	11
10–14 years	3,518	22	3,500	21	3,799	22
15–19 years	4,521	28	4,530	27	4,381	26
20–24 years	1,867	12	1,903	11	1,893	11
25–34 years	2,056	13	2,206	13	2,268	13
35–44 years	1,291	8	1,414	9	1,412	8
45–54 years	678	4	701	4	800	5
55–64 years	226	1	218	1	319	2
65 years and over	153	1	173	1	186	1
Total	16,121	100	16,562	100	17,072	100

Source: ABS 4510.0 Recorded Crime 2014, Note: this was sourced from an experimental dataset provided by the ABS, with national data on crime based on records from state and territory police.

The long term health impacts of violence against young women are also significant. A 2004 Victorian report by VicHealth identified domestic violence as the single biggest contributor to death, illness and disability among young women. This report also identified that for Victorian women under 45, violence by an intimate partner is responsible for more health and premature death risks for women than any other well known risk factor, including high blood pressure, obesity and smoking.⁶³

Violence against elderly women

Elderly women in Australia are also vulnerable to violence and may also face barriers that prevent them from seeking the appropriate support. The 2012 PSS, estimated that for all women who had experienced the most recent incident of violence in the last 12 months, 1.5 per cent were over the age of 55.⁶⁴ In comparison to other age cohorts, the prevalence of violence is lower – but it is important to note that elderly women are more likely to experience other forms of abuse outside the forms of physical, economic, sexual and emotional abuse.

More broadly, and as defined by the Elder Abuse Prevention Unit, elder abuse is defined as ‘a single or repeated act, or lack of appropriate action, occurring within any relationship where there is an expectation of trust which causes harm or distress to an older person’.⁶⁵ This includes acts of neglect, withholding medication, or physical actions against a frail or dependent individual. Elder abuse may also involve incidents of domestic violence, as well as incidents occurring in institutions or by any

⁶³ Janet Phillips 2006, *Measuring domestic violence and sexual assault against women: a review of the literature and statistics*, Australian Parliamentary Library, URL: www.aph.gov.au/about_parliament/parliamentary_departments/parliamentary_library/publications_archive/archives/violenceagainstwomen, Accessed 18 March 2016.

⁶⁴ ABS 2012, *Personal Safety Survey 2012*.

⁶⁵ Elder Abuse Prevention Unit 2014, *What is Elder Abuse?*, URL: www.eapu.com.au/elder-abuse, Accessed: 17 March 2016

person with a caring responsibility for that individual, including children, extended family or care workers.

Partner abuse is also a substantial issue for elderly women. A 2002 study in Western Australia estimated that 20 to 25 per cent of incidents of elderly abuse are perpetrated by the victim's spouse or partner.⁶⁶ Further, research suggests that violence against older women may represent the continuation of domestic violence into later life, and that it is often perpetrated by a partner who has a duty of care responsibility to the victim.⁶⁷

Importantly, there are a number of barriers that may prevent elderly women from reporting incidents of violence, or leaving an abusive relationship. Key factors identified by the Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse in 2009 include the following.⁶⁸

- **Diminished cognitive functioning, mental or physical disability.** This may create greater dependency or reliance on the carer, making it difficult to leave if the perpetrator is the partner or primary carer.
- **Lack of awareness of what amounts to abuse.** Lack of education targeted at elderly women may prevent victims from identifying acts of violence or abuse.
- **Social alienation, or a perceived (or actual) lack of access to services.** There may be a lack of informal support networks such as friends or family, insufficient local community services, or service delivery may not be appropriate for elderly women at risk. A 2008 study in New Zealand suggests that overcoming barriers to isolation is key to reducing the risk of violence against elderly women, and that supportive families and community connectedness are both factors that work against the risk of violence.
- **Financial and emotional dependence on families or partners.** Elderly women may experience financial and emotional dependence on families or partners, with insufficient savings or economic independence to support themselves, and may be too old to re-enter the workforce.
- **Care responsibilities or care recipient.** Elderly women may also have responsibility for the care of another elderly person, or they may be reliant on the assistance of their partner, as may be the case for elderly women with a disability.⁶⁹

These factors may indicate why it is more likely for elderly women to be long term victims of abuse. During long term abuse, the form of abuse may change over time, for example, incidents of physical or sexual violence may be linked with emotional or financial abuse against elderly women.⁷⁰

Research funded by the Australian Research Council (ARC) identified the need for further qualitative research to recognise the heterogeneity of elderly women's experiences of violence to ensure targeted strategies are in place to prevent violence and abuse. In addition, a range of measures to address the different risk factors – while taking into account both familial and partner relationships and external social and cultural influences – are available.⁷¹

Considerations of the impact of elderly abuse are also linked to issues affecting women with disabilities. There are similarities between disabled women and elderly women in their experience of violence, partly due to the significant number of elderly women who also have a disability. This is

⁶⁶ Boldy et al. 2002, *Elder Abuse in Western Australia*, in A. Morgan and H. Chadwick 2009, *Key issues in domestic violence*, Research in Practice no. 7, Australian Institute of Criminology.

⁶⁷ Women's Services Network (WESNET) 2000, *Domestic Violence in Regional Australia: A Literature Review*.

⁶⁸ Dr Lorana Bartels 2010, Criminology Research Council Research Fellow, *Emerging issues in domestic/family violence research*, Research in Practice no. 10, Australian Institute of Criminology.

⁶⁹ P. Kinnear and Adam Graycar 1999, *Abuse of Older People: Crime or Family Dynamics?*, Australian Institute of Criminology, trends and issues in crime and criminal justice

⁷⁰ Dr Lorana Bartels 2010, Criminology Research Council Research Fellow, *Emerging issues in domestic/family violence research*, Research in Practice no. 10, Australian Institute of Criminology.

⁷¹ Ibid.

estimated to be around 40 per cent. There are also similarities in patterns of care within the family, institutions, and care support services.⁷²

4.2.2 Women who live in different geographies

Women who live in rural and remote areas and experience violence often represent a significant proportion of ‘hidden’ victims.⁷³ Despite recent campaigns to raise public awareness about the scope and impact of abusive relationships on women, less is understood about the nature and complexities of rural or remote incidents of violence.

Developing a more in-depth understanding of the impacts of geography on the risk factors associated with violence is particularly important. Findings from a literature review by the Women’s Emergency Services Network (WESNET) in 2000 concluded that where comparable data was available, a greater proportion of women who live in rural and remote areas reported they had experienced incidents of violence, compared to women living in urban areas, and that women in remote communities had experienced the highest proportion of violence.⁷⁴

This is consistent with the findings from the analysis of data on a national and state level, specifically:

- The 2012 PSS, which found that an estimated 21 per cent of women living outside of capital cities had experienced violence from an intimate partner after the age of 15 (compared to 15 per cent living in a capital city). This represents an increase from the 2005 PSS results which showed that 18 per cent of females living outside capital cities had experienced violence by a previous partner after the age of 15, compared with 13 per cent of females in capital cities.⁷⁵
- The Australian Longitudinal Study on Women’s Health, which found that women in rural, regional and remote areas were more likely to have experienced partner violence than women living in capital cities – between 15 and 16 per cent, compared to 12 per cent for women in capital cities.⁷⁶
- A 2001-10 study of domestic assaults reported to the police in NSW, found that the five LGAs with the highest rate of domestic assaults per 100,000 in the underlying population were located in remote NSW, and 19 of the 20 LGAs with the highest rate of domestic assaults were located in either rural or regional NSW.⁷⁷

The studies show that the prevalence of violence among women in rural and remote areas is consistently higher than that for women living in urban areas. There has also been research into the additional risk factors faced by women in rural and regional areas that may contribute to a higher prevalence of violence in these communities.⁷⁸ These challenges, largely relating to issues that stem from social and geographic isolation, have compounding effects on the experience of violence among

⁷² Pamela Kinnear and Adam Graycar 1999, *Abuse of Older People: Crime or Family Dynamics?*, Australian Institute of Criminology, trends and issues in crime and criminal justice

⁷³ Amanda George and Bridget Harris 2014, Landscapes of Violence: Women Surviving Family Violence in Regional and Rural Victoria, Centre for Rural and Regional Law and Justice, Deakin University.

⁷⁴ Women’s Services Network (WESNET) 2000, *Domestic Violence in Regional Australia: A Literature Review*

⁷⁵ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2005 and 2012, *Personal Safety Survey*.

⁷⁶ Mishara, G. et al. 2014, *Health and wellbeing of women aged 18-23 in 2013 and 1996: Findings from the Australian Longitudinal Study on Women’s Health*.

⁷⁷ Gretch and Burgess, Trends and patterns in domestic violence assaults: 2001 to 2010, op. cit. in Department of Parliamentary Services, October 2014, *Domestic, Family and Sexual Violence in Australia: an Overview of the Issues*, URL: parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/3447585/upload_binary/3447585.pdf;fileType=application/pdf, Accessed: 10 March 2016.

⁷⁸ Dr Lorana Bartels 2010, Criminology Research Council Research Fellow, *Emerging issues in domestic/family violence research*, Research in Practice no. 10, Australian Institute of Criminology.

these victims, and often manifest in longer run impacts on the ability of victims to report incidents or to leave a violent relationship.⁷⁹ Specifically:

- **Restricted social networks and support** – women living in remote areas may be at a significant distance from friends or family. This distance has implications on their ease of access to important support networks, and may further complicate the decision for women to leave abusive relationships in the absence of these networks.⁸⁰
- **Limited support services** – in many rural and remote areas, targeted service provision for victims of violence is more limited, including health care services or shelters, and other mainstream services such as hospitals, as well as communications or public transport infrastructure. In many cases, the availability and accessibility of these services may be essential to preventing the occurrence of violence against women. These services act as an immediate support mechanism to ensure the short-term safety of victims, and provide ongoing support for the victim and their family, including the appropriate support for women to leave a violent relationship.⁸¹
- **Lack of privacy and anonymity** – cultural attitudes and social stigma in close-knit communities may discourage individuals from seeking help or prevent women from leaving abusive relationships.⁸²
- **Familiarity with authorities** – familiarity between the perpetrator or victim and police may discourage reporting, and may mean subsequent action following a reported incident may not be taken by police.⁸³
- **Complex financial arrangements or financial dependence** – in rural areas where there is a significant agricultural sector, money is often tied up in farming assets or funds. Further, the family farm may be controlled by the perpetrator of violence, and women may not be financially independent of the family.⁸⁴ In these cases, the limited employment options for women living in rural and remote communities may reduce the ability of victims to gain financial independence, and contribute to the challenges faced by women in leaving an abusive partner.⁸⁵

The complexity and interdependent impacts of these issues on both the prevalence of violence, and the ability of women who have experienced violence to access the necessary support to aid their recovery process suggest the need for targeted service provision. An example service is the Alice Springs Domestic and Family Violence Outreach Service in the Northern Territory, which provides targeted support to women experiencing domestic and family violence. In 2012-13, almost 400 women were assisted, with around 80 per cent of clients were Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. A 2012-13 evaluation found that all of the 19 women interviewed reported that their sense of safety had improved. Further, almost half of the women who had previously used crisis accommodation services had not required crisis accommodation following the receipt of outreach services.⁸⁶

⁷⁹ Women's Services Network (WESNET) 2000, *Domestic Violence in Regional Australia: A Literature Review*

⁸⁰ Monica Campo and Sarah Tayton 2015, *Domestic and Family Violence in Regional, Rural and Remote Communities: An Overview of Key Issues*, Child Family Community Australia, Australian Institute of Family Studies.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Elizabeth Broderick, Sex Discrimination Commissioner 2013, *Rural responses to rural challenges: the need for a contextualised response to family and domestic violence*, Speech to the National Rural Women's Conference, URL: www.humanrights.gov.au/news/speeches/rural-responses-rural-challenges-need-contextualised-response-family-and-domestic, Accessed: 16 March 2016.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Monica Campo and Sarah Tayton 2015, *Domestic and Family Violence in Regional, Rural and Remote Communities: An Overview of Key Issues*, Child Family Community Australia, Australian Institute of Family Studies.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision 2014, *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage Key Indicators 2014*.

Violence across urban areas

There are significant differences in the prevalence of violence against women in urban areas. The analysis suggests that in urban areas, socioeconomic disadvantage may be a key contributing factor towards the risk of experiencing violence, with the prevalence of violence being considerably higher among women living in areas with comparatively lower levels of socioeconomic advantage, and particularly for interpersonal violence.⁸⁷

However, socioeconomic disadvantage is only one of a variety of risk factors that may be linked to incidents of violence. As highlighted in the national advocacy work by 2015 Australian of the Year Rosie Batty, incidents of violence can happen to any woman or family. Further, while there are more health and support service options in urban areas, it is important to identify that social isolation from friends and family can also impact women in urban areas. Individual or environmental factors that limit access to formal and informal support networks can affect rates of violence, regardless of the geographic location or level of socioeconomic advantage.⁸⁸

4.2.3 Women who have experienced socioeconomic advantage and disadvantage

The challenges associated with understanding the relationship between socioeconomic status and the prevalence of violence against women are particularly important in the context of understanding the perceptions and attitudes about violence in Australia. Research has identified a range of contributing factors that may increase the risk of violence against women and their children.⁸⁹ In particular, there is evidence that indicators of socioeconomic status such as level of educational attainment, level of household income, and employment status may affect a woman's vulnerability of experiencing violence when other contributing risk factors such as drug and alcohol abuse and mental health issues are present.

However, there is inconsistent evidence to suggest any definitive relationship that links socioeconomic status and the prevalence of violence against women and children. For example, the 2012 PSS does not provide any clear evidence to suggest interactions or relationships, whereas the aggregation of state-based crime statistics indicates some overlap, between areas of low socioeconomic status and the level of recorded incidents of violence, as compared to the state average.

Given the interdependencies between indicators of socioeconomic status and other risk factors, there are challenges to interpreting the evidence. The inconsistency of evidence across Australian research reinforces that violence can happen to any individual in any circumstance – it is not an issue isolated to any specific socio-demographic, geographic, or vulnerable cohort. There is a need for further research and analysis to examine the perceptions and attitudes towards violence, and how these link to the prevalence and incidence of violence against women and children.

Box 4-1: Perceptions and attitudes of violence and socioeconomic status

The evidence suggests that the perceptions and attitudes of Australians about the relationship between socioeconomic status and violence is not consistent with the findings of the underlying data. This indicates disconnects between perceptions and evidence that require further research in order to understand the nature, risk and effect of violence against women and their children in Australia.

⁸⁷ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2013, 4529.0 - *Defining the Data Challenge for Family, Domestic and Sexual Violence*.

⁸⁸ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2013, 4529.0 - *Defining the Data Challenge for Family, Domestic and Sexual Violence*.

⁸⁹ Our Watch, Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS) and VicHealth, 2015, *Change the Story: A Shared Framework for the Primary Prevention of Violence Against Women and Their Children in Australia*.

The Special Taskforce on Domestic and Family Violence in Queensland released an extensive report on domestic and family violence in 2015. Some of the report's results on perceptions and community attitudes are outlined below.

- A 2014 online survey was conducted on community attitudes and perceptions about domestic and family violence in Queensland. In selecting a number of groups thought to be most vulnerable to domestic and family violence, people from low socioeconomic backgrounds were the category most likely to be listed, with 90 per cent of respondents (718 individual respondents) listing this category.⁹⁰
- A 2015 study by Enhance Research on behalf of the Queensland Special Taskforce indicated that respondents across focus groups in different geographies largely reiterated the idea that domestic violence was more common in lower socio-economic households across Queensland. This was not consistent with views expressed after further exploration of the issue that domestic and family violence could happen to anyone.⁹¹

In addition, the 2014 NCAS survey examined the attitudes and perceptions of Australians with regard to violence against women and their children. In exploring the impact of socioeconomic status on perception and attitudes, this report considered employment status, educational attainment and a comparison of relative disadvantage by area. Some minor differences was found, including the following:

- People with employment and higher levels of educational attainment were more likely to have a lower level of endorsement of attitudes supportive of violence against women.
- In comparing areas of relative disadvantage, the areas of greater relative advantage were less likely to support gender inequality and were more likely to support endorsement of attitudes, and respondents in areas of lower relative advantage had opposing results. However, these results were only statistically significant for the groups who were in areas of greatest disadvantage and advantage. This indicates the variability of attitudes in relation to socioeconomic status, and highlights the lack of evidence to suggest any definitive relationship between socioeconomic status and violence.
- Overall, the survey found that economic status measures did not have a significant influence on understanding of, or attitudes relating to, violence against women.⁹²

Further, research in Australia and internationally indicates that socioeconomic issues within relationships may be a risk factor experienced by victims of violence in Australia. Studies have indicated that interpersonal financial and economic issues within the household are a more conclusive indicator of the nature of violence than socioeconomic status at the aggregate level. Individuals may experience financial dependence on their partner, debt burdens resulting from a partner's financial behaviour, or be in a relationship where one partner holds control over economic resources. This is known as economic abuse – and it is an issue not unique to people experiencing socioeconomic disadvantage as it is primarily linked to issues of control, individual power and limited independence within relationships.

Box 4-2: The impact of economic abuse

The impact of economic abuse

⁹⁰ Special Taskforce on Domestic and Family Violence in Queensland 2015, *Appendix 3: Tell the taskforce: Domestic and Family Violence Survey*.

⁹¹ Enhance Research for Special Taskforce on Domestic and Family Violence in Queensland 2015, *Appendix 4: Research Report on Community Focus Groups*.

⁹² VicHealth, September 2014, *Australians' attitudes to violence against women: Findings from the 2013 National Community Attitudes towards Violence Against Women Survey (NCAS)*, URL: <https://www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/media-and-resources/publications/2013-national-community-attitudes-towards-violence-against-women-survey>, Accessed: 9 March 2016.

The interdependent impacts of violence can be seen in new research into the category of ‘economic abuse’, where financial inequality in partner relationships can mean a female victim is restricted from escaping the perpetrator. This in turn may enable or prolong other forms of violence. As a key component of gender inequality, financial dependence can impact a woman’s decision to remain in a violent relationship, and contributes to around 10 per cent of women returning to abusive partners.

