



Brown's Economic Damages Newsletter

November/December 2025

Volume Twenty Two Issue 3

Brown Economic offers 5 user-friendly, economic loss calculators for quick, accurate, and cost-effective damages estimates, available @ www.browneconomic.com:

- [Non-Pecuniary \(free\)](#)
- [Working Life / Life Expectancy \(free\)](#)
- [Present Value \(free\)](#)
- [Housekeeping \(pay per use\)](#)
- [Income Damages \(pay per use\)](#)

Cara Brown, B.A. (Hons.), M.A., President

Maureen Mallmes, B.Sc., SEMC

Rachel A. Rogers, B.A., J.D.

Ha Nguyen, B.A. (Hons.), M.A.

Ada Englot, CPA

Elda Figueira, MLS

Frank Strain, Ph.D.

J.C.H. Emery, Ph.D.

Stephen Clark, Ph.D.

Sexual assault cases: quantification of pecuniary damages by a forensic economist

Author: **Cara L. Brown, M.A., President***

*with assistance from Rachel Rogers, B.A. (economics), J.D.

Introduction

Economic loss assessments have now become commonplace in civil litigation arising from sexual assault. Just like in interrupted earnings cases which arise from motor vehicle accidents (MVAs), slip and fall, medical malpractice, sea or aviation accident, or wrongful death, the impact of sexual assault on employment and income can be significant if the assault causes a reduction in working capacity or poses barriers to obtaining and maintaining full-time employment.

In this newsletter issue, we summarize the impact of sexual assault on employment and income from the economics literature, including analysis of Statistics Canada's *General Social Survey* cycles on victimization. We review the information that a forensic economist requires to undertake an assessment in sexual assault cases. The firm's unique qualifications to prepare pecuniary loss assessments in sexual assault cases are summarized, which commenced in the late 1990s and resulted in testimony being supplied by Ms. Brown for plaintiff and defense counsel. A comment on other experts' approaches in these types of cases has been added.

Summary of damages awarded in sexual assault cases in Canada, 1989-2025

In a separate PDF accompanying this month's issue, we supply a list of case precedent across Canada in which pecuniary losses have been awarded for past and/or future income loss, or cost of care (i.e., psychological counselling or other items determined by a cost of care expert or medical professional), as well as non-pecuniary damages (general, aggravated, and punitive). Updating the quantum awards in sexual assault cases in Canada occurs every year in chapter 11 of Ms. Brown's Thomson Reuters text, **Damages: Estimating Pecuniary Loss** (38th ed. (2025), two releases per year).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TOPICS	PAGE #
Introduction	1
Information needed by an economic expert in sexual assault cases	3
Unique qualifications to prepare economic loss assessments in sexual assault cases	3
Other experts' positions on the impact of sexual assault	4
Incidence of Sexual Assault in Canada	5
<i>Summary of Findings</i>	6
Impact of Sexual Assault on Educational Attainment	6
Impact of Sexual Assault on Employment and Income	7
<i>Economic Analysis of Empirical Data: Regression Analysis</i>	8
<i>Wage Deficits Arising from Sexual Assault: Brown Economic's Results of Analyzing Statistics Canada's General Social Surveys on Victimization</i>	9
Impact of Sexual Assault on Earnings from Other Research	12
“Survivor’s Bias” in Sexual Assault Cases	14

Prior issues of **Brown's Economic Damages Newsletter** & published articles related to this month's topic: (to subscribe, send email to newsletter@browneconomic.com)

- ◆ **March/April 2024:** “When non-economic experts attempt to do the forensic economists’ job” vol. 21, issue #1
- ◆ **October 2023:** “2021 Census Data Available to Forensic Economists” vol. 20, issue #4
- ◆ **August 2021:** “2017 Canadian Survey on Disability: Unemployment rates & Participation rates (Part 1)” vol. 18, issue #3
- ◆ **September 2021:** “2017 Canadian Survey on Disability: Wage Deficits by SEVERITY of Disability (Part 2)” vol. 18, issue #4
- ◆ **October 2021:** “2017 Canadian Survey on Disability: Wage Deficits by TYPE of Disability (Part 3)” vol. 18, issue #5
- ◆ **Summer 2019:** “The Choice to Work: TAILORING the “Participation” Contingency to the Plaintiff” vol. 16, issue #3
- ◆ **December 2019:** “The “Wage Deficit” Approach – Straightforward & Reasonable Loss Estimates” vol. 16, issue #4
- ◆ **February 2018:** “Economic Damages Due to Sexual Assault: *John Doe (G.E.B. #25) v. The Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of St. John’s*” vol. 15, issue #2
- ◆ **April/May 2008:** “The Impact of Sexual Assault on Income and Employment: Results from three *General Social Surveys* (1993, 1999 and 2004) from Statistics Canada” vol. 5, issue #4
- ◆ **January 2007:** “Economic awards arising from sexual assault: BROWN ECONOMIC TESTIMONY IN REPORT DECISIONS” vol. 4, issue #1
- ◆ **March 2005:** “The impact of sexual assault: new estimates with 1999 Statistics Canada data” vol. 2, issue #3
- ◆ **December 2003:** “Sexual Abuse Actions” vol. 1, issue #100

Information needed by an economic expert in sexual assault cases

The information required by an economic expert to assess pecuniary damages is unique in sexual assault cases, mainly due to the evidentiary challenge in locating tax return information when the assault occurred 20, 30 or 40 years ago and the necessity to obtain wage and labour market data back to the 1970s/1980s/1990s when little of it is accessible online. Brown Economic has been compiling this information since the early 1990s so has unparalleled access to such data. In addition to requesting as much tax return information as possible from the claimant, there is additional information forensic economists need to assess whether and/or how much a pecuniary loss may have been sustained:

- 1) A vocational or psychiatrist's report which tests the aptitudes and abilities of the claimant.
- 2) A vocational or psychiatrist's report which reviews the claimant's entire work history and if or how that has been impacted by the assault.
- 3) The highest educational attainment achieved by the claimant after the assault along with an assessment of whether it would have been different if not for the assault.
- 4) The impact on either work capacity (hours of work) or income to the extent it can be assessed by the non-economic expert now that the assault occurred.

Forensic economists also require a detailed resume or employment history detailing, each year, jobs held in terms of place of employment, job title, hours of work (part-time? full-time?), and hourly wage or annual salary. If there are periods of time the plaintiff has not worked at all, this needs to be detailed and explained with reference to whether or not it is connected to the assault (i.e., if a plaintiff takes time from working to raise a family).

For many reasons, we strongly recommend the vocational expert or psychiatrist NOT review tax return information or wage data. Forensic economists are well positioned to analyze and obtain both far beyond what a non-economic expert can do. In fact, when a vocational expert attempts to conduct such an analysis, it is rife with errors and creates a conflict between the forensic expert and vocational expert with respect to data sources and analysis.¹

Unique qualifications to prepare economic loss assessments in sexual assault cases

Brown Economic has been hired by both plaintiff and defense counsel across Canada to provide opinions on a claimant's potential income loss if the intervening act caused a divergence in the without-incident² education level, career choice, or income levels from the with-incident³ (actual) educational attainment, job history and reported income. This work began in the late 1990s when Ms. Brown obtained Statistics Canada's victimization databases from the 1993 and 1999 *General Social Surveys* (GSS) and performed econometric (regression) analysis on the datasets to investigate whether and by how much employment and income levels affected the sexual assault victims who responded to these GSS surveys. The same exercise was repeated once the 2004 GSS victimization survey was released by Statistics Canada.⁴ This work was published by Thomson Reuters in Ms. Brown's text, **Damages: Estimating**

¹ For case examples explaining how this occurs, see the discussion in **Brown's Economic Damages Newsletter** "When non-economic experts attempt to do the forensic economists' job," March/April 2024, vol. 21, issue #1.

