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It Costs More to Do Nothing: Preventing Male Perpetration of Domestic Violence

By Lana Wells, Casey Boodt, Herb Emery and Ken Fyie

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
INTRODUCTION	2
DIRECT COSTS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PERPETRATION	3
SELECT COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH POLICING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN CALGARY	4
ESTIMATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE COURT COSTS FOR THE RESEARCH SAMPLE	7
ESTIMATION OF ASSOCIATED VICTIM COSTS FOR THE RESEARCH SAMPLE	7
PREVENTION IS COST-EFFECTIVE	9
CONCLUSION	10
REFERENCES	11
ABOUT THE AUTHORS	14
ABOUT THE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY	15

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This policy brief examines the economic burden of failing to intervene earlier in the trajectories of 934 male perpetrators who were charged with domestic violence offences in Calgary, Canada, in 2019. It identifies the annual cost of addressing domestic violence in Calgary through examining all of the efforts expended by Calgary Police Service (CPS) to respond to violence, as well as focusing on a unique sample of CPS data that allows for the exploration of the policing and justice system costs associated with addressing domestic violence, as well as an estimate of victim-related costs linked to the perpetrators in the sample.

These costs include policing responses, court proceedings and related justice system involvement, and this study highlights how repeated contact with the criminal justice system compounds expenditures. The study also incorporates conservative estimates of victim-related costs, including health-care use and other downstream impacts associated with domestic violence victimization. While these estimates capture only a portion of the broader economic and social harms – such as lost productivity, intergenerational trauma and long-term health consequences – they show that reactive responses to domestic violence are expensive and insufficient.

Most of these costs do not arise from isolated incidents, but rather from predictable and escalating patterns of violent and coercive behaviour. The data suggest that earlier, targeted intervention with violent men could significantly disrupt these trajectories, reducing repeat offending and mitigating harm to victims, their families and communities. Yet current systems remain heavily weighted toward crisis response and enforcement, rather than prevention and behavioural change.

This report argues that reallocating resources toward early intervention strategies, such as evidence-informed programs for those at risk of being violent, offers a more effective and sustainable approach. By addressing harmful behaviours before they intensify, police services and policymakers can reduce demand on emergency response systems, lower justice system costs and improve safety. Early intervention also creates opportunities for accountability and behaviour change, aligning public safety goals with long-term violence prevention.

A prevention-first approach is both a moral imperative and a cost-effective strategy to reduce the widespread harms of male-perpetrated domestic violence.

INTRODUCTION

Domestic violence is predominantly perpetrated by men, both in Canada and globally (World Health Organization 2024), highlighting a critical truth: we cannot end violence without actively involving men and boys in violence prevention efforts. For too long, the responsibility for staying safe has fallen on survivors and reactive interventions post-violence. We must shift this burden and focus on transforming the individuals and systems that perpetuate violence. A key step in this process is to uncover the overlooked costs associated with the perpetration of domestic violence. Such studies would not only inform more effective resource allocation but also demonstrate the potential cost savings of prevention programs, emphasizing the societal and economic value of preventing male-perpetrated violence.

Most costing studies on domestic violence are national in scope and emphasize the economic impact of victimization (Greaves, Hankivsky and Kingston-Riechers 1995; Oliver et al. 2019; Varcoe et al. 2011; Wells, Emery and Boodt 2012; Zhang et al. 2012). While these studies are crucial for understanding survivors' needs and have been instrumental in developing interventions that address revictimization, they do little to highlight the resources required to prevent the perpetration of domestic violence. This report shifts the focus to an area largely unexplored in Canadian studies: the direct policing and justice system costs associated with the perpetrators of domestic violence.

