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A Longitudinal Analysis of the 1987

Crimes (Family Violence) Act in Victoria

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POLICING FAMILY VIOLENCE IN VICTORIA:

The first six months of the Crimes (Family Violence) Act, 1987

INTRODUCTION

In December, 1987, the Crimes (Family Violence) Act was passed in the State of Victoria. This Act, in line with similar legislation in other states, provided a civil procedure whereby an Intervention Order could be granted by a Magistrate which provided protection to the successful applicant for a period up to twelve months, the breach of which constituted a criminal offence. To be eligible one had to be defined as an aggrieved family member which included a de facto spouse. At the same time, the Police Force instituted a new process of reporting Family Violence disputes by way of a Family Incident Report Form (F.I.R.). This Report is an analysis of 3,211 F.I.Rs filled with the Community Policing Squad's Coordinating Office. A Report detailing the complete analysis has been submitted to the Police Force. The present Report consists of an account of the incidence of violence as reported to police during those first six months.

POLICING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Hatty and Sutton (1986) in their study of police officers in New South Wales presented data revealing if not a dislike then certainly a reluctance to follow up domestic violence work. This finding in general echoes work carried out in many parts of the world (Breci, 1987; Edwards, 1985; Ferraro, 1989; Sherman and Berk, 1984;) and indeed the recent work by Ferraro (1989) provides an excellent analysis of how "legal, ideological, practical and political factors led police to ignore the presumptive arrest policy when responding to family disputes" (p.61). A more recent study (Dunford, Huizinga & Elliott, 1990) in Omaha attempted to replicate the famous Sherman and Berk experiment and concluded that arrest by itself did not appear to

reduce the occurrence of 'domestic conflict' any more than mediation or separation, and nor did arrest appear to place the victims at greater risk subsequently than victims whose partners were dealt with in other ways. They suggest that a policy which promotes but does not make arrest compulsory could have some advantages. For example, it might provide police with other options if the victim specifically does <u>not</u> wish arrest, and rather than arrest being the parties' first contact or confrontation of the criminal justice system, it might be wiser to keep arrest as a later or alternative intervention. These authors, along with Mederer and Gelles (1989), advise a policy of "compassion and control".

Closer to home, Stubbs and Wallace (1989) have produced a comprehensive analysis of the impact of Legal Reform in New South Wales on Domestic Violence. In this report they conclude that although it took the police in NSW several years to actively involve themselves in the process, by 1987 it appears that they are increasingly initiating complaints and using assault charges for domestic violence offences and they suggest "an increasing responsiveness by police towards domestic violence incidents" (p.138), a statement somewhat contradicted by evidence from chamber magistrates and victims. "Most chamber magistrates, however, (13 of the 17) believed there were many occasions and incidents where police could and should take more responsibility for acting on behalf of the complainant" (p.129).

But as Stubbs and Wallace (1988) argued "the police remain the greatest single obstacle to the effective operation of the legislation because of their continuing reluctance to intervene in domestic violence matters and their failure to use the new provisions on behalf of victims" (p.52). Ferroro (1989) argues strongly that "the response of police in the field to formal rules and policy about battering is embedded in a social context " (p. 62) and she sought to examine "the web of actions, meanings and changing laws through which police construct their response to battering" (p. 62). She found in her study of a large metropolitan

police force in Arizona that despite rules and policies, police maintained a deal of discretion in response to legal, ideological, practical and political considerations.

The present report is part of a five year study of the Crimes (Family Violence) Act 1987, in which analyses of F.I.Rs will take place at different intervals, interviews with police, victims, Clerks of Courts and Magistrates are under way and analyses of Court statistics are being undertaken.

Definitions of terms such as violence, victim, offender etc. are not attempted here. Instead we have adhered faithfully to the interpretations recorded by police officers on the relevant F.I.R. forms.

The data are presented in the order in which the items appeared on the F.I.R. and the terminology used reflects the language used by the police. For example, "victim" and "offender" to describe Principal Parties One and Two respectively.

It should be noted that the findings presented below reflect the way in which police members filled in the forms, as well as reflecting the design of the forms. An important note about the Tables: in many of the Tables the total number of cases do not always equal 3,211 due to missing data. All row percentages within the body of those Tables which contain cross-tabulations (unless otherwise stated) are percentages of that particular total row frequency, and likewise for all column percentages (as percentages of the particular total column frequencies).

DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF THE DATA

1. When did the disputes occur (or, when were they reported?)?

Over the period of six months (December, 1987 through May, 1988), there was a fairly even distribution of disputes with a slight peak in the month of January.

TABLE 1

<u>Distribution of Family Incident Report forms</u>

<u>between December 1987 and May 1988</u>

	Dec.'87	Jan.'88	February	March	April	May
Frequency	450	742	582	515	463	425
% of Total N	14%	23%	18%	16%	15%	13%

Over the period of a month we found a slight increase in the weekend but the most noticeable pattern of occurrence was over the twenty-four hour period where we found that 62% of all disputes occurred after hours - or, more accurately, between the hours of 6 p.m. and 6 a.m.

TABLE 2
Time of Day when incident occurred
(as recorded by police)

	Midnight to 6 am	6 am to 12 noon	12 noon to 6 pm	6 pm to midnight
Frequency	498	357	768	1477
% of all incidents	16%	11%	24%	46%

This result raises serious questions concerning the absence of services other than the police during the period when two-thirds of the reported family violence disputes occurs. An even more serious finding is presented below in Table 3.

TABLE 3
Time lapsed between time of incident and arrival of police

Time of day	Frequency	Percent
1 to 5 Minutes	992	31%
6 to 10 Minutes	738	23%
11 to 30 Minutes	526	16%
31 to 1 Hour	348	11%
1 to 2 Hours	187	6%
Over 2 Hours	108	35

It appears that nearly a half of the disputes took the police over ten minutes to attend, and if we are to believe these figures (and it could be argued that these are <u>underestimations</u>

rather than over-estimations), 9% of the disputes had to wait for over an hour for the police to arrive. Interestingly, these delays were evenly spread across the state, thus we are not seeing an inflated figure due to country distances.

2. Where did the family violence disputes occur?

Broadly speaking, 71% of the disputes occurred in the metropolitan districts and 28% in the country districts. However, when we calculated the rates per 100,000 per head of population, we found the highest rate of occurrence was in a rural district, namely the Mallee region (the highest rate being 177 per 100,000, and the lowest rate (also in the country) was 33 per 100,000).

We managed to obtain somewhat unreliable responses to the item relating to nature of premises wherein the dispute occurred. This was information not consistently recorded, but it should be noted that 74% of the disputes apparently occurred in houses (compared to 89% for Victoria as a whole in the 1986 ABS Census), as compared with only 19% in flats and 1% in caravans. This last figure, although small (N=30) reveals a rate that is nearly twice that of the 1986 figure of .6% residing in caravans, and the 1986 Census states that only 2% of Victorians resided in flats. Perhaps we can suggest that there is an over-representation of flats and caravans in our data.

3. Other characteristics of disputing parties

There is no doubt that family violence disputes occur between all ages, ranging from "victims" of under 14 years of age (N=26 or 1%) and offenders of the same age (N=24 or 1%), to parties over 80 years of age.

TABLE 4
Age of Victims (Principal Party 1)

Age groups	Frequency	Percent
No record of age	186	6
1 thru 14 years	26	6
15 thru 24 years	630	20
25 thru 34 years	935	29
35 thru 44 years	826	26
45 thru 54 years	395	12
55 thru 64 years	139	4
65 thru 87 years	74	2
TOTAL	3211	100.00

TABLE 5
Age of Offenders (Principal Party 2)

Age groups	Frequency	Percent
No record of age	224	7
1 thru 14 years	24	1
15 thru 24 years	626	19
25 thru 34 years	1003	31
35 thru 44 years	773	24
45 thru 54 years	393	12
55 thru 64 years	133	4
65 thru 87 years	35	1
TOTAL	3211	100.0

Our data support other studies which found preponderance of females amongst the "victims" and males amongst the "offenders". \cdot

TABLE 6
Sex of Victim

Sex	Frequency	Percent	
No response	12	.4	
Male	621	19	
Female	2570	80	
Two Victims M&F	8	.2	
TOTAL	3211	100.0	

TABLE 7
Sex of Offender

Sex	Frequency	Percent
No response Male Female Two Offenders M&F	31 2699 478 3	1 84 15 1
TOTAL	3211	100.0

It can be added here that where the offenders were male, 11% of their victims were male and 88% were female, and where the offenders were female, 65% of their victims were male and 34% were female.

Yet another myth is undermined when we focus on the <u>occupations</u> of the parties - we found victims and offenders in all categories.

TABLE 8
Occupations of Victims and Offenders

	VICTIM	<u>1 S</u>	OFFEND	<u>ERS</u>	
Occupations of Victims	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	1986 Census for Victoria (% of Total Vict.popl'n.
Manager or Supervisor	36	1.1	62	1.9	12
Professional	98	3.1	77	2.4	19
Clerical	127	4.0	55	1.7	17
Sales	81	2.5	103	3.2	12
Service Occupations	40	1.2	34	1.1	
Trade: Skill: Agric	124	3.9	401	12.5	15
Plant Operat: Drivers	41	1.3	143	4.5	9
Basic Manual	183	5.7	391	12.2	14
Unknown	591	18.4	840	26.2	
Religious	1	.0	1	.0	
Entertainment	3	.1	6	.2	
Military	7	.2	14	.4	
Unemployed	339	10.6	658	20.5	
Retired	32	1.0	21	.7	
Home Duties	1130	35.2	153	4.8	
Student	81	2.5	76	2.4	
Pensioner	297	9.2	176	5.5	
TOTAL	3211	100.0	3211	100.0	<u></u>

A significant result of this Report is the high rate of unemployment amongst our parties generally (21% contrasted with the average national unemployment rate in July 1988 being 7%), and this figure could be much higher if we included "home duties", "student" and "pensioner" categories, as well as the substantial category of "unknown". It is interesting that the police should record a high rate of 35% of victims (who are mostly female) in the "home duties" category.

