



Key facts about violence

Understanding violence is key to keeping children safe

If we want to prevent violence, we need to understand it. The more we know about violence, the better we can focus our efforts to keep children safe. This means asking questions like:

When does violence happen?

Where does violence happen?

Who is involved in violence?

Why does violence happen?

Thankfully, there is a substantial evidence base which can help us answer these questions. Violence prevention strategies that are informed by this evidence are likely to have a bigger impact.

In this resource we look at the research on the nature of violence and how, why and where it happens. We provide eight simple descriptive facts about violence.

We present eight key insights from the research.

- Violence is preventable
- 2 A small number of people commit a large proportion of violent crime
- 3 Violence is concentrated in a small number of places
- 4 Violence is more likely to happen at certain times of day, week and year

- 5 Social groups and relationships play an important role in violence
- 6 Violent offending rates tend to peak in late adolescence or early adulthood
- In the UK, children from some racialised groups experience more violence than others
- 8 Violent crimes cause the most harm

For each fact we discuss practical implications – what does it mean for how we prevent violence? We also share stories, reflections and provocations from experts who have put these insights into practice. We share these implications and reflections as examples of how to respond to these facts – there will be many alternative but valid responses that are not included in this report.

How did we create this resource?

It is difficult to conduct research on violence - it can be hard to measure. For example, police-reported violence can be sensitive to changes in policing practices and whether crimes are reported by victims. Nonetheless, we think there are some basic descriptive insights that emerge consistently enough to be called 'facts'.

The facts in this resource will be most applicable to physical violence that happens in the community. Insights from this evidence might not apply to other forms of violence such as domestic abuse or sexual violence.

In places this document relies on research involving both children and adults. We present specific evidence on children where it exists and suggests different patterns for children and adults.

Some facts were initially derived from research in the USA where the availability of guns creates a different context. In these cases, we sought UK evidence and examples to test their applicability in our context.

It's important to understand what violence looks like in your context

These facts are good starting points for thinking about violence. They are generally true across different people, places, and times. For example, offending peaks somewhere in late adolescence or early adulthood for many people and in many places around the world (see fact 6 below).

However, these facts won't be true for all people and places, all the time. There will be variation. For example, the offending rate will peak at slightly different ages in different places. Perhaps it will peak at 16 in one location and 21 in another. In a small number of places, it might peak outside of late adolescence and early adulthood altogether.

This means it's essential to understand the specifics in your local context. They might be different to what is generally observed. The facts in this resource are a good starting point for thinking about violence in your area, but it's important to check whether and how they apply.

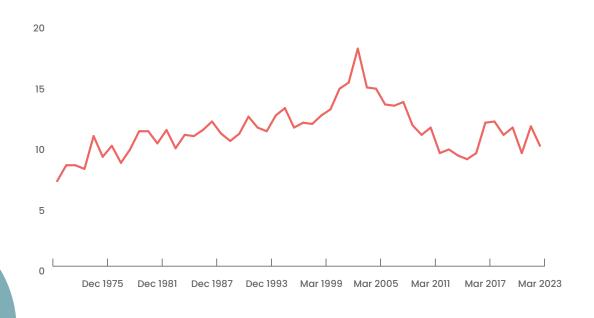
Violence is preventable

Violence isn't inevitable – we can prevent it.

We know that some approaches can protect people from becoming involved in violence. This includes specific interventions such as <u>therapy</u> or <u>mentoring</u> for children and changes to systems and institutions, such as <u>diverting</u> children from court and other formal justice processes. Research on these and other activities is summarised in the <u>YEF Toolkit</u> (see Figure 2 below).

