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# Systematic Review of Per Person Violence Costs

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# Abstract

**Introduction:** Data on the long-term and comprehensive cost of violence are essential for informed decision making regarding the future benefits of resources directed toward violence prevention. This review aimed to summarize original per-person estimates of the attributable cost of interpersonal violence to support public health economic research and decision making.

**Methods:** In 2023, English-language peer-reviewed journal articles published in 2000–2022 with a focus on high-income countries reporting original per-person average cost of violence estimates were identified using index terms in multiple databases. Study contents, including violence type (e.g., adverse childhood experiences), timeline and payer cost perspective (e.g., hospitalization event-only healthcare payer cost), and associated per-person cost estimates, were summarized. Costs were in 2022 U.S. dollars.

**Results:** Per-person cost estimates related to adverse childhood experiences, community violence, sexual violence, intimate partner violence, homicide, firearm violence, youth violence, workplace violence, and bullying from 73 studies (majority focusing on the U.S.) were summarized. For example, among 23 studies with a focus on adverse childhood experiences, monetary estimates ranged from \$390 for adverse childhood experience–related annual healthcare out-of-pocket costs per U.S. adult with 3 adverse childhood experiences to \$20.2 million for the lifetime societal economic burden of a U.S. child maltreatment fatality.

#### SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIAL

Supplemental materials associated with this article can be found in the online version at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amepre.2023.08.009.

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**Conclusions:** This review provides a descriptive summary of available per-person cost of violence estimates. Results can help public health professionals to describe the economic burden of violence, identify the best available estimate for a particular public health question, and address data gaps. Ultimately, understanding the long-term and comprehensive cost of violence is necessary to anticipate the economic benefits of prevention.

## INTRODUCTION

Interpersonal violence refers to physical, sexual, or psychological attack or deprivation perpetrated by families or partners (e.g., child abuse and neglect, intimate partner violence, elder abuse) or in the community (e.g., assault by acquaintances or strangers, violence related to property crimes, and workplace violence).<sup>1</sup> Data on the cost of violence are essential for informed decision making regarding the future benefits of resources directed toward violence prevention. The average per-person financial value of avoided violence is a particularly important measure because it can be used in cost-benefit analysis to compare the average per-person cost of a prevention strategy (typically, a short-term financial cost to a specific payer) with the average per-person value of averted violence (typically, a long-term benefit that accrues to individuals, their associates, employers, and communities). A recent review highlighted that the difference between the lowest and highest per-victim valuation of averted sexual assault (\$15,000 vs \$103,000 in 2008 U.S. dollars) used among assessed violence prevention economic evaluations could mean the difference between concluding that a prevention strategy is economically beneficial or not.<sup>2</sup> This review sought to summarize original per-person estimates of the attributable cost of interpersonal violence to support public health research and decision making.

# METHODS

This review used publicly available data. In 2023, English-language peer-reviewed journal articles published in 2000–2022 with a focus on high-income countries<sup>3</sup> and reporting original per-person average cost of interpersonal violence estimates were identified using index terms in multiple databases (Appendix Table [A]1, available online). Included studies reported attributable average per-person monetary valuations of violence on the basis of the original source data (e.g., financial transactions, survey data on willingness to pay to avert violence, online query system). Studies were excluded owing to incorrect focus (e.g., collective violence, no comparison between people with and without violence exposure to identify attributable cost), source data predominantly in years before 2000, or only hospital facility charges analyzed.