² Shorthand for "what would have happened in the absence of the incident". I use the word "incident" rather than "accident" because earnings are interrupted not just by motor vehicle accidents but as a result of medical negligence, slip and fall, death, sexual or physical assault, or wrongful imprisonment or wrongful confinement.

³ Shorthand for "what will happen now that the incident has occurred".

⁴ Since 2004, GSS surveys in 2009 (cycle 23), 2014 (cycle 28), and 2019 (cycle 34) asked questions about victimization centered around stalking (criminal harassment) in 2014 and internet victimization, cyber bullying, and crime prevention in 2019. The 2019 GSS also asked about dating violence, childhood victimization, and fraud. Unfortunately, many of the "covariates" used in our wage deficit regression equations were missing in these later surveys. For instance, in the 2009 GSS cycle 23, variables for region, occupation, urban area, and presence of children under the age of 15 are missing but were available in the earlier GSS cycles. In the 2014 and 2019 GSS cycles, these variables are also missing. As well, beginning with the 2016 *General Social Surveys*, family income (i.e., linking directly to a variable on the T1FF that corresponds to the census family income) is used instead of personal or household income. This means that for respondents who lived with other people who also received income, total income for the household members is counted. Accordingly, if we were to estimate a wage deficit from the 2019 GSS cycle 34, it may not apply directly to the sexual assault victim.

Pecuniary Loss (38th edition, 2025) and led to four different presentations about this topic:

- Brown, C.L. (2001) "Sexual Assault and Effect on Income; "Estimating the Impact of Disability on Employment (HALS)"; "The Female-Male Earnings Gap: Starting Salary Offers for College Graduates"; "Roundtable on American/Canadian Forensic Practice", *NAFE – Western Economic Association International - 76th Annual Conference* San Francisco CA, July 2001
- Brown, C.L. (2005) "Damages in sexual assault cases" *National Civil Litigation CLE Conference HOT TOPICS IN LITIGATION* Toronto ON, April 2005
- Brown, C.L. (2008) "Identifying, proving and quantifying damages: How to improve your strategies and methodologies" *Canadian Institute's 8th National Summit on Institutional Liability for Sexual Assault, Abuse and Harassment* Toronto, ON April 2008
- Brown, C.L. (2010) "Overcoming Evidentiary Thresholds to Establish Economic Loss" *Canadian Institute's 9th National Summit on Institutional Liability for Sexual Assault & Abuse* Toronto, ON, April 2010.

In 2001, Ms. Brown was hired to assess potential income loss damages for 70 sexually assaulted Inuit plaintiffs in Nunavut, which resulted in a mini-trial held in Iqaluit, Nunavut in which Vertes, J. accepted this author's evidence. Also in 2001, Ms. Brown was hired by defense counsel to defend an action in *S.G.H. v. Gorsline* for damages related to sexual assault.⁵ In 2005, Ms. Brown testified in a jury trial for two plaintiffs in *Elliott & Clifford et al v. Gordon Petronech*.⁶ In 2007, Ms. Brown testified in Halifax, Nova Scotia in the case of *B.M.G. v. Attorney General of Nova Scotia* [2007] NSSC 27 on behalf of the plaintiff. In *BMG*, Justice Edwards awarded the plaintiff \$125,000 for general damages and \$500,000 for both his past and future loss of income, inclusive of prejudgment interest on the past loss of income. In 2018, Ms. Brown travelled to St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, to testify in a case involving three male plaintiffs.⁷

Given the longstanding, in-depth research our firm has undertaken in sexual assault cases, as well as the hundreds of reports already prepared in the past 25+ years and testifying experiences, we tailor the economic data as closely as possible to the plaintiff and provide unique methods for quantifying the impact of sexual assault on employment and income.

Other experts' positions on the impact of sexual assault

There is a useful example from Canadian litigation that showcases the danger of electing not to carry out proper economic analysis. Economic assessments quantifying the economic impact of sexual assault on employment and income are becoming more common as more litigants initiate civil actions in these types of cases. One economic expert firm in Canada took the position in 2000, 2007, and in 2019 that sexual assault has either a benign effect or provides an impetus to the plaintiff to *improve* her labor market performance due to the sexual assault (i.e., by motivating the victim or boosting her ambition). This conclusion was repeated without a proper literature review; despite the fact that econometric analysis of Statistics Canada's *General Social Surveys* (GSS) on victimization in 1993, 1999, and 2004 had already been published⁸ demonstrating negative impacts on economic outcomes, and subsequent academic literature

⁵ *S.G.H. v. Gorsline*, [2001] A.J. No. 263. The plaintiff's economic expert valued the potential income losses to be in the range of \$300,000 to almost \$700,000. McMahon, J. eventually awarded \$60,000 in pecuniary damages for a 2.5-year delay in her career, plus \$110,000 in general damages.

⁶ [2005]. The jury awarded \$150,000 (general damages of \$30,000 for Elliot and \$75,000 for Clifford); punitive damages of \$80,000 each; and cost of care of \$120,000 (for both). The jury awarded Ms. Elliot economic damages of \$150,000 for past income loss but did not award Ms. Clifford any damages for economic loss.

⁷ Although Faour, J. did not find liability on the part of the defendant in these cases, he did provisionally assess economic loss damages in the event this finding was disturbed.

that confirmed these results in other countries;⁹ and despite the fact that this analysis was accepted in *G.(B.M.) v. Nova Scotia (Attorney General)* in 2007, when the plaintiff was awarded \$500,000 in economic loss damages arising from sexual assault. The conclusion of a “benign” or “positive” outcome emerging from sexual assault has now largely been debunked by authors in several disciplines.

Incidence of Sexual Assault in Canada

As indicated by the Government of Alberta,¹⁰ sexual assault is a significant crime in Alberta and throughout the rest of Canada. Based on the results from Statistics Canada’s *Survey of Safety in Public and Private Spaces* (2018), Cotter and Savage¹¹ report that more than 11 million Canadians have been physically or sexually assaulted since the age of 15, representing 39% of women and 35% of men 15 years of age and older in Canada. In 2021, there were 34,242 police-reported sexual assaults across Canada, of which 4,417 occurred in Alberta.¹² According to the Government of Alberta, “the number of sexual assaults reported to police is likely a considerable undercount of the number of such offences that actually occurred. According to self-reported victimization data from the General Social Survey, less than one in ten sexual assaults were reported to police”.¹³

Using data from the 2009 police-reported *Revised Uniform Crime Reporting Survey* (“UCR2”) and the self-reported *General Social Survey on Victimization* (“GSS”), Hoddendbach *et al.*¹⁴ found that sexual assault and other sexual offences in 2009 cost Canadians \$4.8 billion¹⁵ in the form of tangible and intangible costs,¹⁶ of which \$4.6 billion are victim costs.¹⁷ The costs attributed to the party that bears the impact, not the actual monetary loss due to sexual assault, include: justice system costs,¹⁸ victim costs and third-party costs.¹⁹ The authors further indicate that “victims bear the greatest burden of the impacts, much of it intangible, and family, friends, and employers can also be burdened. The impacts are eventually felt by all Canadians in the form of public spending on the justice system and social services” (p. 180).