- Economic abuse may impact engagement in paid employment, education participation, work absenteeism, credit records and debt concerns, and reliance on social security. These ongoing difficulties of economic insecurity, and the limitations they place on fulfilling basic needs, contribute to why women may return to abusive relationships or continue to endure abuse.
- Economic abuse is significantly linked with other forms of domestic abuse. A 2014 WIRE report estimates that 80 to 90 per cent of women who seek support from domestic violence services have experienced financial abuse.⁹³
- The attitudes of Australians may contribute to under-reporting instances of economic abuse. Compared to physical violence, Australians are less likely to recognise economic abuse. The 2013 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey identified that 26 per cent of Australians do not view the control of economic resources as a serious form of abuse.⁹⁴

This situation can be exacerbated by the limited availability of crisis support payments provided by government or lack of knowledge of services in the region. Beyond the direct impact of the relationship and service availability, the impacts of economic abuse can also continue after partners have separated, as there is currently limited legislation to support the splitting of household and utilities debts. Research by the Women’s Legal Service Victoria has identified that perpetrators of abuse may often generate debts they do not intend to pay off, leaving victims to bear the financial burden.

4.3 Risk of experiencing violence among vulnerable groups

Differences in key socioeconomic indicators, demographic characteristics, and geography may have an impact on the risk and vulnerability of women experiencing violence over the course of their life. However, data from the ABS PSS, the Australian Longitudinal Study on Women’s Health, and the various reported crime datasets at the jurisdictional level have shown that some cohorts of women face a consistently higher risk of experiencing violence. Importantly, these are cohorts that have been identified more broadly – across all areas of the human and social services sector – as cohorts of greater vulnerability.

We undertook a closer examination of a number of these cohorts to support a more detailed understanding of the factors that contribute to higher vulnerability of experiencing violence. Where possible, data on prevalence and incidence rates has been included to illustrate the higher risk of violence compared to the broader population. There is also evidence to suggest that to address the higher risk of certain cohorts experiencing violence, there needs to be a strong understanding of the barriers and drivers that may prevent women from speaking out and which contribute to the

⁹³ WIRE Women’s Information, August 2014, *WIRE Research Report: Relationship Problems and Money - Women talk about financial abuse*, URL: http://www.wire.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/WIRE-Research-Report_Relationship-Problems-and-Money-Women-talk-about-financial-abuse-August2014.pdf, Accessed: 9 March 2016.

⁹⁴ VicHealth, September 2014, *Australians’ attitudes to violence against women: Findings from the 2013 National Community Attitudes towards Violence Against Women Survey (NCAS)*, URL: <https://www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/media-and-resources/publications/2013-national-community-attitudes-towards-violence-against-women-survey>, Accessed: 9 March 2016.

underreporting of violence. Greater effort directed toward developing more optimal policy responses that address the issues faced by vulnerable women will be important.

For this Report, the vulnerable groups identified are:

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women
- women of a culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) background
- pregnant women
- women identifying as LGBTIQ
- women with disability.

Key findings

- **Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are at a significantly higher risk of experiencing violence over the course of their life.** The 2008 ABS National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey estimates that 23 per cent of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women having experienced violence in a 12 month period, compared to 4.6 per cent for non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women.
- **Women from CALD backgrounds are more likely to experience violence.** Risk factors include: limited command of the English language, limited social and familial networks, little financial security, and a lack of understanding of how to access the appropriate social services. These factors may contribute to the experience of violence, or limit the ability of women to seek support and report incidents of violence.
- **Pregnant women face a higher risk of experiencing violence.** The 2012 PSS found that 21.7 per cent of women reported experiencing violence during pregnancy and that for 13.3 per cent of women, the violence occurred for the first time during pregnancy. The experience of violence during pregnancy has critical implications on both the mother and child within the perinatal period and beyond. The impacts include problems in pregnancy and childbirth, delayed cognitive and behavioural development of children, and longer term impacts on the physical and psychological health of the mother and child.
- **Women identifying as LGBTIQ** face greater likelihood of experiencing violence. In particular, prevalence rates show that the experience of violence is greater among transgender women.

Women with disability face a higher risk of experiencing violence, and are also likely to experience violence at a more severe level and over a longer period. Key factors include diminished or limited cognitive, intellectual, or mental capacity, as well as limited independence contributing to greater lifelong vulnerability.

4.3.1 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are at a significantly higher risk of experiencing violence over the course of their life. Underrepresentation in the prevalence of physical and sexual violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women within the PSS may result in an additional \$1.2 billion in costs.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are at a significantly higher risk of experiencing violence over the course of their life. The 2008 ABS National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey, found that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are at least four times more likely to experience violence than the rest of the population, with approximately 23 per cent of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women experiencing physical violence in a 12 month period, as opposed to 4.6

per cent for non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women.⁹⁵ Data on the experience of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults more broadly shows similar results. Research conducted by the Australian Institute of Criminology for the Australian Component of the International Violence Against Women Survey identified that three times as many Indigenous women reported experiencing an incident of sexual violence (12 per cent), compared to non-Indigenous women (4 per cent).

The disparity in the prevalence and incidence figures between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women highlight the extent of the challenge. High rates of violence mean that not only are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women at significantly higher risk of experiencing violence, but that there is a critical need for more targeted investments and policy solutions to support better outcomes over the longer term.

The impact of violence experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and the impact on service provision across the country, is illustrated below:

- KPMG's 2009 report estimated the impact of violence on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women will cost the Australian economy almost \$2.2 billion by 2021-22, based on research suggesting that up to 40 per cent of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women experience violence in a 12 month period.
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are significantly overrepresented in the total number of clients accessing homelessness and refuge services across Australia. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander clients in 2014-15 used specialist homelessness services at the rate of 8.7 times higher than non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander clients, increasing from 7.8 times in 2011-12. Of these clients, 24 per cent accessing specialist homelessness services had cited incidence(s) of domestic violence as a reason for homelessness.
- In remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and outer regional areas, domestic violence was the main contributing factor towards the need for specialist homeless services.

There is also significant underreporting of sexual and physical assault among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. Research suggests that approximately 88 per cent of violence experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is not disclosed to police, with a further study suggesting non-reporting may be as high as 90 per cent.⁹⁶ By comparison, the average rate for the broader Australian population is approximately 70 per cent, however this varies based on the form of violence being committed and the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim. The high proportion of unreported violence in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities indicates that there may be limited formal repercussions for perpetrators of violence, or that there may be barriers that prevent victims from speaking out or seeking support.

4.3.2 Women from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds

Women from CALD backgrounds in Australia include migrants, refugees, international students, or unaccompanied minors. While there is considerable diversity in culture, ethnicity and language across women in this cohort, there is heightened vulnerability among those that may have limited command of the English language, limited social networks, little financial security, and a lack of understanding of how to access the appropriate social services when in need. Given these factors, there is significant evidence that women of a CALD background may face increased vulnerability to violence and its impacts.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2008, *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey 2008*.

⁹⁶ Australian Institute of Criminology 2003, *Non-recording and Hidden Recording of Sexual Assault*.

⁹⁷ Cecilia Menjivar and Olivia Salcido 2002, *Immigrant Women and Domestic Violence: Common Experiences in Different Countries*.

There are, however, challenges to understanding the prevalence of violence among CALD women.⁹⁸ Data from the PSS is limited at the individual cohort level, due to the size of the sample population, and the potential underrepresentation of CALD women given that the language of the survey is primarily in English. The PSS does note that cultural and language barriers can contribute to underreporting and victims not reporting incidents of abuse and violence to the police. The 2012 PSS, found that 1.6 per cent of women who did not report the most recent incident of sexual assault to the police did so for cultural or language reasons.⁹⁹

Further, factors such as the limited availability of appropriate translator and interpreter services and access to support services, social and familial networks, as well as cultural values and religious attitudes towards divorce may also reinforce underreporting rates among CALD women.¹⁰⁰ There may be a view among some CALD women that there is limited understanding of their particular situation and cultural history in mainstream services and in interactions with the police.

The mixed or limited ability access to appropriate services can also often be used as a tool of power and control by perpetrators. Further, the fact that women may not be financially independent or may face socioeconomic disadvantage following separation from their partner, can compound the risk of violence and limit access to services. In such circumstances, limited opportunities to escape can enable the continuation of the violence. This emphasises the importance of delivering culturally specific and sensitive services to areas across Australia with high CALD populations.

4.3.3 Pregnant women

Research has found that the risk of violence against women is higher for women during pregnancy and in the period after childbirth. It is estimated the cost of violence against pregnant women is approximately \$821 million.

Research has found that the risk of violence against women is higher for women during pregnancy and in the period after childbirth. The 2012 PSS found that 21.7 per cent of women reported experiencing violence during pregnancy, and that for 13.3 per cent of women, the violence occurred for the first time during pregnancy.¹⁰¹ While this figure is relatively high, it represents a decrease from the 2005 rate of 16.8 per cent.¹⁰² Similarly, a study based in a public obstetrics hospital in Melbourne found that one in five pregnant women interviewed had experienced violence during their pregnancy.¹⁰³ These results are significant, given that the presence of domestic violence during pregnancy and childbirth heightens the vulnerability of pregnant women. Many may experience a variety of health conditions, or may be emotionally or financial dependent on a partner.¹⁰⁴ In these cases, violence against women may also have critical implications on the health and safety of the pregnant mother, as well as the unborn child.

Specifically, perinatal research has shown that the experience of violence among pregnant women has implications on the wellbeing of the mother and the growth and development of their children. The impacts of violence during the period of perinatal period include:

⁹⁸ Morgan, A. & Chadwick, H. 2009. *Key issues in domestic violence. Research in Practice no. 7.*

⁹⁹ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey 2012.*

¹⁰⁰ Pease, B. & Rees, S. 2007, *Researching domestic violence in refugee families. DVIRC Quarterly 1:*

¹⁰¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey 2012.*

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ VicHealth, September 2014, *Australians' attitudes to violence against women: Findings from the 2013 National Community Attitudes towards Violence Against Women Survey (NCAS), URL:* <https://www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/media-and-resources/publications/2013-national-community-attitudes-towards-violence-against-women-survey>, Accessed: 9 March 2016.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

- **Problems in pregnancy and childbirth can occur**, including miscarriage, low-birth weight infants, and perinatal morbidity, as well as a higher risk of asthma and epilepsy among newborns.^{105 106}
- **There may be negative impacts on the cognitive and behavioural development of children**, with neurological studies indicating that the first year of life is the time period where the brain is undergoing the most rapid development – a stage which is accompanied by sensitivities that leave the brain most open to the influence of external experiences.¹⁰⁷
- **Longer term impacts on the physical and psychological health of the mother can occur**. A study conducted at the Royal Women's Hospital in Brisbane found that women who experienced abuse during pregnancy were prescribed more medication, and were more likely to be admitted to hospital. Other studies suggested that the experience of violence during pregnancy may also result in the experience of symptoms of PTSD.¹⁰⁸

Further, the use of alcohol, tobacco and illicit drugs is also more likely amongst pregnant women who have suffered abuse. This presents greater health risks for the mother and child in the perinatal period.¹⁰⁹ There are, therefore, important complexities that need to be taken into account when addressing the impact of violence on pregnant women, as well as the risk of violence and diminished psychological and physical health for both mother and child over the longer term.

The difficulties of collecting information on violence against pregnant women are similar to that of other cohorts, with research indicating significant underreporting by victims. However, given that pregnant women are likely to require greater access to primary health services and interact with other parts of the broader service system, there is scope for underreporting to be reduced if health workers shift their focus toward a greater awareness of the potential signs of domestic abuse and violence.¹¹⁰

4.3.4 Women identifying as lesbian, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer

As a cohort who are at higher risk of negative health and wellbeing outcomes, individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or intersex are particularly vulnerable to the impacts of violence and abuse.

Prevalence data for violence against women who identify as LGBTIQ is scarce compared to other at risk cohorts. Violence experienced by women identifying as LGBTIQ is often ‘hidden’ as a result of under reporting, narrow national data collection, and social stigma. This, in turn, results in limited LGBTIQ community and societal understanding of violence.¹¹¹ The research is not definitive in estimating prevalence, though most studies indicate that same-sex couples experience approximately the same rates of violence as heterosexual couples.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Australian Institute for Health and Welfare (AIHW), 2015, *Screening for domestic violence during pregnancy: Options for future reporting in the National Perinatal Data Collection*, Cat. No. PER 71

¹⁰⁶ VicHealth, September 2014, *Australians' attitudes to violence against women: Findings from the 2013 National Community Attitudes towards Violence Against Women Survey (NCAS)*, URL:

<https://www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/media-and-resources/publications/2013-national-community-attitudes-towards-violence-against-women-survey>, Accessed: 9 March 2016

¹⁰⁷ Australian Human Rights Commission, 2015, *Children's Rights Report 2015: National Children's Commissioner Annual Report*.

¹⁰⁸ VicHealth, September 2014, *Australians' attitudes to violence against women: Findings from the 2013 National Community Attitudes towards Violence Against Women Survey (NCAS)*, URL:

<https://www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/media-and-resources/publications/2013-national-community-attitudes-towards-violence-against-women-survey>, Accessed: 9 March 2016.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Australian Institute for Health and Welfare (AIHW) 2015, *Screening for domestic violence during pregnancy: Options for future reporting in the National Perinatal Data Collection*, Cat. No. PER 71.

¹¹¹ Royal Commission in Family Violence 2016, *Summary and Recommendations*.

- *The Private Lives* study, an online survey by Gay and Lesbian Health Victoria and the Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society, conducted in 2006 with 5,476 individuals of both genders who identified as LGBTIQ found that 33 per cent of respondents had been in a relationship with an abusive partner (in either same-sex or heterosexual relationships).¹¹²
- A 2008 Victorian study involving 390 LGBTIQ respondents found that 31 per cent of respondents were subject to abuse by their partner, with the proportion of individuals in same-sex intimate relationships who were male-identifying or female-identifying reporting incidents of physical violence at 41 per cent and 28 per cent respectively.¹¹³
- In the year 2009-10, the Victorian Family Violence Database recorded over 250 incidents of violence reported to the police by males identified in same sex relationships, and over 150 females identified in same sex relationships. This finding is based on limited information and is not sufficient to be able to comprehensively understand incidents of violence against LBGTIQ individuals.
- In the same study, 78 per cent of these individuals identified the abuse as psychological and 58 per cent identified an incident involving physical abuse or being hit.¹¹⁴

Research has indicated that women identifying as LGBTIQ may also be vulnerable to identity abuse, which is specific to relationships involving an individual with a sexually or gender diverse identity. An abusive partner may threaten to publicly ‘out’ their partner to family, friends, colleagues or the community, or demean an individual privately on this basis – thereby using an individual’s gender or sexual identity as an abuse mechanism. The NSW LGBTIQ Relationships Survey, a 2014 study of 813 survey respondents, found that:

- Eleven per cent of study participants responded that their current partner had used sexuality as a means of control.
- Of transgender, gender diverse and intersex respondents, 12.8 per cent stated that their gender identity, gender expression or an intersex trait was used by a partner to put them down or as a means of control at least once.¹¹⁵

Further, LGBTIQ individuals are at higher risks of non-domestic forms of violence, namely heterosexist violence, which the 2008 Victorian report describes as ‘the complex social and psychological processes underpinning violence and discrimination’ against LGBTIQ individuals. This research found that one in three incidents of heterosexist violence occurs on the street, and that in 70 per cent of cases, the perpetrator is a stranger with no prior relation to the victim. This indicates that the specific experience of violence relating to sexual identity presents in circumstances that are different to other forms of violence. Furthermore, it is an issue affecting a number of individuals identifying as LGBTIQ:

- Nearly 85 per cent of respondents have been subject to heterosexist violence or harassment in their lifetimes.
- Seven in ten respondents have been subject to heterosexist violence while alone in the past two years.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Gay and Lesbian Health Victoria and the Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society, Leonard et al, 2006, *Private Lives*.

¹¹³ Gay and Lesbian Health Victoria, Leonard et al., 2008, *Coming Forward: the underreporting of heterosexist violence and same sex partner abuse in Victoria*.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ LGBTIQ Domestic and Family Violence Interagency and the Centre for Social Research in Health, University of NSW, 2014, *Calling it What it Really is: A Report into Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Gender Diverse, Intersex and Queer Experiences of Domestic and Family Violence*.

¹¹⁶ Leonard et al., 2008, *Coming Forward: the underreporting of heterosexist violence and same sex partner abuse in Victoria*, Gay and Lesbian Health Victoria.

The experience of heterosexist abuse is also one that may affect any gender identity, and Table 4-4 below highlights the variation in the experience of heterosexist abuse across different gender identities:

- Verbal abuse was the most common form of heterosexist abuse for women identifying as LGBTIQ.
- The rate of verbal abuse was 1.5 times higher for transgender females, compared to all women identifying as LGBTIQ.
- The threat and experience of physical violence was three times higher for transgender females compared to all women identifying as LGBTIQ.

Table 4-4: Experiences of heterosexist violence and harassment by gender identity

Types of heterosexist abuse	%	Female	Male	Trans (M)	Trans (F)	Other preferred
Verbal abuse	25.5	22.5	26	46.7	36.9	45.1
Harassment	15.5	14.8	15.4	22.2	17.8	33.6
Threats of physical violence, physical violence or assault without a weapon	8.7	5.9	10.5	11.1	15.1	20.5
Written threats and abuse – including emails and graffiti	6.6	4.9	6.8	15.6	16.5	17.7
Deliberate damage to property or vandalism – Car	3.3	2.9	3.5	2.2	6.7	5.3
Sexual assault	2.9	3.1	2.3	0	6.8	4.5
Deliberate damage to property or vandalism - House	2.4	1.7	2.9	4.4	2.5	7.1

Source: Leonard et al, 2012, ‘*Private Lives 2 Report: The second national survey of the health and wellbeing of GLBT Australians*’.

