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## **PREFACE**

The last few years in NSW have seen substantial increases in the numbers of assaults reported to police. Recorded aggravated assault offences rose from 1,664 in 1982/83 to 4,769 in 1989/90. Over the same period recorded non-aggravated assault offences rose from 6,401 to 21,132. At the same time there have also been increases in the numbers of persons brought before both the Higher and Lower Criminal Courts and convicted for assault. These two findings have given rise to widespread concern that the incidence of assault in NSW has been increasing.

It is well known, however, that many factors affect recorded rates of assault other than the incidence of assault in the community. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics less than a third of assaults which occur are ever reported to police. Better police-community relations, police media campaigns designed to encourage crime reporting and improved services for victims of crime, moreover, are all capable of influencing the willingness of people to report offences such as assault to the police. Recent years have in fact seen significant police and government initiatives in each of these areas.

These considerations prompted the Bureau to undertake some research designed to 'get behind' the official statistics on assault and determine whether the increase in recorded assault offences is due to an increase in assaults or to some other factor, such as increased public willingness to report the offence. The first study examined trends in aggravated assault. The present study examines the much more pervasive offence of non-aggravated assault. Both studies have attempted to determine which sub-categories of the offence have been increasing and see whether these increases can be linked to any specific police initiatives or reflect real increases in the incidence of assault in the community.

The results of this study suggest that much of the increase in recorded common assault in NSW is attributable, on the one hand, to an increase in the willingness to report incidents of domestic violence and, on the other, to an increased willingness on the part of police to record incidents of assault upon themselves. The correctness of this interpretation of trends in police records of assault is further evidenced by the findings of a recent household crime survey in NSW. Those findings indicate that the proportion of the NSW population who were victims of assault in 1990 was either the same or slightly lower than the proportion who were victims of assault in 1983.

The importance of this result should not be underestimated. It is common practice to judge police effectiveness in dealing with offences such as assault by examining trends in recorded crime statistics. It is now clear that improvements in police-community relations can and do have a marked effect on public willingness to report offences. This does not mean, of course, that all increases in recorded crime are attributable to better police-community relations. It does mean we should be wary of an uncritical reliance on trends in recorded crime statistics as a measure of underlying crime trends.

Dr Don Weatherburn  
**Director**

February 1991



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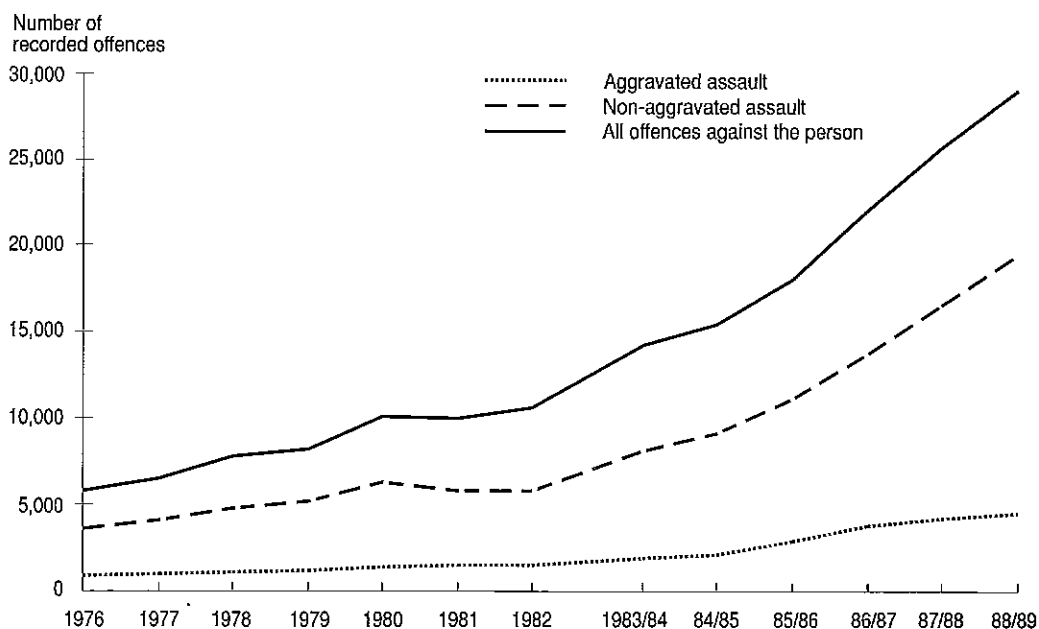
## INTRODUCTION

The perceived level of violence in Australian society is a matter of widespread public concern. This concern culminated recently with the formation of a National Committee on Violence, made up of Federal and State Government representatives together with significant community members.

The Report of this Committee, which was published in 1990, canvassed a range of issues central to the control and prevention of violence but, as with so many policy matters in this area, the considerations of the Committee were limited by the relative paucity of reliable and comparable data on the actual incidence of violent offending in the community. The need for more reliable information on the incidence of violent offending is suggested by a number of considerations.

In NSW, as in other States and Territories, for example, an examination of homicide rates over the last two decades provides no evidence that the rate of *fatal* violence is increasing.<sup>1</sup> However, as shown in Figure 1, recorded assault offences, both aggravated and non-aggravated, have been rising steadily over the last 10 years. Taken at face value, crime statistics published by the NSW Police Service suggest an increase from 1982 to 1988/89<sup>2</sup> for aggravated assault of 198 per cent, and for non-aggravated assault of 237 per cent. If these assaults result in death, even only occasionally, the incidence of homicide should have increased over the same period. The fact that this has not happened casts some doubt on the apparent rise in the level of assault.

**Figure 1: Recorded offences against the person, NSW, 1976 – 1988/89**



Source: NSW Police Service, *NSW Crime Statistics 1988/89*, NSW Police Service, Sydney, 1989.

Recorded rates of offending for most crimes are not unambiguous measures of the incidence of offending. For example, in a survey conducted in NSW in April 1990 the Australian Bureau of Statistics found that only 30.8 per cent of assault victims reported the assault to the police.<sup>3</sup> Generally, the major reasons given for not reporting offences were feelings that the offence was too trivial, or beliefs that the police could not, or would not, do anything about it. Consequently, changes in the attitudes of people towards being assaulted, or in their perceptions of the likely police response to receiving a report of their victimisation, could have an effect on the level of reporting of that offence.

## **BUREAU STUDIES**

In an effort to establish the underlying reasons for the increases in recorded assault offences in NSW, the Bureau has conducted two separate studies of the offence. The first study<sup>4</sup> examined aggravated assault. The study reported here examines non-aggravated assault.

The first Bureau study examined the aggravated assault offences defined under various sections of the *Crimes Act 1900 No. 40*. These were: 'maliciously wounding or inflicting grievous bodily harm' (s. 35), 'wounding with intent to do bodily harm or resist arrest' (s. 33), 'causing grievous bodily harm' (s. 54), and 'assault occasioning actual bodily harm' (s. 59). The report provided evidence that the underlying rate of aggravated assault had risen, although its incidence was shown to be far less than that of non-aggravated assault.

This present report provides an analysis of trends in non-aggravated assault, the most common category of assault offence. The categories of offence to be considered in this study are described later in the report. The report's specific aim is to examine the question of whether, and to what extent, the increase in recorded non-aggravated assault is attributable to factors other than an increase in the actual incidence of the offence.

## **POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS FOR INCREASE IN RECORDED NON-AGGRAVATED ASSAULT OFFENCES**

At first glance, Figure 1 might be interpreted as indicating a general increase in the incidence of non-aggravated assault in the community. It is possible, however, that the increase in recorded non-aggravated assault offences is a result of the action of any of several other factors, only some of which would indicate an increase in violent behaviour. For example, in examining possible causes of an increase in the incidence of any specific offence one would want to consider the factors which are listed below:

### *(i) An increase in the general population*

The first factor which may give rise to an increase in offences reported to the police is an increase in the size of the population. As the population grows, the number of offences per head of population may remain the same while the overall number of reported offences increases.

