



Home Office

The economic and social costs of domestic abuse

Research Report 107

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The views expressed in this report are those of the authors, not necessarily those of the Home Office (nor do they reflect government policy).

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Executive summary

This report aims to estimate the costs of domestic abuse in England and Wales for the year ending 31 March 2017 to highlight the impact of these crimes. It estimates the cost of domestic abuse for victims over this period to be approximately £66 billion.

The report follows the same underlying approach used in 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018). However, there are some key differences that reflect the nature of domestic abuse.

The framework used in 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018) divides the costs into three distinct areas:

- Anticipation (expenditure on protective and preventative measures);
- Consequence (property damage, physical and emotional harms, lost output, health and victim services);
- Response (police and criminal justice system).

This same framework is used to estimate the costs of domestic abuse with similar methods applied.

The analysis relies on the information gathered through the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW), both from the main survey and the interpersonal violence self-completion module. Information from the CSEW is used to calculate the likelihood of physical and emotional harm which are then used to estimate the costs of those harms (using the Quality Adjusted Life Year (QALY) method), the resulting health service costs and lost output.

Unlike many other crimes, domestic abuse is not a single time-limited event. While the 'Economic and Social Costs of Crime' report estimates the cost of individual incidents, the repeated and ongoing nature of domestic abuse makes it difficult to measure the precise number of incidents involved so the costs in this report relates to individual victims and the harms they will suffer during their period of abuse and the costs as a consequence and in response to victims. The average length of abuse for a victim is three years (SafeLives, 2018). During the period of abuse a number of offences can repeatedly occur. Due to the repeated nature of domestic abuse, there is likely to be an overlap between various injuries occurring and healing. To estimate the physical and emotional harms of these, an additive approach has been used. Each subsequent injury causes the same reduction in QALY as the initial injury, even if they overlap. This approach is consistent with the approach used to estimate the overlapping of injuries within the previous 'Economic and Social Costs of Modern Slavery' report (Reed, *et al.*, (2018).

Overall, in the year ending 31 March 2017, domestic abuse is estimated to have cost over £66 billion in England and Wales (Table 1). The biggest component of the estimated cost is the physical and emotional harms incurred by victims (£47 billion), particularly the emotional harms (the fear, anxiety and depression experienced by victims as a result of domestic abuse), which

account for the overwhelming majority of the overall costs. The cost to the economy is also considerable, with an estimated £14 billion arising from lost output due to time off work and reduced productivity as a consequence of domestic abuse. Some of the cost will be borne by Government such as the costs to health services (£2.3 billion) and the police (£1.3 billion). Some of the cost of victim services will also fall to Government, such as housing costs totalling £550 million, which includes temporary housing, homelessness services and repairs and maintenance. Victim services costs also include expenditure by charities and the time given up by volunteers to support victims.

Table 1: Total costs of domestic abuse in England and Wales for 2016/17 (£ millions)

Costs in Anticipation	Costs as a consequence				Costs in response				Total
	Physical and emotional harm	Lost output	Health services	Victim services	Police costs	Criminal legal	Civil legal	Other	
£6m	£47,287m	£14,098m	£2,333m	£724m	£1,257m	£336m	£140m	£11m	£66,192m

To estimate the unit cost for an average domestic abuse victim, the total cost estimates have been divided by the total estimated number of domestic abuse victims (1,946,000 in the year ending 31 March 2017 (Office for National Statistics, 2017a)). The estimated cost for a single victim of domestic abuse is £34,015. While this represents an average, there are a range of different types of violent and sexual offences that victims of domestic abuse can experience. Most extreme is the cost of domestic homicide, which has an estimated unit cost of £2.2 million arising from the cost of harms, health services and lost output.

Table 2: Unit costs of domestic abuse in England and Wales for 2016/17¹

Costs in Anticipation	Costs as a consequence				Costs in response				Total
	Physical and emotional harm	Lost output	Health services	Victim services	Police costs	Criminal legal	Civil legal	Other	
£5	£24,300	£7,245	£1,200	£370	£645	£170	£70	£5	£34,015

While the £66 billion estimate of the costs of domestic abuse appear large, they are likely to be an under-estimate. In particular, the CSEW data at the heart of the estimate does not enable full consideration of the number of injuries incurred by victims during their abuse, so the physical harms are likely to be under-estimated.

The £66 billion estimate represents the most comprehensive estimate yet of the economic and social costs of domestic abuse. This report reinforces the need to tackle domestic abuse, ideally through preventative efforts that stop the abuse from happening in the first place. It also highlights how domestic abuse impacts on many sectors of society, suggesting that the response should be similarly wide-ranging.

¹ Rounded to the nearest £5. The total figure may not sum due the effect of this rounding.

1. Introduction

The aim of this report is to estimate the cost of domestic abuse in England and Wales for the year ending 31 March 2017 to extend our understanding of the economic impact that domestic abuse has on the individuals directly affected by it as well as on society more widely.

Estimating the economic and social impact can aid prioritisation among competing policy demands. Improving understanding of the impact of domestic abuse can help direct policy and operational efforts to lessen its effects and to better appreciate the value of preventative efforts.

1.1. The crime of domestic abuse

In line with the existing non-statutory cross-government definition, throughout this report domestic abuse refers to:

“Any incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive, threatening behaviour, violence or abuse between those aged 16 or over who are, or have been, intimate partners or family members regardless of gender or sexuality. The abuse can encompass, but is not limited to, psychological, physical, sexual, financial and emotional.” (Home Office, 2012)

Evidence shows that domestic abuse is predominantly committed against women. According to the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) for the year ending 31 March 2018, 24.9% of women and 10% of men aged 16 to 59 have experienced partner abuse at least once since the age of 16, while 6.3% of women and 2.7% of men aged between 16 and 59 have experienced partner abuse once or more in the last year (Office for National Statistics, 2018a).

In the year ending 31 March 2018, there were 599,549 domestic abuse-related crimes recorded by the police in England and Wales and a further 598,545 incidents not subsequently recorded as crimes (Office for National Statistics, 2018b). The number of police recorded crimes increased (by 23%) in the year ending 31 March 2018, while the number of incidents has declined, illustrating that recording of domestic abuse continues to rise. However, much of the domestic abuse that takes place does not come to the attention of the police and there remains a gap between the level of abuse measured by the CSEW and the level of abuse recorded by the police. It is estimated that around one in six of domestic abuse victims report their abuse to the police (Office for National Statistics, 2018a). Much of the extent and impact of domestic abuse therefore remains hidden.

In addition, not all of the crimes recorded are referred to the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) for charging. This is often the case where there is insufficient evidence to undertake a prosecution, or in cases where the victim does not want to go to court. In the year to 31 March 2018, 18% (110,562) of domestic abuse-related crimes were referred from the police to the CPS, 81% of which led to prosecutions (89,091). Of these prosecutions, 68,098 resulted in a conviction, which is a conviction rate of 76% (Crown Prosecution Service, 2018). Alongside increased demands on the criminal justice system (CJS), providers of support services for victims of domestic abuse also report signs of a rise in complex domestic abuse cases.

SafeLives (2017a) insights data, for instance, has shown a year-on-year increase in the proportion of high-risk clients in their overall victim client cohort in recent years (from 69% in 2015 to 82% in 2017).

1.2. Previous research

There are a number of examples of estimates of the cost of domestic abuse to society from other countries; for example, Australia (KPMG, 2016), the United States (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003) and Germany (Sacco, 2017). This work estimating the cost of domestic abuse in England and Wales builds on existing estimates of the cost of domestic violence. The first estimate of the cost of domestic violence in England and Wales was published by Sylvia Walby (2004). This estimate was calculated based on the Home Office framework for costing crime (Brand and Price, 2000), prevalence estimates from the Crime Survey, as well as housing and social services costs based on information from a number of sources including reports by services of their own expenditure. The research concluded that the cost of domestic violence to victims, employers and the state in 2001 was around £23 billion. Walby (2009) published updated costs of domestic violence in England and Wales, which estimated the cost had decreased to £16 billion in 2008. The lower costs reflected a fall in the prevalence of domestic abuse as measured by the CSEW.

The third iteration of Walby's work to estimate the cost of domestic abuse to the UK, used an alternative methodology based on the number of violent incidents rather than the number of victims to more accurately reflect the repeat nature of domestic abuse. This work produced an estimate of the cost of domestic abuse in 2012 to be around £26 billion (Walby and Olive, 2014).²

Building on the existing work, this report follows the updated Home Office methodology for estimating the cost of crime (Heeks *et al.*, 2018), adapting and adding to it where necessary to reflect some of the characteristics of domestic abuse. Some of the main changes in the methodology to previous estimates are that prevalence estimates have been updated with the figures for the year ending 31 March 2017, lost productivity and domestic stalking have been included. Additionally, a revised Quality Adjusted Life Year (QALY) methodology with updated figures has been used, as outlined further in the next section.

² The amount in GBP has been calculated using the European Commission's currency converter and June 2012 exchange rate to translate the amount quoted in EUR by Walby and Olive (2014) into GBP. (http://ec.europa.eu/budget/contracts_grants/info_contracts/infoeuro/index_en.cfm)

2. Methods

This section gives a summary of the methods used in the main costs of crime estimate and outlines how these have been modified for the purposes of estimating the costs of domestic abuse.

'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018) methodology only considered direct costs (those that can be completely attributed to the relevant crime type(s)). The same methodology has been used for this estimate. Any estimated costs that cannot be directly linked to domestic abuse have been excluded. For this analysis, it has been viewed that the direct causality between the impacts on children and domestic abuse could not be established. The impacts from adverse childhood experiences often manifest themselves over a prolonged period, many years after the event, and could also be influenced by additional factors. The available evidence is not clear as to the specific impacts of domestic abuse rather than other causes (e.g. child abuse). Therefore, any costs in relation to the impact of domestic abuse on children have been excluded (this has been discussed further in Annex 1).

For this research the analysis has not been broken down by gender. Some cost areas, such as physical and emotional harm, could have been broken down by gender if additional analysis of the CSEW had been undertaken but there were insufficient sample sizes. Other cost areas (e.g. costs in anticipation, victim services, criminal and civil legal costs) did not have sufficient information to enable a breakdown by gender.

The estimated costs relate to the number of victims within a particular period (financial year ending 31 March 2017). Even if the duration of harm exceeds or predates this period, the full costs (including costs outside of this period) to people who were victims during this period are included.

The framework for estimating the cost of crime divides the costs into three distinct areas:

- **Anticipation** (expenditure on protective and preventative measures)
- **Consequence** (physical and emotional harms, lost output, health, property damage and victim services)
- **Response** (police and other justice costs)

These same areas of cost have been applied to domestic abuse, although the scope and methodology differs.

Due to insufficient data, in addition to not being able to include the costs of the impact of domestic abuse on children, the costs of domestic abuse-related suicides, and the costs of financial abuse and the emotional abuse (of controlling and coercive behaviour) to victims has not been included either.

2.1. Costs in anticipation

In 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018), costs in anticipation refer to insurance administration costs and defensive expenditure, such as locks and burglar alarms, largely in relation to acquisitive crime. These are less likely to be applicable in the context of domestic abuse, where perpetrators and victims often live together and there is no particular form of insurance available.

Costs in relation to domestic abuse training and awareness campaigns are more appropriate defensive expenditure components in the context of domestic abuse. These costs are incurred to raise awareness and to encourage early and effective intervention, regardless of whether the receiving individual comes into contact with victims or not. Additionally, costs in relation to the Domestic Violence Disclosure Scheme (DVDS)³ have also been included within this section.

2.2. Costs as a consequence

2.2.1 Physical and emotional harms

The QALY method is used to quantify these costs. The same approach was used in 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018) and 'The Economic and Social Costs of Modern Slavery' (Reed *et al.*, 2018), based on the work of Dolan *et al.* (2005). This approach uses the percentage by which the victims' health-related quality of life is estimated to be reduced (the QALY loss) by suffering particular injuries and psychological harms. The QALY method is outlined within 'The Green Book: appraisal and evaluation in central government' (HM Treasury, 2018a).

The physical and emotional harm to the victims is calculated as the likelihood of sustaining physical and emotional injuries (LIKE), multiplied by the percentage reduction in health-related quality of life (REDUCEQL), multiplied by the duration of the recovery period (including the length of abuse where appropriate) as a fraction of a total year (DUR). This is then multiplied by the value of a year of life at full health (VOLY) to give an estimate of the average cost. The formula is as follows:

$$LIKE * REDUCEQL * DUR * VOLY = \text{average physical and emotional cost}$$

The physical and emotional harms have been discounted in accordance with the guidance as set out within the 'The Green Book: appraisal and evaluation in central government' (HM Treasury, 2018a), where the harm incurred lasts longer than a year.

As in 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018), this research relies heavily on the estimated likelihood of sustaining injuries as a result of each crime type from the CSEW. Domestic abuse involving physical abuse is measured in both the self-completion module and face-to-face interview of the CSEW. Estimates from the self-completion module are regarded as the best measure of domestic abuse as they are designed to allow the respondent to reply more freely to these sensitive questions. This is shown by the fact that, of those aged 16 to 59 who reported being victims of physical domestic abuse in the last year (force by a partner or family member) in the self-completion module for the year ending 31

³ A scheme that enables the police to disclosure information to partners of previous violent and abusive offenders. This is used to inform and protect individuals from future acts of violence and abuse.

March 2017, only 14% reported being a victim of domestic violence in the last 12 months in the face-to-face interview (Office for National Statistics, 2018c). While the self-completion module provides a more complete measure of the prevalence of domestic abuse as it includes non-physical domestic abuse, only the face-to-face interview can provide the injury and incident data necessary for an estimate of the impact of domestic abuse.

Data on the likelihood of sustaining injuries within a domestic abuse context and repeated incidents were therefore taken from the main face-to-face survey, as it is not available in the separate intimate violence self-completion module. Information gathered from victims within the main crime survey, who identified their perpetrator as a family member or an intimate partner, were isolated from all other reported crime to provide the most reliable likelihood of physical and emotional estimates as a result of domestic abuse. Injury information for stalking, emotional (controlling and coercive behavior) and financial abuse is not captured by the CSEW. Alternative information was needed to calculate the impacts of these forms of domestic abuse.

For this research, the likelihood of emotional impacts of domestic stalking is taken from Acquadro Maran and Veretto (2018). This research reviewed both male and female victims of intimate romantic (partner, ex-partner) and intimate non-romantic (relatives, close friends) domestic stalking among healthcare professionals. The self-declared victims of domestic stalking were asked to anonymously complete self-administered questionnaires on depression (Beck Depression Inventory) and two scales of anxiety (State-Trait Anxiety Inventory) to establish their psychological effects of being stalked. As the sample was restricted to healthcare professionals, applying these to the wider domestic stalking victims may be unrepresentative.

The psychological impacts of emotional abuse, such as controlling and coercive behaviour, and financial abuse were not able to be established and therefore these have not been included within this analysis. This is a key limitation of this report. It is strongly encouraged that any future updates to this research review the available literature to establish whether these impacts can be included.

The reduction in quality of life is taken from the most recent disability weights in the Global Burden of Disease study (Salomon et al., 2015).⁴ Dolan et al. (2005) gives most of the information on the duration of injuries which is supplemented by the average length of domestic abuse and domestic stalking from SafeLives (2018)⁵ and Acquadro Maran and Veretto (2018). The value of a life at full health is taken from the 'The Green Book: appraisal and evaluation in central government' (HM Treasury, 2018a), updated from 2012 prices (HM Treasury, 2018b).

In addition, in line with the revised methods used within 'The Economic and Social Costs of Modern Slavery' (Reed *et al.*, 2018) to account for the likelihood of multiple injuries and different types of abuse overlapping, an additive QALY approach has been used for physical injuries. Each subsequent injury causes the same reduction in QALY as the initial injury, even if they overlap.

⁴ The Global Burden of Disease is a systematic scientific effort to compare the magnitude of health losses associated with different diseases, injuries and risk factors worldwide. Salomon *et al.* (2015) analysed data from 60,890 respondents to compute the disability weights.

⁵ The average duration of domestic abuse has been taken from SafeLives. They engage with domestic abuse services across England and Wales to gather data on their service provision and the victims that use them.

To calculate the emotional impacts of domestic abuse to victims, especially where multiple types of domestic abuse were assumed, the greater likelihood figure of emotional harms has been used. Where the durations of these harms vary, the lesser emotional likelihood figure has been assumed for the remaining of the duration. A worked example of this is explained in Emotional harm in Section 3.3.1.

