

Stealthling: Legislating for change

The non-consensual removal of a condom during sex, commonly known as stealthling, is a form of sexual assault that has recently been criminalised in the ACT, Tasmania, NSW and Victoria. Polling shows that only 15% of Australians are familiar with the term stealthling, 56% do not know what its legal status is and 81% support criminalisation.

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Summary

Stealthing is a relatively new term given to a form of sexual assault. Stealthing occurs when an individual removes a condom during sexual intercourse without the other person's knowledge or consent. Stealthing puts individuals at risk of unintended pregnancy and the transmission of sexually transmitted infections. Survivors of stealthing may also experience psychological trauma and feelings of guilt and shame.

There is legal ambiguity surrounding stealthing in Australia. The ACT, Tasmania, NSW and Victoria have introduced legislation criminalising stealthing in the last year. A recent review of sexual assault legislation in Queensland recommended criminalising stealthing. Similar reviews are in progress in SA and WA.

Recognising stealthing as sexual assault is one of the first steps in preventing it. In July 2022, the Australia Institute polled Australians on whether they are familiar with the term stealthing and its varying criminal status in Australian jurisdictions.

Although as few as 15% of Australians are familiar with the term stealthing, over 80% support its criminalisation. Most Australians are not clear on the legal status of stealthing, with 56% responding that they did not know. This highlights the importance of education and public information relating to these law reforms and consent education more broadly.

Introduction

Stealthing is a relatively new term given to a form of sexual assault that occurs when an individual removes a condom during sexual intercourse without the other person's knowledge or consent.¹ In a stealthing scenario, an individual has consented to protected sex and typically only becomes aware of the condom's removal after intercourse has ended.² The term stealthing has been increasingly used in media and culture, notably in popular HBO series "I May Destroy You".

Stealthing presents a plethora of adverse consequences for victim/survivors, including the risk of unintended pregnancy, the transmission of sexually transmitted infections.³ Survivors also often experience severe psychological trauma, alongside feelings of guilt and shame associated with the violation of their dignity and autonomy.⁴ These negative feelings are reinforced by the perceived ambiguity regarding the legality of what has occurred.⁵

By changing the conditions of sex without a partner's knowledge, stealthing negates consent and sex without consent is sexual assault. This argument was first made by civil rights lawyer Alexandra Brodsky in an influential USA journal article,⁶ which received considerable media coverage in Australia.⁷ Internationally, UK academic Amanda Clough wrote of stealthing in 2018 after the verdict in the widely publicised case of Julian Assange and in recent years Australian scholars have entered the discussion.⁸ What is clear, is that this is an area that requires further research to support community education and to lead legislative reform.

¹ Chesser and Zahra (2019) *Stealthing: a criminal offence?* p 217, *Current Issues in Criminal Justice* 31(2)

² Ibid.

³ Chesser and Zahra (2019) *Stealthing: a criminal offence?* p 217-18, *Current Issues in Criminal Justice* 31(2)

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Brodsky (2017) "'Rape-Adjacent': Imagining Legal Responses to Non-consensual Condom Removal", 32(2) *Columbia Journal of Gender and Law* 183.

⁷ ABC (2017) *Manipulation, abuse, deceit: How I learnt about 'stealthing' from a Tinder date*, <https://www.abc.net.au/triplej/programs/hack/manipulation-abuse-deceitl-how-i-learnt-about-stealthing/8480696>

⁸ Chesser and Zahra (2019) *'Stealthing: a criminal offence?'* 31(2) *Current Issues in Criminal Justice* 217; Chesser et al. (2022) *'Consent, stealthing and desire-based contracting in the criminal law'*. London: Routledge.

There are no comprehensive estimates of how common stealthing is. Among some parts of the community, it may be quite common. A Monash University study in 2018 surveyed attendees of a sexual health clinic in Melbourne, finding 32% of women and 19% of men who have sex with men who responded to the survey had experienced stealthing.⁹ This study found that female sex workers are particularly at risk, almost three times more likely to have experienced stealthing than other women reporting to the sexual health clinic. Stealthing is largely unreported, only 1% of the Monash study respondents reported stealthing to police.

