

QUEENSLAND TREASURY

# The overlap between offending and victimisation in Queensland

Crime research report

**Queensland Government Statistician's Office**

Queensland Treasury

[www.qgso.qld.gov.au](http://www.qgso.qld.gov.au)

© The State of Queensland (Queensland Treasury) 2023

The Queensland Government supports and encourages the dissemination and exchange of information. However, copyright protects this publication. The State of Queensland has no objection to this material being reproduced, made available online or electronically but only if it is recognised as the owner of the copyright and this material remains unaltered.

**Licence**

This document is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY 4.0) International licence.



To view a copy of this licence, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>

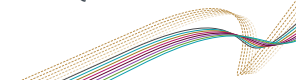
**Attribution**

Content from this report should be attributed to:

Queensland Government Statistician's Office, Queensland Treasury, *The overlap between offending and victimisation in Queensland*.

**Disclaimer**

While great care has been taken in collecting, processing analysing, and extracting information, Queensland Government Statistician's Office, Queensland Treasury makes no warranty regarding errors or omissions and assumes no legal liability or responsibility for loss or damage resulting from the use of the information.



# Contents

<b>Acronyms .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Report summary .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>1.0 Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2.0 Background .....</b>	<b>2</b>
2.1. The victim–offender overlap .....	2
<b>3.0 Research approach .....</b>	<b>5</b>
3.1. Key research questions .....	5
3.2. Data source .....	5
3.3. Definitions and measurement of key concepts .....	6
3.4. Data analysis .....	7
3.5. Limitations .....	8
<b>4.0 Results .....</b>	<b>9</b>
4.1. Overall crime trends in Queensland .....	9
4.2. Police contact for in-scope individuals .....	11
4.3. The victim–offender overlap .....	13
4.4. Comparing offending groups: Demographic and offending profiles .....	16
4.5. Comparing victim groups: Demographic and victimisation profiles .....	21
<b>5.0 Discussion .....</b>	<b>25</b>
5.1. Future research .....	28
5.2. Conclusion .....	29
<b>Glossary and explanatory notes .....</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>References .....</b>	<b>33</b>

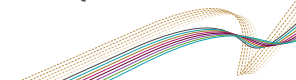


## Tables

Table 1	Police contact and the overlap between offending and victimisation by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20.....	12
Table 2	First police contact among victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20 .....	15
Table 3	Offenders only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20	17
Table 4	Offenders only and victim-offenders with a personal offence by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20 .....	18
Table 5	Average number of offending events for offenders only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20.....	19
Table 6	Average age at first offence for offenders only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20.....	20
Table 7	Victims only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20....	22
Table 8	Average number of victimisation events for victims only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20.....	23
Table 9	Average age at first victimisation event for victims only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20.....	24

## Figures

Figure 1	Overlap of victimisation and offending .....	2
Figure 2	Eligibility period and monitoring period examining offending and victimisation for individuals in Queensland .....	6
Figure 3	Rate of reported offences in Queensland .....	9
Figure 4	Rate of offenders in Queensland .....	10
Figure 5	Rate of victims of personal crime in Queensland.....	11
Figure 6	Type of police contact, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20 .....	13
Figure 7	Type of police contact by gender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20 .....	13
Figure 8	Type of police contact by Indigenous status, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20 .....	14
Figure 9	Type of police contact by Indigenous status and gender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20.....	14



# Acronyms

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
DFV	domestic and family violence
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

# Report summary

## Background

Research finds that offending and victimisation are strongly associated, and this relationship appears to be consistent across time, place, offence types, and for various sub-groups of the population. This relationship is often explored through examining the prevalence of victimisation among offenders and is commonly referred to as the 'victim-offender overlap'.

While theoretical explanations for the victim-offender overlap have been offered, the mechanisms between offending and victimisation – including whether one precedes the other – remain unclear. Common explanations focus on the daily routines or lifestyles of people that place them in situations conducive to both offending and victimisation, or explain how offending may be a response to exposure to violence or experiencing victimisation.

Despite research consistently demonstrating similarities between offenders and victims in terms of demographic characteristics (Barnes and Beaver 2012; Gottfredson 1984; Schreck, Stewart and Osgood 2008; Singer 1981), more recent research suggests that differences can be observed between groups of people based on whether they only offend, only experience victimisation, or are victim-offenders, with victim-offenders recording the highest scores on risk factors for offending and victimisation (TenEyck and Barnes 2018).

## Research aims and approach

The research project described in this report aimed to explore the overlap between offending and victimisation in Queensland. In this project, offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.<sup>1</sup>

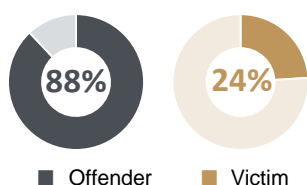
The project's key research questions were:

- To what extent are offenders also the victims of personal crime?
- To what extent are victims of personal crime also offenders?
- Are there differences in the amount of victim-offender overlap across different demographic groups?
- Do offender groups (offenders only versus victim-offenders) differ in demographic and offending profiles?
- Do victim groups (victims only and victim-offenders) differ in demographic and victimisation profiles?

The project used Queensland police administrative data and focused on individuals who had police contact as an offender and/or as a victim during an eligibility period between 1 July 2012 and 30 June 2016 (the index event), including any other recorded police contact they had during a monitoring period of eight years (four years prior and after their index event).<sup>2</sup>

## Key findings

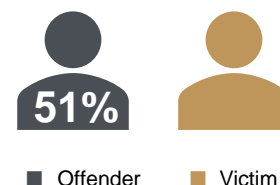
**Most individuals have contact with police as an offender**



**1 in 7 offenders are victims**



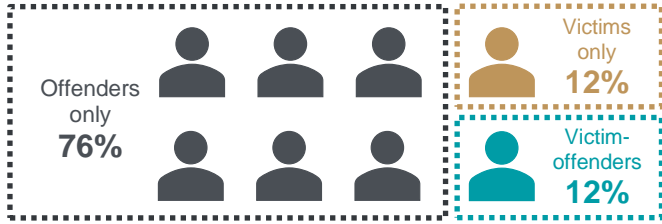
**1 in 2 victims are offenders**



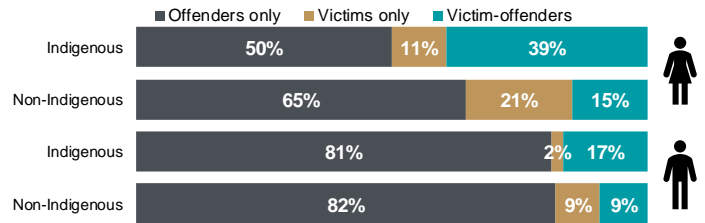
<sup>1</sup> Personal crime relates to offences against the person, which include homicide (murder), other homicide, sexual offences, robbery, assault and other offences against the person.

<sup>2</sup> Offending information was based on any type of offence where an individual had some form of police action taken against them (such as an arrest, notice to appear in court, formal police caution, etc.). Information related to both offending and victimisation was limited to offences which had been reported to or detected by police.

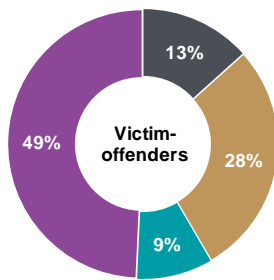
**Most individuals have contact as offenders only**



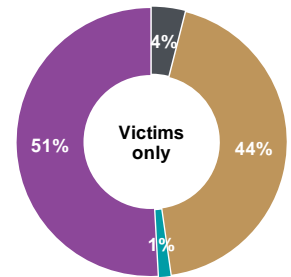
**Victim-offender groups differ by demographics**



**Offenders only demographics**



**Victim-offenders demographics**



**Victims only demographics**

■ Indigenous female ■ Non-Indigenous female ■ Indigenous male ■ Non-Indigenous male

**Being charged with a personal crime is more common for victim-offenders than offenders only**



**Victim-offenders average more offending events than offenders only**



**Slight variation between victims only and victim-offenders in average victimisation events**



**Implications**

The results highlight the importance of responding to victimisation in Queensland, including victimisation experienced by offenders. They suggest that effective trauma-informed interventions for victims may address gendered harm, reduce criminal justice system demand and decrease Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander overrepresentation in the criminal justice system. Targeted efforts with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females are likely to be of particular benefit.



# 1.0 Introduction

'The overlap between offending and victimisation in Queensland' research project (the project) aimed to understand the extent to which people in Queensland have been recorded as the victim of personal crime and also as an offender, through analyses of police administrative data. This project builds on other crime research undertaken by Queensland Government Statistician's Office (QGSO) as part of a broader project called *Patterns of crime and victimisation in Queensland*. Other related reports include:

- *Changing patterns in the age distribution of crime in Queensland* (QGSO 2021a) which showed changes in the age profile of offenders in Queensland over time
- *Spatial and temporal distribution of reported offences in Queensland* (QGSO 2021b) which showed variation in Queensland crime trends in relation to locations and their socioeconomic characteristics
- *Victimisation from personal crime in Queensland* (QGSO 2021c) which showed variation in the prevalence of victimisation and revictimisation in different demographic groups.

Following this introduction, a brief summary of relevant literature and theory to position the research objectives and questions is provided in Chapter 2. The research methods used to respond to the research questions are then described in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the research findings, which are discussed in Chapter 5, along with areas for future research.



## 2.0 Background

A consistent finding within the criminological literature is that there is a relationship between being an offender and being a victim of crime. While research tends to focus on the phenomena of offending and victimisation separately, there has been a growing acknowledgment that this separation obscures important information given that offending is strongly associated with victimisation (Berg and Mulford 2020; Jennings et al. 2010; Lauritsen, Sampson and Laub 1991; Turanovic and Young 2016). Rather than victims and offenders being distinct groups of people, there is growing research which demonstrates that victims and offenders share similar demographic characteristics, and some individuals experience victimisation and commit crime (Daday et al. 2005; Jennings, Piquero and Reingle 2012). It is this intersection between victimisation and offending – the 'victim–offender overlap' depicted in Figure 1, that is the focus of the current project.

**Figure 1** Overlap of victimisation and offending



Source: Jennings, Piquero and Reingle (2012)

### 2.1. The victim–offender overlap

While not all victims are offenders and vice versa, research shows the existence of an overlap between the two groups (Jennings, Piquero and Reingle 2012; Posick 2013). Evidence of a victim–offender overlap has been observed across different countries and ethnic groups, and across self–reported and criminal justice data (for example, see Chan 2019; Engström 2018; Hiltz, Bland and Barnes 2020; Shapland and Bottoms 2019; Wittebrood and Nieuwbeerta 1999). This overlap exists across various types of victimisation and offences, including the relationship between offending and bullying (Cullen et al. 2008), child sexual abuse (Papalia et al. 2018) and other forms of abuse and maltreatment (Widom 2017). Research has also focused on the relationship between victimisation and offending within specific types of offences, such as domestic and family violence (Tillyer and Wright 2014), cybercrime (Marcum et al. 2014), and knife crime (Bailey, Harinam and Ariel 2020).

While the victim–offender overlap has been identified in different stages of the life-course, including among older people (Lauritsen and Laub 2007; Reisig and Holtfreter 2018), the most robust association between victimisation and offending has been observed among young people (Jennings et al. 2010). This is not surprising given that the age–crime curve demonstrates that young people offend at greater rates than adults, and victimisation data show that young people rank among the most victimised population (QGSO 2021a, 2021c). Indeed, a substantial amount of prior research examining the victim–offender overlap has focused on young people, due to the theoretical relevance of where the peak ages of offending and victimisation tend to occur, and because this focus requires a relatively small window of data to examine.

Prior research also demonstrates a particularly strong association between violent offending and violent victimisation (Averdijk et al. 2016; Berg and Felson 2020; Berg et al. 2012; Singer 1986; Wittebrood and Nieuwbeerta 1999). The existing research shows that victims of violence are likely to commit violent acts themselves, and conversely, offenders have a relatively high probability of being victimised. However, while this overlap is a robust research finding, evidence supporting the theoretical explanations for how experiences of violent victimisation explain engaging in violent offending (and vice versa) is limited (Lauritsen and Laub 2007).

#### 2.1.1. Theoretical explanations for the victim–offender overlap

Theoretical explanations offered to explain the victim–offender overlap include lifestyle/routine activity theory, general strain theory and subculture of violence theory. The concept of violent resistance is also possibly relevant.

One of the main theoretical perspectives to explain the overlap between victimisation and offending is based on the lifestyle/routine activity theory of victimisation (Cohen and Felson 1979; Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo 1978).



According to this view, the victim–offender overlap may be in part attributed to the influence that opportunity and risky lifestyles have on increasing the likelihood for offending or experiencing victimisation. That is, situations that provide opportunities to offend consequently also places an individual at an elevated risk for experiencing victimisation from other offenders (Lauritsen, Sampson and Laub 1991; Mulford et al. 2018; Mustaine and Tewksbury 2000; Osgood et al. 1996). An increased exposure to crime may often occur as a consequence of involvement in risky behaviours with anti–social peers (e.g. drinking alcohol, taking drugs, staying out late), which may especially explain the victim–offender overlap that has been observed among young people (Mulford et al. 2018; Sampson and Lauritsen 1990; Turanovic and Young 2016).

General strain theory argues that some individuals who experience certain strains (or stressful, unwanted events) are more likely to engage in criminal and anti–social behaviour in response to their adverse situation (Agnew 1992, 2002). According to this view, strains fall into one or more of three broad categories: an inability to achieve valued goals (e.g. monetary or status goals), the loss of valued stimuli (e.g. material possessions or death of a loved one), and the presentation or threatened presentation of negative stimuli (e.g. verbal or physical abuse) (Agnew 2001, 2014). Experiencing strain may produce negative emotions (such as anger, frustration and/or depression) which create pressure for corrective action, of which crime is one response (Agnew 1992, 2014). The strains that are most conducive to crime are those which are high in magnitude (or more severe), viewed as unjust and create incentive for criminal coping (Agnew 2001, 2014). For example, an individual experiencing extreme financial hardship might view theft as a means of corrective action to resolve this strain. According to strain theory, one of the greatest strains is experiencing violent victimisation (which will often be viewed as being high in magnitude and unjust), and this increases the likelihood of offending (including violent offending) by increasing negative emotions such as anger (Agnew 2002, 2014). There has been support from the existing research demonstrating that prior victimisation was strongly related to offending, providing explanation for the victim–offender overlap (Hay and Evans 2006; Manasse and Ganem 2009).

Explanations for the relationship between violent offending and violent victimisation specifically, tend to be grounded in subculture of violence theory (Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967). This theory proposes that in certain areas and for certain subgroups of the population, there is a subcultural value system that supports the use of violence in a way that is not emphasised in the predominant culture. In terms of the victim–offender overlap, such subcultures value a system based on status and honour (e.g. ‘street code’), where conflicts are more likely to result in reciprocal acts of violence (through retaliation and revenge), thus increasing the likelihood that people within the subculture become both an offender and victim (Singer 1981). This theory has been used specifically as the dominant explanation for the victim–offender overlap among gang members, especially male victim-offenders in the American context, and it broadly suggests that the victim–offender overlap would be more prevalent in areas where a culture supporting the use of violence in conflict is more prominent (Berg et al. 2012).

A final concept relevant to the explanation of the victim–offender overlap is the use of ‘violent resistance’ within the context of domestic and family violence (DFV). Violent resistance has been defined as instances where some people who experience DFV (most commonly women) respond to that violence in kind, either through defending themselves when experiencing a violent situation, or in retaliation for a previous experience involving violence (Johnson 2006). Research within the Australian context found that violent resistance was more common in incidents involving Indigenous women than non-Indigenous women (Boxall, Dowling and Morgan 2020). The use of violent resistance in response to DFV or in response to the actions of a partner in the context of previous DFV, may therefore contribute to an increased incidence of victim–offender overlap among women, and especially among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women.

### **2.1.2. Similarities and differences between offenders, victims and victim-offenders**

Early interest in the victim–offender overlap was in part influenced by research which found that offenders and victims shared similar demographic characteristics (Gottfredson 1984; Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo 1978; Wolfgang 1958). While contemporary research continues to find similarities between offenders and victims (Barnes and Beaver 2012; Broidy et al. 2006; Schreck, Stewart and Osgood 2008), research focused specifically on the victim–offender overlap demonstrates differences between groups of victims, offenders and victim-offenders. For example, TenEyck and Barnes (2018) found different patterns of risk and protective factors across the groups, with victim-offenders having the highest scores on risk factors for victimisation and offending, compared with those who were offenders only and those who were victims only. Such findings highlight that there may be important differences between groups of offenders, victims and victim-offenders that may prove useful in crime prevention and victim support.

