

QUEENSLAND TREASURY

Victimisation from personal crime in Queensland, 2008–09 to 2018–19

Crime research report

Queensland Government Statistician's Office

Queensland Treasury

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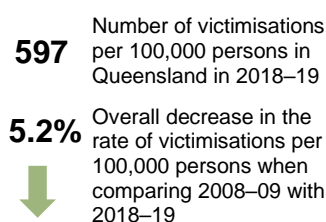
Research at a glance

Victimisation from personal crime in Queensland

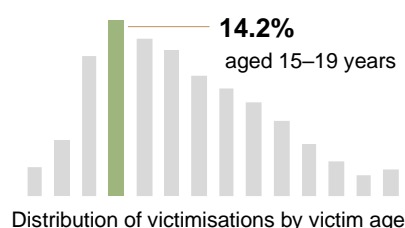
Based on Queensland Police Service official crime records between 2008–09 and 2018–19*

The research found that some people experience a disproportionate amount of victimisation.

The rate of personal crime victimisation has declined



Younger people experience the largest proportion of victimisations

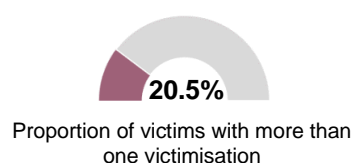


Non-Indigenous males account for the largest share of total victimisations

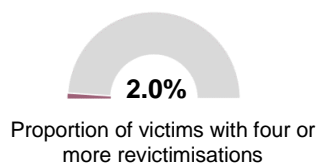
Distribution of victimisations by group:



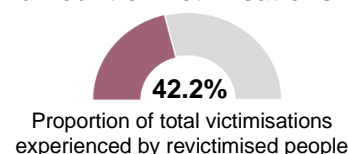
Most victims do not experience revictimisation



A small proportion of victims are highly revictimised

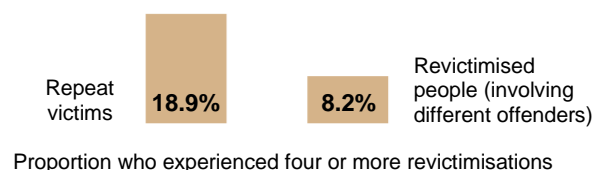


Revictimised people account for a disproportionate amount of victimisations

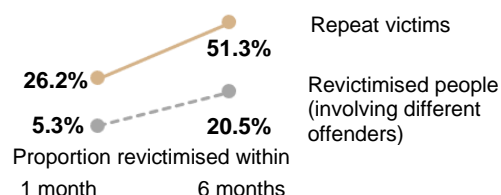


In this research, revictimisation was explored in relation to the offender/s involved in the victimisations. For the purposes of this report, **repeat victimisation** was defined as instances where the same person experiences victimisation more than once with the same offender. **Revictimisation** (involving different offenders) was defined as instances where someone experiences victimisation more than once, but with a different offender on each occasion.

Repeat victims tend to experience more victimisations than people revictimised by different offenders

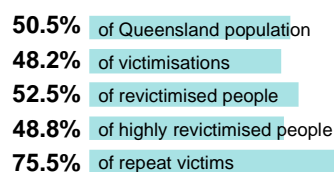


Repeat victims have a shorter time to revictimisation than people revictimised by different offenders

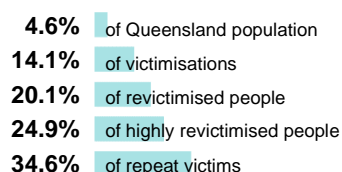


Repeat victimisation is a gendered phenomenon

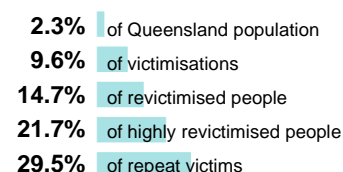
Females accounted for



Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are overrepresented as victims



Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females are overrepresented as victims



* This information refers only to personal offences that occurred during the reference period and were subsequently recorded by the Queensland Police Service during this period. It is important to keep in mind that administrative data is unable to provide an accurate and true measure of all personal crime victimisation in Queensland as not all crime is reported to, or detected by, the police.

Key findings

The research examined **personal crime victimisation** (such as assault, robbery, sexual offences and homicide) recorded by police between 2008–09 and 2018–19 in Queensland. The research found variation in victimisation trends over time and highlighted that victimisation and revictimisation was more common in certain groups (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females especially). It is important to note that the research did not explore victimisation relating to non-personal offences (such as property and drug offences) and that not all personal crime victimisation comes to the attention of police.

Victimisation trends and characteristics

- Most personal crime victimisations relate to offences involving assault, and most people in the community are not recorded as having experienced personal crime victimisation. Non-Indigenous men accounted for the largest share (47.4%) of total victimisations, followed by non-Indigenous females (38.5%), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females (9.6%) and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (4.5%).
- There has been variation in the rate and number of victimisations over time. When comparing 2008–09 with 2018–19, the victimisation rate declined by 5.2% (from 629 victimisations per 100,000 persons to 597 per 100,000 persons), despite the total number of victimisations growing by 12.1% (from 26,905 to 30,162). Notable growth was observed in the rate and number of victimisations between 2014–15 and 2017–18 which aligns with the implementation of substantial law and justice reform relating to DFV in Queensland.
- Most victims do not experience revictimisation and revictimised people experience a disproportionate share of victimisations. Revictimised people (20.5% of all victims) accounted for 42.2% of total victimisations, while people experiencing high revictimisation (2.0% of all victims) accounted for 10.1% of all victimisations. Revictimisation was defined as any victim experiencing more than one victimisation and high revictimisation was defined as any victim experiencing four or more revictimisations (that is, five or more victimisations).
- The research provided further insight into the dynamics of repeat victimisation (defined as revictimisation involving the same victim and offender) and found that the time between first and second victimisation is generally shorter for repeat victims than people experiencing revictimisation (defined as revictimisation involving different offenders). For example, about one-quarter (26.2%) of repeat victims experienced their second victimisation within one month of their first victimisation compared with 5.3% of people revictimised by different offenders. Nearly all repeat victims knew their offender and nearly two-thirds (60.3%) of repeat victims experienced offences in a domestic/family context, suggesting that the dynamics of repeat victimisation are especially relevant to the considerations regarding domestic and family violence.

Differences in victimisation characteristics

- While other research has established that younger people account for a disproportionate share of offending, this research showed that they also account for a disproportionate share of total victimisations. One-quarter (25.5%) of victimisations were experienced by people aged 10–19 years and half (50.1%) were experienced by people aged 10–29 years. Female victims tended to be younger than male victims and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims tended to be younger than non-Indigenous victims.
- Males and females accounted for a similar share of total victimisations, but the gendered nature of personal crime victimisation was apparent when considering repeat victimisation (with 75.5% of repeat victims being female). There were also differences in the types of victimisation experienced by males and females, with assault more common among males and sexual offences more common among females (non-Indigenous females in particular).
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander overrepresentation in victimisation was evident, with the prevalence of victimisation highest among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females. While representing less than three per cent of the Queensland population, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females accounted for 9.6% of total victimisations, 14.7% of revictimised people, 21.7% of highly revictimised people and 29.5% of repeat victims.

Disparity in the experience of victimisation meant that the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victimisation rate was around 3.5 times higher than that of non-Indigenous people. The victimisation rate for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females was approximately two times that of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males.

Implications

- The research highlights the importance of gender-appropriate and culturally informed victim support services and interventions. Targeting responses where there is an identified risk of repeat victimisation (especially in domestic and family contexts) is also likely to reduce the personal, social and economic costs associated with victimisation.



Acronyms

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
DFV	domestic and family violence
DVO	domestic violence order
ERP	estimated resident population
MSO	most serious offence
NOI	National Offence Index
QGSO	Queensland Government Statistician's Office
QPRIME	Queensland Police Records and Information Management Exchange
QPS	Queensland Police Service
SPI	single person identifier

Acknowledgements

The team involved in the preparation of this report acknowledges the serious and long-lasting impact that personal crime victimisation may have on individuals, families, and communities, and that the personal stories on which presented data are based are important. While the term victim is used throughout this report in a statistical sense, it is understood that some victims of crime prefer to identify as survivors of crime.

The report writers also respectfully acknowledge that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples across Australia, including individuals, families, communities, groups and nations, have a range of differences including, but not limited to, languages, beliefs, cultural practices, knowledge systems, histories, lived experiences, perspectives and ways of being. We acknowledge the impact that personal crime has on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and recognise the ongoing efforts of these communities to help victims recover.

1.0 Introduction

The 'Victimisation from personal crime in Queensland, 2008–09 to 2018–19' research report is the third report prepared as part of the *Patterns of crime and victimisation in Queensland* research project. The first two reports of this project were:

- *Spatial and temporal distribution of reported offences in Queensland* research report (QGSO 2021a) which examines Queensland crime trends in relation to locations by their socioeconomic characteristics.
- *Changing patterns in the age distribution of crime in Queensland* research report (QGSO 2021b) which examines whether there have been observable changes in the age profile of offenders in Queensland over time.

The research described in this report aimed to build on this and other available research by presenting analyses of police administrative data to assist in understanding the extent to which people in Queensland have been victims of personal crime. This involved developing separate measures of victimisation, revictimisation, high victimisation and repeat victimisation, and exploring these in relation to the socio-demographic characteristics of victims. Five research questions were addressed:

- What is the extent of personal crime victimisation in Queensland?
- What is the extent of personal crime revictimisation?
- For people who have experienced revictimisation, was there a group who were highly revictimised?
- What is the extent of revictimisation perpetrated by the same offender (repeat victimisation)?
- Are there different demographic profiles between those who experience repeat victimisation and those who experience revictimisation perpetrated by different offenders?

Following this introduction, background information is provided in Chapter 2 to position the research objectives and questions. The research methods used to respond to the research questions are then described in Chapter 3. Chapters 4 to 6 describe the research findings, which are discussed in Chapter 7, along with areas for future research.

2.0 Background

The focus of the 'Victimisation from personal crime in Queensland, 2008–09 to 2018–19' research report is to explore different measures of victimisation in the Queensland context. For the purpose of this report, personal crime, sometimes referred to as offences against the person, includes homicide (murder), other homicide (such as driving causing death), sexual offences, robbery, assault and other offences against the person (such as stalking, kidnapping and abduction).

This chapter provides a brief overview of literature relating to personal crime victimisation and highlights the importance of establishing different measures of victimisation. First, national and international literature relevant to understanding personal crime victimisation more broadly are summarised. This includes a discussion of the prevalence of personal crime victimisation, why some types of personal crime go underreported, the impacts associated with victimisation, and the two main theoretical explanations of victimisation. The second section of this chapter focuses on revictimisation (or repeat victimisation as it is often called), which is when people experience more than one victimisation. Here, a brief overview of the literature relating to revictimisation is presented, including its prevalence, whether the risk of revictimisation or time between victimisations differ between different groups, and the theoretical explanations for why some people are more likely to experience revictimisation.

2.1. Victimisation from personal crime

2.1.1. Personal crime is less prevalent than other types of crime

Personal crime comprises a relatively small proportion of all crime recorded by police in Queensland. Official published data show that 7.1% of all offences recorded by police during 2018–19 related to personal crime, 49.2% resulted from property crime, and the remaining 43.7% were for 'other' offences, which primarily includes drug offences, breaches of domestic violence order, good order offences and traffic offences (Queensland Government Statistician's Office 2020).¹

In addition to official recorded crime data, information about the prevalence of personal crime can be obtained from self-report data captured in victimisation surveys.² Data collected by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) through its annual Crime Victimisation Survey indicate that in 2019–20, an estimated 4.7% of Australians aged 15 years and over reported experiencing at least one type of personal crime during the previous 12 months (ABS 2021a).³ Other research using self-report data for people aged 15 years and over suggest that the prevalence of some types of personal crime victimisation differs by Indigeneity, with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (20.5%) more than twice as likely as non-Indigenous people (8.2%) to report experiencing physical and/or threatened violence over the course of a year (AIHW 2020a). Self-report data also provide insight on lifetime prevalence of victimisation, which is much higher than that reported over the course of a year (ABS 2017; Mouzos and Makkai 2004). For example, it is estimated that more than one in ten (13.4%) Australians aged 18 years and over had experienced physical and/or sexual abuse before the age of 15 years, and two in five (39.3%) had experienced an incident of physical and/or sexual violence since the age of 15 years (ABS 2017).

2.1.2. Personal crime is substantially underreported to police

Research suggests that a significant proportion of personal crime goes unreported to police and that the degree of underreporting varies by offence type. While overall levels of underreporting have not been quantified, self-report data indicate that sexual offences and domestic and family violence (DFV) offences are particularly likely to go unreported (ABS 2017; Birdsey and Snowball 2013; Voce and Boxall 2018). For example, a survey of Australians aged 15 years and over found that three in ten (30.1%) of those who had experienced sexual assault in the year prior to the survey reported the most recent incident to the police (ABS 2021a).

¹ It is an offence to breach the conditions of a domestic violence order (DVO), but not all breaches of DVO relate to criminal offences (for example, a respondent contacting an aggrieved named on an order). For the purpose of statistics reported here, breaches of DVO were counted as 'other' offences and any personal offences recorded in relation to breaches of DVO were counted as 'personal offences'.

² Statistics about the prevalence of victimisation can vary depending on the source of data, due to differences in counting rules and how data are collected. Information about the differences in using administrative data and survey data for crime and justice statistics can be obtained from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS): <https://www.abs.gov.au/research/people/crime-and-justice/measuring-victims-crime-guide-using-administrative-and-survey-data/measuring-victims-crime-guide-using-administrative-and-survey-data>

³ This information relates to physical assault, threatened assault, robbery and sexual assault. There is no comprehensive data source in Australia on experiences of personal crime among children and young people aged under 15 years, with research in this area generally based on analyses of administrative data sourced from police, hospitals and child protection services (AIHW 2020b).

Reasons for underreporting of sexual and DFV offences include fear of not being believed, fear of retribution, concern for negative impacts on family, a distrust of the legal system, and economic dependency on the offender (Lievore 2003; Voce and Boxall 2018). Some population groups, especially Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and women from culturally diverse backgrounds, may face additional barriers in reporting these types of offences to police, particularly when residing in small communities. Additional barriers include cultural considerations, a lack of awareness or access to services, and a fear of intervention from authorities (Fiolet et al. 2019; Memmott 2010; QPS 2016; Taylor and Putt 2007; Willis 2011).

2.1.3. Personal crime victimisation is associated with a range of negative outcomes

While the prevalence of personal crime is lower than other types of crime, it is arguably associated with greater harm to victims (Figlio 1975; Spalek 2006). These harms include physical injury and ongoing impacts to health and wellbeing. For example, research has shown that victimisation is associated with increases in substance abuse and mental health issues, particularly for women and those who were victimised as a child or adolescent (Begle et al 2011; Coles et al. 2014; Freeman and Smith 2014; Ruback, Clark and Warner 2013). There is also evidence that experiencing violent victimisation during childhood and adolescence increases the likelihood of further violent victimisation or becoming a violent perpetrator later in life (Cox 2015; Menard 2012; Ogloff et al. 2012; Tillyer 2013). Additionally, there is substantial evidence demonstrating a link between victimisation and offending. This research has shown that many offenders have experienced victimisation and that offenders and victims tend to share a similar demographic profile. However, there is no consensus in the literature on whether offending or victimisation comes first (Fagan and Mazerolle 2011; TenEyck and Barnes 2018) and not all victims go on to offend.

2.1.4. Theoretical explanations of victimisation centre on routine activities and associated risk

While rejecting the idea of victim blaming, the importance of understanding the mechanisms of victimisation for the development of policy and interventions aimed at reducing victimisation in the community has been acknowledged (Pratt and Turanovic 2016). Two theories often referred to in the literature are lifestyle-exposure theory (Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo 1978) and routine activity theory (Cohen and Felson 1979). Both theories view victimisation as resulting from opportunities provided by the convergence in time and space of a motivated offender, a 'suitable' target (victim), and the lack of capable guardianship to prevent the crime from occurring (Pratt and Turanovic 2016). However, while routine activity theory posits that victimisation occurs if the three key elements converge and is avoided if one element is missing (Cohen and Felson 1979; Clarke and Felson 2011), lifestyle-exposure theory suggests that engaging in certain behaviours increases the chance of someone being victimised but does not necessarily guarantee victimisation (Pratt et al. 2014; Pratt and Turanovic 2016). Research based on lifestyle-exposure theory highlights how people who share certain demographic characteristics (e.g. age, gender, race) may be more likely or less likely to experience victimisation because of differences in their lifestyle or behaviour that influences their risk of victimisation (Pratt et al. 2014; Pratt and Turanovic 2016). For example, differences in the lifestyle and routines of young men compared with elderly women is used to explain variations in their risk of victimisation.

2.2. Revictimisation

2.2.1. Revictimised people (particularly those who experience high levels of victimisation) account for a disproportionate amount of total victimisation from personal crime

Research consistently finds that victimisation is not randomly distributed, and while most victims of personal crime experience only one incident (generally measured over a one year period), some experience revictimisation (Farrell, Philips and Pease 1995; Freeman and Smith 2014; O et al. 2017; Oudekerk and Truman 2017).⁴ These revictimised people therefore account for a disproportionate amount of total victimisation (Ellingworth, Farrell and Pease 1995; Ministry of Justice 2015; Mukherjee and Carcach 1998; Oudekerk and Truman 2017; Shaw and Pease 2000). For example, Mukherjee and Carcach (1998) identified that 41.3% of victims experienced 65.3% of all victimisations in Australia within a period of 12 months. Research also demonstrates that a small proportion of all victims experience very high rates of victimisation and have consequently been labelled as 'chronic victims' or 'supervictims' (Ellingworth, Farrell and Pease 1995; Oudekerk and Truman 2017).⁵ People who experience repeated and frequent DFV-related victimisation are an example of one such group (Farrell and Pease 2014).

⁴ The proportion of victims experiencing more than one victimisation varied across the literature depending on the type of personal crime examined.

⁵ There is no consistent definition for how many victimisations constitute 'high victimisation', some studies have used four or more victimisations (Ministry of Justice 2019), five or more victimisations (Ellingworth, Farrell and Pease 1995; Ministry of Justice 2015) or six or more victimisations (Oudekerk and Truman 2017) to define this group of highly revictimised people.

2.2.2. The likelihood of revictimisation differs by personal crime type

Research shows that while revictimisation may involve more than one offence type, revictimisation from the same offence type is most common (Oudekerk and Truman 2017). For example, victimisation from assault has been found to be a strong predictor of future assault victimisation (ABS 2018a; Lauritsen and Quinet 1995; Shaw and Pease 2000). Research also demonstrates that revictimisation is more common among victims who experience sexual assault, childhood abuse and DFV-related crime (Farrell and Pease 2017; Oudekerk and Truman 2017; Walby and Allen 2004). For example, self-report data from Australia found that most people who experienced physical and/or sexual abuse in childhood experienced repeated incidents (ABS 2019a), while more than half of males and females who experienced violence from either a previous or current partner reported experiencing more than one incident involving that partner (ABS 2017).

2.2.3. Limited research has examined revictimisation between demographic groups

There is limited research on the demographic characteristics of people more likely to experience revictimisation from personal crime. The available research indicates that revictimisation is most common during adolescence (Menard 2012). For example, Australian self-report data show that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adolescents and young adults were more likely to report multiple incidents of physical violence victimisation in the previous year than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in older age groups (ABS 2016).

The results of research on the relationship between revictimisation and gender are mixed and highlight the importance of understanding gender differences in terms of types of victimisation experienced. For example, research from the United States indicates that the likelihood of experiencing violent revictimisation is similar for male and female victims (Oudekerk and Truman 2017), while research from the United Kingdom suggests that repeat victims of violent non-sexual crime are more likely to be young and male (Scottish Government 2019). Other studies suggest that females are more likely to experience higher levels of revictimisation for sexual offences than males (Soper and Manocha 2014; Walby and Allen 2004). Within the Australian context, the limited research available indicates that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females are more likely to experience violent revictimisation than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males. For example, one research study found Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females had a higher rate of hospital readmission due to violent victimisation compared with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (Meuleners et al 2010).

2.2.4. Heightened risk period for experiencing revictimisation, particularly for DFV-related crime

The available literature suggests that the risk of revictimisation is highest within the months immediately following a victimisation incident (Oudekerk and Truman 2017; Shaw and Pease 2000; Soper and Manocha 2014). One study from the United Kingdom examining violent crime⁶ found that 33% of repeat incidents occurred within the first month, and 62% within three months (Soper and Manocha 2014). Another study from the United States found that of those who experienced revictimisation from violent crime (rape or sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault), 56% experienced a second incident within one month, and 96% were revictimised within six months (Oudekerk and Truman 2017).

The literature also suggests there is a heightened risk period for experiencing DFV-related revictimisation specifically (Boxall and Morgan 2020; Lloyd, Farrell and Pease 1994). Research from the United Kingdom based on calls to police for DFV incidents found that 35% of households made another call to police for a DFV incident within five weeks (Lloyd, Farrell and Pease 1994). A recent Australian study found that 5% of DFV offenders were involved in another DFV incident within two weeks, 8% reoffended within one month, 16% within three months and 23% had reoffended within six months (Morgan, Boxall and Brown 2018).

2.2.5. Explanations for why some victims experience revictimisation

Event dependence (or 'boost') theory and risk heterogeneity (or 'flag') theory are commonly used to explain why some people experience revictimisation (Clay-Warner et al., 2016; Ousey et al., 2008; Tseloni and Pease 2003). Event dependence theory views revictimisation as a direct consequence of prior victimisation, with the idea that something about the initial victimisation can make a victim appear more vulnerable to potential offenders (Ousey et al., 2008). This may result from knowledge gained by the offender after the first offence is committed that indicates that the victim is worth revisiting, which 'boosts' the likelihood that they return. As an example, if police are not called during, or neighbours and

⁶ In the Crime Survey for England and Wales, 'violent crime' covers a wide range of offences from minor assaults, harassment and abuse (that result in no physical harm), through to wounding and homicide. It does not include robbery offences or sexual offences.



family do not intervene after a DFV incident, the perceived risks for the offender may be considered lower for subsequent criminal events.

Risk heterogeneity theory suggests that some victims 'flag' themselves as being a 'better' target than others, which makes repetition more likely (Tseloni and Pease 2003). This perspective proposes that the factors that increase an individual's risk of being initially victimised are the same factors that lead to subsequent victimisation. For example, someone might be at an increased risk of violent victimisation because of their occupation, such as police and public officers (Cashmore et al. 2012; Coyne 2002; Lawrence et al. 2018), while people who spend time in specific places (such as bars and nightclubs) are at an increased risk of violent victimisation (Homel, Tomsen and Thommeny 1992; Philpot et al. 2019).

It has been suggested that revictimisation theories should include a greater focus on offender decision-making factors (Farrell, Phillips and Pease 1995). This is important, given research suggesting that a large proportion of revictimisation is the result of repeat offenders (Shaw and Pease 2000) and that repeat offenders account for a disproportionate amount of offending and recidivism (Nelson 2015), particularly for DFV-related crime (Hulme, Morgan and Boxall 2019; Morgan, Boxall and Brown 2018).

2.3. Key concepts and methods vary across the literature

A complexity in comparing findings from prior criminological research on victimisation and revictimisation stems from the different approaches taken, including conceptualising and measuring key concepts. For example, the terms revictimisation, repeat victimisation and multiple victimisation are often used interchangeably, or to conceptualise different understandings of this phenomenon based on whether the same or a different offence type is experienced in subsequent victimisation incidents.⁷ Similarly, some studies examine revictimisation across more than one crime type (such as including both personal and property crime), while others focus on a single offence type. Furthermore, there is limited research on revictimisation in terms of the relationship between victim and offender (although this forms a key part of emergent research examining DFV revictimisation). Finally, there has been a lack of consistency regarding the time period used to examine revictimisation, ranging from a small window of time such as a calendar year, to examining the prevalence of revictimisation across an individual's lifetime.

Because of conceptualisation heterogeneity within existing literature, separate measures of victimisation and revictimisation were developed for the research written about in this report. These are presented in more detail in the next chapter, within a discussion of the broader research approach used in this report.

⁷ For example, New Zealand's Ministry of Justice (2015) and Soper and Manocha (2014) conceptualise multiple victimisation as being a victim of crime more than once regardless of the offence type, and repeat victimisation as being a victim of the same offence more than once.

3.0 Research approach

This chapter outlines the key research questions explored by the research discussed in this report. It includes information about the data used, how key concepts were operationalised, and the statistical techniques used to examine data. Research limitations are also discussed.

3.1. Key research questions

The overarching aim of the research was to provide a nuanced understanding of personal crime victimisation in Queensland, according to information recorded by the police, in relation to different demographic factors. This has involved developing a range of measures that distinguish between different types of victimisation experiences. Five research questions are addressed:

- What is the extent of personal crime victimisation in Queensland?
- What is the extent of personal crime revictimisation?
- For people who have experienced revictimisation, was there a group who were highly revictimised?
- What is the extent of revictimisation perpetrated by the same offender (repeat victimisation)?
- Are there different demographic profiles between those who experience repeat victimisation and those who experience revictimisation perpetrated by different offenders?

3.2. Data

The research involved the use of data obtained from Queensland Police Service (QPS) and ABS population statistics.⁸ The characteristics and use of these data are described in more detail below.

3.2.1. Offence-based information

Offence-based data for the research were sourced from QPS and developed from official crime records in the Queensland Police Records and Information Management Exchange (QPRIME).⁹ These data relate to offences occurring between 1 July 2008 and 30 June 2019 and contain information about criminal incidents, consisting of one or more offences and their related victims and offenders.¹⁰

Offence-based data used in this research are limited to offences against the person, comprising the offence categories of homicide (murder), other homicide, sexual offences, robbery, assault and other personal crime. The offences included in these broad offence categories are presented in Table 1.¹¹

⁸ Information presented in this report may vary from data published elsewhere. This is due to the dynamic nature of police administrative data, the date of extraction, as well as the counting rules applied. ERP figures used to calculate rates are also periodically updated and rates provided in this report may differ slightly from rates reported elsewhere. Readers are urged to exercise caution when comparing between reports.

⁹ More information about QPRIME is available in the Glossary and explanatory notes section.

¹⁰ QPRIME includes information on the date an offence was recorded (reported to or detected) by police and the date the offence occurred (as advised by a victim), and there can be variability between these dates (especially for sexual offences). In this research, data were selected on the date the offence occurred, also known as the start date of the offence.

¹¹ Offence classification was based on the Australian National Classification of Offences, 1985 (ANCO).

Table 1 Offences included in personal offence categories

Offences included in offence category					
Homicide	Other homicide	Assault	Sexual offences	Robbery	Other offences against the person
Murder	Attempted murder Conspiracy to murder Driving causing death Manslaughter (unlawful striking causing death) Manslaughter (excluding driving causing death)	Common assault Grievous assault Serious assault Serious assault (other)	Rape and attempted rape Other sexual offences	Armed robbery Unarmed robbery	Extortion Kidnapping and abduction Life endangering acts Stalking

Data exclusions were applied to the initial data supplied by QPS to address issues with missing information, invalid data, or problems arising from the reporting of historical data. It is not anticipated that the application of these data exclusions will have substantially impacted the results presented in this report. A more detailed discussion of data exclusions and the justifications for their use is provided in Appendix A: Data exclusions and counting rules.

3.2.2. Population estimates

Estimated resident population (ERP) figures from the ABS were used to calculate rates of victimisation by different demographic groups, as well as determine indications of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander overrepresentation in relation to the general population.¹²

3.3. Definitions and measurement of key concepts

The research primarily used descriptive statistics to analyse the data and examine the extent and characteristics of victimisation, revictimisation, high revictimisation and repeat victimisation. Data analyses included an exploration of demographic factors (age, gender and Indigenous status), the offence type and time to revictimisation. Statistical inference testing was not performed on the data, as the data account for the total population under examination, rather than a random sample of the population.

The way in which victimisation was conceptualised and measured by the research is outlined below. This conceptualisation has involved making a clear distinction between victimisation, revictimisation, high revictimisation and repeat victimisation.¹³ These different conceptualisations of victimisation form the structure of this research report. More detailed information regarding the operationalisation of concepts and justifications for them, is provided in Appendix A: Data exclusions and counting rules.

3.3.1. Victimization

The first stage of the research focused on examining the extent of recorded victimisation in Queensland, and the characteristics of people experiencing victimisation, between 2008–09 and 2018–19 (the reference period). This involved identifying victimisation *events* (referred to in this report as victimisations), which were conceptualised as an event relating to an offence against the person occurring on a single day involving a victim. A victimisation may involve more than one offence, in which case, the most serious offence (MSO) was used as the offence relating to the victimisation, as identified using the National Offence Index (NOI) developed by the ABS (2018).¹⁴ Where an offence involved more than one victim, a victimisation was counted for each individual victim. Because an individual victim can experience more than one victimisation during a reference period, counts of victimisations represent a count of distinct victimisation events occurring, rather than a count of individuals that have experienced personal crime during this period. It is important to note that while breaches of DVO were not included in victimisation counts, personal victimisations recorded in relation to such breaches (for example, assault) were included in personal victimisation counts.

¹² Single-year-of-age population estimates for Queensland are sourced from ABS, *Regional Population Growth, Australia*. Single-year-of-age population estimates for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians were sourced from ABS, *Estimates and Projections, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Australians, 2006 to 2036* (unpublished).

¹³ Revictimisation is a concept that is further broken down into two categories that can be compared: individuals who experience repeat victimisation (involving the same offender) and individuals who experience revictimisation involving different offenders. See section 3.3.4.

