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Victimisation, Wellbeing and Compensation: Using Panel Data to Estimate the Costs of Violent Crime

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August 2015
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ABSTRACT

Victimisation, Wellbeing and Compensation: Using Panel Data to Estimate the Costs of Violent Crime*

The costs of violent crime victimisation are often left to a judge, tribunal or jury to determine; leading to the potential for considerable subjectivity and variation. Using unique panel data, this paper provides compensation estimates that can help reduce the subjectivity of awards by giving a benchmark for the compensation required to offset direct and intangible costs. First, individual-area fixed-effects models allowing for adaptation to crime are estimated to assess the effects of violent crime victimisation on diverse measures of wellbeing. These results are then subsequently used to calculate the monetary compensation required to offset the wellbeing losses. Estimates allowing for the endogeneity of income suggest that A$88,000 is required to compensate the average crime victim. We find some evidence that compensation estimates are larger if the wellbeing losses of female family members are considered, and are larger for females if the perpetrator of the crime is a stranger rather than a partner, friend or relative.

JEL Classification: I31, K30

Keywords: violent crime, victimisation, wellbeing, compensation, panel data

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1. Introduction

Even in the most developed countries, many individuals will be exposed to a violent or life-threatening situation during their lifetime (Ozer et al., 2003; Bonanno, 2004). In the US a violent crime occurred every 26 seconds in 2012, with an estimated 1.214 million violent crimes nationally, or about 387 for every 100,000 residents (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2013). Out of an estimated total cost of crime of $310 billion, more than $250 billion is attributed to violent crime (Chalfin, 2014). In Australia, the focus of this study, there were 969 victims of physical assault, 86 victims of sexual assault, 60 victims of robbery, and 2 victims of homicide per 100,000 persons in 2012 recorded by police (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013a,b).¹

The total cost of violent crime for victims includes direct costs, such as lost wages, medical care costs and property damage, and intangible and potentially long-term costs associated with pain, psychological distress, and a decrease in quality of life (Cohen, 1998; Cohen and Bowles, 2010; Dolan et al., 2005). For some, experiencing violent crime results in long-term psychopathology, including anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (Breslau et al., 1998, 2008). But violent crime also leads to more subtle behavioural changes that affect one’s quality of life and daily functioning (Dolan et al., 2005), and can indirectly affect the wellbeing of other family members, including spouses and children (Mervin and Frijters, 2014).

This paper aims to calculate the amount of monetary compensation needed by victims to offset their loss of wellbeing. It is clear that this research question is important from both legal and public economics perspectives. Ubel and Loewenstein (2008) highlight that valuing damages relating to pain and suffering is critical for legal practice, and Boyce and Wood (2010) note that “monetary compensation seems to be unquestionably taken in law courts as the only way of helping an individual overcome psychological distress after a traumatic event.” Gaining reliable estimates of compensation is also important for the economic evaluation of social programs aimed at reducing crime, for example substance abuse treatment and community policing (McCollister et al., 2010).

¹These official figures mask the full extent of violent crime in society. Between 2006 and 2010 in the US, 52 percent of all violent victimisations were not reported to police according to the National Crime Victimization Survey. Similarly, Australian survey data suggests that around 50 percent of physical assaults, 39 percent of robberies and 63 percent of sexual assaults go unreported (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012).
In the US, juries are challenged to award an amount that would make the victim “whole” in their eyes (Cohen, 2005; Oswald and Powdthavee, 2008b). As part of this calculation, juries are asked to consider psychological distress, which can include feelings of “fright, nervousness, grief, anxiety, worry, mortification, shock, humiliation, indignity, embarrassment, apprehension, terror and ordeal”, in addition to physical injury (Schwartz and Silverman, 2004). However, as Boyce and Wood (2010) note, “Putting a price tag on ‘pain and suffering’ seems an impossible task, but judges in law courts are regularly expected to make such decisions.” Similarly, Ubel and Loewenstein (2008) argue that juries are not well equipped to determine the emotional impact of specific injuries; they suggest removing subjectivity from the task. They contend that jurists are likely to mispredict the hedonic consequences of injuries by overestimating the impacts of physical health conditions. Juries are also prone to affective forecasting errors, anchoring effects, and random sources of variability in their decisions. Geistfeld (1995) finds that only 40 percent of the awards made to victims can be accounted for by the severity of injuries, with the rest potentially attributable to “ostensibly unjustifiable” factors such as race and the victims’ attractiveness.

Regardless of how compensation is determined, whether by judges, jury members or tribunals, having guidelines is valuable. Consequently, providing reliable estimates of compensation, and thus reducing the subjectivity in awards, is an important task. Over the last two decades a number of studies have attempted this; however the estimates vary considerably, justifying the need for further research. For example, Cohen et al. (2004) use cross-sectional data from the US and a contingent valuation approach to estimate that sexual assault should be valued at US$237,000; armed robbery at US$232,000; and serious physical assault at US$70,000. Dolan et al. (2005) use a QALY approach to evaluate the intangible costs to victims in the UK; they calculate £5,733 for wounding, £16,840 for rape, £4,790 for sexual assault and £845 for robbery. Two recent papers, focusing only on the mental health effects of victimisation using panel data techniques, find that the required compensation for victims of violent crime is around US$1,000 using a QALY type approach (Cornaglia et al., 2012).

The US also has publicly funded compensation programs (Cohen, 2005; Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority) with maximum payments to victims varying from US$10,000 to US$25,000 across states; the average payment is approximately US$2,000. Victims are eligible to claim compensation for medical and counselling expenses and lost wages, but cannot be compensated for their intangible losses.

In Australia, publicly funded tribunal systems are the main vehicle for victims to claim compensation, with the specific procedures and maximum limits varying by state. In Victoria, one of the largest states of Australia, for example, compensation is determined by the Victims of Crime Assistance Tribunal. Primary victims can claim up to A$60,000 to cover up to two years of lost earnings and “reasonable expenses” related to counselling, medical bills, damage to property and personal safety (Victorian Victims of Crime Assistance Tribunal, 2015). Additionally, victims may receive up to A$10,000 for any pain and suffering linked directly to the crime. In 2012/13, there were 4,751 awards of compensation with the average amount of compensation being A$7,763.

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2 The US also has publicly funded compensation programs (Cohen, 2005; Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority) with maximum payments to victims varying from US$10,000 to US$25,000 across states; the average payment is approximately US$2,000. Victims are eligible to claim compensation for medical and counselling expenses and lost wages, but cannot be compensated for their intangible losses.

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2014) and around A$463,000 using a compensating variation approach (Mervin and Frijters, 2014).

To estimate the impact of violent crime victimisation on wellbeing and to calculate the amount of required compensation, we use data from two Australian longitudinal surveys that ask respondents annually about their recent experience of violent crime; thus, we observe victims both before and after the event. Our main data source is the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia Survey (HILDA), which is nationally representative and has the advantages that it follows individuals for over a decade (2001-2012) and allows for the modelling of intra-household wellbeing effects. In contrast, our secondary data source – Journeys Home (JH) – samples adults who are highly vulnerable to violent crime and provides valuable information regarding the perpetrator. We are unaware of any other major longitudinal surveys that repeatedly ask respondents about their experience of violent crime and simultaneously collect a wide-range of wellbeing measures.