The lifestyle/routine activity theory provides an explanation for the similarity between offending and victim demographic profiles (Aaltonen 2016). According to the ‘principle of homophily’ which simply states that people with similar characteristics tend to connect and share the same spaces (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook 2001), individuals from similar demographic groups with higher numbers of offenders tend to have a higher risk of victimisation because of an increased exposure to offenders in a location, rather than because of other factors such as social disadvantage (Aaltonen 2016; Mustaine and Tewksbury 2000; Turanovic and Young 2016).



### **2.1.3. Temporal ordering of offending and victimisation for victim-offenders**

Despite strong evidence of the existence of the victim–offender overlap, the temporal association between victimisation and offending remains unclear. That is, it is not known whether victimisation generally precedes offending, or whether offending tends to occur before victimisation. While research has found victimisation to be a risk factor associated with anti-social and offending behaviour (Chang, Chen and Brownson 2003; Daday et al. 2005; Hay and Evans 2006; Manasse and Ganem 2009; Posick 2018), the cross-sectional nature of most victim–offender research, does not allow a thorough examination of whether offending or victimisation precedes the other, and whether a specific temporal ordering of events is common across groups of victim-offenders.

### **2.1.4. Limited Australian research**

While there is a growing body of international research examining the victim–offender overlap, very little research has examined the victim–offender overlap in Australia, and available work tends to focus on specific offence types (Baxter 2020; Boxall, Dowling and Morgan 2020; Fagan and Mazerolle 2011). The current project aims to address this gap in the literature by examining the extent to which there is a victim–offender overlap in Queensland, and whether there are observable similarities or differences between groups of offenders, victims and victim-offenders.

## 3.0 Research approach

This chapter outlines the project's key research questions and describes the data and methods used to address these questions. Information on how concepts were operationalised and the limitations that should be considered in the interpretation of research findings is also provided.

### 3.1. Key research questions

The key research questions addressed by this project are:

- To what extent are offenders also the victims of personal crime?
- To what extent are victims of personal crime also offenders?
- Are there differences in the amount of victim–offender overlap across different demographic groups?
- Do offender groups (offenders only versus victim-offenders) differ in demographic and offending profiles?
- Do victim groups (victims only and victim-offenders) differ in demographic and victimisation profiles?

### 3.2. Data source

This section describes the data used by the project and outlines the observation periods and eligibility criteria applied to these data to enable measurement of the victim–offender overlap.

#### 3.2.1. Data source

The data that form the basis of quantitative analyses presented in this report were derived from offence-based data recorded in the Queensland Police Records and Information Management Exchange (QPRIME) system and obtained from the Queensland Police Service (QPS).<sup>3</sup> These data relate to alleged offences recorded by police occurring between 1 July 2008 and 30 June 2020 and contain information about criminal events, which can be comprised of one or more offences, and their related victims and offenders.<sup>4</sup>

Information about an alleged offender is recorded in QPRIME after police action (e.g. arrest, summons, warrant, caution, restorative justice conference or other action) has been taken against an individual.<sup>5</sup> While information about an offender may be available for any type of offence, information about a victim in QPRIME is limited to personal offences (also commonly referred to as 'offences against the person'). Personal offences include homicide (murder), other homicide, sexual offences, robbery, assault and other offences against the person.

#### 3.2.2. Reference, eligibility and monitoring periods to examine the victim–offender overlap

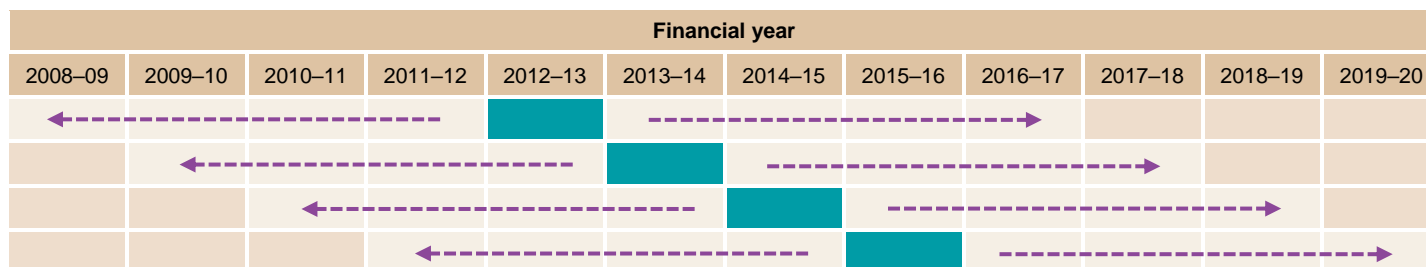
While the data sourced for the project relate to alleged offences recorded by police between 2008–09 to 2019–20 (the reference period), to be in scope for analyses, an individual was required to have had contact with the police as either a victim or offender (the index event) within a four year eligibility period (between 1 July 2012 and 30 June 2016). The use of an eligibility period enabled individuals to be monitored, using a 'rolling period' of four years both before and after their index event to determine if they had been associated with other offending or victimisation. This enabled an examination of a potential victim–offender overlap over a period of eight years (monitoring period) (Figure 2). Where an individual had more than one police contact during the eligibility period, the first contact that occurred was selected as the index event.

<sup>3</sup> Information presented in this report may vary from that published elsewhere. This is due to the dynamic nature of police administrative data, the date of data extraction, as well as the counting rules applied. Readers are therefore urged to exercise caution when comparing results across different publications.

<sup>4</sup> 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). For this project, data were selected in relation to the date the offence occurred (as advised by the victim or police officer), which is also known as the start date of the offence.

<sup>5</sup> This relates to alleged offending as not all offences reported to police are proven in a court of law.

**Figure 2 Eligibility period and monitoring period examining offending and victimisation for individuals in Queensland**



Note: To be considered in scope, an individual was to have an index event (as an offender or victim) within the eligibility period between 2012-13 and 2015-16, which would allow a monitoring period of eight years, including four years prior to the index event, and four years after the index event.

### 3.2.3. Age at index event as eligibility for inclusion

To be considered in scope for analyses, an individual was required to have been aged 14 years or more at the index event.<sup>6</sup> This ensured that individuals included in the study were of the age of criminal responsibility across all monitoring periods, which was critical to understanding the victim-offender overlap. However, this meant individuals aged between 10 and 13 years who had contact with police as an offender and/or victim were excluded from analyses<sup>7</sup> to avoid the creation of artificial bias in the results.<sup>8</sup> This exclusion should be considered in the interpretation of the project's findings.

The approach described above was determined to be the optimum way forward given the project's research objectives, constraints of available data and legal definitions of criminality. However, it is important to acknowledge that defining the monitoring period and eligibility criteria for individuals to be in scope impacts the results of analyses.<sup>9</sup> Longer monitoring periods improve the reliability of results and the monitoring period used by this project is generally longer than that available for other research projects examining the victim-offender overlap using cross-sectional data.

## 3.3. Definitions and measurement of key concepts

This section discusses the operationalisation of key concepts used to examine victim-offender overlap.

### 3.3.1. Classification of individuals into groups based on contact

Individuals were classified into three groups based on the type of police contact that they had during the total monitoring period (before and after the index event), including:

- **Offenders only:** individuals whose only recorded police contact was as an offender
- **Victims only:** individuals whose only recorded police contact was as a victim of a personal crime
- **Victim-offenders:** individuals who had police contact as both a victim of personal crime and an offender.



### 3.3.2. Police contact based on events

The counts of contact that individuals had with police were based on events, where an 'event' was any offence or offences that occurred on a single day involving an individual (as either the victim or the offender). Where more than one offence occurred for an individual on a specific date, the most serious offence was selected.<sup>10</sup> While victimisation only relates to personal offences, all types of offending were included in project analyses.

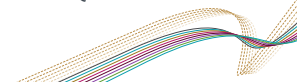
<sup>6</sup> An individual's age was calculated based on the date at which the offence occurred, as determined by the police officer or victim.

<sup>7</sup> Restricting eligibility to individuals aged 14 years and older resulted in the exclusion of 20,594 individuals (5.3% of all individuals with an index event during the eligibility period).

<sup>8</sup> If victims of any age had remained in scope for the research, the findings may have been artificially biased towards showing a larger proportion of people whose only contact was as a victim, given that individuals of any age can experience victimisation, although cannot be legally considered an offender until the age of 10 years.

<sup>9</sup> For example, exploratory analyses showed that when using a monitoring period of eight years for people of any age, there was a victim-offender overlap of 12.6%, while a monitoring period of four years (two years before and after an index event) for people aged 12 years and older resulted in a victim-offender overlap of 7.1% (data not shown).

<sup>10</sup> The most serious offence was determined based on ranking by the National Offence Index (NOI) developed by the (ABS 2018).



### 3.3.3. Measures of contact prevalence and frequency

When examining the contact that individuals had with police (as victims and/or offenders) during the monitoring period, measures relating to both the *prevalence* (e.g. proportion of offenders who were also victimised, proportion of victims who were offenders, proportion of offenders charged with a personal offence) and *frequency* of contact (e.g. number of offending and/or victimisation events that different groups had) were employed. These measures included:

- **Proportion of offenders who were victimised:** used to examine the proportion of offenders who had also been recorded as a victim of a personal crime
- **Proportion of victims who offended:** used to examine the proportion of victims who had also been recorded as an offender
- **Victim–offender overlap:** used to examine the proportion of individuals who had been recorded as both a victim of personal crime and an offender
- **Prevalence of personal offences:** used to examine the proportion of offenders who were charged with a personal crime
- **Average number of offending events:** used to compare the frequency of offending contact events between groups of offenders (offenders only and victim-offenders)
- **Average number of victimisation events:** used to compare the frequency of victimisation events between groups of victims (victims only and victim-offenders)
- **Average age at first offence:** used to compare the average age at first offence during the monitoring period between groups of offenders (offenders only and victim-offenders)
- **Average age at first victimisation:** used to compare the average age at first victimisation during the monitoring period between groups of victims (victims only and victim-offenders).

### 3.3.4. First police contact for victim-offenders

For victim-offenders, there is scholarly interest in exploring the temporal ordering of offending and victimisation events to better inform and understand the relationship between offending and victimisation. While the data available to the project do not represent all police contacts for all individuals across their life, a period of eight years represents a large time period to capture recorded contact that people had with the police as an offender or victim. A variable was created to examine the type of contact that victim-offenders had during the entire monitoring period:

- **First contact:** the type of police contact that a victim-offender had during the eight-year monitoring period.<sup>11</sup>

## 3.4. Data analysis

The research primarily used descriptive statistics to examine different groups of individuals based on the type of contact they had with the police. Inferential statistics were also used to specifically compare the demographic characteristics of groups and differences between the groups in dimensions of offending and victimisation.<sup>12</sup>

Inferential statistics used in analyses included the chi-square test of independence, which was used to examine if there was a significant association between two types of categorical variables (for example, to explore whether there was an association between offender groups and the prevalence of being charged with a personal offence or demographic characteristics) and the independent samples *t*-test, which was used to determine if there was a significant difference between the means of two groups (such as mean number of offending events between two groups of offenders).

### 3.4.1. Effect sizes to interpret statistical significance

The analyses undertaken for this project were based on all alleged offences recorded by the police between 1 July 2008 and 30 June 2020, which resulted in a large sample size. Tests of significance on large samples may be misleading since a large number of observations can amplify the detection of differences, and while tests may indicate that differences between groups are significant, this does not mean that the results are theoretically relevant (Chatfield 1995). Instead,

<sup>11</sup> As offending and victimisation tend to be more common among younger people, the results of analysis on first contact may be more reliable for those who were younger at their index event compared with those who were older at their index event. In other words, if an individual experienced victimisation in their childhood and was not recorded as an offender until much older, the use of an eight-year monitoring period may mean that the victim–offender overlap and its temporal ordering are not captured in available data.

<sup>12</sup> The demographic information of individuals used in analyses was obtained from that recorded at their index contact event with police.



information about how meaningful a test result is can be made in relation to its practical significance and an effect size, which indicates the magnitude of difference between groups (Lin, Lucas and Shmueli 2013).

All inferential tests examining the association or difference between variables undertaken for this project showed statistical significance due in part to the large sample sizes used by the project. Because of this, an effect size is provided to further assist interpretation of statistically significant results. Refer to explanatory notes at the end of this report for additional information related to the use of inferential statistics and effect sizes in this report.

### 3.5. 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 and offending to the police and the type of analyses that could be undertaken based on the available data.

First, as this project is based on the analysis of police administrative data, information about victimisation is limited to personal crime victimisation. The absence of victim information for property crime, does not permit a thorough examination of the link between offending and victimisation. Despite clear theoretical support to link violent offending and violent victimisation (Averdijk et al. 2016; Schreck, Stewart and Osgood 2008; Wittebrood and Nieuwbeerta 1999), far less research has focused on the link more broadly between general offending and victimisation. The current project contributes to existing knowledge about the victim–offender overlap in relation to personal crime only.

Second, the project's reliance on 12 years of data means that the classification of individuals into groups of offenders only, victims only, or victim-offenders may not be a true reflection of their lifetime contacts with police. However, research demonstrates that most victims who experience revictimisation are revictimised within two years (QGSO 2021c), while research on recidivism similarly demonstrates that a large proportion of re-offending occurs within two years (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2021).<sup>13</sup> Therefore, a monitoring period of eight years (four years before and after an index event) should capture a substantial proportion of lifetime offending and victimisation for in-scope individuals.

Third, the data relate to recorded offences, and do not provide a true measure of all crime and victimisation within Queensland. This is because not all offending is reported to, or detected by police, and because not all offences recorded by the police are proven in a court of law.<sup>14</sup> This under-reporting of crime has been highlighted by recent research from the United Kingdom which demonstrates that about 90% of incidents resulting in violent injuries identified in medical records (from data obtained from ambulance and emergency department) were not recorded in police administrative data (Sutherland et al. 2021).

Fourth, while the literature has consistently demonstrated that there is a relationship between victimisation and offending, understanding the temporality of these events (whether offending typically precedes victimisation or vice versa) has remained uncertain. Because of the data constraints listed above, caution must be taken when interpreting the results examining whether offending or victimisation occurred first for the victim-offender group during the monitoring period.

Finally, the theories used to explain the relationship between victimisation and offending often refer to the individual and situational characteristics associated with the events. This type of information was not available in the data used by the project, which limits the amount of insight the project can offer regarding the mechanisms of victim–offender overlap.

<sup>13</sup> While recidivism can be measured in different ways, two broad measures of recidivism include the proportion of offenders who were proceeded against by police multiple times within a year and the proportion of people released from prison who returned with a new sentence within two years. In Queensland during 2019–20, more than one-third (35.6%) of offenders aged 10 years and older were proceeded against by police more than once during the year (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2021), while 45.3% of adults who were released from prison in 2017–18 returned to prison or both prison and community corrections with a new correctional sanction within two years (Australian Productivity Commission 2021).

<sup>14</sup> Some offences such as sexual offences and domestic and family violence–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.

## 4.0 Results

This chapter presents information on Queensland's overall crime trends and the main results of the project. This includes findings on the extent of overlap between offending and victimisation, and whether there were observable differences between individuals who were offenders only, victims only, and victim-offenders.

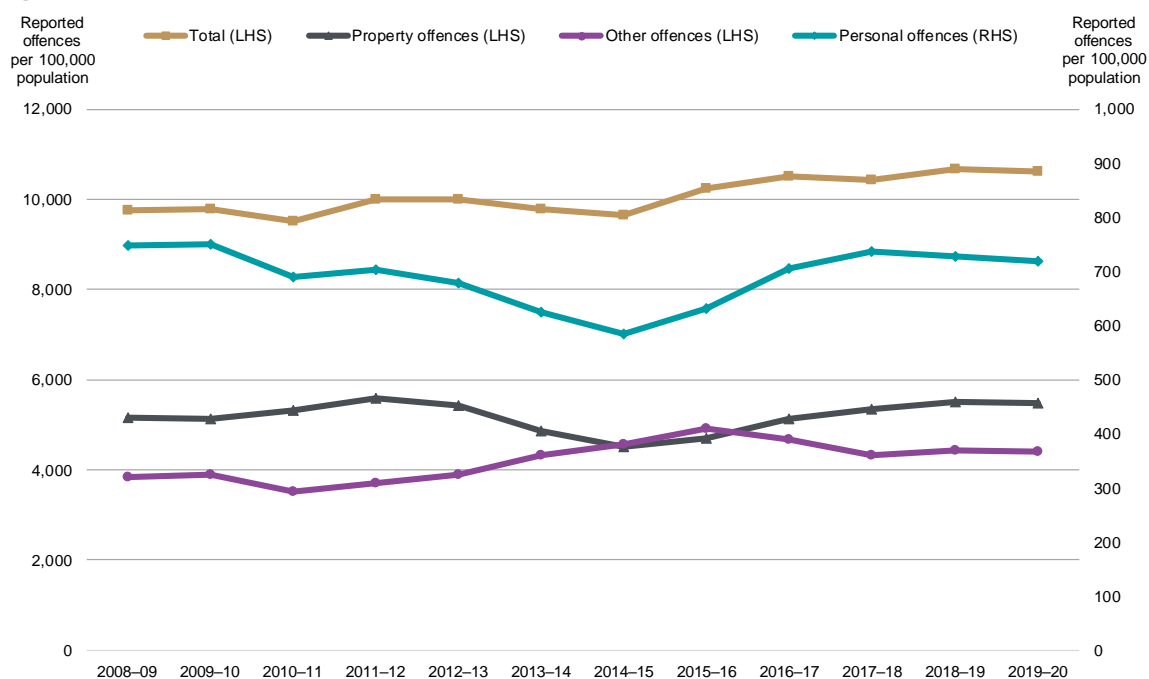
### 4.1. Overall crime trends in Queensland

Information on Queensland's broader crime trends is first presented to contextualise results relating to the extent to which victims of personal crime are also offenders, and vice versa.