With respect to the impact of sexual assault on its victims, the Government of Alberta indicates that “any sexual assault can have serious effects on a person’s long-term health and well-being”²⁰ Similarly, Statistics Canada indicates the following:²¹

Sexual assault can have serious immediate or long-term emotional, psychological and physical impacts on victims, including feelings of anxiety, shock, fear and anger, substance use, depression, isolation and suicidal thoughts (p. 4).

⁸ See Macmillan (2000) and Brown, C.L. **Damages: Estimating Pecuniary Loss** (Canada Law Book, a Thomson Reuters business), 2025 (38th edition) in chapter 11: *Calculating Damages in Wrongful Dismissal, Wrongful Confinement, Wrongful Imprisonment, and Sexual Assault and Harassment Cases*.

⁹ See Macmillan (2000); Cotter, Adam and Savage (2019); The Government of Alberta (2013); Hoddenbagh, Zhang and McDonald (2014); Haskell and Melanie (2019); Wathen (2012); Bowlus, McKenna, Day and Wright (2003); Tricketta, Nollb, and Putnam (2011); Brennan and Taylor-Butts (2008); Hearden (1994); Baker *et al.* (2016); Stermac, L., *et al.* (2020); Henkhaus (2022); Sabia, Dills, and DeSimone (2013); Conroy and Cotter (2017); Burczycka (2015); Robst and Smith (2008); Robst (2010); Lee and Tolman (2006); Barrett, Kamiya, and O’Sullivan (2014); Bouchard *et al.* (2023).

¹⁰ The Government of Alberta. *Best Practices for Investigating and Prosecuting Sexual Assault*. April 2013.

¹¹ Cotter, Adam and Laura Savage. *Gender-based violence and unwanted sexual behaviour in Canada, 2018: Initial findings from the Survey of Safety in Public and Private Spaces*. Statistics Canada catalogue no. 85-002-X, December 5, 2019.

¹² The Government of Alberta. *Best Practices for Investigating and Prosecuting Sexual Assault*. April 2013; and Moreau, Greg. *Police-reported crime statistics in Canada, 2021*. Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, catalogue no. 85-002-X, August 3, 2022.

¹³ The Government of Alberta. *Best Practices for Investigating and Prosecuting Sexual Assault*. April 2013, p. 5.

¹⁴ Hoddenbagh, Josh, Ting Zhang, and Susan McDonald. *An Estimation of The Economic Impact of Violent Victimization in Canada, 2009*. Department of Justice Government of Canada, 2014.

¹⁵ These are not annual costs and they capture all the associated costs resulted from the victimization in 2009.

¹⁶ Intangible costs include pain and suffering, the value of lost life, and loss of affection and enjoyment to family members.

¹⁷ Such as medical costs, lost wages, and pain and suffering.

¹⁸ Such as police costs, court costs, and corrections costs.

¹⁹ Such as lost additional output to employers, victim services operating costs, and funeral service costs.

²⁰ The Government of Alberta. *Best Practices for Investigating and Prosecuting Sexual Assault*. April 2013, p. 17.

²¹ Cotter, Adam and Laura Savage. *Gender-based violence and unwanted sexual behaviour in Canada, 2018: Initial findings from the Survey of Safety in Public and Private Spaces*. Statistics Canada catalogue no. 85-002-X, December 5, 2019.

The Institut National de Santé Publique du Québec describes similar consequences of sexual assault.²²

Sexual assault has numerous potential consequences that can last a lifetime and span generations, with serious adverse effects on health, education, employment, crime, and the economic well-being of individuals, families, communities and societies.

Summary of Findings

A review of the literature indicates the following:

- 1) Sexual assault has a negative impact on educational attainment.
- 2) In addition to reduced earnings, decreased labour force participation and productivity in the workplace, more absences from work and decreased promotions, victims of sexual abuse suffer from a range of physical and mental health consequences, in comparison to the non-abused population.
- 3) Both female and male victims of sexual abuse experience reductions in lifetime earnings, decreased labour force participation (the decision to seek paid employment), and productivity in the workplace, more absences from work and decreased promotions, in comparison to the non-abused population. In particular:
 - a) Female victims of sexual abuse may experience, on average, -8% to -30% reductions in lifetime earnings.
 - b) Male victims of sexual abuse may experience, on average, -5% to -18% reductions in lifetime earnings.
 - c) Reductions in lifetime earnings for Alberta *females* may range, on average, from \$75,500 to \$891,000, and may easily exceed \$1 million if it is determined the individual is competitively unemployable. Actual estimates vary according to individual “human capital” characteristics.
 - d) Reductions in lifetime earnings for Alberta *males* may range, on average, from \$99,500 to \$1,514,500, and may easily exceed \$2 million if it is determined the individual is competitively unemployable. Actual estimates vary according to individual “human capital” characteristics.

Impact of Sexual Assault on Educational Attainment

The short-term effects of sexual assault can include academic achievement problems or antisocial behaviour such as petty crime or drug use.

Trickett *et al.*²³ show that the experience of childhood sexual abuse is a substantial risk factor for cognitive maldevelopment and academic underachievement. Bowlus *et al.*²⁴ similarly report that child abuse, in particular, sexual and emotional abuse, may result in developmental delays, poor academic achievement, poor school performance or decreased likelihood of graduating from high school. Bowlus *et al.* also found that teenagers who drop out of school do not become socialized into the mainstream job market and school leaving is associated with lower wages and higher rates of unemployment. The Institut National de Santé Publique du Québec also indicates similar consequences of sexual abuse: exposure to sexual abuse in childhood increases the possibility of developmental delays and maladjustment in school.²⁵

²² See (<https://www.inspq.qc.ca/en/sexual-assault>).

²³ Trickett, K. Penelope, Jennie G. Nollb, and Frank W. Putnam. "The impact of sexual abuse on female development: Lessons from a multigenerational, longitudinal research study." *Dev Psychopathol.* 2011 May ; 23(2): 453–476.

²⁴ Bowlus, Audra, Katherine McKenna, Tanis Day and David Wright. *The Economic Costs and Consequences of Child Abuse in Canada*. Report to the Law Commission of Canada, March 2003.

²⁵ See (<https://www.inspq.qc.ca/en/sexual-assault>).

In studying persons who were sexually assaulted during their adolescent years, Macmillan²⁶ found that victims have significantly lower incomes and occupational status than non-abused persons, which is the result of lower educational attainment. Macmillan concluded that violent victimization is most costly to the individual when it occurs early in adolescence because this is the formative stage of the socio-economic life course.

For college students, Baker *et al.*²⁷ found that exposure to sexual violence results in lower academic performance, exposure to more types of sexual violence predicts poorer college academic performance in women, and victims are likely to graduate from university later than their non-abused counterparts. Mengo and Black (2016) also identified that experiences of sexual violence *all* correlated to a significant decline in college students' GPA and student retention: students who were survivors of sexual violence had a drop-out rate of 34%. Stermac *et al.*²⁸ found that students who experienced sexual violence are more likely to experience academic delay and have higher non-attendance scores when compared to students without exposure to sexual violence.