Most data collection in Australia does not account for sexual orientations, with limited collection of information on victims of violence who are bisexual, transgender or intersex. Research indicates that these individuals may be at high risk of physical and sexual violence, and at a higher risk than individuals in other same-sex relationships, yet there are few support services tailored to the need of these individuals. This may result in a significant burden for these individuals that is faced alone, with insufficient external support.¹¹⁷

There are significant limitations in understanding violence against LGBTIQ victims, as there is limited availability of data and information to inform understanding. The National LGBTIQ Health Alliance has identified the need for reliable nationally, representative data on the prevalence and incidence of violence against LGBTIQ individuals, advocating for greater consideration of these at risk individuals in the development of the National Data Collection and Reporting Framework. This is amplified by considerable underreporting issues. Research suggests that current estimates of violence against LGBTIQ individuals do not account for many unreported incidents. In particular, underreporting of

¹¹⁷ LGBTIQ Domestic and Family Violence Interagency and the Centre for Social Research in Health, University of NSW, 2014, *Calling it What it Really is: A Report into Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Gender Diverse, Intersex and Queer Experiences of Domestic and Family Violence*.

domestic violence among gay men has been identified in research as a key issue for the LGBTIQ cohort, both in Australian and international literature.¹¹⁸

4.3.5 Women with disability

Women with disability face a higher risk of experiencing violence, and are also likely to experience violence at a more severe level and over a longer period. It is estimated that the cost of violence against women with disability is approximately \$1.7 billion.

Women with a disability face a significantly higher risk of experiencing violence. Broadly speaking, people with a disability are more vulnerable in society, due to diminished or limited physical, cognitive, and intellectual capacity, as well as greater dependence on others for financial and physical support. It has been suggested that women with disabilities are 40 per cent more likely to be the victims of domestic violence than women without disabilities, and more than 70 per cent of women with disabilities have been victims of violent sexual encounters at some time in their lives.¹¹⁹ Similarly, a Victorian study conducted in 2008 concluded that 25 per cent of women who reported sexual violence to police had a disability, with 15 per cent having an intellectual disability and 5.9 per cent having a physical disability.¹²⁰

Data from the PSS shows that six per cent of women with a disability or long term health condition had experienced violence in the 12 months to the survey, compared to five per cent for women without a disability or long-term health condition.¹²¹ Further, women with a disability or long-term health condition were found to be more likely to experience multiple incidents of violence when compared to the broader population. This suggests that women with disability may also face barriers to reporting violence and seeking support, with contributing factors likely to include financial or care dependency, or limited ability to access appropriate services without the intervention of a carer or family member. Women with a disability or a long-term health condition also represent about half of all women who experienced sexual assault in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Limitations associated with using the PSS

It is important to note that the PSS uses a standard measure of core activity limitation (used in other ABS surveys), which is based on the extent to which a person ‘needs help, has difficulty, or uses aids or equipment’. Therefore, it only reports data on a point-in-time definition of disability, and does not consider possible changes over time. Further, the survey only selects respondents from private dwellings, with no respondents living in institutional care settings interviewed.

Violence against women with disability also includes different forms of abuse, including physical violence such as the withholding of food, water, medication or support, sexual violence, emotional violence, financial violence, and coercion and manipulation that may result from existing hierarchies between people with disability and people without disability.¹²² The perpetuation of violence is also more likely to persist over time due to a range of contributing factors, including:

- the place of residence or service setting
- physical, emotional and financial dependence on others
- lack of access to the broader service system

¹¹⁸ Australian Human Rights Commission, 2015, *Children's Rights Report 2015: National Children's Commissioner Annual Report*.

¹¹⁹ Brownridge, D. 2006, ‘Partner violence against women with disabilities: Prevalence, risks and explanations’, *Violence against Women and Frohmader, C. 2014, ‘Gender Blind, Gender Neutral’: The effectiveness of the National Disability Strategy in improving the lives of women and girls with disabilities.*

¹²⁰ KPMG 2009, *Estimating the Cost of Violence Against Women and their Children*.

¹²¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey 2012*.

¹²² Women with Disabilities Australia (WWDA) 2015, *Understanding Violence Against Women with Disabilities*.

- limited participation and access in decision making
- fear of disclosure.

Importantly, heightened vulnerability among women with disability can also create or reinforce other areas of disadvantage. For example, AIHW data on specialist homeless services identifies that approximately 15 per cent of women who access services citing domestic violence as a key reason also have a form of disability.¹²³ Further, there is also a need to address the multiple forms of violence and abuse that may result from the intersection of disability with other socio-demographic characteristics such as age, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander status and racial, cultural or linguistic status.¹²⁴

¹²³ Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) 2015, *Specialist Homelessness Services collection data cubes 2014-15*.

¹²⁴ Women with Disabilities (WWDA) 2014, *Violence against women with disabilities*.

4.4 Additional cost of violence against vulnerable women

The higher rates of violence for many vulnerable women documented in Section 4 indicate that the central prevalence calculations in the PSS underestimate the full scope of violence across Australia. As a result, the cost of violence pertaining to these underrepresented cohorts is not fully accounted for in the central costing estimates.

As identified throughout Section 4, indicative estimates of the additional costs, based on available evidence of underrepresentation of prevalence within the PSS, has been undertaken for: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, women who are pregnant, women with a disability, and women who experience homelessness as a result of violence.

We suggest that these are conservative estimates, specifically, because they do not consider:

- the extent of potential underreporting of violence
- the potential need for more intensive service provision and support in the event of experiencing violence
- potential underrepresentation of broader cohorts where data was not sufficient to undertake a similar estimation, for example women from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds, and women who identify as LGBTIQ.

Error! Not a valid bookmark self-reference. below provides a summary of the estimated additional costs for the cohorts underrepresented in the PSS and which have been identified to be of greater risk or vulnerability of experiencing violence.

These supplementary cost estimates should be considered preliminary, and in conjunction with the supporting research and the limitations outlined in the main body of the report.

Table 4-5: Additional costs for cohorts experiencing a varied rate of violence to the broader population

Cohort	Representation within the PSS	Risk of experiencing violence	Difference in prevalence rate	Additional cost (\$ million)
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander flag not included within the PSS due to insufficient sample size. This cohort was not targeted during data collection.	Amongst Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, 23.2 per cent experience physical violence each year, compared to 4.6 per cent of the broader female population.	Considering the 18.6 percentage point difference in the rates of violence, KPMG estimates approximately 35,420 women experiencing violence are not included in PSS prevalence estimates.	755 (physical violence)
		Twelve per cent of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women experience sexual violence each year, compared to 1.2 per cent of the broader female population.	Considering the 10.8 percentage point difference in the rates of violence, KPMG estimates approximately 20,566 women experiencing violence are not included in PSS prevalence estimates.	432 (sexual violence)
Women from a CALD background	Identification of women born in Australia or overseas.	An estimated 292,000 women living in Australia who were born overseas have experienced violence over a 12 month period.	There is limited evidence to identify if prevalence rates are higher for women from a CALD background. As such, more research is required to determine the differences in cost of violence compared to the broader population.	Insufficient data.
Pregnant women	Women who have experienced violence during pregnancy since the age of 15 are included in the PSS. However, the PSS does not include an adequate representation of pregnant women in the past 12 months.	Thirteen per cent of women experience violence when they are pregnant, compared to 5.3 per cent of the broader population.	Considering the 7.7 percentage point difference in the rates of violence, KPMG estimates that 39,062 women experiencing violence while pregnant are not included in the PSS prevalence estimates.	821
Women identifying as LGBTIQ	The PSS does not include a flag for women identifying as LGBTIQ. This cohort was not targeted during data collection.	Women identifying as LGBTIQ may face greater risk of experiencing violence, with research indicating rates of violence are higher for transgender women.	Insufficient data.	Insufficient data.
Women with disability	The PSS identifies women who have a disability or long term health condition. However, the methodology does not allow for	Women with disabilities are 40 per cent more likely to be the victims of domestic violence than women without disabilities.	Considering this difference of 40 per cent, KPMG estimates that approximately 78,577 women with a disability who experience violence are not included in the PSS	1,651

Cohort	Representation within the PSS	Risk of experiencing violence	Difference in prevalence rate	Additional cost (\$ million)
	facilitators for women who require support for communication, limiting the inclusion of many women in the survey.		prevalence estimates.	
Women experiencing homelessness as a result of violence	The PSS identifies women who experienced homelessness because of violence in previous relationships. However, the survey methodology does not include women in refuges, homelessness shelters, living rough, or who cannot identify themselves in temporary residence. As a result, this group is excluded from prevalence estimates.	Not applicable – this category is not included in the PSS because of their household status during the survey.	It is estimated that over 12 months, 79,301 women experienced homelessness because of violence. Based on AIHW specialist homelessness data, an average of 24 per cent of these women's time during the year is spent away from home.	407

Note: Given limitations around the scope and scale of available data, there are challenges to estimating the prevalence of violence for a number of vulnerable groups, as well as the cost of violence. Therefore, the costs provided are illustrative, and should not be considered alongside, or in addition to, the cost estimates provided in Section 3.

Source: KPMG.

5 Roadmap and next steps

Addressing the issue of violence against women and their children is complex, and will necessitate generational change and ongoing and targeted investment into long term solutions. The collective commitment by Commonwealth, state and territory governments made in recent Council of Australian Governments (COAG) meetings towards reducing the extent of violence across Australia has been well recognised by key stakeholders as an important step towards achieving this outcome.

The momentum generated across governments is a unique opportunity to deliver more effective and integrated services and programs, develop collaborative and consistent data collection practices across Australia, and leverage the research and data collected in different jurisdictions to support evidence based policy making.

An improved evidence base will also help to underpin the continued refinement and extension of the method undertaken in further costing studies, providing the opportunity for more detailed and targeted analyses about the economic and non-economic impact of violence and its associated consequences. This can help to guide the development of targeted policy initiatives, improving our understanding and measurement of policy outcomes, and identifying areas where targeted research and service delivery is required.

On the basis of the analysis undertaken in this Report, KPMG have prepared a roadmap of key considerations to assist the Department in identifying the steps required to support the continued implementation of the National Plan and the development of the Third Action Plan. Considering the complexity of the issue of violence, it is important to emphasise the roadmap is not exhaustive and should be considered in relation to the other recent recommendations for reform, such as the Victoria Royal Commission's 227 recommendations and the Queensland Government's report and recommendations Not Now, Not Ever.

In light of these considerations, the summary identifies some of the most important areas of interest for government in developing a stronger evidence base to support longer term policy decision making to reduce violence against women and their children. Specifically, the summary includes five focus areas, namely:

- **Collaboration and integration of reporting across jurisdictions** – more consistent data collection and collation activities across the states and territories is needed, including the identification and measurement of violence to better underpin comparative analysis around the nature, risk and impact of violence across areas.
- **Strengthening our understanding of the economic impacts of violence** – understanding the prevalence and incidence of violence, as well as opportunities to further refine and extend methods to estimating the cost of violence will be important to supporting policy decisions. Further, there is significant potential to further our understanding of the impact of economic abuse on women.
- **Strengthening our understanding of the impact of socio-demographic and geographic characteristics** – understanding the interdependencies between socio-demographic and geographic factors is pivotal to mapping the experience and impact of violence across cohorts.
- **Strengthening our understanding of the risk of experiencing violence by vulnerable groups** – recognition of the different level of risk faced by vulnerable cohorts in experiencing violence over the course of their life is important to developing opportunities for targeted services and more informed policy making.

- Strengthening our understanding of the linkages and impacts on the broader services system – recognising how the experience of violence intersects with other areas of the service system, for example service provision for homelessness, mental health, and the justice sector is important to better inform holistic policy decision making.

5.1 Collaboration and integration of reporting across jurisdictions

Understanding the impacts of violence requires a detailed understanding of the number of women experiencing violence across Australia, as well as the number of incidents that occur during a single year. At present, there are substantial differences in the reporting of violence and administrative data collection between states and territories which largely reflects their respective legal and social services systems. While it is important to consider the needs of local reporting requirements, to improve the understanding of violence and enable comparison across jurisdictions and sub-jurisdictions, it is useful to ensure data collection activities are well coordinated between Commonwealth, state and territory governments, as well as through the various pathways of the service system.

The PSS and the ABS experimental data on crime reporting of domestic violence provide useful high level sources for determining the scope of violence across Australia, but greater consistency and granularity is required in the evidence base to understand trends and the impact of policy over time. Two key challenges are identified below.

Key challenge	Key considerations
1. A more consistent understanding of both the prevalence and incidence of violence against women is pivotal to understanding the trends in violence and the individual and societal cost of violence	At present, there is a lack of clarity around the relationship between prevalence and incidence rates across the jurisdictions, given that prevalence data provides population-level rates of violence, and incidence data provides police data on reported incidents only. Further, the high level of unreported violence suggests that incidence rates underestimate the actual rate of violence among the population. These issues have led to inconsistency in results making it difficult to assess trends over time.
2. Greater consistency of definitions, reporting methods, and the collection of data across the jurisdictions will improve the comparability of trends over time	Differences in the definition and classification of violence and abuse, and the measuring and reporting of violence has implications on the ability to analyse the trends in violence against women over time. This has implications for understanding the nature and extent of violence, measuring the impact and outcomes of targeted programs, and estimating the overall cost of violence. Greater consistency in the approach to data across the jurisdictions will also enable the development of a consistent national framework with actionable and measurable steps to reduce violence against women in Australia.

5.2 Strengthening our understanding of the economic impacts of violence

As described in detail throughout this Report, approaches to estimating the economic and non-economic impacts of violence on women, their families and the broader Australian economy has evolved into a consistent methodology for establishing high level costing calculations. This method

and the resulting costing has enabled the identification of the nationwide costs associated with the economic and non-economic consequences of violence.

There are three significant challenges to continuing to strengthen and refine the costing methodology applied across the 2009 and 2016 KPMG studies. The three challenges are outlined below. These relate to both updating and nuancing the current cost categories and assumptions, and to targeted research into additional economic impacts on women and their families from economic abuse.

Key challenge	Key considerations
<p>3. Refinements to sub-cost categorisation such as sector specific costs can be made with enhanced data availability and consistency between jurisdictions</p>	<p>The current approach utilises a combination of top-down and bottom-up calculations, utilising the most up-to-date data sources to ascertain high level costs across seven cost categories. The strength of this approach is in establishing nation-wide and jurisdiction-based costing to communicate the scope of the issue in regards to the impact across the economy.</p> <p>More detailed costing relating to sub-sections of the cost categories may be able to be established with additional research and data identifying the number of women accessing services across the service system, including for health care, and justice services. Additionally, updated research on key assumptions underpinning calculations – for example, the number of days taken off from work by victims of violence, based on violence type – would further strengthen costing estimates.</p>
<p>4. Economic abuse can accompany and compound experiences of violence, however additional data is required to develop a more comprehensive analysis of the effects of resource control, financial inequality and partner debt</p>	<p>New research into the impact of economic abuse on women has identified that experiences of violence can be accompanied by economic abuse, which can also extend experiences of violence by reducing opportunities for women to leave an abusive relationship. Key issues include financial inequality between partners leading to the control of household finances, and the accumulation of bad debt in a joint account or victim's name. Economic abuse may impact engagement in paid employment, education participation, work absenteeism, credit records and debt concerns, and reliance on social security. These ongoing difficulties of economic insecurity, and the limitations they place on fulfilling basic needs act as barriers to reporting violence. Additional data and research is required on the impact of economic abuse, as well as the role institutions such as banks and insurance companies can play in reducing the prevalence, impact and pathways towards economic abuse and violence.</p>
<p>5. Continue refining and extending costing approach to determine cost differentials for vulnerable and diverse cohorts of women experiencing violence</p>	<p>To further identify the cost impact of violence on vulnerable and diverse groups, additional research into the prevalence, impact and severity of violence is required for these cohorts. Importantly, current evidence suggests that the experience and rate of violence for vulnerable groups differ markedly, with some groups such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women experiencing far higher levels of violence compared to the broader population. As such, there is a substantial cost differential for the communities and regions where there is a higher proportion of violence, and a higher need for targeted services tailored to the needs of individual groups. Further research would enable an increasingly nuanced understanding of the cost impacts and cost drivers of violence to support the development of targeted policy initiatives.</p>

5.3 Understanding the impact of socio-demographic and geographical characteristics

There are a number of interdependent factors to consider when examining the drivers and impacts of violence. Socio-demographic characteristics such as age and socioeconomic status as well as geographical factors may impact on the risk of women experiencing violence. For example, young women are consistently identified in research and data as being at higher risk of experiencing violence than the broader population. However, less is known about the impacts of characteristics of socioeconomic status in both contributing to the risk of violence and other drivers of violence such as drug and alcohol abuse. Two challenges are identified below.

Key challenge	Key considerations
6. The identification of key demographic cohorts and geographies is required to better understand the historical trends in violence, and enable resources to be targeted at cohorts and geographies of greatest risk	The exploratory analysis and research undertaken in this study found a significant number of valuable datasets around the nature and extent of violence against women in Australia. However, for many of the key datasets, the data is not stratified at an appropriately granular level, with substantial challenges to understanding the prevalence of violence across all at risk or vulnerable cohorts, or below the state or territory level. Similarly, specific demographic and geographic characteristics for women reporting incidents of violence is often not present in the police crime data. To enable costs to be estimated for a number of cohorts, greater detail is necessary. This will also help to inform policy decision making around the allocation of government resources and funding to the cohorts or areas of greatest risk.
7. There is a lack of clarity on the impact of socio-economic characteristics as contributing factors to the risk of violence	While there is broad agreement across the research that violence can affect women of all ages, locations and circumstances, there is some inconsistency in the data around the impact of socio-economic status on the risk factors for violence. For example, the PSS identifies that there is no statistically significant difference in women who experience violence and face socioeconomic disadvantage, while reported crime incident data from each jurisdiction indicate there may be a correlation between rates of violence in a geographical area and socio-economic status. As such, there is a need to examine socioeconomic status at a more detailed level, including exploring the impact of individual indicators such as educational attainment, employment status and income level. Equally important, there is potential to further examine how socioeconomic factors may also inform drivers of violence, such as the use of drugs and alcohol, access to services and the experience of mental health issues.