### *(ii) More people in the crime prone age groups*

It is commonly observed that the majority of offenders fall in the under 40 years age



group. Changes in the proportions of the population within specific age groups could change the pool of people in the age group from which the larger numbers of offenders are drawn. For example, an increase in the proportion of the population aged under 40 might produce an increase in the number of offences reported to police.

*(iii) The deployment of additional police*

There are a number of ways in which the deployment of additional police could lead to an increase in recorded offences. The most obvious way is in the creation of a greater population of 'arresters' in the community. One obvious example is that one officer attending the scene of a crime will have a limited potential to arrest/detain suspects. The greater the number of officers attending the scene the greater will be the potential to make arrests.

Since one of the offences to be considered in this report is Assault Police there is another way in which the deployment of additional police could increase recorded offences. That is, additional police could swell the pool of potential victims.

Another factor which may contribute to an increase in the number of offences is the actual availability of police to record such offences. That is, an increase in the number of police may contribute to a situation in which there is more time available to complete the paper work attaching to a reported matter. This could result in an increase in the number of recorded offences even if there were no change in the number of offences reported to police.

*(iv) Changes to policing policies*

One specific policy of the police which would result in an increase in the number of recorded offences is an increase in the number of arrests made in the context of an individual incident. If, say, the police used to arrest one person in every incident to which they responded and then started to arrest two people in every incident, the increase in arrests would not be brought about by an increase in the number of incidents, but, instead, by an increase in the number of arrests per incident.

Alternatively, pro-active policing policies and other strategies of community policing, which seek to establish closer ties between the police and the community and which are now being actively pursued by the NSW Police Service, might contribute to an increase in reports of various crimes.

*(v) Changes to police recording practices*

If the 'operational definition' of a particular offence changed, it is possible that offences would be re-classified. For example, it is possible that the definition of non-aggravated assault has changed over time to include more serious incidents. This could produce an increase in the recorded incidence of non-aggravated assault even though the overall level of assault in the community remained unchanged. Alternatively, the definition could have changed so that less serious incidents are now charged as non-aggravated assault.

*(vi) Changes in the general crime reporting levels within the overall population*

The increase in non-aggravated assault may represent an increased willingness of the public to report any incident to the police. This may have resulted from such police strategies as the adoption of community policing mentioned above; the creation of organisations like Neighbourhood Watch; or better relations between the police and

a number of minority victim groups like, for example, homosexuals in parts of the Central Sydney Area.

*(vii) Increases in reporting of particular types of incidents*

One other possibility is that there have been increases in the willingness of victims to report particular types of incidents. For example, in recent years there have been a number of advertising programs in both print and electronic media and in many different languages aimed at encouraging women who are the victims of domestic assault to report such incidents to the police. Other efforts to reach groups who are alleged to be non-reporters of their victimisation include a combined police and homosexual group advertising campaign urging homosexuals to report their victimisation to police should they be assaulted.

## METHODOLOGY

### DATA SOURCES

The approach taken in this study was to examine in detail the possible explanations for the increase in recorded non-aggravated assault offences using material from a variety of published sources and from a survey of information recorded by police about incidents of non-aggravated assault reported to them.

A number of different forms are used by police to record information about incidents from which a charge or charges might arise. The two main forms are the 'Police Incident Report' (PIR), used to record details about an incident reported to police, and the 'Police Incident and Arrest Report' (PIA), used to record information when an arrest is made. For the same incident there may be both a PIR and a PIA completed or only one of these. Only the PIA is completed if the incident and the arrest are coincident. Depending on the circumstances other police report forms may also be completed for an incident, for example the 'Juvenile Report' and the 'Person of Interest Report'.

Although a number of different police report forms may be used to record information for a specific incident, the information is linked. It is possible to select a sample of incidents and, for each incident, to obtain information from all the various forms completed for that particular incident. From these forms information can be obtained on the circumstances in which an incident is alleged to have occurred and on the characteristics of the alleged victims and offenders.

It should be noted, however, that a single incident may involve one or more non-aggravated assault offences, one or more victims and one or more offenders.

### SAMPLE SELECTION

Information was collected from two random samples of incidents of non-aggravated assault reported to police. Of the two samples, one was drawn from the whole of NSW and the other from the Central Police District. The Central Police District consists of a conglomerate of police stations which service the Sydney inner-city area. The reason the Central sample was chosen was because the area contains the major entertainment venues, the Central Business District, a high density of hotels and restaurants, and, in general, has other demographic characteristics which are not normally distributed across the State as a whole. It was hypothesised that the patterns of non-aggravated assault in the Central Police District might be different from those which emerged for the State as a whole.

For the whole of the State a random sample of 400 incidents was selected from police records, for each of the years 1982, 1984/85, 1986/87, and 1988/89. For the Central Police District a random sample of 100 incidents was selected for each of the same years. The four years were chosen to cover the time period over which recorded non-aggravated assault offences have been increasing so that trends in the characteristics of recorded incidents could be assessed.

For each incident, information was coded from details recorded on police report

forms completed for the incident. A copy of the coding form used is provided in the Appendix. It can be seen that, for each incident, the form allowed recording of four offence types and also for recording of the details for up to six victims and six suspects.

Coding of the forms revealed some duplication. Duplication occurred when, for example, the same incident gave rise to two offenders being arrested each by a different police officer who each completed a PIA form, so that two separate incidents were recorded by police, when in fact only one incident (although more than one offence) occurred. When this occurred only one incident was counted in the sample. In a few cases it was also found that, when the police reports for a sampled incident were examined, more than one incident was described. When this occurred all incidents involving non-aggravated assault were included in the sample.

When unique incidents were considered the State sample consisted of 400 incidents for 1982, 407 for 1984/85, 400 for 1986/87 and 399 for 1988/89. In the Central sample there were 102 incidents for 1982, 101 for 1984/85, 109 for 1986/87 and 100 for 1988/89.

Because the presence of Central cases within the State sample might distort the analyses, it was decided to remove those Central cases which occurred randomly within the larger State sample. This left what is referred to below as the 'Rest of State' sample (that is Whole of the State excluding randomly occurring Central entries) which for the respective years numbered 362, 368, 367 and 369 incidents.

The information extracted from the police report forms was coded and subsequently punched onto computer tape and tabulated using the CSS statistical package.

It should be noted that between 1982 and 1988 a number of changes were implemented to the format of the PIR and PIA forms. These format changes have implications for the recording of particular types of non-aggravated assault. For example, the 1988 forms place particular emphasis on the recording of details of incidents involving domestic assault.

The analyses presented below attempt to interpret the data from the samples of non-aggravated assault incidents in the light of information obtained from annual police reports and other government reports.

## **LEGAL DEFINITIONS**

The categories of offence which constituted non-aggravated assault in police records during most of this study were Common Assault, Assault Police, Assault Female and Assault Child. These are the terms used by the police in their recording of offences. They are not necessarily the same as the terms used in the legislation. However, for the purposes of this study non-aggravated assault covered offences under section 61, section 493 and section 494 of the *Crimes Act 1900 No. 40*, until February 1989 when sections 493 and 494 were repealed. Consequently, for four months of the last study period incidents involving assaults on police officers, females and children would have been listed as section 61 Common Assaults.

The abolition of sections 493 and 494 created problems in counting the number of incidents which related to non-aggravated assaults against police officers. The only way to identify such assaults was via the offence category Assault Police and this

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NON-AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

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category no longer existed for the last four months of the study. There was no other question on the data form which would identify the victim as a police officer. Consequently there was undercounting of assaults against police in the last four months of the 1988/89 sample period. Assaults against females presented no problem because female victims could be counted in ways other than by reference to the offence classification Assault Female. They could be identified by reference to the victim's sex. Similarly, for assaults against children reference could be made to the age of victim.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this section each of the possible explanations for the increase in recorded non-aggravated assault is discussed in the light of analysis of data from the samples of recorded incidents of non-aggravated assault and from other published sources.

### (I) AN INCREASE IN THE GENERAL POPULATION

One possible explanation for the rise in non-aggravated assault is that over the period of the increase in recorded offences there was a similar increase in the NSW population. If this were the case it would be expected that the rate of non-aggravated assault per 100,000 population would have remained the same.

