



Finance & Public Administration
References Committee

*Inquiry into Domestic violence in
Australia*

Public Hearing – Wednesday 5
November 2014

Response to Question Taken on
Notice by *No To Violence*



INTRODUCTION

One in Three would like to thank the Committee for the opportunity to respond to the document tabled by *No To Violence* in response to the Question Taken on Notice from Senator Moore:

HANSARD, Page 16

Senator MOORE: *Could I quickly put a question on notice? Yesterday, we had evidence from an organisation called One in Three that made comment about male perpetrators and the approach. The Hansard of that evidence should be available within a couple of days. If you have the time, and I know you are both very busy, it would be useful if you could look at what was said there in that exchange about male perpetrators.*

One in Three was surprised to come across the *No To Violence* document which contains many claims about our organisation. We have never had any contact with *No To Violence*, and they certainly made no attempt to contact us, yet apparently they felt they knew enough about our organisation to make a host of unsubstantiated assumptions about us.

This response is not a challenge to *all* the erroneous claims made by *No To Violence* about One in Three, nor all the errors made by *No To Violence* about the family violence research evidence. It simply deals with the most egregious of them. We do not want to waste the Committee's time with a debate about one of the most controversial areas of social science.

RESPONSE

We would like to note firstly that Senator Moore's question dealt specifically with male *perpetrators* (not victims) of violence, yet *No To Violence* assumed it pertained to their thoughts on the position of the One in Three campaign in relation to male *victims* of domestic violence.

We would like to thank *No To Violence* for supporting our claim that a focus on male victims is justified and that men who are genuinely victims of domestic violence definitely deserve support services. Currently no such focus nor services exist in any State or Territory in Australia. It is time to move beyond the rhetoric and start establishing some services for abused men.

We would like to respond to a number of specific claims made by *No To Violence* in their document.

1. "In terms of all forms of family violence – including but not limited to intimate partner violence (IPV) – women are at least 3-4 times more likely to be victims than men. I refer the Committee to these findings from the most comprehensive statistical study of family violence in Australia, focusing on a range of police, court and health service system data¹."

We presume *No To Violence* are referring here to the *Key Findings* of the *Victorian Family Violence Database* which found that:

In 2009–10, adult victims included 25,296 females reporting family violence incidents to police compared with 6,992 males, and 16,906 females with finalised intervention orders for family violence compared with 5,097 males.

This indeed shows that women are 3 to 4 times more likely to be victims than men. However this data excludes the vast majority of family violence which isn't ever reported to the police. We have previously submitted evidence showing that men are much less likely than women to report victimisation to the police, and we add further evidence later in this document.

¹ Victorian Family Violence Database Volume 5: Eleven Year Trend Analysis 1999-2010. See www.victimsofcrime.vic.gov.au/utility/for+professionals/research+reports/victorian+family+violence+database+volume+5+eleven+year+trend+analysis+1999-2010



2. “In terms of IPV – violence by a current or former intimate partner – women are at least six times more likely than men to be the victim of IPV physical assaults, and 24 times more likely than men to be driven into homelessness due to experiencing IPV²”

We assume *No To Violence* is referring to the Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse document “*Gender and intimate partner violence*,” compiled by Meyering and Braaf³. The two community survey data sources quoted in this report that include *all* intimate partner violence (rather than crime reports that exclude the vast majority of IPV that goes unreported) actually found that women were **2.3 times more likely** than men to be the victims of IPV physical assaults (*ABS Personal Safety Survey 2005*⁴) and **approximately equally likely** to have been the victims of IPV physical assault (*Young people and domestic violence: national research on young people’s attitudes and experiences of domestic violence*⁵).

The data on homelessness cited by *No To Violence* found that:

“In 2009-10 Australian women constituted the overwhelming majority (96%, n=31,800) of homelessness service clients for whom domestic violence was identified as the main pathway into homelessness (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2011, p. 256).”

This does NOT show that women are 24 times more likely than men to be driven into homelessness due to experiencing IPV. All it shows is that the vast majority of accommodation available to victims of IPV (predominantly women’s shelters) excluded males from using their service on the basis of their gender.

3. “It does not necessarily follow that in general men are relatively more hesitant to report or seek help for their experiences of domestic violence than women.”

No To Violence provides no evidence to support this claim. Large scale population surveys across the Western world consistently find that while both male and female victims of family violence are reluctant to report victimisation, male victims are significantly less likely to report than are female victims:

- The large-scale South Australian *Interpersonal Violence and Abuse Survey*⁷ found that “females (22.0%) were more likely to report the [domestic violence] incident(s) to the police than males (7.5%)”
- “The 2004 [Canadian] General Social Survey (GSS) on victimisation found that fewer than 3 in 10 (28%) victims of spousal violence reported the abuse to the police (36% of female victims and 17% of male victims)”⁸

² Gender and Intimate Partner Violence, Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse Fast Facts No. 9. See www.adfvc.unsw.edu.au/fast_facts.htm.

³ Barrett Meyering, I & Braaf, R (2013). Gender and intimate partner violence. Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse: Sydney. http://www.adfvc.unsw.edu.au/PDF%20files/Fast_Facts_9.pdf

⁴ Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006, Personal Safety Survey, Australia, 2005, reissue, cat no. 4906.0, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra. [http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/4906.02005%20\(Riissue\)?OpenDocument](http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/4906.02005%20(Riissue)?OpenDocument). 326,700 males and 780,500 females experienced physical assault from a current or previous partner since the age of 15 (Table 16).

⁵ National Crime Prevention 2001, Young people and domestic violence: national research on young people’s attitudes and experiences of domestic violence, Crime Prevention Branch of the Commonwealth Attorney-General’s Department, Canberra. <http://www.crimeprevention.gov.au/Archivedpublications/Pages/default.aspx>. 36% of young women and 37% of young men had experienced physical violence from a dating partner (pp. 118-19).

⁶ Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2011, Australia’s welfare 2011. Australia’s welfare series, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, Canberra

⁷ Dal Grande, E., Woollacott, T., Taylor, A., Starr, G., Anastassiadis, K., Ben-Tovim, D., Westhorp, G., Hetzel, D., Sawyer, M., Cripps, D. & Goulding, S., 2001, Interpersonal Violence and Abuse Survey, September 1999, Epidemiology Branch, Dept. of Human Services, Adelaide. http://health.adelaide.edu.au/pros/docs/reports/general/violence_interpersonal_violence_survey.pdf

⁸ Statistics Canada (2009). Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2009. Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Ministry of Industry: Ottawa. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-224-x/85-224-x2010000-eng.pdf>



- The 2008-09 Scottish Crime and Justice Survey: Partner Abuse⁹ found that “Men were significantly more likely not to have told anyone about the abuse they suffered in the last 12 months (40% compared with 21% of women)” and “around one in five (21%) who experienced partner abuse in the last 12 months said the police did come to know about the most recent / only incident. Again, this figure was significantly higher among women (35% compared with eight per cent of men)”
- The 2012 ABS Personal Safety Survey¹⁰ found that male victims of family violence were **2 to 3 times more likely than women to have never told anybody about experiencing partner violence**, twice as likely as women to have never sought advice or support about experiencing partner violence, up to 40% more likely than women to have not contacted police about experiencing partner violence and half as likely as women to have had a restraining order issued against the perpetrator of previous partner violence¹¹.

