

Discussion Paper: Implementation considerations should coercive control be criminalised in South Australia



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Foreword

Domestic and family violence (DFV) continues to be a blight on our community. In South Australia during 2020 there were 9,451 recorded victims/survivors of DFV related assault and sexual assault.ⁱ

Unfortunately, many more DFV behaviours go unreported to police or DFV support services. This includes coercive and controlling behaviours, such as isolating a person from their friends and family and denying financial autonomy. While these behaviours have long been recognised as an integral part of DFV, criminal justice responses have traditionally focused on physical violence.

There is growing momentum across Australia and internationally to consider new offences to criminalise coercive and controlling behaviours that are not covered within existing criminal offences. In jurisdictions where such offences exist, feedback has stressed the importance of the implementation process to ensure the offences operate effectively within the community. Key implementation measures include community awareness raising, education and training for the legal and DFV service sectors, and services for victims/survivors and perpetrators.

Currently, coercive control is not a specific criminal offence in South Australia. However, given the recent focus on this issue, the Attorney-General's Department is currently considering what implementation processes would be needed should coercive control be criminalised in South Australia.

I encourage you to consider the questions in this discussion paper and have your say to help us improve the safety and wellbeing of South Australian DFV victims/survivors and their children.



Caroline Mealor
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Introduction

Consultation on a proposed South Australian offence of coercive control was conducted during September and October 2021. There were 173 respondents to a public survey, with more detailed submissions received from 31 individuals and organisations.

The feedback noted the importance of the implementation process. Suggestions included training for enforcement agencies to identify, charge and prosecute coercive control, a public awareness campaign, wrap-around support services for victims/survivors and counselling and treatment services for perpetrators. Respondents also advocated a focus on regional and remote victims/survivors, Aboriginalⁱⁱ people, and the migrant community.

This discussion paper seeks feedback on proposed implementation measures. We seek your views on this approach and any other feedback you may have on how to support implementation of a coercive control offence, should it be introduced.

How to make a submission

Submissions in response to this discussion paper can be made until 1 April 2022. Individuals and organisations can make a submission (confidentially if desired) by email to agdpolicyandanalytics@sa.gov.au.

This discussion paper poses a number of questions. You may respond to all questions, or only those that are of interest to you. You may also raise any additional relevant matters.

What is coercive control?

Coercive control has not been officially defined in South Australia. It is understood to be an insidious form of DFV that involves tactics of emotional and mental abuse which undermine the victim's autonomy and sense of identity. Coercive and controlling behaviour may include isolating a person from their friends and family, controlling finances, controlling what a person can or can't say, controlling what a person can wear, when they can sleep, what they can eat and when they can leave the house. The NSW Parliament Joint Select Committee on Coercive Control inquiry heard that "victims/survivors often describe it as more harmful and long-lasting than physical abuse. Respondents spoke of the 'isolation, subordination, humiliation and loss of liberty occasioned by coercive control' and noted that it has been linked to psychiatric outcomes including suicidality, depression and post-traumatic stress disorder".ⁱⁱⁱ

Disturbingly, coercive control is also a common factor in intimate partner homicides, even though this type of behaviour does not always involve physical violence. Analysis undertaken by the NSW Domestic Violence Death Review Team identified that, among 112 incidents of intimate partner homicide between June 2000 and July 2021, coercive control was a feature of the relationship in all but one case. A number of these cases did not have any evident history of physical abuse.^{iv}

Despite the significant harm caused by coercive and controlling behaviours, victims/survivors are unlikely to seek help if they had not also experienced physical or sexual forms of abuse. They may be prevented from seeking help because the perpetrator isolates them from friends and family and restricts access to the phone and internet.^v Some victims/survivors may not believe they are experiencing violence, or minimise their experience, because non-physical violence has traditionally been viewed to be less harmful or traumatic than physical or sexual violence.^{vi}

Case Study - Robin^{vii}

Robin has physical disability that affects her mobility and hands. Her partner started caring for her many years ago when there weren't many service options around. He tells Robin she does not have to worry about anything and that he can use her email address and phone to manage all her appointments and her finances for her. He does all her shopping for her online with her bank card and Apple Pay.