Figure 2 shows the trend in the rate of non-aggravated assault, that is the trend in the number of recorded non-aggravated assault offences per 100,000 population. If

**Figure 2: Recorded non-aggravated assault offences per 100,000 population, NSW, 1976 – 1988/89**



*Note: All population data used to calculate rates were as of 30 June, mid-year for calendar years and at the beginning of the year for financial years. The source for population estimates was Australian Bureau of Statistics publications:*

*pre 1981 — Estimated Resident Population by Sex and Age: States and Territories of Australia, June 1971 to June 1981, Catalogue No. 3201.0, August 1982.*

*1981 to 1988 — Australian Demographic Statistics, Catalogue No. 3101.0, March Quarter (annual publication).*

*The source for the offence data was NSW Crime Statistics 1988/89, NSW Police Service, Sydney, 1989.*

NON-AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

population increase were the sole reason for the increase in non-aggravated assault one would expect the rate per 100,000 population to be constant. However, from Figure 2 it is clear that this is not the case. The rate of non-aggravated assault has been increasing in much the same way as has the frequency of the offences.

Population increases alone, therefore, cannot explain the increase in non-aggravated assault, although population movement might make some, as yet unestablished contribution.

**(II) MORE PEOPLE IN THE CRIME PRONE AGE GROUPS**

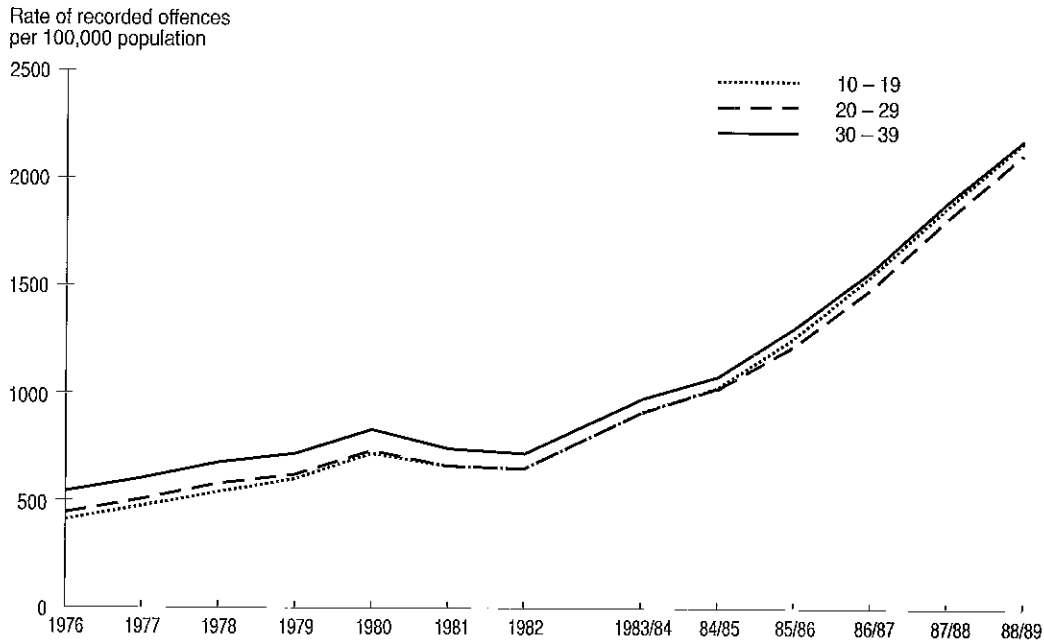
Although the growth in the overall population is insufficient to explain the increase in non-aggravated assault, it might be that during the periods under study, there were disproportionate population increases in the age groups from which the suspects are most commonly drawn.

Table 1 shows the percentage of suspects in various age groups for the samples of non-aggravated assault incidents selected for the years 1982, 1984/85, 1986/87 and 1988/89. As can be seen from the table, age of the suspect was not recorded in a large proportion of cases. In those cases in which age could be established, the majority of suspects were aged less than 40 years. In all years, and in both the Central and the Rest of State samples, the largest single age category of suspects was the 20-29 year old group. If, during the period of the study there had been an increase in the general population in the under 40 age group (or even just in the 20-29 year old age group) while other age groups had stayed the same, this may account for the increase in non-aggravated assault.

**Table 1: Age of suspect in non-aggravated assault incidents**

<i>Sample:</i>	<i>Percentage of suspects</i>							
	<i>Central</i>				<i>Rest of State</i>			
<i>Year:</i>	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89
<i>Age group of suspect:</i>								
10 – 19	12.7	8.9	11.0	19.0	12.2	13.0	17.2	20.6
20 – 29	22.5	20.8	18.3	31.0	31.2	26.9	33.0	32.0
30 – 39	8.8	6.9	13.8	5.0	14.6	16.0	19.1	15.2
40 – 49	6.9	1.0	6.4	7.0	6.4	9.5	4.9	8.9
50 – 59	2.0	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.4	4.1	2.7	2.7
60+	0.0	1.0	0.9	0.0	1.4	1.9	0.3	0.5
Unknown	47.1	59.4	47.7	36.0	32.9	28.5	22.9	20.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**Figure 3: Recorded non-aggravated assault offences per 100,000 population in selected age groups, NSW, 1976 – 1988/89**



Note: All population data used to calculate rates were as of 30 June, mid-year for calendar years and at the beginning of the year for financial years. The source for population estimates was Australian Bureau of Statistics publications:

pre 1981 — *Estimated Resident Population by Sex and Age: States and Territories of Australia, June 1971 to June 1981*, Catalogue No. 3201.0, August 1982.

1981 to 1988 — *Australian Demographic Statistics*, Catalogue No. 3101.0, March Quarter (annual publication).

The source for the offence data was *NSW Crime Statistics 1988/89*, NSW Police Service, Sydney, 1989.

Figure 3 shows the trend in the total number of recorded non-aggravated assault offences per 100,000 population in each of the three age groups 10-19 years, 20-29 years and 30-39 years. One would expect no change in these age-specific rates of offending if the increase in offences were to be explained wholly by increased numbers in the community of 10-19, 20-29 or 30-39 year olds, the particular age groups which are known to account for the majority of non-aggravated assault offenders. From Figure 3 it can be seen that the rates do increase and therefore growth in the offence prone age populations must be rejected as an explanation.

### (III) THE DEPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL POLICE

Police strength in NSW has risen by 29 per cent from 9,532 in 1982 to 12,280 in 1988. If



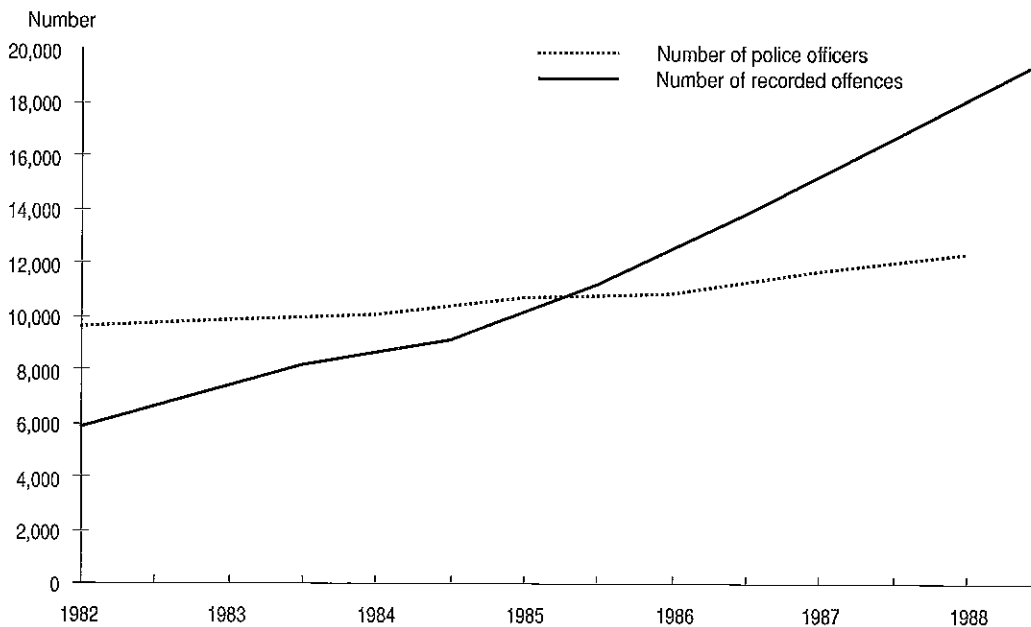
it can be assumed that each officer is likely to deal with the same number of reports of non-aggravated assault per annum, then the deployment of additional numbers of police should result in a corresponding increase in the number of recorded non-aggravated assault offences. Indeed, this is an explanation favoured by the police themselves. In their 1986/87 Crime Statistics<sup>5</sup> they say:

*The significant swell in police numbers in recent times has obviously had an impact on the detection and recording of criminal offences.*

Figure 4 shows the increases in both the numbers of police officers and recorded non-aggravated assault offences over the period under study. As can be seen, the rate of increase in non-aggravated assault is much higher than is the rate of increase in the number of police officers. This implies that the increase in non-aggravated assault offences does not merely represent an increased number of police officers each of whom continue to record offences at the same rate.

