

UK PEACE INDEX

Exploring the fabric of peace in the UK from 2003 to 2012



2013

CONTENTS

INSTITUTE FOR
ECONOMICS
& PEACE

QUANTIFYING PEACE AND ITS BENEFITS

The Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit research organisation dedicated to shifting the world's focus to peace as a positive, achievable, and tangible measure of human well-being and progress.

IEP achieves its goals by developing new conceptual frameworks to define peacefulness; providing metrics for measuring peace; and uncovering the relationships between business, peace and prosperity as well as promoting a better understanding of the cultural, economic and political factors that create peace.

IEP has offices in Sydney and New York. It works with a wide range of partners internationally and collaborates with intergovernmental organisations on measuring and communicating the economic value of peace.

For more information visit www.economicsandpeace.org

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RESULTS & SUMMARY



“By measuring the state of peace, we can further our understanding of the social, political and economic factors that help develop more peaceful environments ”

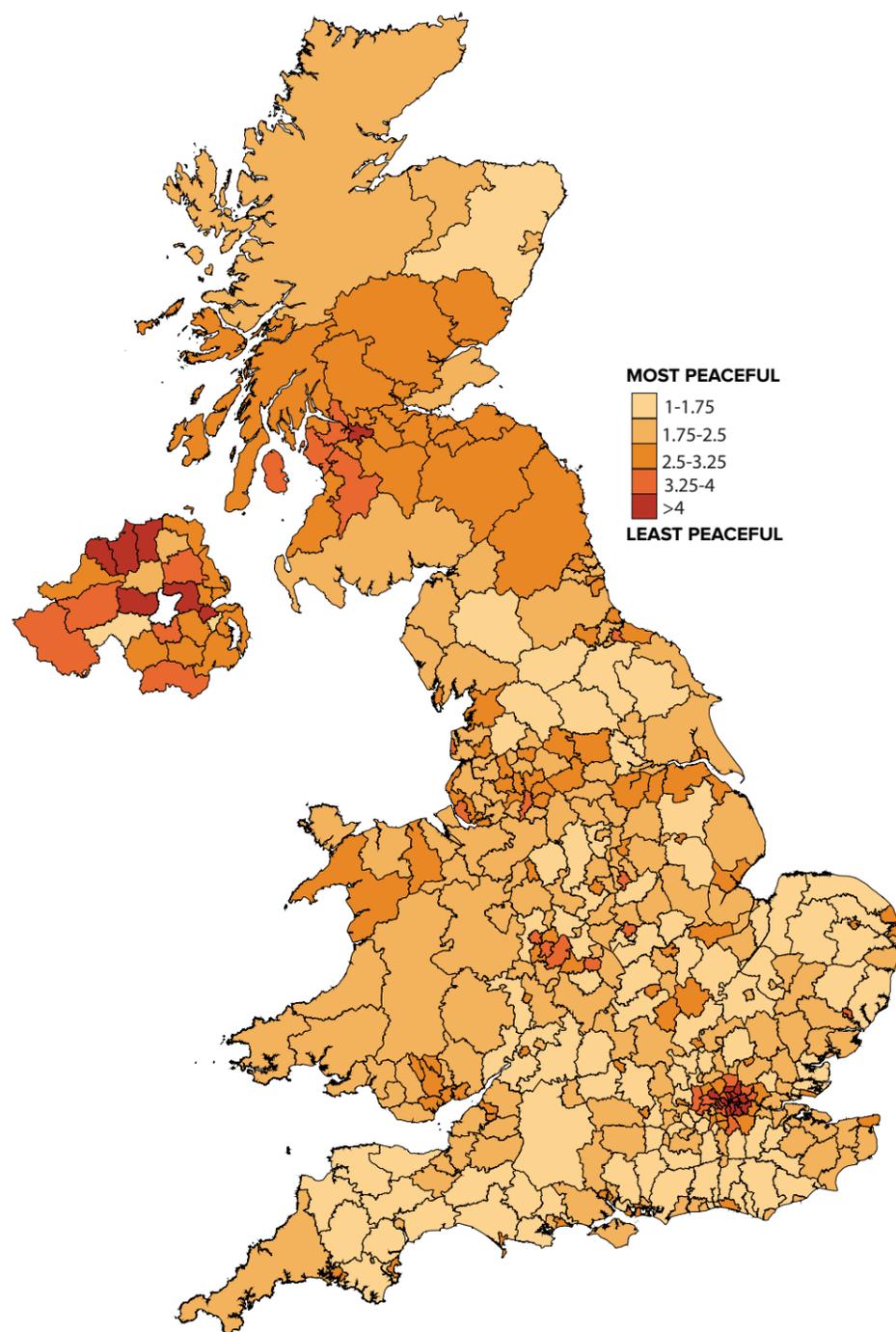
What is the UK Peace Index?

- The UK Peace Index provides a comprehensive measure of the levels of peacefulness within the United Kingdom from 2003 to 2012.
- Peace is defined as the absence of violence or the absence of the fear of violence.
- The UK Peace Index also provides an analysis of the socio-economic factors associated with peacefulness, as well as an estimate of the economic benefits that would flow from increases in peace.
- This is the inaugural edition of the UK Peace Index.

WHICH AREAS IN THE UK ARE THE MOST PEACEFUL?

	MOST PEACEFUL AREA	SCORE
1	Broadland	1.164
2	Three Rivers	1.239
3	South Cambridgeshire	1.264
4	East Dorset	1.268
5	Maldon	1.299
	LEAST PEACEFUL AREA	SCORE
1	Lewisham	4.529
2	Lambeth	4.494
3	Hackney	4.402
4	Newham	4.364
5	Tower Hamlets	4.360

2013 UK PEACE INDEX



RESULTS

ENGLAND & WALES		
RANK	MOST PEACEFUL AREA	SCORE
1	Broadland	1.164
2	Three Rivers	1.239
3	South Cambridgeshire	1.264
4	East Dorset	1.268
5	Maldon	1.299
6	Hart	1.301
7	Craven	1.313
8	Mid Sussex	1.323
9	East Cambridgeshire	1.323
10	Wokingham	1.324
11	Ribble Valley	1.335
12	Rochford	1.338
13	Purbeck	1.348
14	Horsham	1.348
15	North Kesteven	1.353
16	Rushcliffe	1.353
17	Vale of White Horse	1.384
18	Sevenoaks	1.386
19	Rutland	1.387
20	West Lindsey	1.391
RANK	LEAST PEACEFUL AREA	SCORE
1	Lewisham	4.529
2	Lambeth	4.494
3	Hackney	4.402
4	Newham	4.364
5	Tower Hamlets	4.360
6	Hammersmith & Fulham	4.352
7	Islington	4.343
8	Southwark	4.314
9	Brent	4.235
10	Haringey	4.221
11	Waltham Forest	4.076
12	City of Westminster	4.061
13	Greenwich	4.002
14	Ealing	3.949
15	Croydon	3.931
16	Camden	3.914
17	Barking & Dagenham	3.842
18	Manchester	3.752
19	Birmingham	3.724
20	Hillingdon	3.698

SCOTLAND		
RANK	MOST PEACEFUL AREA	SCORE
1	Orkney Islands	1.554
2	Aberdeenshire	1.709
3	Moray	1.900
4	Shetland Islands	2.067
5	Dumfries & Galloway	2.165
RANK	LEAST PEACEFUL AREA	SCORE
1	Glasgow City	4.369
2	West Dunbartonshire	3.624
3	Renfrewshire	3.315
4	North Ayrshire	3.279
5	Inverclyde	3.205

NORTHERN IRELAND		
RANK	MOST PEACEFUL AREA	SCORE
1	Castlereagh	1.558
2	Ballymoney	2.233
3	Magherafelt	2.373
4	Armagh	2.571
5	Moyle	2.592
RANK	LEAST PEACEFUL AREA	SCORE
1	Belfast	4.273
2	Foyle	4.223
3	Coleraine	4.150
4	Cookstown	4.095
5	Antrim	4.040

WHICH AREAS CAN BE DIRECTLY COMPARED?

Only the areas in England and Wales (of any size) can be directly compared with each other, as they are the only areas to have the full dataset encompassing all five UKPI indicators.

Scotland uses different crime categories and definitions, and thus the data is not directly comparable at the local authority level. Northern Ireland uses the same definitions as England and Wales, however, data was not available for all five indicators.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The United Kingdom Peace Index (UKPI), produced by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), provides a comprehensive measure of the levels of peacefulness within the United Kingdom from 2003 to 2012.¹ It also provides an analysis of the socio-economic factors which are associated with peace as well as an estimate of the economic cost of violence and the benefits that would flow from increases in peace. This is the inaugural edition of the UK Peace Index.

The UKPI is based on the Global Peace Index, the preeminent global measure of peacefulness which has been produced by IEP annually since 2007. The UKPI is the second national peace index in a series of national level studies and follows the United States Peace Index (USPI). Defining peace as the absence of violence or fear of violence, the UK Peace Index is based on a similar methodology to the USPI and enables comparability of the two indexes both at a national level and at more detailed local level.

The index has been produced at the Local Authority (LA) level with the population for the LAs ranging from 35,000 to over 1 million people. Of the 343 LAs covered in the index, 278 are more peaceful now than they were in 2003.

The last ten years have seen a substantial and sustained reduction in direct violence in the UK. The homicide rate has halved since 2003, from 1.99 per 100,000 people to 1 per 100,000 with a concurrent reduction in the violent crime rate from 1,018 to 833 violent crimes per 100,000 people. This trend does not seem to be abating. This is consistent with national trends in other advanced economies and is discussed in detail in section two of this report.

The 2013 UKPI results have also been correlated against an extensive set of over 300 secondary economic, educational, health, demographic, and social capital factors, in order to determine the environments which are most closely associated with peace in the UK. When comparing the US and the UK the analysis shows that many of the same socio-economic factors are associated with peacefulness in those countries. Poverty and deprivation in employment opportunities, education outcomes, access to basic services, and inequality are closely related to peace in both the UK and the US.

The economic impact of violence to the UK economy is substantial, amounting to £124 billion in 2012. These economic costs can be grouped into three categories. The first is the expenditure borne by governments to maintain law and order through the police, justice and prison systems as well as dealing with the direct consequences of violence, such as asset damage and destruction. The second is the lost productivity from crime which can consist of time off work due to injuries or lost earning capacity from early death. The third category is the lost productivity and job creation effects that come from other, more productive investments than containing violence. This

displacement of expenditure away from violence containment to support industry investment, schools or national infrastructure would improve the nation's productivity and competitiveness.

One of the key goals of the UKPI is to move the conversation around violence from a narrow assessment of crime and crime rates, to a more holistic understanding of the causes, costs, effects, and implications of violence as a starting point to realise a more peaceful society.

KEY FINDINGS

- The UK has become more peaceful since 2003. 343 Local Authorities have been assessed in the index, of those 278 are more peaceful now than they were in 2003.
- Both crime and homicide have fallen significantly. The fall over the last decade has resulted in the UK homicide rate now being roughly equivalent to that of the Western European average, and it is now at its lowest level since 1978. However, the UK violent crime rate is significantly higher than the European Union average.
- Despite the global financial crisis, violence has continued to decline in both the UK and Europe even during the on-going recession. In the UK, the only major offence category to substantially increase over the ten year period was drug offences. All other categories of crime, including burglary and fraud, have fallen.
- The most peaceful region in the UK is South East England. The least peaceful region is Greater London immediately preceded by Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- The least peaceful major urban centre in the UK is Glasgow, preceded by London and then Belfast.
- When measured at the Local Authority level the most peaceful areas are Broadland, Three Rivers, and South Cambridgeshire. The least peaceful are the London boroughs of Lewisham, Lambeth, and Hackney.
- The total economic effect of violence to the UK economy was £124 billion in 2012. This is composed of both direct and indirect costs and is equivalent to £4,700 per household or 7.7% of GDP. The total economic effect that would result from a 9% reduction in violence is equivalent to the total cost of the London Olympics.
- A 25% reduction in violence would have an economic effect equivalent to the total cost required to build the Birmingham Motorway, the Forth Replacement Bridge in Edinburgh and the London Crossrail. A 50% reduction could pay-off the debt owing on all hospitals built in the UK over the past 13 years. The amount owed by all 72 clubs in the English Football League is equivalent to less than 1% of the economic impact of violence.
- Public perceptions of the threat of violence are inflated. 17% of Britons think they will be a victim of violent crime, whereas less than 4% will actually experience violent crime. Surveys on perceptions of crime show that people feel crime is falling locally even as they think it is increasing nationally. This could be explained by the influence of mass media publicising high profile crimes whereas personal experience colours local perceptions.
- The downward trend in violence is potentially due to a range of factors:
 - Changes in police practices and technological improvements.
 - Aging population.
 - Decreasing alcohol consumption.
 - Rising real wages due to the introduction of the minimum wage.
- Homicides as a proportion of total violent crimes are almost 10 times higher in the US than in the UK. Access to guns in the US contributes to the high percentage of homicides by firearms, where two out of three homicides are caused by guns. On the other hand, only one in 13 homicides are caused by firearms in the UK.
- Violence and peace are closely linked to deprivation. By tackling severe deprivation it is possible to substantially increase the levels of peace. Lack of peace is linked to deprivation in income, employment opportunities, health, education, and access to housing and services.
- Incarceration costs £40,800 per prisoner per year. Incarceration is not a cost-effective solution to reducing violence, with each prisoner costing the state an average of £40,800. The increase in incarceration since 1999 costs the British taxpayer an additional £881 million each year.

¹WHAT TIME PERIOD DOES THE UKPI COVER?

All references, tables and charts in this report only use the second half of the financial year to designate the appropriate time period. All charts which feature data after 1998 are referring to the financial year.

METHODOLOGY

The UKPI is the second in a series of national peace indexes produced by IEP. It follows the US Peace Index which was first released in 2011. Similar in concept to the USPI, the UKPI uses “the absence of violence or fear of violence” as the definition of peace.

IEP’s starting point in creating its peace indices is to imagine a perfectly peaceful state, region, or country. In such a state there would be no direct violence, and thus no homicide and no violent crime. In addition, there would be no need for state violence against perpetrators of crime as there would be no need for the state to devote resources to violence containment. Thus, there would be no police employees and no incarceration. Citizens would have no fear of violence being committed against them, so there would be no harassment or public disorder. Finally, in a perfectly peaceful state, citizens would have no need to own firearms or other weapons for the purpose of self-defence.

While such a hypothetical state is theoretical rather than grounded in reality, this approach aims to provide a starting point for conceptualising how to measure a state perfectly at peace. In police states where the government may exercise repressive control and have significant police numbers and intrusive monitoring, there may be relatively little crime, but this does not reflect an environment without the fear of violence. A society that has a large proportion of the population incarcerated reflects high levels of historical violence, a group of the population which if released, would theoretically cause greater violence. Similarly, a state without law enforcement could experience higher rates of violence. Through counting and building a composite index of all of these factors a more comprehensive reflection of the peacefulness of a society can be obtained.

There are some communities that do need less police, have lower incarceration rates, and lower levels of crime. By understanding the socio-economic factors associated with these communities it is possible to form a better understanding of what creates peace. It is important to note that the UKPI makes no moral judgement on what should be the appropriate levels of a state’s response to containing violence. Different contexts and circumstances will call for different government responses to the problem of violence. Thus, the UKPI score should be seen as a measure of how close a state currently is to realizing a perfectly peaceful environment and not a moral judgement of its peacefulness.

IEP has tried to make the UKPI as similar as possible in design to the USPI, in order to ascertain whether the same patterns and environments are associated with peacefulness at the sub-national level in both countries. However, where appropriate to the country specific context, IEP has used some different indicators for the UKPI. The most significant

difference between the two indexes is that the USPI includes an incarceration indicator, as in the US the sentencing rules which determine incarceration rates are within the remit of state governments, thereby enabling state comparisons, whereas such rules are determined nationally in the UK. Such an indicator applied to the UK at the sub-national level is therefore not appropriate.

The five indicators used in the UKPI are a subset of the twenty three indicators that comprise the Global Peace Index (GPI). These indicators were chosen because they were the most appropriate measures of violence at the Local Authority (LA) level. In addition, comprehensive and consistent quantitative data for each of the indicators was readily available back to 2003.

INDICATORS

The five indicators are:

Homicides per 100,000 people

The homicide figures include murder, manslaughter, and infanticide.

Violent Crimes per 100,000 people

There are differing definitions of violent crime used across countries. In order to try and standardize the data as much as possible across peace indices, IEP uses the FBI’s definition of violent crime, which encompasses aggravated assault, rape, and robbery. For the UKPI, this means that violent crimes are those offences that fall under the category “violent offences – with injury”, except for homicides as well as sexual offences and robbery offences.

Weapons Crime per 100,000 people

Weapons crime encompasses offences involving firearms, knives, and other dangerous weapons.

Public Disorder Offences per 100,000 people

The public disorder indicator is used as a proxy for perceptions of crime or fear of crime. Public disorder encompasses violent disorder and harassment.

Police Officers per 100,000 people

The police officers data does not include Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs).

REGIONS

The UKPI aims to measure peace at the Local Authority (LA) in the United Kingdom. Where data was not available at this level, Police Force Area (PFA) data was used.

Population exclusion

The UKPI does not include LAs that have a population that is less than 20,000, as areas this small are too sensitive to errors in measurement to be included. Therefore two LAs have been excluded; the Isles of Scilly and the City of London are not in the index.

DATA SOURCES

The UKPI uses the police recorded crime open data tables from the Home Office as its source of crime data, and also uses Home Office data on police employment numbers for its police officers indicators. Data was only taken back to 2003, as major changes to police recording procedures occurred in 2002.

Police Recorded Data vs Survey Data

In constructing any index which relies on crime data, a decision must be made between using police recorded data and survey data. Typically, police recorded data tends to significantly discount the total level of crime, as many offences are simply not reported to the police. Estimates in the UK suggest that police recorded data only captures around 40% of total minor violent crimes. There are also issues associated with using survey data.

The UKPI uses police recorded data because:

1. It uses police recorded data in both the GPI and USPI
2. Whilst police data may discount total crime rates, it does so in a consistent manner across all areas
3. Crime data in the Crime Survey of England and Wales, formerly the British Crime Survey, is not available at the LA level. Whilst it is now available at the PFA level, the sampling size in rural areas is proportionally much higher than in urban areas, leading to sampling discrepancies between areas.

However, IEP does use crime survey data and various other datasets in order to check whether the trends revealed in the police recorded data are a true reflection of changing levels of peacefulness in the UKPI. See the trends section of this report for more details.

Population Estimates

The UKPI uses a combination of population data from the home office, and the 2001 and 2011 censuses. A linear regression model was used to provide population estimates for 2012.

Socio-Economic Data

Socio-Economic data that was used to construct the correlations in section three was taken from the 2001 and 2011 censuses, the home office, and various other public and private sources. For a full list of socio-economic data, see Appendix B.

INDICATOR WEIGHTS

All indicators are scored between 1 and 5, with 5 being the least peaceful score, and 1 being the most peaceful score. After the score for each indicator has been calculated, weights are applied to each of the indicators in order to calculate the final score. These weights are shown in table 1.

TABLE 1 Indicator weights used in the UK Peace Index

INDICATOR	WEIGHT	% OF INDEX
Homicide	4	26.7%
Violent Crime	4	26.7%
Weapons Crime	2	13.3%
Public Disorder	2	13.3%
Police Officers	3	20.0%

In order to maintain consistency across IEP’s various peace indices, the weights in the UKPI mirror those in both the USPI and GPI as closely as possible. The weights for the GPI indicators were agreed upon by an international panel of independent peace and conflict experts based on a consensus view of their relative importance.

