



Violence Reduction Network

Strategic Assessment 2022

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Executive Summary

Year-on-year comparison

In the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic and the removal of government-imposed restrictions placed on society as a result, it should be of no surprise that there has been a 7% increase in crime in the borough in 2021/22 compared to the year before (2020/21). The London average* saw a 12% increase. However, the number of offences committed in the borough for that year (2021/22) is the second highest over the last five years. Violence remains to be the main contributor to this increase in crime volume, representing a third of all offences this year.

Crime harm (refer to page 6 for definition) is also of concern in the borough with an 8% increase in 2021/22 compared to the year before (2020/21) and it also reaching its second highest level over the last five years (2017-2022). Not only is this because of the rise in sexual harm but the significant continual increase in violent harm in the borough over the last three years (2019-2022). This has resulted in violent crime going from representing a quarter to just under a third of all harm – almost as equal to sexual offences which on average represents a third of all harm each year but a relatively lower proportion of all crime volume at around 3%.

Crime Types

There has also been a significant increase in hate crime (refer to page 13), which requires greater in-depth analysis. In regards to knife crime, there has been continual reduction in knife injuries but knife crime volume is being driven by a considerable rise in knife-enabled robbery.

Both violence with injury (VWI) and violence without injury (VWol) have substantially increased in the borough. This is due to an increase in both domestic-related and non-domestic-related violence. For VWol offences, there have been significant increases in malicious communications with intent to cause distress and anxiety, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic. However, there has also been notable increases in relatively “low volume” crime types including threats to kill, stalking and cruelty to and neglect of children.

The continual increase in violent harm is mainly due to the increase in VWI both domestically and non-domestically. The analysis done specifically on “street-based” violence shows that this type of violence was at its highest in 2021/22 over the last five years.

*This is the average London borough out of all 32 boroughs.

Executive Summary

Area-based

Violence is highly concentrated in specific “micro-areas” in the borough, with 2% of the borough containing/responsible for over a third of all violent crime volume and over three quarters of all violent harm. The occurrence of violence in most of these areas is stable over a long period. It is these areas the Safer Croydon Partnership should focus on to effectively reduce violence as stated in the Community Safety Strategy.

Victims

Even though almost 60% of victims of violence were less than a mile from their home, the number of victims travelling from outside of the borough is growing. The average miles travelled by victims, especially those aged 10 to 17, is also growing where in 2021/22 those in this age group also suffered the highest amount of harm compared to what they suffered the four years before. This is due to both a rise in both domestic and street-based harm towards this age group.

Using a specific “2 x 2” model to identify and prioritise victims of violence (refer to page 34), it shows that it is a small proportion of victims of violent crime who suffer the majority of harm. The rise of violent harm, especially towards females, is of significant concern where it is increasing by almost a fifth on average each year over the last four years. This is due to the rise in domestic violence and the rise of street-based violence towards females.

Offenders

Using the 2 x 2 model shows that violent offenders are more random compared to victims. However, this could be because of a number of factors including the reluctance of the victim to cooperate in order to charge the offender, this is not just limited to domestic violence but the fear of reprisals from victims in regards to street-based violence too. Even though males continue to make up the overwhelming majority of offenders as well as the amount of harm committed, there are significant increases in both volume and harm committed by female offenders.

Victim-Offenders

The analysis demonstrated on the effectiveness of targeting the “victim-offender” is also hugely beneficial to the borough (refer to page 42). These individuals make up 4% of all individuals compared to 84% of victims and 16% of offenders but are involved in almost three times the number of offences per person. On top of this, they are involved in almost five times the amount of harm as victims and almost three times the amount of harm as offenders. It is the victim-offenders that have a predominant role in all crime in the borough.

Executive Summary

The Underlying Causes of Violence

To tackle the underlying causes of violence, the borough's Priority Localities Index identifying the nine priority neighbourhoods in Croydon (refer to page 45), continues to be of vital importance. On top of this, the recent implementation of Risk Terrain Modelling in the VRN (refer to page 46) to evaluate the features of the environment of particular areas which contain a high concentration of violence is to be expanded to priority areas of violence. This is to ensure there is a balance of focusing on places as well as people.

Public Transport

Analysis done by using RTM showed bus stops being the top "risk factor" in street-based violence in the borough. This is in accordance with public surveys conducted last year, especially on women and girls and their safety in the borough which highlighted bus stops to be the place they felt most unsafe. Young people also listed "public transport" as the third highest place they feel unsafe on.

Alcohol and Substance Misuse

The analysis conducted using RTM also identified alcohol and substance misuse related factors as high risk in regards to fuelling violence in the borough.

Executive Summary

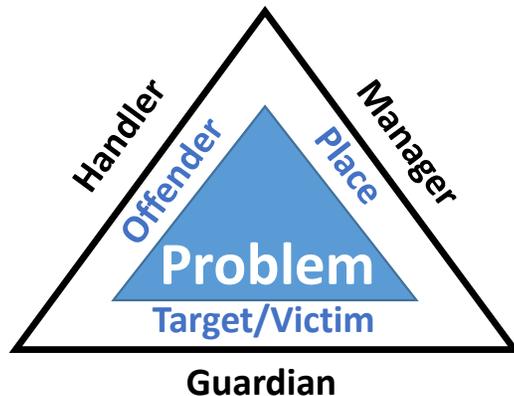
From the analysis conducted in this document, the following recommendations are:

1. To write a **problem profile on Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG)** in the borough which will feed into the VAWG strategy. This is not only to cover both domestic and non-domestic violence and sexual offences but other specific offences which have seen notable increases including stalking, threats to kill and malicious communications.
2. To evaluate and target **“high volume high harm” micro-areas** of violence using Risk Terrain Modelling so appropriate short, medium and long-term interventions can be implemented.
3. To investigate further into the **rise in victims travelling from outside of the borough** and to work with the relevant authorities in those areas to protect potential victims who are travelling from there.
4. To explore and utilise the “2 x 2” model to **prioritise appropriate interventions for individuals involved in violence.**
5. To further explore the concept of **“victim-offenders”** so that intensive long-term provision can be provided to significantly reduce all crime in the borough, not just violence.
6. To further utilise **alcohol and substance misuse service provision.**
7. To have a greater focus on **public transport in the borough**, especially around bus stops which have been identified as a high risk factor for violence.
8. To further investigate **cruelty and neglect of children**, which has seen a small but significant increase in the borough.
9. With the increase in knife crime being driven by **knife-enabled robbery**, this is to be a priority for the next 12 months.

Introduction

- The Strategic Assessment is an analytical product, which gives an overview of the current and long-term issues affecting or likely to affect a specific area in regards to crime and anti-social behaviour (ASB)*.
- It is used to make inferences and provide recommendations for prevention, intelligence, enforcement and reassurance priorities as well as the future partnership strategy.
- It provides direction for the Safer Croydon Partnership in deploying resources efficiently to reduce crime and ASB in the borough.
- The analysis is based on the **problem-oriented approach**, highlighted below, which views crime as a “problem” and not an individual incident and, therefore, the focus should be on the underlying causes of those problems and how to tackle them.
- The problem-oriented approach is based on the routine activity theory that in order for crime to occur, three components are required: an offender to be present, a victim or target to be present and the absence of a suitable guardian. As well as this there is also the absence of two other “controllers” – for offenders these are known “handlers” (e.g. parents or teachers) and for the place this is known as the manager or place management which can be a person (e.g. a police officer) or better place management approaches (e.g. CCTV installation).
- To ensure the analysis is conducted thoroughly, it is done in accordance with what is known as the “**5WH**”, highlighted below.
- The crime data in this document covers the last five financial years up to the end of 2021/22.

A “problem-oriented” approach



The “5WH”

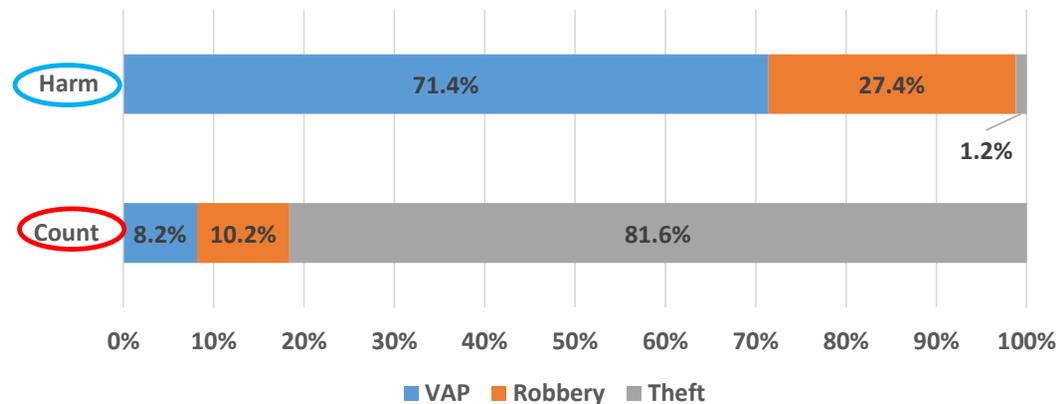
What is the Problem?	
Who is involved?	
When is it happening?	
Where is it happening?	
Why is it happening?	
How is it happening?	

*This year’s strategic assessment does not have a greater focus on ASB compared to previous ones for two main reasons. Firstly, the majority of covid-19 related calls (e.g. lack of social distancing, mask-wearing etc.) were recorded by the police as ASB calls so they have significantly distorted the statistics. Secondly, the analysis conducted in this document on hotspots etc. largely reflects ASB in the borough.

Measuring by Crime Harm

- Along with measuring by the count of offences (also known as the “volume” of offences), the Violence Reduction Network (VRN) also measures crime by harm using the Cambridge Crime Harm Index (CCHI).
- The CCHI is based on the principle that not all crimes are equal.
- Summing up all crimes by the count of offences only and measuring performance this way can be very misleading.
- Crime count means 1x shoplifting offence is as serious as 1x Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH).
- This leaves a demand for a meaningful measure of how harmful a crime is relative to other crimes.
- Multiplying each crime event in each crime category by the number of days in prison that crime of that category would attract if one offender were to be convicted of committing (not taking into account criminal history).
- This provides a weighted score which greater reflects the severity of the different types of crime.

Violence Against the Person (VAP)	Count	Harm Score
1x GBH with Intent	1	1460
1x Attempted Murder	1	3285
1x ABH	1	10
1x Common Assault	1	1
Total	4	4756
Robbery	Count	Harm Score
3x Personal Robbery	3	1095
2x Business Robbery	2	730
Total	5	1825
Theft	Count	Harm Score
40x Shoplifting	40	80
Total	40	80



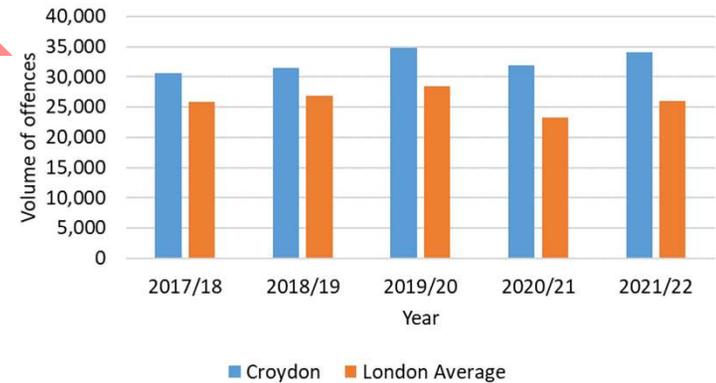
What is the problem?

The volume of crime in Croydon

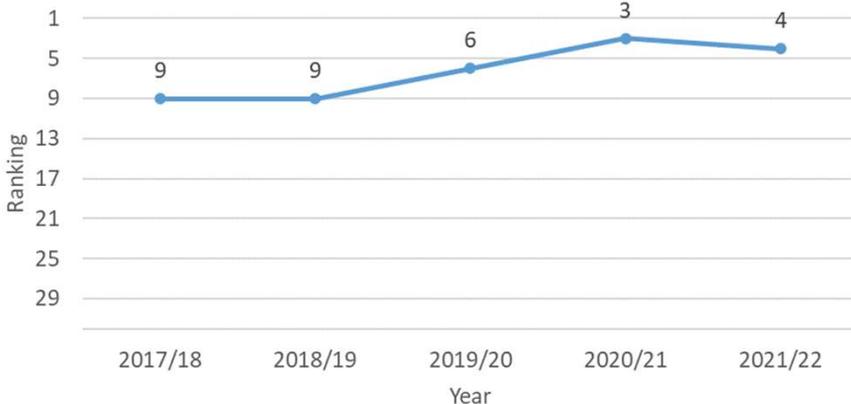
- In 2021/22 there were 34,043 offences committed in Croydon. This is a 7% increase in crime compared to the year before. The London average* saw a 12% increase.
- However, the increases are partly due to in the year before (2020/21), where there was a national and city-wide decrease in crime which is due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the subsequent government-imposed restrictions on people’s everyday lives.
- 2021/22 was the second highest year in the last five years for the volume of offences in Croydon, whereas for the London average it was the third highest.

7%
Increase in crime volume in Croydon in 2021/22

Crime volume in Croydon and the London Average in the last five years



Croydon ranking for crime volume out of 32 London boroughs in the last five years



- Comparing 2021/22 to the pre-covid year (2019/20)** the last full year without imposed restrictions, there was a 2% decrease in crime in Croydon compared to 9% decrease in London.
- Over the last five years, 2020/21 Croydon was ranked third highest borough in London for volume of offences in London, which was its highest ranking over the last five years.
- In 2021/22, the borough reached its second highest ranking in the last five years by being the borough with the fourth highest volume of offences in London.

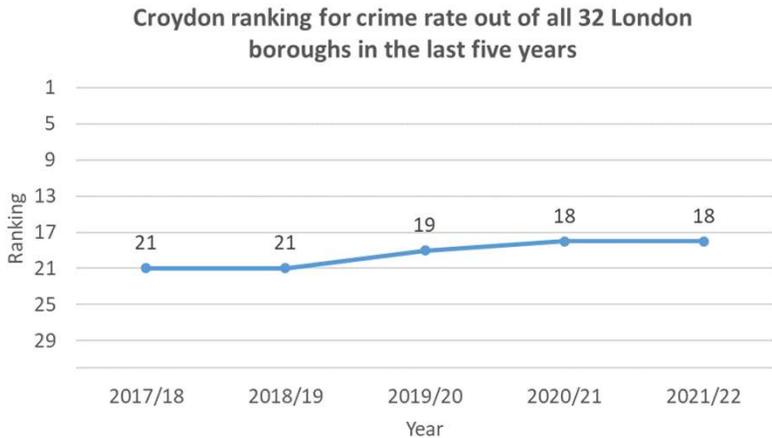
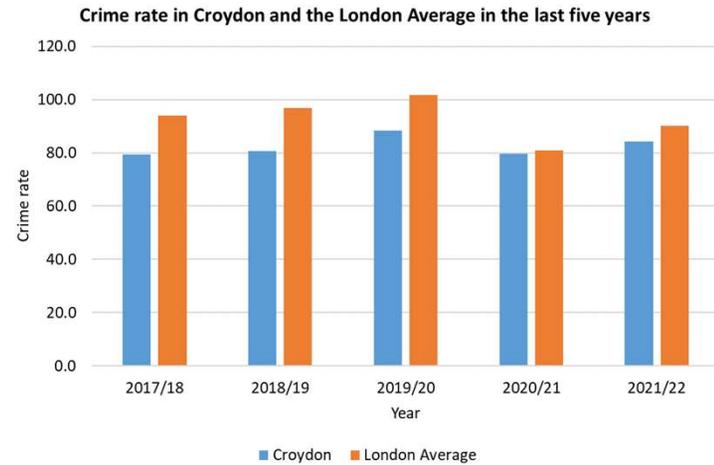
*This is the average London borough out of all 32 boroughs.

**The first lockdown was announced on 23rd March 2020 but as this was the last week of the financial year, 2019/20 is still referred to as the “pre-covid year”.

The crime rate in Croydon

- According to housing-led projection by the Greater London Authority*, in 2022 Croydon has the highest resident population in London. Therefore, it is more accurate to look at the crime rate (volume of offences per 1,000 of the population) in the borough.
- In 2021/22 the crime rate in Croydon was 84.4, which was a 6% increase in the crime rate on the previous year compared to a crime rate of 90.2 for the London average, which was an 11% increase on the previous year.
- 2021/22 was the second highest year in the last five years for the crime rate in Croydon, whereas for the London average it was the fourth highest.

6%
Increase in the crime rate in Croydon in 2021/22

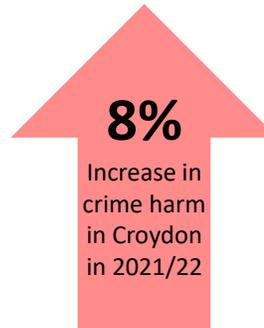


- Comparing 2021/22 to the pre-covid year (2019/20), there was a 4% decrease in crime compared to an 11% decrease in London.
- Croydon's crime rate ranking is significantly lower than its volume ranking, where it has been ranked 18th highest in the last two years. However, this is still the highest crime rate ranking in the last five years.
- The crime rate in Croydon is getting closer to the London average in the last two years. In the first three years of the five year period, the gap between the two rates was at 18%. However, in the last two years this has reduced to 4%.