2.2.2 Health services

The estimates of health service costs are based on the treatment that is likely to be required for certain injuries and the prevalence of injuries for violent and sexual incidents (estimated using the CSEW). It should be noted that the likely treatment required relies on CSEW data for crime as a whole, rather than domestic abuse-specific medical assistance. Domestic abuse data were unable to be used due to a small sample size. Therefore, the estimates included within this report may be an under or over estimation of the cost of health services depending on whether domestic abuse victims follow the trends for medical assistance for all crime.

Physical harms are associated with ambulance costs and medical procedure costs, and the emotional harms are associated with counselling costs. The unit costs of healthcare activities used are from Curtis and Burns (2016) and NHS reference costs (Department of Health, 2017).

2.2.3 Lost output

In line with the method to assess lost output within 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018), lost output estimates have been produced by combining the time lost at work following victimisation and reduced productivity upon their return to work.

1) Time lost at work as a result of domestic abuse.

This is based on CSEW respondents (British Crime Survey, year ending 31 March 2009),⁶ who report the amount of time taken off work following victimisation.

2) Reduced productivity at work as a result of physical and emotional injuries.

Physical and emotional injuries are assumed to result in victims being less productive at work for the duration of the injury. The QALY loss associated with domestic abuse injuries (Table 5 and Table 6 in Section 3.3.1) are used within the analysis as a proxy for the extent of victims' reduction in productivity. The QALY losses used to estimate the physical and emotional costs are assumed not to already capture lost productivity. This is supported by Shiroiwa *et al.* (2013) who conclude that any double counting between QALYs and productivity loss is negligible. This report therefore assumes it is not double counting lost productivity by including an estimate for it in this section.

This report has then combined the lost hours from time lost at work with the lost hours from reduced productivity and then multiplied this by the average wage, derived through the Office for National Statistics (ONS) Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and EuroStat to calculate the lost output costs of each type of domestic abuse.

⁶ Note that the last time this question was included in a national crime survey was in the year ending 31 March 2009 and so this is used to form the estimates. Relying on this period may be unrepresentative for the time lost at work in the year ending 31 March 2017 as victims may be able to return to work easier now than they did back then.

2.2.4 Victim services

Domestic abuse services provide a wide range of information and support to victims of domestic abuse. In 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018), costs from Victim Support and volunteer lost time were included within the victim services estimate. For this research, a broader range of services have been included. CSEW data suggest that as well as seeking support from the police or health professionals, victims also regularly disclose their abuse experiences to wider support organisations and professionals (Office for National Statistics, 2016). Within this section, a wide variety of dedicated domestic abuse support costs have been included. The included areas of support are housing, charity expenditure, domestic abuse practitioners, volunteer lost time, sexual assault referral centres (SARCs) and domestic abuse support from the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP).

To estimate charity expenditure, a list of charities that support victims of domestic abuse was created by combining a database of domestic abuse support services from Hestia's 'Bright Sky' app (created to provide support information and to direct victims to their local support services)⁷ with conducting a key word search on the Charity Commission website. The search terms were: 'domestic abuse', 'domestic violence', 'women's aid', 'rape crisis' and 'refuge'. The final list was comprised of 309 charities that either provided some service towards, or were fully dedicated to, tackling domestic abuse. Those whose work was highlighted as not fully dedicated to domestic abuse were contacted and asked to provide a breakdown of their expenditure. Of the 106 charities that were contacted, 65 responded. Of the total 309 charities, dedicated domestic abuse expenditure for 246 was obtained.

It is acknowledged that due to a lack of data, the costs included within victim services will not fully encapsulate the complete options of support that are available to victims.

2.3. Costs in response

The estimates of the costs in response to domestic abuse include:

- police costs
- CJS
- civil legal system
- multi-agency risk assessment conferences (MARACs)

2.3.1 Police response

In 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018), police costs are based primarily on activity-based costings (ABC) data collected during the year ending 31 March 2007 (which covered the time spent by police officers and staff on a range of different activities), uprated to crime levels for the year ending 31 March 2016 and adjusted to reflect changes in crime categories and resources allocated by the police to certain activities. This is then used to estimate the proportions of the police budget spent on different crime and non-crime types, which were then validated and triangulated through a variety of different methods.

⁷ Bright Sky is a free to download mobile app providing support and information to anyone who may be in an abusive relationship or those concerned about someone they know. The app is designed to be used for anyone looking for information about issues around domestic abuse such as online safety, stalking and harassment, and sexual consent - <https://www.hestia.org/brightsky>

For this estimate, these triangulated crime costs have been taken from 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018) and revised to represent estimated year ending 31 March 2017 costs (CIPFA, 2017). Timeliness data (the length of time it takes for the police to assign an outcome) have been used as a proxy indicator of police resource; so timeliness data for domestic abuse-flagged crimes have been compared with the timeliness data for all recorded crime to estimate the relative police resources in dealing with and investigating crime. The estimated domestic abuse police costs per crime are then multiplied by the domestic abuse-flagged crime volumes. Additional costs of police responses to reported domestic incidents and safeguarding referrals⁸ have also been included.

2.3.2 Legal costs

In the context of domestic abuse both the criminal and civil legal sectors function to protect victims and/or punish perpetrators.

2.3.3 Criminal justice system

This report considers the cost of domestic abuse to the CJS. The CJS is divided into the following sectors for the purposes of this analysis: CPS, magistrates and Crown Courts, jury costs, legal aid defence and private defence. In the CJS, domestic abuse does not constitute a discrete criminal offence; it is prosecuted under many offences including, but not limited to, homicide, rape and criminal damage. Although there is information regarding the total number of prosecutions and convictions for domestic abuse, there are no data detailing the breakdown of domestic abuse prosecutions and convictions by specific offence type.

'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018) used the division of Ministry of Justice spending (year ending 31 March 2014) for each crime type by total crime to deduce a unit figure per recorded crime. However, no consistent data trace domestic abuse through the CJS beyond the CPS. This report is thus unable to cost sentencing outcomes for domestic abuse (immediate custody, probation etc). The exception to this methodological discrepancy is the cost of domestic homicide, which has been assumed to have the same costs as all homicides. This report adjusts the CJS homicide costs for the year ending 31 March 2016 included within 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018), to year ending 31 March 2017 prices, updating these costs with updated legal representation assumptions for the year ending 31 March 2017 and then applying this new estimated homicide unit cost to the number of domestic homicides in that year.

In the absence of domestic abuse-related data throughout the CJS, with the exception of homicide, this report looks to other data sources. CPS's Violence Against Women and Girls domestic abuse data, average court costs and average juror opportunity costs have been used to estimate domestic abuse-related CJS costs. This report also considers the average costs of legal aid for magistrates' and Crown Court cases and uses an assumption of private representation as costing 4.4 times legal aid costs to estimate the total cost of representation.

⁸ As there is a high degree of co-occurrence between domestic abuse and child abuse within abusive families, the direct causal impact cannot be established. Police complete a safeguarding referral following a domestic incident and therefore the associated costs of these initial referrals have been estimated. The initial safeguarding referral has been assumed a direct cost as a result of domestic abuse, but the subsequent actions made by the safeguarding authority cannot be directly linked for domestic abuse.

2.3.4 Civil legal system

The civil legal system plays an important role in protecting victims of domestic abuse. Civil law protects potential victims from situations of abuse by placing restrictions and injunctions on perpetrators. It also has legal jurisdiction in family matters including divorce and child custody. There are two elements to the civil legal system:

- Private family proceedings (protective injunctions, divorce and child contact)
- Public family proceedings – these are most often initiated by local authorities for child protection, supervision, care and contact orders.

Within this report, civil legal costs relating to domestic abuse protective injunctions issued in a civil context and the cost of divorces caused by domestic abuse are included within the estimated cost. It also includes other private family proceedings that receive legal aid. Except for protective injunctions and divorce, private family proceedings with private representation have not been included due to lack of data. Public family proceedings have also not been estimated due to a lack of understanding regarding the direct and specific causal relationship between these cases and domestic abuse.

The estimated number of civil domestic abuse-related protective injunctions has been taken from the 'Domestic Abuse Bill Consultation Impact Assessment' (Ministry of Justice, 2018). The number of domestic abuse-related divorces has been calculated through the total number of divorces within the year ending 31 March 2017 multiplied by the 29% rate that is assumed to be as a direct result of domestic abuse (Walby, 2004).⁹

The calculations include legal aid support that can be accessed by domestic abuse victims (through the domestic violence gateway and protective injunctions that were in scope),¹⁰ administration costs for the legal aid applications, private representation costs (based on legal aid figures for protective injunctions and private representation data for divorces) and court costs (assumed through court charges). Additionally, costs in relation to Domestic Violence Protection Notices and Orders (DVPNs and DVPOs) have been costed separately based on the estimates included within the DVPO Impact Assessment (Home Office, 2013a).

2.3.5 Multi-agency risk assessment conferences

MARACs are local, multi-agency meetings that encourage the sharing of information and promote coordinated, tailored support for high-risk victims of domestic abuse. To estimate MARAC costs, the number of cases discussed within the year ending 31 March 2017 has been multiplied by the number of attendees, then multiplied by the average time estimated to discuss each case, including any additional preparation and follow-up actions undertaken. This gives a figure for total time spent on MARACs by attendees, which is then multiplied by the cost of each attendee's time.

⁹ The domestic abuse-related divorce rate was calculated in Walby (2004) by those who stated that they left their relationship due to domestic violence. It is unknown as to whether domestic violence was the primary or contributing factor for the divorce and therefore the assumed 29% rate could overstate the number of divorces that are directly caused by domestic abuse.

¹⁰ It has been assumed that there were limited applications from domestic abuse perpetrators. This has been assumed from discussions with the Ministry of Justice.

2.4. Unit costs and total costs

Several of the costs included in the estimates (physical and emotional harms, lost time and output, and health services) are 'bottom-up' costs producing unit costs (i.e. costs per victim) which then need to be 'scaled up' to give an estimate of total costs. This is achieved by multiplying the estimated unit costs by the prevalence estimates from the CSEW.

All other costs are 'top-down' – the methods used produce an initial total cost. These total estimates then need to be converted into unit costs by dividing them by the number of victims to generate a cost per average victim, irrespective of whether or not they come to the attention of the police and victim services. This is the same approach used in 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018).

3. Findings

3.1. Domestic abuse prevalence used within this report

To accurately estimate the impact of domestic abuse to victims and wider society, the overall prevalence estimates produced by ONS for the year ending 31 March 2017 from CSEW (Office for National Statistics, 2017a) were combined with data on the co-occurrence of different types of abuse for the same victim (Office for National Statistics, 2018d).; For example, a victim may experience domestic stalking in conjunction with domestic sexual assault. Co-occurrence data from CSEW for the years ending 31 March 2015 to 2017 highlight the percentage of domestic abuse victims that suffer non-sexual abuse, sexual assault and stalking, and indicates when these types of abuse overlap (Table 3). This co-occurrence data for 2014/15 to 2016/17 was used to estimate the impacts of these crimes and to avoid double counting.

Table 3: Type of domestic abuse experienced by domestic abuse victims (CSEW, 2014/15 to 2016/17)¹¹

Type of abuse	Percentage of domestic abuse victims
Non-sexual abuse only	77.0%
Non-sexual abuse and stalking	11.0%
Stalking only	7.1%
Sexual assault and non-sexual abuse	1.6%
Sexual assault, non-sexual abuse and stalking	1.5%
Sexual assault only	1.4%
Sexual assault and stalking	0.4%

From the co-occurrence data, estimates of the total number of victims (1.9 million in 2016/17; Office for National Statistics, 2017a) can be distinguished by the various combinations of domestic abuse types. Where a respondent suggested that they suffered non-sexual domestic abuse only (77% of victims), separate CSEW data on the breakdown of non-sexual domestic abuse (Office for National Statistics, 2018e) suggest that around half (52%) of these victims suffer threats or force. (The remainder will experience non-physical abuse). Those who do experience threats or force are classified as victims of violence with or without injury. To distinguish between violence with and without injury, the separate CSEW data (Office for National Statistics, 2018e) shows that just over half (57%) of this group experience force and are categorised as having experienced violence with injury (444,007 victims) with the remaining estimated victims assumed to have suffered violence without injury (330,542).

¹¹ The percentages may not sum to 100 due to the effect of rounding.

A similar principle has been applied for sexual assault. Using the separate CSEW data on the breakdown of any domestic sexual assault (Office for National Statistics, 2018e), for victims of sexual assault only (and victims of sexual assault and non-physical abuse¹²), around two-thirds (63%) are estimated to have experienced rape (26,448) and the remaining third (37%) are estimated to have experienced indecent exposure and/or sexual touching (15,574).

The figure for the estimated number of victims of stalking (242,129) combines the prevalence of stalking only with the prevalence of those who experienced stalking and non-physical abuse (around half (48%) of the non-sexual abuse and stalking group), applied to the total number of victims. The figures for the estimated number of victims of domestic homicides, violence with injury, violence without injury, rape, indecent exposure and/or sexual touching, and domestic stalking, where these forms of abuse are the only forms of abuse suffered, are shown below in Table 4. A full breakdown of the prevalence figures, including the co-occurrence prevalence estimates used within the physical and emotional harm, health, and lost output cost estimates can be seen in Table AP1.

Table 4: Estimated number of victims by type of domestic abuse (CSEW, 2016/17)

Type of domestic abuse	Number of victims
Domestic homicide	108 ¹³
Violence with injury	444,007
Violence without injury	330,542
Rape	26,448
Indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	15,574
Stalking	242,129

3.2. Costs in anticipation of domestic abuse

This section outlines the estimates of the costs in anticipation of domestic abuse. These costs include awareness campaigns, domestic abuse training and DVDS costs.

3.2.1 Awareness campaigns

Awareness campaigns aim to highlight the issue, scale and impact of domestic abuse to society, and encourage reporting to agencies, and can provide essential support information to victims. They are run on national and local levels by a variety of organisations including, but not limited to, charities, police, NHS and local councils. While no comprehensive data exist on the number or cost of domestic abuse awareness campaigns, an estimate for police awareness campaigns has been included.

During 2016/17 West Midlands Police ran four domestic abuse awareness campaigns across a number of media platforms. The cost of these campaigns, according to the force, was

¹² Around half (48%) of the sexual assault and non-sexual abuse group.

¹³ Information on the number of domestic abuse homicides within the year ending 31 March 2017 has been taken from the Home Office police recorded crime data.

£15,600.¹⁴ After consultation with the Police National Domestic Abuse Portfolio Coordinator it has been assumed that all police forces would have run domestic abuse communication campaigns at some point during the year to raise awareness of domestic abuse and to encourage reporting. Assuming all 43 English and Welsh police constabularies ran similar campaigns throughout the year, we have estimated the national cost of police-led campaigns to be £670,800.

Further awareness campaign costs will be included within the charity expenditure discussed in Victim services (Section 3.3.4), but the specific costs in relation to awareness campaigns could not be isolated.

3.2.2 Domestic abuse training

Domestic abuse training is intended to assist practitioners in identifying and effectively supporting victims. As with the associated costs of domestic abuse awareness campaigns, no comprehensive data for the current domestic abuse training are available. Many different public and private organisations offer domestic abuse training, and specific domestic abuse training is often combined within wider safeguarding training sessions. Only an estimate for front line police domestic abuse training has been included.

Domestic Abuse Matters (DA Matters) is a course run by SafeLives for police officers and staff. This training teaches first responders how to identify and gather evidence of coercive controlling behaviour, recognise perpetrator tactics and understand the dynamics of domestic abuse. The all-day face-to-face course costs £87 for the police to attend and is assumed to last 7.5 hours. From the SafeLives' Annual Report (2017), DA Matters was delivered to 4,650 front line police officers. It is therefore estimated that the cost of DA Matters to the police within 2016/17 was £404,550. Additionally, the opportunity cost of police time can also be included; while taking part in this course, the officers and staff could not be deployed for other police matters. If the average hourly rate for the police¹⁵ is applied to the combined training hours, the estimated police opportunity cost is £1.1 million. The total cost of DA Matters is therefore estimated at £1.5 million for the year ending 31 March 2017.

3.2.3 Domestic Violence Disclosure Scheme (DVDS)

The DVDS or 'Clare's Law'¹⁶ is a scheme that works in accordance with police common law powers to disclose information, where deemed necessary, about perpetrators' known previous violent and abusive offending (convictions or charges) to inform and protect individuals from future acts of domestic violence and abuse.

The DVDS recognises two procedures for disclosing information:

- 'Right to ask' – triggered by a member of the public applying to the police for a disclosure;
- 'Right to know' – triggered by the police making a proactive decision to disclose information to protect a potential victim.

¹⁴ This cost was mainly made up of direct expenditure on advertisement and social media campaigns as well as other miscellaneous costs; it does not include staff-related costs.

