

QUEENSLAND TREASURY

The victim–offender overlap among young people in Queensland

Crime research report

Queensland Government Statistician's Office

Queensland Treasury

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 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>

Attribution

Content from this report should be attributed to:

Queensland Government Statistician's Office, Queensland Treasury, *The victim–offender overlap among young people 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

Acronyms	vi
Symbols.....	vi
Report summary	vii
1.0 Introduction	1
2.0 Background	2
2.1. The relationship between age and crime	2
2.2. The victim–offender overlap	2
3.0 Research approach.....	5
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.....	9
4.0 Results.....	10
4.1. Prevalence of police contact among young people in Queensland	10
4.2. Type of police contact for young people within the cohort	13
4.3. The victim–offender overlap among young people	14
4.4. Exploring factors associated with later offending for young victims	20
4.5. Comparing young victim groups: Demographic and victimisation profiles	24
4.6. Exploring factors associated with revictimisation for young victim-offenders and victims only	28
4.7. Comparing young offender groups: Demographic and offending profiles	32
4.8. Exploring factors associated with persistent offending for young victim-offenders and offenders only	39
5.0 Discussion.....	43
5.1. Implications.....	47
5.2. Future research	48
Glossary and explanatory notes.....	49
References	51
Appendix A.....	58



Tables

Table 1	Available victimisation and offending information by age for the cohort born in 2002–03.....	6
Table 2	Example of conjunctive analysis of case configurations examining the proportion of young victim-offenders charged with a personal offence, by gender, Indigenous status, and first police contact	8
Table 3	Type of police contact between 6–17 years of age and the overlap between victimisation and offending by demographic characteristics among the cohort, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	13
Table 4	First police contact among young victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	19
Table 5	The probability of young victims who later offend, by gender, Indigenous status and age at first victimisation, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	20
Table 6	The probability of young victims who later offend, by gender, Indigenous status, and type of first victimisation, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	21
Table 7	The probability of young victims who later offend, by gender, Indigenous status, age at first victimisation, and type of first victimisation, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	22
Table 8	Young victims only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20.....	24
Table 9	Young victim-offenders only and victims only who had experienced revictimisation by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	25
Table 10	Average number of victimisation events for young victim-offenders and victims only by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	26
Table 11	Average age at first victimisation for young victim-offenders and victims only by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	27
Table 12	The probability of revictimisation between young victim-offenders and victims only, by gender, Indigenous status, and age at first victimisation, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	29
Table 13	The probability of revictimisation between young victim-offenders and victims only, by gender, Indigenous status, and type of first victimisation, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21.....	30
Table 14	Young victim-offenders and offenders only by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	32
Table 15	Young victim-offenders and offenders only charged with a personal offence between 10–17 years of age by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21	34
Table 16	Average number of offending events for young victim-offenders and offenders only between 10–17 years of age by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21	35
Table 17	Average age at first offence for young victim-offenders and offenders only between 10–17 years of age, by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2019–20.....	38
Table 18	The probability of being a young persistent offender, by gender, Indigenous status, age at first offence, and offender type, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21.....	40
Table 19	The probability of being a young persistent offender, by gender, Indigenous status, being charged with a personal offence and offender type, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21.....	41
Table A1	The probability of revictimisation, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	58
Table A2	The probability of being a persistent offender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	60



Figures

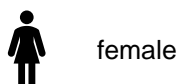
Figure 1	Overlap of victimisation and offending	3
Figure 2	Prevalence of recorded victimisation among young people in Queensland by age, 2008–09 to 2020–21	11
Figure 3	Prevalence of recorded offending among young people in Queensland by age, 2012–13 to 2020–21	12
Figure 4	Prevalence of recorded contact with police (recorded victimisation or offending) among young people in Queensland by age, 2008–09 to 2020–21	12
Figure 5	Young people by type of police contact, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	15
Figure 6	Young people by type of police contact by gender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	15
Figure 7	Young people by type of police contact by Indigenous status, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	15
Figure 8	Young people by type of police contact by Indigenous status and gender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	16
Figure 9	Young victim-offenders categorised by police contact frequency, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	16
Figure 10	Young victim-offenders categorised by police contact frequency, by gender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	17
Figure 11	Young victim-offenders categorised by police contact frequency, by Indigenous status, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	17
Figure 12	Young victim-offenders categorised by police contact frequency, by Indigenous status and gender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21	18
Figure 13	Prevalence of persistent offending among young victim-offenders and offenders only, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21	35
Figure 14	Prevalence of persistent offending among young victim-offenders and offenders only, by gender, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21	36
Figure 15	Prevalence of persistent offending among young victim-offenders and offenders only, by Indigenous status, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21	36
Figure 16	Prevalence of persistent offending among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-offenders and offenders only, by gender, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21	37
Figure 17	Prevalence of persistent offending among young non-Indigenous victim-offenders and offenders only, by gender, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21	37

Acronyms

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
CACC	conjunctive analysis of case configurations
ERP	estimated residential population
NOI	National Offence Index
QGSO	Queensland Government Statistician's Office
QPRIME	Queensland Police Records and Information Management Exchange
QPS	Queensland Police Service

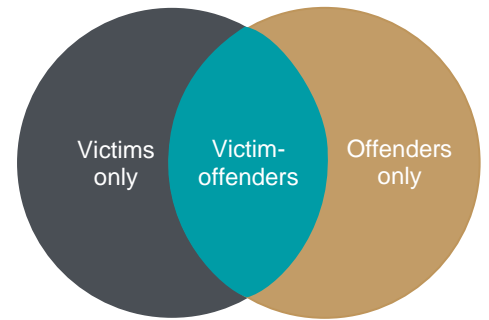
Symbols

In some figures throughout this report, the following symbols have been used to simplistically represent the gender of individuals as recorded in QPRIME records:



Report summary

The research project described in this report examined the victim–offender overlap among young people, given the relative higher prevalence of both victimisation and offending among this group established by other studies. The project used police administrative data to investigate differences in the victimisation and offending profiles between groups of young people. Exploratory analyses were conducted also, to better understand the circumstances when more severe victimisation and offending outcomes were observed among groups. The project builds on previous Queensland Government Statistician's Office (QGSO) research which explored the victim–offender overlap within the broader population (QGSO in press).



Key findings of the project

Prevalence of police contact among young people in Queensland by 17 years of age



1 in 12
had been the **victim** of personal crime

1 in 9
had been charged as an **offender** (any type of offence)




1 in 6
had **police contact** (as victim or offender)


The prevalence of contact with police **differs across socio-demographic groups** of young people

The victim-offender overlap differed across socio-demographic groups within the cohort of young people


Legend: ■ Victim (dark grey), ■ Victim-offender (teal), ■ Offender (brown)




young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males



young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females



young non-Indigenous males



young non-Indigenous females

Examining young victim-offenders in terms of first contact with police and all police contacts

Legend: ■ Victim (dark grey), ■ Offender (brown), ■ Predominant victim (dark red), ■ Equal victim-offender (teal), ■ Predominant offender (green)

Most young victim-offenders had their **first contact with police as the victim of a personal crime, not as an offender**



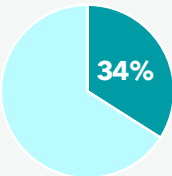
Most young victim-offenders had **more contact as an offender than as a victim**. Very few had more contact as a victim than as an offender




Different victimisation profiles were observed between groups of young victims

Legend: ■ Victim-offender (teal), ■ Victim (dark grey)

A greater proportion of victim-offenders were **revictimised** than those who only experienced victimisation

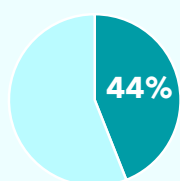


Victim-offenders **averaged more victimisation events** than those who only experienced victimisation

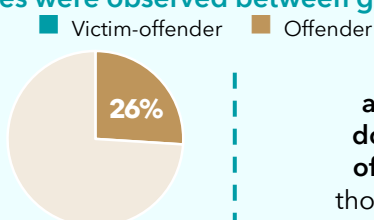


Note: In this report, the terms *charged as an offender* or *charged for an offence* mean a person is held criminally responsible for committing an offence.

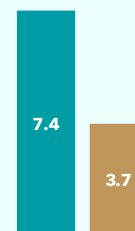
Different offence profiles were observed between groups of young offenders



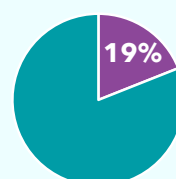
A greater proportion of victim-offenders were **charged with a personal offence** than those who only offended



Victim-offenders **averaged more than double the number of offending events** than those who only offended



Victim-offenders were **younger at their first recorded offence** than those who only offended



A greater proportion of victim-offenders were **persistent offenders (had 10+ offending events)** than those who only offended



Early contact with the criminal justice system



Experiencing victimisation before 10 years of age was associated with **later offending**



Experiencing victimisation before 10 years of age was associated with **revictimisation**



Being a **persistent offender** (10+ offending events) was associated with early onset offending (before 13 years of age).

Overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people

Higher prevalence of police contact by 17 years



Later offending was more common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims than non-Indigenous victims, **regardless of the age** at which they experienced victimisation, **or the type of first victimisation** they experienced

A greater proportion of **persistent offenders** (10+ offending events)



A greater proportion of victims experienced **revictimisation**

Conclusion and implications

The findings highlight the potential impact of victimisation from personal crime on young people in terms of the level of contact they have with the criminal justice system, including an increased probability of experiencing revictimisation and an increased probability of offending (personal, property and/or other offence). These findings underscore the potential benefits that may be obtained from using a trauma-informed approach in the development and implementation of criminal justice responses for young people, and the possible benefits of targeting resources towards young victim-offenders. The relatively high prevalence of victim-offender overlap among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people, females in particular, points to the importance of culturally-sensitive, community-based criminal justice responses to help support a reduction in criminal justice system demand and a decrease in the overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people in the youth justice system.



1.0 Introduction

'The victim–offender overlap among young people in Queensland' project (the project) examines the extent to which young people (aged 6–17 years) have had contact with police resulting from being the victim of personal crime and/or as an offender.¹ Young people are the focus of this project, given that this period of a young person's life (covering adolescence) is characterised by a relatively high risk of victimisation from personal crime and a high prevalence of offending behaviour. Using longitudinal police administrative data, this project examines the victim–offender overlap among young people, including whether there are differences in the overlap between demographic groups and differences in the offending or victimisation profile between groups of young people based on the type of recorded contact they had with police. This project builds on other crime research undertaken by QGSO, including 'The overlap between victimisation and offending in Queensland' project, which showed variation in the victim–offender overlap among demographic groups in the broader Queensland population, and patterns of more frequent and severe offending among offenders who had experienced victimisation from personal crime, when compared with offenders who had not experienced victimisation (QGSO in press). 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.
- *Victimisation from personal crime in Queensland* (QGSO 2021b) 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 is provided in Chapter 2. The research approach, including research questions and methods used to address these questions, is then described in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the research findings, which are discussed in Chapter 5, along with areas for future research.

¹ While victimisation was limited to victimisation from personal crime (elsewhere referred to as 'an offence against the person'), offending information was available for all offence types (i.e. personal, property and other) and included in analyses.



2.0 Background

Information in this chapter sets the scene for the research findings presented in this report. First, the relationship between age and crime is described, with a focus on the relationships between age and offending behaviour, as well as the relationship between age and victimisation from personal crime. Second, information on the overlap between victimisation and offending is discussed, including a summary of the existing research findings and some of the dominant explanations for the victim–offender overlap among young people.

2.1. The relationship between age and crime

The relationship between age and crime is one of the most consistently observed findings within the criminological literature (Farrington 1986; Hirschi and Gottfredson 1983; Matthews and Minton 2018; Steffensmeier et al. 1989; Sweeten, Piquero and Steinberg 2013). This relationship is apparent in the “age–crime curve”, which plots the proportion of people who offend at different ages, and demonstrates that offending tends to increase and peak during the teenage years and then decline from the late teens or early twenties (Britt 2019). Recent research indicates slight variation in the shape of age–crime curves over time, in particular highlighting a decrease in the rate of offending by younger people, and a corresponding increase in the rate of older offenders (for example, see Matthews and Minton 2018; Payne, Brown and Broadhurst 2018; QGSO 2021a). Despite evidence of a decrease in the peak rate of youth offending, the rate of offending is still highest among adolescents.

Similar to the prevalence of offending, research has also shown that the risk of victimisation peaks during teenage years and declines with age (Finkelhor et al. 2015; Hullenaar and Ruback 2020; Ródenas and Doval 2018). Previous research by QGSO examining victimisation from personal crime in Queensland found that the risk of personal crime victimisation increased during childhood and was highest during late teenage years before declining in a linear fashion after 20 years of age (QGSO 2021b).² Almost a third (32.4%) of all reported personal crime victimisations in Queensland between 2008–09 and 2018–19 were experienced by young people aged 0–19 years of age, with the largest proportion of victimisation for any age group being for those aged 15–19 years (QGSO 2021b). The risk of victimisation during childhood was greater for females than for males, with 38.3% of all female victimisations experienced by those aged 0–19 years, and females aged 15–19 years accounting for the largest proportion (16.8%). In contrast, males aged 0–19 years comprised 26.9% of all male victimisations, with those aged 25–29 years accounting for the largest proportion (12.5%). Regardless of the peak age of victimisation, the data highlight that the period covering childhood and adolescence is one in which the risk of victimisation from crime is high.

2.2. The victim–offender overlap

Given that victimisation and offending both share a similar life-course pattern, it should not be surprising that research consistently finds a strong relationship between them, with offending associated with an increased risk of victimisation and vice versa (Berg and Felson 2020; Berg et al. 2012; Engström 2018; Jennings et al. 2010; Lauritsen, Sampson and Laub 1991; Walters 2020). While not all victims are offenders, nor do all offenders experience victimisation, a non-trivial proportion of individuals experience both and this intersection of victimisation and offending is commonly referred to as the “victim–offender overlap” and is depicted in Figure 1.

Estimates of the victim–offender overlap vary across the existing research literature, and this reflects variation in the group of individuals and types of offences under examination and the research methods used. Regardless of these differences, studies typically find strong support for the existence of the victim–offender overlap (Berg and Mulford 2020; Jennings, Piquero and Reingle 2012; Schreck, Stewart and Osgood 2008). Recent research by QGSO (in press) has shown there is a substantial degree of overlap between victimisation and offending. The findings highlight that, of people who had formal contact with police as the victim of personal crime or as an offender, 12.3% had experienced police contact as both a victim and offender. There was variation in the victim–offender overlap among different demographic groups, with a higher prevalence of victim-offenders among females (18.2%) than males (10.0%) and among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (25.2%) than non-Indigenous persons (10.8%). The prevalence of victim-offenders was highest among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females (39.4%) (QGSO in press).

² Analyses were based on personal crime victimisations recorded by police between 2008–09 and 2018–19, and aggregated within categories by age including 0–4 years, 5–9 years, 10–14 years, 15–19 years, 20–24 years, 25–29 years, 30–34 years, 35–39 years, 40–44 years, 45–49 years, 50–54 years, 55–59 years, 60–64 years and 65 years and over.

While prior research by QGSO provided a cross-sectional view of the victim–offender overlap among those with police contact in Queensland, it is anticipated that the overlap is larger among young people, given the increased risk of victimisation and offending generally observed among this group. Exploring the prevalence of the victim–offender overlap among young people is therefore the primary focus of this project, which includes examining differences in victimisation and offending profiles between groups based on whether they were victims only, victim-offenders, or offenders only.

Figure 1 Overlap of victimisation and offending



Source: Jennings, Piquero and Reingle (2012)

2.2.1. Theoretical explanations for the victim–offender overlap among young people

The predominant theoretical explanations offered for the overlap between victimisation and offending among young people tend to focus on the lifestyle–routine activity theory, general strain theory and subculture of violence theory. A brief discussion of each of these theories as they relate to the victim–offender overlap is presented below.

Arguably, the most prevailing explanation for the overlap between victimisation and offending is provided by 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 of committing an offence or experiencing victimisation. In the case of young people, it is argued they are more likely than adults to find themselves in situations that provide opportunities to offend, which at the same time places them at an elevated risk of experiencing victimisation from other offenders (Lauritsen, Sampson and Laub 1991; Mulford et al. 2018; Mustaine and Tewksbury 2000; Osgood et al. 1996). For example, young people's increased exposure to crime may stem from an increased propensity to engage in risky behaviours with anti-social peers, such as drinking alcohol, taking drugs and staying out late (Mulford et al. 2018; Sampson and Lauritsen 1990; Turanovic and Young 2016). This increased propensity among young people to engage in risky behaviours reflects aspects of brain development relating to emotional maturity and decision making, which is under-developed during adolescence until young adulthood (Farrington, Loeber and Howell 2012; Ferschmann et al. 2022; Steinberg 2007; Ulmer and Steffensmeier 2014).

General strain theory (GST) proposes that, for some people, engaging in criminal and anti-social behaviour may be a response to the strain they have experienced from certain stressful events (Agnew 1992; Agnew and Brezina 2019). According to this view, one broad category of strain includes the presentation (or threatened presentation) of negative stimuli, such as verbal or physical abuse (Agnew 2001). For some people, experiencing strain may produce negative emotions such as anger, frustration and depression, which requires some sort of coping response, and engaging in crime and criminal behaviour is one coping response (Agnew 1992). The type of coping individuals engage in is more likely to be antisocial when strains are severe, seen as unjust, and are linked with negative emotions such as depression and anger (Agnew 2001; Agnew and Brezina 2019). In many cases, experiencing violent victimisation (such as physical and sexual abuse) during childhood is likely to be a traumatic experience with lasting consequences of negative emotional states and behaviour, and may increase the likelihood of offending (Agnew and Brezina 2019; Watts and McNulty 2013; Wright et al. 2019). Indeed, there is substantial empirical evidence supporting GST and demonstrating links between childhood victimisation and offending during childhood and adolescence (Barbieri et al. 2019; Bunch, Iratzoqui and Watts 2018; Watts and McNulty 2013), as well as offending into adulthood (Wojciechowski 2019). Beyond criminal activity, experiencing childhood victimisation is also associated with other coping strategies such as heavy drinking and substance use, which are also linked with criminal activity (Ash-Houchen et al. 2021; Lo et al. 2021).

Another theoretical explanation, which tends to focus on the overlap between violent victimisation and violent offending specifically, is grounded in subculture of violence theory (Singer 1981, 1986; Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967). This theory proposes that there is a subcultural value system that supports the use of violence within certain locations and for certain subgroups of the population, where violence tends to be based on status and honour (i.e. 'street code'). Among such subgroups, 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 a victim (Singer 1981). This theory has been used specifically as the dominant explanation for the victim–offender overlap among male gang members in the American context (Pyrooz, Moule and Decker 2013; Singer 1986), but there is also evidence from other locations to suggest that the victim–offender overlap is more prevalent in areas with a culture that more broadly supports the use of violence in conflict (Berg et al. 2012; Schreck, Stewart and Osgood 2008).

2.2.2. Similarities and differences between offenders, victims and victim-offenders

Early interest in the victim–offender overlap was informed by research which found that victims and offenders shared similar demographic characteristics (Gottfredson 1984; Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo 1978; Wolfgang 1958). An explanation for the similarity between the demographic profiles of victims and offenders can be offered by the 'principle of homophily' which simply states that people with similar characteristics tend to connect and share the same spaces (Aaltonen 2016; McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook 2001; Mustaine and Tewksbury 2000; Turanovic and Young 2016). In this way, individuals from similar demographic groups with higher numbers of offenders will also tend to have a higher risk of victimisation because of this increased exposure to offenders in that location, further aligning with the lifestyle–routine activity theory (Aaltonen 2016; Mustaine and Tewksbury 2000; Turanovic and Young 2016).

Despite similarities between victims and offenders more broadly, research focused specifically on the victim–offender overlap demonstrates differences between groups of victims, offenders and victim-offenders. For example, research has identified 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 (Skjærvø et al. 2018; TenEyck and Barnes 2018). 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.

2.2.3. Understanding the temporal ordering of victimisation and offending for victim-offenders

Despite a substantial body of research demonstrating the link between victimisation and offending, relatively little is known about whether victimisation generally precedes offending, or whether offending tends to occur before victimisation. This is primarily because most research examining the victim–offender overlap has been cross-sectional in nature or has been unable to disentangle where victimisation and offending may have occurred within the same wave of data within panel studies. However, some research has shown that victimisation is associated with the onset of later offending, such as those studies showing that victims of childhood abuse are generally at an increased risk of becoming perpetrators of violence in adolescence and young adulthood (for example, see Finkelhor et al. 2015; Herrenkohl et al. 2020; Watts and McNulty 2013). There is also qualitative evidence which similarly finds that victimisation typically precedes offending, such as research involving a sample of 266 prisoners in Canada, with two-thirds of the prisoners self-reporting experiences of victimisation before they had been charged with an offence (Bucerius et al. 2021).

2.2.4. Limited Australian research

Despite a growing body of international research examining the victim–offender overlap among young people, there is a dearth of research examining such overlap among young people within Australia (Athanasios et al. 2021; Fagan and Mazerolle 2011; Whitten et al. 2020). The current project aims to address this gap in the literature by examining the prevalence of the victim–offender overlap among young people in Queensland, exploring for differences between groups of victims, victim-offenders and offenders, with respect to demographic profiles, and victimisation and offending profiles. The current project is better able to examine the age at first contact with police and more effectively investigate the temporal ordering of victimisation and offending for victim-offenders throughout their childhood and adolescence than was possible in prior research by QGSO (2022).³

³ The previous QGSO (2022) project used a cross-sectional approach to examine police contact within an eight-year period for in–scope individuals aged 10 years and over. This approach limited the ability to examine the temporal ordering of first victimisation and first offending experiences as recorded by police.

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:

- How prevalent is police contact (as a victim or offender) among young people?
- To what extent are young victims of personal crime also offenders, and young offenders also victims of personal crime?
- Are there differences in the amount of victim–offender overlap across different demographic groups of young people?
- Are factors such as age at first victimisation and type of first victimisation associated with later offending among young victims?
- Do young victim groups (victims only and victim-offenders) differ in demographic and victimisation profiles?
- Are factors such as age at first victimisation and type of first victimisation associated with revictimisation among young victim-offenders and victims only?
- Do young offender groups (offenders only versus victim-offenders) differ in demographic and offending profiles?
- Are factors such as age at onset of offending and being charged with a personal offence associated with persistent offending among young victim-offenders and offenders only?