Early in the relationship Robin's partner sold their van that Robin relied on for accessible transport because he said her needs were expensive, so she

doesn't get to leave the house much. When Robin asks for a taxi or lift into town to see her sister, her partner calls her ungrateful and reminds her that none of her family are patient enough to deal with her like he is. They end up spending most days together and Robin will encourage him to purchase something special for himself the next time he goes shopping as a 'thank you'.

Interstate and international approaches

In considering how to implement a new coercive control offence in South Australia it is helpful to look to the approaches taken in other Australian jurisdictions as well as overseas.

Tasmania

Tasmania is the only Australian state to currently have legislated offences relating specifically to coercive control. In 2004, the Tasmanian Government passed the *Family Violence Act 2004* (Tas) introducing two new criminal offences – economic abuse (section 8) and emotional abuse (section 9). The Act was implemented alongside the Safe at Home Policy – a whole of government approach to coordinating criminal justice responses to DFV, with victim/survivor safety as the overarching goal.^{viii}

Tasmanian coercive control offences have not been prosecuted often. In the 12 years after commencement to the end of 2017, 73 charges had been finalised with 40 convictions. Some explanations for the low number of prosecutions include resistance from the legal profession, difficulties in obtaining evidence (because it is often undocumented and occurs within a private setting with no independent witnesses), lack of community awareness and deficiencies in training and resources provided to police.^{ix} These factors will be considered in the development of an implementation plan for South Australia.

New South Wales

The New South Wales Government is currently considering the recommendations in the June 2021 report of the NSW Parliament Joint Select Committee on Coercive Control inquiry. The Committee recommended the criminalisation of coercive control and made a number of recommendations regarding the implementation of an offence.

Of note, the Committee recommended a considerable program of education, training and consultation with police, stakeholders and the frontline sector before the commencement of a criminal offence. The Committee also recommended awareness campaigns about coercive control as a priority, and consideration of improving resources for victim/survivor housing and legal services, and behaviour change programs for perpetrators.^x

England and Wales

The England and Wales *Serious Crimes Act 2015* introduced a new offence of ‘controlling or coercive behaviour in an intimate or family relationship’. The legislation refers to coercive and controlling behaviour that is repeated or continuous, moving away from incident focused behaviour to a ‘course of conduct’.^x

Training entitled Domestic Abuse Matters was delivered to 14 police forces in England and Wales in response to the criminalisation of coercive control. An evaluation of Domestic Abuse Matters conducted in 2020 found that targeted, in-person training, when supported through peer support networks and ongoing professional development, can assist officers to better understand, recognise and respond to signs of coercive control. Notably, the study found attendance at the coercive control training was associated with a 41% increase in arrests for coercive control, with this effect remaining for up to eight months after training was completed.^{xii}

Republic of Ireland

A coercive control offence commenced in the Republic of Ireland in January 2019. A person commits the offence if they knowingly and persistently engage in behaviour that is controlling or coercive and which a reasonable person would be likely to consider to have a serious effect on a relevant person.^{xiii}

Of relevance to South Australia’s implementation approach, the first conviction for the offence occurred in February 2020, more than one year after the offence commenced,^{xiv} with lack of police training cited as one possible explanation for the delay. At the time of commencement, the Association of Garda Sergeants and Inspectors (AGSI) in the Republic of Ireland noted that its members had received no training in how best to enforce the new laws. AGSI called on the Garda Commissioner to prioritise training as a matter of urgency, stating “appropriate training delivered in advance of legislation being implemented will ensure the public receive the best possible policing service.”^{xv}

Scotland

The Scottish *Domestic Abuse Act 2018* commenced in 2019. The Act criminalises a course of abusive behaviour by a perpetrator against their current or former partner. The offence is treated as aggravated if the behaviour is directed at a child or they make use of a child as part of the course of abusive behaviour.^{xvi}

The Scottish experience is instructive for South Australia. In addition to protection under the law, a broader systemic response was implemented, including increased investment in police training, a community awareness program and training for other professionals involved in the system such as prosecutors, lawyers and judges.

The intensive police training conducted in the lead up to the commencement of the legislation included how to identify coercive and controlling behaviours, understanding and awareness of the dynamics of DFV and perpetrator tactics used to manipulate victims/survivors and first responders. The training was delivered as an interactive online learning package, with additional training for the police leadership and attitudinal change champions.^{xvii}

In the first year of operation, 246 people were prosecuted and 206 (84%) were convicted of the offence.^{xviii} This is a sharp contrast to the Republic of Ireland which had no convictions in the first year.

