European Institute for Gender Equality

Gender-based violence

The costs of gender-based violence in the European Union

Technical report

European Institute
for Gender Equality

The costs of gender-based violence in the European Union

Technical report

Acknowledgements

This report was prepared by ICF Consulting Services Ltd in close cooperation with European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) staff, including Agata Szypulska, Cristina Fabre Rosell, Jurgita Pečiūrienė, Ligia Nobrega and Adine Samadi. The main authors of this report are Maleeha Kisat, Simona de Paolis, Elbereth Puts and Katerina Mantouvalou (ICF Consulting Services Ltd). Dr Philippa Olive contributed to this report as an independent expert.

Many thanks to other colleagues for their intellectual contributions and administrative support.

EIGE would especially like to thank Dr Elizabeth Villagomez-Morales, who contributed to the quality assurance of this study.

European Institute for Gender Equality

The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) is an autonomous body of the European Union established to strengthen gender equality across the EU. Equality between women and men is a fundamental value of the EU and EIGE's task is to make this a reality in Europe and beyond. This includes becoming a European knowledge centre on gender equality issues, supporting gender mainstreaming in all EU and Member State policies and fighting discrimination based on sex.

European Institute for Gender Equality, EIGE
Gedimino pr. 16
LT-01103 Vilnius
LITHUANIA

Tel. +370 52157444

Email: eige.sec@eige.europa.eu

http://www.eige.europa.eu

http://twitter.com/eurogender

http://www.facebook.com/eige.europa.eu

http://www.youtube.com/eurogender

http://eurogender.eige.europa.eu

https://www.linkedin.com/company/eige/

Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2021

Print	ISBN 978-92-9482-931-3	doi:10.2839/795	MH-03-21-358-EN-C
PDF	ISBN 978-92-9482-932-0	doi:10.2839/875363	MH-03-21-358-EN-N

Contents

1. Introduction 5
1.1. Structure of the technical report 5
2. Overall approach 6
3. Incidence of gender-based violence and intimate partner violence 13
3.1. Data transformation 14
3.2. Homicide 14
3.3. Rape and other forms of sexual assault 15
3.4. Violence with and without injury 17
4. Lost economic output 18
5. Cost of public services 20
5.1. Costs to health services 20
5.2. Costs to the criminal justice system 21
5.3. Costs to the civil justice system 23
5.4. Self-funded legal costs 31
5.5. Housing aid costs 35
5.6. Personal costs 37
5.7. Child protection costs 39
5.8. Costs of specialist services 40
5.9. Costs of physical and emotional impact on victims 42
6. Summary of costs 44
7. Extrapolation 45
8. Considerations for future iterations 46
References 48
Annexes 51
Annex 1. Incidence of gender-based violence and intimate partner violence 51
Annex 2. Changes in Home Office unit costs 52

1. Introduction

Gender-based violence is one of the most severe forms of gender inequality and it remains one of the most pervasive human rights violations, affecting women disproportionately. Gender-based violence not only causes pain and suffering to the victims, but also places large costs on the economy and society as a whole. However, the extent and associated costs of gender-based violence, encompassing lost economic output and public spending on health, legal, social and specialist services to mitigate harms, and personal impact on victims, are rarely seen.

In 2014, the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) conducted a study which estimated the costs of gender-based and intimate partner violence in the EU ([1]). In 2021, following the methodology from 2014, EIGE estimated that the cost of gender-based violence against women in the EU-27 was more than **EUR 290 billion** ([2]), and the cost of intimate partner violence against women in the EU-27 was nearly **EUR 152 billion** ([3]).

This technical report accompanies the updated estimation of the costs of gender-based and intimate partner violence in the EU-27. In accordance with the 2014 methodology, the costs were based on the development of a UK case study. Therefore, this report provides a detailed overview of the methodology and assumptions followed in updating the UK case study.

Estimating the economic cost of gender-based violence can help Member States and the EU to better understand its extent and associated costs. Specifically, cost estimates can be used to determine the gap between the budget needed to provide support services to victims and the actual budget ([4]). Moreover, analysis of the economic cost of gender-based violence may also show the cost of inaction and lack of financial prioritisation. Research by EIGE in 2021 has shown that economic output lost due to gender-based violence costs the UK economy EUR 7.7 billion, while the provision of specialist services to mitigate the harm and prevent the recurrence of violence costs EUR 2 billion. Therefore, it is likely that an increase in the currently small amount spent on prevention and mitigation of harm, by increasing spending on specialist services, would lead to a decrease in the extent and impact of gender-based violence ([5]).

Acknowledging the importance of providing an updated estimate of the cost of gender-based violence in the EU, this technical report details the methodology and data used to produce the update, based on the existing methodology from EIGE's 2014 study on the topic.

1.1. Structure of the technical report

This technical report provides details on the method and data used for the cost estimation for the UK case study, as well as the extrapolation of the results to the EU Member States. The report is structured as follows:

- overall approach;
- incidence of gender-based violence and intimate partner violence;
- lost economic output;
- cost of public services (including costs to health services, costs to the criminal and civil justice system, self-funded legal costs, housing aid costs, personal costs and costs of specialist services);
- physical and emotional impact on victims;
- extrapolation of the results;
- considerations for future iterations.

([1]) EIGE, 2014.
([2]) The full estimated cost of gender-based violence against women in the EU was EUR 290 309 795 927.
([3]) The full estimated cost of intimate partner violence against women in the EU was EUR 151 950 791 341.
([4]) A study in 2018 in France compared calculations of the overall government budget to address the needs of women victims of violence with the estimated cost of supporting exit routes for women who are victims of intimate partner violence to show that the existing budget is six times lower than the funding needed (see Le Conseil économique, social et environnemental et al. (2018)).
([5]) EIGE, 2014.

2. Overall approach

Following the method of EIGE (2014), a UK case study was developed, from which costs were extrapolated to the EU Member States. The United Kingdom was developed as a case study in 2014 due to the availability of robust data on the prevalence, incidence, frequency and types of gender-based and intimate partner violence and the existence of a well-developed methodology by the Home Office on the unit costs of crime. In some instances more recent data were available for 2020; however, the data used to update the case study were either from 2019/2020 or 2019 since the COVID-19 pandemic is likely to have affected data collection and costs of funding or services in 2020.

For the purpose of the UK case study, intimate partner violence was defined based on the Council of Europe's definition of domestic violence: 'all acts of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence … between former or current spouses or partners, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim' ([6]). The broader category of gender-based violence additionally includes violence from other family and household members and forms of gender-based violence perpetrated by people other than intimate partners and household members ([7]). This broader category of violence against women is defined by the United Nations as 'any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life' ([8]).

In accordance with the 2014 study, the update of the UK case study adheres to the Home Office methodology for measuring the cost of crime for several types of costs including lost economic output, the utilisation of the health system and criminal justice system and the physical and emotional impact on victims. The study follows two main methodological approaches: a bottom-up methodology and a top-down methodology. Where unit costs were available, the **bottom-up methodology** was applied, which consisted of multiplying the unit cost by the prevalence or incidence of gender-based and intimate partner violence. In all other cases, a **top-down methodology** was implemented, which consisted of multiplying the total cost or funding of a service by the percentage of its usage attributable to intimate partner violence. This was the case for the costs to the civil justice system, self-funded legal costs and homelessness prevention costs. To update the cost estimations for the United Kingdom based on these two methodological approaches, 27 steps were identified, which are indicated in Figure 1.

Moreover, formulae were prepared to update each of the cost types for the UK case study, as detailed in the boxes below.

([6]) Council of Europe, 2011.
([7]) EIGE, 2014.
([8]) United Nations General Assembly, 1993.

Box 1. Formula for measuring lost economic output

- *Cost of lost economic output in a crime category* = $Incidents_{ct} \times \{Unitcost_{cn} \times Y_{n,t} \times \delta_t\}$

Where:

$Incidents_{ct}$ = the incidence in category *c* of gender-based violence / intimate partner violence for women/men in reference year *t*;

$Unitcost_{cn}$ = the Home Office estimate of the unit cost of lost output for a crime category in year *n*;

$Y_{n,t}$ = a multiplier for average yearly inflation rate from the year of the unit cost estimate, *n*, to year *t*; the value for $Unitcost_{cn} \times Y_{n,t}$ can be obtained by using the Bank of England inflation calculator (https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator);

δ_t = conversion rate from pounds sterling to euro based on mid-year conversion rate in the reference year.

Box 2. Formula for measuring cost of public services

Health service costs

- *Cost of health services in a crime category* = $Incidents_{ct} \times \{Unitcost_{cn} \times Y_{n,t} \times \delta_t\}$

Where:

$Unitcost_{cn}$ = the Home Office estimate of the unit cost of health services for a crime category in year *n*;

$Incidents_{ct} = Y_{n,t}$ and δ_t are as described in Box 1.

Criminal justice system

- *Cost of the criminal justice system in a crime category* = $Incidents_{ct} \times \{Unitcost_{cn} \times Y_{n,t} \times \delta_t\}$
- *Non-crime costs of GVJ* = $\{Pol\_Expendiure_t \times \delta_t \times \%\_time\_publicS\&W \times \%\_time\_non\text{-}crime\} \times \%\_non\text{-}crimebygender_{GBV}$
- *Non-crime costs of IPV* = $\{Pol\_Expendiure_t \times \delta_t \times \%\_time\_publicS\&W \times \%\_time\_non\text{-}crime \times \%\_assault\_IVP\} \times \%\_non\text{-}crimebygender_{IPV}$

Where:

$Unitcost_{cn}$ = the Home Office estimate of the unit cost to the criminal justice system for a crime category in year *n*;

$Incidents_{ct} = Y_{n,t}$ and δ_t are as described above;

$Pol\_Expenditure_t$ = total police expenditure in the United Kingdom in reference year *t*;

%_time_publicS&W = the proportion of police time spent on public safety and welfare;

%_time_non-crime = the proportion of public safety and welfare activity spent on domestic incidents;

%_assault_IPV = the proportion of common assault perpetrated by an intimate partner;

%_non-crimebygender_GBV = the gender distribution of non-crime incidents of gender-based violence;

%_non-crimebygender_IPV = the gender distribution of non-crime incidents of intimate partner violence.

Civil justice system costs

- *Civil justice system cost of intimate partner violence* = $\{Net\_Legal\_FamilyExpenditure_{\chi t} \times \delta_t \times \%\_Family\_Expenditure\_IPV_{\chi}\} \times \%\_Cost\_(IPVAM\ or\ IPVAW)$
- *Private family law civil representation cost of intimate partner violence* = $\{Net\_Legal\_PrivateFamilyExpenditure_{\chi t} \times \delta_t \times \%\_Family\_Expenditure\_DVgway_{\chi}\} \times \%\_Cost\_(IPVAM\ or\ IPVAW)$

Where:

χ indexes the type of expenditure in the United Kingdom: private family civil representation, private family legal help and public family civil representation;

$Net\_LegalFamily\_Expenditure_{\chi t}$ = the net legal expenditure for χ family law expenditure in the United Kingdom in time *t*;

$\%\_Family\_Expenditure\_IPV_{\chi t}$ = the proportion of χ expenditure for family justice attributable to intimate partner violence;

$Net\_Legal\_PrivateFamily\_Expenditure_{\chi t}$ = the net legal expenditure for private family law expenditure in the United Kingdom;

$\%\_Family\_Expenditure\_DVgway_{\chi}$ = the proportion of private family law civil representation expenditure which was granted via the domestic violence gateway;

%_Cost_(IPVAM or IPVAW) = gender distribution of the cost of intimate partner violence.

Self-funded legal costs

- *Self-funded legal costs of intimate partner violence* = $[\{Cost_{Divorce_{IPVt}} \times \delta_t\} \times \%\_Cost\_(IPVAM\ or\ IPVAW)] + [Cost_{Relproceedings_{IPVt}} \times \times \%\_Cost\_(IPVAM\ or\ IPVAW)]$

Where:

$Cost\_Divorce\_IPV_t$ = an estimate of the total cost of intimate partner violence-related divorce in the United Kingdom in reference year *t*;

$Cost\_Relproceedings\_IPV_t$ = an estimate of the total cost of divorce-related proceedings (e.g. financial disputes or matters relating to children) due to intimate partner violence in the United Kingdom in reference year *t*;

%_Cost_(IPVAM or IPVAW) = gender distribution of the proportion of intimate partner violence against women and men.

Housing aid costs

- *Cost of homeless owed statutory assistance* = $\{Homeless\_relief\_Expend_t \times \delta_t \times \%\_Homeless\_IPV\} \times \%\_Cost_{IPVAM\ or\ IPVVAW}$
- *Cost of homelessness prevention* = $\{Homeless\_prevent\_Expend_t \times \delta_t \times \%\_Homeless\_threat\_IPV\} \times \%\_Cost_{IPVAM\ or\ IPVVAW}$

Where:

$Homeless\_relief\_Expend_t$ = the total expenditure on homelessness relief duty in the United Kingdom in reference year *t*;

Homeless_IPV = average percentage of households in the United Kingdom accepted as homeless because of domestic violence;

$Homeless\_prevent\_Expend_t$ = the total expenditure on homelessness prevention duty in the United Kingdom in reference year *t*;

Homeless_threat_IPV = proportion of households in the United Kingdom owed a prevention duty because of the threat of homelessness due to domestic violence;

%_Cost_(IPVAM or IPVAW) = gender distribution of the cost of intimate partner violence.

Personal costs

- *Cost of civil legal services* = same costs as total self-funded legal cost of intimate partner violence
- *Cost of moving home* = $\{Total\_Divorce\_IPV_t \times Unitcost\_newhome_t \times \delta_t\} \times \%\_Cost_{IPVAM\ or\ IPVVAW}$

Where:

$Total\_Divorce\_IPV_t$ = the total number of people divorced in the United Kingdom because of domestic violence in reference year *t*;

Unitcost_newhome$_t$ = the average cost of setting up a new home after a divorce in the United Kingdom;

%_Cost_(IPVAM or IPVAW) = gender distribution of the cost of intimate partner violence.

Child protection costs

- *Cost of child protection* = $\{Total\_CC\_Cost_t \times \%\_Referred \times \%\_Overlap \times \delta_t\} \times \%\_Cost_{IPVAM\ or\ IPVVAW}$

Where:

Total_CC_cost$_t$ = the total cost of children's social care in the United Kingdom in reference year *t*;

%_Referred = the proportion of children referred to social care because of abuse or neglect;

%_Overlap = the proportion of domestic violence and child abuse overlap;

%_Cost_(IPVAM or IPVAW) = gender distribution of the cost of intimate partner violence.

Specialist service costs

- *Cost of refuge services_GBV* = $\{Total\_Refuge\_Cost\_t \times \delta\_t\} \times \%\_Cost\_(GBVAM\ or\ GBVAW)$
- *Cost of refuge services_IPV* = $\{Total\_Refuge\_Cost\_t \times \delta\_t\} \times \%\_Cost\_(IPVAM\ or\ IPVAW)$
- *Cost of specialist advice_GBV* = $\{Total\_SA\_Cost\_t \times \delta\_t\} \times \%\_Cost\_(IPVAM\ or\ IPVAW)$
- *Cost of specialist advice_IPV* = $\{Total\_SA\_Cost\_t \times \delta\_t \times \%SA\_IPV\} \times \%\_Cost\_(GBVAM\ or\ GBVAW)$

Where:

Total_Refuge_cost_t = cost of refuge in the United Kingdom in reference year *t*;

Total_SA_cost_t = the total cost of specialist advice services, i.e. the sum of government specialist advice costs, Victim Support costs, Co-ordinated Action Against Domestic Abuse costs and Respect costs;

%_SA_IPV = the proportion of specialist advice attributable to intimate partner violence;

%_Cost_(IPVAM or IPVAW) = gender distribution of the cost of intimate partner violence;

%_Cost_(GBVAM or GBVAW) = gender distribution of the cost of gender-based violence.