3.2. Data source

This project involved the use of police administrative data sourced from Queensland Police Service (QPS). This section describes the data used by the project, including a discussion on the selection of the cohort of individuals used to examine the victim–offender overlap among young people.

3.2.1. Police administrative data containing information about recorded offences

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).⁴ These data relate to alleged offences recorded by police occurring between 1 July 2008 and 30 June 2021 (the reference period) and contain information about criminal events, which can be comprised of one or more offences, and their related victims and offenders.⁵

Information about an alleged offender is recorded in QPRIME after being charged with an offence and police action (e.g. arrest, summons, warrant, caution, restorative justice conference or other action) has been taken against an individual.⁶ 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 (such as driving causing death), sexual offences, robbery, assault and other offences against the person (such as stalking, kidnapping and abduction).

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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.

⁶ This relates to alleged offending as not all offences reported to police are proven in a court of law.

3.2.2. Use of a cohort to examine the victim–offender overlap

Data analysed for this project relate to a cohort of all young people born between 1 July 2002 and 30 June 2003 who had some form of recorded police contact (as a victim or offender) between 2008–09 and 2020–21 (see Table 1).⁷ This cohort was selected because it represents the most complete examination of young victim-offenders possible in available data – it enables examination of the contact that individuals within the cohort had with police as a victim aged between 6–17 years and as an offender aged 10–17 years.⁸ Despite the availability of data for a large period of time (13 years), it was not possible to capture all contact that young people in the cohort had with police as a victim and/or as an offender, from birth through to 17 years of age. The decision to capture all recorded offending data — which meant the inclusion of victimisation data from six years of age onwards — was determined to be the optimum way forward given the project's research objectives, constraints of available data and legal definitions of criminality. While it is important to acknowledge that data about victimisations these young people may have experienced before the age of six years are not included in analyses and may impact the accuracy of results, it is not anticipated that the overall findings are impacted dramatically.⁹

Table 1 Available victimisation and offending information by age for the cohort born in 2002–03

2008–09	2009–10	2010–11	2011–12	2012–13	2013–14	2014–15	2015–16	2016–17	2017–18	2018–19	2019–20	2020–21
←----- Victimisation -----→												
Age 6	Age 7	Age 8	Age 9	Age 10	Age 11	Age 12	Age 13	Age 14	Age 15	Age 16	Age 17	Age 18
←----- Offending -----→												

Notes:

1. The minimum age of criminal responsibility in Queensland is 10 years of age. This means that a child younger than 10 years of age cannot be arrested for, charged with, or found guilty of a crime within Queensland.
2. Contact that young people had with police between the ages of 6–17 years were included in analyses. While young people in the cohort turned 18 years of age during the 2020–21 financial year, any contact the young people had with police after turning 18 years of age was excluded from analyses.

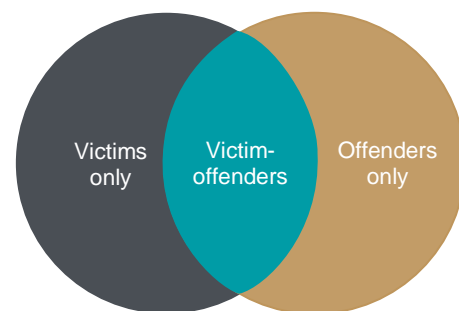
3.3. Definitions and measurement of key concepts

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

3.3.1. Classification of young people into groups based on contact

Young people in the cohort were classified into three groups based on the type of contact that they had with police, including:

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



3.3.2. Police contact based on events

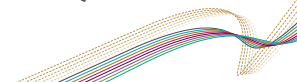
Police contact for young people was measured using events, where an 'event' was any offence or offences that occurred on a single day involving an individual (as either the victim or the offender). Where more than one offence occurred for an individual on a specific date, the most serious offence was selected.¹⁰ While victimisation only relates to personal offences, all types of offending were included in project analyses.

⁷ The cohort comprises 10,119 young people with recorded police contact as a victim (48.9%) and/or offender (67.1%). Of these, 56.9% are male and 83.0% are non-Indigenous.

⁸ The minimum age of criminal responsibility in Queensland is 10 years. This means that a child younger than 10 years of age cannot be arrested for, charged with, or found guilty of a crime within Queensland.

⁹ Exploratory analyses of data used in prior QGSO research examining victimisation from personal crime in Queensland found that a small proportion (3.2%) of all victimisations between 2008–09 and 2018–19 were experienced by children aged 0–5 years, although this varied across demographic groups, with 6.3% of victimisations against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males experienced by those aged 0–5 years (data not shown).

¹⁰ The most serious offence was determined based on ranking by the *National Offence Index* (NOI) developed by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (ABS 2018).



3.3.3. Measures of contact prevalence and frequency

When examining the contact that young people had with police (as victims and/or offenders) during the reference period, measures relating to both the *prevalence* (such as the proportion of young people in Queensland with police contact, proportion of victims who also offended, and proportion of offenders who committed a personal offence) and *frequency* of contact (such as the number of victimisation and/or offending events that different groups had) were employed. These measures included:

- **Prevalence of police contact:** used to examine the proportion of the Queensland population of young people born between 1 July 2002 and 30 June 2003 who had recorded contact with police (as a victim and/or offender)
- **Proportion of victims who offended:** used to examine the proportion of young victims who had also been recorded as an offender by 17 years of age, regardless of the temporal ordering of events
- **Proportion of offenders who were victimised:** used to examine the proportion of young offenders who had also been recorded as a victim of a personal crime by 17 years of age, regardless of the temporal ordering of events
- **Victim–offender overlap:** used to examine the proportion of young people who had been recorded both as a victim of personal crime and an offender of any type of crime
- **First contact:** the first type of recorded contact that a young victim-offender had with police.¹¹
- **Prevalence of personal offences:** used to examine the proportion of young offenders who were recorded as having been charged with a personal offence
- **Average number of victimisation events:** used to compare the frequency of victimisation between groups of young victims (victims only and victim-offenders)
- **Average number of offending events:** used to compare the frequency of offending contact events between groups of young offenders (offenders only and victim-offenders)
- **Average age at first victimisation:** used to compare the average age at first victimisation between groups of young victims (victims only and victim-offenders)
- **Average age at first offence:** used to compare the average age at first offence between groups of young offenders (offenders only and victim-offenders)
- **Revictimised:** young victims who experienced more than one victimisation event
- **Persistent offenders:** young offenders who had ten or more contacts with police as an offender.

3.3.4. Classifying victim-offenders based on the frequency of contact with police

Prior research has explored the overlap between victimisation and offending in further detail by classifying young victim-offenders into groups based on the frequency of contact that they had with the criminal justice system as victims or offenders (Hiltz, Bland and Barnes 2020). Victim-offenders were therefore categorised into one of the three mutually exclusive categories:

- **Predominant victims:** young victim-offenders who had more contact with police as a victim than as an offender
- **Equal victim-offenders:** young victim-offenders who had the same amount of police contact as a victim and as an offender
- **Predominant offenders:** young victim-offenders who had more contact with police as an offender than as a victim.

3.4. Data analysis

The research primarily used descriptive statistics to examine different groups of young people based on the type of contact they had with 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.¹²

3.4.1. Inferential statistics

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

¹¹ Readers are reminded that any victimisations that young people in the cohort may have experienced before six years of age are not captured in the available data.

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

association between young offender groups and the prevalence of committing a personal offence or demographic characteristics). The independent samples *t*-test 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).¹³

Inferential statistics are used to draw conclusions from data and enable the inference or ability to conclude trends about a population based on sample data. Where population data are available, the use of inferential statistics is not considered necessary as any differences observed within the data represent actual differences. While the data used in this report relate to a cohort (young people born during a certain period and had police contact) and may be considered the population of data, there remains debate over whether an observed population should be regarded as a random sample from some larger population (e.g. cohorts from adjacent years). The use of inferential statistics in this report reflects the utility of these tests for the interpretation of the results and may provide a useful frame of reference for some readers.

3.4.2. Effect sizes to interpret statistical significance

The analyses undertaken for this project were based on a relatively large sample size, as it included all alleged offences involving young people in the cohort which were recorded by the police between 1 July 2008 and 30 June 2021. 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, inference 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). Where an inferential test in this project showed statistical significance, 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.

3.4.3. Conjunctive analysis of case configurations

Conjunctive analysis of case configurations (CACC) is advocated as an exploratory technique to find possible patterns of variables within data, including identifying the most dominant profiles with a specific outcome, based on unique combinations of categorical explanatory variables (Hart 2020; Miethe, Hart and Regoeczi 2008). In this project, CACC was used to explore the unique combinations of demographic, victimisation and offending variables to examine under which circumstances an outcome of interest was more likely to occur.

An example of conjunctive analysis is illustrated in Table 2. In this example, a range of categorical explanatory variables (gender, Indigenous status and type of first police contact) are hypothesised to influence the probability of an outcome occurring (a young victim-offender having been charged with a personal offence). Each of the three explanatory variables has two possible categories, meaning that there are eight possible case configurations, or unique combinations of the variables. Within each configuration, the number of cases can be counted and within that, the proportion of those cases with the outcome presented.

Table 2 Example of conjunctive analysis of case configurations examining the proportion of young victim-offenders charged with a personal offence, by gender, Indigenous status, and first police contact

Configuration	Gender	Indigenous status	Type of first police contact	Count of cases	Proportion charged with a personal offence
1	Female	Indigenous	Victim	n_1	P_1
2	Female	Indigenous	Offender	n_2	P_2
3	Female	Non-Indigenous	Victim	n_3	P_3
4	Female	Non-Indigenous	Offender	n_4	P_4
5	Male	Indigenous	Victim	n_5	P_5
6	Male	Indigenous	Offender	n_6	P_6
7	Male	Non-Indigenous	Victim	n_7	P_7
8	Male	Non-Indigenous	Offender	n_8	P_8

n = number of cases within that configuration of variables, P = proportion of cases within the count of cases (n) where the outcome of interest is present.

¹³ Wilcoxon rank sum tests for independent samples were also conducted to compare the median value between groups where a distribution was skewed. Where the results between the two tests and distributions were similar, the result of the independent *t*-test was used because they are robust to violations of non-normality and for ease of interpretation.



CACC tables can be sorted in descending order of the proportion of the outcome column, to demonstrate the configurations with the highest probability of the outcome occurring, or can be sorted to provide direct comparisons between configurations that differ on an explanatory variable. In the example provided at Table 2, the resulting data table has been sorted to allow a direct comparison of the outcome between demographic groups that differ only in terms of the first type of contact that young people had with police. That is, the first two rows allow the comparison between being a victim or offender regarding first contact with police for young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females in relation to their being charged with a personal offence.

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 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. While there is clear theoretical support to link violent offending and violent victimisation specifically (Averdijk et al. 2016; Schreck, Stewart and Osgood 2008; Wittebrood and Nieuwebeerta 1999), the absence of victim information for property crime, does not permit a thorough examination of the link between offending and victimisation more broadly. Further, given that property damage may also comprise domestic and family violence incidents (Meyer and Frost 2019), the absence of victimisation information pertaining to property crime cannot provide a true account of victimisation that people may experience.

Second, this project uses police administrative data, which is not a comprehensive source on children and young people involved in crime. The data are contingent upon three things: (1) the reporting of an offence to police; (2) the identification by police of an offender involved in an offence; and (3) some form of action taken by police against the offender (such as arrest, notice to appear, community conference, formal police caution, etc.). These data can provide some insights, but they do not capture all crime and are likely to underestimate the true extent of crime allegedly committed by young people. Some offences in particular are underreported, such as sexual offences and domestic and family violence-related offences. There may also be reasons why some children may not report a crime, such as where the perpetrator is known to them or is in a position of power (ABS 2011; Saunders and Lansdell 2020; Stoltenborgh et al. 2013). Recent research from the United Kingdom estimated that about 90% of incidents resulting in violent injuries (identified in medical records from data obtained from ambulance and emergency departments) were not recorded in police administrative data (Sutherland et al. 2021).

Third, while a strength of the current project is the construction of a cohort of young people to analyse their contacts with police, these data may also be impacted by international and interstate migration. The construction of the cohort involved the inclusion of any individual with a date of birth between 1 July 2002 and 30 June 2003 who had contact with police in Queensland as a victim of personal crime and/or as an offender. It is not possible to account for contact those individuals had with police within other jurisdictions, so these data may not provide a true reflection of the contact that individuals in this cohort had with police during their life to date.

Fourth, despite a large window of available police data (2008–09 to 2020–21), the project was limited in its ability to capture all victimisation data (where someone can be a potential victim of a personal crime since birth) and all recorded offending data (from 10 years of age, when someone can be held legally responsible for an offence). A decision was made to capture all recorded offending data, which meant limiting the amount of possible victimisation data from six years of age onwards. It is important to acknowledge that missing data about victimisations these young people may have experienced but not captured may impact the results of analyses, including the true extent of the victim–offender overlap, classification of people into groups based on their level of police contact, and temporal ordering of victimisation and offending events. This means that caution must be taken when interpreting the results examining whether offending or victimisation occurred first for the victim–offender group.

Finally, theories used to explain the relationship between victimisation and offending often refer to individual characteristics, such as self-control (Holtfreter et al. 2010; Mulford et al. 2018; Pratt et al. 2014), and situational characteristics associated with the events, such as engaging in 'risky lifestyles' (Schreck, Stewart and Fisher 2006; Turanovic, Reisig and Pratt 2015). 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.

4.0 Results

The research findings for the project are presented in this chapter. These results are presented in eight sections, with each section addressing a key research question of the project, which include:

- How prevalent is police contact (as a victim or offender) among young people?
- To what extent are young victims of personal crime also offenders, and young offenders also victims of personal crime?
- Are there differences in the amount of victim–offender overlap across different demographic groups of young people?
- Are factors such as age at first victimisation and type of first victimisation associated with later offending among young victims?
- Do young victim groups (victims only and victim-offenders) differ in demographic and victimisation profiles?
- Are factors such as age at first victimisation and type of first victimisation associated with revictimisation among young victim-offenders and victims only?
- Do young offender groups (offenders only versus victim-offenders) differ in demographic and offending profiles?
- Are factors such as age at onset of offending and being charged with a personal offence associated with persistent offending among young victim-offenders and offenders only?

4.1. Prevalence of police contact among young people in Queensland

The focus of this project is to examine the extent to which young people in Queensland have experienced victimisation and offending, and to measure the victim–offender overlap. To help contextualise the overall findings about the overlap between victimisation and offending among young people, the prevalence of contact that the cohort (young people born between 1 July 2002 and 30 June 2003) had with police (as a victim of personal crime or as an offender of any type of crime) is first presented. This prevalence was examined by calculating the cumulative proportion of each demographic group with police contact by age, relative to the estimated population size of the group.

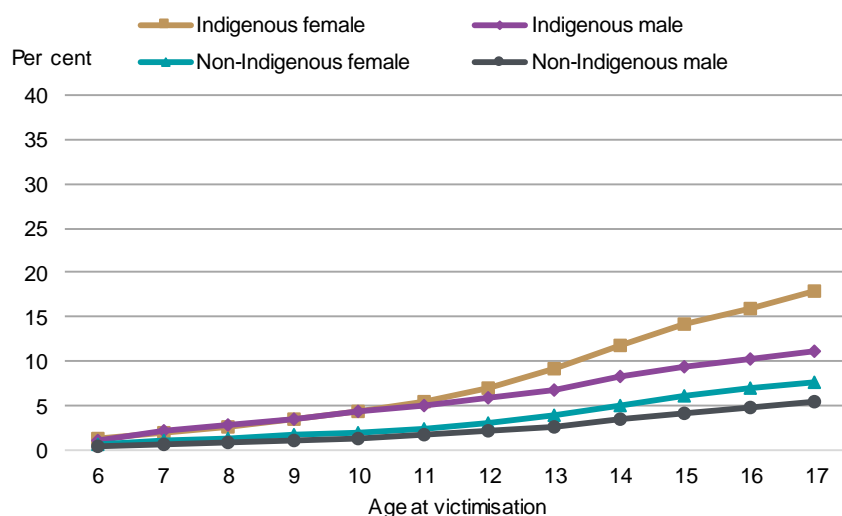
4.1.1. One in 12 young people experienced victimisation from personal crime by 17 years of age

The prevalence of victimisation among young people in Queensland (aged 6–17 years) indicates that approximately one in 12 (8.1%) had been the victim of personal crime by 17 years of age (data not shown)¹⁴. As shown in Figure 2, there was variation in the prevalence of victimisation by age 17 years among demographic groups (by gender and Indigenous status), including:

- more than one in six (17.8%) young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females had been victimised
- one in nine (11.1%) young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males had been victimised
- about one in 13 (7.6%) young non-Indigenous females had been victimised
- about one in 19 (5.3%) young non-Indigenous males had been victimised.

¹⁴ The estimated resident population (ERP) of young people in Queensland aged 17 years in 2020–21 was 62,262 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2021).

Figure 2 Prevalence of recorded victimisation among young people in Queensland by age, 2008–09 to 2020–21



Notes:

1. Total of 433 young Indigenous females, 2,133 young non-Indigenous females, 282 young Indigenous males and 1,566 young non-Indigenous males.
2. Victimization from personal crime only.

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.

Among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people aged 6–17 years, there was no difference in the cumulative proportion of both males and females who had been victimised by 11 years of age, after which the proportion of young females who had been victimised increased substantially, while the proportion of young males continued on a linear increase. To a lesser extent, the same pattern was evident among non-Indigenous young people, with the proportion of young females experiencing victimisation increasing at a greater rate than that of young males.

The relatively high prevalence of victimisation among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people shown in this project is consistent with other research by QGSO (2021b), which showed that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were overrepresented among victimisations in Queensland between 2008–09 and 2018–19. The same report also showed that victimisations experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were disproportionately experienced by victims under the age of 15 years, with 29.3% of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victimisations and 21.3% of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victimisations experienced by those under the age of 15 years (QGSO 2021b).

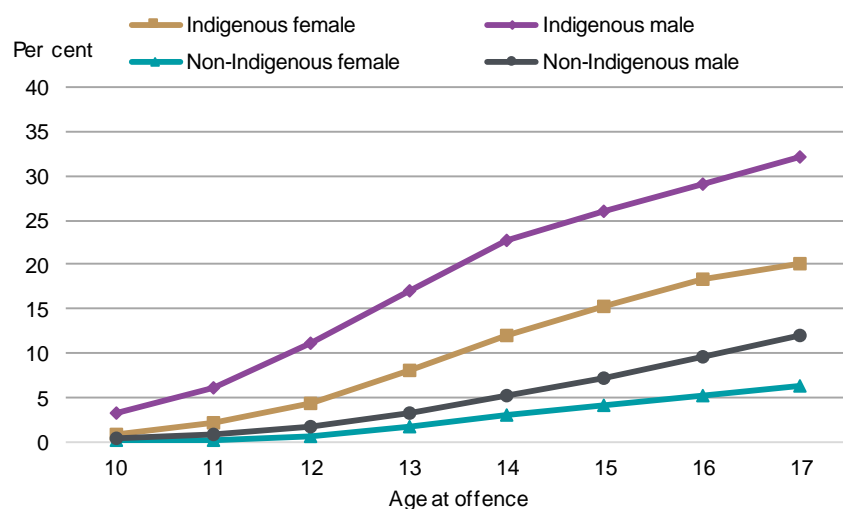
4.1.2. One in nine young people in Queensland had a recorded offence by 17 years of age

The prevalence of offending among young people in Queensland (aged 10–17 years) indicates that about one in nine (11.0%) young people had been charged with an offence by 17 years of age (data not shown).¹⁵ The prevalence of offending among different demographic groups is presented in Figure 3, which shows that by age 17:

- about one in three (32.2%) young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males had been charged with an offence
- one in five (20.0%) young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females had been charged with an offence
- about one in eight (12.0%) young non-Indigenous males had been charged with an offence
- about one in 16 (6.2%) young non-Indigenous females had been charged with an offence.

¹⁵ The minimum age of criminal responsibility (the age at which an offender can be formally charged with an offence) in Queensland is 10 years of age.

Figure 3 Prevalence of recorded offending among young people in Queensland by age, 2012–13 to 2020–21



Notes:

1. Total of 488 young Indigenous females, 1,726 young non-Indigenous females, 821 young Indigenous males and 3,532 young non-Indigenous males.
2. Offending events are based on any offence on the date that the offence occurred, not the date that it was reported to or detected by police.

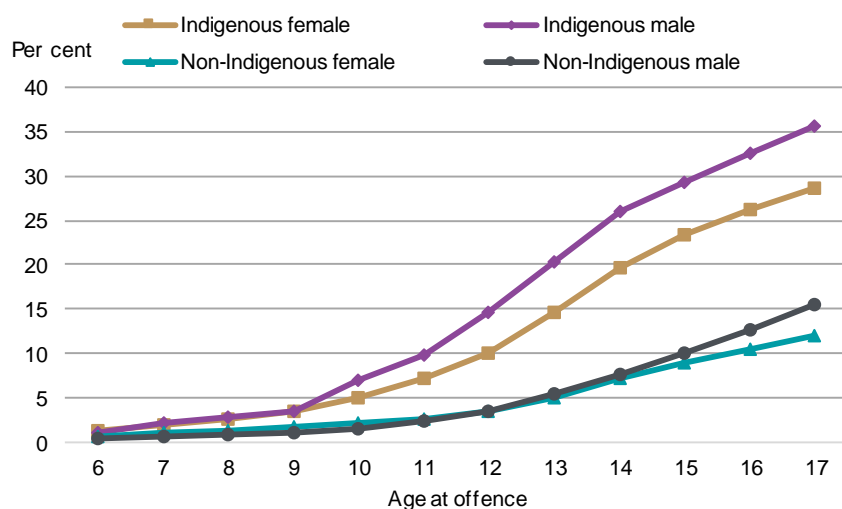
Source: QGSO estimates derived from QPS data; ABS *National, state and territory population, June 2020*; ABS, *Estimates and Projections, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006 to 2036*, unpublished data.

4.1.3. One in six young people had some form of police contact by 17 years of age

In terms of overall prevalence of contact with police (for victimisation or offending), about one in six (16.3%) young people in Queensland had some form of police contact by age 17 years (data not shown). Variation in the prevalence of overall police contact among demographic groups is presented in Figure 4, which shows that by age 17:

- more than one in three (35.5%) young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males had police contact
- more than one in four (28.5%) young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females had police contact
- more than one in seven (15.4%) young non-Indigenous males had police contact
- around one in eight (11.9%) young non-Indigenous females had police contact.

