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Abstract | In this study we used criminal history data for three birth cohorts in New South Wales to estimate the prevalence of recorded family and domestic violence offending.

Using an accelerated longitudinal design, we estimate that 6.3 percent of people born in New South Wales had been proceeded against by police for a family and domestic violence offence by age 37. The rate was significantly higher for men: 9.6 percent of men—one in 10—had been proceeded against for a family and domestic violence offence, compared with 3.0 percent of women (one in 33).

Overall, 1.2 percent of people born in New South Wales were responsible for more than 50 percent of recorded family and domestic violence offences. Further, family and domestic violence offenders accounted for nearly half of all recorded offences by people in the birth cohort.

This is the first estimate of the prevalence of recorded family and domestic violence offending in a population sample in Australia. This is an important step towards increasing the visibility of family and domestic violence perpetrators.

Prevalence of recorded family and domestic violence offending: A birth cohort study

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A significant number of Australians, especially women, will be a victim of domestic and family violence in their lifetime. According to the most recent Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS 2023) Personal Safety Survey, 27 percent of women and 12 percent of men had been a victim of violence by an intimate partner or family member since the age of 15. The consequences of this violence to victim-survivors, such as economic insecurity, poor physical and mental health and homelessness, as well as the effects on children, are substantial (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2024). While there is recent evidence of declines in victimisation (ABS 2023) and a longer term downward trend in domestic homicide (Miles & Bricknell 2024), there continues to be serious concern about the ongoing threat to the safety of victim-survivors and the need to increase the visibility and accountability of perpetrators.

Many Australian studies have sought to better understand domestic violence offenders (perpetrators who have had contact with the criminal justice system), offending and reoffending, drawing almost exclusively on administrative data measuring physical violence among mostly adult offenders (see Hulme, Morgan & Boxall 2019). This research has shown that most offenders are men, that offending is concentrated in lower socio-economic communities, that alcohol use by offenders at the time of the offence is common, that prior offending and reoffending is common, and that domestic violence offences and harm are concentrated in a relatively small group of offenders (Hulme et al. 2019). Outside of criminal justice data, researchers have tended to rely on data from victimisation surveys to identify perpetrator characteristics (Diemer 2015; Morgan & Boxall 2022). There are some exceptions to this, including a recent survey of young people about their self-reported perpetration of adolescent family violence (Fitz-Gibbon et al. 2022).

Despite the large body of research into domestic and family violence, much less information about the prevalence of perpetration is available, especially for Australian samples (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2024). There is, as Flood et al. (2022) note, no national data on perpetration. We know that the rate of recorded domestic and family violence offending is 382 offenders per 100,000 persons aged 10 years and over, and that domestic and family violence offenders account for one-quarter of all offenders proceeded against by police (ABS 2024). However, these data cannot be used in isolation to measure the population-level prevalence of violence, which makes it impossible to determine the scale of the problem. Measuring perpetration in population samples is also necessary to identify risk and protective factors that can be targeted for prevention, for which there is considerable international evidence (Clare et al. 2021; Costa et al. 2015; Curtis et al. 2023). While there is extensive evidence on the risk factors for repeat domestic violence, owing largely to risk assessment studies, there is much less Australian data on risk factors for the perpetration of family and domestic violence (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2024).

There are different methods of measuring perpetration, each with its own strengths and weaknesses. Self-report studies are viewed as the best method of capturing different types of abuse (ie not just physical abuse) and are not limited to violence reported to authorities; however, the methods used in these surveys are often criticised for focusing on acts of violence and not accurately capturing the effects of that violence on the victim-survivor (Flood et al. 2022). These surveys can provide more detailed information about the victim-survivor, the perpetrator and the abuse (often at significant cost) but can also be hindered by non-response, recall and social desirability biases (Morgan & Boxall 2024). This is particularly relevant to efforts to measure perpetration, although recent experience has shown it is possible, even for highly sensitive topics (see Doherty & Dowling 2024 for a recent study of sexual violence perpetration). A review of more than 100 studies by Desmarais et al. (2012) reported a prevalence of physical intimate partner violence in heterosexual relationships of 24.8 percent, but noted most studies were from the United States and that estimates varied widely due to differences in sampling methods and survey design.

Longitudinal surveys are important as well, because they help overcome the pitfalls of cross-sectional data collection. They are not limited to measuring prevalence at a single point in time and can show how violence varies over the life course. They can also identify both distal and proximal factors related to offending and the temporal order of that relationship. Longitudinal surveys of family and domestic violence are growing in number (Verbruggen et al. 2022; Verbruggen, Maxwell & Robinson 2022), but there are challenges associated with maximising representativeness and minimising attrition.

Studies that use administrative data, including criminal justice data, are common because the data are routinely collected and therefore accessible at relatively low cost. Birth cohort studies, which link data from birth registries with criminal justice data to measure the prevalence of recorded offending, are common in criminology (Huizinga, Esbensen & Weiher 1994; Payne, Brown & Broadhurst 2018; Stanger, Achenbach & Verhulst 1997; Weatherburn & Ramsey 2018). Some of these have used an accelerated longitudinal design, joining data from multiple birth cohorts to examine the prevalence of criminal behaviour (see Huizinga, Esbensen & Weiher 1994). Farrington (2015) describes the accelerated longitudinal design as a unique and important strategy for overcoming the problems often present in standard, single-cohort studies, especially where the research aims to explore the longitudinal nature of new or emerging criminological issues for which data are incomplete. To the best of our knowledge, this approach has not been used to measure the prevalence of domestic violence offending and is an important strategy for accommodating the relatively recent use of domestic violence specific offence codes and flags in police records.