However, there is another way in which increased numbers of police might indirectly contribute to an increase in non-aggravated assault as well as other types of assault behaviour. One type of incident which makes up the overall category of non-aggravated assault is Assault Police and the existence of increased numbers of police creates a larger population of potential victims. This point is discussed further, later in the report.

**Figure 4: Police strength and recorded non-aggravated assault offences, NSW, 1982 – 1988/89**



Source: Police strength figures from 1982 to 1987 from *Source Book of Australian Criminal and Social Statistics 1804 – 1988*, Australian Institute of Criminology, 1989.

Police strength for 1988 from *NSW Police Annual Report 1987/88*, NSW Police Service, 1988.

**(IV) CHANGES TO POLICING POLICIES**

Another possible explanation for the increase in non-aggravated assault offences over recent years is that there has been an increase in the number of arrests taking place in each incident. Table 2 shows the relative proportions of incidents with one or more suspects in the selected samples.

From Table 2 it can be seen that there has been a consistent decline in the proportion of incidents which involve multiple suspects in the Rest of State sample from 14.9 per cent in 1982 to 6.5 per cent in 1988/89. At the same time there was an increase in the proportion of incidents involving multiple suspects in the Central sample between 1982 and 1984/85 from 21.5 per cent to 29.7 per cent, but this returned to the 1982 level in 1986/87 and showed a further minor decline to 18.0 per cent in 1988/89.

The salient feature of the figures in Table 2 is that, with the exception of 1984/85 in the Central sample, at least three-quarters of reported incidents involve only one suspect and there is evidence of a trend towards higher proportions of single suspect incidents over the years. It would appear therefore that the increase in recorded non-aggravated assault offences cannot be explained by increased numbers of arrests per incident during the study period.

Another factor which should be considered is whether the increase can be explained by reference to programs or policy changes taking place within the Police Service.

**Table 2: Number of suspects in non-aggravated assault incidents**

<i>Sample:</i>	<i>Percentage of incidents</i>							
	<i>Central</i>				<i>Rest of State</i>			
<i>Year:</i>	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89
<i>Number of suspects per incident:</i>								
One suspect	76.5	68.3	78.0	82.0	84.0	87.2	88.0	91.6
More than one suspect	21.5	29.7	21.1	18.0	14.9	11.7	10.9	6.5
No suspects	2.0	2.0	0.9	0.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Under the administration of the Commissioner of Police in NSW, Mr John Avery, emphasis has been placed on community policing which means a closer relationship between the operational police officers and the community which they serve. This emphasis found expression in programs like Neighbourhood Watch which, following its introduction in March 1985, created a more active role for the citizen in community responsibility for crime control.

Other examples of program initiatives taken by the Police Service in recent years include the 1987 establishment of the Street Safety Co-ordination Committee which was to 'develop effective programs to combat the incidence of hooliganism in the

community'.<sup>6</sup> From this Committee emanated 'Operation Hoover' which was a strategy of beat policing of 'streets, hotels, railway stations and other areas targeted as potential high risk areas by District Intelligence Groups'.<sup>7</sup>

Possibly more important, however, has been the development during the 1980s of policies within the police administration on the question of domestic violence. These changes have been accompanied by extensive new legislation and amendments to existing legislation which will be discussed in detail later. Briefly, the legislative changes have enlarged police power to act, and in some instances have compelled police to act in domestic violence matters.

These operations in combination with an increase in police resources may have produced the increase in non-aggravated assault offences which has occurred since 1982.

### (V) CHANGES TO POLICE RECORDING PRACTICES

Another possibility which might explain the increase in recorded non-aggravated assaults in recent years could be that the increases have been brought about by a change in the operational definition of non-aggravated assault. For example, it could be that events previously classified as other offences are now classified as non-aggravated assault. In other words, more serious, or, for that matter, less serious offences may now be classified as non-aggravated assault.

One way to test this would be to examine whether the level of injury reported in each of the incidents has changed over time. Table 3 shows the level of injury reported in the selected samples of incidents. The table shows that the great majority of victims of non-aggravated assault suffered little or no injury. It can also be seen that there has been little change in the proportions over the years.

**Table 3: Severity of victim's injury in non-aggravated assault incidents**

<i>Sample:</i>	<i>Percentage of victims</i>							
	<i>Central</i>				<i>Rest of State</i>			
<i>Year:</i>	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89
<i>Nature of most serious injury:</i>								
Negligible/no injury	33.3	24.8	28.4	25.0	34.8	26.6	22.9	25.7
Abrasions, bruises, minor cuts	53.9	55.4	54.1	51.0	46.7	55.7	59.7	54.2
Serious (broken limb, major wound)	4.9	3.0	4.6	3.0	4.4	3.0	7.1	5.6
Other	0.0	4.0	2.8	2.0	3.3	0.8	0.8	1.4
Not stated	7.8	12.9	10.1	19.0	10.8	13.9	9.5	13.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

## NON-AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

Another possible indicator of the seriousness of those incidents classified as non-aggravated assault is the nature of the weapon used by the suspect. From Table 4 it can be seen that in the vast majority of cases no weapon was used. This has not changed during the period under study.

There is therefore no evidence of any change in the seriousness of non-aggravated assault incidents over this period.

**Table 4: Weapon use in non-aggravated assault incidents**

<i>Sample:</i>	<i>Percentage of suspects</i>							
	<i>Central</i>				<i>Rest of State</i>			
<i>Year:</i>	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89
<i>Weapon use:</i>								
No weapon used	75.5	87.1	74.3	76.0	74.3	74.5	76.3	76.2
Sharp instrument	5.9	4.0	6.4	4.0	5.2	3.5	2.7	3.5
Blunt instrument	3.9	2.0	2.8	1.0	5.8	4.9	4.1	6.0
Gun	3.9	0.0	2.8	4.0	5.5	3.3	1.6	0.8
Other	6.9	3.0	8.3	10.0	7.5	11.4	9.5	6.0
Unknown	3.9	4.0	5.5	5.0	1.7	2.4	5.7	7.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

### THE EXPLANATIONS SO FAR

The possible explanations which have so far been considered might *each* make some minor contribution to the increase in recorded non-aggravated assault offences. On the basis of the present study it is difficult to assess accurately the extent of that contribution. However, it seems unlikely that:

- (i) an increase in the general population
- (ii) more people in the crime prone age groups
- (iii) the deployment of additional police
- (iv) changes to policing policies, or
- (v) changes to police recording practices

would either *separately* or *together* be sufficient to explain the overall increasing trend in recorded non-aggravated assault.

### (VI) CHANGES IN THE REPORTING LEVELS WITHIN THE OVERALL POPULATION

We turn, then, to the possibility that the increase in reports has arisen because of an increase in the willingness of the public to report certain types of incidents. If this

were the case the data would show a shift in the patterns of reporting. In particular there would be an increase in the reports of incidents which were lodged by others rather than detected by police.