Recent qualitative research from Edith Cowan University¹² reported that:

“Participants reported that men are reluctant to disclose what is happening to them or to seek help. The reasons for this are complex. The major factors appear to be men’s denial of what is happening; their fear that they will not be believed, and their fear that even if they are believed they will not be assisted or will be blamed for the abuse. Participants believed that men would find it easier to seek help and disclose the abuse if there were greater public acknowledgement that males can also be victims of abuse, if there were appropriate services for men, and if they were confident that they will be given effective help.”

“Over 80% of service providers reported observing in their work barriers such as a sense of shame, fear of not being believed, and an expectation of gender-bias. These are the most critical factors that service providers and agencies need to remove in order to assist male victims to disclose their abuse.”

4. “From our perspective, the belief by the One in Three campaign that women’s domestic violence services should be available and accessible to men comes from a space of male entitlement-based expectations, and male righteousness, that the One in Three campaign does not appear to be aware of or understand.” “The One in Three campaign appears to have little or no understanding of why women-only spaces, and services exclusively for women, are required.”

One in Three has never argued that women’s domestic violence services should be available and accessible to men. We have simply argued that male victims need services too. The claims about male entitlement and righteousness made by *No To Violence* come from an inherently sexist attitude that has no basis whatsoever in evidence (and none was cited). This attitude casts disparaging stereotypes upon men and boys. The perspective One in Three takes is based upon global human rights frameworks where no one should be denied a service based upon their gender, race, sexual preference, religion, etc.

5. “The eleven-year Victorian Family Violence Database research which I referred to earlier showed that a higher proportion of male victims of family violence – compared to female victims – were associated with a non-intimate family member as the perpetrator (for example, an adolescent or adult child). Whereas over 90% of female adult victims of family violence were associated with a male perpetrator, only 60% of male adult victims experienced violence from a female perpetrator.” “Given the significant proportion of male victims of domestic

⁹ MacLeod, P, Kinver, A, Page, L & Iliasov, A (2009). 2008-09 Scottish Crime and Justice Survey: Partner Abuse. The Scottish Government: Edinburgh. <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2009/12/14103249/0>

¹⁰ Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013, Personal Safety Survey, Australia, 2012, cat no. 4906.0, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra. <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/4906.02012?OpenDocument>

¹¹ See <http://www.oneinthree.com.au/infographic/> and <http://www.oneinthree.com.au/infographicrefs>

¹² Tilbrook, E, Allan, A & Dear, G (2010). Intimate Partner Abuse of Men. Men’s Advisory Network: East Perth.



violence who experience violence from other males, it is notable that historically and currently, the major focus of the One in Three campaign has been on men experiencing violence from women.”

The data cited by *No To Violence* still shows that almost two-thirds (60%) of male adult victims experienced violence from a female perpetrator. The 2012 ABS *Personal Safety Survey*¹³ found that the vast majority – 94 per cent - of partner and dating violence committed against men is perpetrated by females, and that when other family members are included – parents, children, siblings, other relatives and in-laws – 65 per cent of overall family violence against men is still perpetrated by females.¹⁴ This is why the major – but not exclusive - focus of the One in Three Campaign has been on men experiencing family violence from women.

We have consistently acknowledged that male victims of family violence perpetrated by other males exist in significant numbers and are equally deserving of services and support. This is one of the reasons we consistently refer to *family violence* and not *domestic violence* on our website and Campaign materials. We would like to include more data in our Campaign on male victims of family violence perpetrated by other males, however there is little to no Australian data available on this demographic because all the major research focuses upon intimate partner violence (because, presumably, women are affected more by it). Also, all but one or two of the hundreds of personal stories of family violence that have been submitted to our website have come from men victimised by women. These stories have been left by men because they have finally found a male-friendly avenue of support and validation to disclose their difficult relationships in the absence of support from government.

6. “There is significant research supporting the need to be cautious in automatically assuming that a man assessed by police or another referring agent as a victim of domestic violence truly is the victim.”

While it is quite true that some male perpetrators can perceive themselves as victims of family violence, the same is true of female perpetrators. The two studies cited by *No To Violence* only examined claims of male victimisation / female perpetration because of their one-sided approach to researching family violence. If they had also examined claims of female victimisation / male perpetration, it is likely that a similar proportion of female “victims” would also be found to most likely be the perpetrators of violence (or that the violence in their relationship was mutual – the most prevalent form of family violence¹⁵). Domestic violence pioneer Erin Pizzey discovered in the 1970s, when she opened the first domestic violence shelter in the UK, that many of the women approaching her shelter as victims were as violent as their male partners.

The gender profiling of male victims recommended by *No To Violence*, like racial and other forms of profiling, is a clear violation of the human rights of victims of violence.

7. “As referred to previously, the Men’s Referral Service, which we operate, receives some calls from men who report to be victims of domestic violence, some of whom are genuinely victims, and some of whom are actually the sole or predominant perpetrator of the violence.”

The Men’s Referral Service is not an appropriate service to assist male victims of family violence. Their website states quite clearly,

¹³ Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013, Personal Safety Survey, Australia, 2012, cat no. 4906.0, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra. <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/4906.02012?OpenDocument>

¹⁴ See Table 6 EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE SINCE THE AGE OF 15, Relationship to perpetrator by sex of perpetrator

¹⁵ Please refer to our previous Supplementary Submission



“The Men’s Referral Service (MRS) provides anonymous and confidential telephone counselling, information and referrals to men to help them take action to stop using violent and controlling behaviour.”

It is not surprising therefore that few callers to the MRS are male victims of family violence.

8. “Despite the One in Three campaign’s gender-blind belief that women’s domestic and family violence services should work with male victims, doing so would be very problematic on a number of levels.”

We have never believed or claimed that women’s domestic and family violence services should work with male victims. We have consistently argued that male victims *also* require services, just as female victims do. In fact, our material previously submitted to this Inquiry agrees with *No To Violence* that making women’s domestic and family violence services work with male victims would be very problematic on a number of levels.

9. “Given that this work to determine the primary aggressor is highly specialised and complex, like the UK approach, No To Violence recommends that this work be done by specialist male (and not women’s) family violence services that are not hostile to a feminist approach.”

It is likely that some women approaching family violence services as victims are indeed the perpetrators of violence (as domestic violence pioneer Erin Pizzey discovered in the 1970s when she opened the first domestic violence shelter in the UK). However, instead of operating under the assumption that a significant proportion of their clients are likely to be perpetrators, women’s family violence services instead hold the framework of *always believing their clients’ stories*. There is no reason why family violence services for males should not operate in the same manner (otherwise both men’s and women’s stories should be taken with the same skepticism). Once again, the gender profiling of male ‘victims’ recommended by *No To Violence*, like racial and other forms of profiling, is a clear violation of the human rights of victims of violence. If the approach suggested by *No To Violence* is typical of feminist approaches, it is clear that such approaches are openly hostile to men and that male victims stand to be re-victimised by such services. One in Three has heard stories from male victims who have approached feminist family violence services only to be offered Anger Management courses.

10. “Family violence homicide statistics suggest that for the One in Three campaign to be genuinely and sincerely focused on advocating for men as victims, it would recognise that to prevent the deaths of men through family violence, it should prioritise the risk posed by other male family members – not females.”