5.4 Understanding the risk of experiencing violence by vulnerable groups

The risk of experiencing violence can be far greater for many vulnerable groups, such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. However, there is less clarity on the rate and drivers of violence against other vulnerable groups such as women identifying as LGBTIQ and women from a CALD background.

It is important to identify both the overlapping and unique characteristics of each group contributing to their risk of experiencing violence, as well as the concurrent experience of different forms of

violence, such as emotional abuse and physical assault. Additional research is required on each of these characteristics and experiences to understand the interdependent drivers and impacts of violence. Insights drawn from relevant research and the gaps and challenges identified for further analysis are identified below.

Key challenge	Key considerations
8. The exploratory analysis shows that there are certain cohorts that face a higher risk of experiencing violence – and the heightened risk for these cohorts is in line with trends of greater demand for services within the broader human services sector	<p>The most vulnerable and at-risk groups of women have been identified to be Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, women of CALD status, women with disability, and women who have experienced homelessness. Given that these cohorts are also overrepresented in other areas within the human services sector, there is significant value in developing a stronger understanding of the characteristics of these cohorts, and the potential demographic and socio-economic drivers that may increase their vulnerability. Over time, there is potential for this analysis to inform detailed planning around appropriate whole-of-government policy responses – responses that recognise the importance of cross-departmental and agency collaboration and coordination – to reduce the prevalence and incidence of violence among these cohorts.</p>
9. Research has identified key differences in the experience of violence for vulnerable cohorts – and each of these groups requires targeted research, data and analysis to determine relevant drivers, impacts and trends	<p>Research has identified that there may be no increase in prevalence for some cohorts, such as women identifying as LBGTIQ, as well as some women from a CALD background. As such, it is important to conduct targeted research into individual groups to effectively determine the drivers and impacts of violence across these groups.</p>

5.5 Understanding the interdependent impacts on the broader services system

Women who experience violence often require services and supports that may not directly fall in the scope of domestic violence service provision, such as disability, health, homelessness and justice services. Data collected from each of these domains can provide important insights into the pathways of victims and perpetrators through the services system, and support the collection of information required to determine the demand for services and opportunities for prevention. A key challenge is identified below to better understand these interrelated services and the interdependent factors which can compound women's risk and experience of violence.

Key challenge	Key considerations
10. There are contributing factors to violence that are complex and interrelated, and there is a need to develop a stronger understanding of these and how they may relate to the risk of specific cohorts in experiencing violence	<p>The research and analysis has shown that contributing factors of violence include drug and alcohol consumption, drug and alcohol abuse, and existing mental health issues. To develop a comprehensive picture of violence, a detailed understanding of each risk and vulnerability factor contributing to the experience of violence needs to be built over time. As such, there is a need to develop a more detailed understanding of the complex interactions of women within the broader service system and the limits to reporting. There is significant scope to conduct more detailed analysis around the risk factors that may increase the likelihood of specific cohorts of women experiencing violence, particularly by supplementing the analysis with recent</p>

Key challenge	Key considerations
	research around the impact of potential enablers of violence such as economic abuse.

Appendix A: Violence against women and their children in Australia

A.1 Background and context

Violence against women and their children is a critical social issue that continues to persist around the world, including in Australia. It is an often invisible, but common, form of violence and is a fundamental breach of human rights.¹²⁵

Many women and their families experience social, health, and psychological suffering in the years and decades that follow violence and abuse. Many live with higher levels of anxiety, depression and fear, feelings which often continue to impact on their lives on a daily basis.¹²⁶ There are also significant inter-generational impacts as the children of victimised women become the ‘silent victims’ of violence. These impacts for families and communities in Australia are exacerbated by other interdependent social issues and risk factors associated with violence against women and their children. These factors include other forms of abuse (such as economic abuse, drug and alcohol abuse, or child abuse), homelessness, problem gambling, social and physical isolation or separation.¹²⁷

In Australia, the experience of violence is more prevalent among vulnerable women, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women¹²⁸, women from a CALD background¹²⁹, women with a disability, and women who have experienced homelessness.¹³⁰ These specific cohorts are at greater risk of experiencing violence in Australia and as such, there is a need to develop an evidence base to support targeted policy reform and reduce the prevalence of violence against women and their children.

The impacts and costs of violence against women and their children represent a significant burden on Australian communities and Australian society at large. These costs are highlighted in previous reports analysing the cost of violence. In 2009, KPMG estimated that violence against women and their children cost the Australian economy approximately

\$13.6 billion dollars. In 2015, PwC estimated that violence against women cost \$21.7 billion in 2015, and, if no actions are taken to address the issue, these costs will accumulate to \$323.4 billion over the 30 year period to 2044-45. This cost burden is primarily assumed by individuals, where the health and psychological impacts of violence generate significant and lifelong costs on individual quality of life. These forgone quality of life ‘costs’ are also accompanied by economic and financial costs to both

¹²⁵ CEDAW Committee, General Recommendation No. 19: Violence against Women, UN Doc. A/47/38 (1992), para 7, URL: www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/recommendations/recomm.htm, Accessed: 10 March 2016.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Department of Parliamentary Services 2014, *Domestic, Family and Sexual Violence in Australia: an Overview of the Issues*, URL:

parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/3447585/upload_binary/3447585.pdf;fileType=application/pdf, Accessed: 10 March 2016.

¹²⁹ Department of Social Services (DSS) 2011, *Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Women and the National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children*.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

individuals, governments and general society. Previous research has indicated that governments bear the second biggest cost burden, with incremental spending required for additional health, administration and social welfare costs, estimated to total \$7.8 billion per year.¹³¹

This work, identifying the cost of violence against women and their children, has helped to strengthen public understanding of what is a complex issue with significant interdependencies with other social and health issues. To reduce the prevalence of violence experienced by Australian women, and consequently the cost of violence, a comprehensive evidence base is needed to track the rate of women experiencing violence, as well as the impacts of violence over the course of their lives. This will enable better understanding of the appropriate policy responses to reduce the prevalence of violence, and to measure social and economic costs and outcomes over time.

Recognition of the significant and lifelong impacts of violence against women and their children, has driven a number of important policy developments to help address this issue. The most significant reform in recent years is the development of the National Plan, the first plan to coordinate the individual approaches of state and territory governments across Australia. The National Plan consists of four discrete three-year plans, with an overall strategy and set of directives to be implemented in the period from 2010 to 2022.

Prior to the development of the National Plan, the issue of violence against women and their children was primarily addressed by certain Commonwealth government agencies, and at the individual state and territory government level. Examples of key Commonwealth agency initiatives prior to the implementation of the National Plan are outlined below:

- The 2005 *Women's Safety Agenda – Elimination of Violence*. Funded by The Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA) this program provides a number of services including: training for rural and regional nurses and Aboriginal health workers, dedicated 24-hour help lines, research funding, and capacity building grants for women's services.
- The 2008 *Australasian Policing Strategy on the Prevention and Reduction of Family Violence* to ensure more consistent policies and practices for family violence. This program includes education and training, research toward broadening the knowledge base, police and legal response, incident response, early intervention, communication and information sharing, and a greater focus on at risk cohorts.
- The 2005-08 *Domestic and Family Violence Strategy* developed by Centrelink. This program included a high level action plan, and agency-wide strategy to improve the agencies' domestic and family violence response. This included training for Centrelink customer service staff, improving customer service for domestic and family violence victims, and working with communities, and contributing to policy.

In previous decades, violence against women and their children that occurred outside the home was visible, whereas the issue of domestic and family violence had limited public exposure. The lack of understanding of, and active public engagement with, these issues has provided little imperative for large-scale change and targeted policy reform in Australia. The centralised effort to combat these issues is therefore indicative of the growing awareness of, and public support for, widespread policy reform and cultural change.

The National Plan is based on the premise that increased awareness helps to change the attitudes of both men and women to violence. The Plan points to gender inequality as a key issue that needs to be targeted to reduce violence. All Australian governments are committed to the National Plan, in the interest of developing a long term strategy to achieve tangible and sustainable long term change. Each of the three year action plans provide a staged approach to the overall strategy, with an accompanying National Implementation Plan and corresponding Jurisdictional Implementation Plan.

¹³¹ PwC 2015, *A High Price to Pay, The economic case for preventing violence against women*.

The National Plan highlights the critical components required to provide the ‘foundations for change’. Each of the four stages promote specific measures to address the following areas:

- There is a need to strengthen the workforce by providing appropriate training and support for the specialist and mainstream workforce to prevent and respond to victims and perpetrators of violence.
- Integrated service delivery for victims of violence based upon shared information and integrated systems is required. Actions relating to government agencies and non-government organisation coordination aim to encourage the sharing of information, coordinated responses, and linked tracking of results to generate improved outcomes for victims of violence.
- A coordinated national research agenda is required to improve the evidence base, as well as associated education and service delivery organisations, to translate the evidence into information for those working with victims of violence, and inform policy development and service delivery.
- Track performance, to provide nationally consistent indicators, definitions, collection methods and data frameworks to build a reliable evidence base for analysing violence against women and their children. This also involves the continuation of the Personal Safety Survey (PSS) and the National Community Attitudes Survey (NCAS) every four years.

The National Plan and the Second Action Plan both recognise the far-reaching impacts, and the substantial costs, of violence and abuse against women and their children in Australia. These two plans also represent significant steps towards addressing issues within the broader system of services and support for women experiencing violence. The Second Action Plan, a component of The National Plan active from 2013-2016, highlights five key national priorities and 26 actions to reducing domestic and family violence. These national priorities are:

- driving whole of community action to prevent violence
- understanding diverse experiences of violence
- supporting innovative services and integrated systems
- improving perpetrator interventions
- continuing to build the evidence base.

In particular, the Second Action Plan aims to consolidate the evidence base around the strategies that have been undertaken prior to, and within, the First Action Plan.

In addition to the National Plan, further funding packages were announced over the course of 2015. In March 2015, a jointly-funded \$30 million awareness campaign by the Commonwealth and state governments was announced, and in September of the same year, an announcement by the Turnbull Ministry outlined an additional \$100 million funding package for women and children with a high risk of experiencing violence. This package was a result of the recommendations of the COAG Advisory Panel of Reducing Violence against Women and their Children, and includes frontline support services and resources for community education to change attitudes to violence and abuse. At the state and territory level, a number of initiatives (examples shown below) were also instigated in conjunction with the National Plan.

- In 2014, the NSW Government announced the *It Stops Here: Domestic and Family Violence Framework*, aiming to improve the way government agencies and non-government organisations respond to, and prevent domestic and family violence in NSW. This was supported with additional funding and was implemented in conjunction with the Domestic Violence Justice Strategy.
- The National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS) was based on a questionnaire developed and implemented in 1987 and 1995 by the then Commonwealth Office of the Status of Women. It was adapted by VicHealth for implementation in Victoria in 2006 and

nationally in 2009 (the latter in partnership with the Australian Government). The Australian Government funded the last two surveys in 2009 and 2013 and is funding the 2017 survey.

- Increased public awareness about violence against women and their children also prompted the 2015 Royal Commission into Family Violence in Victoria. The Royal Commission examined the best methods to prevent family violence, improve early intervention, support victims of violence, make the perpetrators of violence accountable for their actions, coordinate community and government responses more effectively, and evaluate and measure strategies, frameworks, policies, programs and services. The Royal Commission handed down its report on 30 March 2016. The report included 227 recommendations 'directed at improving the foundations of the current system, seizing opportunities to transform the way that we respond to family violence, and building the structures that will guide and oversee a long-term reform program that deals with all aspects of family violence.'¹³² The Victorian Premier Daniel Andrews has promised to implement all of the recommendations.

The National Plan, in conjunction with additional funding packages, speaks to, and further influences, the changing nature of attitudes to violence against women and their children, and the public impetus for change as an important motivation for addressing the problem. This growing public understanding of violence against women and their children is particularly relevant given the necessity of shifting cultural attitudes to successfully address violence against women and their children.¹³³

The introduction of The National Plan has also coincided with a series of events that brought the issue of violence against women and their children to the forefront of the public's attention. A number of high-profile cases reported in the media has facilitated an increased exposure to these issues, and increased public awareness of their prevalence and the available support networks. The media attention following the death of Luke Batty and the subsequent work by Rosie Batty in sharing her story and campaigning against domestic and family violence, led to her receiving the 2015 Award for Australian of the Year, an act which further boosted the public awareness of violence against women and their children. Online commentary, social media awareness campaigns, and ongoing multi-platform campaigns such as White Ribbon Day further increased public understanding and education around these issues. Such events contribute to the public discussion by increasing the pressure for:

- broader cultural change as a means of reducing instances of violence
- encouraging victims to report instances of violence
- encouraging intervention and prevention in community responses to violence against women and their children.¹³⁴

To tackle these challenges, as well as address community pressure for higher levels of government accountability and a focus on outcomes-driven and cost-effective approaches to delivering services, there is a need (amongst other actions) to develop a stronger evidence base that can be built over time. This will play an important strategic role in guiding and informing policy and decision making across government. It will also provide a better understanding of the causes of violence, and provide assistance in developing the most appropriate responses and interventions to reduce violence in society.

¹³² Royal Commission into Family Violence 2015, *Report and Recommendations*, <http://www.rcfv.com.au/Report-Recommendations>, Accessed: 30 March 2016.

¹³³ TNS Australia 2015, *Reducing violence against women and their children: Research informing the development of a national campaign*, URL: www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/11_2015/dss_violence_against_women_public_report.pdf, Accessed: 10 March 2016.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

A.2 Trends in the experience of violence against women and their children in Australia

A.2.1 Background

There is no single ‘source of truth’ to understand the nature and frequency of violence against women and their children in Australia. This is due to the scope and scale of the evidence base, and the nature of violence and its impacts. A significant number of women may not report their experience of violence to police or other authorities or seek support. In addition, the understanding and definition of ‘violence’ – including its various forms and the different settings in which it can occur – have evolved with recent developments in policy and experiences within the community.

Given these factors, it is important to consider a range of different forms of evidence to understand current levels of prevalence and incidence of violence against women, and how they have changed over time. These include through large scale surveys, research publications, as well as primary data collection by relevant authorities and service providers. Together, this information enables critical insights into:

- headline levels of prevalence and incidence of violence against women
- the nature and extent of experiences of violence across different cohorts of women, and across different geographies.

The following sub sections provide a snapshot of the available evidence base, and form part of the detailed methodology for cost estimation.

A.2.2 Overarching experience of prevalence and incidence

To develop a stronger understanding of the nature and extent of violence against women and children across Australia, we need access to an evidence base incorporating:

- incidence and prevalence and how they change over time
- key socioeconomic drivers.

The data and information to understand prevalence and incidence is itself emerging, with the 1996 ABS *Women’s Safety Survey* (WSS) providing the first estimates of prevalence of violence against women in Australia.

Box A-0-1: Key developments in prevalence and incidence data

Prior to the release of the ABS WSS in 1996, there was no established methodology for estimating the prevalence of violence against women in Australia. The original WSS included the following.

Women’s experiences of physical and sexual violence: in the 12 month period prior to the survey, 7.1 per cent of women aged 18 and over reported an experience of physical violence, and 1.9 per cent had experienced sexual violence by a male perpetrator. It was estimated that 1.1 million women experienced violence by a previous partner. Of those who reported violence in a previous relationship, 74 per cent said that the violence occurred more than once.

The nature of the violence: incidents of violence against women were most prevalent in the 18-24 age range, where 19 per cent of women had experienced violence in the last 12 months. Of women who were physically assaulted by a man in the 12 month period, 48 per cent sustained physical injuries in the last incident, most commonly cuts, bruises or scratches. These incidents were predominantly perpetrated by current or previous partner, rather than a stranger or another known man.

The actions women took after experiencing violence (or the level of reported and non-reported violence): 20 per cent of women who had ever experienced physical assault and 10 per cent of women who were sexually assaulted had reported the last incident to the police. Just over half of women who were physically or sexually assaulted discussed the experience with friends or neighbours. Of these, 53 per cent of physical violence victims and 32 per cent of sexual violence victims spoke to a family member whilst 4.5 per cent of physical assault victims, and 8.1 per cent of sexual assault victims contacted a crisis service organisation.

The lifelong effects of violence: 60 per cent of women who had experienced violence in a previous relationship with a male partner said they lived in fear while in the relationship. The increasing incidence of violence in the relationship also increased the likelihood of women living in fear. Of women surveyed who were employed in the 12 months after the incident occurred, 18 per cent had taken time off as a consequence of the assault, and 12 per cent had taken time off due to sexual assault. 55 per cent of sexual assault victims were injured as a result of the assault.

Since publication of the original WSS in 1996, the ABS has released an expanded PSS, both in 2005 and 2012. The PSS provides a broader and more expansive dataset around the experience of violence for men and women, as well as the characteristics of people experiencing violence, and greater information around the perpetrators of violence. It is noted that the ABS is currently finalising the 2015 PSS, and this is scheduled for publication in late 2016.

Importantly, over the period since the publication of the original WSS, the definition and understanding of ‘violence’ and its different forms has evolved, with changes in the inclusion and definition of threats of violence, emotional violence, stalking, and economic abuse. These developments have broadened the understanding and the acknowledgement of violence and its different forms, however, they also create challenges for comparing and contrasting the trends and experiences of violence over time, particularly in relation to different cohorts and geographies.

The PSS provides broad estimates of prevalence for domestic violence, and is a valuable starting point for understanding the scope and scale of violence. These estimates relate to violence, threats of violence, emotional abuse, and stalking in the 12 months prior to the survey, as well as the experiences of:

- current and previous partner violence
- lifetime experience of stalking
- physical and sexual abuse after the age of 15
- general feelings of safety.

The historical trends for domestic violence against women and their children in Australia show varying results. Table A-0-1 below summarises the recent PSS estimates, which suggest that there has been a decrease in the prevalence of violence experienced by women between 1996 and 2012 (from 7.1 per cent to 5.3 per cent).