THREE YEAR MOVING AVERAGE

Because many of the LAs have populations smaller than 100,000 the index is especially sensitive to movements in the homicide, weapons crime, and police officer indicators. Therefore, to smooth out these variations and to give a better indication in changes in peacefulness over time, a three-year moving average was used to calculate the final UKPI score for each area. For example, the 2012 UKPI score is actually the average of data from 2010, 2011, and 2012.

SCOTLAND AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Whilst the data used in the UKPI is harmonised across England and Wales, both Scotland and Northern Ireland have separate classification and collection systems for crime data. Whilst the crime categories and definitions are largely similar across the four home nations, there are some differences in weapons and public disorder data. Furthermore, not all the data used for the LAs in England and Wales was available at the equivalent level in Scotland and Northern Ireland. Finally, the size of many council areas in Scotland and Northern Ireland mean that they would have been excluded from the index. Thus, separate scoring ranges have been used for Scotland and Northern Ireland. Scores are comparable between areas in England and Wales, and Scotland and Northern Ireland for key peace indicators. Thus it is possible to compare overall trends at the home nations level on the key indicators of violent crime, homicide and police numbers.

MOST AND LEAST PEACEFUL

While the least peaceful areas in England and Wales are more likely to be located in London, the most peaceful places are almost exclusively located outside of London.

The most peaceful areas typically have small to medium size populations of around 60,000 to 150,000 people. All areas consistently record periods when no homicides occur; East Dorset recorded no homicides from 2004 to 2008 whilst Maldon only recorded a total of two homicides during the decade. The five most peaceful local authorities in the UKPI have recorded a combined total of 24 homicides for the last decade.

The average violent crime rate for the top five for the decade is less than half the national average for the same time period. Small rural or seaside areas tend to be the most peaceful due to the fact that violent crime is strongly associated with high population density areas, particularly urban areas. Hence, weapons crime in these areas are also extremely low. In 2012, Broadland recorded only eight incidents for the year making its weapons crime rate one-third of the national average. Similarly, whilst the national trend in public disorders has seen a slight increase over the last decade areas like Maldon and Three Rivers have had their rates half.

In terms of the broader socio-economic context, the five most peaceful areas fare much better than most parts of the UK.

FIVE MOST PEACEFUL

1. BROADLAND

REGION: East

UKPI SCORE: 1.164

Broadland is located in Norfolk in Eastern England, and is ranked as the most peaceful area for 2013. It has a small to medium size population of around 125,000, with the state of violence remaining steady over the last decade.

Broadland recorded a total of six homicides for the last decade with no year recording more than one homicide. Its average homicide rate for the decade is less than half the national average for the same period at under 0.5 per 100,000 people. Weapons crime has decreased from its high of 27 incidents in 2005 to only eight in 2012.

Violent crime has increased marginally from 321 in 2003 to 364 incidents in 2012 but is significantly down from its high in 2005 when it recorded 537 incidents. Nevertheless, Broadland's average crime rate for the decade is 323 incidents per 100,000 people which is a third of the national average. Public disorder is also marginally up from 84 incidents at the start of the decade to 105 incidents. Its public disorder rate, however,

remains only a quarter of the national average.

14.9% of households have an income that is 60% below the median income, compared to the national average of 20.4% and the conception rate for under-18s at 22.70 births per 1,000 is roughly half the national average. Broadland also has very low levels of unemployment.

2. THREE RIVERS

REGION: East

UKPI SCORE: 1.239

Three Rivers is located in Hertfordshire in the east of England. It is ranked as the second most peaceful local authority in the UKPI. It recorded a total of five homicides in the last decade with only one homicide in the last five years. Its 10-year average public disorder rate is approximately half the national average, although it has marginally increased over the decade - in line with the national trend.

Weapons crime increased during the first four years and has subsequently fallen at a steady rate. In 2012 the number of weapons crime incidents recorded was 15, approximately half the national average. Similarly, violent crime also saw an increase before decreasing steadily with 248 incidents being recorded in 2012. The 10-year average violent crime rate is less than half the national average.

The average weekly household income for Three Rivers is £920, well above the national average of £679. It also has a low unemployment rate and more than half of households are classified as not being deprived in any way.

3. SOUTH CAMBRIDGESHIRE

REGION: East

UKPI SCORE: 1.264

South Cambridgeshire is part-rural area which surrounds the City of Cambridge. It has consistently been ranked as one of the best places to live in Britain and ranks as the third most peaceful local authority in the UKPI. It has recorded a total of eight homicides over the last decade. It recorded 15 weapons crime offences in 2012. Unlike other parts of the UK which have seen a rise in public disorder, South Cambridgeshire has seen a fall with the number of offences halving since 2003 to 162 offences in 2012.

Only 12% of households are below 60% of the median income with an high average weekly household income at £892. Only 15% of people have no education qualifications, compared to the national average of 22%, and unemployment is low.

4. EAST DORSET

REGION: South West

UKPI SCORE: 1.268

East Dorset is a local authority located in Dorset, South England. East Dorset has had a total of three homicides during the last decade making its average homicide rate 0.35 homicides per 100,000 people. Violent crime has steadily increased from 149 incidents in 2003 to 229 incidents in 2012, but its violent crime rate is between a quarter and a third of the national crime rate. Public disorder has increased from 48 incidents to 72 over the last decade although its current public disorder rate is less than half the national rate at 14.6 incidents per 100,000. East Dorset never had more than 20 weapons crimes in any year for the last decade.

Unlike the other areas in the top five, many of East Dorset's socio-economic statistics are not significantly different to the national average. Its average weekly household income is only £4 less than the national average, and only 14% of households make below 60% of the median income. It has low conception rates for under-18s and low levels of unemployment.

5. MALDON

REGION: East

UKPI SCORE: 1.299

Maldon is a local authority located in Essex, England. It has a small population of around 60,000, most of whom live in rural areas. During the last decade, it has recorded two homicides, making its homicide rate almost zero. Public disorder has almost halved over the last decade recording 62 incidents in 2012 making its 10-year average half the national average.

Weapons crime has fluctuated but has recorded no more than 20 crimes in any one year. Violent crime incidents have almost halved during the decade and its average violent crime rate is roughly half the national average.

The average weekly income for a household in Maldon is £712 which is slightly above the national average of £679. Like the other areas in the top five, it has low levels of unemployment and only 16.7% of households earn below 60% of the median income, which is 4% below the national average.

FIVE LEAST PEACEFUL

1. LEWISHAM

REGION: London

UKPI SCORE: 4.529

Lewisham is located in the Greater London region and currently ranks as the least peaceful local authority area in the United Kingdom. It was the location of a massive street battle in 1977 between the British Union of Fascists and their opponents. In recent years, knife crime particularly with young people aged between 13 and 24 has been a cause for concern. In Lewisham the conception rate amongst under-18 year olds is 70.6 which is 1.8 times the national average of 39 births per 1,000. Over 60% of households are deprived in housing, education, health and/or employment.

Lewisham's homicide rate is more than twice the national average at 2.5, with the 2011 period being the worst year for homicides over the last decade with 11 homicides recorded. The homicide rate in Lewisham has fluctuated from year to year averaging seven homicides per year while the national trend has seen a sustained decline in both the number and rate of homicides.

Weapons crime saw a large increase from 2003 to 2005 and has since declined although it still remains above the national average of 39 weapons crimes per 100,000 in 2012. It is important to note that the average over the last decade was more than double that of the national average. Similarly, the violent crime rate has also followed the same pattern as weapons crime: a large increase from 2002 to 2005 and then a steady decline. Despite decreases in both weapons crime and violent crime over the recent years, the number of incidents still remains well above the national trends meaning that Lewisham receives the worst possible score of 5 for these indicators in the UKPI.

The public disorder rate rose to a staggering 1,126 incidents per 100,000 people peaking in 2009, which was more than three times the 10 year national average, before sharply declining through to 2012. Most of the crime in Lewisham occurred in the ward of Lewisham Central.

2. LAMBETH

REGION: London

UKPI SCORE: 4.494

Lambeth is a part of Greater London and is located in the south of the city. Currently its homicide rate is 3.5 per 100,000 people. Over the last decade, there have been erratic fluctuations in the number of homicides from a minimum of 7 in 2006 to a maximum 23 two years later, and then back to 7 in 2010.

Currently its violent crime rate is over three times the national average at almost 2,300 violent crime incidents per 100,000 people in 2012. On average over the last 10 years, it has recorded 6,800 incidents each year, the highest being 2006 when 7,653 incidents were recorded. Although the violent crime rate has fluctuated mildly, the 10 year trend shows an overall decrease. Interestingly, although the violent crime rate has only seen minor reductions, the weapons crime rate has dropped around 60% since 2003 to 95 weapons crimes per 100,000 people. Despite this remarkable fall in the weapons crime rate, Lambeth still recorded 95 incidents in 2012 as opposed to the national average of 39 in the same year.

In 2012, the public disorder rate in Lambeth was slightly less than its 10-year average however the 10-year trend shows a slight increase. The public disorder rate has remained fairly steady with the exception of a large spike in 2005.

Almost 30% of all households earn below 60% of the median income whilst 60% experience deprivation of some kind. Around 13% receive housing benefits. Brixton, located in Lambeth, was one of the areas most affected by the London Riots in 2011. It has been described the 'drugs capital of London' and has had a long history with gangs, drugs and crime.

3. HACKNEY

REGION: London

UKPI SCORE: 4.402

Hackney is located to the north-east of the city of London and is ranked as the third least peaceful area in the 2013 UKPI. It was one of the areas that saw rioting and looting during the London riots in 2011. The number of homicides has moved erratically over the last decade but the magnitude of the fluctuations has decreased. In 2004, it recorded a maximum of 20 homicides as opposed to 3 in 2012. The 10-year trend in violent crime follows the same pattern as the national trend: there was an increase between 2003 until it peaked in 2006 before seeing a sustained and steady decline. Nevertheless, the average violent crime rate over the 10-year period was more than twice the national average. Given this, Hackney

receives the worst possible score of 5 for the violent crime indicator.

Hackney saw its worst year of weapons crime in 2004, which was over four times the national average. The average over the last decade has been 182 weapons incidents a year which is three times the national 10-year average. Nevertheless, there has been a noteworthy precipitous drop in weapons crime from 2004 to 2012 where the number of incidents has gone from around 250 per 100,000 people to 85 per 100,000 people.

Young people (15-24) make up around 22% of the total population compared to the national average of 12.5%. Education rates are poor with 20% of the population not having any education qualifications. 37% of households are below 60% of the median income and 70% can experience deprivation in education, employment, housing, and/or health. It is interesting to note that social exclusion, lack of employment opportunities, and lack of affordable education were cited among the various reasons for the 2011 riots.

4. NEWHAM

REGION: London

UKPI SCORE: 4.364

Newham is to the east of the City of London and ranks as the fourth least peaceful area in the UKPI. Home to the 2012 London Olympics, almost 70% of residents still experience deprivation and 16% receive housing benefits. Two-thirds of all income benefit claimants are between the ages of 25-49 and 39% of households earn below 60% of the median income.

The 10-year average homicide rate of 4.3 per 100,000 people is greater than the national 10-year average of 1.2 homicides. Whilst there have been large fluctuations in homicides, there appears to be a general downward trend with 2012 recording a 10 year low of two homicides. The weapons crime rate has largely followed the national trend with a decline over the last decade. Since 2003, the weapons crime rate has dropped 47% from 408 incidents to 216 recorded incidents. The 10-year average for Newham at 139 incidents per 100,000 people is more than twice the national average for the same period.

Unlike the national trend in the United Kingdom, both the number and rate of violent crimes has increased over the last decade. In 2012 there were 5,476 recorded violent crime incidents which is slightly lower than the worst year 2005, which saw almost 6,600 incidents. The 10-year average violent crime rate of 2,315 incidents per 100,000 people is almost two-and-a-half times the national average for the same period. Newham has consistently received the worst score of five on its violent crime indicator score for the last decade.

Similarly, public disorder has slightly trended upwards since 2002 with an extra 130 incidents being recorded in 2012.

The public disorder rate has largely stayed around its 10-year average value of 574 incidents per year since 2008. There was a large spike in reported incidents in 2005 when nearly 2000 incidents were recorded.

5. TOWER HAMLETS

REGION: London

UKPI SCORE: 4.360

Tower Hamlets is located directly east to the City of London and is ranked the fifth least peaceful area in the UKPI 2013. The homicide rate has fluctuated dramatically ranging from 11 homicides to none over the 2003 to 2011 period. Over the last decade, the average homicide rate is almost two-and-a-half times the national average of 1.2 homicides per 100,000 people.

Violent crime saw a large increase and subsequent decrease during 2003 and 2008 with the 2007 period being the worst, recording 5,330 violent crime offences making it the 7th highest in England. The violent crime rate has remained fairly steady since 2009 although it sits at a level which is approximately twice the national average. For this reason, Tower Hamlets receives a score of 5 for its violent crime indicator in the UKPI for every year since 2002.

Weapons crime has fallen notably, other than minor increases in 2007 and 2012. The overall downward trend has resulted in a 60% drop in the rate of weapons crime. Although the drop in weapons crime has fallen precipitously, the current weapons crime rate is twice the national average.

Public disorder in Tower Hamlets increased over the last decade where it records an average of 1,820 offences each year but the public disorder rate has decreased. The 10-year public disorder rate average is around 2.3 times the national average at 811 per 100,000

In Tower Hamlets, 44% of households are below 60% of the median income, two-thirds are classified as being deprived, and 20% of people do not have any educational qualifications such as Level 3 or Level 4 certificates. A report published by *End Child Poverty* ranked Tower Hamlets as the worse local area with regards to poverty, with an estimated 57% of children living in poverty in 2010.

PEACE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM: TRENDS AND REGIONAL ANALYSIS



In the last five years:

Total homicides have fallen by 28%

Violent crime has fallen by 21%

Weapons crime has fallen by 34%

Public disorder offences have fallen by 29%

The number of **police officers** has fallen by 5.5%

What do we know about trends in peacefulness in the UK?

- **The United Kingdom has become significantly more peaceful since 2003**, with violent crime and homicide falling in the last decade.
- **Violent crime peaked in 2006 and has been declining since.** However, violent assault in the UK is still much higher than the OECD average.
- Surveys on perceptions of crime show that **people feel that crime is falling locally** even as they think it is increasing nationally.
- **The fall in crime rates appears to be equally distributed geographically**, with reductions across all regions in the UK.

Which regions in the UK are the most peaceful?

- **The most peaceful region in the UK is South East England.** The least peaceful region is Greater London, preceded by Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- **London tells a unique story.** It remains the least peaceful region in the UK. Despite this, almost every London borough is more peaceful than a decade ago. London is relatively peaceful compared to other major cities worldwide.

INTRODUCTION

WHY PEACE MATTERS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Violence, the fear of violence, and the containment of violence all come with a cost to both government and society.

A lot of research has been done on the social implications of violence, however, comparatively little research has been done on peace, particularly its measurement and the economic benefits associated with increases in peacefulness. The UKPI explicitly examines the connection between positive and negative peace by looking at the socio-economic factors that are most closely associated with peacefulness. In this regard, the aim of the UKPI is to move the conversation around violence from a narrow assessment of crime and crime rates, to a more holistic understanding of the causes, costs, effects, and implications of violence, and how it can be assessed, especially over time, as a whole.

HOW PEACEFUL IS THE UK?

The UK is one of the more peaceful countries on the Global Peace Index. In 2012, it was ranked 29th out of 158 countries and improved from 48th in 2007. Generally speaking, the UK is more peaceful than the global average when it comes to its level of internal peacefulness. The improvement in the GPI score can be mostly attributed to improvements in the external indicators, which measure ongoing international conflict and levels of militarisation. The key indicators to improve over the period were directly related to ending its involvement in Iraq, with number of battle deaths, number of external conflicts fought, and military spending as a percentage of GDP all improving. While the UK has seen significant improvements on the internal indicators such as homicide and violent crime, many other European countries have also experienced similar improvements, so comparatively there has been relatively little difference. However, the UK is one of the least peaceful countries in Western Europe, ranking behind Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Germany, The Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Poland. Table two shows a comparison of the UK to the global average on the 23 GPI indicators.

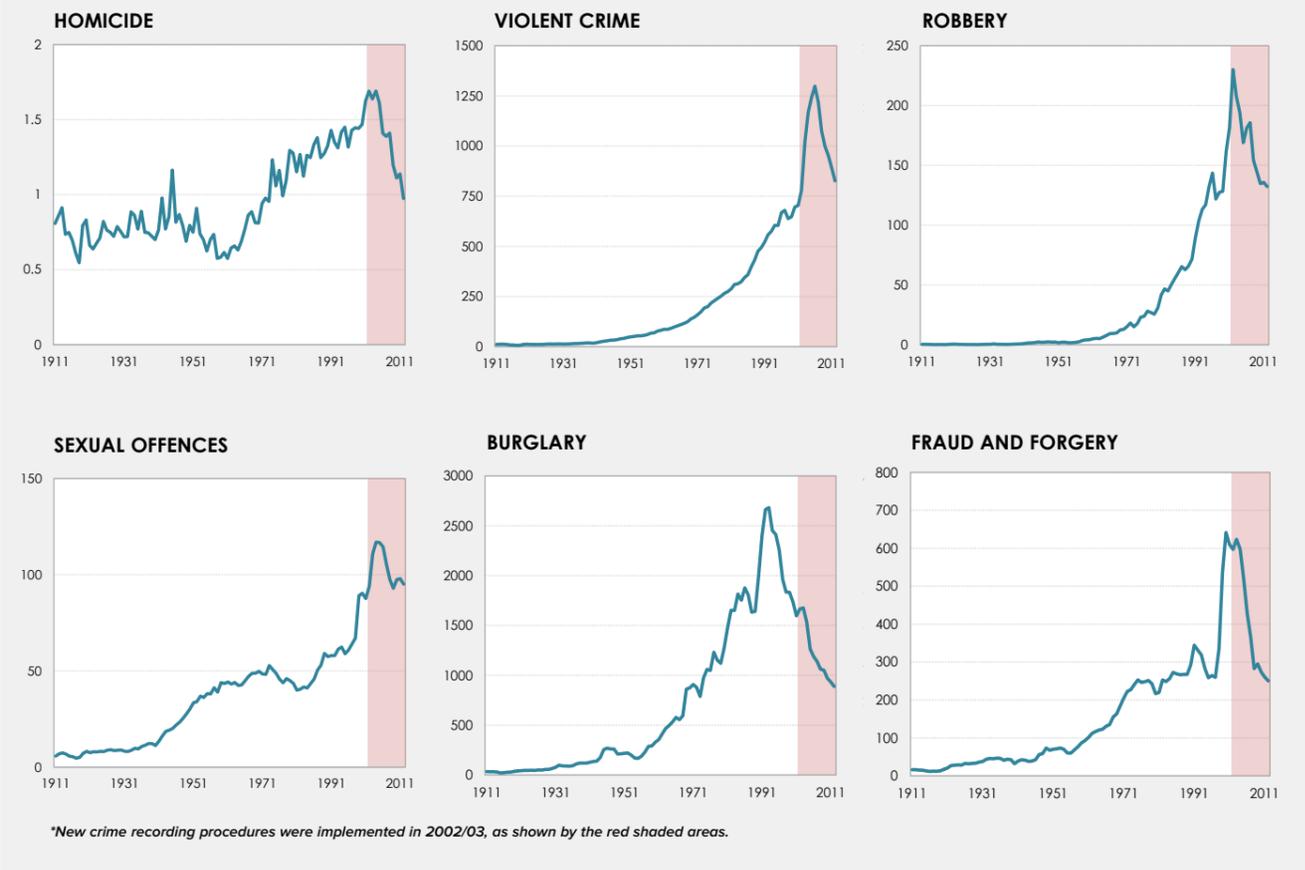
TABLE 2 Comparison of the UK to the global average on the Global Peace Index

INDICATOR	UK SCORE	GLOBAL AVERAGE SCORE
INDICATORS WHERE THE UK IS MORE PEACEFUL THAN THE GLOBAL AVERAGE		
Number of Armed Service Personnel	1	1.16
Level of Violent Crime	1.5	2.77
Number of Violent Demonstrations	2.5	2.94
Perceptions of Criminality	3	3.14
Number of Heavy Weapons	1.5	1.6
Number of Homicides per 100,000	1	2.68
Level of Organised Internal Conflict	1	2.43
Political Instability	1.38	2.48
Number of incarcerated per 100,000	1.5	1.55
Number of Deaths of Organised Internal Conflict	1	1.33
Number of Internal Security Officers and Police per 100,000	2	2.27
Number of Refugees per 100,000	1	1.26
Political Terror Scale	1	2.59
Relations with Neighbouring States	1	2.28
UN Peacekeeping Funding	1	1.24
Imports of Major Conventional weapons per 100,000	1	1.18
Ease of Access to Small Weapons	2	3.11
INDICATORS WHERE THE UK IS LESS PEACEFUL THAN THE GLOBAL AVERAGE		
Number of External and Internal Conflict Fought	2.5	1.61
Incidence of Terrorism	2	1.53
Military Capability	4	2.55
Military Spending as a % of GDP	1.7	1.55
Number of Deaths in Organised External Conflict	2	1.04
Exports of Major Conventional weapons per 100,000	2	1.22

TRENDS

CHARTS 1-6 Historical Crime Rates per 100,000 (1911-2012)*

Crime increased significantly until just after the turn of the century before declining sharply.