Figure 4 Prevalence of recorded contact with police (recorded victimisation or offending) among young people in Queensland by age, 2008–09 to 2020–21



Notes:

1. Total of 695 young Indigenous females, 3,324 young non-Indigenous females, 907 young Indigenous males and 4,533 young non-Indigenous males.
2. Offending events are based on any offence on the date that the offence occurred, not the date that it was reported to or detected by police.
3. Victimisation from personal crime only.

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

Summary: Prevalence of police contact among young people in Queensland

- Despite being an underestimate of the true prevalence of victimisation, the results show that about one in 12 young people in Queensland experienced victimisation from personal crime by age 17.
 - By age 17, there was a higher prevalence of victimisation among young females compared with young males, and among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people compared with non-Indigenous young people.
 - The highest prevalence of victimisation was observed for young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females.
- Despite being an underestimate of the true prevalence of offending, around one in nine young people (11.0%) in the cohort had contact with police as an offender by age 17.
 - By age 17, there was a higher prevalence of offending among young males compared with young females, and among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people compared with non-Indigenous young people.
 - The highest prevalence of offending was observed for young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males.
- Overall, about one in six young people in the cohort had some form of contact with police as either a victim of personal crime or as an offender.

4.2. Type of police contact for young people within the cohort

This section provides a description of the type of contact that young people within the cohort had with police. Readers are reminded that cohort members could have police contact as a victim of personal crime between the ages of 6–17 years, while contact as an offender for any type of offence could only occur between the ages of 10–17 years.

4.2.1. Most young people who have contact with police have contact as an offender, and victim contact is highest among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females

The type of contact that young people had with police between the ages of 6–17 years is presented in Table 3. Overall, almost half of the cohort with victim or offender contact reported being a victim (48.9%), while two-thirds (67.1%) had been charged as an offender.

Table 3 Type of police contact between 6–17 years of age and the overlap between victimisation and offending by demographic characteristics among the cohort, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

	Number of young people	Type of police contact			
		Victim	Offender	Proportion of victims who offended	Proportion of offenders who were victimised
	– N –	– % –	– % –	– % –	– % –
All individuals	10,119	48.9	67.1	32.7	23.8
<i>Gender^(a)</i>					
Female	4,352	65.7	52.6	27.9	34.9
Male	5,753	36.2	78.0	39.3	18.2
<i>Indigenous status^(b)</i>					
Indigenous	1,604	44.6	81.7	59.0	32.2
Non-Indigenous	7,866	47.1	66.9	29.7	20.9
<i>Indigenous status and gender^(c)</i>					
Indigenous female	695	62.3	70.2	52.2	46.3
Indigenous male	907	31.1	90.5	69.5	23.9
Non-Indigenous female	3,324	64.2	51.9	25.1	31.0
Non-Indigenous male	4,533	34.5	77.9	36.1	16.0

(a) Records where gender was missing ($n = 14$) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status was missing ($n = 649$) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 660$) have been excluded from calculations.

Notes:

1. 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 recorded as a victim between 6–17 years of age.

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

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

However, there was a large amount of variation across demographic groups. While a larger proportion of young females (65.7%) than young males (36.2%) were recorded as a victim, a larger proportion of young males (78.0%) had contact as an offender compared with young females (52.6%). A larger share of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people than non-Indigenous young people were recorded as an offender (81.7% and 66.9% respectively), while the prevalence of victimisation was similar (44.6% and 47.1% respectively). When considering Indigenous status and gender, 90.5% of all young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males with police contact were recorded as an offender, which was larger than the proportion of young non-Indigenous males (77.9%), young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females (70.2%) and young non-Indigenous females (51.9%). There was also considerable variation in the proportion of individuals with police contact who had experienced victimisation, reflecting broader gendered trends. Almost two-thirds of all young non-Indigenous females and young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females were recorded as a victim (64.2% and 62.3%, respectively) compared with around a third of young non-Indigenous males and young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (34.5% and 31.1%, respectively).

4.2.2. The largest prevalence of offending among young victims and victimisation among young offenders is observed for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people

Data presented in Table 3 also shows that being a victim or offender was not always mutually exclusive, with about a third (32.7%) of all young victims having also been an offender, while around a quarter (23.8%) of all young offenders had also been recorded as a victim. The prevalence of victimisation and offending among the cohort was more apparent among some demographic groups. For example, a greater proportion of young male victims (39.3%) than young female victims (27.9%) had also been offenders, while a substantially larger proportion of young female offenders (34.9%) than young male offenders (18.2%) had also been victims. When examining results by Indigenous status, the prevalence of offending among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims was double the prevalence among young non-Indigenous victims (59.0% and 29.7%, respectively), while there was substantial variation when comparing victimisation among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander offenders and young non-Indigenous offenders (32.2% and 20.9% respectively were also victims). When examining groups by both Indigenous status and gender, the largest proportion of victims who were also recorded as offenders were young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (69.5%), and the largest proportion of offenders who were also recorded as victims were young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females (46.3%).

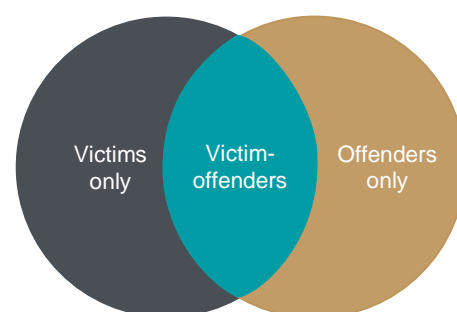
Summary: Type of police contact for young people within the cohort

- Most young people in the cohort had contact with police as an offender, while almost half were victims of personal crime.
- About one in three young victims were also offenders, with variation between demographic groups:
 - The prevalence of offending was more common among male victims than female victims, and among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims than non-Indigenous victims.
 - When considering gender and Indigenous status, offending was most prevalent among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims, and least prevalent among non-Indigenous female victims.
- About one in four young offenders experienced personal crime victimisation, but this differed by demographics:
 - Victimisation was more common among female offenders than male offenders.
 - Victimisation was most common among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female offenders.

4.3. The victim-offender overlap among young people

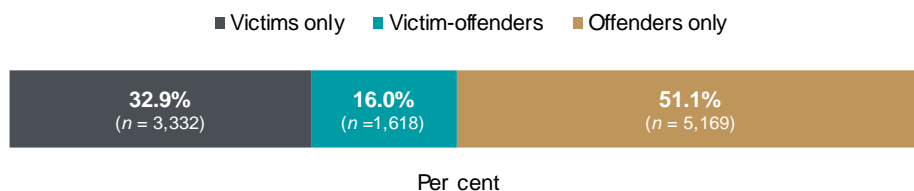
To further examine the victim-offender overlap, young people in the cohort were classified into three mutually exclusive groups based on the type of contact they had with police:

- **Victims only:** young people whose only recorded contact with police was as a victim of personal crime
- **Victim-offenders:** young people who had recorded contact with police as both a victim and offender
- **Offenders only:** young people whose only recorded contact with police was being charged with an offence of any type.



As shown in Figure 5, about a third (32.9%) of all young people in the cohort were categorised as *victims only*, just over half (51.1%) as *offenders only*, while about one-sixth (16.0%) were *victim-offenders*.

Figure 5 Young people by type of police contact, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21



Notes:

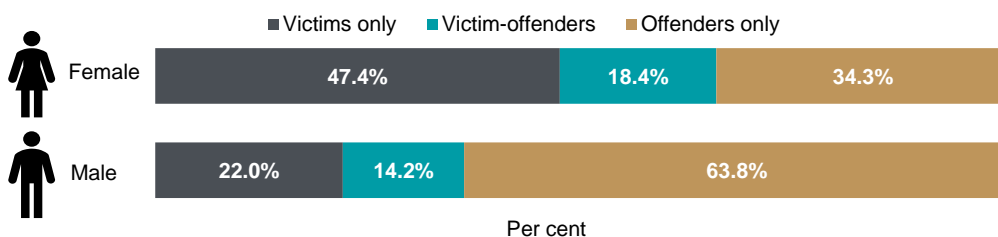
1. Total of 10,119 young people
2. Offending relates to any type of recorded offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

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

The proportion of young people in each category by police contact (*victims only*, *victim-offenders*, and *offenders only*) varied across demographic groups. In terms of gender, 47.4% of young females were *victims only*, compared with 22.0% of young males (Figure 6). Being a *victim-offender* was slightly more common among young females than young males (18.4% and 14.2%, respectively), while being an *offender only* was substantially more prevalent among young males (63.8%) when compared with young females (34.3%).

Figure 6 Young people by type of police contact by gender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21



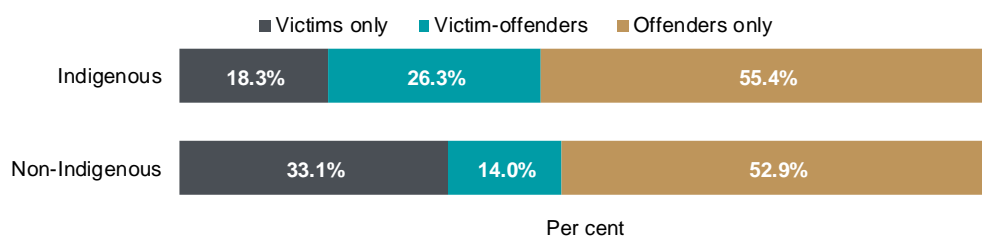
Notes:

1. Total of 5,753 young males and 4,352 young females. Records where gender was missing ($n = 14$) have been excluded from calculations.
2. Offending relates to any type of recorded offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

There were differences observed between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people and non-Indigenous young people based on their contact with police (Figure 7). Despite a similar prevalence of *offenders only* between the groups, a greater proportion of non-Indigenous young people than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people were *victims only* (33.1% compared with 18.3% respectively). In contrast, *victim-offenders* were more common among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people (26.3%) than non-Indigenous young people (14.0%).

Figure 7 Young people by type of police contact by Indigenous status, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21



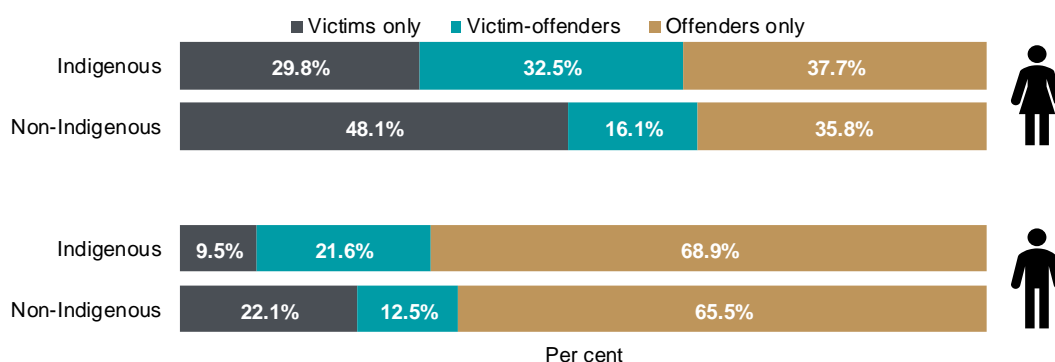
Notes:

1. Total of 1,604 Indigenous young people and 7,866 non-Indigenous young people. Records where Indigenous status was missing ($n = 649$) have been excluded from calculations.
2. Offending relates to any type of recorded 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 for different demographic groups in the cohort (Figure 8). These results show that the prevalence of *offenders only* was similar when comparing groups by Indigenous status within the same gender, with little difference in the proportion of *offenders only* between young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females and young non-Indigenous females (37.7% and 35.8%, respectively), and young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males and young non-Indigenous males (68.9% and 65.5%, respectively). Being a *victim only* was more common among young non-Indigenous females (48.1%), and least common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (9.5%). Young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females were the group with the largest proportion of *victim-offenders* (32.5%), while young non-Indigenous males had the smallest proportion of *victim-offenders* (12.5%).

Figure 8 Young people by type of police contact by Indigenous status and gender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21



Notes:
 1. Total of 695 young Indigenous females, 3,324 young non-Indigenous females, 907 young Indigenous males and 4,533 young non-Indigenous males. Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 660$) have been excluded from calculations.
 2. Offending relates to any type of recorded offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.
 Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

4.3.2. Most young victim-offenders had more police contact as an offender than as a victim

Prior research has examined victim-offenders in relation to categories of being a *predominant victim*, *predominant offender*, or *equal victim-offender* based on the number of police contacts they had as both victim and offender (for example, see Hiltz, Bland and Barnes 2020). This classification was applied to young victim-offenders within the cohort, and the results are presented in Figure 9. Over half (55.7%) of all young victim-offenders were *predominant offenders*, which means that they had more contact with police as an offender than the number of victimisations they experienced. Nearly one in three (30.0%) young victim-offenders had contact with police in equal amounts as a victim and offender, while one in seven (14.2%) were *predominant victims*.

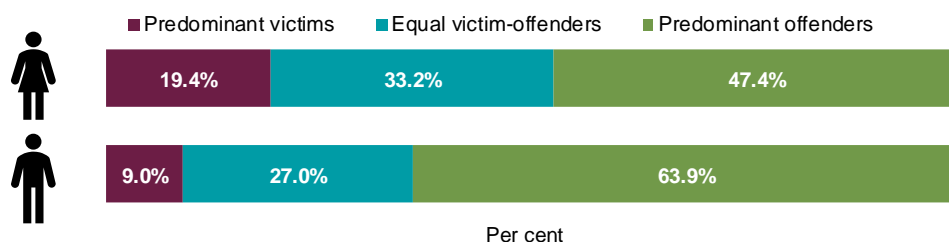
Figure 9 Young victim-offenders categorised by police contact frequency, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21



Notes:
 1. A total of 1,618 young victim-offenders.
 2. Offending relates to any type of recorded offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.
 Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

The proportion of *predominant victims*, *equal victim-offenders*, and *predominant offenders* varied across demographic groups. In terms of gender, 63.9% of young male victim-offenders were *predominant offenders*, compared with 47.4% of young female victim-offenders (Figure 10). In contrast, being a *predominant victim* was more common among young female victim-offenders (19.4%) than young male victim-offenders (9.0%), as was being an *equal victim-offender* (33.2% of young female victim-offenders and 27.0% of young male victim-offenders).

Figure 10 Young victim-offenders categorised by police contact frequency, by gender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21



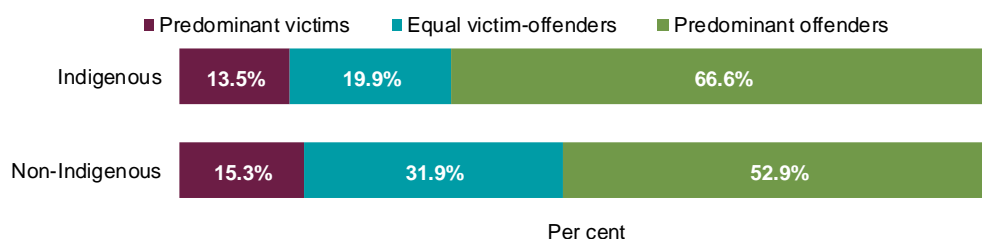
Notes:

1. A total of 799 young female victim-offenders and 818 young male victim-offenders. Records where gender was missing ($n = 1$) have been excluded from calculations.
2. Offending relates to any type of recorded offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

The breakdown of victim-offenders by Indigenous status is presented in Figure 11, which shows that the prevalence of *predominant victims* among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-offenders (13.5%) and young non-Indigenous victim-offenders (15.3%) is similar. Being a *predominant offender* is more common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-offenders (66.6%) than young non-Indigenous victim-offenders (52.9%). Conversely, experiencing equal amounts of contact as a victim and offender was more common among young non-Indigenous victim-offenders (31.9%) than young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-offenders (19.9%).

Figure 11 Young victim-offenders categorised by police contact frequency, by Indigenous status, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21



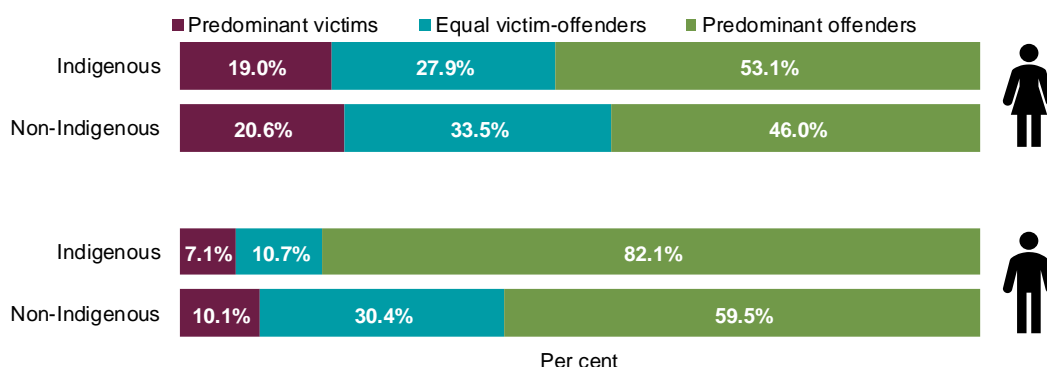
Notes:

1. Total of 422 young Indigenous victim-offenders and 1,101 young non-Indigenous victim-offenders. Records where Indigenous status was missing ($n = 95$) have been excluded from calculations.
2. Offending relates to any type of recorded offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

When considering both gender and Indigenous status, the results show variation between groups of victim-offenders in the cohort (Figure 12). Being a *predominant victim* was most prevalent among young non-Indigenous female victim-offenders (20.6%) and young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victim-offenders (19.0%), while being a *predominant offender* was most common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victim-offenders (82.1%) and young non-Indigenous male victim-offenders (59.5%). There was a substantially smaller proportion of *equal victim-offenders* among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (10.7%) when compared with the other demographic groups.

Figure 12 Young victim-offenders categorised by police contact frequency, by Indigenous status and gender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21



Notes:

1. Total of 226 young Indigenous female victim-offenders, 535 young non-Indigenous female victim-offenders, 196 young Indigenous male victim-offenders and 565 young non-Indigenous male victim-offenders. Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 96$) have been excluded from calculations.
2. Offending relates to any type of recorded offence while victimisation relates to personal crime only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

4.3.3. Most young victim-offenders have their first police contact resulting from victimisation

While the overlap between victimisation and offending is well established within the literature, relatively little is known about the temporal ordering of these contacts for young victim-offenders, such as whether experiencing victimisation precedes their offending or vice versa. For young victim-offenders in the cohort, the type of contact that they had with police is presented in Table 4.¹⁶ Readers are reminded that victimisation events occurring before the age of 6 are not included in presented analyses and the reporting of victimisation and offending may vary across different demographic groups.¹⁷ Caution is therefore advised in the interpretation of results shown in Table 4.

The results indicate that, regardless of demographics, most young victim-offenders had their first contact with police as a victim of personal crime (61.8%), rather than as an offender (38.2%). The occurrence of victimisation before offending differed little between young female (62.7%) and young male (60.9%) victim-offenders and was slightly more common among young non-Indigenous victim-offenders (61.8%) than young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-offenders (54.7%). However, this latter association was determined to be weak.¹⁸ There was stronger evidence of demographic variation when examining the first contact of victim-offenders by gender and Indigenous status, with the first contact for young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victim-offenders being equally split as a victim or offender (51.0% and 49.0%, respectively), while young non-Indigenous females were the group of victim-offenders with the largest proportion who experienced victimisation first (62.6%).¹⁹

¹⁶ A chi-square test of independence was used to examine if there was an association between the temporal ordering of police contact and demographic characteristics of victim-offenders (gender, Indigenous status, and the combination of gender and Indigenous status concurrently). For example, if the percentage values for the type of first police contact for males and females are roughly equal, the variables of gender and type of first police contact would be considered independent. In contrast, where the proportion of male victim-offenders whose first contact as an offender was very different to that of female victim-offenders, this might indicate that there is an association between the variables.

¹⁷ Some offences such as sexual offences and domestic and family violence-related offences are more likely to be underreported, with varying reasons for underreporting to police, especially for demographic groups such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Satyen et al. 2020; Willis 2011).

¹⁸ A chi-square test of independence found a significant but weak association between the type of first contact and Indigenous status between victim-offenders and offenders only ($\chi^2(1) = 5.97, p = .01, \phi = .06$).

¹⁹ 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 and offenders only ($\chi^2(3) = 8.64, p = .03, V = .08$).



Table 4 First police contact among young victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

	N	Victim first		Offender first		Effect size ^(d)
		- n -	- % -	- n -	- % -	
All individuals	1,618	1,000	61.8	618	38.2	
<i>Gender^(a)</i>						
Female	799	501	62.7	298	37.3	Not significant
Male	818	498	60.9	320	39.1	
<i>Indigenous status^(b)</i>						
Indigenous	422	231	54.7	191	45.3	Weak (.06)
Non-Indigenous	1,101	680	61.8	421	38.2	
<i>Indigenous status and gender^(c)</i>						
Indigenous female	226	131	58.0	95	42.0	Weak (.08)
Indigenous male	196	100	51.0	96	49.0	
Non-Indigenous female	535	335	62.6	200	37.4	
Non-Indigenous male	565	344	60.9	221	39.1	

(a) Records where gender was missing (n = 1) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status was missing (n = 95) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing (n = 96) 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.

Note: Information about victimisation from personal crime for the cohort is limited to the ages of 6–17 years. Some young people may have experienced victimisation from personal crime before turning six years of age, and this classification may not accurately reflect the true temporal ordering of police contact for some victim-offenders or may not accurately reflect the true extent of victim-offenders.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

Summary: The victim–offender overlap among young people

- Overall, almost one in three young victim-offenders within the cohort were *victims only* while one in six were *victim-offenders*, although this differed across demographic groups:
 - The victim–offender overlap was greater among young females than young males.
 - The victim–offender overlap was greater among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people than non-Indigenous young people.
 - When considering all demographics, the victim–offender overlap was greatest among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females.
- While most young victim-offenders were *predominant offenders* (in that they had more contact with police as an offender than as a victim), there was variation across demographic groups:
 - Being a *predominant offender* was more common among young male victim-offenders than young female victim-offenders.
 - Being a *predominant offender* was more common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-offenders than young non-Indigenous victim-offenders.
- Being a *predominant victim* was more common among young female victim-offenders than young male victim-offenders, while there was little difference among young victim-offenders by Indigenous status.
- Being an *equal victim-offender* was more common among young female victim-offenders than young male victim-offenders, and among young non-Indigenous victim-offenders than young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-offenders.
- Three in five young victim-offenders had their first recorded contact with police as a victim, although there was variation across demographic groups:
 - There was little difference in the type of first police contact among young victim-offenders by gender.
 - First contact with police as a victim was more common among young non-Indigenous victim-offenders than young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-offenders.
 - When considering all demographics, first contact as a victim was most common among young non-Indigenous female victim-offenders.