Violence types were classified using Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) categories,<sup>4–6</sup> including adverse childhood experiences (ACEs)—violence such as physical or sexual abuse as well as nonviolent adversity such as parental incarceration. Studies investigating only fatal violence (homicide) were separately assessed. Key study elements such as time horizon (period over which costs are measured) and cost perspective (e.g., societal, costs to multiple payers) were identified (Appendix Table [A]2, available online). These elements influence the magnitude of cost estimates, although this review did not attempt to assess quality nor prioritize among available estimates; other resources exist with

a general discussion of cost of illness data and methods.<sup>7–9</sup> Cost estimates were extracted for concise presentation using each study's most aggregated average per-person monetary estimate (e.g., medical plus lost work productivity), for the most recent study year, per injury outcome (e.g., moderate versus severe), with currency year assumed as the last data year if not reported. Cost estimates by violence type were summarized by timeline and payer's perspective (e.g., hospitalization event-only healthcare payer cost). Foreign currency values were converted using July 1 data (www.xe.com), and all costs were inflated to 2022 U.S. dollars.<sup>10</sup>

# RESULTS

Database searches identified 3,849 articles, and 6 more were identified during review (Figure 1). Title and abstract screening identified 178 articles, and 73 articles—each describing a separate study—met inclusion criteria. About 50% of analyzed studies addressed fatal violence costs, 66% had a focus on the U.S., 70% analyzed administrative cost data, 52% reported a societal cost perspective, 33% reported lifetime costs, 33% discounted future costs, and 70% assessed direct healthcare costs (Table 1). The range of monetary estimates by violence type was as follows:

- Among 23 ACEs studies (Table 1), monetary estimates ranged from \$390 for ACE-related annual healthcare out-of-pocket costs per U.S. adult with 3 ACEs<sup>11</sup> to \$20.2 million for the lifetime societal economic burden of a U.S. child maltreatment fatality<sup>12</sup> (Figure 2A).<sup>11–33</sup>
- Among 19 community violence studies, monetary estimates ranged from \$130 for the annual societal cost of a common assault in Uruguay<sup>34</sup> to \$304,970 for the U.S. lifetime societal economic burden of an assault hospitalization<sup>28</sup> (Figure 2B).<sup>28,34–51</sup>
- Among 15 sexual violence studies, monetary estimates ranged from \$880 for the U.S. societal cost of victims' short-term lost work productivity<sup>52</sup> to \$386,490 for the U.S. lifetime societal economic burden of rape or sexual assault<sup>37</sup> (Figure 2C).<sup>28,34,36,37,39,43,44,46,51–57</sup>
- Among 14 homicide studies, monetary estimates ranged from \$8,410 for the U.S. healthcare payer event-only cost of fatal assault emergency department (ED) visit<sup>50</sup> to \$15.8 million for the U.S. lifetime societal economic burden of a homicide death<sup>37</sup> (Figure 2D).<sup>28,34,37,38,43,44,46,49–51,53,58–60</sup>
- Among 11 intimate partner violence studies, monetary estimates ranged from \$350 for the Iceland healthcare payer event-only cost of an assault ED visit<sup>61</sup> to \$154,800 for the United Kingdom lifetime societal economic burden of intimate partner violence62 (Figure 2E).<sup>28,34,61–69</sup>
- Among 17 bullying, firearm violence, workplace violence, or youth violence studies (grouped for presentation owing to low study count), monetary estimates ranged from \$60 for the U.S. school district funding loss of a bullying-related missed school day<sup>70</sup> to \$86,890 for the U.S. long-term taxpayer cost of a youth aggravated assault<sup>53</sup> (Figure 2F).<sup>35,48,53,70–83</sup>

# DISCUSSION

This review highlights the range of peer-reviewed estimates representing an average perperson attributable cost of interpersonal violence available to public health professionals to address questions related to the economic burden of violence or the cost effectiveness of violence-prevention strategies. This concise presentation is a novel effort to distill a complex data topic and improve the efficiency of violence prevention researchers and public health decision makers.