No To Violence provides Victorian statistics to back up this claim. However, the most recent National statistics tell a different story. The latest data from the AIC’s National Homicide Monitoring Program (2008-2010)¹⁶ shows that, of single victim child homicides, 5 males were killed by their custodial mother, and 5 males were killed by male family members (2 custodial fathers, 2 stepfathers, 1 other male relative). Of single victims adult homicides, 28 males were killed by female family members, while 26 males were killed by male family members.

There is no doubt that male victims of family homicide are equally likely to be killed by male and female family members, whereas female victims of family homicide are much more likely to be killed by male than female family members. We have always acknowledged this fact. However,

- most male victims of family violence (like female victims) aren’t killed, but instead experience abuse across the spectrum of behaviours (physical violence, intimidation and threats; sexual, emotional, psychological, verbal and financial abuse; property damage and social isolation)

¹⁶ Australian Institute of Criminology (2013). Custom data request for Greg Andresen from NMHP database. Australian Institute of Criminology: Canberra. http://www.oneinthree.com.au/storage/xls/Family_Violence_Homicides_2008-10_NHMP.xlsx



- 94 per cent of perpetrators of intimate partner violence against males are female
- 65 per cent of perpetrators of family violence against males are female
- Many of the barriers to male victims disclosing their abuse come from the shame and embarrassment of admitting that a woman is abusing them.

Because of these facts, we believe a focus on female perpetrators is appropriate, while always reminding the public that men can also experience violence and abuse from other males (often at the severe end of the spectrum).

11. “Michael Flood has provided possibly the most detailed and exhaustive review of studies focusing on gender issues in domestic violence. His paper can be downloaded from

<http://www.xyonline.net/content/he-hits-she-hits-assessing-debates-regarding-men%E2%80%99s-and-women%E2%80%99s-experiences-domestic-violence>”

The paper by Dr Flood cited by *No To Violence* is not actually a detailed and exhaustive review of studies focusing on gender issues in domestic violence. It was produced primarily to attack and undermine the work of Men’s Health Australia and One in Three using claims about the organisations that are untrue and completely unsubstantiated/unreferenced. It is a seminar paper which has not been peer-reviewed. It has no bibliography, so the references cited are unable to be verified easily. Nevertheless, we are happy to respond to some of the points raised by *No To Violence* below.

12. “Flood demonstrates that while there are large-scale surveys purporting to show that a significant proportion of violence is experienced by males, these studies – such as the Australian Personal Safety Survey and studies using the Conflict Tactics Scale – don’t actually measure domestic violence as a systematic and multi-pronged pattern focusing on a range of tactics (physical, sexual, emotional, social, financial, spiritual, etc.) used over a period of years to coercively control a partner. Rather, these large-scale surveys generally ask questions pertaining only to isolated incidences of physical acts of violence.”

We agree that such studies don’t distinguish between intimate terrorism (a systematic and multi-pronged pattern focusing on a range of tactics used over a period of years to coercively control a partner) and other forms of family violence. We agree that intimate terrorism is the most severe type of family violence. However, other family violence (i.e. situational couple violence) does in many cases involve chronic and/or serious, even life-threatening violence and makes up the vast majority of cases of intimate partner violence. Intimate terrorism is extremely rare – making up less than one per cent of cases of current partner violence. If we were to focus only upon intimate terrorism we would end up denying services to the vast majority of women who currently access domestic violence support services such as shelters, legal aid, counselling, etc.

Different types of family violence (intimate terrorism, violent resistance, situational couple violence) need different approaches, which the current system is failing to provide. It is a shame that the ABS, having published three editions of its *Personal Safety Survey* (including the original *Women’s Safety Survey*), still fails to identify these different types of family violence. The lack of this data makes it difficult to assess appropriate service responses.

It is also disappointing that all three ABS *Safety Surveys* have had many more female than male respondents and that the proportion of male respondents actually decreased from 2005 to 2012, leading to high rates of relative standard error for many significant male data points. Given the proven percentage of male victims of violence (both general violence and family violence) there is still no representation of men’s health organisations on the steering committee for the survey.

We would like to remind the Committee that ANROWS and most Government and NGO family violence stakeholders use Australian Personal Safety Survey data as the primary data source in their Fact Sheets and other materials even though it fails to distinguish between different types of family violence.

13. “Studies that employ methodologies to measure domestic violence in its true meaning – coercive control as a pattern over time and across a range of violent and controlling behaviours and tactics – generally find that women are the victims in 90-95% of situations.”

Dr Flood's paper did not actually cite studies that employ methodologies to measure domestic violence in its true meaning. It instead references a single peer-reviewed journal article by Michael P. Johnson, titled “*Gender and types of intimate partner violence: A response to an anti-feminist literature review.*”

Dr Flood applied the findings from the Johnson article on the typology of intimate partner violence to the data from the 2005 ABS *Personal Safety Survey*. From this calculation, Dr Flood came up with the 90-95% figure quoted by *No To Violence*. However, Flood appears to have both misread Johnson's findings and miscalculated the numbers involved.

A correct reading of Johnson, and a correct calculation using the more up-to-date 2012 ABS *Personal Safety Survey* data, finds that there were some 45,000 male victims (26%) and 128,000 female victims (74%) of severe/chronic violence during the past 12 months.

We have attached a full critique of Dr Flood's paper as Appendix A to this document.

Johnson's paper also contains the following findings:

- i. Johnson agrees with One in Three that the causes of family violence are extremely variable and include personality disorders (matters of attachment in particular), violence in one's childhood home, substance abuse, couple communication issues, poor ability to manage relationship conflict and/or poor control of anger.

“For more than a decade (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000) my feminist colleagues and I have incorporated Holtzworth-Munroe's work into our analysis of intimate terrorism, work that centers on matters of personality in general, and attachment in particular. And my work with Alison Cares demonstrates the relationship between violence in one's childhood home and male intimate terrorism (Johnson, 2008; Johnson & Cares, 2004), a central tenet of the learning approach to understanding intimate partner violence. As I have noted above, and in a number of published pieces, substance abuse and couple communication issues are central to any analysis of situational couple violence (Johnson, 2006b, 2007), and my analyses of situational couple violence have always emphasized the extreme variability of its causes.”

A simplistic reductionist view that “gender” is the cause of family violence will fail to reduce the levels of violence in the Australian community.

- ii. Johnson agrees with One in Three that the best use of limited resources is not to provide services to female victims and exclude male victims, but to put in place a triage system to identify the most severe cases of violence and abuse, so they can be treated appropriately:

“courts and other institutions need to use all of the assessment tools at their disposal to identify what type of intimate partner violence is involved in each particular case in order to decide on an appropriate course of action.”

“The dramatic differences among intimate terrorism, violent resistance, and situational couple violence make it essential that the family courts make these distinctions in order to do the right thing with respect to the adults involved, and to serve the best interests of the children.”



“Current research provides considerable support for differentiating among types of intimate partner violence, and such differentiations should provide benefits to those required to make recommendations and decisions about custody and parenting plans, treatment programs, and legal sanctions”

iii. Johnson acknowledges that women’s violence is a serious social issue which must be addressed.

“women both initiate violence and participate in mutual violence and that, particularly in teenage and young adult samples, women perpetrate violence against their partners more frequently than do the men”

“repeat, severe violence against a non-violent intimate is symmetrical by gender”

“I and others have always noted that situational couple violence

(a) is far and away the most common form of intimate partner violence,

(b) is perpetrated about equally by men and women, and

(c) can be extremely consequential.”