The 3,211 disputes involved persons from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds as measured by country of birth, although we would expect the majority were Australian-born (61% of offenders and 66% of victims were born in Australia.

When we cross-tabulated country of birth with occupation we found some revealing patterns. Despite the small numbers, the unemployment rates for non-Australian born offenders rose considerably, especially for Turkish offenders (40%) and Vietnamese(29%), and for the victims, 50% of the Polish, 52% of the Turkish and 47% of the Vietnamese were described as "home duties" which might reflect an unfamiliarity with English and an isolation. Another important feature of our respondents is that of the nature of their relationships. We have included all relationships recorded by police even though categories of "boy-girlfriend", neighbour and household residents were not eligible within the terms of the Act.

TABLE 9
Relationship between principal parties

Relationship	Frequency	Percent
Married	1011	32
Defacto	598	19
Child/Parent	498	16
Separated	331	10
Previous Defacto	172	5
Other family	169	5
Boy/girlfriend	157	5
Divorced	79	3
Neighbours	73	2
"Other"	59	2
Household Residents	40	1
No response	24	1
TOTAL	3211	100.0

Only 32% of the parties were married (compared with the 1986 Census statistic of 58% in Victoria being married), with 19% de facto and 16% child-parent. A disturbing fact is the presence of children in 65% of the disputes and 52% of the children present were under 10 years of age.

4. Presence of Alcohol and Drugs

On the F.I.R. forms these were described as "hazard factors", and police members were asked to record the presence of these factors as either "none", "possible" or "definite".

<u>Drugs</u> did not feature strongly in these disputes, whereas alcohol was a dominant factor.

TABLE 10
Presence of Alcohol and Drugs

PRESENCE OF ALCOHOL	Count Row Pct Col Pct	Presence No Response 0	of None	Drugs Possible	Definite 3	Row Total
No response		111 79.9 20.2	1 .7 0	19 13.7 6.3	8 5.8 8.9	139 4.3
None		46 3.4 8.4	1217 90.0 53.7	63 4.7 20.7	26 1.9 28.9	1352 42.1
Possible		86 17.0 15.6	308 60.9 13.6	105 20.8 34.5	7 1.4 7.8	506 15.8
Definite		307 25.3 55.8	741 61.0 32.7	117 9.6 38.5	49 4.0 54.4	1214 37.8
·	Column Total	550 17.1	2267 70.6	304 9.5	90 2.8	3211 100.0

Out of the 3,211 cases, 1,214 (or 38% of the total) recorded the <u>definite</u> presence of alcohol, and conversely, 42% of the total cases recorded <u>no alcohol</u> present. If we are to explore the role of alcohol, we might start with the not-surprising evidence of alcohol in disputes in the evening and in the hours before 6 a.m.

TABLE 11
Presence of alcohol over 24 hour period

PRESENCE OF ALCOHOL	Count Row Pct Col Pct	Time Midnight to 6 am	of 6 am to Noon	Day Noon to 6 pm	6 pm to Midnight	Row Total
None		113 8.4 22.7	234 17.3 65.5	456 33.7 59.4	505 37.4 34.2	1353 42.1
Possible		88 17.4 17.7	46 9.1 12.9	128 25.3 16.7	229 45.3 15.5	506 15.8
Definite		285 23.5 57.2	57 4.7 16.0	146 12.0 19.0	679 55.9 46.0	1214 37.8
	Column Total	519 16%	371 12%	737 23%	1498 47%	3211 100.0

We also found that Fridays through Sundays were more vulnerable to the presence of alcohol, and when we cross-tabulated <u>premises</u> with presence of alcohol we found that of the 30 disputes which occurred in caravan parks, 70% of them had alcohol definitely present which is nearly double the overall rate. Another detail worth noting is that alcohol was more likely to be present when the victim was a female (for 39% of the female victims as opposed to 23% of male victims) and when the offender was a male (40% of male offenders in contrast to 25% of female offenders).

An important finding in relation to alcohol which needs to be explored further, is the increasing presence of alcohol with age.

TABLE 12

<u>Presence of alcohol related to age to offender</u>

Alcohol	1-14 years	15-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65-87 years	Row Total
None Row % Col %	20 1.5 83.3	315 23.3 50.3	419 31.0 41.8	290 21.4 37.5	147 10.9 37.4	44 3.3 33.1	161 1.2 45.7	1352 42.1
Possible Row % Col %	1 .2 4.2	95 18.8 15.2	161 31.8 16.1	128 25.3 16.6	58 11.5 14.8	16 3.2 12.0	4 .8 11.4	506 15.8
Definite Row % Col %	1 .1 4.2	181 14.9 28.9	373 30.7 37.2	328 27.0 42.4	181 14.9 46.1	70 5.8 52.6	15 1.2 42.9	1214 37.8
Column Total	24 .7	626 19.5	1003 31.2	773 24.1	393 12.2	133 4.1	35 1.1	3211 100.0

In other words, as offenders become older, alcohol is more likely to be present, yet the rate of occurrence of disputes is higher in the 25-34 year olds and the 35-44 year olds. This begs the question, if alcohol is less "influential" for the younger offenders, what other factors are playing a role in the dispute?

When we looked at the presence of alcohol across occupational groups, we found the group with the highest incidence of alcohol was the military (64% or N=14), followed by

retired offenders (N=21 or 52%). Alcohol was also more likely to be present amongst <u>de</u> <u>facto</u> parties than in the other relationships - that is, in 56% of the de facto disputes.

5. Violence

Violence is defined in particular ways on the F.I.R. form, with the use of categories:

- (a) violence against the person
- (b) violence against property
- (c) inferred violence with the threat or use of a firearm
- (d) inferred violence with the threat or use of a weapon

Within these four categories, police were required to distinguish between three codes, namely "none", "threatened" and "used". We added a fourth code of "present or existing". We had difficulties with the police responses to these items, and indeed it is highly probable that the police themselves faced some difficulty or confusion in determining the nature and degree of violence. Nevertheless we can present the recorded responses of the police below.

TABLE 13
Use of Violence against the person

Value Table		Frequency	Percent
No response None Threatened Used Present		159 1220 1012 817 2	5.0 38.0 31.5 25.4 .1
·	TOTAL	3210	100.0

TABLE 14
Use of Violence against the property

Value Table		Frequency	Percent
No response None Threatened Used Present		403 1968 297 539 3	12.6 61.3 9.2 16.8
	TOTAL	3210	100.0

TABLE 15
Use of Violence with a firearm

Value Table		Frequency	Percent
No response None Threatened Used Present Possible Presence		467 2607 87 17 31	14.5 81.2 2.7 .5 1.0
	TOTAL	3210	100.0

TABLE 16
Use of Violence with a weapon

Value Table		Frequency	Percent
No response None Threatened Used Present Knives Rocks Other		1729 1324 41 32 42 40 1	53.9 41.2 1.3 1.0 1.3 1.2
Otte	TOTAL	3211	100.0

From the above Tables we can see clearly that <u>personal violence</u> was either threatened or used in 1,831 or 57% of all disputes; that <u>property violence</u> was threatened or used in 839 (or 26%) disputes, that a <u>firearm</u> was threatened or used in 135 (or 4%) disputes, and finally that a <u>weapon</u> was threatened or used in 158 (or 5%) disputes.

There has been considerable debate over the relationship between alcohol and family violence. We found a strong relationship.

TABLE 17
Relationship between violence factors and drugs and alcohol (with Row %s)

	None	Definite	None	Definite	Row Totals
Violence person: None Threat/used/present	999 (82%) 1233 (67%)	22 (2%) 66 (4%)	705 (58%) 621 (34%)	321 (26%) 828 (45%)	1220 1831
Violence property: None Threat/used/present	1622 (82%) 540 (64%)	42 (2%) 39 (5%)	1013 (51%) 255 (30%)	616 (31%) 423 (50%)	1968 839
Violence gun: None Threat/used/present	2075 (80%) 72 (53%)	70 (3%) 6 (4%)	1210 (46%) 38 (42%)	951 (36%) 63 (47%)	2607 135
Violence weapon: None Threat/used/present	1119 (85%) 93 (59%)	35 (3%) 12 (8%)	600 (45%) 45 (28%)	494 (37%) 70 (44%)	1324 158
TOTAL	2267 (71%)	90 (3%)	1352 (42%)	1214(38%)	

It can be argued that where alcohol was present violence was more likely to occur than when alcohol was not present. For example, in 45% of disputes where <u>personal violence</u> was present or threatened etc., alcohol was also present, and likewise, in 50% of disputes where <u>property violence</u> was threatened etc., so too was alcohol present. Where a <u>firearm</u> was threatened or used, the number of incidents nearly doubled from 38 to 63.