This policy brief is the third in a series of papers that uses a 10-year police dataset detailing the prior history of police interactions with men in Calgary, Canada, who eventually had a criminal domestic violence charge levied against them in 2019. In [our first report in this series](#), we showed the existence of an overall upward trajectory of criminal incidents by, and police interactions with, men who would eventually be charged with a domestic violence-related criminal offence (Wells, Fyie, Kneebone, Montesanti et al. 2024). In [our second report](#), we identified four classifications of domestic violence perpetrators based on their criminal and domestic violence encounter history with police (Wells, Fyie, Kneebone, Boodt et al. 2024). The findings suggested there are discernible trajectories leading to domestic violence charges, characterized by increases in criminal activity and domestic encounters with police. In fact, 73 per cent of men who were charged with domestic violence in 2019 had at least one prior domestic violence encounter with police.

This research tells us that domestic violence is not a random event. Red flags emerge before criminal acts of domestic violence happen. Understanding these trajectories and typologies is important, as they indicate opportunities for earlier intervention to stop the escalation of violence. By recognizing these early warning signs as risk factors for a future charge, police, community-based supports and governments can implement targeted interventions to prevent male-perpetrated domestic violence.

The following brief highlights the economic burden of failing to intervene earlier in the trajectories of male perpetrators who eventually faced domestic violence charges in 2019. The report focuses specifically on the policing and justice system costs incurred to address domestic violence perpetration, as well as an estimate of victim-related costs associated with the male perpetrators in the sample. This policy brief aims to:

1. Highlight the significant public and societal costs that result when domestic violence perpetration is not addressed early.
2. Demonstrate that investing in targeted prevention strategies focused on men prior to criminal charges can reduce long-term taxpayer and system costs, including pressures on health care, law enforcement and social services.

3. Show that earlier, upstream intervention is a cost-effective approach that reduces repeat involvement with public systems and limits the need for more expensive, crisis-driven responses later on.

DIRECT COSTS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PERPETRATION

While information on the costs of domestic violence perpetration (i.e., in the policing and legal systems) can be found in costing studies, they are compiled as one of the many costs that can be attributed to addressing victims of domestic violence (see, for example, Oliver et al. (2019) and Zhang et al. (2012)). The unintended consequence is that perpetration-related costs are folded into broader analyses of victim impacts and aggregate societal costs, reducing their usefulness for targeted policy and investment decisions. Costing studies in Canada are also based on national aggregate statistics derived from Statistics Canada's General Social Survey on Victimization and the Uniform Crime Report. To our knowledge, there are no domestic violence costing studies that use local police data to determine police and justice system costs attributable to the perpetration of domestic violence.

To get a better sense of the direct costs, we need to turn to the research on the cost of crime and the cost of policing criminal activity (Day et al. 2016; Ellingwood 2016; Gabor 2016). A review of this literature revealed that, when considering the economic impact of the perpetration side of the domestic violence equation, the following cost categories must be considered:

1. Policing Costs

- a. Law enforcement costs associated with responding to domestic violence, including emergency call response, investigations, evidence collection, and ensuring the safety of victims and their families. These costs include personnel salaries, training, equipment, and administrative overhead.
- b. Resources to handle emergency calls, conduct interviews, collect evidence and ensure the safety of victims and their families.

2. Court Costs

- a. Expenses related to presenting the case against the perpetrators.
- b. Costs for defence attorneys and legal aid services.
- c. Judicial proceedings: Fees associated with court hearings, trials and appeals.

3. Correctional Services Costs

- a. Incarceration: Expenses for housing, feeding and supervising inmates.
- b. Rehabilitation programs: Resources allocated to programs aimed at reducing recidivism and addressing underlying issues.

Civil justice costs pertaining to legal actions taken by victims seeking protection and remedies also need to be considered. These costs include:

1. Civil Protection Orders

Expenses related to obtaining restraining orders or protective orders.

2. Divorce and Separation

Legal fees associated with ending abusive relationships.

When viewed through these cost categories, the economic burden of family and interpersonal violence perpetration in Canada, including criminal justice expenses, was estimated at \$545 million in 2012 (Zhang et al. 2012). Adjusted for inflation, these annual costs surpassed \$725 million in 2024.