Internationally, some prosecutions have been successful,¹⁰ contributing to law reform efforts in Australian states and territories. In October 2021, the ACT became the first Australian jurisdiction to explicitly criminalise stealthing.¹¹ Tasmania and New South Wales and Victoria have followed suit in 2022. In July 2022, the Australia Institute's Centre for Sex & Gender Equality convened a roundtable on stealthing. Attorneys-General advisors and shadow Attorneys-General from every state and territory, Supreme Court Judges, members of legislative councils and leading academics came together to discuss legislative and educational reforms and to hear from stealthing survivors.

This report summarises the law reform progress to date in Australian states and territories and presents polling data showing strong support for the criminalisation of stealthing and confusion around its current status. Despite media attention, the term stealthing is not widely understood.

⁹ Latimer et al. (2018) *Non-consensual condom removal, reported by patients at a sexual health clinic in Melbourne, Australia*, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329926736_Non-consensual_condom_removal_reported_by_patients_at_a_sexual_health_clinic_in_Melbourne_Australia

¹⁰ Reuters (2017) *Swiss court upholds sentence in 'stealthing' condom case*, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-swiss-stealthing-idUSKBN1851UN>

¹¹ Christian (2021) *ACT criminalises stealthing, outlawing non-consensual removal of condom during sex*, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-10-08/act-criminalises-stealthing-in-australia-first/100522564>

Polling research

The Australia Institute surveyed a nationally representative sample of 1,001 Australians in July 2022 on their familiarity with the term stealthing and their attitude towards its criminalisation in all Australian states and territories.

Familiarity with the term stealthing

Two in three Australians (65%) said that they are not familiar with the term stealthing.

Even among respondents who said they were familiar with the term (35%), only two in five respondents identified the correct definition of stealthing from the definitions provided:

- Removal of a condom during sex with consent.
- Following a person in the vicinity of a person's place of residence, business or work.
- Unwanted or unwelcome behaviour that causes suffering.
- Removal of a condom during sex without consent.

This means that as few as 15% of Australians are familiar with the current usage of the term stealthing.

Male respondents were slightly more likely (38%) to say they are familiar with the term stealthing than female respondents (31%). Claimed familiarity with the term stealthing decreased by age group. Two thirds (63%) of those aged 18-29 said that they are familiar with the term stealthing, declining to only 15% of those aged 60 or older.

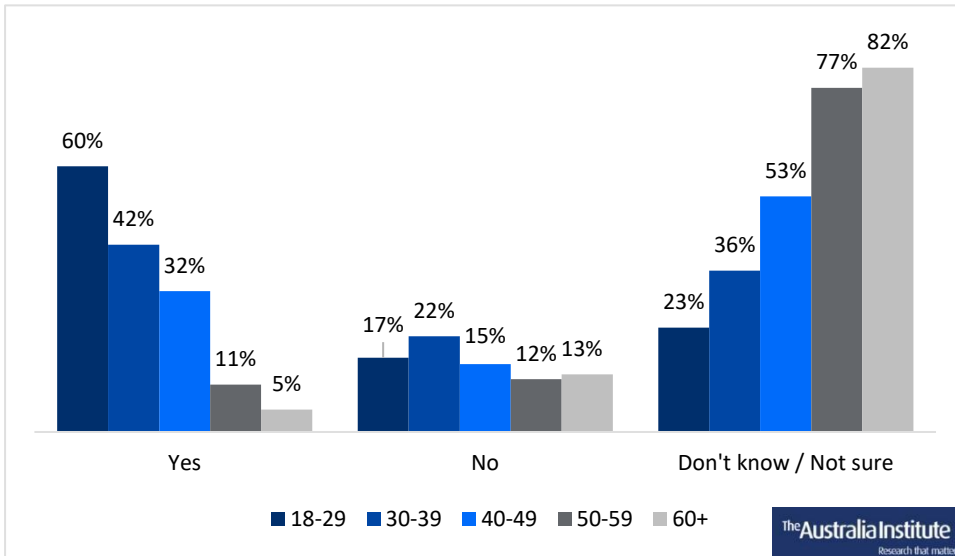
Knowledge of the criminal status of stealthing

The majority of Australians (56%) do not know whether the non-consensual removal of a condom is currently explicitly criminalised in the state or territory where they live.