Box 3. Formula for measuring cost of physical and emotional impact on victims

- $Cost\ of\ physical\ and\ emotional\ impact\ on\ victims\ in\ a\ crime\ category = Incidents_{ct} \times \{Unitcost_{cn} \times Y_{n,t} \times \delta_t\}$

Where:

$Unitcost_{cn}$ = the Home Office estimate of the unit cost of the physical and emotional impact on victims for a crime category in year *n*;

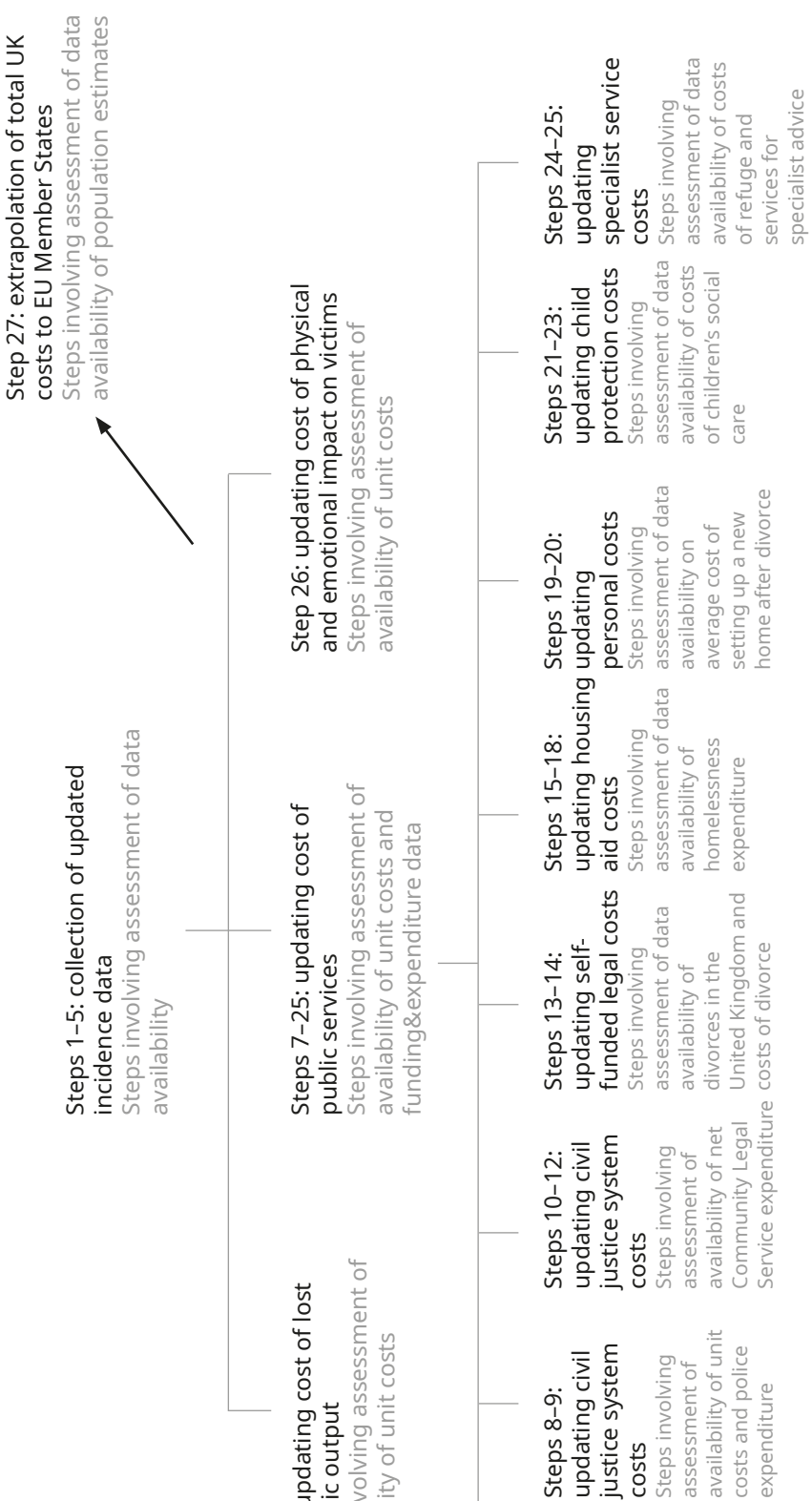
$Incidents_{ct}$, $Y_{n,t}$ and δ_t are as described above.

Furthermore, following the 27 steps shown in Figure 1 revealed that, since EIGE's previous study, the Home Office has published a second edition of *The Economic and Social Costs of Crime* ([9]), which provides updated estimates of the unit costs of crime. The main change in the Home Office's methodology was in the crime classifications for which unit costs were available. In 2014, these classifications were homicide, wounding, common assault and sexual violence. At the time of the present case study, the crime survey for England and Wales (CSEW) collects data on violent crime under a different set of classifications. Correspondingly, the 2018 Home Office report provided unit costs subdivided by homicide, violence with injury, violence without injury, rape and other sexual offences.

The bottom-up methodologies applied to estimate the cost of usage of the civil justice system, self-funded legal costs and the costs of homelessness prevention (previously sanctuary schemes) were updated based on the availability of data and an examination of the current policy context in the United Kingdom. These changes are detailed in various subsections of this report dedicated to the civil justice system costs, self-funded legal costs and housing aid costs.

([9]) Heeks et al., 2018.

Figure 1. 27 steps identified to update the UK case study



3. Incidence of gender-based violence and intimate partner violence

In comparison to EIGE's 2014 report, which relied on microdata from the CSEW, this study uses the publicly available aggregate data from the 2019/2020 CSEW published by the Office of National Statistics (ONS). The main drawbacks of this approach are firstly that often the data are not disaggregated by characteristics relevant to this study (e.g. gender, sex of perpetrator and relationship to victim) and secondly that most of the figures reported in the ONS tables display prevalence rather than incidence ([10]). To overcome the first of these drawbacks, assumptions were made in order to allow the data to be categorised as necessary. The assumptions made in the study are set out in Section 3.1. Prevalence data may underestimate total costs, because one person can be a victim of violence more than once. Moreover, given that the Home Office report estimates unit costs by incident, prevalence data need to be transformed into incidence data for a more accurate estimate of the costs.

Table 1. Estimated incidence of gender-based and intimate partner violence by category of crime for England and Wales and the United Kingdom in 2019/2020

Category of crime	Type of violence	No of incidents against women, England and Wales	No of incidents against men, England and Wales	Total No of incidents, England and Wales	No of incidents against women, UK	No of incidents against men, UK	Total No of incidents, UK
Homicide	GBV	98	47	145	98	47	145
Violence with injury	GBV	523 614	171 990	695 604	588 423	193 277	781 700
Violence without injury	GBV	709 618	187 551	897 169	797 449	210 764	1 008 213
Rape	GBV	335 045	60 667	395 712	376 514	68 176	444 690
Other sexual offences	GBV	630 000	254 800	884 800	707 976	286 337	994 313
Total	**GBV**	**2 198 375**	**675 055**	**2 873 430**	**2 470 460**	**758 601**	**3 229 061**
Homicide	IPV	68	12	80	68	12	80
Violence with injury	IPV	366 530	84 084	450 614	411 896	94 491	506 387
Violence without injury	IPV	496 733	91 692	588 425	558 214	103 041	661 255
Rape	IPV	141 960	3 640	145 600	159 531	4 091	163 621
Other sexual offences	IPV	67 340	25 480	92 820	75 675	28 634	104 308
Total	**IPV**	**1 072 631**	**204 908**	**1 277 539**	**1 205 384**	**230 269**	**1 435 653**

NB: 'GBV' stands for 'gender-based violence'; 'IPV' stands for 'intimate partner violence'.

([10]) Prevalence here refers to the number of victims in a given year, regardless of the number of incidents associated with each victim; incidence refers the total number of incidents in a given time frame, across all victims.

3.1. Data transformation

Data transformation was necessary for all but one of the types of violence (homicide).

The majority of the data from the CSEW are available in the form of prevalence over population, i.e. the percentage of victims in a given population. For that reason, to obtain an estimated number of victims, we need to multiply the prevalence by the population of England and Wales, using data from the mid-2019 ONS population estimates ([11]). Specifically, we took data from the tables 'MYE2 – Males' and 'MYE2 – Females' from one of the spreadsheets in the ONS population data set ([12]) and summed up the number of people aged 16–74 for England and Wales.

The calculation to find the number of victims in England and Wales is as follows. For example, the prevalence value for rape (including attempted rape) against women aged 16–74 in 2019/2020 is 0.8 %. The calculated total population of women aged 16–74 in England and Wales is 21 615 883. So the estimated number of victims in this example is (0.8/100) × 21 615 883 = 172 927.

The transformation from victims to incidents is based on CSEW data on victimisation, available from the 'Number of times victims were victimised' table from the crime in England and Wales statistics for the year ending March 2020 ([13]). The information is used to extrapolate the proportion of victims that were victimised by domestic violence once (66 %), twice or four times (taking three as the median) (27 %) and five or more times (using five as the median) (7 %). The formula applied to convert the number of victims to the number of incidents is:

Total_Victims × (0.66) × (1) + Total_Victims × (0.27) × (3) + Total_Victims × (0.07) × (5).

Lastly, where needed, the results are extrapolated to reflect the total UK population. This was done by multiplying the incident data by a factor of 1.123771649, which reflects the ratio between the total UK population in mid 2019 and the population of England and Wales.

3.2. Homicide

Homicide data, unlike data for the other types of violence reported in this study, are readily available and, by definition, incidence and prevalence coincide. Moreover, police-recorded homicide data are available in England and Wales ([14]), Scotland ([15]) and Northern Ireland ([16]) by both the gender of the victim and their relationship to the main suspect. While gender-based violence includes homicides perpetrated by family members as well as by partners or ex-partners, its subcategory, intimate partner violence, only includes homicides perpetrated by the latter group. Therefore, the distinction between gender-based and intimate partner homicide incidents is achieved by using homicide data disaggregated by the victim's gender and relationship to the main suspect. The division was made as follows:

- gender-based homicides included those committed by people in the category 'son or daughter', 'parent', 'partner or ex-partner' and 'other relative' for England and Wales

([11]) ONS, 'Dataset – Estimates of the population for the UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland' (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/populationestimatesforukenglandandwalesscotlandandnorthernireland).

([12]) ONS, 'Mid-2019: April 2020 local authority district codes edition of this dataset' spreadsheet (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/populationestimatesforukenglandandwalesscotlandandnorthernireland).

([13]) ONS, 'Crime in England and Wales: Year ending March 2020 – Annual trend and demographic tables' data set, Table D7: 'Number of times victims were victimised, year ending March 2020 CSEW' (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/crimeinenglandandwalesannualtrendanddemographictables).

([14]) ONS, 'Appendix tables: homicide in England and Wales' data set, Tables 11a and 11b (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/appendixtableshomicideinenglandandwales).

([15]) Scottish Government, 'Homicide in Scotland 2019-2020: statistics', Table 8 (https://www.gov.scot/publications/homicide-scotland-2019-2020/documents/).

([16]) Police Service of Northern Ireland, domestic abuse incidents and crimes spreadsheets, Table 3.9 (https://www.psni.police.uk/inside-psni/Statistics/domestic-abuse-statistics/domestic-abuse-statistics-archive/).

and Scotland, and 'partner or ex-partner' and 'other family relationship' for Northern Ireland;

- intimate partner homicides included those committed by a 'partner or ex-partner' for all countries of the United Kingdom.

3.3. Rape and other forms of sexual assault

This study uses different methodologies to estimate the incidence of rape and other sexual offences, disaggregated by gender-based and intimate partner violence.

3.3.1. Intimate partner violence – rape and other forms of sexual assault

Intimate partner violence concerns incidents where the perpetrator is the partner or ex-partner of the victim. The ONS reports data from the CSEW on domestic abuse prevalence and victim characteristics ([17]), where it is possible to categorise rape and sexual assault by perpetrator and gender of the victim. In particular, 'sexual assault by rape or penetration (including attempts) by a partner' is categorised as intimate partner violence-related rape, and 'indecent exposure or unwanted sexual touching by a partner' as intimate partner violence-related other sexual assault. The estimated number of victims is calculated by multiplying the prevalence rate (derived from CSEW data) among adults aged 18–74 from Table 1 of the ONS appendix tables ([18]) by the mid-2019 ONS population estimates. The final numbers are included in Table 1 of this report.

Finally, the transformation from prevalence to incidence is based on CSEW data on victimisation, available from the table 'Number of times victims were victimised' from the crime in England and Wales statistics for the year ending March 2020 ([19]). The information is used to extrapolate the proportion of victims that were victimised by domestic violence once (66 %), twice or four times (taking three as the median) (27 %) and five or more times (using five as the median) (7 %).

The final estimates of the incidence of rape and other forms of sexual assault in the intimate partner category are illustrated Table 1.

3.3.2. Gender-based violence – rape and other forms of sexual assault

By definition, rape and other sexual offences are categorised under gender-based violence regardless of the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim. However, rape and other sexual assaults outside the domestic context are not reported as a category in the publicly available CSEW. Hence, incidence is calculated using the CSEW data on domestic sexual assault alongside police data, which provides insight into the proportion of all rape and sexual assault related to domestic violence (as shown in Table 2). The police-reported proportion of sexual offences related to domestic abuse is used to extrapolate the number to the whole population. Police figures are taken from the crime in England and Wales statistics for the year ending in March 2020, which are broken down by gender. CSEW data are from Table 2 in the same module ([20]).

([17]) ONS, 'Domestic abuse prevalence and victim characteristics, England and Wales: Year ending March 2020 – Appendix tables' data set (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/domesticabuseprevalenceandvictimcharacteristicsappendixtables).

([18]) Ibid.

([19]) ONS, 'Crime in England and Wales: Year ending March 2020 – Annual trend and demographic tables' data set, Table D7: 'Number of times victims were victimised, year ending March 2020 CSEW' (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/crimeinenglandandwalesannualtrendanddemographictables).

([20]) ONS, 'Domestic abuse prevalence and victim characteristics, England and Wales: Year ending March 2020 – Appendix tables' data set, Table 17: 'Number of rape and sexual assault offences recorded by the police by sex of victim, and whether they were flagged as domestic abuse-related, year ending March 2020' and Table 2: 'Estimated numbers of victims of domestic abuse aged 16 to 74, by type of abuse and sex, year ending March 2020 CSEW' (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/domesticabuseprevalenceandvictimcharacteristicsappendixtables).

Table 2. Estimated percentage of domestic abuse-related rape and sexual assault from police records

No of offences recorded by police in England and Wales (excluding Greater Manchester Police)				
Sex of victim	Offence	Related to domestic abuse	Not related to domestic abuse	Percentage related to domestic abuse
Women	Rape – victim aged 16 years and over	20 513	16 409	44 %
	Sexual assault – victim aged 13 years and over	32 389	4 762	13 %
Men	Rape – victim aged 16 years and over	2 221	232	9 %
	Sexual assault – victim aged 13 years and over	5 329	574	10 %

Source: ONS, 'Domestic abuse prevalence and victim characteristics, England and Wales: Year ending March 2020 – Appendix tables' data set, Table 17: 'Number of rape and sexual assault offences recorded by the police by sex of victim, and whether they were flagged as domestic abuse-related, year ending March 2020' (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/domesticabuseprevalenceandvictimcharacteristicsappendixtables).

The following steps were taken to estimate the number of incidents of rape and other forms of sexual assault by category of gender-based violence.

1. As for intimate partner violence-related rape and other sexual offences, the prevalence data from the CSEW were multiplied by the ONS population data ([21]) to calculate the estimated number of victims.

2. The number of victims was converted to the number of incidents using the formula for transforming prevalence data into incidence data (see Section 3.1).

3. The estimated number of incidents of rape and sexual assault in a domestic context was scaled up using police-recorded data to obtain the incidence in all contexts. For example, Table 2 shows that 44 % of incidents of rape against women are related to domestic abuse. Therefore, the number of incidents of rape against women was multiplied by a factor of 2.2727 (100/44) to calculate the number of incidents of rape falling under gender-based violence. In this example, the resulting number of incidents from step 2 was 147 420. Multiplying this number by the factor mentioned before brings the total number of incidents of rape against women to 335 045.

As shown in Table 2, the police-recorded crime excludes the Greater Manchester Police and therefore is an underestimation of recorded crimes in England and Wales. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of police-recorded data. The ONS has noted that the statistics based on police-recorded data were found not to meet the required standard for designation as national statistics. However, the UK Statistics Authority has noted that there is evidence that the police have taken steps to improve recording and it is likely that recent increases in the number of recorded crimes reflect improvements in recording standards, particularly for sexual offences ([22]). Recognising these improvements, this study uses data from police-recorded crime in conjunction with prevalence data from the CSEW.

([21]) ONS, 'Dataset – Estimates of the population for the UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland' (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/populationestimatesforukenglandandwalesscotlandandnorthernireland).

([22]) ONS, 'Crime and justice methodology' (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/methodologies/crimeandjusticemethodology).

3.4. Violence with and without injury

The prevalence of violence with and without injury is published in the main CSEW publication ([23]). However, these data are not broken down by the victim's relationship to the perpetrator. The CSEW domestic abuse module, on the other hand, does include this breakdown, and one by sex of the victim ([24]). However, the domestic abuse module does not classify violence as with or without injury. Rather, the classification of violence against a person is as follows:

- non-physical abuse, separated into emotional and financial abuse, which according to the user guide tries to capture the new cross-government definition of 'coercive and controlling behaviour' in domestic abuse;
- threats to hurt the respondent or someone close to them;
- force, including physical force, which includes the respondent being pushed, slapped, hit, punched, kicked, choked or having a weapon used against them.

There is no further information to indicate whether these kinds of violence have led to injury. Therefore, to estimate the incidence of violence with and without injury (which is required in order to match the data to the Home Office unit costs), the following steps were taken.

1. Data were obtained from CSEW tables where the type of violence is categorised as violence with/without injury, broken down by sex and covering individuals aged over 16 years ([25]).
2. As before, prevalence data were transformed to the number of victims by multiplying prevalence by ONS population data ([26]).
3. Police-recorded data on victim–suspect relationships from the same workbook ([27]) were used to disaggregate the data by relationship to the perpetrator and calculate estimates for intimate partner violence and gender-based violence. The data are recorded as the proportion (in per cent) of 'violence against the person' in which the perpetrator's relationship to the victim was that of a stranger, family member, acquaintance, intimate partner or 'other sexual relationship', broken down by sex of the victim. The calculation was performed using the categories 'intimate partner' and 'other family relative' for gender-based violence, and 'intimate partner' for intimate partner violence.
4. The estimated number of victims of violence with injury and violence without injury were then converted to incidence data as previously described. The final numbers are indicated in Table 1.