4.4. Exploring factors associated with later offending for young victims

Analyses in section 4.3.3 showed that, for most young victim-offenders, their first contact with police was as a victim of personal crime, regardless of their demographic characteristics. Analyses in this section focus on young people whose first contact with police was as a victim, and explore whether any demographic and victimisation characteristics appear to be associated with an increased probability of engaging in later offending and becoming a victim-offender. This is achieved using CACC which enabled an examination of combinations of victim characteristics such as gender, Indigenous status, age at first victimisation, and the type of victimisation first experienced, to identify the types of young victims more commonly associated with being offenders.

4.4.1. Later offending is most common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims who experience victimisation at a younger age

Given the relationship between age and contact with police has long been established for both victims and offenders, exploring whether the age at first victimisation may be associated with an increased probability of later offending may have important implications for the design and delivery of early crime reduction interventions. CACC was conducted to explore the profiles in which the proportion of young victims who had later offended were greatest, including gender, Indigenous status and age at first recorded victimisation (Table 5). The results of a CACC, when displayed in a table, enables the examination of the relative impact of different variables on the outcome variable, which in this case is the proportion of young victims who later offended.

First, the results show that, regardless of age at first victimisation, later offending was more common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims when compared with young non-Indigenous victims:

- more than half of all young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims and between one-third and one-half of all young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims offended later
- in contrast, around one in four young non-Indigenous male and fewer than one in five young non-Indigenous female victims went on to later offend.

Table 5 The probability of young victims who later offend, by gender, Indigenous status and age at first victimisation, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

Gender	Indigenous status	Age at first victimisation	– n –	Later offend (%)
Female	Indigenous	Under 10 years	83	48.2
Female	Indigenous	10 years or older	255	35.7
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	410	17.6
Female	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	1,523	17.3
Male	Indigenous	Under 10 years	85	57.6
Male	Indigenous	10 years or older	101	50.5
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	279	27.6
Male	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	1,066	25.0

Notes:

1. Victim-offenders whose first recorded contact with police was as an offender have been excluded from the analysis.
2. Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 530$) have been excluded from calculations.
3. Information about victimisation from personal crime for the cohort is limited to the ages of 6–17 years, which may not accurately reflect the true extent of victimisation or a young person's first contact with police.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

Second, the results show that while there was little difference in the proportion of young non-Indigenous victims who later had contact as an offender regardless of the age at first victimisation, experiencing victimisation at an earlier age (before 10 years of age) is associated with an increased probability of later offending among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims:

- among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims, almost one in two (48.2%) later offended when they experienced victimisation prior to 10 years of age, compared with one in three (35.7%) who experienced their first victimisation aged 10 years or older.
- among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims, there was a higher proportion of later offending among those victimised prior to 10 years of age (57.6%) when compared with those victimised aged 10 years or older (50.5%)
- there was little difference observed in the proportion of later offending among both young non-Indigenous female and male victims.

Finally, these data also provide some insight into differences between groups of young victims in terms of the age at which they first experienced victimisation, with a greater proportion of young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims experiencing their first victimisation before 10 years of age. For example, 85 of the 186 (45.7%) young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims experienced their first victimisation before 10 years of age, while one in four (24.6%) young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims, and about one in five young non-Indigenous female (21.2%) and male victims (20.7%) were first victimised before 10 years of age.

4.4.2. The type of first victimisation a young victim experiences is not associated with later offending

CACC was also conducted to explore whether the type of first victimisation that a victim experienced was associated with an increased probability of later offending, after controlling for demographic characteristics (Table 6).²⁰

Table 6 The probability of young victims who later offend, by gender, Indigenous status, and type of first victimisation, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

Gender	Indigenous status	Type of first victimisation	– n –	Later offend (%)
Female	Indigenous	Assault	168	37.5
Female	Indigenous	Other personal offence	25	52.0
Female	Indigenous	Sexual offences	145	37.9
Female	Non-Indigenous	Assault	762	16.8
Female	Non-Indigenous	Other personal offence	173	16.8
Female	Non-Indigenous	Sexual offences	998	17.8
Male	Indigenous	Assault	121	52.1
Male	Indigenous	Other personal offence	27	51.9
Male	Indigenous	Sexual offences	38	60.5
Male	Non-Indigenous	Assault	894	26.1
Male	Non-Indigenous	Other personal offence	256	23.4
Male	Non-Indigenous	Sexual offences	195	26.2

Notes:

1. Victim-offenders whose first recorded contact with police was as an offender have been excluded from the analysis.
2. Victims of an offence that resulted in their death (murder, manslaughter, driving causing death, and unlawful striking causing death) at their first victimisation have been excluded from the analysis.
3. Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 530$) have been excluded from calculations.
4. Information about victimisation from personal crime for the cohort is limited to the ages of 6–17 years, which may not accurately reflect the true extent of victimisation or a young person's first contact with police.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

These results show:

- differences in the type of first victimisation experienced among young victims by demographics, with sexual offences being the most common type of first victimisation for non-Indigenous female victims (998 of the total 1,933 victimisations, or 51.6%), while assault was the most experienced first victimisation for both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims (49.7%) and male victims (65.1%), and non-Indigenous male victims (66.5%) (data not shown)
- very little difference in the proportion of young non-Indigenous victims who later offended based on the type of victimisation they first experienced, while there were minor differences observed among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female and male victims
- while the highest rate of later offending was observed for all young male victims and non-Indigenous female victims of sexual offences, the largest proportion of later offending among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims was observed for those who first experienced an 'other personal offence'.

²⁰ The category of 'other personal offence' includes robbery offences and other offences against the person (such as extortion, kidnapping and abduction, life endangering acts and stalking). Offences which resulted in the death of a victim at their first victimisation (murder, manslaughter, driving causing death, and unlawful striking causing death) were excluded from this analysis examining later offending.

4.4.3. Later offending is more common among young victims who experience victimisation at a younger age rather than by the type of first victimisation, especially for young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims

Analyses presented above show that, while later offending among young victims was more common among those who experienced their first victimisation at an early age (under 10 years), later offending did not appear to be associated with the type of first victimisation experienced. To explore for a potential interaction between the two factors, CACC was used to explore the impact of age at first victimisation and victimisation type concurrently on the proportion of victims who later offended (Table 7).

Table 7 The probability of young victims who later offend, by gender, Indigenous status, age at first victimisation, and type of first victimisation, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

Gender	Indigenous status	Age at first victimisation	Type of first victimisation	– n –	Later offend (%)
Female	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Assault	28	50.0
Female	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Other personal offence	15	53.3
Female	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Sexual offence	40	45.0
Female	Indigenous	10 years or older	Assault	140	35.0
Female	Indigenous	10 years or older	Other personal offence	10	50.0
Female	Indigenous	10 years or older	Sexual offence	105	35.2
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Assault	85	21.2
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Other personal offence	54	14.8
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Sexual offence	271	17.0
Female	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Assault	677	16.2
Female	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Other personal offence	119	17.6
Female	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Sexual offence	727	18.2
Male	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Assault	45	53.3
Male	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Other personal offence	19	52.6
Male	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Sexual offence	21	71.4
Male	Indigenous	10 years or older	Assault	76	51.3
Male	Indigenous	10 years or older	Other personal offence	8	50.0
Male	Indigenous	10 years or older	Sexual offence	17	47.1
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Assault	143	30.1
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Other personal offence	53	30.2
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Sexual offence	83	21.7
Male	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Assault	751	25.3
Male	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Other personal offence	203	21.7
Male	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Sexual offence	112	29.5

Notes:

1. Victim-offenders whose first recorded contact with police was as an offender have been excluded from the analysis.
2. Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 530$) have been excluded from calculations.
3. Information about victimisation from personal crime for the cohort is limited to the ages 6–17 years, which may not accurately reflect the true extent of victimisation or a young person's first contact with police.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.



These results show:

- regardless of the type of first victimisation, later offending is slightly more common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims who experienced their first victimisation before 10 years of age when compared with victims whose first victimisation occurred aged 10 years or older. This pattern was not observed for young non-Indigenous victims, with a higher proportion of later offending among young non-Indigenous female victims who first experienced an 'other personal offence' or sexual offence aged 10 years or older, and also among young non-Indigenous male victims who first experienced a sexual offence aged 10 years or older.
- regardless of age at first victimisation and first type of victimisation, young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims had a greater probability of later offending than young non-Indigenous victims. For example, more than 50% of young male Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims who first experienced victimisation before 10 years of age had later offended, regardless of the type of first victimisation they experienced.
- the victim profiles with the lowest prevalence of later offending were observed for young female non-Indigenous victims, regardless of age at first victimisation and first victimisation type (ranging from 15.1% of young non-Indigenous female victims whose first victimisation was an 'other personal offence' aged under 10 years, to 21.2% of young non-Indigenous female victims whose first victimisation was an assault aged under 10 years).

There were five profiles where later offending was more common (greater than 50% of young victims with those characteristics later offended). These profiles include:

- young male Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims aged under 10 years at first victimisation who first experienced a sexual offence (71.4%)
- young female Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims aged under 10 years at first victimisation who first experienced an 'other personal offence' (53.3%)
- young male Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims aged under 10 years at first victimisation who first experienced an assault (53.3%)
- young male Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims aged under 10 years at first victimisation who first experienced an 'other personal offence' (52.6%)
- young male Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims aged 10 years or older at first victimisation who first experienced an assault (51.3%).

Summary: Exploring factors associated with later offending for young victims

- A younger age at first victimisation is associated with an increased rate of later offending among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims only:
 - Later offending was more common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims whose first victimisation was before 10 years of age compared with those who experienced victimisation at 10 years of age or older, but there was no difference among young non-Indigenous victims.
 - A greater proportion of young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims experienced victimisation before 10 years of age when compared with other groups.
- There is a higher proportion of later offending among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims than young non-Indigenous victims, regardless of the age at which they first experience victimisation.
- The type of victimisation a young victim first experiences is not associated with an increased probability of becoming a victim-offender.
 - Regardless of offence type, later offending was more common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims than young non-Indigenous victims.
- When considering the age at first victimisation and type of victimisation, later offending is more common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims who experience victimisation at a younger age, regardless of the type of first victimisation, while the same pattern was not observed for young non-Indigenous victims.

4.5. Comparing young victim groups: Demographic and victimisation profiles

Analyses were conducted to examine for differences between young *victims only* and *victim-offenders* in terms of their demographic and victimisation profile (such as the number of victimisation events they experienced and age at first victimisation). The results are presented below. Where statistical tests were conducted, effect sizes were calculated to assist with understanding how meaningful the results are.



4.5.1. The demographic profile of young victim-offenders and victims only are different

The demographic profiles between young *victim-offenders* and *victims only* are presented in Table 8, showing variation in the gender profile of the groups, with young females comprising 49.4% of *victim-offenders*, but 62.0% of *victims only*.²¹ There was a strong association between Indigenous status and victim group, with a larger representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people among *victim-offenders* (27.7%) than *victims only* (10.1%).²² There was also a very strong association observed when examining Indigenous status and gender concurrently.²³ While young non-Indigenous females comprised 35.2% of all *victim-offenders*, they comprised 55.3% of *victims only*. In contrast, the other demographic groups comprised a larger proportion of *victim-offenders* than of *victims only*. For example, young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females represented 14.8% of *victim-offenders*, but 7.2% of *victims only*, young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males comprised 12.9% of *victim-offenders*, but 3.0% of *victims only*, while young non-Indigenous males comprised only a slightly larger proportion of *victim-offenders* than *victims only* (37.1% and 34.6%, respectively).

Table 8 Young victims only and victim-offenders by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2019–20

	Victim-offenders		Victims only		Effect size ^(d)
	- n -	- % -	- n -	- % -	
All individuals	1,618	100.0	3,332	100.0	
<i>Gender^(a)</i>					
Female	799	49.4	2,061	62.0	Moderate (.12)
Male	818	50.6	1,263	38.0	
<i>Indigenous status^(b)</i>					
Indigenous	422	27.7	293	10.1	Strong (.23)
Non-Indigenous	1,101	72.3	2,604	89.9	
<i>Indigenous status and gender^(c)</i>					
Indigenous female	226	14.8	207	7.2	Very strong (.26)
Indigenous male	196	12.9	86	3.0	
Non-Indigenous female	535	35.2	1,598	55.3	
Non-Indigenous male	565	37.1	1,001	34.6	

(a) Records where gender was missing ($n = 9$) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status was missing ($n = 530$) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 536$) 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.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

²¹ A chi-square test of independence indicated a significant, moderate association between gender and victim group ($\chi^2(1) = 70.23, p < .001, \phi = .12$).

²² A chi-square test of independence indicated a significant, strong association between Indigenous status and victim group ($\chi^2(1) = 226.60, p < .001, \phi = .23$).

²³ A chi-square test of independence indicated a significant, very strong association between the Indigenous status and gender of individuals, and victim groups ($\chi^2(3) = 298.42, p < .001, V = .26$).

4.5.2. Revictimisation was more common among young victim-offenders than victims only, especially among young females

In addition to differences in demographic profiles, young victim groups were compared with regard to the proportion of each group who experienced revictimisation. Comparisons were made between young *victim-offenders* and *victims only*, overall and by the demographic characteristics of individuals in these groups (e.g. young male *victim-offenders* compared with young male *victims only*), with the results of these analyses shown in Table 9.

Overall, a larger proportion of young *victim-offenders* had experienced revictimisation (34.2%) compared with *victims only* (13.7%)²⁴, and this finding held across all demographic groups. When looking at demographic differences within *victim-offenders*, the prevalence of revictimisation was higher among young female *victim-offenders* (42.2%) than young male *victim-offenders* (26.3%), and among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander *victim-offenders* (42.7%) compared with young non-Indigenous *victim-offenders* (33.5%). The group of *victim-offenders* with the highest prevalence of revictimisation overall was young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female *victim-offenders* (54.4%), followed by young non-Indigenous female *victim-offenders* (39.4%). The *victim-offender* group with the lowest prevalence of revictimisation was young non-Indigenous males (27.8%), while the same demographic group had the lower prevalence of revictimisation among *victims only* (10.3%).

Analyses were conducted to examine if there was an association between the young victim groups and the prevalence of revictimisation by demographics. From a statistical standpoint, the strongest association (based on the effect size) between revictimisation and victim groups was observed for young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims, with 54.4% of *victim-offenders* having experienced revictimisation compared with 25.1% of *victims only*.²⁵ Significant meaningful associations were found between victim groups for all demographic groups, demonstrating that experiencing revictimisation was higher among *victim-offenders* than *victims only*.

Table 9 Young victim-offenders only and victims only who had experienced revictimisation by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

	Victim-offenders			Victims only			Effect size ^(d)
	- n -	% revictimised	% victimised once	- n -	% revictimised	% victimised once	
All individuals	1,617	34.2	65.8	3,330	13.7	86.3	Strong (.24)
<i>Gender^(a)</i>							
Female	799	42.2	57.8	2,059	16.3	83.7	Very strong (.27)
Male	817	26.3	73.7	1,263	9.4	90.6	Strong (.22)
<i>Indigenous status^(b)</i>							
Indigenous	422	42.7	57.3	293	21.8	78.2	Strong (.22)
Non-Indigenous	1,101	33.5	66.5	2,604	14.5	85.5	Strong (.23)
<i>Indigenous status and gender^(c)</i>							
Indigenous female	226	54.4	45.6	207	25.1	74.9	Very strong (.30)
Indigenous male	196	29.1	70.9	86	14.0	86.0	Strong (.16)
Non-Indigenous female	535	39.4	60.6	1,598	17.1	82.9	Strong (.23)
Non-Indigenous male	565	27.8	72.2	1,001	10.3	89.7	Strong (.23)

(a) Records where gender was missing (n = 9) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status was missing (n = 530) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing (n = 536) 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. Victimization events relate to personal crime offences only.

2. Records where the first victimisation type was a homicide or other homicide (n = 3) have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

²⁴ Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant strong association between groups of victims and the proportion who had experienced revictimisation ($\chi^2(1) = 280.6, p < .001, \phi = .24$).

²⁵ Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant very strong association between groups of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims and the proportion who had experienced revictimisation ($\chi^2(1) = 37.32, p < .001, \phi = .30$).

4.5.3. Young victim-offenders experience more victimisation events than victims only

Analyses in the previous section highlight that a larger proportion of young *victim-offenders* experienced revictimisation when compared with *victims only*, and this was especially the case for young female victims, and young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims specifically. It therefore follows that there would be differences in the average number of victimisations between victim groups, and these results are presented in Table 10. Overall, *victim-offenders* experienced more victimisation events as a young person (1.65 events) when compared with *victims only* (1.19 events)²⁶. Further, this finding was consistent across each demographic group, with statistical tests indicating that each difference between groups was meaningful. From a statistical standpoint, the largest effect between groups was observed when comparing the number of victimisation events between young female *victim-offenders* and *victims only*.²⁷ In terms of Indigenous status, young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander *victim-offenders* averaged significantly more victimisation events (1.90) than *victims only* (1.33).²⁸ Young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females averaged the most victimisation events among both *victim-offenders* (2.25) and *victims only* (1.39), while young non-Indigenous males experienced the fewest (1.44 for *victim-offenders* and 1.12 for *victims only*).

Table 10 Average number of victimisation events for young victim-offenders and victims only by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

	Victim-offenders			Victims only			Effect size ^(d)
	- n -	M	SD	- n -	M	SD	
All individuals	1,618	1.65	1.22	3,332	1.19	0.55	Medium (0.56)
<i>Gender^(a)</i>							
Female	799	1.87	1.39	2,061	1.23	0.62	Medium (0.71)
Male	818	1.43	0.98	1,263	1.11	0.39	Small (0.46)
<i>Indigenous status^(b)</i>							
Indigenous	422	1.90	1.46	293	1.33	0.76	Small (0.46)
Non-Indigenous	1,101	1.60	1.15	2,604	1.19	0.55	Medium (0.52)
<i>Indigenous status and gender^(c)</i>							
Indigenous female	226	2.25	1.62	207	1.39	0.82	Medium (0.66)
Indigenous male	196	1.50	1.12	86	1.20	0.59	Small (0.30)
Non-Indigenous female	535	1.77	1.29	1,598	1.24	0.63	Medium (0.62)
Non-Indigenous male	565	1.44	0.96	1,001	1.12	0.40	Small (0.49)

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* = 9) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status of the individual was missing (*n* = 530) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the individual were missing (*n* = 536) have been excluded from calculations.

(d) Where the results of the *t*-test indicated 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.

Note: Victimisation events relate to personal crime offences only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

²⁶ An independent samples *t*-test indicated a statistically significant difference in the average number of victimisations between the victim groups, considered a medium effect ($t(1,939) = 14.53, p < .001, d = 0.56$).

²⁷ An independent samples *t*-test indicated a statistically significant difference in the average number of victimisations between the female victim groups, and the effect considered medium effect ($t(923) = 12.57, p < .001, d = 0.71$).

²⁸ An independent samples *t*-test indicated a statistically significant difference in the average number of victimisations between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim groups, although the effect was considered small ($t(668) = 6.74, p < .001, d = 0.46$).



4.5.4. There is little difference in the age at first victimisation between young victim-offenders and victims only

A comparison of the victimisation profile between young victim groups, including the age at first victimisation for the cohort, is shown in Table 11. It is important to remember that this may not represent the age at which an individual first experienced victimisation during their lifetime, but the age at which they first experienced victimisation between the ages of 6–17 years. On average, young *victim-offenders* were minimally older at their first victimisation event (13.30 years) than *victims only* (13.04 years), although the difference was not considered meaningful in a statistical sense.^{29, 30} The finding that *victim-offenders* were slightly older than *victims only* at their first victimisation event was consistent for all comparisons made by demographic characteristics. However, analyses indicated that none of these differences in age at first victimisation between *victim-offenders* and *victims only* were statistically meaningful.

Table 11 Average age at first victimisation for young victim-offenders and victims only by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

	Victim-offenders			Victims only			Effect size ^(d)
	- n -	M	SD	- n -	M	SD	
All individuals	1,618	13.30	3.09	3,332	13.04	3.44	Not meaningful (0.08)
<i>Gender</i>							
Female	799	13.37	3.01	2,061	13.15	3.39	Not significant
Male	818	13.23	3.17	1,263	12.88	3.53	Not meaningful (0.10)
<i>Indigenous status</i>							
Indigenous	422	12.85	3.25	293	12.74	3.60	Not significant
Non-Indigenous	1,101	13.63	2.93	2,604	13.26	3.33	Not meaningful (0.11)
<i>Indigenous status and gender</i>							
Indigenous female	226	13.24	3.15	207	13.19	3.32	Not significant
Indigenous male	196	12.41	3.31	86	11.66	4.01	Not significant
Non-Indigenous female	535	13.53	2.90	1,598	13.27	3.33	Not significant
Non-Indigenous male	565	13.73	2.97	1,001	13.26	3.33	Not meaningful (0.15)

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* = 9) have been excluded from calculations.
- (b) Records where Indigenous status of the individual was missing (*n* = 530) have been excluded from calculations.
- (c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status of the individual were missing (*n* = 536) 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.

Note: Age is based on an individual's first recorded victimisation between 6–17 years of age.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

²⁹ An independent samples *t*-test indicated that victim-offenders were significantly older at their first recorded victimisation event than victims only, but the effect was not considered meaningful ($t(3,528) = 2.59, p = .01, d = 0.08$).

³⁰ 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. Wilcoxon rank sum tests for independent samples were conducted to compare the median age between groups, which found that the results provided similar results to the independent samples *t*-tests.

Summary: Comparing young victim groups

- Young victim groups differ with respect to demographic characteristics:
 - Young non-Indigenous females and males comprise a larger proportion of *victims only* than of *victim-offenders*.
 - Young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females and males comprise a larger proportion of *victim-offenders* than of *victims only*.
- The proportion of *victim-offenders* within demographic groups differs significantly:
 - Two in three young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims are *victim-offenders*, compared with one in two young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims, one in three young non-Indigenous male victims and one in four young non-Indigenous female victims.
- Revictimisation is more common among *victim-offenders* than *victims only*, especially for young females:
 - The proportion of *victim-offenders* who are revictimised is more than double the proportion of *victims only* who are revictimised
 - Revictimisation is most common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female *victim-offenders*, with more than half experiencing revictimisation
- *Victim-offenders* experience more victimisation events than *victims only*, regardless of demographic characteristics:
 - Young female *victim-offenders* average significantly more victimisations than *victims only*.
 - Young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females experience the most victimisations among both *victim-offenders* and *victims only*.
- There was little difference in the average age at first victimisation between young *victim-offenders* and *victims only*.

