

What do we know about domestic violence?

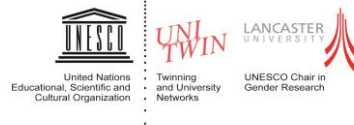
New findings from the Crime Survey for England and Wales

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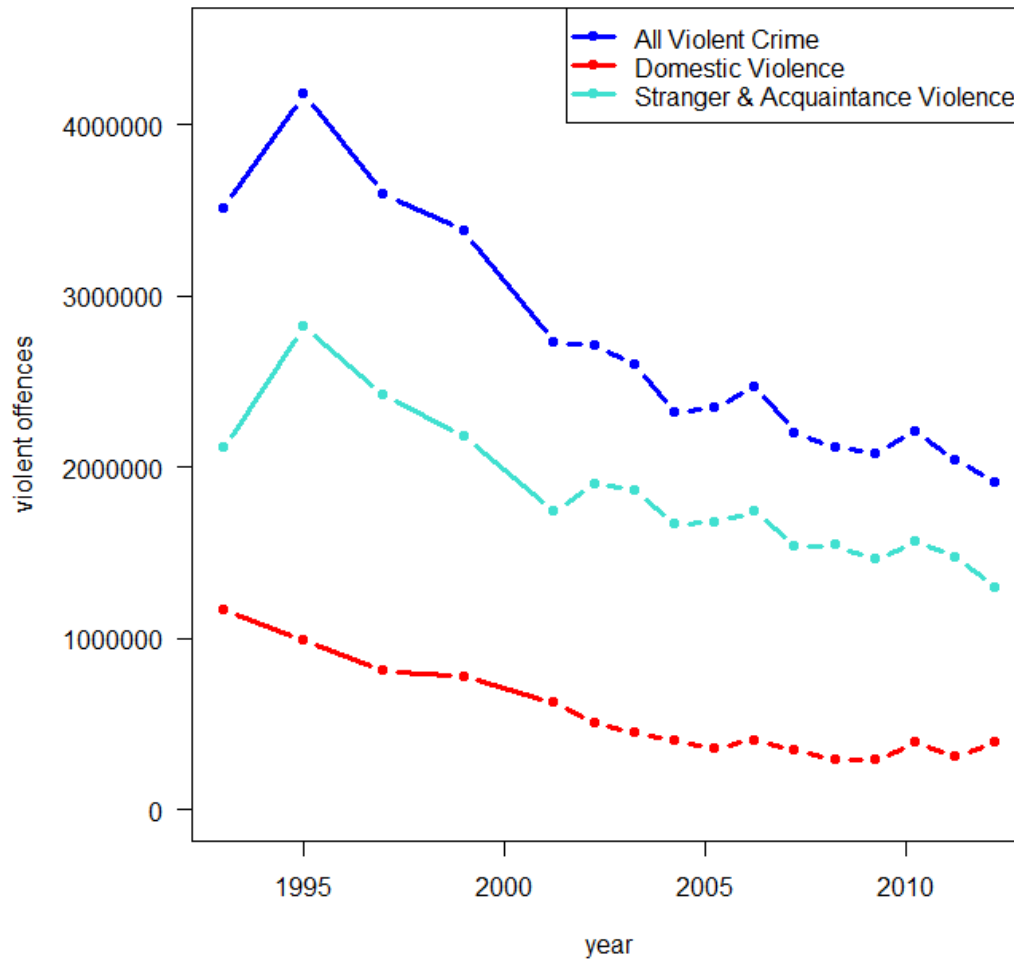
Lancaster University



Crime Survey for England and Wales (ONS)

Violent Crimes

Perpetrators: all; stranger/acquaintance; domestic



Highest and Lowest Years for Violent Crime Offences : Domestic Violence and Other Violence in the CSEW (ONS published data)

	YEAR END															
	93	95	97	99	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13
Domestic Violence	1,166	989	814	775	626	506	447	402	358	407	343	293	289	391	308	398
Stranger & acquaintance violence	2,111	2,820	2,426	2,181	1,745	1,905	1,866	1,666	1,682	1,739	1,542	1,543	1,460	1,567	1,477	1,301
All violent crime	3,515	4,176	3,593	3,382	2,728	2,714	2,596	2,322	2,350	2,473	2,201	2,113	2,082	2,206	2,041	1,915

CSEW Trend Data to 2012/13: Table A1.