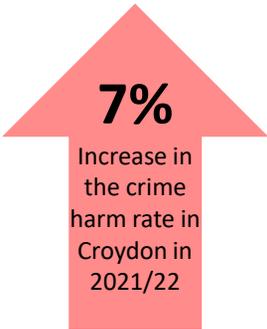
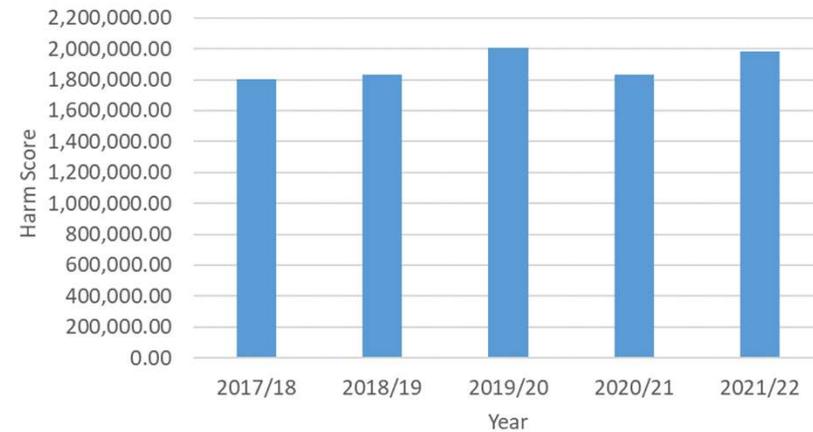
*Housing-led resident population projections can be found here: [GLA Population Projections \(london.gov.uk\)](https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/our-services/population)

Crime harm in Croydon

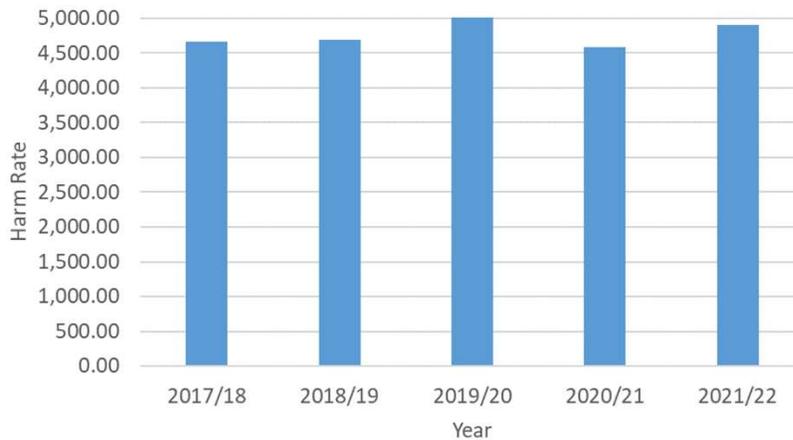
- Due to data collection restrictions, crime harm can only be calculated for Croydon.
- In 2021/22, crime harm was at its second highest it has been in the last five years in the borough.
- By comparing 2021/22 to the year before, crime harm has increased by 8%.
- However, by comparing 2021/22 to the pre-covid year (2019/20), crime harm has reduced by 1%.



Crime harm in Croydon in the last five years



Crime harm rate in Croydon in the last five years

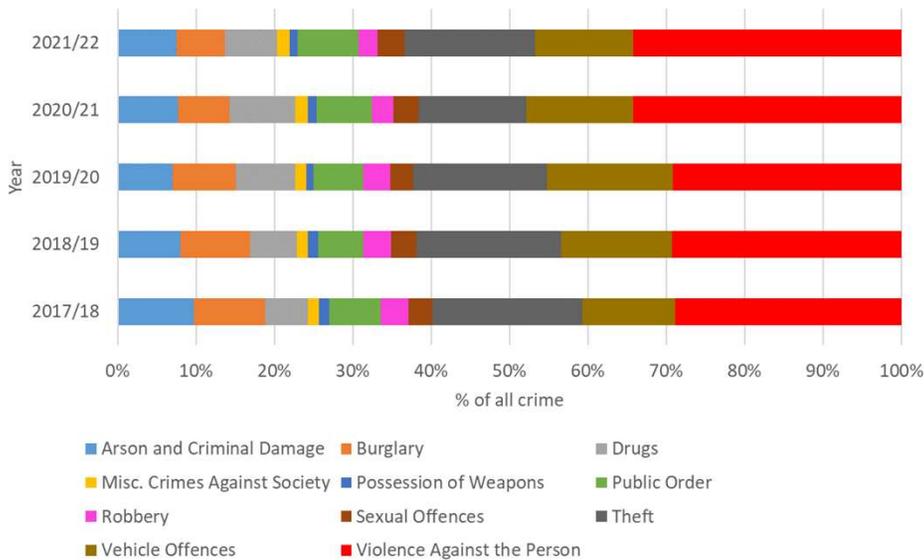


- The pattern of the crime harm rate in the borough closely reflects the volume of crime harm with 2021/22 being the second highest year in the last five years.
- By comparing 2021/22 to the year before, the crime harm rate has increased by 7%.
- However, by comparing 2021/22 to the pre-covid year (2019/20) the crime harm rate has reduced by 4%.

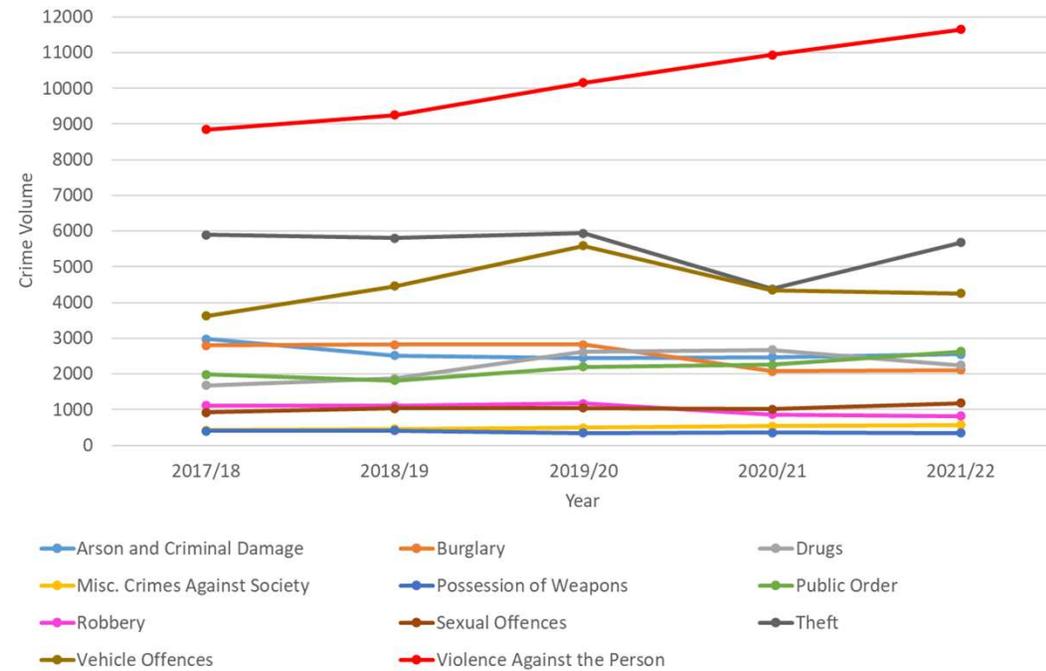
What is driving up crime volume in Croydon?

- Violence Against the Person (VAP) is the main driver for the rise in crime volume in the borough.
- Violence has increased consecutively over the last four years in Croydon.
- Over this time period, the average annual growth rate of the volume of VAP offences in the borough is 7%. For London it is 5%.

Proportion of crime volume in Croydon by type in the last five years



Volume of crime in Croydon by type in the last five years

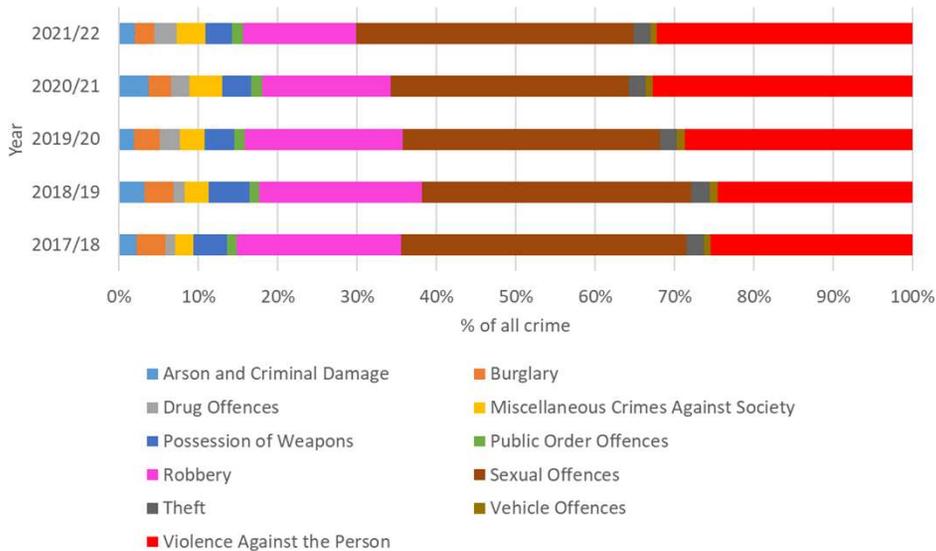


- Where the proportion of crime volume attributed to each crime type has remained stable over the last five years, VAP is the only crime type which has significantly increased its proportion over the last two years from 29% to 34%.

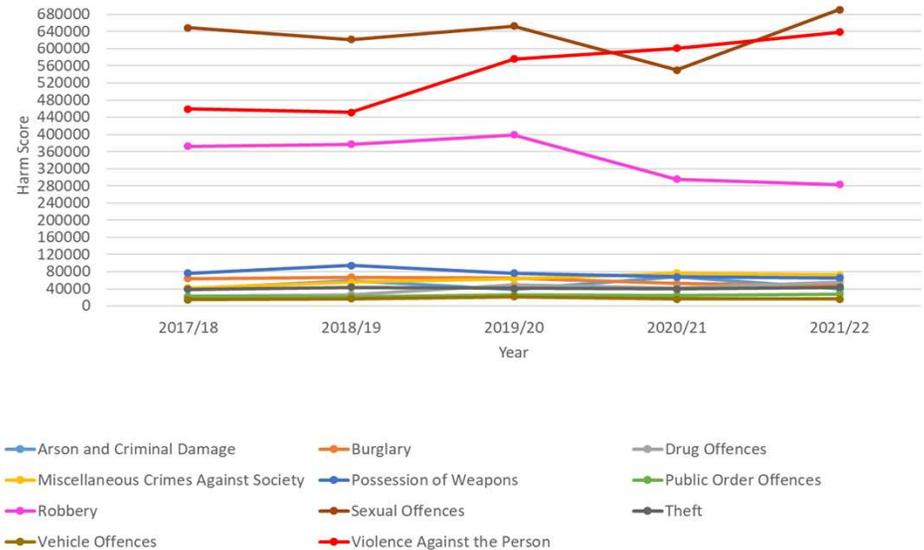
What is driving up crime harm in Croydon?

- Sexual offences are the main driver for crime harm in the borough closely followed by violence.
- Violent harm has increased consecutively over the last three years in Croydon.
- 2021/22 was the year where both sexual harm and violent harm was at its highest in the borough in the last five years.
- On average, sexual harm represents a third of all harm each year.

Proportion of crime harm in Croydon by type in the last five years



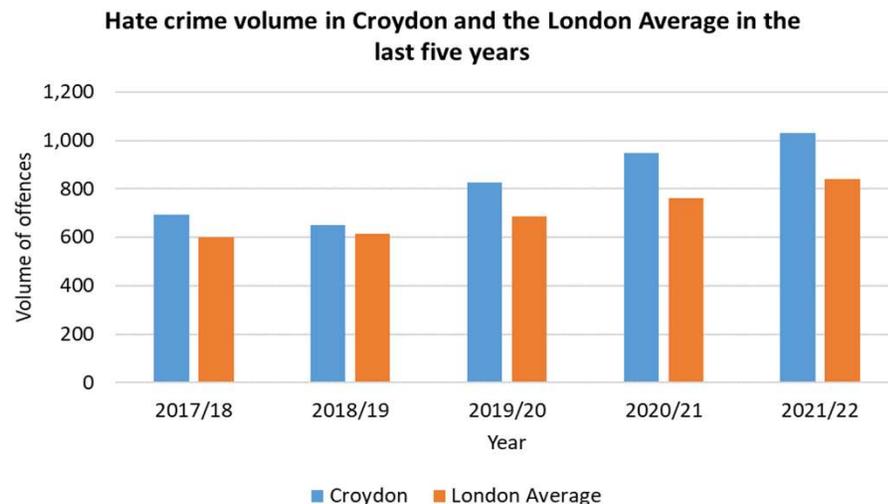
Crime harm in Croydon by type in the last five years



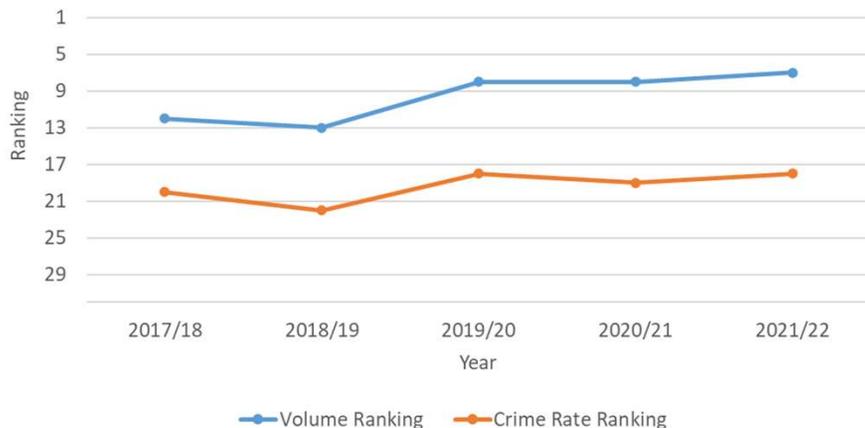
- Over the last five years, the proportion of all harm which is violent has increased steadily from representing a quarter to now representing just under a third of all harm.
- Due to the complex nature of the crime and separate detailed analysis being undertaken for the borough's Violence Against Women and Girls Strategy, further analysis of sexual offences will not be included in this document.

What about hate crime in Croydon?

- One of the priorities of past and present community safety strategies in Croydon is the focus on reducing hate crime, therefore, it is of vital importance to firstly identify the levels and types of hate crime in the borough.
- Hate crime has gone up both in Croydon and London for three consecutive years. In 2021/22 hate crime went up by 9% in Croydon whereas the London Average saw an increase of 11%.
- By comparing 2021/22 to the pre-covid year (2019/20), hate crime has increased by a quarter for both Croydon and the London Average.



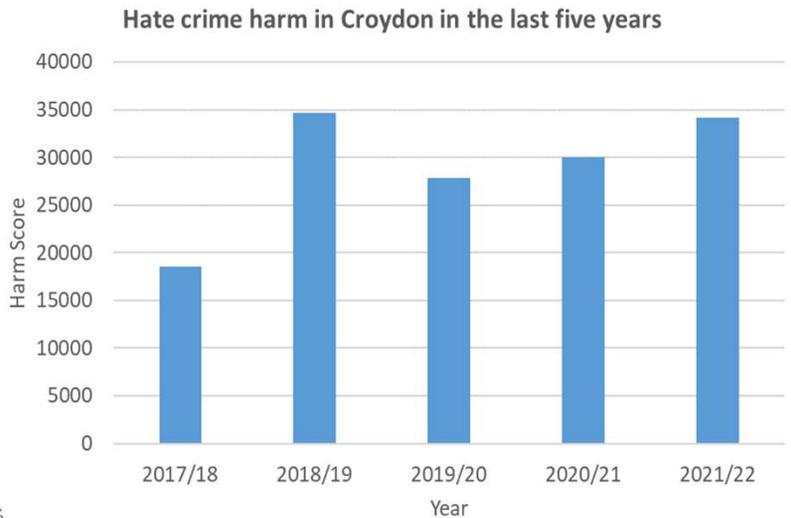
Croydon ranking for hate crime volume and crime rate out of 32 boroughs in the last five years



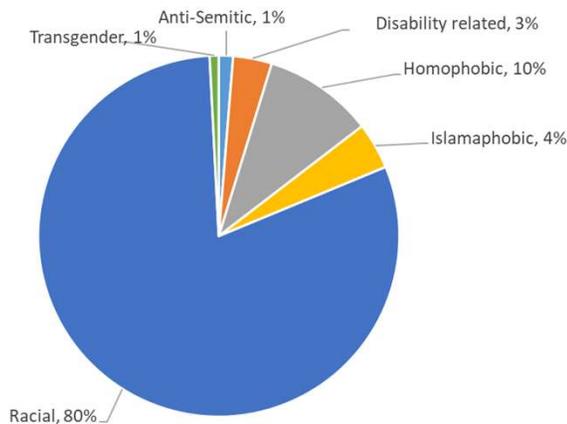
- The hate crime rate follows a similar pattern to what is shown for hate crime volume.
- In 2021/22, Croydon's hate crime volume ranking was at its highest in the last five years at 7th across London
- For the hate crime rate, Croydon's ranking was at its joint highest in 2021/22 along with the pre-covid year (2019/20) at 18th across London.