In this study we use officially recorded data from New South Wales for three birth cohorts and apply an accelerated longitudinal design to estimate the proportion of people who have been proceeded against for a domestic violence offence by their mid-30s. We argue this is an important first step in building a clearer picture of domestic violence perpetration and an immediate solution to the absence of population-level prevalence estimates.

Method

Data sources

The data for this study are based on offences recorded by the NSW Police Force for individuals who were proceeded against by police and who were born in one of three NSW birth cohorts (1984, 1994 and 2004). Consistent with the approach of Hua, Baker and Poynton (2006) and then Payne, Brown and Broadhurst (2018), the three birth cohorts were identified from the records of the NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages. These included:

- 83,328 persons born in New South Wales in 1984;
- 89,373 persons born in New South Wales in 1994; and
- 86,235 persons born in New South Wales in 2004.

The names and dates of birth for each person in these cohorts were then cross-matched with the Reoffending Database maintained by the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (BOCSAR). Where there was a match, information about the offence was extracted, including the age at arrest and gender of the person involved and the offence types, date, outcome and whether it had been flagged as a domestic violence offence.

For the purpose of this study, we relied on whether an individual had been proceeded against by the NSW Police Force by way of some sort of legal action. Legal actions include referral to court, criminal infringement notices, cautions and other infringement notices. This means there may not have been an official outcome that substantiated the offence (although we also report on proven offences in the *Results* section below). We therefore refer to 'alleged offenders' when describing people who have been proceeded against by police. All unique offence counts are included in this study, meaning that, where an alleged offender was apprehended and charged with multiple counts of the same offence, these were recorded as separate offences.

To identify an offence as involving family or domestic violence, we relied on the flag used by the NSW Police Force to record an offence as a domestic violence offence. This flag was first introduced in 2007. In accordance with the *Crimes (Domestic and Personal Violence) Act 2007* (NSW), a domestic violence offence is one in which there is a domestic relationship between the alleged offender and victim. This includes current and former intimate partners, parents, children, siblings and other relatives, other household members, carers and, in the case of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, a member of their extended family or kin. We use the term 'family and domestic violence' to reflect the broad range of domestic relationships captured within this definition.

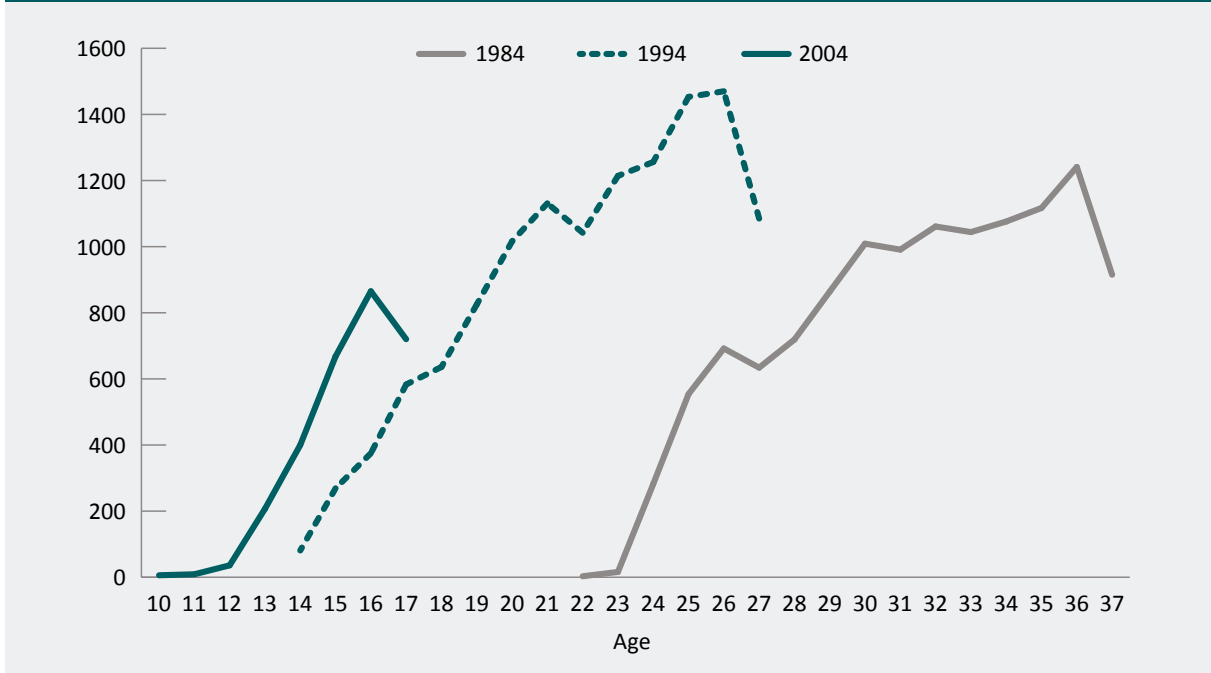
Analytic approach

We began by identifying all of the offences flagged as domestic violence for which individuals in the birth cohorts had been proceeded against and the date on which these offences were committed. From this we were able to calculate the prevalence of recorded offending relative to the population count. In the absence of cohort-specific mortality and migration rates (see *Limitations* section), the population denominators in this study (ie the total number of people born in NSW in each cohort year) were treated as constant.