#### 4.1.1. There has been an overall increase in the rate of property and other offences, but a decrease in the rate of personal offences

The trends in all reported offences in Queensland between 2008–09 and 2019–20, including by the three broad categories of personal offences, property offences and other offences, are shown in Figure 3. During this period, there was an overall increase in the rate of all reported offences (8.7%) when comparing 2008–09 (9,755.2 per 100,000 persons) with 2019–20 (10,605.8 per 100,000 persons). Across the 12-year timeframe, there was fluctuation in the rates of each broad offence type, with an overall increase in the rate of property offences (6.1%) and other offences (14.7%), and an overall decrease in the rate of personal offences (–3.8%).

**Figure 3** Rate of reported offences in Queensland



LHS = left hand side; RHS = right hand side

Notes:

1. The number of offences used to calculate offence rates are based on counts of all criminal acts (within offence categories) within a criminal incident.
2. Offences are based on the date that the offence occurred, not the date the offence was reported to police.
3. Offence rates were calculated using population estimates for all residents within Queensland.

Source: QGSO estimates derived from QPS data; ABS *National, state and territory population, June 2020*.

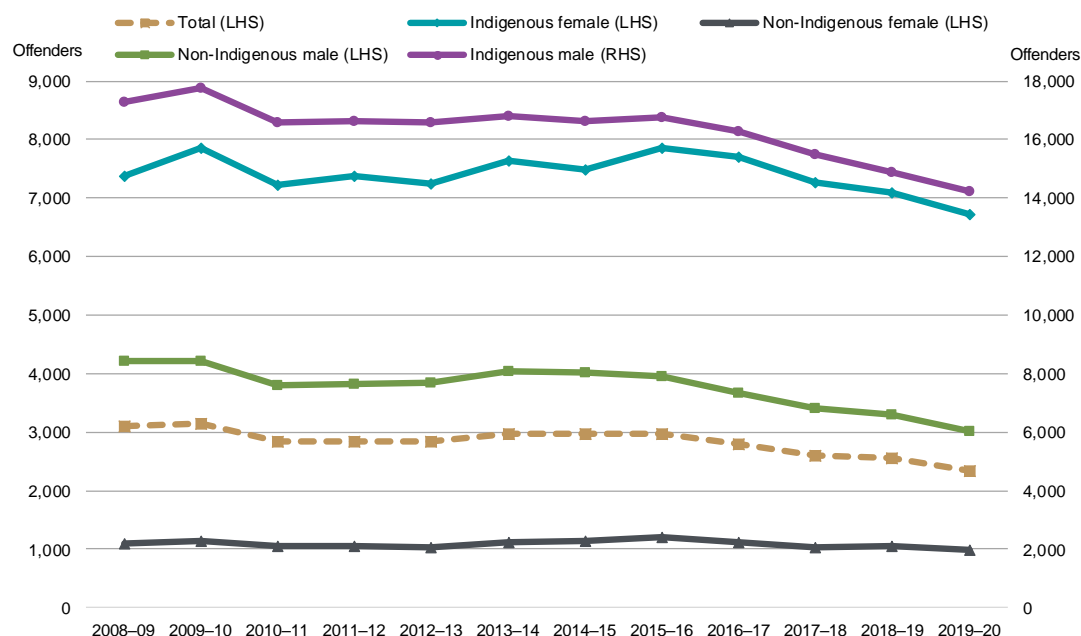
#### 4.1.2. There has been an overall decrease in the offender rate

The rates of offenders in Queensland between 2008–09 and 2019–20 are presented in Figure 4, which shows while the rate of offenders fluctuated, there was a decrease overall of 24.2%, from 3,094.3 per 100,000 people in 2008–09 to 2,346.3 per 100,000 people in 2019–20. The rate of offenders decreased within each demographic group during this period, with the largest overall decrease observed for non-Indigenous male offenders (–28.4%), followed by Aboriginal



and Torres Strait Islander male offenders (-17.8%), non-Indigenous female offenders (-10.4%), and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female offenders (-9.0%).

**Figure 4 Rate of offenders in Queensland**



LHS = left hand side; RHS = right hand side

Notes:

1. An offender is counted once during each financial year regardless of the number of events that the offender was involved in.
2. Offending events are based on the date that the offence occurred, not the date that it was reported to or detected by police.
3. Population estimates used to calculate rates of offenders are based on people aged 10 years and older, which is the age at which someone is considered criminally responsible.

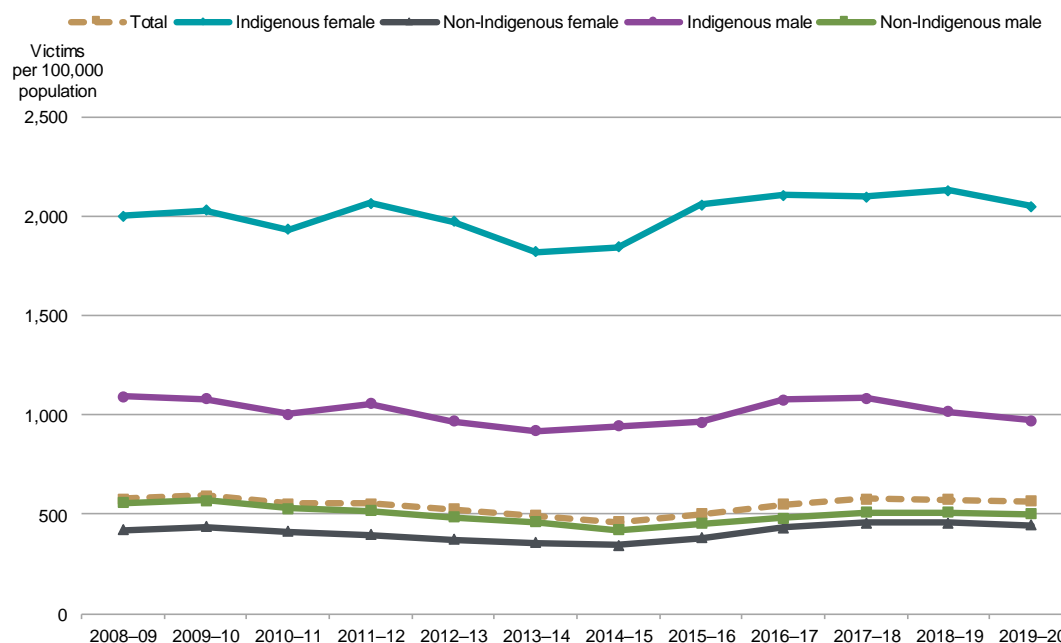
Source: QGSO estimates derived from QPS data; ABS *National, state and territory population, June 2020*; ABS *Estimates and Projections, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006 to 2036*, unpublished data.

**4.1.3. There has been a decrease in the male victim rate and an increase in the female victim rate**

When compared with the rate of offenders in Queensland between 2008–09 and 2019–20, the rate of victims within Queensland is much lower. This is likely to reflect that information about victimisation in this project is limited to personal offences, while information about offending relates to all offence types. Also, some of the more common offences (such as illicit drug and public order offences) do not necessarily involve a victim.

Despite a slight overall decrease (-2.5%) in the rate of victims of personal crime in Queensland when comparing 2008–09 (579.3 per 100,000 persons) with 2019–20 (564.7 per 100,000 persons), the trend varied across demographic groups (Figure 5). There was an overall decrease in the rates of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims (-11.0%) and non-Indigenous male victims (-10.0%). In contrast, there was an overall increase in the rates of non-Indigenous female victims (6.2%), and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims (2.3%).

**Figure 5 Rate of victims of personal crime in Queensland**



Notes:

1. Victims are counted once during each financial year regardless of the number of victimisation events they experienced.
2. Events are based on the date that the offence occurred, not the date the offence was reported to or detected by police.
3. Victim rates were calculated using population estimates for all residents within Queensland.

Source: QGSO estimates derived from QPS data; ABS *National, state and territory population, June 2020*; ABS Estimates and Projections, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006 to 2036, unpublished data.

**Summary: Overall crime trends**

- When comparing 2019–20 with 2008–09:
  - the rate of personal offences decreased, while the rate of property offences and other offences increased
  - the rate of offenders decreased for all demographic groups
  - the rate of male victims of personal crime decreased, while there was an increase in the rate of female victims of personal crime.
- Despite a decrease in the offender rate, there was an increase in the victim rate of both non-Indigenous females and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females.
- Offender and victimisation rates remain notably higher for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people – both male and female – compared with non-Indigenous people.

**4.2. Police contact for in-scope individuals**

This section provides a description of the type of police contact that in-scope individuals had over an eight-year monitoring period (four years prior to, and four years after their index event). In-scope individuals were those aged 14 years and older at the time of an index police contact occurring between 2012–13 and 2015–16. Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

**4.2.1. Most individuals with police contact have contact as an offender, and contact for personal crime victimisation is highest among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females**

The contact that individuals had with police between 2008–09 and 2019–20 is presented in Table 1, and shows that 88.2% had been recorded as an offender, while 24.1% reported being a victim. However, there was a large amount of variation across demographic groups. While a larger proportion of males (91.5%) than females (79.8%) had contact as an offender, a larger proportion of females were recorded as a victim (38.4%) compared with males (18.5%). A larger

proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people than non-Indigenous people had been recorded as an offender (94.6% and 88.2%, respectively) and as a victim (30.6% and 22.6%, respectively). When considering Indigenous status and gender, 97.8% of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males were recorded as an offender, which was larger than the proportion of non-Indigenous males (91.4%), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females (89.5%) and non-Indigenous females (79.4%). Similarly, there was considerable variation in the proportion of individuals who had experienced victimisation, with half (49.9%) of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females recorded as a victim, which was substantially larger than the proportion of non-Indigenous females (35.5%), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (18.8%), and non-Indigenous males (17.9%).

**Table 1 Police contact and the overlap between offending and victimisation by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20**

	Number	Police contact during monitoring period		Overlap between offending and victimisation	
		Offender	Victim	Proportion of offenders who were victimised	Proportion of victims who offended
		– % –	– % –	– % –	– % –
All individuals	368,700	88.2	24.1	13.9	51.1
<i>Gender<sup>(a)</sup></i>					
Female	103,209	79.8	38.4	22.8	47.4
Male	265,282	91.5	18.5	10.9	54.1
<i>Indigenous status<sup>(b)</sup></i>					
Indigenous	39,464	94.6	30.6	26.7	82.4
Non-Indigenous	318,617	88.2	22.6	12.2	47.7
<i>Indigenous status and gender<sup>(c)</sup></i>					
Indigenous female	14,995	89.5	49.9	44.0	78.9
Indigenous male	24,464	97.8	18.8	16.9	88.1
Non-Indigenous female	84,137	79.4	35.5	18.7	41.8
Non-Indigenous male	234,291	91.4	17.9	10.2	51.9

(a) Records where gender of the individual was missing ( $n = 209$ ) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status of the individual was missing ( $n = 10,619$ ) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the individual were missing ( $n = 10,813$ ) have been excluded from calculations.

Notes:

- Categories of 'offender' and 'victim' are not mutually exclusive and therefore percentages do not add up to 100%. An individual is included in both counts if they were recorded as an offender and also reported as a victim during the monitoring period.
- The monitoring period of eight years is based on a rolling window of four years prior to, and four years after, the index event for an in-scope individual.
- Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

#### 4.2.2. The largest overlap between offending and victimisation from personal crime is among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people

Data presented in Table 1 also shows that being an offender or victim was not always mutually exclusive, with 13.9% of all offenders having also been a victim, while 51.1% of all victims had also been recorded as an offender. The overlap between offending and victimisation was more apparent among some demographic groups. For example, a substantially greater proportion of female offenders (22.8%) than male offenders (10.9%) had also been a victim, while a slightly larger proportion of male victims (54.1%) than female victims (47.4%) had also offended. This variation was more pronounced when comparing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander offenders and non-Indigenous offenders (26.7% and 12.2% respectively were also victims), and when comparing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims and non-Indigenous victims (82.4% and 47.7% respectively were also offenders). When examining groups by both Indigenous status and

gender, the largest proportion of offenders who were also recorded as a victim was among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females (44.0%), and the largest proportion of victims who were also recorded as an offender was among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (88.1%).

**Summary: Police contact for in-scope individuals**

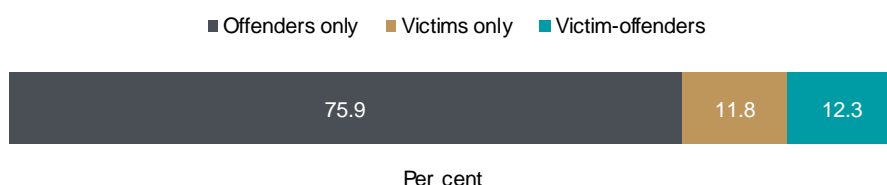
- Most individuals had contact with the police as an offender (88.2%), while about one quarter were victims of personal crime (24.1%).
- Most offenders did not experience personal crime victimisation, although this differed by demographics:
  - Personal crime victimisation was more common among female offenders (22.8%) than male offenders (10.9%).
  - Personal crime victimisation was most common among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female offenders (44.0%).
- Approximately half (51.1%) of all victims of personal crime were also offenders, with variation between demographic groups:
  - Offending was more common among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims (82.4%) than among non-Indigenous victims (47.7%), with 88.1% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims and 78.9% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims also recorded as offenders.

**4.3. The victim–offender overlap**

To further examine the victim–offender overlap, individuals were classified into three mutually exclusive groups based on the type of contact they had with police over the monitoring period: those who only had contact due to their offending behaviour (offenders only), those who had only been the victim of personal crime (victims only), and those who had been recorded as both a victim of personal crime and an offender (victim-offenders). As shown in Figure 6, about three-quarters (75.9%) of all individuals had contact as an offender only, while a similar proportion of people were victims only (11.8%) or victim-offenders (12.3%).



**Figure 6 Type of police contact, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20**

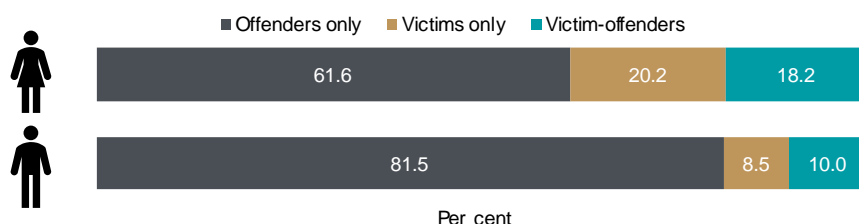


Note: Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only. Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

**4.3.1. The proportion of victim-offenders differs across demographic profiles**

The proportion of offenders only, victims only and victim-offenders varied across demographic groups. In terms of gender, 81.5% of males had police contact as an offender only, compared with 61.6% of females (Figure 7). In contrast, a greater proportion of all females (20.2%) were victims only when compared with males (8.5%), and a greater proportion of females than males were classified as victim-offenders (18.2% compared with 10.0% respectively).

**Figure 7 Type of police contact by gender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20**



Notes:  
 1. Records where gender of the individual was missing (*n* = 209) have been excluded from calculations.  
 2. Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.  
 Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

There were differences observed between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and non-Indigenous people based on their contact with police (Figure 8). A greater proportion of non-Indigenous people than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were offenders only (77.4% compared with 69.4% respectively) or victims only (11.8% compared with 5.4%). In contrast, being a victim-offender was more common among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (25.2%) than among non-Indigenous people (10.8%) during the period.