Table A-0-1: Estimates of the prevalence of physical and sexual assault and threats (1996, 2005, and 2012)

Type of violence	1996		2005		2012	
	Total	Population %	Total	Population %	Total	Population %
Physical Assault	346,900	5.0	242,000	3.1	263,500	3.0
Physical Threat	284,000	4.1	162,400	2.1	188,900	2.2
Sexual Assault	100,000	1.5	101,600	1.3	87,800	1.0
Sexual Threat	44,800	0.7	34,900	0.5	17,600	0.2

Type of violence	1996		2005		2012	
	Total	Population %	Total	Population %	Total	Population %
Total	490,400	7.1	443,800	5.8	467,300	5.3

Note: The scope, content, and data collection in the PSS 2012 survey is largely the same as the PSS 2005 survey, with minor differences in the sample design and weighting procedures. It is important to note that the experience of stalking is also included in the WSS and PSS, and emotional abuse is included in the PSS, but given definitional changes between the publications, prevalence data for these categories has not been included. For data on the experience of stalking from the PSS, there are also challenges to comparing prevalence numbers between 2005 and 2012 due changes in the stratification of data on the perpetrator.

Source: ABS Women's Safety Survey 1996, and ABS Personal Safety Survey 2005 and 2012.

Importantly, the PSS is the only survey that provides estimates of the level of non-reported violence across the population. Most other data sources focus on reported violence, either through recorded incidents in police data, or in service use data for targeted programs and initiatives for women experiencing violence. However, there are limitations to the PSS data regarding prevalence amongst different cohorts and geographies, and these differences are critical inputs to the policy and reform process.

To develop a more comprehensive understanding of patterns of violence across cohorts and geographies, there is a need to draw on a broader range of data and information sources, including:

- crime data from state and territory police forces collected by agencies such as the NSW BOCSAR, Crime Statistics Agency Victoria, and the Office of Crime Statistics and Research for South Australia, which illustrates the changes in incidence rates of reported violence
- crime data from the Australian Institute of Criminology on homicide statistics, victims of crime, and violent crime
- health and wellbeing data from the AIHW on families and children and housing and homelessness, which supports an understanding of the specific characteristics of cohorts identified to be of greater risk of experiencing violence, as well as overall health expenditure
- statistical publications from the ABS, including the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey, the Recorded Crime publication, the Census of Population and Housing: Socio-Economic Indexes for Area (SEIFA) publication, and broader demographic data
- broader academic and other research publications and reports that provide supplementary evidence into the contributing factors and impacts of violence against women across different cohorts and vulnerable groups.

Reported crime data for the jurisdictions has shown that, broadly speaking, the incidence rate of domestic violence reported to the police has increased in recent years, for example:

- Victoria's recorded family incidents of violence against women has increased from approximately 31,590 in 2010-11 to 54,380 in 2014-15, with a 9.2 per cent increase in the previous 12 months. It should be noted that this change does not necessarily reflect increasing numbers of violent incidents, but rather the increased reporting of violence to police and the change in the Victoria Police's business practices during this period.¹³⁵
- NSW's reported criminal incidents of domestic violence related assault has marginally increased from approximately 26,750 incidents in 2010-11 to 28,940 in 2014-15. However, in the same time period, incidence of sexual assault have increased from 557 to 865 with an 11.6 per cent increase in the previous two years.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Crime Statistics Agency Victoria.

¹³⁶ NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.

- Northern Territory's reported criminal incidents of violence involving domestic violence increased from approximately 3,480 in 2010 to 3,970 in 2015, with a peak in 2013 of 4,840, with over half of all domestic violence involving alcohol.¹³⁷

The increase in reported violence over this period highlights the complexities involved in analysing historical trends for domestic violence. While the PSS identifies that, overall, prevalence for women experiencing violence across Australia decreased between 2005 and 2012 (in terms of physical assault, sexual assault, and the threat of either of the two), the reporting of violence and recording by police has increased over the past five years. This trend can be interpreted in a number of ways – a decrease in prevalence alongside an increase in reported incidents may mean that while fewer women relative to population levels are experiencing violence, reporting rates for incidents of violence has increased. Alternatively – and in line with broader research in this area – an increase in recorded crime may be attributable to changes in crime definitions, a rise in the number of police officers or frontline workers, or the implementation of public awareness campaigns intended to increase the reporting of some types of victimisation.¹³⁸

Additionally, there are differences in the number of reported incidents across Australian jurisdictions, particularly with respect to the underlying population. The data from the experimental family and domestic violence statistics released by the ABS provides an overview of the levels of domestic and family violence reported to police in each jurisdiction. This data identifies the total number of physical and sexual violence incidence in 2014 that has been reported to police, as well as the rates of reported incidence on a jurisdictional level per 100,000 persons. It is important to note, however, that the data is drawn for police crime reporting systems and are based on a Family and Domestic Violence (FDV) flag as recorded by police officers. Due to the inconsistent definitions of violence and recording methods used by each jurisdiction it is not possible to directly compare the results between states and territories. It should be emphasised that these statistics are experimental and subject to ongoing testing and improvement by ABS, which means they cannot be used to provide a definitive assessment of rates of violence and trends over time, but rather provide an illustrative overview of reported violence by jurisdiction.

There are clear trends in service usage by women who have experienced domestic violence. For example, over the past four years the number of women in Australia accessing specialist homelessness services due to domestic violence rose by 16 per cent. This trend can be attributed to increased investments in services and supports, and greater accessibility of services for women, particularly those within vulnerable cohorts or in single parented households.¹³⁹

In addition, data on the number of clients receiving homelessness services in the 2016 Report on Government Services (RoGS) shows that a significant proportion of clients across all states and territories accessed domestic violence services. Table A-0-2 below provides an overview of the composition of support provided based on percentage of clients.

Table A-0-2: Proportion of clients receiving homelessness services, by type of service 2014-15

Service type	NSW (%)	Vic. (%)	Qld (%)	WA (%)	SA (%)	Tas. (%)	ACT (%)	NT (%)
Accommodation	37.4	23.8	45.7	45.8	27.5	36.0	38.3	55.8
Assistance to sustain housing	34.2	29.0	32.2	16.5	14.9	23.4	40.7	22.7

¹³⁷ Northern Territory Yearly Assault Statistics, Department of the Attorney General and Justice.

¹³⁸ Rowe, M. 2013, "Perceptions of Fear of Crime and Punitivity in New Zealand" in Kury, H. and Winterdyk, J. (eds), *Fear of Crime and Punitiveness*.

¹³⁹ Australian Institute of Health and Wellbeing (AIHW) 2015, *Specialist Homelessness Services collection data cubes 2014-15*.

Mental health services	7.1	4.2	4.2	4.8	0.3	3.3	7.2	3.0
Family services	8.9	5.0	5.7	8.3	3.6	5.2	11.7	6.4
Disability services	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.3	—	0.3	0.9	0.5
Drug/alcohol assistance	4.5	1.7	1.8	2.3	0.2	1.8	5.2	2.2
Legal/financial services	6.0	4.5	5.5	4.2	0.9	2.4	8.9	6.2
Immigration/cultural services	6.7	4.9	3.9	8.1	4.2	0.8	8.7	19.2
Domestic violence services	20.5	29.1	15.4	26.6	19.1	8.8	13.9	27.9
Other specialist services	20.2	10.1	15.8	14.5	7.8	8.0	22.3	27.4
General services	92.7	87.1	91.2	95.0	99.2	85.1	92.0	95.6
Total number of clients	48,262	102,793	44,213	23,021	21,116	7,328	4,987	7,649

Source: Report on Government Services, 2016.

These figures highlight the significance of domestic violence across Australia within the homelessness service system, and the variation in the rates of service delivery and receipt across different jurisdictions.

Additional challenges to interpreting data on domestic violence are present. Population-level survey data such as the PSS may be subject to inherent limitations, given that survey participants must accurately self-identify experiences of violence. Where there are barriers to identifying such experiences, survey data is likely to underestimate actual prevalence rates of violence among women. Similarly, the incidence rates from police crime data provide only reported incidents of violence. Given that the majority of incidents of domestic, family and sexual violence are unreported, reported crime data does not provide a complete picture.

The dynamics around reported and unreported domestic violence are complex, as are the factors that lead to women not reporting experiences of violence. In the NSW context, BOCSAR undertook a study in 2012 to examine the underreporting of violence in greater detail. The research found that only half of the domestic violence victims interviewed had reported their most recent incident of violence to the police. The most common reasons for not reporting the incident were: fear of revenge or further violence from the perpetrator (14 per cent), feelings of shame or embarrassment (12 per cent) or a belief that the incident was too trivial or unimportant (12 per cent).¹⁴⁰ More broadly, this provides targeted insights into the social and cultural attitudes that may impact on the likelihood of women reporting violence, and the challenges that need to be overcome to protect and ensure the safety of women and their children across Australia.

A.2.3 Differences in the experience of violence across cohorts and geographies

Map A-1 to Map A-3 provide further detail on the prevalence and incidence of violence against women in NSW, Victoria, and South Australia. A number of data sources have been explored to determine the most accurate and appropriate data for the purposes of illustrating the differences in prevalence and incidence across different regional areas and across jurisdictions. The prevalence of

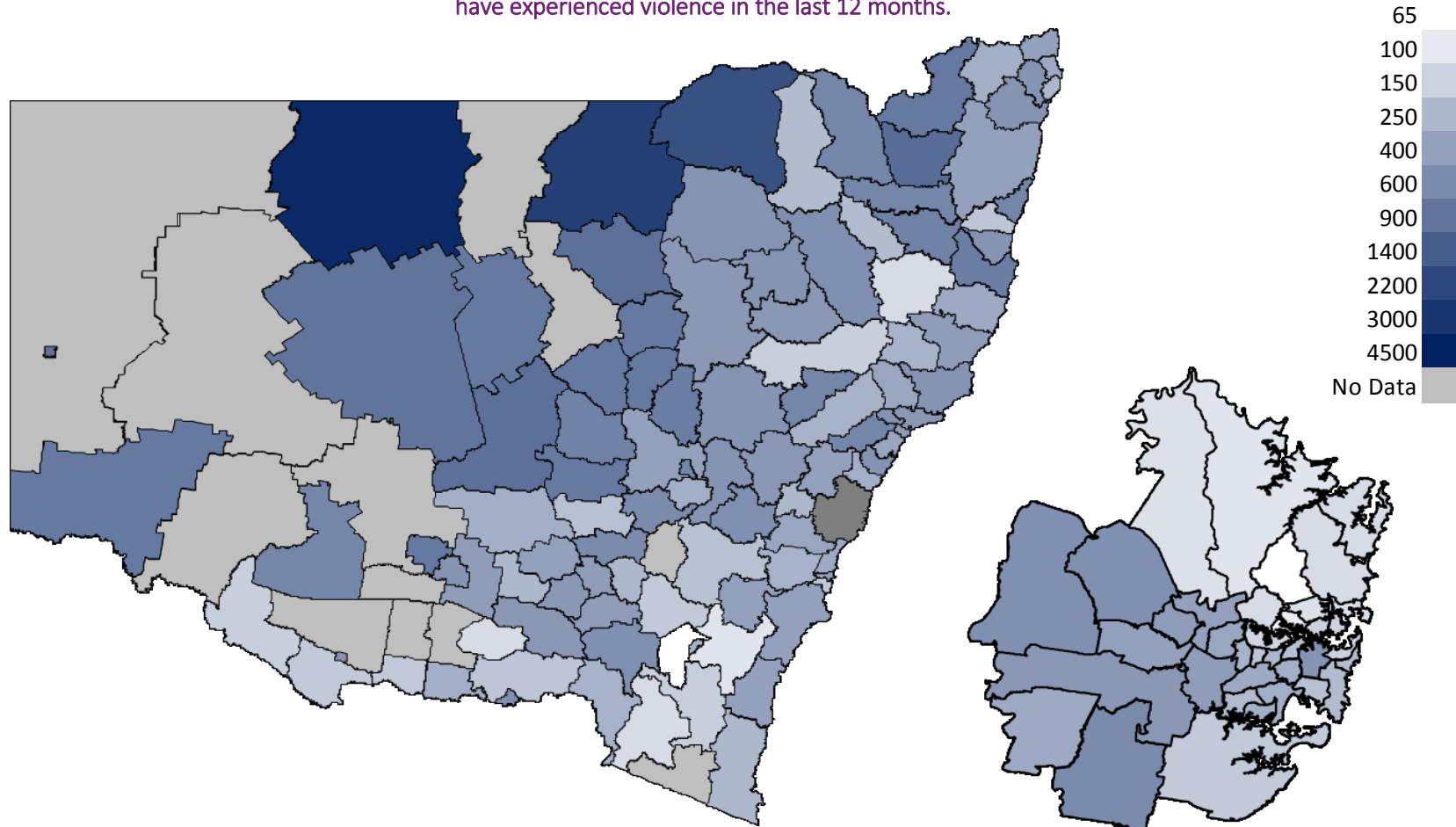
¹⁴⁰ NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (BOCSAR) 2013, *Reporting Violence to Police: A Survey of victims attending domestic violence services*.

violence for women is consistent across the jurisdictions, and sourced from the 2012 PSS. However, as previously described, there are a number of challenges around understanding and interpreting incidence data for violence. As a result, a number of caveats should be taken into account when interpreting the maps. These caveats include:

- Direct comparisons between prevalence and incidence rates for each jurisdiction are not possible, as:
 - the prevalence rates are based on the rate of violence experienced by women for a particular jurisdiction, and do not account for different forms of violence
 - the incidence rates are based on incidents of reported domestic violence or sexual assault, both of which form a subset of total violence against women.
- The incidence data is not consistently measured and reported, with data from NSW BOCSAR providing recorded domestic violence related assault incidents, data from the Crime Statistics Agency Victoria providing the rate of family incidents, and data from the Office of Crime Statistics and Research (OCSAR) for South Australia providing the number of sexual offences.
- There are challenges to using incidence data to understand the extent of violence, given the high rate of unreported violence.

Map A-1: Recorded domestic violence related assault incidents, rate per 100,000 population - 2014-15, by LGA

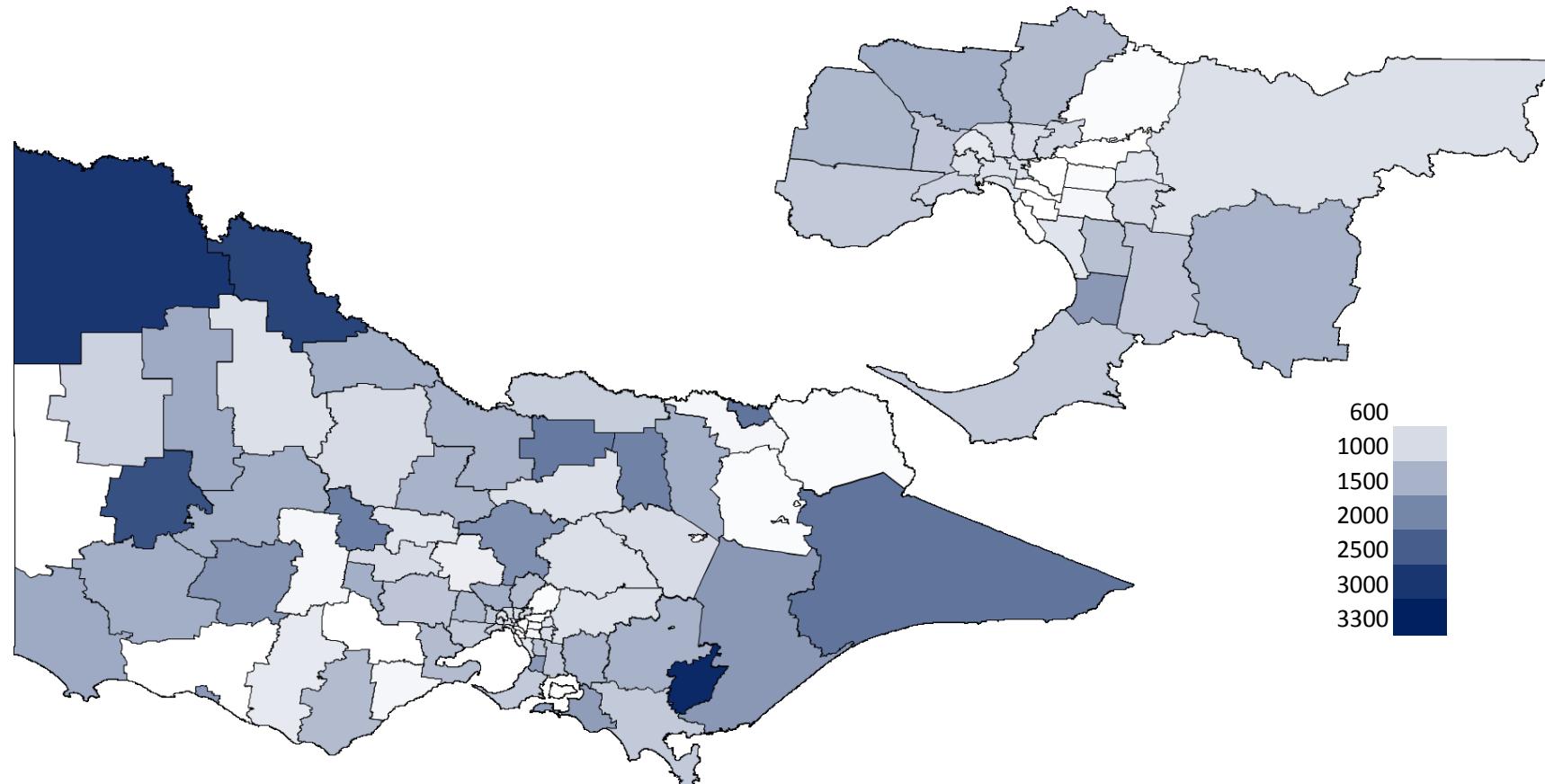
In NSW, the level of recorded domestic violence related assault incidents differs across regions, with the LGAs of Bourke, Walgett and Broken Hill recording the highest rate of incidents per 100,000 people in the underlying population. Prevalence rates from the ABS PSS in 2012 shows that 4.6 per cent of females in NSW have experienced violence in the last 12 months.