4.6. Exploring factors associated with revictimisation for young victim-offenders and victims only

Results of analyses presented in section 4.5 explored differences in the demographic and victimisation profile between young *victim-offenders* and *victims only*. The results of these comparisons show:

- young *victim-offenders* were more likely to experience revictimisation than *victims only*
- young *victim-offenders* averaged more victimisations than *victims only* (given the increased probability of revictimisation among *victim-offenders*)
- there was little difference in the average age at first victimisation between young *victim-offenders* and *victims only*.

Exploratory analyses were conducted using CACC to examine the extent to which demographic and victimisation characteristics (including the type of offence experienced at their first recorded victimisation event and age at first recorded victimisation event) might be related to experiencing revictimisation among young *victim-offenders* and *victims only*. The analyses focused on experiencing revictimisation from any type of personal crime, so did not specifically focus on experiencing victimisation of the same offence type more than once. Despite results presented in the previous section indicating that there was little difference between young victim groups in the average age at first victimisation, the potential impact of age of first victimisation on revictimisation was examined with a binary variable categorised into those who experienced their first recorded victimisation aged under 10 years of age, or aged 10 years or older.³¹ The type of offence that the young person experienced at their first recorded victimisation was also included to explore if the type of offence and the age at which they experienced it was associated with higher rates of revictimisation.

³¹ The creation of a binary variable examining the age at first recorded victimisation from personal crime (under 10 years of age, or 10 years or over) was based on the distribution of age at first victimisation.

4.6.1. Revictimisation is more common among young victim-offenders who first experienced victimisation at a younger age

CACC was used to explore if the probability of experiencing revictimisation varied across demographic and victimisation characteristics, and between young victim-offenders and victims only. Configurations were sorted to compare the relative impact of factors between *victim-offenders* and *victims only* (Table 12).

First, the results show that, regardless of demographics and age at their first victimisation, the probability of revictimisation was higher among young *victim-offenders* than *victims only*. For example, of young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims who were first victimised before 10 years of age, revictimisation was more common among *victim-offenders* (82.5%) than among *victims only* (37.2%). This pattern of a higher probability of revictimisation among young *victim-offenders* when compared with *victims only* was consistently observed across each demographic group, regardless of the age at first victimisation.

The results also show, regardless of whether they were *victim-offenders* or *victims only*, there was a higher probability of revictimisation among young victims who were victimised at a younger age than those victimised at 10 years or older. For example, the proportion of young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female *victim-offenders* who experienced revictimisation was higher among those first victimised before 10 years of age (82.5%), when compared with those who were first victimised aged 10 years or older (48.4%). Similarly, revictimisation was more common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female *victims only* who were first victimised aged under 10 years (37.2%) when compared with those who were first victimised aged 10 years or older (22.0%). This pattern of a higher probability of revictimisation among those who experienced their first victimisation before 10 years of age was consistent within groups based on demographic characteristics and whether they were *victim-offenders* or *victims only*.

Table 12 The probability of revictimisation between young victim-offenders and victims only, by gender, Indigenous status, and age at first victimisation, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

Gender	Indigenous status	Age at first victimisation	Victim group	– n –	Revictimised (%)
Female	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Victim-offender	40	82.5
Female	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Victim only	43	37.2
Female	Indigenous	10 years or older	Victim-offender	186	48.4
Female	Indigenous	10 years or older	Victim only	164	22.0
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Victim-offender	72	54.2
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Victim only	338	27.5
Female	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Victim-offender	463	37.1
Female	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Victim only	1,260	14.4
Male	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Victim-offender	49	44.9
Male	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Victim only	36	22.2
Male	Indigenous	10 years or older	Victim-offender	147	23.8
Male	Indigenous	10 years or older	Victim only	50	8.0
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Victim-offender	77	54.5
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Victim only	202	16.8
Male	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Victim-offender	488	23.6
Male	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Victim only	799	8.6

Notes:

1. Records where the first victimisation type was a homicide or other homicide ($n = 3$) have been excluded from calculations.
2. Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 533$) have been excluded from calculations.
3. Analysis conducted on 4,414 young people (1,522 victim-offenders and 2,892 victims only).

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

4.6.2. Revictimisation is more common among young victim-offenders, regardless of the type of victimisation they first experience

CACC was used to explore if the probability of experiencing revictimisation varied between young victim-offenders and victims only, when controlling for demographic characteristics and the type of victimisation they first experienced (Table 13).³²

The results show that, regardless of demographics and the type of offence they experienced at their first victimisation, the probability of revictimisation was higher among young *victim-offenders* than *victims only*. For example, of young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female victims who were assaulted at their first victimisation, revictimisation was more common among *victim-offenders* (51.2%) than among *victims only* (21.9%). This pattern of a higher probability of revictimisation among young *victim-offenders* when compared with *victims only* was consistently observed across each demographic group, regardless of the type of first victimisation they experienced.

Table 13 The probability of revictimisation between young victim-offenders and victims only, by gender, Indigenous status, and type of first victimisation, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

Gender	Indigenous status	Type of first victimisation	Victim group	– n –	Revictimised (%)
Female	Indigenous	Assault	Victim-offender	127	51.2
Female	Indigenous	Assault	Victim only	105	21.9
Female	Indigenous	Other personal offence	Victim-offender	17	52.9
Female	Indigenous	Other personal offence	Victim only	12	33.3
Female	Indigenous	Sexual offence	Victim-offender	82	59.8
Female	Indigenous	Sexual offence	Victim only	90	27.8
Female	Non-Indigenous	Assault	Victim-offender	233	39.1
Female	Non-Indigenous	Assault	Victim only	634	15.3
Female	Non-Indigenous	Other personal offence	Victim-offender	50	22.0
Female	Non-Indigenous	Other personal offence	Victim only	144	20.8
Female	Non-Indigenous	Sexual offence	Victim-offender	252	43.3
Female	Non-Indigenous	Sexual offence	Victim only	820	17.9
Male	Indigenous	Assault	Victim-offender	141	28.4
Male	Indigenous	Assault	Victim only	58	13.8
Male	Indigenous	Other personal offence	Victim-offender	25	32.0
Male	Indigenous	Other personal offence	Victim only	13	23.1
Male	Indigenous	Sexual offence	Victim-offender	30	30.0
Male	Indigenous	Sexual offence	Victim only	15	6.7
Male	Non-Indigenous	Assault	Victim-offender	380	28.7
Male	Non-Indigenous	Assault	Victim only	661	10.6
Male	Non-Indigenous	Other personal offence	Victim-offender	118	19.5
Male	Non-Indigenous	Other personal offence	Victim only	196	7.7
Male	Non-Indigenous	Sexual offence	Victim-offender	67	37.3
Male	Non-Indigenous	Sexual offence	Victim only	144	12.5

Notes:

1. Records where the first victimisation type was a homicide or other homicide ($n = 3$) have been excluded from calculations.
2. Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 533$) have been excluded from calculations.
3. Analysis conducted on 4,414 young people (1,522 victim-offenders and 2,892 victims only).

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

³² Offences were broadly categorised into three broad categories of assault, other personal offences and sexual offences. Records where the first victimisation was a homicide were excluded, as the focus of the analysis was exploring factors associated with revictimisation.

4.6.3. Revictimisation is more common among young victim-offenders who experience victimisation at a younger age, regardless of the type of victimisation they first experience

While the above analyses focused on factors associated with the probability of revictimisation separately, further analysis (Table A1 in Appendix A) examined the potential impact of age of first victimisation and first victimisation type concurrently between young *victim-offenders* and *victims only*.

Out of 22 comparisons exploring the probability of revictimisation between young *victim-offenders* and *victims only* given the same values for gender, Indigenous status, first type of victimisation, and age at first victimisation, *victim-offenders* had an increased probability of revictimisation when compared with *victims only* in 20 comparisons. In addition, among all young victims who experienced their first victimisation aged 10 years or older, being revictimised was more common among *victim-offenders* than *victims only*, regardless of demographic characteristics and the first type of victimisation they experienced. These results confirm that young *victim-offenders* had an increased probability of experiencing revictimisation, regardless of demographic characteristics and victimisation profiles.

The results also show that of the 46 available configurations of characteristics, there was an increased probability of being revictimised (where the proportion of victims with those characteristics experiencing revictimisation was greater than 50%) for eight groups of victims. Each of these eight groups were young *victim-offenders* who experienced their first victimisation before 10 years of age:

- young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females, whose first victimisation was a sexual offence (94.4% revictimised)
- young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females, whose first victimisation was assault (78.6% revictimised)
- young non-Indigenous females, whose first victimisation was assault (66.7% revictimised)
- young non-Indigenous males, whose first victimisation was a sexual offence (66.7% revictimised)
- young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females, whose first victimisation was an 'other personal offence' (62.5% revictimised)
- young non-Indigenous males, whose first victimisation was assault (55.8% revictimised)
- young non-Indigenous females, whose first victimisation was a sexual offence (54.3% revictimised)
- young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males, whose first victimisation was a sexual offence (53.3% revictimised).

Summary: Exploring factors associated with revictimisation for young victim-offenders and victims only

- There is an increased probability of revictimisation among all young victims who experience their first victimisation before 10 years of age.
- Revictimisation is more common among young *victim-offenders* when compared with *victims only*, where demographic characteristics and age at first victimisation are the same.
- Revictimisation is more common among young *victim-offenders* when compared with *victims only*, where demographic characteristics and the type of offence they experienced at their first victimisation are the same.
- Among all young victims whose first victimisation occurred at age 10 years or older, revictimisation is more common among *victim-offenders* than *victims only*, regardless of demographic characteristics and the first type of victimisation they experienced.
- It was more common to experience revictimisation for some groups, especially young *victim-offenders* who were first victimised before 10 years of age, including:
 - young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females whose first victimisation was a sexual offence
 - young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females whose first victimisation was assault
 - young non-Indigenous females whose first victimisation was assault
 - young non-Indigenous males whose first victimisation was a sexual offence
 - young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females whose first victimisation was an 'other personal offence'
 - young non-Indigenous males whose first victimisation was assault
 - young non-Indigenous females whose first victimisation was a sexual offence
 - young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males whose first victimisation was a sexual offence.

4.7. Comparing young offender groups: Demographic and offending profiles

Analyses were conducted to examine for differences between young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* in terms of their demographic and offending profiles (such as the prevalence of committing personal offences and number of police contacts they had as an offender). 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.



4.7.1. The demographic profile differs between young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*

An examination of the demographic profile between groups indicated that there were differences between young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* and the magnitude of these differences varied (Table 14). While young males comprised 50.6% of all *victim-offenders*, they comprised 71.1% of *offenders only*.³³ Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people comprised 27.7% of *victim-offenders* and 17.6% of *offenders only*.³⁴ Differences in the demographic profile between these groups are most apparent when examining Indigenous status and gender concurrently.³⁵ For example, young non-Indigenous males comprised 37.1% of *victim-offenders* and 58.8% of *offenders only*. In contrast, all other demographic groups comprised a larger proportion of *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*. This is especially the case for young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females who represented 14.8% of *victim-offenders*, but 5.2% of *offenders only*. Tests indicated that there were statistically significant associations between all demographic characteristics between young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*, and all effect sizes were meaningful. In other words, the demographic profile of young *victim-offenders* differs from that of *offenders only*.

Table 14 Young victim-offenders and offenders only by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

	Victim-offenders		Offenders only		Effect size ^(d)
	- n -	- % -	- n -	- % -	
All individuals	1,618	100.0	5,169	100.0	
<i>Gender^(a)</i>					
Female	799	49.4	1,492	28.9	Strong (.18)
Male	818	50.6	3,672	71.1	
<i>Indigenous status^(b)</i>					
Indigenous	422	27.7	889	17.6	Moderate (.11)
Non-Indigenous	1,101	72.3	4,161	82.4	
<i>Indigenous status and gender^(c)</i>					
Indigenous female	226	14.8	262	5.2	Strong (.22)
Indigenous male	196	12.9	625	12.4	
Non-Indigenous female	535	35.2	1,191	23.6	
Non-Indigenous male	565	37.1	2,967	58.8	

(a) Records where gender was missing ($n = 6$) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status was missing ($n = 214$) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 220$) have been excluded from calculations.

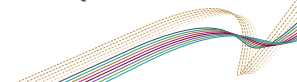
(d) Where a statistically significant association was identified by a chi-square test of independence, an effect size was calculated to assess the magnitude of the association. Interpretations of the effect size as weak (.05), moderate (.10), strong (.15), and very strong (.25) are based on suggestions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

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

³³ Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant strong association between gender and offender groups ($\chi^2(1) = 230.87, p < .001, \phi = .18$).

³⁴ Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant moderate association between Indigenous status and offender groups ($\chi^2(1) = 74.19, p < .001, \phi = .11$).

³⁵ 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 ($\chi^2(3) = 308.46, p < .001, V = .22$).



The offending profiles of young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* were compared to examine for differences. The offending profile for each group was compared in two ways: the proportion of individuals within each group who had committed a personal offence (section 4.7.2), and the average number of recorded offending events that individuals in each group had (section 4.7.3).³⁶ These measures were selected to provide an indication of differences between the seriousness and frequency of offending between the groups.

4.7.2. Being charged with a personal offence is more common among young victim-offenders than offenders only

The seriousness of offending among young offender groups was examined by comparing the proportion of each group who had been charged with a personal offence (an offence against the person) between 10–17 years of age. Comparisons were made between young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*, overall and by the demographic characteristics of individuals within groups (e.g. young male *victim-offenders* compared with young male *offenders only*), with the results shown in Table 15.³⁷

Overall, a larger proportion of young *victim-offenders* had been charged with a personal offence (44.4%) when compared with *offenders only* (25.9%)³⁸, and this finding held across all demographic groups. When looking at demographic differences within young *victim-offenders*, the prevalence of being charged with a personal offence was higher among young male *victim-offenders* (47.9%) than young female *victim-offenders* (40.8%), and for young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander *victim-offenders* (59.5%) compared with young non-Indigenous *victim-offenders* (38.5%). The group of *victim-offenders* with the highest prevalence of being charged with a personal offence overall was young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male *victim-offenders* (62.2%), followed by young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female *victim-offenders* (57.1%). The *victim-offender* group with the lowest prevalence of personal offending was young non-Indigenous females (33.5%), while the same demographic group had the lowest prevalence among *offenders only*.

Analyses were conducted to examine if there was an association between young offender groups and the prevalence of being charged with a personal offence by demographics. From a statistical standpoint, the strongest association (based on the effect size) between personal offending and offender groups was observed for young female offenders, with 40.8% of young female *victim-offenders* having committed a personal offence, compared with 21.8% of young female *offenders only*.³⁹ Significant meaningful associations were found between offender groups for all demographic groups, demonstrating that the prevalence of personal offending was higher among young *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*.

³⁶ While victimisation was limited to victimisation from personal crime, offending information was available for all offence types (i.e. personal, property and other) and included in analyses.

³⁷ Readers are reminded that the project was able to measure victimisation experiences relating to personal offences only, while information on the types of offences committed is available for all types of recorded offences.

³⁸ Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant moderate association between groups of offenders and the proportion who had committed a personal offence ($\chi^2(1) = 198.6, p < .001, \phi = .17$).

³⁹ Results of a chi-square test of independence indicated that there was a significant strong association between groups of female offenders and the proportion who had committed a personal offence ($\chi^2(1) = 91.59, p < .001, \phi = .20$).

Table 15 Young victim-offenders and offenders only charged with a personal offence between 10–17 years of age by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21

	Victim-offenders			Offenders only			Effect size ^(d)
	– n –	% with a personal offence	% without a personal offence	– n –	% with a personal offence	% without a personal offence	
All individuals	1,618	44.4	55.6	5,169	25.9	74.1	Moderate (.17)
<i>Gender^(a)</i>							
Female	799	40.8	59.2	1,492	21.8	78.2	Strong (.20)
Male	818	47.9	52.1	3,672	27.6	72.4	Strong (.17)
<i>Indigenous status^(b)</i>							
Indigenous	422	59.5	40.5	889	41.8	58.2	Strong (.16)
Non-Indigenous	1,101	38.5	61.5	4,161	22.5	77.5	Moderate (.15)
<i>Indigenous status and gender^(c)</i>							
Indigenous female	226	57.1	42.9	262	45.0	55.0	Strong (.12)
Indigenous male	196	62.2	37.8	625	40.6	59.4	Strong (.18)
Non-Indigenous female	535	33.5	66.5	1,191	16.6	83.4	Strong (.19)
Non-Indigenous male	565	43.4	56.6	2,967	24.9	75.1	Strong (.15)

(a) Records where gender was missing ($n = 6$) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status was missing ($n = 214$) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 220$) 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.

Note: A personal offence is often referred to as offences against the person and include offence categories of assault, sexual offences, homicide, robbery, and other offences against the person.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

4.7.3. Young victim-offenders average more offending events than offenders only

Differences in the frequency of offending between young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* was examined in relation to the average number of offending events recorded between 10–17 years of age (see Table 16). Analyses indicated that overall, young *victim-offenders* averaged double the number of offending events (7.42) than *offenders only* (3.70).⁴⁰ The higher average number of offending events among young *victim-offenders* held constant when examined by demographic characteristics, and all differences between the groups were statistically significant, except for the difference between young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*. From a statistical standpoint, the largest effect was observed when comparing the average number of offending events between young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* (18.92 and 9.01 offending events, respectively).⁴¹

The results highlight the large number of offending events that some groups of offenders had been charged with. For example, regardless of whether they had experienced victimisation or not, there was substantial variation in the number of offending events by gender and by Indigenous status. Both young male *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* had substantially more offending events than their young female counterparts. Similarly, young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* averaged a greater number of offending events when compared with young non-Indigenous *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*.

⁴⁰ 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 ($t(2,014) = 10.51, p < .001, d = 0.38$), 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.

⁴¹ 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 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males ($t(256) = 5.88, p < .001, d = 0.58$), which was considered a medium effect.

Table 16 Average number of offending events for young victim-offenders and offenders only between 10–17 years of age by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21

	Victim-offenders			Offenders only			Effect size ^(d)
	- n -	M	SD	- n -	M	SD	
All individuals	1,618	7.42	13.47	5,169	3.70	8.29	Small (0.38)
<i>Gender^(a)</i>							
Female	799	5.19	9.23	1,492	2.74	5.73	Small (0.34)
Male	818	9.60	16.32	3,672	4.09	9.11	Medium (0.51)
<i>Indigenous status^(b)</i>							
Indigenous	422	12.59	18.22	889	8.07	14.03	Small (0.29)
Non-Indigenous	1,101	5.79	11.06	4,161	2.84	6.19	Small (0.39)
<i>Indigenous status and gender^(c)</i>							
Indigenous female	226	7.11	11.72	262	5.86	10.66	Not significant
Indigenous male	196	18.92	21.99	625	9.01	15.14	Medium (0.58)
Non-Indigenous female	535	4.55	8.14	1,191	2.12	3.68	Small (0.45)
Non-Indigenous male	565	6.97	13.15	2,967	3.13	6.94	Small (0.47)

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 was missing (n = 6) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status was missing (n = 214) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing (n = 220) 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.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

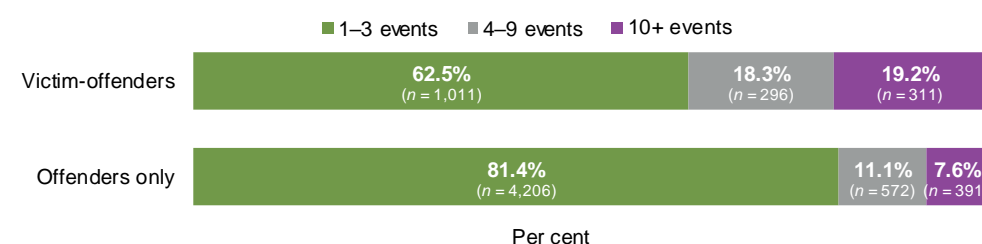
Given the findings that young *victim-offenders* had a higher prevalence of being charged with a personal offence and averaged more offending events than *offenders only*, further analyses were conducted to examine whether there were differences between the groups in terms of the frequency of personal offending. Analyses indicated that young *victim-offenders* averaged more personal offending events (2.43) than *offenders only* (1.67)⁴², and this finding was consistent across each demographic group (data not shown).

4.7.4. Persistent offending is more common among young victim-offenders than offenders only

In the prior section, results indicated that, on average, young *victim-offenders* offended more frequently than *offenders only* between 10–17 years of age. Further analyses were conducted to unpack this finding, by creating categories related to the frequency of offending (1–3, 4–9, and 10 or more offending events) and examining the proportion of each offender group within that category. For this project, *persistent offending* is defined as 10 or more separate offending events.

Overall, the results highlight that persistent offending was more common among young *victim-offenders* than those who were *offenders only* (Figure 13). One in five young *victim-offenders* (19.2%) had 10 or more offending events, compared with about one in thirteen *offenders only* (7.6%).

Figure 13 Prevalence of persistent offending among young victim-offenders and offenders only, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21



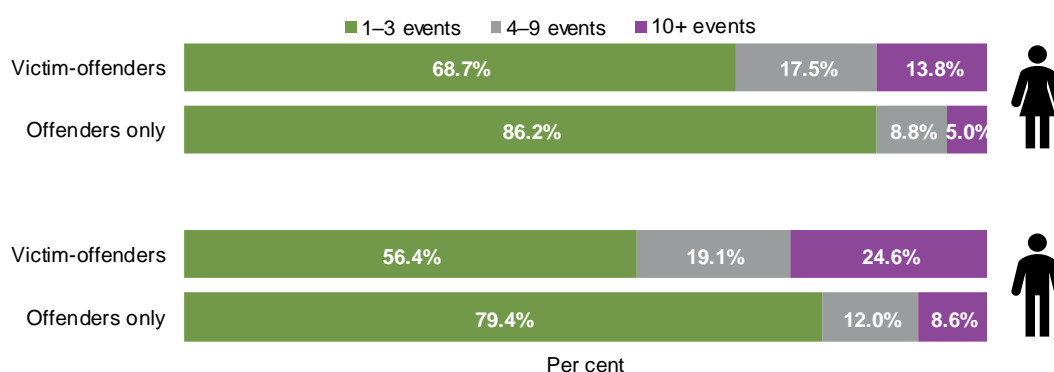
Note: A total of 1,618 victim-offenders and 5,169 offenders only.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

⁴² 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(928) = 6.03, p < .001, d = 0.33), but the effect was considered small.