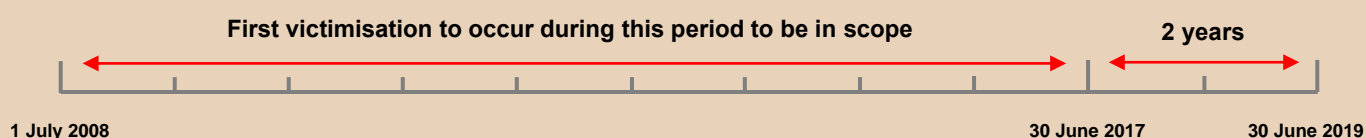
¹⁴ The NOI ranks offences in ascending order according to perceived seriousness, from most serious (murder) down to those perceived to be least serious. The application of the NOI enables the identification of the most serious offence (MSO) where multiple offences occur in a single incident.

3.3.2. Revictimisation

The second stage of the research focused on examining the extent and characteristics of revictimisation in Queensland. Revictimisation was conceptualised as instances where the same person experienced victimisation from personal crime more than once. This required identifying *individuals* who had experienced an initial victimisation (as conceptualised above) between 2008–09 and 2016–17, and then identifying whether these individuals experienced a further victimisation at any time in the period between their initial victimisation and the end of 2018–19. The data reference periods selected for these analyses ensured that a minimum monitoring period of two years was applied to all individuals included in revictimisation measures.

Measuring revictimisation

For cases to be considered in scope for revictimisation analysis, the initial victimisation event had to occur between 1 July 2008 and 30 June 2017. This ensured that there was a minimum period of two years to follow-up the initial victimisation event to assess whether the person had been revictimised.



3.3.3. High revictimisation

An extension of the second stage of the research focused on examining the extent and characteristics of high revictimisation in Queensland. For this research, high revictimisation was defined as instances where an individual experienced four or more revictimisations (or five victimisations). High revictimisation analyses were based on the revictimisation data described above.

3.3.4. Repeat victimisation

The third stage of the research focused on examining the extent and characteristics of repeat victimisation in Queensland. While revictimisation was conceptualised as instances where an individual experienced more than one victimisation, repeat victimisation was defined as instances where an individual experienced more than one victimisation perpetrated by the same person. Analyses examining repeat victimisation were based on the revictimisation data and focused on the individual victim. To support a better understanding of the features of repeat victimisation, people experiencing repeat victimisation (involving the same offender) were compared with people experiencing revictimisation (involving different offenders).¹⁵

3.3.5. Time to first revictimisation

Information about the time to revictimisation is useful for informing efforts to prevent further victimisation, by determining whether there may be a heightened risk period of further victimisation following a victimisation experience. For all people experiencing revictimisation, a rolling period from the point of their initial victimisation event was used to measure time to first revictimisation. To counter any bias due to differential exposure time, the time to first revictimisation was examined as the proportion of revictimised people who experienced a subsequent victimisation within set time intervals following their initial victimisation (1 month, 3 months, 6 months, 12 months and 24 months). In other words, while the possible revictimisation monitoring period differed for individuals within the data depending on when they were first victimised, the data were structured and analysed in a way to ensure a consistent two-year monitoring period was used for time to first revictimisation analyses.¹⁶

¹⁵ In Queensland, repeat victimisation is also known as a 'series of acts of violence' (section 25B, *Victims of Crime Assistance Act 2009*).

¹⁶ To supplement the descriptive statistics used to examine the time to revictimisation, survival analyses were undertaken to mitigate uneven follow-up times for victims and censored data (where some people had not experienced revictimisation before the end of the data window). This was used only to examine revictimisation and could not be used to examine high revictimisation or repeat victimisation due to the data requirements associated with survival analyses. A discussion of survival analysis and results examining whether there were differences in the survival distribution for victims within different demographic groups is presented in Appendix B: Additional statistical technique and figures.

3.4. Limitations

The research findings presented in this report are subject to limitations that should be considered in their interpretation. These limitations primarily relate to the underreporting of victimisation to the police and the type of analyses that could be undertaken based on the available data. A more detailed discussion of data exclusions and counting rules is available in Appendix A: Data exclusions and counting rules.

3.4.1. Data availability and limitations of police administrative data

The data used in this project represent the most extensive information recorded by a criminal justice agency about the occurrence of personal crime. Most recorded instances of victimisation provide demographic information about the victim—and where a police proceeding has begun, information about the alleged offender is often available. The use of administrative data from any other criminal justice agency would mean a reduction in the amount of data available for analysis, due to the attrition of offences (especially for sexual offences) as they pass through the criminal justice system (Fitzgerald 2006) and the type of information recorded by different agencies.

While these data provide the most extensive information available, there are three main limitations relating to the use of police administrative data to explore victimisation. First, the data relate to offences recorded by police, and therefore do not provide a true measure of all victimisation, as not all offending is reported to or detected by police.¹⁷ As discussed in the background chapter, some offences such as sexual offences and DFV-related offences are more likely to be underreported, and there are varying reasons for underreporting these to police, especially for demographic groups such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Second, the data do not include victim information for property crime offences¹⁸, which prevented a broader understanding of all criminal victimisation that people might experience.¹⁹ The existing literature suggests that people may experience revictimisation across different crime types, including personal and property crime (Outlaw, Ruback and Britt 2002; Shaw and Pease 2000).

Third, a substantial share of the personal offences recorded by police are likely to have been committed in a domestic or family context. However, information on which personal offences are related to DFV is not available in the police administrative data across the time series, so the research does not establish the prevalence of recorded DFV victimisation.

The interpretation of findings presented in this report in conjunction with findings from crime victimisation surveys will result in a more comprehensive understanding of victimisation (see for example, ABS 2017).²⁰

3.4.2. Missing demographic information recorded in crime victimisations

A key aim of the research was to examine the extent of recorded personal crime victimisation in Queensland in relation to different demographic factors, such as the gender and Indigenous status of victims. However, the extent of victimisation for some groups is undercounted because of missing demographic information. Of the 299,401 in-scope personal crime victimisations recorded during the reference period, 7.2% of all victimisations ($n = 21,480$) are missing information related to the Indigenous status of the victim. In contrast, only a very small proportion (0.1%; $n = 379$) of victimisations are missing information about the gender of the victim.

3.4.3. Reference period does not capture lifetime victimisation

The data used by the research represents victimisation in Queensland over an 11-year period from 2008–09 to 2018–19. While this reference period may represent all recorded victimisation for some people (such as those born during this time and those who only ever experience victimisation once in their lifetime during the reference period), for others it might not

¹⁷ It is noted that research has found that some DFV victims who experience negative, unsatisfactory or inconsistent police responses after reporting DFV may be less likely to contact police for assistance for future DFV incidents (Birdsey and Snowball 2013; Douglas 2019; Leisenring 2012; Meyer 2011). Some undercounting of revictimisation will also occur due to interstate migration and the temporary movement of people in Queensland (for example, while a victimisation experienced while holidaying Queensland will be recorded in QPRIME, victimisations experienced in other states will not).

¹⁸ This is because some types of offences will not have a clearly defined 'victim' with demographic characteristics (e.g. graffiti, theft from a retail store).

¹⁹ Some property offences may occur during incidents of personal crime victimisation (such as a break and enter to facilitate an assault offence). Research examining DFV has found that property damage may often occur during incidents involving violence and other forms of abuse (Karystianis et al. 2019; Mouzos and Makkai 2004).

²⁰ Crime victimisation surveys attempt to capture information from people who may not have reported instances of personal crime to the police, however they are also not without limitations. For example, crime victimisation surveys do not generally include victimisation experienced by children and young people, who comprise a large proportion of all victims within recorded victimisations.

capture all recorded victimisation events that they experienced. The use of this reference period may also undercount the true extent of those people who have been highly revictimised and prevents examination of the age at which someone might have experienced their first recorded victimisation from personal crime.

3.4.4. Excluding 'historical' victimisations removes a large number of sexual offences

One of the data exclusions applied in this research was to remove 'historical' victimisations, which were defined as those that were recorded during the reference period (1 July 2008 and 30 June 2019), but had occurred prior (based on the start date for the victimisation). These victimisations were excluded because the focus of the research was understanding the trends and characteristics of victimisations that occurred during the reference period. A total of 10,173 cases of victimisation (3.0% of those in scope) were excluded where the victimisation date occurred before the reference period. Most of the excluded cases (69.9%) occurred more than two years before the start of the reference period and the majority of those (84.7%) related to sexual offences.

3.4.5. Undercounting of repeat victimisation

In this research, repeat victimisation was conceptualised as instances where the same person experienced more than one victimisation involving the same offender. However, the extent of repeat victimisation in this research may be undercounted in two ways. First, undercounting may result from the way in which victimisations are recorded by police, as multiple instances of the same offence repeated over a long period against the same victim may be recorded by police as all occurring on one date if they come to police attention at the same time (especially if offence date information is not known by the victim). Second, offender information is only available for offences that have 'cleared' (i.e. where police have taken some form of action against the offender, such as arresting them) and this information is essential to the operationalisation of the repeat victimisation measure.

Of the 299,401 in-scope personal crime victimisations recorded during the reference period, over one-third (37.6%) are missing information related to the offender. The amount of missing offender information varied by offence type, with the largest amount for victimisations where the MSO was a sexual offence (49.3%), robbery (48.5%) or other offence against the person (45.2%). Just over one-third of all victimisations (34.1%) where the MSO was an assault are missing offender information, and only a small proportion of victimisations for homicide (4.7%) and other homicide offences (3.9%) are missing offender information.

3.4.6. Lack of contextual information to assist explain victimisation

Opportunity theories of victimisation (such as lifestyle-exposure theory and routine activity theory) suggest that information on the life histories and personal characteristics of victims, as well as rich contextual information related to the offence itself, can provide an enhanced understanding of the mechanisms involved in victimisation (Pratt and Turanovic 2016). However, this research did not involve the collection of this type of information which means that an examination of the mechanisms related to victimisation was not possible.

4.0 Research findings: Victimisation from personal crime

The overarching aim of the 'Victimisation from personal crime in Queensland, 2008–09 to 2018–19' research report was to provide information about the extent to which people in Queensland have been a victim of personal crime, by examining the separate measures of victimisation, revictimisation, high victimisation and repeat victimisation.

The research findings are presented in three chapters. This chapter provides information about the extent of personal crime victimisation recorded by police in Queensland during the reference period, as well as the demographics of the people who experienced these victimisations. A count of victimisations, rather than people who have been victimised, is presented in this chapter.²¹ The research question addressed in this chapter is:

- What is the extent of victimisation from personal crime in Queensland?

The results show variability in the number and rate of victimisations over the reference period, and that victimisations are disproportionately experienced by some groups of people, especially among younger people. Victimisation rates also highlight the overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as victims, especially Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females. These results are discussed in more detail below.

4.1. Victimisation from personal crime

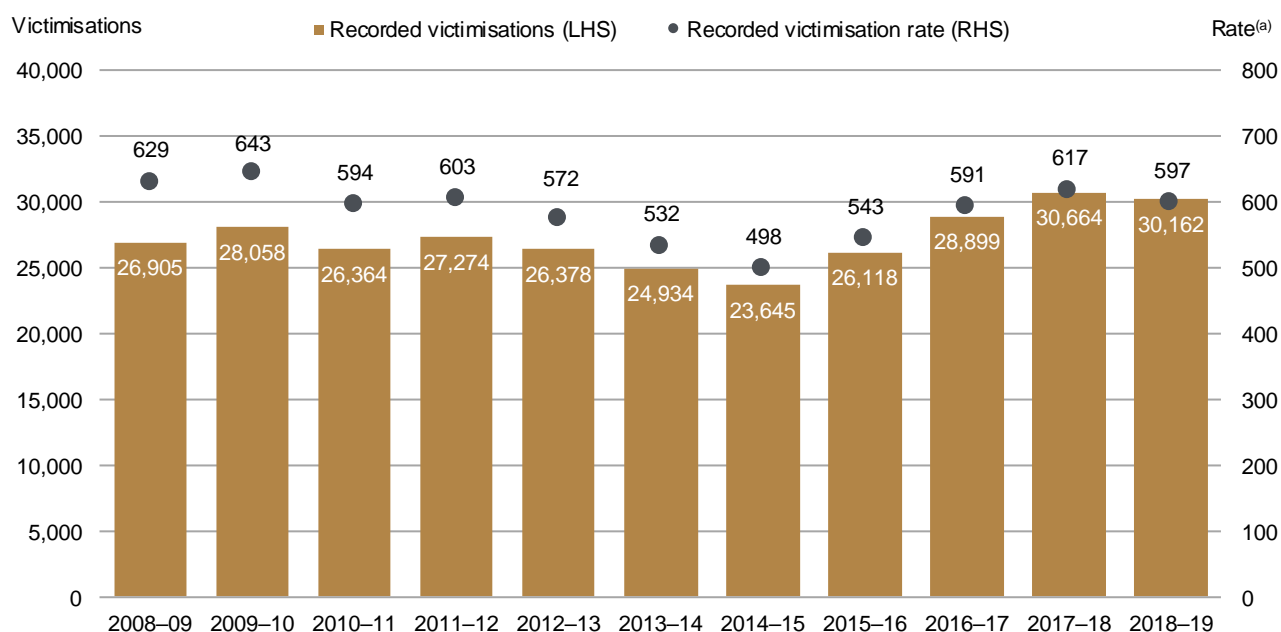
Victimisation is defined as instances where people have experienced personal crime, regardless of the type of personal crime or the offender(s) involved. Experiences of property or other types of offences are not included in victimisation measures presented in this report.

4.1.1. The number and rate of personal crime victimisations have varied over time

Between 2008–09 and 2018–19, there was a total of 299,401 victimisations in Queensland. A count of victimisations for each reference year, and the accompanying victimisation rate per 100,000 persons in Queensland are presented in Figure 1 below. The data indicate that the number and rate of victimisations fluctuated across the reference period:

- The number of victimisations increased by 12.1%, from 26,905 in 2008–09 to 30,162 in 2018–19.
- The victimisation rate decreased by 5.2% when comparing 2008–09 (629 per 100,000 persons) with 2018–19 (597 per 100,000 persons).
- The lowest victimisation rate occurred in 2014–15 (498 per 100,000 persons), followed by substantial increases in the years between 2015–16 and 2017–18.

²¹ In cases where a victim experienced more than one victimisation on the same day, the victimisation reflects the MSO that occurred on that date. A victim may have multiple separate victimisations recorded during a reference period. This counting rule for a victimisation may differ from that used elsewhere by QGSO and others and readers are therefore urged to exercise caution when making comparison between publications.

Figure 1 Number and rate of personal crime victimisations

LHS = left hand side RHS = right hand side

(a) Recorded victimisations per 100,000 persons. Figures have been rounded.

Note: 1. Data shown for reference years are based on victimisations with a start date that occurred in that year.
 2. Data are based on a count of people who experienced victimisation during the reference period. If a person was victimised on multiple dates during a reference period, they were counted on each occasion.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data; ABS *National, state and territory population*, September 2020.

While Figure 1 shows there was an overall slight decline in the victimisation rate, there was variability in trends by the type of offence (based on the MSO within the victimisation) during the reference period. The victimisation rate for each offence type and overall percentage change in the rate between 2008-09 and 2018-19 are provided in Table 2. When comparing 2008-09 with 2018-19, there was a decline in the victimisation rate for homicide and other homicide (-49.1%), sexual offences (-32.4%) and other offences against the person (-15.9%). In contrast, the victimisation rate increased for victimisations with an MSO of robbery (17.9%) and assault (1.0%).

There was also variability in the extent of victimisation depending on the type of offence experienced. For example, in 2018-19, the victimisation rate for assault (447.0 per 100,000 persons) was substantially higher than those recorded for sexual offences (62.5) and homicide and other homicide (2.2). This means many of the findings presented in this report are driven by assault offence trends.

Table 2 Victimisation rate by type of personal crime

MSO in victimisation	Recorded victimisation rate per 100,000 persons											% change overall
	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	
Homicide and other homicide	4.3	3.4	2.9	2.8	3.0	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.9	2.2	2.2	-49.1 ▼
Assault	442.6	453.8	425.4	432.7	412.9	386.0	366.7	407.2	446.0	460.6	447.0	1.0 ▲
Sexual offences	92.5	92.4	81.4	81.6	78.9	77.2	73.4	72.0	72.7	74.0	62.5	-32.4 ▼
Robbery	28.3	28.4	25.7	25.6	25.0	21.4	17.8	18.5	25.6	32.1	33.3	17.9 ▲
Other offences against the person	61.9	64.5	58.3	60.4	52.3	44.9	37.5	42.4	44.2	48.3	52.0	-15.9 ▼

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data; ABS *National, state and territory population*, September 2020; ABS Estimates and Projections, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006 to 2036 (unpublished).

The following sections provide information about the people who experienced victimisation during the reference period, including their demographic characteristics and type of offences experienced. The reader is reminded that this information

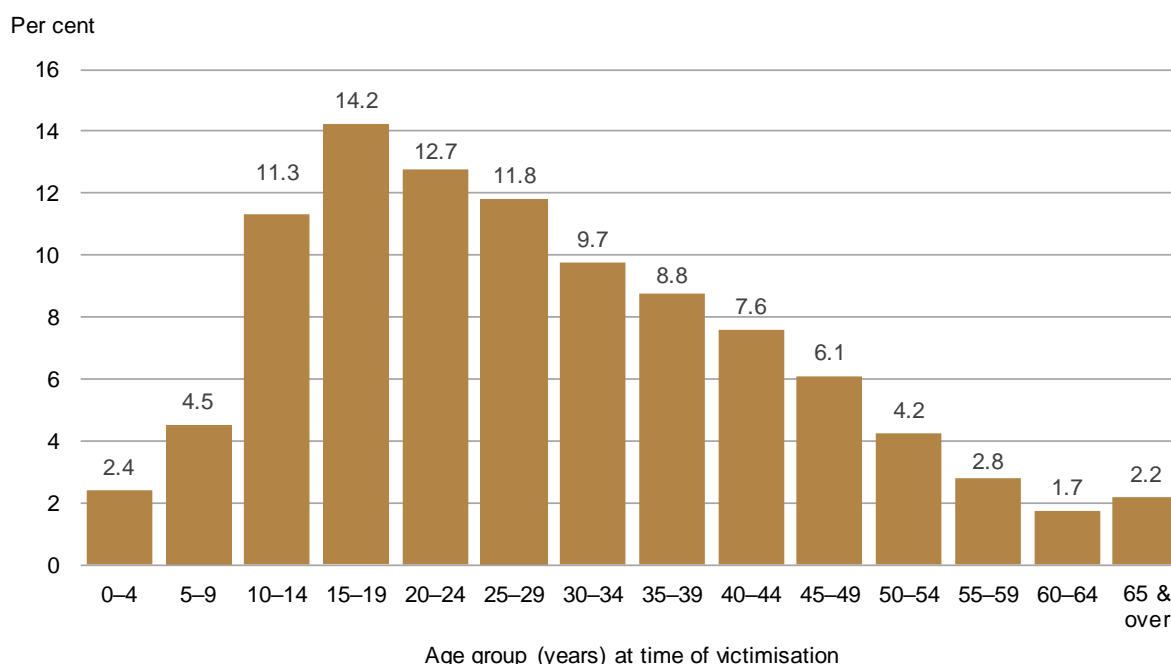
is not based on counts of individuals experiencing personal crime victimisation in a given reference year. Rather, information on victimisations experienced by victims in a given reference year is provided.

4.1.2. Young people account for a disproportionate share of victimisations

The age at which people experienced victimisation from personal crime during the reference period is plotted in Figure 2 below. The data show that people from younger age groups experience the largest proportion of all victimisations:

- The largest proportion of victimisations for any one age group was for people aged 15–19 years (14.2%).
- One-quarter (25.5%) of victimisations were experienced by people aged 10–19 years.
- Half of all victimisations (50.1%) were experienced by people aged 10–29 years.

Figure 2 Distribution of personal crime victimisations by age at victimisation 2008–09 to 2018–19



Note: Records where age of the victim was missing ($n = 465$) have been excluded from calculations.

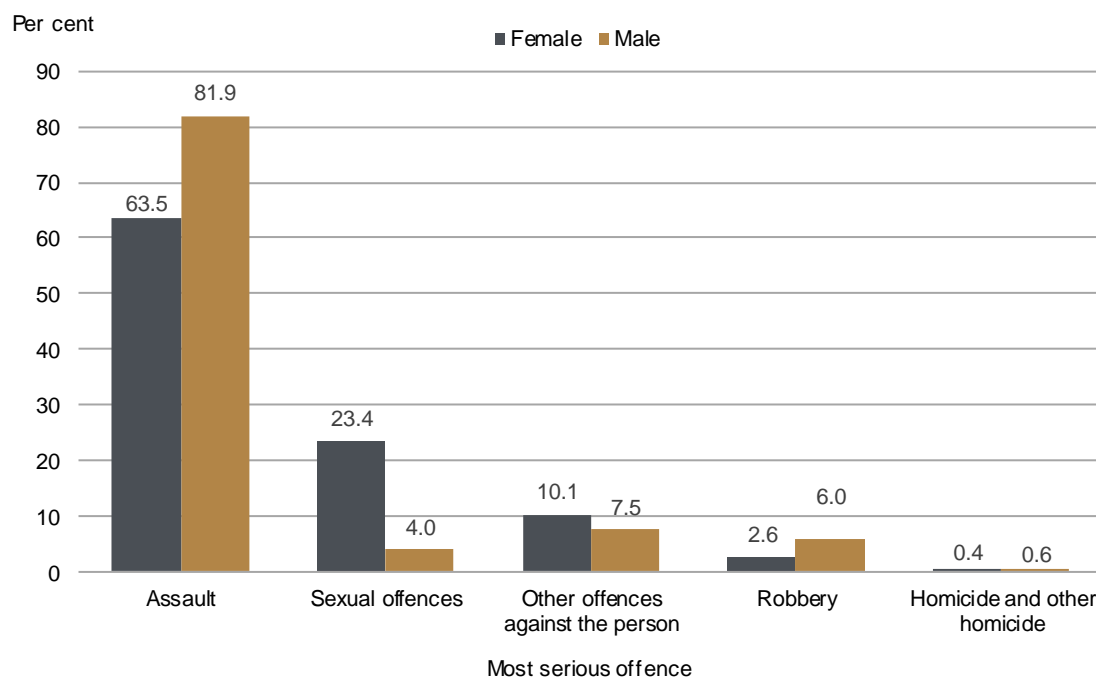
Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

4.1.3. Males and females account for a similar share of victimisations overall, with gender differences by offence type

During the reference period overall, males (51.8%) and females (48.2%) accounted for a similar share of total victimisations from personal crime (data not shown). This contrasts with the gender profile of offending apparent in police recorded data which show that around three-quarters of people committing personal crime in Queensland in 2018–19 were male (QGSO 2020).

Despite the similarity in the overall number of victimisations by gender, Figure 3 below shows that there are differences in the types of offences that males and females are more likely to experience. Based on the MSO of the victimisation:

- most victimisations for both males and females involved assault, although males were more likely to be a victim of assault (81.9% of male victimisations) than females (63.5% of female victimisations)
- a higher proportion of female victimisations related to sexual offences (23.4%) than male victimisations (4.0%)
- a higher share of male victimisations related to robbery (6.0%) than female victimisations (2.6%).

Figure 3 Distribution of personal crime victimisations by most serious offence by gender, 2008–09 to 2018–19

Note: Offence type shown is based on the MSO within the victimisation event where more than one offence was recorded in an event. The seriousness of the offence was based on classification by the NOI (ABS 2018b).

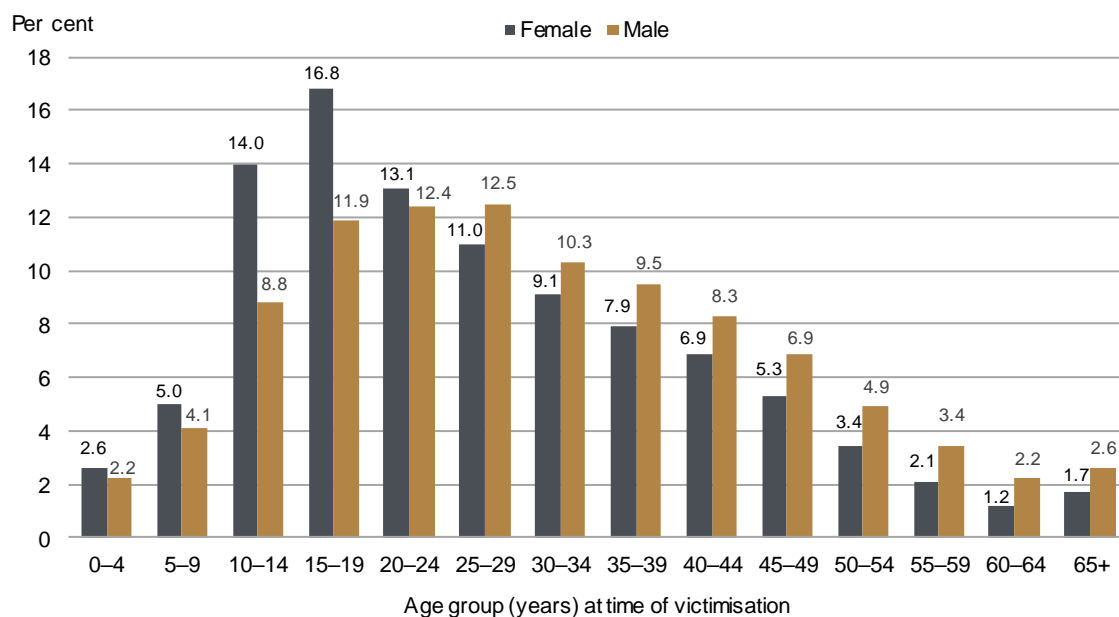
Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

4.1.4. Female victims tend to be younger than male victims

The overall distribution of victimisations by victim age, presented in Figure 2, shows that most victimisation is experienced by young people. Figure 4 depicts the distribution of victimisations by victim age and gender and indicates that female victims tend to be younger than male victims. It shows that:

- the largest proportion of female victimisations was experienced by those aged 15–19 years (16.8%) followed by 10–14 years (14.0%)
- the largest proportion of male victimisations was experienced by those aged 25–29 years (12.5%) followed by 20–24 years (12.4%)
- 51.4% of all female victimisations were experienced by those aged under 25 years of age, compared with 39.3% of male victimisations.

The median age at victimisation for females was 24 years compared with 29 years for males (data not shown).

Figure 4 Distribution of personal crime victimisations by age and gender, 2008–09 to 2018–19

Note: Records where age and/or gender of the victim were missing ($n = 779$) have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

4.1.5. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are overrepresented in victimisations

Of the victimisations with information available regarding the victim's Indigenous status, most victimisations (85.9%) were experienced by non-Indigenous people, with the remainder (14.1%) recorded as having been experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (data not shown). This suggests that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are overrepresented as victims of personal crime²² given that they comprised an estimated 4.6% of the total Queensland population in 2018–19.²³

The victimisation rates for both non-Indigenous and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are presented in Figure 5. The results show that:

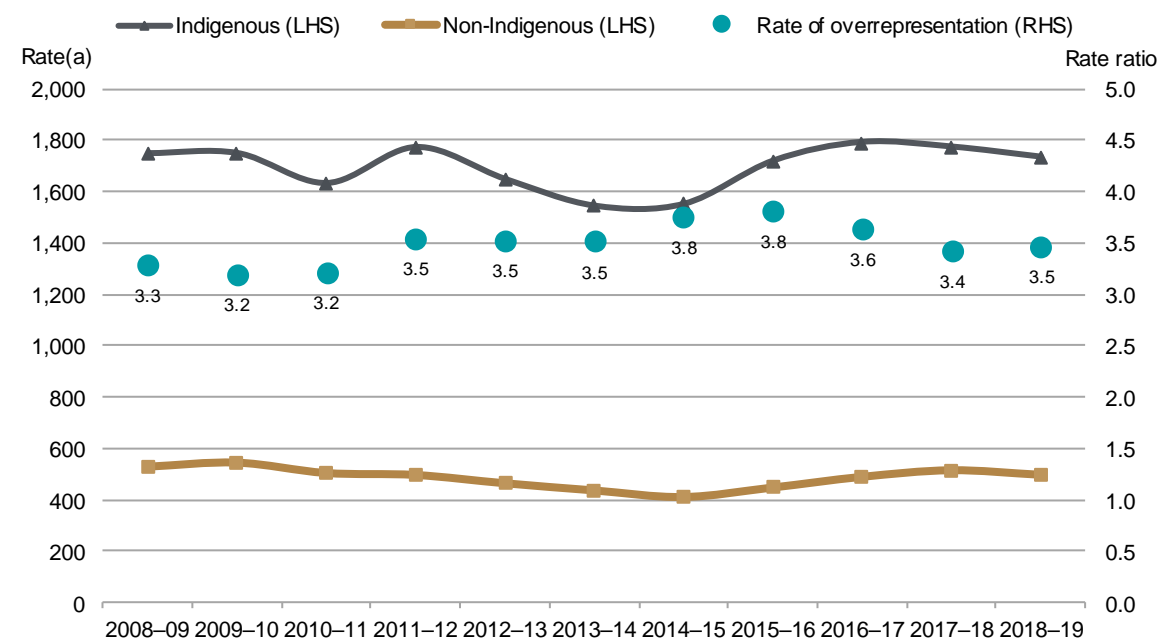
- the victimisation rate of non-Indigenous people fluctuated during the reference period, with the highest rate in 2009–10 (546 per 100,000 non-Indigenous persons) and the lowest rate in 2014–15, at 414
- the victimisation rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people also fluctuated, with the highest rate in 2016–17 (1,790 per 100,000 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander persons) and the lowest rate in 2013–14, at 1,545.