Coercive control implementation considerations

The following four areas have been identified to support a coercive control criminal offence, if it were to be introduced:

1. Awareness raising and engagement
2. Education and training
3. Supports and services for victims/survivors
4. Appropriate responses to and for perpetrators

The experience of coercive and controlling behaviours can be vastly different for DFV victims/survivors from CALD, Aboriginal and LGBTIQ+ communities, victims/survivors in remote and regional areas, elderly victims/survivor, and those living with disability. There can be a fear of discrimination and of not being believed, previous negative experiences in accessing services or reporting to police, cultural barriers, and isolation from appropriate supports. For this reason, implementation should also include a focus on inclusivity and the special needs of diverse and vulnerable groups.

The feedback received also stressed the importance of involving victims/survivors of DFV in any implementation process. To achieve this, victims/survivors of DFV will be separately engaged to provide a voice of lived experience.

Awareness raising and engagement

Coercive control is a complex concept, challenging many existing beliefs and attitudes about DFV, such as the view that it consists only of physical violence. Overwhelmingly, feedback received indicated low awareness of coercive control in the South Australian community, and the need for awareness campaigns to increase understanding and encourage victims/survivors to come forward.

Current initiatives

In South Australia, a number of campaigns have successfully raised community awareness of DFV. Using Snapchat, Instagram and TikTok, the [Break the Cycle Campaign](#) raised awareness of the different forms of abuse and told people how to get support in the first wave of COVID-19.

The [Break the Cycle](#) website was launched in June 2020 as a one-stop-shop for all DFV information in South Australia. It provides information and resources for victims/survivors and perpetrators, including topics on coercive controlling behaviours such as emotional, verbal, psychological and financial abuse. Support materials available on the website have also been translated into 25 languages.

A second Break the Cycle campaign ran between July and September 2021, on television, radio, digital and social media platforms. For the first time, QR codes were included on print advertising, allowing quick and direct access to support networks if needed.

The *See it for what it is. Stop Sexual Violence* campaign was also launched at the end of 2020. The campaign was notable for its use of the dating app Tinder to send out the message that all forms of violence are unacceptable and there is help available.

In addition to media campaigns, the *Keeping Safe: Child Protection Curriculum* child safety program is provided to children and young people from age 3 to year 12. The program teaches children to recognise abuse and understand ways of keeping themselves safe. The curriculum includes content relevant to coercive control such as:

- healthy and unhealthy relationships and the representation of relationships within popular media
- the social construction of gender, gender stereotypes and expectations
- the types of power and the way power is used in different contexts.

Options to target coercive control

The Legal Services Commission has been allocated additional funding of up to \$507,500 over two years to support coercive control initiatives, including \$50,000 to develop a community awareness campaign in 2022. The campaign will provide the following information:

- i. what are coercive control behaviours and how to identify them
- ii. where to get help, including crisis support services, social support services (including legal services)
- iii. any other information that may be relevant for the purpose of raising awareness.

Recognising the diversity of languages and cultures across South Australia, information about coercive control and the new offences will be provided on multiple platforms, including social media, and in a range of formats and languages. Consideration also needs to be given to the provision of information to people living with disability.

This discussion paper seeks feedback on how we can ensure all communities in South Australia receive this important information.

Questions:

1. What are the key messages that should be communicated about coercive control?
2. What are the best mediums to communicate information about coercive control to your community?

Case Study - Zara^{xix}

Zara has been with Adam for over two years. At the beginning of their relationship they were very social, and often spent time with friends, family and colleagues. However, over time, things started to change. Adam started to monitor her whereabouts. He would get upset if she didn't constantly check in with him ... He didn't like her going out with friends because he didn't want her to talk to other men.

He would make comments about her appearance and tell her that she should be grateful to have him because no one else would want her. ... He became controlling over what she wore and wouldn't let her wear certain clothes because he didn't want other men looking at her.