The UKPI focuses on peacefulness in the UK since 2003, as this was the first year in which police recording standards were altered making exact comparisons with the prior period difficult. However, it is still possible to explore trends in crime and violence before this time, with the caveat that data before 2003 is not directly comparable with data after this point.

Charts 1-6 show the changes in crime rates for selected crime categories for the last century. These charts makes clear that there have been large increases in violent crime since 1911, with the ramp-up occurring from the beginning of the 1960s and continuing until the early 21st century, before falling off in the last decade. Similar trends can be seen with burglary and fraud and forgery, although the decline in burglary began earlier (in the early 90s), and has now returned to levels not seen since the early 1970s.

Whilst the homicide rate has also increased over the last century, the increase has been nowhere near as high as other forms of petty or violent crime. By 2012, the homicide rate had

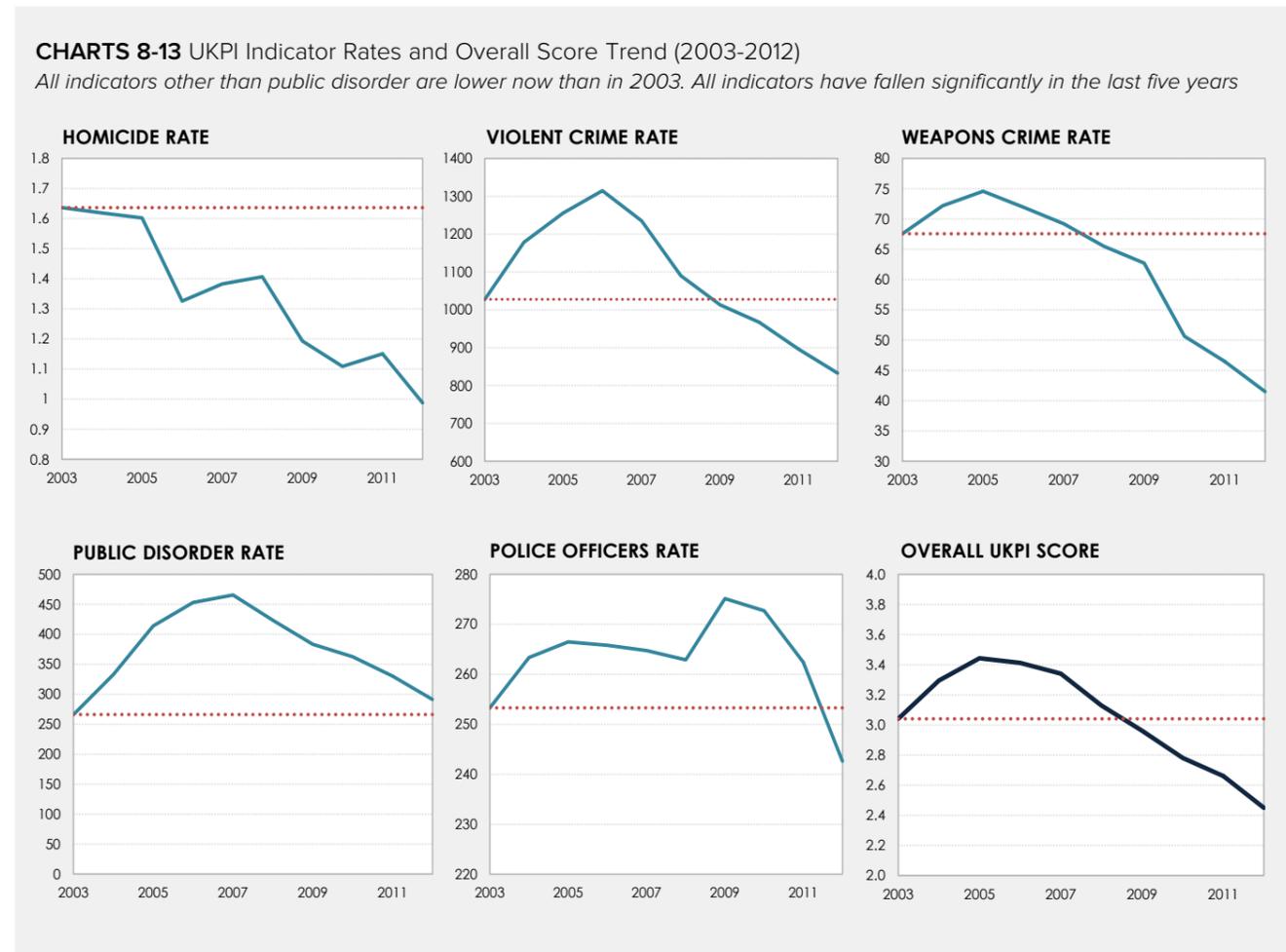
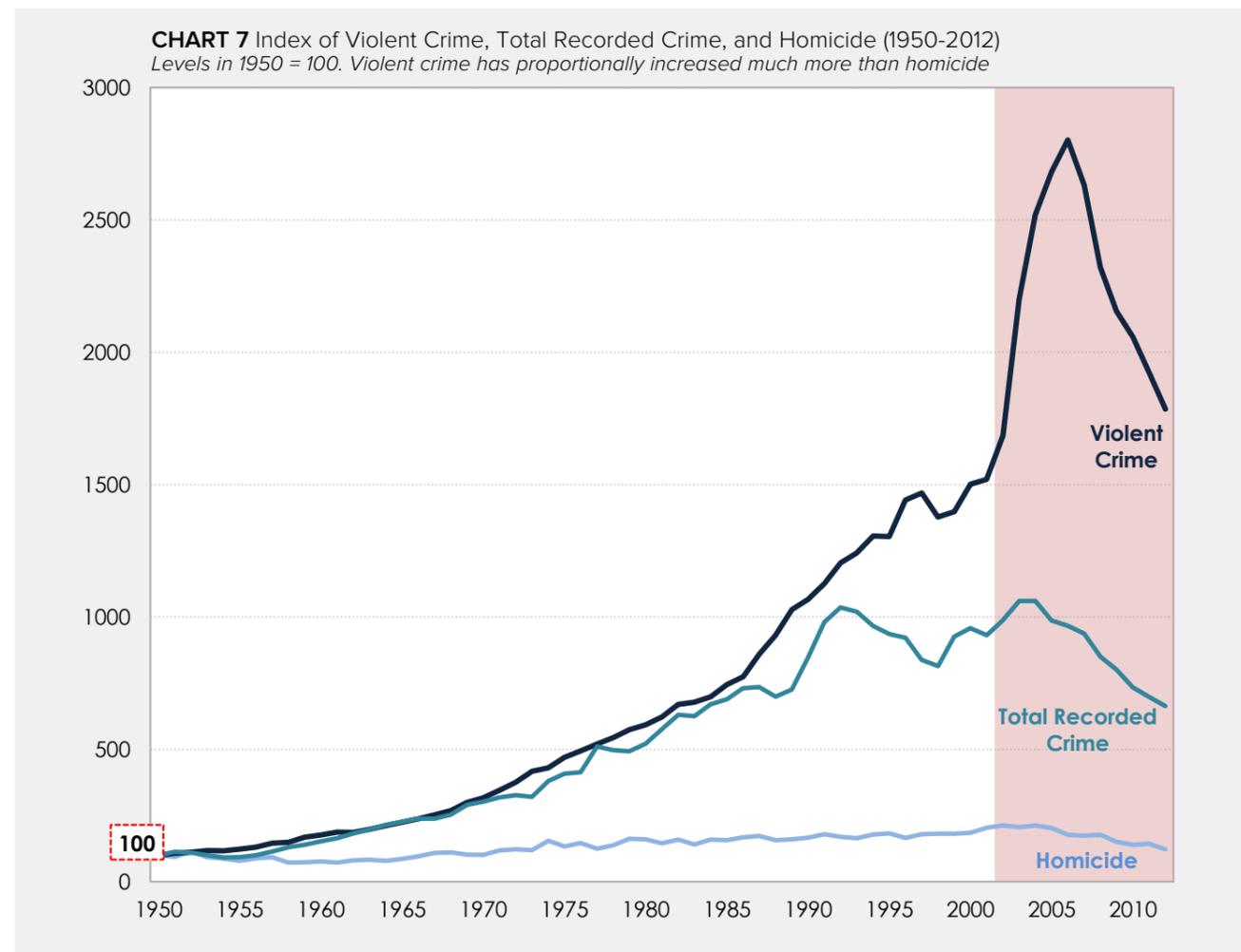
once again fallen to 1 per 100,000 and is now only slightly higher than it was in 1911, although still clearly higher than at its lowest point in the 1950s.

Chart seven shows an index of total crime, violent crime, and homicide, where 1950 is the base year, as most of the variation in crime began from the 1950s onwards. The chart shows the proportionate increase in these crime categories over the last 60 years.

This illustrates a striking trend in terms of the rate of increase in violent crimes, total recorded crimes, and homicide. By far the greatest proportional increase was in violent crime; with total recorded crime also rising to be over 10 times higher than the 1950s. These figures are not solely a consequence of more violence, but also due to changing societal attitudes towards reporting casual violence. Similarly, laws have been reframed, increasing the the number of reportable violent offenses.

The homicide rate is a more dependable measure of violence as it is difficult to underestimate due to the nature of the offense. The homicide rate has fluctuated far less dramatically, never having been more than four times higher than it was in 1950.

Whilst it might seem from these historical trends that crime has skyrocketed over the last fifty years, much of the increase can be explained by tendencies to report more crime to police and better policing. There are a range of factors associated with better policing from the increased funding of police activities, improvements in police productivity, including technological advances which have resulted in more violence being detected and thus reported and recorded. Also, recent changes to police recording techniques towards a more victim-centric approach have resulted in an increase in the total number of crimes recorded. Thus, while it is likely that crime rates have risen over the last 50 years, it is unlikely that in reality they have risen by anywhere near the magnitudes suggested in chart seven. The relatively small change in homicide over the past 60 years is suggestive of the fact actual rates of violence and crime have not seen the significant increases shown in chart seven. The accuracy of these trends are further discussed in the following section.



The UKPI focuses on the last decade of crime, beginning in 2003. Data for the five indicators is available for all of these years, and the standardized definition and recording approach over this time means that year on year comparisons are appropriate.

Charts 8-13 shows the change in the five UKPI indicators over this time period, as well as the overall change in the UKPI score.

All but one of the UKPI indicator rates is lower than they were in 2003. Public disorder is the only indicator whose rate has increased, and even then it has dropped substantially in the last five years, and has now almost returned to the same level as 2003. The homicide rate has fallen almost every year in the past decade, and is now less than 1 per 100,000. Violent crime, weapons crime, public disorder, and the overall UKPI score all peaked between 2005 and 2007 before falling considerably. The police officers rate increased until 2009, before declining

sharply as a result of budget constraints brought about in the aftermath of the global financial crisis. It is notable that all of the five indicator rates kept on falling throughout the global financial crisis and its aftermath, which is seemingly counterintuitive. In fact, it was not only these violence-related indicators that fell during this period, many other crime rates continued falling during the global financial crisis, as shown in chart 14 overleaf.

Of the crime categories recorded in chart 14, only drug offences increased markedly. However since 2009 there has been a slight decrease in drug related offenses. This increase can be partly attributed to a variety of factors such as the introduction of the 'cannabis warning' scheme in 2004. The drop in drug offences also coincided with police budget cuts which started in 2009. Being a victimless crime, prosecution for drug offenses tend to rely on police proactively targeting it as it is generally under-reported by the public.

Nonetheless, there seems to have been an undeniable decrease in violence over the past decade and this is across all sections of the UKPI, resulting in an overall increase in peacefulness which is reflected in the UKPI score. Theft is the only category of crime to record an upward trend since 2009, while the overall trend is down since 2003. In spite of this, many suggest the decrease in violence is illusory or a statistical fiction. It is possible to check whether this trend is real, by comparing police recorded crime in the UK to surveys of crime, as well as to recorded crime trends in other European countries.

ACCURACY OF UK CRIME STATISTICS

Further investigation of the trends in crime statistics shows conclusively that crime and violence has fallen within the UK since 2003. The most reliable household survey of perceptions and impact of crime and violence on the British citizenry, the Crime in England and Wales survey (formerly the British Crime Survey, henceforth BCS), records a similar trend to police reported crime. Another proxy to measure the trend in violence and crime is the measure of Police satisfaction which also shows substantial improvement in police satisfaction over the last decade, both by the police themselves and the general public.

Contrasting to this is the Health Department's admissions for violent assault. Over the last four years the number of admissions has remained flat while the police reported number of violent crimes has been decreasing. Additionally, comparisons to European countries demonstrate that their crime rates have on average been decreasing as well, although starting from a higher base as in the case of Central and Eastern Europe and from a lower base in Western Europe.

It is highly likely that there has been a substantial decrease in crime within the UK, although the methods of reporting may slightly exaggerate the fall.

SURVEY DATA

The BCS samples households to try and assess whether police recorded crime is accurately capturing the actual level of crime. According to the BCS, between 30% and 40% of the total crime is captured by police recorded crime figures. However, this is unlikely to explain the downward trend in police recorded crime figures, as BCS data also suggests that the likelihood of reporting violent crime has only slightly increased over the last decade. The figure has fluctuated between 40% to 45% of violent crime reported to the police since 2002, as shown in chart 19 overleaf.

Similarly, trends in the number of violent crimes recorded in the BCS match trends in police recorded crime, as shown in chart 17.

Although the trend in total recorded crime fluctuates more than the police recorded figures, the overall trends are clearly very similar. The movement of the two sexual assault trend lines is close (chart 16), whilst the chart for total violence against the person (chart 17) suggests that the police recorded data over stated the increase in violent crime early in the decade compared to the BCS. This was possibly due to the introduction of the new victim centered reporting system. Thus, given that the trends across all three crime categories are fairly similar for both datasets, the evidence would suggest that the real level of violence has decreased over the past decade.

People's perception of certain types of public disorder also closely match the changes in police recorded figures, as shown in chart 18. Thus it appears that the changes in police recorded crime and BCS recorded incidents move in tandem for all

CHART 14 Other Crime Trends Index (2003-2012)
Only drug offences have increased over the last decade

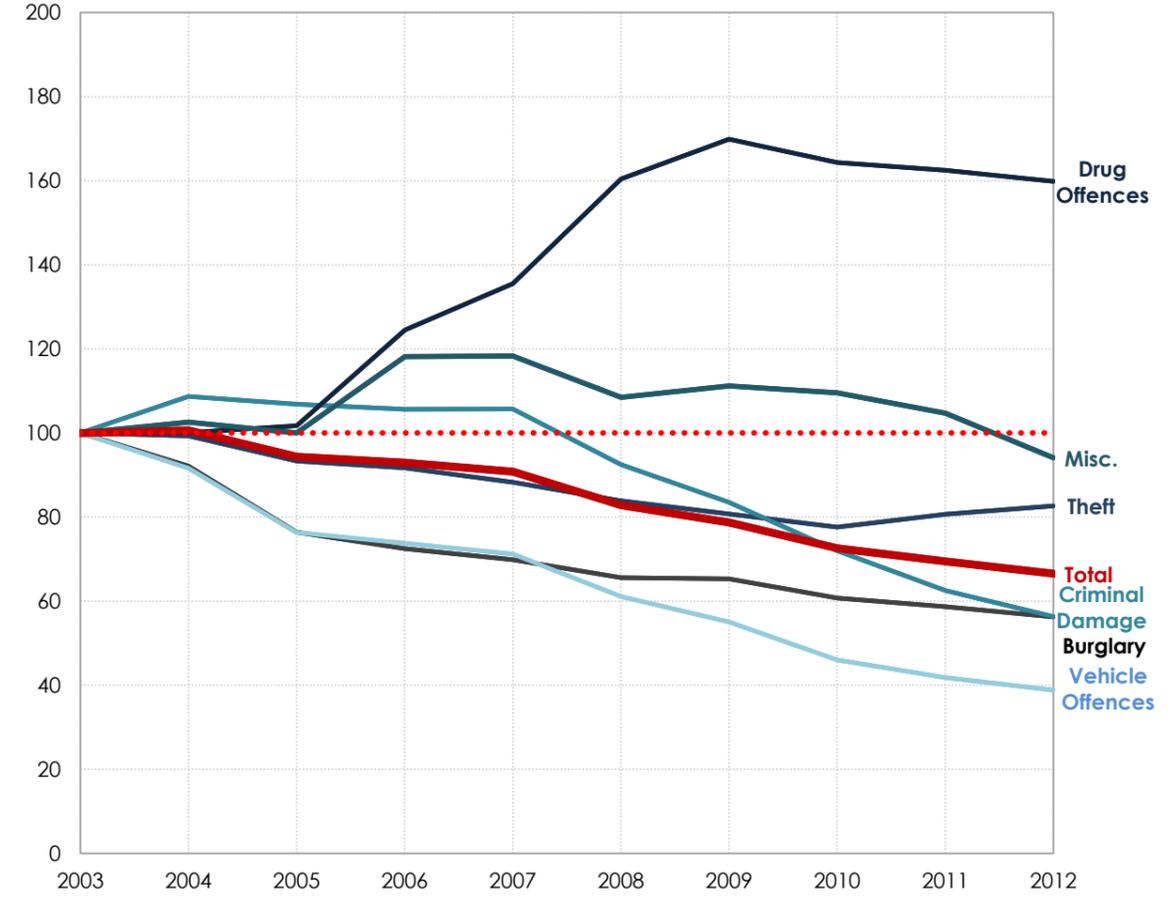


CHART 15 Index of Total Police Recorded Crime vs Total BCS recorded crime (2003 = 100)