The proportion of persistent offenders among young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* by gender are presented in Figure 14, and show that for both young females and males, persistent offenders were more common among *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*. For young females, one in seven *victim-offenders* (13.8%) had 10 or more offending events, compared with one in 20 *offenders only* (5.0%). Similarly, one in four young male *victim-offenders* (24.6%) were classed as persistent offenders, compared with about one in 12 male *offenders only* (8.6%).

Figure 14 Prevalence of persistent offending among young victim-offenders and offenders only, by gender, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21

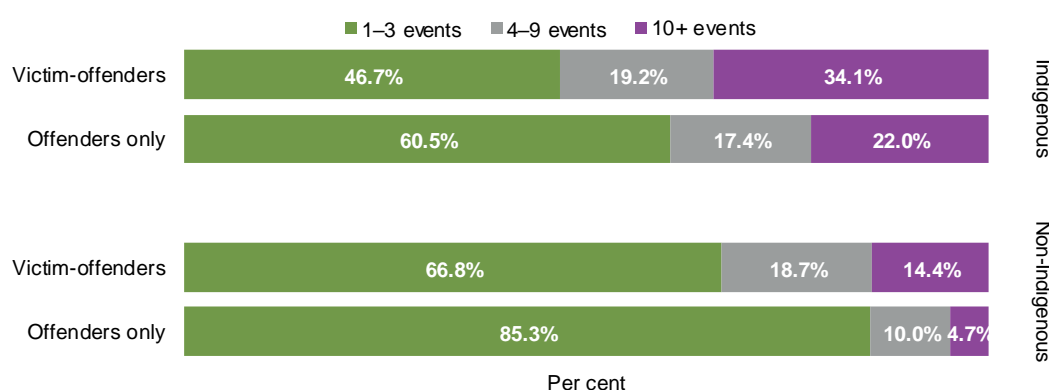


Note: A total of 799 young female victim-offenders, 818 young male victim-offenders, 1,492 young female offenders only and 3,672 young male offenders only. Records where gender was missing ($n = 6$) have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

The proportion of persistent offenders among young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* by Indigenous status is presented in Figure 15, and while there is variation between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people and non-Indigenous young people, persistent offenders were more common among *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*. For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people, one in three *victim-offenders* (34.1%) were classed as persistent, compared with about one in five *offenders only* (22.0%). For non-Indigenous young people, one in seven *victim-offenders* (14.4%) were classed as persistent, compared with one in 21 *offenders only* (4.7%). Young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander *victim-offenders* were the only offender group where fewer than half (46.7%) had 1–3 offending events.

Figure 15 Prevalence of persistent offending among young victim-offenders and offenders only, by Indigenous status, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21



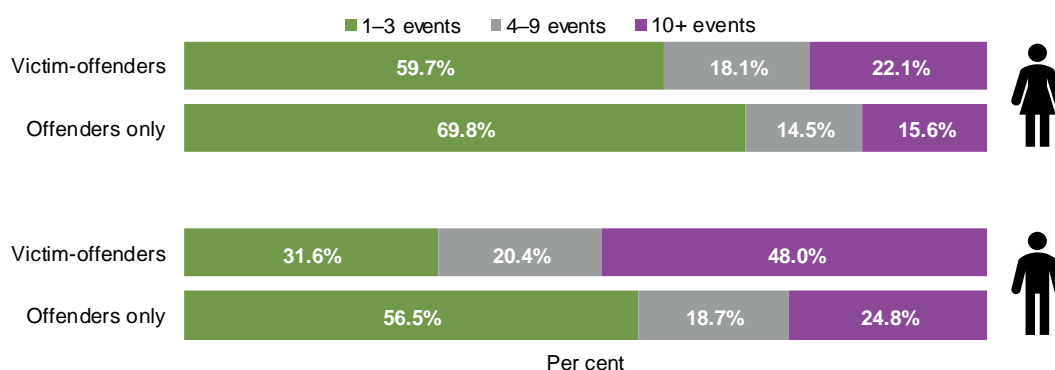
Note: Total of 422 young Indigenous victim-offenders, 1,101 young non-Indigenous victim-offenders, 889 young Indigenous offenders only and 4,161 young non-Indigenous offenders only. Records where Indigenous status was missing ($n = 214$) have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

The prevalence of persistent offenders among young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* by gender and Indigenous status are presented separately for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people (Figure 16) and non-Indigenous young people (Figure 17). As shown in Figure 16, almost half of all young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male *victim-offenders* (48.0%) were classed as persistent offenders, which was almost double the proportion of *offenders only* (24.8%). To a lesser extent, there was also variation among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female offenders, with 22.1% of *victim-offenders* classed as persistent, compared with 15.6% of *offenders only*.

The apparent increased frequency among *victim-offenders* is most evident among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male *victim-offenders*, where less than a third (31.6%) had fewer than four recorded offending events. For all other groups of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people in the cohort, the corresponding proportion of offenders with fewer than four offending events was greater than 50%.

Figure 16 Prevalence of persistent offending among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-offenders and offenders only, by gender, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21

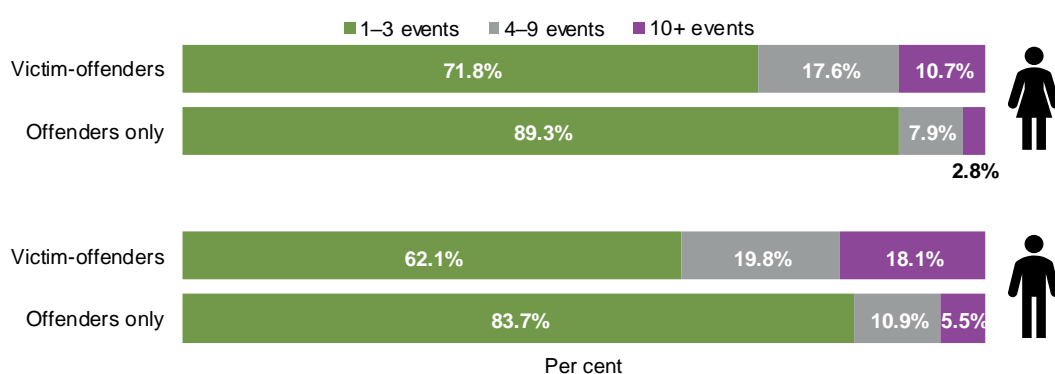


Note: Total of 226 young Indigenous female victim-offenders, 196 young Indigenous male victim-offenders, 262 young Indigenous female offenders only and 625 young Indigenous male offenders only. Records where Indigenous status was missing ($n = 220$) have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

The proportion of young non-Indigenous *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* within each category of offending frequency by gender is presented in Figure 17. Of young non-Indigenous offenders, the group with the largest proportion of persistent offenders is male *victim-offenders* (18.1%), which was substantially larger than the corresponding proportion of male *offenders only* (5.5%). The results also show that, irrespective of whether or not they had experienced victimisation, only a small proportion of young non-Indigenous females were classed as persistent offenders (10.7% of *victim-offenders* and 2.8% of *offenders only*), and that most young non-Indigenous female offenders had 1–3 offending events.

Figure 17 Prevalence of persistent offending among young non-Indigenous victim-offenders and offenders only, by gender, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2020–21



Note: Total of 535 young non-Indigenous female victim-offenders, 565 young non-Indigenous male victim-offenders, 1,191 young non-Indigenous female offenders only and 2,967 young non-Indigenous male offenders only. Records where Indigenous status was missing ($n = 220$) have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

4.7.5. Young victim-offenders are younger at their first recorded offence than offenders only

Analyses were undertaken to compare the age at first recorded offence (between 10–17 years of age) between young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*, and the results of these are presented in Table 17.

Table 17 Average age at first offence for young victim-offenders and offenders only between 10–17 years of age, by demographic characteristics, Queensland, 2012–13 to 2019–20

	Victim-offenders			Offenders only			Effect size ^(d)
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
All individuals	1,618	14.45	1.87	5,169	15.21	1.87	Small (0.40)
<i>Gender^(a)</i>							
Female	799	14.57	1.68	1,492	15.27	1.73	Small (0.41)
Male	818	14.33	2.02	3,672	15.18	1.92	Small (0.44)
<i>Indigenous status^(b)</i>							
Indigenous	422	13.78	2.02	889	14.32	1.99	Small (0.27)
Non-Indigenous	1,101	14.70	1.74	4,161	15.40	1.78	Small (0.40)
<i>Indigenous status and gender^(c)</i>							
Indigenous female	226	14.25	1.84	262	14.67	1.86	Small (0.22)
Indigenous male	196	13.23	2.08	625	14.16	2.03	Small (0.46)
Non-Indigenous female	535	14.70	1.58	1,191	15.42	1.66	Small (0.44)
Non-Indigenous male	565	14.69	1.88	2,967	15.40	1.83	Small (0.38)

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 was missing (*n* = 6) have been excluded from calculations.

(b) Records where Indigenous status was missing (*n* = 214) have been excluded from calculations.

(c) Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing (*n* = 220) 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.

Note: Age at a young person's first recorded offence is calculated from the date at which the offence occurred, which may be different to the date it was reported to police.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

On average, *victim-offenders* were younger (14.45 years) at their first offence than *offenders only* (15.21 years)^{43, 44}, and this finding was consistent across all comparisons made by demographic characteristics.⁴⁵ Other notable findings include:

- Within each group of young offenders (*victim-offenders* compared with *offenders only*), males were charged with their first offence at a younger age than females
- Young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander offenders were younger than young non-Indigenous offenders
- Young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males were youngest at first offence for *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*
- There was no difference in the age at first offence for young non-Indigenous males and females, in either offending group, but there was variation among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male and females within both offending groups.

Summary: Comparing young victim-offenders and offenders only

- Young *victim-offenders* differed from *offenders only* with respect to demographic characteristics:
 - Young females comprised a larger proportion of *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*.
 - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people comprised a larger proportion of *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*.
 - Young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females and males, and young non-Indigenous females, had a higher representation among *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*, while young non-Indigenous males accounted for a higher proportion of *offenders only* than *victim-offenders*.

⁴³ The results of an independent samples *t*-test indicated that young victim-offenders were significantly younger at first offence than offenders only, but the effect was considered small ($t(2,707) = 14.22, p < .001, d = 0.40$).

⁴⁴ 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. Wilcoxon rank sum tests for independent samples were conducted to compare the median age between groups, which found that the results provided similar results to the independent samples *t*-tests.

⁴⁵ All differences between the groups were statistically significant, although the effect sizes were considered small.



- Being charged with a personal offence was more common among young *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*:
 - Being charged with a personal offence was higher among young male *victim-offenders* than young female *victim-offenders*.
 - Being charged with a personal offence was higher among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander *victim-offenders* than young non-Indigenous *victim-offenders*.
- Young *victim-offenders* averaged more offending events than *offenders only*:
 - The largest difference in frequency of offending was observed between young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*, who averaged the most offending events for both offender groups.
 - Young non-Indigenous females averaged the fewest offending events among *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*.
- Young *victim-offenders* were younger at their first offence than those who were *offenders only*:
 - The largest difference in age at first offence between offender groups was observed for young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*, and they were the youngest at first offence among each offender group.
 - Young non-Indigenous females were older at first offence among both *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*.

4.8. Exploring factors associated with persistent offending for young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*

Results of analyses presented in section 4.7 explored differences in the demographic and offending profiles between young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*. Despite differences by demographics, these findings broadly demonstrated key differences overall between the offending profiles of young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*, including:

- being charged with a personal offence was more common among young *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*
- young *victim-offenders* were younger at first offence than *offenders only*
- being a persistent offender (10 or more offending events) was more common among young *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*.

While these findings demonstrated that the offending profiles of young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* differed in three key offending characteristics independently, they did not permit an examination of how they might be interrelated. For example, it is likely that being classed a persistent offender may be related to an offender's age of onset of offending, and/or the prevalence of personal offending.

Analyses in this section explored the potential impact of age at first victimisation and whether they had been charged with a personal offence on the frequency of offending among young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*. The results provide an understanding of the combinations of demographic, offending and victimisation characteristics associated with the highest probability of being a persistent offender. The results can provide information about the relative impact of factors by providing comparisons between demographic and offending profiles which differ on a single attribute.

4.8.1. Persistent offending is more common among young victim-offenders who begin offending at a younger age

The importance of the age of onset of offending has been shown within the criminal careers literature, including that an early age of onset is associated with a longer criminal career (Farrington et al. 1990; Payne and Piquero 2018; Theobald and Farrington 2014). CACC was used to explore if the probability of being a young persistent offender varied across demographic, offending and victimisation characteristics, with the results highlighting the relative impact of the age of onset of offending, especially for young *victim-offenders* (Table 18). The potential impact of age at onset of offending was examined with a binary variable categorised into those who were first charged with any type of offence aged under 13 years (10–12 years of age) or aged 13 years or older.⁴⁶

Table 18 The probability of being a young persistent offender, by gender, Indigenous status, age at first offence, and offender type, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

Gender	Indigenous status	Age at first offence	Offender type	– n –	Persistent offender (%)
Female	Indigenous	Under 13 years	Victim-offender	62	45.2
Female	Indigenous	Under 13 years	Offender only	42	31.0
Female	Indigenous	13 years or older	Victim-offender	164	13.4
Female	Indigenous	13 years or older	Offender only	220	12.7
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 13 years	Victim-offender	78	19.2
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 13 years	Offender only	90	10.0
Female	Non-Indigenous	13 years or older	Victim-offender	457	9.2
Female	Non-Indigenous	13 years or older	Offender only	1,101	2.2
Male	Indigenous	Under 13 years	Victim-offender	98	71.4
Male	Indigenous	Under 13 years	Offender only	183	49.2
Male	Indigenous	13 years or older	Victim-offender	98	24.5
Male	Indigenous	13 years or older	Offender only	442	14.7
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 13 years	Victim-offender	117	38.5
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 13 years	Offender only	331	13.3
Male	Non-Indigenous	13 years or older	Victim-offender	448	12.7
Male	Non-Indigenous	13 years or older	Offender only	2,636	4.5

Notes:

1. In this analysis, a persistent offender is a young person with 10 or more separate offending events (based on date) for any type of offence.
2. Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 220$), have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

First, comparisons show that being a young persistent offender was more common among young *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*, where demographic characteristics of gender, Indigenous status and age of onset of offending are the same. This finding held constant across demographic characteristics, with a greater proportion of young persistent offenders among *victim-offenders* compared with *offenders only*. For example, of young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male offenders whose first offence was before the age of 13 years, almost three-quarters (71.4%) of *victim-offenders* were persistent offenders, compared with half (49.2%) of *offenders only*.

Second, these results also demonstrate that, regardless of gender, Indigenous status and offender type, those with an earlier age of onset of offending (i.e. between the ages of 10–12 years) had a higher probability of becoming a young persistent offender compared with offenders whose first recorded offence was at age 13 years or older. However, these differences were larger among young *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*. For example, the results show that being a persistent offender was most common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male *victim-offenders* with an earlier age of onset (71.4%), which was considerably higher than for those whose first offence was at age 13 years or older (24.5%). This pattern was observed when comparing the proportion of persistent offenders within each group of young *victim-offenders*, based on their age of onset of offending.

⁴⁶ The creation of a binary variable examining age at first offence (between 10–12 years of age or 13 years and older) was based on the distribution of age at first recorded offence for young people in the cohort.



4.8.2. Persistent offending is more common among young victim-offenders who have been charged with a personal offence

CACC was also used to examine how the probability of being a persistent offender, based on offender demographics and whether they had been charged with a personal offence (Table 19). The results demonstrate that being charged with a personal offence was associated with an increased probability of being a persistent offender, but especially for young *victim-offenders*.

Table 19 The probability of being a young persistent offender, by gender, Indigenous status, being charged with a personal offence and offender type, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

Gender	Indigenous status	Personal offence	Offender type	– n –	Persistent offender (%)
Female	Indigenous	Yes	Victim-offender	129	34.1
Female	Indigenous	Yes	Offender only	118	26.3
Female	Indigenous	No	Victim-offender	97	6.2
Female	Indigenous	No	Offender only	144	6.9
Female	Non-Indigenous	Yes	Victim-offender	179	27.4
Female	Non-Indigenous	Yes	Offender only	198	12.6
Female	Non-Indigenous	No	Victim-offender	356	2.2
Female	Non-Indigenous	No	Offender only	993	0.8
Male	Indigenous	Yes	Victim-offender	122	65.6
Male	Indigenous	Yes	Offender only	254	48.0
Male	Indigenous	No	Victim-offender	74	18.9
Male	Indigenous	No	Offender only	371	8.9
Male	Non-Indigenous	Yes	Victim-offender	245	33.9
Male	Non-Indigenous	Yes	Offender only	740	17.2
Male	Non-Indigenous	No	Victim-offender	320	5.9
Male	Non-Indigenous	No	Offender only	2,227	1.6

- Notes:
1. In this analysis, a persistent offender is a young person with 10 or more separate offending events (based on date) for any type of offence.
 2. Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing (n = 220). have been excluded from calculations.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

These results show that, among those charged with a personal offence:

- one in three (34.1%) young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female *victim-offenders* were classed as persistent, compared with one in four (26.3%) who were *offenders only*
- one in four (27.4%) young non-Indigenous female *victim-offenders* were persistent, compared with one in eight (12.6%) who were *offenders only*
- two in three (65.6%) young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male *victim-offenders* were persistent, compared with one in two (48.0%) who were *offenders only*
- one in three (33.9%) young non-Indigenous male *victim-offenders* were persistent, compared with almost one in six (17.2%) who were *offenders only*.

4.8.3. Persistent offending is most common among young victim-offenders with an early onset age of offending and who have also been charged with a personal offence

The above analyses indicated that an earlier age of onset of offending and being charged with a personal offence both appeared to be independently associated with a higher probability of being a young persistent offender. Further analysis (Table A2 in Appendix A) examined both factors (age of onset of offending and being charged with a personal offence) concurrently to identify configurations which were associated with a higher prevalence of being a young persistent offender. The results confirm that in each of the eight available comparisons between offenders who had an early age of onset and been charged for a personal offence, higher rates of persistent offenders were observed among young *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*.



Being classed as a young persistent offender was more common for four groups of offenders whose first offence was before 13 years of age, and who had also been charged for a personal offence, including:

- young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male *victim-offenders* (80.8%)
- young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male *offenders only* (71.7%)
- young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female *victim-offenders* (61.4%)
- young non-Indigenous male *victim-offenders* (52.9%).

The results also showed that, where demographic factors, age of onset of offending and offender type were constant, those who had been charged with a personal offence had a higher probability of being a young persistent offender when compared with those who had not been charged with a personal offence. This finding was consistent for each combination of demographic factors including age, highlighting that, of all factors considered (including age at first offence), being charged with a personal offence best predicts persistent offending.

Summary: Exploring factors associated with persistent offending for young victim-offenders and offenders only

- Persistent offending is more common among young offenders with an earlier age of onset of offending (those whose first recorded offence was between the ages of 10–12 years), compared with those whose first offence was aged 13 years or older.
 - This was consistent across all demographic groups, although the percentage difference in persistent offenders was greater between young *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*.
- Where demographic characteristics and age are constant, being a persistent offender is more common among young *victim-offenders* when compared with *offenders only* who had the same characteristics.
 - This was consistent across all demographic groups.
- When controlling for age of onset of offending and whether an offender had been charged with a personal offence, being a persistent offender is more common among young *victim-offenders* than *offenders only*.
- Four groups of young offenders had a greater probability of being a persistent offender than not, with each group having an early age of onset of offending (before 13 years of age) and had also been charged for a personal offence:
 - young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male *victim-offenders*
 - young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male *offenders only*
 - young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female *victim-offenders*
 - young non-Indigenous male *victim-offenders*.

5.0 Discussion

The research presented in this report sought to build upon existing knowledge about the prevalence of the victim–offender overlap in Queensland from prior research undertaken by QGSO (in press), by focusing on the prevalence of the victim–offender overlap among young people (up to and including 17 years of age) in Queensland.⁴⁷ This enabled the exploration of the temporal ordering of victimisation and offending experiences among young victim-offenders, the investigation of factors related to young people's first contact with police (including type of offence and age at contact) and the development of a better understanding of how early offending patterns are associated with persistent offending.

The prevalence of contact with police among young people in Queensland

Data from analyses estimate that, by 17 years of age, approximately one in six (16.3%) young people in Queensland had some form of contact with police as either a victim of personal crime or as an offender. When examining prevalence by the type of contact that they had, a slightly greater proportion of young people in Queensland had contact with police as an offender (11.0%) than as a victim of personal crime (8.1%).

While there is little existing research with which the findings of this project on victimisation and offending prevalence can be directly compared, some comparability is offered from research examining the proportion of children with police contact by 13 years of age in a population-based sample in New South Wales (Whitten et al. 2020). The authors of this study found that 15.6% of the children in the sample had some form of police contact by 13 years of age, although this also included police contact as a witness to an offence. In contrast to the results from the current project, the highest prevalence of police contact among the NSW children by 13 years of age was as a victim (12.2%), although this is likely to reflect methodological differences, such as including victimisations from birth while the current project does not include victimisation experienced before 6 years of age.

Differences in prevalence of police contact among demographic groups

There are substantial differences observed in the estimated prevalence of police contact when considering demographic factors. The proportion of each demographic group in Queensland with police contact by 17 years of age include:

- around one in three (35.5%) young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males (11.1% as a victim of personal crime; 32.2% as an offender)
- more than one in four (28.5%) young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females (17.8% as a victim of personal crime; 20.0% as an offender)
- more than one in seven (15.4%) young non-Indigenous males (5.3% as a victim of personal crime; 12.0% as an offender)
- around one in eight (11.9%) young non-Indigenous females (7.6% as a victim of personal crime; 6.2% as an offender).

Relationship between victimisation and offending among young people

While the findings of the project demonstrate a relationship between victimisation from personal crime and offending — with a proportion of victims having offended and vice versa — it is important to acknowledge that not all victims of personal crime go on to offend, nor do all offenders experience victimisation. The results show:

- About one in three (32.7%) young victims had offended, although there was variation in the prevalence of offending among victims based on their demographic characteristics. The prevalence of offending was greatest among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victims (69.5%), and lowest among young non-Indigenous female victims (25.1%).
- About one in four (23.8%) young offenders had experienced victimisation, ranging from 16.0% of young non-Indigenous male offenders to 46.3% of young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander female offenders.