Using data from the *National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health* which includes a random sample of children in grades 7 to 12, Haukens²⁹ found that childhood sexual abuse leads to a 36% to 41% greater likelihood of high school dropout and 17% to 24% lower likelihood of Bachelor's degree attainment.

Impact of Sexual Assault on Employment and Income

According to J.L. Barkas,³⁰ many victims of sexual assault move or take precautions against future rapes by becoming more cautious in public situations, withdrawing socially or changing employers. Any one of these actions can affect the individual's labour force participation. S.E. Lloyd³¹ points out that, regardless of the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator of an assault, women who experience violence report "substantially more mental health problems that can affect employment and job performance, such as depression, anxiety, and anger".

The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention ("CDC") indicates the following with respect to the impact of sexual abuse on its victims' employment and income:³²

The trauma from sexual violence may impact a survivor's employment in terms of ***time off from work, diminished performance, job loss, or inability to work. These issues disrupt earning power*** and have a long-term effect on the economic well-being of survivors and their families (emphasis added).

Sabia *et al.* provide an excellent summary of how sexual assault can affect labour market outcomes:³³

Sexual victimization may affect subsequent labor market outcomes through several mechanisms.

²⁶ Macmillan, Ross. "Adolescent Victimization and Income Deficit in Adulthood: Rethinking the Costs of Criminal Violence from a Life-Course Perspective" (2000) 38 *Criminology* 553-587, p. 576.

²⁷ Baker MR, Frazier PA, Greer C, Paulsen JA, Howard K, Meredith LN, Anders SL, Shallcross SL. "Sexual victimization history predicts academic performance in college women". *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, November 2016 63(6):685-692.

²⁸ Stermac, L., Cripps, J., Amiri, T., & Badali, V. (2020). "Sexual Violence and Women's Education: Examining Academic Performance and Persistence". *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 50(1), 28-39.

²⁹ Henkhaus, E. Laura. "The lasting consequences of childhood sexual abuse on human capital and economic well-being." *Health Economics* 2022 31:1954-1972.

³⁰ J.L. Barkas, *Victims* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978), p. 121.

³¹ S.E. Lloyd, "The Effects of Violence on the Labor Force Participation of Women" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, December 1996 [unpublished]), p. 145.

³² See (<https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/sexualviolence/fastfact.html>).

³³ Sabia, J., A. Dills, and J. DeSimone (2013) "Sexual Violence Against Women and Labor Market Outcomes" *American Economic Review* 103(3), 274-278.

First, sexual violence imposes substantial psychological costs on its victims, including increased risk of depression and anxiety disorders, which may *impact labor market outcomes both directly and indirectly through diminished human capital acquisition*. Second, the *physical health consequences of rape may impair labor market performance*. Finally, *sexual assault may impede marriage opportunities and outcomes or result in unwanted pregnancy, each potentially affecting labor market outcomes*" (p. 274, emphasis added).

Economic Analysis of Empirical Data: Regression Analysis

Proceeding with a systematic approach to analyzing whether or not disability has a quantifiable, downward impact on earnings is consistent with Justice Barry's examination of the legitimacy of expert evidence in the courts; this Newfoundland judge has commented on the US *Daubert* decision as encouraging courts to ensure that evidence is relevant and reliable, and that an approach is grounded in 'scientific theory': the results prove the hypothesis, and multiple tests produce the same results.³⁴ Regression techniques³⁵ enable economists to ascertain the amount of the earnings deficit due to disability, as this technique "controls for" factors other than disability or assault (tangible human capital factors like age, hours of work, work experience, tenure, education level, and geographical locale and intangible factors, such as ability, motivation and opportunity).

Econometric analysis has been in existence since 1933 and the methods employed using Statistics Canada *General Social Survey* ("GSS") and *Health and Activity Limitation Survey* HALS ("HALS"), *Participation and Activity Limitation Survey* ("PALS") and *Canadian Survey on Disability* ("CSD") data in this report to test the relationship – between sexual assault and earnings – are standard regression equations, used in hundreds of published academic journals in Canada and the US.

Regression analysis also allows economists to test the validity of an economic theory. In scientific circles, it is not sufficient to simply postulate that a relationship exists between two variables (i.e., sexual assault or disability reduces earnings); one must provide statistical evidence to validate the relationship. The techniques used to test the validity of an economic theory fall into the category of "statistical inference"; the process is referred to as *hypothesis testing*.

Put another way, it is not sufficient, in economic terms, to simply postulate that a relationship exists between two variables (i.e., a sexual assault occurred and therefore the claimant's income is reduced). In scientific disciplines like economics, one must provide statistical evidence to validate that there is a correlation between the interruption and the post-incident employment experiences.

Regression techniques have been applied to the three *General Social Survey* victimization surveys mentioned above, as well as to data from Statistics Canada's disability surveys from 2001, 2006, 2012, and 2017. The 2017 *Canadian Survey on Disability* tracked almost 50,000 disabled persons and asked about the impact of "disability" on employment and income. A segment of this surveyed population specified the origin of their "disability" to which 14% of male and 21% of female respondents elected "stress/trauma" as the source. This means that Brown Economic's analysis of the disability surveys may be of use when quantifying the impact of sexual assault. (For further discussion of how

³⁴ The Honourable Mr. Justice Leo Barry, Supreme Court of Newfoundland and Labrador, Trial Division, *Law, The Scientific Method, and Junk Science* (Law Society of Newfoundland), June 13, 2003.

³⁵ Regression techniques allow us to estimate or predict the average value of one variable on the basis of the fixed values of other variables; in this case, we seek to predict the impact of sexual assault on income or labour force participation, controlling for or fixing the other variables. These other variables are typically human capital characteristics, such as education, age (acting as a proxy for work experience), occupation, geographic residence, gender, etc.

regression analysis is used to derive wage gaps by degree of severity and type of disability, see Brown, C.L. "How the **Wage Deficit Approach (WDA)** can be used to Assess Economic Loss Damages based on Guidance from British Columbia case law" UBC Law Review volume 56:1).

Wage Deficits Arising from Sexual Assault: Brown Economics' Results of Analyzing Statistics Canada's General Social Surveys on Victimization

In this section, we summarize the results of analyzing Statistics Canada's *General Social Surveys* ("GSS") cycle 8 (conducted in 1993), cycle 13 (conducted in 1999), and cycle 18 (done in 2004). Established in 1985, Canada's GSS program was designed as a series of independent, annual, voluntary, cross-sectional surveys, each covering one topic in-depth.

About the GSS on victimization, Statistics Canada remarks:

"Survey results are used by police departments, all levels of government, victim and social service agencies, community groups and researchers not only to better understand the nature and extent of victimization in Canada, but also to study Canadians' perceptions of their safety, the levels of crime in their neighbourhoods, and their attitudes toward the criminal justice system."³⁶

Not only do the GSS administered by Statistics Canada "provide data on a wide range of socio-economic issues (corresponding to many Articles of the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD)*),"³⁷ the specific GSS cycles on victimization have supplemented police reporting of sexual assault. GSS data on victimization are an important complement to administrative data on police-reported crime, as they capture information that does not come to the attention of the police and is therefore not counted in official crime rates.³⁸ This means the GSS plays a central role in "providing a more comprehensive and accurate reflection of the prevalence and impact of violent victimization in Canada."³⁹ The GSS is also the only national survey of self-reported victimization which provides data for the provinces and territories.⁴⁰ For studying the impact of sexual assault on income, the GSS surveys are drawn from tax or other administrative files rather than direct survey questions in order to reduce respondent burden and to improve data accuracy.⁴¹

Later GSS surveys in 2009 (cycle 23), 2014 (cycle 28), and 2019 (cycle 34) asked questions about victimization centered around stalking (criminal harassment) in 2014⁴² and internet victimization, cyber bullying, and crime prevention in 2019. The 2019 GSS also asked about dating violence, childhood victimization, and fraud.⁴³ Unfortunately, many of the "covariates" used in our wage deficit regression equations were missing in these later surveys.⁴⁴ For instance, in the

³⁶ T. Knighton, Chief GSS Program, *2014 General Social Survey Canadians' Safety (Victimization)* (Cycle 28), January 12, 2017.