The estimation of the incidence data in this study was limited by a lack of access to the micro-level data of the CSEW. For that reason, our approach had to rely on assumptions and approximate estimations in the calculation of the number of incidents. This reduces the robustness and representativity of the cost estimates presented in the analysis. Importantly, the transformation from prevalence data to incidence data may result in an underestimate, which can thus impact the subsequent estimates of the total costs.

([23]) ONS, 'Crime in England and Wales statistical bulletins' (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/crimeinenglandandwales/previousReleases).

([24]) ONS, 'Domestic abuse prevalence and victim characteristics, England and Wales: Year ending March 2020 – Appendix tables', Table 2: 'Estimated numbers of victims of domestic abuse aged 16 to 74, by type of abuse and sex, year ending March 2020 CSEW' (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/domesticabuseprevalenceandvictimcharacteristicsappendixtables).

([25]) ONS, 'The nature of violent crime in England and Wales: Year ending March 2020 – Appendix tables', Table 2: 'Prevalence of violence, by type of violence and household and area characteristics, year ending March 2020 CSEW' (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/thenatureofviolentcrimeappendixtables).

([26]) ONS, 'Dataset – Estimates of the population for the UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland' (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/populationestimatesforukenglandandwalesscotlandandnorthernireland).

([27]) ONS, 'The nature of violent crime in England and Wales: Year ending March 2020 – Appendix tables', Table 11: 'Police recorded violence against the person offences with "other" victim–suspect relationship where known, by sex of victim and type of relationship, Home Office Data Hub (17 forces), year ending March 2020' (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/thenatureofviolentcrimeappendixtables).

4. Lost economic output

The methodology for calculating the economic output lost due to gender-based and intimate partner violence follows that used in the 2014 EIGE report.

EIGE (2014) used the unit cost estimates for lost output as a consequence of crime from the 2005 Home Office report on the economic and social costs of crime ([28]). These unit costs (calculated for 2003/2004) were then adjusted for inflation to reflect 2011/2012 prices and converted from pounds sterling to euro using the mid-2012 conversation rate. To obtain the costs relevant to gender-based and intimate partner violence, the unit costs were multiplied by the number of incidents by type of crime and type of violence (gender-based or intimate partner violence) and gender of victim.

The Home Office published a second edition of the study in 2018 ([29]), which updates the unit costs of crime using estimates from the 2015/2016 financial year. These estimates (shown in Table A.2) were multiplied by a factor of 1.116961 taken from the Bank of England inflation calculator and converted from pounds sterling to euro using the mid-2019 conversion rate of 1.13157 ([30]). The adjusted unit cost was then multiplied by the incidence data to obtain the total UK cost of gender-based and intimate partner violence in 2019/2020, by category of crime and sex. The total costs are summarised in Table 3.

Table 3 shows the percentage differences between the updated costs and the old report's estimates, adjusted for inflation. The new costs are significantly higher than the old ones, even after adjusting for inflation – up to 148 % higher. **The increase in cost can be explained by the higher unit costs for lost economic output reported and a general increase in incidence data for both women and men. With the exception of unit costs of lost output for homicide, which decreased, the reported unit costs for lost output increased for all crime classifications, especially for violence with and without injury (previously categorised as wounding and common assault)** (see Table A.2). These changes in costs, combined with the increased estimates of incidence data, partly explain the increase in the total lost output and costs of gender-based violence. As can be seen in Table A.1, the incidence data used in this report are comparatively higher than those used in EIGE (2014), except for homicide. In particular, the table shows a significant increase in reported cases of rape and sexual offences against both women and, significantly, men.

Table 3. Total costs of economic output lost due to gender-based and intimate partner violence compared with EIGE (2014), in EUR

Source of estimation	Cost of GBV against women	Cost of GBV against men	Total cost of GBV	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men	Total cost of IPV
EIGE (2021)	6 048 827 687	1 610 574 410	7 659 402 097	2 863 812 091	408 185 893	3 271 997 984
EIGE (2014)	3 666 919 341	546 922 178	4 213 841 519	1 595 784 962	188 870 502	1 784 655 464
Percentage difference	**65 %**	**194 %**	**82 %**	**79 %**	**116 %**	**83 %**
EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	4 362 717 286	650 700 661	5 013 417 947	1 898 585 159	224 708 680	2 123 293 839
Percentage difference	**39 %**	**148 %**	**53 %**	**51 %**	**82 %**	**54 %**

([28]) Dubourg, Hamed and Thorns, 2005.
([29]) Heeks et al., 2018.
([30]) https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/how-eu-funding-works/information-contractors-and-beneficiaries/exchange-rate-inforeuro_en

This increase can be explained by both the change in definition of offences in the CSEW (which refined the definition of 'other sexual offences', previously not included as a separate category), and changes in the public discourse, which reduced stigma and encouraged victims of sexual offences, both women and men, to come forward.

The strength of this methodology is conditional on the robustness of the Home Office's estimation of unit costs. The second edition of the Home Office's costs of crime report includes some methodological improvements in the estimation of lost output costs. **Specifically, the new calculations for lost output, which previously only included time taken off work, now also include estimates for reduced productivity.** This improvement refines our understanding of how violence may impact victims at work and thus produces a more robust representation of the impact of gender-based violence.

However, there are significant weaknesses in the cost estimates from the 2018 Home Office research report: they were calculated for all crimes in general rather than gender-based crimes, leading to a lack of specificity of the unit cost estimates. This is particularly important for measures such as lost economic output and physical and emotional well-being, where the impact of intimate partner violence on victims is likely very different from that of violence perpetrated by a stranger. This lack of acknowledgment of how the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator may affect the psychological impact (in both the long and the short term) may affect the robustness of cost estimates. This could be solved by using unit cost estimates specifically calculated for victims of intimate partner violence. For the purpose of this case study, a potential solution is to use unit cost estimates from Oliver et al. (2019), which replicated the 2018 Home Office research report's methodology for victims of domestic violence. Similarly, future studies on the costs of gender-based and intimate partner violence may decide to calculate the lost output costs using methods that more closely capture the effects of crimes perpetrated by intimate partners. Moreover, intimate partner violence is sometimes characterised by repeat victimisation, more often so than other types of violence. Even if the repeat victimisation is captured in the incidence data, its effect on the psychological trauma of the victim, which may in turn affect lost output costs, is not considered in the cost estimations. This unit-based approach may potentially underestimate the costs of repeat victimisation. A potential solution could be to include an interest rate (the opposite of a discount rate) which accounts for the added trauma of repeat victimisation.

5. Cost of public services

5.1. Costs to health services

Following the method of EIGE's 2014 report, this study calculates health service costs by using unit cost measures for public health services estimated in the Home Office report on the costs of crime. These are available for the categories of violence used throughout this report and described in Section 3.

Heeks et al. (2018) uses data from the 2015/2016 financial year to estimate costs. The unit costs by crime category for health services in England and Wales are reported in Table A.2. To adjust for inflation, Heeks et al. (2019) unit costs were multiplied by a coefficient of 1.116961 taken from the Bank of England inflation calculator. Finally, they were converted from pounds sterling to euro using the mid-2019 conversion rate of 1.13157. To estimate the total United Kingdom-wide costs for gender-based and intimate partner violence, the resulting unit costs were multiplied by the number of incidents by type of crime (further described in Section 3). The resulting cost estimates are reported in Table 4.

The difference between the old health service costs and the updated costs is smaller for women than for men (for women and men, respectively, the difference is – 4 and 36 percentage points for gender-based violence and – 23 and – 10 percentage points for intimate partner violence). More strikingly, while the health service costs of gender-based violence increased slightly, by 2 percentage points, those of intimate partner violence did the opposite, decreasing by 21 percentage points. This may be explained by the change in the incidence of gender-based and intimate partner violence compared to EIGE (2014).

The key difference in the Home Office's methodology for estimating the unit costs of health services, according to its 2018 research report, is the change in the estimation of the proportion of victims who require medical attention ([31]). While the 2005 Home Office research report makes an assumption about the likelihood of victims requiring medical assistance for each type of crime, Heeks et al. (2018) uses estimates from the 2015/2016 CSEW.

The difference in the results may be explained by changes in unit cost estimates between the two Home Office reports (see Table A.2). The figures show a large decrease in the unit cost of violence with injury (– 57 %) and a large increase in that of violence without injury (39 %). This change in unit costs, associated with the increase in incidence numbers (Table A.1), may explain the changes illustrated in Table 4. In fact, Table A.1 shows a considerable increase in incidence for both intimate partner and gender-based violence against

Table 4. Total UK health service costs of gender-based and intimate partner violence compared with EIGE (2014), in EUR

Source of estimation	Cost of GBV against women	Cost of GBV against men	Total cost of GBV	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men	Total cost of IPV
EIGE (2021)	1 833 707 577	533 525 825	2 367 233 402	930 662 192	164 909 121	1 095 571 313
EIGE (2014)	1 613 448 832	329 358 684	1 942 807 516	1 012 196 229	154 569 009	1 166 765 238
Percentage difference	**14 %**	**62 %**	**22 %**	**– 8 %**	**7 %**	**– 6 %**
EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	1 919 600 748	391 854 494	2 311 455 242	1 204 260 463	183 898 478	1 388 158 941
Percentage difference	**– 4 %**	**36 %**	**2 %**	**– 23 %**	**– 10 %**	**– 21 %**

([31]) Heeks et al. (2018), p. 43.

women and men. The considerable increase in the number of incidents of violence **with** injury (39 % and 20 % in gender-based violence and intimate partner violence, respectively, against women, and 86 % and 68 % in gender-based violence and intimate partner violence, respectively, against men). There is a comparatively milder increase for women and a decrease for men in the number of incidents of violence **without** injury (5 % and 10 % in gender-based violence and intimate partner violence, respectively, against women, and – 23 % in both gender-based and intimate partner violence against men). The higher number of incidents of violence **with** injury (at a 57 % lower unit cost), and the comparatively lower number of incidents of violence **without** injury (the cost of which is 39 % higher) might partly explain the decrease in the total costs of intimate partner violence. Also, the different pattern in the health service cost of violence against men (which shows a large increase in gender-based violence costs, and a comparatively less significant decrease in the total cost of intimate partner violence) is not surprising given the considerable difference in incidence estimates for violence against men compared with the 2005 report, especially in the estimates for sexual offences.

The Home Office methodology associates average price points for standard medical procedures for various injuries with the likelihood of victims suffering such injuries (physical or psychological), using the estimates from the 2015/2016 CSEW. Associating these numbers with the incidence of gender-based and intimate partner violence is likely to produce relatively reliable results. However, there are a couple of drawbacks that may result in an underestimate of the costs of gender-based violence. **First, not all victims of violence seek medical assistance.** This leads to a lack of data and hence a common shortcoming in cost estimation studies on gender-based violence. This issue may be further exacerbated by the fact that the long-term repercussions on the victim's health (especially when medical assistance is not sought immediately) may lead to an increase in their future visits to health services compared to the average population. To overcome this data limitation, a proxy for the proportion of victims of gender-based and intimate partner violence who seek medical assistance could be used as a multiplier. This estimate could be based on existing literature or ad hoc surveys ([32]) or targeted studies that use a combination of administrative data and stakeholder consultations. **Second, the likelihood of a victim using health services is based on CSEW measures for all victims of crimes, and thus is not focused on victims of gender-based violence.** Victims of gender-based and, more specifically, intimate partner violence differ in many ways from general victims of crime. This type of violence is more likely to be associated with stigma or fear (especially in the case of intimate partner violence). It is thus plausible that the likelihood or pattern of victims using medical services may be different from that used in Heeks et al. (2018). Using unit costs specifically based on a sample population with similar characteristics (such as victims of domestic abuse) may reduce the potential divergence in the estimates of the likelihood of service use.

5.2. Costs to the criminal justice system

Criminal justice system costs are calculated using the methodology in EIGE's 2014 report. Just as that report uses cost estimates from the 2005 Home Office report on the costs of crime, the current criminal justice system costs are extracted from Heeks et al. (2018) (see Table A.2).

The Home Office report's 2015/2016 civil justice system unit costs are then adjusted to reflect mid-2019 prices (using the 1.116961 multiplier from the Bank of England) and converted to euro using the mid-2019 conversion rate of 1.13157. Finally, the unit costs are multiplied by the number of incidents to estimate the total UK criminal justice costs of gender-based and intimate partner violence. The results are illustrated in Table 5.

([32]) Given the sensitivity of the issue, measures based on survey responses by victims may also underestimate the prevalence of victims who seek medical assistance after a violent episode. This obstacle could be overcome by combining survey evidence with testimonies from health professionals.

Table 5. Total UK costs to criminal justice services compared with EIGE (2014), in EUR

Source of estimation	Cost of GBV against women	Cost of GBV against men	Total cost of GBV	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men	Total cost of IPV
EIGE (2021)	8 367 969 178	2 221 975 021	10 589 944 199	4 334 121 916	656 692 006	4 990 813 922
EIGE (2014)	3 967 839 061	771 408 942	4 739 248 003	2 098 883 741	329 116 310	2 428 000 051
Percentage difference	**111 %**	**188 %**	**123 %**	**106 %**	**100 %**	**106 %**
EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	4 720 736 523	917 783 789	5 638 520 312	2 497 146 931	391 566 130	2 888 713 061
Percentage difference	**77 %**	**142 %**	**88 %**	**74 %**	**68 %**	**73 %**

Table 5 displays large increases in the total criminal justice service costs of gender-based and intimate partner violence. This **increase is likely associated with the notable increase in unit costs in Heeks et al. (2018)** (see Table A.2), especially for homicides (257 % higher) and violence without injury (411 % higher), as well as with the increase in incidence data (see Table A.1).

Together with civil justice system costs from the Home Office, EIGE's 2014 report also estimated the cost of police time spent on non-crime activities, which is excluded from the Home Office estimates. Police time spent on non-crime activities may be relevant to intimate partner violence because police responses to 'domestic disputes' fall into this category. The 2014 methodology followed Walby (2004) and used data from 43 local police forces reported by HM Inspectorate of Constabulary and the former Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG; now called the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG)) ([33]). The methodology consisted of two steps.

1. Estimate the total cost of police time spent responding to non-crime domestic incidents. This was done by multiplying the total police expenditure in the United Kingdom in 2012 by Walby's (2004) amount of police time spent on public safety and welfare (40 %) and by the proportion of public safety and welfare activity spent on domestic incidents (11 %).
2. Find the gender distribution of costs by multiplying the cost of non-crime police time on domestic incidents by the estimated proportion of gender-based and intimate partner violence against women and men. The expenditure on police time spent on domestic incidents is multiplied by a factor of 62 % to account for the proportion of domestic common assault assumed to be committed by an intimate partner ([34]). The final gender distribution of victims of non-crime domestic incidents assumed to be common assault (domestic violence: 74 % women, 26 % men; intimate partner violence: 79 % women, 21 % men) is taken from Towers, Walby and Francis (2014).

The above methodology was replicated by using the same proportions used in the 2014 study (i.e. where 40 % of police time is spent on public safety and welfare, 11 % of which is spent on domestic incidents). The total police expenditure for England and Wales in 2019 (GBP 12 203 000 000) was obtained from local authority expenditure reports from the MHCLG. Adjusted to the United Kingdom and converted to euro using mid-2019 conversion rates, the total police expenditure was EUR 15 517 655 551, and the cost of police time spent on domestic incidents EUR 682 776 844. Replicating the 2014 EIGE methodology, the costs were then multiplied by 62 %, which is the estimated proportion of domestic common assault perpetrated by an intimate partner. The gender distribution was calculated using the 2019/2020 incidence data from the CSEW. The final results are in Table 6.

([33]) HM Inspectorate of Constabulary (2012), Taking time for crime – A study of how police officers prevent crime in the field (https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/media/taking-time-for-crime.pdf), Department for Communities and Local Government (2013), 'Statistical Release – Local authority revenue expenditure and financing – England 2011-12 final outturn (revised)' (https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/244478/Revenue_Outturn__RO__2011-12_Final_Statistical_Release__2_.pdf).

([34]) Towers, Walby and Francis, 2014.

Table 6. Cost of police time spent on non-crime domestic incidents related to gender-based and intimate partner violence compared with EIGE (2014), in EUR

Source of estimation	Cost of GBV against women	Cost of GBV against men	Total cost of GBV	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men	Total cost of IPV
EIGE (2021)	505 254 865	177 521 980	682 776 845	334 424 098	88 897 545	423 321 643
EIGE (2014)	562 418 902	197 606 641	760 025 543	372 260 511	98 955 326	471 215 837
Percentage difference	**– 10 %**	**– 10 %**	**– 10 %**	**– 10 %**	**– 10 %**	**– 10 %**
EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	669 137 889	235 102 501	904 240 390	442 896 943	117 732 099	560 629 042
Percentage difference	**– 24 %**	**– 24 %**	**– 24 %**	**– 24 %**	**– 24 %**	**– 24 %**

Table 6 shows an overall decrease in costs related to police time spent on non-crime incidents. **This could be a reflection of a decrease in the police budget.** Indeed, EIGE (2014) reports police expenditure in 2011/2012 in the United Kingdom as GBP 15 157 759 416 (adjusted from GBP 12 728 115 000), or EUR 19 000 638 566, compared with GBP 13 808 548 710 (GBP 12 203 000 000), or EUR 15 517 655 551, in 2019.