Over time, Zara stopped seeing her friends and rarely saw her family. ... She stopped speaking to her colleagues at work and stopped going on work trips or nights out. She was afraid Adam would be angry if he found out she was talking to them because he said he didn't like them and said she shouldn't spend time with people like that. She felt anxious, depressed and constantly on edge. She felt like she was walking on egg shells and worried about upsetting Adam. She didn't want to tell her friends or family because she worried they wouldn't believe her. She

thought that since he wasn't physically violent, then it must not be that bad.

Education and training for first responders, the legal sector and service providers

A common theme in the feedback received was the importance of education and training about coercive control. Some respondents felt the South Australian legal response focused on physical violence and lacked an understanding of the nature of coercive control and the harms it can cause. Research papers on coercive control also note the need for education and training to be delivered beyond the legal sector (police officers, prosecutors and judicial officers), to emergency workers and workers in DFV services, health care, housing, education and child protection sectors.^{xx}

Current initiatives

DFV related training and education for the justice sector is currently conducted within SA Police and the Courts Administration Authority.

SA Police has a raft of training and practices designed to enhance the policing response to DFV. SA Police policies provide guidance for frontline officers about the management of a DFV incident, and the gathering of available physical evidence. This includes preserving the scene of a crime, undertaking investigations, identifying all relevant witnesses, and instigating prosecutions and intervention orders.

The Magistrates Court holds Judicial Education Days four times per year, and an annual *All Courts Judicial Development Day*. In July 2020, award winning author and investigative journalist Jess Hill, author of '*See What You Made Me Do*', gave a presentation to all Magistrates entitled '*Power, Control and Domestic Abuse*', focused on understanding coercive control, its characteristics and impacts. The session discussed approaches and strategies to appropriately obtain evidence from a person seeking, or protected by, an Intervention Order who has been subjected to coercive control and to assist in identifying within a courtroom setting whether an applicant for an Intervention Order may have been a victim/survivor of coercive control.

Beyond the justice sector, the Department of Human Services has funded [*No to Violence*](#) to deliver workforce development sessions four times per year to frontline case workers providing support outside the DFV sector, for example, health workers or drug and alcohol workers. The sessions will help caseworkers to identify DFV perpetrators in the course of their work and respond appropriately.

Options to target coercive control

Additional funding of up to \$507,500 over two years has been allocated to the Legal Services Commission for coercive control initiatives, including funding to engage with and educate health and welfare professionals on signs of coercive control in patients and clients, with referral to relevant legal assistance providers where appropriate. This engagement will also extend to other professions, such as the South Australian Hair and Beauty Association which is the professional body for hairdressers and beauticians.

In relation to training of the justice sector, a new coercive control offence would require changes in approach to both the investigation and prosecution, for example, identifying and gathering evidence for a course of conduct rather than a single incident.^{xxi} The intensive police training process conducted in Scotland in the lead up to the commencement of their coercive control legislation is often cited as best practice.

There is also a need for extensive training on the nature of coercive and controlling behaviour and the different ways victims/survivors may respond to trauma. Research and inquiry submissions have reported concerns about possible unintended consequences of criminalising coercive control. A key concern identified is the potential for manipulation by or misidentification of the perpetrator when police first arrive at a crisis situation, leading to the victim/survivor being identified as the primary aggressor.^{xxii} Training should include a focus on how to avoid any potential unintended consequences of the new offences.^{xxiii}

We heard that training should be developed by experts in DFV including people with lived experience and include information about the precursors of DFV, gender-based violence, the experiences of DFV across different groups within the community, such as the LGBTIQ+ community, people with disabilities, CALD communities, the elderly, and Aboriginal peoples, how victims/survivors may respond to trauma and how perpetrators may respond to intervention. Regular refresher training should also be provided to ensure the lessons are reinforced over time and new information/approaches are communicated.

As a first step, this discussion paper seeks feedback on the current DFV education and training available and whether there any gaps in relation to coercive control. This information will help us to identify additional education and training modules that might be needed to improve understanding of and responses to coercive control and DFV in general. It will also ensure we build on the extensive education and training already provided and avoid duplication.

Questions:

3. How is coercive control understood by you and more broadly within your community?
4. If it were made an offence, what might this mean to you and the people around you?
5. If you were concerned about the use of coercive control as an individual, or on behalf of someone else, what systems and services would you approach for support or advice?
6. What education and training is needed to improve the justice sector's understanding of coercive control and detect, investigate and prosecute coercive control appropriately?
7. What education and training is needed for organisations that work with victims/survivors and perpetrators of coercive control e.g. in health, housing, education, etc.?