What about hate crime in Croydon (cont.)?

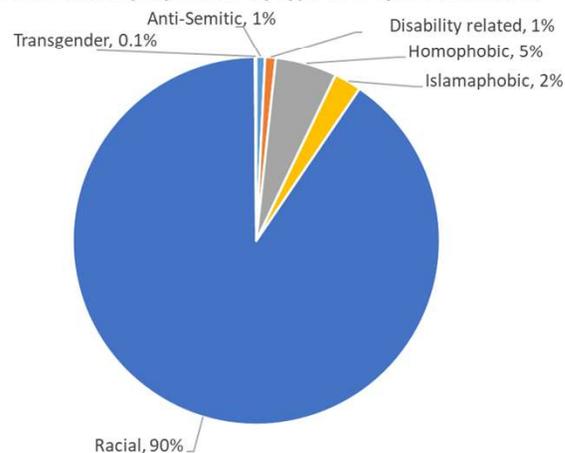
- Hate crime harm in the borough has gone up consecutively in the last three years where it has reached its second highest in the last five years.
- In 2021/22 hate crime harm went up by 14% in Croydon and compared to the pre-covid year (2019/20) it has gone up by 23%.
- On average each year, the main crime type of hate crime which is committed are public order offences with almost 60% of crimes being of this category.
- The second highest proportion are violence against the person offences which, on average each year, just over a third of offences being of this category.



Hate crime volume proportions by type in Croydon in 2021/22*



Hate crime harm proportions by type in Croydon in 2021/22



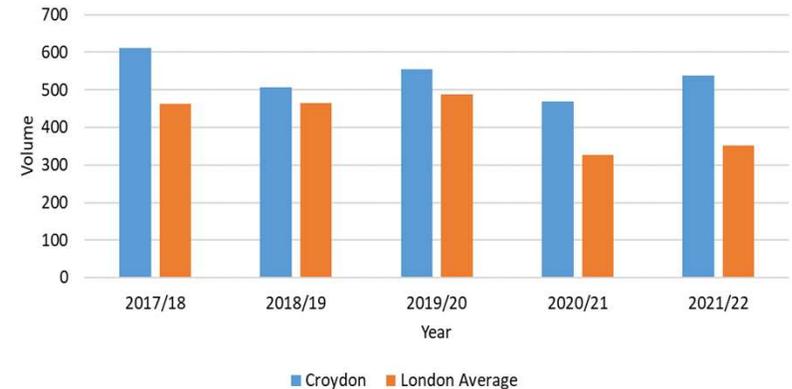
- Racial hate crime made up 80% of hate crime volume in Croydon in 2021/22. The second highest proportion is homophobic hate crime, making up 10% of all volume.
- Racial hate crime made up 90% of harm in Croydon in 2021/22, followed by homophobic hate crime with 5%.

*As highlighted by the Metropolitan Police, hate crime types can "overlap", therefore, these proportions should be treated as indicative only.

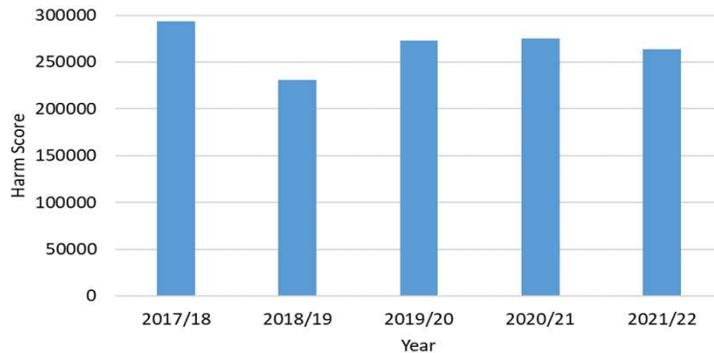
What about knife crime in Croydon?

- There is a large public focus on knife crime in London and particularly Croydon which had the highest number of teenage knife-related murders in London during 2021 (five out of 30 murders) and being referred to as “London’s knife crime capital”.
- Knife crime in Croydon went up by 14% in 2021/22 (compared to 7% for the London average). In regards to volume, Croydon it is ranked 5th highest in London – the highest it’s been in five years.
- Knife-enabled robbery (excluding domestic abuse) is predominantly driving up knife crime volume in the borough in 2021/22 with an increase of 27% compared to the year before.
- The knife crime rate shows a similar pattern but with a ranking of 12th across London in 2021/22 – still the highest rate in the last five years.
- Knife crime harm has decreased consecutively in the last two years where in 2021/22 it was at its second lowest in the last five years.
- In 2021/22 knife crime harm decreased by 4% and compared to 2019/20 it has decreased by 3%.
- Knife injuries from London Ambulance and A&E attendances for knife/sharp injuries both show a decrease for the last two consecutive years. In 2021/22 LAS callouts were the lowest in five years and the third lowest for A&E attendances.
- In 2021/22 LAS callouts fell by 26% compared to the year before and by 27% compared to 2019/20.
- In 2021/22 A&E attendances fell by 31% compared to the year before and by 41% compared to 2019/20.

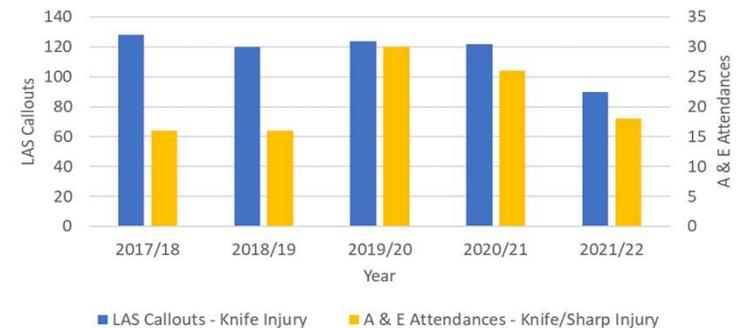
Volume of knife crime offences in Croydon and the London Average in the last five years



Knife Crime harm in Croydon in the last five years



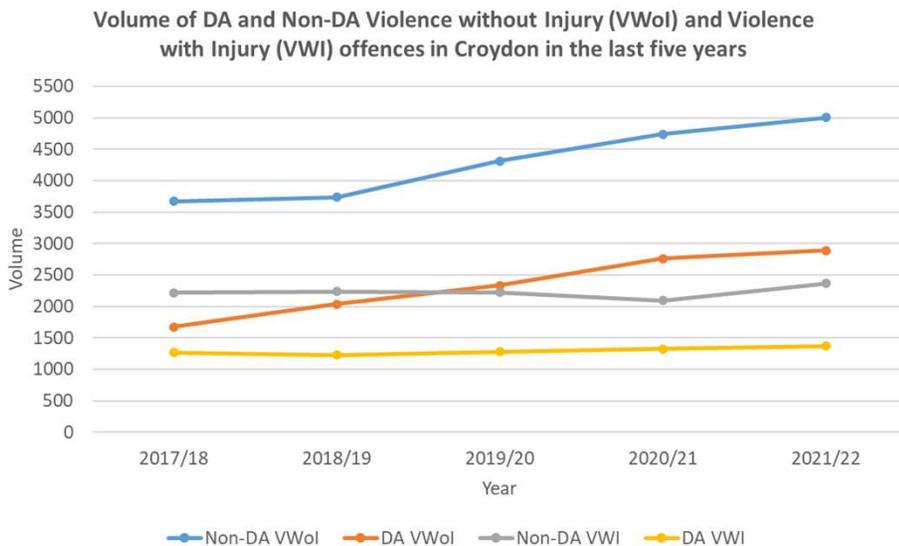
Knife-related LAS Callouts and A&E Attendances in Croydon in the last five years



How is it happening?

How is the volume of violence going up in Croydon?

- There are three main categories under VAP: Homicide*, Violence without Injury (VWol) and Violence with Injury (VWI).
- On average each year, around 65% of all VAP offences are VWol.
- In 2021/22, VWI increased by 5% and VWol increased by 9%. Compared to the pre-covid year (2019/20) VWI increased by 7% and VWol increased by 19%.
- Both domestic (DA) and non-domestic (non-DA) VWol offences have significantly increased over the last five years, driving the volume of violence in the borough.
- On average, each year, non-DA VWol represents around 65% of all VWol offences.



5%
Increase in
VWI in
Croydon in
2021/22

9%
Increase in
VWol in
Croydon in
2021/22

13%
Increase in
Non-DA
VWI in
Croydon in
2021/22

3%
Increase in
DA VWI in
Croydon in
2021/22

6%
Increase in
Non-DA
VWol in
Croydon in
2021/22

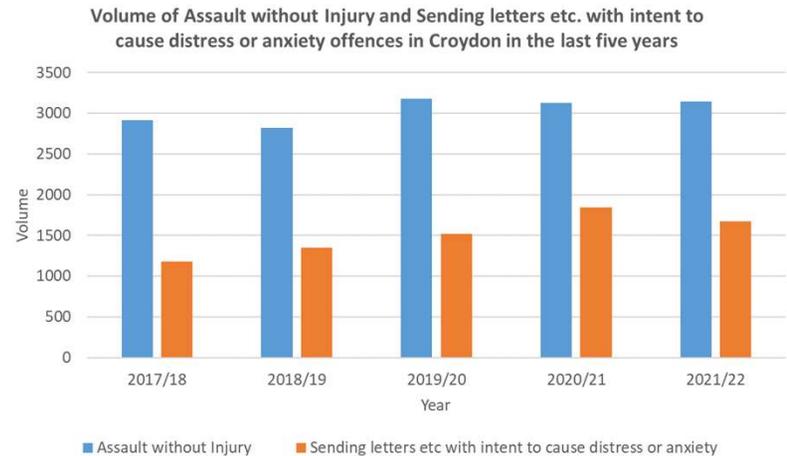
5%
Increase in
DA VWol in
Croydon in
2021/22

- There have been incremental increases in both domestic and non-domestic VWI offences in 2021/22.
- A relatively large 13% increase in non-DA VWI offences in 2021/22 is mainly due to a sudden dip in offences in 2020/21, predominantly due to government restrictions as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic.

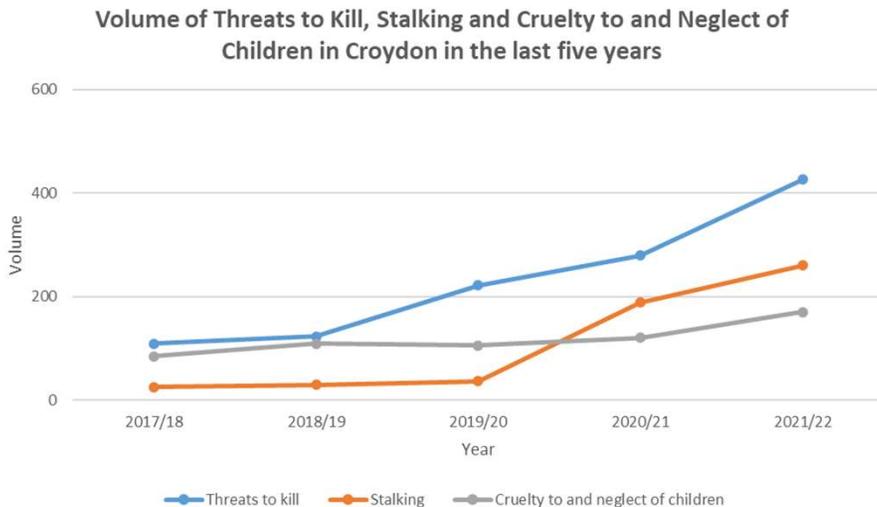
*Homicides represent on average each year around 0.1% of all VAP offences and 6% of all violent harm in the borough, therefore, as they are relatively low figures they are not shown here.

How is the volume of violence going up in Croydon (cont.)?

- Assault without injury (which is made up mainly of common assault and ABH) is the main crime committed under VWol, with this offence representing on average around half of all VWol offences each year.
- Assault without injury offences have remained fairly stable over the last three years. Around a third of these offences are flagged as domestic abuse (DA).
- In 2020/21 of the pandemic the crime “sending letters etc. with intent to cause distress and anxiety” (this includes electronic communications) – also referred to as “malicious communications” in this document - increased by 20%. In 2021/22 it decreased by 6% but is still the second highest in five years, representing around a quarter of all VWol offences. Almost half of these offences are domestic-flagged every year.



- There are also a number of relatively “low volume” crime types where there have been significant increases.
- There has been a year-on-year increase of Threats to Kill with it going up by 25% during the first year of the pandemic and a further 54% last year. In 2017/18 it represented 2% of all VWol offences where it has continually increased to represent 7% last year. Almost half of offences each year are domestic which is fairly stable.
- Stalking has also seen significant continual increases over the last two years. In the first year of the pandemic it went up over 400% compared to the year before. Last year it went up a further 38%. In 2017/18 it represented only 1% of all VWol offences but in 2021/22 this rose to 4%. In 2017/18 60% of stalking offences were domestic – this has risen to over 80% in 2021/22.
- Cruelty to and neglect of children has also seen year-on-year increases with it going up 14% in the first year of the pandemic and a further 42% in 2021/22. Although it has consistently represented 2% of all VWol offences from 2017/18 to 2019/20, this rose to 3% last year.

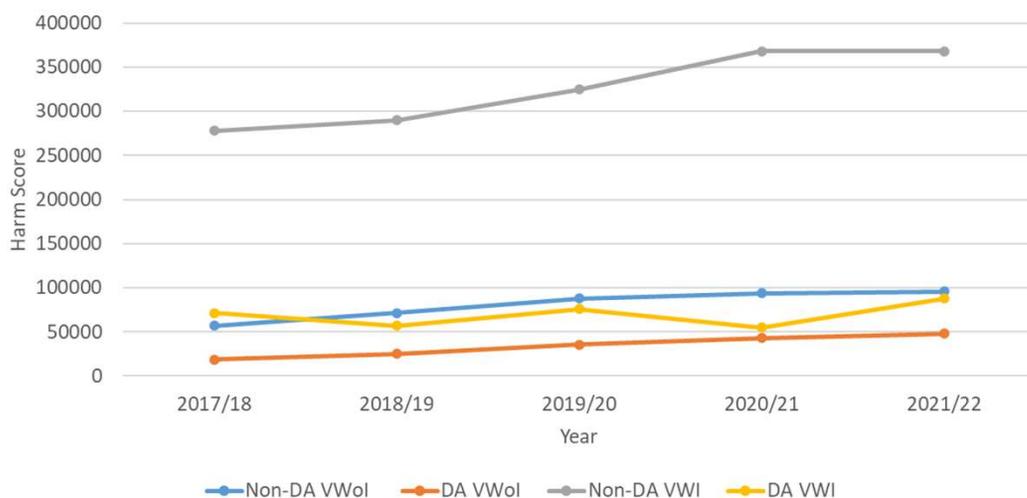


How is violent harm going up in Croydon?

- On average each year, around 80% of all VAP harm is VWI.
- In 2021/22, VWI increased by 5% and VWol increased by 8%. Compared to the pre-covid year (2019/20) VWI increased by 16% and VWol increased by 14%.
- On average, every year, over 60% of all violent harm is non-DA VWI.
- Non-DA VWI has significantly increased over the five year period, only stabilising in 2021/22.
- DA VWI has fluctuated over the five period but reached its highest in 2021/22. It represents around 14% of all violent harm each year.