¹⁵ The average hourly rate for a police sergeant or below was used within this estimate.

¹⁶ 'Clare's Law' is named after the landmark case that led to it – Clare Wood was killed in 2009 by an ex-partner who unknown to her had been violent to previous partners.

For the year ending 30 June 2017 there were 5,445 applications under right to know and 2,438 under right to ask. From these, there were 2,238 and 972 disclosures respectively (Office for National Statistics, 2017b). As this information is not published based on financial years, these quantities have been used for this analysis. Using DVDS pilot data for the cost of administrating the scheme in 2012/13 (Home Office, 2013a), the estimated cost of DVDS in 2016/17 is calculated at £3.9 million. The average DVDS application cost for this period is estimated at £490.

3.2.4 Total costs in anticipation for domestic abuse

Total costs in anticipation of domestic abuse in 2016/17 are therefore estimated at £6.1 million. Due to a lack of comprehensive data, this figure will underestimate the true extent of the costs in anticipation of domestic abuse.

3.3. Costs as a consequence of domestic abuse

This section outlines the estimates of the costs as a consequence of domestic abuse, which are:

- physical and emotional harms to the victim;
- health service costs;
- lost output;
- victim services costs.

3.3.1 Physical and emotional harms to the victim

Victims of domestic abuse can suffer psychological harm and physical injuries as a result of their abuse. To quantify this cost, the QALY approach, as used in 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018) and developed in 'The Economic and Social Costs of Modern Slavery' (Reed *et al.*, 2018) has been utilised. This approach calculates the reduction in a person's health-related quality of life from different physical and emotional harms, and then applies this reduction to the statistical value of a life year.

Harm likelihood

Estimating the likely physical and emotional harms as a result of domestic abuse relies on data from the CSEW.

For the harms associated with violence (with and without injury) as part of domestic abuse, victims of domestic abuse identified in the main face-to-face part of the CSEW are currently asked about which physical injuries or emotional impacts they experienced (at least once) as a result of domestic abuse over the last year.¹⁷ These questions do not cover the number or frequency of the harms experienced. The results from these questions on violence with and without injury are shown in Table 5 and Table 6.¹⁸

¹⁷ To estimate the likelihood of injuries that were not included within these data (stabbing injuries, nose bleeds, dislocations, internal injuries, facial injuries or eye injuries) comparisons have been analysed between the physical harms experienced from all violence with injury victims to those where the perpetrator was either a partner or a family member. The average difference between the different cohorts was then applied to the likelihood of these injuries included within the Economic and Social Costs of Crime (Heeks *et al.*, 2018).

¹⁸ Specific domestic violence data from years ending 31 March 2016 (Office for National Statistic, 2017c) and 2017 (Office

For the harms associated with sexual assault as part of domestic abuse, a different approach was taken. Here, the physical injuries and emotional impacts experienced by victims of rape or assault by penetration (including attempts) where the most recent perpetrator was a partner or family member have been compared with the harms experienced by all victims of these crimes.¹⁹ This analysis of crime survey self-completion module data shows that a victim of a domestic rape or assault by penetration is 30% more likely to suffer physical injuries than all victims of rape or assault by penetration. The analysis also suggests that victims of domestic rape or assault by penetration are 10% more likely to suffer emotional harms compared to all victims of these crimes. These uprates were applied to the estimated harms for rape offences and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching within ‘The Economic and Social Costs of Crime’ (Heeks *et al.*, 2018) to calculate the likely impacts of these crimes in a domestic context. The results from this analysis of the harms from sexual assaults are shown in Table 5 and Table 6.

Table 5: Likelihood of suffering physical injury as a result of domestic abuse

Injury	Violence with injury	Rape
Minor bruising	61%	29%
Severe bruising	38%	5%
Scratches	27%	11%
Cuts	23%	24%
Stabbed	6%	0%
Broken bones	10%	0%
Nose bleed	12%	0%
Broken nose	8%	0%
Lost teeth	5%	0%
Chipped teeth	0%	0%
Dislocation	3%	0%
Concussion	2%	6%
Internal injury	1%	0%
Facial injury	2%	4%
Eye injury	1%	0%
Other	11%	0%

Combined CSEW data for years ending 31 March 2016 and 2017 for violence with injury and CSEW data year ending 31 March 2017 for rape.

The psychological impact and average duration of domestic stalking has been taken from Acquadro Maran and Veretto (2018). From this, the likelihood of experiencing emotional

¹⁹ for National Statistics, 2018f) ‘Nature of Crime’ tables have been combined for a larger respondent sample size. The data here come from the CSEW self-completion module on sexual assault from the year ending 31 March 2017 (Office for National Statistics, 2018g, 2018e).

impacts of domestic stalking can be seen in Table 6 and the average length of a domestic stalking period was estimated at 16.6 months (1.38 years).²⁰

Table 6: Likelihood of suffering emotional harms as a result of domestic abuse by type of abuse

Harm	Type of domestic abuse				
	Violence with injury	Violence without injury	Rape	Indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	Stalking
Fear	51%	37%	66%	19%	63%
Depression	53%	22%	24%	5%	22%
Anxiety / panic attacks	51%	27%	46%	16%	70%

Combined CSEW data for for years ending 31 March 2016 and 2017 for violence; CSEW data year ending 31 March 2017 for rape and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching; Maran and Veretto (2018) for stalking.

Physical harm

Domestic abuse often takes the form of repeated incidents of physical and non-physical aggression against the victim (SafeLives, 2018; Walby and Towers, 2018). Women’s Aid point out, “For the women experiencing it, this abuse is often not a series of isolated incidents, [but] rather a pattern of behaviour and control” (Women’s Aid, 2017). As a result, reliable estimates of the number of incidents suffered by victims of domestic abuse are difficult to find. Unlike other types of victimisation, such as domestic burglary, ONS considers it difficult for victims to be able to recall an accurate number of individual incidents suffered.

While there are no robust estimates of numbers of domestic abuse incidents from CSEW, the increased physical harms from repeated incidents need to be considered. Within the survey, questions are asked about whether the victim sustained different types of injuries during domestic violence with injury incidents within the last year. To estimate the combined number of injuries within an average domestic abuse period, the injuries experienced by domestic violence victims within a year have been multiplied by the average number of years of abuse (estimated at three years from SafeLives (2018)). This method is likely to severely underestimate the physical injuries sustained.

For domestic sexual assault, the number of incidents of rape or assault by penetration (including attempts) by the same perpetrator, where the perpetrator includes a partner, ex-partner or family member, experienced since the age of 16, has been used as a proxy to estimate the number of incidents of domestic sexual assault (Office for National Statistics, 2018e). Based on this information, domestic sexual assault incidents have been estimated at 2.56²¹ incidents during a domestic abuse period.

When the domestic abuse-related physical harms (Table 5) are then multiplied by the incident measures, the number of physical injuries likely in an average domestic abuse period can be estimated. The likely physical injuries suffered are displayed in Table 7. As these likely

²⁰ This average duration of domestic stalking is consistent with the duration noted in Purcell, Pathé and Mullen (2000).

²¹ The number of domestic sexual assault incidents has been banded into once, twice, three times and more than three times. For more than three times, the number of incidents has been capped at five in line with the current crime survey methodology.

numbers of injuries have been primarily derived from the harm likelihoods from the main face-to-face section of the CSEW, they are likely to underrepresent the amount of physical injuries sustained by the victim.

Table 7: Estimates of the number of physical injuries as a result of violence with injury, rape and combined violence with injury and rape incidents during an average domestic abuse period

Injury	Violence with injury	Rape	Violence with injury and rape
Minor bruising	1.82	0.75	2.57
Severe bruising	1.15	0.13	1.28
Scratches	0.81	0.28	1.10
Cuts	0.69	0.62	1.30
Stabbed	0.18	0.00	0.18
Broken bones	0.30	0.00	0.30
Nose bleed	0.35	0.00	0.35
Broken nose	0.25	0.00	0.25
Lost teeth	0.16	0.00	0.16
Chipped teeth	0.01	0.00	0.01
Dislocation	0.10	0.00	0.10
Concussion	0.07	0.14	0.22
Internal injury	0.04	0.00	0.04
Facial injury	0.05	0.10	0.15
Eye injury	0.02	0.00	0.02
Other	0.33	0.00	0.33

Under the assumption that there is an even distribution of harms through the abuse period, the likelihood of experiencing any of these physical injuries on any given day during the abuse period is then calculated by dividing the prevalence of likely injuries (shown in Table 7) by the three-year average abuse period. This likelihood (LIKE) of experiencing a physical injury on any given day then forms the basis of the calculation below to estimate the harms suffered by victims:

$$LIKE * REDUCEQL * DUR * VOLY = average\ physical\ cost$$

Table AP2 shows the QALY loss (REDUCEQL) and Table AP3 shows the duration (DUR) associated with each injury that is then multiplied by the statistical value of a life year (VOLY) to estimate the cost of harm for each injury. The VOLY used in this report is based on the Department of Health's value of a statistical life year of around £60,000 (2012 prices) as published within the 'The Green Book: appraisal and evaluation in central government' (HM

Treasury, 2018a). This has been adjusted to 2017 prices by the value of nominal gross domestic product (GDP) per head,²² resulting in a figure of around £70,000.

Physical harm – severe bruising example calculation

What is the total QALY loss caused by severe bruising occurring during violence with injury and rape over the abuse period?

The average perceived length of a domestic abuse period is 3 years (1,096 days).²³ For victims of violence with injury and rape, there is an estimated 1.28 severe bruising incidents during this period.

The probability of severe bruising occurring on any given day is found by dividing the number of injuries by the period of abuse ($1.28/1096 = 0.001$).

Multiplying this figure by the associated quality of life loss (for severe bruising, 0.052 (Table AP2)) gives the loss per day ($0.001 * 0.052 = 0.00006$).

This probability weighted quality of life loss is multiplied by the duration of the harm (21 days (Table AP3)). This gives the average loss each day ($21 * 0.00006 = 0.0013$).

This is then scaled up for the average duration of abuse $0.0013 * (1096/365) = 0.0038$. This figure is therefore the combined QALY health loss due to severe bruising.

This figure is then multiplied by the value of a statistical life year to estimate the physical cost of severe bruising ($0.0038 * £70,000 = £268$).²⁴

To estimate the physical cost of homicides, the average age of a victim has been estimated and then a 100% QALY loss has been applied to the difference between the average age when they were killed against their average life expectancy. The average age of a domestic homicide victim from 2014/15 to 2016/17 was 47.5 years for men and 47.0 years for women (Office for National Statistics, 2018h). Subtracting these from their life expectancies (Office for National Statistics, 2018i) gives a difference of 31.7 years for men and 35.9 years for women. A weighted average of these two figures is then taken based on the gender breakdown of domestic homicide victims. This estimates an average loss of 34.6 years for a domestic homicide.

Emotional harm

To estimate the emotional harms of domestic abuse it is assumed that these occur for the duration of the abuse period as well as the recovery period associated with the illness (Table AP3). Where there is a co-occurrence of domestic abuse types (e.g. violence with injury and stalking), the emotional harm with the greatest likelihood is applied. When the durations of the recovery from these harms are different, the higher likelihood harm is used for the period of abuse, and any recovery period associated with the harm; if another lower likelihood harm has a longer recovery period, this lower likelihood harm is then applied for any remaining recovery duration.

As an example, the anxiety likelihoods for violence with injury and stalking are 51% and 70% respectively, and the combined duration of abuse and recovery period for anxiety is 6 years for violence with injury and 2.97 for stalking. As the anxiety likelihood rate for stalking is greater than violence with injury, the stalking likelihood (70%) is applied for the first 2.97 years (the

²² <https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/grossdomesticproductgdp/timeseries/ihxt/pn2>

²³ 365.25 days within a year multiplied by the average 3 years of domestic abuse

²⁴ This estimated physical cost is then discounted to a year ending 31 March 2017 value in line with the guidance in the Green Book (HM Treasury (2018a)).

total average duration of domestic stalking anxiety) and then for the remaining 3.03 years (where only violence with injury anxiety is assumed to be occurring), the violence with injury (51%) likelihood of anxiety is applied.

Total physical and emotional harm

The specific cost of individual injury types are summed to give a total physical and emotional cost for each type of domestic abuse (Table 8). This table demonstrates that the majority of the costs of harms related to domestic abuse are not physical but emotional. For a full breakdown of the estimated unit costs of physical and emotional harms where abuse types co-occur, these are presented in Table AP4.

The estimated physical costs are highest for homicide (£1.9m) due to the complete loss of life for the remaining estimated years between death and life expectancy. Combination categories of domestic abuse with rape and violence with injury included have an estimated physical harm cost of £940. The highest emotional harm is estimated at £78,130 for violence with injury, rape and stalking, and the lowest emotional harm is estimated at £9,950 for indecent exposure and/or sexual touching.

Table 8: Estimated unit costs of physical and emotional harms of domestic abuse

Domestic abuse type	Emotional	Physical	Total unit cost
Domestic homicide		£1,922,280	£1,922,280
Violence with injury	£53,410	£830	£54,240
Violence without injury	£22,630		£22,630
Rape	£58,750	£110	£58,860
Indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£9,950		£9,950
Stalking	£21,920		£21,920

3.3.2 Health services

This section captures the cost to the NHS and other healthcare providers of responding to and providing care for the physical and mental health harms associated with domestic abuse. If the harm from domestic abuse was reduced, the current resources used to treat it could be reprioritised to other areas.

The estimates of health service costs are based on the prevalence of injuries sustained during domestic abuse (estimated using the CSEW figures discussed in Section 3.3.1) and the treatment that is likely to be required for certain injuries. Physical harms are associated with medical procedure costs, which are mapped to relevant injuries. For example, where a victim who suffered a broken bone required medical attention, the type of medical attention needed is assumed to be for a 'bone fracture' (see Table AP5). In addition, the CSEW asks respondents whether or not an ambulance was required after suffering a particular physical harm as a result of crime. So, ambulance costs can also be estimated. The unit costs of healthcare activities used are from Curtis and Burns (2016) and NHS Reference Costs (2017).

The emotional harms are associated with counselling costs. The average number of hours of counselling required is based on Dubourg *et al.* (2005). Average unit costs of medical requirements following abuse can then be estimated. The hourly cost of counselling is based on Curtis and Burns (2016). These hourly costs are multiplied by the number of counselling hours required to give an average health cost for emotional harms. To estimate the health costs associated with the other harms, the unit cost of the procedure is multiplied by the proportion of victims who require that procedure (from Table AP5). Average unit costs of injuries following abuse are shown in Table AP6.

For health service costs in relation to homicide, the Department for Transport has estimated the health costs associated with fatal injuries from road traffic accidents (Department for Transport, 2018). This has been used to estimate the health costs of homicide.

Once the average costs in Table AP6 have been multiplied by the likelihood of that injury being suffered (Table 6 and Table 7), the unit injury costs are summed to give a total unit health cost for each type of domestic abuse. A single course of treatment has been assumed for all medical emotional requirements; if greater treatment is needed, the estimated emotional health services costs will likely be an underestimate. Where different types of domestic abuse overlap, the emotional harm with the greater likelihood has been used.

As the average domestic abuse duration is estimated at three years, medical requirements for physical injuries sustained have been split equally over this period and discounted in accordance with 'The Green Book: appraisal and evaluation in central government' (HM Treasury, 2018a). Medical requirements for emotional harms have not been discounted so these are all based on 2016/17 prices. It is unclear as to when victims will seek the estimated psychological support needed. Table 9 shows the final health costs per victim for domestic homicide, violence with injury, violence without injury, rape, indecent exposure and/or sexual touching, and domestic stalking. The full breakdown of the health services calculations, where the types of domestic abuse are co-occurring, are shown in Table AP7.

Table 9: Estimated unit costs of health services for domestic abuse, by abuse type

Domestic abuse type	Emotional	Physical	Total unit cost
Domestic homicide		£1,120	£1,120
Violence with injury	£1,270	£1,900	£3,170
Violence without injury	£630		£630
Rape	£1,110	£200	£1,310
Indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£270		£270
Stalking	£1,210		£1,210

It should be noted that the estimated total healthcare costs included within this analysis rely on CSEW data for crime as a whole, rather than domestic abuse-specific medical assistance needs. Domestic abuse data were unable to be used due to a small sample sizes. Therefore, the above estimates may be an under or over estimate of the cost of health services depending on whether domestic abuse victims follow the trends for medical assistance for all crime victims.

3.3.3 Lost output

This section aims to estimate the cost of lost output as a result of domestic abuse. Victims may lose time at work and may also be less productive on their return to work as a result of the ongoing harms suffered from their victimisation.

