

EMBARGO – 10pm Thursday, 30 November 2023

Public attitudes towards coercive control: Evidence from a nationally representative population survey



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# Public attitudes towards coercive control: Evidence from a nationally representative population survey

## ANU Centre for Social Research and Methods

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### Abstract

Coercive control as a factor associated with intimate partner homicide has prompted significant efforts in Australia to improve understanding of the behaviour, to prevent it, and to respond to it. The criminalisation of coercive control has occurred at the state level, and several jurisdictions have begun to introduce legislation making coercive control a standalone offence. However, these efforts have proceeded without robust information about public awareness and knowledge of what constitutes coercive and controlling behaviours or the level of support for their criminalisation.

To address this gap, we analysed survey data collected through the ANU poll from a nationally representative sample of 3,510 people. We found that just over half of Australians say they know what the term coercive control means, but over 90% consider various forms of coercive controlling behaviour unacceptable, and 83% support criminalisation. However, we also found that attitudes and knowledge of coercive control vary significantly across the community, as does support for criminalisation. The relationship context within which abusive behaviours occur also influenced attitudes towards coercive control – including respondents' ability to identify it as abusive and condemn it.

These findings demonstrate the need for targeted campaigns to increase awareness of coercive control within the Australian community. Increasing community awareness of coercive control is particularly important among young people, men and those from non-English speaking backgrounds (including migrants), who were less aware of and concerned about coercive and controlling behaviours than other cohorts of the Australian population.

### Acknowledgments

We acknowledge the Traditional Custodians of the lands on which we come together to conduct our research and recognise that these lands have always been places of learning for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. We pay respect to all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Elders – past and present – and acknowledge the important role of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voices and their ongoing leadership in responding to domestic, family and sexual violence.

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Kate Fitz-Gibbon contributed to this project in her capacity as Professor of Social Sciences at Monash University and as a member of the Coercive Control Working Group. The report findings are wholly independent of her role as Chair of Respect Victoria.

We would finally like to acknowledge Lucy Ellen who was involved in the initial development of the data collection tool and preparation of the data.

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### Executive summary

The importance of improving the identification of and responses to coercive control as a factor in intimate partner and family violence in Australia has underpinned recent moves to criminalise the behaviour in several Australian jurisdictions. However, these efforts have proceeded without robust information about public awareness and understanding of what constitutes coercive and controlling behaviours or the level of support for their criminalisation. This study addresses this gap, by analysing survey data from a nationally representative sample of 3,510 people.

We found that just over half of Australians say they know what the term coercive control means, but over 90% of respondents consider various forms of coercive controlling behaviour unacceptable. Condoning and minimising coercive and controlling behaviours was relatively rare, accounting for 1.4-4.6% of respondents.

#### **Support for criminalisation of coercive control is very high.**

We found that 83% of Australians strongly agreed or agreed that coercive control should be a criminal offence, while 11.7% neither agreed or disagreed. This means that only 5.3% disagreed or strongly agreed that coercive control should be criminalised.

#### **Attitudes and knowledge of coercive control varies significantly across the community.**

There were significant gender differences, with women more likely than men to have condemnatory attitudes towards different forms of coercive controlling behaviour and to know what coercive control is. Further, a significant proportion of younger people had condoning and minimising attitudes towards some forms of coercive and controlling behaviours, most notably parental isolation, threats to harm self and monitoring behaviours. These findings are concerning, since many young people form their first serious intimate relationships at age 18-24; this can in turn inform their understanding of acceptable and unacceptable behaviours within intimate relationships.

#### **Support for criminalisation also differs across the community.**

Support for criminalisation is strongest among English-speaking Australians, women, and respondents who know what coercive control is. Support for criminalisation is lower among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. This is likely due to well-founded concerns about the negative consequences of criminalisation in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, which could contribute to the over-incarceration of Indigenous people, as well as the misidentification of women as primary perpetrators of intimate partner violence.

The relationship context within which the abusive behaviours occur also influenced attitudes towards coercive control – including respondents' ability to identify it as abusive and condemn it. In particular, respondents had more condemnatory attitudes towards male perpetrators of these behaviours, in the context of intimate and dating relationships, than they did towards female perpetrators.

**These findings demonstrate the need for targeted campaigns to increase awareness of coercive control within the Australian community.**

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Increasing community awareness of coercive control is particularly important among men, young people and those from non-English speaking backgrounds (including migrants), who were less aware of and concerned about coercive and controlling behaviours than other cohorts of the Australian population. Although intimate partner violence is gendered in nature, there is a need to ensure diversity in the representations of relationships in these awareness campaigns, so that members of the community are able to identify the occurrence of coercive control perpetrated in multiple contexts.

To ensure that these campaigns are effective and appropriately targeted, there is also a need for more research exploring the reasons underpinning variations in understandings of and attitudes towards coercive control across the community.

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### 1 Introduction

Since the mid-2010s, state and federal governments across Australia have launched taskforces and inquiries, including a Royal Commission, to combat domestic and family violence and to improve responses and prevention efforts (see, for example, Australian Law Reform Commission & New South Wales (NSW) Law Reform Commission, 2016; Victorian Royal Commission into Family Violence, 2016; Women’s Safety and Justice Taskforce, Queensland, 2021). Throughout this period, there has been increasing acknowledgement that intimate partner violence (IPV) is often experienced as a pattern of abusive behaviours, and that, although criminal laws have traditionally focused on individual incidents of physical violence, the breadth of harm perpetrated extends beyond physical violence.

The term ‘coercive control’ is used to broadly describe a ‘course of conduct: a repeated form of behaviour designed to undermine the autonomy of another individual’ (Barlow & Walklate 2022: 2). First used by Schechter (1982), and popularised more recently through the work of Johnson (1995) and Stark (2007), the term ‘coercive control’ is increasingly used in Australia and internationally to describe the pattern of abusive conduct frequently identified in abusive intimate relationships (see also Australia’s National Research Organisation for Women’s Safety, 2021; Buzawa, Buzawa & Stark, 2017: 105).

There is no one universally accepted definition of coercive control. In 2023, the English Home Office defined it as a pattern of ‘psychological, physical, sexual, financial and emotional abuse’ coupled with tactics to make:

a person subordinate and/or dependent by isolating them from sources of support, exploiting their resources and capacities for personal gain, depriving them of the means needed for independence, resistance and escape and regulating their everyday behaviour (Home Office 2023: 50; see also Stark 2020: 34).

Although conduct of this nature occurs in many forms of relationships, both intimate and non-intimate, coercive control that leads to an escalation of physical violence and homicide is perpetrated primarily by men against women (Elliott 2017; see also Boxall & Morgan 2021).<sup>1</sup> In a study of intimate partner homicides from 2010 to 2018, the Australian Domestic and Family Violence Death Review Network (DFVDRN, 2022) found that 95% of intimate partner homicides involved a male perpetrator and a female victim-survivor. The small number of intimate partner homicides committed by female partners, and by men against male partners, involved perpetrators who had experienced abuse by their victims (DFVDRN, 2022).

Although most acts of coercive control do not lead to homicide, reviews of domestic homicides often uncover patterns of coercive and controlling behaviour.<sup>2</sup> In 2020, the high-profile killing in Brisbane (Queensland, Australia) of Hannah Clarke and her three children by her estranged

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<sup>1</sup> A recent national survey of 1,261 people who said they had experienced coercive control revealed that 82% of respondents were female, 16% were male and 2% identified as other. More than one type of relationship could be listed, with 87% indicating they had experienced such behaviour from a former partner. This was followed by a parent (24%), current partner (10%), sibling (8%) and son or daughter (both 3%): see Reeves et al., (2021). See also Walklate et al., (2022), in relation to men’s experience of coercive control in heterosexual and homosexual relationships.

<sup>2</sup> A review of 112 intimate partner homicides which occurred in the context of domestic violence found that 99% involved coercive control by the perpetrator prior to the victim’s death. All of the perpetrators were male and 83% of the victims were female (NSW State Coroner’s Court, 2020).



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husband significantly raised public awareness in Australia that coercive control can foreshadow homicide (Malik, 2021).

In 2004, Tasmania was the first jurisdiction in Australia to criminalise some coercive and controlling behaviours. Specifically, under sections 8 and 9 of the *Family Violence Act 2004* (Tas), Tasmania introduced new offences which criminalised patterns of non-physical harm (on these offences, see further Barwick, McGorrery & McMahon, 2020; McMahon & McGorrery, 2016).

Since then, numerous jurisdictions have introduced criminal penalties for behaviours that are identified forms of coercive control (see Burman & Brooks-Hay 2018; Douglas et al., 2023). Other states and territories in Australia have undertaken policy and practice reform to better recognise and respond to coercive control as a form of abuse and have sought to address it through their civil domestic and family violence protection order schemes (Parliament of Victoria, 2022). Civil protection order legislation is one of the primary mechanisms in each state and territory's response to domestic and family violence. Breach of such orders is a criminal offence.

In October 2022, NSW became the first Australian jurisdiction to explicitly commit to introducing a standalone criminal offence of coercive control against a current or former intimate partner, carrying a maximum penalty of up to seven years' imprisonment (see *Crimes Act 1900* (NSW) s 54D, introduced by the *Crimes Legislation Amendment (Coercive Control) Act 2022* (NSW)). This provision is scheduled to come into effect in 2024.

The Queensland Parliament also proposes to pass legislation in relation to coercive control. In contrast to the NSW model, Queensland's proposed legislation is broader and carries a maximum penalty of 14 years' imprisonment. The Criminal Law (Coercive Control and Affirmative Consent) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2023 will criminalise conduct of an adult where the person:

- is in a domestic relationship with another person;
- engages in a course of conduct against the other person that consists of domestic violence occurring on more than one occasion;
- intends the course of conduct to coerce or control the other person; and
- the course of conduct would, in all the circumstances, be reasonably likely to cause the other person harm (with 'harm' defined in the Bill to mean any detrimental effect on the person's physical, emotional, financial, psychological or mental wellbeing, whether temporary or permanent).

These provisions were introduced into Parliament in October 2023.

Other Australian jurisdictions are likely to follow suit, with consultation processes underway in South Australia (South Australian Government, nd)<sup>3</sup> and Western Australia (Western Australian Government, nd).

Although England and Wales criminalised coercive control in 2015 (see *Serious Crime Act 2015* (UK) s 76), there have been relatively few successful prosecutions to date. From its introduction to March 2021, there were 33,954 relevant offences recorded by police in England and Wales,

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<sup>3</sup> An earlier Bill introduced into the South Australian Parliament lapsed: see Criminal Law Consolidation (Coercive Control) Amendment Bill 2020 (SA).

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but only 373 convictions (Adams & Convery, 2022). Earlier data indicate that about two-thirds of convictions result in a sentence of imprisonment (McPherson, Gormley & Wheate 2022).

In 2018, Scotland passed the *Domestic Abuse Act*, which created a specific offence of domestic abuse; this covers not only physical abuse, but other forms of psychological harm and coercive and controlling behaviour. Because this legislation is framed more like Queensland's model, it is difficult to determine definitively how many cases have involved coercive controlling behaviour.

Although criminalising coercive control may send a powerful message to the community that behaviour of this nature is wrong, it is important to recognise that many domestic and family violence advocacy groups have expressed concerns about criminalisation. These concerns relate especially to the potential negative implications that criminalisation may have for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and women from culturally and racially diverse backgrounds, and for victim-survivors who fear being misidentified by police as the primary perpetrator (Buxton-Namisnyk, Gibson & MacGillivray, 2022; Douglas et al., 2023; NSW Joint Select Committee on Coercive Control, 2021). Critics have also pointed to the historical inability of the law to produce improved safety for victim-survivors of gender-based violence and have raised concerns that such reform will be ineffective, since the conduct is challenging to investigate for police and difficult to prosecute (see e.g., Walklate & Fitz-Gibbon, 2019).

The introduction of new criminal offences of coercive control has occurred, in most jurisdictions, in the absence of research on public awareness and community attitudes toward this form of abuse. As far as the authors are aware, this is the first Australian survey using a nationally representative, probability-based sample.<sup>4</sup> This complements an emerging international evidence base (see for example Scottish Government, 2019).

### 1.1 Report overview and findings

The aim of this report is to contribute to the body of evidence on public attitudes towards and knowledge of coercive control in Australia, including whether respondents think it should be the subject of a stand-alone criminal offence. The report also aimed to identify whether attitudes towards and knowledge of coercive control differed across the Australian community.

The next section of this report outlines the research method, which involved a survey collecting data from 3,510 Australians aged 18 years and over. The use of such high-quality data is important, because it allows us to make inferences not only about the sample being surveyed, but also about the total Australian population.

Key findings from the survey are that:

- The vast majority of people living in Australia consider coercive control unacceptable behaviour.
- There are gender differences, with women more likely to have condemnatory attitudes towards different forms of coercive controlling behaviour.

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<sup>4</sup> It is important that we note that this is not the first Australian survey that has explored awareness and understanding of coercive control within the community. Fitz-Gibbon et al., (2023) recently conducted a survey of over 1,200 victims-survivors of IPV (male and female) and respondents were asked about their understanding of coercive control. However, this survey involved a convenience sample and was limited to victims-survivors. As such, it is not representative of the broader population.

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- Only just over half of Australians are familiar with the term ‘coercive control’ and younger people and persons of non-English-speaking background are the least likely to have heard of coercive control or know the meaning of this term.
- Support for the criminalisation of coercive control is strongest among English-speaking Australians, older people, and respondents with higher levels of education. Support for criminalisation is lower among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.
- Attitudes are influenced by the relationship context within which the abusive behaviours occur. In particular, respondents had more condemnatory attitudes towards male perpetrators of these behaviours in the context of intimate relationships.

After introducing the data in the next section, we then look at the degree to which people living in Australia have condemnatory attitudes towards coercive control, know what coercive control means, and support coercive control’s criminalisation. The next stage of the analysis involves exploring variations in understanding and knowledge of coercive control across Australia, with a particular focus on the role of gender, age and state of usual residence. In the final section, we explore the role of distinct relationship contexts in attitudes towards coercive control, before concluding and pointing to some directions for future research.

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### 2 Survey data overview

The ANUpoll is a quarterly survey, administered to a nationally representative sample of people living in Australia and provided the primary data analysed for this study. Respondents are drawn from the Life in Australia panel managed by the Australian National University's (ANU) Social Research Centre.