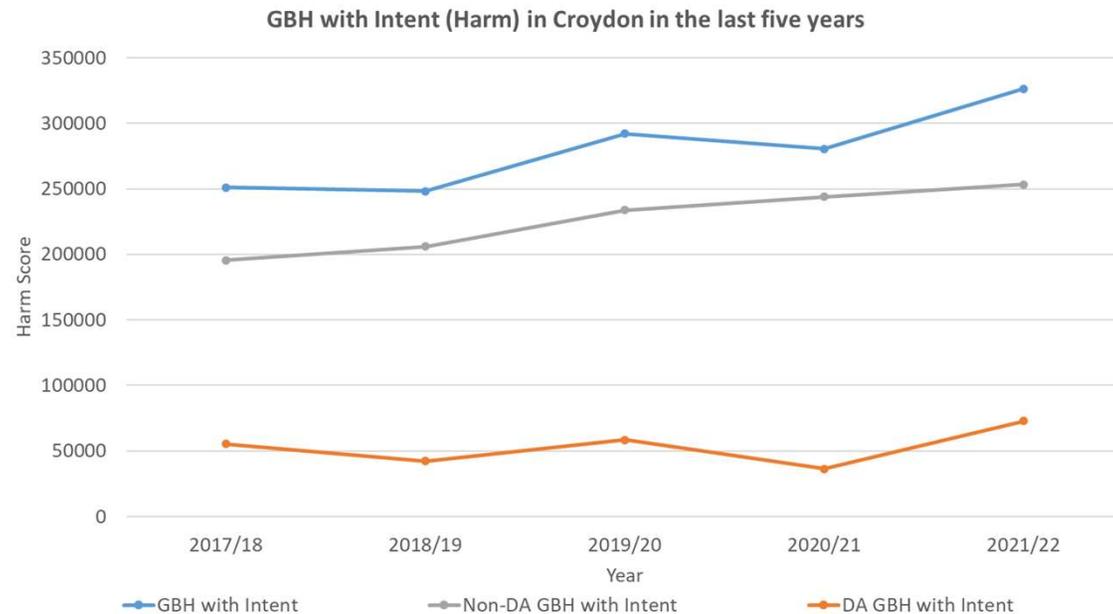
DA and Non-DA Violence without Injury (VWol) and Violence with Injury (VWI) harm in Croydon in the last five years



- Through the constant year-on-year increase in VWol offences, both non-DA and DA harm has almost doubled over the five year period.
- Non-DA VWol represents 16% and DA VWol represents 7% of all violent harm, on average, each year.

How is violent harm going up in Croydon? (cont.)

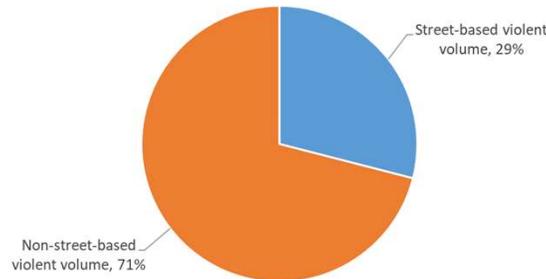
- The offence which on average each year represents just over half of all violent harm is “Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH) with Intent”.
- In 2021/22 harm from this offence increased by 16% compared to the year before. Compared to the pre-covid year (2019/20) it has gone up by 12%.
- Non-DA GBH with Intent has increased year-on-year in the last five years with it up 4% in 2021/22 compared to the year before and up 8% compared to the pre-covid year. On average, it makes up around 80% of GBH with Intent harm.
- DA GBH with Intent has been fairly stable up to 2021/22 where it reached its highest in the five year period after an increase of 100% compared to the year before. Compared to the pre-covid year it has increased by a quarter.



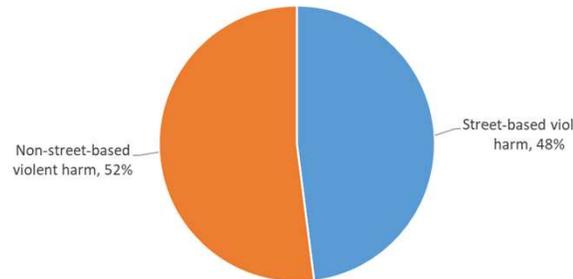
How is street-based violence going up in Croydon?

- Even though official statistics use non-domestic abuse violence with injury as a way to gauge street-based violence, they can still very much include offences which have happened in residential addresses, which still make up a significant proportion of offences.
- To accurately measure the level of street-based offences in the borough, crime data only showing violent offences which can occur in the public domain* is analysed.
- As shown in the top right, street-based violence represents almost a third of violent crime volume and almost half of all violent crime harm.
- As shown on the right, street-based violent crime volume and harm was at it's highest in 2021/22 over the last five years.
- Street-based volume and harm both increased by around a fifth in 2021/22 compared to the year before.
- Compared to the pre-covid year (2019/20), street-based violent crime volume increased by 8% and harm increased by 3%.

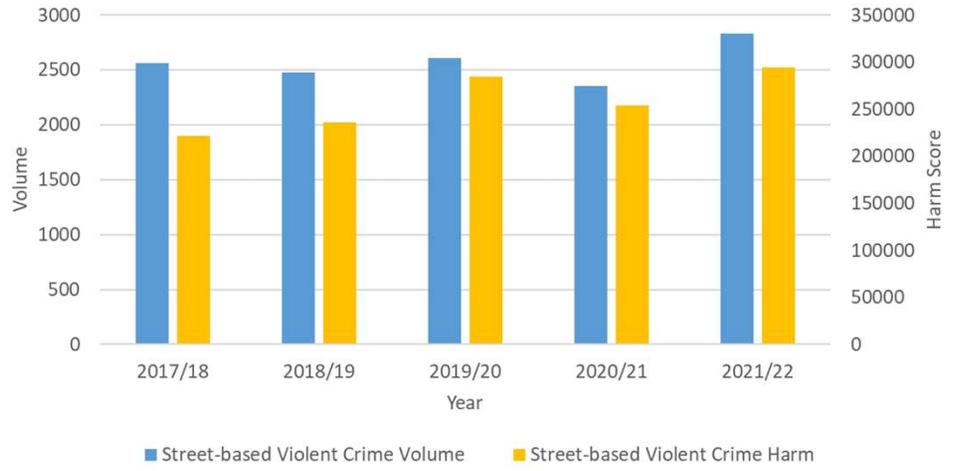
Average proportion of violent crime volume which is street-based and non-street-based each year over the last five years in Croydon



Average proportion of violent crime harm which is street-based and non-street-based each year over the last five years in Croydon



Street-based violent crime volume and harm in Croydon each year over the last five years

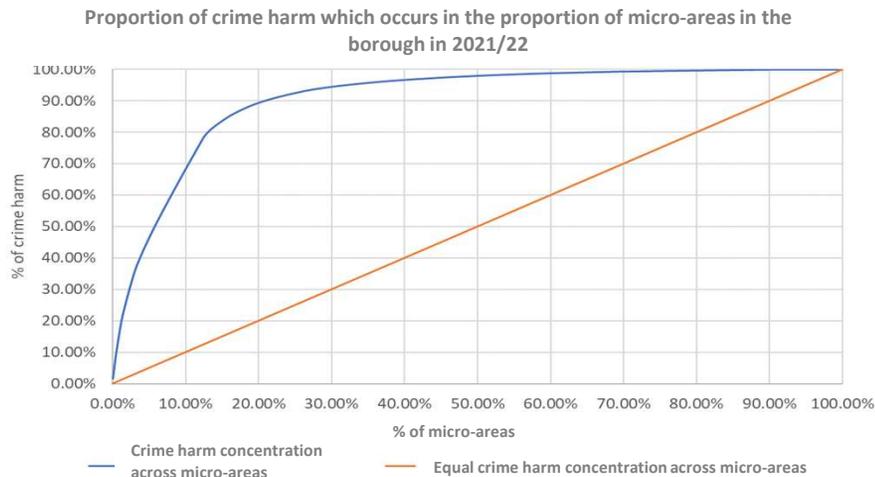
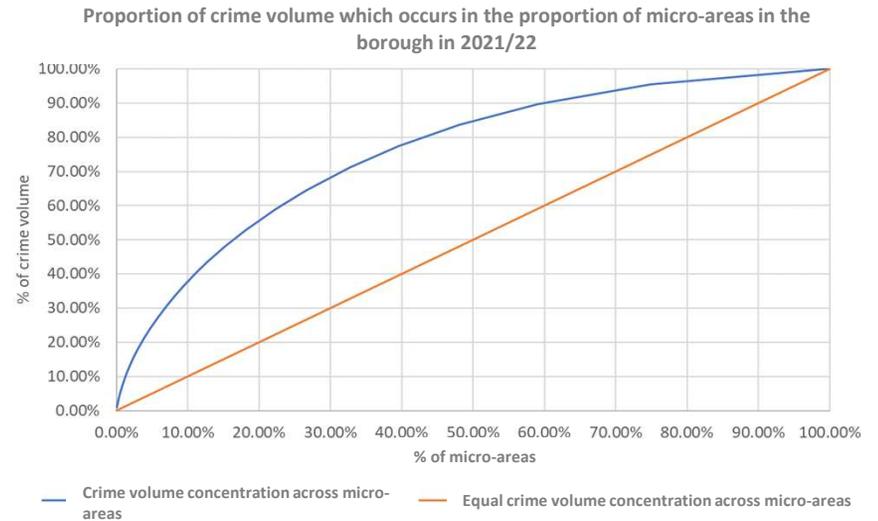


*These range from offences on the street to those in shops, parks and public transport. It must be noted that these statistics should not be used as "official" statistics but more of an indicator of the level of street-based violence in the borough.

Where is the problem?

Violent crime concentration by micro-area

- It must be emphasised that crime does not occur in random places or is evenly spread across the borough but rather it is highly concentrated in specific areas, even to a “micro” level.
- To show this, Croydon is equally divided up into micro-areas* which are around 150 metres long. A total of 3,617 micro-areas cover Croydon. Out of these, 47% had at least one violent crime committed in them in 2021/22.
- However, as shown on the right, out of those micro-areas where a crime was committed, around 10% of them contained almost 40% of the volume of crime committed.

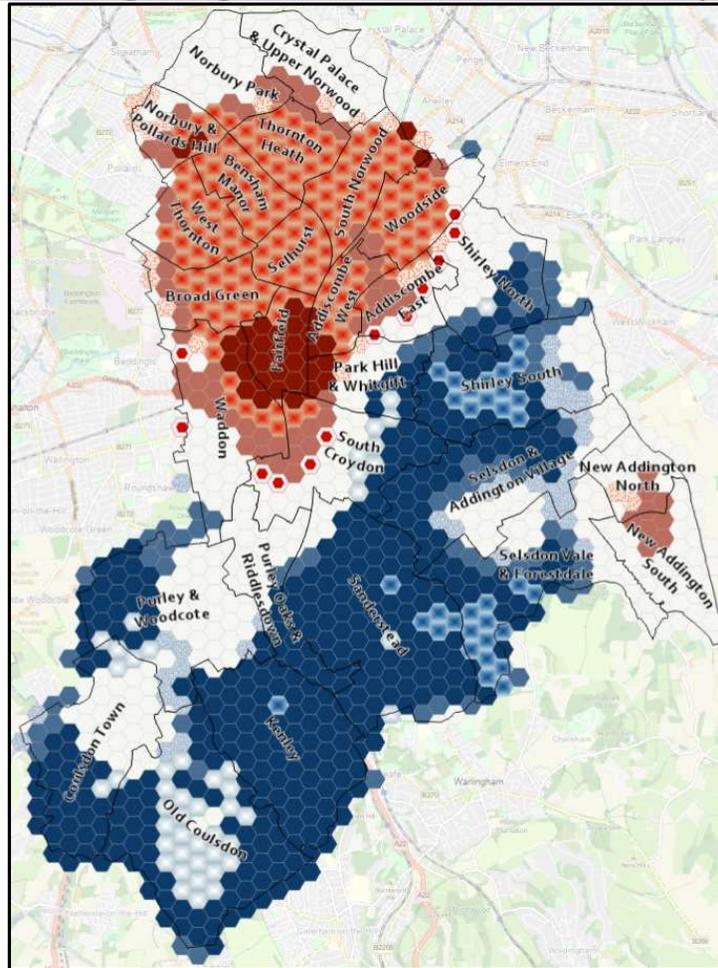


- For violent harm, as shown on the left, it is even more concentrated with 10% of micro-areas containing almost 70% of harm.
- With violent harm being significantly more concentrated than volume, it is deemed more effective to target resources in these areas, especially during times where services have been greatly reduced.

*To reduce sampling bias and represent patterns in the data more naturally, a hexagon grid is used rather than the traditional “fishnet” (or rectangular) grid.

The emerging hot and cold spots in the borough

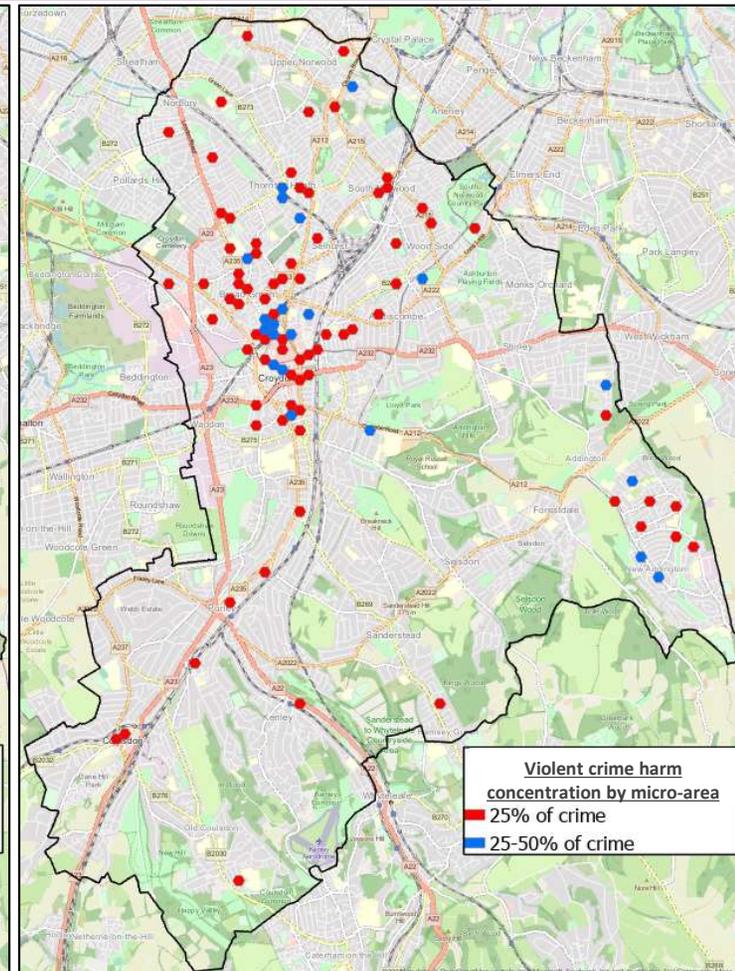
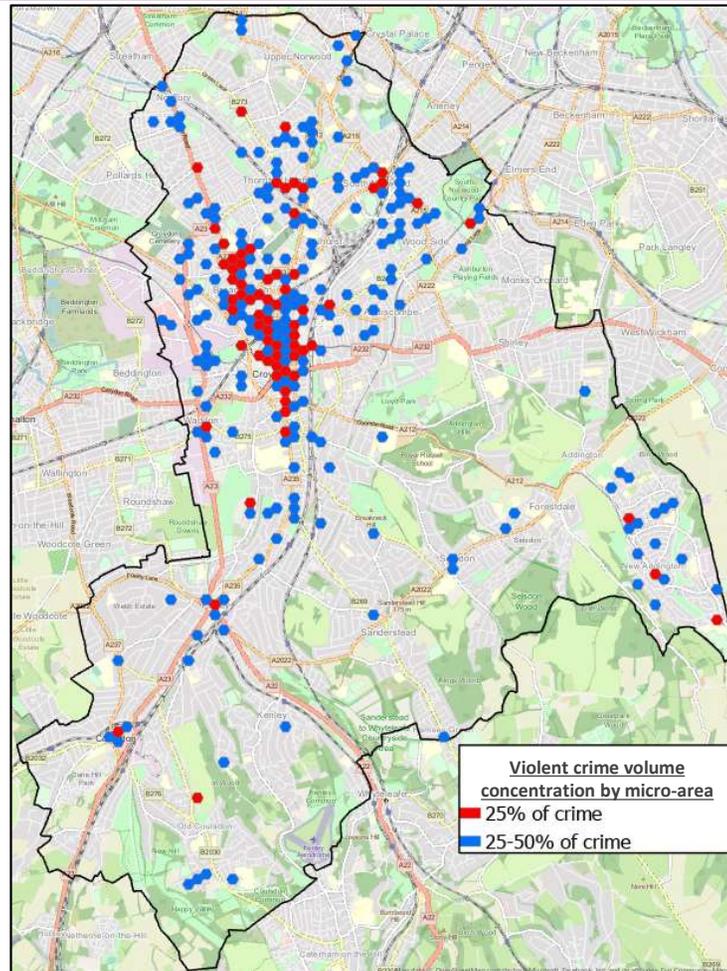
- Analysis has been conducted to identify the areas where there are emerging hot spots and cold spots over the last five years.
- To provide an easier visual representation of this, 300m hexagons have been used.
- For each hexagon a set of ten equal “time-step intervals” of 6 months each are processed to determine the types of emerging hot and cold spots there are in the borough.
- It is clearly shown on the map on the right that violence is generally higher and intensifying in the north of the borough as opposed to the south, apart from New Addington.
- Unsurprisingly, the town centre is the primary persistent hotspot in the borough over the last five years.
- The map shows emerging hot spot and cold spots for violent crime volume but harm closely reflects the patterns shown.