One of the simplest ways to test the effect of reporting patterns over the study period is to examine who reported the incident to police. Such data are presented in Table 5 and show that rather than an increase, there was a decline in the proportion of offences reported to the police and an increase in the proportion of offences detected by police.

**Table 5: Person reporting incident in non-aggravated assault incidents**

<i>Sample:</i>	<i>Percentage of Incidents</i>							
	<i>Central</i>				<i>Rest of State</i>			
<i>Year:</i>	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89
<i>Incident reported by:</i>								
Police	14.7	15.8	18.3	26.0	15.2	14.9	17.7	19.0
Others	85.3	83.2	80.7	73.0	84.5	85.1	78.2	80.5
Unknown	0.0	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.3	0.0	4.1	0.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

However, it should be noted that one of the offences which is included in this study is Assault Police. It is possible, therefore, that the increase in offences detected by police merely reflects an increase in the number of police officers who are possible targets for assault incidents. As noted above, there has been a marked increase in police strength over the period under study. At the same time, between 1982 and 1988/89, the relative frequency of Assault Police incidents in the Central sample rose from 13.7 per cent to 24.0 per cent of all incidents. There was little change in the relative frequency of Assault Police in the Rest of State sample (see Table 7 for details).

It is prudent therefore to exclude those cases in which the police are involved as victims and re-examine the offence trends after such exclusion. The results are shown in Table 6.

It is evident that when incidents involving the offence of Assault Police are deleted from the samples, the increase in detected offences which was noted in Table 5, disappears. That is, while it is true that there was an increase in the proportion of offences detected by police, it related to offences committed *against* police. Table 6 also demonstrates that when Assault Police is excluded, the rate at which offences are reported to police remains largely unaltered from year to year and from sample to sample.

NON-AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

**Table 6: Person reporting incident in non-aggravated assault incidents, excluding incidents involving Assault Police offences**

<i>Percentage of incidents not involving Assault Police</i>								
<i>Sample:</i>	<i>Central</i>				<i>Rest of State</i>			
<i>Year:</i>	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89
<i>Incident reported by:</i>								
Police	5.7	5.6	2.2	6.6	2.3	1.9	5.1	3.9
Others	94.3	93.3	96.7	92.1	97.4	98.1	90.4	95.5
Unknown	0.0	1.1	1.1	1.3	0.3	0.0	4.5	0.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**(VII) INCREASED REPORTING OF PARTICULAR TYPES OF INCIDENTS**

It is possible that there has been an increase in the willingness to report particular types of incidents. Table 7 shows the breakdown of the various offences which together make up the totality of non-aggravated assault in this study. Two particular types of offence are worthy of further consideration: those involving the offence of Assault Police and those involving domestic violence.

**Table 7: Type of offence in non-aggravated assault incidents**

<i>Percentage of incidents</i>								
<i>Sample:</i>	<i>Central</i>				<i>Rest of State</i>			
<i>Year:</i>	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89
<i>Type of offence:</i>								
Common Assault	73.5	79.2	75.2	69.0	68.0	64.7	59.9	64.2
Assault Police	13.7	11.9	17.4	24.0	14.1	14.9	14.7	16.3
Assault Female	15.7	10.9	11.0	9.0	18.2	21.7	27.0	22.2
Assault Child	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.5
Other	30.4	25.7	34.9	42.0	24.6	25.0	34.1	32.2

*Note: The columns of percentages do not add to 100% in this table because each incident could involve more than one type of offence.*

## ASSAULT POLICE

Although in the Rest of State sample there was little increase in the proportion of Assault Police offences, in the Central sample the proportion of Assault Police offences rose from 15.7 per cent in 1982 to 24.0 per cent in 1988/89. This increase might be a partial explanation of the growth of reported non-aggravated assault and so it might be useful to examine some other external evidence of the growth of incidents involving the police as victims.

Swanton and Walker<sup>8</sup> assert that many minor assaults on police were previously not recorded "*as they are considered part of the 'game' by the officers concerned*". They continue:

*Nowadays, with increasing emphasis on occupational safety and health . . . most police forces do record assaults.*<sup>9</sup>

Informal consultation by Bureau research staff with police officers working in Central Sydney also suggests that the advent of criminal compensation has increased the willingness of police to report assaults against themselves. It seems likely, therefore, that rather than an increase in the number of incidents resulting in assaults on police, there has been an increase in the likelihood that such incidents will be reported.

The estimated impact of the increase in Assault Police offences on the total number of recorded non-aggravated assault offences in NSW is shown in Figure 5.

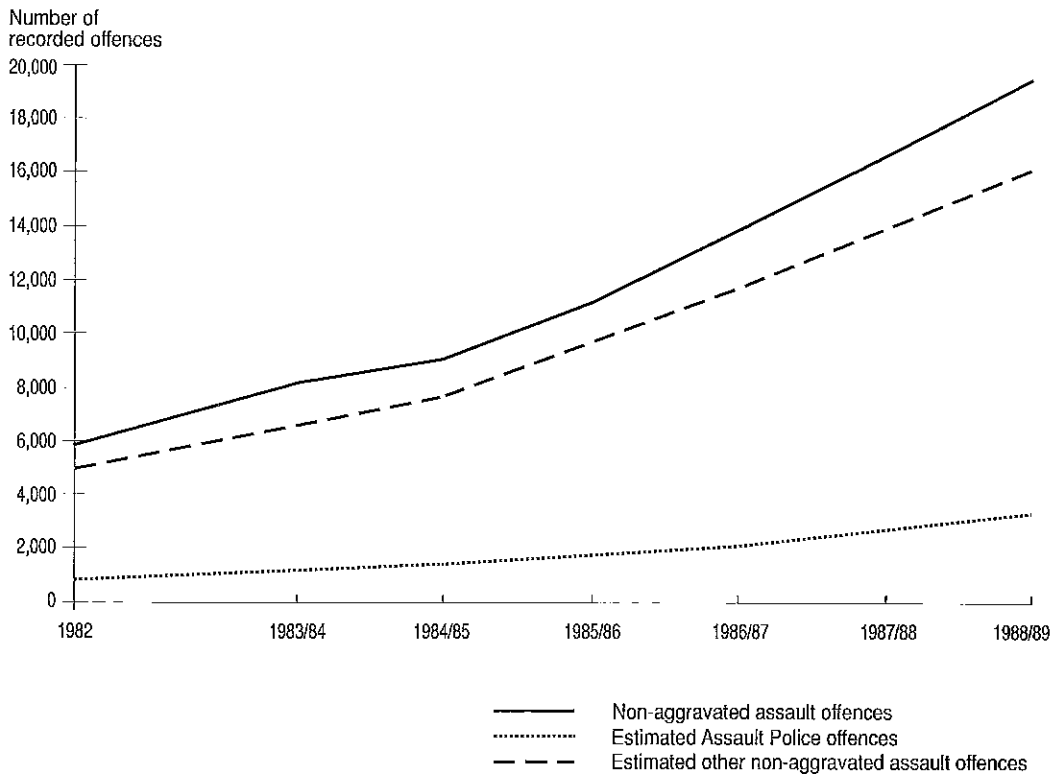
For each of the four sampled years the total number of recorded Assault Police offences in NSW was estimated by applying the proportion of Assault Police offences obtained from the sample, to the total recorded non-aggravated assault offences for that year. (For this purpose the sample selected for the whole of the State of NSW was used, including those Central cases which were later excluded to form the Rest of State sample.) For example in 1982, 13.8 per cent of the offences in the sampled incidents were Assault Police offences. The total recorded non-aggravated assault offences in NSW in 1982 was 5760. It was therefore estimated that 13.8 per cent of these, that is 795, were Assault Police offences and the remaining 4965 were other non-aggravated assault offences.

Figure 5 shows the trend in recorded non-aggravated assault offences in NSW from 1982 to 1988/89. It also shows the two estimated components of this trend, the Assault Police offences component and the component consisting of the remaining offences excluding Assault Police. It is clear that all three lines in Figure 5 show an increasing trend and therefore that while there has been an increase in Assault Police offences, the increase does not fully explain the increase in non-aggravated assault offences. It should be noted as mentioned above, however, that it was not possible to code the category of Assault Police for the last four months of the 1988/89 sample. As a result, the number of recorded Assault Police offences for 1988/89 is underestimated.

## DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The growth in, or an increased willingness to report other particular incident types such as domestic violence might also be making a contribution to the overall increase in recorded non-aggravated assaults.

**Figure 5: Recorded non-aggravated assault offences and estimated Assault Police offences, NSW, 1982 – 1988/89**



Since 1983 a considerable body of legislation in this State has concerned itself with the question of family violence. Most particularly, the *Crimes (Domestic Violence) Amendment Act 1983 No. 116* and subsequent amendments in 1987, together with amendments to other Acts and administrative changes within the police force, have led to a pro-active policing policy concerning domestic violence. (The relevant legislation is now contained in Part 15A and sections 4, 357F, 357G, 357H and 407AA of the *Crimes Act 1900 No. 40* as amended, and the *Bail Act 1978 No. 161* as amended.)

The various legislative changes have greatly enhanced police powers of entry and arrest in domestic disputes, made the spouse or victim in a domestic dispute a compellable witness, extended greater legal protection to the victim in a domestic dispute by way of the Apprehended Domestic Violence Order<sup>10</sup>, and in some cases limited the right to bail of the person charged over an incident involving family violence.

In addition to legislative change, the NSW Women's Co-ordination Unit, a unit formerly within the Premier's Department, conducted an advertising campaign in 1986 which aimed to bring the issue of domestic violence to the public eye. Advertising space was obtained in public transport and on railway and bus stations for posters



NON-AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

which provided information on the availability of assistance to victims of domestic violence. The posters carried slogans in many community languages. Similar pamphlets, also in a range of community languages were distributed to police stations, hospitals, government departments, community and private health centres. Time was also allocated on community ethnic radio stations and SBS television.

Since 1983 the NSW Police Department has issued a number of circulars to police which state clearly the responsibilities of officers under the various legislations relating to domestic violence (see, for example, Circulars No. 88/075 and 88/023). Domestic Violence Liaison Officers have been appointed within the force and data systems for recording details of incidents of domestic violence were incorporated into the standard police incident report form at the beginning of 1988.

Fairly late in the data collection period some innovative schemes were introduced by the NSW Police Service. One such scheme was *Operation Assist* which was piloted at Macquarie Fields in April 1989. In this scheme police followed up a random number of cases in which Apprehended Domestic Violence Orders had been granted within the Macquarie Fields area to establish whether breaches of the Orders had occurred. Where breaches had occurred an arrest was initiated by police.<sup>11</sup>

**Table 8: Nature of circumstances in non-aggravated assault incidents**

<i>Sample:</i>	<i>Percentage of incidents</i>							
	<i>Central</i>				<i>Rest of State</i>			
<i>Year:</i>	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89
<i>Nature of circumstances:</i>								
Robbery/theft	5.9	4.0	6.4	6.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.4
Unprovoked attack	15.7	33.7	20.2	19.0	12.2	10.3	9.8	11.7
'Horseplay'	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.1	0.3	1.1
Domestic assault – spouse	1.0	4.0	2.8	3.0	8.0	17.7	14.7	21.7
Domestic assault – other	1.0	0.0	0.9	2.0	4.1	4.9	3.8	6.0
Sex	4.9	4.0	2.8	3.0	9.9	3.0	4.9	2.7
Altercation – neighbours	1.0	0.0	0.9	1.0	1.9	0.8	2.2	1.4
Altercation – transport	7.8	6.9	8.3	6.0	6.1	4.3	4.6	3.0
Arrest	10.8	12.9	22.9	25.0	13.5	15.8	13.1	16.5
Brawl	2.9	4.0	0.9	0.0	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.5
Other	26.5	17.8	24.8	27.0	25.4	25.5	30.0	21.7
Unknown	19.6	12.9	9.2	8.0	13.8	12.8	13.6	11.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

It is possible that these measures have resulted in increased reporting of domestic violence, which in turn goes some way to explain the increases in recorded non-aggravated assault offences which have occurred in recent years. In his study of aggravated assault, Robb<sup>12</sup> failed to find any evidence that domestic assaults had affected patterns of *serious* assault. He speculated that domestic assault increases might find their expression in the less serious non-aggravated assault categories.

The nature of the circumstances of the non-aggravated assault incidents sampled for the present study is shown in Table 8. Narrative descriptions of the incidents as recorded in the police reports of the sampled incidents were used to code these circumstances. In keeping with the expanded definition provided by the legislation two categories of domestic assault were allowed for in the classification: (1) domestic assault - spouse, which also includes de facto relationships, and (2) domestic assault - other. Hence, parental violence against children and domestic violence involving other family members were both included.

Domestic assault, whether by spouse or other family member, accounted for only a small proportion of cases in any year in the Central group. In the Rest of State sample, however, domestic assaults by spouse rose from 8.0 per cent in 1982 to 21.7 per cent in 1988/89. Slight rises were also recorded in domestic assaults involving assailants other than spouses.

Taking the two categories of domestic assault together results in slightly more than a quarter of the incidents in 1988/89 in the Rest of the State sample having domestic assault as the circumstance surrounding the incident.

The increasing proportion of cases involving domestic violence in the Rest of State sample is further illustrated in Table 9 which shows the victim's relationship to the suspect for assault victims in the sampled incidents. The relationship of spouse/de

**Table 9: Victim's relationship to suspect in non-aggravated assault incidents**

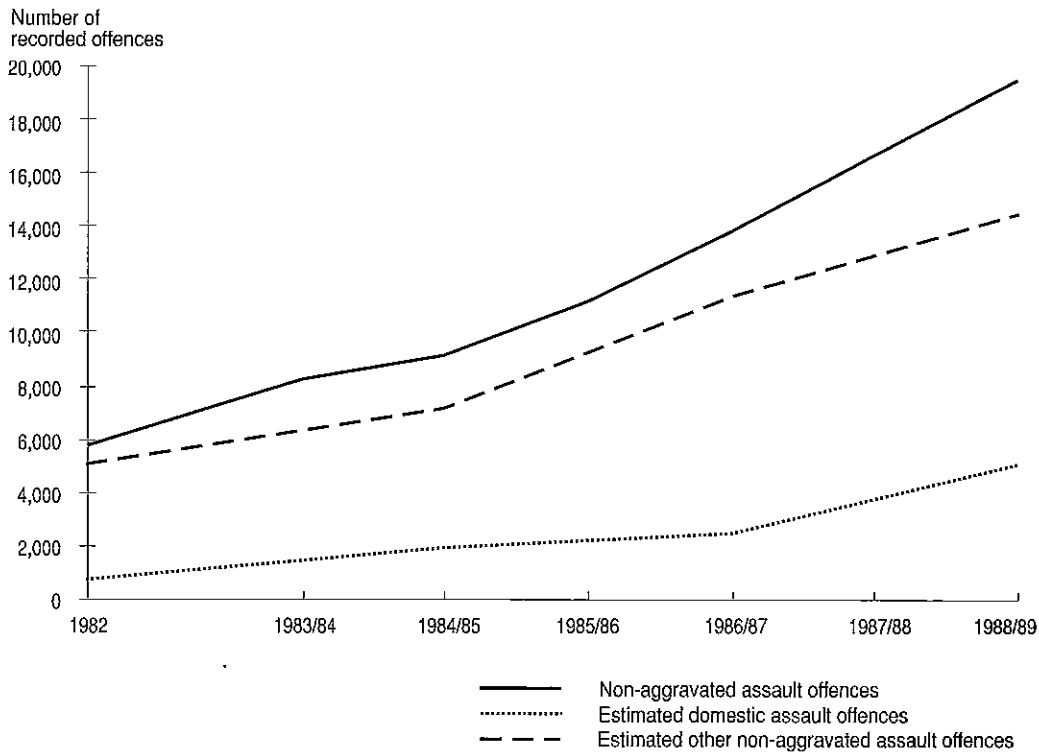
<b>Sample:</b>	<b>Percentage of victims</b>							
	<b>Central</b>				<b>Rest of State</b>			
<b>Year:</b>	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89	1982	1984/85	1986/87	1988/89
<b>Victim's relationship to suspect:</b>								
Friend/acquaintance	4.9	0.0	3.7	0.0	7.2	2.7	5.7	3.5
Spouse/de facto	1.0	4.0	3.7	4.0	7.5	17.1	15.3	22.2
Other family	1.0	0.0	0.9	2.0	4.7	4.9	3.8	5.4
Neighbour	1.0	0.0	2.8	1.0	2.5	0.8	3.0	2.7
No relationship	82.4	84.2	83.5	81.0	61.9	53.3	50.4	42.8
Unknown	9.8	11.9	5.5	12.0	16.3	21.2	21.8	23.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

facto between the victim and the suspect rose from 7.5 per cent of victims in 1982 to 22.2 per cent of victims in 1988/89.