A common metric used to examine the overrepresentation of one group relative to another is to divide one rate by the other to create a rate ratio.²⁴ The rate ratio comparing the victimisation rate for the two groups shows that the victimisation rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people was consistently around 3.5 times higher than the rate for non-Indigenous people (represented by the blue dots plotted on the right-hand axis of Figure 5).

²² Readers are reminded that a victim can experience multiple victimisations during the reference period, which means a person may be counted more than once. While a more accurate measure of overrepresentation would involve a measurement where victims were only counted once, the presented figures provide an indication of overrepresentation.

²³ ABS *National, state and territory population, September 2020*; ABS Estimates and Projections, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006 to 2036 (unpublished).

²⁴ As an example, a rate ratio of 2 would indicate that one group has a rate that is two times that of the comparison group.

Figure 5 Rate of Indigenous overrepresentation and rate of personal crime victimisations by Indigenous status of victim

LHS = left hand side RHS = right hand side

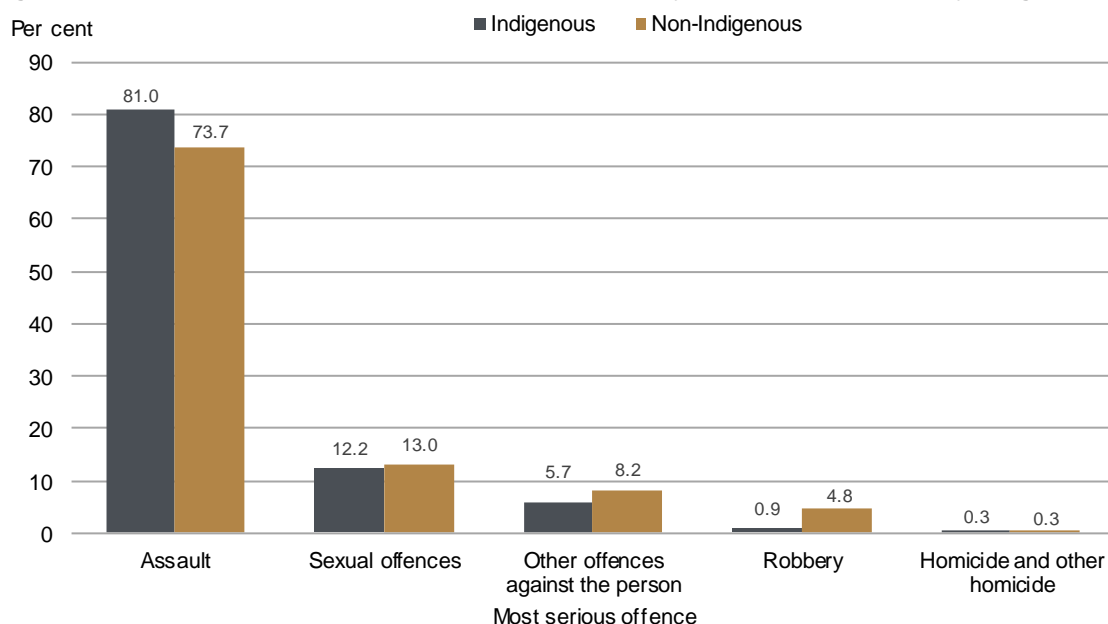
(a) Recorded victimisations per 100,000 persons.

Note: Records where the Indigenous status of the victim was missing ($n = 21,480$) have been excluded from calculations.Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data; ABS *National, state and territory population, September 2020*; ABS Estimates and Projections, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006 to 2036 (unpublished).

4.1.6. Non-Indigenous and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people experience victimisations for similar types of offences

There were no substantial differences in the distribution of victimisations when examining the types of offences experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and non-Indigenous people during the reference period, using the MSO of the victimisation (Figure 6). The data indicate that:

- the proportion of victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people relating to homicide and other homicide offences was the same for victimisations of non-Indigenous people (0.3% for each group), and similar for sexual offences (12.2% and 13.0% respectively)
- most victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (81.0%) and non-Indigenous people (73.7%) related to assault
- a smaller proportion of victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (0.9%) and non-Indigenous people (4.8%) related to robbery offences.

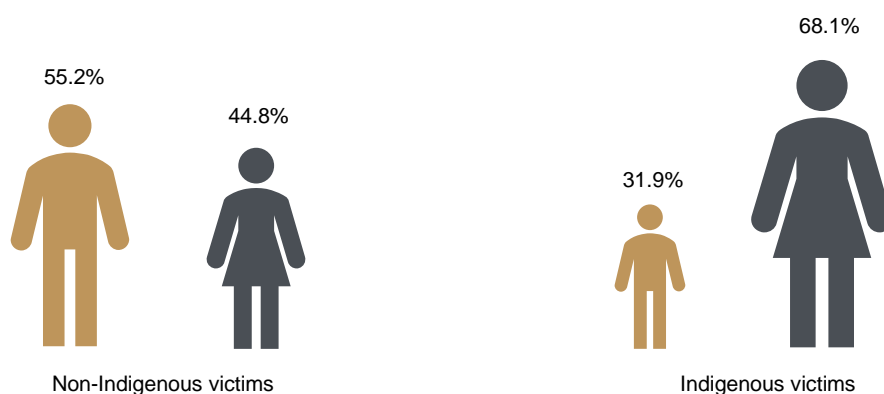
Figure 6 Distribution of personal crime victimisations by most serious offence by Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19

Note: Offence type shown is based on the most serious offence within the victimisation and based on classification by the NOI (ABS 2018b).

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

4.1.7. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females are overrepresented among victimisations

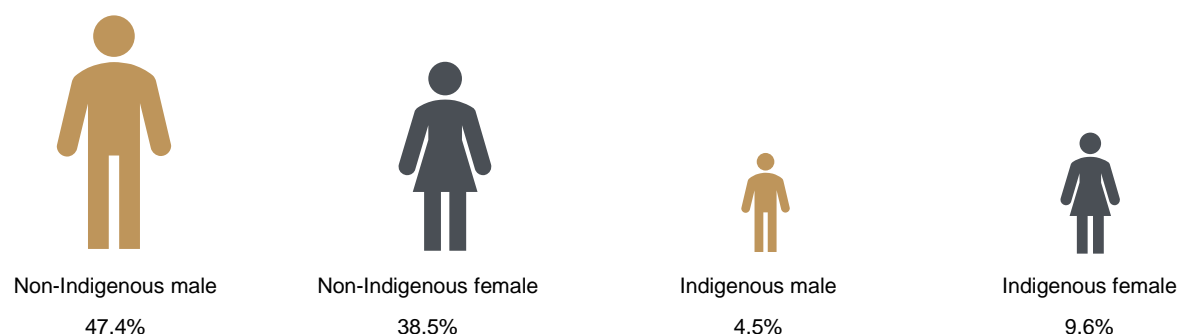
Information presented in section 4.1.3. shows that males and females accounted for a similar share of victimisations. However, the gender distribution of victimisations by Indigenous status of the victim presented in Figure 7 indicates that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females are especially overrepresented among victimisations. Of the victimisations experienced by non-Indigenous people, most (55.2%) were experienced by males. In contrast, females accounted for most (68.1%) victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

Figure 7 Gender distribution of personal crime victimisations by Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19

Note: There were 237 victimisations of non-Indigenous people and 26 victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people where gender was not recorded. These victimisations have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

The overall distribution of victimisations by both gender and Indigenous status of the victim is presented in Figure 8. The results show that non-Indigenous males accounted for the largest share of all victimisations (47.4%) during the reference period, followed by non-Indigenous females (38.5%) and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females (9.6%). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (4.5%) recorded the smallest share of total victimisations.

Figure 8 Distribution of personal crime victimisations by gender and Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19

Note: Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the victim were missing ($n = 21,743$) have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

While the majority of all victimisations were experienced by non-Indigenous males and females, this does not accurately reflect the extent to which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people experienced victimisation relative to their representation in the general population (section 4.1.5). This was especially the case for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females, with population estimates indicating that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females comprised 2.3% of the total Queensland population in 2018–19 but accounted for 9.6% of all victimisations.²⁵ Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males were also overrepresented in victimisation, but to a lesser extent. They also comprised 2.3% of the total population in Queensland in 2018–19 but accounted for 4.5% of all victimisations.²⁶

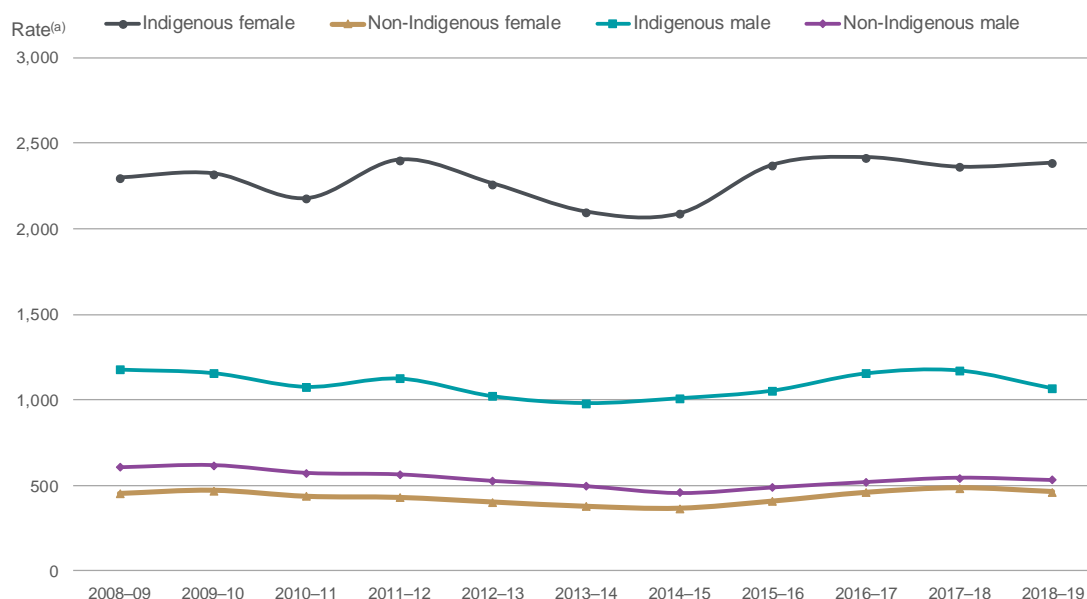
To further examine for evidence of the overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males and females, victimisation rates by victim gender and Indigenous status are presented in Figure 9. These results show:

- the highest victimisation rate during the reference period was experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females, peaking in 2016–17 at 2,416 per 100,000 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males had the second-highest victimisation rate, peaking in 2008–09 at 1,180 per 100,000 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males
- the third-highest victimisation rate was experienced by non-Indigenous males, peaking in 2009–10 at 620 per 100,000 non-Indigenous males
- non-Indigenous females experienced the lowest victimisation rate, peaking in 2017–18 at 486 per 100,000 non-Indigenous females.

Across the reference period, the victimisation rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females was approximately two times that of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males, while the victimisation rate for non-Indigenous males fluctuated between 1.1 and 1.3 times higher than that of non-Indigenous females (data not shown). The victimisation rate for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females was around five times higher than for non-Indigenous females, while the victimisation rate for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males was about two times that of non-Indigenous males (data not shown).

²⁵ ABS *National, state and territory population, September 2020*; ABS Estimates and Projections, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006 to 2036 (unpublished).

²⁶ ABS *National, state and territory population, September 2020*; ABS Estimates and Projections, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006 to 2036 (unpublished).

Figure 9 Rate of personal crime victimisations by gender and Indigenous status of victim

(a) Recorded victimisations per 100,000 persons.

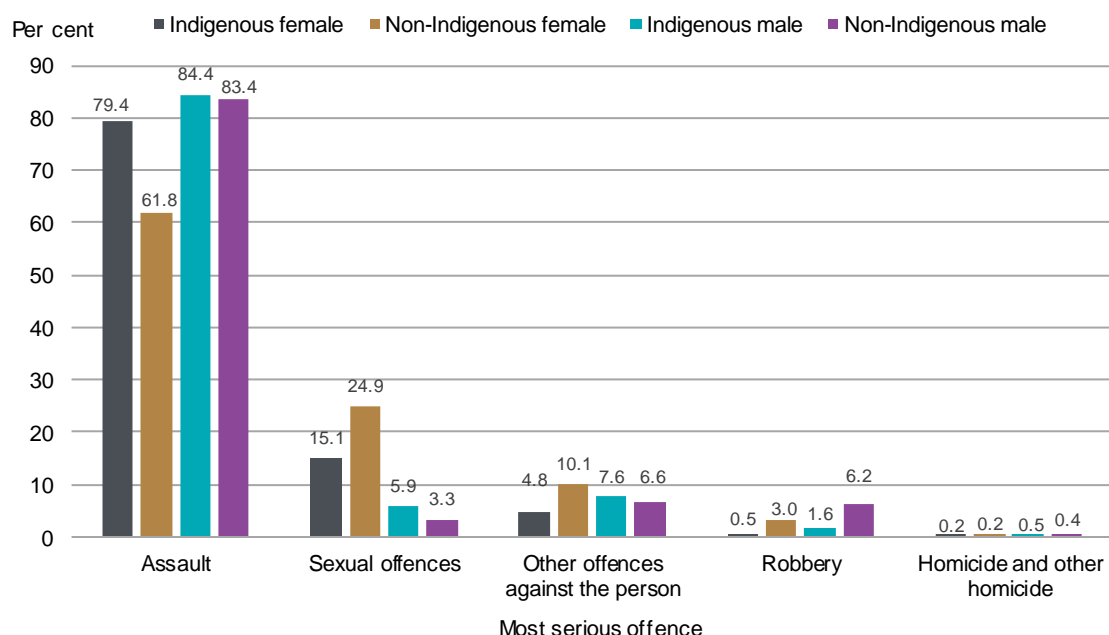
Note: Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the victim were missing ($n = 21,743$) have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data; ABS *National, state and territory population, September 2020*; ABS *Estimates and Projections, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006 to 2036* (unpublished).

4.1.8. The types of victimisations experienced differ across different groups

While the types of offences that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and non-Indigenous people experienced were similar (section 4.1.6), Figure 10 below shows variation in the offences (based on MSO) experienced in relation to both victim Indigenous status and gender. The data show that:

- assault was the most common offence type experienced by both non-Indigenous and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims, but was lowest for non-Indigenous females (61.8%)
- sexual offence victimisations were highest for non-Indigenous females (24.9%), followed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females (15.1%)
- robbery victimisations were highest for non-Indigenous males (6.2%).

Figure 10 Distribution of personal crime victimisations by most serious offence by gender and Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19**Notes:**

1. Offence type shown is based on the most serious offence within the victimisation event where one or more offences were recorded in an incident. The seriousness of the offences was based on classification by the NOI (ABS 2018b).

2. Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the victim were missing ($n = 21,743$) have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

4.1.9. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims tend to be younger than non-Indigenous victims

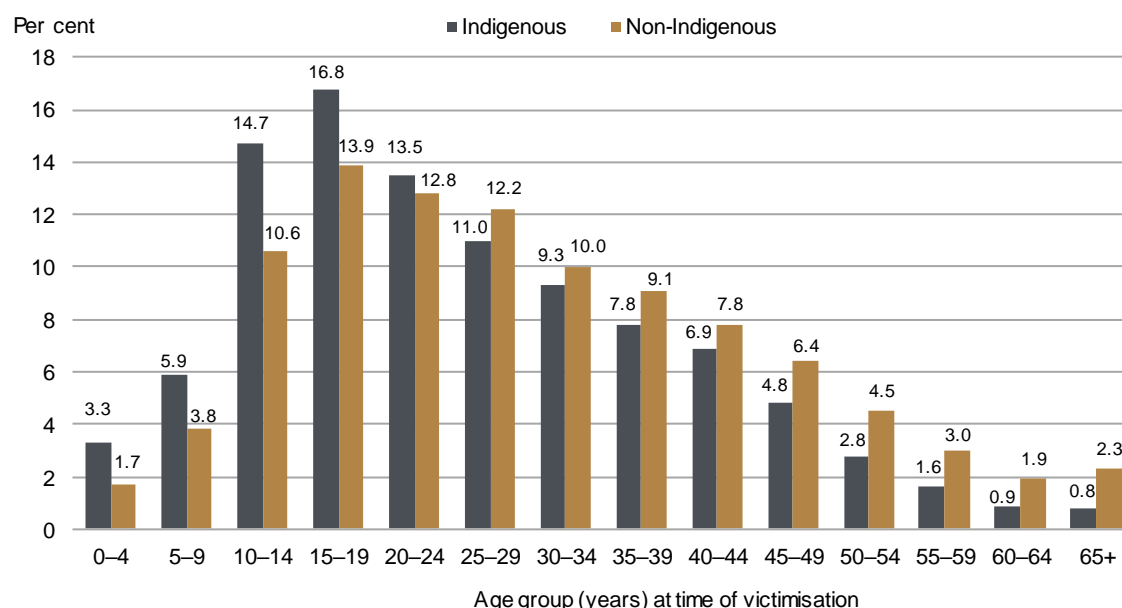
There was a difference in the distribution of victimisations by the age and Indigenous status of the victim, with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims tending to be younger than non-Indigenous people experiencing victimisations (Figure 11). The data show that:

- young people aged 15–19 years recorded the largest proportion of victimisations for a single age group both for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (16.8%) and non-Indigenous people (13.9%)
- young people under 20 years of age accounted for 40.7% of victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, compared with 30.0% experienced by non-Indigenous people.

The median age of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims (23 years) was lower than for non-Indigenous victims (27 years) (data not shown).

Some of the differences in the distribution of victimisations by age reported above are explained by variation in the age profiles of non-Indigenous and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Queenslanders tending to be younger on average than non-Indigenous Queenslanders.²⁷

²⁷ In 2018–19, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people aged 0–24 years accounted for 54.5% of the Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population, while 31.5% of the non-Indigenous Queensland population were in that age bracket (ABS *National, state and territory population, September 2020*; ABS Estimates and Projections, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006 to 2036 (unpublished)).

Figure 11 Distribution of personal crime victimisations by age and Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19

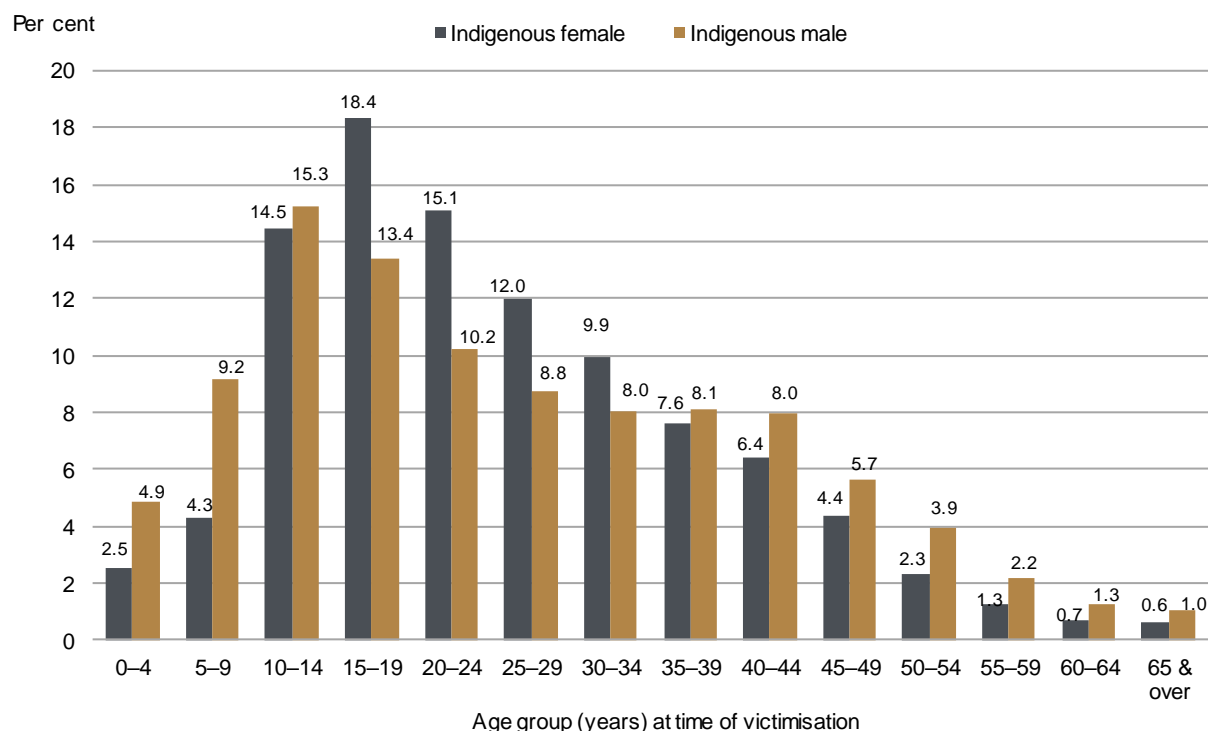
Note: Records where age and/or Indigenous status of the victim was missing ($n = 21,730$) have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

Although both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males and females had a median victimisation age of 23 years (data not shown), there were apparent differences in the distribution of victimisations between these two groups by age. Data in Figure 12 shows:

- the largest share of victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males was for the 10–14 year age group (15.3%), while the largest share of victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females was for those aged 15–19 years (18.4%)
- a larger proportion of victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males was for people aged 0–9 years (14.0%) compared with victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females in that age group (6.8%)
- a larger proportion of victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females was for people aged 15–24 years (33.4%) compared with victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males in that age group (23.7%).

Figure 12 Distribution of personal crime victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people by age and gender, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Note: Records where age, gender or Indigenous status of the victim was missing ($n = 21,973$) have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

Summary: Victimisations

- The victimisation rate fluctuated over the reference period, decreasing by 5.2% overall when comparing 2008–09 with 2018–19. However, the number of victimisations increased by 12.1% between the same two periods.
- The largest proportion of victimisations were experienced by people aged 15–19 years.
- Males and females accounted for a similar share of total victimisations, however the types of offences experienced were different. Sexual offences were more prevalent among victimisations of females and assault offences were more common among victimisations of males.
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, particularly females, were overrepresented among victimisations.
- The offence profile of victimisations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people was similar to that for non-Indigenous people.
 - However, the share of assault victimisations was higher for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females than for non-Indigenous females, while the share of sexual offence victimisations was higher for non-Indigenous females than for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females.
 - For victimisations of males, the share of robbery victimisations was higher for non-Indigenous males than for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males, while the share of sexual offence victimisations was higher for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males than for non-Indigenous males.
- The age profile of people experiencing victimisations was younger for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people compared with non-Indigenous people, and for females compared with males.

5.0 Research findings: Revictimisation from personal crime

The findings presented in this chapter focus on the extent and nature of revictimisation and high revictimisation from personal crime in Queensland. In contrast to the previous chapter which focused on victimisations, the findings presented in this chapter are based on counts of individuals²⁸ with a focus on those who experienced more than one victimisation.²⁹ Information is provided on the demographics of victims who experienced revictimisation and high revictimisation, and the extent to which gender, age and Indigenous status were associated with a greater likelihood of further victimisation, and a shorter time to first revictimisation. Two research questions are addressed:

- What is the extent of revictimisation from personal crime?
- For people who experienced revictimisation, was there a group who were highly revictimised?

5.1. Revictimisation from personal crime

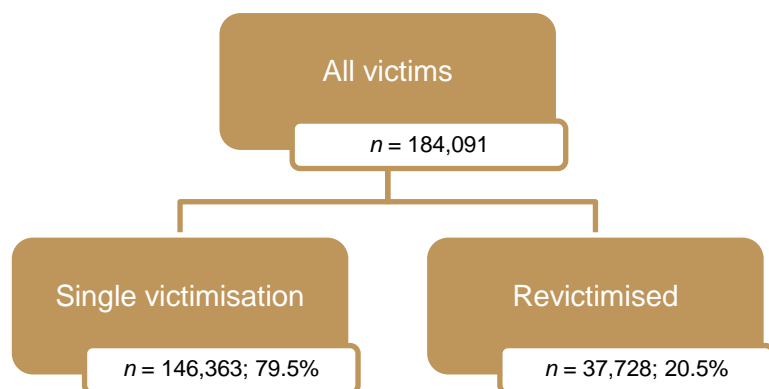
Revictimisation is defined as instances where the same person **experiences victimisation from personal crime more than once, regardless of the offender(s) involved.**

Overall, 20% of victims were revictimised at least once during the reference period, and revictimised people accounted for more than 40% of all victimisations. There are differences in the likelihood of revictimisation between population groups, with a larger proportion of female victims than male victims, and a larger proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims than non-Indigenous victims being revictimised. Revictimisation is highest among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims. Slight differences between population groups in terms of the time to first revictimisation are also apparent. These results are discussed in more detail below.

5.1.1. Most victims do not experience revictimisation

A total of 184,091 in-scope individuals experienced personal crime victimisations in Queensland during the reference period.³⁰ As shown in Figure 13, while most of these victims (79.5%) experienced only one victimisation, one in five (20.5%) were revictimised.

Figure 13 Victims experiencing a single victimisation or revictimisation, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

²⁸ This means that a victim was only counted once during the reference period, regardless of the number of victimisations they experienced.

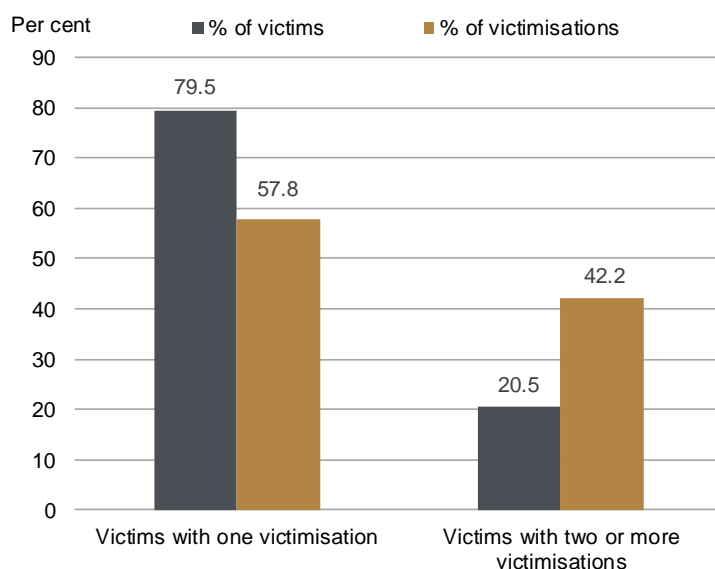
²⁹ In interpreting the data, it is important to consider that each victim had a different exposure time, depending on how early in the period their first victimisation occurred. People who were victimised early in the reference period had more time to experience revictimisation and high revictimisation.

³⁰ To be in scope for revictimisation analyses, an individual had to experience their first victimisation by 30 June 2017, to enable a minimum two-year revictimisation monitoring period before the end of the reference period.

5.1.2. Revictimised people account for a disproportionate amount of all personal crime

During the 11-year reference period, 184,091 victims of personal crime in Queensland experienced 253,062 victimisations.³¹ The overall distribution of victims and the victimisations they experienced, based on whether they were revictimised or not, is plotted in Figure 14. The data show that while revictimised people accounted for the minority (20.5%) of those experiencing victimisation, they accounted for a relatively high share of all victimisations (42.2%).

Figure 14 Distribution of victims and victimisations by number of victimisations experienced, 2008–09 to 2018–19



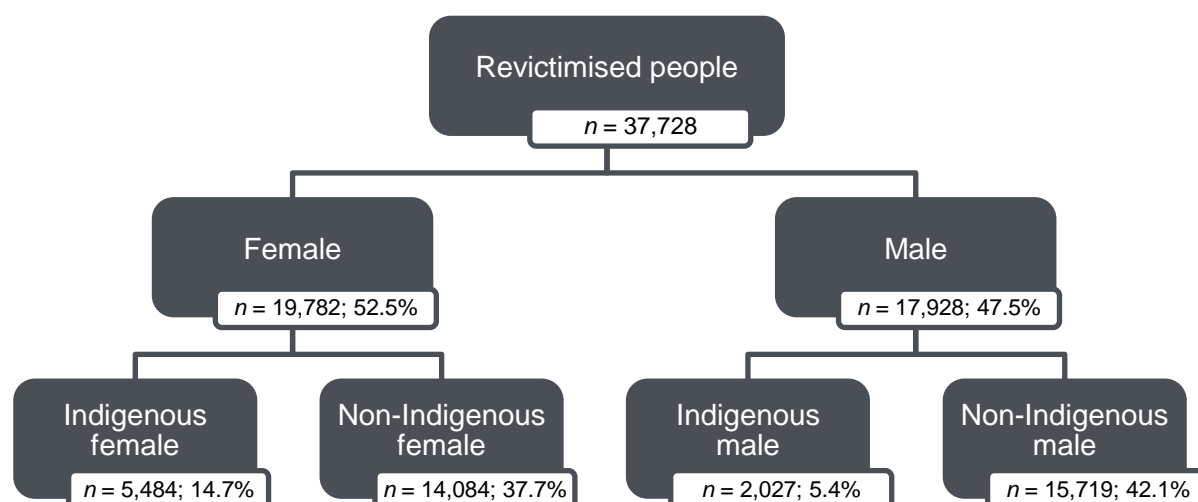
Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

5.1.3. Demographic profile of revictimised people

The broad demographic profile of revictimised people in terms of gender and Indigenous status is presented in Figure 15. The results suggest that both victim gender and Indigenous status are relevant for understanding the likelihood of revictimisation. Females accounted for slightly more than half (52.5%) of all revictimised people, with males accounting for 47.5%. This contrasts with representation of females (48.2%) among all victimisations discussed in section 4.1.3. Consistent with the finding that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are overrepresented among victimisations (section 4.1.5), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were found to be disproportionately represented among revictimised people during the reference period. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people comprised 20.1% of all revictimised people, while 79.9% were recorded as non-Indigenous (data not shown).