-  **New Hot Spot** - A location that is a statistically significant hot spot in the last 6 months and has not been statistically significant before.
-  **Persistent Hot Spot** - A location that is a statistically significant hot spot for 90% of the time period with no discernable trend indicating an increase or decrease in the intensity of crime clustering over time.
-  **Consecutive Hot Spot** - A location that is a statistically significant hot spot beyond the last 6 months but for less than 90% of the time period.
-  **Intensifying Hot Spot** - A location that has been a statistically significant hot spot and, in addition, the intensity of clustering of crime is increasing overall and that increase is statistically significant.
-  **Sporadic Hot Spot** - A location that is an on-again then off-again hot spot.
-  **Consecutive Cold Spot** - A location that is a statistically significant cold spot beyond the last 6 months but for less than 90% of the time period.
-  **Persistent Cold Spot** - A location that is a statistically significant cold spot for 90% of the time period with no discernable trend indicating an increase or decrease in the intensity of crime clustering over time.
-  **Diminishing Cold Spot** - A location that has been a statistically significant cold spot and, in addition, the intensity of the clustering of low crime is decreasing overall and that decrease is statistically significant.
-  **Intensifying Cold Spot** - A location that has been a statistically significant cold spot and, in addition, the intensity of clustering of crime is decreasing overall and that decrease is statistically significant.
-  **Sporadic Cold Spot** - A location that is an on-again then off-again cold spot.
-  **No Pattern Detected** - Does not fall into any hot or cold spot patterns.

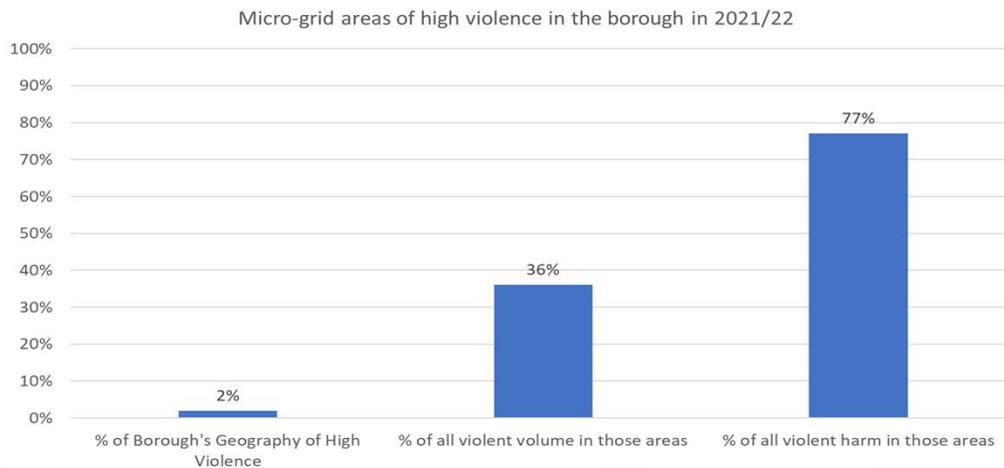
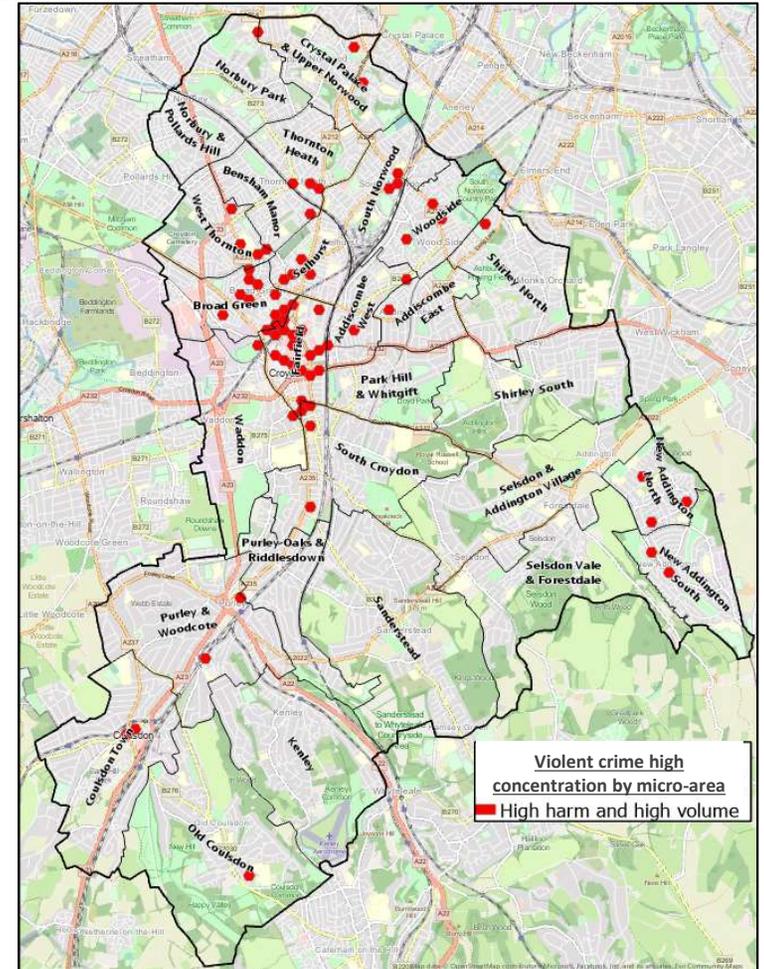
The micro-areas which contain half of all violence

- A useful way to visualise the concentration of crime is by mapping the results by micro-area as shown on the right.
- The first map shows the micro-areas accounting for 25% and 50% of violent crime **volume** in the borough in 2021/22.
- The second map shows the micro-areas accounting for 25% and 50% of violent crime **harm** in the borough in 2021/22.
- As they clearly show when compared, there are significantly more micro-areas on the crime volume map than the crime harm map.
- However, especially in regards to the top 25% of violent crime, it is less clustered for harm compared to volume.



The “high volume high harm” micro-areas to target

- The areas to target in order to be most effective are the areas where high volume and high harm violence is occurring, which is shown on the map on the right.
- A total of 70 hexagons make up these high volume and high harm areas, accounting for 2% of the geographical area of the borough but over a third of all violent crime volume and over a three quarters of all violent crime harm.
- A high number of these areas also contain high volume and harm of other crimes of concern in the borough, specifically sexual offences and hate crime. It is these areas where resources should be targeted for maximum benefit.

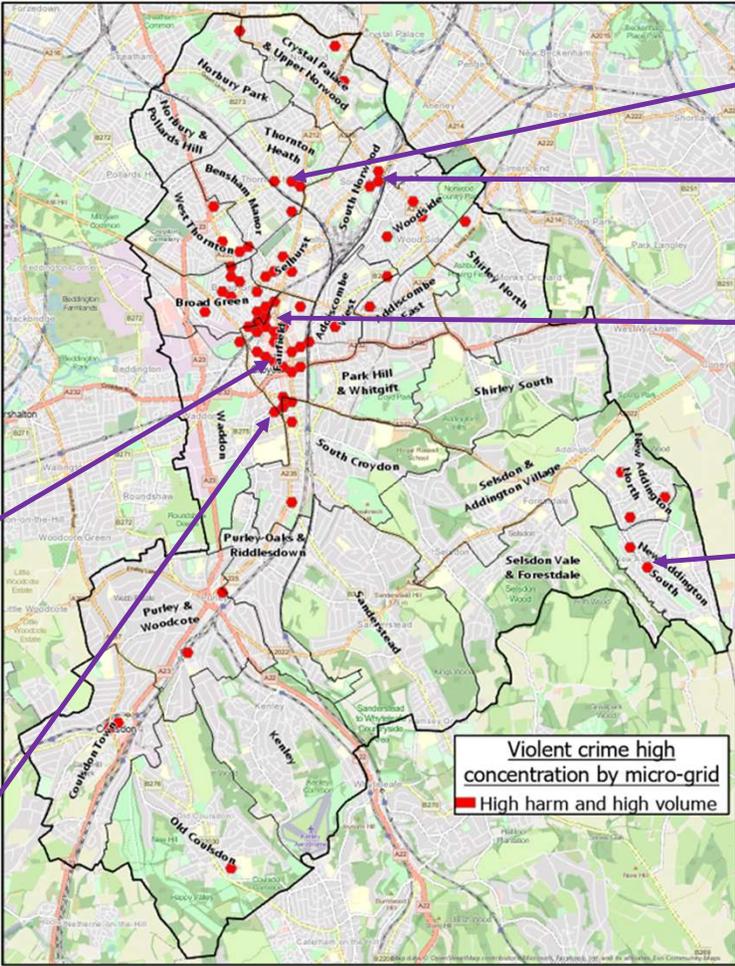


The “high volume high harm” micro-areas to target

- There are specific micro-grids and clusters of micro-grids of high volume and high harm violent crime where further targeting can be implemented. This is because they contain relatively disproportionate levels of violence and other crimes of concern.

Croydon Town Centre, specifically High Street, Surrey Street and Church Street.

Croydon Town Centre, specifically South End.



Thornton Heath High Street

South Norwood High Street

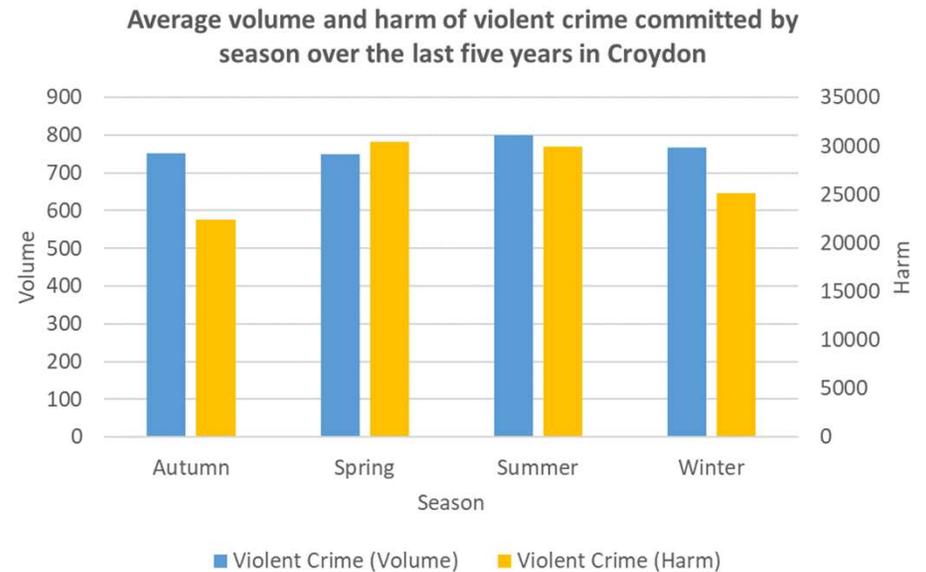
West Croydon/London Road

Central Parade

When is the problem?

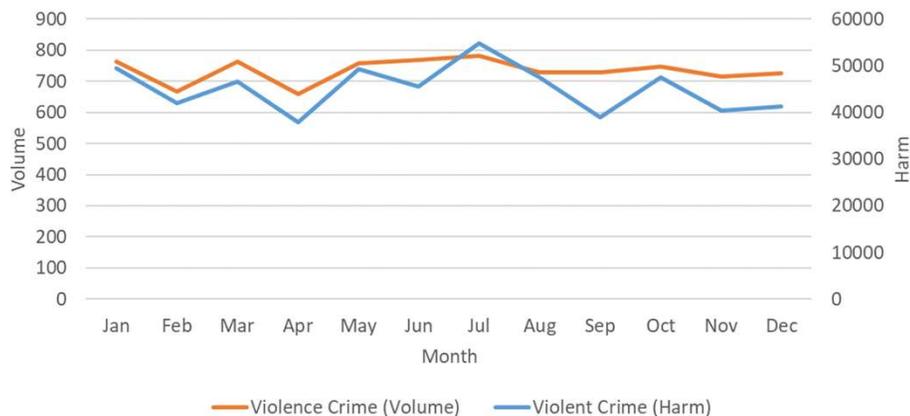
Violent crime by season and month

- For when violent crime is committed by season, on average over the last five years, for volume it is spread quite evenly with the summer season (June – August) only slightly being the highest for offences.
- Violent harm shows a greater distinction with the spring (March - May) and summer being the seasons with the highest amount of violent harm being committed. This is due to an increase in high harm domestic and street-based violence.



- The volume of violent crime being committed by month is fairly stable with it peaking in June and July.
- Violent harm shows a similar trend to volume but showing clearer rises and falls in harm being committed over the year. The peak month is shown as July.
- This pattern is closely reflected by specific types of violence including domestic violence and street-based violence.

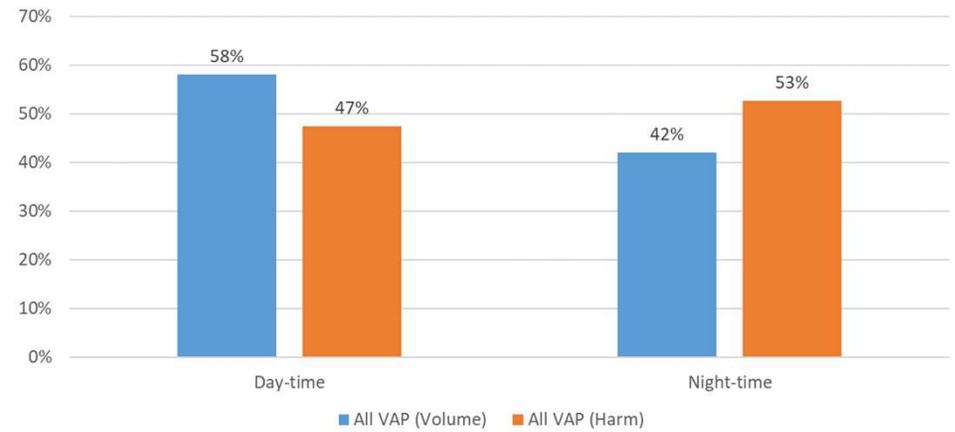
Average volume and harm of violent crime committed by month over the last five years in Croydon



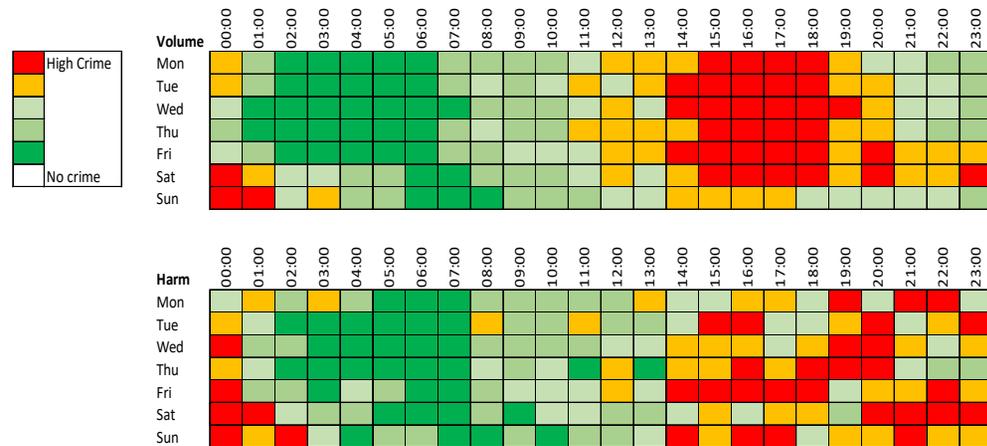
Violent crime by day and time

- There is slight contrast between volume and harm of violent crime when identifying the offence occurring during the day-time or the night-time.
- These times have been calculated by cross-referencing whether the time of offence occurred between sunset and sunrise or not during each specific month of the year.
- Almost 60% of the volume of violent crime is committed during the day-time whereas just over half of the harm is committed during the night-time.

Average % of violent crime committed during the day-time and night-time over the last five years in Croydon

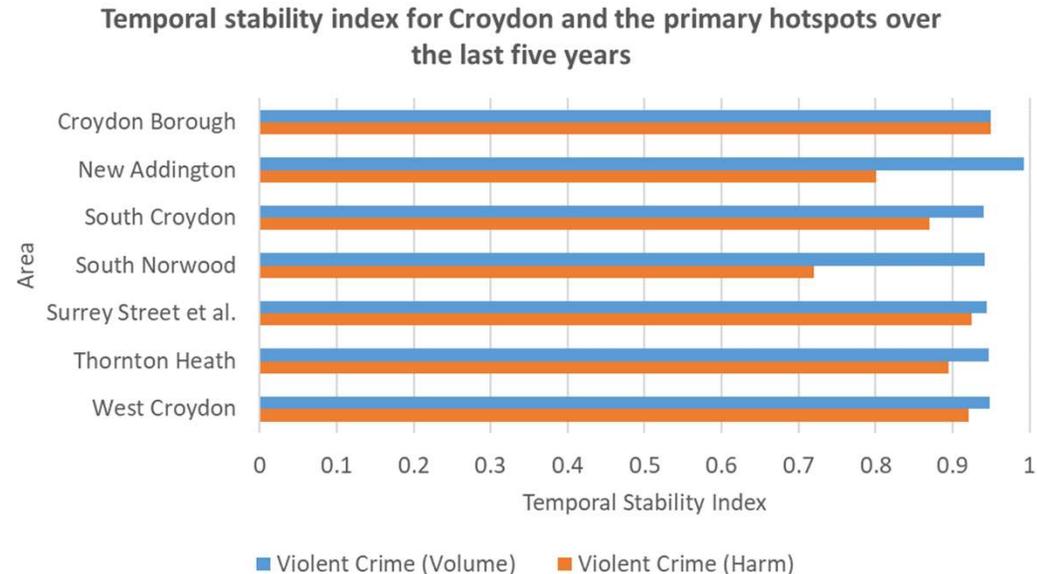


- Analysing the day and time of when violent offences occur show, for volume especially, that offences peak during the “after-school” hours on the weekdays linking a significant number of offences to young people.
- There are also peaks late afternoon on Saturday and after midnight on Saturday and Sunday morning, which are linked to the night-time economy.
- Violent harm is a lot more sporadic with it occurring throughout the week with a slight shift towards the evenings and early mornings, especially on the weekends.