However, it was not possible to observe any single cohort for the entire period of interest. Our time series for each cohort was constrained by both left and right censoring. Besides the normal constraints associated with the availability of historical criminal history data, left censoring occurred due to the domestic violence flag being implemented by NSW Police Force only in 2007 and, once it was implemented, being applied with varying consistency. This means that a complete history of recorded domestic violence offending from age 10 (the age of criminal responsibility) was not available for all persons in the dataset. Relatedly, the fact that we have data on people born in 1984, 1994 and 2004, and data were extracted in January 2024, means the data were also right censored. There is an age limit up to which we can observe each cohort, and this varied according to when they were born. Overall, because of the limits of historical crime data and the timing of the domestic violence flag's implementation, we could only estimate the prevalence of offending up to age 37.

This is reflected in Figure 1, which summarises the total number of recorded family and domestic violence offences, by age and birth cohort. For the oldest cohort, born in 1984, data were available on recorded family and domestic violence offences between the ages of 22 and 37 (inclusive). For the 1994 cohort, data were available for ages 14 to 27 and, for the youngest cohort (born in 2004), data were available for ages 10 to 17. This means there was some overlap between the cohorts. However, it is also apparent that the number of recorded offences is much lower for the older cohort in these overlap periods. These coincide with the introduction of the domestic violence flag by NSW Police Force and represent the initial implementation period, when it was likely not being applied consistently.

Figure 1: Annual recorded family and domestic violence offence count for all years, by age and birth cohort (n)

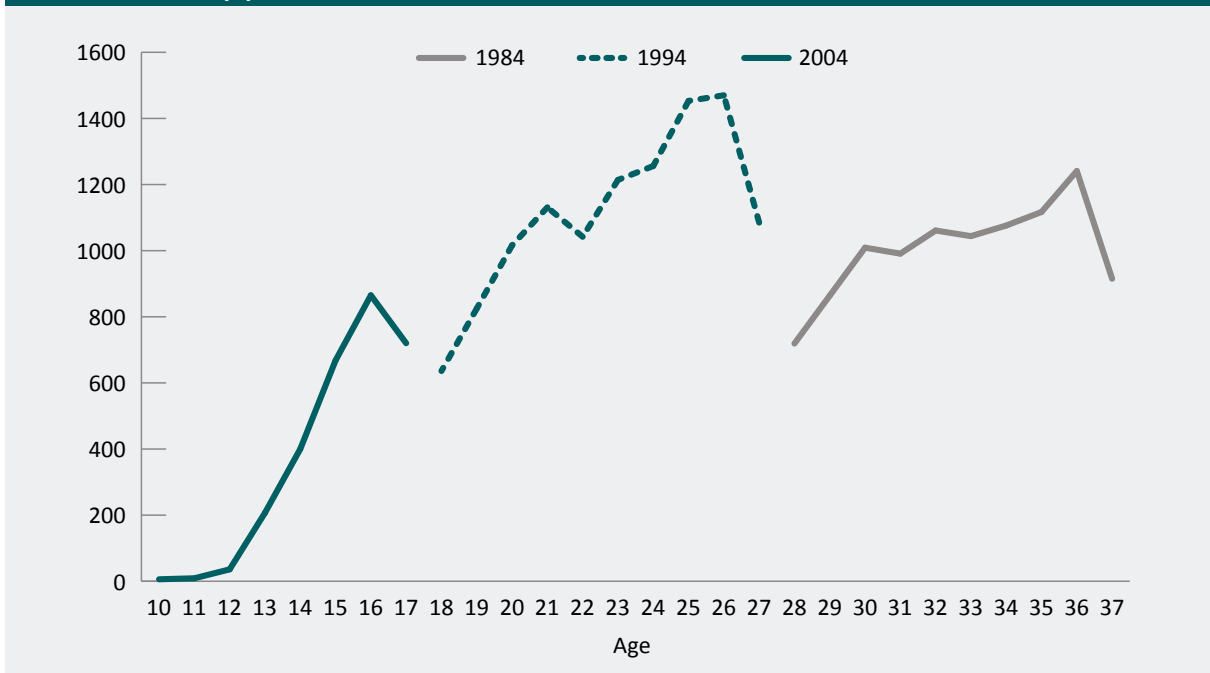


Note: The decrease in offence counts in the last year of the time series for each cohort is largely due to the delay in reporting and in legal action by police for offences that were committed towards the end of the final year of observation. While we could address this issue by interpolating between the series with an adjusted estimate, we chose to limit our analysis to those individuals for whom data were available. This means our estimate of cumulative prevalence may be slightly lower than it would have been if we had observed each cohort for longer.

Source: NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, NSW BOCSAR [computer file]

For this reason, we limited our analysis to the youngest cohort with data for each year between ages 10 and 37. This is illustrated in Figure 2. We extrapolated data from the three cohorts to generate an ‘accelerated’ longitudinal design. This is a well-used methodology that makes it possible to span a much wider age range in less time than would be possible with a single cohort longitudinal design (Farrington 1991; Raudenbush & Chan 1992). This generated offence counts for each year based on the youngest cohort, which for each overlap year has the most reliable data. Offending from age 10 to 17 years was based on the 2004 cohort, offending from age 18 to 27 years was based on the 1994 cohort, and offending from age 28 to 37 years was based on the 1984 cohort. We used this as the basis for estimating the prevalence of recorded family and domestic violence offending, as well as the analysis that follows.