Support services for victims/survivors

The feedback received suggested the need for increased support services to DFV victims/survivors, including emotional support services and practical assistance such as accommodation services.

Current services for DFV victims/survivors

Since 2019 the Commissioner for Victims' Rights has been the central point of contact for victims/survivors, to coordinate their access to services and to support them to navigate the criminal justice system. Additionally, a new [Victims Of Crime SA website](#) was launched in October 2020 which brings together information for victims/survivors, including what to expect in the criminal justice process and information about support services. This information is also published in the '*Information for Victims of Crime*' booklet which is disseminated by SA Police upon first contact with victims/survivors.

A range of services and supports are available to victims/survivors of DFV. Supports include crisis support, legal assistance, and help to navigate through the criminal justice system – from initial report and investigation to court support, victim impact statements and counselling, to parole and victim/survivors safety planning.

Information about specific DFV and sexual assault support services is available from www.sa.gov.au.

Recent initiatives include:

Opening of the seventh women's safety hub located in Whyalla, adding to existing regional hubs reaching from Mount Gambier to Berri and Port Augusta. Hubs are tailored to each region, with all providing information and referrals for DFV support, housing, police and legal matters, family intervention, financial counselling, mental health medical services or drug and alcohol services. Most also offer private drop-in spaces with phone or computer access – a vital service for women who are not able to freely seek information or access services in their own home.

31 new crisis accommodation beds for South Australians impacted by DFV across Adelaide and the regions, including 17 in regional areas in Limestone Coast, Murray Mallee and Eyre and Western.

The *Supporting Parents' and Children's Emotions Program*, which provides early intervention support to young parents aged between 12 to 25 years, who are experiencing or perpetuating DFV. The program is run through the Women's and Children's Health Network, as a specialised add-on to its *Young Parents Program*.

Additional funding to the *Domestic Violence Disclosure Scheme* (DVDS) to mid-2024. The DVDS is a free and confidential online application to help people at risk find out if their partner has a history of violent offending or other relevant information, such as previous intervention orders. Persons feeling at risk are also connected with specialist DFV support, whether or not there is information for police to disclose, providing help to make an informed safety plan. Further expanding the scheme from a 'Right to ask' to a 'Right to know' model is also being explored.

Funding in the amount of \$603,000 has been provided to the Department for Correctional Services (DCS) to keep high risk victims/survivors of DFV informed of changes to the circumstances of their perpetrator who is in the custody or under the supervision of DCS.

Options to target coercive control

Increased awareness of coercive and controlling behaviours will likely have an immediate impact on DFV and legal service providers.

Women's Safety Service (SA) (WSSSA) is funded to operate the 24/7 Domestic Violence Crisis line, which provides information and advice and support to develop a safety plan. Additional funding of \$600,000 has been provided to WSSSA to enhance its existing service to include a quick response coercive control assessment, and to provide information and referral to other support services.

The additional funding to WSSSA includes \$3,000 to develop a new (or amend the current) risk assessment tool to assess the coercive control risk factors of persons who contact the Crisis Line. The new tool will link with the existing common DFV Risk Assessment form, which has been used by government and non-government agencies since 2014 to determine the current level of risk to a victim/survivor and any children, and to guide decision making on the type and urgency of response required. The use of a common, agreed risk assessment means that all agencies have a uniform understanding of risk factors and risk levels, to better inform responses and support.

One of the legal remedies to support victims/survivors to mitigate or address coercive control behaviours is an Intervention Order. Victims/survivors can apply to the court to prohibit the perpetrators from engaging in coercive or controlling behaviours against them. All community legal assistance providers, such as the Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement and Women's Legal Service SA, can support an individual seeking an intervention order.

The Women's Domestic Violence Court Assistance Service (WDVCAS) is a statewide free legal assistance service

run by the Legal Services Commission, dedicated to supporting women to navigate the Magistrates Court process of applying for, varying or revoking an Intervention Order. Additional funding of up to \$507,500 over two years has been allocated to the Legal Services Commission for coercive control initiatives, including funding to increase the capacity of WDVCAS to assist victims/survivors experiencing coercive control.