The data was collected during the August 2022 wave of the ANUpoll, which obtained responses from 3,510 Australians aged 18 years and over.<sup>5</sup> Data collection commenced on 8 August 2022, with a pilot test of telephone respondents. The main data collection commenced on 9 August and concluded on 22 August, although 57.6% of the sample had completed the survey by 11 August 2022. The average interview duration was 23.9 minutes.

The ANU's Social Research Centre collected data online and through Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI), in order to ensure representation from the offline Australian population. Around 3.5% of interviews were collected via CATI.<sup>6</sup> A total of 4,294 panel members were invited to take part in the August 2022 survey, leading to a wave-specific completion rate of 81.7%.<sup>7</sup>

The data in the paper is weighted to population benchmarks. For Life in Australia,<sup>TM</sup> the approach for deriving weights generally consists of the following steps:

1. Compute a base weight for each respondent, as the product of two weights:
  - a. their enrolment weight, accounting for the initial chances of selection and subsequent post-stratification to key demographic benchmarks; and
  - b. their response propensity weight, estimated from enrolment information available for both respondents and non-respondents to the present wave.
2. Adjust the base weights, so that they satisfy the latest population benchmarks for several demographic characteristics.

All of the findings presented in this report are for weighted data. A description of the characteristics of the final weighted sample is provided in Appendix A.

To address our identified research aims, we included a series of additional questions as addenda to the ANUpoll survey (see Table A1).

First, respondents were provided with a list of 13 behaviours identified in research as common forms of coercive control (see for example Boxall & Morgan, 2021) and asked whether they believed the behaviour was:

- a crime;

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<sup>5</sup> The unit record survey data is available for download through the Australian Data Archive.

<sup>6</sup> The contact methodology adopted for the online Life in Australia<sup>TM</sup> members is an initial survey invitation via email and SMS (where available), followed by multiple email reminders and a reminder SMS. Telephone follow up of panel members who have not yet completed the survey commenced in the second week of fieldwork and consisted of reminder calls encouraging completion of the online survey. The contact methodology for offline Life in Australia<sup>TM</sup> members was an initial SMS (where available), followed by an extended call-cycle over a two-week period. A reminder SMS was also sent in the second week of fieldwork.

<sup>7</sup> Taking into account recruitment to the panel, the cumulative response rate for this survey is around 6.8%.

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- wrong but not a crime;
- something that just happens; or
- acceptable behaviour.

However, because of variation in criminal legislation across Australian jurisdictions, throughout this report, we combined the responses – ‘crime’ and ‘wrong, but not a crime’ – and described them as *condemnatory attitudes*.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, we combined the responses ‘something that just happens’ and ‘acceptable’ and described them as *condoning/minimising attitudes*.<sup>9</sup>

Following this, respondents were provided with a definition of coercive control. They were then asked whether they had ever heard of and understood what the term means and to what extent they agreed or disagreed that coercive control should be a crime (5-point Likert scale where 1 = strongly agree and 5 = strongly disagree).

Finally, respondents were randomly allocated one of three vignettes, describing an abusive relationship between two people, as follows:

1. a long-standing intimate relationship between Vicky and David (IPV);
2. a relationship between Cy and Jasmine that had only just started (dating violence); and
3. a parent-child relationship between Manny and Daria (parent to child violence; family violence).

In each vignette, one of the people in the relationship was described as using coercive controlling behaviours against the other person, including threats to self-harm, verbal abuse and restricting their contact with friends and family members. Crucially, the gender of the perpetrator and victim-survivor was manipulated in each of the vignettes, meaning that half of the respondents received scenarios in which the perpetrator was female and the victim-survivor was male. However, in every vignette the perpetrator and victim-survivor were the opposite gender. The manipulation of the gender of the perpetrator and the victim-survivor was to test whether this influenced the attitudes and responses of respondents. Accordingly, there were six possible scenarios in total, each involving a male-female dyad.

After reading the vignette, respondents were asked to indicate the level to which they agreed or disagreed with a series of statements. An example vignette is provided below, with the full survey items included in Appendix B.

Daria is a recently widowed woman of 45. She has three children, the eldest of whom is Manny and still lives at home. He has a part-time job as a fitness instructor, but Daria does not want him to work full-time, so that he can help around the house and keep an eye on

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<sup>8</sup> Some jurisdictions have criminalised certain behaviours listed in Table 1 but not others. Although every jurisdiction has legislation criminalising the use of threats and stalking as standalone offences, others – specifically financial abuse (limiting or attempting to restrict someone’s finances) and verbal abuse (shouting at, yelling or verbally abusing someone to intimidate them) – are only standalone criminal offences in Tasmania. Meanwhile, other jurisdictions criminalise some of the behaviours listed in Table 1 under specific circumstances. For example, in New South Wales (NSW), verbal abuse and other behaviours listed in Table 1 are a criminal offence if they are used with the ‘intention of causing the other person to fear physical or mental harm’ (*Crimes (Domestic and Personal Violence) Act 2007* (NSW) s 13(1)).

<sup>9</sup> We recognise that there may be some people who believe that specific behaviours/acts are a crime, but do not think that they should be. However, we consider that they were nevertheless expressing condemnation of the behaviour/s.

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his younger sisters. Although Manny is 20 years old, Daria keeps constant track of his whereabouts. She demands that he tell her when he arrives at work and leaves, and she calls him during his shift, if he does not check in. These calls have caused friction with his supervisor. Although Manny would like to socialise with his work mates and go on dates, Daria does not approve of the people he works and socialises with. Manny has told Daria he wants to move out to live with friends, but every time he brings up the prospect, she accuses him of abandoning her and threatens to harm herself. He is also trying to save up money to afford to move out, but Daria has his salary paid into her bank account and then pays him a small amount each week from that.

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### 3 Community attitudes towards and knowledge of coercive control

#### 3.1 Attitudes towards coercive and controlling behaviours

Over 90% of respondents had condemnatory attitudes towards the 13 coercive controlling behaviours (see Table 1). Respondents were most likely to believe that *threatening to harm someone's family members (including children) or friends* and *threatening to harm or harming someone's pets* was wrong, (98.3% and 98.6% respectively). Further, approximately 97% of respondents condemned the following behaviours:

- *financial abuse*, in the form of limiting or attempting to restrict someone's finances (97.0%);
- parental isolation, in the form of *threats to take a person's children away or limiting or preventing access to their children* (97.7%); or
- *limiting or attempting to restrict someone's access to work or study* (97.2%).

Although only a small proportion of survey respondents considered the different forms of coercive controlling behaviour to be 'something that just happens' or 'acceptable', there was some variation across the 13 behaviour types. The behaviours that were most likely to fall into this category included *limiting or attempting to restrict someone's use of phones, the internet or car or where a person goes or who they associate with* (both 4.6%). Regarding *threats or attempts of suicide, especially as a means of making a person do (or not do) something*, 3.2% of respondents had minimising/condoning attitudes. This is particularly concerning, given the increasing body of research which recognises threats to suicide and suicide attempts on the part of the perpetrator as indicators of escalating abuse and risk of intimate partner homicide (see e.g., Monckton Smith, 2020).

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Table 1: Attitudes towards coercive controlling behaviours, by abuse type (%)		
	Condemnatory	Condoning/ Minimising
Threatening to harm or actually harming someone’s pets	98.6	1.4
Threatening to harm someone’s family members (including children) or friends	98.3	1.7
Threatening to take someone’s child/ren away from them or to limit their access to their child/ren	97.7	2.4
Limiting or attempting to restrict someone’s work or study	97.2	2.8
Limiting or attempting to restrict someone’s finances	97.0	3.0
Shouting at, yelling or verbally abusing someone, to intimidate them	96.8	3.2
Threatening or trying to commit suicide, especially as a means of making a person do (or not do) something	96.8	3.2
Lying to someone’s family members (including child/ren), with the intent of turning them against a person	96.7	3.3
Monitoring or attempting to restrict where someone is and who they associate with	96.6	3.4
Limiting or restricting someone’s contact with family, friends or community	96.3	3.7
Limiting or attempting to restrict someone’s use of the telephone, internet or car	95.4	4.6
Limiting or attempting to restrict where the person goes or who they associate with	95.4	4.6

Note: Denominators do not include respondents who did not provide this information.

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

### 3.2 Understanding of coercive control and views on the criminalisation of coercive control

When asked whether they had ever heard of the term coercive control, 55% of respondents said ‘Yes – I know what the term coercive control means.’ A further 18.4% said ‘Yes – I’ve heard of it but don’t know what it means’, with only 26.6% saying ‘No, I haven’t heard of the term coercive control.’

Survey respondents were then provided with the following definition of coercive control:

a pattern of behaviour that involves intimidation, threats and domination. Although it often takes place in intimate partnerships, it also occurs in other close relationships. People subject to coercive control may feel dependent, isolated from support, exploited, and manipulated.

Respondents were also told ‘Tasmania has made some forms of coercive control a criminal offence’ and ‘Some other Australian states and territories have also committed to making it a



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crime'. They were then asked: 'To what extent do you agree or disagree that coercive control should be a criminal offence?' In response, 44.6% strongly agreed that coercive control should be a criminal offence. A further 38.4% agreed, with 11.7% neither agreeing nor disagreeing. This left only a combined 5.3% either strongly disagreeing (3.4%) or disagreeing (1.9%) that coercive control should be a criminal offence.<sup>10</sup> These findings mirror and extend recent Australian research by Fitz-Gibbon et al. (2023), which found that the vast majority of victim-survivors of coercive control surveyed supported the criminalisation of coercive control.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The broad views described in Section 2.1 were not affected by respondents' familiarity with the term coercive control, being told about the current or proposed laws in Tasmania and other jurisdictions respectively or being provided with a definition of coercive control. We tested this by randomly assigning one-fifth of the sample to receive the question on the 13 behaviours as their third question and comparing their responses to the other four-fifths of the sample who received the questions discussed in Section 2.1 first. We did not find any statistically significant differences.

<sup>11</sup> Although we recognise that some of our survey respondents may themselves have been victim-survivors and/or perpetrators of coercive control, our data is unfortunately unable to determine the extent to which support for criminalisation was affected by personal experience.

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### 4 Factors influencing understanding of and attitudes towards coercive control

For the next stage of the analysis, we explored the influence of respondent characteristics – gender, age and state of usual residence – on their knowledge and understanding of coercive control. These relationships were assessed using bivariate tests of association (chi-square). The Pearson's chisquare statistic is turned into an F statistic with non-integer degrees of freedom by using a second-order Rao and Scott correction. For this reason, we report an F statistic rather than the traditional  $\chi^2$  value.

#### 4.1 Gender

In line with recent Scottish research (Scottish Government, 2019), understandings of and attitudes towards coercive and controlling behaviour differed by the gender identity of survey respondents (see Table 2). Women were more likely than men to have condemnatory attitudes towards the following behaviours:

- *limiting or restricting contact with family, friends or community* (97.9 vs 94.9%,  $F = 9.62$ ,  $p < 0.01$ );
- *limiting or restricting someone's use of the telephone, internet or car* (97.3 vs 93.5%,  $F = 17.41$ ,  $p < 0.001$ );
- *limiting or restricting where the person goes or who they see* (97.7 vs 93.0%,  $F = 26.63$ ,  $p < 0.001$ );
- *limiting or restricting someone's work or study* (98.2 vs 96.2%,  $F = 7.46$ ,  $p < 0.01$ );
- *shouting at, yelling or verbally abusing someone to intimidate them* (97.8 vs 95.9%,  $F = 5.36$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ); and
- *lying to someone's family members with the intent of turning them against that person* (97.8 vs 95.6%,  $F = 6.94$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ).

The most notable differences between men's and women's attitudes were in relation to *limiting or restricting someone's use of the telephone, internet or car* and *limiting or restricting where the person goes or who they see*. Although only two per cent of female respondents had minimising/condoning attitudes towards these behaviours (2.7% and 2.3% respectively), this increased to approximately 7% for male respondents (6.6% and 7.0% respectively).

There were no differences between male and female respondents regarding the other coercive controlling behaviours (e.g., *threatening to harm someone's family members – including children – or friends*).

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Table 2: Attitudes towards coercive controlling behaviours, by abuse type and gender of respondent (%)					
	Female		Male		<i>F</i>
	Cond.#	Minim.#	Cond.	Minim.	
Threats to harm family, children or friends	98.7	1.3	98.7	2.1	1.67
Threats/Actually harming pets	99.0	<1.0	98.1	1.9	2.73
Limiting or attempting to restricting finances	97.6	2.4	96.4	3.6	2.28
Threats to take child/ren away or to limit their access	98.2	1.8	97.1	2.9	2.07
Monitoring where they are and who they associate with	97.5	2.6	95.8	4.3	3.94
Limiting or attempting to restrict work or study	98.2	1.8	96.2	3.8	7.46**
Shouting at, yelling or verbally abusing someone, to intimidate them	97.8	2.3	95.9	4.2	5.36*
Threats or trying to commit suicide	97.5	2.5	96.1	3.9	2.92
Limiting or restricting contact with family/ friends/ community	97.7	2.3	94.9	5.1	9.62**
Limiting or attempting to restrict use of the telephone, internet or car	97.3	2.7	93.5	6.6	17.41***
Limiting or attempting to restrict where they go or who they associate with	97.7	2.3	93.0	7.0	26.63***
Lying to family members (including child/ren), to turn them against a person	97.8	2.3	95.6	4.5	6.94**

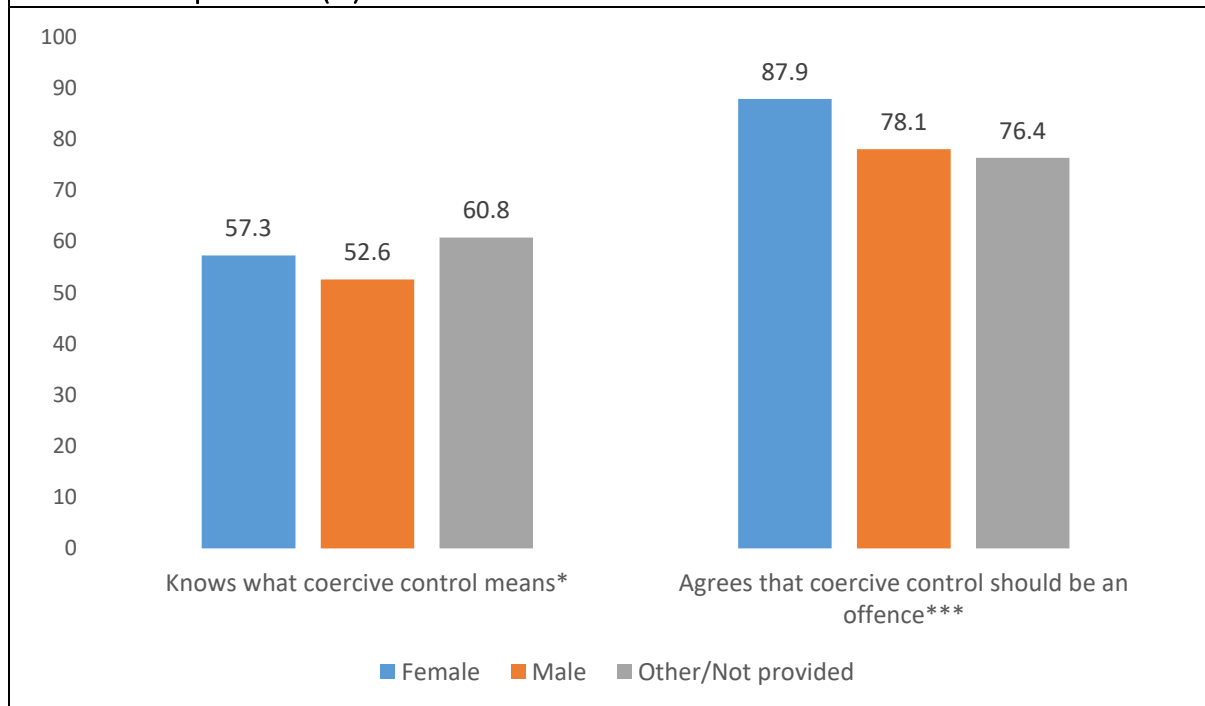
Note: # Cond. = Condemnatory, Minim. = Condoning / Minimising. \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Percentage totals may not equal 100 due to rounding. Denominators do not include respondents who did not provide this information.