5.3. Costs to the civil justice system

The civil justice system includes the legal costs associated with civil justice cases, which are separate from criminal law. The branch of civil law relevant to gender-based and, more specifically, intimate partner violence is family law, both public and private, which deals with divorces and separations and related proceedings (such as matters relating to finance or children) as well as matters concerned with children's well-being. To calculate the associated costs, EIGE's 2014 report mainly relied on information from the Legal Services Commission (LSC) 2012/2013 annual report and accounts, which included summary information on legal expenditure and the allocation of resources ([35]).

EIGE's 2014 report separated family law legal aid into three main categories: (i) civil representation – private family-related proceedings; (ii) civil representation – public family proceedings; (iii) legal help spent on family disputes. These categories were extracted from the LSC report, which includes the proportion of expenditure spent on each one. The methodology for estimating the proportion of civil justice system expenditure due to gender-based violence was as follows.

1. Data were obtained from the LSC report on the net Community Legal Service expenditure on civil representation (GBP 937 611 000) and legal help (GBP 184 026 000) for England and Wales in 2012/2013. These costs were adjusted to the United Kingdom.

2. According to the report, 48 % of the total costs were for private family law proceedings (45 % for civil representation and 3 % for family mediation) and 38 % were for public family proceedings. Moreover, family disputes constituted 26 % of legal help. The report assumes that all legal help is related to private family law.

3. To calculate the percentage of family law expenditure that is related to intimate partner violence, the 2014 report uses multipliers from the literature on the overlap between child abuse and domestic violence and the estimated percentage of divorces caused by domestic violence. The choice of multiplier depends on the type of family law (private or public).

    a. The proportion of **private family law** expenditure attributable to intimate partner violence is related to the percentage of divorces and separations due to domestic violence. Indeed, private family law primarily concerns divorce and separation. The proportion of legal aid expenditure on private family law due to intimate partner violence is estimated using a 29 %

([35]) LSC, 2013.

multiplier for divorces due to domestic violence (taken from Walby (2004); see Section 5.3.1.1.). Therefore, for legal help and private family law civil representation, the following calculation was applied: Total_expenditure × Proportion_private-family × 0.29.

b. Public family law mostly concerns the well-being of children. Therefore, the proportion of **public family law** expenditure attributable to intimate partner violence can be estimated using the approximate overlap between child abuse and domestic violence. The multiplier used for this estimation is the rate of co-occurrence of domestic violence and child abuse, which is evaluated at 40 % ([36]). A similar calculation is applied for public family law civil proceedings attributable to intimate partner violence: Total_expenditure × Proportion_publicfamily × 0.40.

The 2014 methodology cannot be fully replicated. The LSC was replaced on 1 April 2013 by the Legal Aid Agency (LAA) as a result of the implementation of the Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Act 2012 (LASPO). As a consequence of this change, the clear breakdown by proportion of legal expenditure for family proceedings is no longer available in the annual report and accounts of the LAA. However, upon its implementation, the LAA began releasing the legal aid statistics reports, which contain detailed information on legal aid expenditure. This includes detailed information on both the **volume** (number of applications, whether granted or not, for legal aid) and the **value** (in thousand GBP) of proceedings. Therefore, this study explored two methods of calculating the cost of gender-based and intimate partner violence for civil justice services.

- **Method 1.** *Replicating the old methodology with new data from the legal aid statistics*

Using the indicators and breakdown of the 'value' (i.e. number of applications or of certificates granted for civil representation and legal help), we can derive the proportions of total expenditure for each type of legal proceeding (private/public family law civil representation and legal help) to replicate the methodology of the 2014 EIGE report (when the legal aid statistics reports were not available), as follows.

Private family-related proceedings (civil representation). Tables 6.5–6.7 of the legal aid statistics provide information on the total amount spent on civil representation by category ([37]). The total net expenditure on civil representation in 2019/2020 was GBP 654 159 394 (combining the values in Tables 6.5 and 6.7 to account for partial costs). This figure differs from the estimate in 2014, which was higher: GBP 937 611 000. The reason for this discrepancy is likely because even though EIGE's 2014 report presents the values as 'net' expenditure, it actually reports the gross values. The total expenditure on civil representation reported by the legal aid statistics for 2012/2013 was GBP 768 538 658, a value much closer to our estimate and comparable to the net expenditure indicated in the LSC. With this correction, the lower expenditure (– 14 %) in 2019/2020 could be related to austerity measures.

The proportion of civil representation accounted for by private family-related proceedings in 2019/2020 was 27 144 (the number of civil representation private family law proceedings ([38])) divided by 107 926 (the total number of civil representation proceedings). This constitutes 25 % of the total civil justice caseload. This proportion is much lower than the previous estimate (48 %). This can be explained by the LASPO provision enacted in 2012 that restricted eligibility for legal aid for private family law (e.g. divorce) to exceptional cases and cases where there was a proven risk of domestic violence or child abuse. In fact, when running the same estimation in the legal aid statistics data set for previous years, there

([36]) Walby, 2004.

([37]) The family law categories are combined 'family proceedings', 'domestic violence', 'financial provision', 'help with mediation', 'other family proceedings', 'other public law Children Act proceedings', 'private law Children Act proceedings' and 'special Children Act proceedings'.

([38]) This number is the sum of the following categories: 'combined family proceedings', 'domestic violence', 'financial provision', 'help with mediation', 'other family proceedings' and 'private law Children Act proceedings'.

seems to be a clear cut-off point between 2015/2016 and 2016/2017, at which the proportion of legal aid for private family proceedings decreased significantly.

Following EIGE's 2014 methodology, the 23 % coefficient was then used to calculate the proportion of legal aid expenditure on private family-related proceedings out of the total GBP 654 159 394 on civil representation. The resulting value is GBP 189 328 370. This is then adjusted for the United Kingdom and multiplied by Walby's 29 % multiplier for the proportion of divorces related to intimate partner violence. The results are presented in Table 8.

Public family-related proceedings. The procedure is similar to the above. The net expenditure on civil representation is GBP 654 159 394.

The proportion of public family-related proceedings with civil representation is estimated as above. The proportion of completed civil representation certificates in 2019/2020 was 66 690 (the total number of public family law civil representation certificates) divided by 107 926 (the total number of civil representation certificates in 2018/2019). The resulting proportion is 62 %, much higher than the 2014 report's estimation of 38 %. This is the inverse of the change discussed above. The proportion of civil representation proceedings with legal aid for public family law increased as a result of LASPO, a direct consequence of the decrease in the number of granted requests for private family law matters.

Following EIGE's 2014 methodology, the 62 % multiplier is then used to estimate the proportion of legal aid expenditure on private family-related proceedings out of the GBP 654 159 394 total. The resulting value is GBP 386 862 795, which is then adjusted for the UK population and multiplied by the 40 % co-occurrence rate. The results are presented in Table 7.

Legal help (private law). Tables 5.1–5.3 of the legal aid statistics allow EIGE's 2014 methodology for estimating the civil justice system costs of legal help to be replicated. Table 5.3 reports that total expenditure on legal help in 2019/2020 was GBP 102 924 663.

The proportion of legal help spent on family-related matters in 2019/2020 can be derived from the volume of completed claims (rather than started claims) in Table 5.2. The total number of completed family-related legal help and controlled legal representation claims (mediation, private family law and public family law) is 25 599. The total number of completed claims was 141 256, meaning 18 % of claims were for family matters. This figure is lower than the 2014 report's estimation of 26 %. It is unclear whether this drop is related to a mechanism such as LASPO, or to other trends in legal help requests. For example, there seems to be a sharp increase in the number of requests for legal help on immigration matters. The timing suggests this could be a consequence of Brexit: the proportion of immigration requests jumped from 10 % in 2012/2013 to 21 % in 2015/2016, then to 32 % in 2019/2020.

To obtain the legal help expenditure related to intimate partner violence, the proportion of family law legal help claims is then multiplied by the total expenditure on legal help and by the 29 % multiplier. The results are illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7. Total UK civil justice system costs for intimate partner violence against women and against men in EUR, by method of calculation

Type of cost	Method	UK expenditure	% on family justice	% on IPV	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men	Total cost
Private family law – civil representation	EIGE (2014)	1 323 610 551	48 %	29 %	162 136 998	22 109 591	184 246 589
	Method 1	752 779 755	25 %	29 %	46 098 866	8 806 438	54 905 304
	Method 2a	113 854 683	—	29 %	27 722 056	5 295 848	33 017 904
	Method 2b	47 884 065	—	—	40 203 842	7 680 290	47 884 132
Public family law – civil representation	EIGE (2014)	1 323 610 551	38 %	40 %	177 046 148	24 142 656	201 188 804
	Method 1	752 779 755	62 %	40 %	156 239 628	29 847 039	186 086 667
	Method 2a	638 925 072	—	40 %	214 578 629	40 991 756	255 570 385
Legal help	EIGE (2014)	259 786 580	26 %	29 %	17 237 359	2 350 549	19 587 908
	Method 1	130 881 707	18 %	29 %	5 775 234	1 103 264	6 878 498
	Method 2a	11 155 793	—	29 %	2 716 283	518 902	3 235 185
	Method 2b	1 912 676	Private family law (+ mediation)	29 %	465 710	88 966	554 676
		9 243 117	Public family law	40 %	3 104 238	593 014	3 697 252
		11 155 793	Total	—	3 569 948	681 981	4 251 929

- **Method 2a.** *Using readily available estimates for private/public family law legal aid expenditure (without having to derive them with proportions)*

As mentioned above, the legal aid statistics include detailed information on both the value and the volume of legal help claims and civil representation cases. The data set includes breakdowns by type of proceedings, including categories for public and private family law. This approach estimates the costs of legal aid spent on family-related proceedings more precisely. The previous approach assumed equal costs for each claim or case, which is likely to be untrue in most cases. This assumption can be disregarded if we look at the actual expenditure records by category of proceedings.

For civil legal representation proceedings, the values for each subcategory are taken from Tables 6.5 and 6.7 of the legal aid statistics ([39]).

— The values for private family law are obtained by summing the following categories: domestic violence, financial provision, other family proceedings and private law Children Act proceedings. For 2019/2020, the total LAA expenditure on private family law was GBP 89 534 404 (GBP 89 357 105 + GBP 177 599) for England and Wales. The results are then extrapolated to the United Kingdom and multiplied by 29 %.

— The values for public family law are obtained by summing the following categories: combined family proceedings, other public law Children Act proceedings and special Children Act proceedings. For public family law, the total LAA expenditure in 2019/2020 was GBP 502 447 205 (GBP 502 435 971 + GBP 11 233) for England and Wales. The results are extrapolated to the United Kingdom and multiplied by the 40 % co-occurrence multiplier. The results are presented in Table 7.

— For legal help, the total cost is taken from Table 5.3 of the legal aid statistics ([40]). In 2019/2020, the total LAA expenditure on legal help for family law mediation was GBP 8 772 854 for England and Wales. The total cost was extrapolated to the United Kingdom, converted from pounds

([39]) LAA (2020), Table 6.5: 'Civil representation costs met by LAA (value £'000)' and Table 6.7: 'Civil representation where some costs met by opponent (value £'000)'.
([40]) LAA (2020), Table 5.3: 'Legal help and controlled legal representation claims submitted (value £'000)'.

sterling to euro using the mid-2019 conversion rate and multiplied by the 29 % Walby estimate to calculate the portion of the expenditure attributable to intimate partner violence.

- **Method 2b.** *Further refinements for legal help and private law proceedings*

Further refinements can be applied to method 2a using the data available in the legal aid statistics.

As discussed earlier, LASPO changed the regulations surrounding eligibility for legal aid grants. In particular, requests for private law proceedings must be supported by evidence of risk of domestic violence or child abuse through the domestic violence and child abuse gateway.

The legal aid statistics record the applications received via the domestic violence and child abuse gateway, including grant status and evidence submitted for representation in private family law matters in Tables 6.8–6.10 ([41]). Therefore, these figures could be used to directly calculate the proportion of private family law proceedings carried out through the domestic abuse gateway, assuming that they constitute the proportion of private law proceedings due to intimate partner violence. This method more accurately portrays the actual legal aid expenditure attributable to intimate partner violence, because it does not rely on the previous assumption that all private family law proceedings are divorce related, which is the basis for the 29 % multiplier. However, it is important to note that this strategy is only feasible for private family law cases, for which eligibility is restricted to these particular circumstances.

Table 6.9 ([42]) in the legal aid statistics reports a total of 10 955 certificates granted through the domestic violence gateway, and 461 through both domestic violence and child abuse, amounting to a total of 11 416. Assuming that these were all private family law cases (as required by LASPO), 45 % of private law proceedings receiving legal aid can be attributed to intimate partner violence. Therefore, the total cost of private law civil representation in private family law can be obtained by multiplying the total cost of private law proceedings calculated earlier (GBP 89 534 404) by 0.45, for a total of GBP 40 484 664. The results are illustrated in Table 8.

Another refinement to the 2014 methodology regards the cost estimation for legal help. The legal aid statistics provide more details on the proportion of legal help for public and private family proceedings. The proportion of legal help can then be split into private family law, public family law and mediation cases. This distinction could be relevant in the estimation because different multipliers have been applied for public and private family law cases. Unless there is a legal reason for considering them jointly, it seems reasonable to separate the matters for a more accurate portrayal of cost estimates. The total values by category are taken from Table 5.3 in the legal aid statistics ([43]). The values are then multiplied by 0.29 for private family law claims and help with family mediation, and by 0.40 for public family law. The results are then extrapolated to the United Kingdom.

([41]) LAA (2020), Table 6.8: 'Civil representation, applications received in period via the domestic violence and child abuse gateway, and grant status', Table 6.9: 'Civil representation, certificates granted in period via the domestic violence and child abuse gateway' and Table 6.10: 'Evidence submitted with applications for representation in private family law matters via the domestic violence and child abuse gateway'.
([42]) LAA (2020), Table 6.9: 'Civil representation, certificates granted in period via the domestic violence and child abuse gateway'.
([43]) LAA (2020), Table 5.3: 'Legal help and controlled legal representation claims submitted (value £'000)'.

Table 8. Comparison of total UK civil justice system costs (method 2b) of gender-based and intimate partner violence, in EUR

Type of cost	Source of estimation	Total legal aid expenditure (*)	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men	Total cost of IPV
Private family law – civil representation	EIGE (2021)	752 779 755	40 203 842	7 680 290	47 884 132
	EIGE (2014)	1 323 610 551	162 136 998	22 109 591	184 246 589
	EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	1 574 765 653	192 902 493	26 304 886	219 207 379
	Percentage difference	**– 52 %**	**– 79 %**	**– 71 %**	**– 78 %**
Public family law – civil representation	EIGE (2021)	752 779 755	214 578 629	40 991 756	255 570 385
	EIGE (2014)	1 323 610 551	177 046 148	24 142 656	201 188 804
	EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	1 574 765 653	210 640 655	28 723 725	239 364 380
	Percentage difference	**– 52 %**	**2 %**	**43 %**	**7 %**
Legal help	EIGE (2021)	130 881 707	2 716 283	518 902	3 235 185
	EIGE (2014)	259 786 580	17 237 359	2 350 549	19 587 908
	EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	309 081 084	20 508 148	2 796 566	23 304 714
	Percentage difference	**– 58 %**	**– 87 %**	**– 81 %**	**– 86 %**

(*) The value of total legal aid expenditure reported for 2021 was not used in the final calculations of method 2b (which extracted individual costs of proceedings from the legal aid statistics). This value has been reported to compare the changes in expenditure for legal aid in the United Kingdom.

The final results that were used for this study were based on method 2b and are included in Table 8.

5.3.1. Multipliers

5.3.1.1. Proportion of divorces due to intimate partner violence

To discern the proportion of civil justice proceedings attributable to intimate partner violence, the 2014 report relies on the proportion of divorces due to intimate partner violence – 29 % ([44]). This proportion is estimated using the interpersonal violence module of the 2001 British Crime Survey, comparing the proportion of women who had experienced any kind of domestic violence since the age of 16 (21 %) with those who had experienced domestic violence within the past year (4 %). According to the report, the difference between these two figures represents the proportion of women for whom violence had stopped (17 %). The survey used by the report also included information on the reason why the violence had stopped. For 88 % of these women (15 % of the whole female population) the violence stopped because they 'split up', so 15 % is a proxy for the proportion of the female population who had left a relationship because of intimate partner violence. This figure is then weighted on the proportion of divorced women, which produced the final estimate of 29 % ([45]).

It would be unfeasible to replicate this methodology for the current study because of the unavailability of public microdata for the CSEW (previously the British Crime Survey) data set.