The Temporal Stability Index

- One way to measure the stability of crime patterns is by using a homogeneity index, which is used to summarise the distribution of data across nominal categories.
- The index used is called the *temporal stability index (TSI)*, where crime data for Croydon and each of the primary hotspots highlighted earlier has been split into equal temporal periods and is mathematically calculated to measure whether crime in the area is a result of offences occurring over a short period or crime has been stable over the long term.
- Violent crime volume and violent crime harm was taken in each area over the last five years, split into periods of three months.
- The TSI was then calculated and those areas which show a score above 0.85 suggests that violent crime volume and/or harm levels have been stable over the five year period.
- As shown in the chart on the right, this is true for both violent crime volume and harm for all areas apart from harm in New Addington and South Norwood which are showing relatively low TSIs.
- This means violent harm levels in these areas was not as stable over the five-year period and that it has fluctuated in certain shorter periods.

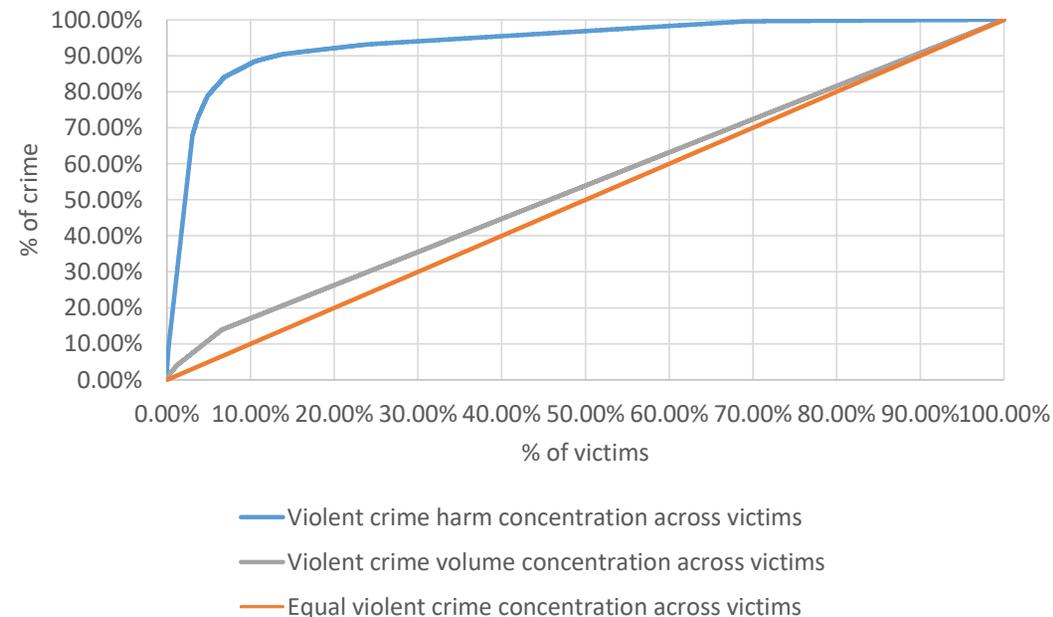


Who is involved?

The “felonious few” and victims of violence

- The implementation and the use of the Cambridge Crime Harm Index is pivotal in the analysis to focus on the “felonious few*”, which research shows that most crime, specifically crime harm, is committed by a small fraction of offenders against a small fraction of victims in a small fraction of locations.
 - In many areas within many countries, there are relatively large sums of money spent on investing equal efforts in all offenders, victims and places which produce unequal results.
 - The borough should instead refocus its limited resources on the “felonious few”, which could lead to an increased chance of crime reduction, particularly those targets which give rise to serious harm.
 - This approach requires no extra costs and could even possibly reduce overall costs in the medium to long-term due to these persistent high harm targets no longer generate such serious crimes or, better still, no crime at all.
- As shown below, 10% of victims of violent crime suffered almost 90% of all harm in 2021/22. For the same proportion of victims, less than 20% of the number of all violent offences were attributed to them.

Proportion of victims receiving the proportion of violent crime harm and volume in Croydon in 2021/22



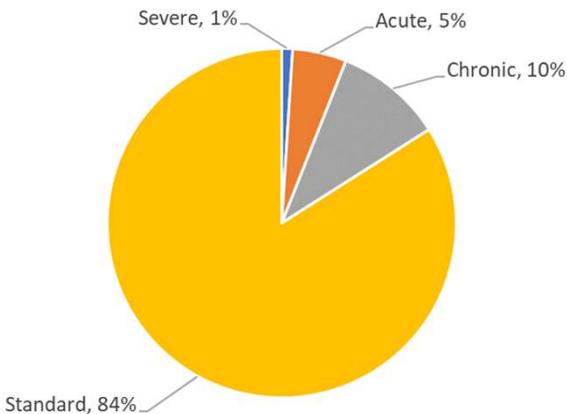
*The “Felonious Few” is more familiarly known as the “Power Few” but it has recently been replaced by the former, especially in regards to offenders, due to the justifiable argument that calling them this suggests they are deserving of praise or respect instead of them being labelled with a name that demanded condemnation for their high harmful crimes.

Violent harm classifications for victims of violence

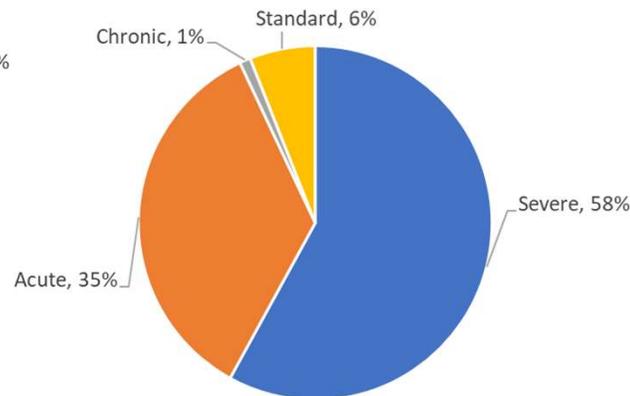
- Using both violent crime volume and harm, a simple model can be used to prioritise interventions for victims of violence. This is a 2 x 2 model shown on the right.
- As shown, each victim is assigned a classification based on the frequency of violence and severity of harm they have suffered.
- A repeat victim is shown as an individual who has been victimised more than once and an individual is of high severity if they receive a harm score greater than 100.
- These thresholds are arbitrary and can be amended to how agencies see fit.

Classification Matrix		Severity	
		Less than 100	More than 100
Frequency	Once	Standard	Acute
	Repeat	Chronic	Severe

Proportion of victims of violent crime volume by classification in the last five years



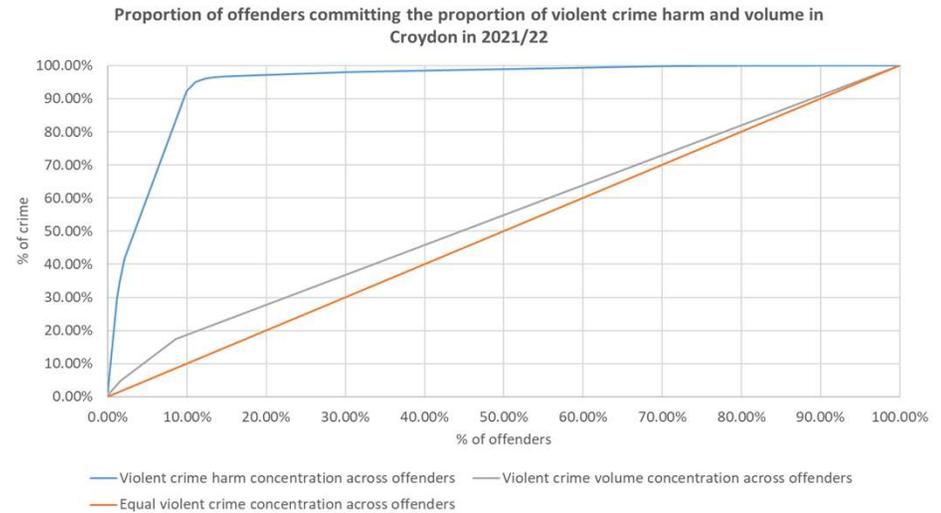
Proportion of victims of violent crime harm by classification in the last five years



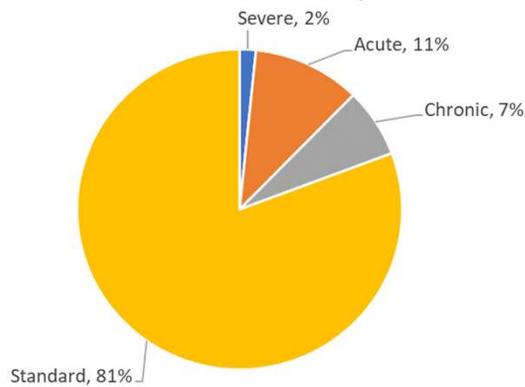
- As an example, using all named victims data of violence over the last five years, the chart on the far left shows that those classified as “Severe” represented 1% of the volume of violent offences but, as shown on the left, represented almost 60% of all violent harm.
- Looking at repeat victims alone, for volume of violent crime, there were ten times of those classified as “chronic” than there was those classified as “severe”. However, for crime harm, those classified as “severe” received 58 times more the amount of harm than those who were “chronic”.
- Therefore, it would deem more effective to target limited resources to those classified as “severe” than any other classification.

The “felonious few” and offenders of violence

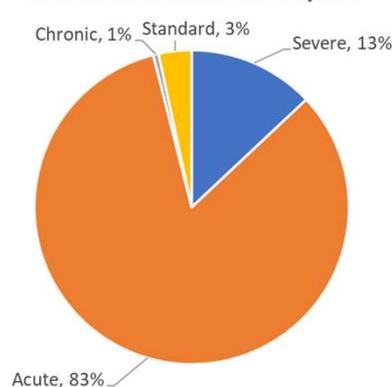
- For offenders of violent crime, the chart on the right shows that over 10% of offenders committed over 90% of violent harm. This is a slightly higher proportion of violent harm attributed to offenders in comparison to victims.
- For the same proportion of offenders, slightly less than 20% of violent crime volume was attributed to them. This is around the same when compared to victims of violent crime.
- Again, even though this shows a greater incentive to invest and focus limited resources on offenders of high harm, it is more difficult to do this with offenders than victims if being directed by the 2 x 2 classification model.



Proportion of offenders of violent crime volume by classification in the last five years



Proportion of offenders of violent crime harm by classification in the last five years

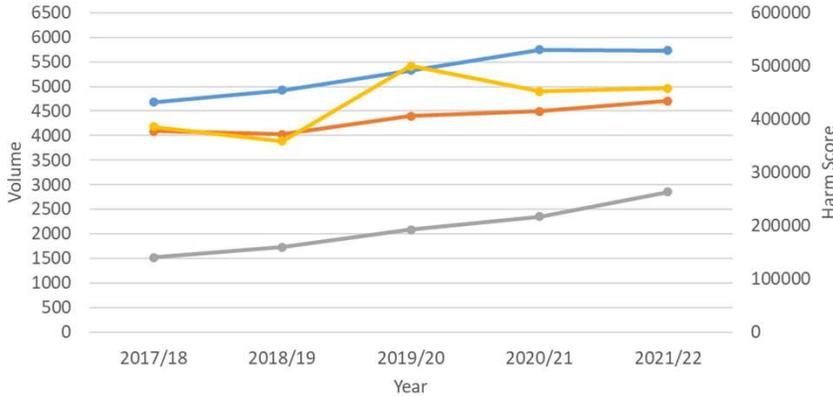


- As opposed to victims, using the 2 x 2 classification model on offenders shows that it is those classed as “acute” who cause the majority of harm rather than those classed as “severe”.
- This means that violent offenders are much more random, especially when it comes to high harm violence, meaning it makes them harder to target.
- However, it must be emphasised this can be down to several reasons including less offenders being charged (especially for domestic violence due to reluctance from the victim) and violent offenders being involved in other types of high harm crime outside of violence, therefore, this was not in the data analysed.

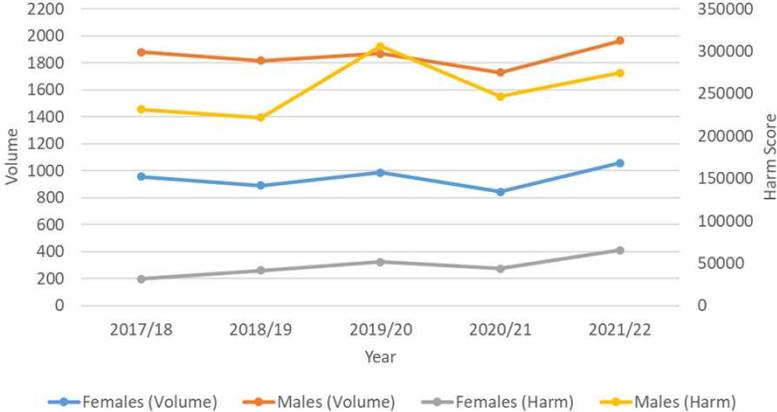
The sex of victims of violent crime

- On average, each year the victims of the volume of violent crime is around 55% female and 45% male. However, around 70% of violent harm is suffered by male victims.
- The number of female victims have increased on average by 7% year-on-year up to last year where it stabilised. The number of male victims followed a similar pattern but continued to rise last year to reach its highest in the last five years.
- The violent harm suffered by female victims has increased on average by 17% each year over the last four years.
- Reaching its peak in 2019/20, harm received by male victims fell by 9% in 2020/21 where it has stabilised in the last year.

Victims of violent crime volume and harm by sex each year in Croydon over the last five years



Victims of street-based violent crime volume and harm by sex each year in Croydon over the last five years

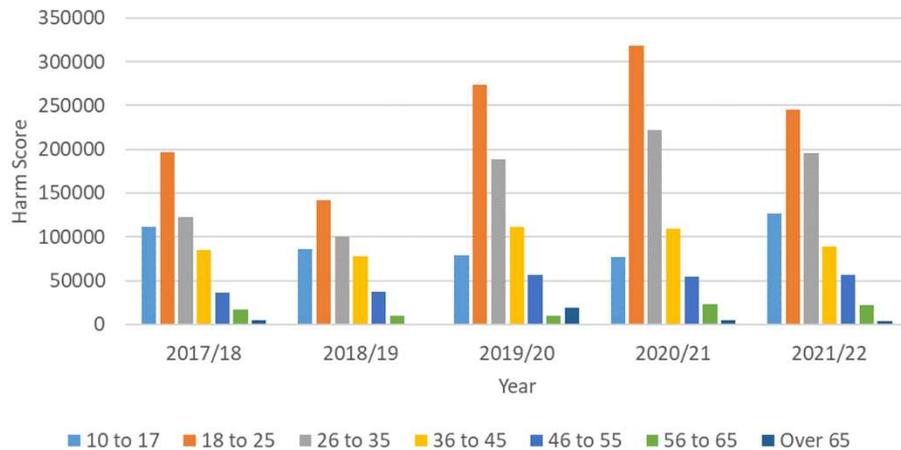


- It can be assumed that the main driver for females of violent crime is because of the rise of domestic violence, seeing that around 75% of victims are female and they suffer over 60% of harm.
- However, both the number of female victims and the harm they suffered from street-based violence was at its highest in 2021/22 in the last five years.
- Each year, on average, males still make up two thirds of victims of street-based violence and 85% of street-based violent harm.
- The number of male victims of street-based violence reached its peak in 2021/22 and this was the second highest for harm suffered by males too in the last 5 years.