#### Limitations

This review has limitations. Recognizing that a variety of research and policymaking questions could be addressed using these cost data, this review sought to describe the data landscape but did not attempt to assess study quality nor make direct comparisons among available estimates; therefore, this information may provide a starting point when thorough investigation into individual estimates is warranted. For example, lifetime societal perspective cost estimates are useful for expressing the economic burden of violence, whereas a healthcare payer perspective on the financial cost of an ED visit for violence injuries may be relevant to forecast the return on investment of a hospital-based violence prevention program. There is variable quality among cost-of-illness studies and violence cost studies, in particular<sup>84</sup>; careful consumers should be familiar with the benefits and limitations of the contributing methods. This review focused on English-language peerreviewed studies indexed in selected databases and addressed interpersonal violence costs in high-income countries. A growing literature addresses the economic value of violenceprevention interventions in middle- and low-income countries and should be the subject of a future similar review.<sup>85,86</sup> Summary data similarly aggregated on intervention program costs would be beneficial. Studies with relevant cost estimates could have been missed if not indexed using terms that were the basis for the database search strategy presented in this review. This review did not attempt to quantitatively combine results from multiple studies through meta-analysis.

# CONCLUSIONS

The primary value of this review is in systematically assembling the available data on perperson attributable cost of interpersonal violence estimates by violence-prevention category so that public health professionals can refer to this information in aggregate and understand where economic evidence for prevention already exists or could be improved. Ultimately, understanding the long-term and comprehensive cost of violence is necessary to understand the economic benefits of prevention.

# **Supplementary Material**

Refer to Web version on PubMed Central for supplementary material.

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All authors led the study design and interpretation of results, analyzed data, edited the manuscript, and approved the final manuscript as submitted. CP conceived the study and drafted the manuscript.

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**Figure 1.** PRISMA flowchart.

ACEs related annual health care OOP cost among adults with 3+ ACE	s Schickedanz (2019): \$390	
ACEs related annual health care payer cost among adult	s Miller (2020): \$700	
ACEs related annual health care payer cost among older adult	s Isumi (2020): \$1,460	
CM related annual health care societal cost among adult	s Theilen (2016): \$2,520	
AHT (incl. fatal) ED T&R visit event health care payer cos	eterson (2015): \$3,320	
CM annual health care payer cost among childre	n Florence (2013): \$3,800	
ACEs (incl. fatal) annual DALY societal cos	Miller (2020): \$6,810	
Suspected CM ED visit event health care payer cos	st 🛛 Deutsch (2022): \$7,520	
AHT (incl. fatal) hospitalization event health care payer cos	st 🗉 Peterson (2015): \$40,590	
AHT short-term health care payer cost among young childre	n 🗉 Peterson (2014): \$61,010	
CM annual government cost until aduldhoo	d ∣ Prigent (2021): \$72,280	
CM (incl. fatal) lifetime government cos	st   Peterson (2018): \$78,480	
CM (incl. fatal) annual societal cos	st 🗉 Miller (2021): \$93,660	
CM lifetime societal cos	st 🗉 Conti (2021): \$169,710	
CM lifetime societal cos	st 🗉 Dalziel (2015): \$231,140	
CSA lifetime societal cos	st 🗧 Letourneau (2018): \$265,800	
CM lifetime societal cos	st = Fang (2012): \$277,850	
CM (incl. fatal) lifetime societal cos	st 🗧 Peterson (2018): \$278,530	
CAN lifetime societal cos	st 🔲 Cohen (2010): \$391,340	
CM (incl. fatal) lifetime societal cos	st 🔲 McCarthy (2016): \$470,630	
AHT (incl. fatal) lifetime health care payer cos	st 🔲 Beaulieu (2019): \$564,960	
CM (moderate severity) long-term societal cos	st 🔲 Habetha (2012): \$713,330	
CM lifetime societal cos	st Peterson (2018): \$1,010,060	
AHT (incl. fatal) lifetime government cos	st 🛛 Friedman (2012): \$1,028,470	
CSA (fatal) lifetime societal cos	t Letourneau (2018): \$1,587,100	
CM (fatal) lifetime societal cos	Fang (2012): \$1,684,050	
CM (fatal) lifetime societal cos	t Conti (2021): \$1,786,080	
CM severe long-term societal cos	Habetha (2012): \$1,923,290	
AHT (least severe) lifetime societal cos	Beaulieu (2019): \$1,929,770	
AHT lifetime societal cos	Miller (2018): \$3,400,400	
AHT (severe) lifetime societal cos	Beaulieu (2019): \$6,978,740	
AHT (fatal) lifetime societal cos	Miller (2018): \$7,590,190	
AHT (fatal) lifetime societal cos	Beaulieu (2019): \$8,234,210	
CM (fatal) lifetime societal cos	st	Corso (2011): \$19,946,930
CM (fatal) lifetime societal cos	it	Peterson (2018): \$20,197,080