Source: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.

Map A-2: Victoria family incident rate per 100,000 population - 2014-15, by LGA

In Victoria, the reported family incident rate differs significantly across the LGAs, with Mildura, Latrobe, and Horsham recording the highest levels of family incidents across the state. For many other LGAs, the incidence rate appears to be comparatively low. Prevalence rates from the ABS PSS in 2012 shows that 5.2 per cent of females in Victoria have experienced violence in the last 12 months.

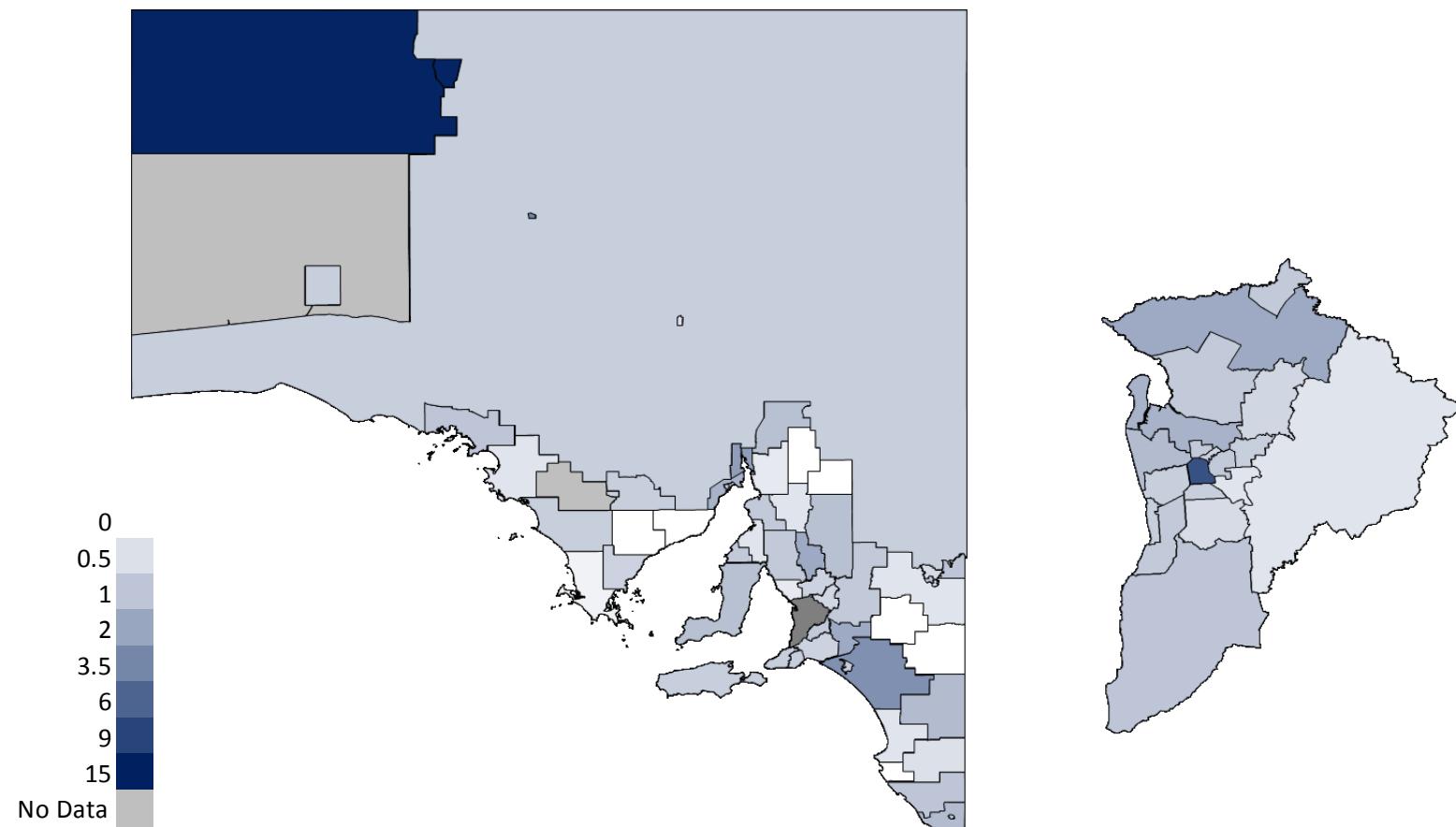


Source: Crime Statistics Agency Victoria.

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Map A-3: South Australia sexual offences per 1,000 population - 2012, by LGA

The rate of recorded sexual offences per 1,000 people differs across the LGAs in South Australia, with Anangu Pitjantjatjara (AC) recording the highest rate of sexual offences across the state. Prevalence rates from the ABS PSS in 2012 shows 5.5 per cent of females in South Australia have experienced violence in the last 12 months.



Source: Office of Crime Statistics and Research (OCSAR) for South Australia.

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A.3 Social and economic impacts of violence

A.3.1.1 Nature and extent of the impacts of violence

Violence against women has broad ramifications. Those affected include victims and their children, the broader community, governments (at all levels), the perpetrator of violence, the employers of the victim, and the friends and family of the victim. For victims and their children, violence has a clear physical and psychological impact that affects their ability to lead fulfilling lives. There may also be compounding effects on a victim's limited ability to leave an abusive relationship or access the appropriate services to support the process of recovery.

The evidence previously described demonstrates that there is significant variation in the nature and extent of violence against women across Australia. As a result, to gain a comprehensive understanding of the subject, evidence should be considered from a variety of perspectives. Violence can take a number of different forms, and can occur in various settings, including in the family environment, in private, and in public and the community. Given the multiple forms and settings of violence, it is not unexpected to find that violence also has a range of potential contributing factors and flow-on impacts for women, their children, perpetrators, and the community.

In a number of studies of the impacts of violence against women, a close interconnection between the social and economic impacts of violence has been identified. Social impacts of violence include pain, suffering and premature mortality, as well as the second generation impacts of violence that are experienced by the children of victims. The emotional trauma and potential anxiety and depression following an incidence of violence may also have critical implications on the wellbeing of the victim and their family.¹⁴¹ Research has shown that women who have experienced violence are more likely to access homelessness services, and are more likely to experience mental health issues.¹⁴²

Violence against women also has significant economic impacts. The impact of violence extends to sectors and institutions, including the health service system, the justice service system, and the broader economy. These impacts include, but are not limited to:

- increased demand for medical attention in emergency departments in hospitals, representing an increased cost to the health system
- increased demand for service funding, particularly for homelessness and refuge services that support women to escape violent relationships through the provision of temporary accommodation and other forms of crisis support
- increased demand for policing services and increased administration costs as a result of court and incarceration costs for the perpetrators of violence
- increased levels of absenteeism and presenteeism that impact workforce productivity and potential economic output.

The significant impact and cost of violence against women on both the victims and their families, and the broader Australian society, has provided the impetus for targeted studies to better understand the nature and extent of violence, as well as the challenges and potential interventions to reduce the incidence of violence. These studies have been carried out at a population-level. There have also been studies of specific cohorts and geographies, including women across different age groups, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, women from CALD backgrounds, pregnant women, women identifying as LGBTIQ, children exposed to domestic violence, and women with disability. For these

¹⁴¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey 2012*.

¹⁴² Australian Institute of Health and Wellbeing (AIHW) 2015, *Specialist Homelessness Services collection data cubes 2014-15*.

cohorts in particular, the research has shown that there are risk factors that contribute to increased risk and vulnerability of experiencing violence.

Key insights from the domestic and international literature scan are summarised below.

There are significant variations in the prevalence of violence across different demographic and geographic cohorts. The prevalence of violence is overrepresented among certain cohorts, including women living in regional and remote areas, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, and women who have a disability. The 2012 PSS found that an estimated 21 per cent of women living outside of capital cities had experienced violence from an intimate partner since the age of 15, compared to 15 per cent for those living in capital cities.¹⁴³ Similarly, the 2008 ABS National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social survey found that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are at least four times more likely to experience violence compared to the rest of the population.¹⁴⁴ The differences in the prevalence of experiencing violence among women within these cohorts and the broader population shows that there may be underlying risk factors that may contribute to a higher risk of experiencing violence over the course of their lives.

Contributing risk factors to higher prevalence rates may also impact on the vulnerability of experiencing violence for some cohorts. For some cohorts, including women from a CALD background and women identifying as LGBTIQ, the data is unclear as to whether there is a significant difference in the prevalence of violence. However, it is widely understood that for these cohorts, and for other at-risk cohorts including pregnant women, women with disability, and elderly women, there may be certain barriers that prevent women from reporting violence, or seeking support. These barriers include limited access or availability of support services, emotional or financial dependence, and limited participation in decision making.

The evidence on the relationship between indicators of socioeconomic advantage or disadvantage and the prevalence of violence is mixed. Preliminary data analysis has shown there is a high degree of correlation between socioeconomic indices for areas and the incidence of domestic assaults, but the data is not consistent across cohorts and geographies. Importantly, violence affects both women who have experienced socioeconomic advantage and socioeconomic disadvantage. Given the data available, there are a number of challenges to determining the extent and impact of violence at a sufficiently granular level to draw detailed insights around the relationship between the different socioeconomic indicators, including the level of household income and the level of educational attainment.

The high level of unreported violence has implications on the interpretation of data. While the prevalence data on violence against women takes into account reported and unreported violence, the incidence data collated through reported crime statistics for each jurisdiction focuses only on reported violence. The 2012 PSS showed that 83 per cent of women who experienced sexual assault and 72 per cent of women who experienced physical assault by a male over the last 12 months did not contact the police about the most recent incident.¹⁴⁵ The high level of unreported violence has significant implications on the way incidence data is interpreted. Without a comprehensive understanding of the cohorts of women who experience violence, there may be challenges to attributing the costs in a systematic method.

An important enabler of violence against women is the presence of forms of power or control, including control over economic resources. There is strong consensus in the international research on the role of social attitudes and norms in shaping gender inequality, and in contributing to factors that may

¹⁴³ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012, *Personal Safety Survey 2012*.

¹⁴⁴ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2008, *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey 2008*.

¹⁴⁵ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2013, *Personal Safety Survey 2012*.

drive higher levels of violence against women.¹⁴⁶ Violence against women has been shown to be significantly and consistently lower in countries where women's economic, social, and political rights are better protected, and where power and resources are more equally distributed between men and women.¹⁴⁷ In line with this, the role of economic abuse as an enabler of violence in relationships needs to be considered carefully and within the context of physical and sexual violence. Further, violence is often compounded by the presence of risk factors such as drug and alcohol abuse, or mental health issues.

The prominence of economic abuse within the public discussion around abusive behaviours and contributing factors to domestic violence has increased significantly in recent years. This reflects the shift towards developing a more holistic view of abuse and its impacts on the health and wellbeing of women, and the significant changes in the way abuse is defined and understood today. Box A-0-2 provides greater detail into the impact of economic abuse and its interdependencies with other forms of violence within the home.

Box A-0-2: The impact of economic abuse

The impact of economic abuse

New research into the category of economic abuse illustrates one of the interdependent impacts of violence. Financial inequality in partner relationships can mean a female victim has difficulty escaping the perpetrator. This in turn may enable or prolong other forms of violence. As a key component of gender inequality, financial dependency can influence a woman's decision to remain in a violent relationship, and contributes to around 10 per cent of women returning to abusive partners.

- Economic abuse may impact engagement in paid employment, education participation, work absenteeism, credit records and debt concerns, and reliance on social security. Economic insecurity, and the limitation it places on a woman's ability to fulfil basic needs, contributes to why women may return to abusive relationships or continue to endure abuse.
- Economic abuse is significantly linked with other forms of domestic abuse. A 2014 WIRE report estimates that 80 to 90 per cent of women who seek support from domestic violence services have experienced financial abuse.¹⁴⁸
- The attitudes of Australians may contribute to under-reporting instances of economic abuse. Compared to physical violence, Australians are less likely to recognise economic abuse. The 2013 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey identified that 26 per cent of Australians do not view the control of economic resources as a serious form of abuse.¹⁴⁹

Crisis support payments provided by government, which may help alleviate economic abuse, have limited availability and publicity. The impacts of economic abuse can continue after partners have separated, as there is limited legislation to support the splitting of household and utilities debts.

¹⁴⁶ Our Watch, VicHealth, ANROWS 2015, *Change the story: A shared framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children in Australia*.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ WIRE Women's Information 2014, *WIRE Research Report: Relationship Problems and Money - Women talk about financial abuse*, URL: http://www.wire.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/WIRE-Research-Report_Relationship-Problems-and-Money-Women-talk-about-financial-abuse-August2014.pdf, Accessed: 9 March 2016.

¹⁴⁹ VicHealth 2014, *Australians' attitudes to violence against women: Findings from the 2013 National Community Attitudes towards Violence Against Women Survey (NCAS)*, URL: <https://www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/media-and-resources/publications/2013-national-community-attitudes-towards-violence-against-women-survey>, Accessed: 9 March 2016.

Research by the Women's Legal Service Victoria has identified that perpetrators of abuse may often generate debts they do not intend to pay off, leaving victims to bear the financial burden.

The complex and interdependent impacts of economic abuse helps to illustrate the compounding effect of some forms of violence. This is evident in research on vulnerable groups of women who often experience violence at a higher rate than the national average, such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and women with a disability. In different contexts, the consequences of gender inequality, intellectual or physical limitations, isolation or lack of access to (and knowledge of) services, and the use of drugs and alcohol can be critical drivers of violence. These factors may also have a compounding impact in enabling varying forms of violence to continue without intervention.

A.3.2.1 Contributing factors and interdependencies

The nature of the contributing factors and flow-on implications from violence against women and children are highly complex and interdependent – they are context-specific, often self-reinforcing, and there is limited evidence to quantify and attribute these relationships. As a result, it is difficult to develop a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the risk factors that contribute to higher vulnerability of experiencing violence among some cohorts.

Box A-0-3 below provides an example of the nature of these contributing factors and their interdependencies as they relate to women and children experiencing violence in domestic and family environments in NSW.

Box A-0-3: Drivers, impacts, and interdependencies – domestic and family violence

Overview

Violence against women in the home increases the likelihood of families experiencing homelessness, and often contributes to the abuse and neglect of children and young people (CYP). Over time, the risk to the safety of children can contribute to the need for out-of-home care (OOHC) for a period of time. Research has also shown that the absence of a safe and supportive environment for a child's development can have long-lasting intergenerational impacts on the wellbeing of children as they grow up.¹⁵⁰ As a result, there is a strong demand for greater funding and emergency support services to better protect women and children experiencing violence.

There is evidence to suggest that in many cases of domestic violence, there are a broad range of contributing factors that may drive greater exclusion and disadvantage. These factors include: housing instability, poverty, lower levels of educational attainment, social isolation and neighbourhood disadvantage. Together, these factors have the potential to increase the risk of women experiencing violence.

Understanding the potential drivers of domestic and family violence also suggests that there may be significant scope for social and human services such as intensive family support services and other health and justice services to provide support and help to maintain safe and healthy environments for families. The regional differences in the maps suggest there may be additional disparities in terms of funding and the nature, scope and quality of social and human services available in regional and metropolitan areas, including:

- governmental support
- financial assistance
- accessibility to medical services

¹⁵⁰ Campo, Monica 2015, *Children's exposure to domestic and family violence – key issues and responses*, Australian Institute of Family Studies.

- law enforcement
- education.

The drivers, interdependencies, and impacts associated with domestic violence are discussed in greater detail below, with data from NSW used for illustrative purposes.

Drivers and interdependencies

Mental illness

According to the Australian Institute of Family Studies, the main mental health problems that are likely to affect family environments and relationships are depression, bipolar disorder, schizophrenia, borderline personality disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, and antisocial personality disorder.¹⁵¹ Children of parents who suffer an uncontrolled mental illness face a high risk of physical neglect and additionally a heightened risk of physical and psychological abuse by parents.¹⁵²

Further, under the *National Framework for Protecting Australia's Children*, mental health (along with domestic and family violence and drug and alcohol abuse) is considered one of the three most important risk factors associated with families that are involved with potential incidents of violence, child protection services and have children who experience abuse and neglect.¹⁵³ Health data for the Far West and Western NSW Local Health Districts (LHDs) shows that the estimate of the number of adults with high or very high psychological distress is higher than the average across NSW. It was estimated in 2013 that 18 per cent of the adult population in the Far West LHD and 10 per cent of the adult population in the Western NSW LHD experienced high or very high psychological distress, compared to 10 per cent across NSW.¹⁵⁴ The higher rate of psychological distress among the adult population in the two LHDs may have critical implications on the capacity of some adults to provide a safe environment for themselves, their partners, and their families.

Remoteness

Geographic isolation, which creates difficulties in accessing social infrastructure and health and human services has the potential to compound the effects of violence within rural communities. Often, geographical isolation intensifies the experience of domestic and family violence and can be explicitly exploited by perpetrators as a form of control, with victims having limited options for safety or help.¹⁵⁵ Geographic isolation may also be a barrier to accessing support or disclosing violence. In these circumstances, police and emergency responses are significantly longer, and the necessary services and supports may be at a significant distance away. Further compounding issues can also include:

- reduced availability of, and access to, specialised or culturally appropriate services (for example, for people with disability, people of a culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) background)
- higher cost of service provision due to geographical remoteness and population dispersion.¹⁵⁶

For the Far West and Western NSW LGAs, the geographical isolation and low population density creates significant difficulties for people with mental health illnesses, drug and alcohol abuse

¹⁵¹ Bromfield, L., Lamont, A., Parker, R. & Horsfall, B. 2010, *Issues for the safety and wellbeing of children in families with multiple and complex problems*, Australian Institute of Family Studies.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Council of Australian Governments 2009, *National Framework for Protecting Australia's Children 2009-2020: Protecting Children is Everyone's Business*.