In order to find a comparable estimate, this study explored two potential options:

1. using the legal aid statistics database to assess the number of legal aid proceedings attributable to intimate partner violence (caveat: potential under-representation of high-income families);

([44]) Walby, 2004.
([45]) Walby (2004), pp. 86–87.

2. using the old 29 % multiplier, and assuming that the trends that led to this estimate have not changed.

For the first option, data from the legal aid statistics provide the number of private law civil representation requests funded by legal aid through the domestic violence gateway as a consequence of LASPO ([46]). Requests are only granted where proof is provided. The number is a relatively accurate portrayal of the portion of people who file for divorce because of intimate partner violence (as seen in steps 11 and 12 of Figure 1). However, it may underestimate numbers of higher-income individuals and therefore skew results. This is because eligibility for legal aid assistance is conditional on income. This may be problematic especially under the assumption that lower-income individuals are more likely to suffer intimate partner violence, in which case the derived proportion would be higher than if trends for high-income individuals were taken into account.

The multiplier estimated using the legal aid statistics (that represents the proportion of private family law proceedings with legal aid supported by evidence of domestic violence) is 50 %. This value is much higher than the old estimate of 29 %, which may confirm the hypothesis above about under-representation of high-income individuals.

Given the uncertainty of the representativity of the estimates from the legal aid statistics, using the old multiplier (29 %) was the better option. However, there are several drawbacks to be acknowledged. For one, the estimate is based on 2001 figures, and is thus potentially outdated. Moreover, the estimation only considers the female population. Given the increase in reported cases of intimate partner violence among men, this figure may not be representative of the whole sample. Finally, the estimation relies on data on experience of domestic violence between 16 and 54 years of age and within the last year. It is not clear whether the questions on past experience (since the age of 16) and recent experience (in the last year) are independent from each other in the questionnaire, and therefore the causal link between past and recent experience of domestic abuse is not confirmed.

5.3.1.2. Co-occurrence of intimate partner violence and child abuse

Intimate partner violence is known to co-occur with child abuse to a certain extent. To measure the overlap, the 2014 report relies on Walby's (2004) measure of co-occurrence, which estimates that child abuse occurs in 40 % of cases of intimate partner violence. This estimate is based on research studies from the United Kingdom analysed by Walby (2004). The author uses an approximate average of the co-occurrence or overlap between child abuse and domestic violence from a range of five review studies ([47]), all of which find a co-occurrence rate of between 30 % and 60 %, with a median rate of approximately 40 % ([48]).

The present study attempted to find comparable updated measures of co-occurrence, in view of the fact that the 40 % estimation is calculated using studies from 20 years ago. There are reasons to believe that trends in the co-occurrence have changed. Moreover, most of the studies analysed in the reviews concern the pattern of men abusing both their wives/partners and their children. A possible improvement in the analysis would be to estimate the co-occurrence of child abuse and domestic abuse separately for patterns of intimate partner violence against women and against men.

One obvious method of updating the multiplier was to replicate Walby's (2004) methodology and review more recent studies of co-occurrence to

([46]) Applications for civil representation in private family law supported by evidence of domestic abuse: with effect from April 2013, LASPO removed legal aid for most private family law including issues such as contact or divorce. However, legal aid remains available for cases where there is a risk of domestic violence or child abuse. Applicants are granted legal aid funding for these cases if they can prove the incidence or risk of domestic violence or child abuse through a range of prescribed forms of evidence. These applications are included in the figures in Tables 6.1–6.7 of LAA (2020), but they are also presented separately in Tables 6.8–6.10 (see Ministry of Justice and LAA (2021), p. 7).

([47]) Including Kelly (1994), Mullender (2000), Edleson (1995) and Appel and Holden (1998).

([48]) Walby (2004), p. 66.

find a comparable best-guess measure. However, this method was not pursued due to the time frame of this study.

Another option explored for this study was to use the data from the ONS on child abuse ([49]). In particular, data on 'child abuse extent and nature, England and Wales' include measures from the CSEW and the Department for Education in 2019 ([50]). One method explored was to use Table 3 in the ONS appendix tables on child abuse extent and nature ([51]), which uses data from the CSEW self-completion module on experience of child abuse. Respondents are adults (aged 16 and older) reporting on their experience of child abuse before the age of 16. The method relies on the assumption that 'witnessing domestic violence or abuse' can be categorised as experiencing child abuse. As such, there are four categories of child abuse: 'witnessing domestic violence or abuse', 'sexual abuse', 'physical abuse' and 'emotional abuse'. With this in mind, the co-occurrence of child abuse and domestic violence can be calculated as the extent to which respondents who witnessed domestic abuse before the age of 16 also experienced other kind of child abuse (physical, sexual or emotional).

In particular, Table 3 in the ONS data included the proportions of adults who experienced one or more kinds of abuse before the age of 16. The proportions are divided into the number of different types of abuse individuals experienced (one, two, three or all types of abuse) and by the combinations of the types of abuse (for example, 23.8 % of the sample experienced two types of abuse, but only 1.8 % of the whole sample experienced a combination of physical and sexual abuse). This information was further broken down by the sex of the victim, but not of the perpetrator. To estimate the co-occurrence of child abuse and domestic abuse using CSEW data, the percentage of respondents who both witnessed domestic abuse and experienced at least one other type of abuse was taken. The final results were obtained by combining the percentages in the following categories: experience of two types of abuse (i.e. witnessed domestic violence/abuse plus emotional/physical/sexual abuse); experience of three types of abuse (i.e. witnessed domestic violence/abuse plus emotional and physical, emotional and sexual or physical and sexual abuse); experience of all types of abuse (i.e. witnessed domestic violence/abuse plus emotional, physical and sexual abuse). The final co-occurrence rates were 31.5 % for all respondents, 29.4 % for men and 32.9 % for women. When the instances where individuals only experienced abuse in the form of witnessing domestic violence or abuse were included, the co-occurrence rate became 49.1 % for all respondents (49.7 % for women and 48.1 % for men). However, there are several limitations to using ONS data.

- ONS data do not specify the relationship between the victim and perpetrator in domestic abuse witnessed by children. The 2018/2019 CSEW questionnaire does not include any questions investigating the nature of the domestic violence or abuse witnessed by the respondents. It is thus unclear whether the results can be classified as co-occurrence of child abuse and intimate partner violence.

- Moreover, the relationship between 'witnessing domestic violence or abuse' and the other listed cases of child abuse (sexual, physical or emotional) is unclear, given that the categories of perpetrators included in this definition include parents, guardians, friends or acquaintances, authority figures and strangers. These specifications are not included in the 2019/2020 tables shared by the ONS. Therefore, it is unclear whether the overlap captured in the data effectively portrays the co-occurrence of intimate partner violence and child abuse.

- The other potentially relevant measure in the ONS tables is the percentage of instances in which a child was present in the household

([49]) ONS, 2020b.
([50]) ONS, 2020a.
([51]) ONS, 'Child abuse extent and nature, England and Wales: Year ending March 2019', appendix tables, Table 3: 'Number and types of abuse for adults who experienced abuse before the age of 16, by sex, year ending March 2019 CSEW' (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/childabuseextentandnatureappendixtables).

at the time of an incident and whether any children in the household saw or heard what happened in cases of partner abuse (CSEW year ending March 2018). Table 11 of the child abuse appendix tables ([52]) shows that in 40.9 % of cases there was a child present in the household. In 20.5 % of those cases children saw or heard what happened and in 64.9 % they did not (in 4.1 % they did not know and in 10.5 % they preferred not to answer). However, in the case of respondents who experienced abuse more than once, the measure only captured the last time it happened.

Due to the above limitations, the present study uses the old estimate of 40 %.

5.4. Self-funded legal costs

Not all legal proceedings are funded through legal aid and some therefore incur personal costs. According to EIGE's 2014 report, at least half of divorces did not receive legal aid. The 2014 study uses the divorce data from the ONS to discern the number of divorces due to intimate partner violence, relying on Walby's (2004) estimate that at least 29 % of divorces occur because of intimate partner violence. EIGE's 2014 analysis draws on Walby's (2004) cost estimates for self-funded legal proceedings and related proceedings (divorce-related proceedings such as matters related to finance and children) in England and Wales in 2001. Drawing on the difference between divorces in 2001 and 2012 (– 27 %), the report applies a discount factor of 27 % to Walby's (2004) cost estimates, later adjusted for inflation and extrapolated to the United Kingdom ([53]). The final estimates for 2012 are presented in Table 9.

The analysis illustrated in Table 9 relies on the assumption that the only factors that changed over time were the rate of divorce (27 % lower) and cost inflation. Moreover, the change in the divorce rate is not accounted for in the calculation of the cost of divorce proceedings. Using the cost estimates from the previous methodology, adjusted for inflation, would have meant relying on estimates and trends that were 18 years old. Even when adjusting for inflation, the calculation risks disregarding other trends, especially in the cost estimation for other proceedings. Instead, this study replicates Walby's (2004) methodology with updated data to obtain the estimated cost of self-funded legal proceedings related to intimate partner violence.

Walby's (2004) methodology consists of two steps: first, calculating the costs of self-funded divorces, or divorces without legal aid, and second, calculating the costs of divorce-related proceedings (e.g. matters relating to finance or children).

To calculate the cost of divorces without legal aid, the methodology relies on adjusted individual cost estimates for defended and undefended divorces taken from MacLean's 1998 study on 1996 family proceedings ([54]), the total number of divorces in 2001 (accessed from the Lord Chancellor's Department) and the total number of divorces without legal aid in 1996. The author's assumption is that 95 % of divorces are undefended and 5 % defended. The steps of the analysis are as follows.

1. Subtract the number of divorces with legal aid (according to the LSC) from the total number of divorces (according to the Lord Chancellor's Department).

Table 9. Details of calculations of self-funded legal costs, in GBP, from EIGE (2014) analysis

	Walby (2004) estimates, 2001 prices	Discounted by 27 % (tot_cost – (0.27 × tot_cost))	Adjusted for inflation (× 1.4006143)	Extrapolated to UK (× 1.126171)	Converted to EUR
Divorce	72 041 000	52 589 930	73 658 208	82 951 738	—
Other proceedings	63 590 000	—	89 065 064	100 302 492	—
Total	**135 631 000**	**99 010 630**	**162 723 272**	**183 254 230**	**229 713 858**

([52]) ONS, 'Child abuse extent and nature, England and Wales: Year ending March 2019', Table 11 (https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/childabuseextentandnatureappendixtables).
([53]) EIGE (2014), p. 133.
([54]) MacLean, 1998.

Table 10. Number of divorces without legal aid

	Total number	Source of data	Number undefended (assumed 95 %)	Number defended (assumed 5 %)
All divorces (with and without legal aid)	109 480	Matrimonial proceedings (family court statistics)	104 006	5 474
Divorces with legal aid	100	Legal aid statistics (other proceedings)	95	5
Divorces without legal aid	109 380	Estimation	103 911	5 469

2. Calculate the number of undefended and defended divorces using the assumption that 95 % of divorces are undefended and 5 % are defended: 8 004 defended divorces without legal aid and 152 084 undefended divorces without legal aid.

3. Using MacLean's 1998 estimates on the cost of family proceedings in 1996, Walby (2004) calculates the total price borne by the individual by assuming that 5 % of divorcees without legal aid (8 004) bear an individual cost of GBP 2 402 for a defended divorce, while the rest (152 084) pay the costs associated with undefended divorces (it is unclear whether 1996 prices are adjusted for inflation). The results of this analysis are shown in Table 11.

In the absence of readily available updated data on the cost of undefended and defended divorces, this study uses MacLean's estimates for 1996 adjusted for inflation to reflect mid-2019 prices, using the Bank of England's inflation calculator. The number of divorces without legal aid is estimated by replicating Walby's 2004 methodology (see Table 10). According to the ONS, the number of divorces in 2019 was 108 421. Based on the number of family law cases funded by the LAA, approximately 100 divorces received legal aid. Therefore, following Walby's assumption on the proportion of undefended and defended divorces, in 2019 the number of divorces without legal aid was 104 006 for undefended proceedings and 5 474 for defended. These numbers were then multiplied by the respective individual costs and the 29 % multiplier. The results are shown in Table 10.

Likewise, the methodology for calculating the cost of divorce-related proceedings is partly replicated from Walby (2004). Walby uses data from 2001 judicial statistics and the LSC to calculate the number of applications with and without legal aid for proceedings related to children and financial aspects of divorces and separation in 2001, accounting for an average cost of GBP 3 058 for legal proceedings. The author further subtracts the cost of divorces with legal aid, calculated in a previous step, from the estimate to avoid double counting. Finally, the author subtracts the

Table 11. Replication of Walby (2004) analysis of divorces with and without legal aid

	Source	Number	Individual cost in GBP	6% admin per case	Total cost in GBP
Defended	Walby (2004)	1 391	2 402	144	3 541 486
Undefended	Walby (2004)	101	1 507	90	161 297
Total	Walby (2004)	1 492		—	3 702 783
Defended	Walby (2004)	8 004	2 402	—	19 225 608
	EIGE (2021)	5 469	4 543	—	24 844 740
	Percentage difference				**29 %**
Undefended	Walby (2004)	152 084	1 507	—	229 190 588
	EIGE (2021)	103 911	2 850	—	296 161 302
	Percentage difference				**29 %**
Total	Walby (2004)	160 088		—	248 416 196
	EIGE (2021)	109 380		—	321 006 042
	Percentage difference	**– 32 %**			**29 %**

number of proceedings receiving legal aid from the total, obtaining the presumed civil legal costs borne by the applicant. Under the assumption that the average cost of these legal proceedings is the same as if they were receiving legal aid, the final estimate is obtained by multiplying the number of other proceedings without legal aid by the average cost ([55]).

This study explored two options to replicate the cost of divorce-related proceedings. The difference between the two mostly concerns the unit costs used in the calculation of related proceedings. For both methods, the methodology for calculating the number of divorce-related proceedings is the same, using data from the legal aid statistics and the family court statistics. Given the availability of cost estimates, this study relied on the results obtained using method 2.

Method 1. The first method was to replicate Walby's 2004 method using the author's average costs per proceeding (GBP 3 058), adjusted for inflation. The number of divorce proceedings not receiving legal aid can be obtained by subtracting the number of divorces receiving legal aid according to the legal aid statistics from the total number of matrimonial proceedings according to the family court statistics. The estimate for the cost of divorce-related proceedings without legal aid is then obtained by multiplying the number of proceedings by the average cost per case, adjusted for inflation. The results are presented in Table 12. The drawbacks of this method are that it relies on 2001 cost estimates, which means making strong assumptions about trends. This can be avoided by updating the methodology with new data, given that updated values are available from the legal aid statistics.

Method 2. The second method relied on the fact that the legal aid statistics provide accurate and reliable estimates of both the value and the volume of legal aid proceedings for public and private family law. Therefore, data from the legal aid statistics and the family court statistics can be used to derive the number of proceedings without legal aid by the type of law. Moreover, the legal aid statistics can be used to calculate a more up-to-date estimate of the average cost of each proceeding by dividing the total cost of proceedings receiving legal aid (Table 6.5) by the number of granted applications (Table 6.4). This replicates Walby's 2004 estimation of cost of proceeding by type. The average costs by type of proceeding are obtained by dividing the total legal aid expenditure of the category by the total number of cases in that category. For example, the legal aid statistics show that there were 851 'financial provision' proceedings in 2018/2019, and that the total legal aid expenditure for those proceedings was around GBP 4 178 246. Therefore, the average cost of each financial provision proceeding in 2019/2020 was approximately GBP 4 910. We can obtain the estimated total cost of financial provision proceedings that did not receive legal aid by multiplying their number by this average. This method, like in Walby (2004), relies on the assumption that the average costs borne by the applicants are the same (in value) as if they had received legal aid. The results are presented in Table 12.

([55]) Walby (2004), p. 85.

Table 12. Comparison of methods for estimating cost of divorce-related proceedings

Type of proceeding (from legal aid statistics)	Number with legal aid (legal aid statistics)	Total value in GBP (legal aid statistics)	Average cost (total value in GBP divided by number with legal aid)	Average cost in GBP (Walby (2004) estimations) in 2001 prices	Number without legal aid (family court statistics and legal aid statistics)	Average cost in EUR (Walby (2004) estimations) in 2019 prices	Total cost in EUR (method 1)	Total cost in EUR (method 2)
Financial provision	851	4 178 246	4 910	2 712	38 474	4 519	173 874 656	188 899 910
Private law Children Act proceedings	12 475	53 148 489	4 260	2 407	42 449	4 011	170 263 992	180 849 715
Special Children Act proceedings	57 561	464 690 301	8 073	4 687	9 257	7 810	72 301 028	74 731 817
Other public law Children Act proceedings	9 128	37 732 246	4 134	3 019		5 031	0	112 997 308
Other family proceedings	99	488 356	4 933	4 682	—	7 802	—	—
Help with mediation	0	—	—	303	—	505	—	—
Combined family proceedings	1	13 424	13 424	3 476	0	5 792	0	0
Total/Average	**80 115**	**560 251 061**	**6 622**	**3 041**	**32 667**	**5 067**	**165 532 978**	**216 332 709**

There are some caveats associated with method 2.