³⁷ From a *National Conference on Disability and Work in Canada* held by Government of Canada Employment and Social Development Canada, division of Social Research, Employment and Social Development Canada, Dec. 4-5, 2018.

³⁸ Less than 31% of incidents reported by GSS respondents were brought to the attention of the police, with sexual assault one of the least likely crimes to be reported (only 5%). (Source: T. Knighton, Chief GSS Program, *2014 General Social Survey Canadians' Safety (Victimization)* (Cycle 28), January 12, 2017. The 2014 GSS cycle 28 follows from the 1993, 1999, 2004 and 2009 cycles on victimization).

³⁹ Hoddenagh, Zhang and McDonald. (2014). *An Estimation of the Economic Impact of Violent Victimization in Canada, 2009*. Research and Statistics Division, Department of Justice Government of Canada, p. 29.

⁴⁰ Statistics Canada, *General Social Survey: An Overview*, 2019. February 20, 2019, p. 9.

⁴¹ Statistics Canada, *General Social Survey: An Overview*, 2019. February 20, 2019, p. 6.

⁴² The 2014 GSS cycle on victimization measured three types of sexual assault: 71% of sexual assault incidents arose from "unwanted sexual touching"; 20% were sexual attacks; and 9% were sexual activity where the victim was unable to consent due to drug, intoxication, manipulation, or non-physical force. (Source: S. Conroy and A. Cotter, "Self-reported sexual assault in Canada, 2014" *Juristat* catalogue no. 85-002-X released July 11, 2017, p. 5).

⁴³ Statistics Canada, *General Social Survey – Canadians' Safety (GSS)* located at <https://www23.statcan.gc.ca>.

⁴⁴ For a description of the econometric models used to estimate wage gaps and reduced labour force participation from the 1993, 1999 and 2004 GSS cycles, see C.L. Brown, **Damages: Estimating Pecuniary Loss**, loose-leaf (Canada Law Book, a Thomson Reuters business), 2025 (38th edition), p. 11-73 to 11-74.

2009 GSS cycle 23, variables for region, occupation, urban area, and presence of children under the age of 15 are missing but were available in the earlier GSS cycles. In the 2014 and 2019 GSS cycles, these variables are also missing. As well, beginning with the 2016 *General Social Surveys*, family income (i.e., linking directly to a variable on the T1FF that corresponds to the census family income) is used instead of personal or household income.⁴⁵ This means that for respondents who lived with other people who also received income, total income for the household members is counted. Accordingly, if we were to estimate a wage deficit from the 2019 GSS cycle 34, it may not apply directly to the sexual assault victim.

Table 1 summarizes the sample sizes and response rates to the three *General Social Survey* cycles on victimization (1993, 1999 and 2004). Table 1 shows that the sample sizes for the three GSS cycles on victimization from 1993, 1999 and 2004 are substantial, especially after it more than doubled from cycle 8 (1993) to cycle 13 (1999). The response rates are correspondingly high, especially since the GSS surveys are voluntary. These sample characteristics ensure that results can be reliably extrapolated to an individual.

Table 1: Sample Sizes & Response Rates for Statistics Canada's Victimization Surveys

Statistics Canada's Surveys (Year)	Sample Size (number of observations)	Response Rate
Victimization surveys:⁴⁶		
1993 General Social Survey (GSS) (cycle 8)	n = 10,385	81.6%
1999 General Social Survey (GSS) (cycle 13)	n = 25,876	81.3%
2004 General Social Survey (GSS) (cycle 18)	n = 23,766	74.5%

⁴⁶ Sources: Statistics Canada, 1993 *General Social Survey – Cycle 8: Personal Risk; Public Use Microdata File Documentation and User's Guide* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Summer 1994); Statistics Canada, 1999 *General Social Survey – Cycle 13: Victimization; Public Use Microdata File Documentation and User's Guide* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2000); and *The General Social Survey – Cycle 18; Public Use Microdata File Documentation and User's Guide. Catalogue no. 12M0018-GPE* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Fall 2005).

Sabia et al. provide an excellent summary how sexual assault can affect labor market outcomes:

Sexual victimization may affect subsequent labor market outcomes through several mechanisms. First, sexual violence imposes substantial psychological costs on its victims, including increased risk of depression and anxiety disorders, *which may impact labor market outcomes* both directly and indirectly through diminished human capital acquisition. Second, the physical health consequences of rape *may impair labor market performance*. Finally, sexual assault *may impede marriage opportunities* and outcomes or result in unwanted pregnancy, each potentially affecting labor market outcomes (p. 274, emphasis added).

The only other researcher that has analyzed Statistics Canada's 1993 *General Social Survey* is author Macmillan, who comments about his study that:

Situating criminal violence within socioeconomic trajectories demonstrates the complex relationship between violent victimization and income attainment and further illuminates the social processes that influence the costs of criminal violence...

⁴⁵ Statistics Canada, *General Social Survey – Canadians' Safety (GSS)* Detailed information for 2019 (General Social Survey: Canadians' Safety) located at <https://www23.statcan.gc.ca>.

...the long-term costs of adolescent victimization are entirely indirect, resulting from disrupted trajectories of educational and occupational attainment. In all, *this model shows the life-course connections, both psychological and behavioral, that link adolescent victimization to diminished income in later adulthood.*" (p. 572, emphasis added)

MacMillan's various econometric models presented in his publication include "confounding family background variables", and these results predicted a \$6,000 annual income deficit for Canadians who were sexually assaulted in the 1993 GSS sample. This author's review of MacMillan's article found some identification issues with some of his variables such that the more applicable estimate from MacMillan's study would be a yearly \$3,150 income deficit from Table 2 (Model 4).⁴⁶

Our analysis of the 1993 GSS resulted in a lower income deficit of \$1,889 per year (in 1993 dollars), compared to Macmillan's figure of \$3,150.⁴⁷ When we convert the sum of \$1,889 to 2025 dollars, we find it equals \$4,252.⁴⁸ It is important to note, however, that it is the coefficients (percentages) from the regression equations that are useful *rather than* the actual dollar amounts, as these only represent respondents' income in 1993, and few (if any) of them were high-earning professionals.⁴⁹ Moreover, Macmillan's analysis combined sexually assaulted women and men,⁵⁰ and reflected the impact of physical assault, sexual assault, *and* robbery.

With respect to predicting the reduction of earnings, our results from analyzing Statistics Canada's GSS data show that:

- a) Female victims of sexual abuse may experience, on average, -8 to -30% earnings reduction in comparison to non-abused females.
- b) Male victims of sexual abuse may experience, on average, -5% to -18% earnings reduction in comparison to non-abused males.