**Figure 8 Type of police contact by Indigenous status, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20**



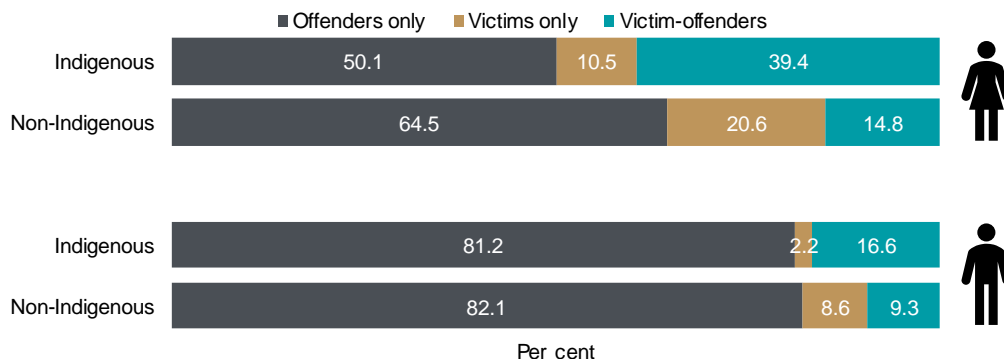
Notes:

1. Records where Indigenous status of the individual was missing ( $n = 10,619$ ) have been excluded from calculations.
2. Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

When considering both gender and Indigenous status, the results show further variation between the type of police contact that different demographic groups in Queensland experienced (Figure 9). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females were the group with the largest proportion of victim-offenders (39.4%), which was higher than the proportion of victim-offenders among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (16.6%), non-Indigenous females (14.8%) and non-Indigenous males (9.3%).

**Figure 9 Type of police contact by Indigenous status and gender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20**



Notes:

1. Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the individual were missing ( $n = 10,813$ ) have been excluded from calculations.
2. Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

### 4.3.2. Most victim-offenders have their first contact with police as an offender

Despite substantial research showing a relationship between offending and victimisation, understanding if offending tends to precede victimisation, or vice versa, remains unclear. The temporal ordering of victimisation and all offending contacts with the police was therefore explored by this project. Readers are reminded that the project's monitoring period does not cover lifetime experiences and in-scope individuals are those aged 14 years and over (see Chapter 3 for further information regarding the limitations of this project).

The type of first contact that individuals in the victim-offender group had with police during the monitoring period is presented in Table 2. Statistically significant results were found for all comparisons, which potentially reflects the large size of the sample used for analyses. Effect sizes were therefore calculated to assist with understanding how meaningful the results are.



**Table 2 First police contact among victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20**

	N	Offender first		Victim first		Effect size <sup>(d)</sup>
		– n –	– % –	– n –	– % –	
All individuals	45,356	29,105	64.2	16,251	35.8	
<i>Gender<sup>(a)</sup></i>						
Female	18,799	11,406	60.7	7,393	39.3	Weak (.06)
Male	26,537	17,686	66.6	8,851	33.4	
<i>Indigenous status<sup>(b)</sup></i>						
Indigenous	9,960	6,937	69.6	3,023	30.4	Weak (.06)
Non-Indigenous	34,300	21,649	63.1	12,651	36.9	
<i>Indigenous status and gender<sup>(c)</sup></i>						
Indigenous female	5,907	3,775	63.9	2,132	36.1	Moderate (.10)
Indigenous male	4,053	3,162	78.0	891	22.0	
Non-Indigenous female	12,484	7,458	59.7	5,026	40.3	
Non-Indigenous male	21,797	14,178	65.0	7,619	35.0	

(a) Records where gender of the individual was missing (n = 20) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status of the individual was missing (n = 1,096) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the individual were missing (n = 1,115) have been excluded from calculations.

(d) Where a statistically significant association was identified by a chi-square test of independence, an effect size was calculated to assess the magnitude of the association. Interpretations of the effect size as weak (.05), moderate (.10), strong (.15), and very strong (.25) are based on suggestions by Akoglu (2018), and an effect size less than .05 is not considered meaningful, even if it is statistically significant.

Notes:

1. Based on a monitoring period of eight years, using a rolling window four years prior to and four years after the index event for an in-scope individual.
2. Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

The results indicate that almost two-thirds (64.2%) of all victim-offenders had first contact as an offender, although there was variation across demographic groups. While first contact as an offender was slightly more common among male than female victim-offenders (66.6% and 60.7% respectively), and among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander than non-Indigenous victim-offenders (69.6% and 63.1%), these associations were determined to be weak.<sup>15</sup> There was stronger evidence of variation when examining the first contact of victim-offenders by gender and Indigenous status, with over three-quarters (78.0%) of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victim-offenders having their first contact as an offender, while non-Indigenous females were the group of victim-offenders with the largest proportion who first experienced victimisation during the period (40.3%).<sup>16</sup>

The results presented in section 4.2 showing that most individuals have contact with the police as an offender, rather than victim only or victim-offender, are consistent with the higher rates of offenders compared with victims shown in section 4.1 (see Figure 4 and Figure 5). The higher rates of offenders than victims in Queensland may also be reflected in the temporal ordering of victimisation and offending, however readers are reminded that victimisation measures only reflect personal offences and the project does not capture lifetime offending and victimisation experiences.

<sup>15</sup> A chi-square test of independence found a significant yet weak association between the type of first contact and gender of victim-offenders ( $\chi^2(1) = 170.49, p < .001, \phi = .06$ ) and the type of first contact and Indigenous status of victim-offenders ( $\chi^2(1) = 143.70, p < .001, \phi = .06$ ).

<sup>16</sup> Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant moderate association between the type of first contact and the gender and Indigenous status of victim-offenders ( $\chi^2(3) = 450.97, p < .001, V = .10$ ).

**Summary: The victim–offender overlap**

- Overall, a similar proportion of individuals in contact with police were victims only (11.8%) and victim-offenders (12.3%), although this differed across demographic groups:
  - the victim–offender overlap was greater among females (18.2%) than males (10.0%)
  - the victim–offender overlap was greater among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (25.2%) than non-Indigenous people (10.8%)
  - when considering all demographics, the victim–offender overlap was greatest among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females (39.4%).
- About two-thirds of victim-offenders had their first police contact resulting from their offending (64.2%), although there was variation across demographic groups:
  - first contact with police as an offender was more common among male victim-offenders (66.6%) than female victim-offenders (60.7%)
  - first contact with police as an offender was more common among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-offenders (69.6%) than among non-Indigenous victim-offenders (63.1%)
  - when considering all demographics, first contact as an offender was most common among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victim-offenders (78.0%).

#### 4.4. Comparing offending groups: Demographic and offending profiles

Analyses were conducted to examine for differences between offenders only and victim-offenders in terms of their demographic and offending profiles (such as the prevalence of being charged with a personal offence and number of offending events). Statistically significant results were found for all comparisons, which potentially reflects the large size of the sample used for analyses. Effect sizes were therefore calculated to assist with understanding how meaningful the results are.



##### 4.4.1. The demographic profiles of offenders only and victim-offenders are different

An examination of demographic profiles indicated that there were differences between offenders only and victim-offenders and the magnitude of these differences varied (Table 3). Males comprised 77.3% of offenders only and 58.5% of victim-offenders.<sup>17</sup> Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people comprised 10.0% of offenders only and 22.5% of victim-offenders.<sup>18</sup> Differences in demographic profiles between these groups are most apparent when examining Indigenous status and gender concurrently.<sup>19</sup> For example, non-Indigenous males comprised 70.2% of offenders only and 49.3% of victim-offenders. In contrast, all other demographic groups comprised a larger proportion of victim-offenders than offenders only. This is especially the case for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females who represented 2.7% of offenders only and 13.4% of victim-offenders. Tests indicated that there were statistically significant associations between all demographic characteristics between offenders only and victim-offenders, and all effect sizes were meaningful. In other words, the demographic profile of offenders only is statically different from that of victim-offenders.

<sup>17</sup> Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant strong association between gender and offender groups ( $\chi^2(1) = 7,247.7, p < .001, \phi = .15$ ).

<sup>18</sup> Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant moderate association between Indigenous status and offender groups ( $\chi^2(1) = 5,765.2, p < .001, \phi = .14$ ).

<sup>19</sup> Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant strong association between the Indigenous status and gender of individuals and offender groups ( $\chi^2(3) = 14,116.0, p < .001, V = .21$ ).

**Table 3 Offenders only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20**

	Offenders only		Victim-offenders		Effect size <sup>(d)</sup>
	– n –	– % –	– n –	– % –	
All individuals	279,923	100.0	45,356	100.0	
<i>Gender<sup>(a)</sup></i>					
Female	63,565	22.7	18,799	41.5	Strong (.15)
Male	216,221	77.3	26,537	58.5	
<i>Indigenous status<sup>(b)</sup></i>					
Indigenous	27,380	10.0	9,960	22.5	Moderate (.14)
Non-Indigenous	246,762	90.0	34,300	77.5	
<i>Indigenous status and gender<sup>(c)</sup></i>					
Indigenous female	7,511	2.7	5,907	13.4	Strong (.21)
Indigenous male	19,865	7.2	4,053	9.2	
Non-Indigenous female	54,305	19.8	12,484	28.2	
Non-Indigenous male	192,332	70.2	21,797	49.3	

(a) Records where gender of the individual was missing ( $n = 157$ ) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status of the individual was missing ( $n = 6,877$ ) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the individual were missing ( $n = 7,025$ ) have been excluded from calculations.

(d) Where a statistically significant association was identified by a chi-square test of independence, an effect size was calculated to assess the magnitude of the association. Interpretations of the effect size as weak (.05), moderate (.10), strong (.15), and very strong (.25) are based on suggestions by Akoglu (2018), and an effect size less than .05 is not considered meaningful, even if it is statistically significant.

Notes:

1. Based on a monitoring period of eight years using a rolling window four years prior to and four years after, the index event for an in-scope individual.
2. Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

The offending profile of offenders only and victim-offenders were compared to examine for differences. Offending profiles were compared in two ways: the proportion of individuals within each group who had been charged with a personal offence (section 4.4.2), and the average number of recorded offending events that individuals in each group had (section 4.4.3).<sup>20</sup> These measures were selected to provide an indication of differences between the groups in the seriousness and frequency of offending.

#### 4.4.2. The prevalence of being charged with a personal offence was higher among victim-offenders than offenders only

The seriousness of offending among offender groups was examined by comparing the proportion of each group charged with a personal offence during the monitoring period. Comparisons were made between offenders only and victim-offenders overall, and by the demographic characteristics of individuals in these groups (e.g. males in the offender only group compared with males in the victim-offender group), with the results of these analyses shown in Table 4.

Overall, a larger proportion of victim-offenders had been charged with a personal offence (32.4%) compared with offenders only (18.0%)<sup>21</sup>, and this finding held across all demographic groups. When looking at demographic differences within the victim-offender group, the prevalence of personal offences was higher among male victim-offenders than female victim-offenders, and among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-offenders compared with non-Indigenous victim-offenders. The group of victim-offenders with the highest prevalence of personal offending overall was Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victim-offenders (56.3%), followed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victim-offenders (42.9%).

<sup>20</sup> While victimisation was limited to victimisation from personal crime, offending information was available for all offence types and included in analyses.

<sup>21</sup> Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant moderate association between groups of offenders and the proportion charged with a personal offence ( $\chi^2(1) = 5,059.3, p < .001, \phi = .13$ ).



**Table 4** Offenders only and victim-offenders with a personal offence by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20

	Offenders only			Victim-offenders			Effect size <sup>(d)</sup>
	– n –	% with a personal offence	% without a personal offence	– n –	% with a personal offence	% without a personal offence	
All individuals	279,923	18.0	82.0	45,356	32.4	67.6	Moderate (.13)
<i>Gender<sup>(a)</sup></i>							
Female	63,565	14.3	85.7	18,799	30.1	69.9	Strong (.17)
Male	216,221	19.1	80.9	26,537	34.0	66.0	Moderate (.12)
<i>Indigenous status<sup>(b)</sup></i>							
Indigenous	27,380	37.8	62.2	9,960	48.4	51.6	Moderate (.10)
Non-Indigenous	246,762	15.9	84.1	34,300	28.1	71.9	Moderate (.11)
<i>Indigenous status and gender<sup>(c)</sup></i>							
Indigenous female	7,511	28.5	71.5	5,907	42.9	57.1	Strong (.15)
Indigenous male	19,865	41.3	58.7	4,053	56.3	43.7	Moderate (.11)
Non-Indigenous female	54,305	12.4	87.6	12,484	24.4	75.6	Moderate (.13)
Non-Indigenous male	192,332	17.0	83.0	21,797	30.3	69.7	Moderate (.10)

(a) Records where gender of the individual was missing ( $n = 157$ ) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status of the individual was missing ( $n = 6,877$ ) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the individual were missing ( $n = 7,025$ ) have been excluded from calculations.

(d) Where a statistically significant association was identified by a chi-square test of independence, an effect size was calculated to assess the magnitude of the association. Interpretations of the effect size as weak (.05), moderate (.10), strong (.15), and very strong (.25) are based on suggestions by Akoglu (2018), and an effect size less than .05 is not considered meaningful, even if it is statistically significant.

Notes:

1. Based on a monitoring period of eight years using a rolling window four years prior to and four years after, the index event for an in-scope individual.
2. Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

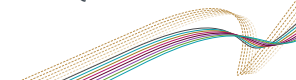
Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

Analyses were conducted to examine if there was an association between the offender groups and the prevalence of personal offences by demographics. From a statistical standpoint, the strongest association (based on the effect size) between personal offending and offender groups was observed for female offenders, with 30.1% of female victim-offenders charge with a personal offence, compared with 14.3% of female offenders only.<sup>22</sup> For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female offenders, 42.9% of the victim-offender group had been charged with a personal offence, compared with 28.5% of the offender only group.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, for non-Indigenous females, 24.4% of the victim-offender group had been charged with a personal offence, compared with 12.4% of the offender only group.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant strong association between groups of female offenders and the proportion charged with a personal offence ( $\chi^2(1) = 2,469.6$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\phi = .17$ ).

<sup>23</sup> Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant strong association between groups of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female offenders and the proportion charged with a personal offence ( $\chi^2(1) = 299.4$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\phi = .15$ ).

<sup>24</sup> Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant moderate association between groups of non-Indigenous female offenders and the proportion charged with a personal offence ( $\chi^2(1) = 1,176.5$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\phi = .13$ ).



### 4.4.3. Victim-offenders average more offending events than offenders only

Offenders only and victim-offenders were compared in relation to the average number of offending events recorded for each demographic group across the monitoring periods (see Table 5). Analyses indicated that overall, victim-offenders averaged more offending events (6.46) than offenders only (3.79).<sup>25</sup>

The higher average number of offending events among victim-offenders held constant when examining for variation in relation to demographic characteristics. All differences between the groups were statistically significant, although the effect sizes were small. From a statistical standpoint, the largest effect was observed when comparing the average number of offending events between female victim-offenders and offenders only (5.78 and 3.07 offending events, respectively).<sup>26</sup>

**Table 5 Average number of offending events for offenders only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20**

	Offenders only			Victim-offenders			Effect size <sup>(d)</sup>
	- n -	M	SD	- n -	M	SD	
All individuals	279,923	3.79	5.95	45,356	6.46	8.80	Small (0.42)
<i>Gender<sup>(a)</sup></i>							
Female	63,565	3.07	4.93	18,799	5.78	7.81	Small (0.47)
Male	216,221	4.00	6.20	26,537	6.94	9.41	Small (0.44)
<i>Indigenous status<sup>(b)</sup></i>							
Indigenous	27,380	7.45	9.65	9,960	9.71	11.81	Small (0.22)
Non-Indigenous	246,762	3.45	5.29	34,300	5.64	7.55	Small (0.39)
<i>Indigenous status and gender<sup>(c)</sup></i>							
Indigenous female	7,511	4.97	7.15	5,907	7.73	9.74	Small (0.33)
Indigenous male	19,865	8.40	10.28	4,053	12.59	13.81	Small (0.38)
Non-Indigenous female	54,305	2.88	4.55	12,484	4.98	6.62	Small (0.42)
Non-Indigenous male	192,332	3.61	5.47	21,797	6.02	8.02	Small (0.42)

*n* = number of people in the group (sample size), *M* = mean, *SD* = standard deviation. See glossary of terms for further information.

(a) Records where gender of the individual was missing (*n* = 157) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status of the individual was missing (*n* = 6,877) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the individual were missing (*n* = 7,025) have been excluded from calculations.

(d) Where the results of the *t*-test indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between groups, Cohen's *d* effect size was calculated to quantify the magnitude of the difference. Interpretation of effect sizes as small (*d* = 0.2), medium (*d* = 0.5), and large (*d* = 0.8) are based on benchmarks suggested by Cohen (1988), and an effect size less than 0.2 is not considered meaningful, even if it is statistically significant.