Less than one in five people in WA and Queensland (17%) correctly identified that stealthing is not explicitly criminalised in these states. Of the remaining respondents in WA and Queensland, 54% said they did not know, and 29% incorrectly thought that it was already criminalised.

A respondent's belief that stealthing is criminalised in the state or territory where they live decreases by age. Three in five (60%) of those aged 18-29 believed that stealthing was criminalised where they live, declining to only 5% of those aged 60 or older, as shown in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Belief that stealthing is currently criminalised, by age group

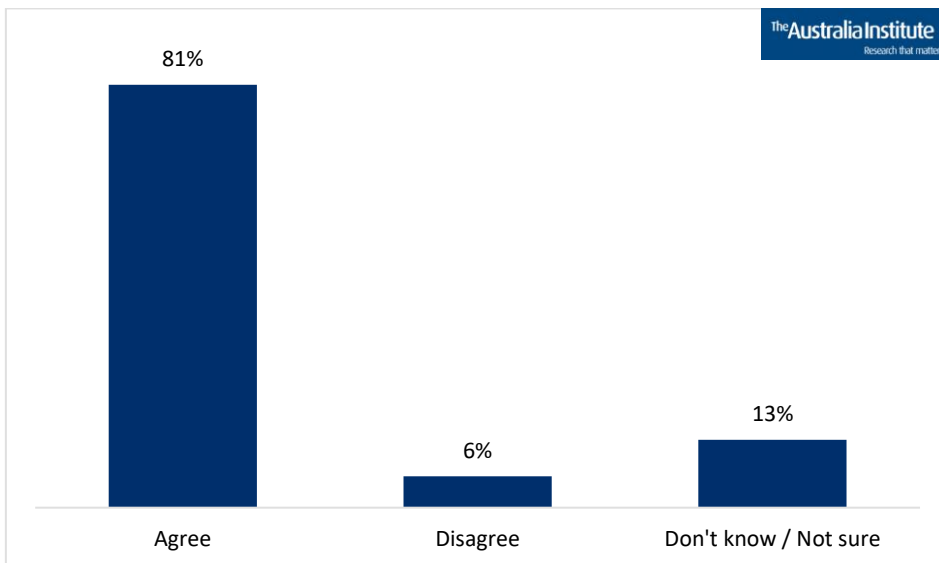


Support for stealthing criminalisation

Although familiarity with the term stealthing was low, there was strong support for criminalisation of non-consensual condom removal.

Four in five Australians (81%) agreed that stealthing should be a crime in all Australian states and territories, as shown in Figure 2. One in twenty Australians (6%) disagreed that stealthing should be a crime in all Australian jurisdictions and 13% were undecided. Support for the nation-wide criminalisation of stealthing was consistently strong across all age groups, locations, voting intentions and education levels.

Figure 2: Support for criminalisation of stealthing in all states and territories



Legislation in Australia

NATIONAL REVIEW

At the recent Meeting of Attorneys-General on 12 August 2022, all members agreed to endorse and publish the *Meeting of Attorneys-General Work Plan to Strengthen Criminal Justice Responses to Sexual Assault 2022-2027*.¹² One of the Work Plan priorities is strengthening legal frameworks. To progress this priority, there will be a national review and comparative analysis of sexual assault legislation in Australia. This would include legislation to criminalise stealthing. Federal cooperation on legislative approaches to criminalising stealthing will facilitate the rollout of education campaigns and ensure that stealthing is recognised as a crime, no matter where it occurs in Australia.

There are two main approaches that have been taken to legislative change in Australia; the first is to create an offence of stealthing, the second is to amend the definition of consent currently within the existing Crimes act, where stealthing would be added to the list of circumstances that do not amount to consent.

ACT LEGISLATION

The Australian Capital Territory was the first jurisdiction in Australia to outlaw stealthing, in October 2021. The *Crimes (Stealthing) Amendment Act 2021* made it illegal to remove a condom during sex or to not use a condom at all, in circumstances when condom use was previously agreed upon. In specifically changing the laws, the ACT implicitly recognised the inherent harm that stealthing poses to the physical and psychological well-being of the victim/survivor.

However, the ACT has since amended its consent laws and the initial inclusion of stealthing as an offence has been removed. Instead, the May 2022 amendments added 'misrepresentation about the use of a condom use' to the list of circumstances that would vitiate consent under s 67 (1)(j) of the *Crimes Act 1900* (ACT).