These detailed longitudinal data allow us to apply modelling techniques that: (1) control for selection into violent crime; (2) demonstrate that violent crime is not predictable after controlling for selection; (3) control for a multitude of other time-varying life events; (4) incorporate information on windfall income to aid in computing compensatory damages; and (5) consider the extent and speed to which victims’ wellbeing adapts over time. The data therefore meet all the necessary criteria for estimating compensatory damages as set out by Oswald and Powdthavee (2008a). They also allow us to address concerns in the literature about poor estimation of the effect of income on wellbeing (the denominator in the income equivalence calculation) and the importance of adaptation to income and to victimisation.

To gain confidence in the method we use to calculate the amount of compensation, we work through a number of important steps that provide empirical support for our main modelling assumptions and help identify the underlying mechanisms that link subjective wellbeing to the experience of violent crime. We believe that each of these steps contributes to the existing literature, providing insights that only can be discovered using panel data. In particular, there has been little previous examination of the issue of whether violent crime can be treated as exogenous in empirical models. Moreover, much of the focus in the literature has been on the direct mental health effects of victimisation; and as noted by Dolan et al. (2005) additional information is needed on the extent and speed of adaptation to violent crime.

The paper is therefore laid out as follows: Our two panel data sources and measures of violent crime victimisation and wellbeing are described in Section 2. In Section 3 we identify the characteristics of individuals most at risk of experiencing violent crime and examine if
violent crime can be treated as exogenous within our individual-area fixed-effects modelling approach. In Section 4 we present estimates of the effect of violent crime on overall life satisfaction and consider a number of specific domains such as safety, neighbourhood and relationship satisfaction that help us to establish the underlying mechanisms involved. We then consider the extent to which individuals adapt to violent crime, and we provide evidence on the indirect effect of victimisation on other family members. In Section 5 we present the results of the analyses of the Journeys Home data, paying particular attention to the perpetrator of the crime. Once we have all this information, our methodology for calculating compensatory damage is described in Section 6, and the results are compared with existing estimates in the literature. Section 7 concludes.

2. Data and Descriptive Statistics

2.1. HILDA and Journeys Home Surveys

Our primary dataset is drawn from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey, an annual panel study of Australian households that began in 2001. It collects information from household members aged 15 and over on a variety of economic and social outcomes, including employment, income, health, wellbeing and major life events. We restrict our analysis to the respondents who have information on both wellbeing and crime victimisation, with the latter collected from 2002 onwards. We also restrict the analysis to adults aged 18-70 in their first HILDA interview; this leaves us with a working sample of 106,546 observations on 18,534 individuals.

Our secondary dataset is derived from the Australian Journeys Home (JH) survey, a unique longitudinal survey of individuals who are either homeless, at risk of homelessness or vulnerable to homelessness. The data is collected biannually and there are now six waves available, covering 2011 to 2014. The initial sample was equally distributed between homeless (35 percent), at risk of homelessness (37 percent) and vulnerable to homelessness (28 percent) groups. The homeless and at-risk-of-homelessness individuals were identified by Centerlink, which administers social security payments in Australia. Those vulnerable to homelessness have not been identified as homeless by Centerlink, but they possess similar characteristics to the homeless group (see Wooden et al., 2012, for further details). After

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4 In the Journeys Home survey, homelessness is defined generally and incorporates any individuals living in situations that fall below community standards. The survey therefore includes ‘homeless’ respondents who are: without accommodation, living with friends or family in short-term arrangements, and living in boarding houses and caravan parks.
omitting respondents with missing information on wellbeing and crime victimisation we have a sample of 7,629 person-year observations on 1,508 individuals.

The JH data have several distinct features compared to general population surveys. First, this sub-population is particularly vulnerable to violent crime victimisation: roughly around two-thirds of the sample report having been a victim of physical violence since reaching adulthood (18 years of age). This sub-population is thus particularly relevant from a policy perspective. Their higher incidence of victimisation also helps us to more precisely identify the effect of victimisation on wellbeing. Furthermore, the JH survey includes more specific questions about violent crime experiences than other surveys. In particular, respondents are asked about the relationship of the victim to the perpetrator, and we use that to define intimate-partner violence.

2.2. Measuring Violent Crime Victimisation
One of the most valuable aspects of the HILDA’s confidential self-completion questionnaire is that respondents are asked directly in each wave (except wave 1) about a wide array of major life events that have happened to them during the past 12 months. Most importantly for our purposes, respondents are asked about being a “victim of physical violence (e.g., assault)” and also being a “victim of property crime (e.g., theft, housebreaking)”. Although there is no specific reference to ‘crime’ in the physical violence question, an act of physical violence generally would be considered a crime in Australia. Consequently, throughout the paper we use the term “violent crime victimisation”.

One limitation of the HILDA questionnaire compared to the more extensive questions asked in the JH survey is that no further information is available on the exact nature or perpetrator of the violent crime. Based on the broad wording of the question, though, we conjecture that the HILDA based definition of violent crime victimisation captures the most common forms of violent crime, including physical and sexual assault, and robbery if it involved violence. We expect that HILDA captures violence from all sources, including spouses, relatives, friends and strangers.

About 1.5 percent of the HILDA sample report being victims of physical violence in the past 12 months. Of the 1,126 respondents 74% (836 respondents) report one incident across the 11 waves, 17% (190) report two, 5% (59) report three, and 4% (41) report four or more. These frequencies are remarkably stable across gender and age groups (see Table 1). The data therefore suggest that the majority of reports in HILDA are unique events, rather than episodes from long-term sustained abuse.
Figures 1 and 2 show that violent crime victimisation is strongly correlated with age, gender and socioeconomic status. As shown in Figure 1, the probability of victimisation decreases sharply (almost by half) between ages 18 and 30, and then further decreases with age, but at a slower rate. The likelihood of victimisation is similar for women and men at all ages. Figure 2 splits the sample by neighbourhood disadvantage as well as gender and age. With the exception of 51-70 year-old males, individuals living in more disadvantaged neighbourhoods, which have higher crime rates, are more likely to be victims of violence. The group with the highest victimisation rate is 18-30 year-old women living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods: their probability of experiencing physical violence within the past 12 months is 4.6 percent.5

The reported violent crime victimisation rates are much higher in the JH data than in the general population. Around 17 percent of respondents answered yes to the question “Has anyone used physical violence or force against you in the last six months?” Among those who experienced physical violence, 33 percent were assaulted by a stranger, 37 percent by someone known to the victim (not the partner), and 30 percent by the partner (as measured at the time of the incident).

2.3. Wellbeing Outcome Measures
Our main measure of subjective wellbeing is an individual’s overall satisfaction with his or her life. In both HILDA and JH, respondents are asked “All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life?”. Responses range from 0 (totally dissatisfied) to 10 (totally satisfied). In addition to overall life satisfaction, we examine satisfaction with different aspects of life. In HILDA, respondents are asked about their satisfaction with: your relationship with your partner; the home in which you live; your employment opportunities; your financial situation; how safe you feel; feeling part of your community; your health; the neighbourhood in which you live; and the amount of free time you have. These detailed satisfaction questions are one advantage of using HILDA, as they allow us to determine the aspects of life most strongly affected by violent crime victimisation. The aspects related to relationships, home, safety and neighbourhood are particularly relevant.