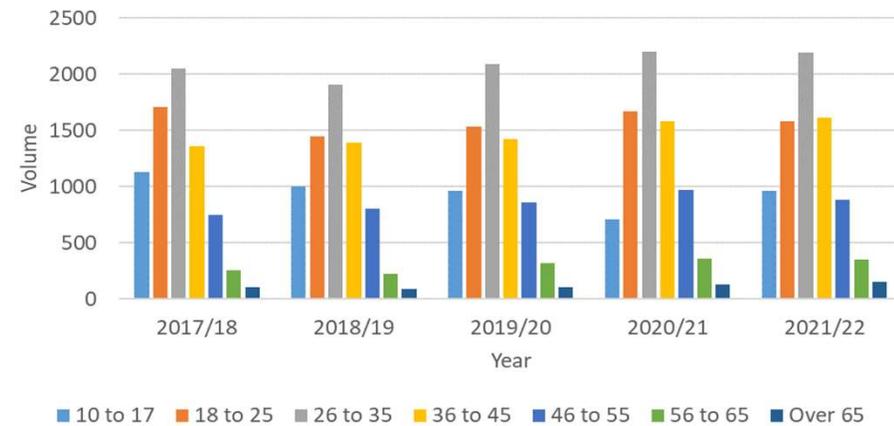
The age of victims of violent crime

- On average, each year the age category where the highest proportion of victims of violent crime are aged 26 to 35 years old, who represent around a quarter of all victims. This is the same for both domestic violence and street-based violence.
- There is a trend of an overall increase of those aged 26 to 35 years old over the last five years. Again, this is because of an increase of victims in this age category for both domestic violence and street-based violence.
- Last year was also the year for the highest number of victims who were aged 36 to 45 years old. This is also because of an increase of victims in this age category who have been victims of domestic violence and street-based violence.

Age of offenders of violent crime harm each year in Croydon over the last five years



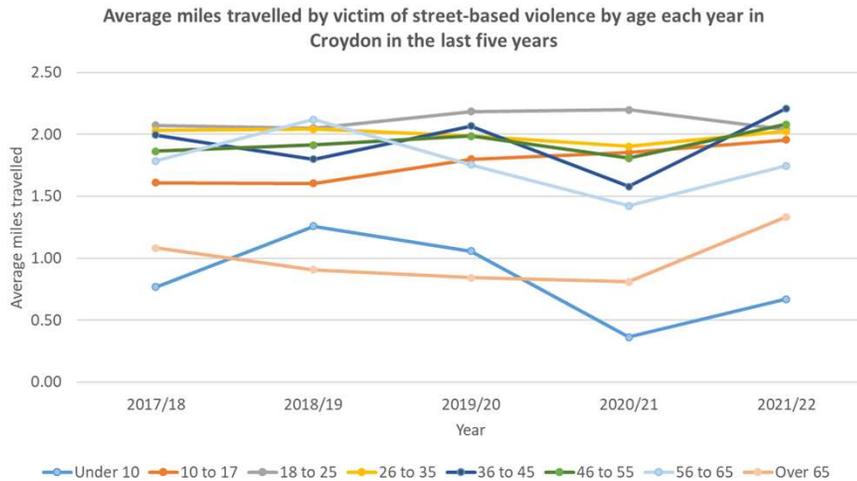
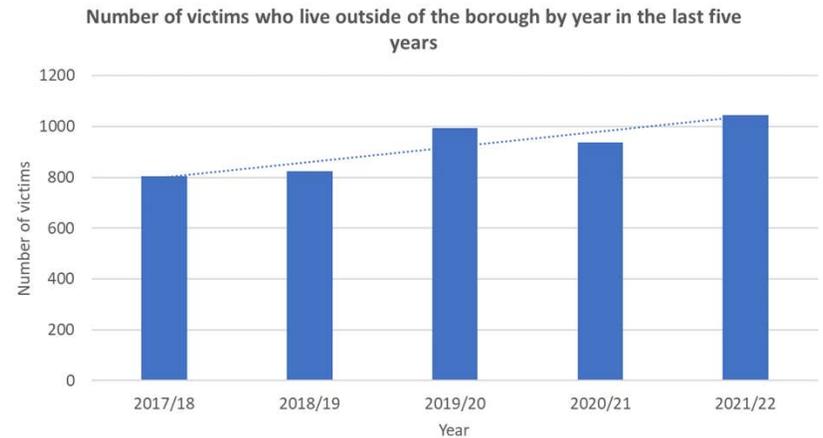
Age of offenders of violent crime volume each year in Croydon over the last five years



- On average, each year the age category where the highest proportion of harm received by victims of violent crime are aged 18 to 25 years old and 26 to 35 years old, who represent around a quarter of all victims each. This is closely reflected for street-based violence.
- For domestic violence, those aged 26 to 35 years old represent around a third of harm each year and those aged 18 to 25 years represent around a quarter of harm.
- 2021/22 was the highest year for harm received by victims aged 10 to 17 years old in the last five years. This is linked to both an increase in harm in domestic violence and street-based violence.

Where victims live and their pattern of travel

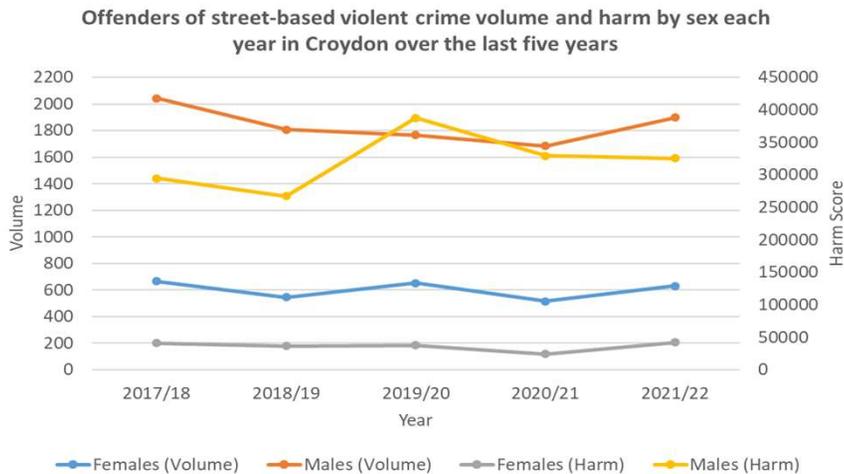
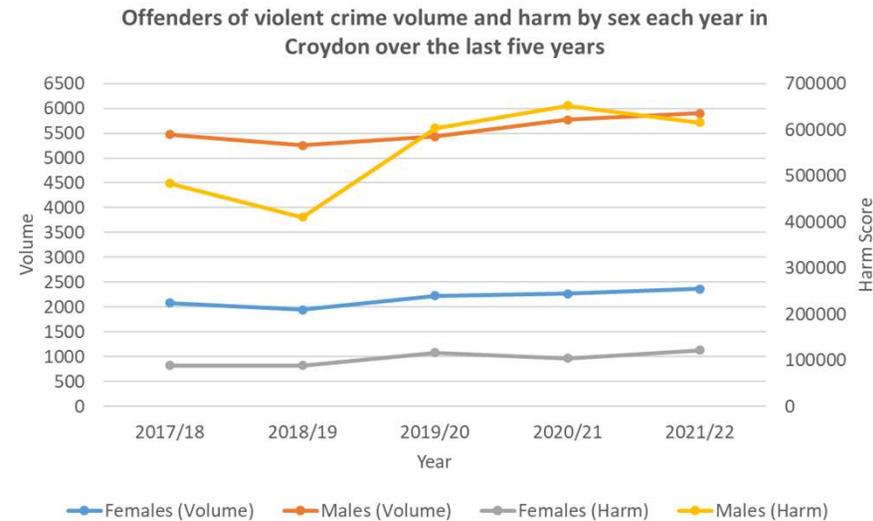
- On average, each year around 12% of victims of violent crime live outside of the borough. These victims make up around 16% of violent harm each year. However, there is a general trend that the number of victims travelling from outside of the borough has been increasing over the last five years. There was a slight decrease in 2020/21 as a result of government-imposed restrictions due to the Covid-19 pandemic.
- In 2021/22 there was an 11% increase of victims coming from outside of the borough compared to the year before and a 5% increase compared to 2019/20.
- This overall trend of victims coming from outside of the borough is both due to an increase of victims of street-based violence and of domestic violence.



- Looking at street-based violence specifically, there has been an overall incremental increase over the last five years in the distance travelled by victims.
- On average, each year almost 60% of victims of street-based violence were less than a mile from their home.
- After a decrease in distance travelled by victims of most age categories in 2019/20 due to the pandemic, there were sharp increases last year where victims of most age categories have travelled furthest in the last five years.
- However, for those aged 10 to 17 years old, there has been a year-on-year increase in average distance travelled in the last three years.

The sex of offenders of violent crime

- There is a trend of less individuals being charged for violent offences which is reflected in national statistics*.
- On average, each year the offenders of the volume of violent crime is around 72% male and 28% female. Around 85% of violent harm is committed by male offenders.
- The number of female and male offenders has increased year-on-year over the last three years where they reached their peak in 2021/22.
- The violent harm committed by female offenders increased by almost a fifth in 2021/22 compared to the year before, reaching its peak in the five year period.
- Harm committed by male offenders fell by 6% in 2021/22 compared to the year before but it was still the second highest year for harm in the five year period.

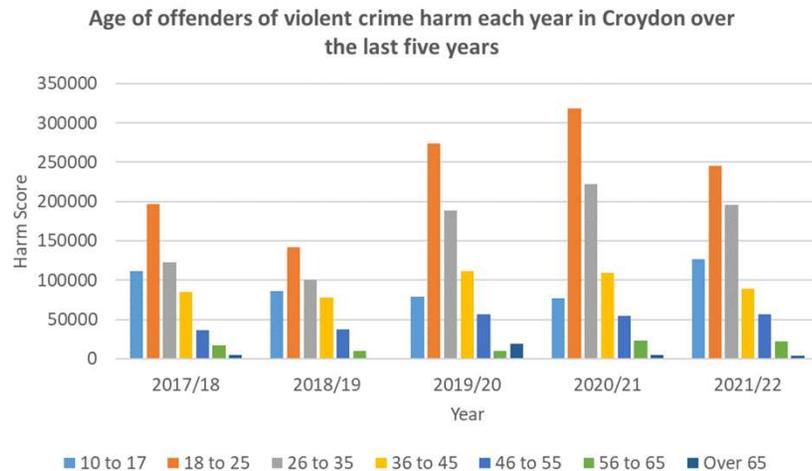
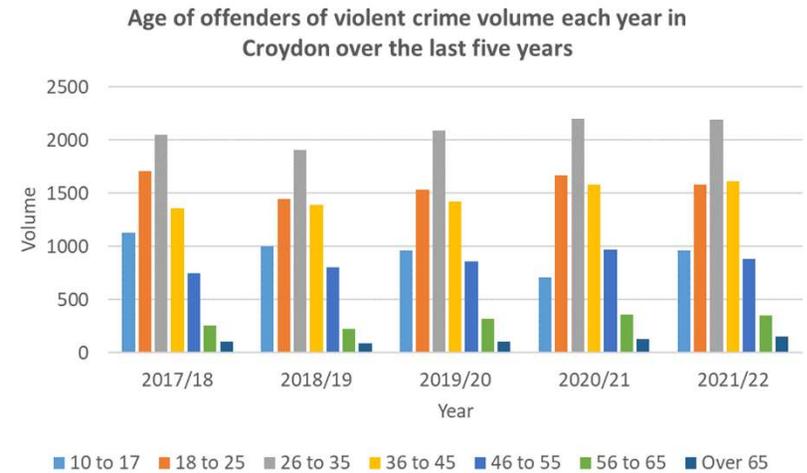


- Almost 80% of domestic offenders are male and around three quarters of domestic harm is committed by male offenders.
- For street-based violence, around three quarters of offenders are male and they commit 90% of harm.
- For street-based violence, even though the number of male offenders has increased by 13% in 2021/22 compared to the year before, the amount of harm committed fell slightly by 1%.
- The number of female offenders increased by almost a quarter in the 2021/22 and the amount of harm committed went up significantly by almost three quarters.

*This is shown in [Crime outcomes in England and Wales 2021 to 2022 - GOV.UK \(www.gov.uk\)](https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/crime-outcomes-in-england-and-wales-2021-to-2022). For greater accuracy of representation in the profiling, suspect data rather than accused data has only been used when analysing the sex and age of offenders.

The age of offenders of violent crime

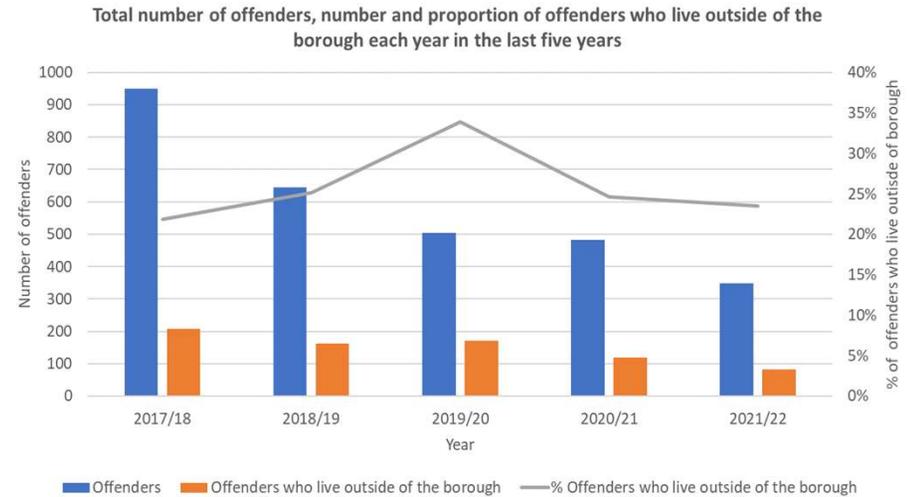
- On average, each year the age category where the highest proportion of offenders of violent crime are aged 26 to 35 years old, who represent around just over a quarter of all offenders. This is the same for street-based violence. They also represent around a third of domestic abuse offenders.
- There has been an overall trend of an increase of those aged 26 to 35 years old over the last five years. This is because of an increase of offenders in this age category who have been offenders of domestic violence and street-based violence.
- Last year was also the year for the highest number of offenders who were aged 36 to 45 years old. This is also because of an increase of offenders in this age category who have been offenders of domestic violence and street-based violence.



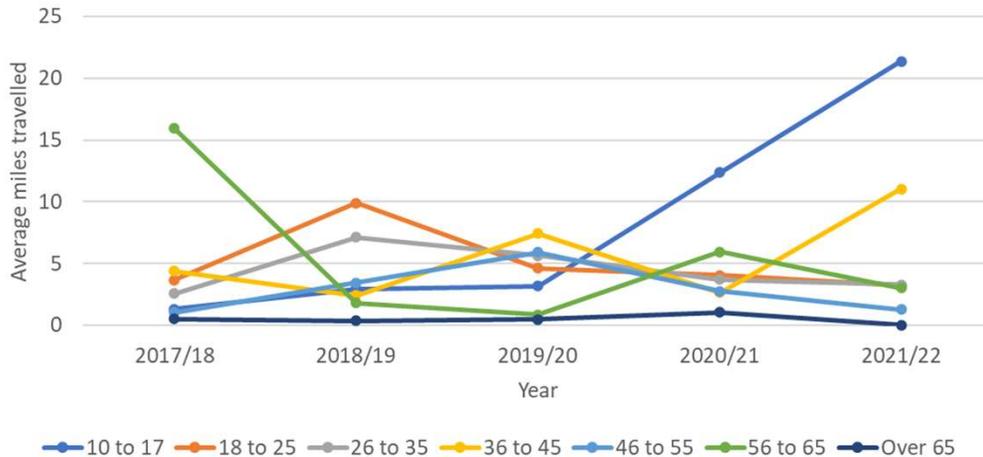
- On average, each year the age category where the highest proportion of harm committed by offenders of violent crime are aged 18 to 25 years who represent around a third of all harm. This is closely reflected for street-based violence.
- For domestic violence, those aged 26 to 35 years old represent around just under a third of harm each year and those aged 18 to 25 years represent around a quarter of harm.
- 2021/22 was the highest year for harm committed by offenders aged 10 to 17 years old in the last five years. This is linked to both an increase in harm in domestic violence and street-based violence.

Where offenders live and their pattern of travel

- As noted earlier, there is a trend of less individuals being charged for violent offences nationally, which is shown in the chart on the right. This has contributed to less offenders coming from outside of the borough.
- On average, each year around a quarter of offenders of violent crime live outside of the borough. These offenders make up just over a third of violent harm on average each year.
- There was a spike in the proportion of offenders coming from outside of the borough in 2019/20 but it then fell, most likely due to the Covid-19 pandemic, and has stabilised in 2021/22.