¹² Attorney-General's Department (2022) *Meeting of Attorneys-General (MAG) Communique – August 2022*, <https://www.ag.gov.au/about-us/publications/meeting-attorneys-general-mag-communique-august-2022>

TASMANIAN LEGISLATION

In June 2022, the *Criminal Code Amendment Bill 2022 (Tas)* received royal assent and came into operation in Tasmania. The Bill amended the definition of “consent” in the *Criminal Code Act 1924 (Tas)* to specifically provide that a person does not freely agree to sexual intercourse if that person communicates to the other person that a condom must be used and the other person does not use, tampers with, or removes the condom.¹³

NEW SOUTH WALES LEGISLATION

Affirmative consent laws came into effect in NSW in June 2022. The affirmative consent model requires explicit, informed, and voluntary agreement to participate in a sexual act. The NSW laws make it clear consent should not be presumed and consent to sexual activity should be clearly communicated.

Figure 3: Excerpt from Crimes Act NSW 1900

61HI Consent generally

- (1) A person *consents* to a sexual activity if, at the time of the sexual activity, the person freely and voluntarily agrees to the sexual activity.
- (2) A person may, by words or conduct, withdraw consent to a sexual activity at any time.
- (3) Sexual activity that occurs after consent has been withdrawn occurs without consent.
- (4) A person who does not offer physical or verbal resistance to a sexual activity is not, by reason only of that fact, to be taken to consent to the sexual activity.
- (5) A person who consents to a particular sexual activity is not, by reason only of that fact, to be taken to consent to any other sexual activity.

Example— A person who consents to a sexual activity using a condom is not, by reason only of that fact, to be taken to consent to a sexual activity without using a condom.

Source: Crimes Act NSW 1900

The NSW amendments also included five new Jury directions for judges to give at trial to address common misconceptions about consent, to ensure a complainant’s evidence is assessed fairly. The directions will clarify that:

- Sexual assault can occur in many different situations, including between acquaintances or people who are married or in a relationship.
- Sexual offences are not always accompanied by violence, threats or physical injuries.

¹³ *Criminal Code Act 1924 (Tas)* sch 1 s 2A(2A), as inserted by *Criminal Code Amendment Bill 2022 (Tas)* cl 4.

- There is no normal or typical response to being sexually assaulted, and juries must not rely on preconceived ideas about how people respond to a sexual assault.
- Trauma may affect people differently, which means some people may show signs of emotional distress when giving evidence and some may not.
- It should not be assumed that a person consented because of their behaviour, such as the way a person is dressed or the fact that they have consumed alcohol or drugs.¹⁴

The law reforms in NSW were accompanied by an extensive education campaign that depicted scenes of affirmative consent, the “Make No Doubt” campaign, which was launched on 25 May 2022.¹⁵

VICTORIAN LEGISLATION

Legislation criminalising stealthing passed the Victorian parliament on 30 August 2022. The Victorian *Justice Legislation Amendment (Sexual Offences and Other Matters) Bill 2022* follows the lead of other jurisdictions and includes reforms that clarify the circumstances where there is no consent to an act, including the removal, non-use or tampering of a condom.¹⁶ The reforms will start to be implemented in the coming months with the affirmative consent model to be in place from July 2023.

Coupled with legislative changes, the Victorian Government announced community-based education delivered by local organisations and specialist services in the 2022-23 State Budget.¹⁷

LEGISLATION IN PROGRESS: SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The South Australian Parliament considered a bill to categorise stealthing as sexual assault last year, however, the Bill did not pass the House of Assembly before parliament was prorogued prior to the March state election.

On 28 September, MLC Connie Bonaros of the SA-Best Party introduced the *Statutes Amendment (Stealthing and Consent) Bill 2022*. This is the second stealthing bill that

¹⁴ NSW Government (2022) *Affirmative consent becomes law in NSW*, <https://dcj.nsw.gov.au/news-and-media/media-releases/2022/affirmative-consent-becomes-law-in-nsw.html>

¹⁵ NSW Government (2022) *Make No Doubt*, <https://www.makenodoubt.dcj.nsw.gov.au/>

¹⁶ Andrews (2022) *Affirmative Consent Model Now Law in Victoria*, <https://www.premier.vic.gov.au/affirmative-consent-model-now-law-victoria>

¹⁷ Victorian Government (2022) *2022-23 Service Delivery*, p 94 <https://www.dtf.vic.gov.au/2022-23-state-budget/2022-23-service-delivery>

Connie Bonaros has introduced to the South Australian Parliament. The first, introduced in October 2021, was adjourned in its second reading in the House of Assembly and lapsed when the government changed as a result of the March state election.