³¹ To be considered in scope for measurement of revictimisation, a cut-off date of 30 June 2017 was applied for a victim's first victimisation to allow a minimum follow-up period of two years. See section 3.2.2 for more information. Thus, while there were 299,401 victimisations over the entire reference period, only 253,062 remained in scope.

Figure 15 Demographic profile of revictimised people by gender and Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19



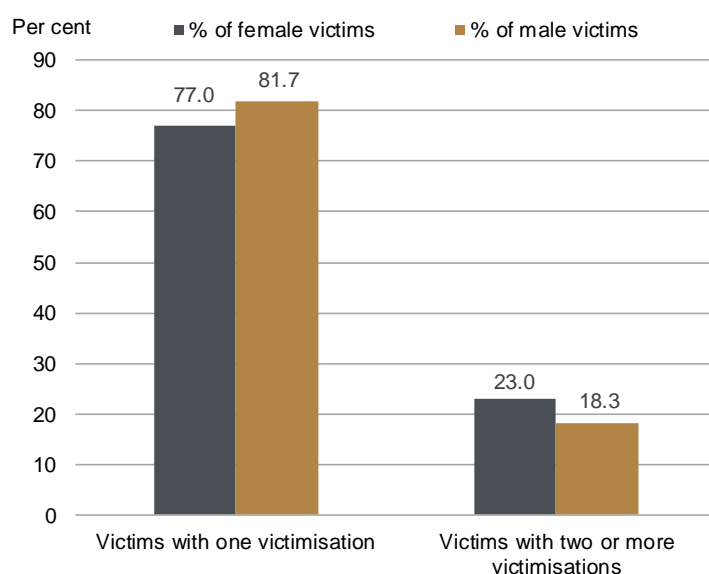
Note: There were 18 revictimised people missing information regarding gender, while 396 revictimised people were missing information regarding Indigenous status. These people have been excluded from the percentage calculations shown.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

5.1.4. Female victims are slightly more likely than male victims to be revictimised

The overall distribution of people with one victimisation compared with revictimised people by victim gender is presented in Figure 16. The results show that 23.0% of female victims experienced revictimisation during the reference period compared with 18.3% of male victims.

Figure 16 Proportion of victims by number of victimisations by gender, 2008–09 to 2018–19



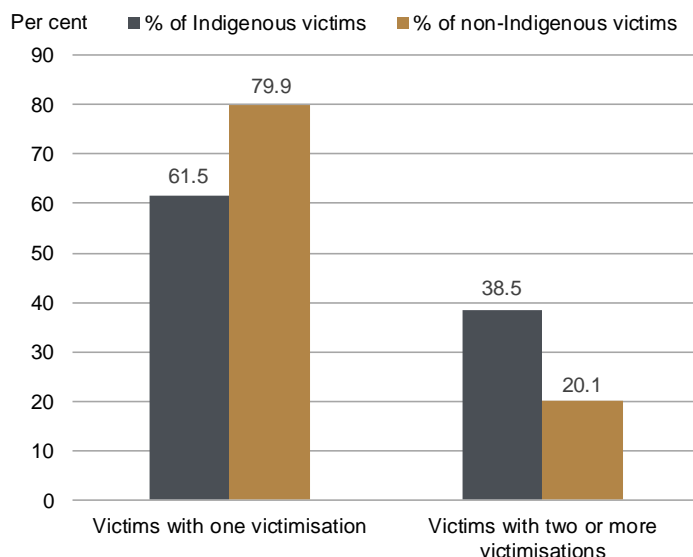
Note: Records where gender information was missing ($n = 254$) have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

5.1.5. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims are more likely than non-Indigenous victims to be revictimised

The overall distribution of victims with one victimisation compared with victims who had more than one victimisation by Indigenous status of the victim is plotted in Figure 17. The data show that during the reference period, 38.5% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims experienced revictimisation, compared with 20.1% of non-Indigenous victims.

Figure 17 Proportion of victims by number of victimisations by Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Note: Records where Indigenous status was missing ($n = 16,573$) have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

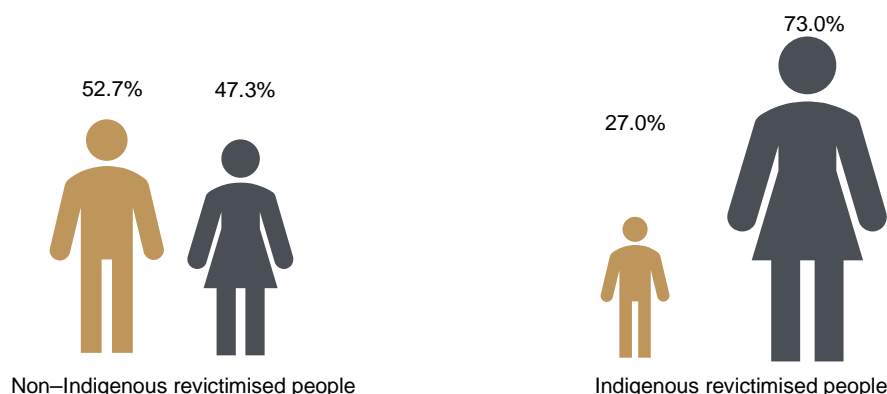
5.1.6. Most revictimised Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are female

The analysis in section 5.1.3 found that females accounted for just over half of all those revictimised during the reference period. However, the gender distribution of revictimised people revealed notable differences when the Indigenous status of the victim was considered. Figure 18 shows that:

- females accounted for 47.3% of all non-Indigenous revictimised people
- females accounted for 73.0% of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander revictimised people.

These findings are consistent with those presented in the previous chapter (section 4.1.7) which show high rates of victimisation experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females.

Figure 18 Gender distribution of revictimised people by Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Note: Gender was not recorded for 16 non-Indigenous and two Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander revictimised people. These people have been excluded from the percentage calculation.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

The overall distribution of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male and female victims by the number of victimisations they experienced is presented in Figure 19. The data show that, during the reference period, 45.3% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims were revictimised compared with 27.4% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims. In contrast, there was only a slight difference between the proportion of non-Indigenous male victims (19.2%) and non-Indigenous female victims (21.3%) who were revictimised (data not shown).

Figure 19 Proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims by number of victimisations by gender, 2008–09 to 2018–19



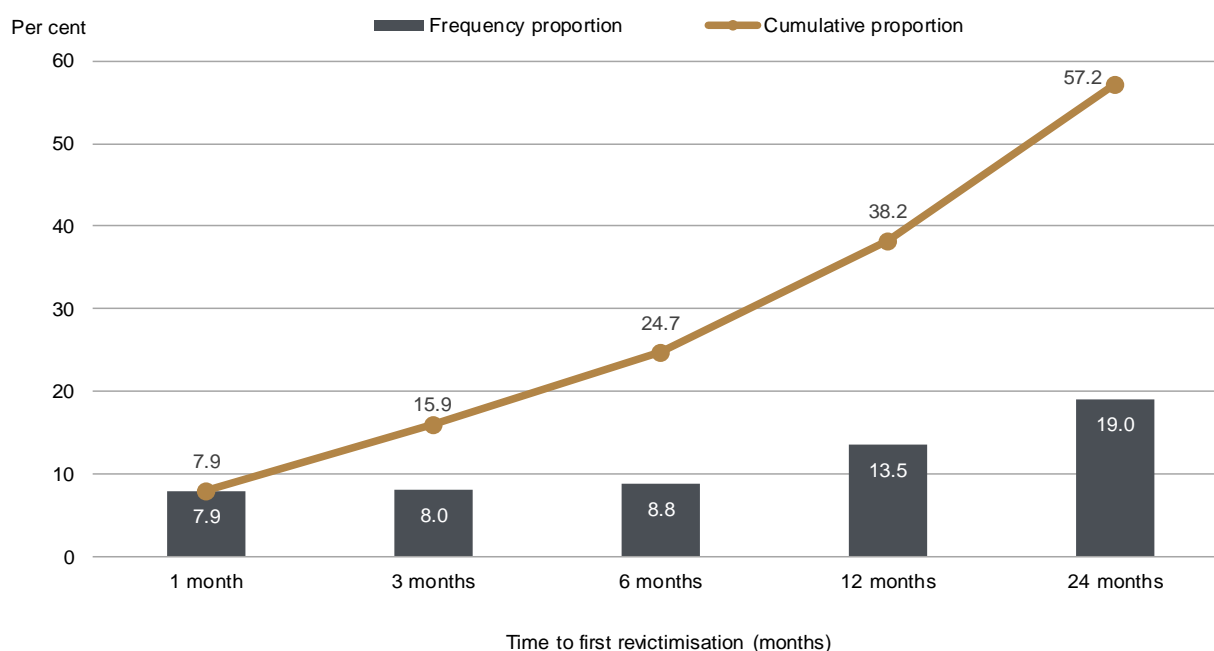
Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

5.1.7. One in four revictimised people experience their first revictimisation within six months

The time between the initial victimisation and the first revictimisation was examined for victims who were revictimised. This involved looking at the proportion of revictimised people who experienced their first revictimisation at different intervals of time (measured in months) within two years of their initial victimisation event (Figure 20). The results show that:

- fewer than one in 10 (7.9%) revictimised people were revictimised within one month
- one-quarter (24.7%) were revictimised within six months
- more than half (57.2%) were revictimised within two years.

Figure 20 Proportion and cumulative proportion of revictimised people who experienced their first revictimisation within two years of initial victimisation, 2008–09 to 2018–19

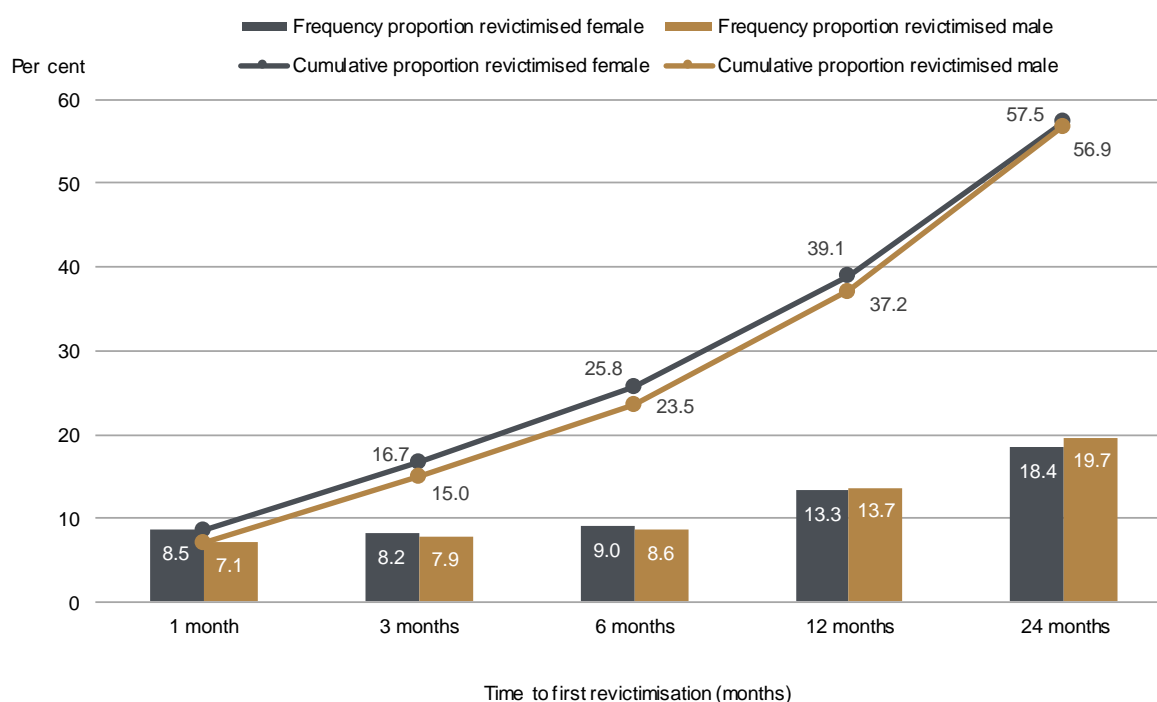


Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

5.1.8. Time to first revictimisation is similar for revictimised males and females

Results discussed above show that a slightly greater proportion of female victims than male victims experienced revictimisation (Figure 16). Analysis of the time to first revictimisation based on victim gender found little difference between revictimised males and females at each time interval (Figure 21).

Figure 21 Proportion and cumulative proportion of revictimised people who experienced their first revictimisation within two years of initial victimisation by gender, 2008–09 to 2018–19



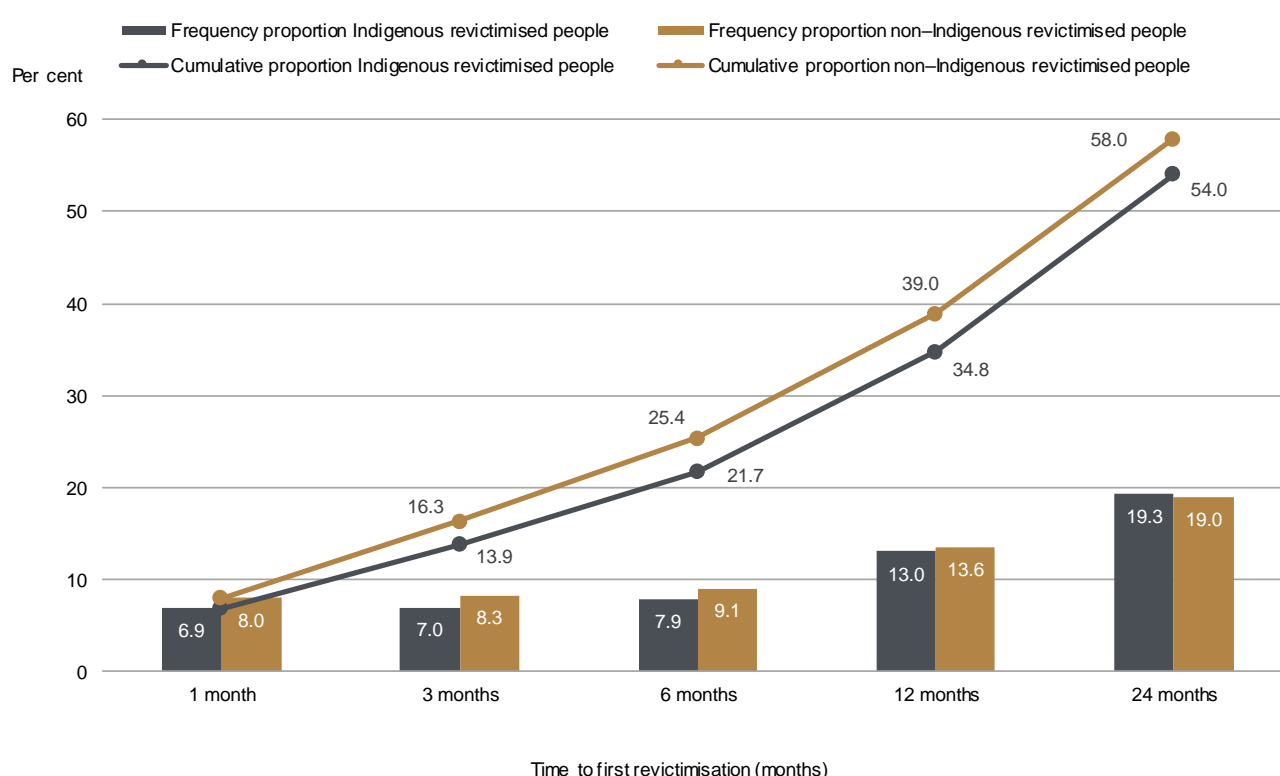
Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

5.1.9. Time to first revictimisation is slightly shorter for non-Indigenous revictimised people

Results presented above show that a greater proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims experienced revictimisation compared with non-Indigenous victims (Figure 17). The proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous revictimised people who recorded their first revictimisation within each time interval is plotted in Figure 22, and reveals that time to first revictimisation is slightly shorter for non-Indigenous revictimised people. The data show that:

- non-Indigenous revictimised people were slightly more likely to be revictimised within six months (25.4%) than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander revictimised people (21.7%)
- non-Indigenous revictimised people were slightly more likely to be revictimised within two years (58.0%) than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander revictimised people (54.0%).

Figure 22 Proportion and cumulative proportion of revictimised people who experienced their first revictimisation within two years of initial victimisation by Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19

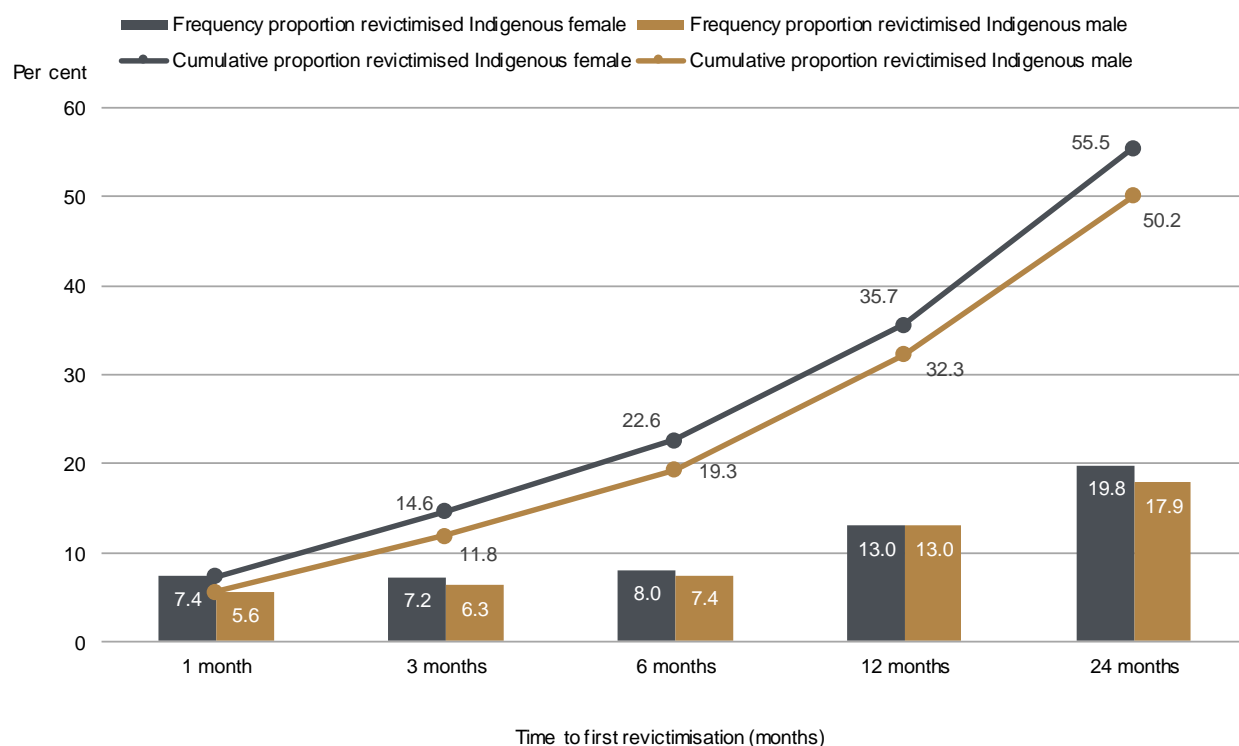


Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

5.1.10. Revictimised females have a slightly shorter time to first revictimisation, regardless of their Indigenous status

The time to first revictimisation for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander revictimised people by gender is plotted in Figure 23. The data show that a slightly larger proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander revictimised females experienced revictimisation at each time interval compared with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander revictimised males. Within two years of the initial victimisation, 55.5% of all revictimised Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females experienced revictimisation compared with 50.2% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males.

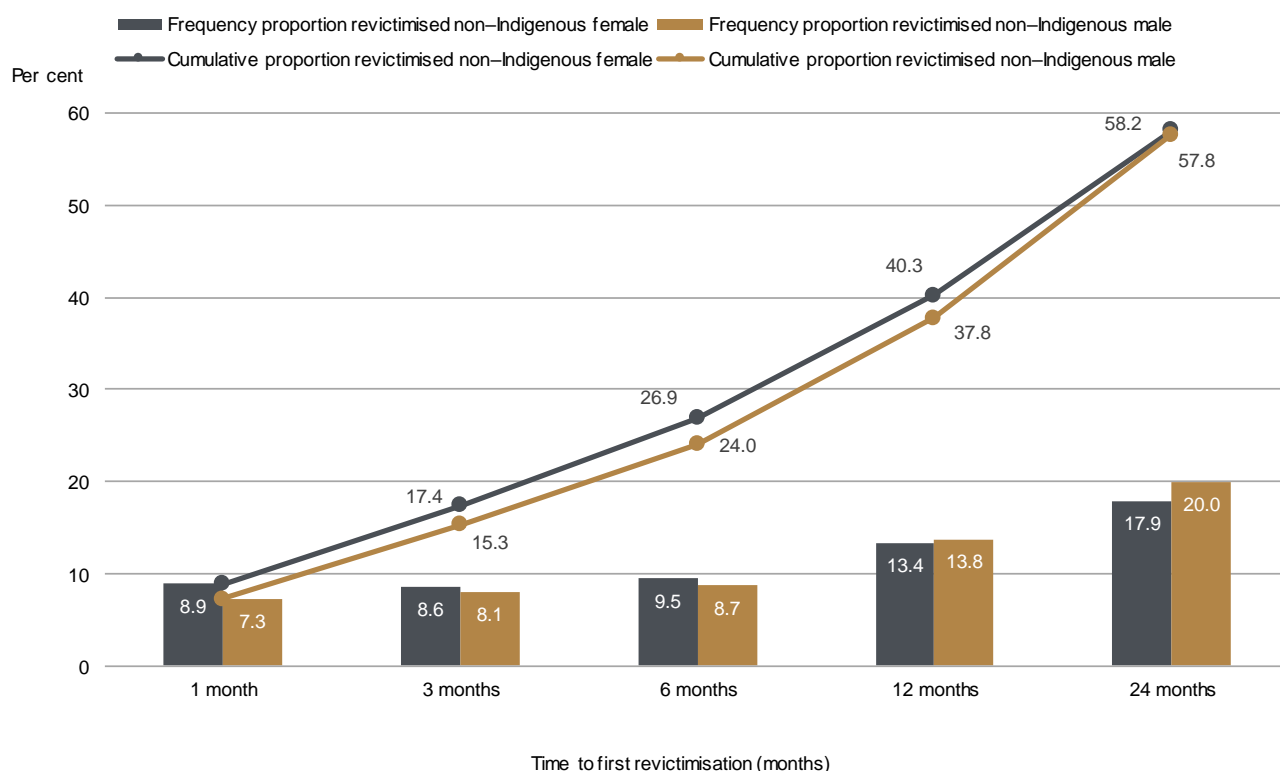
Figure 23 Proportion and cumulative proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander revictimised people who experienced their first revictimisation within two years of initial victimisation by gender, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data

The time to first revictimisation for non-Indigenous revictimised people by gender is plotted in Figure 24, and demonstrates a similar pattern to that of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male and female revictimised persons, but the magnitude of the difference between non-Indigenous male and female revictimised persons is smaller. The data show that there was no difference between the proportion of revictimised non-Indigenous males (58.2%) and revictimised non-Indigenous females (57.8%) who had experienced revictimisation within 24 months.

Figure 24 Proportion and cumulative proportion of non-Indigenous revictimised people who experienced their first revictimisation within two years of initial victimisation by gender, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data

Summary: Revictimisation

- While most victims of personal crime were victimised once, one in five were revictimised.
- Revictimised people accounted for a disproportionate share of all personal crime victimisations.
- Female victims were more likely than male victims to experience revictimisation.
- Revictimisation was higher among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims than non-Indigenous victims.
- Revictimisation was most common for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females compared with other groups.
- For people who were revictimised, one in four experienced their first revictimisation within six months of their initial victimisation.
- Time to first revictimisation patterns were similar for male and female revictimised people, and for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous revictimised people.³²

³² The time to revictimisation by victim gender and Indigenous status was further explored through a survival analysis, which broadly examined the probability that someone has 'survived revictimisation' at a given point in time. More detail is provided in Appendix B: Additional statistical technique and figures.

5.2. High revictimisation from personal crime

High revictimisation is defined as instances where the same person experiences revictimisation from personal crime on **four or more occasions, regardless of the offender(s) involved**.

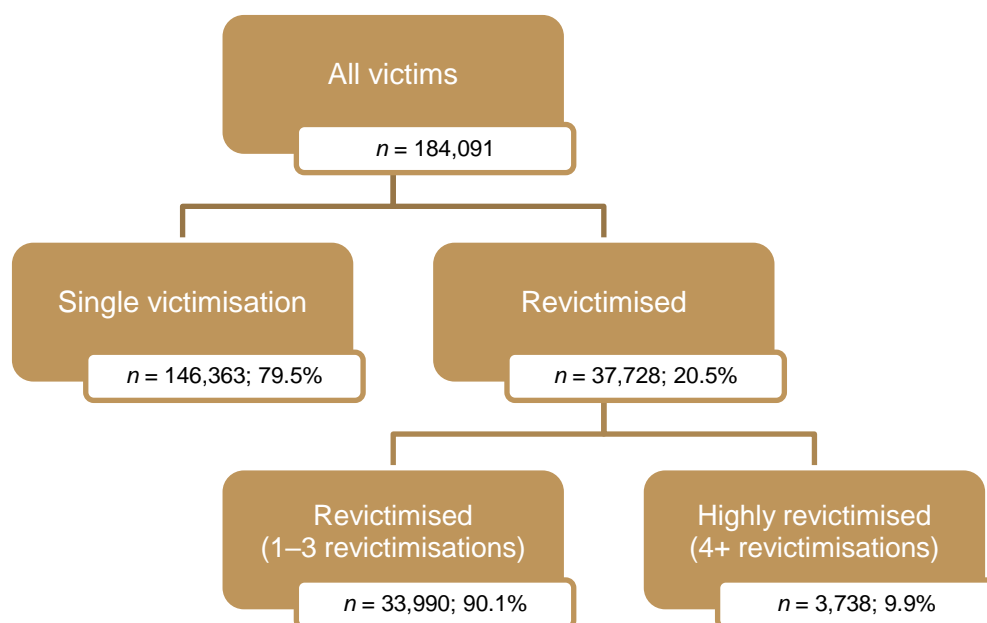
Revictimisation is explored further in this section by observing the extent of high revictimisation among revictimised people. It follows other research which has demonstrated there is a small group of people who experience high rates of revictimisation, and that this group of people accounts for a disproportionate amount of all victimisations (Ellingworth, Farrell and Pease 1995; Ministry of Justice 2015; Oudekerk and Truman 2017).

The results indicate that about one in 10 revictimised people could be classified as 'highly revictimised', and while there was no difference in the proportion of male and female victims who were highly revictimised, a larger proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims were highly revictimised compared with non-Indigenous victims.

5.2.1. About one in 10 revictimised people experience high revictimisation

As outlined in section 5.1.1, of the 184,091 people who experienced personal crime in Queensland during the reference period, 37,728 victims (20.5%) were revictimised. Further analyses showed that, of these revictimised people, 9.9% were highly revictimised (Figure 25). Highly revictimised people accounted for 2.0% of total victims.

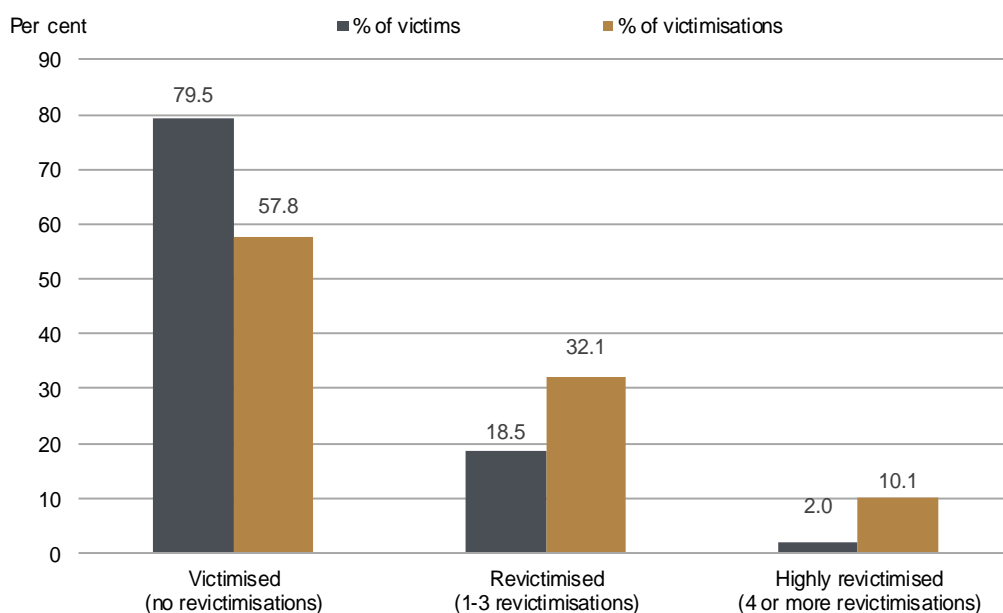
Figure 25 Victims experiencing single victimisation, revictimisation and high revictimisation, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

5.2.2. Highly revictimised people account for a disproportionate share of total victimisations

Earlier analysis in this report (section 5.1.2) showed that revictimised people accounted for a disproportionate amount of personal crime, and data presented in this section quantify the share of victimisations experienced by highly revictimised people. Figure 26 shows that while highly revictimised people represented 2.0% of total victims, they accounted for 10.1% of all victimisations observed during the reference period.