Notes:

1. Based on a monitoring period of eight years using a rolling window four years prior to and four years after, the index event for an in-scope individual.

2. Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

Given the findings that victim-offenders had a higher prevalence of personal offences and averaged more offending events than offenders only, further analyses were conducted to examine whether there were differences between the groups in terms of the frequency of personal offences. Analyses indicated that victim-offenders averaged more personal

<sup>25</sup> An independent samples *t*-test was conducted to compare differences in the number of offences between offenders only and victim-offenders. The results indicated that the number of offending events for the victim-offender group was significantly higher than the offender only group ( $t(52,272) = 62.43, p < .001, d = 0.42$ ), but the effect size is small. While the distributions were skewed, an independent *t*-test was used because the shape of the distributions between groups were similar, and *t*-tests are robust to violations of non-normality.

<sup>26</sup> The results of an independent samples *t*-test indicated that the average number of offending events for victim-offenders was significantly higher than offenders only for female offenders ( $t(23,390) = 45.04, p < .001, d = 0.47$ ), but the effect was considered small.

offending events (1.76) than offenders only (1.46)<sup>27</sup>, and this finding was consistent across each demographic group (data not shown).

#### 4.4.4. Victim-offenders were younger at first offence than offenders only

Analyses were also undertaken to compare the age at first recorded offence during the monitoring period for offenders only and victim-offenders. It is important to remember that this does not represent the age at which an individual had first offended during their lifetime. Rather it is the age at which they first offended during the monitoring period of this project. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 6.

**Table 6 Average age at first offence for offenders only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20**

	Offenders only			Victim-offenders			Effect size <sup>(d)</sup>
	- n -	M	SD	- n -	M	SD	
All individuals	279,923	30.97	13.01	45,356	28.27	11.97	Small (0.21)
<i>Gender<sup>(a)</sup></i>							
Female	63,565	31.67	13.00	18,799	27.57	11.22	Small (0.32)
Male	216,221	30.77	13.01	26,537	28.76	12.44	Very small (0.15)
<i>Indigenous status<sup>(b)</sup></i>							
Indigenous	27,380	28.57	12.05	9,960	27.13	11.48	Very small (0.12)
Non-Indigenous	246,762	31.16	13.02	34,300	28.56	12.05	Small (0.20)
<i>Indigenous status and gender<sup>(c)</sup></i>							
Indigenous female	7,511	29.58	11.91	5,907	26.77	10.79	Small (0.25)
Indigenous male	19,865	28.18	12.08	4,053	27.64	12.40	Very small (0.04)
Non-Indigenous female	54,305	31.88	13.06	12,484	27.92	11.35	Small (0.31)
Non-Indigenous male	192,332	30.95	13.00	21,797	28.93	12.43	Very small (0.16)

*n* = number of people in the group (sample size), *M* = mean, *SD* = standard deviation. See glossary of terms for further information.

(a) Records where gender of the individual was missing (*n* = 157) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status of the individual was missing (*n* = 6,877) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the individual were missing (*n* = 7,025) have been excluded from calculations.

(d) Where the results of the *t*-test indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between groups, Cohen's *d* effect size was calculated to quantify the magnitude of the difference. Interpretation of effect sizes as small (*d* = 0.2), medium (*d* = 0.5), and large (*d* = 0.8) are based on benchmarks suggested by Cohen (1988), and an effect size less than 0.2 is not considered meaningful, even if it is statistically significant.

Notes:

1. The age at an individual's first offence during the monitoring period.
2. Based on a monitoring period of eight years using a rolling window four years prior to and four years after, the index event for an in-scope individual.
3. Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data

On average, victim-offenders were younger (28.27 years) at their first offence during the monitoring period than individuals who had offended only (30.97 years).<sup>28</sup> The finding that victim-offenders were younger at first offence than offenders only remained consistent across all comparisons made by demographic characteristics. The difference in age at first offence between the groups was greatest between female victim-offenders and female offenders only<sup>29</sup>, and

<sup>27</sup> The results of an independent samples *t*-test indicated that the average number of personal offending events for victim-offenders was significantly higher than offenders only ( $t(18,860) = 22.55, p < .001, d = 0.26$ ), but the effect was considered small.

<sup>28</sup> The results of an independent samples *t*-test indicated that victim-offenders were significantly younger at first offence than offenders only, but the effect was considered small ( $t(64,019) = 44.09, p < .001, d = 0.21$ ).

<sup>29</sup> The results of an independent samples *t*-test indicated that female victim-offenders ( $M = 27.57, SD = 11.22$ ) were significantly younger than female offenders only ( $M = 31.67, SD = 13.00; t(35,046) = 42.37, p < .001, d = 0.32$ ), but the effect was small.

especially between the offending groups of non-Indigenous females.<sup>30</sup> When looking at victim-offenders, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victim-offenders were the youngest on average at first offence (26.77 years), followed by the victim-offender groups of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (27.64 years), non-Indigenous females (27.92 years) and non-Indigenous males (28.93 years).

**Summary: Comparing offenders only and victim-offenders**

- Offenders only differed from victim-offenders with respect to demographic characteristics.
  - While Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people comprised 10.0% of offenders only, they accounted for 22.5% of all victim-offenders.
  - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females and males, and non-Indigenous females, had a higher representation among victim-offenders than offenders only.
  - Non-Indigenous males accounted for a higher proportion of offenders only than victim-offenders.
- The prevalence of personal offences was more common among victim-offenders than offenders only.
  - The difference between victim-offenders and offenders only was greater for females than males, and non-Indigenous than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.
  - When considering Indigenous status and gender, the disparity was greatest for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females and non-Indigenous females.
- Victim-offenders averaged more offending events than offenders only.
  - The greatest differences between offender groups in the average number of offending events were observed for females, non-Indigenous female offender groups especially.
- Victim-offenders were younger at their first offence than those who were offenders only.

**4.5. Comparing victim groups: Demographic and victimisation profiles**

Analyses were conducted to examine for differences between victims only and victim-offenders in terms of their demographic and victimisation profiles (such as the number of victimisation events experienced and age at first victimisation). The results are presented below. Statistically significant results were found for all comparisons which potentially reflects the large sample size of the sample used for analyses. Effect sizes were therefore calculated to assist with understanding how meaningful the results are.



**4.5.1. The demographic profiles of victims only and victim-offenders are different**

An examination of demographic profiles indicated variation between victims only and victim-offenders (Table 7). There was a difference in the gender profile of individuals in the groups, with males comprising 51.9% of victims only and 58.5% of victim-offenders.<sup>31</sup> There was a strong association between Indigenous status and victim group, with a substantially larger representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people among victim-offenders (22.5%) than victims only (5.4%).<sup>32</sup>

There was also a very strong association observed when examining Indigenous status and gender concurrently.<sup>33</sup> While non-Indigenous females comprised 43.8% of all victims only, they comprised 28.2% of victim-offenders. In contrast, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females represented 4.0% of victims only and 13.4% of victim-offenders. While Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males comprised 1.4% of victims only, they comprised 9.2% of victim-offenders. There was no difference among non-Indigenous males, who comprised a similar proportion of victims only and victim-offenders (50.9% and 49.3%, respectively).

<sup>30</sup> The results of an independent samples *t*-test indicated that non-Indigenous female victim-offenders ( $M = 27.92, SD = 11.35$ ) were significantly younger than non-Indigenous female offenders only ( $M = 31.88, SD = 13.06; t(20,788) = 34.17, p < .001, d = 0.31$ ), but the effect was small.

<sup>31</sup> Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant, but weak association between gender and victim groups ( $\chi^2(1) = 390.2, p < .001, \phi = .07$ ).

<sup>32</sup> Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant strong association between Indigenous status and victim groups ( $\chi^2(1) = 4,992.3, p < .001, \phi = .24$ ).

<sup>33</sup> Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant very strong association between the Indigenous status and gender of individuals, and victim groups ( $\chi^2(3) = 5,800.6, p < .001, V = .26$ ).



**Table 7 Victims only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20**

	Victims only		Victim-offenders		Effect size <sup>(d)</sup>
	- n -	- % -	- n -	- % -	
All individuals	43,421	100.0	45,356	100.0	
<i>Gender<sup>(a)</sup></i>					
Female	20,845	48.1	18,799	41.5	Weak (.07)
Male	22,524	51.9	26,537	58.5	
<i>Indigenous status<sup>(b)</sup></i>					
Indigenous	2,124	5.4	9,960	22.5	Strong (.24)
Non-Indigenous	37,555	94.6	34,300	77.5	
<i>Indigenous status and gender<sup>(c)</sup></i>					
Indigenous female	1,577	4.0	5,907	13.4	Very strong (.26)
Indigenous male	546	1.4	4,053	9.2	
Non-Indigenous female	17,348	43.8	12,484	28.2	
Non-Indigenous male	20,162	50.9	21,797	49.3	

(a) Records where gender of the individual was missing ( $n = 72$ ) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status of the individual was missing ( $n = 4,838$ ) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the individual were missing ( $n = 4,903$ ) have been excluded from calculations.

(d) Where a statistically significant association between the type of victim and demographic characteristics was identified by a chi-square test of independence, an effect size was calculated to assess the magnitude of the association. Interpretations of the effect size as weak (.05), moderate (.10), strong (.15), and very strong (.25) are based on suggestions by Akoglu (2018).

Notes:

1. Based on a monitoring period of eight years using a rolling window four years prior to and four years after, the index event for an in-scope individual.
2. Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

**4.5.2. Victims only and victim-offenders average similar numbers of personal crime victimisation events**

In addition to differences in demographic profiles, victim groups were compared for differences in the average number of victimisation events that each experienced. Overall, there was no meaningful difference between the two groups, with an average of 1.45 victimisation events among victims only and 1.38 victimisation events among victim-offenders (Table 8).<sup>34</sup> Male victims only averaged more victimisation events (1.56) than male victim-offenders (1.24)<sup>35</sup>, however the opposite was true for females, with female victim-offenders averaging more victimisation events (1.58) than the female victims only group (1.33).<sup>36</sup>

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victim-offenders averaged the most victimisation events (1.96), which was significantly more than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims only (1.54).<sup>37</sup> The largest difference in the average number of victimisation events was observed among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males, although those that were victims only averaged more victimisation events (1.78) than victim-offenders (1.29).<sup>38</sup> Similarly, non-Indigenous

<sup>34</sup> While the independent samples  $t$ -test indicated a statistically significant difference in the average number of victimisation events between the victim groups, the effect was not considered meaningful ( $t(75,557) = -8.82, p < .001, d = -0.06$ ).

<sup>35</sup> While the independent samples  $t$ -test indicated a statistically significant difference in the average number of victimisation events between the male victim groups, the effect was considered small ( $t(29,077) = -28.74, p < .001, d = -0.28$ ).

<sup>36</sup> While the independent samples  $t$ -test indicated a statistically significant difference in the average number of victimisation events between the female victim groups, the effect was considered small ( $t(37,520) = 24.30, p < .001, d = 0.25$ ).

<sup>37</sup> While the independent samples  $t$ -test indicated a statistically significant difference in the average number of victimisation events between the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victim groups, the effect was considered small ( $t(3,350) = 12.95, p < .001, d = 0.31$ ).

<sup>38</sup> While the independent samples  $t$ -test indicated a statistically significant difference in the average number of victimisation events between the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victim groups, and was considered a medium effect ( $t(561) = -5.43, p < .001, d = -0.50$ ).

male victims only averaged more victimisation events (1.61) than victim-offenders (1.23)<sup>39</sup>, while there was no meaningful difference between victims only (1.34) and victim-offenders for non-Indigenous females (1.42).

**Table 8 Average number of victimisation events for victims only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20**

	Victims only			Victim-offenders			Effect size <sup>(d)</sup>
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
All individuals	43,421	1.45	1.34	45,356	1.38	0.90	Not meaningful (–0.06)
<i>Gender<sup>(a)</sup></i>							
Female	20,845	1.33	0.98	18,799	1.58	1.12	Small (0.25)
Male	22,524	1.56	1.59	26,537	1.24	0.66	Small (–0.28)
<i>Indigenous status<sup>(b)</sup></i>							
Indigenous	2,124	1.60	1.38	9,960	1.69	1.23	Not meaningful (0.07)
Non-Indigenous	37,555	1.48	1.39	34,300	1.30	0.77	Not meaningful (–0.16)
<i>Indigenous status and gender<sup>(c)</sup></i>							
Indigenous female	1,577	1.54	1.04	5,907	1.96	1.43	Small (0.31)
Indigenous male	546	1.78	2.06	4,053	1.29	0.69	Medium (–0.50)
Non-Indigenous female	17,348	1.34	1.02	12,484	1.42	0.91	Not meaningful (0.09)
Non-Indigenous male	20,162	1.61	1.63	21,797	1.23	0.66	Small (–0.30)

*n* = number of people in the group (sample size), *M* = mean, *SD* = standard deviation. See glossary of terms for further information.

(a) Records where gender of the individual was missing (*n* = 72) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status of the individual was missing (*n* = 4,838) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the individual were missing (*n* = 4,903) have been excluded from calculations.

(d) Where the results of the *t*-test indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between groups, Cohen's *d* effect size was calculated to quantify the magnitude of the difference. Interpretation of effect sizes as small (*d* = 0.2), medium (*d* = 0.5), and large (*d* = 0.8) are based on benchmarks suggested by Cohen (1988), and an effect size less than 0.2 is not considered meaningful, even if it is statistically significant.

Notes:

1. Based on a monitoring period of eight years using a rolling window four years prior to and four years after, the index event for an in-scope individual.
2. Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

### 4.5.3. Victim-offenders are younger at their first victimisation event than victims only

A comparison between the two victim groups in relation to age at first recorded victimisation event during the monitoring period is presented in Table 9. It is important to remember that this does not represent the age at which an individual first experienced victimisation during their lifetime, rather the age at first victimisation event during the monitoring period of this project.

On average, victim-offenders were younger at their first victimisation event (average 29.23 years) during the monitoring period than victims only (average 34.51 years).<sup>40</sup> The finding that victim-offenders were younger than victims only at first victimisation was true for all comparisons made by demographic characteristics. From a statistical standpoint, the largest differences between mean ages was observed between non-Indigenous male victim-offenders (average 29.91 years)

<sup>39</sup> While the independent samples *t*-test indicated a statistically significant difference in the average number of victimisation events between the non-Indigenous male victim groups, the effect was considered small ( $t(26,180) = -30.25, p < .001, d = -0.30$ ).

<sup>40</sup> While the results of an independent samples *t*-test indicated that victim-offenders were significantly younger at their first recorded victimisation event during the monitoring period than victims only, this effect was considered small ( $t(82,594) = 56.48, p < .001, d = 0.38$ ).

and victims only (average 36.54 years)<sup>41</sup> and between Indigenous male victim-offenders (average 29.59 years) and victims only (average 35.93 years).<sup>42</sup>

**Table 9 Average age at first victimisation event for victims only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20**

	Victims only			Victim-offenders			Effect size <sup>(d)</sup>
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
All individuals	43,421	34.51	15.41	45,356	29.23	12.18	Small (0.38)
<i>Gender</i>							
Female	20,845	32.22	15.28	18,799	28.31	11.50	Small (0.29)
Male	22,524	36.63	15.23	26,537	29.88	12.60	Small (0.49)
<i>Indigenous status</i>							
Indigenous	2,124	32.16	15.73	9,960	28.47	11.83	Small (0.29)
Non-Indigenous	37,555	34.57	15.29	34,300	29.43	12.25	Small (0.37)
<i>Indigenous status and gender</i>							
Indigenous female	1,577	30.84	15.37	5,907	27.70	11.13	Small (0.26)
Indigenous male	546	35.93	16.10	4,053	29.59	12.70	Small (0.48)
Non-Indigenous female	17,348	32.30	15.20	12,484	28.58	11.62	Small (0.37)
Non-Indigenous male	20,162	36.54	15.10	21,797	29.91	12.57	Small (0.48)

*n* = number of people in the group (sample size), *M* = mean, *SD* = standard deviation. See glossary of terms for further information.

(a) Records where gender of the individual was missing (*n* = 72) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status of the individual was missing (*n* = 4,838) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the individual were missing (*n* = 4,903) have been excluded from calculations.

(d) Where the results of the *t*-test indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between groups, Cohen's *d* effect size was calculated to quantify the magnitude of the difference. Interpretation of effect sizes as small (*d* = 0.2), medium (*d* = 0.5), and large (*d* = 0.8) are based on benchmarks suggested by Cohen (1988), and an effect size less than 0.2 is not considered meaningful, even if it is statistically significant.