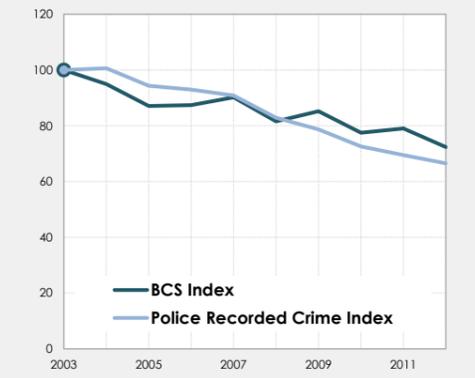


CHART 16 Index of Total Police Recorded Sexual Assault vs Total BCS Sexual Assault (2003 = 100)

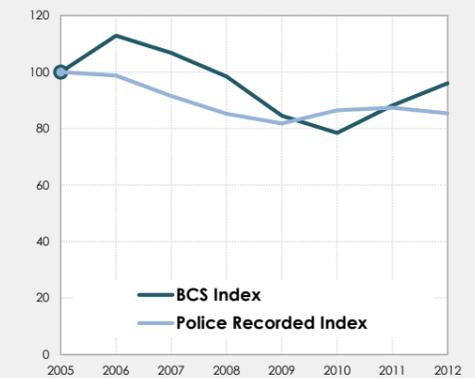


CHART 17 Index of Total Police Recorded Violence Against the Person vs Total BCS Violence Against the Person (2005 = 100)

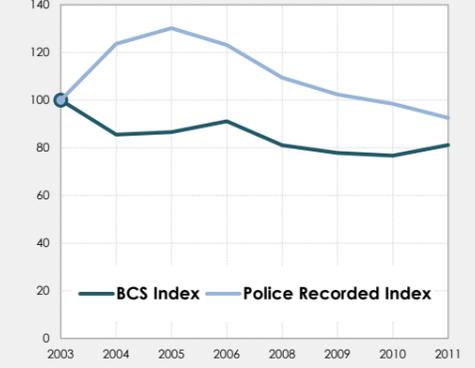
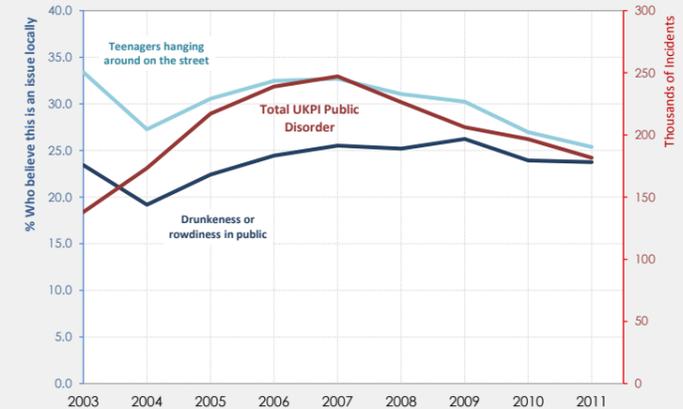


CHART 18 UKPI Total Public Disorder Incidents vs BCS Concerns About Anti-social Behaviour (2003-2012)



There has been some suggestion, however, that the decrease in crime, particularly violent crime, has resulted from fewer people reporting incidents to the police. BCS data shows that the likelihood of reporting violent crime to the police has fluctuated a small amount in the last decade. Chart 19 shows the changes in the likelihood of reporting violent crime to the police as captured in the BCS, as well as the total change in the number of violent incidents according to the police recorded figures.

For the early part of the last decade the data moved in tandem, whilst in later years violent crime dropped while the likelihood of reporting a violent incident remained static. Whilst the total level of violence has fallen according to both police figures and the BCS, the perception or fear of crime has remained relatively high, with an average of 66% of respondents claiming that crime had increased either a little or a lot each year over the past decade. However, BCS data suggests that people tend to vastly overstate the level of crime at the national level, whilst being more accurate judges of crime at the local level. Chart 20 shows the percentage of respondents who feel that crime has increased from two years ago, at both the local and the national level.

The chart shows that the percentage of people who believe that crime is increasing at the local level has almost halved in the last decade, with a much smaller decrease at the national level. Research conducted by the home office suggest that this may be the result of exposure to high profile crime incidents in the national media affecting people's perceptions of the true level of crime nationwide.

Furthermore, similar BCS data clearly highlights that the fear of being a victim of violent crime is greatly overstated. Chart 21 shows the difference between the perception of being a victim vs the actual likelihood of being a victim of violent crime. There is a clear difference between the perceived likelihood of being a victim and the actual likelihood according to the BCS data. Furthermore, the trend in perception of being a victim and general worry about violent crime is somewhat similar to the trend in police recorded violent crime, with a significant decrease since 2003.

Further confirmation that the downward trend in violence is real can be gleaned from looking at the police satisfaction data. As satisfaction with the police has risen, particularly at the local

level, police recorded crime has been falling. This suggests that one cause for the fall in crime has been improved policing techniques and interaction with the community. All changes in police satisfaction numbers listed in chart 22 were recorded as being statistically significant in the 2011 BCS.

HOSPITAL ADMISSIONS

A final way of checking whether the trend in police recorded data is true is to examine the level of emergency hospital admissions for assault. Chart 23 below shows the level of police recorded crime against the number of emergency hospital admissions for assault.

Whilst the trend in the number of emergency hospital admissions was similar to the trend in police-recorded violence from 2002 to 2007, the relationship since then has been less clear cut. However, there are a large number of criminal offences within the category 'police-recorded violence'. This includes all offences of violence against the person and sexual offences, including those without injury.

COMPARISON WITH EUROPE

Given that the decrease in crime in the UK appears to be a real phenomena, it is important to see whether this same trend is occurring in other countries in Europe. If it is, this suggests that global trends and changes in peacefulness are at least partly responsible for the increase in peacefulness in the UK.

The majority of countries in Europe recorded drops in total recorded crime over the period. Of the countries where crime increased, three: Spain, Portugal, and Italy are high debt countries that have suffered from economic turmoil during the global financial crisis. The UK recorded the largest total drop in crime of all countries covered in this report in the Europe. On average, both Western Europe and Central and Eastern Europe had similar drops in recorded crime of over 10 percent.

Whilst the drop in total recorded crime is the highest in the UK

CHART 24 % Change in Total Recorded Crime, European Countries (2002-2010)

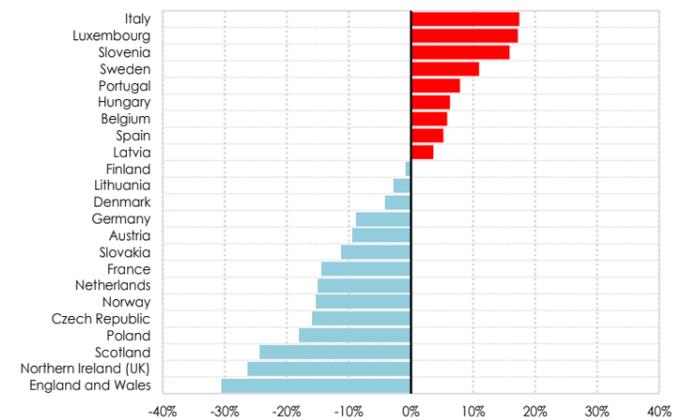


CHART 23 Police Recorded Violence Against the Person with Injury, and Hospital Admissions for Assault (2003-2012)

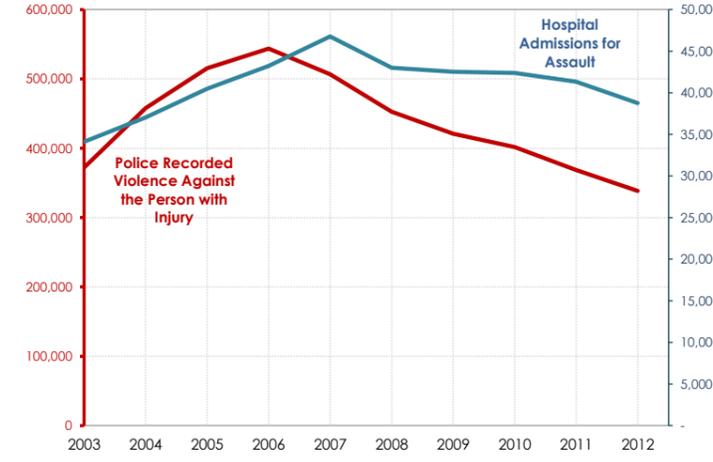


CHART 19 BCS % Likelihood of Reporting Violent Crime to the Police, and UKPI Total Number of Violent Crime Incidents (2003-2011)

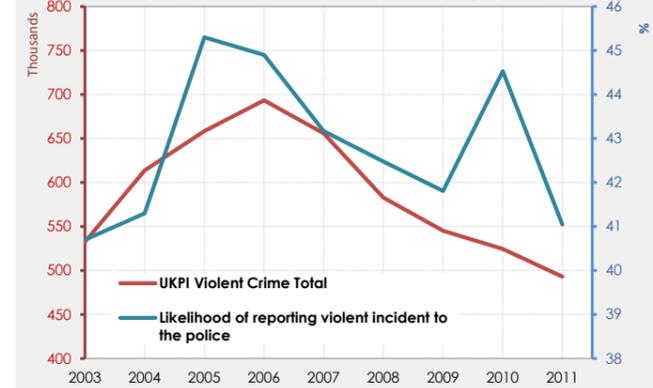


CHART 20 BCS % Who Believe that Crime is Higher Now than Two Years Ago at the Local and National Level (2003-2011)

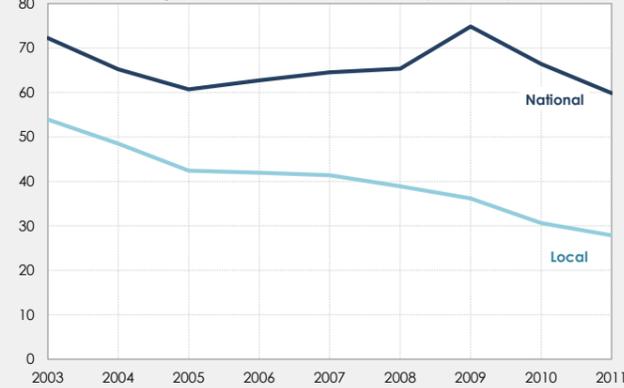


CHART 21 BCS % Worried About Violent Crime, % Who Think They Will Be a Victim, and Actual Likelihood of Being a Victim (2003-2011)

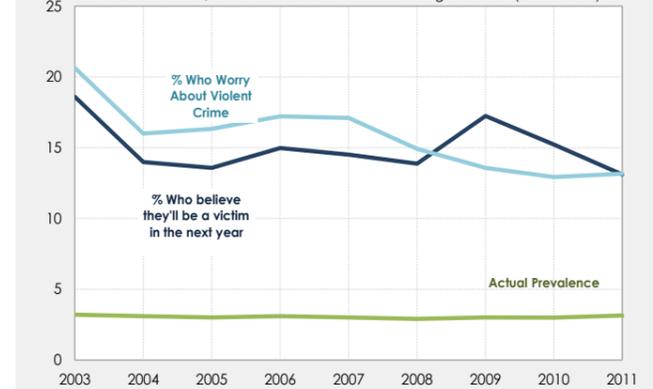
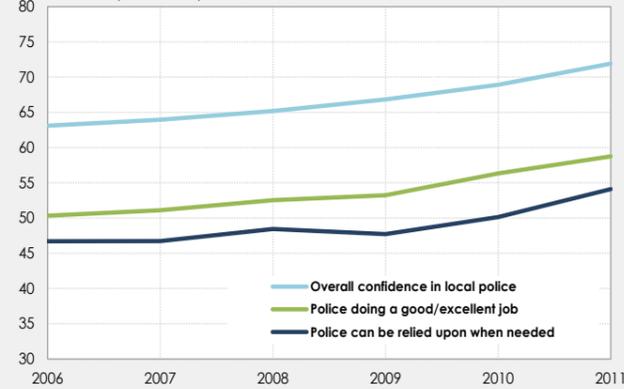


CHART 22 Change in Perceptions of the Police, "% Who Believe that..." (2006-2011)



home nations, there are quite significant changes in a number of other countries. However, it is important to note that data collection techniques can vary from country to country and what might be considered a minor crime in one country may not be recorded in another. A better measure when comparing countries is the homicide rate. The discrepancy between the actual and recorded homicide rate is likely to be much lower than for any other category of crime.

Chart 25 overleaf shows changes in the homicide rate in the UK, Western Europe, and Central and Eastern Europe. The United Kingdom almost halved its homicide rate over this period, while Western Europe also experienced a substantial drop in its homicide rate, although not as large as the UK. Western Europe did however start at a lower level with both it and the UK now having a very similar level of homicides. Central and Eastern Europe experienced a very similar percentage drop to the UK, however it started from a much higher base.

WHY HAS VIOLENCE BEEN DECREASING IN THE UK?

CHART 25 Change in Homicide Rate: UK, Central & Eastern Europe, and Western Europe (2002-2010)

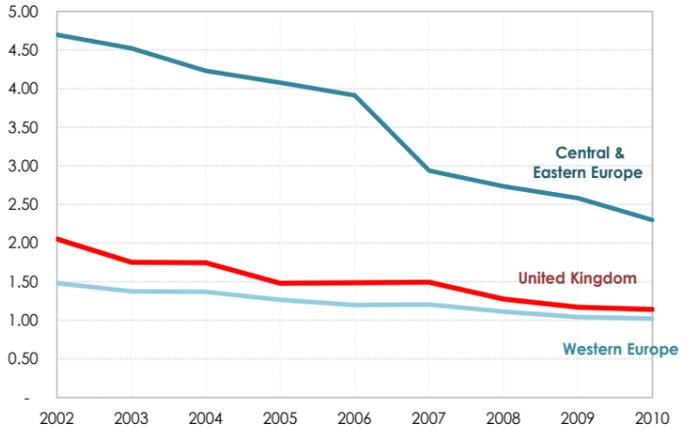


CHART 26 Change in Violent Crime Rate: UK, Central & Eastern Europe, Western Europe (2002-2010)

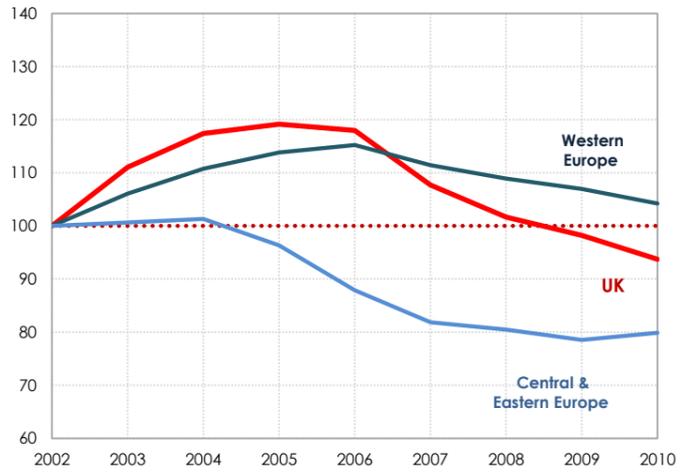
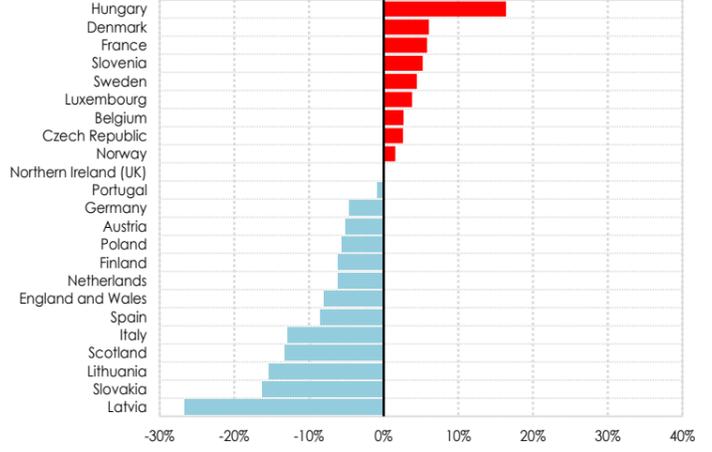


CHART 27 % Change in Violent Crime Rate (2008-2010)
Despite the global financial crisis, violent crime has decreased in many European countries



The trend that has been occurring within the UK in relation to homicides and violent crime fits a global trend that is occurring in many advanced industrial countries and needs to be understood in this context.

It is harder to compare violent crime across countries as there are varying data classification standards even across Europe. This is particularly evident in the case of sexual assault and rape where countries with relatively lower rates of violent crime such as Australia and Sweden have significantly higher reported incidences of sexual assault and rape. Here, the data can only be interpreted with careful attention to issues of definition, reporting standards, and the norms of reporting. However, if the data is indexed to a base year, the trends in violent crime movements can be broadly compared. Chart 26 shows violent crime for the UK, Western Europe, and Central & Eastern Europe from 2002 to 2010.

2002 is the base year in which the level of violent crime for each country is assigned a value of 100. Scores in subsequent years reflect the percentage change in violent crime compared to the base year. Thus we can see that the downward trend in violent crime was not confined only to the UK, although the change in crime in the UK was more pronounced than Western Europe. One perhaps surprising finding is that increases in violent crime in Western Europe mainly occurred before the global financial crisis.

POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS FOR THE DROP IN VIOLENCE

The consistent drop in violence across the developed world is subject to considerable debate. Rather than suggest a single explanation or 'silver bullet', social science literature hints towards the combination of a variety of factors. As a result, there is no commonly accepted explanation by criminologists for the fall in violence in many of the world's regions including the US, Western Europe, Eastern and Central Europe, as well as the UK. Many of the more common theories have come under pressure after the global financial crisis as many countries have suffered severely in economic terms yet, like the UK, have seen their levels of peacefulness increase.

This highlights the potential role of other factors explaining the decrease in violence. One of the key factors that has changed over the last decade has been the increasing use of modern technology in either fighting crime or creating the conditions under which it is more difficult to execute. As it becomes more difficult to safely execute a crime the disincentive outweighs the benefit.

Summarised below are some of the range of probable factors which are potentially associated with the reduction in violence.

Better electronic surveillance techniques: The advent of CCTV cameras has had the effect of better isolating criminals once a crime has been committed but more importantly they act as a deterrent to 'would be' criminals. CCTV cameras are not only publicly controlled via street and public places but are also extensively used by private companies and individuals to monitor activity within homes, factories and shops. Additionally, the use of electronic ankle tracking devices means that people on probationary orders would find it difficult to commit crimes as they would be easily placed at the scene.

Better sharing of information between law enforcement agencies and better use of computing: One of the key factors that have changed over the last decade has been the increasing use of modern technology to analyse and share information. The proliferation of the internet and cloud based software are examples of technologies that have played a role in improving the efficiency of the police force and its ability to share information amongst itself and other government departments as well the ability to share with other international law enforcement agencies.

Advent of DNA profiling: Major break throughs in DNA analysis and the collection of DNA samples at crime scenes over the last decade has resulted in many crimes that otherwise would not have been solved being solved. Additionally this, along with CCTV cameras, creates a better means of identification, leading to less mistakes being made in regard to arrests and sentencing.

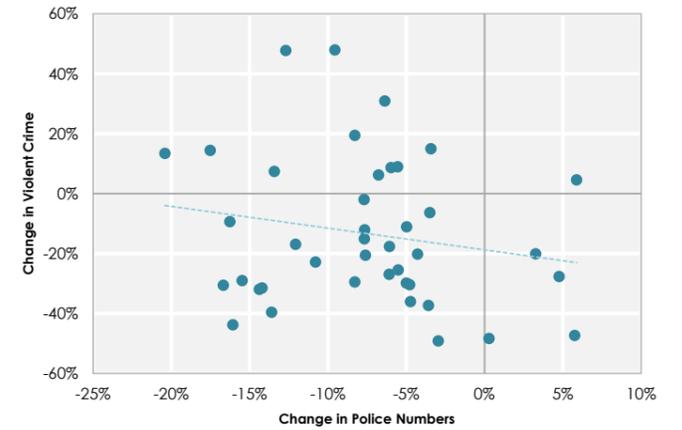
Improved private electronic security systems: The proliferation of low cost home, business and car alarm systems means these security apparatus' render many places untouchable for those planning to commit theft or violence against persons.