Time lost at work

It is unknown how much time is lost at work as a result of domestic abuse. This report has therefore adopted figures from the CSEW (as shown in ‘The Economic and Social Costs of Crime’ (Heeks *et al.*, 2018)) for all crime. Respondents were asked for their time taken off work as a result of the crime they suffered. The average response for each crime was then used as the estimate for the amount of time lost at work.²⁵ The results are presented in Table 10.²⁶

Table 10: Time lost at work following domestic abuse offences

Domestic abuse type	Average time lost at work (hours)
Homicide (1)	16,228
Violence with injury	4.9
Violence without injury	0.8
Stalking (2)	0.8
Rape	137.7
Other sexual offences (3)	13.8

(1) Lost hours from domestic homicide are calculated as the annual number of average hours, multiplied by the discounted average difference of a domestic homicide victim and the assumed retirement age of 67, which is then multiplied by the average employment rate for non-sexual domestic abuse. This represents the discounted number of hours taken off work.

(2) Violence without injury has been assumed for the time lost at work following stalking.

(3) Time lost at work for other sexual offences has been assumed for indecent exposure and sexual touching.

When time lost at work (Table 10) is multiplied according to the repeated incident assumptions of domestic abuse, the time lost at work in an average domestic abuse period can be estimated. These periods of absence are displayed in Table 11.

Table 11: Discounted estimates of the average time lost at work during an average domestic abuse period, by domestic abuse type

Domestic abuse type	Average time lost at work (hours)
Domestic homicide	16,228
Violence with injury	14

²⁵ Note that the last time this question was included in the CSEW was in the year ending 31 March 2009 and so this is used to form the estimates. Relying on this period may be unrepresentative for the time lost at work in the year ending 31 March 2017 as victims may be able to return to work easier now than they did back then.

²⁶ These absences do not need to be adjusted for the employment rate. Victims not in employment responded to the question by stating that they did not take any time off work due to their victimisation.

Violence without injury	2
Rape	349
Indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	35
Stalking	1

Reduced productivity

Due to the ongoing nature of domestic abuse, reduced productivity after returning to work is also estimated because it is assumed that domestic abuse victims who suffer physical and emotional harms are likely to be less productive at work as a result.

Reduced productivity is estimated by calculating the average number of hours of productive labour lost from various physical and emotional harms, combined with the likelihood of a victim of domestic abuse incurring these harms. The average number of hours lost due to reduced productivity is then multiplied by the average wage (adjusted for the estimated employment rate of domestic abuse victims) to give a total estimate of the average cost of reduced productivity.

There are no available data on the reduction in productivity resulting from domestic abuse. The QALY losses and average duration of physical and emotional harms, as discussed in Section 3.3.1, have been used as a proxy to capture the impact on an individual's physical and psychological state to estimate the productivity reduction.

The average annual number of hours worked by a person in employment is estimated to be 1,681 (OECD, 2018). The employment rate for victims of domestic abuse is then calculated separately for non-sexual domestic abuse, domestic sexual assault and domestic stalking. Based on prevalence estimates of domestic abuse in the year ending 31 March 2017 by employment status (Office for National Statistics, 2018j) and the Labour Force Survey (Office for National Statistics, 2018k), it is estimated that approximately 66% of victims of non-sexual domestic abuse and stalking and 60% of victims of domestic sexual assault are in some form of employment.

The hours of reduced productivity are then multiplied by the likelihood of a person suffering each of the harms following victimisation of different domestic abuse types. These likelihoods are taken from Table 6 and Table 7. When harms overlap, the harm with the greater likelihood is used during their period of combination, which is then reduced to the lower harm likelihood for the remainder of the duration. The numbers of hours of lost output as a result of reduced productivity from the various types of domestic abuse are given below in Table 12.²⁷

Table 12: Discounted hours of lost output as a result of reduced productivity when returning to work after a crime

Domestic abuse type	Reduced productivity after return to work
Violence with injury	835
Violence without injury	353

²⁷ To avoid double counting, the reduced productivity is only applied to time when the victims had returned to work following the crime.

Rape	552
Indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	141
Stalking	345

Unit cost of lost output

This report has then combined the lost hours from time lost at work with the lost hours from reduced productivity and then multiplied this by the average wage to calculate the lost output costs of each type of domestic abuse.²⁸

It is assumed that the average wage of employed victims of domestic abuse is the same as the national average for all employed individuals. The average hourly cost is estimated to be £18.93, based on ONS estimates of an average hourly wage of £15.69 (Office for National Statistics, 2018k) which is increased by 20.63% to include non-wage costs (Eurostat, 2018).²⁹

Table 13: Estimated unit costs of lost output for domestic abuse, by abuse type

Type of domestic abuse	Hours lost at work	Reduced productivity hours post return to work	Total hours lost	Total lost productivity
Domestic homicide	16,228	N/A	16,228	£307,240
Violence with injury	14	835	849	£16,150
Violence without injury	2	353	356	£6,760
Rape	349	552	900	£17,130
Indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	35	141	175	£3,340
Stalking	1	345	346	£6,560

The full breakdown of the lost output calculations, where the types of domestic abuse are co-occurring are shown in Table AP8.

3.3.4 Victim services

Within this section, a wide variety of dedicated domestic abuse support costs have been included. The services included are housing, charity expenditure, domestic abuse practitioners, volunteer lost time, informal support, SARCs and domestic abuse support from DWP.

It is acknowledged that the costs included within victim services will not fully encapsulate the complete options of support that are available to victims due to a lack of data. It is highly likely that the victim services estimates underestimate the costs for the full scale of domestic abuse support services available. In particular, support costs relating to domestic sexual assault are likely to be underrepresented.

²⁸ As the average domestic abuse period is estimated at three years, it is assumed that some of the time lost at work and reduced productivity would have also taken place within 2015/16 therefore some of these hours have been costed in accordance with this assumption.

²⁹ Non-wage costs take into account the additional costs of employing someone other than their wages, due to social contributions made by employers such as national insurance.

Housing

Victims of domestic abuse may seek support in the form of emergency or temporary accommodation. There is a need for short-term support when a victim flees a domestic abuse perpetrator and for long-term support in setting up a new home if the victim leaves the previous home permanently. This section will highlight the estimated spending on housing provision and housing support services due to domestic abuse.³⁰ Additionally, following SafeLives research (2017c), estimated social housing repairs and maintenance costs incurred due to domestic abuse have been estimated.

Temporary housing

Under homelessness legislation, local authorities (LAs) have to provide temporary accommodation to victims fleeing domestic abuse, providing that they meet statutory homelessness criteria. Using LA data for England (Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2018) and figures from the Welsh government (Welsh Government, 2017a) it was discovered that in 2016/17, 61,183 people were accepted as eligible for temporary accommodation in England and Wales. For Wales, 237 of these highlighted domestic abuse as the main reason for the loss of their last settled home; for England, using those eligible as homeless due to 'a violent breakdown of relationship' as a proxy for domestic abuse, 7,590 are estimated to have been displaced and in need of temporary accommodation due to domestic abuse. When the English and Welsh homeless numbers due to domestic abuse are combined, this represents 12.8% of the total number of those eligible for temporary accommodation.

For the year ending 31 March 2017, £902 million was spent on emergency accommodation in England (Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2017a). Uprating this figure to account for Wales's homelessness population (Welsh Government, 2017a), it is estimated that there was £933 million spent on emergency accommodation in 2016/17³¹ When the percentage of those assumed homeless due to domestic abuse (12.8%) is applied to the total cost of emergency accommodation, it is estimated that £119 million is spent on emergency accommodation due to domestic abuse.

This is likely to be a conservative estimate as the 'violent breakdown of relationship' proxy does not include other forms of domestic abuse that occur which may also force people to leave their homes. The analysis also only includes people for whom the main reason for homelessness is domestic abuse, so it does not represent those for whom domestic abuse is cited as a secondary contributing factor.

Homelessness services

Furthermore, many housing providers also offer additional homelessness support to help those transitioning to a new home or to ensure a current residence is secure and safe to reduce victims' likelihood of needing emergency accommodation.

In England, for 2016/17, £375 million was spent on homelessness administration and support services (Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2017a). The homelessness prevention budget in Wales was around £6 million (Welsh Government, 2017b).

³⁰ This includes spending on refugees. Where the costs to refugees are not included, these are included within the charity expenditure section.

³¹ This assumes that English housing spending is representative of Welsh housing spending.

As with the temporary housing spend calculation above, if the assumed 12.8% rate of homelessness due to domestic abuse is applied, £49 million is estimated as being specifically due to domestic abuse.

To avoid double counting the resources estimated for the housing-based IDVAs (see the IDVA section below) and MARACs (Section 3.4.4), these costs have been deducted here. This results in a domestic abuse homelessness service estimate of £47.5 million.

Repairs and maintenance

SafeLives have conducted analysis in combination with Gentoo (SafeLives, 2017c), who own and manage over 29,000 homes in the North East of England, to estimate the likely repairs and maintenance spending within social housing due to domestic abuse. Gentoo routinely flag their repair or maintenance jobs that are potentially due to domestic abuse, as those who carry out these repairs are specifically trained to detect signs of domestic abuse. This analysis highlighted that 13% of all Gentoo repairs and maintenance were flagged as being potentially due to domestic abuse. The cost of these flagged jobs represented 21% of Gentoo's total repair and maintenance costs.

Total repairs and maintenance expenditure for social housing in 2016/17 for England was £1,738 million (Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2017b). This has been scaled up by the available respective housing stocks³² to include Wales. Applying the 5% increase in England's housing stock with the inclusion of Wales, there is an estimated repairs and maintenance social housing spend in 2016/17 of £1,825 million. Applying the estimated 21% social housing repair costs that were potentially linked to domestic abuse provides an estimated social housing repairs and maintenance spend of £383 million.

As this only includes social housing repairs and maintenance spending and excludes the private housing sector associated costs, this will likely underestimate the true scale of domestic abuse induced costs. This may also be inaccurate if Gentoo's costs are not representative of the total repair and maintenance costs for social housing across England and Wales.

Total housing spend in relation to domestic abuse in England and Wales in 2016/17 is estimated at £550 million.

Charity expenditure

Many charitable services provide support to victims of domestic abuse and their families. As part of this research, this report has gathered information on dedicated domestic abuse-related charitable spend. From the list of 246 charities for which dedicated domestic abuse expenditure was found, the total dedicated charitable spend for these findings came to £166 million.

To supplement this analysis, SafeLives' domestic abuse practitioner information for the year ending 31 March 2017 from a national survey of 279 services was consulted (SafeLives, 2017d). From the response data, the services were cross referenced with the services captured through the Charity Commission database and Hestia's 'Bright Sky' app. An additional 369 full-time equivalent (FTE) domestic abuse outreach workers, young people's specialists, child support workers and perpetrator case workers were identified as being in

³² In 2016/17 there was an assumed 4,555,758 available housing stock for England based on private registered provider (PRP) statistics (Homes & Communities Agency, 2017) and LA housing rate compared to PRPs (DHCLG, 2017). Welsh total social housing stock in this period was 228,805 (Welsh Government, 2017c).

other charities. Applying an appropriate estimated median wage for the different domestic abuse practitioners from the 'Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings' (Office for National Statistics, 2017d)³³ as well as non-wage costs,³⁴ an additional £13.3 million charitable spend for domestic abuse is included.

To avoid double counting, income that was highlighted as housing benefit or rental income was deducted as this was assumed to have been included within the housing section. This removed £33 million from the charitable expenditure. Furthermore, 413 FTE IDVAs were included within the domestic abuse charitable spend and hence the estimated associated costs (£12.6 million) were also deducted from this figure (see IDVA section below). Costs were also highlighted in relation to DA Matters (Section 3.2.2) and MARACs (Section 3.4.4) relating to an estimated £1.2 million. While these costs are relevant to this expenditure, they have been accounted for elsewhere within this report. The total, additional, charitable spend is estimated at £133 million.

This figure is highly likely to be an underestimate of charitable spending for domestic abuse as not all charities that were contacted responded, and some who did were unable to give a breakdown of their dedicated domestic abuse expenditure. Furthermore, there will be domestic abuse charities that were not identified through the various means of gathering these charities.

Domestic abuse practitioners

Other non-charity domestic abuse practitioners

Aside from the additional FTE charity workers, the SafeLives Domestic Abuse Practitioners Survey (SafeLives, 2017d) also highlighted additional domestic abuse practitioners that were located in other support services (e.g. local authority and health services). An additional 135 FTE domestic abuse practitioners were highlighted. Applying the same wage assumptions as above, the additional practitioner costs can be estimated at £4.8 million.

Independent Domestic Violence Advocates

Victims of domestic abuse can be referred to an IDVA. These serve as a victim's primary point of contact. IDVAs support a victim from the point of crisis, assessing the level of risk, developing a safety plan and discussing the victim's options.³⁵

Following the National Domestic Abuse Practitioner Survey 2016/17 (SafeLives, 2017d), it was estimated that there were around 1,000 IDVAs working within England and Wales (equivalent to 897 FTE IDVAs). Using £30,429 as a 2016/17 FTE total wage cost estimate³⁶ the staffing costs of IDVAs is estimated at £27 million.

To avoid double counting IDVA resources estimated within the DVDS (Section Domestic Violence Disclosure Scheme (DVDS)) and MARACs (Section 3.4.4) have been deducted from this estimate. This results in an IDVA spend of £25 million.

³³ An outreach worker was assumed as a welfare professional, a young people's specialist was assumed as a youth and community worker, a children's support worker was assumed as a child and early years officer, and a perpetrator case worker was assumed to be a probation officer.

³⁴ Eurostat (2018) – 20.63% non-wage costs were assumed.

³⁵ <http://www.safelives.org.uk/sites/default/files/resources/National%20definition%20of%20IDVA%20work%20FINAL.pdf>

³⁶ Average salary is based on current job offer salaries (<https://neuvoo.co.uk/salary/idva-salary>) adjusted for to prices for the year ending 31 March 2017 and with additional non-wage costs of 20.63% applied (Eurostat, 2018).

Lost time

This can be thought of as the opportunity cost of volunteers helping victims of domestic abuse rather than spending their time on other activities. The opportunity cost of an hour of a volunteer's time is estimated at £5.57 based on the market price of a non-working hour (Department for Transport, 2018).

Estimated cost of volunteer time

Volunteer numbers were gathered through the Charity Commission database where available. Additional charity volunteer figures estimated in the SafeLives Domestic Abuse Practitioner Survey (SafeLives, 2017b) were included to supplement the Charity Commission database (as discussed in the Charity expenditure section). From these sources, it was estimated that there are around 4,000 domestic abuse volunteers.

Assuming an average number of two volunteer hours a week,³⁷ each volunteer is assumed to have used 104 hours of their time volunteering for domestic abuse charities. When the opportunity cost of the lost hour is applied (£5.57), £2.3 million can be estimated as the opportunity cost of domestic abuse charity volunteer time.

This is considered to be an underestimate as many charities' information of volunteering was unavailable and it is likely that some domestic abuse services would have been omitted.

Estimated cost of informal support time

Another cost of lost time is that spent by those to whom victims disclose their abuse. CSEW data estimate the number of victims that told someone they knew personally³⁸ and the likelihood of different actions or informal support occurring following this initial disclosure from the victim (Office for National Statistics, 2017a).

Where there is sufficient data, the opportunity cost of their lost time is estimated. After the victim has told someone they know personally about their abuse, that person may take one or more actions.³⁹ While many of these actions will take time, making any assumptions on the time taken to complete these actions would not be evidence-based. Only three actions have sufficient data to cost. These are: 'told the police', 'told another agency (social services)' and 'told a voluntary organisation'. Data from the National Domestic Violence Helpline, Galop, Suzy Lamplugh Trust and Respect demonstrate the average length of a call is estimated at 12.69 minutes. This length of time has then been assumed for each of the aforementioned actions. Multiplying this time with the likelihood of disclosure and subsequent action, and with the market price of a non-working hour (£5.57), the estimated cost of lost time for informal support is £505,904. This will be a severe underestimate of the actual cost of this type of support due to the lack of available data as discussed.

³⁷ Through discussion with SafeLives, this was assumed to be an appropriate assumption for volunteer time.

³⁸ Office for National Statistics (2016) estimates that 73% of all domestic abuse victims told somebody they knew personally about the abuse. This is calculated every three years.

³⁹ The actions that were asked included: offered support to victim, told somebody close to the victim, spoke to the person carrying out the abuse, told someone else, told the police, told another agency, something else, did not take any action, told a voluntary organisation, told an elected representative, don't know/can't remember, and don't wish to answer.