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

In addition, a larger proportion of female respondents said they knew what coercive control meant, compared with men (57.3 vs 52.5%,  $F = 3.44$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) and supported the criminalisation of coercive control (87.9 vs 78.1%,  $F = 24.24$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ; Figure 1). Both of these differences were statistically significant.

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Figure 1: Proportion of respondents who knew what coercive control meant and strongly agreed/agreed that coercive control should be criminalised, by gender of respondents (%)



Note: \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Respondents who did not provide their gender or specified other were not included in the bivariate tests of association because of the small number. They are included in the table to ensure that this cohort is represented.

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

## 4.2 Age

There was some evidence that younger respondents were statistically more likely to have condoning/minimising attitudes towards some forms of coercive controlling behaviours compared with older respondents (see Table 3). This difference was particularly notable for the 18-24 and 25-34 year old cohorts; across all 13 behaviours, younger people had the highest levels of condoning/minimising attitudes towards coercive controlling behaviours within relationships. However, these differences were only statistically significant for the following behaviours:

- *threatening to harm someone's family members (including children) or friends* ( $F = 5.16$ ,  $p < 0.001$ );
- *threatening to harm or actually harming someone's pets* ( $F = 3.48$ ,  $p < 0.01$ );
- *limiting or attempting to restrict someone's finances* ( $F = 2.36$ ,  $p < 0.05$ );
- *threatening to take someone's child/ren away from them or to limit their access to their child/ren* ( $F = 6.85$ ,  $p < 0.001$ );
- *monitoring where someone is and who they associate with* ( $F = 2.65$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ); and
- *threatening or trying to commit suicide, especially as a means of making a person do (or not do) something* ( $F = 2.65$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ).

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For example, 7.5% of 18-24 year old respondents said that *threatening to take someone's child/ren away from them or to limit their access to their child/ren* was something that just happened or acceptable, compared with approximately 2% across the other age cohorts ( $F = 6.85, p < 0.001$ ). Further, approximately 5% of 18-34 year old respondents said *monitoring where someone is and who they associate with, or threatening or trying to commit suicide, especially as a means of making a person do (or not do) something* was something that just happened or acceptable, which was again decreased to approximately 2% for the other age cohorts ( $F = 2.65, p < 0.05$ ).

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Table 3: Attitudes towards coercive controlling behaviours, by abuse type and respondent age (in years; %)													
	18-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		65+		F
	Cond.#	Minim. #	Cond.	Minim.	Cond.	Minim.	Cond.	Minim.	Cond.	Minim.	Cond.	Minim.	
Threats to harm family, children or friends	96.4	3.6	96.1	3.9	98.9	1.2	99.3	<1.0	98.9	1.1	99.7	<1.0	5.16**
Threats/Actually harming pets	96.9	3.1	97.1	2.9	99.3	1.0	99.6	<1.0	99.0	1.0	99.3	<1.0	3.48**
Limiting or attempting to restricting finances	96.3	3.7	94.6	5.4	97.1	2.9	98.0	2.0	98.5	1.5	97.9	2.1	2.36*
Threats to take child/ren away or to limit their access	92.5	7.5	97.2	2.8	98.9	1.1	98.6	1.4	98.0	2.0	99.0	1.1	6.85***
Monitoring where they are and who they associate with	95.5	4.6	94.2	5.8	97.8	2.2	97.5	2.5	98.4	1.6	96.7	3.3	2.65*
Limiting or attempting to restrict work or study	96.4	3.6	96.6	3.4	96.2	3.8	98.8	1.2	97.7	2.3	97.6	2.4	1.19
Shouting at, yelling or verbally abusing someone, to intimidate them	93.9	6.1	96.2	3.9	96.4	3.6	98.3	1.7	97.5	2.5	97.8	2.3	2.26
Threats or trying to commit suicide	95.5	4.5	94.6	5.5	97.6	2.4	98.2	1.8	96.9	3.1	97.7	2.3	2.45*
Limiting or restricting contact with family/ friends/ community	96.2	3.8	95.0	5.0	95.8	4.2	97.5	2.5	97.4	2.5	96.3	3.7	0.77
Limiting or attempting to restrict use of the telephone, internet or car	95.7	4.3	92.9	7.1	96.1	3.9	97.9	2.1	94.5	5.5	95.8	4.2	2.20

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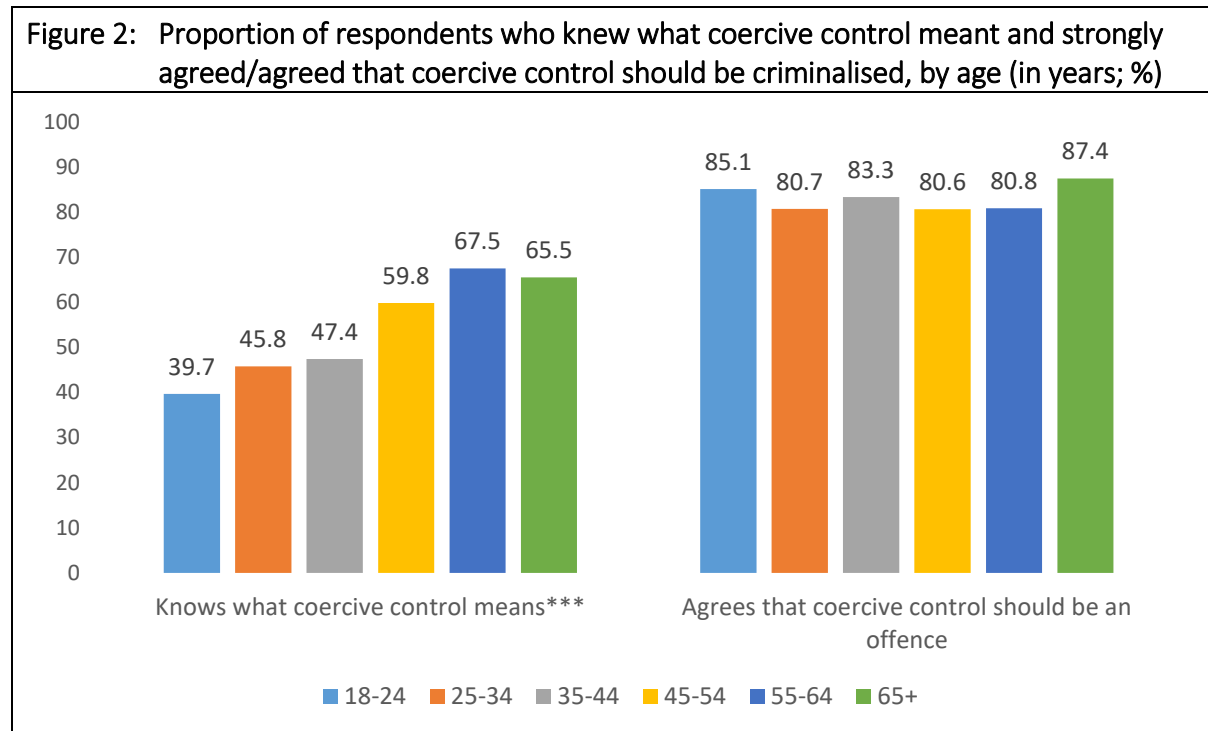
	18-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		65+		F
	Cond.#	Minim. #	Cond.	Minim.	Cond.	Minim.	Cond.	Minim.	Cond.	Minim.	Cond.	Minim.	
Limiting or attempting to restrict where they go or who they associate with	93.3	6.7	95.4	4.7	95.2	4.8	97.8	2.2	94.6	5.4	95.5	4.5	1.33
Lying to family members (including child/ren), to turn them against a person	93.6	6.4	96.1	3.9	97.3	2.7	96.9	3.1	97.5	2.5	97.6	2.4	1.82

Note: # Cond. = Condemnatory, Minim. = Condoning / Minimising \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Percentage totals may not equal 100, due to rounding. Denominators do not include respondents who did not provide this information.

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

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There appeared to be a linear relationship between age and knowledge of the term coercive control; as age increased, so did the proportion of respondents who said that they knew what the term meant (see Figure 2). For example, 39.7% of 18-24 year old respondents said they knew what coercive control meant, which increased to 65.5% among respondents who were 65 years or older ( $F = 9.23, p < 0.001$ ). However, age was not associated with attitudes towards the criminalisation of coercive control. We found approximately that at least eight in ten respondents across all age groups agreed that coercive control should be a criminal offence ( $F = 2.10, p = 0.170$ ; Figure 2).



Note: \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Denominators do not include respondents whose age could not be calculated.

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

4.3 State of usual residence

As noted above, Tasmania is the only jurisdiction in Australia which currently criminalises specific forms of non-physical forms of coercive control – particularly financial abuse and verbal abuse. This raised the question of whether respondents’ attitudes towards, and understandings, of coercive control differ by their state of usual residence. To test the potential role of coercive control legislation on supporting improved community-level understandings of coercive control, we disaggregated the sample by the respondent’s state of residence, namely, Tasmania and the rest of Australia. Across most of the listed behaviours, a larger proportion of respondents from Tasmania held condemnatory attitudes, compared with the rest of Australia. This difference was particularly notable for *limiting or attempting to restrict someone's use of the telephone, internet or car*: although less than 1% of Tasmanian respondents said that this behaviour was something that just happened or acceptable, this increased to 4.6% of respondents from the rest of Australia. However, none of the observed



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differences between the attitudes of respondents regarding the different coercive controlling behaviours were statistically significant.

	Tasmania		Rest of Australia		F
	Cond.#	Minim.#	Cond.	Minim.	
Threats/Actually harming pets	100.0	0.0	98.6	1.4	0.58
Threats to take child/ren away or to limit their access	100.0	0.0	97.6	2.4	1.02
Limiting or attempting to restrict work or study	100.0	0.0	97.2	2.8	1.36
Monitoring where they are and who they associate with	100.0	0.0	96.6	3.4	1.61
Limiting or attempting to restrict use of the telephone, internet or car	99.0	<1.0	95.4	4.6	3.03
Shouting at, yelling or verbally abusing someone, to intimidate them	98.9	1.1	96.8	3.2	1.25
Threats to harm family, children or friends	97.4	2.6	98.3	1.7	0.20
Limiting or attempting to restricting finances	97.4	2.6	97.0	3.0	0.89
Lying to family members (including child/ren), to turn them against a person	97.4	2.6	96.7	3.3	0.06
Limiting or restricting contact with family/ friends/ community	97.4	2.6	96.3	3.7	0.12
Threats or trying to commit suicide	96.8	3.2	96.8	3.2	0.00
Limiting or attempting to restrict where they go or who they associate with	95.6	4.4	95.4	4.6	0.01

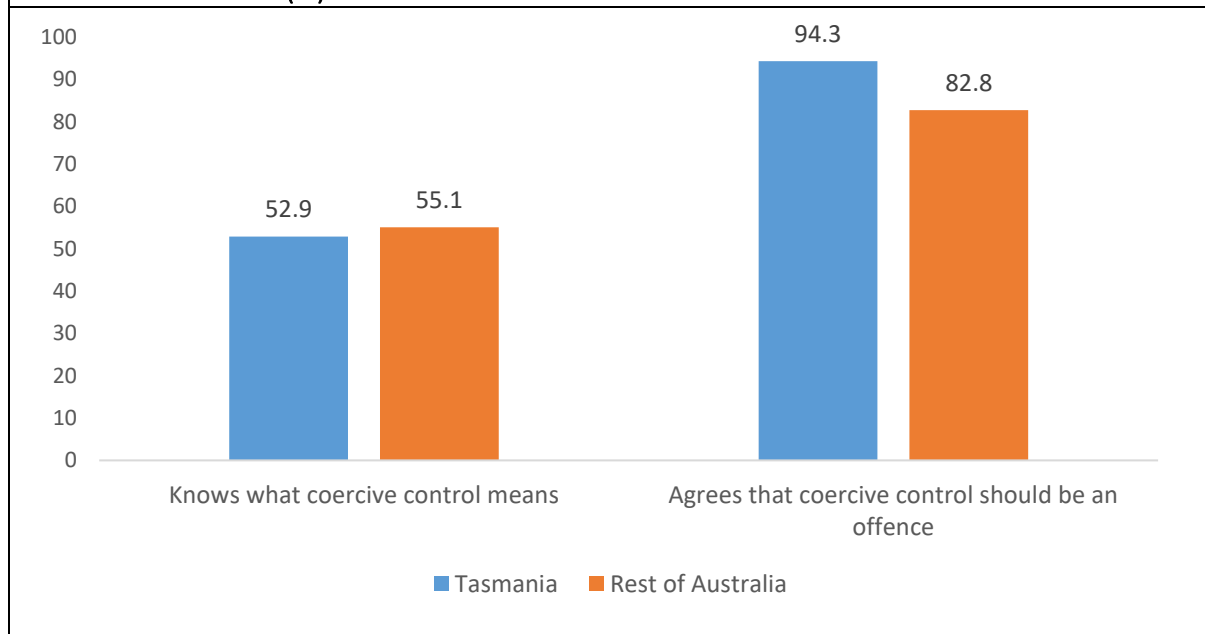
Note: # Cond. = Condemnatory, Minim. = Condoning / Minimising. \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Percentage totals may not equal 100 due to rounding. Denominators do not include respondents who did not provide this information.