The new Bill would amend current provisions to state that consent is negated if it is caused by the “misrepresentation (whether express or implied) as to the use of a condom during the activity”.¹⁸

As part of the SA Labor Government’s election commitment, the Attorney-General’s Department is currently undertaking a review into sexual assault legislation, including on stealthing, affirmative consent and coercive control.

LEGISLATION IN PROGRESS: QUEENSLAND

The second Queensland Women’s Safety and Justice Taskforce *Hear her voice* report published in July 2022 recommends an amendment to the definition of consent to criminalise stealthing in the same manner as New South Wales. The suggested amendment is outlined in recommendation 44 of the taskforce report:

The Attorney-General and Minister for Justice, Minister for Women and Minister for the Prevention of Domestic and Family Violence amend sections 348 (Meaning of consent) to:

- provide that a person who consents to a particular activity is not by reason only of that fact to be taken to consent to any other activity
- provide a legislative example for the provision in a) that a person who consents to sexual activity using a condom is not, by reason only of that fact, to be taken to consent to a sexual activity without using a condom.¹⁹

The Queensland Government is due to respond to the taskforce’s recommendations when the state parliament sits in October. It is likely the Queensland Attorney-General will accept the taskforce’s recommendations, including criminalising stealthing. The full implementation of the legislation is expected in 2023.

¹⁸ Government of South Australia (2022) *Statutes Amendment (Stealthing and Consent) Bill 2022*, [https://www.legislation.sa.gov.au/lz/path=/b/current/statutes%20amendment%20\(stealthing%20and%20consent\)%20bill%202022_hon%20connie%20bonaros%20mlc](https://www.legislation.sa.gov.au/lz/path=/b/current/statutes%20amendment%20(stealthing%20and%20consent)%20bill%202022_hon%20connie%20bonaros%20mlc)

¹⁹ Women’s Safety and Justice Taskforce (2022) *Hear her voice*, p 219
<https://www.womenstaskforce.qld.gov.au/publications>

REVIEW IN PROGRESS: WESTERN AUSTRALIA

In February 2022, the WA Attorney General tasked the Law Reform Commission of Western Australia to conduct a review of the state’s sexual assault laws and legal definition of consent.

The Review will consider whether an affirmative model of consent should be adopted, how mistakes and knowledge of consent should be applied to sexual assault cases, the factors that vitiate consent (including stealthing) and whether ‘special verdicts’ should be used.²⁰

The Law Reform Commission of Western Australia’s final report is due to be released in July 2023.

Figure 4: WA Government Project 113 – Sexual Offences Terms of Reference

Current status

Initial Stakeholder feedback has been sought and received. The Discussion Paper is now being prepared.



Source: Government of Western Australia (2022) *Project 113 – Sexual Offences*

GAPS IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

The Northern Territory is the last remaining jurisdiction in Australia to not have considered criminalising stealthing. As it stands, a person is guilty of a sexual offence in the Northern Territory if they have sexual intercourse with another person without the other person's consent and knows about, or is reckless as to, the lack of consent. Consent in the NT is defined using the common law definition “free and voluntary agreement.”²¹ However, without legal clarity, stealthing sits within a legal grey area that the other states faced prior to the specific inclusion of stealthing as a set of circumstances that vitiates consent.

²⁰ Government of Western Australia (2022) *Two major reviews to examine WA’s sexual offence laws*, <https://www.mediastatements.wa.gov.au/Pages/McGowan/2022/02/Two-major-reviews-to-examine-WAs-sexual-offence-laws.aspx>

²¹ *Criminal Code Act 1983 (NT)* s 192(1).

Education

As the Australia Institute’s polling research finds there is strong support for the criminalisation of stealthing despite the term not being widely understood. These results speak to the importance of education in preventing stealthing.