5 The percentage reporting violent crime victimisation in HILDA is lower than in cross-sectional surveys undertaken by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. For example, in the 2011-12 Crime Victimisation Survey, 3.25 percent of 20-64 year-old individuals reported being a victim of physical assault in the past 12 months (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013a,b). It is possible that this difference is due to survey priming effects. The ABS survey is aimed specifically at collecting information on crime victimisation and includes many preceding questions on aspects of crime victimisation. Individuals’ therefore may be more likely to recall minor incidents that are not reported in HILDA.
Figure 3 plots the distributions of overall life satisfaction scores in the HILDA and JH datasets. Consistent with other general population surveys, in HILDA most individuals are satisfied with their life. Both the mean and the median of life satisfaction are close to 8. The JH respondents have significantly lower life satisfaction than the HILDA respondents (mean of 6.6 and median 7), which is expected since the JH sample is economically disadvantaged compared to the general Australian population. We also see significant differences within HILDA and JH between victims of violence and non-victims. In both surveys, far fewer victims report satisfaction scores ≥ 8 and far more victims report scores ≤ 5 than non-victims do.

3. Determinants of Violent Crime Victimisation
First, we need to confirm the validity of treating victimisation as an exogenous event in our fixed-effects models of wellbeing (shown in Section 4). In this section we use HILDA data to examine the determinants of violent crime victimisation, in particular across-time within individuals and areas. Somewhat surprisingly, there are few economics studies that characterise the individual-level determinants of crime. One early example is Komesar (1973), which investigates the correlation between selected characteristics and the probability of assault in the US. He finds that the probability of assault increases with income and household size, and decreases with marriage, higher education and age. A number of more recent studies focus specifically on domestic violence. Farmer and Tiefenthaler (2003) show that young, white, single, low-educated and low-income women are more likely to suffer domestic abuse than other women. Utilising different empirical methods, Aizer (2010) finds that the male-female wage gap is an important determinant of domestic violence. She concludes that a decreasing gender wage gap has contributed to the recent decline in domestic violence in the US. Hidrobo and Fernald (2013), in a developing country context, find that an increase in women’s income in Ecuador (via a cash transfer program) has heterogeneous effects on domestic psychological violence, but no significant effects on domestic physical violence.

Table 2 describes how the individual determinants of victimisation highlighted in Komesar (1973) and Farmer and Tiefenthaler (2003) might predict victimisation within the next 12 months in our data. Given the largely cross-sectional nature of this literature, we first present results from OLS models without fixed-effects. The models are estimated separately by gender because males and females are exposed to different types of crimes. Official crime statistics suggest that females are more likely to be victims of domestic violence and sexual
assault than males, and that males are more likely to be victims of physical assault and robbery than females (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013a). The estimated coefficients for both genders suggest that young, single, non-working individuals are significantly more likely to experience violent crime. Educational attainment and neighbourhood type also appear to be important for females: women without a university education and women residing in urban areas and in low SES neighbourhoods are significantly more likely to be victims of crime. These findings are largely consistent with those of previous studies, and to some extent they validate our measure of violent crime victimisation.

Importantly, the demographic and SES characteristics that are predictive of victimisation in the cross-section are not significant predictors across-time within individuals and local areas (see Section 4.1 for a detailed discussion of this fixed-effects model). The results from the fixed-effects models of victimisation within the next 12 months show that neither age, marital status, neighbourhood, employment nor income, are statistically significant predictors of victimisation. Moreover, F-tests of the joint significance of all characteristics have associated p-values greater than 0.10. This also holds true if we disaggregate the samples by age (18-30, 31-50, 50-70) and if we model the binary victimisation outcome using the conditional logit model (results available upon request). This comparison of the OLS and fixed-effects estimates suggests that the determinants of violent crime victimisation are largely fixed over time.

To further explore the exogeneity of violent crime victimisation, we test whether satisfaction levels today (our wellbeing outcomes in later models) are predictive of victimisation within the next 12 months in the individual-area fixed-effects model. Though we do not necessarily expect satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) to directly cause victimisation, it is possible that unobserved events may affect both wellbeing and victimisation. For example, increased spousal alcohol abuse (which is unobserved) may reduce reported satisfaction with “your relationship with your partner” (an observed wellbeing outcome) and increase the likelihood of being a victim of physical violence. Thus, in our fixed-effects models of wellbeing, the presence of significant associations between current satisfaction and future victimisation would cast doubt upon the exogeneity of violent crime victimisation. This exercise is conceptually similar to the strict exogeneity test that is obtained by including future victimisation into wellbeing equations and testing the statistical significance of this variable (Wooldridge, 2010).

The coefficients on the wellbeing measures from three model specifications (A, B and C) are presented in Table 3, in which the wellbeing measures all have been rescaled to vary
from 0 (totally dissatisfied) to 1 (totally satisfied). Model A shows that overall life satisfaction has a weak negative effect on victimisation. For both males and females, moving from “totally dissatisfied” to “totally satisfied” (a one-unit change) decreases the probability of victimisation by only 0.3 percentage points. In Model B we include all sub-scales of satisfaction (safety, home, neighbourhood, health, community, finances and free time) and find that each of the coefficient estimates is small and statistically insignificant. In Model C, we regress victimisation on relationship satisfaction using the subsample with a partner; the coefficient estimates are again small and statistically insignificant. Overall, we find no evidence that unobserved shocks are driving both wellbeing and victimisation.\(^6\)

Finally, we are concerned that the estimated effects of violent crime victimisation on wellbeing could be biased by time-varying local area-level characteristics. Although we control for local area fixed-effects, important unobserved variation across time within areas makes it possible that estimation bias will remain. To examine this possibility, in Model D of Table 3 we test whether future victimisation is affected by reported changes in the neighbourhood environment. In 8 waves of HILDA, respondents are questioned on how often in their local neighbourhood there is: vandalism and deliberate damage to property; people being hostile and aggressive; and burglary and theft. Responses range from 0 (never happens) to 5 (very common), but in Table 3 are re-scaled to range from 0 to 1. The estimates in panel D are all statistically insignificant and suggest that the within-area across-time variation in neighbourhood characteristics does not predict victimisation.

4. Wellbeing Effects of Violent Crime Victimisation using HILDA
Violent crime can affect wellbeing either directly or indirectly. This section principally relates to studies that investigate the direct effects of victimisation. Not surprisingly, most of these studies find strong negative associations. Among the prominent longitudinal analyses is Frijters et al. (2011) who estimate the effect of various life events, including crime victimisation, on overall life satisfaction. They find that crime victimisation reduces life satisfaction, but that individuals adapt to the experience of crime relatively quickly (within a year). Other longitudinal studies focus on the effect of victimisation on mental health, one measures of wellbeing. Braakmann (2013) finds that mental health is negatively affected by crime victimisation. Cornaglia et al (2014) find that violent crime victimisation negatively

\(^6\) If life satisfaction affected future victimisation via any of the control variables, we could be under-estimating it’s effect on victimisation. To address this concern, we re-estimated all models excluding covariates and found consistent results: none of the satisfaction variables were statistically significant.
affects individuals’ mental health but there are no significant mental health effects of property crime victimisation. Mervin and Frijters (2014) show that crime negatively affects mental health directly via own victimisation and indirectly through partner’s victimisation.\(^7\) Potential indirect effects of crime include increased fear, reduced feelings of safety, and lower neighbourhood property prices: see, for example, Powdthavee (2005), Moore (2006), Cohen (2008), Kitchen and Williams (2010), Ambrey et al. (2014), Janke et al. (2013), Cornaglia et al. (2014) and Dustmann and Fasani (2015).

We contribute to the aforementioned literature by presenting results from a series of wellbeing models that use HILDA data. Our results allow us to determine: (1) how the wellbeing effects of violent crime victimisation compare to the wellbeing effects of other major life events; (2) the domains of wellbeing that are most affected by victimisation - is it how safe do you feel, the neighbourhood where you live, your health, or something else?; (3) whether the negative wellbeing effects persist or diminish over time; and (4) the extent to which other household members are (indirectly) affected. Many of these results are new to this literature.