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

When looking at familiarity with the term coercive control, there was no difference between respondents based in Tasmania, compared with the rest of Australia (52.9 vs 55.1%,  $F = 0.05$ ,  $p = 0.951$ ). Further, although a larger proportion of respondents from Tasmania strongly agreed or agreed that coercive control should be a criminal offence, this difference was not statistically significant (94.3 vs 82.8%,  $F = 2.42$ ,  $p = 0.094$ ; Figure 3).

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Figure 3: Proportion of respondents who knew what coercive control meant and strongly agreed/agreed that coercive control should be criminalised, by state of usual residence (%)



Note: \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Denominators do not include respondents who did not provide this information.

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

#### 4.4 Regression analysis

In order to understand the factors that are associated with views on coercive control more fully, we undertook a simple regression-style analysis. The independent variables included in the estimated models were:

- respondents' gender, age, Indigenous status, highest level of education completed, country of birth, and language spoken most of the time at home;
- the socioeconomic characteristics of the area in which the respondent lived;
- whether they lived in a capital city; and
- neighbourhood-level of socio-economic disadvantage (see Table A1).

Model 1 aimed to 'predict' respondent knowledge of what the term coercive control means. Because this variable is binary, we estimated the model using logistic regression analyses (Table 5). Model 2 aimed to predict the level of agreement that coercive control should be criminalised in Australia (Table 6). Because this is an ordered categorical variable (strongly agree/agree, neither agree nor disagree, or strongly disagree/disagree), we estimated the model using ordered logistic regression analyses. The same dependent variables were included in both models (see Table A1). However, Model 2 also included respondent knowledge of coercive control.

##### 4.4.1 Understanding of coercive control

Results presented in Table 5 show that, even when we control for other factors, female respondents were more likely to know what the term coercive control meant, compared with male respondents (OR = 1.3,  $p < 0.01$ ). Further, awareness of the term increased with age.

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Compared with respondents who were 18-24 years old, those who were 45 years or older were more likely to understand the term. Those born overseas in a non-English speaking country were less familiar with the term, compared with respondents born in Australia (OR = 0.50,  $p < 0.001$ ), as were those who spoke a language other than English at home (OR = 0.42,  $p < 0.001$ ).

Individual, area, and household socioeconomic status were all associated with understanding of the term. For example, respondents who had not completed Year 12 were less likely to know what coercive control meant, compared with those who had completed Year 12 (OR = 0.60,  $p < 0.05$ ), whereas respondents who had a university degree were more likely to say they knew what coercive control meant (Bachelor's: OR = 1.8,  $p < 0.01$ ; Postgraduate: OR = 2.1,  $p < 0.01$ ). Finally, respondents who lived in the most advantaged areas (fifth quintile) were also more likely to understand what coercive control meant, compared with respondents living in the third quintile (OR = 1.4,  $p < 0.05$ ).

Indigenous status, state and place of usual residence, and citizenship status were *not* associated with differences in understandings of the term coercive control.

However, the overall model 'fit' was relatively weak, with the AUROC falling below the 0.80 minimum threshold (AUROC = 0.71). This means that it is likely that other variables that were not included in the model were stronger predictors of knowledge and understanding of coercive control. This could include factors such as participation in education and training on coercive control, having friends or family members who have been subjected to these behaviours and/or their own victimisation experiences.

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<i>Gender (vs male)</i>	Female	1.3 (1.11–1.62)**
	Not provided/Other	1.4 (0.40-4.82)
<i>Age (years)(vs 18-24)</i>	25-34	1.0 (0.65-1.62)
	35-44	1.1 (0.71-1.73)
	45-54	1.7 (1.06-2.59)*
	55-64	2.4 (1.53-3.74)***
	65+	2.4 (1.56-3.75)***
<i>Indigenous status (vs non-Indigenous)</i>	Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander	1.1 (0.56-2.32)
	Not provided/Don't know	1.1 (0.07-15.39)
<i>Highest level of education completed (vs Year 12 or equivalent)</i>	Secondary: Year 11 or below	0.61 (0.43-0.85)**
	Certificate (III – IV level)	0.93 (0.68-1.30)
	Advanced diploma and diploma level	1.4 (1.27-1.97)
	Bachelor degree	1.8 (1.27-2.54)**
	Graduate diploma or graduate certificate	2.0 (1.33-3.08)**
	Postgraduate degree	2.1 (1.50-3.00)***
<i>State of usual residence (vs Rest of Australia)</i>	Tasmania	0.87 (0.46-1.64)
<i>Country of birth (vs Australia)</i>	Country other than Australia – Mainly English speaking	1.2 (0.87-1.65)
	Country other than Australia – Mainly non-English speaking	0.50 (0.35-0.69)***
<i>Citizenship status (vs Australian citizen)</i>	Temporary/Permanent visa holder	0.75 (0.51-1.10)
<i>Place of usual residence (vs major city)</i>	Outside of a major city	1.0 (0.84-1.30)
<i>Language spoken most of the time at home (vs English)</i>	Language other than English	0.43 (0.31-0.59)***
<i>Socio-economic indexes for areas (SEIFA)(vs Quintile 3)</i>	Quintile 1 – Most disadvantaged	0.92 (0.68-1.24)
	Quintile 2	1.0 (0.70-1.31)
	Quintile 4	1.1 (0.82-1.49)
	Quintile 5 – Least disadvantaged	1.4 (1.05-1.88)*

Note: \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Sample was limited to respondents who provided responses to all of the included variables.  $n = 3,391$  (weighted),  $F = 9.69$ , AUROC = 0.71,  $p < 0.001$

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

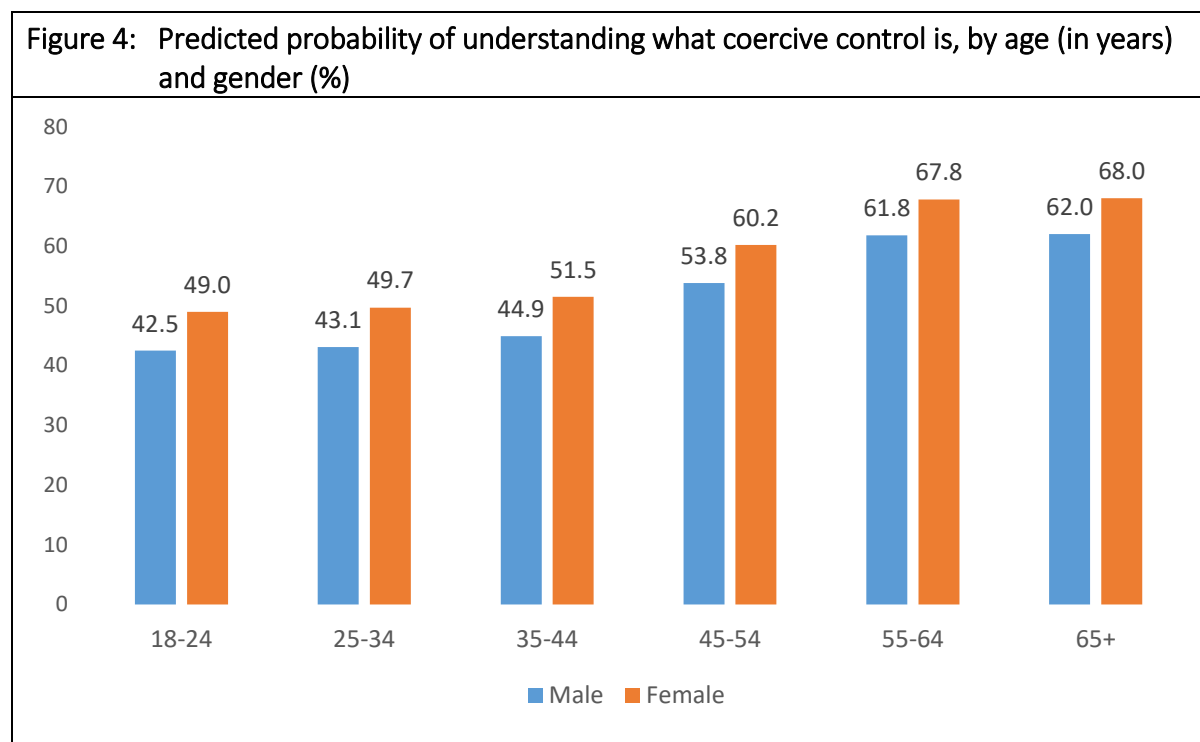
To explore some of the findings described in Table 5 in more detail, we used predictive margins to estimate the predicted probability that different groups of respondents understood coercive control, controlling for other factors.<sup>12</sup> In particular, we were interested in examining the interaction between different variables in the model (e.g., age and gender) and their

<sup>12</sup> Importantly, predictive margins are *estimated* probabilities of the outcome (in this case, understanding coercive control), not a true measure of its prevalence in the sample.

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impact on understandings of coercive control, to provide more granular information about where understandings of coercive control were lowest and highest within the sample.

As shown in Figure 4, after controlling for a range of other factors, females were statistically more likely than males to say they know what coercive control is and this applied across all age groups. However, there was a comparable linear trend observed for both male and female respondents between age and understandings of coercive control. The lowest rates of understanding were demonstrated among younger male (42.5%; 95% CI = 33.41-51.61) and female respondents (49.0%; 95% CI = 40.29 – 57.80), with understanding increasing with age.



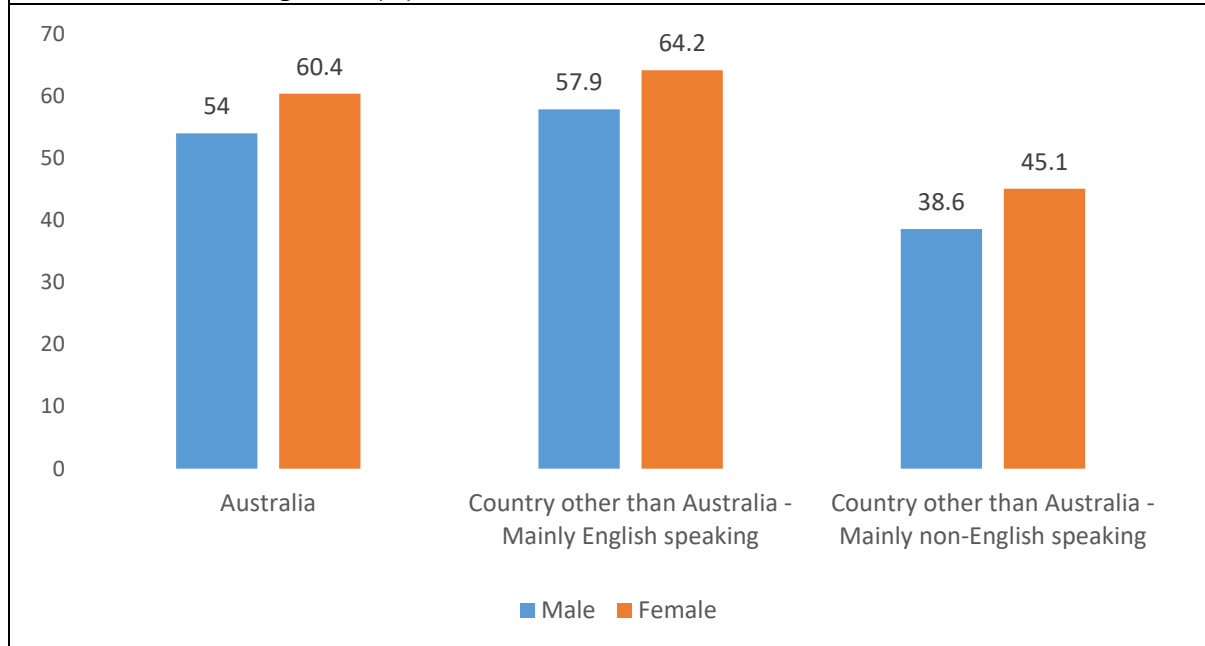
Note: Sample was limited to respondents who provided responses to all of the included variables. Controls: Indigenous status, country of birth, language spoken most of the time at home, citizenship status, highest level of education completed, state and place of residence, and neighbourhood-level socio-economic disadvantage.

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

Further, when looking at the interaction between gender and country of birth, regardless of gender, it appears that understanding of coercive control was lowest among respondents who were born in a mainly non-English speaking country. Only 38.6% of men born in a mainly non-English speaking country said they knew what coercive control was (95% CI = 32.10 – 45.19), which increased to 45.1% among women (95% CI = 38.16 – 51.94). Meanwhile, the proportion of men born in Australia (54.0%, 95% CI = 50.33 – 57.67) or another mainly English speaking country (57.9%, 95% CI = 50.93 – 64.87) who said they knew what coercive control was were slightly lower than the figures for women from these countries (60.4%; 95% CI = 57.25 – 63.61, and 64.2%; 95% CI = 57.82 – 70.50 respectively).

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Figure 5: Predicted probability of understanding what coercive control is, by country of birth and gender (%)



Note: Sample was limited to respondents who provided responses to all of the included variables. Controls: Indigenous status, age, language spoken most of the time at home, citizenship status, highest level of education completed, state and place of residence, and neighbourhood-level socio-economic disadvantage.

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

#### 4.4.2 Support for the criminalisation of coercive control

There are fewer factors associated with the level of agreement that coercive control should be a criminal offence. As shown in Table 6, female respondents had higher levels of agreement with criminalisation than men (OR = 2.0,  $p < 0.001$ ), as did respondents who knew what coercive control was (OR = 1.6,  $p < 0.001$ ).