While the above costs were calculated at a national level, examining local policing efforts in Calgary provides valuable insights into the specific police and justice system costs associated with addressing a known sample of domestic violence perpetrators in the community. Using data obtained from the Calgary Police Service (CPS) in 2019, we can calculate an estimate of the direct costs borne by police and the justice system in addressing the perpetration of domestic violence.¹

SELECT COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH POLICING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN CALGARY

In 2019, the CPS responded to 19,756 calls that involved either domestic or interpersonal violence, with 5,898 of these recorded as a domestic incident and the remaining 13,858 recorded as a non-criminal domestic encounter (Calgary Police Service 2020). Domestic encounters do not always result in a charge, whereas domestic incidents involve the laying of a charge against a perpetrator. In 2019, the CPS response to domestic violence perpetration constituted just over 21 per cent of their work and consumed just under 13 per cent of the police budget directed at policing violence and criminal activities.²

Based on a research sample derived from a larger 10-year dataset obtained from CPS, containing the police history of perpetrators who were charged with a domestic violence crime in 2019, we found that:

- 88 per cent of those charged with a domestic violence crime were male.
- 607 had one or more domestic encounters on their record prior to the arrest.
- 452 had one or more criminal charges on their record before being charged with a domestic violence-related offence,³ and these men had amassed 2,400 charges leading up to their domestic violence-related charge in 2019. This equates to approximately 5.4 criminal charges per male perpetrator.

From this dataset, we see that addressing ongoing domestic violence takes a lot of time and effort and consumes significant police resources.

¹ The 2019 dataset obtained from Calgary Police Service did not include information for all cost categories identified above. Therefore, we are not able to include correctional services costs, costs related to civil protection orders, costs related to divorce and separation and costs related to child protection systems. Thus, the final figure should be considered a conservative estimate of the full cost of addressing the perpetration of domestic violence in Calgary.

² The 2019 CPS budget was \$404 million. Based on other research (Gabor 2016; Zhang et al. 2012), approximately 65 per cent of a police budget goes directly towards policing violence and criminal activities (\$262,600,000). Responding to the 13,858 non-criminal domestic encounter calls alone cost \$33,700,000. Therefore, $33,700,000/262,600,000 = 12.8$ per cent.

³ For the complete list of relevant criminal offences related to family or interpersonal violence, see Government of Canada (n.d.).

A breakdown of the total costs shows that, in 2019, responding to 13,858 domestic encounters cost CPS over \$21.2 million.⁴ When we factor in the increased resources, time and effort required when a charge is laid (5,898 instances), we see that another \$15.87 million is consumed. Translated into 2024-dollar values, this equates to just under \$44 million annually.⁵

In addition to calculating costs associated with responding to and levelling a charge dealing with the perpetration of domestic violence, we can also examine the specific policing costs associated with the different charges laid in domestic violence incidents. This includes responding to the complaint, gathering evidence, filing charges and processing the perpetrator through the criminal justice system.

Table 1 on the following page provides a breakdown of the policing costs associated with only the most serious charge that was laid against the 934 perpetrators identified in our 2019 CPS research sample.

⁴ The costs associated with police response in general and police response to an incident are derived from Table 18 Per Unit Costs of Different Criminal Justice Processes (\$ Canadian 2014) (Gabor 2016, 26). Police warning/caution = \$1,402.33 (\$2014); policing in general per-incident cost = \$2,456.14 (\$2014). 2019 costs adjusted for inflation responding to domestic encounters: $\$1,536.37 \times 13,858 = \$21,219,015.46$; cost for levelling a domestic violence charge: $\$2,690.90 \times 5,898 = \$15,870,928.20$.

⁵ Adjusted for inflation, responding to domestic encounters in 2024: $13,858 \times \$1,787.00 = \$24,764,246.00$; costs for levelling a charge: $5,898 \times \$3,129.88 = \$18,460,032.24$. Total costs = $\$43,224,278.24$. In converting the 2019 policing costs into 2024 values, we realize that policing costs do not necessarily rise in step with the CPI, and so the 2024 estimates should be considered a conservative estimate of what the 2024 actual policing costs might be.