Figure 2: Annual recorded family and domestic violence offence count for study sample, by age and birth cohort (n)



Source: NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, NSW BOCSAR [computer file]

Limitations

The limitations of criminal justice data, particularly when it comes to measuring domestic violence, have been widely acknowledged. Most victim-survivors do not report the most recent incident to police (Morgan, Boxall & Payne 2022; Voce & Boxall 2018). The incidents that are reported to police are usually more serious and involve physical violence (Stavrou, Poynton & Weatherburn 2016), meaning other forms of abuse are often not reflected in police recorded crime data (Flood et al. 2022). While steps are being taken to rectify this issue, including through the criminalisation of coercive control (Fitz-Gibbon et al. 2023), it means that we are unable to measure the true prevalence of all family and domestic violence. We are careful therefore to refer to our estimates as being the prevalence of *recorded* family and domestic violence.

There are also limitations associated with the use of an accelerated longitudinal design. The most significant is that it may lead to biased estimates due to cohort effects. That is, a factor may impact the cohorts differently, which means we cannot aggregate the data. Importantly, the three cohorts in our study were all observed over the same time period. This means that any changes to family and domestic violence policy, legislation or practice, or social or environmental conditions that influence the likelihood of offending or the propensity of victim-survivors to report to police, would have applied to all three cohorts equally. However, the fact they were born 10 years apart means there may be important influences early in life which differ between the cohorts and which might have shaped their offending trajectory in a way that biases our estimates for the group as a whole. We know, for example, there have been significant shifts in attitudes to family and domestic violence, which might be particularly influential during a person's formative years. We cannot be certain that the offending trajectory of the youngest cohort in the sample will follow that of the older two cohorts. The additional investment in preventing family and domestic violence among school-aged children in recent years may reduce future perpetration of violence, meaning we would overestimate rates of offending later in life. However, there is no empirical evidence of this that we can use to adjust our estimates. Conversely, efforts to raise awareness of family and domestic violence as a crime and to reform criminal justice responses may increase the propensity of young people to report to police in the future, meaning we would underestimate the rate of offending in later years.

Even with the accelerated longitudinal design, we can only measure the prevalence of recorded offending to age 37. Data from the ABS show that, in 2022–23, 38.1 percent of alleged offenders proceeded against for a family and domestic violence offence in New South Wales were aged 40 years or over (ABS 2024). Some of these may be first-time offenders; however, we have no way of measuring this using existing data. Our oldest cohort—people born in 1984—were selected on the basis that it is possible to measure their entire criminal history from age 10 (for all offences, only not family and domestic violence offences). It may be possible to expand the sample to older cohorts; however, the reliability of this information and whether it can be used as part of the same accelerated longitudinal design requires further examination.

We also note that, because the domestic violence flag applies to any incident involving an alleged offender and victim where there is a domestic relationship, we are only able to provide an overall estimate of family and domestic violence, rather than being able to disaggregate into sub-categories. Data from BOCSAR suggest that slightly over half of all recorded incidents flagged by the NSW Police Force as domestic violence involve intimate partner violence victims (54%), while family violence accounts for 36 percent of victims (NSW BOCSAR 2024). Though it is likely the pattern will be similar among the birth cohorts in this study, it is also true that the offender–victim relationship will likely vary at different ages.

The accelerated longitudinal design and lack of cohort-specific mortality at the individual level means we could not account for mortality of individuals in the dataset. Similarly, we were unable to account for individuals who may have moved interstate. We know from health data that a significant minority of individuals from one state will have a health record in another jurisdiction (Boyd et al. 2015), and there is evidence of offence mobility among some offending populations (Dowling & Morgan 2021). Accounting for mortality and mobility would reduce the denominator used to estimate offending rates, meaning the age-specific rates of offending presented in this paper are likely to be conservative.