14. “Women are much more likely to experience violence after relationship separation than men, and on average have far less financial and social independence to rebuild their lives.”

Dr Flood cites a single reference as evidence to support this claim, “Bagshaw *et al.* 2000.”¹⁷

The Bagshaw *et al* study was conducted in South Australia during 1998 by a group of researchers from the University of South Australia. The methodology involved a non-random phone-in, to which only 14 male victims responded – a very small sample size indeed.

The women in this study were indeed much more likely to experience violence after relationship separation than were the men in this study. However, the study makes no claims about women on average having far less financial and social independence to rebuild their lives. Also, because the survey sample was non-random in nature it is very likely to have contained various biases.

We offer the Committee the following evidence in contrast to that offered by *No To Violence*.

The Australian Institute of Family Studies (1999)¹⁸ conducted a random national telephone survey of 650 divorced Australians in late 1997 and observed that, post-separation, fairly similar proportions of men (55%) and women (62%) reported experiencing physical violence including threats by their former spouse. Emotional abuse was reported by 84% of women and 75% of men. This data, while about as old as the Bagshaw *et al* data, is of superior quality due to its larger national sample size and random nature.

The Australian Institute of Family Studies’ *Evaluation of the 2006 Family Law Reforms* (2009)¹⁹ found that 39% (more than one in three) victims of physical hurt before separation were male; and 48% (almost one in two) victims of emotional abuse

¹⁷ Bagshaw, D. et al (2000). Reshaping Responses to Domestic Violence. Partnerships Against Domestic Violence: Canberra.

¹⁸ Wolcott, I., & Hughes, J. (1999). Towards understanding the reasons for divorce. Australian Institute of Family Studies, Working Paper, 20. Retrieved November 1, 2009, from <http://www.aifs.gov.au/institute/pubs/wolcott6.html>

¹⁹ Kaspiew, R., Gray, M., Weston, R., Moloney, L., Hand, K., & Qu, L. (2009, December). Evaluation of the 2006 family law reforms. Melbourne: Australian Institute of Family Studies. Retrieved July 5, 2010, from <http://www.aifs.gov.au/institute/pubs/fle/evaluationreport.pdf>

before or during separation were male. This evaluation was based on reports from almost 5,000 fathers and almost 5,000 mothers – again, far superior in quality to the tiny Bagshaw *et al* study.

The overall findings were as follows:

Table 2.2 Experience of physical hurt before separation, or emotional abuse before or during separation, fathers and mothers, 2008

	Fathers	Mothers
	%	
Physical hurt ^a	16.8	26.0
Emotional abuse alone	36.4	39.0
No violence reported	46.8	35.0
Total	99.9	100.0
Number of respondents	4,918	4,959

Notes: ^a Physical hurt includes those who experienced both physical hurt and emotional abuse, given that the majority of parents who experienced physical violence also experienced emotional abuse. Percentages may not total 100.0% due to rounding.

Source: LSSFW1 2008

CONCLUSION

We thank the Committee for the opportunity to set the record straight about the position of the One in Three Campaign that was unfortunately misrepresented by *No To Violence* in their response to the question taken on notice; and to correct further errors made about family violence research evidence.

Thank you once again for the opportunity to provide input into this Inquiry.

Greg Andresen
Senior Researcher
15th December 2014



APPENDIX A

A critique of the claim by Dr Michael Flood that women make up 90 to 95% of victims of severe domestic violence.

A critique of the claim by Dr Michael Flood that women make up 90 to 95% of victims of severe domestic violence

OVERVIEW

Over the period 22nd June to December 6th 2012, Dr Michael Flood presented variations upon a seminar paper titled, “*He Hits, She Hits: Assessing debates regarding men’s and women’s experiences of domestic violence*”¹, at the following institutions:

22nd June 2012 - [Queensland Centre for Domestic and Family Violence Research at CQ University, Mackay](#)² (also published in [CDFVRe@der, June 2012](#)³)

9th October 2012 - [Australian Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne](#)⁴ (also interviewed in [DVRVCV Quarterly, Spring/Summer 2012](#)⁵)

6th December 2012 - [Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse at UNSW, Sydney](#)⁶

This seminar paper has never been peer-reviewed. It also lacks a bibliography, so the list of references cited are unable to be easily verified.

The paper makes the claim that women are 90 to 95% of victims of severe intimate partner violence (IPV). This argument is based on an incorrect assertion that the only severe and chronic form of IPV is what US family violence researcher Michael P. Johnson has termed *intimate terrorism*.

The 90 to 95% figure is calculated by referencing a single peer-reviewed journal article by Johnson titled, “*Gender and types of intimate partner violence: A response to an anti-feminist literature review*”⁷ and applying its findings on the typology of IPV to data from the 2005 Australian Bureau of Statistics *Personal Safety Survey* (ABS PSS)⁸.

¹ Flood, M. (2012). *He Hits, She Hits: Assessing debates regarding men’s and women’s experiences of domestic violence*. Seminar, Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse, Sydney, December 6.

² <https://web.archive.org/web/20140226095554/http://www.noviolence.com.au/public/seminarpapers/michaelflood/michaelfloodnotes.pdf>

³ <http://www.xyonline.net/sites/default/files/Flood,%20He%20hits%20she%20hits%20Seminar%20Summary%202012.pdf>

⁴ <http://www.aifs.gov.au/institute/seminars/2012/flood/index.php>

⁵ <http://www.xyonline.net/sites/default/files/Price-Robertson,%20Anti-feminist%20men's%20groups%20in%20Australia%20-%20Flood%20interview.pdf>

⁶ <http://www.xyonline.net/content/he-hits-she-hits-assessing-debates-regarding-men's-and-women's-experiences-domestic-violence>

⁷ Johnson, M. (2011). *Gender and Types of Intimate Partner Violence: A Response to an Anti-Feminist Literature Review*. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, Volume 16, Issue 4, July/August 2011. pp 289 - 296.

⁸ Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006, *Personal Safety Survey Australia: 2005 Reissue 4906.0*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.

Dr Flood appears to have both misread Johnson’s findings and miscalculated the numbers involved when applying them to the ABS survey data.

Dr Flood’s claims	Johnson’s actual findings
We can estimate the incidence of the various types of violence found in the ABS Personal Safety Survey to show that <i>“there are around 19 to 20,000 individuals (19,510 to 20,570) living with intimate terrorism this year, and males are between five and 10 percent of all victims.”</i>	<i>“It is almost impossible to develop precise estimates of the incidence of the various types of violence”</i>
Situational couple violence is <i>“relatively minor”</i>	Situational couple violence <i>“can be extremely consequential”</i>
<i>“Injuries are rare”</i> in situational couple violence	<i>“Many cases [of situational couple violence] do involve chronic and/or serious, even life-threatening, violence”</i>
75 per cent of survey data on IPV in current relationships is intimate terrorism (<i>“Johnson would suggest that three-quarters are experiencing situational couple violence, and one-quarter – 18,450 women – are experiencing intimate terrorism”</i>)	<i>“Survey data on current partners include no intimate terrorism”</i>

Dr Flood claims that, *“In relation to domestic violence between adults, we should continue to focus largely on men’s violence against women. And to devote most service responses and resources to this.”* This is because *“There are around 19 to 20,000 individuals (19,510 to 20,570) living with intimate terrorism this year, and males are between five and 10 percent of all victims.”*

However, intimate terrorism (which is rare - making up less than one per cent of cases of current partner violence) isn’t the only type of IPV involving chronic and/or serious, even life-threatening, violence. Up to 60% of situational couple violence is chronic and serious in nature, and makes up the vast majority of IPV. A sole focus on intimate terrorism would deny services to the vast majority of women who currently access domestic violence support services such as shelters, legal aid, counselling, etc.