We also know that violence isn't inevitable because we have already experienced large reductions in it. It used to be much higher. In the 13th century there were about 20-25 homicides per 100,000 people in the UK and Ireland. This reduced to a low of 0.3-0.5 homicides per 100,000 people in the 1930s to 1950s. Homicide increased over the latter half of the 20th century, before decreasing again (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Rate of homicide offences per million population England and Wales, year ending December 1970 to year ending March 2023. Source: ONS^{III}





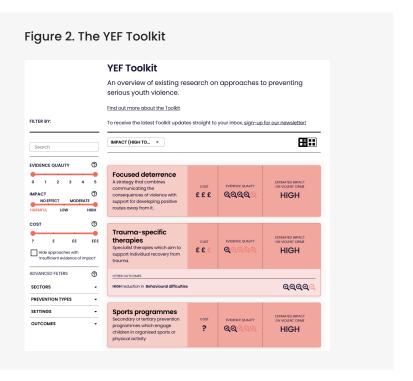
We have made progress but there is still much work to do. Although low by historical standards, current rates of serious violence are high compared to ten years ago. For example, serious violence affecting children increased sharply in the mid-2010s causing the number of children admitted to hospital for knife assault to nearly double from 2012/13 to 2018/19. Rates have fallen somewhat since but remain high. Between 2019/20 and 2022/23, homicides fell by 30% and hospital admissions by 16% but are still higher than before the mid-2010s increase.

What does this mean for violence prevention?

We can prevent violence if we take an evidence-informed approach. Learning from research can help us invest our time, effort and money in the approaches that have worked best in the past. This doesn't guarantee success but is a good starting point for thinking about what actions to take.

Research on which activities seem to have worked and which haven't is summarised in the YEF Toolkit. The Toolkit is a free, online resource, based on real-life data about what has happened when different approaches, from restorative justice to knife education programmes, have been used before. The Toolkit presents research in a way that's easy to access and easy to understand. It's there to complement your own expertise and local knowledge, rather than replace it.

Of course there are some important limitations to this evidence base. Unfortunately, there is still a limited amount of research from the UK and the design of many studies could be improved. While it can't provide you with definitive answers, the evidence suggests 'best bets' – approaches that are likely to make a positive difference to the children you work with, because they have worked well in the past.



Ciaran Thapar, Director of Public Affairs and Communications at YEF, Author of *Cut Short*

"My youth work and education career began in a pocket of south London as violence surged in the mid-2010s, locally and nationally. My book, Cut Short (2021), tells a five-year story of loss and hope in the community that followed. I saw the vastness of the problem up close but also learned that solutions are possible, especially where there is sustainable investment, collective will and a targeted approach.

"Violence amongst young people happens when a confluence of forces in their lives overwhelm them, and not enough has been done to prevent it. Trauma poisons families and friendship groups. Socially excluding someone can make them feel like their life doesn't matter. Political and media attention often focuses on the wrong things, for the wrong reasons, and the story that emerges is too often one of despair and defeatism.

"But there are clear ways forward, and we can follow them. Providing vulnerable children with a mentor who they can turn to in a time of need, or therapy to make sense of their experiences, or collaborative public services that wrap around them to ensure they are safe, are some examples. We increasingly know what works and what doesn't.

"I believe that violence is preventable when we combine the research, evidence and data with local knowledge and human wisdom on the ground. My colleagues and I at the Youth Endowment Fund are committed to achieving this mission."



Violence is preventable when we combine the research, evidence and data with local knowledge and human wisdom on the ground.

CIARAN THAPAR

A small number of people commit a large proportion of violent crime

A small number of people commit a large proportion of the violent crime that occurs. For example, in one study 1% of the total population accounted for 63% of all convictions for violence. Amongst those who commit any crime, offending is further concentrated within a smaller group of people who've committed many offences. A large amount of the violence that happens is carried out by a subset of people who commit many offences.

We know a lot about the common characteristics of people involved in violent crime. They are overwhelmingly likely to be male.^{ix} They are also more likely to have experienced extremely challenging and traumatic situations. This could include being a victim of violence themselves, experience of the care system, or criminal exploitation.^x Research suggests that people do not tend to specialise much in one type of offending – people who commit the largest number of violent offences are also likely to be committing other offences too^{xi}

What does this mean for violence prevention?

If a small group of people commit a large proportion of violence, we should identify them and support them to stop.

Learning more about the backgrounds of people involved in violence often reveals that they face difficult circumstances and decisions. Supporting them to desist will involve addressing these challenges and meeting their needs.