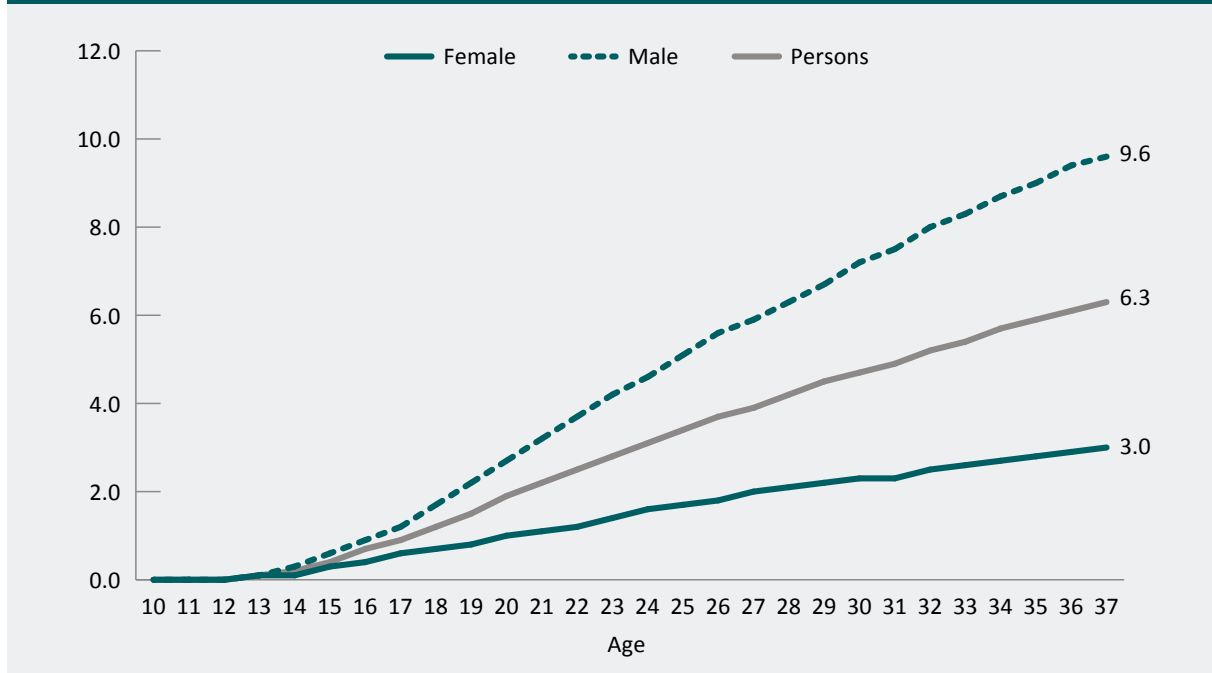
Results

Prevalence of recorded offending

The cumulative prevalence of recorded offending—the proportion of persons proceeded against for a family or domestic violence offence every year until age 37—is presented in Figure 3. This shows that, by age 18, 1.2 percent of persons born in New South Wales were proceeded against for at least one family and domestic violence offence. By age 25, this increased to 3.4 percent. By age 37—the end of our time series—6.3 percent of all persons had been proceeded against for at least one family and domestic violence offence.

Males were more likely to have been proceeded against for a family or domestic violence offence than females at every age. By age 18, 1.7 percent of males born in New South Wales had been proceeded against for a family and domestic violence offence, compared with 0.7 percent of females. The gap widened by age 25 (5.1% vs 1.7%) and, by age 37, 9.6 percent of males born in New South Wales had been proceeded against for a family and domestic violence offence. This is equivalent to around one in 10 men and more than three times the rate for females. One in 33 females born in New South Wales (3.0%) had been proceeded against for a family and domestic violence offence by age 37.

Figure 3: Cumulative prevalence of recorded family and domestic violence offending, by age and gender (%)



Note: Data are extrapolated from three birth cohorts as follows: 1984 (28–37 years), 1994 (18–27 years) and 2004 (10–17 years)

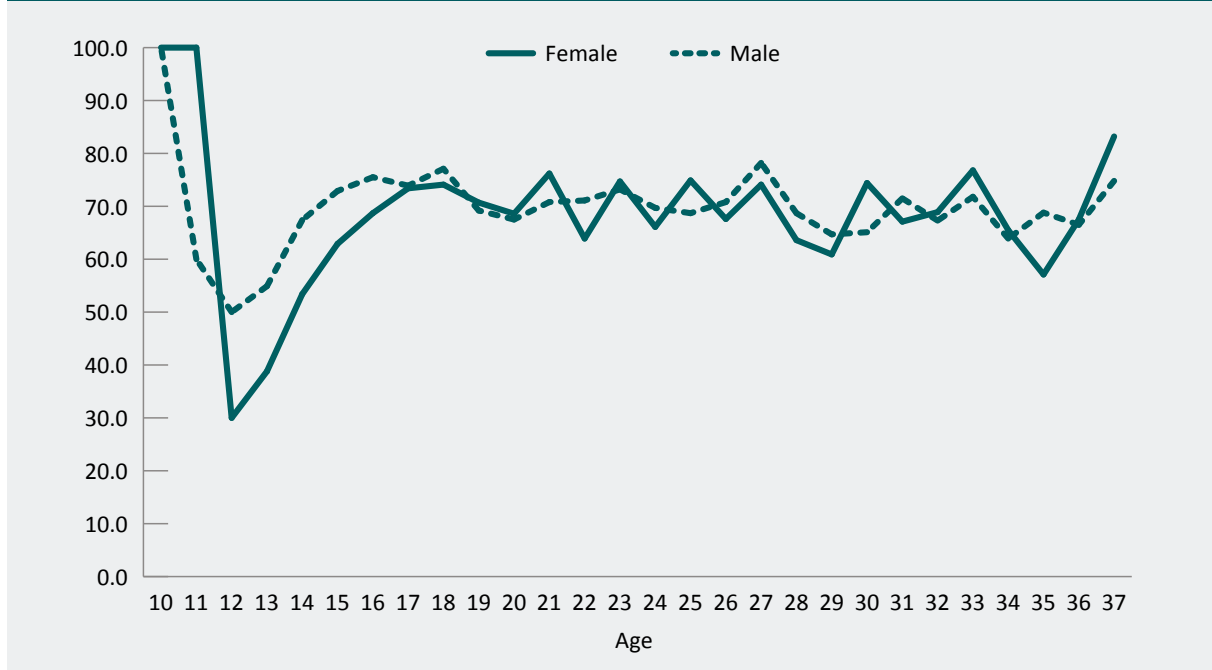
Source: NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, NSW BOCSAR [computer file]

Proven offences

In this study we used police proceedings as our principal measure of whether a person had a recorded history of family and domestic violence. We did this because we know there is attrition in the criminal justice system for family and domestic violence offences, which impacts some victim-survivors and offence types more than others (McPhee et al. 2022). Nevertheless, we also analysed data on court outcomes to determine whether the offences were proven. Proven offences are those for which there was an official outcome that substantiated the offence. This usually involves the recording of a formal conviction. Importantly, an alleged offender may have multiple offences, some of which were proven and some of which were not (for a range of reasons).