Notes:

1. The age at an individual's first victimisation event recorded during the monitoring period.

2. The monitoring period of eight years is based on a rolling window of four years prior to, and four years after, the index event for an in-scope individual.

3. Offending relates to any type of charged offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

### Summary: Comparing victims only and victim-offenders

- The victim groups differed with respect to demographic characteristics:
  - Non-Indigenous females and males comprised a larger proportion of victims only than victim-offenders.
  - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females and males comprised a larger proportion of victim-offenders than victims only.
- There was variation in the average number of victimisation events for victims only and victim-offenders by gender:
  - For females, victim-offenders averaged more victimisation events than victims only.
  - For males, victims only averaged more victimisation events than victim-offenders.
- Victim-offenders were younger at their first victimisation event than those who were victims only.

<sup>41</sup> While the results of an independent samples *t*-test indicated that non-Indigenous male victim-offenders were significantly younger at their first recorded victimisation during the monitoring period than victims only, this effect was considered small ( $t(39,342) = 48.63, p < .001, d = 0.48$ ).

<sup>42</sup> While the results of an independent samples *t*-test indicated that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victim-offenders were significantly younger at their first recorded victimisation during the monitoring period than victims only, this effect was considered small ( $t(640) = 8.84, p < .001, d = 0.48$ ).



## 5.0 Discussion

The research presented in this report sought to examine the extent of the victim–offender overlap in Queensland. Police administrative data relating to alleged offences recorded as occurring in Queensland between 2008–09 to 2019–20 were analysed to examine people's contact with the police as a victim of personal crime and/or as any type of offender. Individuals were classified into groups of either offender only, victim only or victim-offender (based on their contact with the police) and comparisons between these groups were made in terms of their demographic and offending/victimisation profile. Overall, the research indicates that responding to victimisation could represent an important component of reducing criminal justice system demand, gendered harm and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander overrepresentation.

### The victim–offender overlap

The results demonstrated that most people with police contact between 2008–09 and 2019–20, had contact resulting from their offending (88.2%), rather than as a victim (24.1%), which is consistent with findings showing higher rates of offenders in general than victims of personal crime in Queensland. The results also showed that, when comparing 2019–20 with 2008–09, there was a decrease in the offender rate overall (–24.2%), and decreases were apparent for each demographic group (with the largest decrease observed for male offenders). While the rate of victims of personal crime decreased for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (–11.0%) and non-Indigenous males (–10.0%), it increased overall for non-Indigenous females (+6.2%) and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females (+2.3%). These trends influence and set the scene for the project's findings.

The relationship between offending and victimisation has been well established and this project has shown that a proportion of offenders were also victims, and vice versa. However, it is important to acknowledge that not all offenders experienced victimisation, nor had all victims been offenders. Approximately one in every seven offenders (13.9%) had also been a victim, with substantial variation in relation to the prevalence of victimisation within groups of offenders based on their demographic characteristics, ranging from 10.2% of non-Indigenous male offenders to 44.0% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female offenders. In contrast, a larger proportion of victims were also offenders during the monitoring period. Approximately half of all victims (51.1%) were also recorded as an offender, and this finding is consistent with estimates from other studies (Jennings, Piquero and Reingle 2012). The prevalence of offending differed among groups of victims, ranging from 41.8% for non-Indigenous female victims to 88.1% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims.

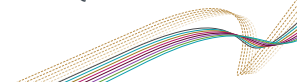
Despite a growing amount of literature examining the overlap between victimisation and offending, relatively few studies have quantified the magnitude of the victim–offender overlap. The available literature suggests that the overlap observed in the current project (12.3%) is higher than found elsewhere, although this difference is likely to reflect variation in research approaches. For example, recent research from Canada found that 6% of people linked to a violent crime were both a victim and an offender, although this was based on a two-year follow-up period and only included violent crimes (Hiltz, Bland and Barnes 2020). Findings from the current project are based on a monitoring period that was four times longer and included all recorded offending, not just offending involving personal offences.

The findings also showed that, when compared with those who were offenders only, victim-offenders offend more frequently and have a higher prevalence of personal offences. Both of these findings held consistent across all demographic groups. The finding that victim-offenders average more offending events than offenders who had not been victimised, is consistent with other research which has explicitly examined the frequency of offending between these groups. For example, analysis of data from the British Crime Survey found that people who experienced violent victimisation also self-reported engaging in more violent offences than people who had not experienced violent victimisation (Gottfredson 1984). Recent research has also found that victim-offenders are responsible for more crime harm (based on seriousness of the offences rather than simply frequency of offences) over a two-year period than those who were offenders only (Hiltz, Bland and Barnes 2020; Sandall, Angel and White 2018).

In addition to the frequency of offending, the prevalence of personal offending was more common among victim-offenders than offenders only. This result is consistent with other research showing a strong relationship between violent offending and violent victimisation. For example, Posick (2018) found that violent offending increased the odds of experiencing subsequent violent victimisation by 22%, while Hiday et al. (2001) found that people who experience greater victimisation are more likely to have engaged in a fight, assaulted someone, threatened with a weapon and engaged in serious violence.

An explanation for the greater prevalence and higher frequency of being charged with personal offences among victim-offenders than offenders only may be provided by general strain theory. Strain theory suggests that engaging in violent offending for some people may be explained by negative emotions, such as feelings of anger and resentment stemming from the 'strain' of experiencing violent victimisation (Agnew 2001, 2002, 2014). According to this view,





experiences of violent victimisation are likely to be viewed as unjust, and a victimisation that is more severe is likely to generate more anger which impedes an individual's ability to cope from the strain appropriately, resulting in an incentive to adopt criminal coping strategies, such as engaging in revenge and retaliatory violence against the perpetrators or others (Agnew 2001; Agnew and Brezina 2019).

The available literature also suggests that victimisation (especially from personal crime) may also have negative outcomes that might contribute to the likelihood of future offending. For example, research suggests that experiencing victimisation from personal crime can have deleterious effects on physical and mental health (Bouffard and Koeppel 2014; Eitle 2021; Kunst and Van Wilsem 2012; Semenza, Testa and Turanovic 2021; Turanovic and Pratt 2015), although research indicates that these impacts may differ across victims and are influenced by the timing of the victimisation (e.g. experienced as a child, during adolescence, as an adult) and whether the victimisation is a single event or prolonged over a period of time. Further, these impacts on health remain, regardless of whether the victimisation is experienced between intimate partners or extra-familial victimisation (Bonomi, et al., 2006; Eitle 2021). There is also extensive research that has demonstrated strong links between experiencing violent victimisation and future victimisation, substance abuse, mental health issues, physical health problems, violent offending, and incarceration (Honorato, Caltabiano and Clough 2016; Jackson et al. 2021; Ogloff et al. 2017; Semenza, Testa and Turanovic 2021), highlighting the potential impact that victimisation can have on community harm and the benefit of coordinated multi-agency responses to victimisation.

The observed victim–offender overlap highlights the potential benefit of using a trauma-informed approach in the design and delivery of criminal justice interventions. Trauma-informed approaches aim to broadly understand the effects of trauma (including experiences of violence) on a victim's physical, psychological and emotional health, and help identify their needs in the context of human service delivery (Quadara 2015). In responding to offenders, trauma-informed justice seeks to integrate experiences of trauma into how offending is understood and provides a pathway for reducing further harm to both the offender and the community (Branson et al. 2017; Moreland and Ressler 2021).

The victim–offender overlap also suggests the possible value of developing intervention strategies for victims of personal crime. Criminal justice interventions tend to focus on people who have formal contact with the criminal justice system as an offender to prevent further offending, and this may be potentially too late (NSW Government 2012). The risk for negative outcomes among victims of personal crime underscores the need for preventive interventions to mitigate that risk, including a potential benefit in preventing the onset of offending (Halsey 2018; McCart et al. 2020; Peltonen et al. 2020).

Another component of crime reduction is to focus on strategies that reduce opportunities for crime, and these can include actions or decisions made by victims. Routine activity theory (Cohen and Felson 1979) views 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 while the lifestyle-exposure theory (Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo 1978) suggests that engaging in certain behaviours increases the chance of someone being victimised such as by engaging in risky behaviours. While being mindful to avoid victim-blaming, some scholars argue that, despite these theories focusing on the role of the offender within a criminal incident, victim decisions can influence some situations that reduce opportunities for offenders and therefore reduce their risk of victimisation (Berg and Shreck 2021). Intervention strategies including better education may foster improved awareness of situations, allowing potential victims to use precautionary behaviour to guide their decisions that reduce their risk of victimisation (Berg and Shreck 2021; Shreck et al 2018). It is acknowledged however, that there are limits to situations in which victim decisions may be able to reduce their risk of victimisation, given that victim decisions are unlikely to impact on an offender's motivation to offend.

### **Gendered differences**

The project found gender differences in relation to the victim–offender overlap, in particular reflecting the gendered nature of victimisation. Results from this project included:

- The prevalence of offending among females (79.8%) was lower when compared with males (91.5%).
- 38.4% of females had contact with police through experiencing victimisation, which was more than double the proportion of males with police contact who were victimised (18.5%).
- When examining victimisation among offenders, there was a greater prevalence of victimisation among female offenders (22.8%) compared with male offenders (10.9%).
- 18.2% of all females were victim-offenders, compared with 10.0% of males.
- Female victim-offenders averaged more victimisation events (1.58) than females who were victims only (1.33), while males who were victims only, averaged more victimisation events (1.56) than male victim-offenders (1.24).



- The strongest relationship between the prevalence of personal offending among offending groups was observed for females, with 30.1% of female victim-offenders charged with a personal offence, compared with 14.3% of female offenders only.
- Gendered differences in the age at first offending event were observed, with female offenders only older (31.67 years) than male offenders only (30.77 years), while female victim-offenders were younger (27.57 years) than male victim-offenders (28.76 years).

A significant amount of criminal justice research has noted the gendered nature of crime and violence, with males responsible for committing more crime than females, and males experiencing more victimisation than females, except in relation to sexual violence (such as rape and sexual assault) and violence perpetrated by intimate partners (Hulme, Morgan and Boxall 2019; Lauritsen and Heimer 2008; Pratt and Turanovic 2021). For example, other research from QGSO (2021c) based on recorded crime found that while males and females experienced a similar share of total victimisations, the types of offences experienced were different, with sexual offences more prevalent among victimisations of females (23.4%, compared with 4.0% for males) and assault offences more common among victimisations of males (81.9%, compared with 63.5% for females). Further, it was found that females were more likely to experience revictimisation and were overrepresented among people who were revictimised by the same offender (75.7% of repeat victims were female), which were most commonly perpetrated by a family member or partner (66.9%). Self-report data indicate that sexual offences and DFV offences, which females are more likely to experience, are also likely to be substantially underreported (ABS 2017; Birdsey and Snowball 2013; Voce and Boxall 2018). For example, a survey of Australians found that one in five women (18.4%) had reported experiencing sexual violence since the age of 15, compared with one in twenty (4.7%) men (ABS 2017). Furthermore, one in six (17.3%) females had reported experiencing physical or sexual violence by a current or previous partner since the age of 15, compared with one in sixteen (6.1%) men (ABS 2017).

Gender differences found in the project, including the greater prevalence of victimisation among females with police contact when compared with males, and the higher victim-offender overlap among females, may be partly explained by DFV. Other research by QGSO (2021c) found both a higher prevalence of assault among female victims, and a higher prevalence of experiencing repeat victimisation at the hands of the same person, who was most commonly a family member or intimate partner. These patterns reflect experiences of DFV, which 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 higher prevalence of victim-offenders among females with police contact may also be explained by DFV, but rather reflect the responses of some women to experiencing DFV. Research suggests that some women may rely on the use of violent resistance during DFV incidents which may result in them being charged as an offender (Boxall, Dowling and Morgan 2020; Elmquist et al. 2014; Leisring and Grigorian 2016). There is also research suggesting that women may be misidentified as the perpetrator of DFV during a police call-out to a domestic dispute (Douglas and Fitzgerald 2018; Nancarrow et al. 2020). Taken together, these suggest that women's experiences of DFV could potentially explain the higher prevalence of the victim-offender overlap among females found in this project.

The gendered findings in this project highlight the importance of trauma-informed approaches to address the trauma associated with female victimisation.<sup>43</sup> Given the more severe offence profile among both male and female victim-offenders, such an approach may help support efforts to prevent female victims being involved in the criminal justice system as an offender through the use of violent resistance and may contribute to efforts to reduce criminal justice system demand.

### **Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander overrepresentation**

The results of the project also showed differences in relation to the prevalence of offenders, victims and victim-offender overlap based on Indigeneity. The rate of offenders and victims among the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population was higher than that observed for the non-Indigenous population and being a victim-offender was more common among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (25.2%) than among non-Indigenous people (10.8%). The relatively high prevalence of victimisation-offending among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people meant that being an offender only was most common among non-Indigenous people.

<sup>43</sup> The Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce (the Taskforce) was established by the Queensland Government in March 2021, and a key objective of the Taskforce is to undertake a review into the experiences of women and girls within the criminal justice system, both as victims and offenders of sexual violence. One area of focus for the Taskforce is exploring whether the criminal justice system and services associated with it is able to adopt a more trauma-informed care approach to address female victimisation (Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce 2021).



Other research has shown that the risk factors associated with involvement in crime are similar to those associated with victimisation. These factors include insecure housing, poor physical or mental health, substance use, unemployment and socioeconomic disadvantage (Barton, Valasik and Brault 2021; de Mooij et al. 2015; Khalifeh et al. 2015; Morgan et al. 2016; Pare and Felson 2014; Snowball and Weatherburn 2008; Wright et al. 1999). The observed overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people among those who offend and those classified as victim-offenders in this project may be somewhat explained by the higher prevalence of these risk factors among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision 2020).

It is important to acknowledge that violence is not the norm for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Blagg et al. 2020), and multiple, complex factors possibly contribute to the violence perpetrated and experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. These drivers include:

- intergenerational trauma associated with colonisation and dispossession
- the breakdown of traditional culture and kinship practices
- the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families
- experiences of violence, including childhood experiences of violence and abuse
- witnessing police brutality, deaths in custody, and institutional racism
- low education and income levels, high unemployment levels, and welfare dependency
- alcohol and other drugs
- poor and overcrowded housing conditions, and housing mobility
- poor physical and mental health (Blagg et al. 2018; Bryant and Willis 2008; Carlson, Day and Farrelly 2021; Cripps and Davis 2012; Cunneen and Tauri 2019; Guthrie et al. 2020; Olsen and Lovett 2016).

The findings of this project also showed differences in the prevalence of victim-offenders when considering both gender and Indigeneity. The prevalence of victim-offenders among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females (39.4%), was more than twice as high as that observed for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (16.6%) and non-Indigenous females (14.8%) and more than four times higher than that among non-Indigenous males (9.3%). This is likely to reflect a convergence of the factors impacting the gendered nature of victimisation (discussed above) and the cumulative impact of disadvantage experienced by some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 2011; Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision 2020).

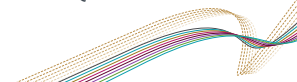
It has been identified that addressing key indicators of disadvantage experienced by some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is likely to be associated with reductions in offending by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and the victimisation they experience (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 2011). To address issues of domestic and family violence, Aboriginal peoples advocate the use of strengths-based and community-led solutions that are trauma-informed, culturally safe, involve Aboriginal justice models, and grounded in Aboriginal law and culture (for example, see Australian Law Reform Commission 2017; Blagg et al. 2021; Hovane 2015; McGlade 2012).

Project results relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people suggest that efforts made to reduce the overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the criminal justice system could be enhanced by addressing the relatively high levels of victimisation experienced by this group. This is due to the relatively high prevalence of victim-offenders among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and the heightened offence profile of victim-offenders.

## 5.1. Future research

The aim of the project was to provide a high-level examination of the victim-offender overlap in Queensland. The findings demonstrate that a group of people both offend and experience victimisation and that the extent of this varies across different demographic groups, however the project was limited in its ability to fully explore the underlying mechanisms possibly contributing to these results. There may therefore be benefit in progressing research that involves:

- collecting more detailed information from individuals to better understand the impact of individual (for example, experience of adverse events and illicit drug use) and situational (for example, use of violent resistance, lifestyle/routine activities and subcultural codes of behaviour) factors on the victim-offender overlap



- exploring whether there are different types of victim-offenders (Reid and Sullivan 2012) based on their victimisation or offending profile (for example, whether sexual assault victimisation is associated with different offending profiles)
- examining the temporal ordering of offending and victimisation through research which includes all contact that young people had with the police across their lifetime. Given that the peak age for offending occurs during late adolescence (QGSO 2021a) and a substantial proportion of victimisations are experienced by young people (QGSO 2021c), research focused on young people would contribute to knowledge regarding the temporal ordering of offending and victimisation among victim-offenders.
- examining longitudinal data that captures all system contact that people have with criminal justice agencies and other relevant agencies to better understand the relationship between offending and broader victimisation (including child maltreatment, child abuse, bullying, etc.).