POLICING AND INCARCERATION

The cause of the decrease in violence is not abundantly clear from examining data on violence alone. In fact, given that police numbers have actually declined over the past ten years and there has been a recession, the result is seemingly counterintuitive. One way to confirm that changes in police numbers are not connected to the decrease in violence is to examine changes in the size of police forces compared to changes in violent crime in the same areas. There are 45 Police Force Areas in the UK, which enables this comparison.

Chart 28 shows the percentage change in the police employment rate vs the percentage change in violent crime in the UK, from 2003 to 2012.

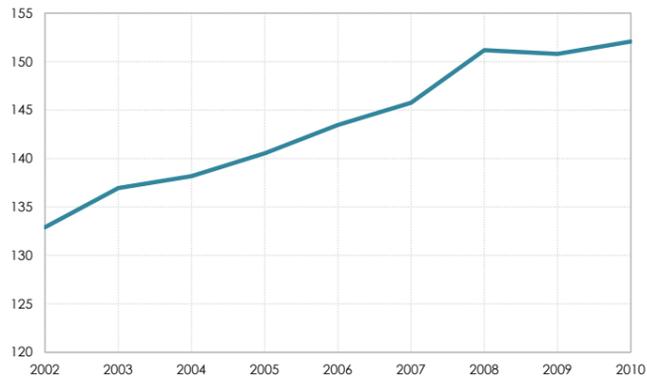
CHART 28 % Change in Police Officers Rate vs % Change in Violent Crime Rate (2003-2012)



There is a very weak correlation ($r=-.2$) between decreases in police numbers and increases in violent crime, which is not statistically significant. Similar correlations between reductions in police numbers and homicide, weapons crime, public disorder and the UKPI as a whole produced even weaker associations. This suggests that the reductions in police numbers have not played a significant role in either reducing or increasing crime. However, as the majority of the cuts to police numbers only occurred in the last three years, it is too early to tell whether such cuts will lead to an increase in crime over time.

Another suggested cause for the decrease in crime is an increase in incarceration in the UK. Incarceration has increased by 14% over the last decade, as shown in chart 29. This closely tracks the European Union average which has seen incarceration increase approximately 18% on average from 2002 to 2010.

CHART 29 UK Incarceration Rate per 100,000 People (2002-2010)



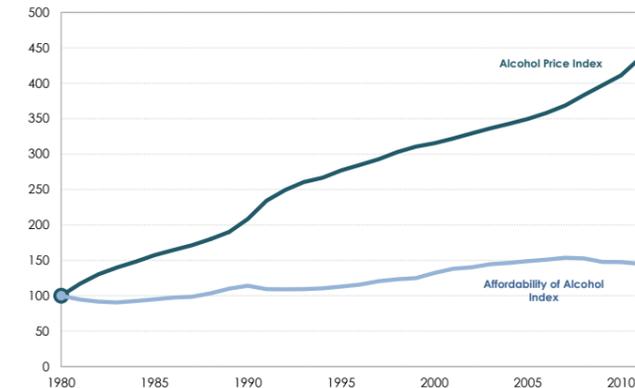
It is not possible to thoroughly spatially disaggregate the incarceration data within the UK, so any link between increased incarceration and decreases in violence can only be presumed as tentative.

HOW IS ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION RELATED TO VIOLENCE?

The proposed introduction of a minimum price on alcohol has brought a lot of attention to the issue of alcohol fuelled violence. There is a well-established link between excessive drinking and violence, in both public and private domains. Thus, if the downturn in violence over the past decade is real, we might expect to see a downturn in alcohol related violence as well.

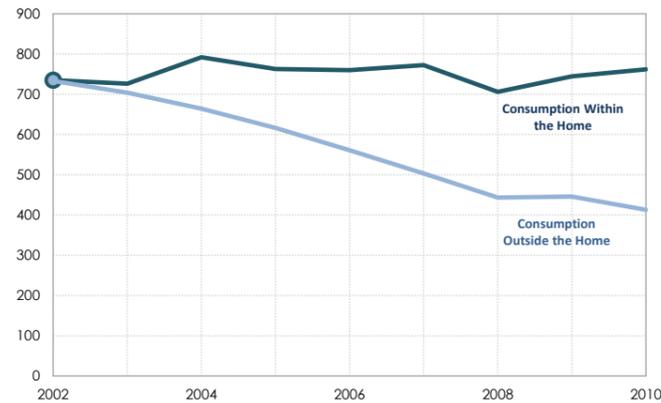
Whilst the price of alcohol has risen over the last thirty years, the rise in real wages over the same period has meant that the affordability of alcohol has remained relatively stable, and has barely risen over the past decade, as shown in chart 30.

CHART 30 Price and Affordability of Alcohol (1980-2012)



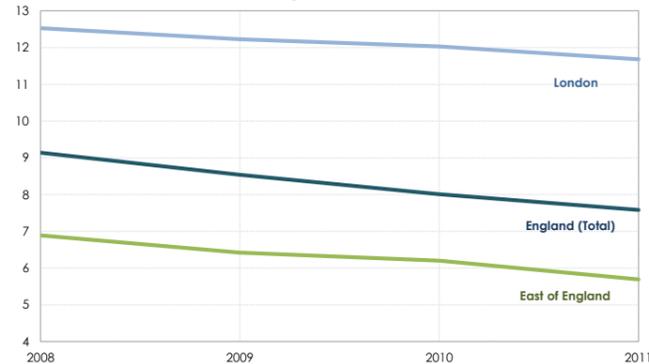
However, even though alcohol affordability has not changed much over the past decade, the average level of drinking has, particularly the level of drinking outside the home which has fallen considerably, as shown in chart 31.

CHART 31 Weekly Alcohol Consumption, Inside and Outside the Home (2002-2010)



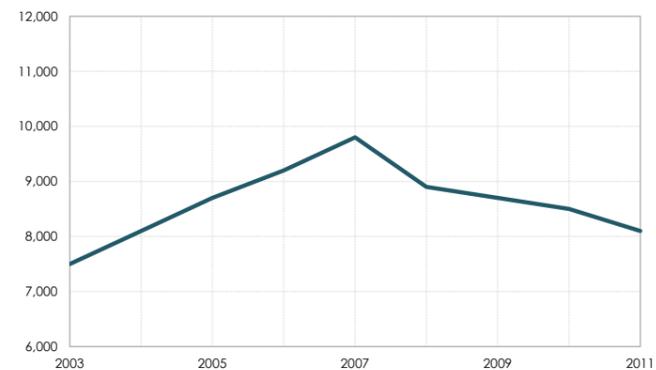
Whilst the level of drinking at home has remained more or less constant, drinking outside the home has decreased significantly, from over 700ml a week in 2002 to just over 400ml a week in 2010. The fact that household consumption was stable even as public consumption declined suggests that this was not a case of drinkers substituting public locations for private, but rather a sign that the overall level of drinking has declined. Given this finding, we would expect that alcohol related violence would also have dropped over this period. Data on alcohol related crime is available from 2007 onwards, and this data confirms that alcohol fuelled crime has been on the decrease across all regions in England.

CHART 32 Number of Alcohol Related Crimes, Rate per 1000: England (total), Most and Least Peaceful Regions (2008-2011)



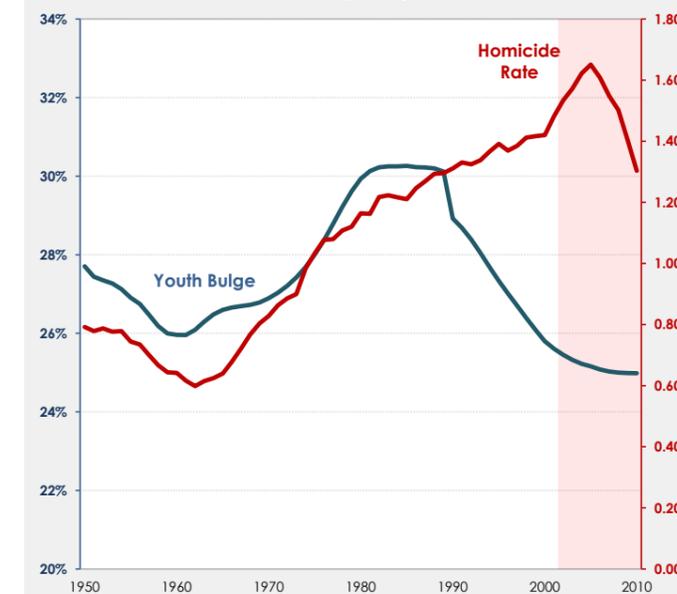
Similar data from Scotland has shown that the percentage of murder suspects who acted under the influence of alcohol has been decreasing over the last decade. Finally, hospital admissions related to alcohol have increased substantially over the last decade. Admissions for alcohol related poisoning have doubled, however the number of admissions for alcohol related assault has been falling since 2007, as seen in chart 33.

CHART 33 Alcohol Related Assaults, Total Incidents (2002-2011)



Given the above facts it seems likely that the real level of alcohol related violence has decreased. This is probably related to many factors including the increased scrutiny in the media of alcohol related violence, which has led to an increased police presence in inner cities on weekends, less drinking in public places, more strict enforcement of drink driving laws,

CHART 34 Homicide Rate vs Youth Bulge (% Aged 15-34)



in combination with the implementation of other strategies aimed at reducing binge drinking. It is also unknown whether the decrease in alcohol and alcohol related violence has been offset by the increased usage of other drugs and whether violence associated with other types of drugs has increased. In general, the trend in alcohol related violence mirrors the broader UK violence trend.

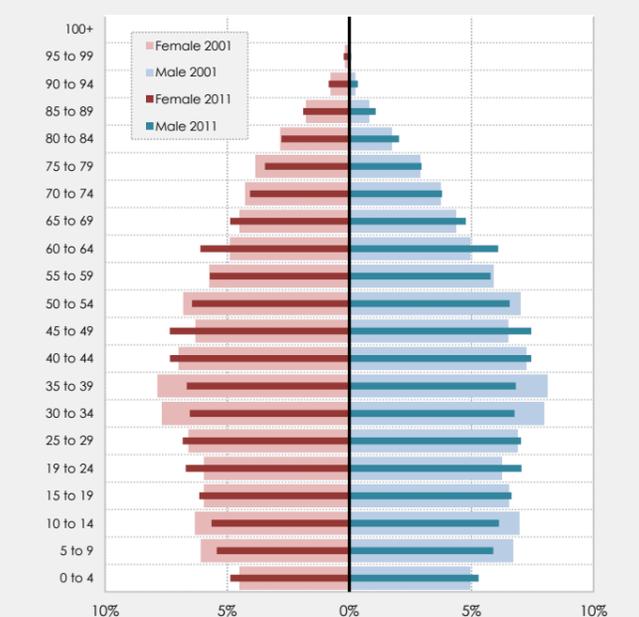
HAVE CHANGES IN YOUTH DEMOGRAPHICS AFFECTED THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE?

One significant factor often cited as a cause of violent crime is the percentage of youths within a certain population, combined with unemployment and per capita income. The changes in the youth bulge do not seem to be a significant factor in the UK. Chart 35 shows the change in the population pyramid for the UK from 2001 to 2011.

As shown in the chart below, there was only a small change in the youth bulge as a percentage of the population aged between 15-34 over the last decade. Chart 34 shows the percentage of the UK population aged between 15 to 34, and the homicide rate for the UK from 1950 to 2010.

From 1950 to 1990 the change in the youth bulge closely tracked the change in the homicide rate; however, after 1990 the youth bulge dropped without a concurrent drop in the homicide rate. The homicide rate did again begin to fall from 2004 onwards, whilst the fall in the youth bulge is now beginning to even off.

CHART 35 UK Population Pyramid (2001 and 2011)



REGIONAL RESULTS AND TRENDS



TABLE 3 2012 UKPI Regional Rankings
The most peaceful regions are all in the south of England

Region	Population	Score	Rank
South East	8,605,320	1.83	1
East	5,905,891	1.96	2
South West	5,133,933	1.98	3
East Midlands	4,524,424	2.13	4
Wales	3,035,432	2.17	5
Yorkshire and the Humber	5,352,214	2.23	6
North East	2,793,829	2.31	7
West Midlands	5,353,829	2.51	8
North West	6,665,834	2.56	9
Northern Ireland*	1,810,863	3.21	10
Scotland*	5,295,000	3.54	11
London	7,900,603	3.76	12

*Comparable Public Disorder and Weapons Crime Data was not available for Scotland and Northern Ireland

“Over the past decade there have been substantial reductions in violence across all regions of the UK”

THE FOUR HOME NATIONS

Comparable data is available for all the home nations from 2006 onwards. Comparable data is available for homicide, violent crime, and the police officers employment rate. Charts 36-39 shows the results for the home nations on these indicators in 2012.

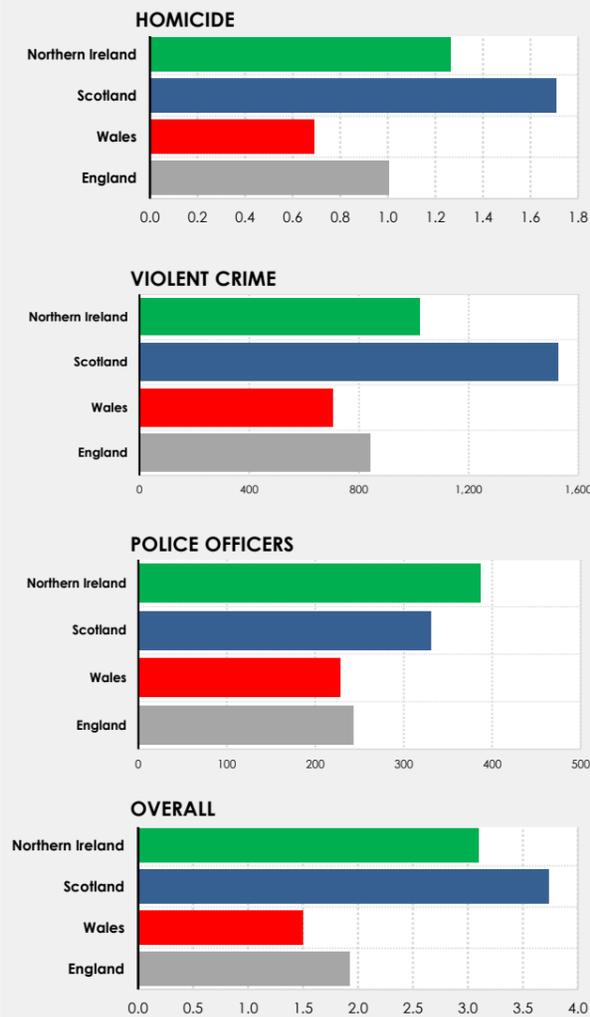
Scotland has the highest homicide rate of any of the four home nations, as well as the highest violent crime rate, at almost 1,600 violent crimes per 100,000 people, which is more than double the violent crime rate in Wales. Northern Ireland has the highest police officers rate, at almost 400 per 100,000. Wales is the most peaceful on all three comparable indicators, and if a composite index is created using just the comparable data, Wales is easily the most peaceful of the home nations, making it one of the most peaceful places in Europe.

Charts 40-43 shows the trends in these indicators from 2006 onwards.

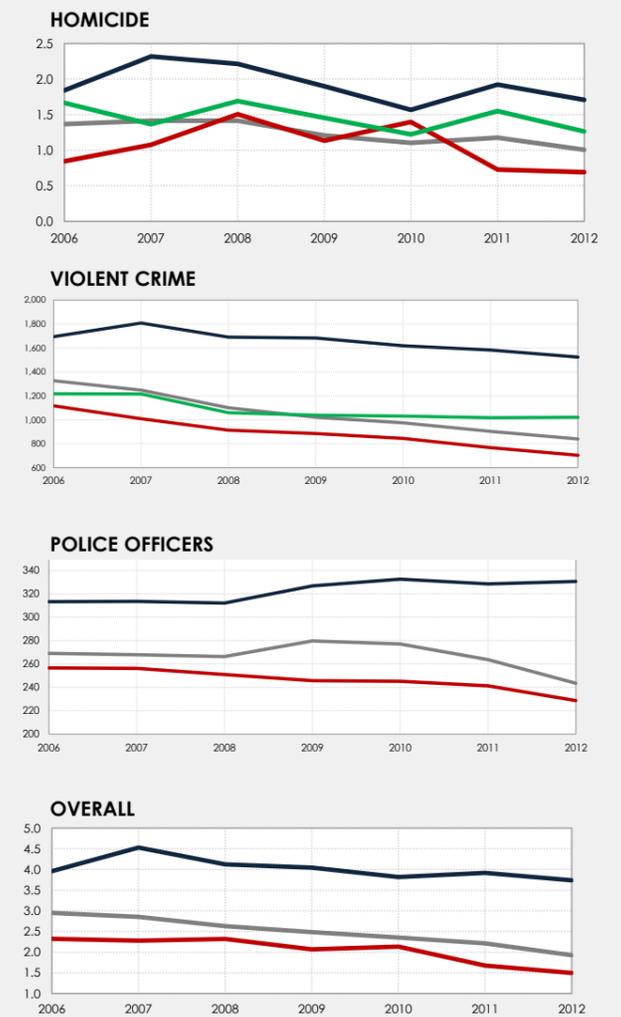
Both homicide and violent crime rates have been trending downwards in all four home nations. The largest falls occurred in violent crime, particularly in England and Wales, where the violent crime rate is now under 1,000 per 100,000 people. There have been smaller drops in both Scotland and Northern Ireland.

The police officers rate has fallen sharply in both England and Wales since the onset of the global financial crisis, with the rate falling in England from a peak of just under 280 in 2009, to just over 240 in 2012. However, this trend did not occur in Scotland, where the police officers rate actually rose slightly after 2008, and has remained steady since 2010 at around 330 police officers per 100,000 people. Police data for Northern Ireland was only available for 2012.

CHARTS 36-39 Home Nations: Homicide, Violent Crime, Police, and Overall Score (2012) *Overall score for three indicators only*



CHARTS 40-43 Home Nations: Homicide, Violent Crime, Police, and Overall Score, Trend (2005-2012)



REGIONS

Whilst there are no subnational regions at the NUTS 1 level¹ in Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, England is divided into eight such regions. Table three shows Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland compared to each subnational region in England.

As seen in the trends section in the first part of the report, there have been substantial reductions in violence over the past ten years in the UK. Charts 44-49 shows the percentage change in each of the five UKPI indicators from 2003 to 2012, as well as the overall UKPI score movement for each region over the same period.

Every single region experienced a fall in its homicide rate, with the biggest fall coming in the South East. There was also a substantial drop in London's homicide rate, with a 50% reduction from 2003 to 2012. Somewhat counter intuitively given the change in homicide rates, the only two regions to experience an increase in their violent crime rate were London and the South East, albeit only very small increases. The largest decreases in violent crime occurred in the North West, the West

Midlands, and the East Midlands, each of which experienced falls of more than 30%. Weapons crime fell in every region from 2003 to 2012, with a fall of more than 50% in London, and more than 40% in the West Midlands.

Public Disorder was the only indicator that experienced increases across most regions. Only the West Midlands and the North East experienced reductions in public disorder, whilst London, the North West, the South West and the South all experienced increases of more than 20%.