4.1. Direct Wellbeing Effects

We use linear regression with fixed-effects at the individual-area-level to model the direct effect of violent crime victimisation \((victim_{iat})\) on the wellbeing \((wb_{iat})\) of individual \(i\) living in area \(a\) in period \(t\). The simplest regression model used in this section can be expressed as:

\[
wb_{iat} = \alpha_{ia} + \gamma_{t} + \delta victim_{iat} + LE_{iat}'\beta + X_{iat}'\theta + \epsilon_{iat}
\]  

(1)

where \(wb_{iat}\) represents one of the satisfaction variables, \(victim_{iat}\) is a binary variable indicating violent crime victimisation in the past 12 months, \(\alpha_{ia}\) is an individual-area fixed-effect, \(\gamma_{t}\) is a time fixed-effect, and \(\epsilon_{iat}\) is a random error term. The vector \(LE_{iat}\) contains 11 binary life-event variables that control for changes in an individual’s economic, employment and family circumstances (the life events are displayed in Table 4). The vector \(X_{iat}\) includes traditional control variables, such as age, employment status and household income. Both sets of control variables were chosen because they represent time-varying characteristics that are

\(^7\) There also is a large cross-sectional literature on the wellbeing consequences of crime victimisation. Some good examples include Michalos and Zumbo (2000), Powdthavee (2005), Zlotnick et al (2006), Cohen (2008), Hanslmaier (2013), Kuroki (2013) and Staubli et al. (2014).
more likely to determine victimisation than the other way around. For example, being ‘fired or made redundant’ may increase the likelihood of victimisation through changes in time-use and living situations, but is less likely to be a consequence of victimisation. Accordingly, we therefore include this variable as a control. Conversely, separating from your spouse may be the result of domestic violence, and so is not included. Nevertheless, the estimated effect of $\text{victim}_{\text{lat}}$ is little affected by the choice of included control variables; for example, omitting all control variables increases the estimated effect on life satisfaction by only 3% and 8% for females and males, respectively.

One important feature of equation (1) is the individual-area fixed-effect ($\alpha_{ita}$). Local areas are defined by 196 ‘statistical subdivisions’ that define “socially and economically homogeneous regions characterised by identifiable links between the inhabitants” (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001). The inclusion of an individual-area fixed-effect means that an individual living in area A is treated separately from the same individual living in area B. Furthermore, it implies that identification of $\delta$ is driven by changes over time in $\text{wb}_{\text{lat}}$ and $\text{victim}_{\text{lat}}$ for an individual living within a particular area; this is the approach taken by Dustmann and Fasani (2015) in their analysis of the mental health effects of area-level crime. We take this conservative approach because a change of neighbourhood may affect both the probability of crime victimisation and wellbeing. One disadvantage of including individual-area fixed-effects is that the effects of violent crime victimisation may be under-estimated if severely affected victims are induced to move to new areas.

Estimates of $\delta$ and $\beta$ in equation (1) are shown in Table 4. We see that violent crime victimisation has a large negative effect on overall life satisfaction: victimisation in the past 12 months is estimated to decrease life satisfaction of females and males by -0.398 and -0.300, respectively, or approximately 45% and 36% of the within-individual standard deviation of life satisfaction (which equals 0.882 and 0.825 for females and males, respectively). This effect is roughly equivalent in size to the “death of spouse or child” effect, and is multiple times larger than the “victim of a property crime” effect. Only a “major worsening in financial situation” is more detrimental to life satisfaction than violent crime victimisation.

Table 5 reports our estimates for separate domains of life satisfaction. The domain most affected is satisfaction with “your relationship with your partner”, although this is only

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8 It is unclear what a “major worsening in financial situation” means; however, HILDA provides respondents with the example “went bankrupt”, so it is possible that this event represents wide-ranging changes in an individual’s financial, employment and living situations.
the case for females. Victimisation in the past 12 months is estimated to decrease relationship satisfaction of partnered women by -0.887 units, which is almost 75 percent of the within-individual standard deviation. For females the next most affected domains are “how safe you feel” and “the home in which you live”. For men, “how safe you feel” and “the neighbourhood in which you live” are significantly affected, but “the home in which you live” is not. Therefore, it appears that a victimised female is most dissatisfied about her domestic relationship and her safety at home whereas a victimised man is most dissatisfied about his safety in his neighbourhood. Importantly, health satisfaction is only moderately affected by victimisation, highlighting the need to consider psychological distress in addition to physical injury when valuing damages.

A natural explanation for this set of strongly gendered effects is that a significant proportion of reported victimisation by females is domestic violence. HILDA does not contain any information on the types of physical violence experienced, but the statistics from the Crime Victimisation Survey highlight that 32.3 percent of self-reported physical assaults against females were committed by an intimate partner (compared to 6.4 percent for males) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013b). To further validate the domestic violence explanation, we report in the bottom two rows of Table 5 the estimated effects of violent crime victimisation on the probabilities of two events, “separated from spouse or long-term partner” and “close family member detained in a jail / correctional facility” – outcomes that are likely to be associated with domestic violence. For females, victimisation is estimated to increase the probability of separation by almost 20 percentage points (mean rate equals 2.3 percent) and increase the probability of family member incarceration by 5.5 percentage points (mean rate equals 1.5 percent). The corresponding male effects are substantially lower and equal 3 percentage points and 1.4 percentage points, respectively.

4.2. Extent of Adaptation

Equation (1) inherently assumes complete adaptation to victimisation (and all other life events) within one year. Given the severe nature of some violent crimes, it is feasible that wellbeing will remain below baseline for several years. To measure the speed of adaptation, we estimate a model that includes $J$ lags of each of the included life-events:

$$w_{bit} = \alpha_{bt} + \gamma_t + \sum_{j=0}^{J} \delta_j v_{bit} + \sum_{j=0}^{J} L E_{bit} \beta_j + \chi_{bit} \theta + \epsilon_{bit}$$

9 The large “relationship with your partner” effect is not caused by focusing on partnered respondents. For all other domains, partnered respondents have smaller effects than single respondents.
where the $\delta_0, \delta_1, \ldots, \delta_j$ coefficients capture the wellbeing effects of victimisation after 0-12 months, 12-24 months, etc. It is possible to allow for changes in wellbeing prior to the event also, but the analyses in Section 3 show no evidence of such effects.

Estimates of $\delta_j$ in equation (2) are reported in Table 6. For comparative purposes we also report $\beta_j$ for the most harmful life events: “major worsening in finances” and “death of spouse or child”. We include four terms ($J = 3$) for each event and define $\text{victim}_{lat-3}$ and $\text{LE}_{lat-3}$ as indicators of events that occurred three or more years ago. This definition implies that $\delta_j$ and $\beta_j$ are identified by comparing wellbeing in period $t + j$ with average wellbeing before the event. The coefficients on the victimisation variables suggest that for both genders there is (almost) complete adaptation to violent crime victimisation after one year – joint tests of the statistical significance of the terms 1-2 years, 2-3 years and 3+ years have $F$-statistic $p$-values of 0.735 and 0.354. This is also the case for the satisfaction domains highlighted in Table 5, including “how safe you feel,” “feeling part of your local community” and “the neighbourhood in which you live” (results available upon request).