If we are to analyse the data from the ABS PSS in order to determine the prevalence of chronic and severe violence that needs to be the primary focus of government service responses and resources, we agree with Dr Flood that we need to look at intimate terrorism, but we *also* need to look at severe and chronic cases of situational couple violence.

If we undertake Dr Flood's attempted calculation using the correct findings from Johnson's paper along with the more up-to-date 2012 ABS PSS data, we find that 44,864 males (26%) and 127,604 females (74%) are potentially experiencing serious/chronic IPV. These are very different figures to the 90 to 95 per cent female claim made by Dr Flood.

For readers with a head for statistics, here are the workings used to calculate the above figures.

CALCULATIONS

There are two relevant quotes from Dr Flood's paper:

1. "Different patterns of violent behaviour in couples and relationships"

There are diverse patterns of violent behaviour in couples and relationships. I draw here on the most prominent articulation of this, by Michael Johnson, although later I will note some criticisms of his work.

Intimate terrorism: a violent and controlling individual with a partner who is neither.

Let's start with the patterns of violence and control which comprise the classic situation of domestic violence – domestic violence in the strong sense. Johnson first described this as "intimate terrorism", and now terms it "coercive controlling violence". 'Intimate terrorism' (or 'coercive controlling violence') describes a situation involving a violent perpetrator who uses violence in combination with a variety of other coercive control tactics in order to attempt to take general control over his partner (Johnson 2010: 213). In situations of "coercive controlling violence" one partner (usually the man) uses violence and other controlling tactics to assert or restore power and authority (Johnson 1995, 284-285). The violence is severe, it is asymmetrical, it is instrumental in meaning, it tends to escalate, and injuries are more likely. In heterosexual relationships, intimate terrorism is perpetrated primarily by men.

Situational couple violence: neither are violent and controlling

Johnson contrasts this pattern of violence with what he terms "common couple violence", or more recently, 'situational couple violence'. Some heterosexual relationships suffer from occasional outbursts of violence by either husbands or wives during conflicts. Situational couple violence involves arguments which escalate to verbal aggression and ultimately to physical aggression (Johnson 2010: 213). Here, the violence is relatively minor, both partners practise it, it is expressive (emotional) in meaning, it tends not to escalate over time, and injuries are rare. Situational couple violence does not involve a general pattern of coercive control.

Violent resistance – typically by a woman to a male partner’s violent and controlling behaviour.

Johnson identifies a third pattern of violence, termed ‘violent resistance’. This describes the situation where a woman (or, rarely, a man) uses violence as resistance while entrapped in a relationship with an intimate terrorist (Johnson 2010: 213).”

2. “Patterns of violence and the Personal Safety Survey

So what about the largescale survey of victimisation in Australia, the Personal Safety Survey? Johnson (2011: 293) argues that most violence in these kinds of surveys is situational couple violence. Four studies have tried to break down the violence reported in largescale surveys, with findings that 75% and up to 89% of the violence is situational couple violence (Johnson 2011: 293).

Going back to the 73,800 females who experienced at least one incident of physical assault by a current or previous other-sex partner in the last 12 months, Johnson would suggest that three-quarters are experiencing situational couple violence, and one-quarter – 18,450 women – are experiencing intimate terrorism. However, of the 21,200 male victims, the proportion experiencing intimate terrorism is likely to be far lower, perhaps five or 10%, or 1060 to 2120 men.

So, if this is accurate, than female victims of intimate terrorism by a male partner are somewhere from eight to 17 times as common as male victims of intimate terrorism by a female partner. There are around 19 to 20,000 individuals (19,510 to 20,570) living with intimate terrorism this year, and males are between five and 10 percent of all victims.”

It is important to note firstly that Johnson’s paper says, “it is almost impossible to develop precise estimates of the incidence of the various types of violence” and that general surveys such as the ABS PSS are “dominated by situational couple violence.” Therefore Dr Flood’s attempt to quantify the different types of violence found in the ABS PSS was always going to be an extremely imprecise calculation.

Dr Flood appears to have also significantly misquoted Johnson’s definition of situational couple violence. Johnson does not agree with Dr Flood that it is “relatively minor, tends not to escalate over time, and injuries are rare” – far from it. Johnson’s paper states quite clearly on more than one occasion that situational couple violence,

“is by far the most common form of intimate partner violence”

“results from situations or arguments between partners that escalate on occasion into physical violence”

“many cases do involve chronic and/or serious, even life-threatening, violence”

“it is roughly gender-symmetric in terms of perpetration”

“I and others have always noted that situational couple violence (a) is far and away the most common form of intimate partner violence, (b) is perpetrated about equally by men and women, and (c) can be extremely consequential.”

“repeat, severe violence against a non-violent intimate is symmetrical by gender.”

Let us undertake Dr Flood’s attempted calculation with this in mind, using the findings from Johnson’s paper along with the more up-to-date 2012 ABS PSS data (which wasn’t available when Dr Flood conducted his analysis).

VIOLENCE IN CURRENT RELATIONSHIPS

Percentages from Johnson’s paper

Johnson argues that general samples of *current* relationships/marriages are made up almost entirely of situational couple violence:

“a survey sample of current relationships, a sample that essentially includes no intimate terrorism.”

“for current marriages only 6/10 of one percent of respondents report intimate terrorism”

“survey data on current partners include no intimate terrorism”

“we found only 34 male intimate terrorists among current partners of almost 5000 married respondents”

Johnson also cites five separate data points showing that 87%⁹, 97%¹⁰, 78%¹¹, 29%¹² and 83%¹³ of intimate terrorism is male-perpetrated. We can average these out to a figure of 74.8% male (and 25.2% female).

In one study, Johnson found that for current marriages, only 0.6% of respondents reported intimate terrorism. We know that on average 74.8% of these intimate terrorists are male and 25.2% are female. This means that overall 0.4% of respondents were male intimate terrorists and 0.2% were female intimate terrorists.

In a second study Johnson found 34 male intimate terrorists among current partners of almost 5000 married respondents, i.e. 0.7% of respondents were

⁹ *“87% of the intimate terrorism in Graham-Kevan and Archer's data is male-perpetrated”*

¹⁰ *“In the shelter sample (n=68), there were 36 male and one female intimate terrorists”*

¹¹ *“Among students (n=56), there were seven male and two female intimate terrorists”*

¹² *“Among prisoners (n=105), there were two male and five female intimate terrorists”*

¹³ *“83% of the intimate terrorism in previous relationships is male-perpetrated”*

male intimate terrorists. Using the same gender breakdown calculated above, we can calculate that 0.2% were female intimate terrorists.

Averaging the above two studies we come up with a breakdown of violence in current relationships/marriages as follows¹⁴:

Type of violence	%
Situational couple violence	99.2%
Male-Perpetrated intimate terrorism	0.6%
Female-perpetrated intimate terrorism	0.2%

Johnson is very clear that situational couple violence is perpetrated equally by males and females:

“it is roughly gender-symmetric in terms of perpetration”

“is perpetrated about equally by men and women”

“women both initiate violence and participate in mutual violence and that, particularly in teenage and young adult samples, women perpetrate violence against their partners more frequently than do the men. Based on knowledge available, this gender symmetry is associated primarily with Situational Couple Violence.”