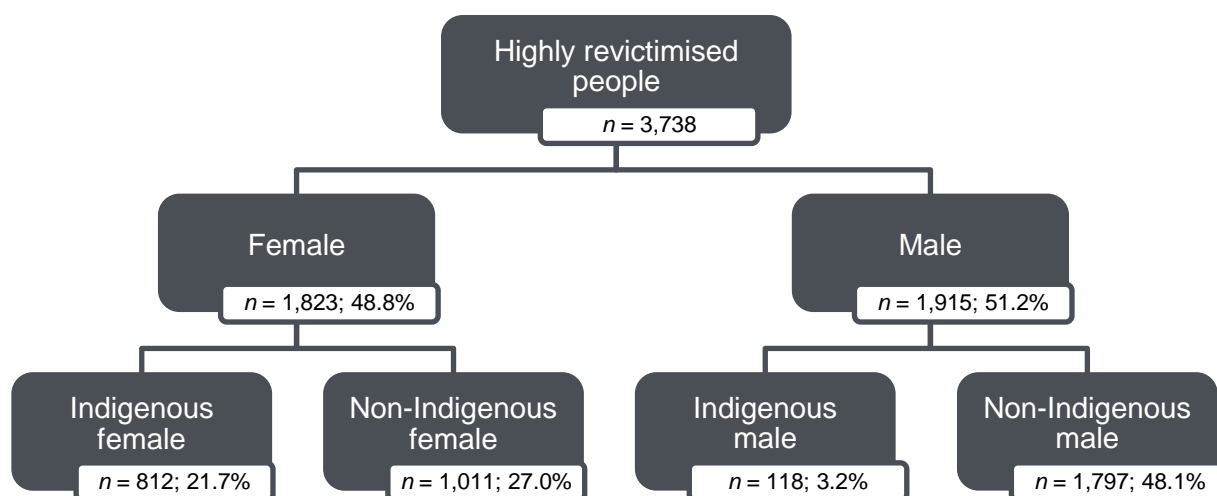
Figure 26 Distribution of victims and victimisations by number of revictimisations experienced, 2008–09 to 2018–19

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

5.2.3. Demographic profile of highly revictimised people

The demographic profile of highly revictimised people is presented in Figure 27. While analyses in section 5.1.3 show that females comprised a slightly larger proportion of all revictimised people than males (52.5% and 47.5% respectively), there was a slight shift when focusing on highly revictimised people. Males accounted for 51.2% of highly revictimised people, while females accounted for 48.8%.

Results presented in section 5.1.3 demonstrate that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were disproportionately represented among revictimised people (20.1%), and this was more pronounced among people who experienced high revictimisation. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people represented one-quarter (24.9%) of all highly revictimised people, while Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims were especially disproportionately represented relative to their representation in the general population, comprising more than one in five (21.7%) of all highly revictimised people during the reference period (Figure 27).

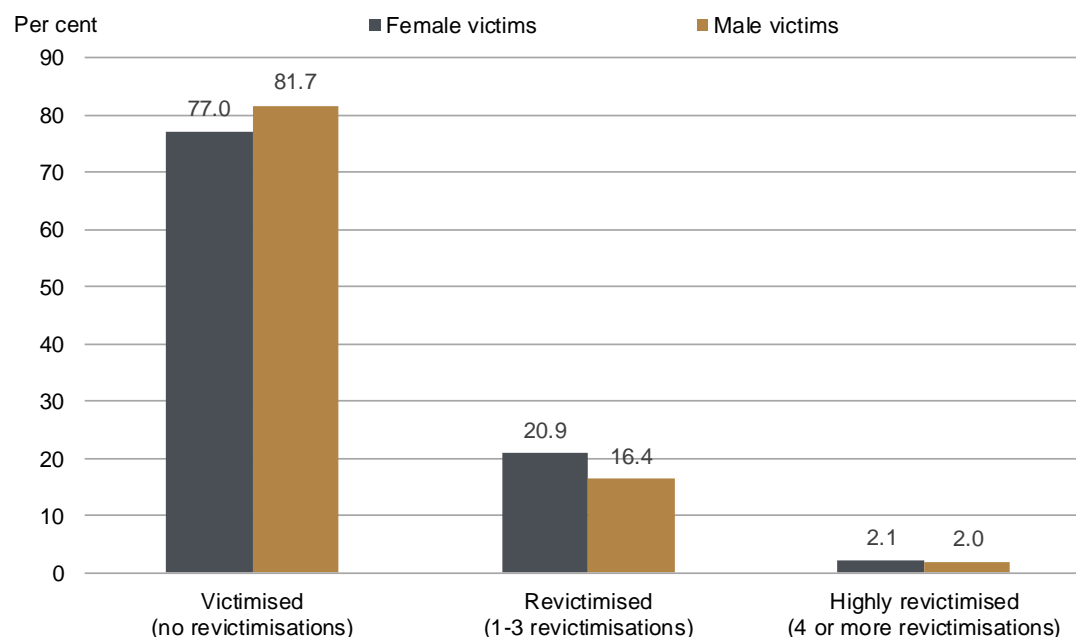
Figure 27 Demographic profile of highly revictimised people by gender and Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

5.2.4. High revictimisation is similarly experienced among revictimised males and females

The overall distribution of victims by gender based on the number of revictimisations experienced during the reference period is plotted in Figure 28. It shows that while female victims were slightly more likely than male victims to have experienced between one and three revictimisations, there was no difference in likelihood of high revictimisation during the reference period (2.1% and 2.0% respectively).

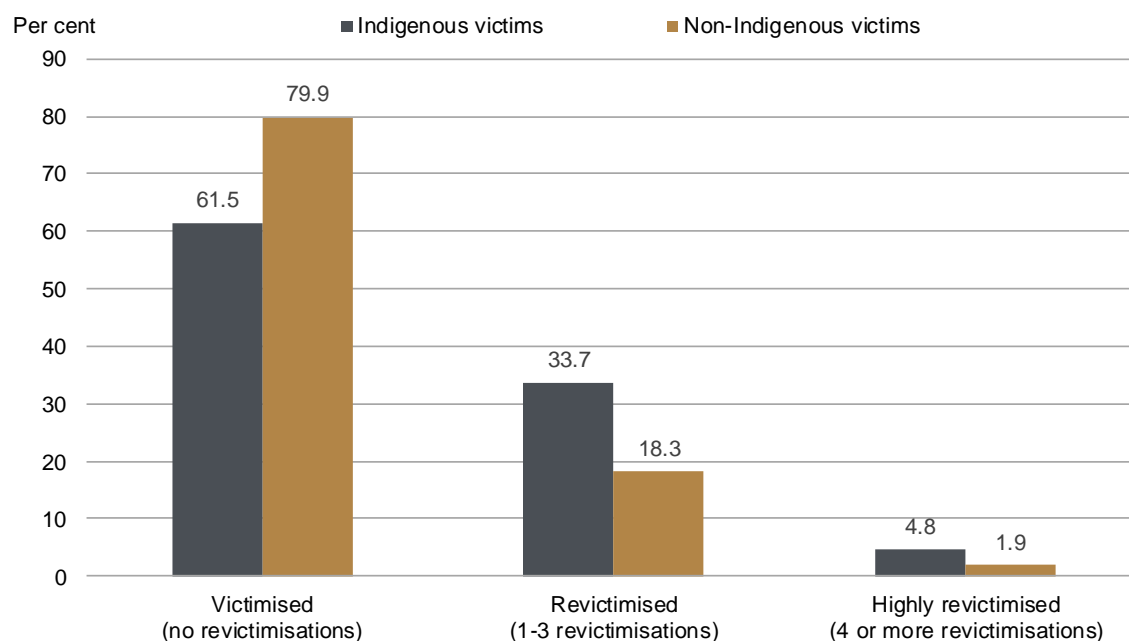
Figure 28 Proportion of victims by number of revictimisations by gender, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

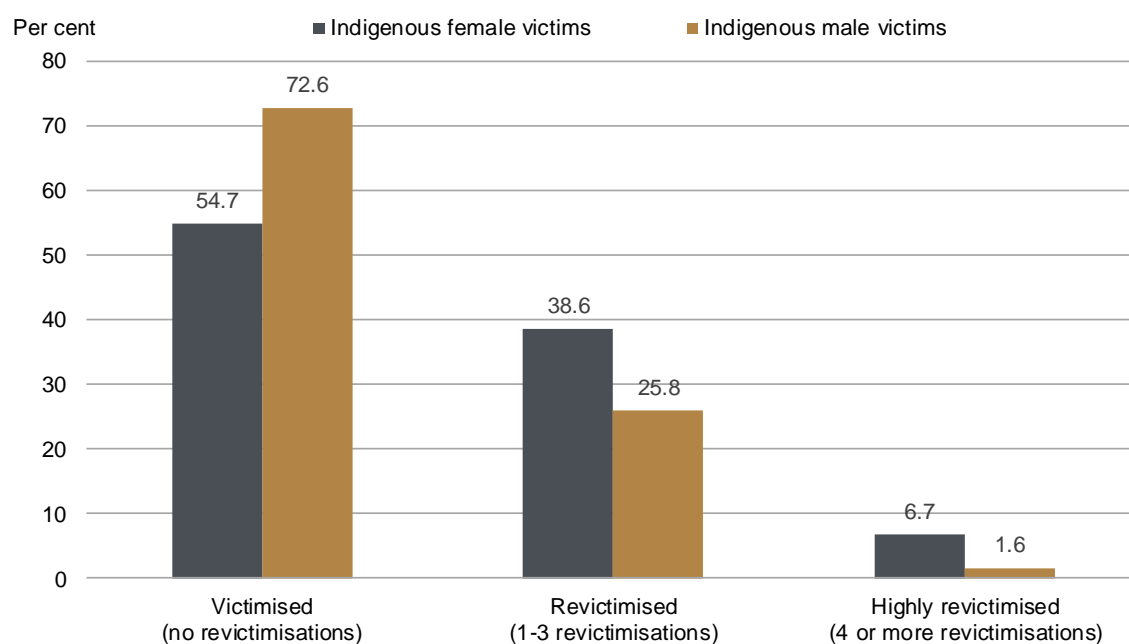
5.2.5. High revictimisation is more common among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims, females especially

The overall distribution of victims by Indigenous status based on the number of revictimisations reported is plotted in Figure 29. The data show that a larger proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims were highly revictimised (4.8%) compared with non-Indigenous victims (1.9%). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims were also more likely to have experienced between one and three revictimisations (33.7%) compared with non-Indigenous victims (18.3%).

Figure 29 Proportion of victims by number of revictimisations by Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

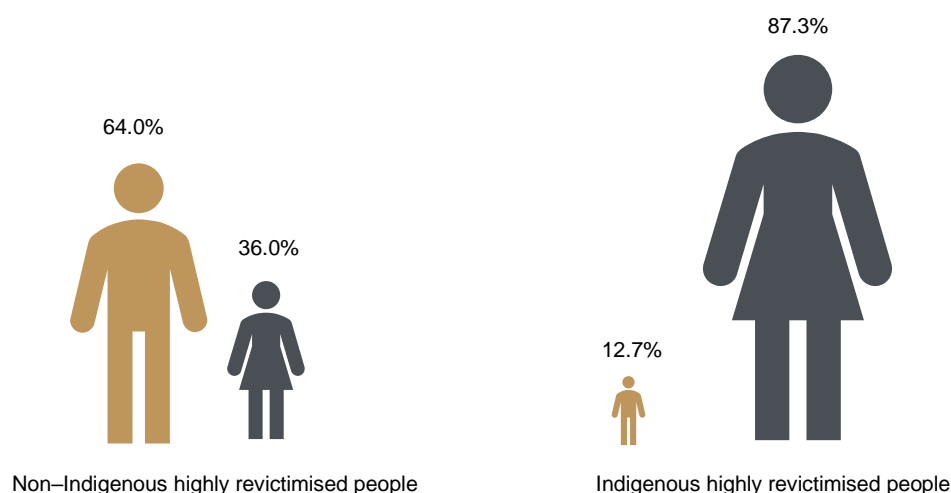
The overall distribution of the number of revictimisations for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female and male victims varied (Figure 30), with females being more likely than males to experience high revictimisation (6.7% and 1.6% respectively). In comparison, non-Indigenous male victims and female victims recorded a similar level of high revictimisation (2.2% and 1.5% respectively) (data not shown).

Figure 30 Proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims by number of revictimisations by gender, 2008–09 to 2018–19

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

The overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples among highly revictimised people was found to be driven almost entirely by the experiences of victimisation reported for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females. While highly revictimised people overall were found to have a relatively equal gender representation (as discussed in section 5.2.3), the gender distribution of highly revictimised people by Indigenous status revealed notable differences (Figure 31). The data show that 64.0% of highly revictimised non-Indigenous people were male, compared with 36.0% who were female. In contrast, 87.3% of highly revictimised Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were female, compared with 12.7% who were male.

Figure 31 Gender distribution of highly revictimised people by Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

Summary: High revictimisation

- Highly revictimised people accounted for a disproportionate share of total victimisations.
- A similar proportion of male victims and female victims experienced high revictimisation.
- A larger proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims than non-Indigenous victims experienced high revictimisation.
- A larger proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims experienced high revictimisation.

6.0 Research findings: Repeat victimisation from personal crime

Information in this chapter explores the dynamics of repeat victimisation. The repeat victimisation measure represents a count of revictimisations involving the same perpetrator and is therefore different to the measure of revictimisation discussed in Chapter 5 which represents a count of revictimisations regardless of who the perpetrator was.³³

The data described in this chapter relate to individuals who were identified through computation processes as having experienced repeat victimisation and are considered to undercount repeat victimisation (even more so than victimisation), due to missing offender information.³⁴ Although caution is required in the interpretation of the findings described below, they provide some insight into the dynamics of repeat victimisation.

This chapter also provides a comparison between repeat victimisation (involving the same offender) and revictimisation (involving different offenders) to support a better understanding of the features of repeat victimisation. Comparisons between the two groups focus on differences in terms of victim demographics, the amount of victimisation experienced, and the time between the initial victimisation and the subsequent victimisation(s). Two research questions are addressed in this chapter:

- What is the extent of revictimisation perpetrated by the same offender (repeat victimisation)?
- Are there different demographic profiles between those who experience repeat victimisation and those who experience revictimisation perpetrated by different offenders?

6.1. Repeat victimisation from personal crime

Repeat victimisation is defined as instances where the same person experiences personal crime **more than once**, with the **same offender(s) involved** on each occasion.

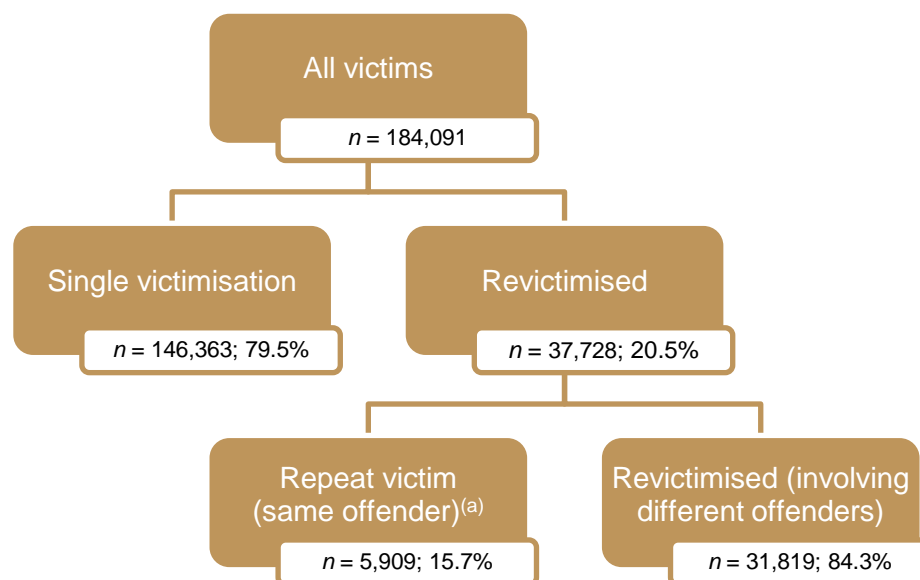
Results discussed in this section suggest that about one in six revictimised people experienced repeat victimisation. When examining the demographic profile of repeat victims, they were disproportionately female, and most often they were Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females. In terms of the characteristics of repeat victimisation, most repeat victims knew their offender and offences most commonly took place in a domestic context. Repeat victimisation was also found to occur within a shorter time period than revictimisation involving different offenders.

6.1.1. About one in six revictimised people experience repeat victimisation

Figure 32 presents information on the share of victims who experienced repeat victimisation compared with those experiencing revictimisation by different offenders only. Of the 184,091 victims who experienced victimisation during the reference period, 37,728 were revictimised. Of those revictimised people, 5,909 (15.7%) experienced repeat victimisation. These repeat victims represented 3.2% of total victims.

³³ The count of individuals who experienced repeat victimisation presented in this chapter includes individuals who may also have experienced revictimisation by different offenders. A detailed discussion about data exclusions, counting rules and issues posed by missing offender information is provided in Appendix A: Data exclusions and counting rules.

³⁴ Offender information is required to identify the occurrence of repeat victimisation.

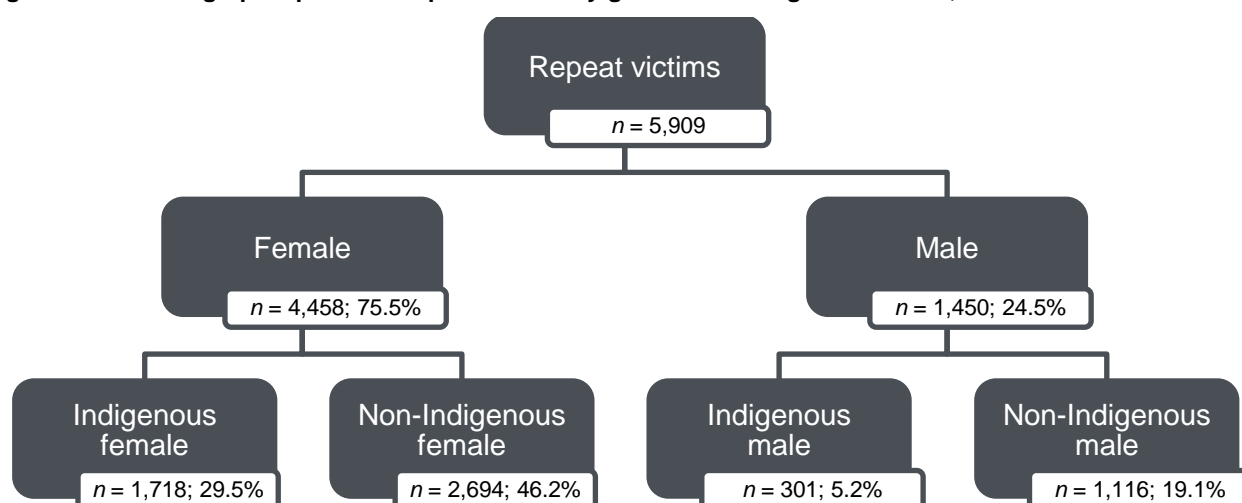
Figure 32 Victims by the type of victimisation experienced, 2008–09 to 2018–19

(a) Based on whether a victim had ever experienced repeat victimisation. As discussed in Appendix A: Data exclusions and counting rules, some repeat victims could also have experienced revictimisation by different offenders.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

6.1.2. Demographic profile of repeat victims

The demographic profile of repeat victims by gender and Indigenous status is presented in Figure 33 and shows that victims who experienced repeat victimisation were overwhelmingly female (compared with a more equal gender split for revictimised people). Of the 5,909 repeat victims, 75.5% were female, and 24.5% were male. More than one-third (34.6%) of repeat victims were Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, indicating a very high level of overrepresentation within repeat victimisation, relative to their representation in the general population (data not shown). This overrepresentation was driven almost entirely by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females who accounted for 85.1% of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander repeat victims (data not shown).

Figure 33 Demographic profile of repeat victims by gender and Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19

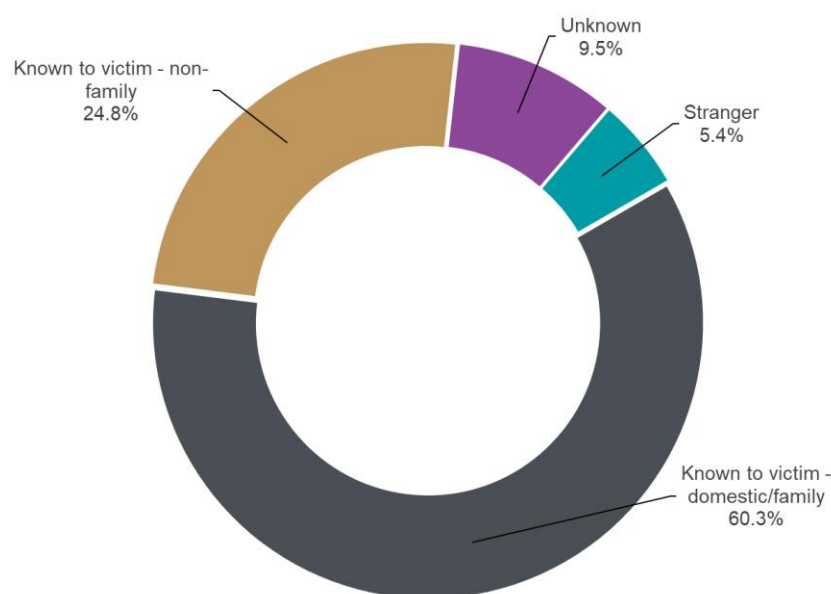
Note: There was one repeat victim missing information regarding gender, while 79 repeat victims were missing information regarding Indigenous status. These people have been excluded from the percentage calculations shown.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

6.1.3. Most repeat victims know their offenders

Given that repeat victimisation is conceptualised in this report as incidents of personal crime involving one or more revictimisations from the same offender, it is unsurprising that the results show most repeat victims knew their offender (85.2%), and this was most commonly through a domestic or family relationship (60.3%) (Figure 34).³⁵ However, approximately one in 20 repeat victims (5.4%) reported that the offender involved in both instances was a stranger.³⁶ The majority of first repeat victimisations involving a stranger were for assault (62.7%), while 18.7% were for sexual offences (data not shown).³⁷

Figure 34 Relationship between repeat victim and offender, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Note: The relationship category 'unknown' represents instances where information about the victim–offender relationship was missing (either not stated or recorded as 'unknown').

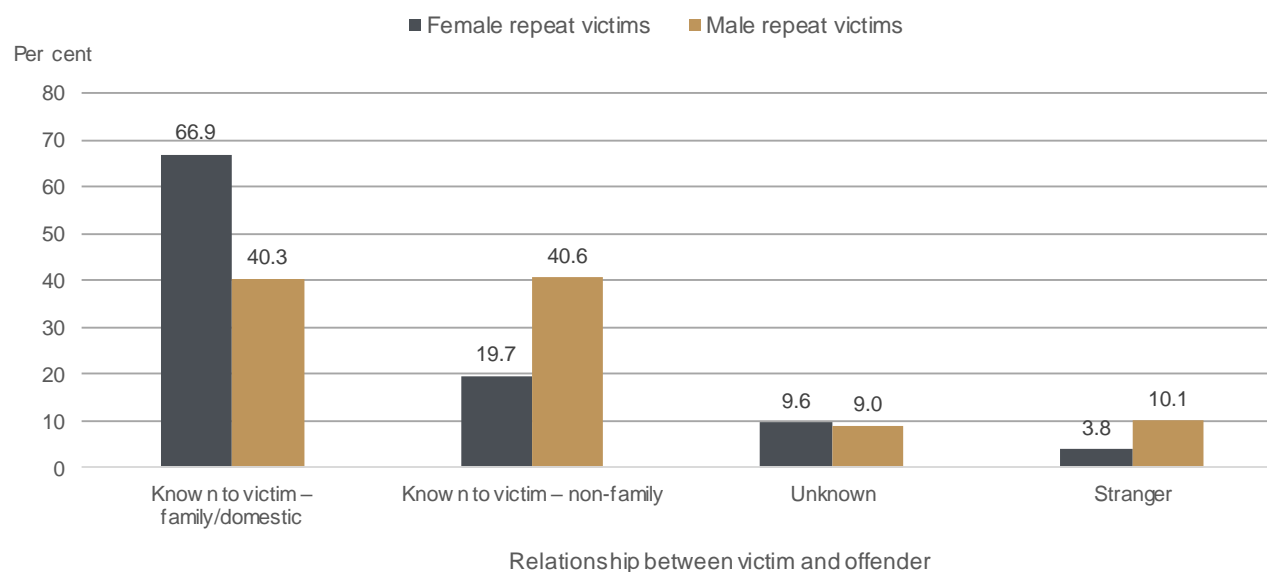
Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

The victim–offender relationship among repeat victims by victim gender is presented in Figure 35. For most instances of repeat victimisation experienced by females, the offender was either a family member or partner (66.9%). In contrast, when males experienced repeat victimisation, the offender was equally likely to be a family member or partner (40.3%) or known to them in some other capacity (40.6%). Male repeat victims were more likely than female repeat victims to be repeatedly victimised by a stranger (10.1% and 3.8% respectively).

³⁵ Based on relationship information between the victim and offender recorded by police at repeat victimisation (i.e. second victimisation relating to a unique victim–offender combination).

³⁶ The relationship category reflects information recorded in QPRIME and there may be instances where a victim's relationship with the same offender is recorded differently across time. For example, in almost half of the instances where a repeat victimisation involved a 'stranger', the relationship listed at the initial victimisation referred to another kind of relationship. Some caution is therefore required in the interpretation of these data.

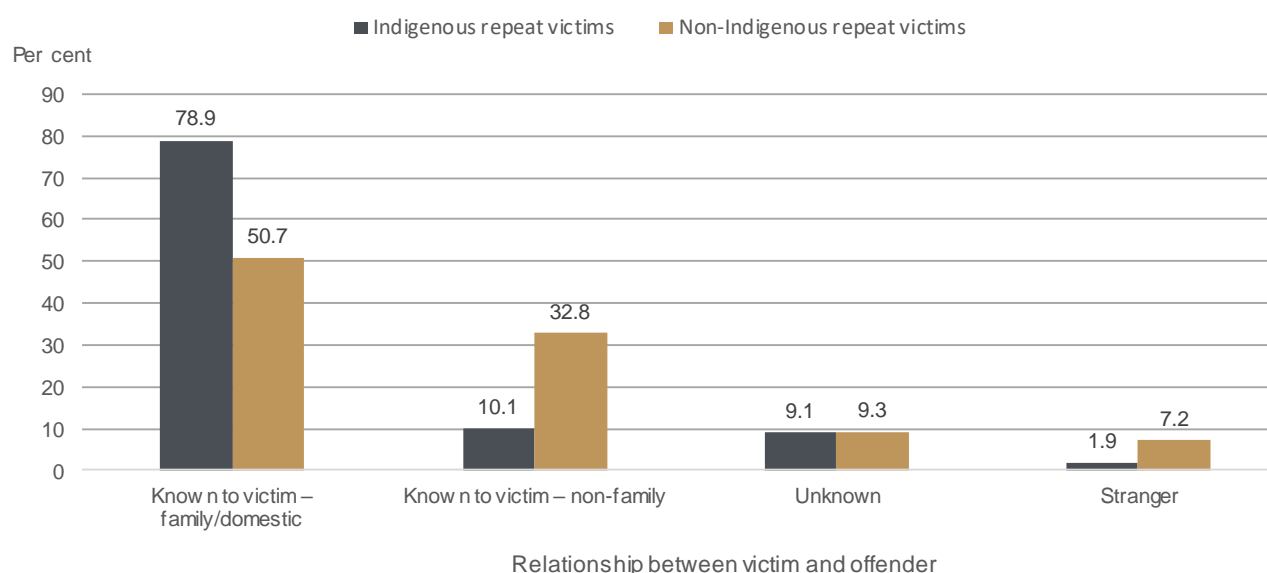
³⁷ Based on the MSO for the repeat victimisation.

Figure 35 Relationship between repeat victim and offender by gender of victim, 2008–09 to 2018–19

Note: The relationship category 'unknown' represents instances where information about the victim–offender relationship was missing (either not stated or recorded as 'unknown').

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

The victim–offender relationship for repeat victims was also found to differ by victim Indigenous status, as shown in Figure 36. The data show that 78.9% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander repeat victims reported that the offender was a family member or partner, compared with 50.7% of non-Indigenous repeat victims. A slightly larger proportion of non-Indigenous (7.2%) than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander repeat victims (1.9%) reported that the offender was a stranger.

Figure 36 Relationship between repeat victim and offender by Indigenous status of victim, 2008–09 to 2018–19

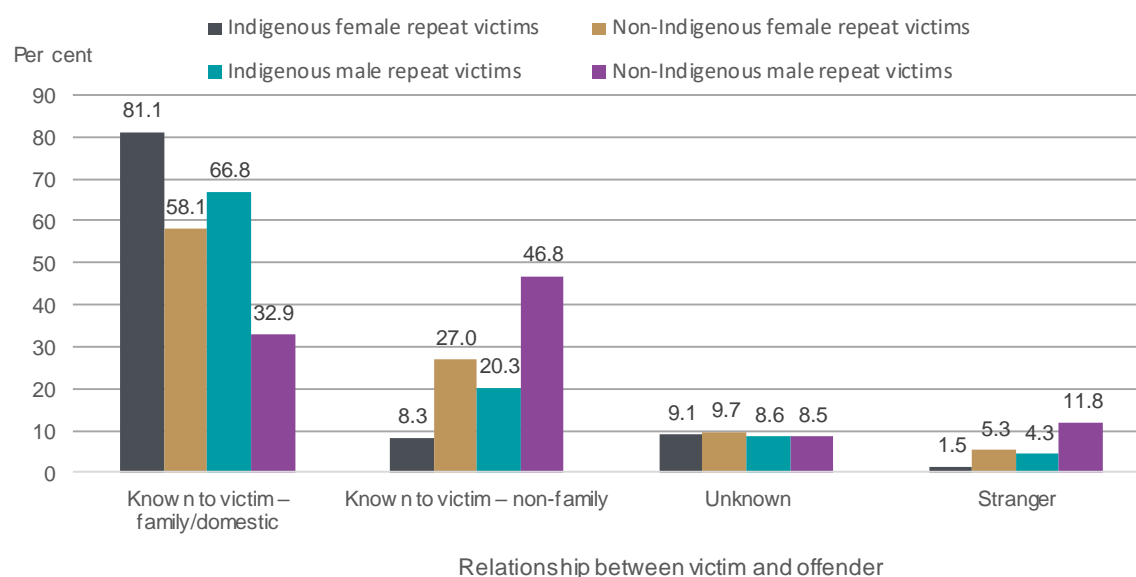
Note: The relationship category 'unknown' represents instances where information about the victim–offender relationship was missing (either not stated or recorded as 'unknown').