In contrast, we find longer adaptation profiles for other major life events. In particular, there are statistically significant effects 1-2 years and 2-3 years after a major worsening in finances and the death of a spouse or child (the three lagged terms are also jointly significant). These results suggest that, relative to other harmful life events, adaptation to violent crime victimisation is quick. A possible explanation for this finding is that some victims of crime are able to take remedial actions, such as separating from a spouse, or changing neighbourhoods.

We note that it is also feasible with the HILDA data to investigate potential within-year adaptation. In addition to reporting the occurrence of physical violence in the last 12 months, respondents report how long ago the event happened. Possible responses are: 0 to 3 months ago (31.8 percent), 4 to 6 months ago (20.5 percent), 7 to 9 months ago (16.3 percent), and 10 to 12 months ago (22.0 percent), where sample proportions are shown in parentheses. The estimated quarter effects for overall life satisfaction equal: -0.549, -0.350, -0.398 and -0.279 for females and -0.235, -0.321, -0.586 and -0.146 for males.

4.3. Indirect Wellbeing Effects
A potentially important consequence of violent crime victimisation is the effect it has on those close to the victim. Family and friends are likely to sympathise with the victim and feel
general sadness, and may experience increased fear and reduced feelings of safety themselves. To investigate these potential indirect effects, we estimate the following model:

$$ wb_{iat} = \alpha_{iat} + \gamma_t + \pi v i c t i m_{iat} + \lambda h h v i c t i m_{iat} + L E'_{iat}\beta + X'_{iat}\theta + \varepsilon_{iat} $$ (3)

where a new term ($hh\text{victim}_{iat}$) has been added that denotes whether an adult household member has been a victim of violent crime in the past 12 months.

A limitation of equation (3) is that the coefficient $\lambda$ potentially includes the change in wellbeing associated with having committed a violent crime. The estimates of equation (1) in Table 4 suggest that some of the observed $\pi v i c t i m_{iat}$ effect is likely to arise from reported domestic violence, a proportion of which has been committed by other HILDA respondents. We are unable to directly estimate this ‘violent criminal’ effect; however, we present estimates of equation (3) separately for the female and male subsamples. The propensity for females to be the perpetrators of domestic violence against adult household members is low, and for this group $\lambda$ is thus unlikely to be driven by ‘violent criminal’ effects.

Table 7 provides estimated effects of $\pi$ and $\lambda$ for overall life satisfaction, and satisfaction with how safe you feel, the home in which you live, and the neighbourhood in which you live. The safety, home and neighbourhood domains are included, because these domains are most likely to be affected by crime indirectly. The results again differ by gender. After a member of their household experiences a violent physical crime, females experience a significant decline in overall life satisfaction. This indirect effect equals 0.121, which is around 30% of the decline due to personally experiencing violent crime, and appears to be driven partly by a significant effect on satisfaction with safety (-0.192). Overall life satisfaction is relatively unaffected by the victimisation of a household member for men; however, satisfaction with the neighbourhood in which they live is reduced by 0.238.

5. Disaggregated Victimisation Effects using Journeys Home

The advantages of HILDA data for analysing violent crime victimisation are that it is a high-quality long-running household panel and that it includes annual information on victimisation and wellbeing. The disadvantage is that it contains no specific details about the crime. In this section, we additionally use JH data to understand the types of violent crimes that are causing the largest drops in wellbeing. Importantly, these data include information on the perpetrator.
of the crime, and the JH survey focuses on homeless or at-risk-of-homelessness individuals who are at a particularly high-risk of victimisation.

JH respondents are initially asked, “has anyone used physical violence or force against you in the last six months?”; and if they reply yes, they are subsequently asked “at the time of the last incident what was your relationship to the person who assaulted you?” From the responses, we create three binary indicators signifying that the perpetrator was a (i) stranger; (ii) partner or (iii) other person you knew. The frequencies of these three indicators of victimisation for females are 2.1 percent, 8.5 percent and 4.6 percent, respectively. The frequencies for males are 8.3 percent, 2.4 percent and 7.5 percent, respectively.

Another difference between the JH and HILDA surveys is that the former contains fewer satisfaction questions, so we can only estimate outcomes that represent satisfaction with your life overall, how safe you feel, your health and your neighbourhood. These estimates are presented in Table 8. The results for females show the largest negative effects occur for violence committed by a stranger: such an event reduces female overall satisfaction by 0.919, satisfaction with safety by 1.198, satisfaction with health by 0.911, and satisfaction with the neighbourhood by 1.139. The effects for violence committed by partners and violence committed by other known persons are considerably smaller, particularly the latter. For males the differences between the perpetrator types are generally smaller and less consistent across satisfaction domains: violence committed by a stranger has the largest effect on satisfaction with safety (0.696), violence committed by other known persons has the largest effect on satisfaction with health (0.348), and violence committed by partners has the largest effect on satisfaction with neighbourhood (0.640).

We also can repeat the adaptation analysis from Section 4.2 by including lagged victimisation terms in the fixed-effects regression models. The results, which are available upon request, are similar to those presented using HILDA data. For both females and males, all lagged victimisation terms are small and statistically insignificant, supporting the earlier conclusion that, for the average victim, adaptation to violent crime victimisation appears to occur relatively quickly in terms of life satisfaction.

6. Compensation Estimates
Based on evidence from all of the analyses and tests so far, we are now in a position to estimate the amount of monetary compensation that is required to return the ‘average’ victim of violent crime to his or her pre-victimisation level of life satisfaction; this is our operational
definition of making the victim “whole” again. This life satisfaction method has been used widely in the literature to value the costs of various non-market goods, for example, disability (Oswald and Powdthavee, 2008a), death (Oswald and Powdthavee, 2008b; Deaton et al., 2009), air pollution (Van Praag and Baarsma, 2005; Luechinger, 2010; Levinson, 2012), natural disasters (Carroll et al., 2009) and informal care (Van den Berg and Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2007). Following Frijters et al. (2011), we extend the conventional approach by considering asymmetric effects of income on life satisfaction, the endogeneity of income, and the adaptation to income and victimisation.

Recent research has shown that there is an asymmetric effect of positive versus negative income changes on life satisfaction, with an income loss having a larger effect than an equivalently sized income gain (Boyce et al., 2013). Considering this asymmetry, and following the process of the tort system where by victims receive major financial settlements, we evaluate the life satisfaction effects of a large positive income shock. We identify income shocks by using a question in HILDA that asks respondents whether they have experienced during the past year a “major financial improvement, e.g. won a lottery, received an inheritance”. By comparing this event to changes in reported income, we calculate that this positive income shock equates to around A$50,000.

Importantly, Au and Johnston (2015) have shown that this income shock variable reflects lottery wins and inheritances, but not other sources of windfall income – it is not significantly associated with the receipt of income from annuities, pension funds, workers compensation, accident or illness insurance, life insurance, redundancy or severance payouts, gifts from parents or other persons, or company shares, managed funds or property trusts. We also can demonstrate that the occurrence of an income shock in the next 12 months is not significantly associated with demographic or socioeconomic characteristics after controlling for individual fixed-effects, nor is it a function of violent crime victimisation, property crime victimisation, a major worsening in finances, a serious injury or illness, death of a close friend, being fired or made redundant, being promoted at work, retiring from the workforce, changing jobs, or separating from your spouse (results available upon request). This is important, because we assume that the relationship between the income shock variable and life satisfaction is entirely due to the additional money; associations between the income shock and other life events would raise concerns about the validity of this assumption. However, the occurrence of a future income shock is associated with the death of a relative as expected, given that bequests are usually given by family members. We control for this
alternative pathway between the income shock and life satisfaction by controlling for the death of a relative in the past year, death 1-2 years ago and a death 2-3 years ago.