On the F.I.R. form police were asked to record the principal parties' opinion with reference to the <u>cause</u> of the dispute. The categories provided on the form were:

(1) access (2) maintenance (3) offensive behaviour (4) verbal abuse (5) harassment (6) child abuse and (7) other (which we expanded into (8) assault and (9) alcohol. The following responses were recorded:

TABLE 18
Cause of incident as perceived by principal parties

Frequ- ency	Access	Main- ten- ance	Offen- sive	Verbal Abuse	Harass -ment	Child Abuse	Assault	Alcohol
N =	285	30	333	1642	639	60	212	248
% of Total	9%	1%	10%	51%	20%	2%	7%	8%

Whilst objecting to the fact that the two principal parties were expected to provide consensus in the form of a combined response, as well as a probable difficulty in interpreting the "cause" (how far back does one go and how many causes are possible or is it necessary to try to rank them; are we referring to a precipitating factor or a contributing one?), nevertheless it is interesting to look at their responses as recorded or reported by the police member attending the dispute. The most frequently cited cause was verbal abuse, and alcohol was offered as a cause in only 8% of the disputes. We can elucidate these findings by cross-tabulating cause of dispute with the reported presence of alcohol (and drugs).

TABLE 19
Cause of incident related to presence of drugs and alcohol

	<u>Presence</u> Definite	of Drugs Not present	<u>A I c c</u> Definite	h o l Not present	Row N
Alcohol Row % Col.%	8 3% 8%	139 56% 6%	217 88% 18%	15 6% 1%	248 8%
Assault Row % Col. %	6 3% 7%	140 66% 6%	110 52% 9%	62 29% 5%	212 7%
Child Row % Col. %	3 5% 3%	36 60% 2%	29 48% 2%	20 33% 2%	60 2%
Harassment Row % Col. %	23 4% 26%	416 65% 18%	263 41% 22%	236 37% 18%	639 20%
Verbal abuse Row % Col. %	45 3% 50%	1165 71% 51%	710 43% 59%	611 37% 18%	1642 51%
Offensive Behav Row % Col. %	18 5% 20%	194 58% 9%	202 61% 17%	74 22% 6%	333 10%
Maintenance Row % Col. %	1 3% 1%	21 70% 1%	4 13% .3%	18 60% 1%	30 1%
Access Row % Col. %	4 1% 4%	218 77% 10%	47 17% 4%	170 60% 13%	285 9%
COLUMN N	90 3%	2267 71%	1214 38%	1352 43%	

As we might expect, a high percentage of those disputes which were perceived by the parties to be caused by alcohol were actually reported to have alcohol present (88%). It is also interesting to note that of those disputes caused by assault, 52% were reported to have alcohol present, and of those caused by offensive behaviour, 61% had alcohol present. For those caused by child abuse, 48% had alcohol present and those caused by harassment and verbal abuse, 41% and 43% respectively reported alcohol as being present. Thus for all disputes (with the exception of ones caused by maintenance and access), nearly a half or greater had alcohol present.

If we move into exploring how perceived cause of dispute related to violence we find the following:

TABLE 20
Cause of incident related to violence

Cause	Personal - Used etc.	Personal - Not used	Property used etc.	Property not used	With Fire- arms used etc.	With Fire- arms not used	With Weapon used etc.	With Weapon not used	Row N
Alcohol Row % Col.	159 64% 19%	73 30% 6%	89 36% 11%	118 48% 6%	11 4% 8%	185 75% 7%	9 4% 6%	100 41% 8%	248 8%
Assault Row % Col. %	201 95% 11%	5 2% .4%	51 24% 6%	114 54% 6%	10 5% 7%	157 75% 6%	20 9% 13%	74 35% 6%	212 7%
Child Row % Col.	50 83% 3%	8 13% 1%	21 35% 3%	30 50% 2%	4 7% 3%	45 75% 2%	6 10% 4%	18 30% 1%	60 2%
Harass- ment Row % Col. %	456 71% 25%	153 24% 13%	223 35% 27%	329 52% 17%	50 8% 37%	481 75% 19%	25 4% 16%	247 39% 19%	639 20%
Verbal abuse Row % Col.	1019 62% 56%	567 35% 47%	466 28% 56%	984 60% 50%	67 9% 50%	1369 83% 53%	52 3% 34%	751 46% 57%	1642 51%
Offensive Behaviour Row % Col. %	250 75% 14%	62 19% 5%	159 48% 19%	120 36% 6%	22 7% 16%	246 74% 9%	20 6% 13%	109 33% 8%	333 10%
Mainten- ance Row % Col. %	17 57% 1%	13 435 1%	6 20% .3%	21 70% 1%	2 7% 1%	26 87% 1%	1 3% 1%	13 43% 1%	30 1%
Access Row % Col. %	128 45% 7%	143 50% 12%	58 20% 7%	196 69% 10%	11 4% 8%	243 82% 9%	7 6% 5%	117 41% 9%	285 9%
COLUMN N	1831 57%	1220 38%	839 26%	1968 61%	135 4%	2607 81%	155 5%	1324 41%	

Some predictable results emerge. 95% of assault-caused disputes also had personal violence threatened or used, and 85% of child-abuse - caused disputes recorded the presence or use of personal violence.

48% of offensive behaviour-caused disputes also involved the threat/use of property violence, and between 35% and 36% of child abuse, harassment and alcohol-caused disputes appeared to involve property violence.

The use or threatened use of a firearm was most likely in verbal abuse-caused incidents (50% of these 135 incidents were in this category) and 37% of threat/use of firearms occurred in harassment-caused cases.

But we now come to the position on the F.I.R. form where the <u>police</u> were asked to give their own opinion as to the cause of the dispute, and this was (interestingly) an openended item. We coded the wide range of police responses accordingly (see Table 21 below)

TABLE 21

Refinement of police definitions of causes of disputes

Cause	Frequency	Percent
Marital/sexual problems	868	27
Verbal / ongoing argument	835	26
Alcohol	795	25
Financial, property,		
unemployment problems	517	16
Offensive-violent behaviour	446	14
Parent/child conflicts	363	11
Custody/access	259	8
Family-domestic dispute	246	8
Mental/physical illness, drugs	219	7
Not known	56	2
Neighbours dispute	43	. 1
Cultural/religious conflicts	29	1
Pressures/stress	22	1
Court orders	16	.5
Breach	15	.5
Other	8	.2
TOTAL = N	3211	F.I.R. forms

Here we find that the police emphasised marital/sexual problems, followed by verbal (or "ongoing argument") and alcohol. We did not cross-tabulate these qualitative responses with violence factors.

6. The policing of violence

(1) Number of Charges laid

TABLE 22 Number of charges laid per dispute

- Nature of charging	Frequency of Disputes	Percent
0 charges	2854	89
1 charge	189	6
2 thru 4	132	4
5 thru 10	32	1
Missing data	4	.1
TOTAL	3211	100.0

It is significant that nearly 90% of the disputes resulted in <u>no charges</u> being laid at the time the F.I.Rs were filled in. In addition, when police were required to indicate the kind of action they were contemplating taking, the overwhelming response was <u>no police action</u> - that is the response noted down for 72% of the disputes.

TABLE 23
Type of Action taken by Police

Type of Action	Frequency	Percent
No Response	471	14.7
Warrant	30	.9
Arrest	177	5.5
Summons	114	3.6
Brief	56	1.7
Other	47	1.5
No police action	2316	72.1
TOTAL	3211	100.0

We also found that twice as many male offenders received at least one charge as did female offenders (12% of the male offenders and 6% of the female offenders). Further to this, there seemed to be a tendency for the police to charge offenders who were unemployed, in basic manual trades and in skilled trades with a reluctance perhaps to charge those offenders in the managerial and professional occupations.

TABLE 24
Number of charges related to occupation of offender

	Manage or Supervr	ional	ss- Clerio	cal Sales	Service Occupa- tions	Trade: Skill: Agric.	Plant Opert Driver	Basic Manual
0 charges	60	72	48	92	30	349	129	332
	2.1	2.6	1.7	3.2	1.1	12.3	4.5	11.6
	95.8	94.7	87.3	89.3	88.2	87.0	90.2	85.1
1 or more charges	2 .6% 3%	4 1% 5%	7 2% 13%	11 3% 11%	4 1% 12%	52 15% 13%	14 4% 10%	58 16% 15%
COLUMN	62	77	55	103	34	401	143	391
TOTAL	1.9	2.4	1.7	3.2	1.1	12.5	4.5	12.2

Offender.../...

Unknow	n Reli ious	~	,	Unemp- ployed	Retired	Home Duties	Stud- ent	Pens- ioner	Row Total
782 27.4 93.2	1 .0 100.0	4 .1 66.7	11 .4 78.6	553 19.4 84.0	20 .7 95.2	146 5.1 95.4	73 2.6 96.1	152 5.3 86.9	2854 89.0
57 16 7	,	2 .6 33	3 1 21	105 30 16	1 - 5	7 2 5	3 1 4	23 7 13	353 11
840 26.2	1 .0	6 .2	14 .4	658 20.5	21 .7	153 4.8	76 2.4	176 5.5	3211 100.0

At the risk of providing too much detail and thus confusing the picture, it is interesting to pursue these statistics a little further. If we take the disputes which were caused by assault, where <u>personal violence</u> was present and where at least one charge was laid. Such disputes totalled 81 which is merely 3% of the total number of disputes. These 81 disputes comprise only 38% of the 212 described as being caused by assault. Let us compare these low percentages with those disputes which were also caused by assault, which witnessed personal violence and which resulted in <u>no charges</u>. These totalled 120, or 57% of the assault-caused disputes.

One of the clearest findings of this report is the presence of alcohol where charges were laid - of the 353 cases where charges were laid, 59% of them reported the definite presence of alcohol.