## 5.2. Conclusion

This project has shown that a small, although not insubstantial, proportion of individuals have contact with the police as both an offender and victim (victim-offenders). It was also observed that victim-offenders averaged more offending events and had a higher prevalence of being charged with personal offences than offenders without a history of victimisation. These key findings highlight the potential benefits of:

- using trauma-informed interventions for victim-offenders to better understand how experiences of victimisation may be linked to offending, including how to address these factors
- early intervention and targeting resources towards victims of personal crime to help disrupt and prevent potential offending trajectories
- ensuring that interventions are gender-appropriate and culturally-sensitive.

The results highlight the importance of responding to victimisation, including victimisation experienced by offenders. They suggest that effective trauma-informed interventions for offenders who have experienced victimisation may reduce criminal justice system demand and decrease Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander overrepresentation in the criminal justice system. Targeted efforts with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females are likely to be of particular benefit.



# Glossary and explanatory notes

## Glossary

**Chi-square test of independence:** a type of statistical technique used to determine if there is a significant relationship between two variables comprised of categories. For example, this test can be used to examine for a relationship between gender (male versus female) and group membership of individuals (offenders only versus victim-offenders). If there was no relationship, then similar amounts of both males and females would be in each group. In contrast, an association might be identified by there being more female victim-offenders than male victim-offenders. See *statistical significance*.

**Effect size:** provides an objective measure of the importance of the relationship between two variables or difference between two groups, by assessing the magnitude of the effect. A statistical test might indicate if there is a statistically significant difference or relationship between two variables, but this does not mean that the difference is meaningful (as very small differences may be statistically significant when there is a large number of cases). In this report, where results of the statistical tests applied are statistically significant, an effect size is provided to interpret the magnitude of the effect. See *statistical significance*.

**Eligibility period:** in this project, the eligibility period is between 1 July 2012 and 30 June 2016, during which time an individual was considered in scope if they had contact with the police as an offender or victim. See *monitoring period, reference period*.

**Indigenous status:** is the term used by this report when discussing administrative data indicating whether a person has self-identified as Australian Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander. When an individual comes into contact with the police, they may self-identify based on four options: Not Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (non-Indigenous, in this report); Aboriginal; Torres Strait Islander; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander. In this publication, the term 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander' is used to refer to anyone who identifies as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander. 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.

**Index event:** the first event involving an individual as a victim or offender during the eligibility period. See *eligibility period*.

**Mean:** a measure of central tendency (also referred to as average) which is calculated by summing all of the data values and then dividing by the total number of data points or observations.

**Monitoring period:** the period before and after an index event to examine for other events involving an individual as a victim or offender. In this report the monitoring period is four years before and four years after an index event for an individual, providing a total monitoring period of eight years. See *eligibility period, reference period*.

**Offender:** a person aged 10 years or over who is alleged to be responsible for an offence (any type of offence).

**Offending event:** where an offender had contact with the police as a result of their offending, and more than one offence may have been actioned by police on a specific date.

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

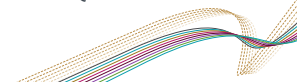
**Police action:** police may proceed against an offender by using a range of available actions (including arrest, summons, a notice to appear in court, warrant, caution, community conference, or other).

**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 project, the reference period is between 1 July 2008 and 30 June 2020. See *eligibility period, monitoring period*.

**Rolling window:** refers to a monitoring period beginning from a specific point in time, rather than a fixed monitoring period (such as a calendar or financial year). In this project, the rolling window for the monitoring period was based on four years prior to and four years after the index police contact event for in-scope individuals.

**Standard deviation:** provides a measure about how spread out the values are among a group, by expressing how much the members of a group differ from the mean value for the group. The larger the standard deviation, the more spread out or dispersed the values are. See *mean*.



**Statistical significance:** a result has statistical significance when it is unlikely, or only a very small chance (usually set at a pre-determined figure such as 1% or 5%), that the result has occurred by chance only, and can therefore be considered a genuine effect. See *effect size*.

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

**t-test:** a type of statistical technique which can be used to determine if there is a statistically significant difference between the mean values of two groups on a variable. See *mean, statistical significance*.

**Victim:** a person who experienced victimisation from personal crime.

**Victim-offender:** a person who had contact with the police as both a victim of personal crime and an offender (any type of crime).

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

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

## Explanatory notes

### Data used in this research

Data on which analyses in this report were based were current at the time of extraction on 8 December 2020 and are subject to change. The data 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 dataset used for the analyses were all offences recorded (reported to or detected) by QPS between 2008–09 and 2019–20. 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 about in-scope individuals, that had a start date of four years either side of their index event, were included in the initial dataset.

### Indigenous status

The recorded Indigenous status of individuals in the data are based on self-identification, according to one of the following four standard options: Not Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander; 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 are available; the first is raw data including all missing data, while the second variable contains the data where some missing 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.

### Percentage calculations

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

### Rate calculations

To calculate rates of offences, offending and victimisation which are presented in section 4.1, estimated resident population (ERP) figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) were obtained for Queensland. These figures were used to calculate rates of different offence types, rates of offending, and rates of victimisation from personal crime. Rates presented in this report are expressed as rates per 100,000 persons for the relevant population subgroup, which include gender and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander status.<sup>44</sup> Given that the age of criminal responsibility in Queensland is 10 years of age, only ERP figures for those aged 10 years and older within each population subgroup were used in relevant rate calculations. As a person of any age could experience victimisation, ERP figures for all people

<sup>44</sup> Single-year-of-age population estimates for Queensland were 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).



within each population subgroup were used in the calculation of victimisation rates. Similarly, in the calculation of offence rates, ERP figures for all people within each population subgroup were used.

### **Statistical analyses examining relationships or differences between groups**

While descriptive statistics summarise the characteristics of a data set, inferential statistics help make conclusions and predictions based on the data. Two types of inferential statistical tests used in analyses included the chi-square test of independence, which is used to examine if there is a significant association between two types of categorical variables (for example to explore whether there was an association between offender groups and the prevalence of violent offending or demographic characteristics) and the independent samples *t*-test, which is used to determine if there was a significant difference between the means of two groups (such as mean number of offending events between two groups of offenders). Assumptions related to the use of each inferential test were checked, such as that the outcome variable being approximately normally distributed and the variances of the outcome variable for each group were the same (Dancey and Reidy 2011). Where these assumptions were violated, the non-parametric version (which does not rely on a distribution) of that test should be applied. However, where there were minor violations of the assumptions of a test, both the parametric and non-parametric tests were conducted, and if the results were consistent, the results of the parametric version were preferred due to an increased ease of interpretation, and because parametric tests have more statistical power to detect a significant effect when one exists (Dancey and Reidy 2011).

Due to the large sample sizes used in analyses, very small effects can become statistically significant, but this does not mean that the results are theoretically relevant (Chatfield 1995). Instead, information about how meaningful a test result is best made in relation to practical significance and through the use of an effect size, which indicates the magnitude of difference between groups (Lin, Lucas and Shmueli 2013).

In this report, all inferential test results examining the association or difference between variables are statistically significant (due in part to the large sample sizes). Because of this, an effect size and how meaningful the effect is are provided to assist interpret the result. When conducting a chi-square test of independence, the phi-coefficient ( $\phi$ ) was used to provide an effect size for a 2 x 2 association, while Cramer's *V* was used for associations greater than 2 x 2. Interpretations of the effect size ( $\phi$  or *V*) as weak (.05), moderate (.10), strong (.15), and very strong (.25) are based on suggestions by Akoglu (2018). When conducting an independent-samples *t*-test, Cohen's *d* was calculated and used as an effect size. Interpretation of effect sizes as small ( $d = 0.2$ ), medium ( $d = 0.5$ ) and large ( $d = 0.8$ ) are based on benchmarks suggested by Cohen (1988). Where an effect size did not meet the values suggested, the effect was considered not meaningful.



## References

- Aaltonen, M 2016, 'To whom do prior offenders pose a risk? Victim–offender similarity in police-reported violent crime', *Crime & Delinquency*, vol. 63, no. 11, pp. 1410–33.
- Agnew, R 1992, 'Foundation for a general strain theory of crime and delinquency', *Criminology*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 47–88.
- 2001, 'Building on the foundation of general strain theory: Specifying the types of strain most likely to lead to crime and delinquency', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 319–61.
- 2002, 'Experienced, vicarious, and anticipated strain: An exploratory study on physical victimization and delinquency', *Justice Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 603–32.
- 2014, 'General strain theory', in G Bruinsma and D Weisburd (eds), *Encyclopedia of criminology and criminal justice*, Springer New York, New York, NY, pp. 1892–900.
- Agnew, R and Brezina, T 2019, 'General strain theory', in MD Krohn, N Hendrix, G Penly Hall and AJ Lizotte (eds), *Handbook on crime and deviance*, 2nd edn, Springer Nature Switzerland, Cham, pp. 145–60.
- Akoglu, H 2018, 'User's guide to correlation coefficients', *Turkish Journal of Emergency Medicine*, vol. 18, pp. 91–3.
- Ali, PA and Naylor, PB 2013, 'Intimate partner violence: A narrative review of the feminist, social and ecological explanations for its causation', *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, vol. 18, no. 6, pp. 611–619.
- American Psychiatric Association 2013, *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders (DSM-5)*, 5th edn, American Psychiatric Association, Washington, DC.
- Anderson, E 1999, *Code of the street : Decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city*, W.W. Norton & Company Inc., New York.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017, *Personal Safety, Australia*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, <<https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/crime-and-justice/personal-safety-australia/latest-release>>.
- 2018, *National offence index*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, <<https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/classifications/national-offence-index/latest-release>>.
- 2021, *Recorded crime – offenders, 2019–20*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, <<https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/crime-and-justice/recorded-crime-offenders/2019-20>>.
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2019, *Family, domestic and sexual violence in Australia: Continuing the national story 2019*, Cat. no. FDV 3, AIHW, Canberra, <<https://www.aihw.gov.au/getmedia/b0037b2d-a651-4abf-9f7b-00a85e3de528/aihw-fdv3-FDSV-in-Australia-2019.pdf>>.
- Australian Law Reform Commission 2017, *Pathways to justice— inquiry into the incarceration rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples*, Final Report No 133, Sydney, Australian Law Reform Commission.
- Australian Productivity Commission 2021, *Report on government services 2021, Part C Justice*, Australian Productivity Commission, Canberra, <<https://www.pc.gov.au/research/ongoing/report-on-government-services/2021/justice>>.
- Averdijk, M, Van Gelder, J-L, Eisner, M and Ribeaud, D 2016, 'Violence begets violence ... But how? A decision-making perspective on the victim–offender overlap', *Criminology*, vol. 54, no. 2, pp. 282–306.
- Baetz, CL, Surko, M, Moaveni, M, McNair, F, Bart, A, Workman, S, Tedeschi, F, Havens, J, Guo, F, Quinlan, C and Horwitz, SM 2019, 'Impact of a trauma-informed intervention for youth and staff on rates of violence in juvenile detention settings', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, doi: 10.1177/0886260519857163.
- Bailey, L, Harinam, V and Ariel, B 2020, 'Victims, offenders and victim–offender overlaps of knife crime: A social network analysis approach using police records', *PLOS ONE*, vol. 15, no. 12, pp. 1–21.
- Barnes, JC and Beaver, KM 2012, 'Extending research on the victim–offender overlap: Evidence from a genetically informative analysis', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol. 27, no. 16, pp. 3299–321.
- Barton, MS, Valasik, MA and Brault, E 2021, 'Disorder or disadvantage: Investigating the tension between neighborhood social structure and the physical environment on local violence', *Criminal Justice Review*, vol. 46, no. 2, pp. 134–55.
- Baxter, ALA 2020, 'When the line between victimization and criminalization blurs: The victim–offender overlap observed in female offenders in cases of trafficking in persons for sexual exploitation in Australia', *Journal of Human Trafficking*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 327–38.





- Berg, MT and Felson, R 2020, 'A social interactionist approach to the victim–offender overlap', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 153–81.
- Berg, MT and Mulford, CF 2020, 'Reappraising and redirecting research on the victim–offender overlap', *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 16–30.
- Berg, MT and Schreck, CJ 2021, 'The meaning of the victim–offender overlap for criminological theory and crime prevention policy', *Annual Review of Criminology*, vol. 5, no. 1, doi: 10.1146/annurev-criminol-030920-120724.
- Berg, MT, Stewart, EA, Schreck, CJ and Simons, RL 2012, 'The victim–offender overlap in context: Examining the role of neighborhood street culture', *Criminology*, vol. 50, no. 2, pp. 359–90.
- Birdsey, E and Snowball, L 2013, *Reporting violence to police: A survey of victims attending domestic violence services, Bureau Brief*, no. 91, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Sydney, <[https://www.bocsar.nsw.gov.au/Pages/bocsar\\_publication/Pub\\_Summary/BB/bb91-Reporting-Violence-to-Police-A-survey-of-victims-attending-domestic-violence-services.aspx](https://www.bocsar.nsw.gov.au/Pages/bocsar_publication/Pub_Summary/BB/bb91-Reporting-Violence-to-Police-A-survey-of-victims-attending-domestic-violence-services.aspx)>.
- Blagg, H, Hovane, V, Tulich, T, Raye, D, May, S and Worrigal, T 2021 'Law, culture and decolonisation: The perspectives of Aboriginal elders on family violence in Australia', *Social & Legal Studies*, Online first, doi: 10.1177/09646639211046134.
- Blagg, H, Tulich, T, Hovane, V, Raye, D, Worrigal, T and May, S 2020, *Understanding the role of Law and Culture in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in responding to and preventing family violence*, (Research to policy and practice, 19/2020), ANROWS, Sydney, <<https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/understanding-the-role-of-law-and-culture-in-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-communities-in-responding-to-and-preventing-family-violence-key-findings-and-future-directions>>
- Blagg, H, Williams, E, Cummings, E, Hovane, V, Torres, M and Woodley, KN 2018, *Innovative models in addressing violence against Indigenous women: Final report*, (ANROWS Horizons, 01/2018), ANROWS, Sydney, <<https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/innovative-models-in-addressing-violence-against-indigenous-women-final-report/>>.
- Bonomi, AE, Thompson, RS, Anderson, M, Reid, RJ, Carrell, D, Dimer, JA and Rivara, FP 2006, 'Intimate partner violence and women's physical, mental, and social functioning', *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, vol. 30, no. 6, pp. 458–66.
- Bouffard, LA and Koeppel, MDH 2014, 'Understanding the potential long-term physical and mental health consequences of early experiences of victimization', *Justice Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 568–87.
- Boxall, H, Boyd, C, Dowling, C and Morgan, A 2018, *Understanding domestic violence incidents using crime script analysis*, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, no. 558, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, <<https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/tandi558>>.
- 2020, *Female perpetrated domestic violence: Prevalence of self-defensive and retaliatory violence*, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, no. 584, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, <<https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/tandi584>>.
- Branson, C, Baetz, C, Horwitz, S and Hoagwood, K 2017, 'Trauma-informed juvenile justice systems: A systematic review of definitions and core components', *Psychological trauma*, vol. 9, no. 6, pp. 635–46.
- Broidy, LM, Daday, JK, Crandall, CS, Sklar, DP and Jost, PF 2006, 'Exploring demographic, structural, and behavioral overlap among homicide offenders and victims', *Homicide Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 155–80.
- Bryant, C and Willis, M 2008, *Risk factors in Indigenous violent victimisation*, Technical and background paper series no. 30, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, <<https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tbp/tbp30>>.
- Carlson, B., Day, M., & Farrelly, T 2021, *What works? Exploring the literature on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander healing programs that respond to family violence*, (Research report, 01/2021). ANROWS, Sydney, <<https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/what-works-exploring-the-literature-on-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-healing-programs-that-respond-to-family-violence>>.
- Chan, HC 2019, 'Exploring the overlap between victimization and offending among Hong Kong adolescents', *Journal of Criminal Justice*, vol. 61, pp. 72–80.
- Chang, JJ, Chen, JJ and Brownson, RC 2003, 'The role of repeat victimization in adolescent delinquent behaviors and recidivism', *Journal of Adolescent Health*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 272–80.