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

Finally, there were differences in the relationship between the victim and offender when the gender and Indigenous status of repeat victims were considered together (Figure 37). The data show that:

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female repeat victims (81.1%) were most likely to experience repeat victimisation from a family member or partner, followed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male repeat victims (66.8%) and non-Indigenous female repeat victims (58.1%)
- non-Indigenous male repeat victims were more likely than other repeat victims to experience repeat victimisation by someone known to them in another capacity (46.8%) or by a stranger (11.8%).

Figure 37 Relationship between repeat victim and offender by gender and Indigenous status of victim, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Note: The relationship category 'unknown' represents instances where information about the victim–offender relationship was missing (either not stated or recorded as 'unknown').

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

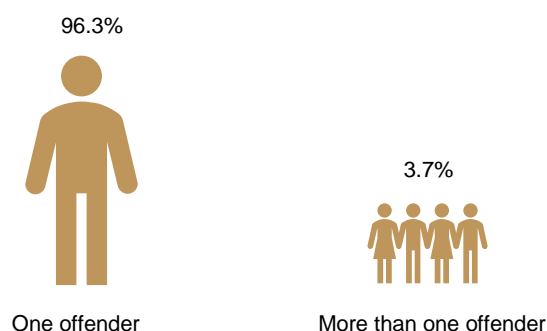
6.1.4. A small proportion of repeat victims are repeatedly victimised by different offenders

It is possible for revictimised people to experience repeat victimisation in relation to more than one offender. That is, two different offenders can commit multiple personal offences against the same victim.³⁸ However, data shown in Figure 38 suggest that this is rare. Only a very small proportion (3.7%) of all repeat victims experienced repeat victimisation by more than one offender, consistent with the finding that most repeat victims experienced victimisation by the same family member or partner (Figure 34).

Further analyses (data not shown) showed that there were only slight differences between victims from different demographic groups in the number of offenders by whom victims experienced repeat victimisation.

³⁸ Based on the number of times that a unique victim–offender combination appeared in the data. A person could experience two victimisations by one offender, and another two victimisations by a different offender. Of the 216 repeat victims who experienced repeat victimisation by more than one offender, 69 (31.9%) experienced repeat victimisation by the same multiple offenders at each victimisation.

Figure 38 Proportion of repeat victims who experienced repeat victimisation by same or different offenders, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

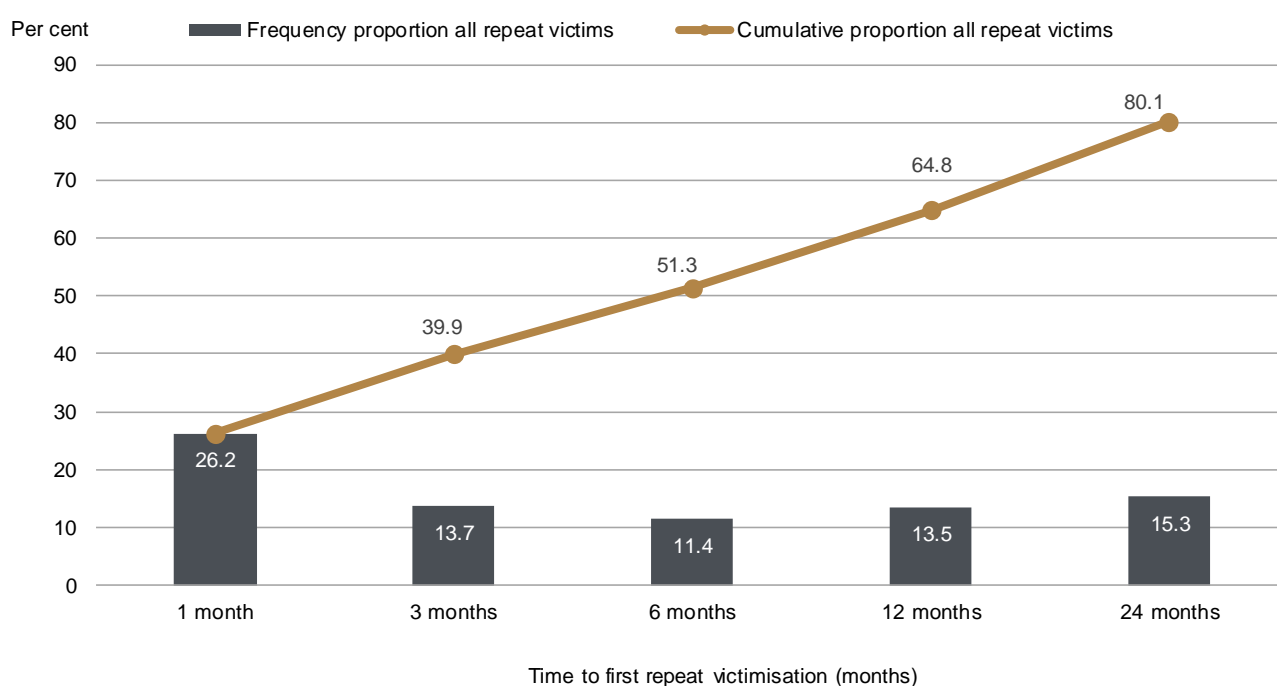
6.1.5. More than one-quarter of repeat victims experience repeat victimisation within the first month

The time between the initial victimisation and first repeat victimisation for people who experienced repeat victimisation is shown in Figure 39.

The results demonstrate that:

- 26.2% of repeat victims experienced repeat victimisation within one month
- 51.3% of repeat victims experienced repeat victimisation within six months
- 80.1% repeat victims experienced repeat victimisation within two years.

Figure 39 Proportion and cumulative proportion of repeat victims who experienced their first repeat victimisation within two years of initial victimisation, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Note: Based on the first repeat victimisation that repeat victim experienced.

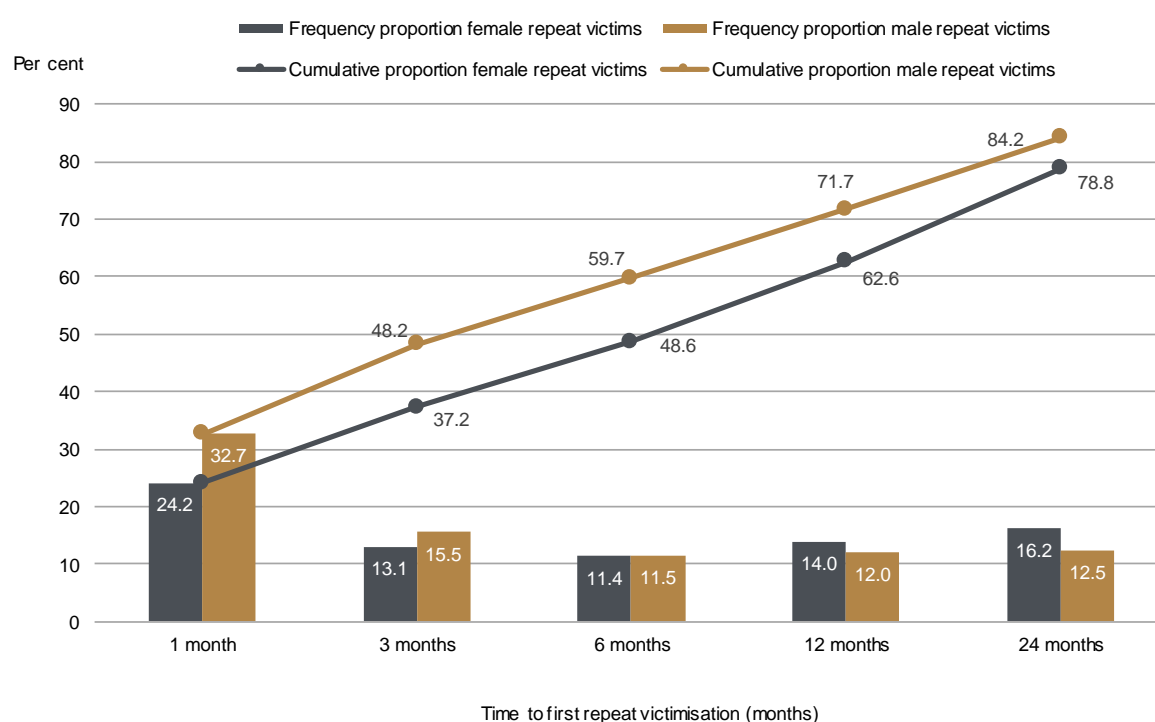
Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

6.1.6. Time to first repeat victimisation is shorter for male repeat victims than female repeat victims

Analysis of the time to first repeat victimisation by victim gender found differences between male and female repeat victims (Figure 40). The data show that:

- 32.7% of male repeat victims experienced repeat victimisation within the first month, compared with 24.2% of female repeat victims
- 59.7% of male repeat victims experienced repeat victimisation within six months, compared with 48.6% of female repeat victims
- there was a smaller difference in the proportion of male and female repeat victims who had experienced repeat victimisation within two years (84.2% and 78.8% respectively).

Figure 40 Proportion and cumulative proportion of repeat victims who experienced their first repeat victimisation within two years of initial victimisation by gender, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Note: Based on the first repeat victimisation that repeat victim experienced.

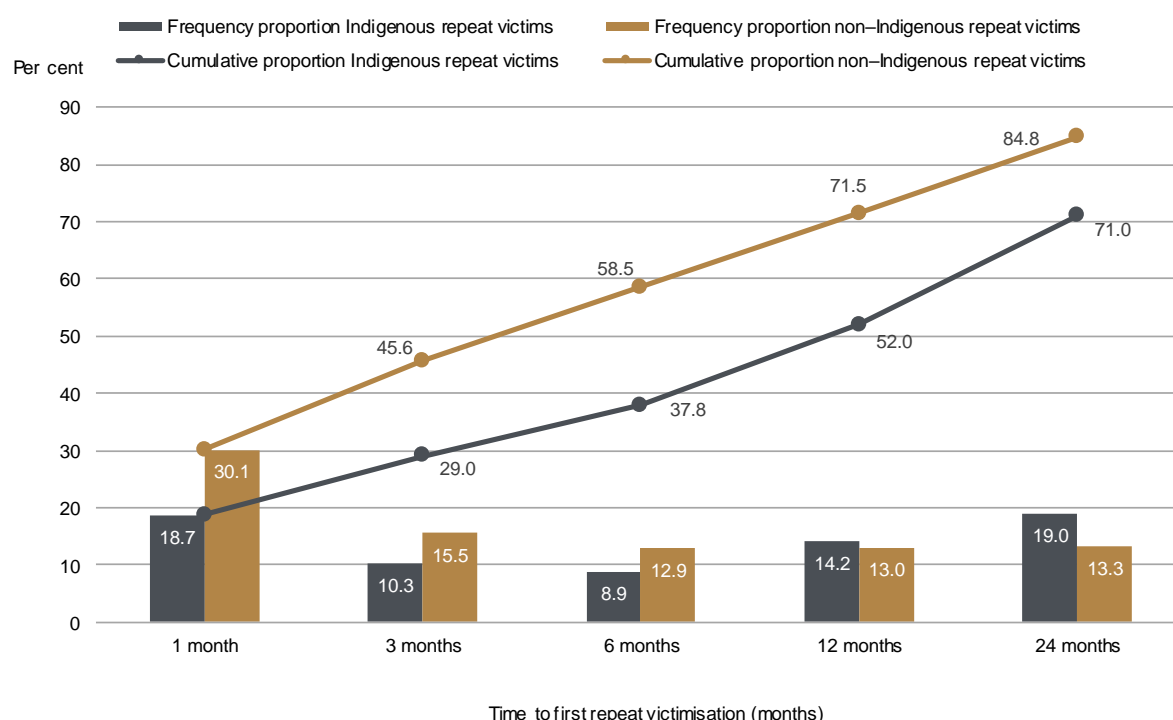
Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

6.1.7. Non-Indigenous repeat victims have a shorter time to first repeat victimisation than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander repeat victims

Differences in the time to first repeat victimisation were also found when victim Indigenous status was considered (Figure 41). The data show that:

- 30.1% of non-Indigenous repeat victims experienced repeat victimisation within the first month, compared with 18.7% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander repeat victims
- 58.5% of non-Indigenous repeat victims experienced repeat victimisation within six months, compared with 37.8% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander repeat victims
- 84.8% of non-Indigenous repeat victims experienced repeat victimisation within two years, compared with 71.0% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander repeat victims.

Figure 41 Proportion and cumulative proportion of repeat victims who experienced their first repeat victimisation within two years of initial victimisation by Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Note: Based on the first repeat victimisation that repeat victim experienced.

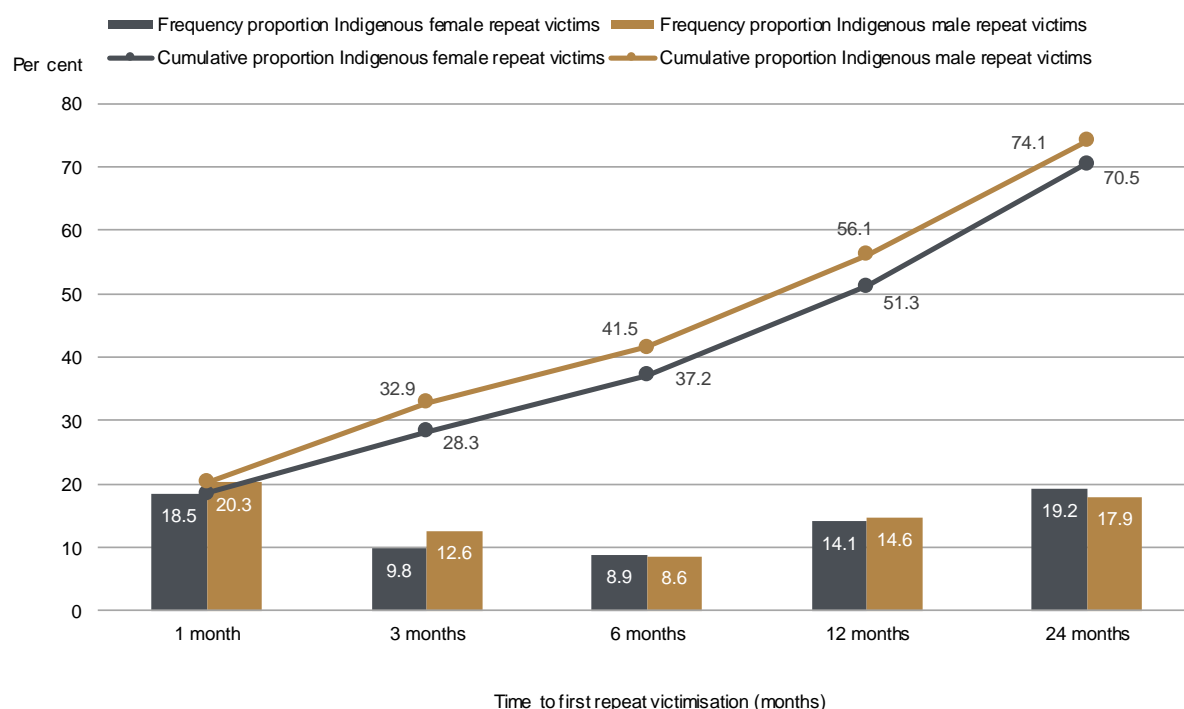
Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

6.1.8. Time to first repeat victimisation is similar for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male and female repeat victims

While the results presented in Figure 40 show that male repeat victims had a notably shorter time to first repeat victimisation than female repeat victims, the magnitude of this pattern did not hold when examining these data for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male and female repeat victims. Rather, the data show Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male repeat victims were only slightly more likely to have experienced repeat victimisation at each time interval compared with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female repeat victims (Figure 42). The data show:

- 20.3% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male repeat victims experienced repeat victimisation within the first month, compared with 18.5% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female repeat victims
- the largest proportional difference between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male and female repeat victims who experienced revictimisation was within 12 months of the initial victimisation (56.1% and 51.3%, respectively)
- within two years of the initial victimisation, a similar proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male repeat victims (74.1%) and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female repeat victims (70.5%) had experienced repeat victimisation.

Figure 42 Proportion and cumulative proportion of time to repeat victimisation within two years of first victimisation for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male and female victims, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Note: Based on the first repeat victimisation that repeat victim experienced.

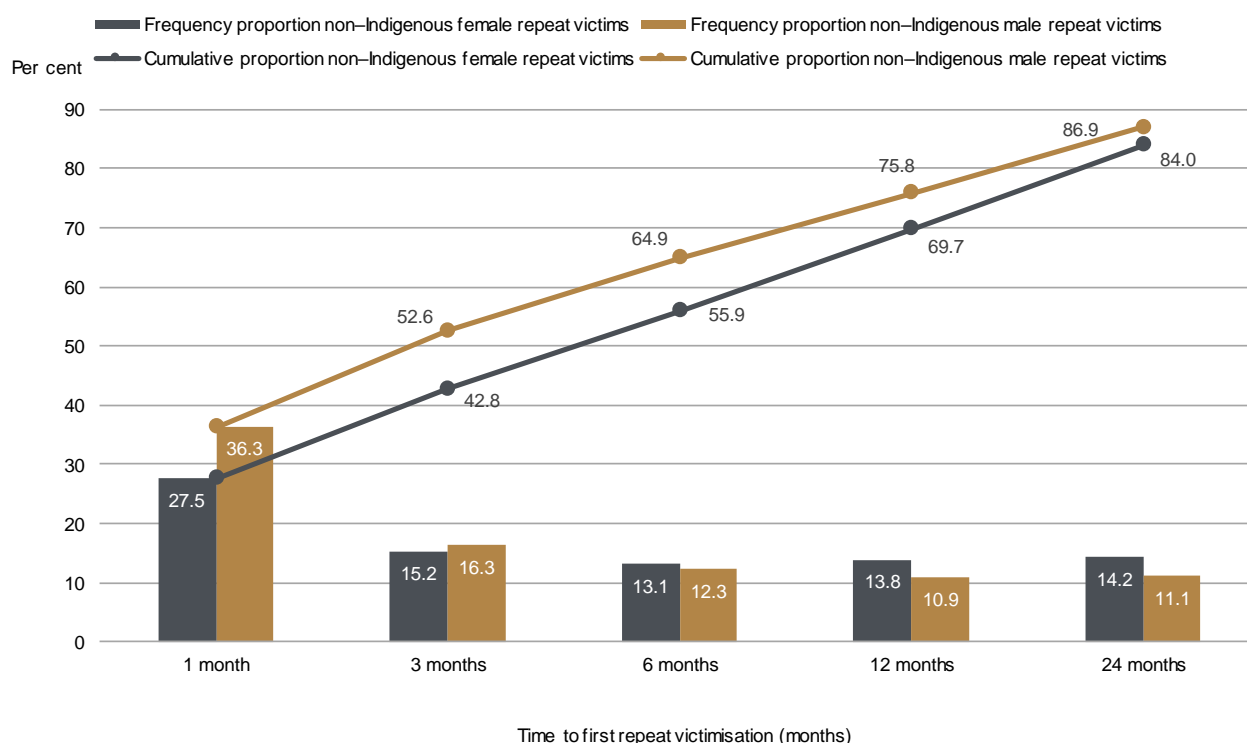
Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

6.1.9. Time to first repeat victimisation was shorter for non-Indigenous male repeat victims than non-Indigenous female repeat victims

In contrast to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander repeat victims, there were differences between non-Indigenous male and female repeat victims with regard to first revictimisation. However, these differences diminished over time (Figure 43). The data show that:

- 36.3% of non-Indigenous male repeat victims experienced repeat victimisation within the first month, compared with 27.5% of non-Indigenous female repeat victims
- 52.6% of non-Indigenous male repeat victims experienced repeat victimisation within three months, compared with 42.8% of non-Indigenous female repeat victims
- the proportion of non-Indigenous male and female repeat victims who had experienced repeat victimisation within two years was similar (86.9% and 84.0%, respectively).

Figure 43 Proportion and cumulative proportion of non-Indigenous repeat victims who experienced their first repeat victimisation within two years of initial victimisation by gender, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Note: Based on the first repeat victimisation that repeat victim experienced.

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

Summary: Repeat victimisation

- About one in six revictimised people experienced repeat victimisation by the same offender.
- Most repeat victims were female.
- Most repeat victims were non-Indigenous, but one-third were Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, representing substantial overrepresentation.
- Most repeat victims knew their offender, although being victimised by a known person (specifically domestic and family relationships) was more common for female repeat victims (compared with male repeat victims) and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander repeat victims (compared with non-Indigenous repeat victims).
- More than one-quarter of repeat victims experienced repeat victimisation within the first month of the initial victimisation, although this differed between demographic groups. Non-Indigenous repeat victims had a shorter time to first repeat victimisation than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander repeat victims.

6.2. Comparing repeat victimisation with revictimisation involving different offenders

Repeat victimisation is defined as instances where the same person experiences personal crime more than once, with the **same offender(s)** involved on each occasion.

Revictimisation involving different offenders is defined as instances where the same person experiences personal crime more than once, with **different offenders** involved on each occasion.

This section provides a comparison between repeat victimisation and revictimisation (involving different offenders), with respect to victim demographics, the amount of victimisation experienced, and the time between first victimisation and subsequent victimisation. The concept of revictimisation (involving different offenders) is slightly different to the revictimisation measure discussed in Chapter 5, in that the latter measure included all incidences of revictimisation, regardless of who the offender was. In other words, analyses of repeat victimisation and revictimisation (involving different offenders) discussed in this section of the report are subsets of the revictimisation measure presented in Chapter 5.³⁹

A comparison of repeat victims with revictimised people (involving different offenders) demonstrated that repeat victims were disproportionately more likely to be female (especially Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female), were more likely to experience revictimisation in domestic contexts, were more likely to experience a larger number of victimisations, and experience further victimisation earlier.

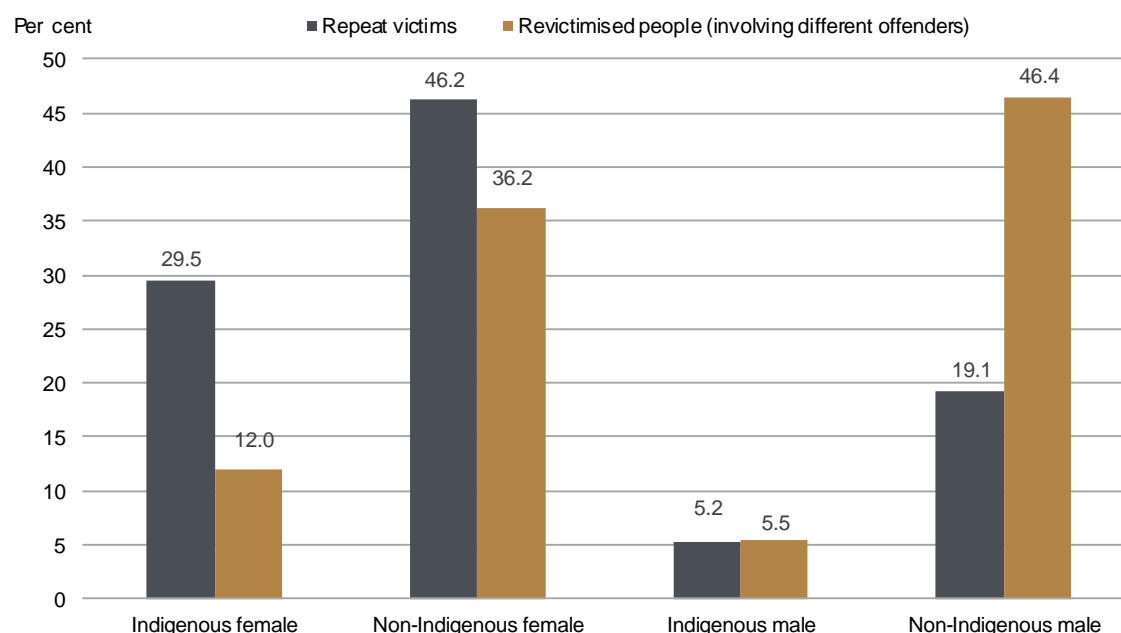
6.2.1. The demographic profiles of repeat victims and people revictimised involving different offenders are different

When comparing the demographic profile of repeat victims with that of people who experienced revictimisation (involving different offenders), the results highlight the gendered nature of repeat victimisation (Figure 44). The results show that:

- females comprised 75.7% of all repeat victims, compared with 48.1% of people who were revictimised by different offenders
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females had a higher representation among repeat victims compared with people who were revictimised by different offenders (29.5% and 12.0% respectively).
- while non-Indigenous males accounted for the largest proportion of people revictimised by different offenders (46.4%), they accounted for a much smaller share of repeat victims (19.1%)
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males accounted for the smallest proportion of both repeat victims and people revictimised by different offenders (5.2% and 5.5%, respectively).

³⁹ For the purposes of these analyses, where a person experienced both repeat victimisation and revictimisation by different offenders during the reference period, they were included in the category of repeat victims only.

Figure 44 Demographic profile of repeat victims and revictimised people (involving different offenders), 2008–09 to 2018–19

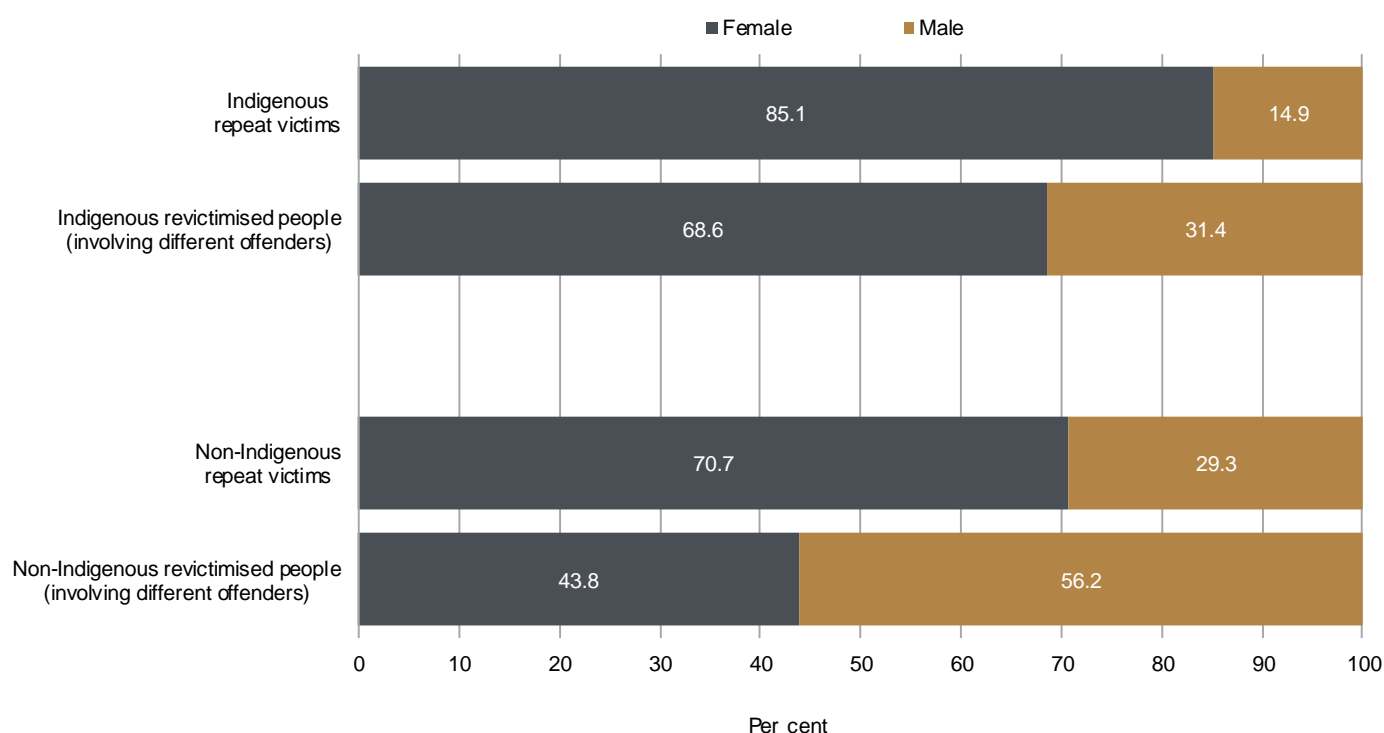


Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

6.2.2. Repeat victimisation is more common among revictimised females, particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females

The gender distribution by the Indigenous status of repeat victims compared with people who were revictimised by different offenders is presented in Figure 45, which shows that females account for a larger share of repeat victimisation than revictimisation by different offenders, when compared with males. The results show that:

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females accounted for 85.1% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander repeat victims, compared with 68.6% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander revictimised people
- non-Indigenous females accounted for 70.7% of non-Indigenous repeat victims, compared with 43.8% of non-Indigenous revictimised people.