Estimated number of offences peaks. Lowest recorded estimate of offences

Table reproduces ONS published data for the estimated number of offences per year at the level of the adult population of England and Wales ('000). Data taken from the face-to-face Victim Form module

- Years run January-December from 1993 to 1999; then April-March from 2002 to 2013
- Domestic Violence: violence against the person by a partner/ex-partner/other family or household member
- Stranger & Acquaintance Violence: violence against the person by an unknown perpetrator or a perpetrator known by sight but not a partner/ex-partner/other family or household member

(ONS (2013: 34) *User Guide to Crime Statistics for England and Wales*)

The fall in domestic violence has stopped

- Most crime, including violent crime, is falling
- The long-run fall in domestic violence has stopped
- Domestic violence is different from other violent crime

The research and its context

- Statistics and their challenges
- What do we know about domestic violence from the Crime Survey for England and Wales (formerly British Crime Survey)?
- ESRC funded project analysing data from the Crime Survey for England and Wales (formerly British Crime Survey)
- Sylvia Walby (PI), Brian Francis (CI), Jude Towers (SRA)
- Walby, S., J. Towers and B. Francis (2014) 'Mainstreaming domestic and gender-based violence into sociology and the criminology of violence', *Sociological Review*, 62(S2).
 - For a copy of this publication or of *Key Findings on Domestic Violence from the CSEW*, email: S.Walby@Lancaster.ac.uk

Challenges

- Consistent definitions and measurements are necessary to identify and follow the effect of actions
- Absence of specific domestic violence 'crime code' a problem
- Definition of domestic violence requires information on 'relationship between perpetrator and victim', but this is not part of the crime code definition
- More than one definition in use in policy and measurement
 - Crime codes (several) plus relationship?
 - Variations between police force areas
 - Surveys often use 'conflict tactics scale' not crime codes
 - Lack of stability in 'official' definition
 - Varied measurement unit: event/crime or victim or perpetrator
- Tension between 'specialised' and 'mainstream' definitions

What statistics?

- Police recorded crime
- 'Flagged' domestic violence in the criminal justice system (CJS)
 - Police; Crown Prosecution Service
- Crime Survey for England and Wales
 - Special module 'intimate violence, self-completed (SC)
 - Main questionnaire, answered face to face (F2F)
 - Capped; uncapped

Police Recorded Crimes:

No data on domestic violence

Invisibility of 'gender' or 'domestic' as categories

2011/12	Number of recorded crimes	Percentage of all crime
Sexual offences	52,760	1.0
Sexual offences against women	34,547	0.9
Sexual offences against men	3,548	<0.1
Violence against the person	626,720	16.0
Other crime	3,343,675	83.0
All crimes	4,023,155	100.0

Source: Office for National Statistics (ONS 2013) Appendix tables: Crime Survey for England and Wales Year ending September 2013: Table A4 Police Recorded Crime by Offence.

¹ There are additional sexual offences which are not gendered and therefore the two subcategories do not add up to the total of sexual offences.

² Police recorded crime category of violence against the person includes homicide.