2020 USD

Common assault annual societal cost	Aboal (2016): \$130
Violence injury (incl. fatal) ED visit event societal cost	Barry (2022): \$940
Common assault lifetime societal cost	🗉 Dolan (2005): \$1,330
Assault short-term health care payer cost	Helweg-Larsen (2011): \$1,420
Aggravated assault short-term taxpayer (judicial and legal) cost	Hunt (2017): \$1,820
Child assault ED T&R visit lifetime health care payer cost	Monuteaux (2012): \$1,850
Common assault event government cost	Florence (2014): \$3,000
Other wounding assuault lifetime societal cost	Dolan (2005): \$5,730
Assault (not requiring hospitalization) lifetime societal cost	Corso (2007): \$6,240
Assault ED T&R visit lifetime societal cost	Monuteaux (2017): \$8,790
Nonfatal assault short-term health care payer cost	Peterson (2021): \$9,070
Attempted homicide annual societal cost	Aboal (2016): \$10,050
Aggravated assault short-term government (law enforcement) cost	Hunt (2019): \$13,570
Reported assault short-term government (criminal justice system) cost	Byrnes (2012): \$14,940
Violence towards an official short-term societal cost	Mansdotter (2007): \$18,900
Violence (incl. fatal) hospitalization event health care payer cost	Barry (2022): \$19,330
Wounding assault event government cost	Florence (2014): \$19,680
Child assault hospitalization lifetime health care payer cost	Monuteaux (2012): \$26,800
Assault ED-treated lifetime societal cost	Florence (2015): \$28,800
Assault lifetime societal cost	Miller (2021): \$34,630
Serious wounding assault lifetime societal cost	Dolan (2005): \$34,730
Assault short-term societal cost	Mansdotter (2007): \$35,030
Unlawful threat short-term societal cost	Mansdotter (2007): \$37,180
Assault ED T&R visit short-term QoL loss societal cost	Miller (2022): \$94,430
Serious assault lifetime societal cost	Cohen (2004): \$114,150
Assault (requiring hospitalization) lifetime societal cost	Corso (2007): \$133,010
Nonfatal assault ED visit short-term societal cost	Peterson (2022): \$138,170
Aggravated assult lifetime societal cost	MCCollister (2010): \$144,240
Assault hospitalization short-term QoL loss societal cost	Miller (2022): \$146,430
Assault ED T&R visit lifetime QoL loss societal cost	Miller (2022): \$183,090
Adult assault hospitalization lifetime societal cost	Monuteaux (2017): \$198,970
Nonfatal assault hospitalization short-term societal cost	Peterson (2022): \$285,420
Assault hospitalization lifetime QoL loss societal cost	Miller (2022): \$304,970

2020 USD



#### Figure 2.

Per-person violence cost estimates. (A) Adverse childhood experiences. (B) Community violence. (C) Sexual violence. (D) Homicide. (E) Intimate partner violence. (F) Bullying, firearm violence, workplace violence, and youth violence.

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Cost estimates are in 2022 USD and refer to nonfatal violence unless otherwise specified. See Appendix Table [A]2 (available online) for all summarized study elements (e.g., future cost discount rate) and identification of when reported study cost data were combined for presentation (such as a weighted average of estimated costs separately presented for males and females).

ACE, adverse childhood experience; AHT, abusive head trauma; CM, child maltreatment; CSA, child sexual abuse; ED, emergency department; GSW, gunshot wound; IPV, intimate partner violence; OOP, out of pocket; QoL, quality of life; T&R, treated and released; USD, U.S. dollar.