First, the data sets used for the construction of these estimates do not include data from before 2008/2009, so we cannot compare the new methodology with the estimates presented in Walby (2004). Second, and more importantly, some assumptions are needed to equate the figures from the family court statistics and legal aid statistics. For example, the categories associated with matters relating to children are divided into 'special Children Act proceedings', 'other public law Children Act proceedings' and 'private law Children Act proceedings' in the legal aid statistics, while they are categorised into 'public law Children Act proceedings' and 'private law Children Act proceedings' in the family court statistics. In this example, 'special Children Act proceedings' and 'other public law Children Act proceedings' were classified under the general 'public law Children Act proceedings' category. This assumption seems plausible for the following reasons. First, none of the applications granted for civil representation for special Children Act proceedings were granted via the domestic violence and child abuse gateway. This reinforces the fact that the category only concerns public law Children Act proceedings, because the domestic violence and child abuse gateway deals with matters of private family law. Moreover, the definition of special Children Act proceedings in the legal aid statistics user guide is: 'Public proceedings under the Children Act 1989. Can cover areas such care or supervision, a child assessment order, or an emergency protection order' ([56]).

An additional factor to consider is the assumption concerning the number of divorces that receive legal aid, which is taken from the measure of civil representation certificates for 'other family proceedings'. As per the definition in the legal aid statistics user guide, this area 'covers proceedings relating to defended divorce, nullity, civil partnership rights or applications under the Human Embryology Act' ([57]). The proportion of

([56]) Ministry of Justice and LAA, 2021.
([57]) Ministry of Justice and LAA (2021), p. 53.

these divorces relating to Human Embryology Act cases is a concern because they are beyond the scope of this analysis and do not fit the definition for divorces or separation proceedings. One potential way to distinguish divorce/separation claims from Human Embryology Act cases is to look at the number of applications granted through the child abuse / domestic violence gateway for 'other related proceedings', based on the assumption that there is no evident correlation between domestic violence and Human Embryology Act applications. With this in mind, the reported number of applications granted for other family proceedings is 39 (approximately 41 %). Because these are by definition 'defended', and Walby (2004) assumes that only 5 % of all matrimonial proceedings are defended, it follows that there are approximately 740 undefended matrimonial proceedings that were unaccounted for.

Nonetheless, these concerns are minimised by the fact that this study replicates Walby's 2004 methodology and uses the average cost of proceedings according to the legal aid statistics. When using the average, variations in cost in the individual categories do not have as much weight. Moreover, the comparative strength of this methodology relative to method 1 is in its use of more recent data, which is why it was chosen for this study.

Another potential drawback of this method is that it relies on the strong assumption that the cost of self-funded civil justice proceedings is the same as that of those that receive legal aid. This is not confirmed in the literature. Nonetheless, the lack of reliable data on costs for individuals using the system ([58]) makes this methodology the best available option.

5.5. Housing aid costs

Intimate partner violence may in some cases cause homelessness. As part of a long-standing statutory duty of local councils in the United Kingdom, government-funded housing aid is part of social welfare assistance offered to people made homeless by domestic violence ([59]). EIGE (2014) identifies two major forms of housing assistance: priority rehousing for people who have been made homeless and prevention schemes such as sanctuary schemes to protect victims of intimate partner violence.

The 2014 EIGE report used data from the DCLG's 2012 local authority expenditure report for the total local authority expenditure on homelessness ([60]), as well as its live homelessness tables ([61]) and Joseph Rowntree Foundation statistics for Wales to calculate the percentage of people made homeless because of domestic violence (13 %). These figures, adjusted to cover the United Kingdom, were used to calculate the cost of homelessness aid expenditure due to domestic violence. For the second part of housing assistance costs, the 2014 study used sanctuary scheme costs as a proxy for homelessness prevention schemes ([62]), given the insufficiency of information about the amount of expenditure attributable to domestic violence.

This study follows the 2014 methodology to calculate housing aid costs. Updated data on total local authority expenditure on homelessness can be found in the MHCLG local authority revenue expenditure and financing report for the reference year 2019/2020 ([63]). The report indicates a GBP 763 000 000 total local expenditure on homelessness, including GBP 146 000 000 on homelessness prevention and GBP 617 000 000 on all other homelessness expenditures for England. Adjusted to the United Kingdom using the 1.817 population multiplier and converted from pounds sterling to euro using the mid-2019 conversion rate, the total expenditure values are EUR 899 713 277 on 'other'

([58]) Ministry of Justice (2011), p. 201.
([59]) DCLG, 2013a.
([60]) DCLG, 2013b.
([61]) DCLG (2014), Table 774.
([62]) EIGE (2014), p. 134.
([63]) MHCLG, 2021a.

Table 13. Cost comparison of homelessness relief expenditure due to intimate partner violence, in EUR

	Source of estimation	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men	Total cost of IPV
Homelessness relief duty	EIGE (2021)	94 526 563	18 057 762	112 584 325
	EIGE (2014)	143 099 419	19 513 557	162 612 976
	Percentage difference	**– 34 %**	**– 7 %**	**– 31 %**
	EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	170 252 534	23 216 254	193 468 788
	Percentage difference	**– 44 %**	**– 22 %**	**– 42 %**

homelessness services and EUR 196 056 923 on homelessness prevention measures.

The MHCLG also publishes live homelessness tables, from which it was possible to retrieve the number of people in need of housing because of domestic abuse ([64]). Table A2R, 'Number of households owed a relief duty by reason for loss, of last settled home', indicates a total of 140 570 households in need of homelessness relief in 2019/2020, of which 17 590 listed domestic abuse as the reason for homelessness. The resulting proportion is 17 590/140 570 = 0.12513, or 12.5 %. Therefore, the percentage of people made homeless because of domestic abuse in England is 12.5 %, which was then multiplied by the total expenditure on 'other' homelessness services (EUR 899 713 277) to estimate the total cost of homelessness relief (EUR 112 584 168). The gender distribution is obtained from the proportion calculated from the CSEW incidence data. The final results are illustrated in Table 13.

The percentage difference reported in Table 13 indicates that the updated costs are lower. **This decrease can be attributed to the lower reported local authority expenditure on homelessness measures in England in 2019/2020** (GBP 617 000 000) **compared to 2011/2012** (GBP 837 930 000 in 2012 prices and GBP 996 923 192 in 2019 prices). This budgetary restriction fits with the pattern of austerity measures observed in the United Kingdom in recent years. Moreover, **the 2011/2012 local authority expenditure report used in EIGE (2014) later underwent a revision that affected the reported expenditure on homelessness**. This may account for part of the difference.

For the second part of housing aid costs, sanctuary schemes can no longer be used as a proxy for homelessness prevention expenditure. The homelessness prevention and relief data set ([65]) on which the old report relied is no longer available and was last updated in 2014. Moreover, the DCLG document on how to set up a sanctuary scheme has been archived ([66]). However, the live tables on homelessness include data on the percentage of people owed a prevention duty due to domestic abuse ([67]). For the 2019/2020 financial year, 9 060 out of 149 240 households were owed a prevention duty due to the threat of losing their home due to domestic abuse, which accounts for 6.1 % of total cases. As seen above, the homelessness prevention expenditure for 2019/2020 was GBP 146 000 000 ([68]) (or, extrapolated to the United Kingdom and converted to euro, EUR 196 056 923). Therefore, the total homelessness prevention expenditure due to domestic abuse in England in 2019/2020 was GBP 8 863 307 or, extrapolated to the United Kingdom, GBP 10 518 255 (EUR 11 902 159). This is close to the estimate used in the 2014 EIGE report for 2012, which was GBP 7 659 440 (EUR 9 601 304) in 2012 prices. The results are presented in Table 14.

([64]) MHCLG, 'Live tables on homelessness' (https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/live-tables-on-homelessness). MHCLG, 'Homelessness statistics – Statutory homelessness' (https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/homelessness-statistics#statutory-homelessness).
([65]) DCLG, 2013a.
([66]) DCLG, 2006.
([67]) MHCLG, 'Live tables on homelessness', Table A2P: 'Number of households owed a prevention duty by reasons for threat of loss, of last settled home – England 2018 Q2 to 2021 Q1' (https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/live-tables-on-homelessness).
([68]) MHCLG (2021a), Table 2a.

Table 14. Cost comparison of homelessness prevention expenditure due to intimate partner violence, in EUR

	Source of estimation	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men	Total cost of IPV
Homelessness prevention	EIGE (2021)	9 993 133	1 909 026	11 902 159
	EIGE (2014)	8 449 148	1 152 156	9 601 304
	Percentage difference	**18 %**	**66 %**	**24 %**
	EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	10 052 374	1 370 778	11 423 152
	Percentage difference	**– 1 %**	**39 %**	**4 %**

The cost estimations for intimate partner violence-related homelessness relief and prevention both rely on the assumption that homelessness caused by domestic abuse constitutes a plausible estimate of homelessness caused by intimate partner violence. The reliability of this assumption is limited by the fact that domestic abuse generally covers a wider range of family issues, not just intimate partner violence. For this reason, it is likely that the costs of housing aid due to intimate partner violence are overestimated.

5.6. Personal costs

Some of the costs involved with gender-based and intimate partner violence are out-of-pocket expenses, many of which remain undiscovered because of the unavailability of data. EIGE's 2014 report relies on self-funded legal costs (here covered in Section 5.4) and costs associated with moving and setting up a new home after divorce. EIGE (2014) bases its estimation of the latter on the costs listed in a survey undertaken by Norwich Union (the name of the British arm of Aviva until 2009) ([69]). The survey reports an average cost of setting up a new home after a divorce in 2006 prices, which was subsequently adjusted to 2012 prices. The average price is per couple, so the cost of setting up a new home because of intimate partner violence in 2012 is obtained by multiplying the average cost by the estimated number of couples divorced in 2012 (38 583).

Table 15. Comparison of hidden costs of divorce according to Aviva (2018), in GBP

Type of expense	Year	Cost of expense after divorce	Cost adjusted to 2019	Proportion who incurred expense	Total UK cost of expense	Total UK cost adjusted to 2019	Average cost (total UK)	Average cost (Individual)
Setting up a new home	2006	5 146	7 502	16 %	644 309 000	939 273 660	618 390 275	5 621
	2014	5 280	5 956	39 %	530 000 000	597 840 000		
	2018	3 321	3 406	40 %	310 100 000	318 057 166		
Buying a house	2006	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5 082 600 000	127 228
	2014	94 100	106 145	17 %	4 100 000 000	4 624 800 000		
	2018	144 600	148 310	16 %	5 400 000 000	5 540 400 000		

Aviva has published two further studies on the hidden costs of divorce, one in 2014 ([70]) and one in 2018 ([71]). Because of the high volatility of the indicator across the three estimates even after adjusting the costs (Table 15), this report uses the average of the three price points (in 2006, 2014 and 2018) after adjusting the prices to 2019. The resulting estimate is GBP 5 621 (EUR 6 360). Multiplying the average price of setting up a new home by the total number of individuals divorced

([69]) See Norwich Union (2006).
([70]) Aviva, 2014.
([71]) Aviva, 2018.

Table 16. Comparison of personal costs of setting up a new home, in EUR

	Source of estimation	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men	Total cost of IPV
Setting up a new home	EIGE (2021)	335 842 786	64 157 300	400 000 086
	EIGE (2014)	536 779 368	73 197 186	609 976 554
	Percentage difference	**– 37 %**	**– 12 %**	**– 34 %**
	EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	638 633 253	87 086 352	725 719 605
	Percentage difference	**– 47 %**	**– 26 %**	**– 45 %**

because of domestic violence (estimated at 62 884 in 2019) and accounting for the gender distribution of intimate partner violence produces a cost of EUR 335 842 786 for women and EUR 64 157 300 for men. A summary of the results and comparison with the 2014 results is illustrated in Table 16.

Although the two estimates are similar, there are some limitations to this method of estimating the personal costs associated with intimate partner violence.

- **The volatility of the estimates suggests potential limitations.** The sources do not provide enough details on the design of the survey to allow us to infer more information about robustness. The small sample size and lack of information on the selection of the participants casts doubt on the robustness ([72]).

- The Aviva reports **do not provide a clear definition of 'setting up a new home'** that distinguishes it from other listed costs such as 'buying a house', 'renting a new place' or 'redecorating a previously shared house'; moreover, none of these expenses are listed as potentially relevant in cases of domestic violence. The absence of clear definitions of these expenses, coupled with the high volatility of the estimates across the three reports, points to potential issues regarding data quality. Moreover, it is unclear why the cost of 'setting up a new home' was chosen over some of the other listed expenses.

- **Aviva's estimates are reported together with the percentage of people interviewed who spent money on setting up a new home or the other listed expenses.** Importantly, the proportion of people who spent money on setting up a new home varied between 16 % and 40 %. This percentage was not included in the calculations of the EIGE (2014) study, meaning that our current study makes the strong assumption that all individuals divorcing because of intimate partner violence incur these costs. Even if the proportion is not representative and is likely to over-represent high-income individuals, it is arguably better than assuming that the entire population is spending GBP 5 621 on setting up a new home after a divorce associated with domestic violence.

- Finally, to maintain consistency with EIGE's 2014 methodology, **a decision was made in the present case study to include the cost of setting up a new home over some of the other listed expenses**. It is likely that couples undergoing divorces may also face other unexpected costs (as illustrated in Aviva (2018)), which were not considered in the 2014 EIGE report. Even if the purpose was to limit the scope to property-related expenses incurred in moving (likely to be an important step in a victim's distancing from a violent partner), the Aviva surveys include other interesting measures such as buying a home or provisionally renting a new place. Without a clear definition of these expenses, it is hard to speculate on the likelihood of their association with victims of intimate partner violence going through divorce.

([72]) Figures are taken from a study of 616 adults aged 18 + who had been married or cohabited with a partner within the last 10 years, carried out by ICM Research from 9 to 11 July 2014 across the United Kingdom.

5.7. Child protection costs

Child abuse can sometimes co-occur with intimate partner violence. To estimate the extent of the cost of child protection services attributable to intimate partner violence, EIGE's 2014 report uses data from a census conducted by the Department for Education on children in need and the total cost of children's social care (GBP 4 235 304 000) in England in 2011/2012 from the DCLG. The cost is multiplied by the proportion of children in need for whom abuse or neglect was the primary reason for their referral (47 %). To calculate the proportion of the cost attributable to intimate partner violence, the 2014 report concurs that the most reliable estimate of the co-occurrence of child abuse and domestic violence is 40 %, as estimated by Walby (2004), which is used as a multiplier.

The current study replicates the old methodology with updated data. Both the Department for Education and the MHCLG continue to publish relevant data on local authority spending on children's social care ([73]) and characteristics of children in need ([74]). The MHCLG reports total spending on children's social care in 2019/2020 of GBP 9 927 000 000 for England. The Department for Education lists a total of 389 260 children in need in 2019/2020 in England. Of those, 56 % (217 440) were referred with 'abuse or neglect' as the primary cause of their need. Therefore, the total expenditure for England is multiplied by the number of children in need because of abuse or neglect (56 %) and by the 40 % co-occurrence rate, for a total of GBP 2 218 082 392 for England. Extrapolated to the United Kingdom and converted to euro using the mid-2019 conversion rate, the total cost becomes EUR 2 978 568 594. The results are in Table 17.

The cost estimation has more than doubled in most instances. **Most of the difference is likely due to the difference in local authority expenditure on children's social care**: the 2019/2020 expenditure on children's social care for England was GBP 9 927 000 000, more than double the GBP 4 235 304 000 estimate for 2011/2012 used in the previous report. There are several factors that help to explain this increase. In general, figures for local expenditure on children's social care in recent years show an upward trend ([75]). Moreover, the technical note on the 2019/2020 expenditure report indicates that current expenditure on children's social care is not comparable with values in and prior to 2013/2014, given that the more recent local authority expenditure reports include the category 'services to young people', which was previously part of 'education services' expenditure ([76]).

More significantly, EIGE (2014) does not use the total expenditure on children's social care, which was GBP 6 422 715 000 for 2011/2012. Rather, it uses a proportion of the expenditure composed of 'children looked after', 'family support services' and 'children and young people's safety' services, reported to be GBP 4 235 304 000 ([77]). This breakdown is not in the 2018/2019 local authority expenditure report.

Table 17. Comparison of child protection costs due to intimate partner violence (provisional), in EUR

Source of estimation	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men	Total cost of IPV
EIGE (2021)	2 500 826 402	477 742 192	2 978 568 594
EIGE (2014)	989 151 097	134 884 240	1 124 035 337
EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	1 176 842 518	160 478 525	1 337 321 043
Percentage difference	**113 %**	**198 %**	**123 %**

([73]) MHCLG, 2021a.
([74]) Department for Education, 'Statistics: Children in need and child protection – Characteristics of children in need', Table B3 (https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statistics-children-in-need).
([75]) DCLG (2013c), Annex A6, p. 28.
([76]) MHCLG (2021b), p. 10.
([77]) This is the gross estimate in the expenditure report. There appears to be an error in EIGE (2014), where the cost is described as the net estimate. For this study, we use the net estimates only.