Meanwhile, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents had *lower* levels of agreement that coercive control should be a crime, compared with non-Indigenous respondents (OR = 0.41,  $p < 0.05$ ), as did respondents who spoke a language other than English at home (compared with respondents who spoke English; OR = 0.67,  $p < 0.05$ ). Further, compared with the rest of Australia, respondents living in Tasmania had higher levels of agreement that coercive control should be criminalised (OR = 3.6,  $p < 0.05$ ). However, this finding should be interpreted with caution, given the small number of respondents who were living in Tasmania at time of completing the survey and the large confidence intervals (95% CI = 1.08 - 12.33).

Overall, age, highest level of education completed, country of birth, citizenship status, place of usual residence, and neighbourhood-level socio-economic disadvantage were not associated with attitudes towards criminalisation.

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<i>Gender (vs male)</i>	Female	2.0 (1.52-2.49)***
	Not provided/Other	0.56 (1.00-3.30)
<i>Age (years)(vs 18-24)</i>	25-34	0.63 (0.35-1.14)
	35-44	0.83 (0.47-1.48)
	45-54	0.56 (0.31-1.01)
	55-64	0.53 (0.29-0.94)*
	65+	0.95 (0.53-1.73)
<i>Indigenous status (vs non-Indigenous)</i>	Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander	0.41 (0.20-0.84)*
	Not provided/Don't know	0.32 (0.04-2.38)
<i>Highest level of education completed (vs Year 12 or equivalent)</i>	Secondary: Year 11 or below	0.84 (0.52-1.36)
	Certificate (III – IV level)	0.90 (0.6-1.34)
	Advanced diploma and diploma level	0.83 (0.54-1.26)
	Bachelor degree	1.3 (0.86-1.90)
	Graduate diploma or graduate certificate	1.8 (1.07-3.07)
	Postgraduate degree	1.2 (0.83-1.94)
<i>State of usual residence (vs Rest of Australia)</i>	Tasmania	3.6 (1.08-12.33)*
<i>Country of birth (vs Australia)</i>	Country other than Australia – Mainly English speaking	1.1 (0.82-1.51)
	Country other than Australia – Mainly non-English speaking	0.74 (0.49-1.11)
<i>Citizenship status (vs Australian citizen)</i>	Temporary/Permanent visa holder	0.94 (0.60-1.48)
<i>Place of usual residence (vs major city)</i>	Outside of a major city	1.1 (0.82-1.51)
<i>Language spoken most of the time at home (vs English)</i>	Language other than English	0.67 (0.45-0.99)*
<i>Socio-economic indexes for areas (SEIFA)(vs Quintile 3)</i>	Quintile 1 – Most disadvantaged	0.92 (0.63-1.34)
	Quintile 2	0.84 (0.58-1.22)
	Quintile 4	1.1 (0.77-1.64)
	Quintile 5 – Least disadvantaged	1.2 (0.84-1.75)
<i>Knew what coercive control means (vs no)</i>	Yes	1.6 (1.24-2.05)***
	/cut1	-3.91 (-5.39--2.44)
	/cut2	-2.57 (-4.04--1.09)

Note: \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Sample was limited to respondents who provided responses to all of the included variables.  $n = 3,384$  (weighted),  $F = 5.36$ ,  $p < 0.001$

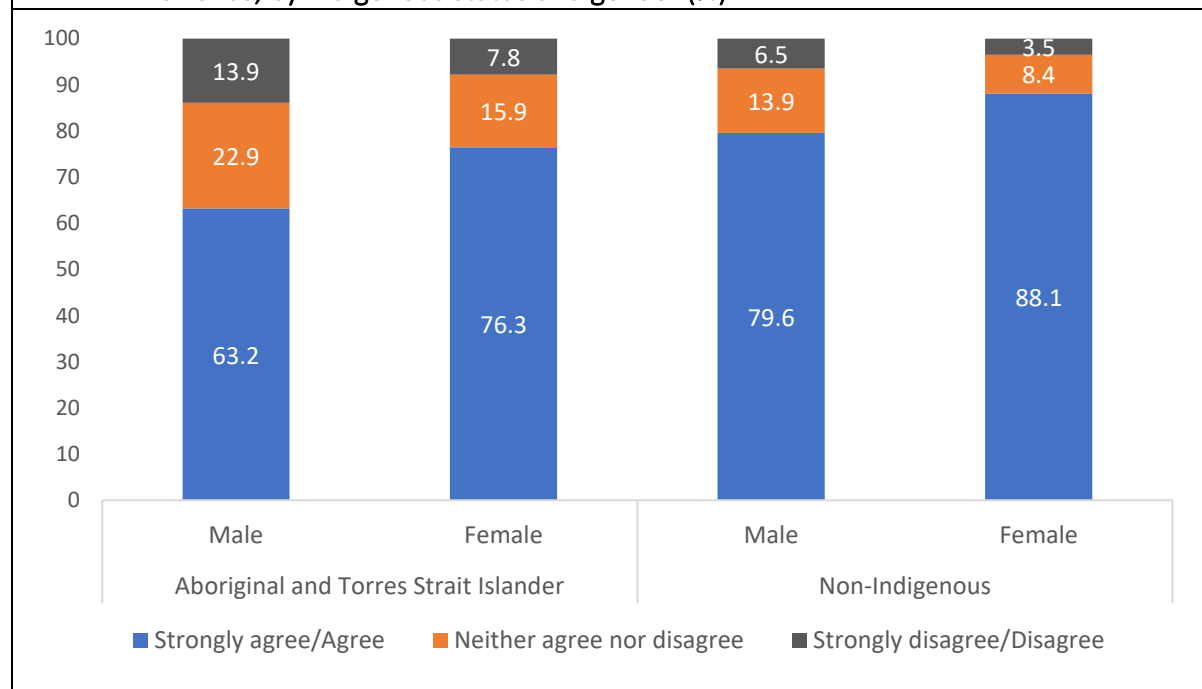
Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

Again, to explore some of these findings in more detail, we generated predictive margins. First, we looked at the interactions between Indigenous status and gender (Figure 6). Regardless of gender, agreement that coercive control should be criminalised was lower for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, compared with non-Indigenous respondents. Support for

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criminalisation was highest among non-Indigenous women (88.1%; 95% CI = 86.20 – 90.03) followed by non-Indigenous men (79.6%; 95% CI = 77.11 – 82.13) and then Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women (76.3%; 95% CI = 63.4 – 88.3). Support for criminalisation was lowest among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men (63.2%; 95% CI = 47.07-78.20). However, these findings should be interpreted with caution due to the small number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who completed the the survey and the large confidence intervals.

Figure 6: Predicted probability of agreeing that coercive control should be a criminal offence, by Indigenous status and gender (%)



Note: Sample was limited to respondents who provided responses to all of the included variables. Controls: Age, country of birth, language spoken most of the time at home, citizenship status, highest level of education completed, understanding of what coercive control is, state and place of residence, and neighbourhood-level socio-economic disadvantage.

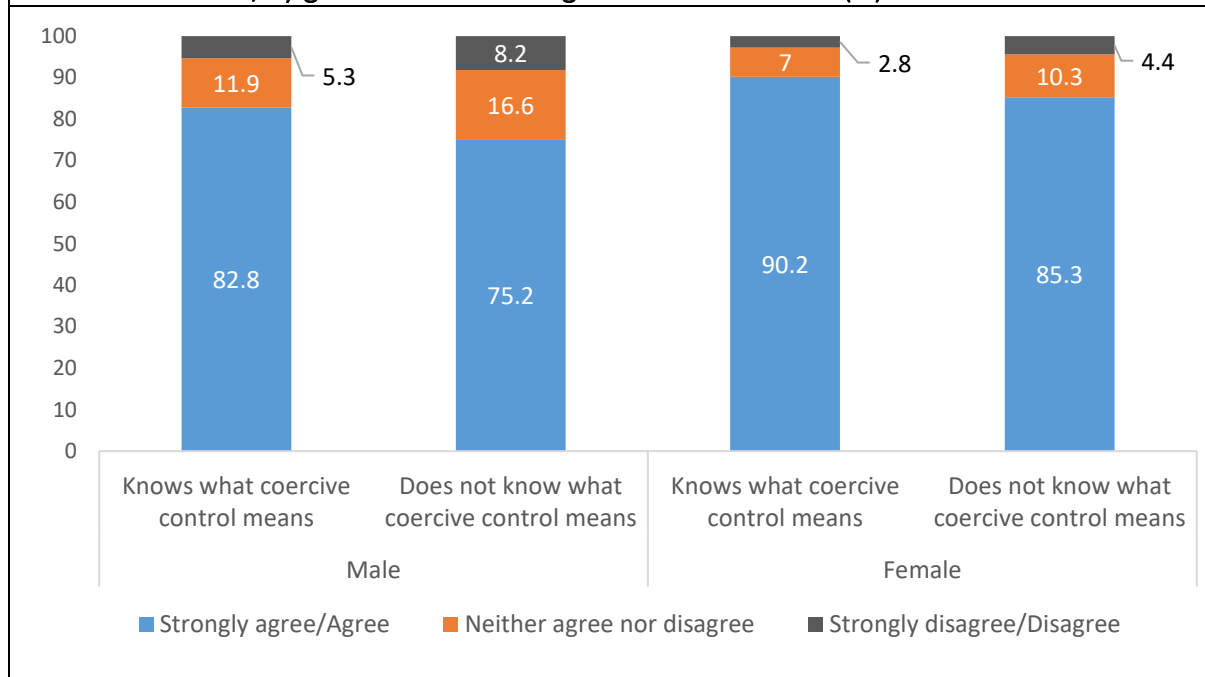
Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

Further, when looking at the interaction between gender and knowledge of coercive control, it appeared that, regardless of their knowledge of coercive control, women had a higher predicted probability of supporting the criminalisation of coercive control than men (see Figure 7). Support for criminalisation was highest among women who said they knew what coercive control was (90.2%; 95% CI = 88.30 - 92.09), followed by women who did not know what coercive control was (85.3%; 95% CI = 82.56 – 88.11) and then men who knew what coercive control was (82.8%; 95% CI = 82.56 – 88.11). Support for criminalisation was lowest among men who did not know what coercive control was (75.2%; 95% CI = 72.05 – 78.60).



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Figure 7: Predicted probability of agreeing that coercive control should be a criminal offence, by gender and knowledge of coercive control (%)



Note: Sample was limited to respondents who provided responses to all of the included variables. Controls: Age, Indigenous status, country of birth, language spoken most of the time at home, citizenship status, highest level of education completed, state and place of residence, and neighbourhood-level socio-economic disadvantage.

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

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### 5 Hypothetical scenarios – situating coercive control in context

The abusive behaviours described in this report, and which were the focus of the survey questions analysed above, occur within specific cultural, social and economic contexts. Consequently, we wanted to ensure that we could test respondents' attitudes to hypothetical relationship contexts, which involved different aspects of coercive and controlling behaviours. Respondents were randomly presented with one hypothetical scenario (vignette) involving IPV, dating violence or family violence perpetrated by a male or female partner (see Appendix B).

For this stage of the analysis, we compared respondents' attitudes towards the behaviours described in the vignette by the gender of the perpetrator in the hypothetical scenario. We also examined whether the gender of respondents contributed to the presence of condoning and minimising attitudes towards the abusive behaviours used by the perpetrator in each vignette.<sup>13</sup>

#### 5.1 Intimate partner violence

The attitudes of respondents towards the behaviours described in the first scenario appeared to be influenced by the gender of the person using violence (or perpetrator) and the victim-survivor.<sup>14</sup> In particular, respondents who were presented with the vignette where the person using violence was male and the victim-survivor was female were statistically more likely to strongly disagree that 'The victim-survivor is lucky that the perpetrator provides for them' (7.8 vs 3.0%,  $F = 2.60$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) and were more likely to strongly agree that:

- 'The victim-survivor is right to feel resentful that the perpetrator asks them so many questions' (30.0 vs 13.5%,  $F = 7.86$ ,  $p < 0.001$ );
- 'The perpetrator is wrong to try to control who the victim-survivor sees' (47.0 vs 34.1%,  $F = 4.15$ ,  $p < 0.01$ );
- 'The victim-survivor needs support or counselling to help them see how controlling the perpetrator is' (25.9 vs 13.6%,  $F = 6.21$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ); and
- 'The perpetrator needs help to recognise that they are using coercive control' (34.5 vs 21.8%,  $F = 4.04$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ).

There was no difference between the attitudes of respondents on two statements:

- 'The victim-survivor and perpetrator should seek couple counselling to improve their relationship' (27.1 vs 22.5%,  $F = 1.61$ ,  $p = 0.169$ )
- 'The victim should be able to get a job if they want to' (42.0 vs 32.6%;  $F = 2.22$ ,  $p = 0.07$ ).

This means that respondents who were presented with the male-perpetrated IPV vignette were as likely as respondents presented with the female-perpetrated vignette to strongly agree with these two statements.