Every region bar London saw a decrease in its police officers rate over the period, with the biggest fall coming in the East Midlands. The reduction in police numbers in most regions occurred in the wake of the global financial crisis. Even London, which had a net increase overall, saw decreases in the size of its police force in both 2011 and 2012.

Overall, every single region experienced an improvement in its overall UKPI score from 2003 to 2012. The single biggest increase in peace came in the West Midlands, followed by the North West, the East Midlands, the North East, and London. Every single region experienced a decrease in UKPI score of more than ten percent.

DISTRIBUTION OF VIOLENCE WITHIN REGIONS

Whilst comparisons between regions can tell us about the average spatial distribution of peace, comparisons within regions can shed light on the unequal distribution of violence in England.

Charts 50-53 shows the range in each region between the LA with the highest rate (in red) and the LA with the lowest rate (in blue) for four of the UKPI indicators.

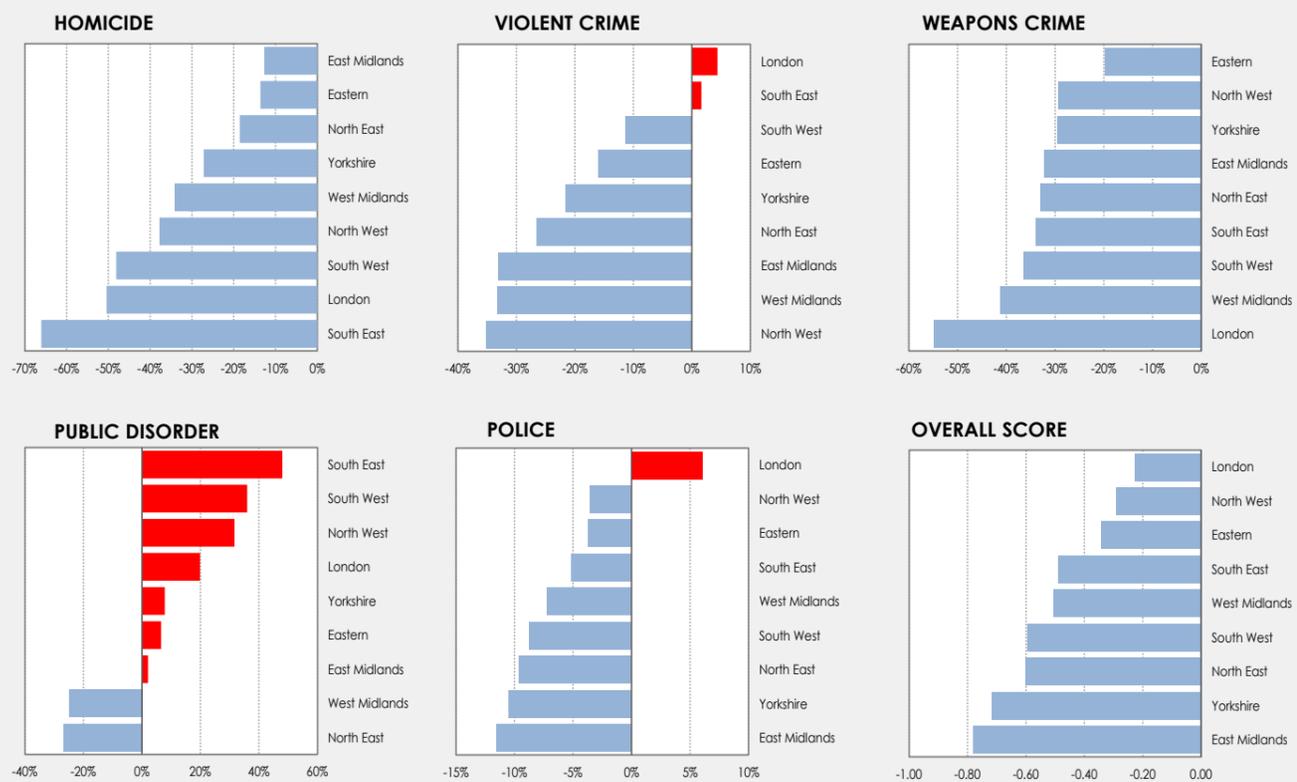
In charts 50-53 below, the regions are sorted so that the region with the greatest range is listed on the right, and the region with the smallest difference is on the left. Each region has at least one LA with a homicide rate of zero in 2012. The greatest homicide differences within a region occurred in the North West, followed by the East Midlands.

The biggest differences within regions for violent crime is in London. Not only is the minimum rate for violent crime in London the highest of any region (in Richmond upon Thames, 585 per 100,000) but it also has by far the biggest range. 22 of the 32 London boroughs have violent crime rates higher than 1,000 per 100,000 people.

The weapons crime range is more uniform, with the largest range occurring in the East England region, and the smallest occurring in Wales. London also has the highest variation between LAs on the public disorder indicator.

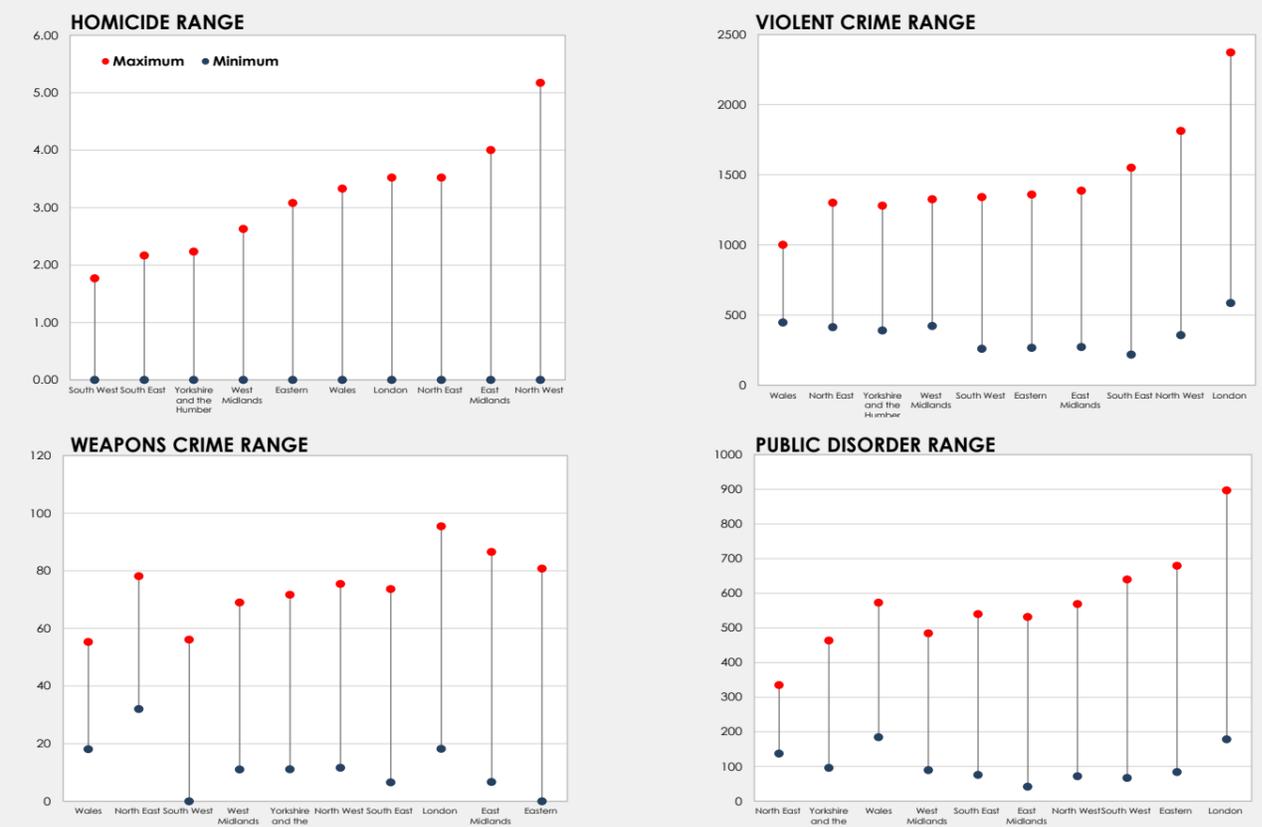
CHARTS 44-49 % Change in Indicator Rates by Regions in England, Change in Overall Score (2003-2012)

There were significant decreases for all indicators other than public disorder across almost all regions



CHARTS 50-53 Violence Inequality within Regions (2012)

There are significant differences between the most and least peaceful areas within a region, particularly in London



SCOTLAND AND NORTHERN IRELAND

POLICE FORCE AND URBAN AREAS

Of the 10 major urban areas examined, the study found that the most peaceful is in South Wales. Cardiff, Swansea has the lowest homicide rate, and has amongst the lowest violent crime rates and police presence in the country. This contrasts with Belfast, London and Glasgow which are amongst the worst in the UK. It is interesting to note that whilst all police areas have populations over a million, Belfast is the exception with less than half a million residents. Furthermore, the less peaceful areas tend to be areas with higher population densities.

The difference in homicide and violent crime reflect, in part, the socio-economic condition of the area. The Glasgow area, for example, has extremely poor health outcomes with life expectancy in the city area varying by as much as 28 years depending on the area of birth in addition to alcohol abuse and gangs. Similarly, the inequalities observed within London or the troubled history in Belfast shed light on the difference in homicide and violent crime.

TABLE 4 2012 UKPI Police Force/Major Urban Area Rankings

Police Force Area	Major Urban Area	Region	Population	Homicide	Violent Crime	Police	Overall Rank
South Wales	Cardiff, Swansea	Wales	1,274,288	0.47	718.6	228.16	1
South Yorkshire	Sheffield	England	1,339,898	1.34	724.98	206.85	2
Nottinghamshire	Nottingham	England	1,099,906	1.46	794.98	197.13	3
West Yorkshire	Leeds	England	2,289,970	2.07	773.63	227.92	4
Merseyside	Liverpool	England	1,347,100	1.76	661.42	303.1	5
Greater Manchester	Manchester	England	2,642,806	1.24	901.16	283.73	6
West Midlands	Birmingham	England	2,669,954	1.53	1,119.05	293.12	7
District A, District B	Belfast	Northern Ireland	400,140	1.75	1,343.28	523.07	8
Metropolitan Police	London	England	7,926,235	1.67	1,390.00	405.49	9
Strathclyde	Glasgow	Scotland	2,229,300	2.74	1,759.03	378.91	10

NOTE ON TABLE FOUR

There is no set definition of what constitutes an urban area in the UK. Whilst it might be possible to construct approximate urban areas by adding together data from adjoining local authorities, there would still be issues about which local authorities should be included, as some local authorities that are adjacent to inner city areas encompass a mix of urban and rural areas.

Furthermore, owing to data limitations, it is not possible to directly compare local authorities in England and Wales with council areas in Scotland and Northern Ireland. However, some data that is not available at council level is available at the police force area level. Therefore, to construct an index of urban area peacefulness, the best available approximation is to use data at the police force level. Table 3 shows the rankings of ten major urban areas in the UK. The purpose of this table is not to give a comprehensive overview of urban peacefulness in the UK, but rather to take a snapshot of the major urban centres (by both population and geographic distribution) and to see broadly how they compare. For most of the urban areas listed, using police force data is a close approximation of the urban area, whilst for others the police force area encompasses a certain amount of surrounding rural and semi-rural development.

However, even with the definitional and data collection problems associated with comparing urban areas, it is very likely that the bottom half of the table is an accurate depiction of major urban area peacefulness, and that Glasgow is the least peaceful urban area in the United Kingdom. IEP not only looked at data that could be directly compared, but also at the ratio of violent crimes to other crimes, total recorded crime, and historical data where available, in order to make the comparison as meaningful as possible.

PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Violence in Northern Ireland has been closely linked to the political climate. The shift from conflict during the 1998 referendum to a consensus political framework marked an important point in the changing patterns of violence.

In 2001, there were 355 shootings and 349 explosions and attempted bombings along with 17 deaths from political violence. In 2011, the number of shootings had dropped to 124 and only one security-related death. There was also a reduction in both the number of injuries and victims of paramilitary assault from 94 to 73 making 2011 one of the lowest recorded years since police began keeping records in 1969. Other forms of crime also reduced: the Northern Ireland Crime Survey (NICS) has largely agreed with police recorded data which has seen a reduction in victimization, the lowest since 1998-99. Overall, Northern Ireland is a relatively peaceful society that has avoided the pattern of increased crime and domestic violence contrary to other post-conflict societies.

The homicide rate in Northern Ireland is comparable to that of Australia or Sweden. Its violent crime rate on the other hand is higher than England & Wales but lower than Scotland. The latest NICS revealed that confidence rating in the police in 2011 was the highest ever recorded at 80%.

The proportion of households which earn less than 60% of the median income in Northern Ireland is less than most parts of England and Wales. Although there was a decline in poverty, the onset of the recession resulted in poverty levels rising sharply with Catholics being affected the most. In fact, on most poverty indicators, Catholics do worse than Protestants despite a steady increase of Catholics in the workforce. The recession also affected young people with youth unemployment rising to 19.1%. Between a third and a quarter of those not in employment, education or training, have no qualifications. Immigrant communities on the whole were affected by the recession more than Irish nationals with more job losses and a higher unemployment rate.

Although there have been broad national changes in terms of health, there are striking differences between the most deprived areas and the least deprived. For example, although the numbers of smokers has decreased, around 41% classify themselves as smokers in the most deprived areas as opposed to only 13% in the least deprived areas. Alcohol abuse is a major problem in Northern Ireland, particularly in the most deprived areas: the proportion of arrests in which alcohol was a factor is 44%. In terms of mental health and suicide, Northern Ireland's prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder is one of the highest in the world. It also has one of the highest suicide rates in the UK.

Despite an increase in integrated education and experiments in shared housing, communal divisions in art, sport, and cultural activities are still prevalent. Northern Ireland is still a divided society.

PEACE IN SCOTLAND

Relative to its population, Scotland is the second most violent region in the UK. With 2.3 homicides and over 1500 violent crimes per 100,000 in the UKPI, rates of violence in Scotland are around double the national rates of England overall. Such high rates of violence in Scotland have been internationally recognized for a long while. In investigating the causes of this the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey showed 74% of respondents considered alcohol abuse to be a big problem.

However, recorded violence in Scotland follows the same downward trends observed in other parts of the UK. Incidences of homicide and violent crime have decreased around 25% and 17% respectively since 2007. While police in Scotland do not record whether alcohol was a factor in violent crimes, alcohol specific offences show positive downtrends. Drunkenness, including categories of drunk and incapable, and drunk with a child, dropped by over 25% in the period between 2001 and 2010. Recorded numbers of drunk driving also dropped 20% in the same period.

Glasgow City is the most violent urban area in Scotland with gangs and knife crime a major issue. Recent studies have found that up to 3,500 members between the ages of 11 and 23 have joined one of the 170 street gangs within the city's borders. Furthermore, the homicide rate for Glasgow males between 10 and 29 is comparable to rates of Argentina, Costa Rica and Lithuania. Socio-economically, the World Health Organisation (WHO) also recognizes Glasgow as a region of large health inequalities with life expectancies within the city differing by as much as 28 years depending on the area of birth.

LONDON CASE STUDY

CHART 54 2012 UKPI Scores, Greater London Area

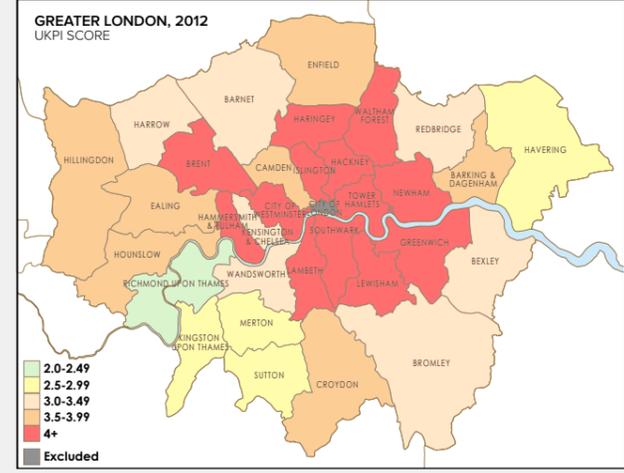


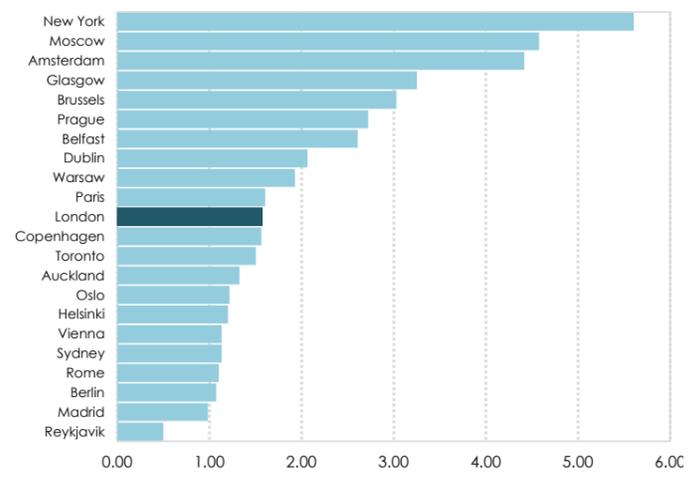
CHART 55 Change in UKPI Score, Greater London Area (2005 to 2012)



Whilst peacefulness has increased across all English regions in the last ten years, the change has not been as great in London. Total police numbers actually rose in London across this period, as did violent crimes, albeit not a large increase. In contrast to this London experienced the second largest percentage decrease in homicide, and the largest percentage decrease in weapons crime, although weapons crime is still high when compared to the UK as a whole. Additionally, gains in peacefulness have not been equally distributed by borough.

However, whilst London remains the least peaceful region in England, it is a relatively peaceful city when compared to other populous cities globally. Chart 56 shows the homicide rate in London compared to other selected cities.

CHART 56 Homicide Rate in Largest Cities of Selected Countries (2010 or latest available year)



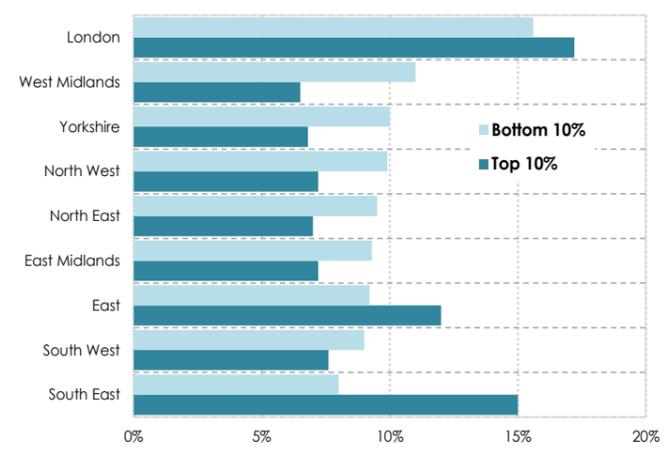
Greater London is comprised of 32 boroughs, with populations between 150,000 and 300,000. As previously shown in charts 50-53, London shows a high level in the variation of violence between the boroughs. Thus, to better understand violence in London, it is necessary to look at trends in violence at the borough level. Chart 54 shows UKPI scores by borough in London for 2012.