Table 18. Comparison of child protection costs due to intimate partner violence, in EUR

Source of estimation	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men	Total cost of IPV
EIGE (2021)	1 523 746 989	291 087 069	1 814 834 058
EIGE (2014)	989 151 097	134 884 240	1 124 035 337
Percentage difference	**54 %**	**116 %**	**61 %**
EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	1 176 842 518	160 478 525	1 337 321 043
Percentage difference	**29 %**	**81 %**	**36 %**

Therefore, for the present study, we estimate the proportion of children's social care of interest by using the estimates from the 2014/2015 financial year outturn, which is the latest for which a breakdown is available by children's social care subcategories. For this calculation, we use the net total costs from Annex A6 in the 2019/2020 local authority expenditure final outturn. The net social care costs for 2014/2015 were GBP 7 027 739, and the costs of 'children looked after' (GBP 3 091 971), 'family support services' (GBP 925 158) and 'children and young people's safety' services (GBP 264 854) amount to GBP 4 281 983. This constitutes 61 % of the total expenditure (comparable with the 62 % estimate in the previous report). Therefore, the total expenditure in England on child protection services is estimated to be GBP 6 048 495 148. Extrapolated to the United Kingdom and converted to euro, this came to a total of EUR 8 122 255 807.56. This was then multiplied by the percentage of children referred because of abuse or neglect (56 %) and the estimated percentage of overlap between domestic violence and child abuse (40 %). The updated results are in Table 18.

A drawback of this methodology is that it relies on an estimation rather than actual values. In general, the estimation of child welfare costs requires an assumption on how the categories used relate to intimate partner violence. For example, in accordance with the 2014 methodology, the present case study relied on the proportion of children referred due to abuse or neglect as an estimate of the portion of child protection costs that can be attributed to intimate partner violence. However, there are other categories that could have been considered, such as 'family dysfunction', or 'socially unacceptable behaviour'. Similarly, the estimate of the proportion of child welfare expenditure due to intimate partner violence is based on 'children looked after', 'family support services' and 'children and young people's safety' services, but a more thorough justification of why other services were not included in EIGE's 2014 methodology is needed. In general, there needs to be a more detailed discussion of the definitions and justifications of the different parts of the analysis in order to assess the robustness of the estimation of the costs associated with intimate partner violence.

5.8. Costs of specialist services

Specialist services to support victims of gender-based and intimate partner violence receive funding through a variety of sources. According to EIGE's 2014 study, these services are often set up by non-governmental organisations but often obtain funding from the government through a variety of streams. Because of the complexity of funding arrangements, it is hard to obtain information on budget expenditure. The costs are divided between specialist services and refuge accommodations.

Previously, the cost of refuge services was based on data obtained via email correspondence with the Women's Aid Federation of England. Women's Aid published a report in 2019 which contains information on the costs and availability of refuges in England in 2018 ([78]). The report included information on the current provision of refuge spaces in England (3 914 spaces). Moreover, it included a measure of the annual unit cost of refuges in England, divided into refuge services (GBP 31 059) and community-based services

([78]) Women's Aid, 2019.

Table 19. Comparison of refuge costs in EUR

Source of estimation	Cost of GBV against women	Cost of GBV against men	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men	Total cost of GBV
EIGE (2021)	128 103 073	39 336 447	140 583 554	26 856 200	167 439 520
EIGE (2014)	160 267 923	21 854 717	160 267 923	21 854 717	182 122 640
Percentage difference	**– 20 %**	**80 %**	**– 12 %**	**23 %**	**– 8 %**
EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	185 054 960	25 234 768	185 054 960	25 234 768	210 289 728
Percentage difference	**– 31 %**	**56 %**	**– 24 %**	**6 %**	**– 20 %**

(GBP 39 203), for a total of GBP 70 262 ([79]). Therefore, the cost of one refuge space is approximately GBP 31 059. The report states that current refuge spaces do not meet demand, which means that the assumption that 100 % of the capacity is being used is plausible. Therefore, the total cost for refuge services in England can be obtained by multiplying the unit cost by the number of available spaces, for a total of GBP 121 564 926. Adjusted to 2019 prices using the 1.0257 multiplier from the Bank of England, it becomes GBP 124 689 145. The result is then extrapolated to the United Kingdom (by multiplying by 1.187) and converted from pounds sterling to euro using the mid-2019 conversion rate, for a total of EUR 167 439 520. The results are illustrated in Table 19.

The percentage difference illustrated in Table 19 reflects the different gender distribution in the number of incidents of crime from the CSEW (see Table 1), which accounts for a comparatively higher number of gender-based crimes against men. It is probable that prices for services from non-governmental organisations are not as impacted by inflation as other kinds of costs. Otherwise, it may be that the prices for these services have been lowered for other reasons.

For specialist services, the 2014 study derives information from four different sources, both from the government (the UK government and Home Office) and from the organisations providing the services (Victim Support, Co-ordinated Action Against Domestic Abuse (now SafeLives) and Respect). In the absence of reliable alternatives, this study used the 2014 estimates, adjusted to reflect 2019 prices, except for the results for Co-ordinated Action Against Domestic Abuse, for which estimates were available. The results are illustrated in Table 20.

The percentage difference from the 2014 study is likely driven by the different gender distribution in the number of incidents of crime from the CSEW (see Table 1). In the last few years, stigma around gender-based violence against men has decreased, and so the number of reported cases has increased (especially for rape and sexual offences).

Costs for specialist services and refuges for victims of gender-based and intimate partner violence are hard to quantify because of the complexity of funding streams and availability of sources. The methodology for this study was based on the 2014 report, but there are some limitations to this approach:

- **The main drawback is that this methodology used a subset of specialist service costs based on the organisations considered.** In fact, although the organisations on

Table 20. Comparison of costs of specialist services in EUR

Source of estimation	Cost of GBV against women	Cost of GBV against men	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men
EIGE (2021)	22 295 885	6 846 369	14 436 160	2 757 793
EIGE (2014)	23 615 280	4 167 402	14 424 768	1 967 014
EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	28 096 279	4 958 167	17 161 868	2 340 255
Percentage difference	**– 21 %**	**38 %**	**– 16 %**	**18 %**

([79]) Women's Aid (2019). The unit cost was derived from Table 7 (p. 35). To obtain the unit cost of refuges, the 'refuge services' cost was divided by the number of units used in the calculation (5 598). The same was done for 'community-based services' and total costs.

which costs are based are some of the biggest, there are others offering victim-based services which are not included here.

- Moreover, in recent years the funding and support for victims of gender-based crimes against men has increased. **Changes in the specialist services market (in terms of both demand and supply) cannot be captured if the estimate is based on a handful of organisations.** Rather than reflecting the actual costs of funding, the current estimates capture the organisations with readily available data. This may ultimately result in an underestimation.

- Moreover, following the approach of the 2014 report, the total cost of refuges illustrated in Table 19 only includes the portion of unit costs listed under 'refuge services' from Women's Aid (2019). The other portion of the unit cost, called 'community-based services' was not included in the total figure for comparison purposes. However, **community-based services are an important component of specialist services for victims of gender-based violence and should be included in future revisions**.

5.9. Costs of physical and emotional impact on victims

The costs of the physical and emotional toll that intimate partner and gender-based violence takes on victims can be estimated using the Home Office unit cost estimates. Following EIGE's 2014 methodology, unit costs are taken from the 2018 Home Office research report – the second edition of the 2005 Home Office report that was used in EIGE (2014). The unit costs, calculated for 2015/2016, are then adjusted to reflect mid-2019 prices and converted from pounds sterling to euro using the mid-2019 conversion rate. To calculate the total UK cost of the physical and emotional impact on victims, the unit costs are multiplied by the number of incidents in 2019/2020 for each category of crime in the United Kingdom. The total cost estimates are summarised in Table 21.

Table 21 illustrates differences in costs between EIGE's 2014 report and the present study. Total costs are generally higher across all categories, especially the total cost of violence against men. This is not surprising, as incidence data show a general increase in gender-based and intimate partner violence against men. The rise is likely due to a reduction of the stigma surrounding gender-based violence against men (the extent of which has previously been obfuscated by a distorted idea of masculinity). More generally, **the increase in the Home Office unit costs of the physical and emotional impact of homicide and of violence with and without injury (see Table A.2) likely resulted in an increase in cost estimates**.

The Home Office methodology of estimating the cost of physical and emotional harm to victims is based on the 'quality-adjusted life years' (QALY) approach. In comparison with the 2005 version, which only adopted the QALY approach for violent crimes, the 2018 edition uses it for all crimes. In the 2005 Home Office report, the physical and emotional impact on victims of non-violent crimes was based on the victim's perception of the monetary compensation they deserved for the physical and emotional harm they suffered as a consequence of the crime. However, individuals are likely incapable of accurately depicting the impact of long-term emotional impacts of crime. The QALY methodology, provided by Dolan et al. (2005), calculates the average physical and

Table 21. Comparison of costs of physical and emotional impact in EUR

Source of estimation	Cost of GBV against women	Cost of GBV against men	Total cost of GBV	Cost of IPV against women	Cost of IPV against men	Total cost of IPV
EIGE (2021)	24 136 064 483	6 325 895 993	30 461 960 476	11 723 066 512	1 641 661 510	13 364 728 022
EIGE (2014)	16 750 634 109	2 160 340 020	18 910 974 129	6 614 462 859	641 163 889	7 255 626 748
Percentage difference	**44 %**	**193 %**	**61 %**	**77 %**	**156 %**	**84 %**
EIGE (2014), inflation adjusted	19 929 066 931	2 570 264 539	22 499 331 470	7 869 557 186	762 824 737	8 632 381 923
Percentage difference	**21 %**	**146 %**	**35 %**	**49 %**	**115 %**	**55 %**

emotional cost by multiplying the likelihood of sustaining physical and emotional injuries (Like) by the percentage reduction in quality of life (Reduce_QL) multiplied by the duration of the injury (DUR) as a fraction of a total year. This is then combined with the value of a year of life at full health (VOLY) to give an estimate of the average cost associated with the crime ([80]).

The 2018 Home Office research report uses the QALY approach for all crimes, which improves the reliability of the estimation of the overall long-term cost of crime for victims. However, the Home Office's estimates by crime category are based on general crime statistics, which are not specific to gender-based and intimate partner violence. Moreover, the analysis does not use the self-completion module for domestic abuse, which may result in an underestimate of domestic abuse-related crimes. This shortcoming is relevant in the estimation of the long-term physical and, in particular, emotional impact on victims of gender-based and intimate partner violence. Similarly to the pattern described in Section 4, it is likely that there is a significant difference in the type and pervasiveness of long-term psychological impact of violence committed by an acquaintance or an intimate partner compared to violence perpetrated by a stranger (except for sexual offences). This may affect costs differently, thus resulting in an underestimate.

([80]) See Heeks et al. (2018), pp. 34–40 for details on the analysis.

6. Summary of costs

A summary of the costs associated with gender-based and intimate partner violence discussed so far is provided in Table 22. To replicate the 2014 EIGE study, some of the costs have been aggregated to reflect the old categories. Specifically:

- 'criminal justice system' is a combination of criminal justice costs from the Home Office unit costs (Table 5) and police time spent on non-crime domestic incidents (Table 6);
- 'social welfare' includes child protection costs (Section 5.7) and housing aid costs (Section 5.5);
- 'personal' costs are a combination of self-funded legal costs (Section 5.4) and personal costs (Section 5.6).

The current report followed EIGE's 2014 methodology in the estimation of the costs of gender-based and intimate partner violence. However, EIGE's 2021 methodology diverged in the following ways. First, the estimation of the incidence of gender-based violence was based on the publicly available CSEW tables on the prevalence of crime, rather than on the CSEW microdata (not available to the public). Second, the wider availability and improved data collection by the LAA allowed for a more precise calculation of civil legal cost estimates. In particular, the expenditure on private civil representation due to domestic violence is based on administrative data on applications granted through the domestic abuse gateway, thus resulting in more precise estimates of the costs of gender-based violence. Third, this study includes the cost estimate for prevention of homelessness caused by domestic abuse, which provides a more complete picture of costs associated with homelessness than considering sanctuary schemes alone. Fourth, because of the volatility of self-funded housing costs associated with divorce, this study chose to use the average of the estimates from three different years (2006, 2014 and 2018).

Table 22. Summary of costs of gender-based and intimate partner violence in EUR, United Kingdom, 2019

Type of cost	Type of violence	Cost of violence against women	Cost of violence against men	Total cost of violence
Lost economic output	GBV	6 048 827 687	1 610 574 410	7 659 402 097
Health services	GBV	1 833 707 577	533 525 825	2 367 233 402
Criminal justice system	GBV	8 873 224 043	2 399 497 000	11 272 721 043
Civil justice system	GBV	257 498 754	49 190 947	306 689 701
Social welfare	GBV	1 628 266 686	311 053 856	1 939 320 542
Personal	GBV	507 831 874	96 954 471	604 786 345
Specialist services	GBV	150 398 958	46 182 816	196 581 774
Physical and emotional impact	GBV	24 136 064 483	6 325 895 993	30 461 960 476
Total	**GBV**	**43 435 820 062**	**11 372 875 318**	**54 808 695 380**
Lost economic output	IPV	2 863 812 091	408 185 893	3 271 997 984
Health services	IPV	930 662 192	164 909 121	1 095 571 313
Criminal justice system	IPV	4 668 546 014	745 589 551	5 414 135 565
Civil justice system	IPV	257 498 754	49 190 947	306 689 701
Social welfare	IPV	1 628 266 686	311 053 856	1 939 320 542
Personal	IPV	507 831 874	96 954 471	604 786 345
Specialist services	IPV	155 019 714	29 613 994	184 633 708
Physical and emotional impact	IPV	11 723 066 512	1 641 661 510	13 364 728 022
Total	**IPV**	**22 734 703 835**	**3 447 159 342**	**26 181 863 177**

7. Extrapolation

Estimating the costs of gender-based violence in the European Union is undermined by the scarcity of reliable estimates across Member States. In accordance with the 2014 methodology, this study developed a UK case study on the costs of gender-based and intimate partner violence in 2019 and used it to extrapolate costs to the EU Member States. To do so, the total costs were adjusted to the relative population size of the United Kingdom and each Member State. There were two levels of extrapolation: the UK level and then the EU level. The first level of the extrapolation was necessary because most of the data available for the case study come from estimates for England or for England and Wales.

The extrapolation is based on the relative population sizes of the United Kingdom and the EU Member States according to 2019 population estimates derived from Eurostat. For example, the population of Belgium in 2019 was estimated to be 11 455 519, while the total UK population in 2019 was around 66 796 807. This means that the population of Belgium was around 17.1 % of the population of the United Kingdom in 2019. Therefore, the total cost of gender-based and intimate partner violence in the United Kingdom was multiplied by 0.171 to extrapolate the costs to Belgium.

Extrapolation is applied in the absence of comprehensive data for a comparable cost estimate. However, there are several limitations to this approach, which should be considered when interpreting the cost estimates in EU Member States.

- Extrapolation does not consider the potential differences in survey-based prevalence rates across Member States, which means that if some Member States have a higher prevalence of gender-based and intimate partner violence than others, this is not captured by the cost estimates. This is a significant limitation considering the wide variety in social norms and inequality across Member States, all of which may affect the extent to which results are representative for a given Member State.

- Rates of reporting of gender-based and intimate partner violence, in both crime surveys and police data, may vary significantly between countries depending on awareness of the issue as well as institutional and cultural barriers to reporting. Extrapolation does not quantify potential differences in reporting rates and how such differences may affect the cost estimations for EU Member States.

- This extrapolation relies on UK service cost and expenditure data and therefore does not capture some important differences between countries based on the type, availability and use of services. Public service systems and government expenditure vary across EU Member States depending on factors such as the utilisation of services, legal duties to provide financial assistance for example in the case of homelessness ([81]) or the types of services available. The level of government expenditure is also likely to influence the average cost of utilising a service for a victim of gender-based or intimate partner violence.

Similarly, the first level of extrapolation (of data for England and Wales / England to the United Kingdom) also presents some limitations that should be considered when interpreting the cost estimates.

- Due to the devolution of health and social care services and justice and policing in the United Kingdom ([82]), public service systems and expenditure may vary between England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. When data from England and Wales are extrapolated to the United Kingdom using a population-based multiplier, the calculated estimates might be biased towards costs in England and Wales as the calculations do not account for potential differences in service provision between England and Wales and the rest of the United Kingdom.

([81]) Baptista and Marlier, 2019.
([82]) https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/770709/DevolutionFactsheet.pdf

8. Considerations for future iterations

This report presented an updated cost estimation of gender-based violence and intimate partner violence in the EU-27 on the basis of a case study of the United Kingdom, for which costs are widely available. It shows an estimated cost of more than **EUR 290 billion for gender-based violence against women** (i.e. 79 % of the total EUR 366 billion cost of gender-based violence) and nearly **EUR 152 billion for intimate partner violence against women** (i.e. 87 % of the total EUR 174 billion cost of intimate partner violence). The methodology presented here was based on the previous EIGE report in 2014, and thus limited by previous methodological decisions. This technical report has presented some of the shortcomings of the methodology and discussed differences in results between the present estimates and the 2014 estimates.

This study was presented with several methodological challenges due to both the nature of the thematic area (gender-based and intimate partner violence data are notoriously hard to retrieve) and the short timeline of the study ([83]).