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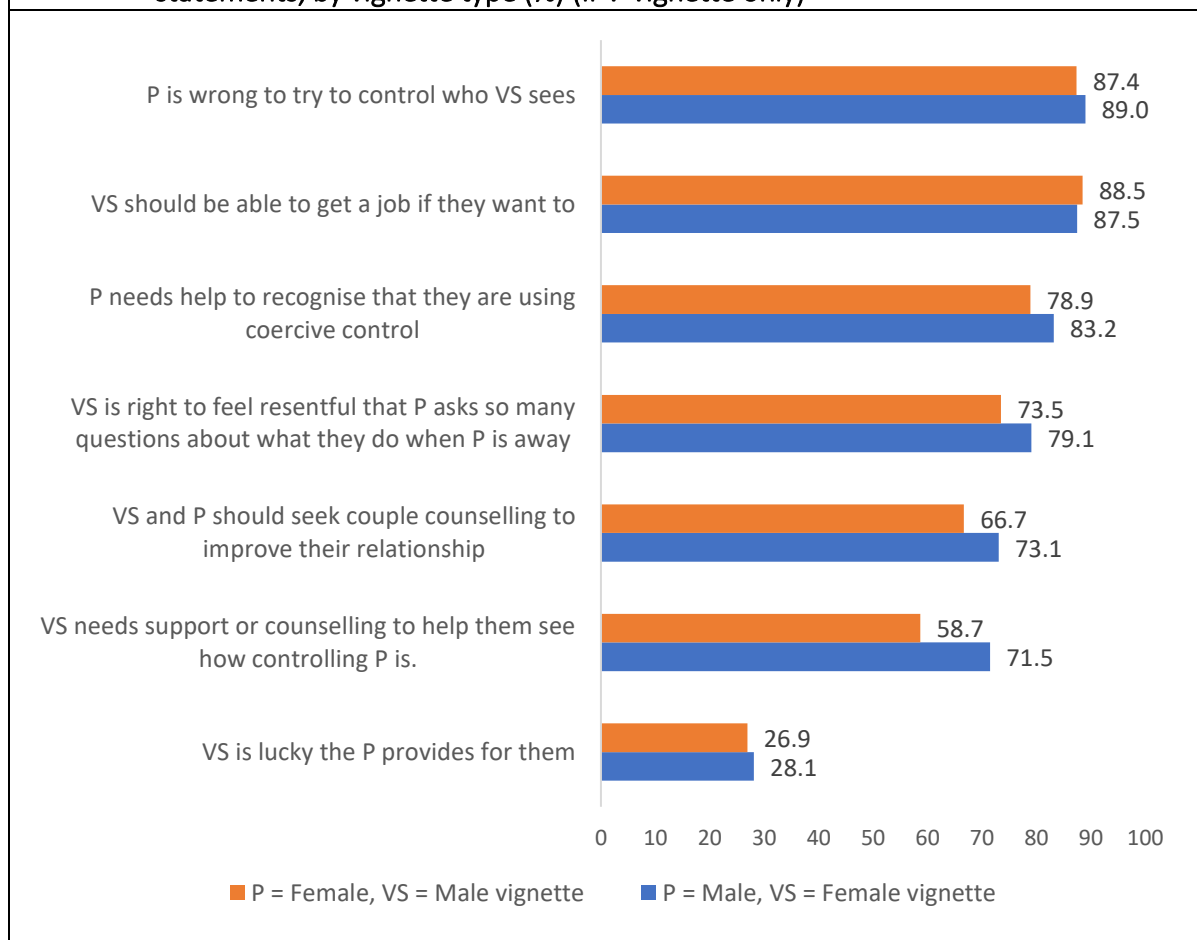
<sup>13</sup> We were unable to examine the role of other factors in attitudes towards the vignette (e.g., age and state of residence), due to small sample sizes.

<sup>14</sup> We use the term perpetrator and victim-survivor here, although these terms were not used in the scenarios. We also recognise that there is a general trend away from the use of perpetrator language in Australia, particularly in relation to children and young people.

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However, the differences between respondents’ attitudes towards the behaviours described in the vignette appeared to be a matter of degree. When the response categories were collapsed into three options (strongly agree/agree, neither agree or disagree, and strongly disagree/disagree; see Figure 8), the differences between the male-perpetrator and female perpetrator vignettes disappeared. What this suggests is that, although the male-perpetrated IPV vignette was more likely to evoke very strong attitudes and responses from respondents at either end of the 5-point Likert scale (i.e., strongly agree and strongly disagree), respondents were still able to recognise that the coercive and controlling behaviours used by female perpetrators were abusive.

Figure 8: Proportion of respondents who strongly agreed or agreed with the following statements, by vignette type (%) (IPV-vignette only)



Note: P = Perpetrator, VS = Victim-survivor. \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Denominators do not include respondents who did not answer these questions.

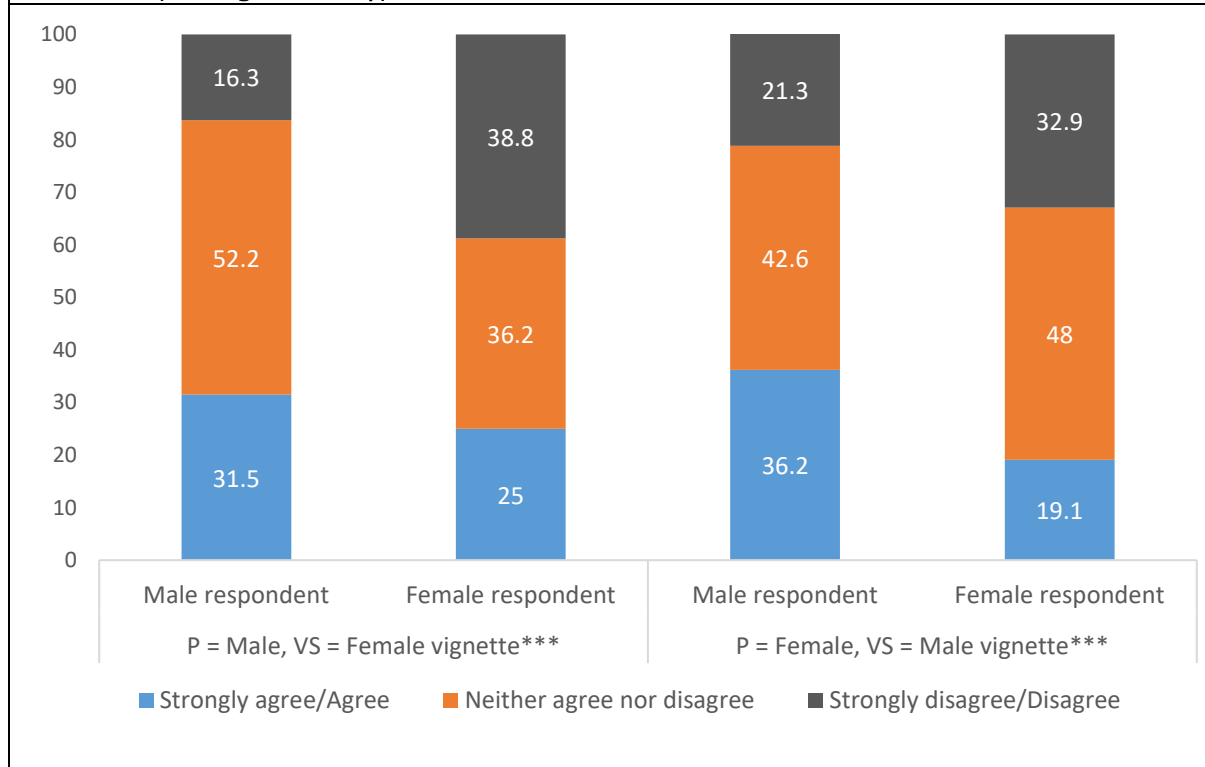
Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

As Figure 9 demonstrates, the extent to which respondents agreed with the statement ‘The victim is lucky the perpetrator provides for them’ was influenced by the gender of the survey respondent and the nature of the vignette they received. Across both the male ( $F = 10.89, p < 0.001$ ) and female perpetrator vignettes ( $F = 7.46, p < 0.001$ ), female respondents were statistically more likely than male respondents to strongly agree or agree with this statement.

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A larger proportion of male respondents who received the female perpetrator vignette strongly disagreed or disagreed with this statement, compared with men who received the male-perpetrator scenario (36.2 vs 31.5%;  $F = 1.57, p = 0.209$ ). A similar trend was identified for female respondents (25.0 vs 19.1%;  $F = 2.86, p = 0.058$ ). However, these differences were not statistically significant.

Figure 9: Level of agreement with the statement ‘The victim-survivor is lucky that the perpetrator provides for them’, by vignette type and gender of respondent (%) (IPV-vignette only)



Note: P = Perpetrator, VS = Victim-survivor. \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Denominators do not include respondents who did not answer these questions. Percentage totals may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

## 5.2 Dating violence

The second vignette described a situation involving coercive and controlling behaviours in a dating relationship. Again, the gender of the perpetrator and the victim-survivor appeared to influence the views and attitudes of survey respondents. Respondents who received the male-perpetrator vignette were more likely to strongly disagree that ‘the victim-survivor is lucky to find a partner who finds them attractive’ (52.8 vs 34.0%,  $F = 6.70, p < 0.001$ ) and that ‘the perpetrator offered the victim-survivor the opportunity to settle down’ (31.6 vs 19.7%,  $F = 3.47, p < 0.01$ ). In addition, respondents who received the male-perpetrator vignette strongly agreed:

- ‘the perpetrator is putting undue pressure on the victim-survivor’ (62.0 vs 45.4%,  $F = 6.77, p < 0.001$ );

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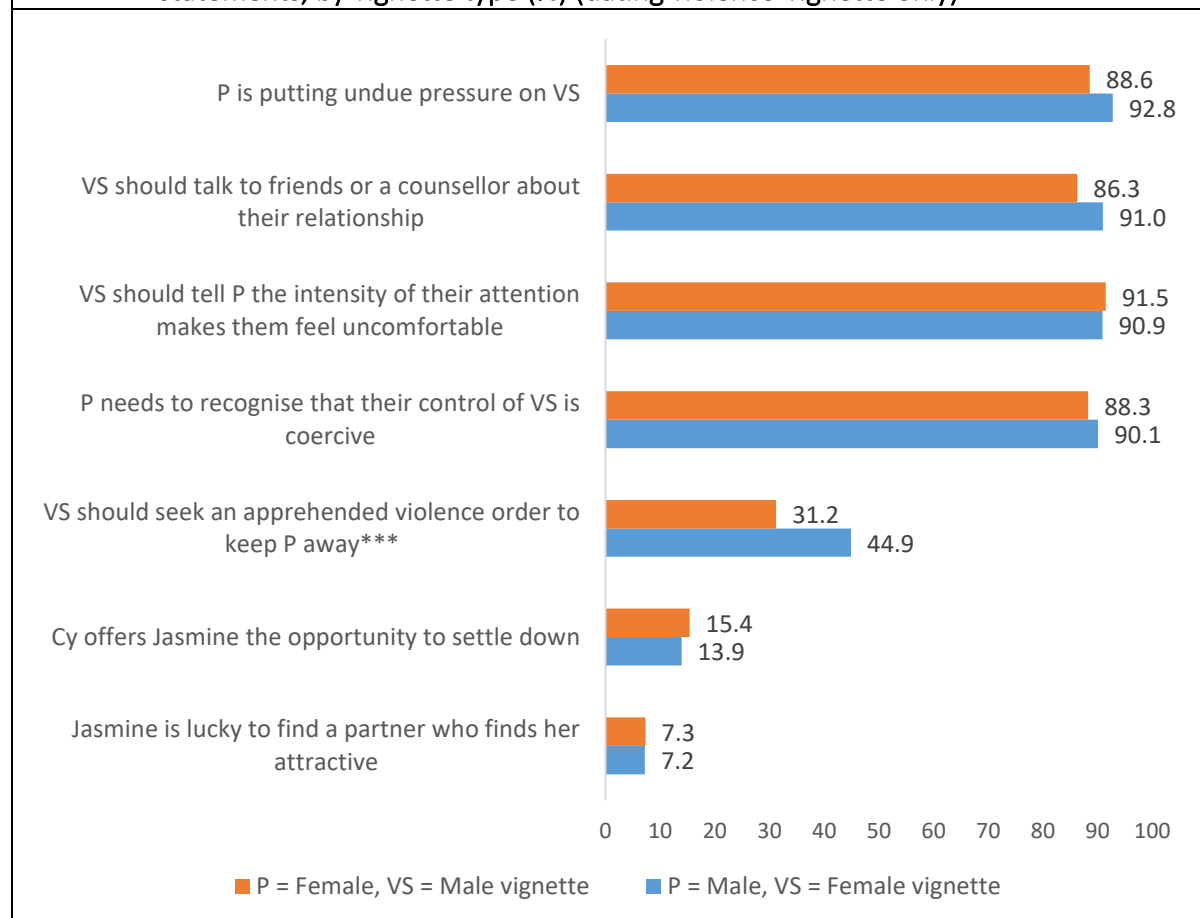
- ‘the victim-survivor should talk to friends or a counsellor about their relationship’ (56.1 vs 42.9%,  $F = 3.51$ ,  $p < 0.01$ );
- ‘the victim-survivor should seek an apprehended violence order to keep the perpetrator away’ (14.9 vs 6.9%,  $F = 7.38$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ); and
- ‘the perpetrator needs to recognise that their control of the victim-survivor is coercive’ (58.9 vs 45.1%,  $F = 4.82$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ; see Figure 10).

However, respondents who received the male-perpetrator vignette were as likely as those who received the female perpetrator vignette to strongly agree that ‘the victim should tell the perpetrator the intensity of their attention makes them feel uncomfortable’ (90.9 vs 91.5%,  $F = 1.95$ ,  $p = 0.101$ ).

Consistent with the IPV vignette, the differences in the attitudes of respondents disappeared when the response categories were collapsed to strongly agree/agree, neither agree or disagree, and strongly disagree/disagree. The only difference that remained related to apprehended violence orders: while 44.9% of respondents who received the male-perpetrator vignette strongly agreed or agreed that the victim should apply for an order to keep the perpetrator away, this decreased to 31.2% of respondents who received the female perpetrator vignette. This would suggest that respondents believed that the male perpetrator posed a more significant risk than the female perpetrator did. This is consistent with broader research, which has found that female perpetrators of domestic and family violence are viewed as less dangerous and capable of inflicting less serious harms than male perpetrators (Walker et al., 2017).

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Figure 10: Proportion of respondents who strongly agreed or agreed with the following statements, by vignette type (%) (dating violence-vignette only)



Note: P = Perpetrator, VS = Victim-survivor. \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Denominators do not include respondents who did not answer these questions. Percentage totals may not equal 100 due to rounding.