Table 1. Policing Cost Breakdown By Most Resources in \$ Amounts for the Most Serious Charge Received in the Research Sample (N = 934)

Offence Type	Severity weighting ⁶	Police cost per incident ⁷	Number (%) of incidents	Total cost in \$2019	Total Cost in \$2024 ⁸	% of total costs
Forcible confinement	477	\$27,268	33 (4%)	\$899,866	\$1,056,182	21%
Assault with a weapon	77	\$4,423	201 (22%)	\$890,956	\$1,045,725	21%
Common assault	23	\$1,339	551 (59%)	\$738,042	\$866,248	17%
Aggravated assault	405	\$23,145	28 (3%)	\$648,071	\$760,649	15%
Sexual assault	211	\$12,061	23 (2%)	\$277,408	\$325,597	6%
Attempted murder	1,411	\$80,664	2 (<1%)	\$161,328	\$189,352	3.8%
Assault choking/strangulation	143	\$8,175	19 (2%)	\$155,329	\$182,311	3.6%
Sexual assault causing bodily harm	1,047	\$59,867	2 (<1%)	\$119,735	\$140,535	2.8%
Uttering threats	46	\$2,629	44 (5%)	\$115,703	\$135,802	2.7%
Robbery	583	\$33,328	3 (<1%)	\$99,985	\$117,354	2.3%
Criminal harassment	45	\$2,572	19 (2%)	\$48,874	\$57,364	1%
Extortion	229	\$13,090	2 (<1%)	\$26,181	\$30,729	<1%
Other violent violations	143	\$8,175	2 (<1%)	\$16,350	\$19,190	<1%
Invitation to sexual touching with a child under 16	211	\$12,061	1 (<1%)	\$12,061	\$14,156	<1%
Pointing a firearm	194	\$11,090	1 (<1%)	\$11,090	\$13,016	<1%
Intimidation of a justice/non-justice participant	67	\$3,829	1 (<1%)	\$3,829	\$4,495	<1%
Harassing communications	17	\$972	2 (<1%)	\$1,944	\$2,282	<1%
				\$4,226,761	\$4,960,997	

Table 1 presents 17 recorded offence types. The two most frequent charges (common assault and assault with a weapon) accounted for just over 1/3 of the total costs (37 per cent). However, when examined from the offence types that consume the most police resources, we find that three offences (forcible confinement, assault with a weapon and common assault) accounted for 59 per cent of the total costs and 85 per cent of the total offences. The next five costliest offences added another nine percentage points to the cumulative share of offences (94 per cent), and the top seven costliest offences accounted for over 95 per cent of total costs. So, despite the range of offence types considered, there was actually a small number of offence types that accounted for most of the offences and most of the costs.

When examined by the severity of the charge, offences such as common assault, assault with a weapon or uttering threats — offences identified in Table 1 with a crime rating of less than 100

⁶ Statistics Canada assigns a severity weight to all criminal offences based on their seriousness, which is based on sentences from federal, provincial and territorial courts. Higher weights are assigned to more serious crimes. It is assumed that more serious offences use a greater amount of police resources.

⁷ Incident costs presented are based on Appendix A, Justice System Costs, from Zhang et al. (2012) and have been adjusted for inflation to show 2024\$ amounts in Alberta.

⁸ [Alberta Inflation Calculator \(n.d.\)](#).

— constituted over 86 per cent of the total sample and accounted for just under 40 per cent of the total cost (\$1,837,401). The remaining 14 per cent of offences occurred less frequently, but due to their relative severity, cost considerably more to address (\$2,788,999) and consumed just over 60 per cent of the overall cost.

ESTIMATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE COURT COSTS FOR THE RESEARCH SAMPLE

In addition to the policing costs associated with the charges levelled, we can also estimate the costs associated with bringing the perpetrators to justice (Zhang et al. 2012, 96–97, Tables A.1.2, A.1.3 and A.1.4). As Table 1 shows, 934 criminal charges were brought forward for domestic or interpersonal violence. As the charges presented were the most serious charge levelled (i.e., if more than one charge was levelled, only the most serious is presented here), it is assumed that all these offences were dealt with in court, and that some form of legal aid was required to deal with the legal proceedings.