Finally, we explicitly take into account the long-term adaptation effects of both violent crime victimisation and an income shock by adding the lags of these events:

\[
wb_{iat} = \alpha_{ia} + \gamma_{i} + \delta_{0} \text{victim}_{iat} + \cdots + \delta_{k} \text{victim}_{iat-k} + \pi_{0} \text{ishock}_{iat} + \\
\cdots + \pi_{i} \text{ishock}_{iat-l} + LE'_{iat} + X'_{iat} + \theta + \varepsilon_{iat},
\]

(4)

The number of lags is chosen as follows: we add all lags that are statistically significant at the 5 percent level plus two additional lags for each event to ensure that we are adequately capturing the entire adaptation profile. This results in two lags for violent crime victimisation and four lags for the income shock. The cost of violent crime to the victim is then estimated according to the following equation:

\[
\text{victimcost} = \frac{\sum_{j=0}^{k} \delta_{j} (1+d)^{-j} \Delta \text{income}}{\sum_{j=0}^{l} \tau_{j} (1+d)^{-j}},
\]

(5)

where \(d\) is a discount rate (set at 5 percent) and \(\Delta \text{income}\) is the average change in household income associated with the income shock (i.e. A$48,400).

The results are shown in Table 9. The first column presents the results of the basic approach, using household income to estimate compensation values, and ignoring the asymmetry, endogeneity and measurement-error issues.\(^{10}\) We estimate that a victim of violent crime would need compensation of close to two million Australian dollars (19.54 * A$100,000) to return to the initial level of life satisfaction. For females, estimated compensation is even larger (A$3.4 million).

The next two columns present the figures used to estimate the cost of violent crime victimisation according to our approach, which uses income shocks rather than household income and which accounts for adaptation profiles. Column (2) reports the discounted decrease in life satisfaction due to violent crime victimisation (the numerator of equation 5) and column (3) reports the discounted increase in life satisfaction due to the income shock

\(^{10}\) In this model life satisfaction is regressed on household income, violent crime victimisation, individual fixed-effects, and time-varying control variables. The estimated compensation equals the coefficient on victimisation divided by the coefficient on household income – i.e. the amount of additional income that would be needed to offset the decline in life satisfaction due to victimisation (according to the estimated model).
(the denominator of equation 5). The final column presents estimated compensation values for all individuals, females and males. It is estimated that, on average, violent crime victims would need to be awarded A$87,900. The estimated compensation is higher for females (A$101,800) than for males (A$79,300). The difference between genders is driven by victimisation having a larger negative effect on the life satisfaction of females than males (column 3), and by the income shock having a smaller positive effect on the life satisfaction of females than males (column 4). In other words, women are more adversely affected by being a victim of physical violence and are less positively affected by receiving a large monetary windfall.

Importantly, the estimated compensation values in Table 9 are not primarily compensating individuals for health problems. The findings in Table 5 suggest that several domains of wellbeing are more adversely affected by victimisation than health. To further demonstrate this important point, we performed a simple decomposition exercise in which the total compensation value is disaggregated by the satisfaction domains presented in Table 5. Each domain-specific compensation value is calculated by multiplying: (i) the total compensation value (Column 4 in Table 9); (ii) the discounted effect of victimisation on that domain (equivalent to Column 2 in Table 9); and (iii) the proportional impact of the domain on individuals’ assessment of their overall life satisfaction. The latter is calculated by regressing the difference in overall life satisfaction from before and after the victimisation event on the differences in each of the seven domains. The results of this exercise indicate that the decreases in satisfaction experienced by females with their safety, home, health, community, financial situation, neighbourhood and time equate to compensation values of A$50,700, A$19,200, A$17,900, A$11,300, A$1800 A$528 and A$300, respectively. The equivalent compensation values for men are A$17,400, A$6,900, A$15,200, A$7,400, A$20,100, A$6200 and A$6,100. Hence, the largest component of the female compensation value is safety. For males the largest component is financial situation; this domain is most important for men largely because it is by far the most important component of men’s overall life satisfaction in this data.

In terms of gaining some consensus on the ‘average’ amount of compensation required to be awarded to violent crime victims, our estimates are reasonably in-line with those found by Dolan et al. (2005) who used a QALY method to calculate compensation in the UK. However, one important concern with this approach is that it may underestimate total crime victim costs because the QALY weights are based on physical and psychological injuries sustained in a non-criminal context. As noted by Dolan et al. (2005), injuries
sustained as a consequence of crime may well have larger psychological effects than injuries sustained in other circumstances. Society also may value losses associated with crime higher than losses associated with other incidents. Some of the effects, especially psychological and behavioural effects related to, for example, safety concerns at home, or in the neighbourhood, may not be well captured by QALY measures at all. Another approach used by McCollister et al. (2010) is to examine actual compensation awards in the US. They estimate that the intangible victim cost related to pain and suffering is US$198,212 per rape/sexual assault, US$13,435 per aggravated assault, and US$4,976 per robbery. However, evidence based on actual awards does not bypass the issue of the subjectivity underlying the compensation calculation.

Our estimates fall in between those of two recent Australian studies that also use the HILDA survey but focus only on the mental health effects of violent crime: Cornaglia et al. (2014) provide a value of US$928 and Mervin and Frijters (2014) provide a value of A$463,533. These studies use fixed-effects regression techniques applied to HILDA data, but fewer waves than we now have available. Both focus only on the SF-36 mental health component score as their measure of wellbeing, which does not capture any of the wider pathways by which a victim’s wellbeing can be affected. Our understanding is that the main reason why the estimate of Cornaglia et al. (2014) is relatively small is because the effect of being a victim on the SF-36 mental health component score is small, reducing the 0-100 scale by only 3 points. Consequently, when this small decline in mental health is multiplied by a QALY dollar value (set at A$50,000), the resulting required compensation to offset this decline is small. In contrast, we believe the main reason why the estimate by Mervin and Frijters (2014) is relatively large is because the relationship between income and the SF-36 score is relatively small, so that a very large amount of compensation is required to offset even a small decline in mental health. Overall, we believe that a focus on overall life satisfaction, and separate sub-domains such as concerns about safety, can add to a fuller understanding of the costs to victims.

7. Conclusions
Tribunals, judges and juries have to make judgements everyday on the costs incurred by victims of violent crime and to decide upon an appropriate compensation amount. While it is relatively straightforward to calculate some of the short-term direct costs, such as lost wages from work absenteeism, health care costs and property damage, the intangible and potentially long-term wellbeing costs associated with pain, psychological distress and behavioural
change are much more difficult to evaluate. It has been argued that this difficulty means that there is a great deal of unexplained variation in awards, and that individuals may not be able to reasonably undertake these assessments (Ubel and Loewenstein, 2008; Boyce and Wood, 2010). In this respect, Dolan et al. (2005) stress the need for much better information about the long-term physical and psychological consequences of being a victim of crime.

In recent years economists have applied a variety of empirical techniques to estimate the cost of crime to victims, and therefore to help reduce the subjectivity around compensation for victims. In this paper, we contribute to this literature by analysing data from two Australian longitudinal surveys that uniquely ask respondents in every wave if they have been a victim of violent crime, along with many questions about their wellbeing in different aspects of their life. We are unaware of any other longitudinal surveys that collect this information, and the data allow us to use empirical models that control for selection into violent crime and for adaptation to both financial gains and victimisation when calculating compensation. Our modelling strategy essentially mirrors the court process by estimating the amount of compensation a victim of violent crime would need to return them to their pre-victimisation level of wellbeing, or in other words, to make them ‘whole’ again. A key feature of this task has been to obtain a better estimate of the underlying relationship between income and wellbeing by exploiting information on positive income shocks.