Figure 45 Gender distribution of repeat victims and revictimised (involving different offenders) by Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19

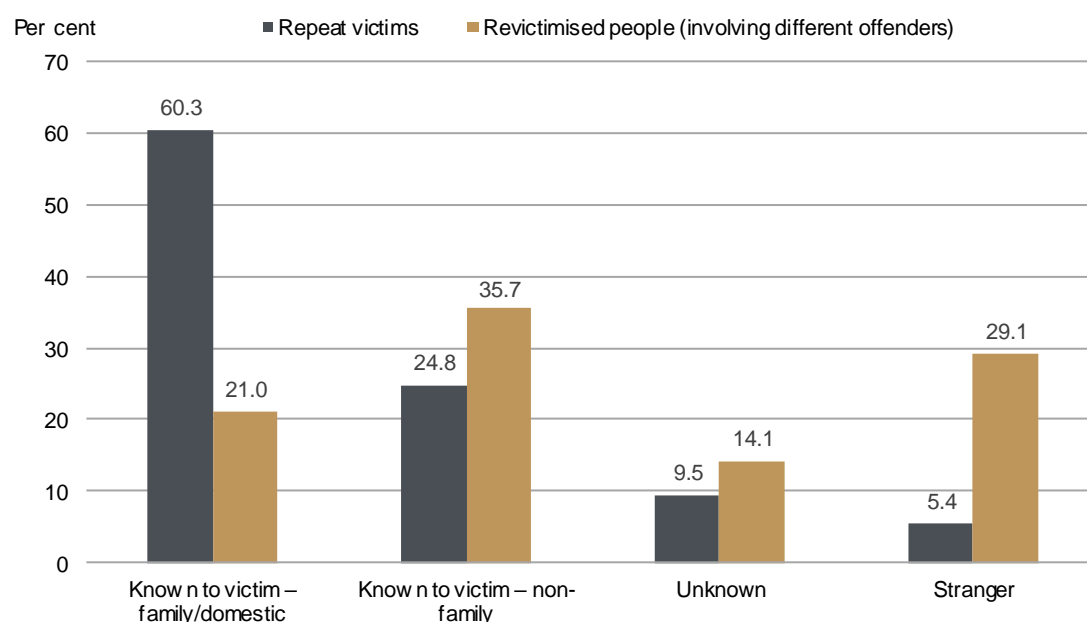
Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

6.2.3. Repeat victims tend to experience revictimisation in domestic contexts, while people revictimised by different offenders are less likely to know their offender

The victim–offender relationship at first revictimisation for repeat victims and revictimised people (involving different offenders) is presented in Figure 46.⁴⁰ These data show that for people revictimised by different offenders, the offender was known to them more than half of the time (56.7%), most commonly through a non-family relationship (35.7%). These data also show that people revictimised by different offenders were substantially more likely to be revictimised by a stranger compared with repeat victims (29.1% and 5.4% respectively).

⁴⁰ Based on relationship information between the victim and offender recorded by police at repeat victimisation (i.e. second victimisation relating to a unique victim–offender combination).

Figure 46 Victim–offender relationship, repeat victims and revictimised people (involving different offenders), 2008–09 to 2018–19

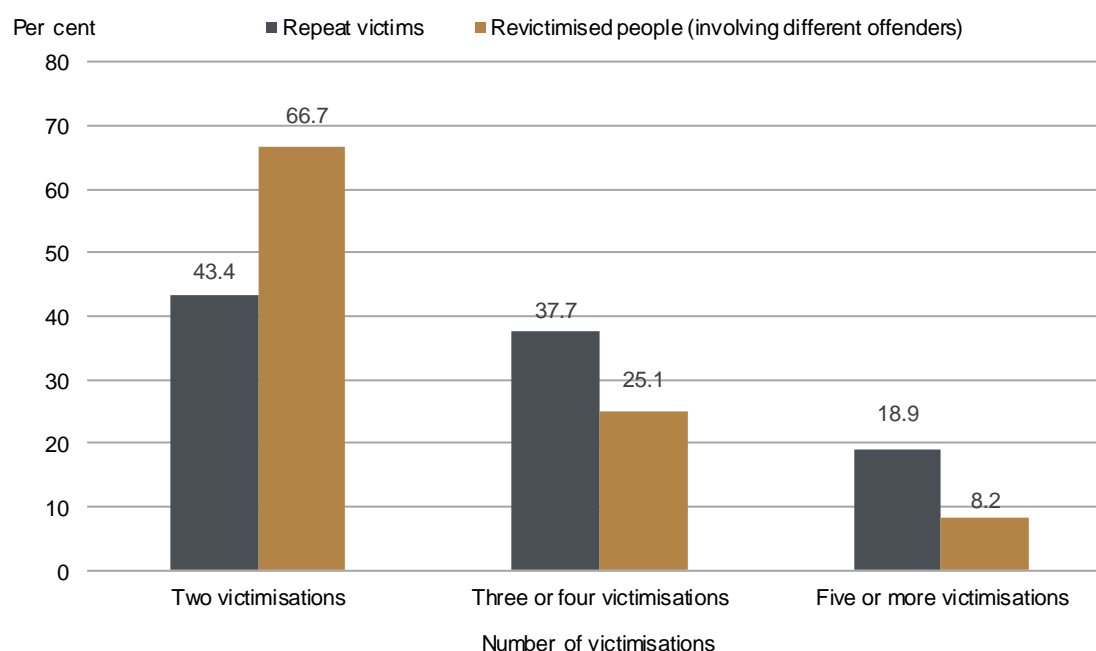


Note: The relationship category 'unknown' represents instances where information about the victim–offender relationship was missing (either not stated or recorded as 'unknown').

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

6.2.4. Repeat victims experience more victimisations than people revictimised by different offenders

Further examination of the differences between repeat victims and people revictimised by different offenders shows a higher frequency of victimisation among repeat victims (Figure 47). The results show that 66.7% of people revictimised by different offenders experienced two victimisations, compared with 43.4% of repeat victims. Conversely, 18.9% of repeat victims experienced five or more victimisations during the reference period compared with 8.2% of people revictimised by different people.

Figure 47 Number of victimisations experienced by repeat victims and revictimised people (involving different offenders), 2008–09 to 2018–19

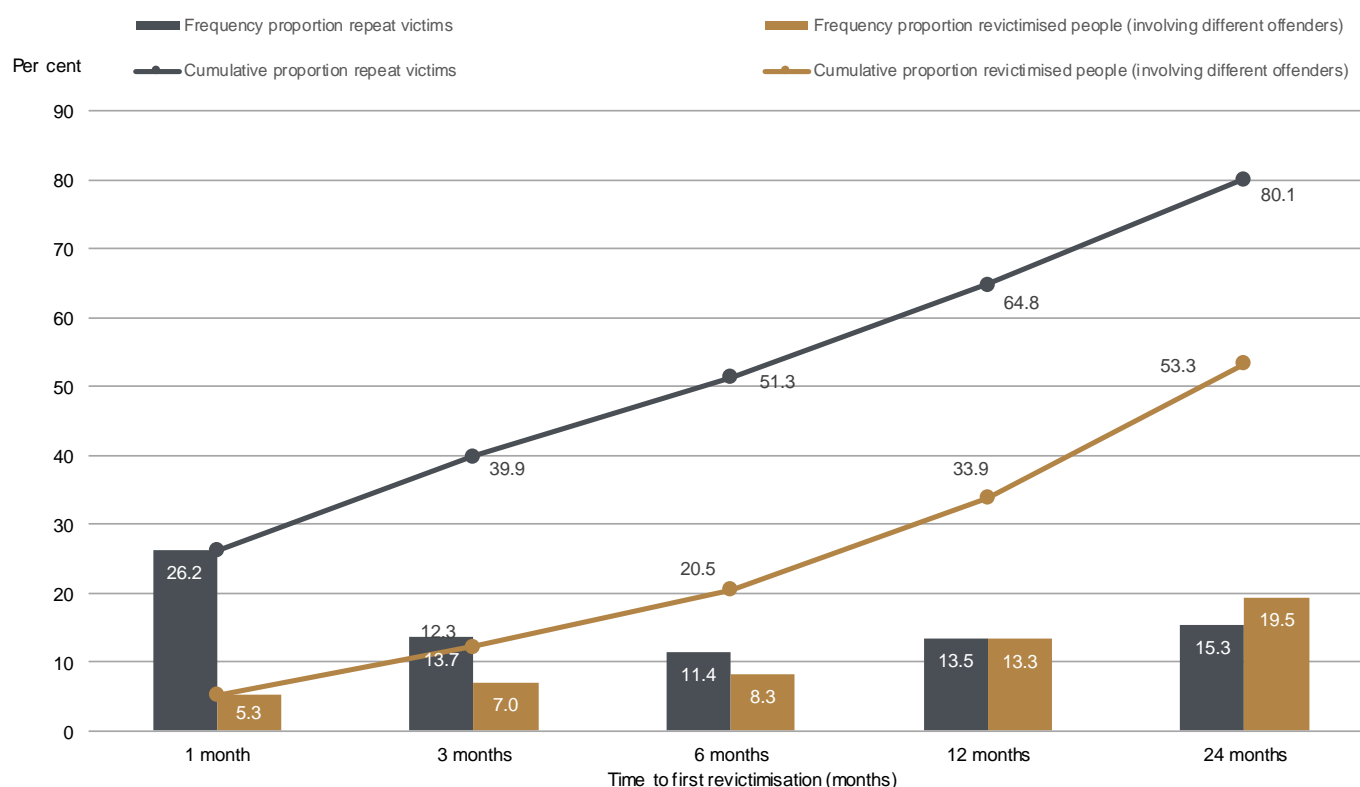
Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

6.2.5. Repeat victims experience further victimisation earlier than people experiencing revictimisation involving different offenders

Analyses in section 6.1.5 highlighted that more than one-quarter of repeat victims experienced their first revictimisation within one month of the initial event. The results of analyses comparing the time to first revictimisation for repeat victims and people revictimised by different offenders are plotted in Figure 48. These data show that repeat victims are substantially more likely to experience further victimisation closer to the initial event than people who experience revictimisation involving different offenders. Specifically, the data show that:

- 26.2% of repeat victims experienced further victimisation within one month, compared with 5.3% of people revictimised by different offenders
- 51.3% of repeat victims experienced further victimisation within six months, compared with 20.5% of people revictimised by different offenders
- 80.1% of repeat victims experienced further victimisation within two years, compared with 53.3% of people revictimised by different offenders.

Figure 48 Proportion and cumulative proportion of repeat victims and revictimised people (involving different offenders) who experienced their first revictimisation within two years of initial victimisation, 2008–09 to 2018–19



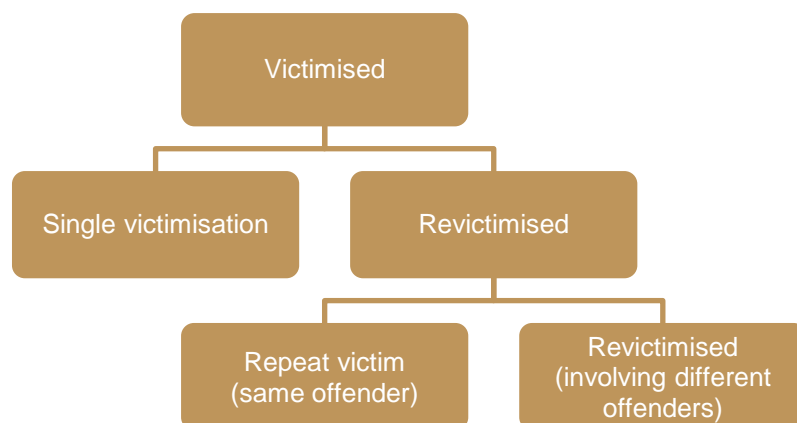
Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

Summary: Comparing repeat victimisation with revictimisation involving different offenders

- Repeat victims and revictimised people had different demographic profiles: females (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females especially) were overrepresented among repeat victims, while non-Indigenous males accounted for the largest proportion of revictimised people (involving different offenders).
- Repeat victims were more likely to experience victimisation from a family member or partner, while people revictimised by different offenders more commonly experienced victimisation from strangers or people known to them through a non-family relationship.
- Repeat victims tended to experience more victimisations overall than people revictimised by different offenders.
- Repeat victims tended to experience revictimisation earlier than people revictimised by different offenders.

7.0 Discussion

The research presented in this report contributes to an understanding of victimisation in Queensland by measuring victimisation in multiple ways. This involved analysing police administrative data relating to personal crime recorded as occurring in Queensland between 2008–09 and 2018–19 and examining victimisation in a way that takes offender information into consideration. Victimization (any victimisation experience) was conceptualised as being different to revictimisation (the experience of more than one victimisation relating to any offender). Repeat victimisation (the experience of more than one victimisation relating to the same offender) was also conceptualised as being different to revictimisation involving different offenders (the experience of more than one victimisation relating to different offenders). The different measures of victimisation were explored in relation to demographic factors to determine if differences were apparent in terms of the age, gender and Indigenous status of victims.⁴¹



7.1. Summary of findings and their implications

This section highlights the key findings of the research in relation to other studies and their implications.

7.1.1. Personal crime victimisation rates fluctuate over time and most victims do not experience revictimisation

The research shows slight variation in victimisation rate trends over the reference period, which generally decreased between 2008–09 and 2014–15, and then increased until 2017–18. Overall, the victimisation rate declined by 5.2% when comparing 2008–09 (629 victimisations per 100,000 persons) with 2018–19 (597 per 100,000 persons), while the number of victimisations grew by 12.1% during this time (from 26,905 to 30,162 respectively).

Most victimisations involved physical assault, and growth in the victimisation rate from 2014–15 coincided with substantial law and justice reform relating to DFV in Queensland. These reform activities were largely driven by growing community and government concern regarding DFV, and in response to recommendations made in the *Not Now, Not Ever: Putting an End to Domestic and Family Violence in Queensland* (Not Now, Not Ever) report released in 2015 (The Special Taskforce on Domestic and Family Violence in Queensland 2015). System reform included legislative amendment; the expansion and enhancement of DFV support services and criminal justice responses; and public awareness campaigns (The Special Taskforce on Domestic and Family Violence in Queensland 2015). Such reform may have contributed to an increased likelihood of victims reporting and seeking support for DFV.⁴²

Most victims over the reference period did not experience revictimisation (involving any offender), with 20.5% of victims experiencing revictimisation and 2.0% experiencing high revictimisation (four revictimisations or more). Repeat victimisation was apparent in available data for 15.7% of revictimised people and 3.2% of total victims.⁴³

⁴¹ In this research, victimisations were explored in relation to victimisation events (where a person experiencing victimisation could be counted more than once in a financial year), while revictimisation, repeat victimisation, revictimisation (involving different offenders) was explored in relation to people (where a person experiencing victimisation was only counted once during the reference period).

⁴² Other research has shown there was a significant increase in the reporting of intimate partner violence during the Victorian Royal Commission into Family Violence (Satyen et al. 2020).

⁴³ Repeat victimisation is considered to be undercounted in this research.

7.1.2. A small proportion of victims account for a disproportionate share of personal crime victimisations and revictimisations

The results reveal that some victims were more likely to experience revictimisation than others. Revictimised people (20.5% of all victims) accounted for 42.2% of total victimisations, while people experiencing high revictimisation (2.0% of all victims) accounted for 10.1% of all victimisations. These findings are consistent with other research demonstrating there is a small group of people who experience high rates of revictimisation (Ellingworth, Farrell and Pease 1995; Ministry of Justice 2015; Oudekerk and Truman 2017).

The literature offers different explanations, which centre around two main hypotheses, as to why the experience of victimisation may increase the likelihood of future victimisation. The first is the 'risk heterogeneity' hypothesis which relates to the idea that some individuals have a higher risk of victimisation because of characteristics (e.g. gender) that make them more susceptible to victimisation (Lauritsen and Quinet, 1995). In this way, these characteristics may 'flag' a victim as being a target to a motivated offender (Tseloni and Pease 2003). The second hypothesis, 'state dependence', contrasts to the risk heterogeneity hypothesis and assumes that something happens after a victimisation that increases (or 'boosts') the victim's vulnerability to future victimisation, such as an offender becoming more aware of a person's appeal as a victim or vulnerability, or the victim tries to retaliate (Lauritsen and Quinet 1995; Wittebrood and Nieuwebeerta 2000; Yeater, Treat, Viken and McFall 2010).

For example, research examining the impact of victimisation on behavioural change found that victimisation was more likely to result in mental health issues (including increased depression and lower self-esteem) among female victims than male victims (Ruback, Clark and Warner 2013). Furthermore, research has found mental health problems are likely to further increase the risk of further victimisation in three ways: by flagging increased vulnerability to offenders, making victims less able to recognise risky situations and defend themselves, and lead to substance abuse (including drug and alcohol use) which is strongly linked to further victimisation (Begle et al 2011; Ruback, Clark and Warner 2013).

In the context of victimisation concentration, it is worth noting other research demonstrating that a disproportionate amount of crime is committed by a relatively small number of offenders (Nelson 2015; Wolfgang et al. 1972) and a degree of overlap between offender and victim populations, with many offenders reporting victimisation (Fagan and Mazerolle 2011; Jennings, Piquero and Reingle 2012; Menard 2012). Moreover, the risk factors associated with victimisation have shown to be similar to risk factors associated with involvement in offending behaviour.⁴⁴ While research has shown a clear link between victimisation and offending, the exact causal pathways, including the intersection of shared risk factors, remains an ongoing area of inquiry in the literature.⁴⁵

7.1.3. Young people disproportionately experience victimisation from personal crime

Differences in victimisation was also evident in age-based analyses of victimisation. One-quarter (25.5%) of total victimisations during the reference period was experienced by those aged 10–19 years, despite that age group accounting for 12.8% of the population in Queensland.⁴⁶ People aged 15–19 years accounted for the largest share of total victimisations, with the share then declining for each subsequent age group. The finding of this research that victimisation increases during childhood, peaks during adolescence before declining throughout adulthood is similar to the age-distribution of offenders (otherwise known as the 'age-crime curve') (Farrington 1986; Hirschi and Gottfredson 1983; Sampson and Laub 1995, QGSO 2021b).

As noted earlier, prior research has identified a range of risk factors associated with both victimisation and offending. Some risk factors are particularly pertinent to young people and might help explain their vulnerability and susceptibility to victimisation (and offending), including associating with delinquent peers, engaging in risk behaviours and low self-control (Farrell and Zimmerman 2017; Flexon, Meldrum and Piquero 2015; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Turanovic, Reisig and Pratt 2015).

⁴⁴ These risk factors include childhood victimisation, associating with delinquent peers, drug and alcohol abuse, depression, low self-control, and mental health disorders (Burgess-Proctor 2012; Fagan and Mazerolle 2011; Leach, Stewart and Smallbone 2016; Meijwaard et al. 2015; Ruback, Clark and Warner 2014; Turanovic, Reisig and Pratt 2015).

⁴⁵ The most common theoretical explanation for the overlap between victimisation and offending is based on opportunity theories (including routine activity theory and lifestyle-exposure theory), with some scholars arguing that victimisation and offending are related because of the risky lifestyles adopted by offenders that expose them to criminal others and put them at risk for future victimisation (Cohen and Felson 1979; Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo, 1978; Holtfreter et al. 2010; Sampson and Lauritsen 1990). In this way, offenders are more likely to become victimised than people who are law-abiding (Barnes and Beaver 2012). While research suggests that victims are more likely to become offenders than those who have not been victimised, the reasons for this have not been fully articulated (Beckley et al. 2018; Dobrin 2001).

⁴⁶ Based on ABS population estimates of people aged 10–19 years in Queensland in 2018–19.

7.1.4. Time to personal crime revictimisation is shorter for repeat victims

While other research suggests that the likelihood of revictimisation is highest within the months immediately following a personal crime victimisation, the research discussed in this report did not demonstrate this heightened period of revictimisation.⁴⁷ Indeed, it appeared that the proportion of people experiencing revictimisation slightly increased with time, with 7.9% of revictimised people experiencing revictimisation within one month of their initial victimisation, compared with 15.9% within three months, 24.7% within six months and 38.2% within one year.

Having said this, the research also found differences in the time to first revictimisation according to whether the same or a different offender was involved in the victimisations, with repeat victims substantially more likely to record revictimisation within a shorter time period. The results show that 26.2% of repeat victims were found to be revictimised within one month of their initial victimisation compared with 5.3% of people revictimised by different offenders, and 64.8% of repeat victims had experienced revictimisation within one year of their initial victimisation, compared with 33.9% of people revictimised by different offenders. The shorter time to revictimisation among repeat victims has important implications for the development of DFV-related responses given that this research found repeat victimisation was more likely to be perpetrated by a family member or partner.⁴⁸

7.1.5. Victimisation is a gendered phenomenon

The research shows gendered patterns of victimisation, revictimisation and repeat victimisation. While males (51.8%) and females (48.2%) accounted for a similar share of all victimisations during the reference period, experiences of victimisation differed. For example, sexual offences accounted for a greater share of female victimisations (23.4%) than male victimisations (4.0%), and assault offences were more common among male victimisations (81.9%) than female victimisations (63.5%). The age distribution of people experiencing victimisation also differed in relation to gender, with female victims tending to be younger than male victims. Indeed, the median age of victimisation for females was 24 years compared with 29 years for males (data not shown).

Female victims were slightly more likely than male victims to experience revictimisation and substantially more likely than male victims to experience repeat victimisation. Female victims accounted for (52.5%) of all revictimised people, and a slightly larger share of female victims (23.0%) than male victims (18.3%) experienced two or more victimisations during the reference period. More pronounced gender differences were apparent in relation to repeat victimisation, with female victims accounting for 75.5% of total repeat victims. Just over two-thirds (66.9%) of female victims who were repeat victims experienced victimisation by a family member, compared with 40.3% of males who were repeat victims.

Explanations for the gendered nature of victimisation and revictimisation often focus on the ideas of gendered spaces (Savard, Kelley and Merolla 2017), opportunity theories such as routine activities and lifestyle theories (de Andrade, Homel and Mazerolle 2019; Savard et al. 2019), and/or differential responses to victimisation (Ruback, Clark and Warner 2013). For example, DFV is commonly viewed as a manifestation of men's desire to have power and control over their partner (Ali and Naylor 2013; Boxall et al. 2018; Groves and Thomas 2013). The home is also a private space where there is the potential convergence of a target, motivated offender and relative lack of guardianship, thereby providing the three necessary conditions for victimisation to occur as posited by routine activities theory.

7.1.6. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are overrepresented as personal crime victims and tend to experience victimisation at a younger age

The research shows a clear relationship between Indigeneity and victimisation. While Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people represent about 4.6% of the total Queensland population,⁴⁹ they accounted for 14.1% of total victimisations, 20.1% of revictimised people, 24.9% of highly revictimised people and 34.6% of repeat victims. Overall, the

⁴⁷ For example, victimisation survey-based research from the United States by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (Oudekerk and Truman 2017) reported that between 94% and 96% of violent crime victims experienced a second victimisation within six months of the initial victimisation. Research from the United Kingdom (Soper and Manocha 2014) found between 65% and 85% of victims of violent crime experienced revictimisation within six months, although this varied by the number of victimisations that a victim had, and also included the time between all victimisations. Finally, Lloyd, Farrell and Pease (1994) analysed DFV-related calls for assistance to Merseyside Police in the United Kingdom and found that one-third (35%) of households called police again for assistance within five weeks of the initial event, and after the second incident almost half (45%) called again within five weeks. In this report, only the time between the first and second recorded victimisations was examined.

⁴⁸ Other DFV-related research has shown that the risk of revictimisation is highest within the first months of a DFV incident. For example, a recent Australian study found that 5% of DFV offenders were involved in another DFV incident within two weeks, 8% reoffended within one month, 16% within three months and 23% had reoffended within six months (Morgan, Boxall and Brown 2018). Further, the risk of reoffending for these perpetrators was found to be cumulative, increasing significantly with every subsequent reoffence, while the time between offences decreased for those who reoffended multiple times (Morgan, Boxall and Brown 2018).

⁴⁹ Based on population estimates for the 2018–19 financial year calculated from ABS *National, state and territory population, September 2020*; ABS *Estimates and Projections, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006 to 2036* (unpublished).



annual victimisation rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people was about 3.5 times higher than that of non-Indigenous people. These results are also consistent with prior Australian and international research that has found elevated rates of victimisation among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations than found in the general population (Cunneen and Tauri 2019).^{50 51}

The research also found variation in the age profile of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims compared with non-Indigenous victims. For example, the median age at the time of victimisation was 23 years for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims and 27 years for non-Indigenous victims, while victims aged 10–14 years accounted for 14.7% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victimisations compared with 10.6% of non-Indigenous victimisations—although some of this variation will be explained by the younger age profile of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in Queensland compared with non-Indigenous Queenslanders. This indicates earlier experiences of victimisation among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, which again has some parallel to offender-related research which has demonstrated that the age of offending onset tends to be younger among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander offenders than non-Indigenous offenders (AIHW 2020c; Weatherburn and Ramsey 2018). These findings are important given research showing a relationship between victimisation and involvement in offending behaviour (Fagan and Mazerolle 2011; Jennings, Piquero and Reingle 2012; Menard 2012) and the overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the criminal justice system (Australian Law Reform Commission 2017).

The relatively high incidence of revictimisation and repeat victimisation among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims is likely to be linked to the types of victimisation experienced. For example, other research has shown that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are more likely to experience DFV-related crime compared with non-Indigenous people (AIHW 2019)⁵² and DFV tends to be characterised by high rates of revictimisation (Kuijpers, van der Knaap and Winkel 2012; Oudekerk and Truman 2017; Walby and Allen 2004). Other forms of violent victimisation experienced in some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, such as intergroup violence, are also more likely to be of a recurring nature (Bryant and Willis 2008).

It is important to recognise the broader socioeconomic and sociohistorical context in which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander overrepresentation in victimisation measures should be understood. This context was expressed by participants in a study on violence in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities who referred to a set of interrelated factors contributing to family and community violence.⁵³ These were reported as being "...housing problems, racism, financial stress, alcohol and other drug use, poor physical health and loss of social and emotional wellbeing (including mental health difficulties, unemployment, contact with the justice system and incarceration)" (Guthrie et. al. 2020:15). Colonisation and related trauma were viewed by study participants as being the underlying causes of these factors. It has also been identified that addressing key indicators of disadvantage experienced by some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is likely to be associated with reductions in offending by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and the victimisation they experience (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 2011).

⁵⁰ In New Zealand, Māori were more likely to experience criminal victimisation than the average victimisation rate and more than twice as likely to be the victim of intimate partner violence than were the rest of the population (Ministry of Justice 2015). In the United States, Native Americans experienced crime at a rate twice that of the general population (Perry 2004). In Canada, Aboriginal people were more than twice as likely to report being victims of violent crime compared with non-Aboriginal people (Boyce 2016).

⁵¹ In interpreting the findings about the overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples among personal crime victimisation, it is worth considering literature that suggests that these data may underestimate the true extent of victimisation experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. For example, the existing literature suggests that some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people may be reluctant to disclose violence by a family member to service providers or authorities (Willis 2011). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people may encounter additional barriers to the reporting of crime, including cultural and community considerations, a poor and inappropriate service environment, and distrust of police and government authorities related to past trauma (Bates, Hancock and Peterkin 2001; Fiolet et al. 2019; Memmott 2010; Prentice, Blair and O'Mullan 2017; Taylor and Putt 2007). Victimisation rates are also subject to policing practices, which may differ across locations and different types of offences (Bartels 2010; Cunneen 2001).

⁵² For example, research has shown that in 2016–17 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults were 32 times more likely than non-Indigenous adults to be hospitalised from victimisation from family violence–related assault (AIHW 2019). In 2016–17, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women aged 15 years and over were 34 times as likely to be hospitalised for family violence–related assault, while Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men were 32 times as likely as non-Indigenous men (AIHW 2019). In 2017, most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander assault victims recorded by police were victims of family violence, ranging from 64% in New South Wales to 74% in the Northern Territory (AIHW 2019).

⁵³ This study was led by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and involved communities from urban, rural and remote locations.

7.1.7. **Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females are especially overrepresented as personal crime victims**

While the findings discussed above focus on differences in terms of gender and Indigeneity independently, the research also considered the combined influence of gender and Indigenous status on victimisation. This shows that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females were particularly overrepresented as victims of personal crime. The research found that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females:

- accounted for 9.6% of all victimisations during the reference period, despite accounting for approximately 2.3% of the Queensland population⁵⁴
- accounted for 68.1% of all victimisations experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (in comparison, non-Indigenous females represented 44.8% of all victimisations of non-Indigenous people)
- accounted for 14.7% of all revictimised people and 73.0% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander revictimised people
- accounted for 21.7% of all highly revictimised people and 87.3% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander highly revictimised people
- accounted for 29.5% of all repeat victims and 85.1% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander repeat victims.

These findings align with self-reported victimisation data, which highlight the high rates of victimisation experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females compared with non-Indigenous females. For example, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females self-report experiencing physical or threatened violence at three times the rate of non-Indigenous females (SCRGSP 2016), while the rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females self-reporting DFV by a current partner is also significantly higher than for non-Indigenous females (SCRGSP 2016).

The finding that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females were also more likely to experience victimisation, revictimisation and repeat victimisation than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males can be interpreted in consideration of other studies showing that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males and females were equally likely to self-report having experienced physical violence at least once in the previous 12 months (ABS 2016; ABS 2019b). However, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims were substantially more likely to have reported their most recent experience of physical harm to the police than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims (ABS 2019b).