Government support costs

Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) has a variety of measures in place to help those who are fleeing violent or abusive households.⁴⁰ Much of this support is available for reasons besides domestic abuse, and it is not always possible to distinguish that which is provided to domestic abuse victims. This report is therefore unable to estimate many of these costs. For example, it is known that £131 million was spent on discretionary housing payments in 2016/17 (Department for Work and Pensions, 2017). Some of this would have been used to support those suffering from domestic abuse, yet there are no data available which details the reason for these payments.

Child Maintenance Service⁴¹ application fee exemption is one DWP area of support for victims of domestic abuse where a cost can be calculated. Victims of domestic violence or abuse do not have to pay the Child Maintenance Service application fee of £20. A maximum of 43,100 applications to the Child Maintenance Service in 2016/17 had the application fee waived due to declaring they were the victim of domestic abuse (Department for Work and Pensions, 2018). It can be estimated that this has an associated cost of £862,000. This is seen as an opportunity cost of public services; if this money was received then it would have been spent on public service provisions.

If a victim of domestic abuse is in the UK on a temporary visa as a partner and the relationship has broken down due to domestic abuse, a Destitute Domestic Violence (DDV) concession can be applied for. This concession allows the recipient to access public funds for up to three months while an application to settle in the UK is considered. In 2017 there were around 1,000 DDV concessions granted.

This analysis assumed all DDV claimants claim housing benefit, child benefit and child tax credits as a single parent with one child where they are not employed. The mean weekly housing benefit payment for a lone parent with dependants in England and Wales in 2016/17 was £106.41,⁴² the weekly child benefit for a single child was £20.70⁴³ and the average child tax credit is estimated at £70.14.⁴⁴ When these rates are applied for a monthly basis, the average DDV monthly benefit claim is estimated at £857.68⁴⁵. Assuming all those granted a DDV concession claim for the whole three-month period the total benefits claimed can be estimated at £2.6 million.

Overall, the minimum expected Government support cost, due to domestic abuse, can be estimated at £3.5 million. It is acknowledged that this estimate will underrepresent the full costs due to domestic abuse. Future iterations should review the available data to assess whether these costs can be included to a greater degree.

⁴⁰ A complete list of domestic abuse support provided by DWP can be found here:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/domestic-violence-and-abuse-help-from-dwp>

⁴¹ The Child Maintenance Service supports separated parents who are unable to make 'family-based arrangements' for child maintenance. The Child Maintenance Service can calculate the amount of maintenance to be paid and parents can arrange the payments between themselves. If parents cannot do this or they do not pay what was agreed, then the Child Maintenance Service can collect and manage the payments between the parents. The service has a range of enforcement actions it can use if the paying parent refuses to pay their child maintenance.

⁴² The mean average weekly housing benefit was used for this analysis. The range of average weekly benefit payments ranged from £104.63 to £107.64. This information is available from Stat-Xplore - <https://stat-xplore.dwp.gov.uk/webapi/jsf/login.xhtml>.

⁴³ <https://www.gov.uk/child-benefit-rates> - administered by Her Majesties Revenue and Customs (HMRC)

⁴⁴ Average annualised entitlement of £3,660 for child tax credit only for one child when the parent was out of work divided by the number of weeks in the year (£3,660/52.18) – <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/child-and-working-tax-credits-statistics-finalised-annual-awards-2016-to-2017>.

⁴⁵ $((£106.41+£20.70+£70.14)*52.18)/12$

Sexual assault referral centres

SARCs offer support to all victims of rape and serious sexual assault. They can receive medical care, counselling, and have the opportunity to assist the police investigation through processes including undergoing a forensic examination. As sexual assault is a prominent offence within domestic abuse; many of those who attend SARCs will have experienced it. Evidence gathered from a sample of five SARC services suggests that the percentage of people in attendance that are victims of domestic abuse is 21.7%. Applying this to the £23 million that was spent on SARCs during 2016/17, this report estimates a domestic abuse-related SARC cost of £5 million.

The combined spending on domestic abuse victim services is estimated at £723 million.

3.4. Costs in response to domestic abuse

3.4.1 Police costs

Domestic abuse is often a hidden crime that is not reported to the police. Thus, the estimated number of victims is much higher than the number of incidents and crimes recorded by the police. There were 488,049 domestic abuse-flagged crimes recorded and an additional 579,971 domestic abuse incidents that were not subsequently recorded as crimes in 2016/17.

Table 14 shows the length of time it takes for the police to assign an outcome for a domestic abuse-flagged crime relative to a non-flagged crime in the form of an index. This is used as an indication of the police resource taken up by domestic abuse crimes compared to non-domestic abuse crimes of the same type.

The time taken to assign an outcome to a crime varies by the type and nature of the offence. In general, the police will frequently be able to identify the principal suspect in a domestic abuse case because in those cases there will be strong evidence more immediately available. For less serious offences, such as criminal damage, the police are likely to devote more investigative time to a case related to domestic abuse than one which is not domestic-related because of the risk of escalation in the case of the former.

Table 14: Median length of time taken to assign outcomes to domestic abuse-related offences recorded in 2016/17, by offence group (24 forces)⁴⁶

Crime category	Time taken to assign an outcome for all crimes (days)	Time taken to assign an outcome for domestic abuse-flagged crimes (days)	Resources index
Homicide	110	8	0.07
Violence with injury	24	17	0.71
Violence without injury	19	19	1.00
Rape	168	133	0.79
Other sexual offences	61	64	1.05

⁴⁶ For an index figure of 1 this would assume the resources needed for a domestic abuse-flagged crime are the same as those for all crime of the same crime category.

Criminal damage	3	14	4.67
Public order	20	22	1.10

Based on 24 police forces that supplied adequate domestic abuse data

The above index rates are then applied to the 2016/17 adjusted police unit costs to create police recorded crime cost estimates for domestic abuse. Rape offences still have the highest assumed cost to the police per recorded crime at £16,290 per offence. The estimated domestic abuse police costs are then multiplied by the domestic abuse-flagged crime volumes to provide total police costs.

Table 15: Police unit costs, volume and total costs for domestic abuse-flagged police recorded crime in 2016/17.

Crime category	Police unit cost (£)	Domestic abuse-flagged police recorded crime	Total police costs (£ millions)
Domestic homicide	£830	108	£0.09
Violence with injury	£1,950	144,459	£282
Violence without injury	£1,180	231,062	£273
Rape	£16,290	11,329	£185
Other sexual offences	£9,300	4,151	£39
Criminal damage	£1,350	42,387	£57
Public order	£2,060	21,605	£45
Other police recorded crime	£3,620	32,948	£119
Total domestic abuse flagged police recorded crime	£2,050	488,049	£999

Using the same uprating method, as used in 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018), the ABC dataset for the year ending 31 March 2007 for the response costs to domestic incidents have also been estimated. Adjusting this method to account for 2016/17 spending, each domestic abuse incident is estimated to cost the police £440. When this unit cost of a domestic incident is applied to the number of domestic incidents in this period that were not subsequently recorded as a crime, £257 million is assumed to be required to respond to these incidents.

Furthermore, if the police attend a domestic incident where they believe children may be at risk, a referral is automatically made to a safeguarding unit. There is a high degree of co-occurrence between domestic abuse and child abuse within abusive families. So, while the initial safeguarding referral has been assumed to be a direct cost as a result of domestic abuse, the subsequent actions made by the safeguarding authority cannot be directly linked for domestic abuse and therefore have been excluded. In 2016/17, the police made 228,385 safeguarding referrals; each are assumed to take 5 to 10 minutes to complete so therefore 28,548 hours are assumed for safeguarding. Applying the hourly rate for police officers ranked at sergeant and below, it is estimated that these referrals cost £0.9 million.

Total police costs associated with domestic abuse-flagged recorded crime, domestic incidents and safeguarding referrals are estimated at £1,257 million for 2016/17.

3.4.2 Criminal legal system

This report estimates the total cost of domestic abuse for the criminal legal system as £336 million in 2016/17. Due to the lack of data on sentencing outcomes detailed in Section 2.3.3 and to a paucity of domestic abuse-specific data, this total will be an underestimate. The total cost estimate is calculated from the sum of the following subsections.

Crown Prosecution Service

In 2016/17 16% of CPS case work was flagged as domestic abuse-related (Crown Prosecution Service, 2018). The CPS National Resource Model has been used to determine costs for pre-charge, guilty plea and contested proceedings in the magistrates' courts and the Crown Court, which is estimated at £40.1 million.

Crown and magistrates' courts

In 2016/17 there were 93,590 domestic abuse cases prosecuted under various offences, 68,098 of which led to convictions (Crown Prosecution Service, 2017). Total prosecutions were distributed between magistrates' courts and the Crown Court at a respective rate of 90% to 10%.⁴⁷ Owing to a lack of specific data on the court allocation of domestic abuse-related cases, this same proportion has been applied to the volume of domestic abuse prosecutions. This volume does not include the number of domestic homicide prosecutions as they have been removed to avoid double counting (assumed as 108). It is assumed that 84,362 cases were heard in magistrates' courts and 9,120 cases were heard in the Crown Court.

There is an assumed cost applied to hear a case in each court. The rate for magistrates' court is assumed at £100 per hearing; the Crown Court is assumed to have a rate per hearing of £2,300. A Crown Court hearing will have first been heard at magistrates' court, so the rate of £100 is added to each case cost. When these figures are applied to the volumes of domestic abuse cases prosecuted, there is an estimated cost of £9 million for magistrates' cases and £21 million for Crown cases which gives a total court cost of £30 million.

Jury costs

Juries are only required in Crown Court. To estimate the total cost for a jury, the assumed number of domestic abuse Crown Court hearing hours have been multiplied by the average hourly wage of a member of the jury who would otherwise have been in employment or by the opportunity cost per hour for those without employment.

The average hearing time for all Crown Court cases is 5.5 hours (Ministry of Justice, 2018a); this has therefore been assumed as the lost time for unemployed jurors. Using the assumption that employed jurors would lose a complete working day for a hearing, as they would not return to work following the end of the hearing, 7.5 hours is assumed as the lost working hours per hearing. Applying these hours to the employment rate (75%) (Office for National Statistics

⁴⁷ This is based on the overall split of prosecutions between the Crown Court and magistrates' courts excluding summary motoring offences - https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/733985/prosecutions-convictions-tool-2017-update.xlsx

(2018j), the number of domestic abuse cases assumed to be heard in the Crown Court, and multiplied by the 12 members of a jury, the overall total juror time for domestic abuse cases is estimated at 766,084 hours.

The average hourly wage is £18.93.⁴⁸ For those who would not have been in employment, the opportunity cost of their time is estimated based on the market price of a non-working hour of £5.57 (Department for Transport, 2018). When these opportunity costs of juror attendance are then multiplied by the assumed number of jury hours, the total estimated jury service costs are estimated at £12.5 million.

Representation

The legal representation considered within this report is divided into three categories:

- Defendants providing their own legal representation (assumed as the proportion of unrepresented litigants) constitute 11%⁴⁹ and 5% of cases for the Magistrates court and Crown Court respectively. For these cases, costs to the defendants themselves may arise, yet they have not been estimated due to their vast variations on a case-by-case basis.
- Representation through legal aid is provided in 17% of cases heard in magistrates' courts and 85% in the Crown Courts.⁵⁰
- Private representation is then assumed for the remaining cases (72% and 10%).

Table 16: Representation breakdown in the magistrates' courts and Crown Courts, as a percentage of total cases, for 2016/17.

Representation type	Magistrates court	Crown Court
Self-representation	11%	5%
Legal aid	17%	85%
Private legal	72%	10%

Legal aid

Average legal aid rates have been assumed from the legal aid statistics (Ministry of Justice, 2018b). These have been based on the number of claims of magistrates' court representations in 2016/17 by the expenditure within the same period and the average value of a completed Crown Court representation.⁵¹ These have an estimated average cost of £527 for magistrates' legal aid representation and £2,714 for Crown legal aid representation. These provide a total cost estimate for legal aid of £29 million based on the assumed volume of cases in 2016/17 to need legal aid representation.

⁴⁸ ONS estimates of an average hourly wage of £15.69 (ONS, 2018k) which is increased by 20.63% to include non-wage costs (Eurostat, 2018).

⁴⁹ Without any information on the proportion of magistrates' cases that are unrepresented, the proportion within the Crown Court has been doubled. This is the same assumption as in the 'Economic and social costs of crime' (Home Office, 2018).

⁵⁰ Based on legal aid statistics (Ministry of Justice, 2018b) and criminal court statistics (Ministry of Justice, 2018a).

⁵¹ High-cost Crown Court cases were excluded to provide a more reliable average.

Private representation

This report applies an uprate of 4.4 times the cost of legal aid to calculate an estimated average for the cost of private representation. This rate is derived from 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018) assumption that the cost of legal aid in criminal cases has an average hourly rate of £45 compared to private representation with an average charge of £200 per hour. The total cost of private representation is therefore estimated at £154 million for domestic abuse cases in 2016/17.

Criminal justice homicide costs

As outlined in Section 2.3.3, a domestic homicide has been assumed to have the same costs as all homicides. Within this report, therefore, the homicide costs included in 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018) have been updated to take into account the number of homicides within 2016/17 and adjusted with the price level for the same period (HM Treasury, 2018b). The prosecution costs have been removed from the unit cost as they have been accounted for in the CPS total cost. This results in a 2016/17 unit cost of a homicide of £649,000. The £649,000 unit cost has been applied to the number of domestic homicides, giving a total of £70 million for domestic homicides in 2016/17.⁵²

3.4.3 Civil legal system

This report estimates the total cost of domestic abuse for the civil legal system as £140 million in 2016/17 based on the protective injunctions⁵³ and divorces resulting from domestic abuse. As discussed in Section 2.3.4, public family proceedings have been excluded from this analysis and this report has been unable to estimate domestic abuse-related private family proceedings with private representation beyond divorces and protective injunctions.

Legal aid

Legal aid data have been extracted from the latest legal aid statistics (Ministry of Justice, 2018b). Domestic abuse victims can access legal aid funding for protective injunctions or through a domestic violence gateway for private family matters. In 2016/17 there were 14,102 and 8,766 applications for protective injunction and private family matters involving domestic abuse respectively. From these applications, 13,359 and 7,224 respectively were granted.

Legal aid costs for these applications are only known after they are completed. Within the year ending 31 March 2017, 3,878 domestic violence gateway applications were closed. This gives a total related cost of £11 million and an average legal aid representation cost of £2,800 per granted application. When this is applied to the total number of applications granted in 2016/17, the total gateway legal aid cost is estimated at £20 million. The same approach is used for protective injunction funding to provide an average certificate cost of £2,700. When this is applied to the number of domestic abuse certificates in 2016/17, the total cost is £36 million. Therefore, the total civil legal aid costs are estimated at £56 million.

It is also assumed that there would have been administration costs associated with these applications. This is estimated at £74,000.

⁵² The domestic homicide rate includes the associated sentencing costs to the probation, prison and national offender management services, and the youth justice board.

⁵³ For domestic abuse, protective injunctions relate to DVPOs, occupation orders, non-molestation orders and restraining orders.

In the 'Domestic Abuse Bill Consultation Impact Assessment' (Ministry of Justice, 2018c), the number of civil protective injunctions due to domestic abuse was calculated. In 2016/17, 32,300 domestic abuse-related protective injunctions were issued in a civil context. All Legal Aid Certificates would have been used for civil injunctions, and the legal aid statistics also highlighted that 2,094 Gateway applications were also used for these. For divorces, the assumed 29% of divorces caused by domestic abuse (Walby, 2004) is applied to the total number of divorces within 2016/17 (113,622 (Ministry of Justice, 2018d)). Therefore, 32,945 divorces in 2016/17 are calculated as being caused by domestic abuse, 21 of which have already been accounted for within the domestic violence gateway.⁵⁴

Private representation

For protective injunctions 73% of applicants and 13% of respondents have legal representation (Ministry of Justice, 2018d). Given the number of assumed legally aided cases above and limited legal aid provision for protective injunction respondents while removing DVPOs (as these are costed separately) 8,661⁵⁵ protective injunctions are estimated to have needed private representation. As the difference between civil legal aid and civil private representation rates is not known, this report has assumed the rate to be the same as the average domestic abuse Legal Aid Certificate cost of £2,700. This is likely to underestimate the private civil representation costs for protective injunctions. The average divorce representation is estimated at £950⁵⁶ (OMB Research, 2016). When these private civil representation costs are then multiplied by the number of private representation cases, a total private representation cost is estimated at £54 million.