Differences were apparent when comparing the prevalence of victimisation and offending among young people of this project with those previously reported by QGSO when examining a broader sample of people in Queensland (QGSO in press). First, a larger proportion of young offenders in the current project had also been victimised (23.8%) when

⁴⁷ The project involved analysing police administrative data relating to offences recorded as occurring in Queensland between 2008–09 to 2020–21. These data allowed the examination of all recorded police contacts that a cohort of young people in Queensland (born in 2002–03) had either as the victim of personal crime between the ages of 6–17 years and/or as the alleged offender of any type of crime between the ages of 10–17 years. However, not all crime comes to the attention of the police and information about victimisation experiences relates to personal offences only. This means the level of victimisation and offending behaviour captured by the project undercounts its actual prevalence in the community



compared with the previous project, where 13.9% of offenders had also been victimised. In contrast, the prevalence of offending among young victims was considerably smaller (32.7%) than for all victims of any age (51.1%). These differences are likely to reflect variations in offending and victimisation patterns evident among young people compared with the broader population, as well as methodological issues.⁴⁸

The victim–offender overlap among young people

The results in this project highlight the prevalence of the victim–offender overlap among young people in Queensland. The results show that, while one in six young people were victim-offenders, the extent of the victim–offender overlap varies for different socio-demographic groups:

- The victim–offender overlap was greater among young females (18.4%) than young males (14.2%) in the cohort.
- The victim–offender overlap was greater among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people (26.3%) than non-Indigenous young people (14.0%).
- The victim–offender overlap was greatest among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females (32.5%), while the smallest victim–offender overlap was observed for young non-Indigenous males (12.5%).

The project findings showing an overlap between victimisation and offending are consistent with other research but provide specific information about the prevalence of the victim–offender overlap among young people in Queensland. While theoretical explanations of the victim–offender overlap, including the lifestyle–routine activity theory of victimisation, general strain theory, and subculture of violence theory (see section 2.2.1 for further information) offer insight into the overlap between victimisation and offending, this project was unable to test these theories.

Temporal ordering of victimisation and offending among young victim-offenders

Despite substantial research showing a relationship between victimisation and offending, understanding which type of contact tends to precede the other remains unclear. The temporal ordering of victimisation and all offending contacts with police was therefore explored by this project, with results showing that the majority of young victim-offenders (61.8%) had their first contact with police resulting from being the victim of personal crime, with only minor variation across demographic groups. The finding that most young victim-offenders experienced victimisation prior to offending, differed from the results of prior research undertaken by QGSO (in press) on the broader sample of people in Queensland who had contact with police, which showed that approximately two in three victim-offenders (64.2%) had their first contact with police as an offender. This variation in the temporal ordering of police contact between the two projects is again likely to reflect the methodological differences between the projects and potentially highlights the particular vulnerability of children and young people to victimisation when compared with adults (Finkelhor et al. 2015; Herrenkohl et al. 2020; Saunders and Lansdell 2020).

Classification of young victim-offenders based on the amount of police contact

Part of the analysis within this project involved examining the category of young victim-offenders in more detail, including whether they typically first come to the attention of police as a victim or offender, and whether young victim-offenders tend to experience one type of contact more than the other. Informed by prior research (for example, see Hiltz, Bland and Barnes 2020; Sandall, Angel and White 2018), young victim-offenders were classified into groups of those who had more victimisation events than offending events (*predominant victims*), those who had more offending events than victimisation events (*predominant offenders*), and those who experienced the same number of victimisation and offending events (*equal victim-offenders*). The results show that:

- overall, most young victim-offenders were *predominant offenders* (55.7%), followed by *equal victim-offenders* (30.0%), while a smaller proportion were *predominant victims* (14.2%)
- the profile of victim-offenders varied across demographic groups, with a larger proportion of young male victim-offenders (63.9%) than young female victim-offenders (47.4%) observed as *predominant offenders*, and being a *predominant victim* was more common among young female victim-offenders (19.4%, compared with 9.0% of young male victim-offenders).
- with respect to Indigenous status, being a *predominant offender* was more common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-offenders than young non-Indigenous victim-offenders (66.6% and 52.9%, respectively), while there was little difference in the proportion of *predominant victims* between young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-offenders (13.5%) and young non-Indigenous victim-offenders (15.3%).

⁴⁸ These differences are likely to reflect methodological variance between the two projects which reflected data availability and project objectives. The current project focused on young people (aged 6–17 years), while the prior project explored the victim–offender overlap among a snapshot of people in the broader community in Queensland (where the median age of the sample was 29 years). The machinations of data availability mean that early experiences of young victimisation will have been better captured by this project, and incidents of alleged offending will be better captured by the prior project.



- the largest differences in the proportion of *predominant offenders* were observed with respect to gender and Indigenous status, ranging from 82.1% of young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male victim-offenders, to 46.0% of young non-Indigenous female victim-offenders.

The finding that young victim-offenders tend to comprise more *predominant offenders* is consistent with the available research, despite differences in the research approach used, such as being able to examine all types of victimisation (Hiltz, Bland and Barnes 2020; Sandall, Angel and White 2018). Other research also suggests that there is an association between the classification of victim-offenders and the crime harm they have been involved in, suggesting that *equal victim-offenders* are involved in offences resulting in less aggregated harm than *predominant victims* or *predominant offenders* (Hiltz, Bland and Barnes 2020).

Differences in offending between young victim-offenders and offenders only

Findings from the current project show that victim-offenders tend to offend more frequently and engage in more serious offending, which is consistent with other research (Hiltz, Bland and Barnes 2020; QGSO in press; Sandall, Angel and White 2018). For example, results of analyses presented show:

- a greater proportion of young victim-offenders were charged with a personal offence (which tends to include the use of violence) than offenders only (44.4% and 25.9% respectively)
- young victim-offenders averaged more than double the number of offending events than offenders only (7.42 and 3.70 offending events respectively)
- young victim-offenders are more likely to continue their offending and be classed as a *persistent offender*, regardless of the type of victimisation they first experienced.

This highlights the potentially deleterious impacts that experiencing victimisation may have on some young victims, and that victim-offenders had the highest risk factors for both offending and victimisation (TenEyck and Barnes 2018). The impact that violence and trauma experienced in childhood may have on later life outcomes for some victims, including health, employment, victimisation and offending, is well documented (for example, see Finkelhor et al. 2015; Herrenkohl et al. 2020; Peltonen et al. 2020; Widom 2017). Research suggests that severe stress related to traumatic experiences during adolescence is a risk factor for violent offending (Peltonen et al. 2020). Qualitative research has further shown that adult offenders have themselves identified instances of victimisation and abuse as key turning points in their lives, with what was referred to as 'transformative violence' which lead to the onset of serious offending (Halsey 2017, p. 20).

Early contact with the criminal justice system

The relationship between age and crime is well established in the criminological literature, and the findings from this project are consistent with this. For example, results show:

- Later offending (becoming a victim-offender) was more common among young people who experienced victimisation before 10 years of age, regardless of the type of victimisation.
- Age at first victimisation was associated with revictimisation. When comparing groups of young victims (*victim-offenders* and *victims only*), experiencing a first victimisation before 10 years of age was associated with a higher probability of revictimisation among *victim-offenders* than *victims only*, regardless of the type of victimisation they first experienced.
- An early onset age of offending is associated with an increased probability of continuation of offending. Results found that being a persistent offender (having 10 or more separate police contacts as an offender) was associated with those young people whose first recorded police contact as an offender was before 13 years of age. An increased probability of being a persistent offender was observed among both young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only*, although the prevalence of persistent offending was higher among *victim-offenders*, regardless of the gender and Indigenous status of young people.

The link between an early age of contact with the criminal justice system as a signal for continuation in criminal offending is well documented, both in Australia and internationally. Early-onset offenders — those offenders who start before 12 years of age — are at a higher risk of developing persistent criminal behaviour across the life-course, and when compared with those who start offending later in adolescence, are more likely to become 'chronic' offenders (DeLisi et al. 2013; Farrington and Loeber 2000; Farrington, Piquero and Jennings 2013; Moffitt et al. 2002). For example, longitudinal research shows that an earlier age of offending has been associated with higher rates of reoffending among children whose first proven offence was between the ages of 10 and 13 years (Farrington, Piquero and Jennings 2013). Research examining the offending among a Queensland cohort born in 1983 or 1984 found that those who received their first police caution at an earlier age were more likely to receive another police caution or appear in court by 17 years of age (Dennison, Stewart and Hurren 2006). Early contact is also associated with continuation of offending in adulthood, with research demonstrating that contact with the criminal justice system before 15 years of age was associated with an



increased number of court appearances and custodial penalties by 33 years of age when compared with those with a later onset of offending (Weatherburn and Ramsey 2018).

The finding in the project that being a persistent offender was more common among young people who had their first recorded offence before 13 years of age and had also been charged with a personal offence is consistent with the broader literature. Research has shown that early onset offenders also tend to engage in more serious types of offending, including violence (DeLisi et al. 2013; Farrington and Loeber 2000; Snyder 2001). There is also research which suggests that there is continuation in violent offending across the life course, including extending into older ages, such as 40–61 years of age (Farrington 2019). Due to the connected nature of violence across the life course, these findings highlight how prevention, intervention, or response efforts targeted at adolescent violence may have implications and far-reaching effects later in an individual's life course, by decreasing the risk of interpersonal violence in young adulthood and decreasing the risk of engaging in later offending.

The overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people

The results of this project highlight differences in the prevalence of police contact by Indigeneity, showing that, by 17 years of age, the estimated proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people with police contact in Queensland (as a victim and offender) was more than double the proportion of their young non-Indigenous counterparts. There were also differences in the victim–offender overlap based on Indigeneity, which was greater among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people (26.3%), especially young females (32.5%).

The large proportion of young victim-offenders is likely to reflect the higher rates of victimisation experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, especially young people (QGSO 2021b). Further, while the current project focused on victims of personal crime, statistics indicate that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children are eight times as likely as non-Indigenous children to have received child protection services (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2020). Given the links between child maltreatment and youth offending are well established (Baidawi and Sheehan 2019; Stewart, Livingston and Dennison 2008), it is possible that the victim–offender overlap among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people observed in this report is an underestimate of the true prevalence.

In addition to differences in the prevalence of victimisation, offending and the amount of overlap between them, the results also showed differences in the victimisation and offending profiles by Indigeneity. For example, the results show:

- Later offending (being a *victim-offender*) was more common among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims, regardless of the age at which they experienced victimisation, or the type of first victimisation they experienced.
- A greater proportion of young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims experienced revictimisation.
- An increased frequency of offending among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander offenders, especially *victim-offenders*.
- A greater proportion of offenders who had been charged with a personal offence among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander offenders, especially *victim-offenders*.
- A greater proportion of persistent offenders among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander offenders, especially *victim-offenders*.

These findings are consistent with other research which found earlier ages of onset of offending, higher rates of offending, and higher counts of more serious offending among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people when compared with non-Indigenous young people (Ogilvie et al. 2021; Stewart et al. 2021). However, these studies also found that differences in offending patterns may be explained in part by higher rates of diagnosed psychiatric disorders among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people. For example, in a population-based cohort of young people in Queensland which was followed to age 23/24 years, Ogilvie et al. (2021) found that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were significantly overrepresented in psychiatric diagnoses, and these were more prevalent among young people with a proven offence. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander offenders had a rate of substance-use disorders that was double that of non-Indigenous offenders, and these disorders were heavily comprised of alcohol-use disorders (Ogilvie et al. 2021). Alcohol and drug use have elsewhere been identified as predictors of involvement with the criminal justice system for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people, as well as childhood experiences of violence and abuse, and economic and social disadvantage, including unemployment, poverty and lower levels of education (Australian Law Reform Commission 2017; Guthrie et al. 2020; Ogloff et al. 2017).

The higher prevalence of risk factors associated with involvement in crime and victimisation among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples may be linked to the ongoing impacts of colonisation and resulting experiences of intergenerational trauma, entrenched social disadvantage and marginalisation (Australian Law Reform Commission 2017; Carlson, Day and Farrelly 2021; Guthrie et al. 2020). Colonisation involved policies and practices which aimed to remove native people's laws, social relations, connection with place and attachments to family (Blagg et al. 2018). The historical



and intergenerational trauma associated with the forcible removal of First Nations children from their families has been well documented and is now commonly known as the Stolen Generations (The Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1997). The consequences of these removal policies had long-term effects, including social, physical and psychological impacts for those directly involved, as well as for their families and communities (Atkinson 2013; Baldry et al. 2015; Cunneen and Tauri 2016). Research has found that survivors of the Stolen Generations were more than twice as likely to have been formally charged by police, to have been arrested in the last five years and/or to have ever been incarcerated compared with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who were not removed from their families (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2018). Similar concerns have been raised because of the increasing number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children being removed from homes (Australian Law Reform Commission 2017), and this is evidenced by the rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children (aged 0–17 years) in out-of-home care in Queensland being almost 10 times the rate for non-Indigenous children (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2022).

It has also been suggested that the increased prevalence of police contact among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people may also be related to policing practices, with claims of over-policing and increased surveillance within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities (Australian Law Reform Commission 2017), or claims that in other jurisdictions that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people are less likely to be diverted from formal criminal justice mechanisms than non-Indigenous young people (Commission for Children and Young People 2021). Such practices, combined with the intergenerational trauma experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, may result in distrust and fear of police and the justice system (Australian Law Reform Commission 2017), which may exacerbate tensions between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people and police.

5.1. Implications

Analyses presented in this project highlight that a small proportion of young people in Queensland have contact with police as both a victim and offender (*victim-offenders*), and that these young *victim-offenders* are involved with more frequent offending (including being charged with a personal offence) and are more likely to be classified as a persistent offender when compared to young offenders who did not experience victimisation from personal crime. This is especially the case for those with an early age of onset of offending. These findings highlight the importance of early interventions that embed trauma-informed responses towards young people in contact with police – especially if they are characterised by victimisation and alleged offending. The relatively high prevalence of victim-offender overlap among young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females in particular, points to the importance of culturally-sensitive, gender-specific, community-based responses.

Trauma-informed approach

The deleterious impacts of experiencing victimisation during childhood and the observed differences between young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* highlights the potential benefit of using a trauma-informed approach in the design and delivery of criminal justice interventions for young people. 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, including addressing the actual symptoms and presentation of trauma (Branson et al. 2017; Quadara 2015; Wall, Higgins and Hunter 2016). 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; Davis et al. 2017; Zettler 2021). However, it has been noted that while some trauma-specific interventions have been found to be effective, such research has often been based on populations who have experienced a single traumatic event, and a large number of justice-involved young people have experienced complex trauma of multiple experiences (Wall, Higgins and Hunter 2016).

Early intervention

The findings related to early contact with police within the project highlight the potential benefits that may be obtained through the early identification of children at risk of entering the criminal justice system for prevention strategies (Baskin-Sommers et al. 2022; Farrington 2012; McAra and McVie 2007). Findings from the project show that early contact with police as a victim is associated with revictimisation and engaging in offending, while early contact as an offender is associated with continuation in offending. Taken together, these findings suggest that early contact with police may represent an opportunity to identify people at an increased risk of future contact with the criminal justice system (through victimisation or later offending), and refer them to appropriate support services (Dennison, Stewart and Hurren 2006; Whitten et al. 2020). Such an approach highlights the importance of early intervention strategies aimed at addressing criminogenic needs for the prevention of further crime, including victimisation (Baskin-Sommers et al. 2022; Farrington 2012; Loeber 2003; Miley et al. 2020). The basis for intervening early is to address the various factors associated with an individual being 'at risk' for a greater involvement in crime, and addressing these risk factors to prevent an individual's later involvement in offending (Farrington 2012; Loeber 2003; National Crime Prevention 1999). Given the complex



nature of youth offenders, successful intervention strategies are likely to be those that are developmentally appropriate and involve a multi-agency response.

Culturally-informed responses

Other research by QGSO (2021c) has identified wise practices regarding the design and delivery of criminal justice programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. These include:

- supporting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ownership, engagement and oversight of programs
- valuing and respecting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander authority and capacity
- committing to cultural competence
- providing culturally sensitive program delivery.

The relatively high prevalence of victim–offender overlap among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people and the links between early victimisation experiences and onset of offending among this group means that the implementation of effective, culturally appropriate, early intervention strategies is likely to positively impact the overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait peoples within the criminal justice system.

5.2. Future research

The aim of the project was to build on previous research by QGSO examining the overlap between victimisation and offending, with a specific focus on young people given that childhood and adolescence is a period in which the risk of victimisation and offending is elevated. The findings demonstrate that a group of young people have contact with police as a result of experiencing victimisation and offending, and the extent of this overlap varies across different demographic groups. The results further indicate differences between young *victim-offenders* and *victims only* in terms of their victimisation profile, and between young *victim-offenders* and *offenders only* in terms of their offending profile. However, the project was limited in its ability to fully explore underlying mechanisms possibly contributing to these results. Therefore, there may be benefit in progressing future research that involves:

- examining other data related to other victimisation experienced by young people, such as child protection data, to better understand the relationship between offending and broader victimisation. Other studies have indicated that contact with both the child welfare and youth justice system is associated with an increased likelihood of offending into adulthood, including more serious offending (Baidawi 2020; Baidawi, Papalia and Featherston 2021; Matthews et al. 2022). A recent systematic review reported that the odds of experiencing a traumatic event (including experiencing violence, abuse or neglect) were over 12 times greater for justice–involved young people compared with young people without justice involvement (Malvaso et al. 2021).
- exploring the offending and victimisation patterns of young *victim-offenders* in further detail, including the extent to which *victim-offenders* perpetrate against their peers, and whether *victim-offenders* are generalist offenders or specialise in certain offence types (Miley et al. 2020)
- examining if there are Indigenous–specific and gender–specific risk and protective factors associated with criminal victimisation and offending
- using a life-course perspective to examine how the impact of early experiences of violence and victimisation may increase the risks for aggression and subsequent violence in adulthood, as both the perpetrator and victim (Herrenkohl et al. 2020) – especially as to how they relate to domestic and family violence and elder abuse.
- investigating the ways in which the situational characteristics of victimisation may impact future involvement in crime. For example, recent research suggests that experiencing violent victimisation perpetrated by a family member is significantly associated with violent offending, while non–familial violent victimisation is not (Kushner 2020).



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*.

Equal victim-offender: a young victim-offender who had the same number of contacts with police as a victim of personal crime and as an offender. See *predominant offender, predominant victim*.

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

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.

Offender: a person aged 10 years or older who is alleged to be criminally responsible for committing an offence.

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

Persistent offender: a young person who has had 10 or more separate contacts with police as an offender.

Personal crime: 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).

Predominant offender: a young victim-offender who had more contacts with police as an offender than as a victim of personal crime. See *equal victim-offender, predominant victim*.

Predominant victim: a young victim-offender who had more contacts with police as a victim of personal crime than as an offender. See *equal victim-offender, predominant offender*.

Recorded offences: offences which have been reported to or detected by police. Also referred to as reported offences.

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 young person who had contact with police as both an offender and victim of personal crime.

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



Explanatory notes

Data used in this research

Data on which analyses in this report were based were current at the time of extraction 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 administrative records that formed the dataset used for the analyses were all offences recorded (reported to or detected) by QPS between 1 July 2008 and 30 June 2021.

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; (both) 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 (i.e. blank fields), 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 (and not imputable) have been excluded from any relevant percentage calculations in this report and noted accordingly. Percentages presented in this report may not always sum to 100% due to rounding.

Prevalence calculations

To calculate the prevalence of contact with police for the cohort presented in section 4.1, estimated resident population (ERP) figures for Queensland were obtained from the ABS. These figures were used to calculate the proportion of the cohort with contact by the demographic characteristics recorded by police for the young person at their first contact with police.⁴⁹

Statistical analyses examining relationships or differences between groups

While descriptive statistics summarise the characteristics of a dataset, 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 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 (ϕ) 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 (ϕ 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 size 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.

⁴⁹ 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).



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.
- 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.
- Ash-Houchen, W, Lo, CC, Gerling, HM and Cheng, TC 2021, 'Gender and childhood victimization: A longitudinal study of heavy drinking in young adulthood', *International journal of environmental research and public health*, vol. 18, no. 21, p. 11089.
- Athanassiou, U, Whitten, T, Tzoumakis, S, Hindmarsh, G, Laurens, KR, Harris, F, Carr, VJ, Green, MJ and Dean, K 2021, 'Examining the overlap of young people's early contact with the police as a person of interest and victim or witness', *Journal of Criminology*, vol. 54, no. 4, pp. 501–20.
- Atkinson, J 2013, *Trauma-informed services and trauma-specific care for Indigenous Australian children*, Resource Sheet No. 21, Indigenous Justice Clearinghouse, Sydney, <<https://www.indigenousjustice.gov.au/publications/australian-indigenous-womens-offending-patterns/>>.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011, *Measuring victims of crime: A guide to using administrative and survey data*, ABS, Canberra, <<https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/research/measuring-victims-crime-guide-using-administrative-and-survey-data>>.
- 2018, *National offence index*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, <<https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/classifications/national-offence-index/latest-release>>.
- 2021, *National, state and territory population, June 2021*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, <<https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/population/national-state-and-territory-population/latest-release>>.
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2018, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander stolen generations aged 50 and over*, IHW 199, AIHW, Canberra, <<https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/indigenous-australians/stolen-generation-aged-50-and-over/summary>>.
- 2020, *Child protection Australia 2018-19: Children in the child protection system*, CWS 75, AIHW, Canberra, <<https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/child-protection/child-protection-australia-children-in-the-child-protection-system/contents/introduction>>.
- 2022, *Child protection Australia 2020-21*, CWS 87, AIHW, Canberra, <<https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/child-protection/child-protection-australia-2020-21/contents/about>>.
- 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.
- 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.
- Baidawi, S 2020, 'Crossover children: Examining initial criminal justice system contact among child protection-involved youth', *Australian Social Work*, vol. 73, no. 3, pp. 280–95.
- Baidawi, S, Papalia, N and Featherston, R 2021, 'Gender differences in the maltreatment-youth offending relationship: A scoping review', *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, p. 15248380211052106.
- Baidawi, S and Sheehan, R 2019, 'Crossover kids': *Offending by child protection-involved youth*, Trends & issues in crime and criminal justice no. 582, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, <<https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/tandi582>>.
- Baldry, E, McCausland, R, Dowse, L and McEntyre, E 2015, *A predictable and preventable path: Aboriginal people with mental and cognitive disabilities in the criminal justice system*, UNSW, Sydney, <<https://www.mhdcd.unsw.edu.au/>>.