'Flagged' domestic abuse

- Police and CPS 'flag' domestic abuse
- Essential data for police assessment of 'what works'
 - Evaluating best practice to reduce 'attrition'
- Statistics on police force flagged domestic abuse
 - Not on a statutory footing
 - Not routinely released to the public at a national level
 - At the discretion of individual forces
 - Extreme variation

Figure 1 : Percentage of all calls for assistance which had a domestic abuse marker for the 12 months to 31 August 2013³¹

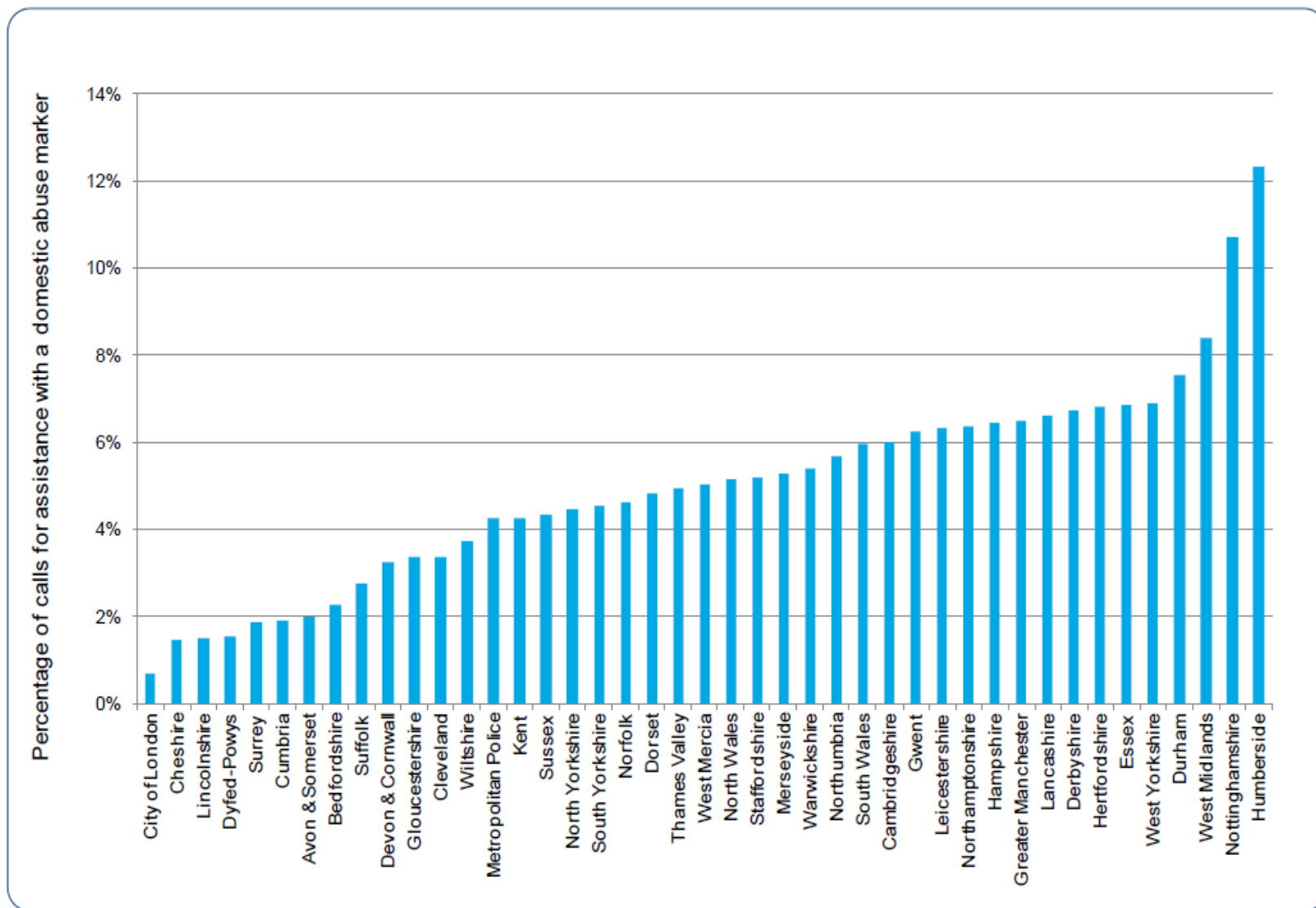
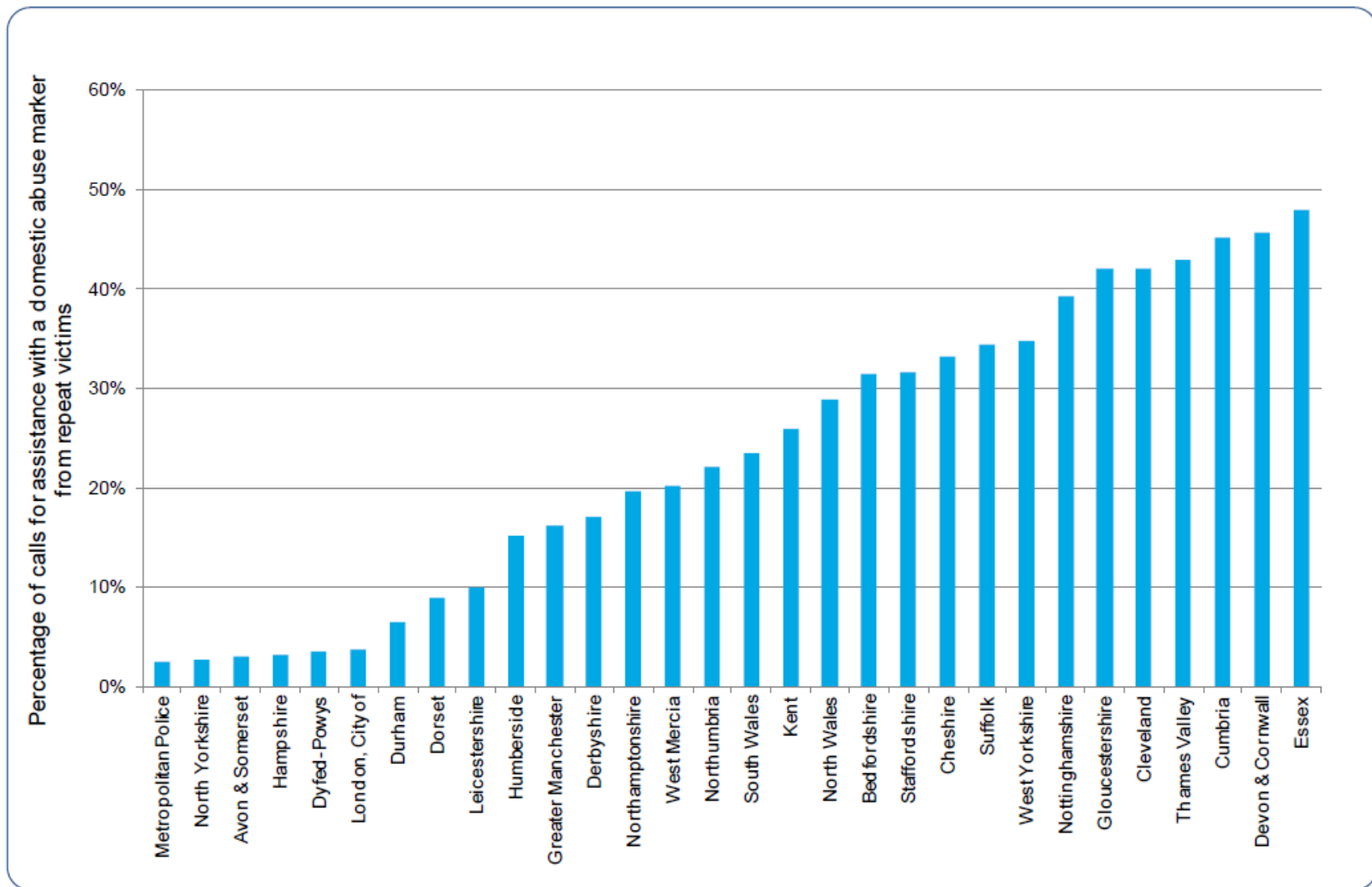