The YEF has invested in further development and testing of an approach called <u>focused</u> <u>deterrence</u>. Focused deterrence recognises that most serious violence is associated with a small group of people who are themselves very likely to be victims of violence, trauma, and extremely challenging circumstances.^{xii} It attempts to identify these people and support them to desist through a combination of positive support, community engagement and deterrence. YEF is testing the impact of focused deterrence through a randomised control trial in five English cities.

Ajada Bridges-Matthew, YEF Youth Advisory Board member and a former Community Navigator on The Phoenix Programme one of the focused deterrence projects being tested by YEF.

"People referred to the Phoenix Programme must be involved or associated with a group committing or driving serious violence. So things such as drug trafficking or offences involving weapons. Often, they'd be part of the same friendship groups or live in the same area.

"I wouldn't say this group is hard to reach, it's more that certain organisations don't know how to adapt their methods to suit the needs of the people using their services. As a Community Navigator, I wasn't associated with any statutory organisation. Sometimes we'd go to a first meeting and they would be absolutely fine talking to me because I didn't represent what they saw as "the enemy" – the council, the police or probation. They'd often see these statutory organisations as people who they couldn't trust or people who had failed them in the past, so didn't see any point in engaging with them.

"I think this is why so many services struggle
- because people's attitudes and beliefs are
so ingrained. It's something that you can't
necessarily measure and it takes a long time
to change. It needs strong relationships with
people who look like the service users, who talk
like the service users - people who they think
they can trust from the get-go."



relationships with people who look like the service users, who talk like the service users - people who they think they can trust

AJADA BRIDGES-MATTHEW

Violence is concentrated in a small number of places

Crime and violence tend to happen in certain locations more often than others. These locations are called 'hotspots'. An analysis of data in England and Wales found that 50% of violent crime happens in just 2% of street segments^{xiii} In London, nearly 70% of knife-related homicides happen within just 1% of small geographic areas.^{xiv} This is backed up by a recent review of international research which found that, on average, 50% of crime happens in just 4.5% of streets.^{xv} These locations can be very small, such as a bus station, school route, or section of a park or street.

There are several reasons why hotspots might form.xvi

- Some locations, such as transport hubs, simply have many people gathering in them or passing through. When large numbers of people gather in one place, there is a greater risk of violence between them.
- 2 Other hotspots form because they attract people who are especially likely to become involved in violence. For example, places where drugs are sold can become hotspots because people involved in drug markets are especially vulnerable to violent conflict.
- Hotspots can also form when there is limited guardianship or regulation of behaviour (for example, a badly managed nightclub).

What does this mean for violence prevention?

Resources are limited and the police and social services can't be everywhere all the time. It makes sense to focus activities and resources on the places where violence is most common.**

In policing, this approach is called hotspots policing. There is good evidence that hotspots policing can prevent crime and violence.**viii The YEF Toolkit estimates that, on average, it has had a moderate impact on reducing violent crime. It also found slightly largely impacts when the police took a 'problem-oriented' approach, which understands and addresses the root causes of violence. You can read more about this evidence in the Toolkit summary.

Hot spots policing A police strategy that targets resources and activities to places where crime is most concentrated	COST	EVIDENCE QUALITY	ESTIMATED IMPACT ON VIOLENT CRIME MODERATE
OTHER OUTCOMES			
MODERATE reduction in Drug offences			<u> </u>

Of course, it's not just policing that can benefit from thinking about hotspots. There is evidence that other local services and the community-led efforts can address violence hotspots by understanding why they exist and taking a thoughtful response to make them safe.xix

Expert insight

Mark Brennan - Detective Inspector, Leicestershire Police

"We launched a new hotspots initiative about two years ago. Looking at where and when violence happens in Leicester, there's a midafternoon peak and a nighttime economy peak. I was really struck by how the hotspots in the midafternoon peak are full of vulnerability. There's drugs being taken and sold, alcohol issues and vulnerable children being attracted to those spaces.

"Policing can only do so much in these situations. If we speak to children about why they are in those spaces, we don't get the full story. If we try to involve them in more positive activities, it can be hard to get engagement. It just felt like we're not getting underneath it all.