Results are presented in Figure 4. This shows there was considerable fluctuation before age 18, due in large part to the small number of offences but also the different criminal justice response to young offenders. From age 18, the rate at which offences resulted in a proven outcome remained relatively stable, with an average of 69.5 percent of all offences resulting in a proven outcome. This was relatively similar for both males and females born in New South Wales.

Figure 4: Alleged family and domestic violence offences that were proven, by age and gender (%)

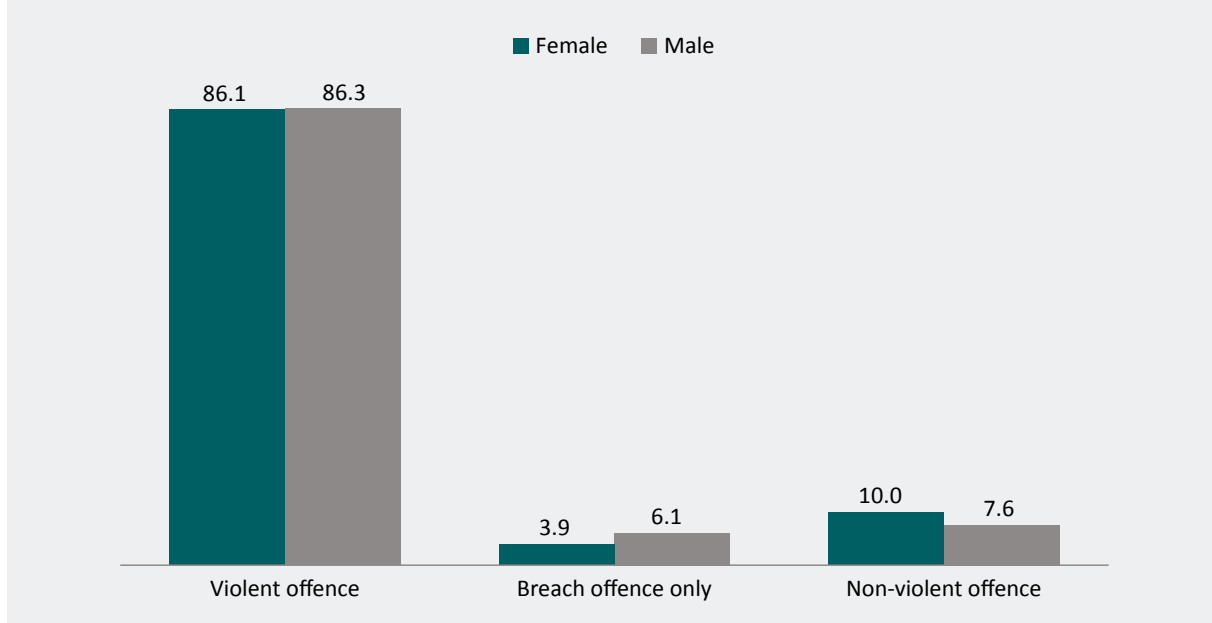


Source: NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, NSW BOCSAR [computer file]

Offence types

We categorised all offences that were flagged as family and domestic violence using the Australian and New Zealand Standard Offence Classification (ABS 2011) and then identified those offences that involved some form of physical violence (Divisions 1 to 5). We then identified breach offences and non-violent offences (ie anything that was not a physically violent or breach offence, such as property damage) and categorised individuals according to whether they had violent offences, breach offences (but no violent offences) or other non-violent offences (no physically violent or breach offences). The results are presented in Figure 5. Most people born in New South Wales who were proceeded against for a family and domestic violence offence had at least one physically violent offence (86.3%). This was true for both males (86.3%) and females (86.1%). Relatively few males (6.1%) and females (3.9%) had been proceeded against for a breach offence without also having an offence involving physical violence (5.5% of all people proceeded against).

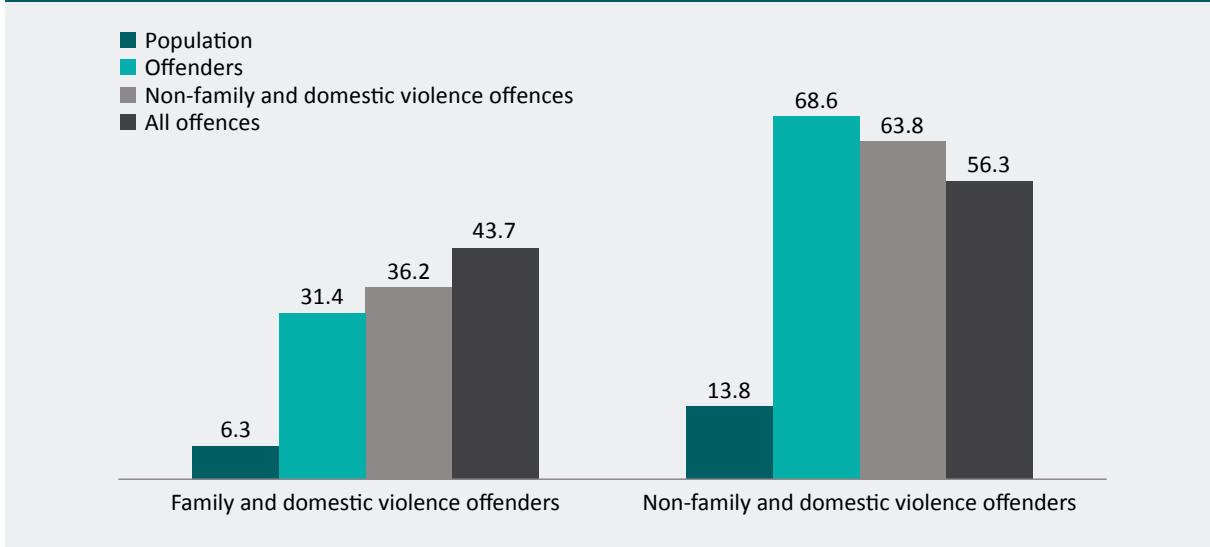
Figure 5: Persons proceeded against by police for a family and domestic violence offence, by gender and offence type (%)