Figure 2 : Percentage of calls for assistance with a domestic abuse marker from repeat victims for the 12 months to 31 August 2013³³



Source: HMIC data collection

HMIC on 'flagged' data

- HMIC (2014: 42) “In view of the extreme variation in the information provided it is unlikely that some forces’ data accurately reflects the number of repeat victims”

Crime Survey for England and Wales

- Nationally representative crime victimisation survey
 - England & Wales; Separate surveys: Scotland, Northern Ireland
- Sample size: c. 40,000 adults in England and Wales
- Frequency: now every year; started mid-1980s
- Two methods of collecting data on domestic violence
- Main questionnaire (F2F)
 - Face-to-face interviewing
 - Detailed 'Victim Form' for each crime or series of crimes
 - Criminal offences only, as judged by expert coder
- Self-completed 'intimate violence' module (SC)
 - Confidential: Computer given to respondent
 - Respondent answers questions on screen unseen by interviewer
 - Domestic abuse, sexual assault and stalking, includes non-criminal events of emotional and financial abuse

Comparing survey and police data

- Police
 - Offences reported to the police (not all are reported)
 - Types
 - 'recorded crime'
 - 'incidents': judged not to reach criminal threshold
 - 'flagged' domestic abuse
 - Unit of measurement
 - incident/crime
- Survey
 - Abuse/violence found in the general population includes offences/incidents not reported to the police
 - Types
 - Main: 'domestic violence' that is crime (violence against the person)
 - Self-complete: 'domestic abuse'
 - Unit of measurement
 - Main questionnaire: incident/crime
 - Self-completion: victim/prevalence

Domestic abuse and violent crime

- Most, but not all, 'domestic abuse' is 'violent crime'/'violence against the person'
- 'Violence against the person' (VAP)
 - Homicide
 - Wounding
 - Serious wounding
 - Other wounding
 - Common assault (no injury) (crimes)
 - Threats to kill (crimes)
- Sexual offences (not included in CJS definition of VAP)
 - Rape (including attempted rape)
 - Sexual assault
- Non-crime domestic incidents/domestic abuse
 - Includes emotional and financial abuse (not crimes)

Violence against the Person (men and women) by domestic, acquaintance or stranger (men and women) Crime Survey for England and Wales, 2011/12

Perpetrator	Number of offences	% of violent crime	% of all crime
Domestic	308,000	17.0	3.0
Acquaintance	731,000	41.0	8.0
Stranger	753,000	42.0	8.0
All VAP	1,792,000	100.0	19.0
All offences	9,500,000	-	100.0

Source: Published Data from Office for National Statistics (ONS 2013) Appendix tables : Crime Survey for England and Wales Year ending September 2013.

¹ CSEW is a victimisation survey and therefore does not include homicide

² Snatch theft and robbery are not included in the VAP figures

Comparing main questionnaire (F2F) and self-completion module (SC)

- Disclosure rate for prevalence of domestic abuse
 - SC higher disclosure rate by victims, consequence of confidentiality; SC acknowledged to be more reliable
- Number of incidents/crimes and frequency/repeats per victim
 - F2F better measure of number of domestic violence crimes
 - Asks detailed questions about number of incidents
 - SC not robust on since 2004
 - Question on number of incidents aggregates all severity levels; refusal rate 40-50% means this is unreliable
- Changes over time
 - F2F longer time series (1980s>) than SC (2001; 2004>)

Counting repeat events (F2F)

- Victim Forms
 - up to 6 forms per person
 - Single events or 'series'
- Series:
 - 'the same thing, done under the same circumstances, probably by the same person/people' (ONS, 2013)
- Counting incidents/crimes on victim forms
 - Exact numbers up to 96
- Available raw data
 - Number of incidents/crimes available from UK Data Service
- Published data
 - Number of incidents/crimes per series capped at five

Capping incidents at 5: justification and critique

- ONS

- 'The restriction to the first five incidents in a series has been applied since the CSEW began in order to ensure that estimates are not affected by a very small number of respondents who report an extremely high number of incidents and which are highly variable between survey years' (ONS, 2013)

- Walby, Towers and Francis

- 11% of respondents have the number of incidents 'capped'
 - 11% is not a 'very small number of respondents'
 - Uncapped data gives a better set of estimates