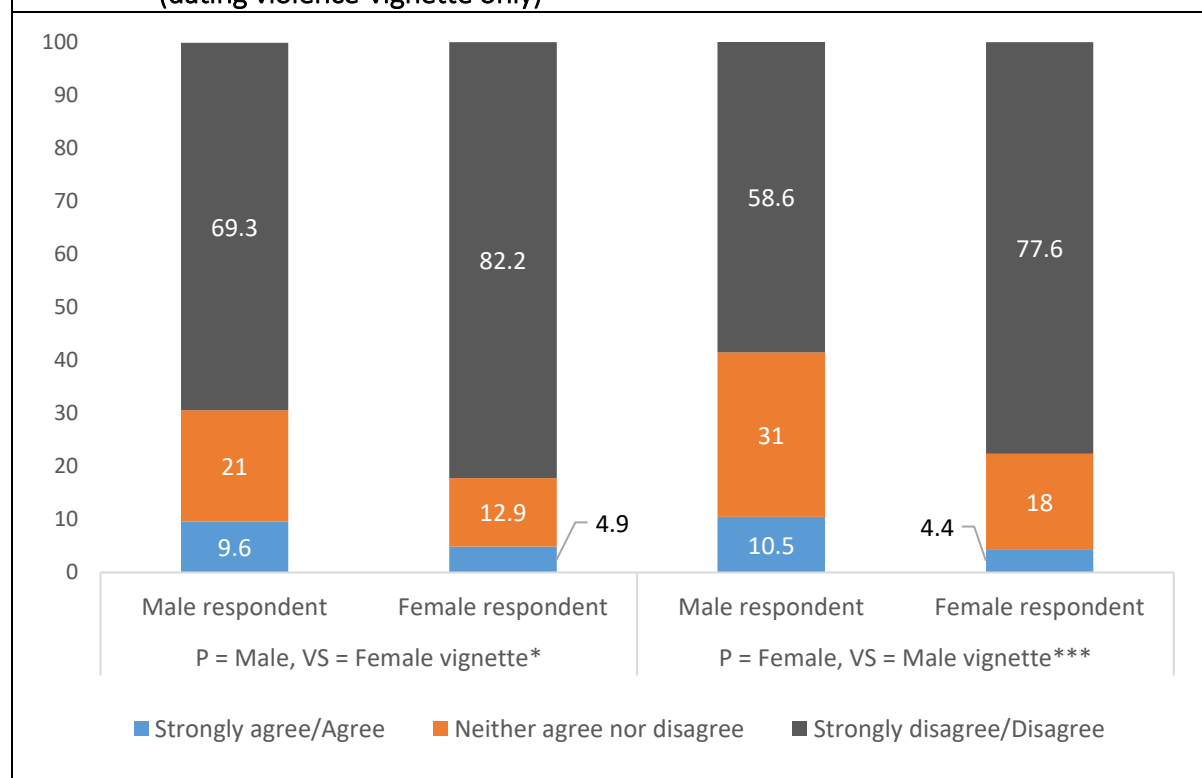
Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

The extent to which respondents agreed with the statement ‘The victim is lucky to find a partner who finds them attractive’ was influenced by the gender of the respondent. Across both the male ( $F = 3.48, p < 0.05$ ) and female perpetrator vignette ( $F = 7.42, p < 0.001$ ), female respondents were statistically less likely than male respondents to strongly agree or agree with this statement (Figure 11).

The proportion of respondents who strongly agreed and agreed with this statement remained relatively consistent across both vignettes, regardless of the gender of the perpetrator. However, respondents who received the female perpetrator vignette appeared to have higher levels of ambivalence appeared towards this statement, while respondents who received the male perpetrator vignette were more strongly opposed to the statement. More specifically, a larger proportion of respondents who received the female perpetrator vignette said they neither agreed nor disagreed with this statement, compared with respondents who received the male-perpetrator vignette, while a larger proportion of respondents who received the male-perpetrator vignette said they strongly disagreed or disagreed. However, these differences were not statistically significant.

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Figure 11: Level of agreement with the statement ‘The victim-survivor is lucky to find a partner who finds them attractive’, by vignette type and gender of respondent (%) (dating violence-vignette only)



Note: P = Perpetrator, VS = Victim-survivor. \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Denominators do not include respondents who did not answer these questions.

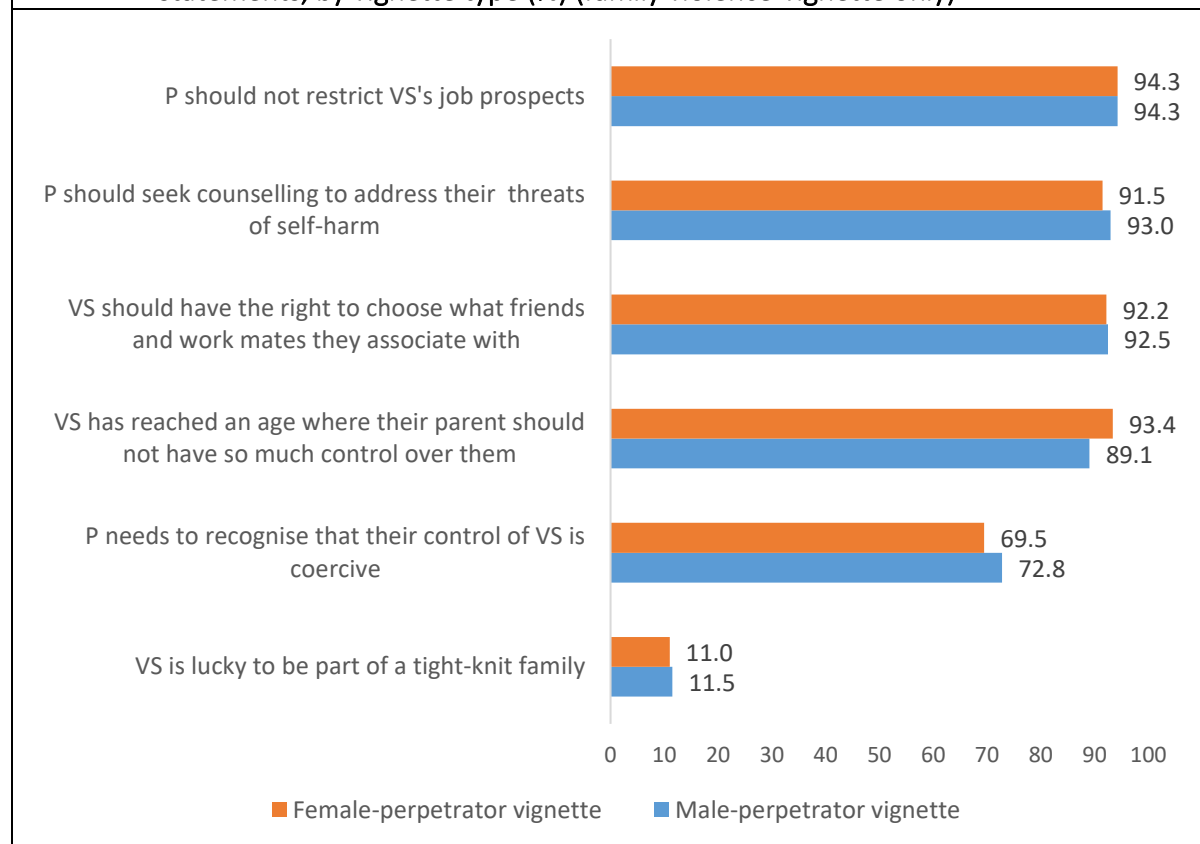
Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

### 5.3 Parent to child violence (family violence)

The final vignette described a situation involving a parent using coercive control against their young adult child (see Appendix B). Interestingly, unlike with the IPV and dating violence vignettes, the attitudes and views of respondents did not appear to be influenced by the gender of the perpetrator or the victim-survivor. As shown in Figure 12, the same proportion of respondents who received the male-perpetrator and female perpetrator vignette agreed or strongly agreed that ‘the perpetrator should not restrict the victim-survivor’s job prospects’ (94.3%,  $F = 0.11$ ,  $p = 0.889$ ). Although a slightly larger proportion of respondents who received the male-perpetrator vignette agreed with the other statements (e.g., ‘the victim-survivor has reached an age where their parent should not have so much control over them’; 93.4 vs 89.1%,  $F = 2.26$ ,  $p = 0.11$ ), none of these differences was statistically significant.

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Figure 12: Proportion of respondents who strongly agreed or agreed with the following statements, by vignette type (%) (family violence-vignette only)



Note: P = Perpetrator, VS = Victim-survivor. \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Denominators do not include respondents who did not answer these questions.

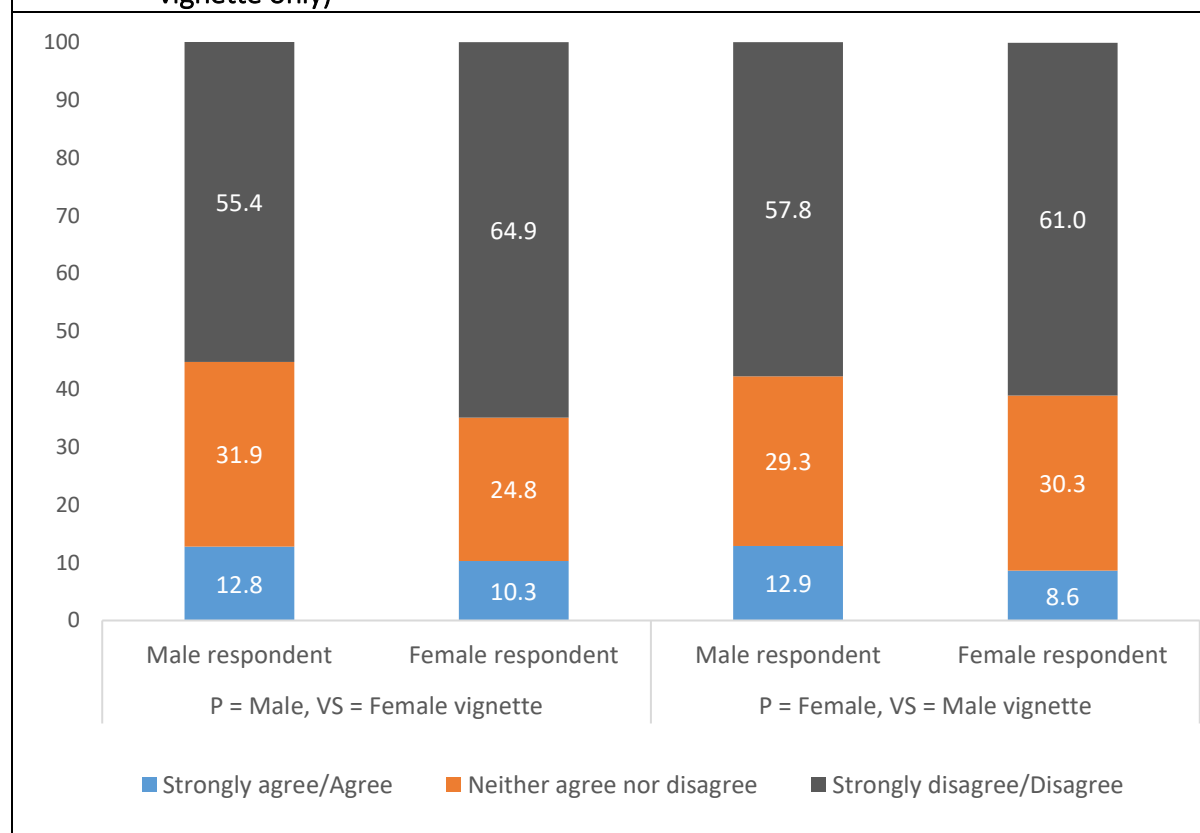
Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

Unlike the IPV and dating violence vignettes, the extent to which respondents agreed with the statement ‘The victim is lucky to be part of such a tight-knit family’ was *not* influenced by the gender of the respondent. Across both the male ( $F = 1.64, p = 0.195$ ) and female ( $F = 0.86, p = 0.422$ ) perpetrator vignettes, female respondents were as likely as male respondents to strongly agree or agree with this statement (Figure 13). Similarly, the level of agreement with this statement remained relatively consistent across both vignettes, regardless of the gender of the survey respondents.



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Figure 13: Level of agreement with the statement ‘The victim-survivor is lucky to be part of a tight-knit family’, by vignette type and gender of respondent (%) (family violence-vignette only)



Note: P = Perpetrator, VS = Victim-survivor. \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ . Denominators do not include respondents who did not answer these questions. Percentage totals may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022

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## 6 Concluding comments

Over the last 15 years, there has been increasing political attention on the need to improve responses to, and more effectively prevent, all forms of domestic, family and sexual violence. In the last five years, public concern about the problem of coercive control has risen, particularly in the context of intimate partner relationships. A key policy response has been the emphasis on exploring avenues to improve justice system responses to such abusive behaviours. However, significant law reform initiatives at the state level and the introduction of National Principles on Coercive Control by the Commonwealth Government have proceeded with inadequate knowledge of community understandings of ‘coercive control’ or public attitudes toward its criminalisation. This study has sought to directly address that gap in current knowledge in Australia.

The current study identified that overall, the vast majority of Australians have condemnatory attitudes towards different forms of coercive control, including the use of threats, financial abuse, verbal abuse and monitoring and stalking. Condoning and minimising coercive and controlling attitudes were relatively rare across the sample. Notably, although over 90% of respondents described the different coercive controlling behaviours as wrong, only 55% said that they knew what coercive control was. This would suggest that respondents were able to identify different forms of coercive controlling behaviour as wrong, despite lacking knowledge of what coercive control means. Support for the criminalisation of coercive control was also very high – 83% of respondents said they strongly agreed or agreed that coercive control should be a criminal offence.

This said, attitudes towards and understandings of coercive control, and support for criminalisation, varied across the Australian community. Overall, women were much more likely than men to condemn the different forms of coercive and controlling behaviours, to say they know what coercive control is, and also to support the criminalisation of coercive control. Further, the analysis of the vignettes found that female respondents were less likely than men to have condoning/minimising attitudes towards coercive and controlling behaviours occurring within intimate partner and dating relationships. With the current data available to us it is difficult to explain this finding. However, it could reflect that current awareness raising and education programs and efforts around coercive control are focused on supporting women to recognise coercive control within their intimate relationships and challenge their attitudes that may minimise or condone coercive control.

There also appeared to be a linear relationship between age and understandings of coercive control with younger people less likely to say they know what coercive control was, compared with older respondents. In addition, consistent with the findings from the most recent wave of the National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (Politoff et al., 2019), a significant proportion of younger people had condoning and minimising attitudes towards some of the described coercive and controlling behaviours, most notably parental isolation, threats to harm self and monitoring behaviours. These findings are concerning, considering that at age 18-24 many young people form their first serious intimate

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relationships, which can in turn inform their understanding of acceptable and unacceptable behaviours within intimate relationships. If young people have permissive attitudes towards coercive and controlling attitudes, they could in turn minimise their own experiences of these abusive behaviours, both as victim-survivors and perpetrators.