¹⁵⁴ NSW Population Health Survey (SAPHaRI) NSW 2014, Centre for Epidemiology and Evidence, NSW Ministry of Health.

¹⁵⁵ Campo, M. & Tayton, S., 2015, *Domestic and family violence in regional, rural and remote communities*, Australian Institute of Family Studies.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

problems, or people who have experienced domestic violence in accessing the necessary services. In the absence of the necessary services and supports, there is a greater likelihood of these risk factors escalating and impacting on the health and wellbeing of women and their children.

Drug and alcohol abuse

An individual's engagement with alcohol and substance abuse has flow-on effects on their health, social network, family, workplace, environmental, neighbourhood and community.¹⁵⁷ In regional and rural areas such as the Far West and Western NSW LHDs, alcohol consumption at risky levels for lifetime risk are at 32 per cent and 42 per cent respectively.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, illicit drug use is higher in regional communities, due to a range of factors including distance and isolation, lack of public transport, lack of employment opportunities, and lack of leisure activities.¹⁵⁹

According to recent trends, 13 to 17 year olds in remote or very remote areas are proportionately four times more likely to have used drugs than those within inner regional and major cities.¹⁶⁰ Over the last two years, there has been a five-fold increase in the Far West LHD (23.9 to 103.2 people per 100,000 people in the underlying population) and a three-fold increase in Western NSW Local Health District (12.7 to 27.5 people per 100,000 in the underlying population) in the use of crystal methamphetamine.¹⁶¹ The association between alcohol and substance abuse may lead to heightened vulnerabilities including the incidence of family and domestic violence, and greater marginalisation and disadvantage.

Drug and substance abuse is increasing in a number of regional communities, including in the Illawarra Shoalhaven and Hunter New England LHD. In the five years to 2013-14, the rate of methamphetamine-related hospitalisations increased from 14.1 people to 81.2 people for every 100,000 people in the underlying population in Illawarra Shoalhaven, and from 8.6 to 48.8 people for every 100,000 people in the underlying population for Hunter New England.¹⁶²

In particular, the use of crystal methamphetamine is increasing in the Illawarra Shoalhaven LHD, with local support agencies such as Triple Care Farm, Oolong House, Salvation Army Nowra Bridge Program, Watershed and Family Drug Support experiencing supply constraints in management and rehabilitation services. This has a number of potential implications, for example people who are in need of rehabilitation services may not be able to receive these services, which may have flow-on impacts on the family environment of these individuals.

Recovery from drug dependence is a long-term process in which individuals need support and empowerment to achieve independence, a healthy self-esteem and build a meaningful life in the community. Support for recovery is most effective when the individual's needs are placed at the centre of their care and treatment. Treatment service providers can help individuals recover from drug dependence, help the individual access the internal resources they need (such as resilience, coping skills and physical health) and ensure referral and links to a range of external services and support (such as stable accommodation, education, vocational and employment support and social connections).¹⁶³

Source: KPMG.

¹⁵⁷ Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy 2011, *National Drug Strategy 2010 to 2015*.

¹⁵⁸ Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) 2015, *National Drug Strategy Household Survey detailed report: 2013*.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ NSW HealthStats 2016.

¹⁶¹ NSW Health 2015, *Crystalline Methamphetamine: Background Paper – NSW Data*, September 2015.

¹⁶² NSW HealthStats 2016, Illawarra Shoalhaven LHD.

¹⁶³ Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy 2011, *National Drug Strategy 2010 to 2015*.

A.4 The need to strengthen the evidence base over time

To develop an understanding of violence against women and their children in the Australian context, KPMG undertook a significant body of research and analysis. This has included consideration of a variety of data and information, including publicly available data from a number of sources including but not limited to the ABS, AIHW, the Australian Institute of Criminology, and the various jurisdiction-level agencies holding crime data such as BOCSAR in NSW. KPMG also completed a comprehensive literature review of domestic and international studies of the nature, extent, and impacts of violence against women and their children in order to better understand the significance of violence as a social issue, as well as the primary contributing and risk factors that may drive higher prevalence and incidence in violence within the Australian context.

The research and analysis shows that a significant evidence base exists around violence against women and their children. However, with greater granularity and detail around the experience of violence among women and their children, the evidence base could be used to better understand historical trends and inform more targeted policy responses. In particular, there is significant value in deepening the understanding of violence across demographic cohorts and geographies, particularly for vulnerable groups where women face heightened risk of experiencing violence. A stronger and more robust evidence base will help enable key stakeholders and government policy makers to:

- better articulate and communicate the significance of violence against women as a social issue
- highlight important trends and areas of greatest need in terms of targeted investment in services and supports.

With access to better data, governments – at the Commonwealth and state and territory level – can target policies and reforms to improve long term outcomes for women, their children, and the broader Australian society.

Appendix B: Costing methodology

Table B-0-1 below provides a detailed breakdown of the cost categories included in the estimation, as well as the primary sources and assumptions for each.

Table B-0-1: Cost categories utilised in KPMG's 2009 report

Cost category	Types of costs included	Calculation sources	Calculation assumptions	Updates from previous approaches
Pain, suffering and premature mortality	Costs of pain and suffering attributable to violence. Costs of premature mortality measured by attributing a statistical value to years of life lost.	Health burdens of women experiencing violence measured using the WHO's Disability Adjusted Life years (DALYs) and the value of the statistical life year from Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, updated for inflation.	Assumptions in this category are generated in conjunction with a number of factors, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the DALYs and attributable fractions • an estimated discount rate of 3.3 per cent, with a unit cost of different disease • an AIHW per unit cost of different disease types. 	This approach is consistent with the approaches taken in the previous reports by Access Economics, KPMG and PwC, with an updated figure for the prevalence of violence against women in Australia.
Health costs	Includes private and public health costs associated with treating the effects of violence on the victim, perpetrator and children.	Prevalence of women experiencing violence applied to AIHW's extensive top down analysis of health related costs, and applied to AIHW's Total Health Price Index.	Assumptions in this category are unit costs generated by calculating an average cost of an administrative function across the entire population and then applying that figure to prevalence.	This approach is consistent with the approaches taken in the previous reports by Access Economics, KPMG and PwC, with an updated Total Health Price Index and an updated figure for the prevalence of violence against women in Australia.
Production-related costs	Includes costs associated with lost production (wages plus profit) from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • absenteeism • search and hiring costs • lost productivity of victim, perpetrator, 	Components of these costs include the labour participation rates, average income, managerial average income, criminal court appearances and incarceration rates, family court attendances, average time spent on house	Assumptions in this category enable production related cost sources to be applied to prevalence. These assumptions include for example: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • in 35 per cent of cases, victims were late to work or left early due to violence and left nine times per year • average time late or leaving early is 38 minutes 	The overall approach for this cost category is consistent with the approaches taken in the previous reports by Access Economics, KPMG and PwC with an updated figure for the prevalence of violence against women in Australia. However, in an effort to calculate the most accurate estimate of costs possible, we have used recent data releases to update costs and cost assumptions. Relating to victim and perpetrator related costs of lost production in paid and unpaid work: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We used the most recent release of ABS 6302.0 to derive the average victim wage. In a change from the

Cost category	Types of costs included	Calculation sources	Calculation assumptions	Updates from previous approaches
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> management, co-worker, friends and family • lost unpaid work • retraining costs • permanent loss of labour capacity. 	work, the wage price index and the consumer price index.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the number of days an employee is absent by violence type – physical violence 7.2 days; sexual violence 8.1 days; stalking 10.1 days • of perpetrators who harass or watch the victim, 20 percent take time off with 1.5 days of perpetrator time lost • half of cases result in the perpetrator attending court • average time spent per perpetrator who attends court with justice procedures is one day. 	<p>previous KPMG and PwC approaches, the average female wage was taken to be the average wage for a victim, as this better reflects the actual cost incurred by victims and employers for violence against women.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We used the most recent release of ABS 6302.0 to derive the average wage for a perpetrator. In a change from the previous KPMG and PwC approaches, the average male and female wages were taken, weighted in line with prevalence of sexes of perpetrators of violence. • When updated for inflation, assumptions relating to the on-costs of employment remained consistent from the 2010-2011 ABS 6346.0 release. • We updated assumptions relating to the percentage of days females are paid when off work using the most recent ABS 6342.0 release. • We updated assumptions relating to the percentage of days males are paid when off work using the most recent ABS 6342.0 release • We updated the assumptions relating to the average time spent doing housework and volunteer work using the most recent ABS 4153.0 release. • We derived the number of justice related procedures causing perpetrator absenteeism from the most recent statistics from NSW BOCSAR and applied across the population to create a national figure. • The most recent reports from the Federal Circuit Court, Family Court of Australia and Western Australia, were used to determine the number of divorces and child related orders made, which were then applied to an assumption consistent with the

Cost category	Types of costs included	Calculation sources	Calculation assumptions	Updates from previous approaches
				<p>previous reports of Access Economics, KPMG and PwC to determine the number of procedures due to violence against women.</p> <p>Relating to management costs of lost production:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We used the most recent release of ABS 6302.0 to derive the average victim wage for employee turnover and costs incurred for training new employees. In a change from the previous KPMG and PwC approaches, the average female wage was taken to be the average wage for a victim, as this better reflects the actual cost incurred by victims and employers for violence against women. • Assumptions relating to the on-costs of employment remained consistent from the 2010-2011 ABS 6346.0 release, updated for inflation. • We used the most recent release of ABS 6310.0 to derive the average management wage for lost management time, updated for wage inflation. • We used the most recent release of ABS 6302.0 to derive the average victim wage for long term reduction in capacity due to deaths resulting from violence against women. In a change from the previous KPMG and PwC approaches, the average female wage was taken to be the average wage for a victim, as this better reflects the actual cost incurred by victims and employers for violence against women
Consumption-related costs	<p>Includes costs associated with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • property replacement 	Prevalence of women experiencing violence, the consumer price index, and number of women in multi person	<p>Consumption related cost assumptions use for example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ABS release 6523.0 to estimate the median household disposable 	This approach is consistent with the approaches taken in the previous reports by Access Economics, KPMG and PwC with an updated figure for the prevalence of violence against women in Australia. In addition:

Cost category	Types of costs included	Calculation sources	Calculation assumptions	Updates from previous approaches
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> lost economies of scale. 	homes.	<p>income</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> an average per victim cost of property damage of \$1646.90 the probability of the woman who experienced violence being in a further relationship. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We used the most recent release of ABS 6523.0 to estimate the median household disposable income. We escalated the average per victim cost of property damage in line with inflation.
Second generation costs	<p>Includes private and public health costs associated with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> childcare changing schools counselling child protection services remedial and special education increased future use of government services increased juvenile and adult crime. 	Proportion of children who witness violence, the cost of child protection services, the cost of children in out of home care and the consumer price index, costs of childcare and lost economies of scale.	<p>Assumptions in this category enable second generation cost sources to be applied to prevalence. These assumptions include for example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the average additional cost of childcare per victim per year is \$159.15 the average estimated cost per victim incurred in changing schools is \$27.89 of children who witness domestic violence, 0.5 per cent will be placed in out-of-home care. 	<p>This approach is entirely consistent with the approaches taken in the previous reports by Access Economics, KPMG and PwC, with an updated figure for the prevalence of violence against women affecting children in Australia. In addition:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We used the most recent expenditure data from the Productivity Commission's Review of Government Spending to calculate the additional costs to child protection and out of home care services due to violence against women. We updated per child costs of additional childcare, remedial education and changing schools due to violence in line with inflation. The approach used to calculate the cost additional future crime outside of the home for adults and children is consistent with the approaches taken in the previous reports by Access Economics, KPMG and PwC, with elements updated for inflation.
Administrative and other costs	<p>Includes private and public health costs associated with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> legal and forensic services 	Costs of incarceration, costs of government services, legal costs, the wage price index, consumer price index and costs of interpreter	<p>Assumptions in this category are unit costs generated by calculating an average cost of an administrative function across the entire population and then applying that figure to prevalence. These assumptions include</p>	<p>This approach is consistent with the approaches taken in the previous reports by Access Economics, KPMG and PwC with an updated figure for the prevalence of violence against women in Australia. In addition:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We used the most recent expenditure data from the Productivity Commission's Review of Government

Cost category	Types of costs included	Calculation sources	Calculation assumptions	Updates from previous approaches
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • temporary accommodation • paid care • counselling • perpetrator programs • interpreter services • funerals. 	services.	<p>for example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • per day cost of incarceration of \$300.88 • per unit cost of policing of \$430.00 • per unit cost of finalisation in criminal matters of \$930.00. 	<p>Spending to calculate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the unit cost of incarceration • the unit cost of policing • the unit cost of finalisation of criminal matters • the unit cost of homelessness services • the unit cost of coronial enquiries. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We used the most recent release from Special Homelessness Services to determine the number of women and children who accessed homelessness services due to being victims of violence. • We calculated the number of domestic violence related incidents and police responses by applying the most recent NSW crime statistics from BOCSAR and then applying a weighting from prevalence of violence and entire population. • We used the most recent reports from the Federal Circuit Court, Family Court of Australia and Western Australia, to determine the number of divorces and child related orders made. We then applied that number to an assumption consistent with the previous reports of Access Economics, KPMG and PwC to determine the number of procedures due to violence against women. • We used the most recent release from NSW BOSCAR to determine the number of Apprehended Violence Orders, then extrapolated across Australia using population data. • We determined the cost of private solicitors and counsel by updating cost assumptions consistent with the previous reports of Access Economics, KPMG and

Cost category	Types of costs included	Calculation sources	Calculation assumptions	Updates from previous approaches
				<p>PwC for wage inflation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We determined the cost of Legal Aid funded solicitors and counsel from the most recent fee scales from Legal Aid. We used the most recent NSW criminal court statistics from BOCSAR, in conjunction with the Productivity Commission's Review of Government Services and applied to population weighting, to estimate the number of incarceration days due to violence against women.
Transfer Costs	<p>Includes 'deadweight loss' to the economy associated with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> government payments and services victim compensation lost taxes. 	Individual tax rates, company tax rates, consumer price index and victim's compensation costs.	<p>Assumptions in this category enable transfer cost sources to be applied to prevalence. These assumptions include for example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> average amount of financial support provided by family and friends per victim of \$17.81 additional levels of government income support across the various types of income support. 	<p>This approach is consistent with the approaches taken in the previous reports by Access Economics, KPMG and PwC with an updated figure for the prevalence of violence against women in Australia. In addition:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We updated individual income tax rates using the Australian Taxation Office's 2015-2016 tax rates. We updated the average value of the financial support provided by family and friends per victim for inflation.

Appendix C: Illustrative costs for cohorts experiencing violence

Table C-0-1 below provides a detailed breakdown of illustrative costs for cohorts experiencing a varied rate of violence to the broader population, as well as the primary sources and assumptions for each.

Table C-0-1: Illustrative costs for cohorts experiencing a varied rate of violence to the broader population

Cohort	Data sources for assumptions	Method
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey 2008, ABS cat no. 4714.0.	Due to data limitations in the PSS, there is an insufficient sample size to generate a prevalence figure. Accordingly, we used the most recent National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey to provide an insight into the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women who have experienced physical violence or the threat of physical violence in the previous twelve months.
Women from a CALD background	Migration, Australia, 2014-2015, ABS cat no. 3412.0.	Due to data limitations in the PSS, there is an insufficient sample size to generate a prevalence figure. We used the most recent Migration release from the ABS to estimate the number of women who are from a CALD background and applied this number to prevalence and the average cost of women who experience violence.
Women who are pregnant	Personal Safety Survey 2012. ABS cat no. 4906.0.	The PSS did not specifically address the issue of women who are pregnant experiencing violence in the past 12 months. However, the PSS did address the issue of women who are pregnant experiencing violence since the age of 15. As such, the proportion of women who are pregnant experiencing violence since the age of 15 compared to the number of women who have experienced violence since 15 was taken applied to prevalence for the current year.
Women identifying as LGBTIQ	Insufficient data.	Women identifying as lesbian, bisexual, transgender, intersex, or queer may face greater risk of experiencing violence, with research indicating rates of violence are higher for transgender women.
Women with disability	Disability, Ageing and Carers, Australia: Summary of Findings,	Due to the nature of both the circumstances and types of violence experienced by women with disability, a clear figure for prevalence has yet to be generated. The PSS goes some way to addressing this issue, however, there is an insufficient sample size. Numerous studies and organisations estimate the prevalence of violence in this

Cohort	Data sources for assumptions	Method
	2012, ABS cat no. 4430.0.	cohort, however no study so far has been conclusive, especially in addressing the degree to which prevalence of violence is raised in this cohort above all women. In order to make a conservative estimate of cost, we applied the proportion of women with disability from the ABS to overall prevalence of violence and the average cost of violence against women.

Appendix D: International and domestic research sources

Table D-0-1 below provides a summary of the key sources within the international and domestic literature scan.