Using estimates from individual-area fixed-effects models that allow for adaptation to crime, we calculate that A$88,000 would be required to compensate the average victim of violent crime. This amount is greater for females (A$102,000) than males ($79,000). Importantly, the compensation values are not primarily compensating individuals for health problems, with our findings indicating that several domains of wellbeing are much more adversely affected by victimisation: a victimised female is most dissatisfied about her domestic relationship and her safety at home whereas a victimised man is most dissatisfied about his safety in his neighbourhood. Our results therefore highlight the importance of considering non-health related effects when considering compensation awards.

Since the HILDA survey data we use collects wellbeing information from all adults in the household, we can also estimate the externality effect of violent crime on other household members. We find evidence that the amount of compensation would need to be greater if the wellbeing losses of female family members are considered. An important question then is whether such wellbeing loss should be factored into compensation awards. The Journeys Home data also enables us to shed some light on whether the wellbeing response of victims is dependent on who is the perpetrator of the crime. Our estimates suggest that compensation
values need to be larger for females if the perpetrator of the crime is a stranger rather than a partner, friend or relative, at least using this sample of the most vulnerable individuals.

We believe that the compensation estimates we present, together with those of other studies using alternative techniques, can reduce the subjectivity of awards to victims in the court and tribunal systems. For example, judges and juries within the current court system could be given a benchmark for the ‘average’ amount of compensation for victims, which they can then use to pivot around, given the nature and severity of particular cases. These estimates could also be useful when setting maximum limits for tribunals systems.

References


Figure 1: Nonparametric Estimated Rates of Violent Crime Victimisation by Age and Gender

Figure 2: Mean Rates of Violent Crime Victimisation by Age, Gender and Neighbourhood SES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Disadvantaged</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Advantaged</th>
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<tr>
<td>18-30</td>
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<td>3.3</td>
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<td>1.6</td>
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Figure 3: Distributions of Overall Life Satisfaction Scores from HILDA and Journeys Home

HILDA
- Victims of violence
- Non victims

Journeys Home
- Victims of violence
- Non victims
Table 1: Numbers of HILDA respondents reporting violent crime victimisation by age, gender and frequency of occurrence

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Total number across waves</th>
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<th></th>
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<th>Males</th>
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Note: Sample consists of HILDA respondents who report being a victim of physical violence in any of the 11 waves. Figures are the counts of individuals in each cell. Figures in brackets are the percentages of individuals per column.
Table 2: Determinants of Violent Crime Victimisation from Cross-Sectional and Panel Models using HILDA Data

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<th>Pooled OLS Models</th>
<th>Fixed-Effects Models</th>
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<td>-0.005*** (0.002)</td>
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<td>-0.007*** (0.002)</td>
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<td>-0.010*** (0.002)</td>
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<td>-0.007*** (0.001)</td>
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<td>-0.001 (0.002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.000 (0.001)</td>
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<td>Number of adults in HH</td>
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<td>Log real HH income</td>
<td>-0.001 (0.001)</td>
<td>-0.001 (0.001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home owner</td>
<td>-0.006*** (0.001)</td>
<td>-0.005*** (0.001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood SES index</td>
<td>-0.001*** (0.000)</td>
<td>0.000 (0.000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate</td>
<td>0.000 (0.001)</td>
<td>-0.001 (0.001)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| F-test p-value       | <0.001            | <0.001               | 0.696             | 0.163               |
| Sample size          | 51886             | 45462                | 51886             | 45462               |

Notes: The dependent variable is victimisation in the next 12 months. Figures are estimated coefficients. Standard errors clustered at the area level are presented in parentheses. The F-test p-value refers to a joint significance test of all presented covariates. Included in each model but not shown are year dummies. The fixed-effects models include individual-area fixed-effects. *, ** and *** denote statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% levels, respectively.
Table 3: Relationships between Future Violent Crime Victimisation, Current Satisfaction Levels and Current Neighbourhood Perceptions using HILDA Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(A) Life overall</td>
<td>-0.003 (0.006)</td>
<td>-0.003 (0.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) How safe you feel</td>
<td>0.006 (0.005)</td>
<td>-0.001 (0.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The home in which you live</td>
<td>-0.003 (0.004)</td>
<td>-0.002 (0.005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The neighbourhood in which you live</td>
<td>0.005 (0.005)</td>
<td>0.006 (0.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your health</td>
<td>0.003 (0.004)</td>
<td>-0.003 (0.005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling part of your local community</td>
<td>-0.001 (0.004)</td>
<td>0.003 (0.004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your financial situation</td>
<td>-0.001 (0.004)</td>
<td>0.005 (0.004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The amount of free time you have</td>
<td>0.001 (0.003)</td>
<td>-0.001 (0.003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) Relationship with your partner</td>
<td>-0.005 (0.005)</td>
<td>0.001 (0.004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D) People being hostile and aggressive</td>
<td>0.005 (0.005)</td>
<td>0.001 (0.005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary and theft</td>
<td>-0.000 (0.005)</td>
<td>-0.002 (0.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism and damage to property</td>
<td>-0.004 (0.005)</td>
<td>-0.003 (0.005)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Each column presents estimated coefficients from four individual-area fixed-effect models of violent crime in the next year. Each satisfaction measure has been rescaled to range from 0 (totally dissatisfied) to 1 (totally satisfied). Each neighbourhood measure has been rescaled to range from 0 (never happens) to 1 (very common). Included in each model but not shown are the covariates age, employment status, household income, year, and the life events presented in Table 4. The sample sizes for models (A) and (B) equal 51886 and 45462 for females and males, respectively. The sample sizes for model (C) equal 38163 and 35348. The sample sizes for model (D) equal 27570 and 24974. Standard errors clustered at the area level are presented in parentheses. *, ** and *** denote statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% levels, respectively.
Table 4: Estimated Effects of Violent Crime Victimisation and other Life Events on Overall Life Satisfaction using HILDA Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim of physical violence</td>
<td>-0.398***</td>
<td>-0.300***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major worsening in finances</td>
<td>-0.514***</td>
<td>-0.498***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of spouse or child</td>
<td>-0.420***</td>
<td>-0.297***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim of a property crime</td>
<td>-0.054*</td>
<td>-0.087***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fired or made redundant</td>
<td>-0.052</td>
<td>-0.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious injury/illness to relative</td>
<td>-0.029**</td>
<td>-0.027*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of a close friend</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>-0.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of close relative</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoted at work</td>
<td>0.039*</td>
<td>0.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired from the workforce</td>
<td>0.107***</td>
<td>-0.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed jobs</td>
<td>0.046***</td>
<td>0.059***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major improvement in finances</td>
<td>0.144***</td>
<td>0.110***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample size: Females 55939, Males 49521