- Barbieri, N, Clipper, SJ, Narvey, C, Rude, A, Craig, JM and Piquero, NL 2019, 'Assessing general strain theory and measures of victimization, 2002–2018', *Aggression and violent behavior*, vol. 49, p. 101304.
- Baskin-Sommers, A, Chang, S-A, Estrada, S and Chan, L 2022, 'Toward targeted interventions: Examining the science behind interventions for youth who offend', *Annual Review of Criminology*, vol. 5, no. 1, p. null.
- 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, 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.
- 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/>>.
- 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.
- Britt, CL 2019, 'Age and crime', in DP Farrington, L Kazemian and AR Piquero (eds), *The Oxford handbook of developmental and life-course criminology*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 13–33.
- Bucerius, SM, Jones, DJ, Kohl, A and Haggerty, KD 2021, 'Addressing the victim–offender overlap: Advancing evidence-based research to better service criminally involved people with victimization histories', *Victims & Offenders*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 148–63.
- Bunch, JM, Iratzoqui, A and Watts, SJ 2018, 'Child abuse, self-control, and delinquency: A general strain perspective', *Journal of Criminal Justice*, vol. 56, pp. 20–8.
- Carlson, B, Day, M and 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/>>.
- 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.
- Commission for Children and Young People 2021, *Our youth, our way: Inquiry into the overrepresentation of Aboriginal children and young people in the Victorian youth justice system*, Melbourne, Commission for Children and Young People, <<https://ccyp.vic.gov.au/assets/Publications-inquiries/CCYP-OYOW-Final-090621.pdf>>.
- Cunneen, C and Tauri, J 2016, *Indigenous criminology*, New horizons in criminology, Policy Press, Bristol.
- Dancey, CP and Reidy, J 2011, *Statistics without maths for psychology*, 5th edn, Prentice Hall, Harlow.
- Davis, JP, Dumas, TM, Berey, BL, Merrin, GJ, Cimpian, JR and Roberts, BW 2017, 'Effect of victimization on impulse control and binge drinking among serious juvenile offenders from adolescence to young adulthood', *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, vol. 46, no. 7, pp. 1515–32.
- DeLisi, M, Neppl, TK, Lohman, BJ, Vaughn, MG and Shook, JJ 2013, 'Early starters: Which type of criminal onset matters most for delinquent careers?', *Journal of Criminal Justice*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 12–7.
- Dennison, S, Stewart, A and Hurren, E 2006, *Police cautioning in Queensland: The impact on juvenile offending pathways*, Trends & issues in crime and criminal justice No. 306, Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, <<https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/tandi306>>.
- 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.



- Farrington, DP 1986, 'Age and crime', *Crime and Justice*, vol. 7, pp. 189–250.
- 2012, 'Should the juvenile justice system be involved in early intervention?', *Criminology & Public Policy*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 265–73.
- 2019, 'The development of violence from age 8 to 61', *Aggressive Behavior*, vol. 45, no. 4, pp. 365–76.
- Farrington, DP and Loeber, R 2000, 'Epidemiology of juvenile violence', *Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 733–48.
- Farrington, DP, Loeber, R, Elliott, DS, Hawkins, JD, Kandel, DB, Klein, MW, McCord, J, Rowe, DC and Tremblay, RE 1990, 'Advancing knowledge about the onset of delinquency and crime', in BB Lahey and AE Kazdin (eds), *Advances in clinical child psychology*, Springer US, Boston, MA, pp. 283–342.
- Farrington, DP, Loeber, R and Howell, JC 2012, 'Young adult offenders', *Criminology & Public Policy*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 729–50.
- Farrington, DP, Piquero, AR and Jennings, WG 2013, *Offending from childhood to late middle age: Recent results from the Cambridge study in delinquent development*, Springer Science & Business Media.
- Ferschmann, L, Bos, MGN, Herting, MM, Mills, KL and Tamnes, CK 2022, 'Contextualizing adolescent structural brain development: Environmental determinants and mental health outcomes', *Current Opinion in Psychology*, vol. 44, pp. 170–6.
- Finkelhor, D, Turner, HA, Shattuck, A and Hamby, SL 2015, 'Prevalence of childhood exposure to violence, crime, and abuse: Results from the national survey of children's exposure to violence', *JAMA Pediatrics*, vol. 169, no. 8, pp. 746–54.
- Gottfredson, MR 1984, *Victims of crime: The dimensions of risk*, vol. 83, Home Office. Research Planning Unit, London.
- Guthrie, J, Thurber, K, Lovett, R, Gray, M, Banks, E, Olsen, A, Calabria, B, Priest, N, Dance, P, Thandrayen, J, Colonna, E, Cohen, R, Brinckley, M-M, Wells, S, Salmon, M, Doery, K, Movva, N, Dunbar, T and Hovane, 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*, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Halsey, M 2017, 'Child victims as adult offenders: Foregrounding the criminogenic effects of (unresolved) trauma and loss', *The British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 58, no. 1, pp. 17–36.
- Hart, TC 2020, 'Identifying situational clustering and quantifying its magnitude in dominant case configurations: New methods for conjunctive analysis', *Crime & Delinquency*, vol. 66, no. 1, pp. 143–59.
- Herrenkohl, TI, Fedina, L, Roberto, KA, Raquet, KL, Hu, RX, Rousson, AN and Mason, WA 2020, 'Child maltreatment, youth violence, intimate partner violence, and elder mistreatment: A review and theoretical analysis of research on violence across the life course', *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 314–28.
- 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.
- Hirschi, T and Gottfredson, M 1983, 'Age and the explanation of crime', *The American journal of sociology*, vol. 89, no. 3, pp. 552–84.
- Holtfreter, K, Reisig, MD, Leeper Piquero, N and Piquero, AR 2010, 'Low self-control and fraud: Offending, victimization, and their overlap', *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 188–203.
- Hullenaar, K and Ruback, RB 2020, *Juvenile violent victimization, 1995-2018*, (Juvenile Justice Bulletin; NCJ 254796), Washington: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, <<https://ojjdp.ojp.gov/juvenile-violent-victimization.pdf>>.
- 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.
- Kushner, M 2020, 'Betrayal trauma and gender: An examination of the victim-offender overlap', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol. 37, no. 7–8, p. 0886260520951309.



- Lauritsen, JL, Sampson, RJ and Laub, JH 1991, 'The link between offending and victimization among adolescents', *Criminology*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 265–92.
- 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.
- Lo, CC, Gerling, HM, Ash-Houchen, W and Cheng, TC 2021, 'Violent victimization, stressful events, and depression: A longitudinal study of young adults in the U.S.', *Community Mental Health Journal*, vol. 57, no. 3, pp. 502–11.
- Loeber, R 2003, *Child delinquency: Early intervention and prevention*, US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Washington.
- Malvaso, CG, Cale, J, Whitten, T, Day, A, Singh, S, Hackett, L, Delfabbro, PH and Ross, S 2021, 'Associations between adverse childhood experiences and trauma among young people who offend: A systematic literature review', *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, p. 15248380211013132.
- Matthews, B, McVie, S, Thompson, C and Stewart, A 2022, 'From childhood system contact to adult criminal conviction: Investigating intersectional inequalities using Queensland administrative data', *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology*, vol. 8, pp. 440–80.
- Matthews, B and Minton, J 2018, 'Rethinking one of criminology's 'brute facts': The age–crime curve and the crime drop in Scotland', *European Journal of Criminology*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 296–320.
- McAra, L and McVie, S 2007, 'Youth justice?: The impact of system contact on patterns of desistance from offending', *European Journal of Criminology*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 315–45.
- 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.
- Meyer, S and Frost, A 2019, *Domestic and family violence: A critical introduction to knowledge and practice*, Routledge, Abingdon.
- Miethe, TD, Hart, TC and Regoeczi, WC 2008, 'The conjunctive analysis of case configurations: An exploratory method for discrete multivariate analyses of crime data', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 227–41.
- Miley, LN, Fox, B, Muniz, CN, Perkins, R and DeLisi, M 2020, 'Does childhood victimization predict specific adolescent offending? An analysis of generality versus specificity in the victim-offender overlap', *Child Abuse & Neglect*, vol. 101, p. 104328.
- Moffitt, TE, Caspi, A, Harrington, H and Milne, BJ 2002, 'Males on the life-course-persistent and adolescence-limited antisocial pathways: Follow-up at age 26 years', *Development and Psychopathology*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 179–207.
- 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.
- National Crime Prevention 1999, *Pathways to prevention: Developmental and early intervention approaches to crime in Australia*, National Crime Prevention, Attorney-General's Department, Canberra.
- Ogilvie, JM, Allard, T, Thompson, C, Dennison, S, Little, SB, Lockwood, K, Kisely, S, Putland, E and Stewart, A 2021, 'Psychiatric disorders and offending in an Australian birth cohort: Overrepresentation in the health and criminal justice systems for Indigenous Australians', *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 0, no. 0, p. 00048674211063814.
- 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.
- 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.
- Payne, J, Brown, R and Broadhurst, R 2018, *Where have all the young offenders gone? Examining changes in offending between two NSW birth cohorts*, Trends & issues in crime and criminal justice no. 553, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, <<https://aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/tandi553>>.



- Payne, JL and Piquero, AR 2018, 'The concordance of self-reported and officially recorded criminal onset: Results from a sample of Australian prisoners', *Crime & Delinquency*, vol. 64, no. 4, pp. 448–71.
- 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.
- Pratt, TC, Turanovic, JJ, Fox, KA and Wright, KA 2014, 'Self-control and victimization: A meta-analysis', *Criminology*, vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 87–116.
- Pyrooz, DC, Moule, RK and Decker, SH 2013, 'The contribution of gang membership to the victim–offender overlap', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, vol. 51, no. 3, pp. 315–48.
- Quadara, A 2015, *Implementing trauma-informed systems of care in health settings: The WITH study: State of knowledge paper*, (ANROWS Landscapes, 10/2015), Sydney: ANROWS, <<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, <<https://www.qgso.qld.gov.au/issues/10301/changing-patterns-age-distribution-crime-qld-april-2021-edn.pdf>>.
- 2021b, *Victimisation from personal crime in Queensland*, Queensland Treasury, Brisbane, <<https://www.qgso.qld.gov.au/issues/11121/victimisation-personal-crime-qld-2008-09-2018-19.pdf>>.
- 2021c, *Wise practice for designing and implementing criminal justice programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples*, Queensland Treasury, Brisbane, <<https://www.qgso.qld.gov.au/issues/10316/wise-practice-designing-implementing-criminal-justice-programs-aboriginal-torres-strait-islander-peoples-april-2021-edn.pdf>>.
- in press, *The overlap between offending and victimisation in Queensland*, Queensland Treasury, Brisbane.
- Ródenas, C and Doval, A 2018, 'Measuring crime through victimization: Some methodological lessons from the icvs', *European Journal of Criminology*, vol. 17, no. 5, pp. 518–39.
- 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.
- Satyen, L, Toumbourou, JW, Heerde, J, Supol, M and Ranganathan, A 2020, 'The royal commission into family violence: Trends in the reporting of intimate partner violence and help-seeking behavior', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol. 36, no. 23–24, pp. 11009–34.
- Saunders, BJ and Lansdell, G 2020, 'Chapter three - children's low status and vulnerability leading to poly-victimisation, including sexual abuse: The need for attitudinal change and enhanced primary intervention and response strategies', in I Bryce and W Petherick (eds), *Child sexual abuse*, Academic Press, pp. 47–68.
- Schreck, CJ, Stewart, EA and Fisher, BS 2006, 'Self-control, victimization, and their influence on risky lifestyles: A longitudinal analysis using panel data', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 319–40.
- 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.
- 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.
- Skjærvø, I, Clausen, T, Skurtveit, S, Abel, KF and Bukten, A 2018, 'Similarities and differences in victimization risk factors for nonoffending and offending substance users', *Victims & Offenders*, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 526–41.
- Snyder, HN 2001, 'Epidemiology of official offending', in R Loeber and DP Farrington (eds), *Child delinquents: Development, intervention and service needs*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 25–46.
- Steffensmeier, DJ, Allan, EA, Harer, MD and Streifel, C 1989, 'Age and the distribution of crime', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 94, no. 4, pp. 803–31.
- Steinberg, L 2007, 'Risk taking in adolescence: New perspectives from brain and behavioral science', *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 55–9.



- Stewart, A, Livingston, M and Dennison, S 2008, 'Transitions and turning points: Examining the links between child maltreatment and juvenile offending', *Child Abuse & Neglect*, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 51–66.
- Stewart, A, Ogilvie, JM, Thompson, C, Dennison, S, Allard, T, Kisely, S and Broidy, L 2021, 'Lifetime prevalence of mental illness and incarceration: An analysis by gender and Indigenous status', *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 56, no. 2, pp. 244–68.
- Stoltenborgh, M, Bakermans-Kranenburg, MJ, van Ijzendoorn, MH and Alink, LRA 2013, 'Cultural–geographical differences in the occurrence of child physical abuse? A meta-analysis of global prevalence', *International Journal of Psychology*, vol. 48, no. 2, pp. 81–94.
- 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.
- Sweeten, G, Piquero, AR and Steinberg, L 2013, 'Age and the explanation of crime, revisited', *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, vol. 42, no. 6, pp. 921–38.
- 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.
- The Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1997, *Bringing them home: Report of the national inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families*, Sydney, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission.
- Theobald, D and Farrington, DP 2014, 'Onset of offending', in G Bruinsma and D Weisburd (eds), *Encyclopedia of criminology and criminal justice*, Springer New York, New York, NY, pp. 3332–42.
- Turanovic, JJ, Reisig, MD and Pratt, TC 2015, 'Risky lifestyles, low self-control, and violent victimization across gendered pathways to crime', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 183–206.
- 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.
- Ulmer, JT and Steffensmeier, DJ 2014, 'The age and crime relationship: Social variation, social explanations', in KM Beaver, JC Barnes and BB Boutwell (eds), *The nurture versus biosocial debate in criminology: On the origins of criminal behavior and criminality*, SAGE Publications Ltd, London, pp. 377–96.
- Wall, L, Higgins, D and Hunter, C 2016, *Trauma-informed care in child/family welfare services*, CFC Paper No. 37, Child Family Community Australia, Canberra.
- Walters, GD 2020, 'Mediating the victim–offender overlap with delinquent peer associations: A preliminary test of the person proximity hypothesis', *Criminal Justice Studies*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 297–315.
- Watts, SJ and McNulty, TL 2013, 'Childhood abuse and criminal behavior: Testing a general strain theory model', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol. 28, no. 15, pp. 3023–40.
- Weatherburn, D and Ramsey, S 2018, *Offending over the life course: Contact with the NSW criminal justice system between age 10 and age 33*, Crime and Justice Statistics Bureau Brief No. 132, Sydney: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, <<https://www.bocsar.nsw.gov.au/Publications/BB/2018-Report-Offending-over-the-life-course-BB132.pdf>>.
- Whitten, T, Green, MJ, Tzoumakis, S, Laurens, KR, Harris, F, Carr, VJ and Dean, K 2020, 'Children's contact with police as a victim, person of interest and witness in New South Wales, Australia', *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, vol. 53, no. 3, pp. 387–410.
- 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.
- Willis, M 2011, *Non-disclosure of violence in Australian Indigenous communities*, Trends & issues in crime and criminal justice no. 405, Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, <<https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/tandi405>>.
- 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.
- Wojciechowski, TW 2019, 'Victimization recency, development of anger, and violent offending in early adulthood: A developmental test of general strain theory', *Deviant Behavior*, vol. 40, no. 7, pp. 866–81.
- 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.



Wright, KA, Turanovic, JJ, O'Neal, EN, Morse, SJ and Booth, ET 2019, 'The cycle of violence revisited: Childhood victimization, resilience, and future violence', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol. 34, no. 6, pp. 1261–86.

Zettler, HR 2021, 'Much to do about trauma: A systematic review of existing trauma-informed treatments on youth violence and recidivism', *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 113–34.

Appendix A

Table A1 The probability of revictimisation, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

Gender	Indigenous status	Age at first victimisation	Type of first victimisation	Victim type	– n –	Revictimised (%)
Female	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Assault	Victim-offender	14	78.6
Female	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Assault	Victim only	14	35.7
Female	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Other personal offence	Victim-offender	8	62.5
Female	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Other personal offence	Victim only	7	28.6
Female	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Sexual offence	Victim-offender	18	94.4
Female	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Sexual offence	Victim only	22	40.9
Female	Indigenous	10 years or older	Assault	Victim-offender	113	47.8
Female	Indigenous	10 years or older	Assault	Victim only	91	19.8
Female	Indigenous	10 years or older	Other personal offence	Victim-offender	9	44.4
Female	Indigenous	10 years or older	Other personal offence	Victim only	5	40.0
Female	Indigenous	10 years or older	Sexual offence	Victim-offender	64	50.0
Female	Indigenous	10 years or older	Sexual offence	Victim only	68	23.5
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Assault	Victim-offender	18	66.7
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Assault	Victim only	67	26.9
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Other personal offence	Victim-offender	8	25.0
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Other personal offence	Victim only	46	37.0
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Sexual offence	Victim-offender	46	54.3
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Sexual offence	Victim only	225	25.8
Female	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Assault	Victim-offender	215	36.7
Female	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Assault	Victim only	567	13.9
Female	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Other personal offence	Victim-offender	42	21.4
Female	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Other personal offence	Victim only	98	13.3
Female	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Sexual offence	Victim-offender	206	40.8
Female	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Sexual offence	Victim only	595	15.0
Male	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Assault	Victim-offender	24	45.8
Male	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Assault	Victim only	21	19.0
Male	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Other personal offence	Victim-offender	10	30.0
Male	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Other personal offence	Victim only	9	33.3
Male	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Sexual offence	Victim-offender	15	53.3
Male	Indigenous	Under 10 years	Sexual offence	Victim only	6	16.7
Male	Indigenous	10 years or older	Assault	Victim-offender	117	24.8
Male	Indigenous	10 years or older	Assault	Victim only	37	10.8
Male	Indigenous	10 years or older	Other personal offence	Victim-offender	15	33.3
Male	Indigenous	10 years or older	Other personal offence	Victim only	0	—
Male	Indigenous	10 years or older	Sexual offence	Victim-offender	15	6.7
Male	Indigenous	10 years or older	Sexual offence	Victim only	0	—
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Assault	Victim-offender	43	55.8
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Assault	Victim only	100	19.0



Queensland Government Statistician's Office

Gender	Indigenous status	Age at first victimisation	Type of first victimisation	Victim type	- n -	Revictimised (%)
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Other personal offence	Victim-offender	16	37.5
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Other personal offence	Victim only	37	21.6
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Sexual offence	Victim-offender	18	66.7
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 10 years	Sexual offence	Victim only	65	10.8
Male	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Assault	Victim-offender	337	25.2
Male	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Assault	Victim only	561	9.1
Male	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Other personal offence	Victim-offender	102	16.7
Male	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Other personal offence	Victim only	159	4.4
Male	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Sexual offence	Victim-offender	49	26.5
Male	Non-Indigenous	10 years or older	Sexual offence	Victim only	79	13.9

Notes:

1. Records where the first victimisation type was a homicide or other homicide ($n = 3$) have been excluded from calculations.
2. Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 533$) have been excluded from calculations.
3. Records where the case configuration of variables had fewer than five cases ($n = 13$) have been removed from CACC.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

Table A2 The probability of being a persistent offender, Queensland, 2008–09 to 2020–21

Gender	Indigenous status	Age at first offence	Personal offence	Offender type	– n –	Persistent offender (%)
Female	Indigenous	Under 13 years	Yes	Victim-offender	44	61.4
Female	Indigenous	Under 13 years	Yes	Offender only	24	37.5
Female	Indigenous	Under 13 years	No	Victim-offender	18	5.6
Female	Indigenous	Under 13 years	No	Offender only	18	22.2
Female	Indigenous	13 years or older	Yes	Victim-offender	85	20.0
Female	Indigenous	13 years or older	Yes	Offender only	94	23.4
Female	Indigenous	13 years or older	No	Victim-offender	79	6.3
Female	Indigenous	13 years or older	No	Offender only	126	4.8
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 13 years	Yes	Victim-offender	35	40.0
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 13 years	Yes	Offender only	24	37.5
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 13 years	No	Victim-offender	43	2.3
Female	Non-Indigenous	Under 13 years	No	Offender only	0	—
Female	Non-Indigenous	13 years or older	Yes	Victim-offender	144	24.3
Female	Non-Indigenous	13 years or older	Yes	Offender only	174	9.2
Female	Non-Indigenous	13 years or older	No	Victim-offender	313	2.2
Female	Non-Indigenous	13 years or older	No	Offender only	927	0.9
Male	Indigenous	Under 13 years	Yes	Victim-offender	73	80.8
Male	Indigenous	Under 13 years	Yes	Offender only	99	71.7
Male	Indigenous	Under 13 years	No	Victim-offender	25	44.0
Male	Indigenous	Under 13 years	No	Offender only	84	22.6
Male	Indigenous	13 years or older	Yes	Victim-offender	49	42.9
Male	Indigenous	13 years or older	Yes	Offender only	155	32.9
Male	Indigenous	13 years or older	No	Victim-offender	49	6.1
Male	Indigenous	13 years or older	No	Offender only	287	4.9
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 13 years	Yes	Victim-offender	70	52.9
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 13 years	Yes	Offender only	157	24.8
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 13 years	No	Victim-offender	47	17.0
Male	Non-Indigenous	Under 13 years	No	Offender only	174	2.9
Male	Non-Indigenous	13 years or older	Yes	Victim-offender	175	26.3
Male	Non-Indigenous	13 years or older	Yes	Offender only	583	15.1
Male	Non-Indigenous	13 years or older	No	Victim-offender	273	4.0
Male	Non-Indigenous	13 years or older	No	Offender only	2,053	1.5

Notes:

1. In this analysis, a persistent offender is a young person with 10 or more separate contacts (based on date) with police for any type of offence.
2. Records where gender and/or Indigenous status were missing ($n = 220$) have been excluded from calculations.
3. Records where the case configuration of variables had fewer than five cases ($n = 66$) have been removed from CACC.

Source: QGSO analysis of QPS data.