TABLE 25

Presence of alcohol and drugs related to number of charges laid

(with row and column percentages)

		Alconol		<u> Dr</u>	ugs	· <u>· </u>
Number of charges	None	Definite	Row N	None	Definite	Row N
No charges	1271 45%	1003 35%	2854 89%	2058 72%	75 3%	2854 89%
1 or more charges	81 23% 6%	207 59% 17%	353 11%	208 59% 9%	15 4% 17%	353 11%
COLUMN N	1352 42%	1214 38%		2267 71%	90 3%	

Where violence in some form or other was reported, the resistence to charging is apparent.

TABLE 26
Violence factors in relation to number of charges
(with row and column percentages)

Number of Charges	Violend against person None/T		against		Violence with gun None/Threat		Violenc with weapor None /	Row N	
0 charges Row % Col %	1173 41% 96%	1547 54% 84%	1821 64% 93%	695 24% 83%	2364 83% 91%	97 3% 72%	1212 43% 92%	108 4% 68%	2d54 89%
1 or more Row % Col %	45 13% 4%	282 89% 15%	146 41% 7%	143 41% 17%	241 68% 9%	38 11% 28%	112 32% 8%	47 13% 30%	353 11%
COLUMN N	1220 38%	1831 57%	1968 61%	839 26%	2607 81%	135 4%	1324 41%	158 5%	

For example there were 1,547 disputes in which personal violence was either threatened or used and yet no charges were laid - this means that 84% of disputes with personal violence did not result in a charge being laid. A similar trend existed for property violence. Although the percentages remain disturbingly low for those disputes where firearms and weapons were involved, yet there seemed to be a slight increase in the rate of charging for these cases despite the low numbers. In other words, in only 28% of cases involving use or threat of a firearm were charges laid, and in only 30% of cases where a weapon was present or used did charges result. However, once the police decided to charge, it was clearly more likely that personal violence would be present than not present, and similarly (although less strongly) for the other forms of violence.

(2) Nature of charges laid

The police were asked to write down the nature of the charge(s), and the information provided is sparse. Please see Table 27 below.

TABLE 27
Nature of Charges

Charges	Frequency	Percentage
No information given	1569	48.9
Minor assaults	120	3.7
Assault/drunk	1	.0
Breach	34	1.1
Burglary	1	.0
Criminal damage	9	.3
Narcotic	29	.9
Drunk	51	1.6
Drunk/resist arrest	3	.1
Firearm	14	.4
Forgery	1	.0
Indecent language	5	.2
Murder	2	.1
Nil/not yet	1317	41.0
Offensive behaviour	4	.1
Other offences	17	.5
	2	.1
Serious Assaults	24	.7
Theft of property	5	.2
Threat to kill	1	.0
Unlicenced driving	2	.1
TOTAL	3211	100.0

Minor assault was the most frequent charge laid (in 4% of the total) followed by breach drunk/drunk and resisting arrest (3%), with breach in 34 (or 1%) cases.

(3) Type of police action taken

On the F.I.R. police were asked how they were to bring the matter to the court. They responded as follows. Please see Table 28 below.

TABLE 28
Type of Action taken by Police

Type of Action	Frequency	Percent
Arrest	177	6
Summons	114	4
Brief prepared	56	2
Other	47	2
Warrant	30	1
No police action	2316	72
No response	471	15
TOTAL	3211	

We have already commented on the high rate of "no police action" - in 72% of the disputes. This leaves very few arrests (in only 177 cases) and summons (in 114 cases). We found that police were more likely to take action if the offender was a male as opposed to being a female i.e. of the 2,697 male offenders 159 (or 6%) were arrested, whereas for the female offenders the arrest rate was about half of that in that only 14 of them (or 3%) were arrested. Also, only 4% of male offenders received a summons and only 2% of the female offenders received a summons.

Of those 1,831 disputes where personal violence was either present or threatened, only 8% resulted in an arrest, and conversely 68% of such disputes resulted in no police action. The arrest rate seemed to increase slightly where a weapon was used.

Please see Table 29 below.

TABLE 29

Presence of Violence related to type of police action

(with row and column percentages)

Type of Action	Violence against person threat/used	Violence against property threat/used	with firearm	Violence with weapon threat/used
Warrant	26 (87%)	11 (37%)	2 (7%)	4 (13%)
Column %	1%	1%	1%	3%
Arrest	144 (81%)	76 (43%)	15 (8%)	25 (14%)
Column %	8%	9%	11%	16%
Summons	87 (76%)	49 (43%)	18 (16%)	15 (15%)
Column %	5%	6%	13%	10%
Brief	49 (88%)	19 (34%)	4 (7%)	4 (7%)
Column %	3%	2%	3%	3%
Other	31 (66%)	16 (34%)	4 (9%)	5 (11%)
Column %	2%	2%	3%	3%
No Police	1244 (54%)	553 (24%)	74 (3%)	90 (4%)
Act. Col.%	68%	66%	55%	58%
COLUMN N	1831	839	135	158
	58%	26%	4%	5%

(4) Other police action taken

See Table 30 below.

TABLE 30
"Other Action" taken by Police *

Action	Frequency	Percentage
Referrals	578	18
Advice	1867	58
C.P.S.	391	12.
Civil-Legal	991	31
Relatives	417	13
Welfare	155	5
Refuges	104	3
"Other"	272	9

* More than one response was possible in answering this item on the F.I.R. form.

In keeping with the previous findings, the police were most likely to give advice only (in 58% of the cases this is what was recorded on the F.I.R.). Indeed as we found out when we cross-tabulated this variable with perceived cause of dispute, it emerged that even where assault was the cause 38% of such disputes were given "advice only", and likewise for 27% of disputes caused by child abuse and in 59% of disputes caused by offensive behaviour.

7. A separate analysis of intervention orders filed at IBR

- 7.1 A separate analysis was carried out of all Intervention Orders granted during the period of December 1987 through August 1988 and filed at the Bureau of Records.
- 7.2 We analyzed 1335 Intervention Orders and were able to glean some information from these records which were not yet on the computer.
- 7.3 <u>Number of Intervention Orders granted</u>
 See Table 31 below.

TABLE 31

Intervention Orders (Dec.'87 thru Aug.'88)

Number of I.O.s pertaining to Sections of the Act *

(Frequencies and column %s)

Sec tion	Dec '87	Jan '88	Feb	March	April	May	June	July	Aug	Row N
(a)	11	9	17	8	7	12	8	12	7	91
	(13%)	(5%)	(85%)	(5%)	(5%)	(8%)	(7%)	(10%)	(4%)	(7%)
(b)	64	120	132	125	95	111	91	91	132	961
	(73%)	(70%)	(66%)	(71%)	(74%)	(73%)	(76%)	(72%)	(77%)	(72%)
(c)	2	. 1	3	7	5	5	1	1	4	29
	(2%)	(.6%)	(1%)	(4%)	(4%)	(3%)	(1%)	(1%)	(2%)	(2%)
(d)	71	146	188	158	116	141	108	121	164	1213
	(81%)	(85%)	(94%)	(90%)	(91%)	(92%)	(90%)	(96%)	(94%)	(91%)
(e)	9	22	29	21	15	29	16	16	24	181
	(10%)	(13%)	(14%)	(12%)	(12%)	(19%)	(13%)	(13%)	(14%)	(14%)
(f)	2	7	8	3	2	8	5	6	8	49
	(2%)	(4%)	(4%)	(2%)	(2%)	(5%)	(4%)	(5%)	(5%)	(4%)
(g)	5	4	6	4	1	6	5	4	4	39
	(6%)	(2%)	(3%)	(2%)	(1%)	(4%)	(4%)	(3%)	(2%)	(3%)
(h)	1 (4%)	2 (1%)	1 (.5%)	-	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	3 (2%)	4 (2%)	14 (1%)

Alcohol	3 (3%)	2 (1%)	1 (.5%)	1 (.6%)	4 (3%)	1 (1%)	-	-	1 (1%)	13 (1%)
Access	2 (2%)	3 (2%)	2 (1%)	4 (2%)	2 (2%)	2 (1%)	2 (2%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	20 (1%)
Other	3 (3%)	16	10 (5%)	15	6 (5%)	12 (8%)	6 (5%)	8 (6%)	17 (10%)	93 (7%)

128

(10%)

See Appendix for relevant form. Overall N = 1335

176

(13%)

Table 31 .../

201

(15%)

OTHER:-

TOTAL

88

(7%)

171

(13%)

153

(11%)

120

(9%)

126

(9%)

172

(13%)

- 7.3.1 It should be noted that more than one condition could be imposed per Intervention Order. However, it appears that Condition (d) as stated in the Act was the one most frequently imposed namely "prohibit the defendant from contacting, harassing, threatening or intimidating the aggrieved family member". This condition was laid down in 91% of the Orders, and there appeared to be an increase in the number of times it was imposed from 71 in December 1987 to 164 in August 1988.
- 7.3.2 The second most frequent section imposed was (b), namely "prohibit or restrict access by the defendant to premises in which the aggrieved family member lives, works or frequents, and such an order may be made whether or not the defendant has a legal or equitable interest in those premises".
- 7.3.3 It is interesting to relate the frequencies of Intervention Orders granted to the number of disputes at least in the first six months of the Act.

 See Table 32 below.

TABLE 32

Number of Intervention Orders granted compared with number of disputes reported to police in first six months

Frequencies	Dec '87	Jan '88	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Row N
Number of disputes with row %	450 14%	742 23%	582 18%	515 16%	463 15%	425 13%	3211
Number of I.O.s granted with row %	88 (7%)	171 13%	201 (15%)	176 (13%)	128 (10%)	153 (11%)	1335
I.O. as a % of number of disputes	20%	23%	35%	34%	28%	36%	

There was a slight tendency (with a drop in April) for an increase in the proportion of Intervention Orders.