Properly addressing coercive control requires services to be easily accessible and visible via strong referral pathways and no red tape or duplication. This discussion paper seeks feedback on current services, including DFV services, available and their ability to respond to victims/survivors of coercive control. This information will help us to map existing services, to determine gaps, duplications and opportunities for improvements.

Questions:

8. What types of coercive control services should be prioritised?
9. Are there any gaps in the services currently available to victims/survivors of coercive control?
10. Are there any current specialist and mainstream service providers that could improve and/or tailor their current services for victims/survivors of coercive control?

Case Study - Sanaya^{xxiv}

Sanaya married when she was 18 and came to Australia with her husband and young child. Sanaya's husband tells her

negative stories about other women and communities and insists Sanaya stay away from other mums who talk to her at school drop off and pick up. When Sanaya started her first job she was told to quit after only a few months. Her husband said she was failing as a mother and had abandoned their child. Now, when Sanaya goes out, her husband encourages her to send happy selfies of herself and their child to verify her location. Sanaya is aware that he uses her phone to track her location. When Sanaya arrives home, she feels interrogated about where she's been and who she's spoken with, so she prefers to only go out as a family to avoid confrontation.

Appropriate responses to and for coercive control perpetrators

The feedback received noted the need for counselling and treatment services for perpetrators of coercive control. Respondents suggested that some perpetrators may have a lack of understanding about the seriousness and impact of their behaviour.

Current services for DFV perpetrators

There are a range of services available to the Court and in the correctional system which provide therapeutic intervention to perpetrators of DFV. There is also a [dedicated phone line](#) where perpetrators, frontline workers and friends, family and community members can call when they are concerned with the perpetrator's use of violence.

Under section 13 of the *Intervention Orders (Prevention of Abuse) Act 2009*, the Magistrates Court can mandate assessment for and participation in an Abuse Prevention Program (APP) for alleged DFV offenders either as a condition of bail or an Intervention Order. During 2020-21 there were 706 referrals to the APP. Approximately \$668,400 per year is provided by the Courts Administration Authority to run:

- face-to-face group counselling.
- weekly individual counselling for men who are not considered suitable for group participation. This includes men with cognitive impairment or low levels of English language proficiency.
- a culturally safe program for Aboriginal men.

The Department for Correctional Services operates five programs targeting perpetrators of DFV, at a cost of \$9 million per year. These are:

- *The Domestic and Family Violence Intervention Program* and the culturally responsive *Aboriginal Men's Family Violence Program*.
- A suite of Violence Prevention programs (VPP) targeting perpetrators of violent offending, such as gang violence, homicide, kidnapping and armed robbery. Each of these programs includes a focus on identifying and challenging attitudes supportive of DFV and the dynamics of intimate partner violence. The VPP for Aboriginal men includes a co-facilitation model where Aboriginal staff deliver the program alongside clinical staff from

the DCS Rehabilitation Programs Branch.

- *The Cross Borders Indigenous Family Violence Program (CBIFVP)* operates as a tri-state partnership between South Australia, Western Australia and the Northern Territory, with funding contributed from the Australian Government. The CBIFVP receives referrals from police, courts and corrections for men who live in remote Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara or Ngaanyatjarra Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara communities. The program aims to reduce the incidence of DFV through culturally responsive approaches, including delivering in local language, having a cultural broker present, and challenging attitudes and behaviours in culturally appropriate ways.

Further considerations

Controlling behaviour is recognised as a foundational aspect of DFV and it is likely that it is already addressed, at least to some extent, in current perpetrator programs. It is noted, however, that the primary trigger for entry to these programs is physical violence or threat. Counselling and treatment programs aimed specifically at coercive control perpetrators who do not use physical violence may be a useful addition to the current suite of perpetrator responses.

This discussion paper seeks feedback on existing perpetrator services and programs. This will enable us to determine opportunities for improvements in the context of coercive control.

Questions:

11. What types of perpetrator services should be prioritised?
12. Are there any gaps in the services currently available to perpetrators of coercive control?
13. Are there any current specialist and mainstream service providers that could improve and/or tailor their current services for perpetrators of coercive control?