Notes: Figures are estimated coefficients from two individual-area fixed-effect models of overall life satisfaction. Standard errors clustered at the area level are presented in parentheses. The satisfaction measure ranges from 0 (totally dissatisfied) to 10 (totally satisfied). Included in each model but not shown are the covariates age, employment status, household income and year. *, ** and *** denote statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% levels, respectively.
Table 5: Estimated Effects of Violent Crime Victimisation on Satisfaction Domains and Family Outcomes using HILDA Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction Outcomes (0–10)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship with your partner</td>
<td>-0.887*** (0.140)</td>
<td>-0.200 (0.126)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How safe you feel</td>
<td>-0.594*** (0.094)</td>
<td>-0.289*** (0.086)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The home in which you live</td>
<td>-0.311*** (0.091)</td>
<td>-0.121 (0.087)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling part of your local community</td>
<td>-0.205** (0.085)</td>
<td>-0.141* (0.085)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your health</td>
<td>-0.191** (0.075)</td>
<td>-0.198*** (0.069)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The neighbourhood in which you live</td>
<td>-0.172* (0.088)</td>
<td>-0.172** (0.086)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The amount of free time you have</td>
<td>-0.023 (0.100)</td>
<td>-0.098 (0.096)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your financial situation</td>
<td>-0.018 (0.085)</td>
<td>-0.165* (0.087)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family Outcomes (0/1)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated from spouse/partner</td>
<td>0.191*** (0.018)</td>
<td>0.030** (0.014)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close family member detained in jail</td>
<td>0.055*** (0.012)</td>
<td>0.014 (0.008)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Each cell presents the estimated coefficient on the violent crime indicator from a separate individual-area fixed-effect model. Standard errors clustered at the area level are presented in parentheses. The satisfaction measures range from 0 (totally dissatisfied) to 10 (totally satisfied), and the family outcome measures are binary indicators of an event in the past year. Included in each model but not shown are all the covariates from the models in Table 4. The sample sizes for the satisfaction outcomes aside from relationship satisfaction are shown in Table 4. The sample sizes for relationship satisfaction equal 42745 and 40194. This question was only answered by respondents in relationships. The sample sizes for the two family outcome measures equal 55824 and 49434. * , ** and *** denote statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% levels, respectively.
Table 6: Estimated Effects of Lagged Violent Crime Victimisation on Overall Life Satisfaction using HILDA Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Victim of physical violence</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurred 0-1 years ago</td>
<td>-0.448*** (0.101)</td>
<td>-0.380*** (0.115)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurred 1-2 years ago</td>
<td>-0.109 (0.098)</td>
<td>-0.005 (0.094)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurred 2-3 years ago</td>
<td>-0.044 (0.089)</td>
<td>-0.119 (0.097)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurred 3+ years ago</td>
<td>-0.046 (0.083)</td>
<td>0.026 (0.084)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Major worsening in finances</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurred 0-1 years ago</td>
<td>-0.510*** (0.058)</td>
<td>-0.508*** (0.054)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurred 1-2 years ago</td>
<td>-0.152*** (0.054)</td>
<td>-0.263*** (0.052)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurred 2-3 years ago</td>
<td>-0.130*** (0.055)</td>
<td>-0.098* (0.055)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurred 3+ years ago</td>
<td>-0.102* (0.054)</td>
<td>-0.001 (0.050)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Death of spouse or child</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurred 0-1 years ago</td>
<td>-0.482*** (0.116)</td>
<td>-0.411*** (0.158)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurred 1-2 years ago</td>
<td>-0.145 (0.099)</td>
<td>-0.209* (0.123)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurred 2-3 years ago</td>
<td>-0.158* (0.094)</td>
<td>-0.100 (0.124)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurred 3+ years ago</td>
<td>0.033 (0.091)</td>
<td>-0.159 (0.112)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample size 33951 29477

Notes: Figures are estimated coefficients from two individual-area fixed-effect models of overall life satisfaction. Standard errors clustered at the area level are presented in parentheses. The satisfaction measure ranges from 0 (totally dissatisfied) to 10 (totally satisfied). Included in each model but not shown are all the covariates from the models in Table 4. *, ** and *** denote statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% levels, respectively.
Table 7: Estimated Effects of Crime Victimisation on Wellbeing from a Personal and a Household Perspective using HILDA Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personally a victim</td>
<td>-0.401***</td>
<td>-0.296***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household member a victim</td>
<td>-0.121*</td>
<td>-0.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>How safe you feel</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personally a victim</td>
<td>-0.599***</td>
<td>-0.289***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household member a victim</td>
<td>-0.192**</td>
<td>-0.101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The home in which you live</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personally a victim</td>
<td>-0.308***</td>
<td>-0.121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household member a victim</td>
<td>-0.109</td>
<td>-0.069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The neighbourhood in which you live</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personally a victim</td>
<td>-0.176**</td>
<td>-0.184**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household member a victim</td>
<td>-0.108</td>
<td>-0.238***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sample size</strong></td>
<td>55939</td>
<td>49521</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Each column presents estimated coefficients from four individual-area fixed-effect models of satisfaction. Standard errors clustered at the area level are presented in parentheses. Each satisfaction measure ranges from 0 (totally dissatisfied) to 10 (totally satisfied). Included in each model but not shown are all the covariates from the models in Table 4. *, ** and *** denote statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% levels, respectively.
Table 8: Estimated Effects of Violent Crime Victimisation on Overall Satisfaction and Satisfaction Domains using Journeys Home Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>-0.919***</td>
<td>-0.409***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.259)</td>
<td>(0.118)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>-0.651***</td>
<td>-0.496**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.160)</td>
<td>(0.212)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-0.206</td>
<td>-0.528***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.176)</td>
<td>(0.141)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>How safe you feel</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>-1.198***</td>
<td>-0.696***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.353)</td>
<td>(0.126)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>-0.737***</td>
<td>-0.504*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.187)</td>
<td>(0.301)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-0.477**</td>
<td>-0.631***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.215)</td>
<td>(0.165)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Your health</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>-0.911***</td>
<td>-0.213*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.302)</td>
<td>(0.118)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>-0.502***</td>
<td>-0.061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.139)</td>
<td>(0.188)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-0.310</td>
<td>-0.348***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.198)</td>
<td>(0.113)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Your neighbourhood</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>-1.139***</td>
<td>-0.398**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.430)</td>
<td>(0.177)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>-0.352*</td>
<td>-0.640*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.205)</td>
<td>(0.356)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-0.236</td>
<td>-0.276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.234)</td>
<td>(0.182)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sample size</strong></td>
<td>3346</td>
<td>4279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Each column presents estimated coefficients from four individual fixed-effects models of satisfaction. Standard errors clustered at the individual-level are presented in parentheses. Each satisfaction measure ranges from 0 (totally dissatisfied) to 10 (totally satisfied). The disaggregated physical crime indicators are binary indicators of an event in the past 6 months. Included in each model but not shown are the covariates age, employment status, household income and year. *, ** and *** denote statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% levels, respectively.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Compensation Basic Approach</th>
<th>Victimisation Discounted LS</th>
<th>Income shock Discounted LS</th>
<th>Compensation Our Approach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All individuals</td>
<td>19.54</td>
<td>-0.668</td>
<td>0.369</td>
<td>0.879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8.719)</td>
<td>(0.164)</td>
<td>(0.081)</td>
<td>(0.286)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>33.73</td>
<td>-0.687</td>
<td>0.333</td>
<td>1.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(27.81)</td>
<td>(0.237)</td>
<td>(0.104)</td>
<td>(0.477)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>10.68</td>
<td>-0.678</td>
<td>0.404</td>
<td>0.793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5.081)</td>
<td>(0.230)</td>
<td>(0.127)</td>
<td>(0.352)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Estimated income shock for all individuals, females and males equals $48,418, $49,189 and $47,335, respectively. The discount rate is 5%.