7.3.4 Duration of Intervention Orders

See Table 33 below.

TABLE 33

<u>Duration of Intervention Orders</u> <u>made between Dec '87 thru Aug '88</u> (Frequencies and column percentages)

Duration of orders	Dec. '87	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Row N
Less than one month	37	64	62	54	31	47	29	49	57	430
	(42%)	(37%)	(31%)	(31%)	(24%)	(31%)	(24%)	(39%)	(33%)	32%
1-3 months	19	19	17	15	17	15	23	7	17	149
	(22%)	(11%)	(8%)	(9%)	(13%)	(10%)	(19%)	(6%)	(10%)	11%
3-6 "	3	10	12	3	4	7	1	9	2	52
	(3%)	(6%)	(6%)	(2%)	(3%)	(5%)	(1%)	(7%)	(2%)	4%
6+-11 "	3	9	13	12	4	3	9	5	6	64
	(3%)	(5%)	(16%)	(7%)	(3%)	(2%)	(8%)	(4%)	(3%)	5%
12 " exactly	25 (28%)	60 (35%)	96 (48%)	90 (51%)	72 (56%)	78 (51%)	56 (47%)	56 (44%)	· 87 (51%)	620 · · · 46%
Not specified	1 (1%)	9 (5%)	1 (.5%)	2 (1%)	-	3 (2%)	2 (2%)	-	2 (1%)	20 ··· 1%
TOTAL	88	171	201	176	128	153	120	126	172	
COL N	(7%)	(13%)	(15%)	(13%)	(10%)	(11%)	(9%)	(9%)	(13%)	

Overall

N = 1335

7.3.5 It is important to note that there was a significant increase over the 9 months in the monthly proportions of intervention orders which were granted for 12 months - that is, in December 1987 only 28% of the Intervention Orders granted were for 12 months and 42% were in fact granted for less than one month. However, by August, 1989, 51% (or half) of the Intervention Orders granted were for 12 months and only one third (33%) were for less than one month.

7.3.6 <u>Age of Defendants</u> Please see Table 34 below.

TABLE 34
INTERVENTION ORDERS (Dec :87 thru Aug :88)

Age of defendants (Frequencies and column percentages)

A g e years	Dec. '87	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	August	Row N
1 -14	-	-	-	1	_	-	-	-	-	
15-24	7	17	33	24	19	33	20	16	19	188
	(8%)	(24%)	(16%)	(14%)	(15%)	(22%)	(17%)	(13%)	(11%)	14%
25-34	32	50	47	50	52	49	38	38	62	418
	(36%)	(29%)	(23%)	(41%)	(32%)	(32%)	(30%)	(30%)	(36%)	31%
35-44	20	30	34	33	25	28	19	23	41	253
	(23%)	(18%)	(17%)	(19%)	(20%)	(18%)	(16%)	(18%)	(24%)	19%
45-54	10	14	27	16	18	10	10	11	13	129
	(11%)	(8%)	(13%)	(9%)	(14%)	(7%)	(8%)	(9%)	(8%)	10%
55-64	2	5	5	3	1	2	5	3	ર	29
	(2%)	(3%)	(2%)	(2%)	(1%)	(1%)	(4%)	(2%)	(2%)	2%
65 +	-	-	3 (1%)	3 (2%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	3 (3%)	1 -	1 (.6%)	13 1%
Not	17	55	52	47	12	31	25	55	. 3 3	327
known	(19%)	(32%)	(26%)	(27%)	(9%)	(20%)	(21%)	(44%)	(19%)	24%
TOTAL	88	171	201	176	128	153	120	126	172	

7.3.7 There appears to be a consistency across this period, with the 25-34 year olds being the most heavily represented, followed by those in the 35-44 year old group.

- 7.4 <u>Distribution of Intervention Orders granted across Court districts in Victoria.</u>
- 7.4.1 Please see Tables 35 and 36 and Figure 1 below.

TABLE 35

<u>Distribution of the granting of Intervention Orders</u>

<u>between December 1987 and September 1987</u>

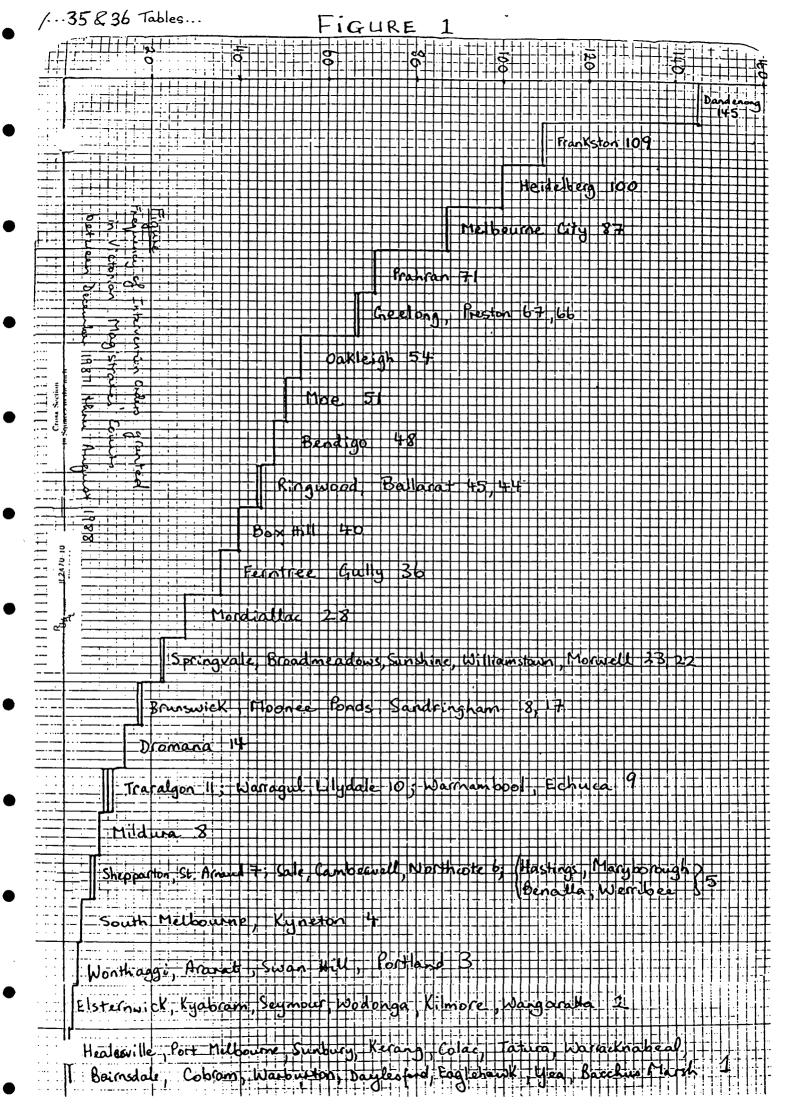
Magistrates Court	Frequency of I.O.s	% of Total I.O. granted	Magistrates Courts	Frequency of I.O.s	% of Total I.O. granted
Dandenong	145	11%	Sale	6	.4%
Frankston	109	8%	Camberwell	6	.4%
Heidelberg	100	7%	Northcote	6	.4%
Melbourne City	87	7%	Hastings	5	.4%
Prahran	71	5%	Maryborough	5	.4%
Geelong	67	5%	Benalla	5	.4%
Preston	66	5%	Werribee	5	.4%
Oakleigh	54	4%	South Melbourne	4	.3%
Moe	51	4%	Kyneton	4	.3%
Bendigo	48	4%	Wonthaggi	3	.2%
Ringwood	45	3%	Ararat ~	3	.2%
Ballarat	44	3%	Swan Hill	3	.2%
Box Hill	40	3%	Portland	3	.2%
Ferntree Gully	36	3%	Elsternwick	2	.1%
Mordialloc	28	2%	Kyabram	2	.1%
Springvale	23	2%	Seymour	2	.1%
Broadmeadows	23	2%	Wodonga	2	.1%
Sunshine	22	2%	Kilmore	2	.1%
Williamstown	22	2%	Wangaratta	2	.1%
Morwell	22	2%	Healesville	1	.1%
Brunswick	18	1%	Port Melbourne	1	.1%
Moonee Ponds	18	1%	Sunbury	1	.1%
Sandringham	17	1%	Kerang	1	.1%
Dromana	14	1%	Colasc	1	.1%
Traralgon	11	1%	Tatura	1	.1%
Warragul	10	1%	Warracknabeal	1	.1%
Lilydale	10	1%	Bairnsdale	1	.1%
Warrnambool	9	1%	Cobram	1	.1%
Echuca	9	1%	Warburton	1	.1%
Mildura	8	1%	Daylesford	1	.1%
Shepparton	7	1%	Eaglehawk	1	.1%
St.Arnaud	7	1%	Yea	1	.1%
			Bacchus Marsh	1	.1%

TABLE 36

Approximate rates per 100,000 of Intervention Orders in police districts *

Police District	Numbers of Intervention Orders	Rates per 100,000	
METROPOLITAN:			
'A'	92	81	
,B,	42	20	
'H'	8	3	
<u> </u>	71	54	
'M'	49	21	
'P'	168	47	
'Q'	166	38	
יטי	71	32	
'V'	25	9	
'Y'	133	28	
'Z'	156	66	
COUNTRY:			
'C'	. 54	32	
יםי'	97	59	
'Ε'	11	21	
'F'	10	15	
'G'	57	53	
J.	67	31	
'K'	10	12	
'L'	1	-	
'N'	7	10	
'R'	6	8	
'S'	19	18	
.M.	4	6	

- These figures are obtained by adding frequencies of I.O.s from the Counts in each equivalent Police District and using estimates obtained from Police Headquarters in Melbourne, 1988.
- 7.4.2 Thus according to the files at IBR, Dandenong, Frankston, Heidelberg and Meiocurne City were the Magistratres Courts with the highest number of Intervention Orders granted, and of the sixty three Courts recorded here, twenty (or 32% of the Courts listed) granted 2 or less Intervention Orders in these first six months.
- 7.4.3 In order to gain some sense of what these figures mean in relation to domestic disputes reported in the Police Districts across Victoria, we did an additional and somewhat approximate analysis by locating the Magistrates Courts within Police Districts, and using the population statistics obtained from the Victorian Police Force 1987/1988 Statistical Review calculated as rates per 100,000 for each Police District. Thus those Police Districts with the highest rates of Intervention Orders granted were 'A' district (which is Russell Street), 'Z' district (Westernport) and 'D' district (Gippsland). We placed Dandenong Court in 'P' district, Heidelberg in 'Q', Frankston in 'Z' and Melbourne City in 'A' district.