As with Assault Police, the impact of the increase in domestic assaults on the total number of recorded non-aggravated assaults in NSW can be estimated. Figure 6 presents the trend in recorded non-aggravated assault offences in NSW and the two estimated components of this trend, for domestic assault offences and for other offences. The domestic assault offences component was estimated as follows. For each of the sampled years, the proportion of incidents sampled from the whole of the State, where the circumstances were either domestic assault - spouse or domestic assault - other, was applied to the total recorded non-aggravated assault offences for that year. This calculation resulted in an estimate of the number of recorded domestic assault offences for each of the years 1982, 1984/85, 1986/87, and 1988/89. The estimated 'other offences' component was derived by subtraction from the total recorded non-aggravated assault offences.

If domestic assault on its own were responsible for the increasing trend in non-aggravated assault all evidence of an increase should disappear when domestic assault offences are removed from the total. This is not the case. It is clear, however, that domestic assault offences have made some contribution to the increasing trend in non-aggravated assault over the period from 1982 to 1988/89.

**Figure 6: Recorded non-aggravated assault offences and estimated domestic assault offences, NSW, 1982 – 1988/89**

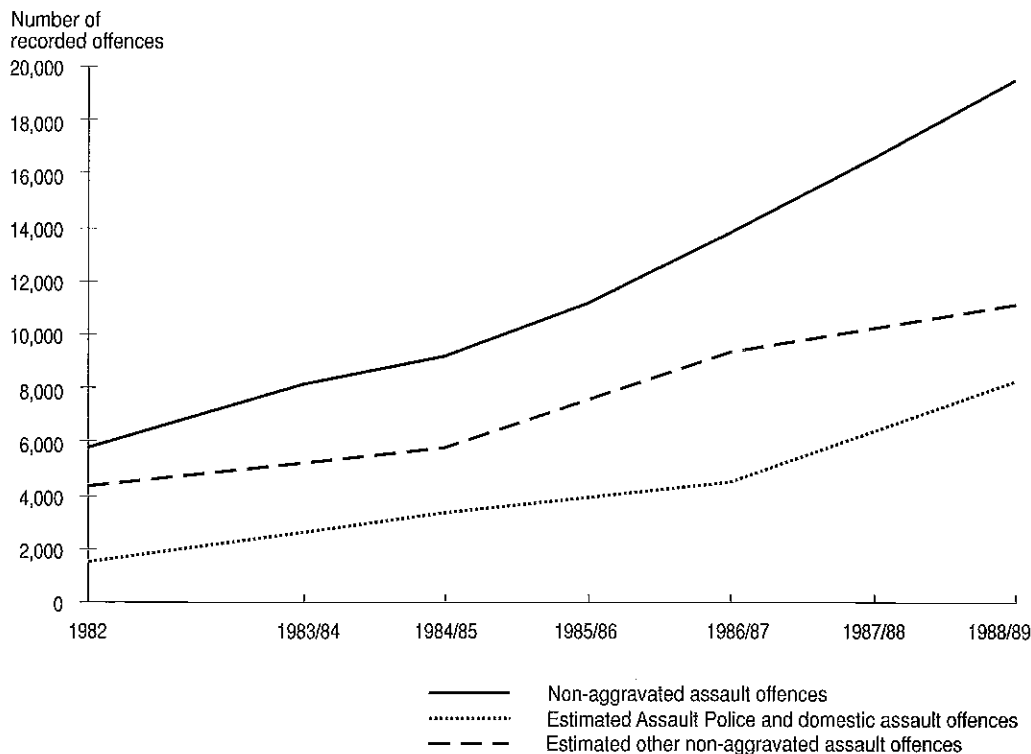


## NON-AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

It can be seen that neither the increase in recorded domestic assault nor the increase in recorded Assault Police offences is on its own sufficient to account for the increase in recorded non-aggravated assault offences. It appears, however, that both of these categories of assault have contributed to the increase. It is possible that the combined effect of the increase in domestic assaults and in Assault Police offences may be sufficient to account for the increase in non-aggravated assault.

In Figure 7 the estimated numbers of recorded offences that were either Assault Police or domestic assault, as shown in Figures 5 and 6 respectively, have been summed so that their combined effect on the trend in non-aggravated assault can be assessed. When Assault Police and domestic assault offences are subtracted from the total it is possible to see whether, together, they are solely responsible for the increase in non-aggravated assault. From the figure it can be seen that although these two types of incidents considered together are not solely responsible for the increasing trend in recorded non-aggravated assault offences, they make a major contribution to this increase. There is a marked reduction in the rate of increase in non-aggravated assault when Assault Police and domestic assault are excluded.

**Figure 7: Recorded non-aggravated assault offences and estimated combined Assault Police and domestic assault offences, NSW, 1982 – 1988/89**



### **THE 1990 ABS CRIME AND SAFETY SURVEY**

The analysis suggests that a very large part of the increase in recorded assault is due to two factors: an increase in the willingness of victims of domestic violence to report the offence and a probable lowering of the threshold for police to report assaults upon themselves. As noted above, however, the removal of these cases from the sample still leaves a residual increase in recorded assault over the period 1982 to 1988/89. The question which must now be addressed is whether this residual increase represents a real increase in the rate of assault over the period in question.

Evidence has become available since the completion of this research which suggests that the underlying rate of assault in the community is stable. The results of the 1990 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) household crime victim survey indicate that 2.1% of those persons surveyed were victims of one or more assaults in the previous year.<sup>13</sup> A similar survey was conducted by the ABS in 1983, where it found that 3.0% of those persons surveyed had been the victim of one or more assaults in the past year.<sup>14</sup> It would therefore appear that the general increase in recorded assault is reflective of increased willingness to report the offence rather than any actual increase.

## CONCLUSION

The aim of this report has been to examine possible explanations for the increase in recorded non-aggravated assault offences observed in recent years. The explanations in the main have been tested against evidence gathered from police incident reports. The evidence provided by these reports suggests that much of the apparent increase in non-aggravated assault may be attributed to a combination of two factors:

(a) an increase in the willingness of police to report assaults against themselves encouraged, at least to some extent, by greater awareness of compensation remedies available to victims of crime;

(b) an increase in the willingness of victims of domestic violence to report assaults to police prompted partly by education campaigns designed to encourage such reporting and partly by legal remedies designed to prevent a continuation of the assaults.

When these two factors are taken into account there would appear to be a small residual increase in recorded non-aggravated assault offences. It is unlikely that this increase represents any upward trend in the frequency of assaults in the community.

**NOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> Bonney, R., *Homicide 2*, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Sydney, 1988.
- <sup>2</sup> The NSW Police reported annual crime statistics on a calendar year basis up to and including 1982. Since then annual crime statistics for NSW have been reported on a financial year basis, that is for twelve month periods ending 30 June.
- <sup>3</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Crime and Safety, New South Wales, April 1990*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Sydney, 1990.
- <sup>4</sup> Robb, T., *Police Reports of Serious Assault in New South Wales*, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Sydney, 1988.
- <sup>5</sup> New South Wales Police Department, *New South Wales Crime Statistics for the 1986/87 Financial Year*, NSW Police Department, Sydney, 1987, p. 4.
- <sup>6</sup> New South Police Department, *NSW Police Annual Report 1987/88*, NSW Police Department, Sydney, 1988, p. 27.
- <sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p. 27.
- <sup>8</sup> Swanton, B., & Walker, J., *Police Employee Health: A Selective Study of Mortality and Morbidity, and their Measurement*, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, 1989, p. 57.
- <sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, p. 57.
- <sup>10</sup> Legislation proclaimed in February 1990 broadened the application of these orders to cover personal as well as domestic matters. The orders are now called Apprehended Violence Orders.
- <sup>11</sup> Women's Co-ordination Unit, *NSW Domestic Violence Committee Newsletter, No.2, January 1990*, Department of Family and Community Services, Sydney, p. 23.
- <sup>12</sup> Robb, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- <sup>13</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, *op. cit.*
- <sup>14</sup> It might be thought that, although the percentage of people reporting an assault has not increased, the frequency of assaults on those who report an assault has increased. ABS survey data, however, show little change in the frequency of victimisation among those assaulted.





## **APPENDIX**

**THE CODING FORM USED IN THE STUDY IS  
REPRODUCED ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES**

**BUREAU OF CRIME STATISTICS AND RESEARCH – ASSAULT STUDY - 1989**

1 CODING SHEET Nº

**INCIDENT DETAILS**

ENDS COL.

2 REFERENCE Nº

9

3 YEAR WHEN INCIDENT BECAME KNOWN TO POLICE

11

4 INCIDENT STATUS

ACCEPTED = 1. REJECTED = 2  
DOUBTFUL = 3. D.K. = 9

12

5 INCIDENT REPORTED BY

POLICE = 1  
OTHERS = 2  
DON'T KNOW = 9

13

6 TYPE OF INCIDENT

1 SUSPECT AND ONE VICTIM = 1      MULTIPLE SUSPECTS AND MULTIPLE VICTIMS = 4  
1 SUSPECT AND MULTIPLE VICTIMS = 2      NO SUSPECT AND ONE VICTIM = 5  
MULTIPLE SUSPECTS AND ONE VICTIM = 3      NO SUSPECT AND MULTIPLE VICTIMS = 6

14

7 TYPE OF CRIME

YES = 1 NO = 0

COMMON ASSAULT

15

ASSAULT POLICE

16

ASSAULT FEMALE

17

ASSAULT CHILD

18

SPECIFY OTHER:

OTHER

19

8 TIME OF INCIDENT

1201 A.M. = 0001

23

9 DAY OF INCIDENT

MONDAY = 1 TUESDAY = 2 WEDNESDAY = 3 THURSDAY = 4 FRIDAY = 5 SATURDAY = 6 SUNDAY = 7

24

10 INCIDENT LOCATION

CENTRAL = 1 REST OF STATE = 2

25

11 TYPE OF LOCATION

VICTIM'S DWELLING = 01	BEACH = 10
OTHER DWELLING = 02	CAR = 11
STREET = 03	CAR PARK = 12
INSIDE / OUTSIDE HOTEL / PUB / LICENSED CLUB = 04	RETAIL ESTABLISHMENT / SHOPPING CENTRE / MALL = 13
INSTITUTION / GAOL / MENTAL HOSPITAL / HOSPITAL = 05	SPORTING VENUE / SHOW GROUND = 14
POLICE STATION / VEHICLE / CELLS = 06	INSIDE / OUTSIDE OTHER ENTERTAINMENT VENUE = 15
RAILWAY STATION / TRAIN = 07	NON-RAIL PUBLIC TRANSPORT / STOP / RANK = 16
TOILET = 08	OTHER = 17
PARK / RESERVE / OTHER PUBLIC LAND = 09	DON'T KNOW = 99

27

SPECIFY OTHER:

12 CIRCUMSTANCES OF INCIDENT FROM NARRATIVE

ROBBERY / THEFT = 01	ALTERCATION / TRANSPORT = 08
UNPROVOKED ATTACK = 02	ARREST = 09
"HORSEPLAY" = 03	BRAWL = 10
DOMESTIC ASSAULT / SPOUSE = 04	OTHER = 11
DOMESTIC ASSAULT / OTHER = 05	DON'T KNOW = 99
SEX = 06	
ALTERCATION / NEIGHBOURS = 07	

29

SPECIFY OTHER:

13 WAS INCIDENT ALCOHOL / DRUG RELATED?

ALCOHOL = 1. DRUG = 2. BOTH = 3. NEITHER = 4. D.K. = 9

30

NON-AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

**VICTIM DETAILS**

		VICTIM 1	VICTIM 2	VICTIM 3	VICTIM 4	VICTIM 5	VICTIM 6	ENDS COL:	
14	AGE LAST BIRTHDAY DONT KNOW = 99	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	42	
15	SEX MALE = 1. FEMALE = 2. DONT KNOW = 9	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	48	
16	OCCUPATION EMPLOYED = 1. UNEMPLOYED / PENSION / WELFARE = 2. CHILD / SCHOOL STUDENT = 3. DOMESTIC DUTIES = 4. INSTITUTION etc = 6. DONT KNOW = 9.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	54	
17	NATURE OF MOST SERIOUS INJURY NEGLECTIBLE / NONE = 1. ABRASIONS / BRUISES / MINOR CUTS = 2. SERIOUS [broken limb, major wound] = 3. OTHER = 4. D.K. = 9	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	60	
18	LOCATION OF MOST SERIOUS INJURY HEAD = 1. TORSO = 2. LIMBS = 3. N/A = 6. D.K. = 9.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	66	
19	MEDICAL ATTENTION RECEIVED YES = 1. NO = 2. NOT APPLICABLE = 8 DONT KNOW = 9.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	72	
20	<b>RELATIONSHIP TO SUSPECT N<sup>o</sup></b>  FRIEND / ACQUAINTANCE = 1 SPOUSE / DE FACTO / LOVER = 2 PARENT = 3 CHILD = 4 OTHER FAMILY = 5 NEIGHBOUR = 6 NO RELATIONSHIP = 7 DONT KNOW = 9  NO OTHER SUSPECT = 0	1	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	78	
		2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	84
		3	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	90
		4	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	96
		5	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	102
		6	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	108
21	POSTCODE OF FIRST VICTIM INTERSTATE = 8888. DONT KNOW = 9999	<input type="text"/>				<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	112

**SUSPECT DETAILS**

IF SUPPLIED BY VICTIM CODE 9 FOR ALL DETAILS EXCEPT SEX AND QUESTIONS 26 & 27

		SUSPECT 1	SUSPECT 2	SUSPECT 3	SUSPECT 4	SUSPECT 5	SUSPECT 6		
22	AGE LAST BIRTHDAY DONT KNOW = 99	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	124	
23	SEX MALE = 1. FEMALE = 2. DONT KNOW = 9	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	130	
24	OCCUPATION EMPLOYED = 1. UNEMPLOYED / PENSION / WELFARE = 2. CHILD / SCHOOL STUDENT = 3. DOMESTIC DUTIES = 4. INSTITUTION etc = 6. DONT KNOW = 9.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	136	
25	RACIAL APPEARANCE WHITE = 01. ABORIGINAL = 02. ASIAN = 03. MAORI = 04. PACIFIC ISLANDER = 05. ARAB = 06. MEDITERRANEAN = 07. NEGRO = 08. SLAVIC = 09. OTHER = 10. NOT STATED = 99.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	148	
26	PLACE OF BIRTH AUSTRALIA = 1. NEW ZEALAND = 2. U.K. = 3. NORTHERN EUROPE = 4. SOUTHERN EUROPE = 5. ASIA = 6. MIDDLE EAST = 7. OTHER = 8. D.K. = 9.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	154	
27	WEAPON USED NONE [if, if not] = 0. SHARP INSTRUMENT = 1. BLUNT INSTRUMENT = 2. GUN = 3. OTHER = 4. D.K. = 9.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	160	
28	ARRESTED OR WANTED ARRESTED = 1. WANTED = 2. NEITHER = 3. D.K. = 9	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	166	
29	POSTCODE OF FIRST SUSPECT INTERSTATE = 8888. DONT KNOW = 9999	<input type="text"/>				<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	170

NOTES