Court costs

The Courts Act 2003 provides the Lord Chancellor with a power to prescribe fees in courts and tribunals which can assist him to fulfil his duty of ensuring an efficient and effective courts and tribunals system. Charging fees to users in the courts and tribunals system therefore contributes towards covering the costs of the service. Consequently, this report has estimated the likely court costs by referring to the court fees associated with civil court proceedings taken from 'Civil court and Family Fees' (HM Courts & Tribunals Service, 2018). There is no fee charged for an applicant's first attempt to acquire a protective injunction; subsequent attempts cost £95. Therefore, the £95 fee is assumed as a court cost for all protective injunction hearings. There is a £550 fee to file for a divorce. Other private family proceeding costs have been assumed at £215 (the fee for a new application under the Children Act 1989). When these assumed court costs are multiplied by the volume of cases discussed above, the total civil court costs are estimated at £22 million.

Domestic Violence Protection Notices and Orders

A DVPN is an emergency non-molestation and eviction notice which can be issued to the perpetrator by the police (when attending a domestic abuse incident). It is effective from the time of issue, providing immediate support to victims. Within 48 hours of the DVPN being served, an application by police to a magistrates' court for a DVPO must be heard. A DVPO can prevent the perpetrator from returning to a residence and from having contact with the

⁵⁴ Identified as 'Other family proceedings' within the legal aid information.

⁵⁵ $((32,300 \times 0.73) - 2,094 - 13,359 - 3,698) + (32,300 \times 0.13) = 8,661$

⁵⁶ Based on the uncontested petitioner and uncontested respondent combined (median divorce prices range from £350 to £2000).

victim for up to 28 days. In 2016/17 there were 4,017 DVPNs and 3,698 DVPOs granted. Based on the assessment of police resources used within the pilot evaluation of DVPOs (Home Office, 2013b), the associated costs of these is estimated at £7.8 million.

3.4.4 Multi-agency risk assessment conferences

MARACs are regular local, multi-agency meetings involving statutory and voluntary agency representatives that encourage the sharing of information and promote coordinated tailored support for high-risk victims of domestic abuse. The resources needed per case have been estimated based on 2011 Home Office research (Steel, Blakeborough and Nicholas, 2011) on MARACs.

From the 2011 report, it was estimated that an average case was discussed in approximately 12 minutes and there was an estimated half an hour preparation and follow-up time assumed for each case discussed. Fifteen different organisations and support services are listed within this report as attending MARAC meetings. For this analysis, only costs for those attendees from organisations that stated in the research that they “always attended” have been included.

In 2016/17 there were 83,136 cases discussed at a MARAC meeting and, of this cohort, 22,070 were identified as repeat cases (Office for National Statistics, 2017b). Assuming that a repeated case was discussed at a MARAC meeting a minimum of twice, there were an assumed 105,206 cases discussed within 2016/17. The volume of cases can be multiplied by the estimated time per case discussed (0.68 hours), which is then multiplied by the assumed median wage for each profession with added non-wage costs.⁵⁷ The total estimated costs for MARAC in 2016/17 £11.3 million.

As this method has only included representatives that were highlighted as always attending, this estimate is likely to underestimate the full costs of MARACs. Basing this estimate on 2011 MARAC data may also not provide a representative picture of the current MARAC resourcing needs.

3.5. Summary

Overall, in 2016/17, domestic abuse is estimated to have cost over £66 billion (Table 17). While by far the biggest proportion is the estimated physical and emotional costs associated with the harms borne by the victims themselves following their abuse, lost output also represents a significant element of these costs.

⁵⁷ These were taken from the ‘Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings’ (Office for National Statistics, 2017d) in conjunction with ‘Hourly labour costs’ (Eurostat, 2016). A health worker was assumed to be a health professional; a probation worker was assumed to be a probation officer; substance misuse practitioners, workers from young people mental health services and mental health services were assumed to be health and social care associate professionals; workers from children and young people’s services, adult services, other specialist DA support services, and BAME (Black, Asian and minority ethnic) and LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) organisation representatives were assumed to be welfare professionals; workers from housing (LA) and housing (RSA) were both assumed to be welfare and housing associate professionals; and education workers were assumed to be education advisors and school inspectors.

Table 17: Total costs of domestic abuse in England and Wales for 2016/17 (£ millions)

Costs in Anticipation	Costs as a consequence				Costs in response				Total
	Physical and emotional harm	Lost output	Health services	Victim services	Police costs	Criminal legal	Civil legal	Other	
£6m	£47,287m	£14,098m	£2,333m	£724m	£1,257m	£336m	£140m	£11m	£66,192m

The estimated unit costs for victims' physical and emotional harm, lost output and health services, for each type of domestic abuse, can be seen below in Table 18, a full breakdown can be seen in Table AP9. The combined physical and emotional harm, health and lost output estimates for domestic homicide represent the greatest unit cost at over £2.2m. The next highest unit cost is for a victim of violence with injury, rape and stalking (£106,590). The lowest unit cost is indecent exposure and sexual touching, this is estimated at £13,570.

Physical and emotional harm, lost output and health services costs associated with violence with injury gives the highest total cost at £32.7 billion. This category represents 49% of the total cost of domestic abuse even though the prevalence numbers for violence with injury only represent 36%⁵⁸ of the domestic abuse volumes included within this report.

Table 18: Estimated physical and emotional, lost output and health services unit costs of domestic abuse in England and Wales by types of abuse, 2016/17⁵⁹

Type of domestic abuse	Physical and emotional harm	Lost output	Health services	Unit costs	Combined costs (£ billions)
Domestic homicide	£1,922,280	£307,240	£1,120	£2,230,640	£0.2bn
Violence with injury	£54,240	£16,150	£3,170	£73,560	£32.7bn
Violence without injury	£22,630	£6,760	£630	£30,020	£9.9bn
Rape	£58,860	£17,130	£1,310	£77,300	£2.0bn
Indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£9,950	£3,340	£270	£13,570	£0.2bn
Stalking	£21,920	£6,560	£1,210	£29,680	£7.2bn

To estimate the unit cost for an average domestic abuse victim the total cost estimates have been divided by the total number of domestic abuse victims (1,946,000 in 2016/17) including those who were victims of domestic emotional and financial abuse. As previously discussed, while the physical and emotional harms, lost output and health service costs in relation to controlling and coercive behaviour and financial abuse have not been included within this analysis, the total costs have been divided by the entire domestic abuse cohort to provide a cost per average victim of domestic abuse.

⁵⁸ This can be calculated by the violence with injury prevalence numbers divided by the total prevalence numbers estimated within this report (444,007/1,221,769), more detail can be seen in AP1.

⁵⁹ All the cost estimates included within this report have been rounded. There may be discrepancies in the total figures due to the effect of this rounding.

Table 19: Unit costs of domestic abuse in England and Wales for 2016/17⁶⁰

Costs in Anticipation	Costs as a consequence				Costs in response				Total
	Physical and emotional harm	Lost output	Health services	Victim services	Police costs	Criminal Legal	Civil legal	Other	
£5	£24,300	£7,245	£1,200	£370	£645	£170	£70	£5	£34,015

⁶⁰ Rounded to the nearest £5. The total figure may not sum due the effect of this rounding.

4. Conclusion

This report estimates the social and economic cost for victims of domestic abuse in 2016/17 in England and Wales to be approximately £66 billion. The average unit cost of a domestic abuse victim is calculated at £34,015. The largest element of domestic abuse cost is the physical and emotional harm suffered by the victims themselves (£47 billion), accounting for 71% of all estimated costs of domestic abuse. The next highest cost is for lost output relating to time lost at work and reduced productivity afterwards (£14 billion).

The QALY method used to assess the physical and emotional harm to victims in 'The Economic and Social Costs of Crime' (Heeks *et al.*, 2018) has been adapted in line with the revised method included within 'The Economic and Social Costs of Modern Slavery' (Reed *et al.*, 2018) to include the costs of repeated incidents during a prolonged period of time, a common characteristic of domestic abuse. The QALY method is then adapted further to consider co-occurring types of domestic abuse suffered by victims, providing a more accurate analysis of the harm victims are likely to suffer and the associated costs. Even if the duration of victims' abuse and the associated harms extend beyond the year ending 31 March 2017, their complete costs have been included.

Further to Walby (2004), Walby (2009) and Walby and Olive (2014), this report has been able to expand the assessment of domestic abuse costs by including estimates for domestic stalking. It also extends the scope by including a wider range of victim service costs and by estimating the cost of lost productivity following victimisation. In addition, this report separates costs of domestic abuse in accordance with the most recent offence categories.

The total economic and social cost of domestic abuse estimated within this report (£66 billion) is greater than the total estimated economic and social cost of crime (estimated at £50 billion for crime against individuals in 2015/16). This report uses an adapted method for estimating the costs of domestic abuse that incorporates the harms suffered by domestic abuse victims for the complete period of their abuse and victims' recovery time. This approach has been used to account for the prolonged nature of domestic abuse rather than restricting the analysis to a time-limited event. This analysis also uses victim estimates from the CSEW self-completion module to more accurately capture the extent of domestic abuse and includes additional costs categories that were not included in the wider cost of crime report (e.g. stalking and emergency housing). While there will be crossover between the two reports, the higher estimated cost for domestic abuse emphasises the hidden, unreported and high harm nature of crime suffered by domestic abuse victims.

Improving understanding of the impact of domestic abuse can help influence future policy and operational efforts to lessen its effects. To lessen these estimated costs, preventative interventions and early interventions should be a priority. Preventative actions are likely to be the most cost-beneficial, although the effectiveness of these still require robust evaluation.

4.1. Limitations

The estimates for the cost of domestic abuse are heavily reliant on data obtained through the main face-to-face CSEW, rather than the interpersonal violence self-completion module. While the self-completion module is widely accepted as producing more reliable estimates regarding the prevalence of domestic abuse, it does not contain data on repeat incidents, harm following a domestic incident, medical treatment or time lost at work following a domestic incident. This information was needed for this analysis. This report would have ideally taken this information from the self-completion module, but these questions are not currently asked. The responses captured for the smaller number of victims identified in the face-to-face questions may not represent the experience of the broader number of victims who respond to the self-completion module.

The analysis would have benefitted from a larger CSEW sample size. Firstly, a larger sample size would increase the precision of the estimates used. For this analysis, several years' worth of data needed to be combined to produce a large enough sample size. The data from the interpersonal self-completion module are also currently limited to those aged 16-59. The ONS has extended this range up to age 74 for year ending 31 March 2018 analysis onward. The capping of the number of incidents will also be replaced with a 98th percentile calculation⁶¹. This could provide more accurate data on the number of repeated domestic abuse incidents within a given period. Given the high variation in the frequency of domestic abuse incidents per victim, analysis may also benefit from separating victims by high and low harm categories. This would create a more representative range of potential impacts and improve the accuracy of associated cost estimations.

This report is also limited by the lack of inclusion of costs relating to children and the wider family. As the current evidence does not facilitate a direct link between domestic abuse and the impact on children (harms could be attributed to child abuse), the impact on children and associated social services costs have not been included (see Annex 1). There is also a lack of data on financial and emotional abuse linked to coercive and controlling behaviour. Furthermore, this report has highlighted that there are likely many costs which have been underrepresented, including charitable spending and costs in anticipation. Any future analysis of domestic abuse costs would benefit from further research in these areas.

Analysis is also limited by incomplete data on criminal and civil legal proceedings. Data which tracks domestic abuse tagged cases through the entirety of the legal process are not available. This makes it difficult to fully estimate the costs of domestic abuse within the criminal and civil legal systems. Any future research into the costs of domestic abuse should reassess the available information to calculate more accurate criminal and civil legal costs if possible.

⁶¹ Until recently, domestic abuse incidents reported by individual respondents in the CSEW were capped at 5 to avoid skewing the data by a small number of survey respondents reporting a very high number of incidents (ONS, 2015:5). A new methodology which does not cap incidents at a specific number, but which instead caps incidents at the 98th percentile is being introduced to better reflect the often repeated nature of domestic abuse, while still avoiding the data being skewed by extreme outliers.

Appendix 1: Tables

Table AP1: Domestic abuse prevalence figures for 2016/17 by type of abuse

Type of domestic abuse	Number of victims
Domestic homicide	108 ⁶²
Violence with injury	444,007
Violence without injury	330,542
Rape	26,448
Indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	15,574
Stalking	242,129
Violence with injury and stalking	63,524
Violence without injury and stalking	47,290
Violence with injury and rape	5,943
Violence without Injury and rape	4,424
Violence with Injury and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	3,563
Violence without injury and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	2,653
Rape and stalking	12,976
Indecent exposure and/ or sexual touching and stalking	7,780
Violence with injury, stalking and rape	5,306
Violence with injury, stalking and indecent exposure and/ or sexual touching	3,182
Violence without injury, stalking and rape	3,950
Violence without injury, stalking and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	2,369
Total estimated domestic abuse victims	1,946,000
Total analysed within this estimate⁶³	1,221,769

⁶² Information on the number of domestic abuse Homicides within the year ending 31 March 2017 has been taken from the Home Office police recorded crime data.

⁶³ Those who suffered emotional or financial abuse only have not been included within this estimate due to a lack of sufficient data to assess the impact of these. This is seen as a major limitation of this research.

Table AP2: QALY losses associated with physical and emotional harms

Injury	Corresponding Global Burden of Disease (GBD) ⁶⁴ injury	QALY loss
Physical		
Minor bruising or black eye	0.25 of broken bones (Dolan <i>et al.</i> , 2005)	0.026
Severe bruising	0.5 of broken bones (Dolan <i>et al.</i> , 2005)	0.052
Scratches	0.25 of cuts (Dolan <i>et al.</i> , 2005)	0.002
Cuts	Open wound: short term, with or without treatment	0.006
Puncture or stab wounds	No associated injury in GBD. Broken bones used as an appropriate proxy	0.103
Broken/cracked/fractured bones	Fracture of sternum or one or two ribs: short term, with or without treatment	0.103
Nose bleed	Open wound: short term, with or without treatment	0.006
Broken nose	Fracture of face bone: short or long term, with or without treatment	0.067
Broken/lost teeth	0.5 of fracture of face bone: short or long term, with or without treatment (Dolan <i>et al.</i> , 2005)	0.034
Chipped teeth	0.5 of broken/lost teeth (Dolan <i>et al.</i> , 2005)	0.017
Dislocation of joints	Dislocation of shoulder: long term, with or without treatment	0.062
Concussion or loss of consciousness	0.5 of disability weight for intracranial injury (short term) (Dolan <i>et al.</i> , 2005)	0.110
Internal injuries	No associated injury in GBD. Severed bruising taken as an appropriate proxy	0.052
Facial/head injuries	No associated injury in GBD. Cuts taken as an appropriate proxy	0.006
Eye/facial injuries	Injury to eyes: short term	0.054
Other	Other injuries of muscle and tendon (includes sprains, strains and dislocations other than shoulder, knee or hip)	0.008
Emotional		
Fear	Anxiety disorders: mild (Ohman, 2008)	0.003
Depression	Major depressive disorder: moderate episode	0.396
Anxiety/panic attacks	Anxiety disorders: moderate	0.133
Drug dependency	Moderate cocaine dependence	0.479
Alcohol dependency	Moderate alcohol use disorder	0.373

⁶⁴ Salomon *et al.* (2015)

Table AP3: Duration of consequences associated with physical and emotional harms

Injury	Duration (years)	Source
Physical		
Minor bruising or black eye	0.0288	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Severe bruising	0.0575	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Scratches	0.006	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Cuts	0.024	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Puncture or stab wounds	0.0575	3 weeks (Advanced Tissue, 2014)
Broken/cracked/fractured bones	0.115	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Nose bleed	0.0027	No source available, assumed 1 day
Broken nose	0.059	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Broken/lost teeth	0.0192	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Chipped teeth	0.0192	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Dislocation of joints	0.154	8 weeks (Drukin <i>et al.</i> , 2008)
Concussion or loss of consciousness	0.0335	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Internal injuries	0.0575	No source available, assumed the same as severe bruising
Facial/head injuries	0.024	No source available, assumed the same as cuts
Eye/facial injuries	0.0192	1 week – traumatic iritis (Root, 2010)
Other	0.0192	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Emotional – violent crime (1)		
Fear	1.2500	Norris & Kaniasty (1994) show that fear from crime is still evident after 15 months
Depression	1.0000	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005): Victims of violent crime who suffer short-term depression do so for 1 year
Anxiety/panic attacks	3.0000	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005): Victims of violent crime who suffer anxiety/panic attacks do so for 3 years
Emotional – semi-violent crime (2)		
Fear	1.2500	Norris & Kaniasty (1994) show that emotional effects on victims of crime are still evident after 15 months
Depression	0.5800	Taken from Heeks <i>et al.</i> (2018), derived from Wasserman and Ellis (2007)
Anxiety/panic attacks	1.5800	Taken from Heeks <i>et al.</i> (2018), derived from Wasserman and Ellis (2007)
Emotional – rape specific		
Drug abuse	5.0000	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Alcohol abuse	5.0000	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)

Injury	Duration (years)	Source
Obesity / eating disorder	5.0000	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Sexual dysfunction	0.1670	Dolan <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Death		
Death	34.631	The average age of a victim of domestic homicide from years ending 31 March 2015 to 2017 was 47.5 years for men and 47.0 years for women. Subtracting this from their life expectancy (Office for National Statistics, 2018i) gives 31.7 years for men and 35.9 years for women. A weighted average of these two figures is then taken based on the numbers of domestic homicides for each.