- 7.4.4 Perhaps it is helpful to refer to <u>Tables A and B</u> in Appendix A. <u>Table A</u> presents numbers and rates of offences across Police Districts in 1987/88. In the last row of this Table we have added frequencies and rates of domestic disputes as reported to the Police from the 3,211 F.I.R. forms being analysed in the present Report. It may be interesting to compare these figures with Tables 35 and 36.
- 7.4.5 'E' district (Mallee region) had the highest rate of disputes reported (177 per 100,000) but a relatively low rate of Intervention Orders granted (21 per 100,000). 'A' district had a rate of disputes similar to its rate of Intervention Orders granted, whereas 'Z' district had a rate of 105 per 100,000 disputes but only 66 Intervention Orders granted per 100,000.
- 7.4.6 'A' district granted more Intervention Orders than there were disputes, as did 'D' district. There were 10 of the 23 Police Districts which had relatively low <u>numbers</u> of Intervention Orders granted compared with the <u>number</u> of disputes, and six of these counts were in country Police Districts.
- 7.4.7 <u>Table B</u> gives the frequencies and rates per 100,000 based on the Family Incident Report forms. If we compare these figures with Intervention Orders granted, we find that 'S' district (Goulburn) had the highest rate of reported assaults (20 per 100,000), the highest rate of breaches (7 per 100,000), the third highest rate of personal violence (27 per 100,000) and the second highest rate of firearm presence/use (9 per 100,000) yet only 19 Interventions were granted in that district. 'E' district had the highest rate of personal violence (49 per 100,000) but only 11 Intervention Orders were granted (21 per 100,000) and in contrast 'V' district (Avondale Heights) had low rates of violence, the lowest recorded rate of breaches (Table B), the second lowest rate of disputes and one of the lowest rates of Intervention Orders granted (9 per 100,000).

7. Conclusions

- 7.1 This Report has described the first six months following the enactment of the Crimes (Family Violence) Act, 1987 through an analysis of 3,211 Family Incident Report Forms completed by the Victorian Police Force.
- 7.2 In highlighting the major findings, we will at the same time suggest some issues which could be discussed further within the Police Force in relation to policing Family Violence as well as offering a gentle(!) critique of the ways in which the police in Victoria defined the disputes which they attended and consequently how they acted in response to these calls for help from those persons who suffered the abuse.
- 1.3 It is clear from the disputes which the police attended in the first six months of 1988 that calls for their help came from all age groups and from all levels of the socioeconomic scale, ranging from persons (both victims and offenders) in the managerial sectors through to those lower levels including the unemployed and home duties. In addition, disputes were reported from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds and involving parties who represented all manner of relationships including those not covered under this legislation. It seems, though, at this early stage of the legislation that there was a strong representation of married parties (about one third of the disputes), but it was also apparent that the police were still confused about the eligibility of some parties such as neighbours and boyfriend/girlfriends.
- 7.4 Despite the fear of recrimination and the reluctance of family members to seek legal action against another offending family member (as is well documented in other studies), there is no doubt about the overwhelming predominance of males amongst the offending parties, and the predominance of women amongst the "victims", regardless of socio-economic status and ethnicity. But another feature that is not so well-documented or emphasised in other studies is our relatively high preponderance

of <u>unemployed</u> offenders and similarly for the victims who perhaps because they are mostly female are usually described as housewives or euphemistically in occupation terms, engaged in "home duties". This is an important economic variable which should be considered as relevant by the police of the reiterate, the unemployment rate for offenders averaged 21% and was indeed higher for some groups of offenders. It is worth pointing to the tendency for the (predominantly male) police to write down "home duties" for the female complainant's occupation, and it could be argued that this is a common response openhaps due to the absence of other information, or as a convenient way of depicting "part time" work, or the assumption that most women are housewives whatever the other work that they might engage in, or because nearly two thirds of the reported disputes occurred after 6 pm, or perhaps because the situation is often so volatile and tense and hence it is difficult to ascertain all those details required by the Report Form. It should be remembered that a large percentage of reported disputes in these first six months had no occupation recorded at all on the F.I.R. form.

Given that nearly two thirds of disputes were reported to have occurred after business hours, a serious assessment of the non-accessibility of other services must be made. For example, the difficulties of contacting clerks and the impossibility of contacting magistrates after 5 p.m. and before 9 a.m. raises serious concerns about the immediate protection necessary for these families. The tendency for the police to offer advice only and not to carry through at the time of attending the incident with referrals to refuges, emergency accommodation, welfare etc. services must reflect in part the absence of these services at the crucial times. Obviously the burden on the police is greatly increased which must only exacerbate the already existing vulnerability of the parties involved. To this grim picture must be added the additional finding that 65% of the incidents reported involved the presence of children.

7.5

We have had great difficulty with the notion of cause of incident. On the F.I.R. form provision is made for the police to tick the appropriate box with reference to the parties' combined(!) opinion as to what caused this particular dispute, as well as a couple of lines for the police to write in their own opinion. Serious methodological issues can be raised here. Firstly, it is assumed that the principal parties share the same view - it is very important that (assuming that the offender and the complainant are interviewed separately at the site of the conflict) there is allowance made for the respective parties to have different perspectives and opinions on the incident and why and how it happened. If we allow for the fact that a victim of violence is usually in a position of less power than the offender, then it is important that the victim be able to give her reasons with an assurance of protection and confidentiality. It is perhaps not surprising that the most frequently ticked box on the form (the pre-coded responses of the parties) was "verbal abuse" - on the one hand it could be the safer response to give, or on the other hand it could be the police officer's interpretation of the parties' views. What is interesting is the fact that the police gave more varied answers when asked for their own personal opinion - they perceived 27% of the disputes as caused by "marital/sexual problems" (a response which could be difficult to make if you were one of the principal parties), 26% of the disputes caused by "verbal/ongoing" arguments" (the term "ongoing" is used a great deal by law enforcement agents in relation to family violence and it is an expression that implies a trivialization of the incident), and 25% of the incidents caused by alcohol. It should be noted that neither "marital" or "sexual" or "alcohol" were provided on the form for the principal parties to list as causes of the dispute. Despite the high rate of unemployment amongst offenders, only 16% of the disputes were perceived by police as being caused by "financial/employment problems".

7.6

It is of concern to this researcher that there seems to be some confusion in relation to the definition of "cause" - on the F.I.R. form it is variously defined with reference to issues such as "access" or "maintenance" which may indeed be matters which precipitate violence, but could also be issues which emerge as contentious consequent to the dispute or to the violence. They are also legal matters which often arise out of family disputes. Other definitions of cause as presented on the F.I.R. form relate to different kinds of behaviour (e.g. 'offensive behaviour', 'verbal abuse', 'harassment' and 'child abuse'). These again could well be consequences of the dispute rather than causes. It would be wise to distinguish between "precipitating factors" (at the time of the particular incident) and more underlying causes (which may refer to factors occurring over a period of time), and to allow for more open responses from the individual parties.

- 7.7 The item on the F.I.R. form which refers to who reported the incident is rather confusing and the replies recorded on the forms were consequently unreliable. However, we were able to ascertain that the majority of reporters were in fact female, which could mean that either they were predominantly the victim /complainant, or because most of the victims were female and therefore more likely to turn in the first instance to a female for help. It would be interesting to know whether more victims would report violence in the home if they could be sure that there would be at least one female police officer turning up to attend to the incident.
- The presence of alcohol and drugs is clearly a factor but one might well ask how many households if visited by police after 6 p.m. (where no dispute or violence were reported) would have alcohol present? It is more important to ask <u>how</u> or in what ways does alcohol and /or drugs relate or lead to violence? We found from the analysis of these 3,211 forms relatively high rates of incidence of alcohol was to be found, for example, amongst offenders who were employed in the Army (although

there were only a few cases which probably reflects the exclusive nature of the Army rather than the actual incidence of family violence), amongst de facto partners, and in caravan parks. We also found an alarming co-existence of alcohol and personal violence and the use of weapons and firearms - for example, to repeat what is a frightening statistic (frightening,too, in that it is possibly an underestimation), that in the 1,213 cases where alcohol was present, 828 (or 68%) witnessed personal violence, 63 (5%) had a firearm and 6% had a weapon. It is urgent that further research tries to uncover the factors which underlie the presence of violence and alcohol, although potentially dangerous when consumed in the presence of weapons etc., may itself be the tragic outcome of other structural problems in the broader community setting. There is a further urgent task to be done arising out of the above discussion - the tendency for the consumption of alcohol to be problematic "after hours" when help from outside is noticeably absent. Drugs were reported in only a few cases, yet informal discussions with police and other law enforcement agents would indicate that the likelihood of drugs being present and influential in family violence is greater than the police reports we have analysed would have us believe. The nature and extent of violence cannot be revealed in these forms, and it is unfortunate that there is no record of "injuries sustained". The codes provided on the form ("none", "threatened" and "used") were not very helpful as it was not always clear how they were interpreted by the respective police officers. They are not given guidelines concerning the range and seriousness of family violence. Nevertheless, the conclusions we can draw from these data are very disturbing despite their tentativeness. The majority of disputes reported in the first six months were described as witnessing some form of personal violence, and the presence of personal violence was found across all relationships and socio-economic status. A frightening result is that 56% of disputes between parent and child involved the presence of personal

7.9

violence. Even though "assault" was not a code provided on the F.I.R. form as a possible cause of the dispute, nevertheless we found that where it was specifically noted in the category of "other" cause, 95% of such assault-caused disputes also recorded the presence of personal violence. Violence was not confined to the metropolitan districts but was found to be widely distributed throughout the state. With reference to occupational status of offender, 11% of those offenders who were of managerial status had used a gun - and 10% of the managerial offenders had assaulted their victim.