"We decided to partner with another organisation from outside policing who bring different skills and could provide a different form of support. We began working with a local social care and health provider, Turning Point, to run a street outreach service focused on the violent hotspots. The outreach staff are really credible and skilled at what they do. They are much more able to engage and understand what's driving the violence, be a consistent presence and build up relationships over time, and help people access support when they need it."

You can read a more detailed summary of this project on the <u>College of Policing website.</u>



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There's drugs being taken and sold, alcohol issues and vulnerable children being attracted to those spaces.

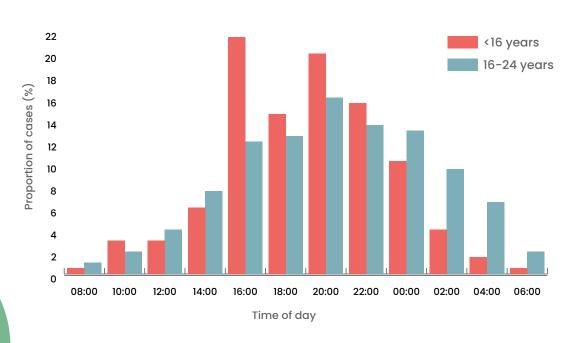
MARK BRENNAN

Violence is more likely to happen at certain times of day, week and year

Typically, violence is higher in the summer, at the weekend and at night.xx

However, the exact pattern will vary across populations and types of crime. Violence involving children can decrease in the summer when they are on summer holidays and increase when they return to school in the autumn.^{xxi} For children in England and Wales, there is evidence that the period after the school day finishes (4pm-8pm) is especially risky for the most serious violence (See Figure 3). ^{xxii}

Figure 3. Timing of injuries in children (red) and young adults (blue) who attended a UK major trauma centre with stab injuries. From Vulliamy et al (2018)



What does this mean for violence prevention?

Understanding when violence happens can improve our attempts to prevent it. If the time after school is especially risky, what can we do to make it safer?

For example, the Safe Passage programme in Chicago was designed to address this risk directly. Jointly run by the Chicago public schools district and police department, Safe Passage places local trusted adults along school routes at the beginning and end of the school day. These adults prevent violence by resolving disputes, deterring violence through their presence, and reliably reporting when it does happen.

Several studies have examined the impact of Safe Passage in Chicago since it launched. These studies have suggested reductions in crime and violence along the chosen routes, reductions in crime on nearby neighbourhood streets, and even reduced rates of absenteeism from school.xiv Given these promising results, the YEF worked with the Home Office to fund an evaluation of a similar programme, Step Together, in the West Midlands to test whether the benefits seen in Chicago might be replicated here. The findings from this evaluation will be published in 2025.

Lily Moreton, YEF Youth Advisory Board member and youth worker

"When I was in school, it wasn't uncommon to hear about people arranging to meet after school to settle arguments. Since everyone travels home along the same routes, it's no surprise that trouble tends to happen around that time. We work in schools to provide early support to young people who might be vulnerable to getting caught up in these situations.

"I used to do detached youth work between six and eight in the evening, engaging young people who were hanging around. We coordinate our work with other youth services in South Bristol to stagger our activities so the area is covered most of the time.

"We walk the same routes through estates, parks and shopping areas, getting a feel for where different groups hang out and gradually building relationships. If the police inform us of increased anti-social behaviour in an area, we might go there to engage the young people more positively. We often bring equipment, like footballs, to help break the ice and connect with them in their space.

"Our organisation has a strong presence in the community, so most young people know who we are. The key to detached youth work is engaging them on their level, building relationships and not giving up too quickly."



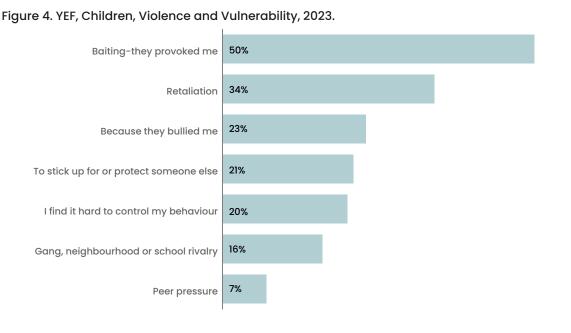
The key to detached youth work is engaging them on their level, building relationships and not giving up too quickly.