Source: NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, NSW BOCSAR [computer file]

As well as analysing the types of family and domestic violence offences, we also analysed non-family and domestic violence offending. We did not limit this analysis to individuals proceeded against for a family and domestic violence offence. Instead, we measured the extent to which alleged family and domestic violence offenders were also responsible for non-family and domestic violence offences recorded by police and compared this with alleged offenders proceeded against for non-family and domestic violence offences recorded by police (Figure 6). We found that, despite accounting for just 6.3 percent of individuals born in New South Wales, and only 31.4 percent of individuals proceeded against for any type of offence, people who had a recorded history of family and domestic violence were responsible for nearly half of all domestic and non-domestic offences (43.7%) by people born in the same year.

Figure 6: Alleged non-family and domestic violence offences, by whether individuals were proceeded against for a family and domestic violence offence (%)



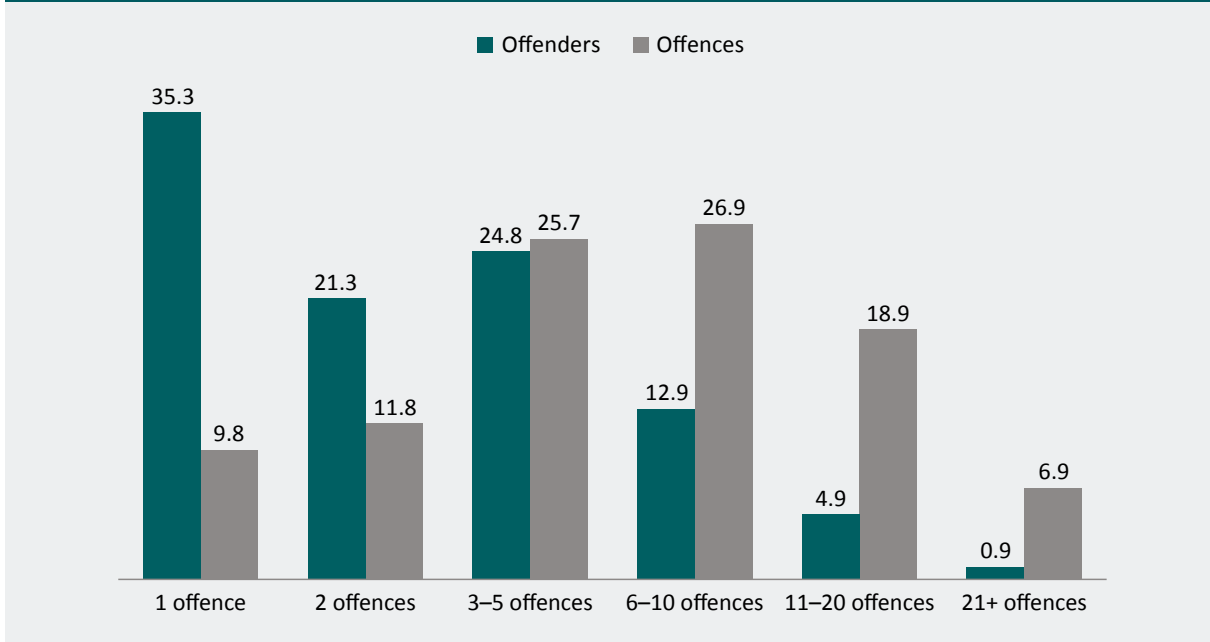
Source: NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, NSW BOCSAR [computer file]

Offence concentration

Research has shown that family and domestic violence offending, like other offence types, is heavily concentrated among small groups of offenders and victim-survivors (Hulme, Morgan & Boxall 2019). We measured the extent to which recorded family and domestic violence offences in New South Wales were concentrated among people who had been proceeded against for at least one offence (Figure 7). Importantly, the accelerated longitudinal design will produce modest underestimates of reoffending and offending concentration because data are not available for those aged over 37. Any measure of concentration is therefore probably on the lower end of the true reoffending rate.

Nevertheless, our results show that around one-third of people proceeded against for a family and domestic violence offence had only one offence. Nearly one in five (18.7%) had six or more offences and they were responsible for 52.7 percent of all offences by people born in New South Wales in the same year. Females were more likely than males to have been proceeded against for one family and domestic violence offence (45.8% vs 32.0%). Females with six or more offences (10.9%) were responsible for 39.6 percent of all recorded family and domestic violence offences involving a female born in New South Wales. Males with six or more offences (21.1%) were responsible for 55.7 percent of all recorded family and domestic violence offences involving a male born in New South Wales and 45.4 percent of all recorded family and domestic violence offences by people born in New South Wales.