(1) Violent crimes are assumed to be homicide, violence with injury and rape.

(2) Semi-violent crimes are assumed to be violence without injury, stalking and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching.

Table AP4: Estimated unit costs of physical and emotional harms of domestic abuse

Domestic abuse type	Emotional	Physical	Total unit cost
Domestic homicide		£1,922,280	£1,922,340
Violence with injury	£53,410	£830	£54,240
Violence without injury	£22,630		£22,630
Rape	£58,750	£110	£58,860
Indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£9,950		£9,950
Stalking	£21,920		£21,920
Violence with injury and stalking	£59,270	£830	£60,100
Violence without injury and stalking	£35,750		£35,750
Violence with injury and rape	£72,940	£940	£73,870
Violence without injury and rape	£58,750	£110	£58,860
Violence with injury and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£53,410	£830	£54,240
Violence without injury and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£22,630		£22,630
Rape and stalking	£65,200	£110	£65,310
Indecent exposure and/ or sexual touching and stalking	£30,340		£30,340
Violence with injury, stalking and rape	£78,130	£940	£79,070
Violence with injury, stalking and indecent exposure and/ or sexual touching	£59,300	£830	£60,120
Violence without injury, stalking and rape	£65,200	£110	£65,310
Violence without injury, stalking and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£35,780		£35,780

Table AP5: Average number of medical requirements following an injury⁶⁵

Harm suffered	Ambulance	Bone fracture	Other injury	Nose procedure	Emergency medicine	Lowest cost head injury	Minor dental restoration procedure	Minor dental procedure	Physiotherapy (hours)	Counselling (hours)
Broken bones	45%	77%	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
Severe bruising	17%	-	41%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Puncture/stab wound	34%	-	82%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Internal injury	36%	-	50%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Broken nose	46%	-	-	56%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cuts	-	-	-	-	49%	-	-	-	-	-
Dislocation	0%	-	-	-	69%	-	-	-	-	-
Concussion	42%	-	-	-	-	66%	-	-	-	-
Lost teeth	0%	-	-	-	-	-	45%	-	-	-
Chipped teeth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37%	-	-
Scratches	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Minor bruising	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Facial injury	-	-	-	-	49%	-	-	-	-	-
Eye injury	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nose bleed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-	42%	-	-	-	-	-
Fear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Depression	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
Anxiety/panic attacks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
Drug abuse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
Alcohol abuse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
Sexual dysfunction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2

⁶⁵ '-' highlights that there is assumed to be no medical requirement associated with the injury.

Table AP6: Average unit costs of healthcare associated with physical and emotional harms in 2016/17

Injury	Average unit cost of medical requirement
Broken bones	£2,510
Severe bruising	£540
Stabbed	£1070
Internal injury	£690
Broken nose	£770
Cuts	£80
Dislocation	£110
Concussion	£550
Lost teeth	£120
Chipped teeth	£70
Scratches	-
Minor bruising	-
Facial injury	£80
Eye injury	-
Nose bleed	-
Other	£70
Fear	£100
Depression	£1,040
Anxiety / panic attacks	£1,300
Drug abuse	£2,610
Alcohol abuse	£2,610
Sexual dysfunction	£100
Homicide	£1120 ⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Department for Transport (2018)

Table AP7: Estimated unit costs of health services for domestic abuse, by abuse type

Domestic abuse type	Emotional	Physical	Total unit cost
Domestic homicide		£1,120	£1,120
Violence with injury	£1,270	£1,900	£3,170
Violence without injury	£630		£630
Rape	£1,110	£200	£1,310
Indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£270		£270
Stalking	£1,210		£1,210
Violence with injury and stalking	£1,530	£1,900	£3,430
Violence without injury and stalking	£1,210		£1,210
Violence with injury and rape	£1,480	£2,110	£3,580
Violence without injury and rape	£1,110	£200	£1,310
Violence with injury and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£1,270	£1,900	£3,170
Violence without injury and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£630		£630
Rape and stalking	£1,420	£200	£1,620
Indecent exposure and/ or sexual touching and stalking	£1,210		£1,210
Violence with injury, stalking and rape	£1,720	£2,100	£3,830
Violence with injury, stalking and indecent exposure and/ or sexual touching	£1,530	£1,900	£3,430
Violence without injury, stalking and rape	£1,420	£200	£1,620
Violence without injury, stalking and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£1,210		£1,210

Table AP8: Estimated unit costs of lost output for domestic abuse, by abuse type

Type of domestic abuse	Hours lost at work	Reduced productivity hours post return to work	Total hours lost	Total lost productivity
Domestic homicide	16,228	0	16,228	£307,240
Violence with injury	14	835	849	£16,150
Violence without injury	2	353	356	£6,760
Rape	349	552	900	£17,130
Indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	35	141	175	£3,340
Stalking	1	345	346	£6,560
Violence with injury and stalking	15	920	935	£17,780
Violence without injury and stalking	37	561	598	£11,390
Violence with injury and rape	363	810	1,173	£22,320
Violence without injury and rape	351	552	903	£17,170
Violence with injury and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	49	824	873	£16,600
Violence without injury and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	37	352	389	£7,400
Rape and stalking	349	661	1,010	£19,220
Indecent exposure and/ or sexual touching and stalking	36	466	502	£9,560
Violence with injury, stalking and rape	364	882	1,246	£23,690
Violence with injury, stalking and indecent exposure and/ or sexual touching	50	916	966	£18,380
Violence without injury, stalking and rape	352	660	1,012	£19,260
Violence without injury, stalking and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	38	578	616	£11,730

Table AP9: Estimated physical and emotional, lost output and health services unit costs of domestic abuse in England and Wales by types of abuse, for 2016/17⁶⁷

Type of domestic abuse	Physical and emotional harm	Lost output	Health services	Unit costs	Combined costs (£ billions)
Domestic homicide	£1,922,280	£307,240	£1,120	£2,230,640	£0.2
Violence with injury	£54,240	£16,150	£3,170	£73,560	£32.7
Violence without injury	£22,630	£6,760	£630	£30,020	£9.9
Rape	£58,860	£17,130	£1,310	£77,300	£2.0
Indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£9,950	£3,340	£270	£13,570	£0.2
Stalking	£21,920	£6,560	£1,210	£29,680	£7.2
Violence with injury and stalking	£60,100	£17,780	£3,430	£81,310	£5.2
Violence without injury and stalking	£35,750	£11,390	£1,210	£48,360	£2.3
Violence with injury and rape	£73,870	£22,320	£3,580	£99,770	£0.6
Violence without injury and rape	£58,860	£17,170	£1,310	£77,340	£0.3
Violence with injury and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£54,240	£16,600	£3,170	£74,010	£0.3
Violence without injury and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£22,630	£7,400	£630	£30,660	£0.1
Rape and stalking	£65,310	£19,220	£1,620	£86,140	£1.1
Indecent exposure and/ or sexual touching and stalking	£30,340	£9,560	£1,210	£41,110	£0.3
Violence with injury, stalking and rape	£79,070	£23,690	£3,830	£106,590	£0.6
Violence with injury, stalking and indecent exposure and/ or sexual touching	£60,120	£18,380	£3,430	£81,940	£0.3
Violence without injury, stalking and rape	£65,310	£19,260	£1,620	£86,180	£0.3
Violence without injury, stalking and indecent exposure and/or sexual touching	£35,780	£11,730	£1,210	£48,720	£0.1

⁶⁷ All the cost estimates included within this report have been rounded. There may be discrepancies in the total figures due to the effect of this rounding.

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ANNEX: The impacts on children from witnessing domestic abuse

Adam Fair

Introduction

Children (those aged 17 and under) can be exposed to domestic abuse in three main ways:

- Being the subject of intimate partner violence (IPV). For children aged 15 and under this is considered child abuse rather than domestic abuse (Office for National Statistics, 2017a).
- Being the subject of (or being directly involved in) child abuse, principally in their own homes.
- Witnessing domestic abuse between other family members, principally in their own homes.

This last form of child abuse has been explicitly identified as having insufficient evidence to include in previous UK estimates of the cost of domestic abuse in England and Wales. It was not possible for the previous 2004 report on the costs of domestic violence in England and Wales (Walby, 2004) to include the long-term effects of children witnessing domestic abuse, and the 2009 update (Walby, 2009) acknowledged this as a limitation. The most recent estimate available – in a UK-specific case study from a recent estimate of the costs of gender-based violence in the European Union (Walby & Olive, 2014) – states that it cannot include costs (beyond that of child protection care) of these impacts on children due to incomplete and unavailable data. This report also restates the danger of conflating child witnessing of abuse and direct child abuse and highlights the need for further research to establish separate impacts for each type.

This review of the available literature also concludes that there is still insufficient evidence on the impacts of domestic abuse on children for this to be included in the estimates in the cost of domestic abuse. This Annex instead summarises the most relevant and recent evidence available on this topic, including estimates of prevalence, child demographics and impacts. It also identifies key gaps in this evidence base, to highlight opportunities for further development.

Child witnessing of domestic abuse

The hidden nature of domestic abuse makes identification by authorities of children affected by this type of abuse difficult – 46% of children in households where domestic abuse took place (as identified by domestic abuse services) were not previously known to children's services (SafeLives, 2014).

There are cross-sectional quantitative data sources from national surveys and services that work with children affected by domestic abuse, which provide a picture of the number and type of children affected.

There are also a variety of research studies (both cross-sectional and longitudinal) that can describe children's experiences of living with abuse and indicate some of the impacts and outcomes.

This evidence is summarised below to estimate the prevalence of this form of abuse, the characteristics of children exposed to it, the short- and long-term impacts, and how this abuse overlaps with other types.

Methodology

The evidence in this report was selected on the basis of relevance to the subject matter, quality, recency, and applicability to the population of affected children in England and Wales.

All evidence included was English language only and was obtained primarily through web searches (including the terms 'child/children', 'domestic abuse/violence', 'intimate partner violence', 'exposure', 'witnessing' and 'impact'), existing knowledge of recent government and non-governmental organisation publications and following up on references from relevant publications.

All evidence had to at least partially address children witnessing or being exposed to domestic abuse, even if discussed as part of wider child abuse. Both cross-sectional studies (examining a sample at a point in time) and longitudinal studies (examining a sample over time) were included. Any study also had to have a comparison group of those who were not exposed as children to domestic abuse in order to be included in this evidence review.

Only evidence published after the year 2000 is included, so that the review reflects recent and relevant findings. Additionally, although there is a variety of international evidence on this topic (as summarised by UNICEF (2006) and Duvvury *et al.*, (2013)), the evidence presented here is restricted to countries most similar to England and Wales – Europe, North America and Australasia.

Evidence was excluded if it did not meet all of the above criteria.

Prevalence

It is difficult to assess the prevalence of children witnessing domestic abuse in their own homes, because the private nature of this setting makes detection and disclosure less likely (Munro, 2011).

There have been recent attempts to estimate this overall prevalence, although these are acknowledged as underestimates.

Overall prevalence of exposure to household abuse

There is good evidence from nationally-representative surveys of the general household population to suggest that between a quarter and a third of children have been exposed to domestic abuse at some point in their lives, that this exposure mostly takes place in their own homes, and that they are more likely to purely be witnesses rather than direct recipients of

abuse. However, children may not always be aware of abuse occurring in their own homes. Exposure is likely to be more common for younger children.

A recent technical report by the Office of the Children's Commissioner estimated the prevalence of childhood exposure to domestic violence and abuse, using adult reports of abuse where children live in the same household (The Children's Commissioner, 2018). This was based on evidence from the 2014 Adult Psychiatric Morbidity Survey of 7,500 adults in English private households. It reports that 26.7% of all children in England aged 0 to 5 (1.1 million) and 25.3% of children in England aged 6 to 15 (1.6 million) live with an adult who has ever experienced domestic violence or abuse. The report notes that this finding is a conservative lower bound of prevalence, as it is based on a household survey in which only one adult is randomly selected from each household. The results are therefore reliant on whether the randomly-selected adult in a household is affected by these factors, rather than whether these factors are present anywhere in the wider household.

An earlier UK wide study by Radford *et al.* (2013) also produced a similar estimate of lifetime exposure to parental domestic violence. The nationally-representative household survey estimated that 30% of all children in the UK aged under 18 have been exposed at some point. They also estimated that 6% of all children are exposed each year. They surveyed a representative (after weighting) population of 2,160 caregivers, 2,275 children and young people, and 1,761 young adults. The findings are also likely underestimate prevalence due to asking respondents about their personal (rather than household) experience of exposure.

'Domestic abuse in England and Wales: year ending March 2018' (Office for National Statistics, 2018) states that, based on survey data, in 41% of cases of partner abuse there was at least one child under the age of 16 living in the household.¹ According to adult respondents in an earlier ONS report for year ending 31 March 2016 survey data (Office for National Statistics, 2016), where children were present in the household during domestic abuse, in 20% of cases the children saw or heard what happened (compared with 62% that did not).

Prevalence of exposure to highest-risk household abuse

Some children are exposed to particularly high-risk abuse. If they or their family have chaotic or disordered lifestyles, they will be less likely to be included in the household surveys mentioned above. Members of this group are, however, more likely to be engaged with specialist services for child and domestic abuse, so administrative data from these services provides better evidence.

Statistics on children referred to and assessed by children's social services in England show that domestic violence by adults (including any directed at children or other adults) was identified as the most common factor (51%) identified at the end of assessment for children referred in the year ending 31 March 2018. Other than the mental health of the child or other adults (43%), it was identified more than twice as often as any other factor (Department for Education, 2018a).

Child victims exposed to high-risk domestic abuse are substantially more likely to witness it than be directly abused themselves. The recent Children's Insights national dataset report

¹ In households with at least one child under the age of 16, respondents are asked if any children in the household saw or heard what happened during the most recent partner abuse victimisation.

(SafeLives, 2018a), covering 1,800 at-risk children across 15 different care services, found that 94% of these children had been exposed to domestic abuse, compared with 28% that were direct victims of child abuse. It also found that in 95% of the 1,695 cases of exposure, children were often at home when the abuse took place, and 74% had been direct witnesses to the abuse.

In the highest-risk domestic abuse cases, monthly or fortnightly Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conferences (MARACs) are held to bring together representatives of multiple local agencies. The most recent quarterly nationwide report from SafeLives states that 120,371 children (1.3 per case) were involved in these meetings in the year to the end of June 2018, and that the number of these cases was 3% higher than a year ago (SafeLives, 2018b). Additionally, over half of the cases in the Children's Insights national dataset had been exposed to high severity abuse.

Characteristics of children exposed to domestic abuse

None of the sources outlined above that produce national prevalence estimates of children exposed to domestic abuse (the Children Commissioner's Office, Radford *et al.* (2013) and the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW)) provide an analysis of the characteristics of those children exposed to domestic abuse. This, therefore, represents an evidence gap.

The administrative data from services working with children exposed to the higher-risk abuse does provide a breakdown of the characteristics of children in service. The recently-published SafeLives Children's Insights national dataset 2014 to 2017 reports on the characteristics and experiences of 1,800 child referrals into 15 different speciality domestic abuse services across England and Wales (SafeLives, 2018a). It also includes self-completion survey data on perceptions and emotions for 962 child service users. Ninety-four percent of service users had been exposed to some form of abuse, and 95% of this group were at home when the abuse took place, so this dataset is relevant to the population of interest.

It should be noted that this dataset does not cover children exposed to abuse that have not yet been identified or placed into support, and it is not possible to state whether the vulnerabilities identified were directly caused by exposure to abuse. Children in this dataset are likely to have experience of other abuse types in addition to witnessing domestic abuse.

Key statistics on child characteristics from this report are summarised below.

Demographics of children in service

The average age of children in service was 10. Almost all (92%) were aged between 3 and 15 years old, with 55% between 6 and 11 years old.