- How did violence relate to the existence of Intervention Orders? It would seem that in the first six months, the presence of Intervention Orders (if we can believe the police reports) had little effect in that 52% of cases where Intervention Orders apparently existed, personal violence occurred, 21% with property violence, 9% saw the threat/use of a firearm and 4% the threat/use of a weapon. These figures do not reveal an optimistic account of the impact of the legislation. However, we did find that 686 of the complainants stated that they intended to apply for an Intervention Order. We also have very little reliable information concerning the number of breaches which had occurred the form gave little scope to define when any of the reported breaches had occurred (whether prior to this particular incident or whether a breach had occurred at the time of this incident). From what we can glean from these forms, very few breaches had occurred only 47 out of the 3,211 cases. It is not clear what this low figure indicates.
- 7.10 Police action following the presence of violence was, according to these forms, very limited. Only 28% of incidents involving the threat or use of a firearm, for example, resulted in charges being laid, and a similarly low charge rate of 30% occurred where weapons had been involved. Indeed, as we have described earlier in this report, the response no police action was recorded in 68% of cases where there had been a

threat or use of personal violence, 66% where property violence had occurred,55% for cases with firearms threatened or used, and 58% where a weapon was involved. This lack of police action is extremely disturbing. To add to this pessimistic aspect of the report, arrests were made in only 8% of cases involving personal violence, 1% of those with firearms and with property violence, and 3% with weapons. Such low rates must surely be questioned further within the Police Force. Given that overall there was a low rate of police action (72% of the 3,211 disputes resulted in "no police action"), a comment might be made concerning the way these data are collected via the F.I.R. form. It was clear to this researcher that the box to be ticked which indicated "no police action" was interpreted in different ways. For some police members it meant "no further legal action", for others it meant "no other action" and for some it reflected the action taken at the time of attending the dispute and did not include action taken on return to the station or on the next shift or the next day. But even allowing for this confusion which might have resulted in an underestimation of police action, it was clear that the tendency of the police was not to take the same kind of action they would if the violence had occurred in relation to a robbery or outside the family generally. When we analysed the reasons the police gave for not acting, they revealed certain attitudes - for example in 17% of the disputes they felt there was "insufficient evidence", and "no offence disclosed". In 17% of the cases they stated that the victim was unwilling to proceed. In relation to this discussion about low rate of police action, it is interesting to note that in response to the item "other action taken" on the form, over half of the incidents (58%) resulted in "advice only". Perhaps it should also be mentioned here that although the police indicated on the forms that they were able to respond within a few minutes of being notified of a dispute, there were cases where it took over half an hour (in the metropolitan districts too) and in

some cases over an hour. It is important to question why there were such long delays in response?

7.11 The F.I.R. form provides very little informative detail concerning Intervention Orders. All we know is that six months down the track, in the month of May, 1988 for example, of the 385 disputes reported, 91% of the complainants apparently did not have Intervention Orders, and in the same month, 56% of the complainants said they had no intention of applying for one. By September 1988, there were still 14 courts in the state of Victoria which had (according to available records) issued only one Intervention Order. If there have been any breaches other than the 47 recorded in the first six months, we have yet to find out where and how they occurred.

8. Specific criticisms of form

- of the incident was later than the time of notification of the incident. This revealed a carelessness in filling out the form, and indeed it was sometimes the case that the police recorded their arrival at the dispute before the dispute had apparently occurred. It is surely important that we can make valid conclusions concerning the time of occurrence of disputes and further more to be able to determine how long it took the police to respond to a call.
- 8.2 It is questionable the value of the information concerning ownership of the premisesit was obviously not an easy item of information to gather and we must question the
 reliability of the responses. Furthermore, if the categories relating to type of premises
 are to be useful they should correspond to the Australian Bureau of Census and
 Statistics' categories to allow a comparison.
- 8.3 Principal Parties: A clear distinction needs to be drawn between "victim" and "complainant". It would be sensible to assume that the victim is the complainant and

- therefore define the first party as "complainant" and the second principal party as the "person complained about", a procedure which is followed in South Australia.
- 8.4 Demeanour: The validity of this item is to be questioned. It is ambiguous and it could be argued it would be more informative to describe the extent to which the party in question is able to comprehend English.
- 8.5 Occupation: Again, following the procedure used in South Australia, it may be more helpful to allow the police officer in attendance to write down what is the "usual occupation" and to qualify this with a pre-coded response concerning "employment status".
- 8.6 Cause of Incident: It is important that the perceptions of the individual parties be recorded separately, and with some protection and confidentiality assured to both. It is highly likely that they will have differing views, and equally unlikely that the victim will risk an opinion which contradicts the view of the offender at the time the police are attending the dispute. It also happened quite frequently that the demeanour of the victim was described as uncooperative which could well reflect a distraught, fearful and incoherent (and in many cases, injured) person. One might question the possibility that if a principal party is perceived as uncooperative, then his or her opinion concerning the cause of the dispute might not be heeded in the same way as that of a party who is seen to be cooperative - or, it could be that because the party is unable to express her feelings at the time she is therefore defined as uncooperative. Another area of concern in relation to this item relates to the design of the form, wherein the categories provided exclude a range of possible causes which emerged in our analysis of the written responses to the category "other". A further problem with the categories provided (access, maintenance, offensive behaviour, verbal abuse, harassment and child abuse) is that they overlap and are ambiguous in meaning such that different interpretations are possible - for example,

although "offensive behaviour" was a category provided, the response "assault" was sometimes given as an additional cause rather than seeing it as belonging to the former category of "offensive behaviour". And finally it is not easy to agree on a definition of "cause" - whether it is to be defined as the final, precipitating factor (the 'last straw' in effect), or is it defined as the most significant contributing factor, or perhaps the most serious (and violent) event or behaviour? It is unclear whether or not the "cause" is to be the most recent factor or could it be something that occurred several weeks or months prior to the particular incident being reported. There was inconsistency in the interpretations of "cause" and there seemed to be some confusion as to whether only one cause was to be listed rather than listing several causes. It is suggested that the following categories could be provided on the form:

Type of abuse reported

physical abuse, verbal abuse, harassment, property damage, threat to injure, sexual assault, child abuse, other.

Nature of injury sustained (in your own words)

Action required for injuries

nil, medical attention, hospitalization, other (please specify).

Reasons given for abuse

verbal disagreement, relationship problems, financial/economic, alcohol-related, drug-related, access/custody, psychological/psychiatric;

other ().

8.7 Hazard factors: The categories presently existing on the form are obviously informative although the category of "possible" was not very informative in relation to alcohol and drugs - on the South Australian equivalent form they list alcohol and drugs as "contributing factors" which allows for the presence of the factor to be ascertained and

at the same time does not constrain the attending police member to determine the nature of the role that it played in the incident. In relation to the presence of violence, it might be more helpful to provide a fourth category of "present". It could be further argued that the weapons and firearms items be collapsed into one as on the South Australian form, thus having one item presented as follows:

Weapons

Nil knife Firearm Club Fist/feet Other()

Present

Threatened

Used

8.8

Of relevance to this section on hazard factors it may be important to include an item concerning the nature and seriousness of injuries sustained - and possible outcomes as a result of the injuries - for example was medication or hospitalization required etc. *Intervention Orders:* This part of the form was subject to ambiguous responses. As part of this section it is important to know whether police have previously attended or been previously called by the parties, and to make the distinction very clear between Intervention Orders and Family Law Restraining Orders. It is suggested that the following information be sought:

no current Intervention Order

current I.O. exists

I.O. exists and breach has occurred

Reasons (if no I.O. exists):

never applied

applied but not granted

applied but withdrew

I.O. has expired

have applied and it is in process

Family Law Court Order:

no current F.L.C.Order exists

F.L.C.O. exists

am currently applying for a F.L.C.Order

If no Intervention Order exists, will one be sought?

Yes

No

Possibly

If no, please state reason

Have any breaches of existing I.O. occurred prior to this incident?

Yes

No

If yes, how often?

8.9 Actions Taken by police: The response of "no police action" could be eliminated.

Rather, it is argued, it is to be assumed that if none of the other categories are ticked, no police action was taken at the time the form was filled in. Any other action can be included in the "Other Action" item. However, under this latter item of "Other Action" a distinction should be made between referrals in the manner of advising the parties on the one hand, and actual contact made by the police with the listed agencies.