Acknowledging this, our breakdown of violence in current relationships/marriages looks like this:

Type of violence	%
Male-Perpetrated situational couple violence	49.6%
Female-perpetrated situational couple violence	49.6%
Male-Perpetrated intimate terrorism	0.6%
Female-perpetrated intimate terrorism	0.2%

Johnson says of the situational couple violence, *“somewhere around 40% of the cases identified involve only one relatively minor incident, but many cases do involve chronic and/or serious, even life-threatening, violence.”*

We can therefore breakdown our figures further to come up with the following analysis of IPV in current relationships/marriages:

Type of violence	%
Minor male-perpetrated situational couple violence	> 19.8%
Chronic/serious male-perpetrated situational couple violence	< 29.8%
Minor female-perpetrated situational couple violence	> 19.8%
Chronic/serious female-perpetrated situational couple violence	< 29.8%
Male-Perpetrated intimate terrorism	0.6%
Female-perpetrated intimate terrorism	0.2%

¹⁴ Johnson’s typology of intimate partner violence contains a 3rd category: violent resistance, however his article gives no estimates of how frequently this type of violence occurs besides, saying, *“violent resistance accounts for only a small part of women’s intimate partner violence in my typology.”* Dr Flood also omits this category from his analysis. Therefore it is excluded for the purposes of this critique as well.

Applying Johnson's percentages to the Personal Safety Survey numbers

The 2012 ABS PSS¹⁵ found that 33,100 males experienced violence from a current partner, and 26,600 from a boyfriend/girlfriend or date in the previous 12 months.¹⁶ These figures include violence perpetrated by both males and females.

To break down the above figures into violence perpetrated by females only, we need to look at Table 6 of the ABS PSS which found that 94.0% of lifetime dating violence against males and 94.2 of lifetime previous partner violence against males was perpetrated by females.¹⁷ Because the ABS for some reason chose not to publish the available lifetime data on males who had experienced current partner violence, we can use the above figures as a proxy for current partner violence, as there is no reason to assume that the gender breakdown would be significantly different from previous partner violence or dating violence.

Using the above percentages, 31,114 males experienced violence from a current female partner, and 25,004 from a girlfriend or female date in the previous 12 months: a total of 56,118 males experiencing female-perpetrated current relationship violence¹⁸.

The 2012 ABS PSS found that 66,200 females experienced violence from a current partner, and 68,700 from a boyfriend/girlfriend or date in the previous 12 months.¹⁹ These figures include violence perpetrated by both males and females.

To break down the above figures into violence perpetrated by males only, we need to look at Table 6 from the ABS PSS which found that 100.0% of lifetime current partner violence against females and 98.5% of lifetime dating violence against females was perpetrated by males.²⁰

Using the above percentages, 66,200 females experienced violence from a current male partner, and 67,670 from a boyfriend or male date in the

¹⁵ Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013, Personal Safety Survey Australia: 2012 4906.0, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.

¹⁶ See Table 3 EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE DURING THE LAST 12 MONTHS, Relationship to perpetrator. These figures significantly overestimate the prevalence of intimate partner violence because they include both *actual* violence and *attempted* violence. Unlike the 2005 ABS PSS (which provided figures for actual physical assaults), the 2012 ABS PSS strangely doesn't provide a breakdown of these figures.

¹⁷ See Table 6 EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE SINCE THE AGE OF 15, Relationship to perpetrator by sex of perpetrator

¹⁸ It should be noted that this figure is most likely much higher, because the 2012 ABS PSS's definition of "Previous Partner" is a person the respondent lived with at some point in a married or de facto relationship from whom the respondent is now separated. This includes a partner the respondent was living with at the time of experiencing violence (a previous current partner), or a partner the respondent was no longer living with at the time of experiencing violence (an ex-partner).

¹⁹ See Table 3 EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE DURING THE LAST 12 MONTHS, Relationship to perpetrator

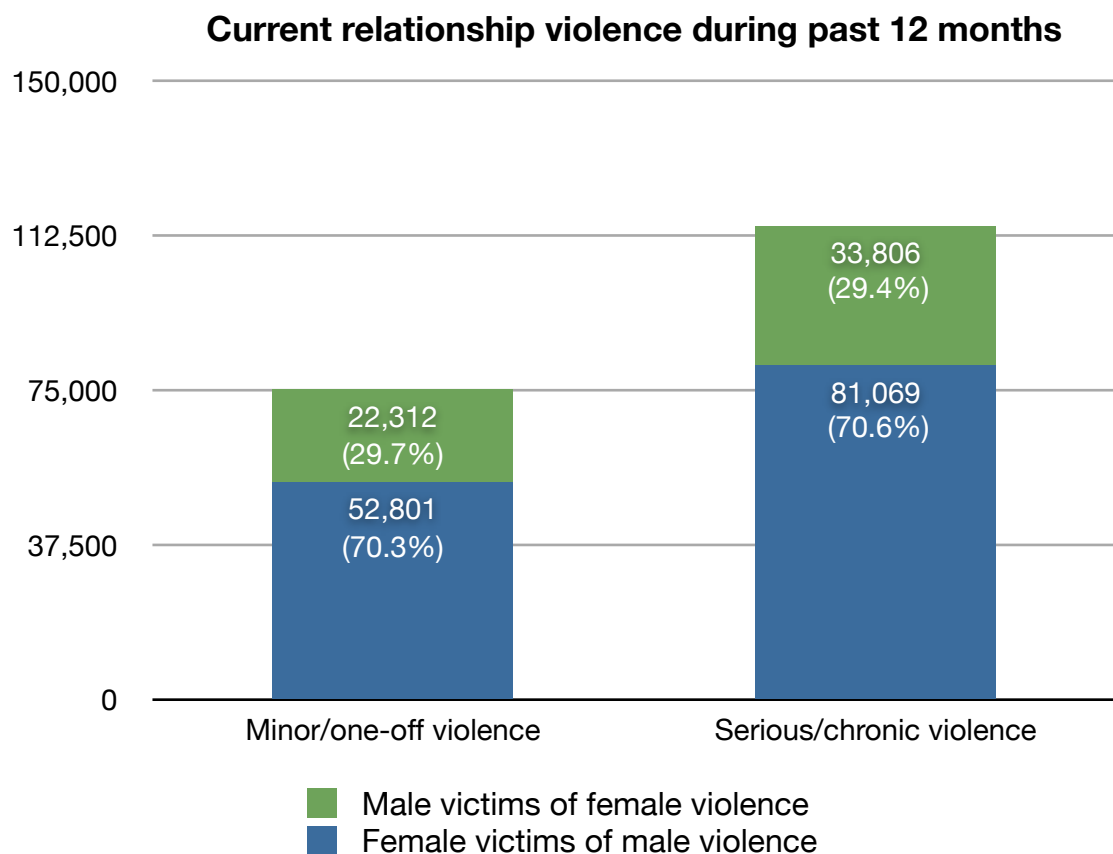
²⁰ See Table 6 EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE SINCE THE AGE OF 15, Relationship to perpetrator by sex of perpetrator

previous 12 months: a total of 133,870 females experiencing male-perpetrated current relationship violence²¹.