Table D-0-1: International and domestic research sources

Organisation	Title of specific document	Specific relevance of document	Jurisdiction
Department of Social Services	National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and Their Children, including the first Three Year Action Plan, 2010	Identifies Six National Outcomes for this and successive action plans; uses ABS data and KPMG's 2009 report; links with other COAG reforms relating to Indigenous Women, Protecting Children, Homelessness, Health and hospitals and Social Inclusion.	Commonwealth, released by COAG
Department of Social Services	Non-Reporting and Hidden Recording of Sexual Assault, an International Literature Review, 2003	The report is an International literature review on the non-reporting and hidden recording of sexual assaults perpetrated against females.	International and Commonwealth
Department of Social Services	Reducing Violence Against Women and Their Children, 2015	Analysis of the 2012 PSS commissioned by the ABS; detailed information and discussion surrounding building a national campaign against domestic violence.	Commonwealth
Department of Social Services	Literature Review on Domestic Violence Perpetrators, 2013	This review provides an overview of the estimated incidence and prevalence of domestic violence and sexual assault in Australia, and the socio-demographic characteristics of perpetrators. The review identifies evaluations of domestic and sexual violence perpetrator intervention programmes to describe the evidence regarding programme effectiveness. The review also includes an analysis of the nature and extent of current research on intervention programmes, and identifies research gaps, needs and priorities for future research.	Commonwealth

Organisation	Title of specific document	Specific relevance of document	Jurisdiction
Department of Social Services and Australian Bureau of Statistics	Defining the Data Challenge for Family, Domestic and Sexual Violence, 2013	ABS tool presenting statistical and conceptual information relating to family, domestic and sexual violence, describing the main concepts, sources and priorities in this field. It also incorporates strategies for information development to address priority information needs relating to family, domestic and sexual violence.	Commonwealth
Department of Social Services and Australian Bureau of Statistics	Bridging the data gaps for family, domestic and sexual violence, 2013	ABS tool that provides an inventory of the current issues for data collection and dissemination in the field of family, domestic and sexual violence statistics.	Commonwealth
Australian Institute of Health and Welfare	Domestic and family violence and homelessness 2011–12 to 2013–14	Report identifies and discusses the linkages between homelessness and domestic or family violence. Identifies service requirements of victims of domestic or family violence.	Commonwealth
Australian Institute of Health and Welfare	Alternative and improved responses to domestic and family violence in Queensland Indigenous communities, 2010	Using a quantitative method, this report examines whether the legal system is responding adequately to domestic violence against Indigenous people in Queensland. It investigates best practice; available data on the use of domestic violence orders by Indigenous clients; client and stakeholder satisfaction with the current system; and whether domestic violence orders are an adequate and effective legal mechanism in such cases.	Queensland
Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety	Violence against women in Australia: Additional analysis of the Australian Bureau of Statistics' Personal Safety Survey 2012, 2015	The ANROWS PSS analysis provides several hundred new statistical items related to violence against women. Almost all the data in this report is new; not only has this information not been publicly available before, but the data tables themselves have not been generated previously.	Commonwealth
Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety	Domestic and family violence protection orders in Australia: An investigation of information sharing and enforcement: State of knowledge paper, 2015	Report identifies and considers legal, economic and jurisdictional paradigms related to the enforcement of protection orders across Australia. The report is a pre-cursor to further empirical research to be conducted by ANROWS.	Commonwealth
Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety	Domestic and family violence and parenting: Mixed methods insights into impact and support needs: State of knowledge paper	This paper examines the impact of domestic and family violence (DFV) on parenting. It considers how often DFV occurs among parents; the impact of DFV on parenting; the methods and behaviours used by perpetrators to disrupt the mother-child relationship; and interventions used to strengthen and support a healthy mother-child relationship.	Commonwealth

Organisation	Title of specific document	Specific relevance of document	Jurisdiction
Our Watch	Change the Story - A Shared Framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children in Australia, and Appendices	A suggested framework to address violence against women and family violence, involving explanations, key actions to prevent violence and an approach to reach the community. Appendices involve a substantial literature review with extracts.	Commonwealth
NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research	Domestic Violence Statistics for NSW	Data provides information on trends and patterns in domestic violence incidents reported to, or detected by, the NSW Police Force. Data is available on: types of domestic violence incidents recorded by police; spatial distribution of domestic violence incidents, including locations and premises at which these incidents occur; time of day, day of week and month that domestic violence incidents occur; involvement of alcohol in domestic violence incidents; and information about victims and perpetrators involved in domestic violence incidents, including their gender, age, Indigenous status and victim-offender relationship.	NSW
NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research	Reporting Violence to Police: A survey of victims attending domestic violence services, 2013	The study investigates what proportion of domestic violence victims who seek help from domestic violence services may not report the violence to police and to investigate factors and reasons associated with non-reporting.	NSW
NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research	Trends and patterns in domestic assaults: 2001 to 2010, 2011	This report describes the current trends in domestic violence and factors associated with reporting offences to police in NSW. Descriptive analyses were conducted on all incidents of domestic assault recorded by NSW Police between 2001 and 2010. Factors associated with reporting of offences to police were examined using the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Crime Victimation Survey 2008-09.	NSW
European Institute for Gender Equality	Violence against women: an EU-wide survey. Main results report, 2014	First report of its kind in Europe, based on interviews with 42,000 women across the European Union, who were asked about their experiences of physical, sexual and psychological violence, including incidents of intimate partner violence ('domestic violence').	International
European Institute for Gender Equality	Administrative data sources on Gender Based Violence in the EU	Searchable tool on domestic violence data for all 28 European Union countries.	International

Organisation	Title of specific document	Specific relevance of document	Jurisdiction
Australian Institute of Family Studies	Children's exposure to domestic and family violence, 2015	This paper examines the literature assessing children's exposure to domestic and family violence, and finds that domestic and family violence can affect children's behaviour, schooling, cognitive development, mental and physical wellbeing, and is the leading cause of homelessness for children. Children who grow up in families where domestic and family violence occur are also more likely to experience other forms of child abuse, such as sexual, physical and emotional abuse and maltreatment.	Commonwealth
Australian Institute of Family Studies	Domestic and family violence in regional, rural and remote communities, 2015	This report examines the rates of domestic and family violence in regional, rural and remote areas, concluding that rates of violence are higher in those areas. Geographical and social structures in these communities, as well as unique social values and norms, result in specific experiences of domestic and family violence. These issues also affect responses to domestic and family violence in non-urban communities, and women's ability to seek help and access services.	Commonwealth
Australian Institute of Family Studies	Domestic and family violence in pregnancy and early parenthood, 2015	This paper provides an overview of the issues relevant to understanding domestic and family violence during pregnancy and then examines implications for practice and some promising interventions for responding to domestic and family violence and preventing future violence.	Commonwealth
Australian Institute of Family Studies	Intimate partner violence in lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, intersex and queer communities, 2015	Report looks into problems and issues surrounding LGBTIQ communities and violence, considering violence rates; lack of acknowledgement that there are issues; and lack of policy targeted at their needs.	Commonwealth
Australian Institute of Criminology	Domestic/family homicide in Australia, 2015	This report presents data for the period 1 July 2002 through 30 June 2012 and provides information collected from all state and territory police services regarding murders and manslaughters in each jurisdiction on domestic and family homicides.	Commonwealth
Women NSW	Less to lose and more to gain? Men and boys violence prevention Research Project, 2014	This report reviews literature and data of best practice from Australia and internationally regarding violence against women primary prevention.	NSW

Organisation	Title of specific document	Specific relevance of document	Jurisdiction
Women NSW, prepared by the Australian Institute of Family Studies	Groups and communities at risk of domestic and family violence - A review and evaluation of domestic and family violence prevention and early intervention services focusing on at-risk groups and communities, 2014	This report contributes to the development of the knowledge base on DFV prevention strategies and the needs of at-risk groups and communities. These groups include Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, women from CALD communities, people who identify as GLBTIQ, young women and women in regional, rural and remote (non-urban) communities.	NSW
Women NSW, prepared by the Australian Institute of Family Studies	Children affected by domestic and family violence - A review of domestic and family violence prevention, early intervention and response services, 2014	This report sets out the findings of research into DFV prevention, early intervention and response for children aged up to eight years. The research had two areas of focus: synthesising the literature on the impacts of DFV on children, and on the evidence for primary prevention and early intervention strategies for children aged up to eight years; and identifying best practice approaches for primary prevention, early intervention and response for those children, and identifying the extent to which these needs are met within existing DVF primary prevention, early intervention, and response approaches in Australia.	NSW
Domestic Violence Resource Centre Victoria	Bad Mothers and Invisible Fathers - Parenting in the Context of Domestic Violence, 2009	This Discussion Paper draws on recent research from the United Kingdom, North America and Australia to illuminate how domestic violence affects women's abilities to mother a couple's children and how mothering in such situations can trap women in gendered violence.	Victoria
Domestic Violence Resource Centre Victoria	Family Violence and Homelessness - Removing the Perpetrator from the Home, 2002	This discussion paper presents suggestions as to how policy can be directed to removing violent men from the family home, evaluates the two main legal interventions that exist in Victoria to enable this to happen, and discusses obstacles typically faced by those who pursue these legal interventions. The paper also explores some of the strategies and initiatives that have emerged elsewhere to address the problems identified, and recommends ways of making positive change.	Victoria
Domestic Violence Resource Centre Victoria	Violence-Induced Disability: the Consequences of Violence Against Women and Children, 2006	This paper explores one of the links between domestic and family violence and disability in Australia, in the form of violence-induced disability.	Victoria

Organisation	Title of specific document	Specific relevance of document	Jurisdiction
Special Taskforce on Domestic and Family Violence in Queensland	Not Now, Not Never. Putting an end to domestic violence in Queensland	This is a substantial report on domestic violence, both in terms of data collected and recommendations moving forward (appendices included)	Queensland
Queensland Centre for Domestic and Family Violence Research	Data Collection Summaries	This is statistical information collated from data provided by domestic and family violence prevention and support services funded by the Queensland Government's Department of Communities, Child Safety and Disability Services. The data are collected by service providers in respect of each new client matter presenting for assistance in relation to domestic or family violence, as well as each continuing client, over a two week period. These data only relate to people who access support services and should not be seen to represent the incidence of domestic and family violence in Queensland.	Queensland
Australian Institute of Criminology	Domestic/family homicide in Australia, 2015	This report presents data for the period 1 July 2002 through 30 June 2012 and provides information collected from all state and territory police services regarding murders and manslaughters in each jurisdiction on domestic and family homicides.	Commonwealth
Australian Institute of Criminology	Intimate partner abuse of women in a Central Queensland mining region	Survey of 532 women in a remote mining region. Of the survey participants, 11.5 per cent experienced physical abuse and 31.4 per cent had experienced non-physical forms of abuse.	Queensland
Journal of Social and Legal Studies	Children and domestic violence: constructing a policy problem in Australia and New Zealand	Discussion of impacts of domestic violence on children, witnessing violence, hurt by violence and being encouraged to participate in violence.	Australia and New Zealand
Australian Health Review Journal	A population study of Indigenous Hospitalisations for Interpersonal Violence	Rates of Indigenous women being admitted to hospital due to maltreatment and rape; age profiles, residential location and length of hospital stay also recorded.	Australia

Organisation	Title of specific document	Specific relevance of document	Jurisdiction
Women's Legal Service Victoria	Stepping Stones: Legal Barriers to Economic Equality After Family Violence	The report revealed that many women were being pursued solely for joint debts after leaving a violent relationship, they had their power cut off by an abusive partner and were having huge debts run up in their name by their abusive partners. This left the women in serious financial hardship and impeded their ability to regain economic autonomy and provide for their children.	Commonwealth and Victoria
Australian Institute of Health and Welfare	Specialist Homelessness Services: 2013-2014 Full Report	Report into all clients who accessed their services, broken down by age, sex, main reason, ethnicity.	Commonwealth
Australian Longitudinal Study on Women's Health	Full data set (need to seek permission for data holdings)	ALSWH explores factors that influence health among women who are broadly representative of the entire Australian population and is the largest project of its kind, taking a comprehensive view of all aspects of health throughout a woman's life.	Commonwealth
Women with Disabilities Victoria	Voices Against Violence - Paper 4 - A review of the Public Advocate's Records on Violence Against Women with Disabilities	Report on violence against women with disabilities, comprehensive discussion of issues and literature, including some statistics.	Victoria and Commonwealth
World Health Organisation	Global Status Report on Violence Prevention 2014	The report assesses national efforts to address interpersonal violence, namely child maltreatment, youth violence, intimate partner and sexual violence, and elder abuse, and assists in providing guidance in developing roadmap and further data collection initiatives.	International
National Violence Against Women Survey, United States Department of Justice	Full Report of the Prevalence, Incidence and Consequences of Violence Against Women	This report provides comparable data regarding the prevalence of violence and further insights into the experiences of violence after an incident. This report assists in underpinning key cost assumptions.	International/United States of America
Oxley, Burniaux, Dang and d'Ercole, OECD Economic Studies	Income Distribution and Poverty in 13 OECD Countries	This article reports on developments in income distribution and poverty for 13 OECD countries and assists in understanding inequality in the distribution of disposable income for costing assumptions and of those experiencing violence.	International

Organisation	Title of specific document	Specific relevance of document	Jurisdiction
Department of Health and Human Services, Georgia, United States of America	Cost of Intimate Partner Violence in the United States	This report provides comparable data and costing regarding the prevalence of violence and further insights into the experiences of violence after an incident. This report assists in underpinning key cost assumptions and some guidance.	International/United States of America
Campbell J, John Hopkins University School of Nursing, Baltimore, USA	Health Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence	Research conducted into the health consequences flowing from intimate partner violence both physically and mentally; assisted in underpinning cost assumptions	International/United States of America
American College of Occupational and Environmental Medicine	Alternative valuations of work loss and productivity	This article examines the indirect costs, such as work loss and productivity costs, of employee illness from the employer's perspective. The article provides a conceptual framework to help employers consider alternative views with regard to assessing indirect costs.	International
Journal of the American Medication Association	Lifetime Prevalence of Gender-Based Violence in Women and the Relationship with Mental Disorders and Psychosocial Function	This report examines the association between these forms of abuse and lifetime mental disorder and psychosocial disability among women using the World Health Organization's World Mental Health Survey Initiative.	International
Universitätsverlag Brockmeyer, Bochum	Perceptions of Fear of Crime and Punitivity in New Zealand	This research assisted in understanding the increases in reported prevalence of violence that occur with definitional changes of violence and awareness campaigns.	International
Arizona State University	Immigrant Women and Domestic Violence, Common Experiences in Different Countries	This article assesses the literature on domestic violence among immigrant women in major receiving countries so as to begin delineating a framework to explain how immigrant-specific factors exacerbate the already vulnerable position—as dictated by class, gender, and race—of immigrant women in domestic violence situations.	International
United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women	General Recommendations made by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women	The recommendations assist in understanding international framework and efforts in addressing violence against women.	International

Appendix E: Data sources

Table E-0-1 provides a summary of the key sources used in estimating the costs of violence against women and their children.

Table E-0-1: Data sources

Organisation	Publication title	Data type and measures	Jurisdiction
Australian Institute of Health and Welfare	AIHW Specialist Homelessness Services Data Repository - Demographics National data cube	Accommodation nights, Age, Care or protection order, Country of birth (region), DV victim, Diagnosed mental health issue, Exiting care, Exiting custody, Family type (first reported), Homelessness (first reported), Indigenous status, Main reason, Mental health issue, Remoteness area, Repeat homelessness, Risk of homelessness (ever reported), Sex, State / territory, Support period length, Year, Year of arrival in Australia.	Commonwealth
Australian Institute of Health and Welfare	AIHW Specialist Homelessness Services Data Repository - Support Services data cube	Accommodation provision – needed, Accommodation provision – provided, Accommodation provision – referred, Age, DV assistance – needed, DV assistance – provided, DV assistance – referred, Disability assistance - needed, Disability assistance - provided, Disability assistance - referred, Drug / Alcohol assistance - needed, Drug / Alcohol assistance – provided, Drug / Alcohol assistance – referred, Family assistance - needed, Family assistance – provided, Family assistance – referred, General services - needed, General services - provided, General services – referred, Immigration assistance - needed, Immigration assistance – provided, Immigration assistance - referred, Legal/financial assistance - needed, Legal/financial assistance – provided, Legal/financial assistance – referred, Main reason, Mental health assistance - needed, Mental health assistance - provided, Mental health assistance – referred, Remoteness area, Sex, Specialist services - needed, Specialist services - provided, Specialist services - referred, State/Territory, Tenure assistance - needed, Tenure assistance - provided, Tenure assistance - referred, Year.	Commonwealth
Australian Bureau of Statistics	4510.0 - Recorded Crime - Victims, Australia, 2014	Measures of Frequency - Indigenous Status, Types of Crime, Age, Gender, relationship of the offender to the victim, Location.	Commonwealth
Australian Bureau of Statistics	Personal Safety Survey 2012. ABS cat no. 4906.0	Measures of frequency - Domestic violence victim, Homelessness, Indigenous, Age, State and territory location, Mental health issue, Remoteness, Region of birth, year of arrival in Australia.	Commonwealth
Australian Bureau of Statistics	Australian demographic statistics. ABS cat no. 3101.0	Population characteristics.	Commonwealth

Organisation	Publication title	Data type and measures	Jurisdiction
Australian Institute of Criminology	AIC NHMP 1989–90 to 2011–12 - Data basis on which Domestic/Family violence article was built	Includes identification of location, age, employment status, and data on indigenous groups.	Commonwealth
European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights	FRA gender-based violence against women survey dataset, 2012	Physical, sexual and psychological violence, Consequences of physical and sexual violence, Sexual harassment and stalking, Violence in childhood, Safety and security, Opinions, attitudes and awareness, Age, Employment status, Education.	European Union
NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research	Domestic violence statistics for NSW	Types of domestic violence incidents recorded by police; spatial distribution of domestic violence incidents, including locations and premises at which these incidents occur; time of day, day of week and month that domestic violence incidents occur; involvement of alcohol in domestic violence incidents; and information about victims and perpetrators involved in domestic violence incidents, including their gender, age, indigenous status and victim-offender relationship.	NSW
Australian Bureau of Statistics	Gender Indicators, Australia, Jan, 2013	Experience of violence from a partner.	Commonwealth
Australian Bureau of Statistics	Crime Victimisation, Australia, 2013-14	Total number of people experiencing violence; includes physical assault, threatened assaults, sexual assault and household crime (for example, property damage, theft and so on), numbers are also broken down by state and territory.	Australia; data also split by state and territory
Australian Institute of Health and Welfare	Health expenditure Australia 2013-14	Estimates of how much was spent on health between 2003–04 and 2013–14. This information contributes to understanding the performance and efficiency of Australia's health system and how changes arise over time.	Commonwealth
Crime Statistics Agency	Family incidents	Record of family incidents attended by Victoria Police where a Victoria Police Risk Assessment and Risk Management Report (also known as an L17 form) was completed and recorded on LEAP.	Commonwealth
Australian Bureau of Statistics	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey, 2008	Total number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women who have experienced physical violence.	Commonwealth