Should it be determined that an individual will not attain a certain level of education due to abuse, or be rendered unemployable as a result of the incident(s) in question, then the potential income losses could easily exceed **\$1 million** for females and **\$2 million** for males. As such, we recommend that an individualized approach be tailored to the particular situation of the individual in question.

⁴⁶ R. Macmillan, "Adolescent Victimization and Income Deficits in Adulthood: Rethinking the Costs of Criminal Violence from a Life-Course Perspective" (2000), 38(2) *Criminology* 553.

⁴⁷ C.L. Brown, **Damages: Estimating Pecuniary Loss**, loose-leaf (Canada Law Book, a Thomson Reuters business), 2025 (38th edition), p. 11-53, 11-56.

⁴⁸ Using Statistics Canada's *Survey of Employment, Payroll and Hours* (SEPH) database, which is Canada's main index for tracking wage changes by province and industry sector. From 1993 to 2025, average weekly wages, as measured by Canada's industrial aggregate index (which includes all industry sectors), increased by 125.11%.

⁴⁹ For example, the GSS 1993 survey asked respondents about income levels with the maximum upper limit capped at \$80,000 (as per responses to question E45). Because this adjustment to the data requires the us to limit the respondent's income, the negative impact on income of being sexually assaulted is likely understated because the respondent's income is understated.

⁵⁰ Analysis of sexually assaulted populations in various studies indicate that women are three times as likely to be assaulted as men. For example, in Statistics Canada's 1993 cycle 8, only 25 of the 5,544 males (0.5%) reported having been sexually assaulted versus 438 of 6,416 females (6.8%). (Source: Statistics Canada, 1993 General Social Survey Cycle 8 – Personal Risk Public Use Microdata File Documentation and User's Guide (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Summer 1994). In the 1999 GSS cycle 13, the number of sexual assault victims was 1,251, equal to 13.5% of the women in the sample but only 2.3% of the men in the sample. From the 2014 GSS, Statistics Canada reports that "...Canadian women were far more likely than men to report that they were sexually assaulted (women reported a rate of 37 incidents of sexual assault per 1,000 population, while men reported a rate of 5 incidents per 1,000 population). (Source: S. Conroy and A. Cotter, "Self-reported sexual assault in Canada, 2014" *Juristat* catalogue no. 85-002-X released July 11, 2017, p. 6).

Impact of Sexual Assault on Earnings from Other Research

The *Canadian Community Health Survey 2012*, conducted by Statistics Canada,⁵¹ a survey completely separate from the *General Social Survey* cycles on victimization, computed the frequency distribution of income levels between survey respondents who had never “experienced forced or attempted forced sexual activity” versus those who had had such experiences, 1 or more times. Their distribution showed two substantial variations for respondents whose income was between \$10,000 and \$19,999 and those whose income was \$50,000 or more. In the first instance, 20% of respondents who had answered affirmatively to “experienced forced or attempted forced sexual activity” (on 1 or 2 occasions) had income between \$10,000 and \$19,999 compared to 12% of respondents who answered in the negative. The reverse outcome was observed for the category of those whose income was \$50,000 or more: only 24% of respondents who had experienced abuse or threats were in this income bracket compared to 36% of those who had never experienced assault or threats.⁵² The differences in these distributions imply that more victims of sexual abuse (or victims who experienced threats of sexual abuse) had *low* income (\$10,000 to \$19,999) than Canadians who had never experienced these outcomes; and many fewer victims (assaulted or threatened once or twice) earned a higher level of income (more than \$50,000) than did Canadians never subjected to sexual assault (or threats of it). On the other hand, Statistics Canada’s analysis from the 2014 *General Social Survey* of women who suffered “child maltreatment” (which included other forms of abuse than sexual abuse) showed little differences between income distributions for females who were victims versus those who were not.⁵³

Sabia et al. conducted econometric (regression) analysis of the impact of sexual violence on the probability of labour force participation and wages.⁵⁴ In Table 1, they compute that victimization is associated with a **-13% lower probability of labor force participation** and a **-15% reduction in wages**. Both results were statistically significant (at the 1% level).⁵⁵

In 2008, authors Robst and Smith published an article in the *Eastern Economic Journal* entitled “The Effect of Childhood Sexual Victimization on Women’s Income” using the American 1992 *National Health and Social Life Survey* (NHSLS) (n=3432, with the final sample of women totaling 1009). Robst and Smith estimated that adult women who were victims of sexual touching earned -20% lower income compared to those who had not experienced sexual touching. Robst and Smith included “confounding” factors in their analysis, but their model still showed the wage effects were negative and significant: “the majority of the effects from [childhood sexual assault] CSA are not through factors such as education and experiences, *rather they are likely due to psychopathology than results from CSA*” (p. 36, emphasis added). In re-estimating their equations with only women who reported that “abuse affected their life”, the authors calculated a **-25% reduction in income**.

In a subsequent article entitled “Childhood sexual victimization, educational attainment, and the returns to schooling” in *Education Economics* (2010), author Robst used the same source as in the 2008 article (but the sample size was 1473

⁵¹ This survey covers approximately 98% of the Canadian population aged 12 and over. The CCHS – Mental Component collects information about mental health status, prevalence of specific mental disorders and problems, use of mental health care and economic costs of having a mental illness. Major mental disorders (lifetime and past year) include: depression, bipolar disorder; generalized anxiety disorder; alcohol abuse and dependence; cannabis abuse and dependence; and substance abuse and dependence (source: Sutherland and Findlay, “Perceived need for mental health care in Canada: Results from the 2012 *Canadian Community Health Survey – Mental Health*” Statistics Canada catalogue no. 82-003-X, September 2013).

⁵² The other income brackets had even proportions between these two groups, except for the \$20,000 to \$29,999 category, which showed a frequency of 21% if never assaulted or threatened versus 29% for those to whom this happened 1 or 2 times.

⁵³ Marta Burczycka, “Section 1: Profile of Canadian adults who experienced childhood maltreatment” in *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2015* (Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Statistics Canada, 2015), Table 1.7, “Characteristics and life outcomes of victims of self-reported childhood physical and/or sexual abuse, by sex, Canada”, 2014.

⁵⁴ Sabia et al. rely on the *National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health)* survey in the US, which followed 7th to 12th-graders initially surveyed in 1995 and followed in 1996, 2001, and 2007-08. The sample sizes used by Sabia et al ranged from 7,277 to 8,273 (Table 1, p. 276).

⁵⁵ Sabia, J., A. Dills, and J. DeSimone (2013) “Sexual Violence Against Women and Labor Market Outcomes” *American Economic Review* 103(3), 274-278.

females). Robst concluded that “returns to schooling are lower for women who were sexually abused as children” and, once the schooling variable was controlled for, “women with CSA histories earn 18% less than women without an abuse history” (p. 13, emphasis added).

An article by Lee and Tolman entitled “Childhood Sexual Abuse and Adult Work Outcomes” in Social Work Research (June 2006) used data from the *American Women’s Employment Study* (WES), a longitudinal, community study of current and former welfare recipients in Michigan (n = 632). Their conclusions were:

“...CSA is related to lowered work outcomes beyond the much larger effect of human capital skills... (p. 87)

Although the nature of the data limits causal conclusions, these findings point to the plausibility of a model in which CSA has a direct but weak effect on employment and has an indirect effect on work through its strong association with negative mental and physical health outcomes. Although human capital variables are clearly important predictors of work outcomes, CSA and mental and physical health barriers also explain a large portion of the variance in work outcomes. *The added effect of CSA on employment is small; however, that such an effect persists given the numerous control variables in the model is testament to the potential impact of CSA on women’s lives* (p. 90; emphasis added).