The unequal distribution of violence finds its locus in inner London. Only Wandsworth and Kensington & Chelsea have UKPI scores lower than the red coloured areas in Inner London. However, the greatest increases in peacefulness in the last 10 years have also occurred in inner London. Chart 55 shows the change in UKPI score by London borough from 2004 to 2012. The greatest increases in peacefulness occurred in both Inner and North London, whilst several outer London boroughs actually experienced small decreases in peacefulness. The greatest increase in peacefulness came in Kensington & Chelsea, with a score improvement of 0.81, followed by Hounslow, Westminster, and Tower Hamlets.

INEQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND OUTCOMES

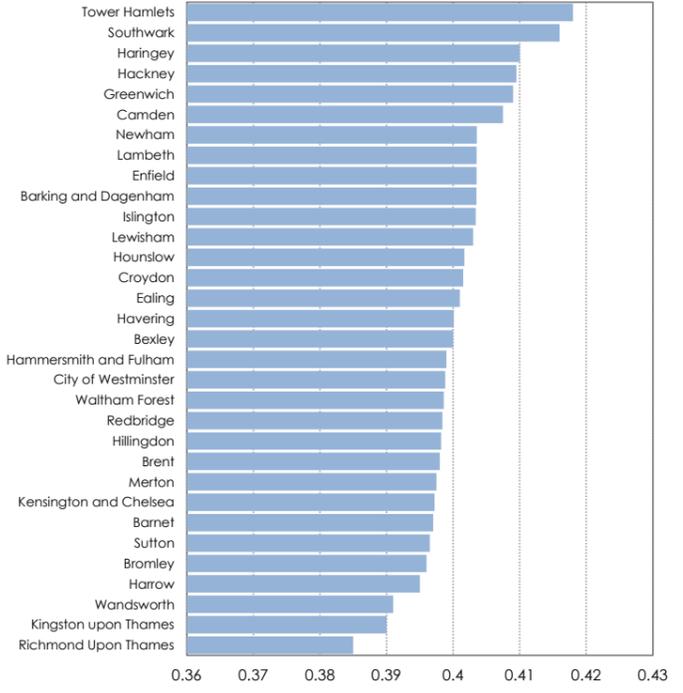
As shown in the maps above, there is large spatial variation in peacefulness in London. This variation can also be seen when looking at the socio-economic factors which are associated with peacefulness. Income inequality is more pronounced in London than any other region in the UK. Whilst other regions have lower average income, the distribution of income has the greatest variance in London. Chart 57 shows the percentage of households in each region that are in the top and bottom ten percent of household income.

CHART 57 UK Regions: % of Households in the Top and Bottom 10 Percent by income (2008-2011 average)



The above chart indicates that there is significant income inequality between the boroughs of London. To determine whether there is significant inequality within boroughs, chart 58 illustrates the Gini coefficients for each London borough for 2012.

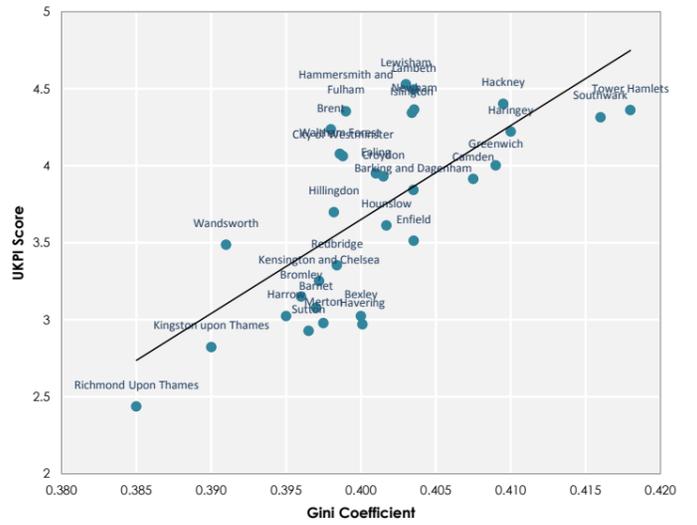
CHART 58 Gini Coefficients of the 32 London Boroughs (2012 estimates) From private company paycheck analysis



The Gini coefficients are derived from paycheck analysis, so they are lower than estimates derived from pre-tax income. Even given this fact, we can see that there is variation in inequality within boroughs in London. Although Gini coefficients are not available for every area in the UK, it is possible

to correlate inequality against income for just the London boroughs, as seen in chart 59. The correlation between income inequality and peacefulness is quite strong ($r=.69$) and statistically significant.

CHART 59 UKPI vs Income Inequality, 32 London Boroughs $R = .69$



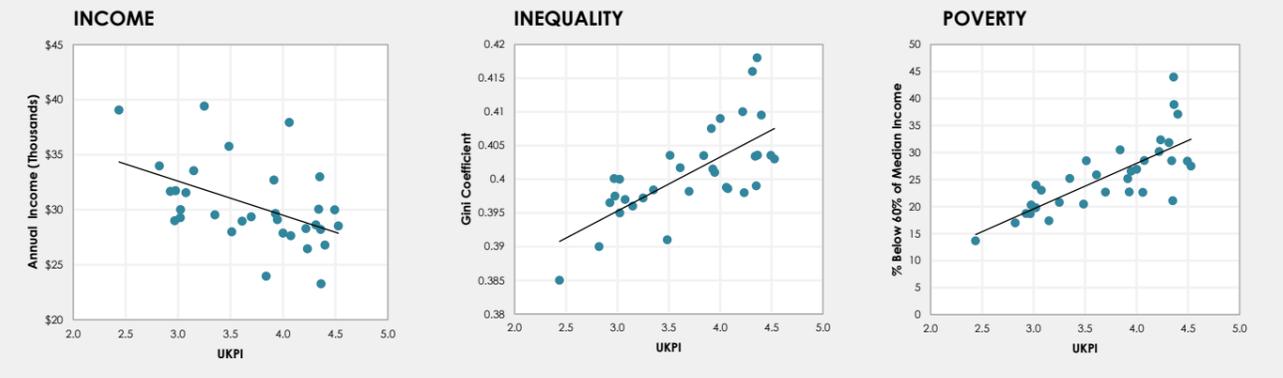
However, when looking at possible determinants of peacefulness in London, particularly those related to income, it is important to try and establish whether relative or absolute levels of income are connected to levels of peacefulness. For example, several of the boroughs with low Gini coefficients also have the highest total average income. Therefore, the relationship between the Gini coefficient and the UKPI might actually be related to absolute rather than relative measures of income. To better understand the connection between peacefulness and income in London, it is necessary to try and disaggregate the impact of income, poverty, and inequality on the UKPI. Table five shows a correlation matrix between the UKPI, average income, income inequality, and poverty.

TABLE 5 Correlation Matrix: UKPI, Income, Inequality, Poverty The most peaceful regions are all in the south of England

FACTOR	UKPI Score	Inequality	Income	Poverty
UKPI Score	1.00	0.69	-0.47	0.76
Inequality	0.69	1.00	-0.56	0.78
Income	-0.47	-0.56	1.00	-0.69
Poverty	0.76	0.78	-0.69	1.00

All three factors have a statistically significant relationship with the UKPI. The relationship with poverty is the strongest, followed by inequality, and then income. Charts 60-62 overleaf show how closely a linear trendline fits the correlations between the UKPI and the three factors.

CHARTS 60-62 UKPI vs Income, Inequality, and Poverty



Given that there is a statistically significant relationship with all three factors and the UKPI, a simple graphical inspection of the data can't tell us which of the relationships is most closely, and perhaps causally, associated with peacefulness. However, it is possible to perform a partial correlation between the three factors and the UKPI. A partial correlation looks at the relationship between two factors whilst holding a number of other factors constant. This allows the effects of secondary factors to be 'stripped out' of the relationship. Table six shows the results of a partial correlation between the four variables.

TABLE 6 Partial Correlation Analysis: UKPI vs Inequality, Income, and Poverty
The most peaceful regions are all in the south of England

INDICATOR	PARTIAL CORRELATION
Inequality	0.2661
Income	0.1066
Poverty	0.4657

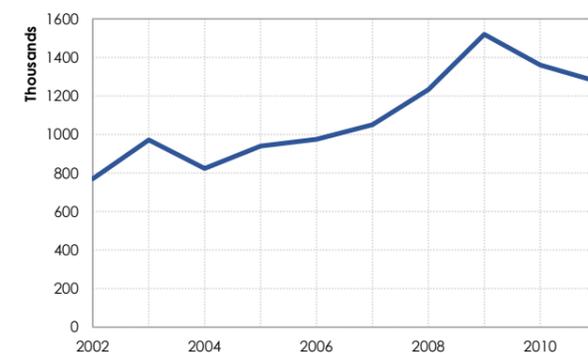
When income and inequality are held constant, poverty still has a strong and statistically significant relationship with peacefulness. By contrast, the impact of inequality on peacefulness is much lower when income and poverty are held constant, and there is virtually no impact of income on peacefulness when inequality and poverty are held constant. Thus, when looking at the 32 London boroughs it seems that poverty or low income generally plays the greatest role in determining levels of peacefulness. This suggests that there is a baseline level of average income that, when reached, assures a certain level of peacefulness. Increases in income beyond this baseline have little or no effect on peacefulness. Analysis of real wages by the ONS shows the lowest earners earning in the bottom 10% receiving £15,565 a year had a 51% real pay rise since 1998, showing the improvement in peace has coincided with the introduction of the minimum wage.

There is a similar story with regard to income inequality; greater increases in peacefulness seem to result from reductions in poverty and deprivation rather than reductions in inequality. However, inequality is a multifaceted phenomenon that encompasses more than just income inequality. These findings with regard to the impact of poverty and deprivation on peacefulness in London are consistent with the national story, where both poverty and deprivation are closely associated with violence.

STOP AND SEARCH TRENDS

Police in the UK have the power to stop and search anyone they have 'reasonable grounds' to suspect of carrying weapons, illegal drugs, stolen property or individuals suspected of a potential terrorist act. Since 2002, the number of stop and searches in England and Wales has increased substantially. The highest numbers were recorded in 2009 when there was a spike in stop and searches related to terrorism (Section 44 Terrorism Act 2000) and public disorder (Section 60 Criminal Justice and Public Disorder Act 1994). The median stop and searches per year for terrorism during the ten-years was approximately 40,000 stops and searches; in 2009 it reached 210,000.

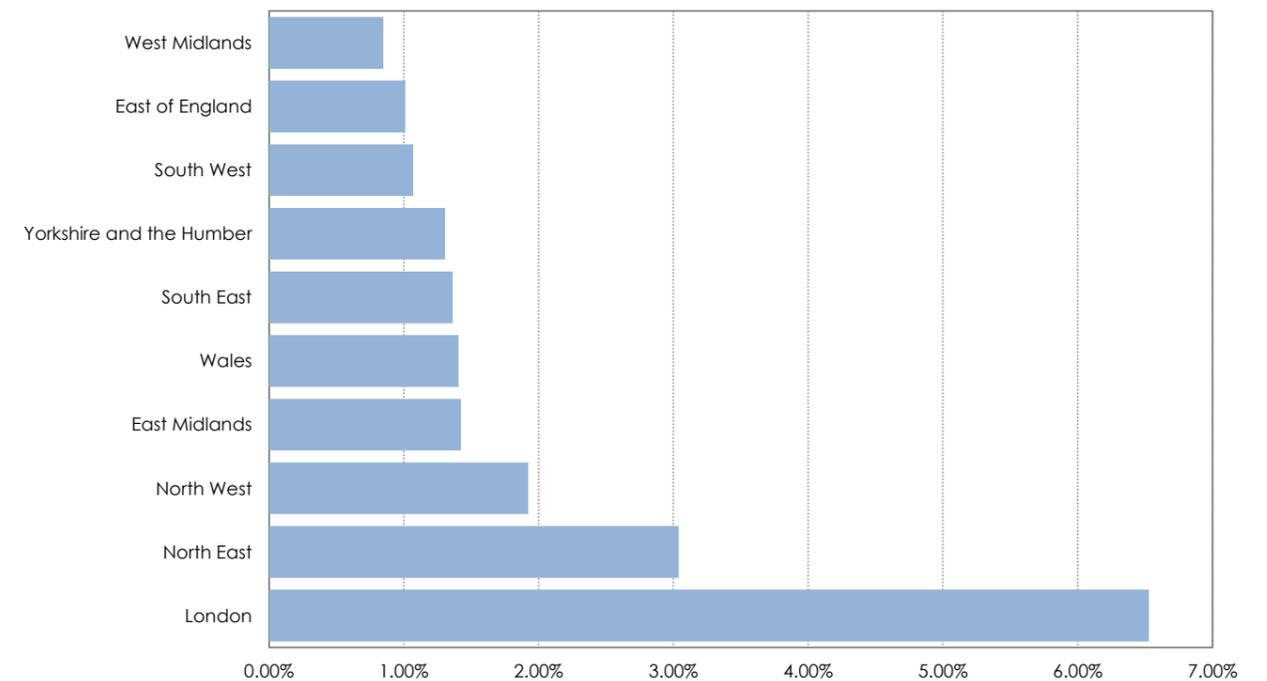
CHART 63 Total Number of Stop and Searches, 2001-2011



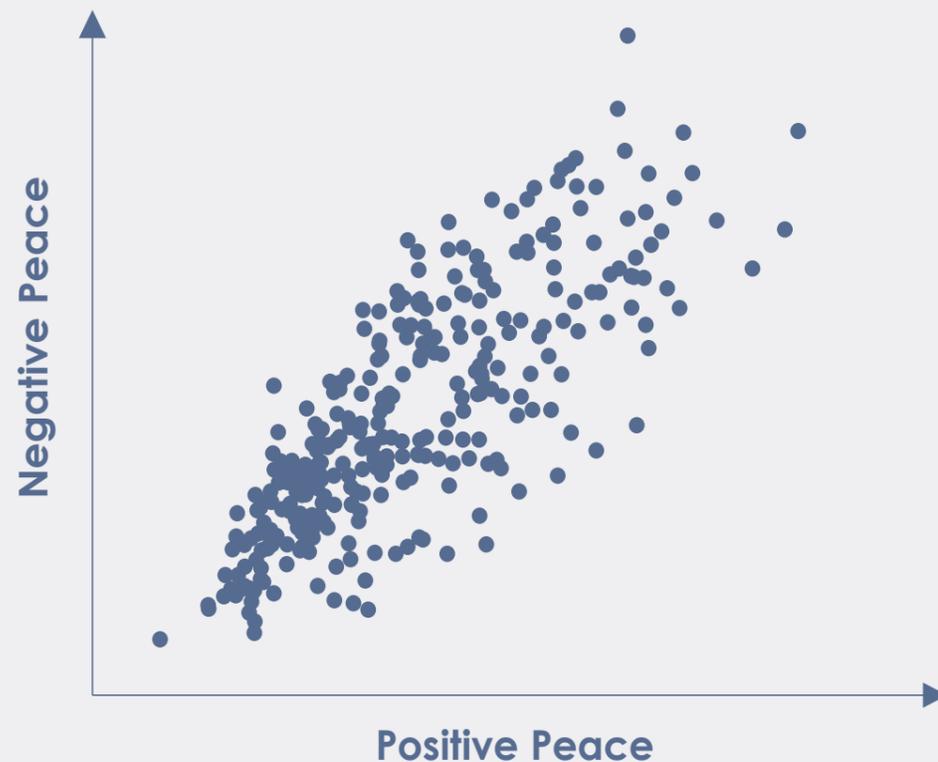
The London region is by far the most affected by stop and search laws in England and Wales accounting for nearly 45% of all stop and searches, even though it only makes up 14.6% of the population. In terms of the ethnic profile of stop and searches, Black British, are disproportionately represented accounting for around 30% of all stop and searches in London, but only 10% of the London population. The one group that is disproportionately underrepresented are Whites who make up nearly 60% of the London population but account for only 43% of the stop and searches.

Drug related searches are the most common form of stop and searches, comprising up to 53% of the total in London with 281,713 searches made in 2011. This resulted in 17,417 arrests for drug related stop and searches. Stop and searches for firearms make up less than 1% of all searches but result in arrests 10.5% of the time.

CHART 64 Number of Stop and Searches as a % of the Population, by Region (2009-2011 Average)



CORRELATIONS



What kind of environments are associated with peacefulness?

- **Violence and peace are linked to deprivation.** By tackling deprivation it is possible to have large impacts on peace. Specifically, peace is strongly linked to deprivation in income, employment opportunities, health and disability, education and in access to housing and services.
- **Poverty has a stronger association with violence than income.** The disparity between income levels (the Gini coefficient), while still significant, has a much weaker correlation with peace than poverty.
- **Education correlates strongly with peacefulness up to a point.** Secondary school achievement is strongly associated with peacefulness, while tertiary achievement doesn't correlate as strongly.
- **Below a certain level of income, individuals and families struggle to meet day to day needs.** This in turn affects health, decreases human capital and increases the chance of living in violent communities with anti-social behaviour.

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the key factors associated with peace in the UK it is useful to compare the UKPI with other data sets available from the UK Office of National Statistics. The UKPI has been correlated with 40 different data sets spanning over 300 indicators. While correlations cannot be used to determine causation, such analysis does highlight which factors appear to be most closely related to peace in the UK.

There are a number of challenges related to correlating the UKPI with national statistics and census data. One such issue is that London, being the major business centre of the UK, has a large number of professionals and expatriates living and working within its boroughs. It also has less retired people residing there. Wages in London are on average higher than the rest of the country. It also has some of the least peaceful regions in the UK. These dynamics make it somewhat unique and as such UK correlations that include the nation's capital can paint a distorted picture. Rural and urban trends can also be different. In spite of this, while trends in certain domains can differ across regions in the UK, the effects of deprivation are constant and are strongly correlated with peace.

Since 1970 the UK Office of National Statistics has kept records specifically on deprivation. These cover a range of unmet needs of residents within a region using a set of "indices of deprivation".

1. Income Deprivation – measures the proportion of the population in an area experiencing deprivation due to low income.
2. Employment Deprivation – measures unemployment in the form of involuntary exclusion of people of working age from the labour market.
3. Health Deprivation and Disability – measures premature death and impairment of quality of life due to poor conditions.
4. Education, Skills and Training Deprivation – measures deprivation of education and training for children/young people and adults.
5. Barriers to Housing and Services Deprivation – measures the physical and financial accessibility and key local services.
6. Living Environment Deprivation – measures immediate surroundings including quality of housing, air quality and road traffic accidents.

The higher the scores in these indices, the more deprived a region is. An Index of Multi-Dimensional Deprivation (IMD) is calculated by taking a weighted sum of domains. Significant correlates are illustrated in table eight.