Combining Johnson’s typology of IPV with the 2012 ABS PSS data gives us the following numbers of victims of each type of violence, during the past 12 months, by gender:

Type of violence	Female victims of male violence (n)	Male victims of female violence (n)
Minor situational couple violence	52,801	22,312
Chronic/serious situational couple violence	79,469	33,581
Intimate terrorism	1,600	225

If we group these numbers into minor (minor situational couple violence) and serious violence (serious/chronic situational couple violence and intimate terrorism combined), we get the following figures:



²¹ It should be noted that this figure is most likely much higher, because the 2012 ABS PSS’s definition of “Previous Partner” is a person the respondent lived with at some point in a married or de facto relationship from whom the respondent is now separated. This includes a partner the respondent was living with at the time of experiencing violence (a “previous current partner”), or a partner the respondent was no longer living with at the time of experiencing violence (an “ex-partner”).

VIOLENCE FROM PREVIOUS PARTNERS

Percentages from Johnson's paper

Turning our attention now to violence from a previous partner, Johnson says that, in contrast to current partner violence, in "*previous marriages... there is a reasonable number of cases of intimate terrorism.*" He goes on to argue that "*83% of the intimate terrorism in previous relationships is male-perpetrated,*" but he doesn't give any estimates of what percentage of previous partner violence from general surveys is intimate terrorism, and what percentage is situational couple violence (or violent resistance for that matter).²²

There are two data points in the Johnson article that include previous partner violence,

"in the general sample of the Pittsburgh study, the male violence was 89% situational couple violence"

"For Graham-Kevan and Archer's British general sample, the male violence was 75% situational couple violence."

Both of these samples presumably included both current partner and previous partner violence (i.e. they are not samples of previous partner violence *only*, which is what would be ideal for our purposes). However, for argument's sake, and acknowledging that the figures produced will *significantly overestimate* the prevalence of intimate terrorism (and therefore male-perpetrated violence) and significantly underestimate the prevalence of situational couple violence (and therefore female-perpetrated violence), let us proceed as if they are samples of previous partner violence only.

Let us first average the two data points above (89% and 75% situational couple violence) to give a figure of 82% situational couple violence, of which half is male-perpetrated and half female-perpetrated. At least 40% of this situational couple violence is minor/one-off and up to 60% is chronic/severe violence.

Let us assume that the remaining 18% of the violence is intimate terrorism.²³ According to Johnson, 83% of this is male-perpetrated, and 17% is female-perpetrated.

²² Johnson does say "*there is probably 3 times as much situational couple violence as intimate terrorism, which would mean that 75% of women experiencing violence from their male partners are experiencing situational couple violence*" but this figure is Johnson's estimate of the entire population, not an estimate of general survey data such as the ABS PSS, about which he says "*almost all of the partner violence in general surveys is situational couple violence.*" Johnson's estimate is vague and is based on old data from the USA.

In other words, the ABS PSS data is limited and can only tell us so much. All we can say is that we know it doesn't adequately capture intimate terrorism. It would be extremely speculative to guess the actual prevalence of intimate terrorism in the general community based upon the ABS PSS data.

²³ Johnson's typology of intimate partner violence contains a 3rd category: violent resistance, however his article gives no estimates of how frequently this type of violence occurs besides, saying, "*violent resistance accounts for only a small part of women's intimate partner violence in my typology.*" Dr Flood also omits this category from his analysis. Therefore it is excluded for the purposes of this critique as well.

We end up with the following breakdown of different types of violence from previous partners:

Type of violence	%
Minor male-perpetrated situational couple violence	> 16.4%
Chronic/serious male-perpetrated situational couple violence	< 24.6%
Minor female-perpetrated situational couple violence	> 16.4%
Chronic/serious female-perpetrated situational couple violence	< 24.6%
Male-Perpetrated intimate terrorism	14.9%
Female-perpetrated intimate terrorism	3.1%

Applying Johnson’s percentages to the Personal Safety Survey numbers

The 2012 ABS PSS found that 18,700 males experienced violence from a previous partner in the previous 12 months.²⁴ These figures include violence perpetrated by both males and females.

To break down the above figure into violence perpetrated by females only, we need to look at Table 6 of the ABS PSS which found that 94.2 of lifetime previous partner violence against males was perpetrated by females.²⁵

Using the above percentage, 17,615 males experienced violence from a previous female partner in the previous 12 months²⁶.

The 2012 ABS PSS found that 66,300 females experienced violence from a previous partner in the previous 12 months.²⁷ These figures include violence perpetrated by both males and females.

To break down the above figure into violence perpetrated by males only, we need to look at Table 6 from the ABS PSS which found that 99.3% of lifetime previous partner violence against females was perpetrated by males.²⁸

²⁴ See Table 3 EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE DURING THE LAST 12 MONTHS, Relationship to perpetrator. These figures significantly overestimate the prevalence of intimate partner violence because they include both *actual* violence and *attempted* violence. Unlike the 2005 ABS PSS (which provided figures for actual physical assaults), the 2012 ABS PSS strangely doesn't provide a breakdown of these figures.

²⁵ See Table 6 EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE SINCE THE AGE OF 15, Relationship to perpetrator by sex of perpetrator

²⁶ It should be noted that this figure is most likely much lower, because the 2012 ABS PSS's definition of "Previous Partner" is a person the respondent lived with at some point in a married or de facto relationship from whom the respondent is now separated. This includes a partner the respondent was living with at the time of experiencing violence (a previous current partner), or a partner the respondent was no longer living with at the time of experiencing violence (an ex-partner).

²⁷ See Table 3 EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE DURING THE LAST 12 MONTHS, Relationship to perpetrator