An article by Currie and Widom entitled “Long-Term Consequences of Child Abuse and Neglect on Adult Economic Well-Being” Child Maltreat (2010) used data from one Midwestern metropolitan county area in the US, but studied males and females separately (n=807). Along with finding that “women are especially vulnerable to the long-term economic effects of being abused or neglected as a child” (versus men), these authors calculated that the experience of maltreatment reduces peak earning capacity by about \$5,000 per year and were about 14 percentage points less likely to be employed (pp. 10, 12). The authors claimed that “these estimates ... are not driven by biases associated with omitted variables” but did state that a limitation of the data was that it was “skewed toward the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum, and therefore, findings cannot be generalized to middle-class samples” (p. 13). It is also noteworthy that these authors’ data sample included “childhood physical and sexual abuse and neglect”, not just sexual abuse, which means that differences in income or employment probabilities could be due to one or more of these experiences.

A discussion paper published by Barrett and Kamiya for the well-known *Institute for the Study of Labor* (IZA) in Bonn, Germany entitled “Childhood sexual abuse and later-life economic consequences” (2012) focused on a sample of Irish men, ages 50 – 64. These authors estimated that male victims of child sexual abuse are almost 4 times more likely to be out of the labour force due to sickness and disability, and also spent a higher proportion of their potential working lives out of the labour force for these reasons. They also found that “CSA victims living in households with incomes that are 40% lower than comparable households”. When household structure was controlled for (because there was a greater tendency for victims of CSA to live alone, so there is only one-income earner in the household), this estimate declined to -10% (p. 13).

Using regression analysis on data from the *National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health*, Haukens⁵⁶ found that child sexual abuse leads to 6% to 8% lower likelihood of full-time employment, and 13% to 19% lower earnings in young adulthood.

⁵⁶ Henkhaus, E. Laura. “The lasting consequences of childhood sexual abuse on human capital and economic well-being.” *Health Economics* 2022 31:1954–1972.

In analyzing the impact of childhood sexual abuse on later-life economic consequences using the data from *The Irish Longitudinal Study on Ageing*, Barrett *et al.*⁵⁷ report that male victims of childhood sexual abuse are 2.9 times more likely to be out of the labour force due to sickness and disability compared to non-abused persons. The authors also showed that for males, childhood sexual abuse has a significant negative impact on total net family income: victims living in households with incomes that are about 44% lower than comparable households.

Using data from the *Quebec Longitudinal Study of Kindergarten Children* and regression analysis technique, Bouchard *et al.*⁵⁸ found that individuals who experienced child sexual abuse had lower annual earnings and earnings gaps were highest for severest child sexual abuse: the earnings reduction ranged from \$4,031 to \$16,042.⁵⁹ The authors also found that the earnings gap between sexually abused victims and non-abused persons in childhood widened in the period from early adulthood to middle adulthood. However, as indicated by the authors, child and parental mental health were not controlled for and as such, the link between the income gaps may not be due solely to sexual abuse (p. 7). Moreover, these figures are expressed in US currency and have not been adjusted for wage inflation (footnote [a] in Tables 1 and 2), so cannot be used to project income losses in Canadian 2023 dollars.

“Survivor’s Bias” in Sexual Assault Cases

There are several factors that can cause biases in estimating the impact of childhood sexual abuse on victims’ later-life economic well-being:

- ◆ *Criminal victimization incidents tend to be under-reported:* Statistics Canada has recognized that “sexual assault is one of the most underreported crimes”.⁶⁰ From the 2014 GSS, only 5% of sexual assaults were reported to the police.⁶¹ If the characteristics of the women who are assaulted but do not report it differ substantially from those who do, any analysis of the impact of sexual assault will not reflect these characteristics. For instance, if the women who do not report sexual assault did so because the consequences were more severe than those who did report such a crime, then analysis of the data we do have at our disposal will underestimate the impact of sexual assault.
- ◆ *Children are unlikely to disclose sexual abuse:* In a report entitled *Child Sexual Abuse Disclosure: What Practitioners Need to Know* study, Townsend reports that up to 43% of children are not willing to disclose child sexual abuse (p. 2). The author further notes that “low disclosure rates skew the number of reports and confirmed cases of child sexual abuse” (p. 1).⁶² This could result in misclassification of victims as non-victims and understate the consequences of childhood sexual abuse.

⁵⁷ Barrett, Alan, Yumiko Kamiya & Vincent O’Sullivan. “Childhood Sexual Abuse and Later-Life Economic Consequences.” *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Economics*, December 2014 Vol. 53, pp.10-16.

⁵⁸ Bouchard, Samantha, *et al.* (2023). “Child Sexual Abuse and Employment Earnings in Adulthood: A Prospective Canadian Cohort Study”. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*.

⁵⁹ These figures were converted by the authors to US dollars using the average annual exchange rate between the US and Canada (1 CAD = 0.83 USD (p. 3)). Just as importantly, the authors had access to earnings data spanning the period from 1998 to 2017. This means that the authors averaged years of data that are expressed in different year’s dollars. In Tables 1 and 2, footnote [a] in both observes that the dollar losses from the models “have not been adjusted for inflation.”

⁶⁰ S. Conroy and A. Cotter, “Self-reported sexual assault in Canada, 2014” Juristat catalogue no. 85-002-X released July 11, 2017, p. 4. Interestingly, although the rates of self-reported robbery and physical assault declined by 39% and 35% between 2004 and 2014, the reported rate of sexual assault persisted during this decade (22 incidents of sexual assault for every 1,000 Canadians aged 15 and older) (p. 5). According to the 2014 GSS on victimization, more than eight in ten (83%) sexual assault incidents were not reported to the police...This remained unchanged from 2004, when 88% of sexual assault incidents were not reported to the police.” (p. 16)

⁶¹ Statistics Canada, *Self-reported victimization, 2014*. The Daily, November 23, 2015.

⁶² C. Townsend, *Child Sexual Abuse Disclosure: What Practitioners Need to Know*. (2016). Darkness to Light. South Carolina, United States.

- ♦ *Victims of sexual abuse may be classified together with victims of homicide and possibly suicide* as reported by S. Cloutier *et. al.* (2001).⁶³ Egmond *et. al.* (1993) found that 50% of female suicide attempters aged 20 years or older reported having been sexually abused at some time.⁶⁴ If these victims are not classified with surviving sexual assault victims, the resulting sample will *understate* the consequences of sexual assault because these two outcomes are the most severe.

The impact of sexual assault under-reporting suggests that the impact of such a crime on employment and income is likely to be understated, since we are missing data from so many victims.

\$ Consumer Price Index Unemployment Rate

From October 2024 to October 2025*		For the month of October 2025	
(rates of inflation)			
Canada**	2.2%	Canada:	7.0%
St. John's, NF:	1.8%	St. John's, NF:	7.4%
Charlottetown (PEI):	1.4%	Charlottetown (PEI):	8.8%
Halifax:	2.5%	Halifax:	5.8%
Saint John, NB:	2.2%	Saint John, NB:	7.8%
Montréal:	3.3%	Montréal:	6.3%
Ottawa:	2.0%	Ottawa:	7.4%
Toronto:	1.5%	Toronto:	8.7%
Edmonton:	1.4%	Edmonton:	8.6%
Calgary:	2.1%	Calgary:	7.9%
Vancouver:	1.9%	Vancouver:	6.3%

* Using month-over-month indices. Source: Statistics Canada.