- Average court cost per case adjusted for inflation 2024: \$1,977.09
- Average prosecution cost per case adjusted for inflation 2024: \$1,637.28
- Average legal aid costs per case adjusted for inflation 2024: \$1,138.79

Based on the costs identified, it is estimated that the court costs to address the 934 most serious offences exceeded \$4.4 million.⁹

ESTIMATION OF ASSOCIATED VICTIM COSTS FOR THE RESEARCH SAMPLE

Finally, we know that for every perpetrator there is minimally one victim, if not more, involved. Our sample represented 934 perpetrators; however, we have no evidence in our sample to indicate the number of victims who had to flee their relationships and access the community supports available to victims of domestic violence.

We can, however, estimate the number of victims in our sample based on those offences carrying a higher severity rating (Table 1). It is assumed that the higher severity rating not only requires more policing effort, but these offences also result in more serious injuries as well as greater lasting impacts on the victims. These in turn result in family upheaval and accessing more government-funded community services and supports. Our sample of 934 perpetrators identified 934 victims. Along with the indication that these individuals were victims of some form of domestic or interpersonal violence, there is also a record of the type of offence and whether injuries were sustained. For this sample, we note that:

- 22 per cent (201) of the cases involved assault with a weapon or causing bodily harm.
- 3.5 per cent (33) involved forcible confinement.
- Three per cent (28) involved aggravated assault.
- Two per cent (25) involved sexual assault or sexual assault causing bodily harm.

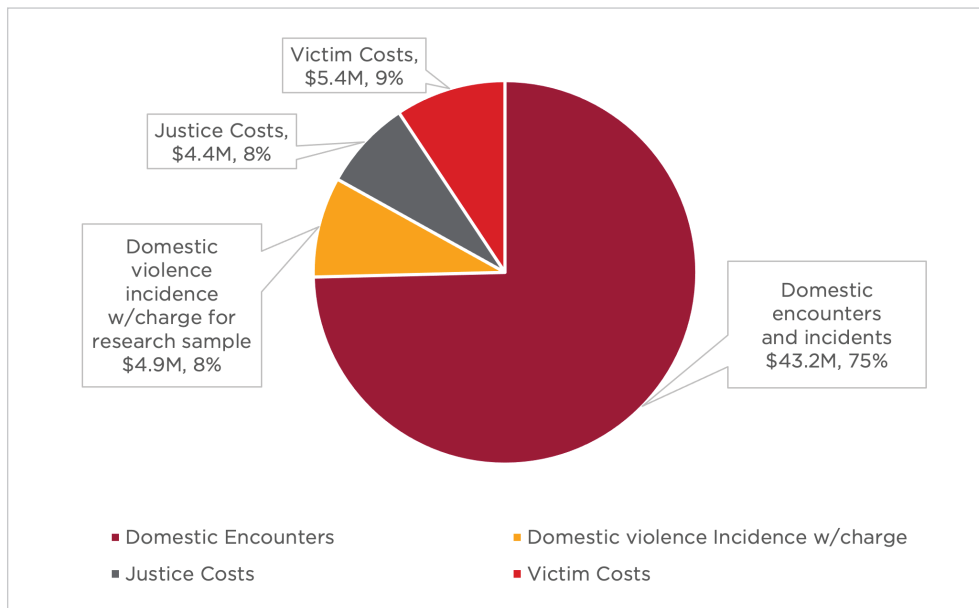
⁹ In converting the 2019 justice system costs into 2024 values, we realize that these costs do not necessarily rise in step with the CPI, and so the 2024 estimates should be considered a conservative estimate of what the 2024 actual justice system costs might be.

- Two per cent (19) involved assault by choking/strangulation.
- There were two attempted murders.
- Over 70 per cent of the files indicated that the victim sustained a major or minor injury.