LILY MORETON

Social groups and relationships play an important role in violence

The people we know and the social groups we are part of can be an important influence on our involvement in violence. Research suggests that people involved in violence are more likely to be part of social networks that include other people involved in violence. If someone you know is involved in violence, you are at greater risk of also experiencing violence. The majority of research on this topic has been conducted on gun violence in the USA. However, recent research has found similar 'network effects' in the UK. A study in Merseyside found that knowing someone who had been convicted of violence was associated with a 16% increased chance of committing violence in the future xxiii

Findings from YEF's 2023 survey into children and young people's experiences of violence, provides further evidence on the role of social relationships: children reported provocation and retaliation as the most important explanations for why they commit violence (see Figure 4). We also found that it's common for children who are victims of violence to know the person who committed violence against them.



YOUTH ENDOWMENT FUND: Key facts about violence



What does this mean for violence prevention?

It's important to understand the nature of violence in your area and the role of social relationships and group conflict in driving it. If they play an important role, how will you design your response to address them?

This fact has informed the design of several promising violence prevention interventions.

<u>A&E navigator programmes</u> aim to interrupt violent retaliation by working with people who've experienced a violent injury and attend A&E. Providing support in the aftermath of an incident could protect vulnerable children from this vicious cycle.xxvi

Junior Smart, founder of the SOS Project at St Giles

"When you look at a co-offending group what you tend to see is a hierarchical structure because every single person has been brought in by somebody else, and this is especially true for females. The language used within these groups reinforces the idea of the shared experience and family-like bonds. You'll hear phrases like 'My brother,' 'You're my fam,' and 'We're in this together.' Which in turn links to the ideas of shared experiences, often of trauma. Over time, this creates a strong emotional investment that's difficult to break away from.

"This presents several challenges when helping individuals exit these groups. There's the fear of retaliation, especially if they've incurred debts or created victims. Then there's the question of income—what happens if the group or illicit activity was their primary source of money? Being part of a group can also destroy family networks.

"There are two sides to the support we offer – 'soft support' and 'hard support'. Soft support is about emotional empathy. It's about helping them see the value in the things around them now and understand the consequences if they don't take care of those things.

"Then there's the hard support, which includes risk assessments, safety planning, mental health support, and sometimes legal assistance. One thing we do well is involve people with lived experience of the criminal justice system. We aim to surround individuals with success stories so they can see that people have made it out the other side and are doing well."



We aim to surround individuals with success stories so they can see that people have made it out the other side and are doing well."

JUNIOR SMART

Violent offending rates tend to peak in late adolescence or early adulthood

Crime and violence typically peak during late adolescence and early adulthood, then steadily decline. This phenomenon is often called 'the age-crime curve'.

There are many possible explanations for why people are less likely to be involved in violence as they get older. XXVIII It could relate to psychological and physiological changes such as improved impulse control or better decision-making abilities. Becoming an adult is also associated with changes in our relationships and how we are treated by society which could support desistance. As we get older, we tend to form more stable personal relationships and gain more responsibilities, such as a job or children to care for.

While the general pattern of the age-crime curve seems consistent, the age at which the curve peaks and the rate of decline after the peak will vary across contexts, populations and crime types. The charts below present data demonstrating slightly different age-crime curves for different violent offences in different contexts. Figure 3 presents data from a study in Peterborough which suggests that total violent offences peaked at age 15.

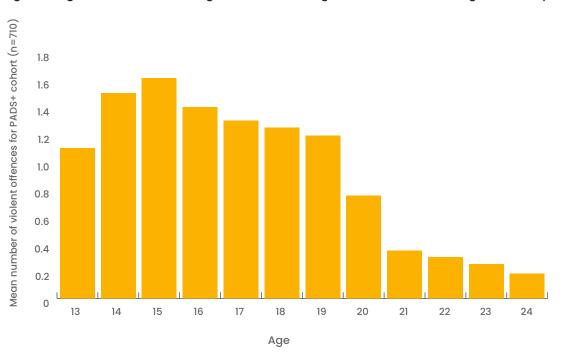


Figure 5. Age and violent offending in the Peterborough Adolescent and Young Adult studyxxviii

Figure 6 shows the murder rate for different age groups in recent years across England and Wales. It suggests the murder rate peaks in early adulthood (18-20), which is slightly later than the violent offending peak in the Peterborough study.