Figure 7: Alleged family and domestic violence offenders and offences (%)



Source: NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, NSW BOCSAR [computer file]

Because this is a birth cohort study, we can extrapolate the findings to the entire population. The results suggest that 1.2 percent of people born in New South Wales were responsible for over half of all recorded family and domestic violence offences by people born in the same year (52.7%). Further, because they were responsible for many more offences than females, 2.0 percent of males born in New South Wales were responsible for 45.4 percent of all recorded family and domestic violence offences by people born in the same year.

Discussion

In this study we used officially recorded data from New South Wales for three birth cohorts to estimate the proportion of people who had been proceeded against for a family and domestic violence offence by their mid-30s. We estimate that 6.3 of people born in the same year will have been proceeded against by police for a family and domestic violence offence by age 37. This is equivalent to around one in 15 people born in New South Wales being subject to legal action for family and domestic violence. Most these offences were substantiated.

The prevalence of recorded offending was much higher for males than for females, with nearly one in 10 males and one in 33 females born in New South Wales proceeded against by police by age 37. This is consistent with the wider body of evidence from police data sources (ABS 2024; Hulme, Morgan & Boxall 2019). While survey data tend to find gender symmetry in self-reported perpetration, especially physical abuse (Desmarais et al. 2012), official data sources reflect the difference in the severity of physical violence involving male and female offenders (since more serious violence is more likely to be reported; see Voce & Boxall 2018). We know that there are important qualitative differences in the drivers and severity of offending by female and male perpetrators which are not reflected in these findings (Boxall, Dowling & Morgan 2020).

The vast majority of perpetrators had at least one violent offence, meaning that the prevalence of recorded violence cannot be explained by the use of protection orders (known as apprehended domestic violence orders in New South Wales) and associated breaches, which occur in a minority of cases (see Poynton et al. 2016). Despite concerns about the potential net-widening effect of protection orders, and the role that technical breaches might play in increasing contact with the criminal justice system (Douglas & Fitzgerald 2018), the vast majority of individuals proceeded against by police had at least one non-breach offence.

We also found that family and domestic violence offending, like other offence types, was heavily concentrated among a relatively small group of alleged offenders. Less than one in five people who were proceeded against by the NSW Police Force for a family and domestic violence offence—equivalent to a little over one percent of people born in New South Wales—were responsible for more than half of all recorded family and domestic violence offences recorded by the cohort. Most of these offences involved a male offender—2.0 percent of men born in New South Wales accounted for 45.4 percent of all family and domestic violence offences. These individuals should be prioritised for intervention. Significant work has been invested in developing methods for identifying those people at risk of offending and repeat offending (Morgan et al. 2020), and these results emphasise the importance of this approach and of continuing to refine these risk assessment methods.

Further, we estimated that individuals who were proceeded against for a family and domestic violence offence accounted for almost half of all offences by people in the cohort. We know that domestic violence offenders tend to be generalist offenders (Dowling, Morgan & Boxall 2021; Weatherburn & Rahman 2018) and that many of the risk factors for domestic violence offending are also risk factors for violent and other offending more generally (Costa et al. 2015). There is a strong argument for identifying and targeting those people who commit domestic violence, especially early in their offending trajectory, not only to reduce violence against intimate partners and family members but to prevent crime more generally.

We note the limitations of relying on police recorded crime data to measure the prevalence of offending. The actual rate of offending—especially for non-physical violence—is likely to be much higher than we have measured in this study. We know the majority of victims do not report the most recent incident to police (Morgan, Boxall & Payne 2022), especially where it involves a current partner (ABS 2017), but this varies according to offender, victim and incident characteristics (Voce & Boxall 2018). This is true for violence between intimate partners as well as other forms of family violence, such as reporting by adult victims of adolescent family violence (Fitz-Gibbon et al. 2022). Police will not proceed against an offender for all incidents reported to them and perceptions of the efficacy of the police response can discourage subsequent help-seeking (Douglas 2019; Segrave, Wilson & Fitz-Gibbon 2018). Further, what we have measured in this study mostly relates to physical forms of domestic violence. State and territory governments are increasingly moving towards criminalising coercive control on the basis that these behaviours are frequently overlooked in the criminal justice system (Fitz-Gibbon et al. 2023). What this means is that the prevalence of domestic violence offending in the general population, especially non-physical forms of violence, is likely to be much higher than we estimate in this study. This study nevertheless offers an initial insight into the problem that could be supplemented by well-designed perpetrator surveys, which would better capture under-reported forms of violence.

Measuring the population-level prevalence of perpetration—whether using administrative or self-report data—is an important step towards building a clearer picture of who perpetrates domestic and family violence and why. Further research could expand on this work by linking other administrative data sources relating to child protection, education, health and employment to measure factors related to the onset and persistence of domestic and family violence. This has been done extensively for other crime types using Australian data (eg Ogilvie & Kisely 2022). It would add to the international evidence base—and provide data specific to the Australian context—on risk and protective factors for domestic violence. While there is likely to be significant benefit to a prospective longitudinal survey to measure self-reported violence, linking administrative sources will generate important insights in the shorter term.

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