Improving the measurement of violent crime: including sexual violence removing cap at 5 incidents

- Including Sexual Offences in 'violence against the person' (VAP) would increase estimated number of capped offences of VAP by 77,000 and of uncapped by 120,000 per year
- Capping 'violence against the person' at 5 incidents underestimates the number of violent crimes by 60%
- Uncapping shows greater concentration of victimisation
 - Repeat victimisation is more common in:
 - Violence by domestic & acquaintance perpetrators than by strangers
 - Violence against women than in violence against men
 - Severe domestic violence than in less severe domestic violence

The extent and seriousness of domestic violence

- The number of domestic violence crimes is underestimated
 - Number of repeat incidents of domestic violence is higher than revealed in published CSEW data, which artificially caps the number of crimes reported to the survey at 5
- The seriousness of domestic violence is underestimated
 - 17% of domestic violence crimes against women reported to the survey are serious (either serious wounding or rape)

Gender asymmetry of victims greater in F2F than SC

- Government published data on gender ratio for domestic violence is only available from the CSEW self-completion module and for the percentage of victims, 2011/12:
 - 458,000 women: 65%
 - 244,000 men: 35%
 - 702,000 all: 100%
- But, our findings: gender profile of victims is more asymmetric in main questionnaire (F2F), 2011/2:
 - 133,000 women: 71%
 - 52,000 men: 29%
 - 185,000 all: 100%

Costing domestic violence: methodology and principles

- The cost of domestic violence is a measure of its impact on economy and society
- Methodology:
 - Treasury Green Book principles
 - Intended to provide comparability in order to ensure that public funds are spent most effectively
 - Insists that intangibles are included alongside tangibles
 - Home Office methodology on the cost of crime
 - Application of Green book principles and use of costs devised in parallel government departments, from Transport to Health
 - Brand and Price 2000
 - Cost of Domestic Violence
 - Applied HO methodology to domestic violence, making necessary revisions e.g. Including cost of refuges
 - Walby 2004: base-line study; 2009 up-date

Components of the cost of domestic violence

- The cost of domestic violence is a measure of its impact on economy and society
- Methodology: follows Treasury Green Book principles and Home Office methodology on the cost of crime (Brand and Price 2000)
- Components:
 - Public services
 - Police and criminal justice system
 - Health care
 - Social services and emergency housing
 - Civil legal services e.g. specialised injunctions
 - Specialised support services to victims e.g. Refuges, advice
 - Lost economic output
 - Lost wages, output and profit due to time off work for injuries
 - Public's willingness to pay to avoid such pain and suffering

Data required to estimate the cost domestic violence

- Survey data on domestic violence
 - Number of victims and incidents
 - Injuries and time off work
 - Can be up-dated over time
- Service providers' information
 - Cost of units of service
 - Estimates of the extent to which services were used
- Public's willingness to pay to avoid domestic violence
 - Estimates from parallel harms

Costs over time

Cost 2004: £23billion

Cost 2009: £16 billion: fall due to reduction in the rate of domestic violence

Up-dates in progress for UK and EU

Improving the statistics on domestic violence

- Use the same units of measurement throughout surveys and criminal justice system: at each stage, all of
 - Crimes/offences: based on crime codes
 - Abandon the specialised domestic violence conflict tactics scale
 - Victims
 - Suspects/ Perpetrators/Offenders
 - Sex of victims and perpetrators
 - Relationship between victim and perpetrator
- Abandon the cap on the number of incidents
- Publish statistics on violence disaggregated by gender and by domestic (intimate partner and other family member)/acquaintance/stranger perpetrator

What do we know about domestic violence?

1. Domestic violence is a crime that causes pain and hardship
2. While other violent crime in general is falling, the rate of domestic violence has stopped falling
3. Domestic violence is more serious violence than was previously thought
4. The gender profile is more asymmetrical than shown in government published statistics
5. Domestic violence costs the country a lot of money
6. Published statistics do not track domestic violence from survey to police to prosecution to conviction: they could.