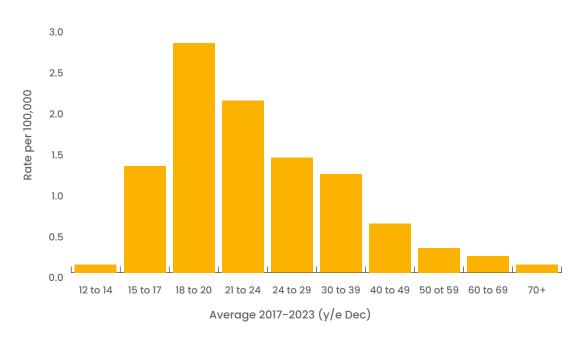


Figure. Convictions for murder by age group 2017-2023. YEF analysis.

We should remember that the age-crime curve describes the average pattern across a large group of people. Not everyone follows the same trajectory. Individual experiences, opportunities, and choices will mean individual people have very different stories.

What does this mean for violence prevention?

Most of the time, when children are involved in crime it's for relatively minor offences. It's important that, when children commit minor offences, the response is proportionate and informed by the evidence. There is evidence that experiences of the formal justice system, like going to court or being sent to custody, can increase the risk that children reoffend.** Keeping children out of the formal system could prevent them being exposed to negative influences, support them to develop a positive identity, and avoid disruption to their education and relationships. This is why pre-court diversion is such an important approach. Diverting children from court to positive support can reduce the risk that they reoffend and the severity of their offence if they do.** If children do commit minor offences, diverting them away from the formal criminal justice system onto positive support could have a big impact on the rest of their lives.

Unfortunately a small minority of children and young adults can become involved in very serious and violent crime. It's essential that systems are in place so that we notice when this happens and can act to safeguard these children and young adults.

Keith Fraser, Chair of the Youth Justice Board and YEF Committee Member

"When we see statistics about crime amongst children and young people, it's easy to dehumanise the problem. I think we have to ask *why* it is happening. There are no excuses for violent behaviour, but when we start to understand, it becomes less of a surprise.

"When we say that many people grow out of crime, they literally do, partly because of changes in our bodies and minds that mean we become more able to self-regulate and make better decisions.

"It saddens me how overrepresented young people from certain backgrounds are in the justice system. This includes those who have experienced trauma and victimisation, who have been in care or excluded from school. Those with speech, language and communication needs, mental health needs, accommodation needs, parenting needs. So much is usually going on beyond the statistic that brought someone into contact with the system.

"How can we support children, young people and young adults to have a positive identity and idea of themselves, so that they can find their place in society?"



There are no excuses for violent behaviour, but when we start to understand, it becomes less of a surprise.

KEITH FRASER

In the UK, children from some ethnic groups are disproportionately involved in the justice system and exposed to more violence than others

There are significant racial and ethnic inequities in the youth justice system and exposure to violence. Most children who interact with the police and youth justice system are White. However, considering their share of the population, children from Black backgrounds are overrepresented at all levels. For example, Black children make up 6% of all 10–17-year-olds, but in 2022/23, they accounted for 26% of children in custody – 4.4 times more than their population share. Black Caribbean children are particularly over-represented in arrests – they are 355% more likely to be arrested compared to their share of the population. Black children are also disproportionately likely to be victims of violence. Over a third (35%) of all 16–24-year-old homicide victims in the latest year were identified as Black. This is over six times more than their share of the population.

There is also significant overrepresentation in some smaller groups. For example, children from Gypsy and Irish Traveller backgrounds are 118% more likely to be arrested compared to their share of the population.xxxiv

Preventing violence requires us to acknowledge, understand, and tackle these racial inequities. It's important to recognise that they are the result of centuries of racism and inequality. They are continued by a complex set of issues, including racism, access to services and opportunities, cycles of deprivation and social exclusion, and mistrust in public institutions. These conditions increase exposure to violence, both as victims and as perpetrators.

What does this mean for violence prevention?