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Table 1.

Summary Cost Elements Among Analyzed Studies

	No. studies (%)									
Measure	Adverse childhood experiences	Community violence	Sexual violence	Homicide	Intimate partner violence	Firearm violence	Youth violence	Workplace violence	Bullying	Total <sup>c</sup>
Total <sup>a</sup>	23 (100)	19 (100)	15 (100)	14 (100)	11 (100)	6 (100)	5 (100)	3 (100)	3 (100)	73 (100)
Fatal events assessed	13 (57)	1 (5)	2 (13)	14 (100)	2 (18)	3 (50)	2 (40)	1 (33)	0 (0)	36 (49)
Country: USA	14 (61)	13 (68)	12 (80)	12 (86)	4 (36)	6 (100)	4 (80)	3 (100)	1 (33)	48 (66)
Cost data source										
Administrative	16 (70)	16 (84)	12 (80)	11 (79)	9 (82)	5 (83)	4 (80)	3 (100)	1 (33)	52 (70)
Hospital facility costs only	(0) 0	1 (5)	(0) 0	(0) 0	2 (18)	4 (67)	2 (40)	(0) 0	(0) 0	8 (11)
Previous studies	14 (61)	9 (47)	8 (53)	10 (71)	5 (45)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (67)	33 (45)
Survey/interview	5 (22)	6 (32)	2 (13)	4 (29)	4 (36)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (33)	2 (67)	17 (23)
Trial (e.g., RCT)	1 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0) 0	(0) 0	(0) 0	0 (0)	1 (1)
Online query system	1 (4)	3 (16)	1 (7)	3 (21)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (40)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (8)
Economic perspective: Societal	15 (65)	11 (58)	10 (67)	11 (79)	7 (64)	0 (0)	1 (20)	0 (0)	1 (33)	38 (52)
Time horizon										
Event (e.g., ED visit)	2 (9)	3 (16)	3 (20)	1 (7)	3 (27)	4 (67)	3 (60)	2 (67)	0 (0)	19 (26)
Short-term ( 1y)	7 (30)	8 (42)	5 (33)	2 (14)	3 (27)	2 (33)	0 (0)	1 (33)	1 (33)	23 (32)
Long-term (1y to lifetime)	2 (9)	0) (0)	1 (7)	1 (7)	0 (0)	(0) 0	1 (20)	(0) 0	(0) 0	3 (4)
Lifetime	12 (52)	9 (47)	6 (40)	10 (71)	5 (45)	(0) 0	1 (20)	(0) 0	1 (33)	33 (45)
Future costs discounted b	10 (43)	4 (21)	6 (40)	6 (43)	3 (27)	NA	1 (20)	ΥN	1 (33)	24 (33)
Cost elements										
DCH	23 (100)	15 (79)	10 (67)	12 (86)	11 (100)	6 (100)	4 (80)	3 (100)	1 (33)	51 (70)
DCO	13 (57)	13 (68)	13 (87)	11 (79)	6 (55)	0 (0)	1 (20)	0 (0)	2 (67)	40 (55)
ICO	13 (57)	11 (58)	6 (09)	11 (79)	6 (55)	(0) 0	1 (20)	3 (100)	2 (67)	43 (59)
Notes. DCH=direct costs wi health care sector (e.g., prod	thin health care sector ( luctivity loss); NA=not	(e.g., hospital stay); D applicable; RCT=Ran	CO=direct costs o domized control t	utside the heal rial.	th care sector (e.g	, traveling costs); ]	ED=emergency de	partment; ICO=indii	ect costs outs	ide the

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<sup>a</sup>Sum of study count by column for subcategories may exceed 100% because some studies used >1 cost data type or reported >1 qualifying cost estimate. See A2 for details.

 $b_{Applicable to studies with time horizon >1 year.$ 

 $c_s$  sum of study count by row may exceed "Total" count because some studies addressed >1 violence type.