In April 2022, Ministers of Education around Australia unanimously committed to mandating holistic and age-appropriate consent education in all Australian schools from foundation until year 10.²² Implementation of the new curriculum begins in 2023, although some jurisdictions may not adopt it until 2024. While state and territory schools are able to tailor their curriculum, the national curriculum will set a consistent minimum standard for consent education in both public and independent schools.

The new curriculum will teach about the laws specific to the school’s jurisdiction. As soon as stealthing is criminalised in any jurisdiction, it will become part of the state or territory’s consent and respectful relationship education curriculum.²³ When the new curriculum is implemented in the ACT, Tasmania, NSW and Victoria, there will be specific education about stealthing. So long as legislation explicitly criminalising stealthing is absent in Queensland, SA, WA and the NT, it will not be mandatory to include stealthing in consent and respectful relationship education.

Comprehensive consent education, that includes specific education about stealthing behaviours, will require a whole of community approach. As more jurisdictions recognise that stealthing is a form of sexual assault, victims’ services and victim advocacy groups are likely to experience an increase in demand and services sectors will also need updated training to support survivors during disclosure.

²² Robert (2022) *Doorstop – Commonwealth Parliamentary Offices, Melbourne*, <https://ministers.dese.gov.au/robert/doorstop-commonwealth-parliamentary-offices-melbourne>

²³ Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (2022) *Health and Physical Education – F-10 Curriculum*, https://v9.australiancurriculum.edu.au/f-10-curriculum/learning-areas/health-and-physical-education/foundation-year_year-1_year-2_year-3_year-4_year-5_year-6_year-7_year-8_year-9_year-10/content-description?subject-identifier=HPEHPEY910&content-description-code=AC9HP10P07&detailed-content-descriptions=0&hide-ccp=0&hide-gc=0&side-by-side=1&strands-start-index=0&subjects-start-index=3&view=quick

Conclusion

It is clear from the Australia Institute's polling research that the task ahead should focus on education post criminalisation.

While there are no comprehensive estimates of how common stealthing is, there is strong support for the nationwide criminalisation of stealthing. Currently, stealthing is explicitly criminalised in four Australian jurisdictions. It is expected that Queensland, SA and WA will criminalise stealthing in the next year. This will mean that stealthing will be criminalised in every Australian jurisdiction except the NT.

To prevent stealthing, comprehensive education campaigns must come next.

Appendix: Polling method

Between 13 and 15 July 2022, The Australia Institute surveyed 1,001 adults living in Australia, online through Dynata's panel, with nationally representative samples by gender, age group, and state and territory.

Voting crosstabs show voting intentions for the House of Representatives. Those who were undecided were asked which way they were leaning; these leanings are included in voting intention crosstabs.

Respondents were presented with a content warning at the beginning of the survey. Having seen the content warning, 43 people chose not to continue. It is possible this content warning influenced the results.

The research is compliant with the Australian Polling Council Quality Mark standards. The long methodology disclosure statement follows.

Long disclosure statement

The results were weighted by three variables (gender, age group, and state and territory) based on Australian Bureau of Statistics "National, state and territory population" data, using the raking method. This resulted in an effective sample size of 996.

The margin of error (95% confidence level) for the national results is 3%.

Results are shown only for larger states.

Voting intention questions appeared just after the initial demographic questions, before policy questions. Respondents who answered "Don't know / Not sure" for voting intention were then asked a leaning question; these leanings are included in voting intention crosstabs. "Coalition" includes separate responses for Liberal and National. "Other" refers to Independent/Other, and minor parties in cases where they were included in the voting intention but represent too small a sample to be reported separately in the crosstabs.



Appendix: Detailed polling results

Respondents were presented with a content warning at the beginning of the survey. Having seen the content warning, 43 people chose not to continue. It is possible this content warning influenced the results.

No preceding questions in the poll are expected to have influenced the results of the questions published here.

Are you familiar with the term stealthing?