APPENDIX A

TABLE A Part 1

Number of Offences in police districts, 1987 / 88 * (with rates per 100,000 population in brackets)

METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS

OFFENCE	Α	В	Н	ı	М	Р	Q	U
Homocide & related off	64 (56)	27 (13)	19 (7)	23 (18)	19 (8)	12 (3)	15 (3)	10 (4)
Serious	662	299	127	393	247	199	253	111
Assault	(582)	(139)	(47)	(301)	(106)	(56)	(58)	(51)
Robbery	313	245	143	203	165	100	160	86
	(274)	(114)	(53)	(156)	(71)	(28)	(37)	(39)
Rape	31	52	14	28	18	(29	48	25
	(27)	(24)	(5)	(22)	(8)	(8)	(11)	(11)
Burglary	7111	6839	5973	5905	7571	7564	9209	4978
	(6250)	(3189)	(2229)	(4528)	(3245)	(2116)	(2117)	(2272)
Theft	14515	6817	7150	7402	8429	8377	10848	5946
	(12757)	(3179)	(2668)	(5676)	(3613)	(2343)	(2493)	(2714)
Motor vehicle theft	4074 (3581)	2978 (1389)	1659 (619)	2270 (1741)	3417 (1465)	3044 (851)	3911 (899)	1404 (641)
Fraud-	13983	3186	3993	4638	3961	5858	4492	3314
ulent	(12290)	(1486)	(1490)	(3556)	(1698)	(1639)	(1032)	(1513)
Criminal damage	895	612	616	646	803	697	823	475
	(787)	(285)	(230)	(495)	(344)	(195)	(189)	(217)
Drug	711	709	286	826	815	567	967	301
offences	(625)	(331)	(107)	(633)	(349)	(159)	(222)	(137)
Minor	1035	500	263	596	509	522	573	337
Assault	(909)	(233)	(98)	(457)	(218)	(146)	(132)	(154)
Sex Offs.	101	91	97	57	123	777	711	46
(excl.rape)	(89)	(42)	(36)	(44)	(53)	(217)	(163)	(21)
** Family violence disputes	85 (75)	339 (158)	93 (35)	134 (103)	112 (48)	330 (92)	251 (58)	224 (102)

^{*} Source: 1987/1988 Victoria Police Stattistical Review

^{**} These figures were obtained from 3,111 F.I.R. forms Dec.'87 through May '88.

Appendix A... continued

Table A Part 2

COUNTRY DISTRICTS

V	Y	Z	С	D	E	F	G
11	12	10	7	1	3	1	4 (4)
(4)	(3)	(4)	(4)	(1)	(5)	(2)	
212	251	187	87	117	46	32	56
(72)	(52)	(79)	(52)	(71)	(85)	(48)	(52)
72	124	68	21	19	12	6	8
(25)	(26)	(29)	(13)	(11)	(23)	(8)	(7)
26	26	22	33	8	7	6	7
(9)	(5)	(9)	(19)	(5)	(13)	(9)	(6)
5976	8648	4696	2686	2213	1029	689	1381
(2037)	(1806)	(1988)	(1597)	(1340)	(1919)	(1024	(1291)
5968	9898	6942	3641	3266	1400	992	1979
(2035)	(2067)	(2939)	(2165)	(1977)	(2687)	(1475)	(1850)
2089	2846	1357	687	491	275	127	191
(712)	(594)	(575)	(409)	(297)	(514)	(189)	(179)
2186	3721	4645	944	1714	319	231	847
(745)	(777)	(1966)	(561)	(1038)	(595)	(344)	(792)
623	1216	485	248	410	63	131	149
(212)	(254)	(205)	(148)	(248)	(118)	(194)	(139)
578	538	417	186	515	125	86	116
(197)	(112)	(176)	(111)	(312)	(233)	(128)	(109)
403	503	379	259	245	61	90	87
(137)	(105)	(161)	(154)	(149)	(114)	(134)	(81)
267	266	243	151	229	48	18	107
(91)	(56)	(103)	(90)	(138)	(90)	(26)	(100)
107	325	247	131	54	95	59	57
(36)	(68)	(105)	(78)	(33)	(177)	(88)	(53)

Appendix A...continued

Table A Part 3

Number of offences in police districts, 1987 / 88*
(with rates per 100,000 population in brackets)

J	К	L	N	R	S	w
19	4	0	3	4	5	4
(9)	(5)		(4)	(6)	(5)	(6)
121	70	31	68	40	71	42
(56)	(86)	(41)	(98)	(54)	(68)	(59)
42	1	2	8	2	8	4
(20)	(1)	(3)	(11)	(3)	(7)	(6)
14	10	1	21	6	17	9
(6)	(12)	(2)	(30)	(8)	(16)	(12)
3304	929	436	753	578	1336	767
(1537)	(1137)	(572)	(1088)	(783)	(1283)	(1061)
5331	1646	794	1641	1125	2304	1963
(2480)	(2015)	(1041)	(2371)	(1524)	(2213)	(2716)
854	158	76	175	129	355	209
(397)	(193)	(99)	(253)	(175)	(341)	(289)
1144	775	292	391	676	582	645
(532)	(949)	(383)	(565)	(917)	(559)	(892)
340	94	54	100	59	156	81
(158)	(116)	(70)	(144)	(80)	(150)	(111)
188	124	53	245	119	132	97
(88)	(152)	(70)	(353)	(161)	(127)	(134)
214	77	41	128	38	79	123
(100)	(94)	(54)	(185)	(51)	(75)	(170)
82	39	9	80	28	68	61
(38)	(47)	(12)	(115)	(37)	(65)	(85)
237	27	45	32	40	72	75
(110)	(33)	(59)	(46)	(54)	(69)	(104)

APPENDIX A

TABLE B Frequencies and rates per 100,000 based on analysis of 3111 F.I.R. forms December '87 through May '88 METROPOLITAN

				MEI	ROF	OLI	IAN	<u> </u>			
Frequency rate per 100,000	А	В	н	ı	М	Р	Q	U	V	Υ	Z
Child abuse as cause N = Rate per 100,000	2	5 2	- -	2	5 2	7 2	5 1	4 2	2 .07	3 .06	1 .04
Assaults as cause N = Rate per 100,000	5 4	16 7	10 4	8	9	15 4	12 4	14 6	11 4	18 4	22 9
Charges of Assaults N = Rate per 100,000	3 3	11 5	4 1	3 2	-	5 1	7 3	11 5	8 3	5 1	6 3
Charges of Breach of I.O. Rate per 100,000	1	5 2	-	-	3 1	2 .06	-	-	1 .03	4	2
Charge of Drugs N = Rate per 100,000	1	3 1	-	2	- 	2 .06	1 .02	1 .04	1 .03	- -	3 1
Charge of Drunkeness N = Rate per 100,000	1	8 4	-	7 5	-	4	2 .05	3 1	1 .03	3 .06	6 3
Charge of Firearms N = Rate per 100,000	-	1 .04	-	-	-		1 .02	•	-	4	3
Charge of Serious Assault N = Rate per 100,000	-	1 .04	1 .03	-	-	4	1 .02	-	2 .06	3 .06	1 .04
Violence against person used N = Rate per 100,000	25 22	73 34	29 11	27 21	39 17	79 22	53 12	44 20	41 14	89 19	55 23
Violence against property used N Rate per 100,000	12 11	52 24	12 2	16 12	23 10	50 14	36 9	29 13	30 10	60 13	40 17
Violence with firearm present, Threat/used Rate per 100,000	• *	7	2	-	1 .04	10 3	13 3	5 2	11 4	19 4	6 3
Violence with weapon used Rate per 100,000	-	5 2	2	-	-	4	6 1	2	1 .03	-	-

Appendix A...continued

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Table B Part 2

COUNTRY

С	D	E	F	G	J	К	L	N	R	S	W
1 .05	2	3 6	1	-	4 2	-	1	2	-	4	4 6
3 2	2	10 19	5 7	5 5	4 2	-	1	4 6	5 7	21 20	8 11
3 2	4 2	5 9	3 4	3 3	14 7	-	2	3 4	3	9 9	5 7
1 .05	-	1 2	-	2	3 1	2	-	-	-	7	-
1 .05	-	-	1	2	4 2	2 2	1	2	1	-	1
3 2	1 .06	2	-	1	6 3	-	1	-	1	-	3 4
-	-	1 2	1	-	- -	<u>-</u>	1	<u>.</u>	-	2	- -
1 .05	-	2 4	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	1 .04	-	-	1	-	2	4 6
25 15	14 9	26 49	15 22	18 17	59 27	11 13	11 14	13 19	10 14	28 27	33 31
21 12	7 4	12 22	10 15	11 10	49 23	5 7	12 16	10 14	8 11	13 12	13 18
8	3 2	4 7	9 13	2	8 4	1	5 7	2 3	4 5	9	5 7
1 .05	-	2	-	-	1 .04	-	-	-	-	-	1

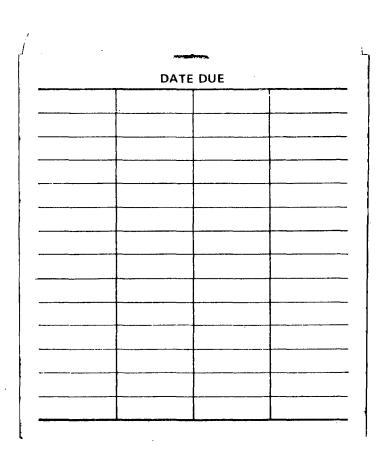


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