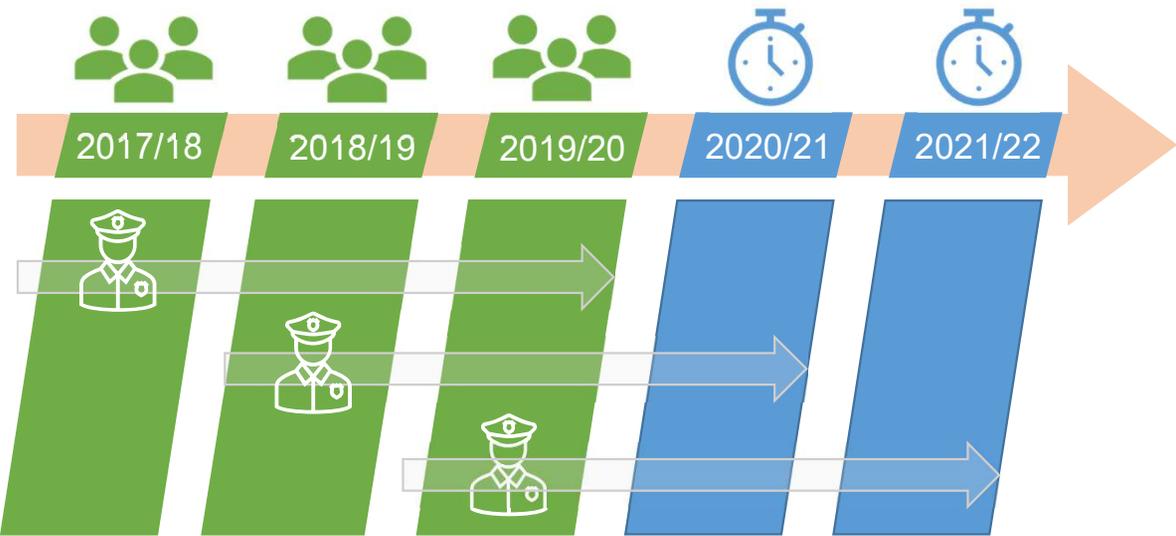
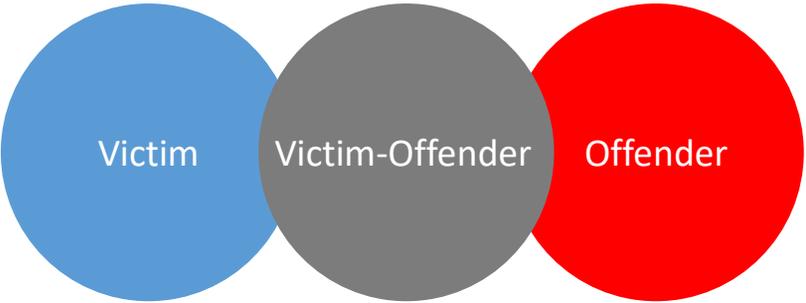
Average miles travelled by offenders of street-based violence by age each year in Croydon in the last five years



- Looking at street-based violence specifically, overall average distance travelled by offenders has fluctuated over the last five years, reaching a peak of 7 miles travelled in 2021/22.
- Each year an average of just over 40% of offenders live within one mile of the location of the crime they've committed.
- There has been a sharp year-on year increase of the average miles travelled by offenders aged 10 to 17 years old in the last three years reaching an average of 21 miles in 2021/22. It must be emphasised that the number of 10 to 17 year old offenders in 2021/22 was relatively low so it's a small number travelling a long distance.

The Victim-Offender

- The authorities have traditionally dealt with victims and offenders separately. However, there is a type of individual who significantly overlaps both who commit and suffer high volume and harm. This individual is known as the “victim-offender”.
- Research has found the strongest association between victimisation and offending exists with violent personal crimes that include big issues such as domestic violence, gang violence and non-fatal gun crime, with the most pronounced in relation to murder (Gottfredson 1984; Broidy et al. 2006; Papachriston 2018).
- Victim-offenders are the exact individuals who are caught in the cycle of not just violence but all crime in the borough where we should focus our resources.



- The VRN is currently undertaking research on victim-offenders and their impact on crime in the borough. To conduct the research, the data sample was taken from a three year triggering intake period from 2017/18 to 2019/20 (shown on the left).
- Then there was a two year “follow up” period ending on 31st March 2022. So, for each distinct individual, they were each tracked for a total of three years.
- This gave a list of 65,790 distinct individuals which had entered this period and who were involved in a total of 85,925 crimes in the triggering intake period.
- For violence only, the sample gave a list of 24,043 distinct individuals which had entered this period and who were involved in a total of 29,819 violent crimes in the triggering intake period.

The Victim-Offender

- From the initial results of the analysis, as shown by the figures on the right for all crime, victim-offenders make up a fraction of all individuals involved in crime (4%) compared to victims (84%) and offenders (16%).
- However, victim-offenders are involved in almost three times the number of offences per person compared to victims and offenders.
- In regards to harm, victim-offenders are involved in almost five times the amount of harm as victims and almost three times the amount of harm as offenders.

All Crime			
	Victims	Offenders	Victim-offenders
Total People	55,362	8,090	2,338
Total Crime	67,169	10,768	7,988
Total Harm	4,736,521	957,382	932,035
Crime/Person	1.2	1.3	3.4
Harm/Person	85.6	118.3	398.6

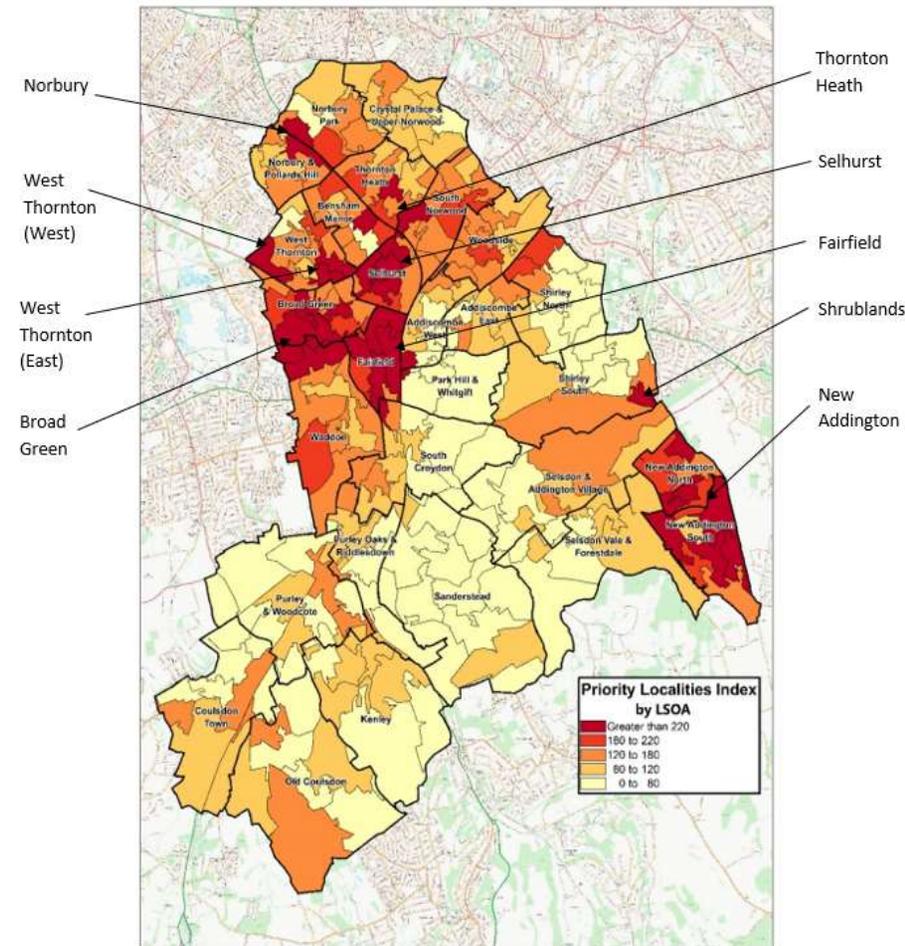
All Violence			
	Victims	Offenders	Victim-offenders
Total People	20,169	2,149	1,725
Total Crime	23,989	2,408	3,422
Total Harm	1,366,636	465,254	478,122
Crime/Person	1.2	1.1	2.0
Harm/Person	67.8	216.5	277.2

- For violence, as shown on the left, victim-offenders make up the smallest number of individuals involved (7%) compared to victims (84%) and offenders (9%).
- However, victim-offenders are involved in almost twice the number of offences per person compared to victims and offenders.
- In regards to harm, victim-offenders are involved in four times the amount of harm as victims. However, compared to offenders, victim-offenders are still involved in more harm but only 1.3 times higher.

Why is it happening?

The Borough's Priority Localities Index

- Last year the VRN introduced an adaptation of a known analytical technique called the Vulnerable Localities Index*. This helps identifying neighbourhoods that require prioritised attention.
- Research has shown a variety of benefits including that the VLI is accurate in highlighting areas that suffer from a disproportionately wide range of multi-faceted problems, it creates a more partnership-oriented approach in reducing crime and disorder and it targets those partnership resources more effectively**
- A “alternative VLI” was adapted by the VRN called the “Priority Localities Index” (PLI) using the following variables:
 - Domestic abuse offences in a residential setting in 2020
 - Non-domestic criminal damage and arson to a dwelling in 2020
 - Enquiries made to the Family Justice Centre in 2020
 - Hate crime offences in 2020
 - Deliberate fires reported by the London Fire Brigade in 2020
 - Individuals case managed by the Youth Offending Service in 2020
 - Individuals who were excluded from school in 2019
 - Individuals receiving treatment from Turning Point for alcohol and/or substance misuse in 2020
 - Children reported as missing in 2020
 - Income deprivation
 - Employment deprivation
 - Education, skills and training
 - Proportion of young people (10 to 24 years) who make up the local population Income deprivation, employment deprivation and education, skills and training taken from the multiple indices of deprivation 2019
- Each of the variables were mapped to Lower Super Output Area level and based on their PLI, nine priority neighbourhoods were identified (right) where the majority correlate with most of the primary and secondary hotspots in the borough. The priority neighbourhoods were agreed to be targeted by the Safer Croydon Partnership under the Community Safety Strategy 2022-2024.



*Bullen, I. 2008. "Priority Neighbourhoods and the Vulnerable Localities Index in Wigan – a Strategic Approach to Crime Reduction" in Chainey, S.P., & Thompson, L. (Eds), *Crime Mapping Case Studies: Practice and Research*, Chichester: Wiley.

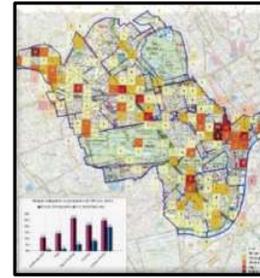
**Reece-Smith, R. & Kirby, S. 2013. "Exploring the VLI, for identifying priority neighbourhoods, in the context of multi-agency community safety initiatives" in *Policing: a journal of policy and practice*, Volume 7, Issue 1, 2013, pp. 42-52

<https://doi.org/10.1093/police/pas061>

Risk Terrain Modelling

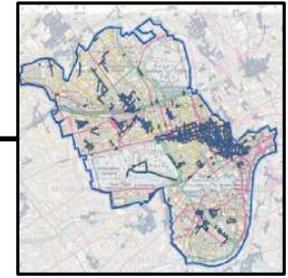
- The VRN have adopted the method of risk terrain modelling (RTM) to establish what are the underlying factors that influence crime occurrence and location.
- Where hotspot mapping, temporal analysis and predictive mapping provide information on where and when crime has previously occurred and assists in anticipating where and when it will happen, RTM assists in answering why it is happening, especially in a specific location.
- Not only is RTM designed to evaluate the physical features of a location (e.g. bus stops, pubs, bars, shops etc.) but also the model can be fed with any set of input factors for evaluation.
- Multi-variate regression analysis is carried out to identify which factors correlate with the specific crime selected.
- The model provides a geographical visualisation where these factors overlay in space to significantly increase risk.
- The model can then be used to assist in the following:
 1. Inform local taskings partner agencies to capture additional intelligence.
 2. It shifts operational, tactical and strategic plans from “reactive” to “problem solving”.
 3. It encourages and enables data sharing and joint tasking with partners.

1. Hot spot Maps



Spatial and temporal pattern of crime.

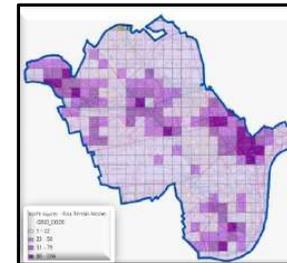
2. Predictive Maps



Where is crime expected most today?



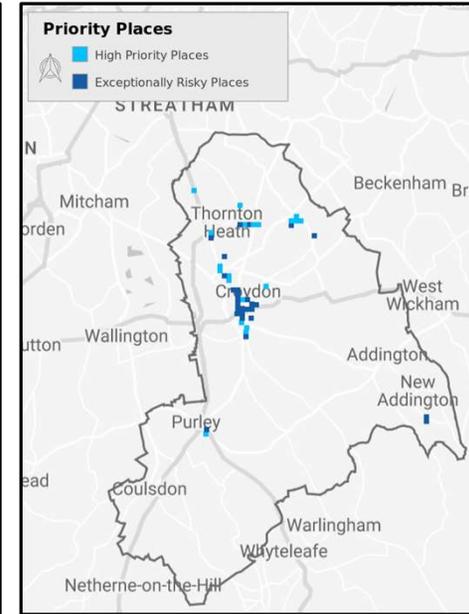
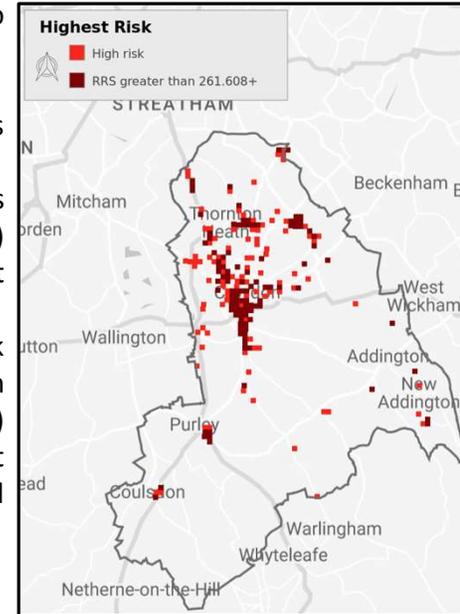
3. Risk Terrain Maps



What are the underlying factors that influence crime occurrence and location?

Risk Terrain Modelling (cont.)

- RTM was used to identify the underlying risk factors which have contributing to causing street-based violence in Croydon in 2021/22.
- The model was run at a micro-level of 150m grid cells.
- A wide range of risk factors were processed from bus stops and schools and colleges to drug trafficking offences and weapon finds.
- The map on the right titled “Highest Risk” shows the places with relative risk scores (RRS) two standard deviations or more above the mean (displayed in dark red) and/or places with RRS equal to or greater than the top 5% value (displayed in bright red).
- The map on the far right titled “Priority Places” Shows all places with relative risk scores (RRS) two standard deviations or more above the mean that intersect with recent past exposures to create exceptionally risky places (displayed in dark blue) and/or places with RRS equal to or greater than the top 1% value (displayed in light blue). The places identified on this map closely reflect the hot spot areas identified earlier.



Risk Factor Name	Operationalisation	Spatial Influence	Relative Risk Score
Bus Stops	Proximity	450	4.181
Alcohol & Substance Misuse Clients	Proximity	300	1.981
Alcohol-related Crime	Density	150	1.898
Off Licences	Proximity	150	1.851
Restaurant, Cafes and Canteens	Density	150	1.74
Drug Trafficking	Proximity	450	1.616
Small Retailers	Proximity	300	1.606
Bus Crimes and ASB	Density	450	1.543
Weapon Finds	Proximity	150	1.508
Schools and Colleges	Proximity	150	1.502
Retailer - other	Proximity	150	1.433
Supermarkets	Proximity	450	1.376
Anti-social Behaviour CAD Calls	Proximity	150	1.322
Drug-related CAD Calls	Proximity	150	1.307
Takeaways	Proximity	150	1.293
Hotels and Guesthouses	Proximity	150	1.266

- The top risk factors for street-based violence are shown in the table on the left. The highest risk was bus stops, which especially reflects the survey the VRN conducted with women and girls in the borough last year where bus stops came highest as a place they do not feel safe.
- The risk factors linked to alcohol and drugs were also particularly high.
- The analysis carried out is constant and, therefore, the VRN are working to collect, collate and process more data from a wide range of sources to build the most accurate picture of the risk factors causing violence in specific areas.

Recommendations

From the analysis conducted in this document, the following recommendations are:

1. To write a **problem profile on Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG)** in the borough which will feed into the VAWG strategy. This is not only to cover both domestic and non-domestic violence and sexual offences but other specific offences which have seen notable increases including stalking, threats to kill and malicious communications.
2. To evaluate and target **“high volume high harm” micro-areas** of violence using Risk Terrain Modelling so appropriate short, medium and long-term interventions can be implemented.
3. To investigate further into the **rise in victims travelling from outside of the borough** and to work with the relevant authorities in those areas to protect potential victims who are travelling from there.
4. To explore and utilise the “2 x 2” model to **prioritise appropriate interventions for individuals involved in violence**.
5. To further explore the concept of **“victim-offenders”** so that intensive long-term provision can be provided to significantly reduce all crime in the borough, not just violence.
6. To further utilise **alcohol and substance misuse service provision**.
7. To have a greater focus on **public transport in the borough**, especially around bus stops which have been identified as a high risk factor for violence.
8. To further investigate **cruelty and neglect of children**, which has seen a small but significant increase in the borough.
9. With the increase in knife crime being driven by **knife-enabled robbery**, this is to be a priority for the next 12 months.

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