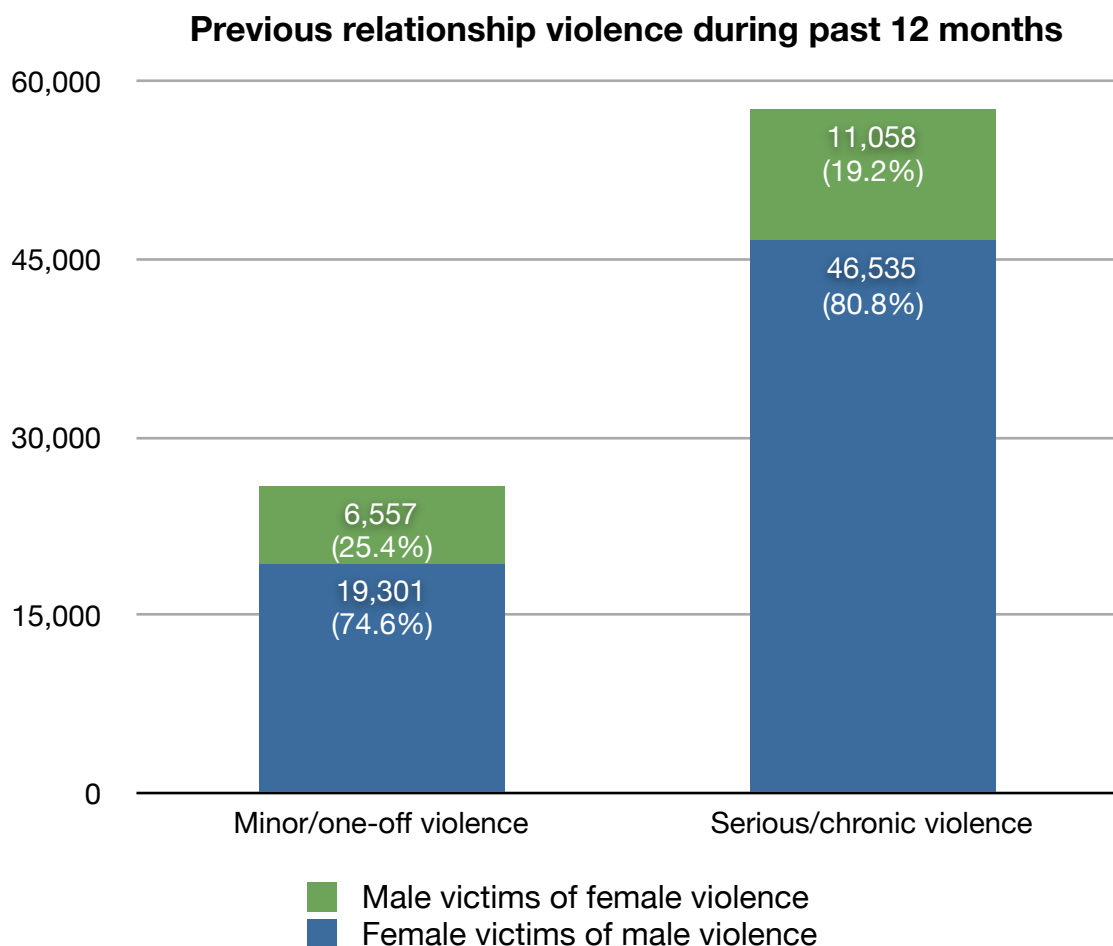
²⁸ See Table 6 EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE SINCE THE AGE OF 15, Relationship to perpetrator by sex of perpetrator

Using the above percentage, 65,836 females experienced violence from a previous male partner in the previous 12 months²⁹.

Combining Johnson’s typology of IPV with the 2012 ABS PSS data gives us the following numbers of victims of each type of violence, during the past 12 months, by gender:

Type of violence	Female victims of male violence (n)	Male victims of female violence (n)
Minor situational couple violence	19,301	6,557
Chronic/serious situational couple violence	28,952	9,835
Intimate terrorism	17,583	1,223

If we group these numbers into minor (minor situational couple violence) and serious violence (serious/chronic situational couple violence and intimate terrorism combined), we get the following figures:

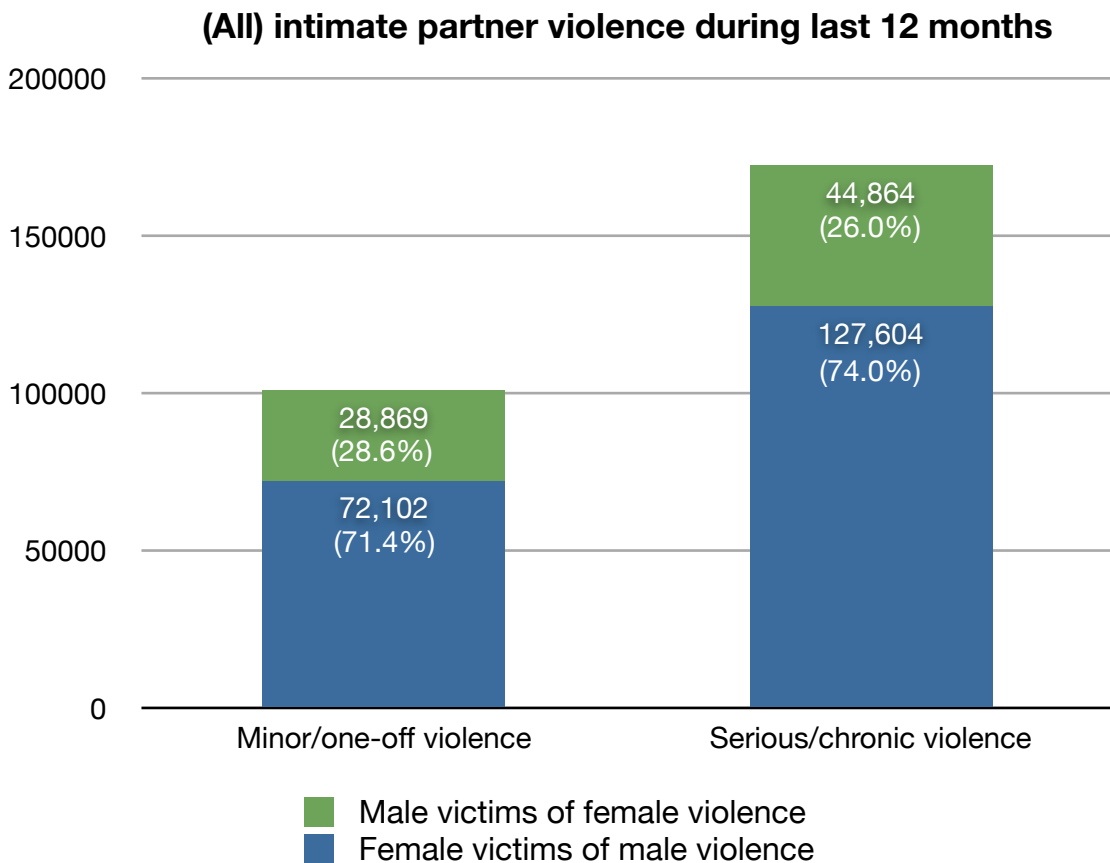


²⁹ It should be noted that this figure is most likely much lower, because the 2012 ABS PSS’s definition of “Previous Partner” is a person the respondent lived with at some point in a married or de facto relationship from whom the respondent is now separated. This includes a partner the respondent was living with at the time of experiencing violence (a “previous current partner”), or a partner the respondent was no longer living with at the time of experiencing violence (an “ex-partner”).

OVERALL INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

For an overall look at *all* IPV in Australia, we need to combine our figures for current relationship violence (from a current partner or boyfriend/girlfriend or date) and previous relationship violence (from a previous partner):

Type of violence	Female victims of male violence (n)	Male victims of female violence (n)
Minor situational couple violence	72,102	28,869
Chronic/serious situational couple violence	108,421	43,416
Intimate terrorism	19,183	1,448



CONCLUSION

The above figures challenge Dr Flood's claim that *"it's simply a lie to claim that large numbers of men in Australia are suffering abuse at the hands of their wives and female partners."* Up to 45,000 men every year experiencing serious/chronic violence from their wives, female partners, female ex-partners, girlfriends and female dates is a significant number, and makes up more than one quarter of the total cases of serious/chronic IPV³⁰.

To conclude, Dr Flood is correct that we need to pay attention to the detail of both women's and men's experiences of victimisation and perpetration: to the character of violence and abuse, to their dynamics and meaning, to their impact, and to their contexts. Otherwise, we will commit errors of fact, of theory, and of intervention.

However, a focus largely on men's violence against women would deny service responses and resources to over one quarter of victims of serious/chronic intimate partner violence based solely upon the fact that they were born male.

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³⁰ It should be noted once again that the actual proportion of male victims is likely much higher than this because our calculation assumed that all cases of intimate partner violence in the Pittsburgh study and British general sample were of previous partner violence (when they weren't); and that all cases of "previous partner" violence in the ABS PSS were of violence from ex-partners (when they weren't).