As Table 1 shows, these types of incidents carry the highest severity rating and we can assume that these victims would require not only medical attention for their injuries, but they would require shelter and the full suite of victim services and supports to transition them safely out of these violent relationships. Using the number of victims of these types of crimes (308) and applying the per-woman cost (\$17,652.06) documented in the study conducted by Varcoe et al. (2011),¹⁰ we can conservatively estimate that the victim costs associated with this small sample of domestic violence-related cases exceeded \$5.4 million.

The above analysis reveals that addressing the perpetration of domestic violence in Calgary in 2019 cost just over \$46 million, with 90 per cent of the costs accrued to taxpayers. Adjusted for inflation, this amounted to just under \$58 million in 2024 (Alberta Inflation Calculator n.d.).

Figure 1. Breakdown of the estimated \$57.9 million cost to address the perpetration of domestic violence in 2024



As Figure 1 shows, the largest public expense was associated with police call-outs for domestic violence complaints. This is because police rarely respond only once when there is a domestic disturbance. As Wells, Fyie, Kneebone, Boodt et al. (2024) note, 73 per cent of the men in the study had at least one prior domestic violence encounter with police before having a domestic charge levied against them. If we could reduce the number of times police go out for a domestic encounter through upstream preventative action, it would not only represent extensive cost savings across the board, but it would also have a significant impact on the women, children and families who deal with ongoing violence.

¹⁰ The Varcoe (2011) study examined selected costs attributable to violence for a sample of 309 women who, on average, had been living separately from their partners for 20 months and reported that they had experienced intimate partner violence after leaving the abusive situation. The findings were that the overall annual per-woman cost attributable to violence in comparison to other samples of women was \$13,162.39. This included total public-sector costs of \$11,369.77 and total private costs of \$1,792.62. Adjusted for inflation, in 2024, these per-women costs equalled \$17,652.06, with \$15,357.35 being public costs and \$2,294.71 being private costs.

PREVENTION IS COST-EFFECTIVE

Understanding the costs associated with the perpetration of domestic violence is essential, but this understanding is incomplete without equal attention to prevention. Knowing the financial burden alone does not explain how to stop violence before it occurs or escalates. Evidence consistently demonstrates that investing in prevention yields both social and economic benefits (Sheppard et al. 2024). Research by Wells, Emery and Boodt (2012) found that prevention strategies provide significant value and can lead to measurable cost savings. Similarly, cost-benefit analyses by Gold et al. (2011) showed that investing in preventative interventions improves outcomes without notable increases in overall expenditures, with the benefits of reduced violence and improved health far outweighing the initial investment.

Building on international evidence and growing interest in prevention, this work reflects a clear understanding that victim-survivor safety depends on addressing the behaviour of those using violence. This approach is reflected in recent policy and legislative reforms, including the Government of Victoria (2023a), the Secretary of State for the Home Department (2022, 19–20) and the United Kingdom’s *Domestic Abuse Act* (2021), all of which emphasize prevention as central to improving safety outcomes. Building on these examples, Alberta could explore how promising practices from other jurisdictions might be adapted to strengthen local responses to domestic violence. For example, the U.K. uses a promising police practice called “cautioning” to address certain offences, including domestic violence, without immediately resorting to prosecution. When an individual is “cautioned,” police inform the perpetrator that they can either be charged or participate in educational or rehabilitative programs, such as the Cautioning and Relationship Abuse program (CARA) (Christie et al. 2022). This approach aims to address the root causes of the offender’s behaviour, prevents the person from being charged, which is expensive, and more importantly, prevents further domestic violence.

Recent cost-benefit analyses of CARA demonstrate its effectiveness, showing that it can reduce repeat domestic violence by an average of 40 per cent (Karavias et al. 2023). The program combines the cautioning process with structured workshops that focus on raising awareness about abusive behaviours, promoting healthy relationship dynamics and encouraging accountability. This evidence-based practice highlights the potential for targeted early interventions to lower reoffending rates and reduce the overall burden on the justice system. The cost-benefit ratio for this type of intervention ranges from 5:1–20:1, depending on the individual’s assessed level of risk for reoffending (Karavias et al. 2023).