7.1.8. **Differences between repeat victimisation and revictimisation from different offenders**

A key element of the research was to conceptualise revictimisation in a way that distinguished between revictimisation perpetrated by the same offender (repeat victimisation) and revictimisation perpetrated by different offenders. While the research is likely to underestimate the true prevalence of repeat victimisation due to missing offender information, the results demonstrate differences in the characteristics of repeat victims compared with people revictimised by different offenders.

Repeat victims were more likely to:

- be female—75.5% of all repeat victims compared with 48.2% of people revictimised by different offenders
- be Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female—females accounted for 85.1% of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander repeat victims and 68.6% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people revictimised by different offenders
- experience revictimisation by a family member or partner—60.3% of repeat victims experienced revictimisation by a family member or partner compared with 21.0% of people revictimised by different offenders
- experience a higher number of victimisations on average—18.9% of repeat victims experienced five or more victimisations compared with 8.2% of people revictimised by different offenders
- experience revictimisation within shorter timeframes—26.2% of repeat victims experienced revictimisation within one month of the initial victimisation compared with 5.3% of people revictimised by different offenders.

Taken together, these findings suggest that repeat victims are likely to be people experiencing DFV, as such offences tend to recur more often and more quickly than other types of violent victimisation, and to be perpetrated by family members or partners (Boxall and Morgan 2020; Lloyd, Farrell and Pease 1994).

⁵⁴ Based on population estimates for the 2018–19 financial year calculated from ABS data.

7.2. Future research

Future research may be able to address some of the limitations associated with the research presented in this report and provide additional insight into the contexts in which victimisation occurs. This includes research which:

- examines lifetime victimisation, given that results in this research only capture victimisation occurring within an 11-year period which is likely to contribute to an undercounting of victimisation and revictimisation in the community
- explores the contexts and mechanisms of victimisation and revictimisation to better understand the relationships between victims and offenders, lifestyle factors or routine activities associated with greater victimisation risk, and factors influencing offender motivation and behaviour
- enables a better understanding of victimisation in relation to property crime, including property offences committed in association with personal crime (for example, committing break and enter to facilitate an offence against the person)
- investigates the overlap of victimisation and offending behaviour in the Queensland context.

7.3. Conclusion

The research presented in this report aimed to address a research gap within the Queensland criminal justice landscape by providing a more nuanced understanding of victimisation from personal crime. While acknowledging that the true extent of victimisation cannot be captured using police administrative data, the research was able to explore the characteristics of, and differences in, victimisation, revictimisation and repeat victimisation in the Queensland context.

The finding that revictimisation and repeat victimisation is disproportionately experienced by females and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people reaffirms the need for gender-appropriate and culturally-informed victim support services and interventions. Targeting responses where there is an identified risk of repeat victimisation is also likely to reduce the personal, social and economic costs associated with victimisation.

Glossary and explanatory notes

Glossary

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people: the collective term used in this report when discussing administrative data indicating that a person has been identified as an Australian Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander person. This information may have been self-reported or reflect information captured in administrative processes. The use of this term is not intended to diminish or deny the diversity between and within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander individuals, families, communities, groups and nations across Australia.

Criminal justice system: the government agencies and institutions whose role is to address offending by people in the community and administer justice. In Queensland, the three components of the system are the police, courts and corrective services (including youth justice).

DFV: refers to domestic and family violence and is defined as behaviour by a person (the first person) towards another person (the second person) with whom the first person is in a relevant relationship (intimate personal, family, or informal care relationship) that is physically, sexually, emotionally, psychologically or economically abusive; and/or is threatening, coercive, or in any other way controls or dominates the second person and causes the second person to fear for the second person's safety or wellbeing or that of someone else (as defined in the *Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act 2012* (Qld)).

Distinct victim: refers to analysis based on an individual victim being counted for each victimisation event experienced. Contrasted with *unique victim*.

Estimated resident population (ERP): the official measure of the population of Australia based on where people usually live.

High revictimisation: where the same person experiences revictimisation from personal crime on four or more occasions, regardless of the offender(s) involved. In the broader literature, this is more commonly referred to as 'chronic victimisation'.

Highly revictimised people: people who experience high revictimisation, defined as experiencing four or more revictimisations.

Indigenous status: based on self-identification by the individual who comes into contact with police as one of the following four standard options: Not Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (non-Indigenous, in this report); Aboriginal; Torres Strait Islander; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander.

Most serious offence (MSO): refers to the most serious offence identified within a single incident of victimisation (as one incident may be comprised of more than one offence type), based on classification by the *National Offence Index (NOI)*.

National Offence Index (NOI): a tool developed by the Australian Bureau of Statistics to provide an ordinal ranking of offence categories according to the seriousness of the offence. This tool can be used to rank multiple offences within a victimisation event by seriousness to identify the *most serious offence (MSO)*.

Non-Indigenous: people who self-identified as being 'Not Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander' when coming into contact with police.

Personal crime: criminal offences against the person, which include the offence categories of assault, sexual offences, homicide, robbery, and other offences against the person.

Recorded offences: offences which have been reported to or detected by police. Also referred to as reported offences. In this report, only recorded offences where a person victim was identified have been included.

Reference period: in this report the reference period is 1 July 2008 to 30 June 2019.

Repeat victimisation: where a person experienced more than one victimisation event with the same offender on each occasion. This concept differs from *revictimisation* by requiring the same combination of victim and offender on multiple victimisations.

Repeat victims: people who experienced more than one victimisation event with the same offender on each occasion. Contrasted with *revictimised people (involving different offenders)*.

Reported victims: refers to analysis based on one victim for each victimisation event.

Revictimisation: where a person experienced more than one victimisation event from personal crime.

Revictimisation (involving different offenders): where people experienced personal crime more than once, with different offenders involved on each occasion.

Revictimised people: people who experienced more than one victimisation from personal crime.

Revictimised people (involving different offenders): people who experienced more than one victimisation from personal crime, and on each occasion a different offender was involved. Contrasted with *repeat victim*.

Start date: the date an offence occurred, as advised by the victim or police officer.

Survival analysis: an analytical process for examining differences between groups in the expected duration of time until a certain type of event happens.

Unique victim: refers to analysis based on an individual victim being counted once only, regardless of the number of victimisation events experienced.

Victim: a person who experiences victimisation from personal crime.

Victimisation: a single incident of victimisation from personal crime. A person may experience victimisation involving more than one offence (and offence type) and offender, within an incident.

Victimisation rate: expressed as the number of reported victims per 100,000 estimated resident population.

Explanatory notes

Percentage and rate calculations

The recorded victimisation rate for each reference year in Figure 1 is based on the following calculation:

$$\frac{\text{number of victims with a victimisation that had a start date in the reference year}}{\text{average ERP for the reference year}} \times 100,000$$

For example, the average ERP for the 2018–19 reference year is the average of the ERP as at 30 June 2018 and the ERP as at 30 June 2019.

The source of ERPs used to calculate rates and percentages has been noted throughout the report.

Records where Indigenous status, age and/or sex were not stated have been excluded from any relevant percentage calculations in all tables and figures in this report and noted accordingly. Percentages presented in this report may not always add to 100% due to rounding.

About the QPRIME data used in this research

The data on which these analyses were based were extracted from QPRIME on 8 July 2019 and included only those offences with a status of solved, withdrawn, lapsed or unsolved; cancelled or unfounded crime reports were excluded.

The recorded offences that formed the data used for the analyses were all offences recorded (reported to or detected) by QPS during the reference period of 2008–09 to 2018–19. The report/detection date does not always align with the date the offence occurred (start date). For example, in some instances, particularly with homicide and sexual offences, there may be a large time difference between when the offence occurred and the report/detection date. For this research, only offences reported to or cleared by police, that had a start date between 1 July 2008 and 30 June 2019, were included in the data. Excluding offences with a start date prior to 1 July 2008 removes the impact that historical offences recorded during the reference period (for example, historical child sexual offences) may have on the analyses. However, it is important to keep in mind that offences that had a start date between 2008–09 to 2018–19 but were not recorded until on/after 1 July 2019 will not be included in the data.

Age

Victim age data presented refer to the victim's age on the date the victimisation occurred, rather than their age on the date the victimisation was recorded by the police.

**Indigenous status**

The recorded Indigenous status of victims in the data are based on self-identification by the individual who comes into contact with police according to one of the following four standard options: Not Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (non-Indigenous, in this report); Aboriginal; Torres Strait Islander; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander. The Indigenous status of some victims is missing in QPS data and two versions of the variable for Indigenous status are available: the raw data with Indigenous status missing for some individuals, or the data where some missing Indigenous status data have been imputed using information captured elsewhere relating to the same individual. In this research, the variable with imputed information has been used, and the use of this variable is consistent with other QGSO publications using QPS data.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Data exclusions and counting rules

Exclusions applied to initial data extract

The initial data extract provided by QPS contained 5,390,363 rows of data, related to offences that had been reported to or cleared by police between 1 January 2008 and 30 June 2019. These data contain information related to one or more offences, as well as the victims and offenders who were involved in the incident. A number of exclusions were applied to the initial dataset. These exclusions were made because of issues with missing information or invalid data, or problems posed by the reporting of historical offences. These exclusions are outlined below.

1. Due to the nature of police recording of offences, data were limited to personal crime, which comprises the offences of homicide (murder), other homicide, sexual offences, robbery, assault and other personal crime (see section 3.2.1 for more detailed information). As analyses for this research required being able to determine unique victims, rows with missing single person identifier (SPI) information for victims were excluded, resulting in 358,071 cases.⁵⁵
2. The data were filtered to include only those offences that had been reported to police during the reference period of 1 July 2008 to 30 June 2019. This resulted in 342,819 cases.
3. As offences may not be recorded by police on the same date on which the victimisation occurred, the decision was made to filter offences to include only those that had occurred during the reference period (1 July 2008 to 30 June 2019). This was because the inclusion of offences that occurred before the reference period would not allow the identification of subsequent victimisations (to examine for revictimisation). There were 10,173 cases (3.0% of 342,819 cases) with a start date (the date the offence occurred, as advised by the victim or police officer) before 1 July 2008, and a large proportion of these offences appeared to be historical sex offences. Of these 10,173 cases, 69.9% had a start date of two years or more before the reference period, while 84.7% were for sexual offences. These cases were subsequently excluded, resulting in 332,646 cases.
4. A further 20 cases were considered invalid because they were either missing a start date for the offence, or the start date was listed as occurring after the reported date. These cases were also excluded from analyses.

As a result, a total of 332,626 cases remained in scope for examining the extent of victimisation in Queensland that occurred and was recorded by police during the reference period. However, further exclusions were made for specific analyses when examining different aspects of victimisation, such as revictimisation and repeat victimisation, and these are outlined in the following section.

Victimisation: Event counting rule

In QPRIME, data related to offences are grouped according to an incident (or occurrence). Each incident may be represented by more than one row in the data, as it contains information related to all offence types identified as occurring in an incident, for each victim and offender involved. An example extract is provided in Table 3, which demonstrates that the first two rows relate to two separate types of personal crime that a victim (identified by an identification number) experienced on the same date. In this example, the person was a victim of both assault and robbery.

⁵⁵ In the data, people—both victims and offenders—are identified by the application of a single person identifier (SPI).

Table 3 Original victimisation data structure

Victim SPI	Start date	Offence type	NOI	Event
12345678	14/09/2008	Assault	29	1
12345678	14/09/2008	Robbery	27	1
12345678	02/12/2010	Robbery	27	2
87654321	11/05/2012	Sexual offence	7	1
87654321	11/05/2012	Assault	29	1
11223344	30/06/2011	Sexual offence	7	1
12233445	03/08/2017	Assault	29	1
12233445	04/08/2017	Assault	29	2

While someone could be the victim of multiple types of offences during a single incident, a key unit of analysis within this report is the *victimisation event*. In this report, a victimisation event is conceptualised as the unique combination of a victim SPI and start date, regardless of the number of different offence types that were recorded as occurring on that date, or the number of offenders involved. If more than one victim was involved in an occurrence, then each victim will be included as a separate victimisation.

To collapse the victimisation data into victimisation events, the data were sorted by the victim SPI, start date, and the seriousness of the offence, which was based on classification by the National Offence Index (NOI) developed by ABS (2018). The NOI ranks offences according to perceived seriousness, from the most serious (murder) to those perceived to be the least serious. The application of the NOI enables the identification of the most serious offence (MSO) in instances where multiple offences occur in a single incident.

After sorting the cases by victim SPI, start date and NOI, the data were collapsed based on the unique combination of the victim identifier and start date. Where there were multiple offences on a start date, this resulted in the MSO selected for each combination of victim identifier and start date. By aggregating the data in this way, a victimisation event dataset is created, which provides a count of distinct victimisations as a victim may have experienced more than one victimisation during the reference period. As demonstrated in Table 4, the original data structure shown in Table 3 was reduced from eight cases to six cases (victimisations).

Table 4 Collapsed victimisation event data structure

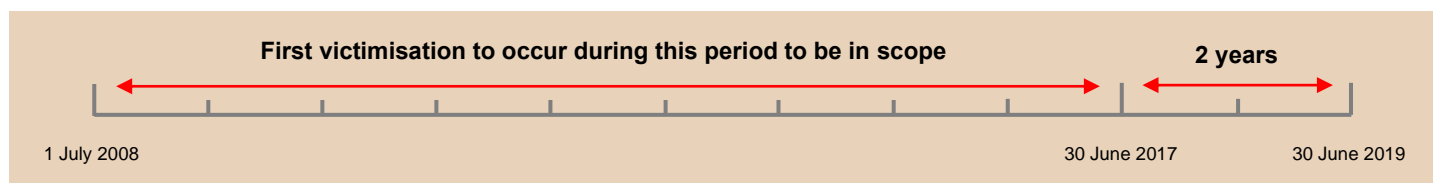
Victim SPI	Start date	MSO	NOI	Event
12345678	14/09/2008	Robbery	27	1
12345678	02/12/2010	Robbery	27	2
87654321	11/05/2012	Sexual offence	7	1
11223344	30/06/2011	Sexual offence	7	1
12233445	03/08/2017	Assault	29	1
12233445	04/08/2017	Assault	29	2

After applying the above aggregations by victim SPI, start date and MSO, there were 299,401 victimisations that occurred in Queensland between 2008–09 and 2018–19 that formed the dataset used for the victimisation analyses. In this section, a count of victims provides a count of distinct victims, rather than unique victims. This is because one victim may have experienced more than one victimisation and be counted more than once.

Revictimisation (including high revictimisation): Additional data exclusions and counting rule

The second stage of the research focused on examining the extent of revictimisation. That is, for those people who had experienced victimisation, did they experience any further victimisation during the reference period.

The analysis for revictimisation was based on the same dataset outlined above for victimisation, but with one additional eligibility requirement. For cases to be considered in-scope for revictimisation analysis, the initial victimisation event had to occur between 1 July 2008 and 30 June 2017 (Figure 49). This ensured that there was a minimum period of two years to follow up the initial victimisation event to assess whether the person had been revictimised.

Figure 49 Reference period of the research and period to be in scope for revictimisation

A second exclusion was the removal of cases where someone was the victim of an offence that resulted in their death (murder, manslaughter, driving causing death, and unlawful striking causing death), and it was their first victimisation. These cases were removed as it was not possible for revictimisation.

After applying the above exclusions, there were 253,062 cases in the revictimisation dataset. Each case corresponded to a victimisation event.

The key unit of analysis for revictimisation was the count of unique victims. That is, a victim is counted only once, regardless of the number of victimisation events that they might have experienced. In the revictimisation dataset, there were a total of 184,091 unique victims, of which 37,728 were revictimised people.

Repeat victimisation: Additional data exclusions and counting rules

The final stage of the research focused on providing more fine-grained analysis on people who experienced revictimisation by examining whether the same or different offender was involved in subsequent victimisation events. Despite a large body of research examining revictimisation, there has been little focus given to the development of revictimisation measures that take into consideration offender information.

To differentiate from the broad concept of revictimisation where the same person experienced more than one victimisation event, repeat victimisation was defined as instances where the same person experienced more than one victimisation event perpetrated by the same offender. Thus, repeat victimisation was identified by the unique dyad (or combination) of a victim and perpetrator in the data appearing more than once. Where more than one offender was involved in a victimisation event, each combination of the victim and the different offender was conceptualised as a separate unique dyad. This is demonstrated using a hypothetical dataset in Table 5, where each unique combination of the victim and offender is assigned a dyad number. The first two rows indicate that there was an incident with one victim involving two separate offenders, and therefore yields two separate unique dyads (victim with offender SPI 44444444 and victim with offender SPI 55555555). If a unique dyad appeared more than once in the data, this was considered an instance of repeat victimisation. This is demonstrated in the hypothetical dataset below, where the first row and third row contain the same victim–offender dyad, indicating revictimisation by the same offender.

Table 5 Dataset demonstrating research approach to measuring repeat victimisation using dyads

Victim SPI	Offender SPI	Start date	Dyad	Repeat victimisation
11111111	44444444	14/09/2008	1	×
11111111	55555555	14/09/2008	2	×
11111111	44444444	02/12/2010	1	✓
11111111	55555555	11/05/2012	2	✓
22222222	66666666	30/06/2011	3	×
22222222	66666666	03/08/2014	3	✓
33333333	66666666	04/08/2017	4	×

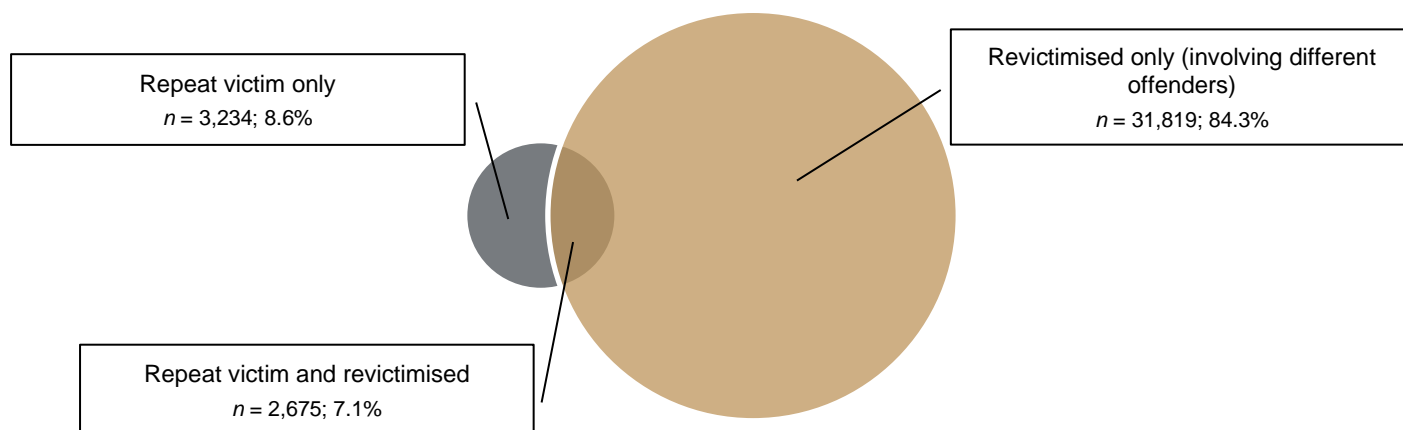
After the above counting rule was applied there was a total of 6,155 *unique dyads* (combinations of a victim and an offender), representing 5,909 *unique repeat victims*.

Revictimisation and repeat victimisation are not mutually exclusive categories

The concepts of revictimisation and repeat victimisation used in this research are not mutually exclusive. That is, while some people might only experience revictimisation by the same offender, or only by different offenders, some people might have been revictimised by different offenders as well as by the same offender. These categories and the number of victims who comprise each category is shown diagrammatically in Figure 50. Of the 37,728 people who experienced revictimisation, the majority (84.3%) experienced victimisations by different offenders only, while the remaining 5,909 (15.7%) of victims comprised 8.6% who had experienced repeat victimisation only and 7.1% who had experienced revictimisation by both the same offender as well as other offenders.

In this report, analyses of repeat victimisation were conducted on the basis that a victim had ever experienced repeat victimisation, thus combining repeat victims only with victims who had experienced both repeat victimisation and also revictimisation by different offenders. This decision was made because a focus on people who had only experienced repeat victimisation would reduce the available sample size for analyses, which was relatively small over the entire reference period. There is opportunity for future research to examine the three groups separately.

Figure 50 Venn diagram showing breakdown of groups of victims by type of revictimisation



Dealing with missing information related to the offender in a victimisation

A key component of the concept of repeat victimisation relies on having information about the offender involved in a victimisation (including the offender SPI). One issue in analysing repeat victimisation in this research, including determining its prevalence, resulted from the large number of victimisations that were missing information related to the offender. The number and proportion of victimisations missing offender information for each year during the reference period is presented in Table 6. Overall, 112,616 (37.6%) of the total 299,401 victimisations were missing offender information. Broadly, the proportion of victimisations without any offender information varied over the reference period between 32.0% and 46.9%. Reasons for why a victimisation could be missing offender information are if an offender had not been detected, or if an offender had not yet had police action taken against them. This may explain the increased proportion of victimisations missing offender information in recent years, as there may be delays in taking formal police action against some offenders due to investigations.

Table 6 Victimisations missing information related to the offender

Year	Victimisations with offender information	Victimisations missing offender information	Proportion of victimisations missing offender information (%)
2008–09	16,424	10,481	39.0
2009–10	17,397	10,661	38.0
2010–11	15,964	10,400	39.4
2011–12	16,976	10,298	37.8
2012–13	16,906	9,472	35.9
2013–14	16,498	8,436	33.8
2014–15	16,090	7,555	32.0
2015–16	17,603	8,515	32.6
2016–17	18,687	10,212	35.3
2017–18	18,223	12,441	40.6
2018–19	16,017	14,145	46.9
Total	186,785	112,616	37.6

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data

Victimisations missing offender information were then examined by the MSO of the victimisation, to explore whether certain offences were more likely to be missing information about the offender. As shown in Table 7, almost half of all victimisations where the MSO was a sexual offence (49.3%), robbery offence (48.5%) or other offence against the person (45.2%) were missing offender information. About one-third (34.1%) of victimisations where the MSO was an assault

offence were missing offender information, while only a small proportion of victimisations involving homicide (4.7%) and other homicide (3.9%) were missing offender information. This is consistent with Australian research which shows that some personal crime offence types typically have low clearance or closure rates (where an offender is identified), including robbery, sexual offences, while homicide offences tend to have high clearance rates (Bricknell 2020; Holmes and Fitzgerald 2017).

Table 7 **Victimisations missing information related to the offender by the most serious offence in the victimisation, 2008–09 to 2018–19**

Offence type	Total number of victimisations	Victimisations missing offender information	Proportion of victimisations missing offender information (%)
Sexual offences	39,876	19,677	49.3
Robbery	13,167	6,387	48.5
Other offences against the person	26,306	11,903	45.2
Assault	218,593	74,588	34.1
Homicide (murder)	510	24	4.7
Other homicide	949	37	3.9
Total	299,401	112,616	37.6

Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data

Appendix B: Additional statistical technique and figures

In addition to descriptive statistics, survival analysis was used to assess whether there were differences in the time to revictimisation for different demographic groups. Further information on survival analysis is provided below.

Survival analysis

There are two common barriers in trying to examine the difference between groups of people in the time between two events (such as victimisation and revictimisation). First, it is often not possible to collect data for every case from an initial event to the point of another event of interest. Observations are called censored when the information about their 'survival' time is incomplete. For example, in a study to measure the impact of a drug on mortality rate, a participant might live for far longer than the data can be collected. In this research, a victim may not experience any further victimisations before the end of the reference period, and thus the data were considered to be 'right censored'.

A second problem is that there is variation in follow-up times. In this research, follow-up times varied across individual victims, depending on when they experienced their initial victimisation within the reference period, with a minimum follow-up time of two years (someone victimised on 30 June 2017), and a maximum follow-up time of just under 11 years (someone victimised on 1 July 2008).

Thus, survival analysis that showed the probability of not being revictimised at a certain point in time was undertaken to supplement the measurement of time to first revictimisation analyses presented in this report, to address the data censoring and variation in follow-up periods challenges discussed above. The Kaplan-Meier estimator was used to estimate the survival function, and a visual representation of this function (the Kaplan-Meier curve) shows what the probability of survival from an event (in this case, revictimisation) is at a certain time interval (at time t) after their initial victimisation.

This technique can be used to compare the survival function between groups. The vertical axis of the curve represents the estimated probability of survival for a hypothetical cohort, not the actual proportion surviving because of censored data. The precision of estimates depends on the number of observations and therefore the estimates at the left-hand side are considered more precise due to the small numbers of people who have experienced revictimisation.

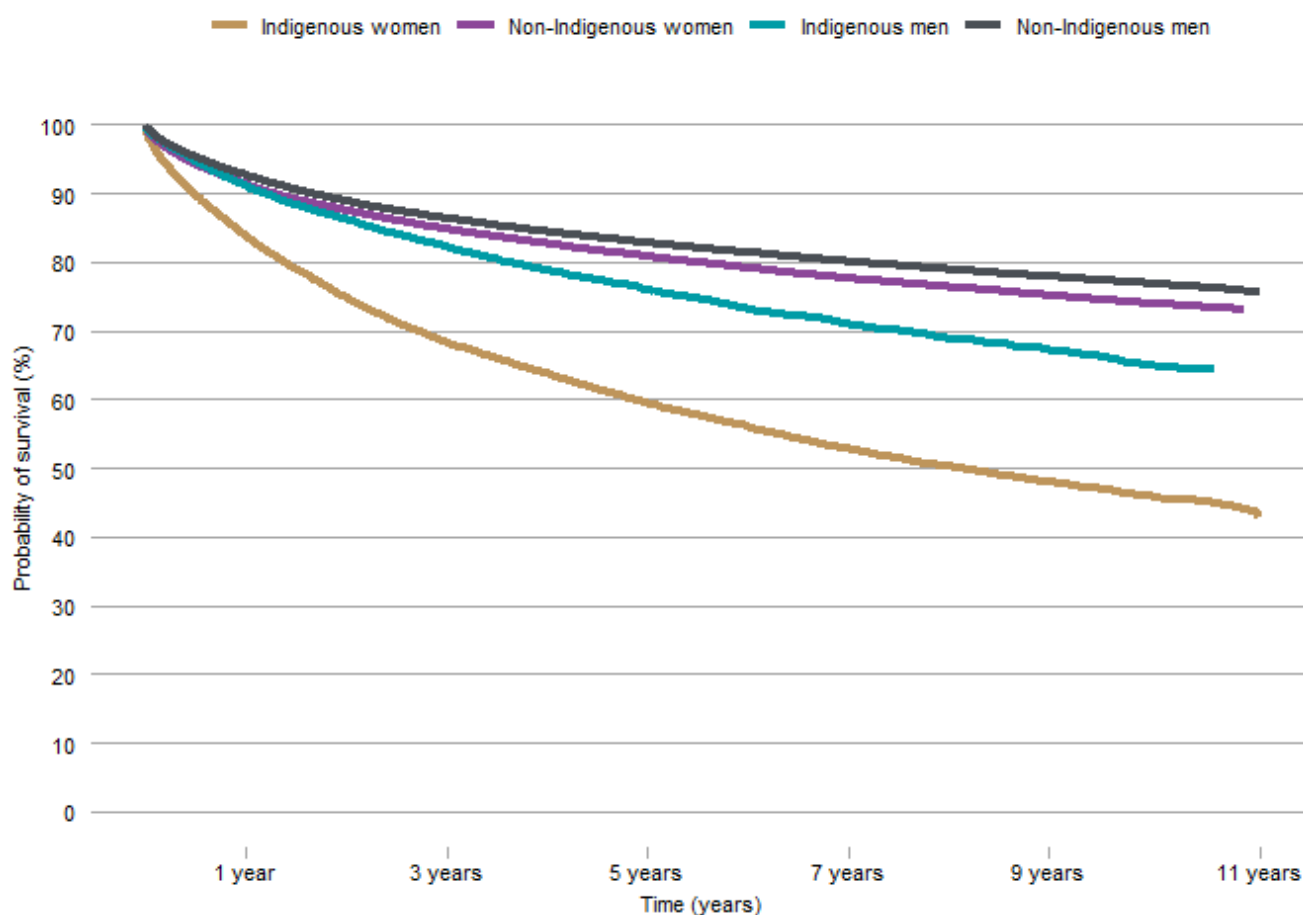
Chances of revictimisation vary in relation to demographic groups

Descriptive statistics for the time to revictimisation (between a victim's first and subsequent victimisation) were presented in section 5.1, and survival analysis was undertaken to supplement this descriptive examination. The Kaplan-Meier curve plotted in Figure 51 shows the probability of survival from revictimisation (not being revictimised) at a certain time interval (provided they had 'survived' to that point) for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims, non-Indigenous female victims and non-Indigenous male victims across time, and demonstrates that the observed differences between the survival distributions for the four demographic groups are significant.⁵⁶ The Kaplan-Meier curve shows that the:

- survival probability at 12 months following the first victimisation for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims was 83.9%, which was markedly different from the survival probability for non-Indigenous female victims (91.4%), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims (91.1%) and non-Indigenous male victims (92.7%)
- differences in survival probability were more apparent at five years following the first victimisation for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims (59.6%) compared with the survival probability for non-Indigenous female victims (80.9%), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims (76.0%) and non-Indigenous male victims (82.9%)
- survival probability for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims was higher than for non-Indigenous females for the first six months only, before becoming consistently lower at subsequent time intervals.

⁵⁶ This log-rank test indicated that the null hypothesis (that there are no differences in the probability of an event at any point in time) should be rejected, and that there are statistically significant differences between the survival distributions of the four groups ($p < .001$). It does not, however, indicate which groups are statistically significant from each other.

Figure 51 Probability of survival over time from index victimisation event to revictimisation by gender and Indigenous status, 2008–09 to 2018–19



Source: QGSO analysis of unpublished QPS data.