** 12 month rolling average up to October 2025 is 2.0% (see non-pecuniary awards table).

⁶³ S. Cloutier, S. L. Martin, and C. Poole. (2001). *Sexual assault among North Carolina women: prevalence and health risk factors*. University of North Carolina. North Carolina, United States.

⁶⁴ M. V. Egmond, N. Garnefski, D. Jonker, and A. Kerkhof. (1993). *The relationship between sexual abuse and female suicidal behavior*.

UPDATING NON-PECUNIARY AWARDS FOR INFLATION (Oct. 2025, Canada)

Non-Pecuniary Damages - Sample Awards						
Year of Accident/	"Inflationary"	\$10,000	\$25,000	\$50,000	\$75,000	\$100,000
Year of Settlement or Trial	Factors*					
October 2024-October 2025	1.020	\$10,200	\$25,500	\$51,001	\$76,501	\$102,002
Avg. 2023-October 2025	1.041	\$10,411	\$26,028	\$52,056	\$78,084	\$104,112
Avg. 2022-October 2025	1.082	\$10,815	\$27,038	\$54,076	\$81,114	\$108,153
Avg. 2021-October 2025	1.155	\$11,551	\$28,877	\$57,754	\$86,631	\$115,507
Avg. 2020-October 2025	1.194	\$11,943	\$29,857	\$59,715	\$89,572	\$119,429
Avg. 2019-October 2025	1.203	\$12,029	\$30,072	\$60,145	\$90,217	\$120,290
Avg. 2018-October 2025	1.226	\$12,263	\$30,659	\$61,317	\$91,976	\$122,635
Avg. 2017-October 2025	1.254	\$12,541	\$31,352	\$62,704	\$94,056	\$125,408
Avg. 2016-October 2025	1.274	\$12,741	\$31,853	\$63,705	\$95,558	\$127,411
Avg. 2015-October 2025	1.292	\$12,923	\$32,308	\$64,616	\$96,925	\$129,233
Avg. 2014-October 2025	1.307	\$13,069	\$32,672	\$65,344	\$98,017	\$130,689
Avg. 2013-October 2025	1.332	\$13,318	\$33,295	\$66,589	\$99,884	\$133,179
Avg. 2012-October 2025	1.344	\$13,443	\$33,607	\$67,213	\$100,820	\$134,426
Avg. 2011-October 2025	1.365	\$13,647	\$34,117	\$68,234	\$102,351	\$136,468
Avg. 2010-October 2025	1.404	\$14,044	\$35,110	\$70,220	\$105,330	\$140,440
Avg. 2009-October 2025	1.429	\$14,294	\$35,736	\$71,472	\$107,207	\$142,943
Avg. 2008-October 2025	1.436	\$14,362	\$35,905	\$71,811	\$107,716	\$143,621
Avg. 2007-October 2025	1.468	\$14,677	\$36,691	\$73,383	\$110,074	\$146,765
Avg. 2006-October 2025	1.499	\$14,990	\$37,475	\$74,950	\$112,424	\$149,899
Avg. 2005-October 2025	1.529	\$15,290	\$38,224	\$76,449	\$114,673	\$152,898
Avg. 2004-October 2025	1.563	\$15,629	\$39,072	\$78,144	\$117,215	\$156,287
Avg. 2003-October 2025	1.592	\$15,919	\$39,798	\$79,596	\$119,394	\$159,192
Avg. 2002-October 2025	1.636	\$16,359	\$40,897	\$81,793	\$122,690	\$163,586
Avg. 2001-October 2025	1.673	\$16,728	\$41,821	\$83,642	\$125,463	\$167,284
Avg. 2000-October 2025	1.715	\$17,149	\$42,873	\$85,746	\$128,620	\$171,493
Avg. 1999-October 2025	1.762	\$17,617	\$44,041	\$88,083	\$132,124	\$176,166
Avg. 1998-October 2025	1.792	\$17,922	\$44,804	\$89,608	\$134,412	\$179,216
Avg. 1997-October 2025	1.810	\$18,100	\$45,250	\$90,500	\$135,750	\$181,000
Avg. 1996-October 2025	1.839	\$18,393	\$45,983	\$91,966	\$137,948	\$183,931
Avg. 1995-October 2025	1.868	\$18,683	\$46,708	\$93,415	\$140,123	\$186,830
Avg. 1994-October 2025	1.908	\$19,084	\$47,710	\$95,421	\$143,131	\$190,841
Avg. 1993-October 2025	1.912	\$19,115	\$47,788	\$95,577	\$143,365	\$191,153
Avg. 1992-October 2025	1.947	\$19,473	\$48,682	\$97,363	\$146,045	\$194,726
Avg. 1991-October 2025	1.976	\$19,762	\$49,405	\$98,810	\$148,215	\$197,620
Avg. 1990-October 2025	2.087	\$20,874	\$52,185	\$104,371	\$156,556	\$208,742
Avg. 1989-October 2025	2.187	\$21,873	\$54,684	\$109,367	\$164,051	\$218,735
Avg. 1988-October 2025	2.296	\$22,964	\$57,409	\$114,818	\$172,227	\$229,636
Avg. 1987-October 2025	2.389	\$23,886	\$59,715	\$119,429	\$179,144	\$238,858
Avg. 1986-October 2025	2.493	\$24,927	\$62,317	\$124,634	\$186,951	\$249,269
Avg. 1985-October 2025	2.597	\$25,972	\$64,929	\$129,859	\$194,788	\$259,717
Avg. 1984-October 2025	2.700	\$27,001	\$67,502	\$135,003	\$202,505	\$270,007
Avg. 1983-October 2025	2.816	\$28,163	\$70,407	\$140,814	\$211,222	\$281,629
Avg. 1982-October 2025	2.982	\$29,816	\$74,540	\$149,079	\$223,619	\$298,159
Avg. 1981-October 2025	3.302	\$33,024	\$82,561	\$165,122	\$247,683	\$330,244
Avg. 1980-October 2025	3.715	\$37,150	\$92,874	\$185,748	\$278,623	\$371,497
Avg. 1979-October 2025	4.091	\$40,913	\$102,282	\$204,565	\$306,847	\$409,130
Jan. 1978-October 2025	4.660	\$46,601	\$116,503	\$233,006	\$349,509	\$466.011

\$119,429 = \$50,000 x 2.389 represents the dollar equivalent in October 2025 of \$50,000 based on inflation increases since 1987. Similarly, \$466,011 (= \$100,000 x 4.660) represents the dollar equivalent in October 2025 of \$100,000 in 1978 based on inflationary increases since the month of January 1978.

* Source: Statistics Canada, Consumer Price Index, monthly CPI release, rolling average (except for Jan. 1978).



Brown Economic Consulting Inc.

HEAD OFFICE

#216, 5718-1A Street South West
Calgary, AB T2H 0E8
Toll 1.800.301.8801

#907, 1128 Sunset Drive
Kelowna, B.C. V1Y 9W7
Toll 1.800.301.8801

Email info@browneconomic.com
Web www.browneconomic.com