In particular, the limited timeline for this study restricted the ability to access micro-level data from the CSEW. This prevented some of the potential methodological improvements in discerning patterns and in the reliability of some of the estimates. In particular, this limitation impacted the robustness of the incidence data (see Section 3), which are based on rather strong assumptions about patterns in the data. Similarly, it limited the study's ability to update some of its recurrent coefficients, such as the proportion of divorces and separations attributable to intimate partner violence and the co-occurrence of child abuse and domestic violence.

Furthermore, despite the wide availability of data, the limited time frame prevented further in-depth analysis of some of the assumptions of this study. This meant relying on old assumptions even if the wider availability of some data would have allowed for more refined ones.

Nevertheless, this study was facilitated by a wider availability of data in several areas in comparison with the 2014 iteration. This allowed for improvements in the following areas:

- civil justice system,
- self-funded legal costs,
- refuge services.

There are still costs that are either underestimated or not measured as part of this study due to lack of availability.

- In this study, the intangible costs of the pain and suffering of victims has been measured using the Home Office estimates of the unit costs of the physical and emotional impact of crime on victims. However, the unit cost estimates are based on general crime statistics which are not specific to gender-based and intimate partner violence. Hence, this estimation does not consider the long-term physical and, in particular, emotional impact of gender-based and intimate partner violence on victims.
- The costs of services are always underestimated for a number of reasons.
    - Victims who have recourse to other sources of financial assistance such as family members or who have the option to move into accommodation with friends of family may not use government assistance.
    - Cultural and institutional barriers to accessing services might mean that victims do not use government assistance.

([83]) This study was requested by the European Commission in order to provide material in support of its evaluation of the EU acquis's efficiency as regards the costs and benefits of combating gender-based violence and to feed into the legislative proposal on domestic violence and violence against women.

Therefore, while victims incur costs, these are not reflected in government expenditure or budget data.

— Lack of data availability on personal costs such as the cost of property damage, personal security or lone parenting.

— Complex government funding arrangements that involve multiple funding streams and a lack of central reporting of budget expenditure or specific cost centres to which the budget expenditure or investments to prevent violence are credited.

— Women may seek health services for both physical and psychological effects related to violence that go undetected.

- Finally, additional costs of gender-based violence such as the growing occurrence of cyber-violence against women and girls have not been included in this study. The cost of cyber-violence against women is difficult to measure given that there is no common definition of gender-based cyber-violence at the EU or the national level. Moreover, limited data are available on the prevalence of cyber-violence in the EU.

Compared to EIGE's 2014 study, the present study shows large increases in total costs associated with gender-based and intimate partner violence. One important reason for this increase is the difference in the offences included (due to changes to the structure of the CSEW and the Home Office report) and the higher incidence. The increase in incidence may partly be due to methodological changes, described in Section 3 and further elaborated on in the technical report, made in order to match available unit costs to incidence, but the following additional considerations should be taken into account.

- Improvements in survey techniques and data availability may have skewed some of the results. For example, data from the legal aid statistics allowed for greater precision in the results, which as a consequence greatly differ from the 2014 estimates. Moreover, the previous study based its estimations on the face-to-face CSEW, then scaled up by a ratio of 3.8 to take into account the bias in the disclosure rate compared to self-completion modules. Instead, this study only relies on self-completion modules on domestic abuse, removing the need for the disclosure multiplier to account for the likelihood of under-reporting in face-to-face interviews.

- Public debate (#metoo) may have reduced barriers to victims coming forward, which might have contributed to the higher reports of incidence of crime.

- Changes in unit costs: the estimated unit costs from Heeks et al. (2018) are higher than those previously used even when adjusted for inflation. This increase could be related to changes in the methodology of the second edition of the report compared to the 2005 version (for example, in the calculation of health costs, the proportion of people who seek medical assistance is based on real data rather than assumptions) or other market changes.

- Changes in public funding (due to austerity or decentralisation to smaller geographical areas or the community, which might be difficult to capture).

- Changes to the category of other sexual assaults: while the 2014 methodology excluded incidents of indecent exposure, the current study includes them in the category of other sexual assaults.

References

Appel, A. and Holden, G. (1998), 'The co-occurrence of spouse and physical child abuse: A review and appraisal', *Journal of Family Psychology*, Vol. 12, pp. 578–599 (https://www.researchgate.net/publication/232428564_The_co-occurrence_of_spouse_and_physical_child_abuse_A_review_and_appraisal).

Aviva (2014), 'UK: Cost of divorce reaches £44,000 for UK couples' (https://www.aviva.com/newsroom/news-releases/2014/08/uk-cost-of-divorce-reaches-44000-for-uk-couples-17337/).

Aviva (2018), *Aviva Family Finances Report – Winter 2018 – The hidden cost of divorce* (available at https://www.aviva.com/newsroom/news-releases/2018/01/cost-of-divorce-and-separation-surpasses-14500-pounds-for-uk-couples/).

Baptista, I. and Marlier, E. (2019), *Fighting homelessness and housing exclusion in Europe – A study of national policies*, European Social Policy Network (https://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=21629&langId=en).

Council of Europe (2011), 'Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence', Istanbul (https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/210?module=treaty-detail&treatynum=210).

DCLG (2006), *Options for Setting up a Sanctuary Scheme* (archived; available at https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/594555/Options_for__setting_up_a__sanctuary__scheme_archived.pdf).

DCLG (2013a), 'Homelessness Prevention and Relief: England 2012/13 official statistics' (https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/229740/Homelessness_Prevention_and_Relief_England_201213.pdf).

DCLG (2013b), 'Local Authority Revenue Expenditure and Financing – England 2011-12 final outturn (revised)' (available at https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/local-authority-revenue-expenditure-and-financing and https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/local-authority-revenue-expenditure-and-financing-in-england-2011-to-2012-final-outturn).

DCLG (2013c), 'Statistical Release – Local authority revenue expenditure and financing – England 2011-12 final outturn (revised)' (https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/244478/Revenue_Outturn__RO__2011-12_Final_Statistical_Release__2_.pdf).

DCLG (2014), 'Statutory Homelessness: January to March quarter 2014 England (revised)', Table 774 (https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/321321/Statutory_Homelessness_1st_Quarter__Jan_-_March__2014_England_FINAL.pdf).

Dolan, P., Loomes, G., Peasgood, T. and Tsuchiya, A. (2005), 'Estimating the intangible victim costs of violent crime', *The British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 45, No 6, pp. 958–976 (https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/168038/).

Dubourg, R., Hamed, J. and Thorns, J. (2005), *The economic and social costs of crime against individuals and households 2003/04*, Home Office Online Report 30/05 (https://library.college.police.uk/docs/hordsolr/rdsolr3005.pdf).

Edleson, J. L. (1995), 'Mothers and children: Understanding the links between woman battering and child abuse', paper presented at Strategic Planning Workshop on Violence Against Women, National Institute of Justice, Washington DC (available at https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/report-violence-against-women-research-strategic-planning-workshop).

EIGE (2014), *Estimating the costs of gender-based violence in the European Union – Report*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg (https://eige.europa.eu/publications/

estimating-costs-gender-based-violence-european-union-report).

Heeks, M., Reed, S., Tafsiri, M. and Prince, S. (2018), *The economic and social costs of crime – Second edition*', Home Office Research Report 99 (https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/954485/the-economic-and-social-costs-of-crime-horr99.pdf).

Kelly, L. (1994), 'The interconnectedness of domestic violence and child abuse: challenges for research, policy and practice', in Mullender, A. and Morley, R. (eds), *Children Living with Domestic Violence: Putting men's abuse of women on the child care agenda*, Whiting and Birch, London, pp. 43–56 (https://books.google.be/books?id=mWJHAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_book_other_versions).

LAA (2020), 'Legal Aid Statistics Tables – July to September 2020' (available at https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/legal-aid-statistics-july-to-september-2020).

Le Conseil économique, social et environnemental, la Fondation des femmes, Mediterranean Women's Fund, le Haut Conseil à l'Égalité entre les femmes et les hommes and Women's World-Wide Web (2018), *Rapport 2018 – Où est l'argent contre les violences faites aux femmes ?* (https://www.haut-conseil-egalite.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/rapport-ou_est_argent-vf.pdf).

LSC (2013), *Legal Services Commission Annual Report and Accounts 2012–13* (http://www.justice.gov.uk/downloads/publications/corporate-reports/lsc/lsc-annual-report-12-13.pdf).

MacLean, S. (1998), 'Report of the Case Profiling Study: Legal aid and the family justice system', Research Paper 2, Legal Aid Board Research Unit, London.

MHCLG (2021a), 'Local Authority Revenue Expenditure and Financing England: 2019 to 2020 final outturn' (https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/local-authority-revenue-expenditure-and-financing-england-2019-to-2020-final-outturn).

MHCLG (2021b), 'Local Authority Revenue Expenditure and Financing: 2019-20 final outturn, England – Technical notes', p. 10 (available at https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/954656/Local_authority_revenue_expenditure_and_financing_England_2019_to_2020_final_outturn_Technical_Note.pdf).

Ministry of Justice (2011), 'Family Justice Review – Interim report' (https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/217357/family-justice-review-interim-rep.pdf).

Ministry of Justice and LAA (2021), 'User Guide to Legal Aid Statistics, England and Wales' (https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/945413/user-guide-legal-aid-statistics-jul-sep-2020.pdf).

Mullender, A. (2000), 'Reducing Domestic Violence: What works? Meeting the needs of children', Home Office crime reduction research series briefing note, Home Office, London (http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/ebook/serien/n/CRRS/4-10.pdf).

Norwich Union (2006), 'UK: Brits spend over £4 billion on divorce' (https://www.aviva.com/newsroom/news-releases/2006/12/uk-brits-spend-over-4-billion-on-divorce-2935/).

Oliver, R., Alexander, B., Roe, S. and Wlasny, M. (2019), *The economic and social costs of domestic abuse*, Home Office Research Report 107 (https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/918897/horr107.pdf).

ONS (2020a), *Child abuse extent and nature, England and Wales: Year ending March 2019*, (available at https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/childabuseextentandnatureenglandandwales/yearendingmarch2019).

ONS (2020b), *Statistical Bulletin – Child abuse in England and Wales: March 2020* (available at https://www.ons.gov.uk/

peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/childabuseinenglandandwales/march2020).

Towers, J., Walby, S. and Francis, B. (2014), *Estimates of the amount of intimate partner violence and gender-based violence, disaggregated by gender, reported to the crime survey for England and Wales, 2011/2*, working paper from the ESRC project 'Is the rate of domestic violence decreasing or increasing? A re-analysis of the Crime Survey for England and Wales', Lancaster University, UK. See also: Walby, S., Towers, J. and Francis, B. (2014), `Mainstreaming domestic and gender-based violence into sociology and the criminology of violence', Sociological Review, Vol. 62, Issue S2, pp. 187 -214.

United Nations General Assembly (1993), 'Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women' (https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/ViolenceAgainstWomen.aspx).

Walby, S. (2004), 'The Cost of Domestic Violence', Women and Equality Unit (https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266474561_The_Cost_of_Domestic_Violence).

Women's Aid (2019), *Funding Specialist Support for Domestic Abuse Survivors*, Bristol (https://www.womensaid.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Funding-Specialist-Support-Full-Report.pdf).

Annexes

Annex 1. Incidence of gender-based violence and intimate partner violence

Table A.1. Comparison of incidence of violence against women and men in current and previous report

Type of crime		Type of violence	Incidents against women			Incidents against men		
			2011/2012	2019/2020	Percentage difference	2011/2012	2019/2020	Percentage difference
Homicide		GBV	125	98	**– 22 %**	52	47	**– 10 %**
Wounding / violence with injury		GBV	424 118	588 423	**39 %**	104 040	193 277	**86 %**
Common assault / violence without injury		GBV	761 300	797 449	**5 %**	272 627	210 764	**– 23 %**
Sexual offences	Rape	GBV	322 654	376 514	**236 %**	24 343	68 176	**1356 %**
	Other sexual offences			707 976	—		286 337	—
Total		**GBV**	**1 508 197**	**2 470 460**	**64 %**	**401 062**	**758 601**	**89 %**
Homicide		IPV	101	68	**– 33 %**	25	12	**– 52 %**
Wounding / violence with injury		IPV	344 462	411 896	**20 %**	56 080	94 491	**68 %**
Common assault / violence without injury		IPV	508 265	558 214	**10 %**	133 467	103 041	**– 23 %**
Sexual offences	Rape	IPV	82 848	159 531	**184 %**	—	4 091	—
	Other sexual offences			—	75 675	—	—	28 634	—
Total		**IPV**	**935 676**	**1 205 384**	**29 %**	**189 572**	**230 269**	**21 %**

Table A.1 illustrates the differences between the incidence data used in the 2014 EIGE report and the data used in this report (see Section 3 for the methodology used in the calculations).

Annex 2. Changes in Home Office unit costs

Table A.2. Comparison of economic and social costs of crime according to Home Office reports

Crime	Source of cost estimation	Costs in lost output		Costs to health services		Costs to criminal justice services		Costs of physical and emotional harm	
		Original, in GBP [b]	Adjusted, in EUR [b]	Original, in GBP [b]	Adjusted, in EUR [b]	Original, in GBP [b]	Adjusted, in EUR [b]	Original, in GBP [b]	Adjusted, in EUR [b]
Homicide	*Home Office (2018)*	254 710	321 944	1 110	1 403	812 940	1 027 527	2 082 430	2 632 116
	Home Office (2005)	451 110	900 799	770	1 537	144 239	288 023	860 380	1 718 050
	Percentage difference	**– 44 %**	**– 64 %**	**44 %**	**– 9 %**	**464 %**	**257 %**	**142 %**	**53 %**
Violence with injury	*Home Office (2018)*	2 060	2 604	920	1 163	2 500	3 160	8 240	10 415
	Home Office (2005)	1 166	2 328	1 348	2 692	1 775	3 545	4 554	9 093
	Percentage difference	**77 %**	**12 %**	**– 32 %**	**– 57 %**	**41 %**	**– 11 %**	**81 %**	**15 %**
Violence without injury	*Home Office (2018)*	670	847	270	341	2 060	2 604	2 810	3 552
	Home Office (2005)	269	537	123	246	255	508	788	1 573
	Percentage difference	**149 %**	**58 %**	**120 %**	**39 %**	**708 %**	**413 %**	**257 %**	**126 %**
Rape [a]	*Home Office (2018)*	5 900	7 457	1 110	1 403	6 940	8 772	24 390	30 828
	Home Office (2005)	4 430	8 846	916	1 829	3 298	6 586	22 754	45 437
	Percentage difference	**58 %**	**0.31 %**	**64 %**	**4 %**	**145 %**	**55 %**	**23 %**	**– 22 %**
Other sexual offences [a]	*Home Office (2018)*	1 120	1 416	390	493	1 150	1 454	3 700	4 677
	Home Office (2005)	4 430	8 846	916	1 829	3 298	6 586	22 754	45 437
	Percentage difference	**58 %**	**0.31 %**	**64 %**	**4 %**	**145 %**	**55 %**	**23 %**	**– 22 %**

[a] The 2005 Home Office report does not distinguish between 'rape' and 'other sexual offences', but rather uses a single 'sexual offences' category. For this reason, the categories of rape and other sexual offences have been collated and compared to the unit costs for 'sexual offences' to calculate the difference between the old and new estimates.

[b] The 'original' unit costs refer to the costs reported in the Home Office reports, in pounds sterling. The adjusted prices have received the following modifications. The unit cost estimates from the 2018 Home Office research report were multiplied by a factor of 1.117 to account for inflation and then converted from pounds sterling to euro using the mid-2019 conversion rate of 1.13157. The transformation for the 2005 Home Office estimates takes the values used in EIGE (2014) (in which the 2005 prices were inflated to 2012 prices and converted from pounds sterling to euro) and inflates them to mid-2019 prices using a factor of 1.18975.

GETTING IN TOUCH WITH THE EU

IN PERSON
All over the European Union there are hundreds of Europe Direct information centres. You can find the address of the centre nearest you at: https://europa.eu/european-union/contact_en

ON THE PHONE OR BY EMAIL
Europe Direct is a service that answers your questions about the European Union.

You can contact this service:
— by freephone: 00 800 6 7 8 9 10 11 (certain operators may charge for these calls),
— at the following standard number: +32 22999696, or
— by email via: https://europa.eu/contact_en

FINDING INFORMATION ABOUT THE EU

ONLINE
Information about the European Union in all the official languages of the EU is available on the Europa website at: https://europa.eu/european-union/index_en

EU PUBLICATIONS
You can download or order free and priced EU publications from: https://publications.europa.eu/en/publications. Multiple copies of free publications may be obtained by contacting Europe Direct or your local information centre (see https://europa.eu/europena-union/contact_en).

EU LAW AND RELATED DOCUMENTS
For access to legal information from the EU, including all EU law since 1951 in all the official language versions, go to EUR-Lex at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu

OPEN DATA FROM THE EU
The official portal for European data (http://data.europa.eu/en) provides access to datasets from the EU. Data can be downloaded and reused for free, for both commercial and non-commercial purposes.

www.eige.europa.eu

Publications Office
of the European Union