There was an equal proportion of girls and boys in service. A large majority of children were white British or Irish (87%), with the remainder being mostly dual heritage (5%), Asian (3%) or Black (2%). It was uncommon for children to live with both parents – almost all had arrangements to live with their mother (88%), with a much smaller proportion living with their father (16%).

On referral, a larger proportion of these children had diagnosed disabilities when compared to the general population of England:

- 5% had special educational needs (SENs), compared with 3% of all English children with a statement of SEN (Department for Education, 2018b);
- 4% had a learning disability, compared with an estimated 2% of all English people (Emerson *et al.*, 2012);
- 1% had a physical disability;
- 1% had a mental disability, but this was comparable to the overall population of Great Britain (0.8% in the year ending 31 March 2012) (Department for Work and Pensions, 2012).

Impacts of childhood exposure to domestic abuse

It is extremely difficult to attribute specific outcomes and impacts for children witnessing domestic abuse. Children in the highest-risk groups are likely to have a number of vulnerabilities that may exist before exposure and may also be exposed to direct child abuse or IPV themselves, which also contribute.

For example, the recent Office for the Children's Commissioner technical report (Children's Commissioner, 2018) states that there is a high level of overlap between households where both domestic abuse is present and where adult members misuse substances (487,000 children aged 0 to 15) or have at least moderate mental ill-health symptoms (1.6 million children aged 0 to 15). A study by Dube & Anda (2002) of over 17,000 residents of San Diego likewise showed that there was a significant relationship between childhood exposure to IPV and every individual type of adverse childhood experience (including direct physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect, and exposure to substance abuse or mental illness in the household). Other academic studies (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007; Turner *et al.*, 2010) also found that children subject to certain offence types, including witnessing domestic abuse, are more likely to be victims of multiple other offences as well ('poly-victimisation').

This is potentially complicated by some adolescents potentially being unable to remember or unwilling to report exposure to IPV as a child. A longitudinal study by Greenhoot *et al.* (2005) examined 96 US adolescents who had reported exposure to mother-partner aggression 6 years previously and found that over a third could not (or chose not) to report any instance of this aggression.

Research into childhood exposure to domestic abuse generally adopts two different methods:

- **Cross-sectional studies** examine a sample for the differences between those exposed to domestic abuse, and those not at a given point in time. They report potential impacts where there are statistically significant differences on an outcome measure between these two groups. Some of these studies attempt to control for other factors but provide weaker evidence of causation due to the lack of observation of changes to individuals over time.
- **Longitudinal studies** examine changes over time in a sample of those exposed to domestic abuse. There are few of these focusing on exposure to domestic violence.

Key findings from a selection of both study types on different harm types are summarised below.

Emotional harms

Cross-sectional evidence

The existing cross-sectional literature consistently agrees that children exposed to domestic abuse are likely to suffer from a range of immediate emotional impacts (including fear, anxiety and depression), some of which may persist into the future. However, it struggles to clearly demonstrate how level of harm varies with different levels of domestic abuse, particularly which harms are driven entirely by exposure rather than co-occurring direct child abuse.

Meltzer *et al.* (2009) carried out a logistic regression analysis on over 7,800 children sampled from the ONS survey, 'Mental health of children and young people in Great Britain, 2004' (Office for National Statistics, 2005). They found that about 4% of children surveyed had witnessed severe domestic violence, and that these children had almost three times the likelihood of having conduct disorders (repeated antisocial behaviour) compared to non-witnesses. This was true even when controlling for associated biographic, socio-demographic and socio-economic variables (such as ethnicity, physical disorders, family size and dysfunction, divorced parents, maternal mental health, and wealth of neighbourhood). They did not, however, find a comparable effect for emotional disorders (such as anxiety, OCD and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)) – these were not independent of confounding factors. Although based on relatively old data, this study is the most robust and relevant evidence of mental health harms for the UK population.

A US review of the evidence by Kitzmann *et al.* (2003) reported that 63% of child witnesses display significantly more psychological problems than the average child not exposed to domestic violence. They also found that mental health outcomes for children only witnessing abuse were not significantly different from children that had been directly physically abused. These findings were derived from a meta-analysis of psychosocial outcomes from 118 existing studies of children exposed to interparental violence. These studies consisted of 94% cross-sectional and only 6% longitudinal designs. The individual pieces of evidence included in this meta-analysis were of variable quality, however.

Similarly, the cross-sectional study by Dube & Anda (2002) found that increased childhood exposure to IPV was significantly associated with increased levels of depression in both adolescence and adulthood but could not infer whether this was driven entirely by exposure rather than direct abuse or neglect. This study surveyed a population of 17,000 US adult members of a single health plan in San Diego, potentially limiting its generalisability.

A study by Rheingold *et al.* (2012) also examined these impacts on an older nationally-representative US sample of 3,614 adolescents (aged 12 to 17), and found that those that reported at least one instance of witnessing severe domestic violence were twice as likely to report symptoms of PTSD as those who had not, and almost twice as likely to have had a major depressive episode in the last six months. This analysis for this study was purely correlation, however, and it did not control for confounding factors.

Longitudinal evidence

Although there is reasonable evidence of emotional harms from cross-sectional studies, there are almost no sufficiently recent or relevant longitudinal studies of the impact of specifically witnessing domestic abuse (rather than child abuse) on future relationships.

A longitudinal study by Wright *et al.* (2011) did, however, find significant immediate increases in depression, anxiety, withdrawal and somatic (physical pain) symptoms. They also found that these effects did not persist into future time points, contradicting much of the cross-sectional literature on the long-term mental health impacts of exposure. They examined short- and long-term effects of IPV exposure for 2,344 children at three time points. These points covered quite broad age groups (8 to 17, 9 to 20 and 12 to 22), but were separated by at least one year for each child. The level of attrition in this study was limited (retaining 70 to 80% of the cohort over all three time periods), but it only relates to the Black or Hispanic populations (82% of the sample) of Chicago, again potentially greatly limiting its generalisability to children in England and Wales households. It also does not control for confounding effects of children exposed to direct abuse. The data are taken from a cohort study of the 'Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighbourhoods' (PHDCN) collected between 1994 and 2002.

Physical harms

There is relatively limited evidence (and no UK evidence) for witnessing household abuse having an impact on a child's physical health, as this is associated more with direct child abuse.

Cross-sectional evidence

A systematic review by Bair-Merritt *et al.* (2006) of US studies that assessed the impact of childhood exposure to IPV on health outcomes found mixed evidence of an immediate impact on overall health status and use of health services. It did, however, find more of a positive correlation between exposure to IPV as a child, and longer-term risk-taking health behaviours later as teens and adults. These risk-taking behaviours included alcohol abuse, substance abuse and risky sexual activity. All 22 studies in this review were selected for both examining a physical health outcome related to IPV and including a contemporaneous control group. Twenty-one of these studies were cross-sectional. Bair-Merritt *et al.* (2006) noted several common factors that limited the strength of each study's findings, including not having a theoretical model for impacts, small sample sizes, not excluding confounder variables, and not being generalisable to a wider population of IPV victims (as all research was with women in shelters subjected to particularly extreme IPV).

This is supported by the cross-sectional study by Dube & Anda (2002), which found that increased childhood exposure to IPV was significantly associated with increased levels of self-reported alcoholism and illicit drug use in both adolescence and adulthood. However, this could not infer whether this was driven entirely by exposure rather than direct abuse or neglect.

Longitudinal evidence

English *et al.* (2003) concluded that the effect of exposure to IPV for young children (up to age 6) on health outcomes is likely to be indirect, after controlling for caregiver depression, family conflict, health and competence, and child protective service referrals. Exposure to domestic violence was not significantly associated with health outcomes once the above factors had been controlled for. This study analysed longitudinal data from child interviews, case files and teacher reports on 261 children from the US Longitudinal Studies of Child Abuse and Neglect (LONGSCAN). This dataset contained only relatively shallow measures due to its breadth, which

the authors identified as limiting their ability to include and control for additional contextual family factors.

The study mentioned above by Wright *et al.* (2011) found that exposure to IPV was significantly associated with increased frequency of drug use (not prevalence) for male children, but only immediately and not in the future. They also found that this impact became weaker when exposure took place in increasingly disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Social harms

There is a mounting body of evidence that children witnessing domestic abuse do not just suffer impacts to their physical and mental health, but also wider immediate and long-term effects on their relationships, academic attainment and economic outcomes.

It is of particular concern that this will increase the chances of the child perpetrating future domestic abuse as an adult, continuing a cycle which includes further child exposure. As with all impacts, it is difficult to separate witnessing from direct child abuse, but a number of studies have specifically examined one or more of these social impacts.

Relationships and future domestic abuse

Cross-sectional evidence

According to the crime survey for England and Wales for the year ending March 2016 more than half (57%) of those who witnessed domestic abuse as a child in their home were abused by a partner as an adult, and this was much more likely than those who did not witness domestic abuse (17%) (Office for National Statistics, 2017b). It also found that those who witnessed domestic abuse as children were significantly more likely to be in a single-parent household as adults (7%) than those who did not (3%).

Roberts *et al.* (2010) specifically investigated whether there was a causal relationship in males between witnessing IPV and adult perpetration of this violence. They reported that male children observing even moderate IPV increases the likelihood of later perpetration by 56%. They did not find a beneficial effect of family emotional support. This cross-sectional study used data from 14,564 male respondents in the '2004-05 National Epidemiologic Survey on Alcohol and Related Conditions', sampled to be representative of the US population at the time. They used these data to construct propensity (likelihood) scores for witnessing IPV, controlling for any confounding variables that could be directly caused by this witnessing. They then fitted log-linear regression models using this propensity score as the dependent variable, and examined changes in risk ratios for the independent variables to establish causal relationships.

Black *et al.* (2010) conducted questionnaire research on the impacts of observing interparental violence in childhood on adult relationships. Fifty-eight percent of respondents had observed psychological violence between parents, and 18% physical violence. They reported a statistically significant effect of having experienced psychological violence between parents and experiencing it in adult relationships. They did not find this effect for physical violence. However, although the study had a control group, the narrowly drawn sample (all 223 participants were Californian university undergraduates) limits its generalisability.

Iverson *et al.* (2011) found that witnessing parental violence was associated with a 2.4 times increase in repeating IPV as an offender for both men and women. Notably, when controlling for this witnessing of parental violence, they also found no such effect of child physical and sexual abuse on future IPV. This suggests that exposure by itself could be a primary driver of future IPV. The sample for this study (196 robbery victims) was also narrow, potentially limiting its generalisability.

Busby *et al.* (2008) found that only 10% of couples with no observed family history of physical violence were violent in their own relationships, compared with 32% of the couples whose parents were. These findings were taken from over 30,000 responses from a cross-sectional Relationship Evaluation Questionnaire between 1998 and 2006, sampling for adults in relationships with no sexual abuse in their backgrounds. However, their measure of family violence included direct physical child abuse, so does not show a direct effect of witnessing domestic violence.

Longitudinal evidence

There were no sufficiently recent or relevant longitudinal studies found of the impact of specifically witnessing domestic abuse (rather than child abuse) on future relationships.

Bullying

There is reasonably strong cross-sectional European evidence that children exposed to interparental violence are immediately more likely to both be bullied and bully others.

Baldry (2003) reported that exposure to interparental violence is statistically associated with bullying and victimisation in school, even after controlling for direct child abuse. They also reported that violence within the family has wider detrimental effects on the child's behaviour, and that schools can play a fundamental role in early detection of problems. They conducted questionnaire research with over 1,000 Italian children aged 8 to 15 on the impacts of bullying.

Lepistö *et al.* (2011) also found that confirmed child witnesses of inter-family domestic abuse were 5 to 10% more likely to be victims of bullying, and 5 to 7% more likely to bully others. They carried out a statistical analysis on a survey of almost 1,400 14-year olds from a single Finnish municipality.

Despite being limited to a purely cross-sectional snapshot of limited samples, both studies controlled for other factors in their analysis. They did, however, exclusively rely on children self-reporting on questionnaires, which may have resulted in under-reporting.

Education

Cross-sectional evidence

There is extremely limited cross-sectional evidence of the impacts of specifically witnessing domestic abuse on a child's education. A study by Graham-Bermann *et al.* (2009) compared 87 preschool children exposed to IPV with a nationally-representative sample of 1,700 children of the same age. They found that the former group scored significantly lower on verbal ability tests, but also found that the mother's level of education mediated the relationship between exposure and verbal ability. The literature on this topic is focused more on the impacts of direct child abuse.

Longitudinal evidence

Koenen *et al.* (2003) reported that exposure to adult domestic violence accounted for an average of 4% of the variation in a child's IQ (8 points). They theorised that this was primarily driven by the exposure to extreme stress these individuals had experienced in childhood, of which exposure to domestic violence was one aspect. These findings were taken from a longitudinal twin study of 1,116 five-year old twin pairs in England from mothers considered 'at risk' (had first child aged 20 or younger). The sample was split on whether the mother had experienced physical domestic abuse in the previous five years since birth (42% had). There was a small presence of confounding factors in the study as 1.4% of the children had been abused in other ways (physically or sexually). The study did not follow up on the twin pairs after age 5 to examine impacts on later development.

Longitudinal analysis by Emery (2011) on the same PHDCN dataset as Wright *et al.* (2011). He found additional significant immediate effects of exposure to childhood IPV of both increased truancy and externalising behaviour (acting out). Rates of truancy also increased over time (from 13% to 19%) for these children, but externalising behaviour dropped (from 12% to 8%). These findings have identical limitations to the Wright *et al.* (2011) study, however.

Peek-Asa *et al.* (2007) also found that school-aged children living in homes where at least one act of physical violence between parents had been reported had significantly worse (an average of 12% lower) standardised test scores. This effect was not present for adolescent children, however. The cohort selected for their longitudinal study consisted of 306 children aged 6 to 17, for whom test scores were collected for five years. Only one-fifth of this sample lived in a household where parental IPV had been reported. This study does not, however, attempt to control for the aforementioned confounding factors that might be present in these households, so it is again difficult to attribute this difference entirely to violence exposure.

Economic status

The direct impact of witnessing domestic abuse on a child's future economic status is limited to a single piece of cross-sectional evidence for England and Wales. According to the Crime Survey for England and Wales for the year ending March 2016 (Office for National Statistics 2017b) childhood witnesses of domestic abuse were significantly more likely to have lower household incomes as adults, with 7% on less than £20,000 per annum, compared with 5% of those who were not witnesses. They were also more likely to live in social housing (20% compared to 14% of non-witnesses).

Criminal behaviour

Several of the studies mentioned above relate to the relationship between exposure to domestic abuse as a child and subsequent criminal behaviour, such as illicit drug abuse (Blair-Merritt *et al.*, 2006) and IPV perpetration (Roberts *et al.*, 2010). Other studies show exposure of children to domestic abuse in the household to be associated with potential precursors or risk factors for criminal behaviours, such as conduct disorders (Meltzer *et al.*, 2009).

However, there is limited longitudinal evidence of the impact of specifically witnessing domestic abuse (rather than child abuse) on future relationships. The study on exposure to IPV

by Wright *et al.* (2011), however, found that exposure to IPV was not significantly associated with an immediately raised frequency of youth violence.

Conclusion

There is reasonably strong evidence to suggest that at least a quarter to a third of all children in England and Wales have been exposed to at least some form of domestic abuse in their lives. These estimates do not describe the characteristics of this general population of children, but there is better information available on children exposed to higher-risk domestic violence supported by specialty services. The majority of the most at-risk children are white British, aged between 6 and 11, with equal proportions of girls and boys affected.

Children exposed to domestic abuse sometimes live in households where they are also subject to direct child abuse, and this is especially likely for children exposed to the highest-risk domestic abuse. Additionally, some academic studies have reported that witnessing domestic abuse can have comparable effects on a child to direct child abuse. As a result, it is extremely difficult for research to attribute-specific impacts on children witnessing domestic abuse, rather than to existing background factors or direct abuse. The available literature often treats both witnessing abuse and direct abuse as part of a complex and interrelated system of abuse, rather than isolating one or the other. Furthermore, evidence focused on witnessing of domestic abuse is mostly cross-sectional rather than longitudinal. Cross-sectional evidence can only provide a snapshot of a population and is weaker at establishing direct cause and effect relationships. Although they are costly and time-consuming, more longitudinal studies would enhance our understanding of the short and longer-term impacts of child witnessing of domestic abuse.

Nonetheless, there is some evidence of this witnessing having immediate and future harms to a child's mental (and possibly physical) health, their future relationships, and links to increases in bullying, and poorer academic and economic outcomes. However, this evidence is not sufficiently comprehensive, isolated from child abuse, or applicable to England and Wales to be used in the main 'Cost of Domestic Abuse' report.

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