General questions:

14. Is there anything else that should be considered as part of implementing a criminal offence relating to coercive control?

ⁱ ABS Recorded Crime Victims 2020

ⁱⁱ In South Australia, Aboriginal is used to describe Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

ⁱⁱⁱ Coercive control in domestic relationships Parliament of New South Wales Joint Select Committee on Coercive Control Report 1/57 June 2021 p 15. [Report - coercive control in domestic relationships.pdf \(nsw.gov.au\)](#)

^{iv} NSW State Coroners Court 2020

^v Boxall H & Morgan A 2021. *Experiences of coercive control among Australian women*. Statistical Bulletin no. 30. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.
<https://doi.org/10.52922/sb78108>

^{vi} ANROWS , Attachment 1, Policy Brief: Defining and responding to coercive control, p2 in Coercive control in domestic relationships, Submission 96 to Parliament of New South Wales Joint Select Committee on Coercive Control Report 1/57 June 2021 p 3. [Report - coercive control in domestic relationships.pdf \(nsw.gov.au\)](#)

^{vii} Case study provided by Disability Advocacy and Complaints Service of South Australia Inc. The case study has been de-identified and formulated for the purpose of this discussion paper and is representative of common lived experiences

^{viii} Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety. (2021). Defining and responding to coercive control: Policy brief (ANROWS Insights,01/2021). Sydney: ANROWS. p 4

^{ix} Qld Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce: 1 [Options for legislating against coercive control and the creation of a standalone domestic violence offence Discussion Paper 1](#) p 36

^x Coercive control in domestic relationships Parliament of New South Wales Joint Select Committee on Coercive Control Report 1/57 June 2021. pp xiv to xvi [Report - coercive control in domestic relationships.pdf \(nsw.gov.au\)](#)

^{xi} Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety. (2021). Defining and responding to coercive control: Policy brief (ANROWS Insights,01/2021). Sydney: ANROWS. p 5

^{xii} Qld Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce: 1 [Options for legislating against coercive control and the creation of a standalone domestic violence offence Discussion Paper 1](#) p39

^{xiii} Qld Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce: 1 [Options for legislating against coercive control and the creation of a standalone domestic violence offence Discussion Paper 1](#) p37

^{xiv} Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety. (2021). Defining and responding to coercive control: Policy brief (ANROWS Insights, 01/2021). Sydney: ANROWS. p 6

^{xv} <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/crime-and-law/call-for-more-garda-training-to-enforce-new-domestic-violence-laws-1.3752299> in ibid 6

^{xvi} Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety. (2021). Defining and responding to coercive control: Policy brief (ANROWS Insights, 01/2021). Sydney: ANROWS. p 6

^{xvii} Qld Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce: 1 [Options for legislating against coercive control and the creation of a standalone domestic violence offence Discussion Paper 1](#) p 39

^{xviii} Scottish Government 'Criminal Proceedings in Scotland, 2019-20', A National Statistics Publication for Scotland, ISBN:9781800049628, 18 May 2021, 4 in ibid, Qld Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce: 1 [Options for legislating against coercive control and the creation of a standalone domestic violence offence Discussion Paper 1](#) p 36

^{xix} [Think Business, Think Equality, Domestic Abuse Case study: Coercive control \(thinkbusiness.thinkequality.org.uk\)](http://thinkbusiness.thinkequality.org.uk)

^{xx} Coercive control in domestic relationships Parliament of New South Wales Joint Select Committee on Coercive Control Report 1/57 June 2021. pp xiv to xvi [Report - coercive control in domestic relationships.pdf \(nsw.gov.au\)](#)

^{xxi} Qld Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce: 1 [Options for legislating against coercive control and the creation of a standalone domestic violence offence Discussion Paper 1](#) p 36

^{xxii} [Push to criminalise coercive control in relationships sparks concern for migrant and refugee women \(sbs.com.au\)](http://sbs.com.au)

^{xxiii} [Why we need a thorough consultation process on how to effectively address coercive controlling violence \(wlsnsw.org.au\)](http://wlsnsw.org.au)

^{xxiv} Case study provided by Disability Advocacy and Complaints Service of South Australia Inc. The case study has been de-identified and formulated for the purpose of this discussion paper and is representative of common lived experiences