Preventing violence requires us to understand why these inequities exist, challenge the role that racism plays in perpetrating them, and find effective ways of creating a more equitable system and society. This includes understanding inequities in children's experiences of wider systems like youth justice, education and access to employment and mental health support. The YEF set out our own approach to this in our race equity strategy.

Shabna Begum, Chief Executive Officer of the Runnymede Trust

"There is a lack of honesty in our political discussions when looking at the violence that disproportionately impacts some young people. They can fail to address the structural racism and material inequalities that mean working class communities of colour are exposed to the deprivations that make us far more susceptible to exposure to violence.

"These entrenched inequalities rest on long histories of racism and exploitation. The mainstream conversation ignores this and instead promotes a 'common-sense' view that seeks to explain racialised disproportionalities of criminality as an inherent 'community problem'; by a framing that talks about 'family breakdown' and 'cultural' issues. This enables a policing and carceral approach which we know has caused disproportionate surveillance and harm to children and young people of colour - without necessarily producing the violence reduction it purports to.

"We need to change the conversation. Disrupting and preventing violence means addressing root causes - structural racism and the economic structures that reproduce inequality, rather than focusing on punitive approaches which target individuals and communities of colour.

"We must prioritise healing, genuine community safety and social justice, invest in community-led solutions and trauma-informed support systems, and address the social and material conditions in which violence flourishes."



Disrupting and preventing violence means addressing root causes - structural racism and the economic structures that reproduce inequality

SHABNA BEGUM

Violent crimes cause the most harm

There are a lot of different types of crime and researchers have tried to establish which cause the most harm for both victims and society.

Of course, victims of violence and their families know the devastating impacts that violence can have. Violence can shatter lives and cause long-lasting trauma.** But most people agree that violent crimes are the most harmful, whether they have been a victim of violence or not. Researchers have demonstrated this using a range of different methods, including asking people how much they would pay to avoid different crimes and examining the financial compensation granted by juries to victims of different crimes.**

Researchers have also attempted to estimate the total cost of different crimes to society, including the mental and physical harm caused to victims, medical expenses, and costs to the state from police investigation, legal proceedings, incarceration and rehabilitation. Research from the Home Office estimated that the total economic cost of crimes against individuals in 2016 was approximately £50 billion. Violent crimes accounted for only one third of the number of these crimes but almost three-quarters of the total costs to society.

What does this mean for violence prevention?

The Government, Police and Crime Commissioners, and other funders of crime prevention work should make preventing violence their top priority. If three quarters of the social costs of crime are caused by violence, then it follows that most crime prevention funding should be spent on preventing violence. Investing in violence prevention can prevent severe physical and emotional harm to victims. It's what the public expects. You will be also makes good financial sense: preventing violence means we can spend less money on dealing with its consequences.

Emily – mum to Max – an exploited 15-year-old who has been involved in violent crime

"Our son is adopted, from arriving as a threeyear-old on a foster placement. His traumatic background means his behaviour has always been up and down. He is on the autistic spectrum, and we think he has ADHD too.

"Things began to deteriorate when he was 12 or 13. He started carrying knives, going missing overnight, and getting into trouble with drug dealers. He has missed so much education, and we feel let down by the system. He started hanging out with a man who got him stealing mopeds. He has been in and out of custody and stolen his dad's car.

"The impact on the family has been awful. My husband and I have a strong relationship, but at times we've been at breaking point and if we weren't so strong, we wouldn't have survived it. My son had a drug debt and he and his sister were threatened with videos saying, 'we know where you live'. Rightly or wrongly, we paid off the dealer because we couldn't cope with the stress.

"Initially, we had no help from support services and have had to seek it out. We are a normal stable loving family with strong values, and this can happen to anyone. My son is big and tall for his age, and the police treated him more like an adult. They even got him mixed up with a big drug dealer from London.

"When my husband and I went to our first support meeting for families affected by child exploitation, I burst into tears. You're with loads of parents who understand, and don't judge you. Many have had it worse than us, but it's so good to share and support - I can't recommend it enough."

So many parents have had it worse than us, but it is so good to be able to share and support, and I can't recommend it enough.

EMILY



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