- Chatfield, C 1995, *Problem solving: A statistician's guide*, 2nd edn, Chapman & Hall, Boca Raton, Florida.
- Cohen, J 1988, *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences*, 2nd edn, Routledge, New York.
- Cohen, LE and Felson, M 1979, 'Social change and crime rate trends: A routine activity approach', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 44, no. 4, pp. 588–608.
- Cripps, K and Davis, M 2012, 'Communities working to reduce Indigenous family violence', Indigenous Justice Clearinghouse, Brief 12, NSW Department of Justice, Sydney, <<https://www.indigenousjustice.gov.au/resources/communities-working-to-reduce-indigenous-family-violence>>.
- Cullen, FT, Unnever, JD, Hartman, JL, Turner, MG and Agnew, R 2008, 'Gender, bullying victimization, and juvenile delinquency: A test of general strain theory', *Victims & Offenders*, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 346–64.
- Cunneen, C and Tauri, JM 2019, 'Indigenous peoples, criminology, and criminal justice', *Annual Review of Criminology*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 359–81.
- Daday, JK, Broidy, LM, Crandall, CS and Sklar, DP 2005, 'Individual, neighborhood, and situational factors associated with violent victimization and offending', *Criminal Justice Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 215–35.
- Dancey, CP and Reidy, J 2011, *Statistics without maths for psychology*, 5th edn, Prentice Hall, Harlow.
- de Mooij, LD, Kikkert, M, Lommerse, NM, Peen, J, Meijwaard, SC, Theunissen, J, Duurkoop, PWRA, Goudriaan, AE, Van, HL, Beekman, ATF and Dekker, JJM 2015, 'Victimisation in adults with severe mental illness: Prevalence and risk factors', *British Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 207, no. 6, pp. 515–22.
- Douglas, H and Fitzgerald, R 2018, 'The domestic violence protection order system as entry to the criminal justice system for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people', *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 41–57.
- Eitle, D 2021, 'Examining direct and indirect pathways between adolescent extra-familial criminal victimization and adult mental health', *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, doi: 10.1007/s12103-021-09615-y.
- Elmquist, J, Hamel, J, Shorey, RC, Labrecque, L, Ninnemann, A and Stuart, GL 2014, 'Motivations for intimate partner violence in men and women arrested for domestic violence and court referred to batterer intervention programs', *Partner abuse*, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 359–74.
- Engström, A 2018, 'Associations between risky lifestyles and involvement in violent crime during adolescence', *Victims & Offenders*, vol. 13, no. 7, pp. 898–920.
- Fagan, AA and Mazerolle, P 2011, 'Repeat offending and repeat victimization: Assessing similarities and differences in psychosocial risk factors', *Crime & Delinquency*, vol. 57, no. 5, pp. 732–55.
- Gottfredson, MR 1984, *Victims of crime: The dimensions of risk*, vol. 83, Home Office. Research Planning Unit, London.
- Groves, N and Thomas, T 2013, *Domestic violence and criminal justice*, Routledge, Abingdon-on-Thames.
- Guthrie, J, Thurber, K, Lovett, R, Gray, M, Banks, E, Olsen, A, Calabria B, Priest, N, Dance, P, Thandrayen, J, Colonna, E, Cohen R, Brinckler, M, Wells, S, Salmon, M, Doery, K, Movva, N, Dunbar, T and Hoyane, V 2020, 'The answers were there before white man come in': *Stories of strength and resilience for responding to violence in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities*, Family and Community Safety for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples Study Report, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Halsey, M 2018, 'Child victims as adult offenders: Foregrounding the criminogenic effects of (unresolved) trauma and loss', *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 58, no. 1, pp. 17–36.
- Hay, C and Evans, MM 2006, 'Violent victimization and involvement in delinquency: Examining predictions from general strain theory', *Journal of Criminal Justice*, vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 261–74.
- Hiday, VA, Swanson, JW, Swartz, MS, Borum, R and Wagner, HR 2001, 'Victimization: A link between mental illness and violence?', *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, vol. 24, no. 6, pp. 559–72.
- Hiltz, N, Bland, M and Barnes, GC 2020, 'Victim–offender overlap in violent crime: Targeting crime harm in a Canadian suburb', *Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 114–24.
- Hindelang, MJ, Gottfredson, MR and Garofalo, J 1978, *Victims of personal crime: An empirical foundation for a theory of personal victimization*, Ballinger, Cambridge, MA.



- Honorato, B, Caltabiano, N and Clough, AR 2016, 'From trauma to incarceration: Exploring the trajectory in a qualitative study in male prison inmates from north Queensland, Australia', *Health & Justice*, vol. 4, no. 1, p. 3.
- Hovane, V 2015, *Our story to tell: Aboriginal perspectives on domestic and family violence*, (ANROWS Footprints 1), pp 13–17, <<https://www.anrows.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/ANROWS-Footprints.pdf>>.
- Hulme, S, Morgan, A and Boxall, H 2019, *Domestic violence offenders, prior offending and reoffending in Australia*, Trends & issues in crime and criminal justice no. 580, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, <<https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/tandi580>>.
- Jackson, V, Sullivan, DH, Mawren, D, Freiberg, A, Kulkarni, J and Darjee, R 2021, 'Trauma-informed sentencing of serious violent offenders: An exploration of judicial dispositions with a gendered perspective', *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, pp. 1–26.
- Jennings, WG, Higgins, GE, Tewksbury, R, Gover, AR and Piquero, AR 2010, 'A longitudinal assessment of the victim–offender overlap', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol. 25, no. 12, pp. 2147–74.
- Jennings, WG, Piquero, AR and Reingle, JM 2012, 'On the overlap between victimization and offending: A review of the literature', *Aggression and violent behavior*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 16–26.
- Johnson, MP 2006, 'Conflict and control: Gender symmetry and asymmetry in domestic violence', *Violence Against Women*, vol. 12, no. 11, pp. 1003–18.
- Khalifeh, H, Johnson, S, Howard, LM, Borschmann, R, Osborn, D, Dean, K, Hart, C, Hogg, J and Moran, P 2015, 'Violent and non-violent crime against adults with severe mental illness', *British Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 206, no. 4, pp. 275–82.
- Kilpatrick, DG, Ruggiero, KJ, Acierno, R, Saunders, BE, Resnick, HS and Best, CL 2003, 'Violence and risk of PTSD, major depression, substance abuse/dependence, and comorbidity: Results from the national survey of adolescents', *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, vol. 71, no. 4, pp. 692–700.
- Kunst, M and Van Wilsem, J 2012, 'Trait impulsivity and change in mental health problems after violent crime victimization: A prospective analysis of the Dutch longitudinal internet studies for the social sciences database', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol. 28, no. 8, pp. 1642–56.
- Lauritsen, JL and Heimer K 2008, 'The Gender Gap in Violent Victimization, 1973-2004', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, vol. 24, pp. 125–47.
- Lauritsen, JL and Laub, JH 2007, 'Understanding the link between victimization and offending: New reflections on an old idea', *Crime Prevention Studies*, vol. 22, pp. 55–75.
- Lauritsen, JL, Sampson, RJ and Laub, JH 1991, 'The link between offending and victimization among adolescents', *Criminology*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 265–92.
- Leisring, PA and Grigorian, HL 2016, 'Self–defense, retaliation, and gender: Clarifying motivations for physical partner violence', *Journal of Family Violence*, vol. 31, no. 8, pp. 949–53.
- Levenson, JS and Willis, GM 2019, 'Implementing trauma-informed care in correctional treatment and supervision', *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 481–501.
- Lin, M, Lucas, HC and Shmueli, G 2013, 'Research commentary: Too big to fail: Large samples and the p-value problem', *Information Systems Research*, vol. 24, no. 4, pp. 906–17.
- Manasse, ME and Ganem, NM 2009, 'Victimization as a cause of delinquency: The role of depression and gender', *Journal of Criminal Justice*, vol. 37, no. 4, pp. 371–8.
- Marcum, CD, Higgins, GE, Freiburger, TL and Ricketts, ML 2014, 'Exploration of the cyberbullying victim/offender overlap by sex', *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 538–48.
- McCart, MR, Chapman, JE, Zajac, K and Rheingold, AA 2020, 'Community-based randomized controlled trial of psychological first aid with crime victims', *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, vol. 88, no. 8, pp. 681–95.
- McGlade, H 2012, *Our Greatest Challenge: Aboriginal Children and Human Rights*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- McKenna, NC and Holtfreter, K 2021, 'Trauma-informed courts: A review and integration of justice perspectives and gender responsiveness', *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 450–70.
- McPherson, M, Smith-Lovin, L and Cook, JM 2001, 'Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 415–44.



- Miller, NA and Najavits, LM 2012, 'Creating trauma-informed correctional care: A balance of goals and environment', *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 1–8.
- Morgan, VA, Morgan, F, Galletly, C, Valuri, G, Shah, S and Jablensky, A 2016, 'Sociodemographic, clinical and childhood correlates of adult violent victimisation in a large, national survey sample of people with psychotic disorders', *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, vol. 51, no. 2, pp. 269–79.
- Moreland, A and Ressler, KJ 2021, 'A perspective for understanding trauma and the criminal juvenile justice system: Using a trauma-informed lens for meaningful and sustained change', *Harvard Review of Psychiatry*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 216–24.
- Mulford, CF, Blachman-Demner, DR, Pitzer, L, Schubert, CA, Piquero, AR and Mulvey, EP 2018, 'Victim offender overlap: Dual trajectory examination of victimization and offending among young felony offenders over seven years', *Victims & Offenders*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 1–27.
- Mustaine, EE and Tewksbury, R 2000, 'Comparing the lifestyles of victims, offenders, and victim-offenders: A routine activity theory assessment of similarities and differences for criminal incident participants', *Sociological Focus*, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 339–62.
- Nancarrow, H, Thomas, K, Ringland, V and Modini, T 2020, *Accurately identifying the "person most in need of protection" in domestic and family violence law*, (Research report, 23/2020), ANROWS, Sydney, <<https://20ian81kyngq38bl3l3eh8bf-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Nancarrow-PMINOP-RR.3.pdf>>.
- NSW Government 2012, *Youth on track: A model for early intervention with young people*, Sydney: NSW Attorney General & Justice, <<http://www.youthontrack.justice.nsw.gov.au/Pages/yot/publications.aspx>>.
- Ogloff, JRP, Pfeifer, JE, Shepherd, SM and Ciorciari, J 2017, 'Assessing the mental health, substance abuse, cognitive functioning, and social/emotional well-being needs of Aboriginal prisoners in Australia', *Journal of Correctional Health Care*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 398–411.
- Olsen, A and Lovett, R 2016, *Existing knowledge, practice and responses to violence against women in Australian Indigenous communities: State of knowledge paper*, (ANROWS Landscapes, 02/2016), Sydney: ANROWS, <<https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/existing-knowledge-practice-and-responses-to-violence-against-women-in-australian-indigenous-communities-state-of-knowledge-paper/>>.
- Osgood, DW, Wilson, JK, O'Malley, PM, Bachman, JG and Johnston, LD 1996, 'Routine activities and individual deviant behavior', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 61, no. 4, pp. 635–55.
- Papalia, N, Ogloff, JRP, Cutajar, M and Mullen, PE 2018, 'Child sexual abuse and criminal offending: Gender-specific effects and the role of abuse characteristics and other adverse outcomes', *Child Maltreatment*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 399–416.
- Pare, P-P and Felson, R 2014, 'Income inequality, poverty and crime across nations', *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 65, no. 3, pp. 434–58.
- Peltonen, K, Ellonen, N, Pitkänen, J, Aaltonen, M and Martikainen, P 2020, 'Trauma and violent offending among adolescents: A birth cohort study', *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, vol. 74, no. 10, pp. 845–50.
- Posick, C 2013, 'The overlap between offending and victimization among adolescents: Results from the second international self-report delinquency study', *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 106–24.
- 2018, 'Reappraising the impact of offending on victimization: A propensity score matching approach', *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, vol. 62, no. 8, pp. 2374–90.
- Pratt, TC and Turanovic, JJ 2021, *Revitalizing victimization theory: Revisions, applications, and new directions*, Advances in Criminological Theory vol. 27, Routledge, New York.
- Quadara, A 2015, *Implementing trauma-informed systems of care in health settings: The WITH study: State of knowledge paper*, (ANROWS Landscapes, 10/2015), ANROWS, Sydney, <<https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/implementing-trauma-informed-systems-of-care-in-health-settings-the-with-study-state-of-knowledge-paper/>>.
- Queensland Government Statistician's Office 2021a, *Changing patterns in the age distribution of crime in Queensland*, Queensland Treasury, Brisbane.
- 2021b, *Spatial and temporal distribution of reported offences in Queensland*, Queensland Treasury, Brisbane.
- 2021c, *Victimisation from personal crime in Queensland*, Queensland Treasury, Brisbane.



- Reid, JA and Sullivan, CJ 2012, 'Unraveling victim–offender overlap: Exploring profiles and constellations of risk', *Victims & Offenders*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 327–60.
- Reisig, MD and Holtfreter, K 2018, 'The victim–offender overlap in late adulthood', *Journal of Elder Abuse & Neglect*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 144–66.
- Sampson, RJ and Lauritsen, JL 1990, 'Deviant lifestyles, proximity to crime, and the offender-victim link in personal violence', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 110–39.
- Sandall, D, Angel, CM and White, J 2018, 'Victim-offenders': A third category in police targeting of harm reduction', *Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 95–110.
- Schreck, CJ, Berg, MT, Fisher, BS and Wilcox, P 2018, 'That door you just kicked in was locked for your protection, not mine: Developing and testing competing theoretical models of crime prevention behavior', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, vol. 55, no. 2, pp. 316–45.
- Schreck, CJ, Stewart, EA and Osgood, DW 2008, 'A reappraisal of the overlap of violent offenders and victims', *Criminology*, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 871–906.
- Semenza, DC, Testa, A and Turanovic, JJ 2021, 'Trajectories of violent victimization over the life course: Implications for mental and physical health', *Advances in Life Course Research*, doi: 10.1016/j.alcr.2021.100436.
- Shapland, J and Bottoms, A 2019, 'Offending, victimisation and desistance', in S Farrall (ed.), *The architecture of desistance*, Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 203–26.
- Singer, SI 1981, 'Homogeneous victim-offender populations: A review and some research implications', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 72, pp. 779–88.
- 1986, 'Victims of serious violence and their criminal behavior: Subcultural theory and beyond', *Violence and victims*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 61–70.
- Snowball, L and Weatherburn, D 2008, 'Theories of Indigenous violence: A preliminary empirical assessment', *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 216–35.
- Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision 2020, *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage: Key Indicators 2020*, Productivity Commission, Canberra, <<https://www.pc.gov.au/research/ongoing/overcoming-indigenous-disadvantage/2020>>.
- Sutherland, A, Strang, L, Stepanek, M, Giacomantonio, C, Boyle, A and Strang, H 2021, 'Tracking violent crime with ambulance data: How much crime goes uncounted?', *Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing*, vol. 5, pp. 20–39.
- TenEyck, M and Barnes, JC 2018, 'Exploring the social and individual differences among victims, offenders, victim-offenders, and total abstainers', *Victims & Offenders*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 66–83.
- Tillyer, MS and Wright, EM 2014, 'Intimate partner violence and the victim–offender overlap', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 29–55.
- Turanovic, JJ and Pratt, TC 2015, 'Longitudinal effects of violent victimization during adolescence on adverse outcomes in adulthood: A focus on prosocial attachments', *The Journal of Pediatrics*, vol. 166, no. 4, pp. 1062–9.
- Turanovic, JJ and Young, JT 2016, 'Violent offending and victimization in adolescence: Social network mechanisms and homophily', *Criminology*, vol. 54, no. 3, pp. 487–519.
- Voce, I and Boxall, H 2018, 'Who reports domestic violence to police? A review of the evidence', *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, no. 559, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, <<https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/tandi559>>.
- Widom, CS 2017, 'Long-term impact of childhood abuse and neglect on crime and violence', *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 186–202.
- Wittebrood, K and Nieuwebeerta, P 1999, 'Wages of sin? The link between offending, lifestyle and violent victimisation', *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 63–80.
- Wolfgang, ME 1958, *Patterns in criminal homicide*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Wolfgang, ME and Ferracuti, F 1967, *The subculture of violence: Towards an integrated theory in criminology*, Tavistock, London.



---

Queensland Government Statistician's Office

Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce 2021, *Discussion Paper 2 – Women and girls' experience of the criminal justice system*, Queensland Government, Brisbane,  
<[https://www.womenstaskforce.qld.gov.au/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0005/687614/wsjt-discussion-paper-2-final.pdf](https://www.womenstaskforce.qld.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0005/687614/wsjt-discussion-paper-2-final.pdf)>.

Wright, BRE, Caspi, A, Moffitt, TE, Miech, RA and Silva, PA 1999, 'Reconsidering the relationship between sex and delinquency: Causation but not correlation', *Criminology*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 175–94.