The CARA approach functions as a co-ordinated community response (CCR) between police and social service agencies to address domestic violence. Research on CCR models that simultaneously focus on perpetrator accountability and victim safety demonstrates strong outcomes. Studies have shown that such approaches can reduce repeat offences by up to 85 per cent within 12 months of program completion (Hamilton, Harris and Powell 2021), and that even 24 months after the initial incident, 50 per cent of participants had not incurred a subsequent domestic violence charge or police contact (Hamilton, Harris and McCook 2023). Using trained male outreach workers to engage with perpetrators at first encounter with police shows these men are more willing to follow through on engaging with services and supports than those whose only interactions are with the police (Campbell 2014). Furthermore, research on engaging perpetrators in dynamic risk management strategies that ensure both accountability and support at the pre-charge stage can result in perpetrators being 50 per cent less likely to be charged and/or arrested, leading to less police involvement and a 30 per cent reduction in policing costs (London Coordinating Committee to End Woman Abuse 2019).

Applying the average reduction in repeat domestic violence documented in the CARA approach to the overall efforts CPS expended in addressing domestic violence in 2019, we can conservatively estimate that, had these practices been in place, we could have seen up to a 40 per cent reduction in police call-outs and a subsequent reduction in domestic violence incidents.¹¹ This represents a cost savings of over \$16.5 million in policing and justice costs and \$2.1 million in victim services costs for 2019 alone. Had these practices been in place for the subsequent five years into 2024, we would have realized a cost savings of over \$82.5 million in policing and justice costs and \$10.5 million in victim services costs for a total savings of over \$93 million.

The cost of implementing the CARA strategy in Calgary is estimated to be relatively inexpensive, as Calgary already has a co-ordinated police and social service response to domestic violence, called Equally Safe.¹² Expanding this suite of services to engage with perpetrators would cost approximately \$1.2 million annually.¹³ This annual cost would be offset by the cost savings associated with the reduction in spending on the services needed to address ongoing domestic violence policing (conservatively estimated to be \$18.6 million annually).

CONCLUSION

Current police practices must evolve to more effectively prevent domestic violence and support behaviour change among perpetrators. Expanding the range of services available to individuals at the point of first police contact — particularly in cases where no domestic violence charges are laid — is essential. A comprehensive, community-based network that engages men early, alongside police practices that emphasize proactive support and intervention, can prevent escalation and promote long-term safety.

Refocusing attention on the costs associated with perpetration provides a critical prevention-oriented lens. Access to local police data that identify patterns of criminal activity related to domestic violence, along with insights into how police respond in communities, offers valuable opportunities for earlier intervention. These data underscore the importance of co-ordinated community responses that bring together police and a full range of supports capable of engaging men who use violence or coercive control before harm escalates.

Early intervention with perpetrators, through the strategies outlined in this paper, can substantially reduce the financial and social costs of repeated police involvement, court proceedings and victimization. Redirecting resources from reactive enforcement toward upstream prevention can disrupt the cycle of violence before it deepens.

By addressing the economic, social and systemic factors that contribute to perpetration, we can design more targeted interventions, allocate resources more efficiently and reduce both the prevalence and impact of domestic violence. Investment in proactive, prevention-focused strategies is not only cost-effective, it produces meaningful savings by preventing harm and fostering safer, healthier communities.

¹¹ Estimated to be 40 per cent (123) of the 308 victims associated with the research sample presented above.

¹² Equally Safe is a partnership between CPS and local service providers that offers supports to victims and outreach services to perpetrators. Equally Safe has been operating in Calgary since 2021.

¹³ Cost estimates for implementing CARA are based on per-offender costs documented in the CARA study, and the management, oversight and workshop costs for male perpetrators who would be served by the Equally Safe partners. Management, oversight and training costs are estimated to be \$892,500 annually. Treatment costs for offenders are estimated to be \$315,000 annually. This estimate is based on the finding that 73 per cent of the research sample had at least one prior domestic violence encounter with police (an eligibility criterion for cautioning) before being charged. This yields a sample size of 682. Multiplied by the per-offender cost for CARA (\$462.85) equals \$315,000 + \$892,500 = \$1,207,500.

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