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>NSW</i>	<i>VIC</i>	<i>QLD</i>	<i>WA</i>
Yes	35%	38%	31%	34%	36%	33%	37%
No	65%	62%	69%	66%	64%	67%	63%

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Coalition</i>	<i>Labor</i>	<i>Greens</i>	<i>PHON</i>	<i>Other</i>
Yes	35%	35%	25%	49%	38%	46%
No	65%	65%	75%	51%	62%	54%

	<i>Total</i>	<i>18-29</i>	<i>30-39</i>	<i>40-49</i>	<i>50-59</i>	<i>60+</i>
Yes	35%	63%	49%	38%	12%	15%
No	65%	37%	51%	62%	88%	85%

Which of the following is a definition of stealthing?

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>NSW</i>	<i>VIC</i>	<i>QLD</i>	<i>WA</i>
Removal of a condom during sex with consent	18%	21%	15%	18%	21%	18%	18%
Following a person in the vicinity of a person's place of residence, business or work	21%	23%	18%	22%	18%	25%	26%
Unwanted or unwelcome behaviour that causes suffering	17%	19%	14%	20%	15%	12%	16%
Removal of a condom during sex without consent	42%	35%	51%	37%	47%	43%	34%
Other	2%	2%	2%	3%	0%	2%	5%

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Coalition</i>	<i>Labor</i>	<i>Greens</i>	<i>PHO N</i>	<i>Other</i>
Removal of a condom during sex with consent	18%	19%	7%	25%	22%	26%
Following a person in the vicinity of a person's place of residence, business or work	21%	24%	23%	16%	16%	17%
Unwanted or unwelcome behaviour that causes suffering	17%	20%	17%	17%	11%	12%
Removal of a condom during sex without consent	42%	35%	51%	40%	45%	43%
Other	2%	2%	1%	2%	5%	1%

	<i>Total</i>	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Removal of a condom during sex with consent	18%	23%	23%	17%	6%	0%
Following a person in the vicinity of a person's place of residence, business or work	21%	26%	20%	15%	22%	15%
Unwanted or unwelcome behaviour that causes suffering	17%	17%	18%	17%	0%	22%
Removal of a condom during sex without consent	42%	34%	37%	47%	72%	58%
Other	2%	0%	2%	3%	0%	5%

Stealthing is removal of a condom during sexual intercourse without consent. To the best of your knowledge, is stealthing currently explicitly criminalised in the state or territory where you live?

	<i>Total</i>	Male	Female	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA
Yes	29%	32%	25%	29%	31%	27%	31%
No	16%	15%	16%	16%	14%	15%	20%
Don't know / Not sure	56%	53%	58%	55%	55%	58%	49%

	<i>Total</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	PHON	Other
Yes	29%	31%	17%	43%	39%	39%
No	16%	14%	19%	16%	17%	10%
Don't know / Not sure	56%	55%	64%	41%	44%	51%

	<i>Total</i>	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Yes	29%	60%	42%	32%	11%	5%
No	16%	17%	22%	15%	12%	13%
Don't know / Not sure	56%	23%	36%	53%	77%	82%

Currently, stealthing is explicitly criminalised in the ACT and Tasmania only. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

“Stealthing should be a crime in all Australian states and territories.”

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>NSW</i>	<i>VIC</i>	<i>QLD</i>	<i>WA</i>
Strongly agree	48%	43%	53%	47%	45%	53%	45%
Agree	33%	38%	28%	32%	35%	31%	39%
Disagree	4%	5%	2%	4%	5%	3%	4%
Strongly disagree	2%	3%	1%	2%	2%	2%	1%
Don't know / Not sure	13%	12%	15%	14%	14%	11%	10%

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Coalition</i>	<i>Labor</i>	<i>Greens</i>	<i>PHON</i>	<i>Other</i>
Strongly agree	48%	45%	49%	53%	40%	53%
Agree	33%	34%	34%	35%	35%	26%
Disagree	4%	3%	2%	4%	11%	7%
Strongly disagree	2%	4%	0%	0%	6%	3%
Don't know / Not sure	13%	15%	15%	8%	8%	11%

	<i>Total</i>	<i>18-29</i>	<i>30-39</i>	<i>40-49</i>	<i>50-59</i>	<i>60+</i>
Strongly agree	48%	50%	45%	58%	41%	47%
Agree	33%	41%	37%	25%	29%	31%
Disagree	4%	6%	3%	4%	3%	3%
Strongly disagree	2%	1%	3%	0%	3%	3%
Don't know / Not sure	13%	3%	12%	12%	23%	16%