Taken together, these findings demonstrate the need for targeted campaigns to increase awareness of coercive control within the Australian community. This is particularly relevant for young people, men and people from non-English speaking backgrounds (including migrants), who were less aware of and concerned about coercive and controlling behaviours than other cohorts of the Australian population surveyed. However, to ensure that these campaigns are effective and appropriately targeted, there is a need for more research exploring the reasons underpinning variations in understandings of and attitudes towards coercive control within the community.

Crucially, we also found that, although Indigenous status was *not* associated with understandings of coercive control, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were less likely than non-Indigenous respondents to support the criminalisation of coercive control. Although we do not have the data to explore the reasons underpinning this finding, it is certainly not unexpected and aligns with earlier findings from Fitz-Gibbon et al., (2023), which found that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victim-survivors of coercive control in Australia were least likely to believe the criminalisation of coercive control would result in improved safety outcomes for victim-survivors. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander advocates and other organisations, such as Sisters Inside, have consistently raised concerns about the criminalisation of coercive control, as potentially contributing to the over-incarceration of Indigenous people, as well as the misidentification of women as primary perpetrators of IPV (Allison & Moon, 2022; Buxton-Namisnyk, Gibson & MacGillivray, 2022). It is likely these concerns have contributed to the lower rates of support for criminalisation among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents. This study reinforces the need for caution in the implementation of legislation criminalising coercive control and to consider carefully the implications of this legislation for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

Another interesting finding which emerged from the analysis was the minimal differences between the views and attitudes of respondents based on their state of residence. A key suggested justification for introducing legislation criminalising coercive control is that it will raise public awareness of coercive control and challenge social norms that condone or normalise these behaviours (see Fitz-Gibbon et al., 2023). Only one jurisdiction in Australia (Tasmania) currently criminalises specific forms of non-physical coercive and controlling behaviours as standalone criminal offences. Although Tasmanians were more likely to have higher levels of support for the criminalisation of coercive control than the rest of Australia, we found no observable differences between Tasmania and the rest of Australia on a range of other measures. However, the large confidence levels for these data should be noted. There is a need for further research, including in other jurisdictions that have criminalised coercive control, after these laws have been in effect for some time.

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Finally, the findings from the vignettes demonstrate the important role of context in the attitudes of community members towards coercive control. In particular, respondents were more likely to condemn the behaviours of male perpetrators of coercive control within intimate and dating relationships than female perpetrators. Again, understanding this finding requires additional research to fully explore the reasons why women's abusive behaviours were more likely to be minimised and condoned. However, it could be attributable in part to the nature of the types of abuse and relationships described in awareness raising and education campaigns around coercive control. Although IPV is gendered in nature, there is a need to ensure diversity in the representations of relationships used as part of these campaigns to ensure that members of the community are able to identify the occurrence of coercive control perpetrated in other contexts.

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Legislation

- Crimes Act 1900* (NSW).
- Crimes Legislation Amendment (Coercive Control) Act 2022* (NSW).
- Criminal Law (Coercive Control and Affirmative Consent) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2023 (Qld).
- Criminal Law Consolidation (Coercive Control) Amendment Bill 2020 (SA).
- Family Violence Act 2004* (Tas).
- Serious Crime Act 2015* (UK).

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Appendix A: Sample characteristics

<i>Gender</i>	Male	49.0
	Female	50.5
	Refused/Other	<1.0
<i>Age (at time of 31 September 2021)</i>	18-24	11.6
	25-34	19.1
	35-44	17.2
	45-54	16.2
	55-64	15.0
	65+	21.0
<i>Indigenous status</i>	Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander	2.1
	Non-Indigenous	97.8
	Refused/Don't know	<1.0
<i>Highest level of education completed</i>	Secondary: Year 11 or below	11.2
	Secondary: Year 12	12.4
	Certificate (III – IV level)	15.0
	Advanced diploma and diploma level	12.2
	Bachelor degree	22.9
	Graduate diploma or graduate certificate	9.2
	Postgraduate degree	17.1
<i>State of usual residence</i>	ACT	1.7
	Northern Territory	1.0
	NSW	31.9
	Queensland	19.9
	South Australia	7.0
	Tasmania	2.1
	Victoria	26.3
	Western Australia	10.3
<i>Country of birth</i>	Australia	70.0
	Country other than Australia – Mainly English speaking	11.3
	Country other than Australia – Mainly non-English speaking	18.7
<i>Citizenship status</i>	Australian citizen	89.5
	Temporary/Permanent visa holder	10.5
<i>Place of usual residence</i>	Major city	66.1
	Outside of a major city	33.9
<i>Language spoken most of the time at home</i>	English	76.8
	Language other than English	23.2
<i>Socio-economic indexes for areas (SEIFA)</i>	Quintile 1 – Most disadvantaged	16.2
	Quintile 2	19.2
	Quintile 3	20.6
	Quintile 4	20.0
	Quintile 5 – Least disadvantaged	24.1

Note: Percentage totals may not equal 100 due to rounding. Denominators do not include respondents who did not provide this information.

Source: ANUpoll: August 2022



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Appendix B: Survey instrument

Table B1: Survey questions and response categories		
	Question	Response categories
1.	To what extent do you think the following behaviours are a crime or acceptable behaviour in a relationship between two people?	
1a)	Limiting or attempting to restrict someone's contact with family, friends or community	Refused Don't know A crime Wrong, but not a crime Something that just happens Acceptable behaviour
1b)	Limiting or attempting to restrict someone's use of the telephone, internet or car	
1c)	Limiting or attempting to restrict where the person goes or who they associate with	
1d)	Limiting or attempting to restrict someone's finances	
1e)	Limiting or attempting to restrict someone's work or study	
1f)	Monitoring or attempting to restrict where someone is and who they associate with	
1g)	Constantly insulting someone, to make them feel ashamed, belittled or humiliated	
1h)	Shouting at, yelling or verbally abusing someone, to intimidate them	
1i)	Lying to someone's family members (including child/ren), with the intent of turning them against a person	
1j)	Threatening to take someone's child/ren away from them or to limit their access to their child/ren	
1k)	Threatening to harm someone's family members (including children) or friends	
1l)	Threatening to harm or actually harming someone's pets	
1m)	Threatening or trying to commit suicide, especially as a means of making a person do (or not do) something'	
2.	Have you heard of the term coercive control?	Refused Don't know Yes – I know what the term coercive control means Yes – I've heard of it but don't know what it means No, I haven't heard of the term coercive control
3.	To what extent do you agree or disagree that coercive control should be a criminal offence?	Refused Don't know Strongly agree Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree

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4a)	David and Vicky have been in an intimate partner relationship for five years. David is a fly-in, fly-out worker in the mining industry. He makes very good money, but his work hours are unpredictable and he is often away from home. Vicky is home with their two kids, aged three and one. Because David’s work hours change so frequently, Vicky hasn’t gone back to work since having the kids and he doesn’t want them to go into childcare, so they will always be there when he gets home. When she discusses returning to work, he always changes the topic. David objects to Vicky seeing her friends or family, because he wants them to spend all their time together when he’s home. She doesn’t really mind this, because she misses him so much when he’s away. But David asks a lot of questions about the people she sees when he’s away and what she does with them. Although this makes her uncomfortable, Vicky assumes this means he cares. Her friends are actually quite envious, because he always buys her expensive clothes and they joke that he’s always thinking about her.	
	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Vicky and David’s relationship?	
4a) i	Vicky is lucky that David provides so well for her	Refused
4a) ii	Vicky is right to feel a bit resentful that David asks so many questions about what she does when he’s away	Don’t know
4a) iii	David is wrong to try to control who Vicky sees	Strongly agree
4a) iv	Vicky should be able to get a job if she wants to	Agree
4a) v	Vicky needs support or counselling to help her see how controlling David is.	Neither agree nor disagree
4a) vi	David needs help to recognise that he is using coercive control	Disagree
4a) vii	Vicky and David should seek couple counselling to improve their relationship	Strongly disagree
4b)	Vicky and David have been in an intimate partner relationship for five years. Vicky is a fly-in, fly-out worker in the airline industry. She makes very good money, but her work hours are unpredictable and she is often away from home. David is home with their two kids, aged three and one. Because Vicky’s work hours change so frequently, David hasn’t gone back to work since having the kids and she doesn’t want them to go into childcare, so they will always be there when she gets home. When he discusses returning to work, she always changes the topic. Vicky objects to David seeing his friends or family, because she wants them to spend all their time together when she’s home. He doesn’t really mind this, because he misses her so much when she’s away. But Vicky asks a lot of questions about the people he sees when she’s away and what he does with them. Although this makes him uncomfortable, David assumes this means she cares. His friends are actually quite envious, because she always buys him expensive clothes and they joke that she’s always thinking about him.	
	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Vicky and David’s relationship?	
4b) i	David is lucky that Vicky provides so well for him	Refused
4b) ii	David is right to feel a bit resentful that Vicky asks so many questions about what he does when she’s away	Don’t know
4b) iii	Vicky is wrong to try to control who David sees	Strongly agree
4b) iv	David should be able to get a job if he wants to	Agree
4b) v	David needs support or counselling to help him see how controlling Vicky is.	Neither agree nor disagree
4b) vi	Vicky needs help to recognise that she is using coercive control	Disagree
4b) vii	Vicky and David should seek couple counselling to improve their relationship	Strongly disagree

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4c)	Jasmine never had a steady boyfriend in high school, but she studied hard and achieved good grades. After attending university, she found a job in a law firm. But she also wanted to get married and have children, so she used a dating app to find ‘Mr. Right’. Jasmine liked Cy’s profile, and the two started dating. He was charming and attentive and he made her feel special, by picking her up, giving her gifts and texting her day and night. At first, she felt flattered, but she has begun to feel uneasy since Cy gets upset, if she doesn’t respond immediately. He turns up unannounced at her apartment to surprise her with presents, so she’s sure he’s a good person. He recently told her he wants to move in, so they can be together all the time, and that he earns enough to support both of them. When she told him she wasn’t sure, he punched a wall.	
	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Vicky and David’s relationship?	
4c) i	Jasmine is lucky to find a partner who finds her attractive	Refused Don’t know Strongly agree Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree
4c) ii	Cy offers Jasmine the opportunity to settle down	
4c) iii	Jasmine should tell Cy the intensity of his attention makes her feel uncomfortable	
4c) iv	Cy is putting undue pressure on Jasmine	
4c) v	Jasmine should talk to friends or a counsellor about her relationship	
4c) vi	Jasmine should seek an apprehended violence order to keep Cy away	
4c) vii	Cy needs to recognise that his control of Jasmine is coercive	
4d)	Cy never had a steady girlfriend in high school, but he studied hard and achieved good grades. After attending university, he found a job in a law firm. But he also wanted to get married and have children, so he used a dating app to find ‘Ms. Right’. Cy liked Jasmine’s profile, and the two started dating. She was charming and attentive and she made him feel special, by picking him up, giving him gifts and texting him day and night. At first, he felt flattered, but he has begun to feel uneasy since Jasmine gets upset, if he doesn’t respond immediately. She turns up unannounced at his apartment to surprise him with presents, so he’s sure she’s a good person. She recently told him she wants to move in, so they can be together all the time, and that she earns enough to support both of them. When him told him he wasn’t sure, she punched a wall.	
	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Jasmine and Cy’s relationship?	
4d) i	Jasmine is lucky to find a partner who finds her attractive	Refused Don’t know Strongly agree Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree
4d) ii	Cy offers Jasmine the opportunity to settle down	
4d) iii	Jasmine should tell Cy the intensity of his attention makes her feel uncomfortable	
4d) iv	Cy is putting undue pressure on Jasmine	
4d) v	Jasmine should talk to friends or a counsellor about her relationship	
4d) vi	Jasmine should seek an apprehended violence order to keep Cy away	
4d) vii	Cy needs to recognise that his control of Jasmine is coercive	
4e)	Daria is a recently widowed woman of 45. She has three children, the eldest of whom is Manny and still lives at home. He has a part-time job as a fitness instructor, but Daria does not want him to work full-time, so that he can help around the house and keep an eye on his younger sisters. Although Manny is 20 years old, Daria keeps constant track of his whereabouts. She demands that he tell her when he arrives at work and leaves, and she calls him during his shift, if he does not check in. These calls have caused friction with	

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	his supervisor. Although Manny would like to socialise with his work mates and go on dates, Daria does not approve of the people he works and socialises with. Manny has told Daria he wants to move out to live with friends, but every time he brings up the prospect, she accuses him of abandoning her and threatens to harm herself. He is also trying to save up money to afford to move out, but Daria has his salary paid into her bank account and then pays him a small amount each week from that.	
	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Daria and Manny’s relationship?	
4e) i	Manny is lucky to be part of a tight-knit family	Refused
4e) ii	Manny has reached an age where his mother should not have so much control over him	Don’t know Strongly agree
4e) iii	Manny should have the right to choose what friends and work mates he associates with	Agree Neither agree nor disagree
4e) iv	Daria should not restrict Manny’s job prospects	disagree
4e) v	Daria should seek counselling to address her threats of self-harm	Disagree
4e) vi	Daria needs to recognise that her control of Manny is coercive	Strongly disagree
4f)	Manny is a recently widowed man of 45. He has three children, the eldest of whom is Daria and still lives at home. She has a part-time job as a fitness instructor, but Manny does not want her to work full-time, so that she can help around the house and keep an eye on her younger sisters. Although Daria is 20 years old, Manny keeps constant track of her whereabouts. He demands that she tell him when she arrives at work and leaves, and he calls her during her shift, if she does not check in. These calls have caused friction with her supervisor. Although Daria would like to socialise with her work mates and go on dates, Manny does not approve of the people she works and socialises with. Daria has told Manny she wants to move out to live with friends, but every time she brings up the prospect, he accuses her of abandoning him and threatens to harm himself. She is also trying to save up money to afford to move out, but Manny has her salary paid into his bank account and then pays her a small amount each week from that.	
4f) i	Daria is lucky to be part of a tight-knit family	Refused
4f) ii	Daria has reached an age where her father should not have so much control over her	Don’t know Strongly agree
4f) iii	Daria should have the right to choose what friends and work mates she associates with	Agree Neither agree nor disagree
4f) iv	Manny should not restrict Daria’s job prospects	disagree
4f) v	Manny should seek counselling to address his threats of self-harm	Disagree
4f) vi	Manny needs to recognise that his control of Daria is coercive	Strongly disagree