TABLE 7 List of Secondary Factors Correlated Against the UKPI with their Respective Correlation Coefficients

INDICATOR	R
DEMOGRAPHICS	
Living in a Couple: Married	-0.86
HEALTH	
Under 18 Conceptions (rate per 1000)	0.69
Average of Health Deprivation and Disability Score	0.57
Average of ID 2010 Years of Potential Life Lost Indicator	0.63
Number of Persons Per Hectare	0.77
EDUCATION	
Highest Level of Qualification; Level 2 Qualifications	-0.61
Highest Level of Qualification; Apprenticeship	-0.54
High Proficiency in English	-0.73
EMPLOYMENT	
Small Employers and Own Account Workers	-0.52
Never Worked and Long-Term Unemployed	0.82
Never Worked	0.81
Long-Term Unemployed	0.73
EconomicallyActive: Unemployed	0.76
Economically inactive: Retired	-0.63
DEPRIVATION	
% Households Below 60% of Median Income	0.74
Household is Not Deprived In Any Dimension	-0.64
Household is Deprived In 2 Dimensions	0.5
Household is Deprived In 3 Dimensions	0.74
Household is Deprived In 4 Dimensions	0.83
Index of Multiple Deprivation	0.75
Income Deprivation	0.79
Employment Deprivation	0.56
Health Deprivation and Disability	0.57
Barriers to Housing and Services	0.53
Living Environment Deprivation	0.66
Average of Population Weighted Average Road Distance to a Post Office	-0.69
Average of Population Weighted Average Road Distance to a Food Store	-0.59
Average of Population Weighted Average Road Distance to GP Premises	-0.66
Average of Population Weighted Average Road Distance to a Primary School	-0.69
HOUSING	
Claimants Receiving Both Housing Benefit and Council Tax Benefit	0.77
Claimants Receiving Housing Benefit Only	0.76
Total Housing Benefit Recipients	0.81
Housing Benefit Recipients in Social Rented Sector	0.74
Homeless	0.51
Overcrowding	0.77

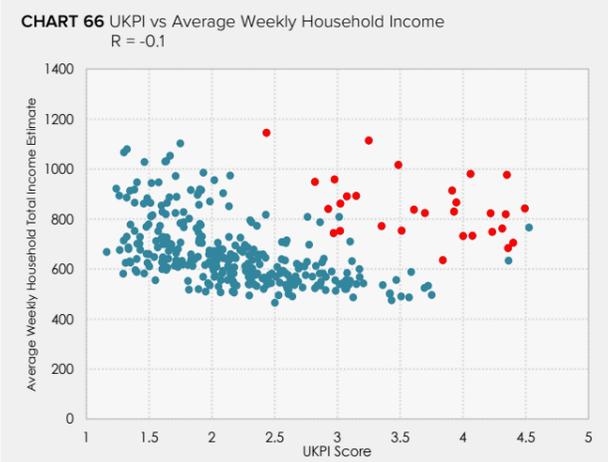
DIMENSIONS OF DEPRIVATION

TABLE 8 Dimensions Of Deprivation And Peacefulness, Correlation Matrix

INDICATOR	UKPI	Index of Multiple Deprivation	Income	Employment	Health Deprivation and Disability	Education Skills and Training	Barriers to Housing and Services	Living Environment
UKPI	1.00	0.75	0.79	0.56	0.57	0.35	0.53	0.66
Index of Multiple Deprivation	0.75	1.00	0.97	0.93	0.90	0.75	0.39	0.63
Income	0.79	0.97	1.00	0.88	0.83	0.68	0.45	0.59
Employment	0.56	0.93	0.88	1.00	0.92	0.80	0.22	0.41
Health Deprivation and Disability	0.57	0.90	0.83	0.92	1.00	0.74	0.21	0.45
Education Skills and Training	0.35	0.75	0.68	0.80	0.74	1.00	0.06	0.19
Barriers to Housing and Services	0.53	0.39	0.45	0.22	0.21	0.06	1.00	0.47
Living Environment	0.66	0.63	0.59	0.41	0.45	0.19	0.47	1.00

Peace in the UK correlates most strongly with income deprivation followed by living environment, employment, health and housing. It does not correlate with education deprivation. However, education is correlated to employment, health and income. Therefore it is important to remember when interpreting the correlations that while a direct link may not exist, indirect relationships do occur. In this case, an improvement in education could improve employment opportunities which does affect peace strongly. In light of these relationships, the following is sections of this report will now look at each domain of deprivation in more detail.

INCOME

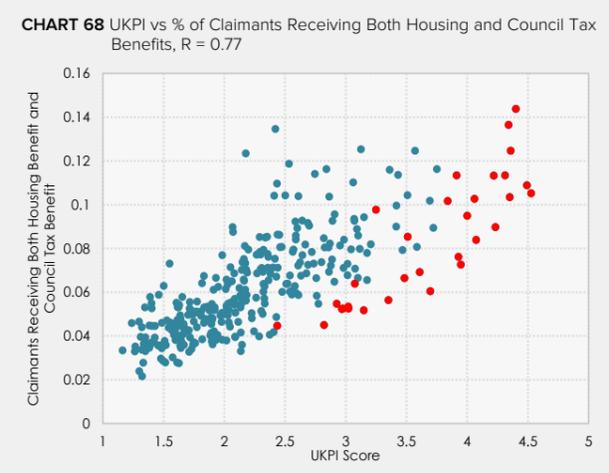
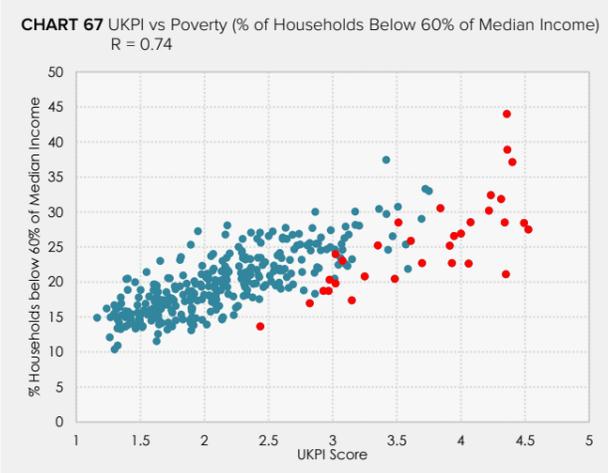


WHAT AREAS ARE COVERED IN THE CORRELATION ANALYSIS?
Comparable data was available for over 300 areas in England and Wales. The majority of the data was taken from the 2011 Census of England and Wales.

WHAT DO THE RED DOTS REPRESENT?
In all of the scatterplots that follow, the dots representing the London boroughs are red, whilst all other areas are coloured blue.

- London Boroughs
- All Other Areas

WHY HIGHLIGHT THE AREAS IN LONDON?
The areas in London have higher than average levels of violence for their size, as well as a number of outlying socio-economic factors when compared to other areas in the UK (population density, income inequality, net migration, tourism), which means that the areas in London are often outliers when compared to other areas in the UK. Highlighting these areas helps to illustrate whether the trend is robust or is exaggerated or understated when the London boroughs are included.



Peace does not correlate with average weekly household income at the national, urban or rural levels. If we remove London from the datasets, the average weekly income does start to correlate at a level of $r = 0.53$. London, being the business centre of the UK tends to have on average the highest levels of income in the country. It is also the least peaceful. Therefore the link between income and peace is obscured due to the geographic dynamics of London.

On the other hand poverty correlates far more strongly with peace at all levels. Poverty in the UK and in Europe is measured by the percentage of households living on less than 60% of the median income. This is a relative measure that in effect compares the nation's poorest to the nation's median income earners. This highlights that inequality between the bottom and the middle is more relevant to peace than inequality between the bottom and the top in terms of income.

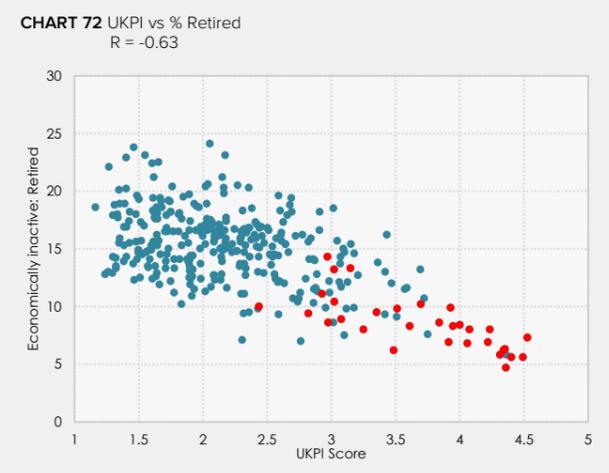
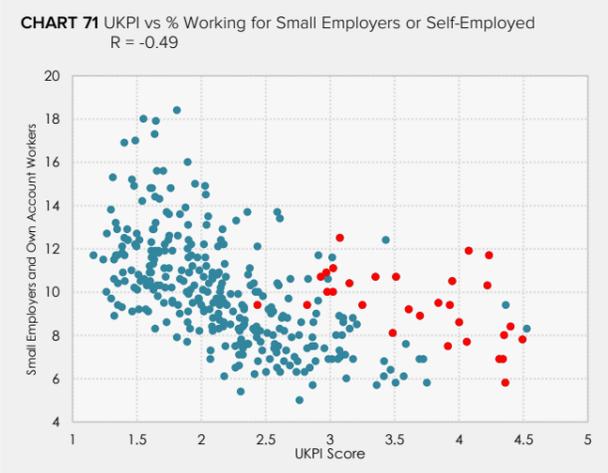
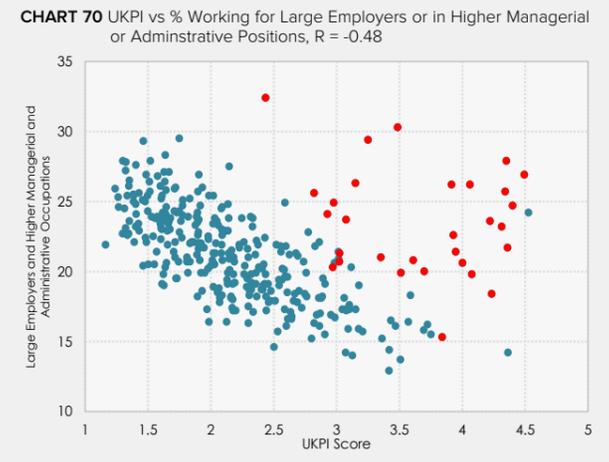
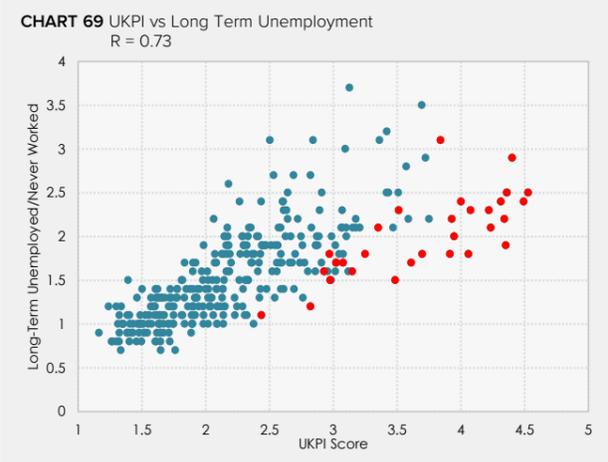
Below a certain level of income, individuals and families struggle to meet basic needs which in turn affects health and increases the chance of living in violent communities and of displaying anti-social behaviour.

Additional income beyond a certain point may improve the lives of individuals but peacefulness of the region may not necessarily increase proportionally.

There are several issues associated with measuring relative poverty. It assumes that poverty is defined by some proportion of the median wage, which in itself can fluctuate depending on the economic environment. In 2012 the number of households living below the poverty line in the UK was at its lowest level since 1986. The Institute for Fiscal Studies explains that this statistic may be more due to the fact that the incomes of those in the middle were more negatively affected after the 2009 global financial crisis rather than conditions getting better for the poor. This highlights one issue with tying poverty to 60% of median income.

As a result of welfare cuts in response to the global financial crisis, the absolute living standard of the nation's poorest has likely dropped post 2009. It is important to fully understand this nuance given that increased deprivation is linked to falls in peacefulness, therefore measures of absolute deprivation are likely to be more important than relative measures.

EMPLOYMENT



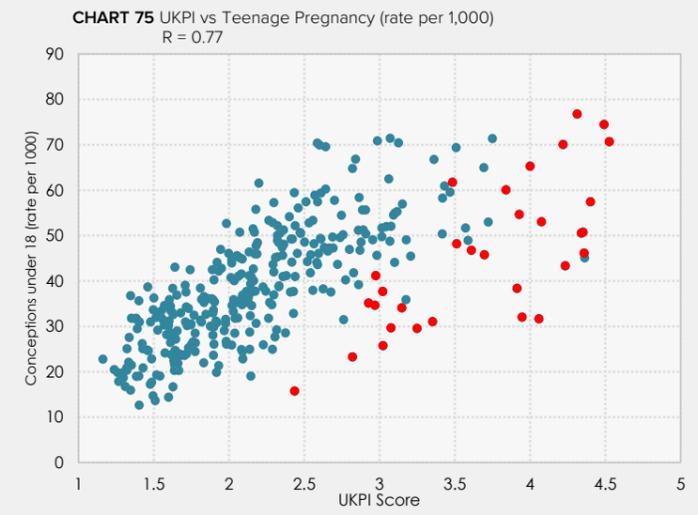
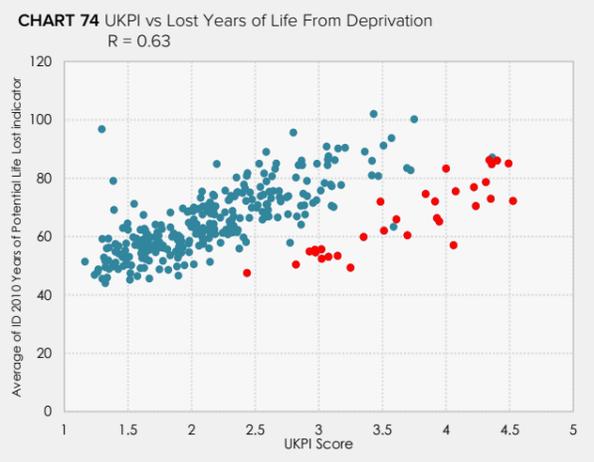
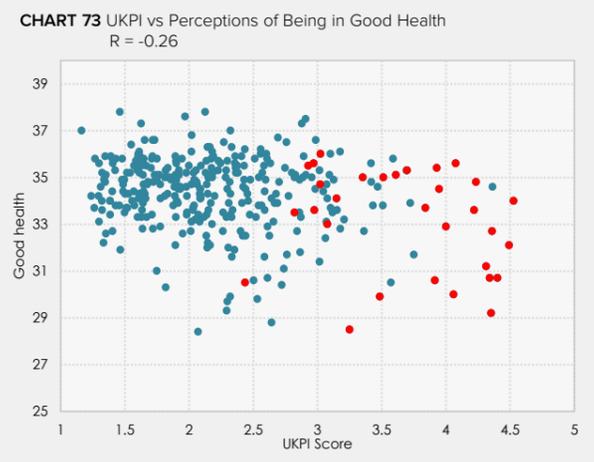
Employment and peace are strongly correlated. Aside from providing income, employment is also important to social cohesion and an individual's sense of self worth. Short term job losses, as occurred in the UK after the global financial crisis increase the risk of skills being lost to the labour market. Hard economic periods such as double dip recessions run the risk of substantially increasing long term unemployment. As shown in the correlations of deprivation, poor employment prospects risk not only the income of an individual, they also have direct and indirect impacts on a person's health. By far the strongest correlation is with long term unemployment.

While employment in and of itself is important, it is not sustainable without high levels of opportunity and economic growth. Analysis of correlations show that outside of London, types of occupations in a region are linked to peace. In general, the more professional occupations there are in a region, the more peaceful the region tends to be. High correlation between professional occupations and peace makes sense in terms of economic and employment opportunity. Areas that require a qualified and managerial workforce will tend to be more economically active, and will produce more employment

opportunities for their residents. This lowers unemployment which in turn has a strong impact on peace. London has a disproportionately greater number of large employers and this skews the results at a national level. However, when investigating small employers, London trends follow more closely those of the rest of the UK.

Chart 72 demonstrates that peace increases with increases in the number of retired people within a region. London is the business and financial centre of the UK. As such it has a large transient professional population and a lower proportion of retired people than the rest of the UK.

HEALTH



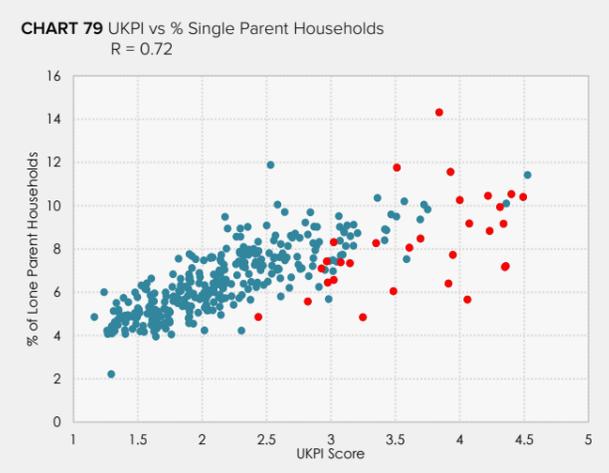
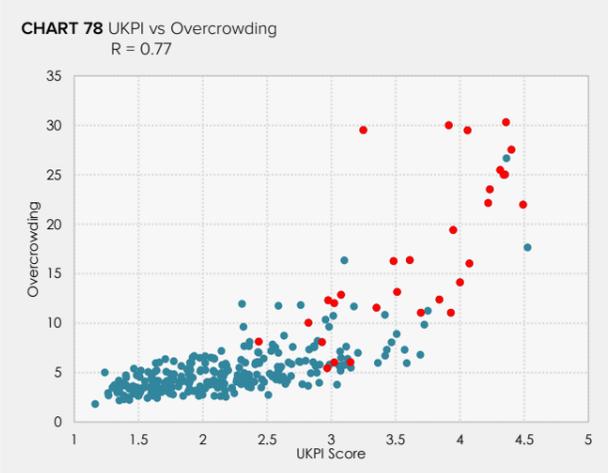
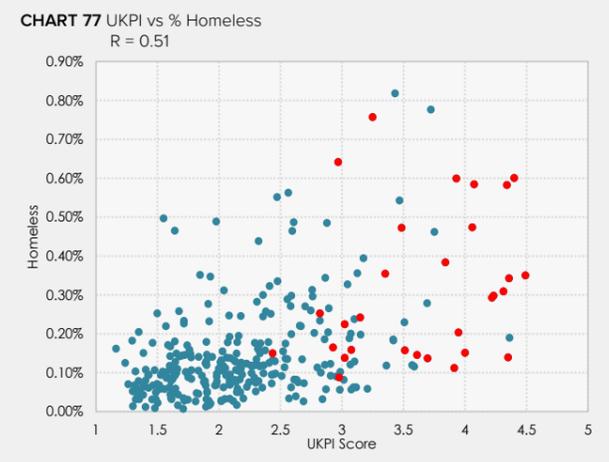
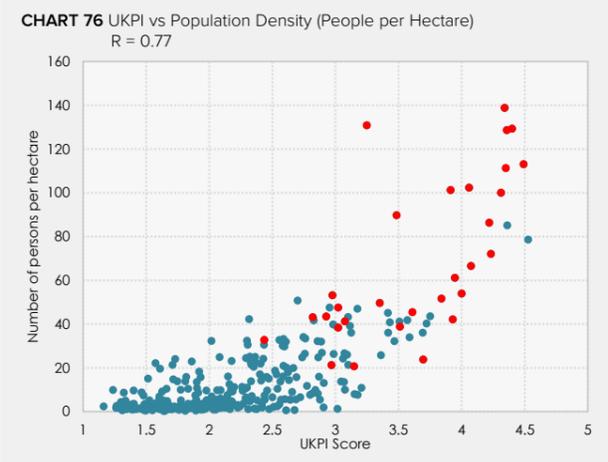
There are a number of different factors that relate peace to health. Higher proportions of people in poor health may reflect a low standard of living within a community. It may reflect poor access to health services and quality of facilities. It may also reflect the toll that living in a violent community has on the quality of life of its residents. Because of this it is useful to examine health and peace from a number of different angles.

Given the structural differences between health in the UK and the US it is interesting to compare the two countries. Though the Obama administration recently managed to pass legislation to shape a new health care system, health in the US is largely a private sector enterprise with high dependency on private insurance. In 2012, it was found that not one of the ten most peaceful US states had more than 15% of citizens without health insurance. In direct contrast, the UK's National Health Service (NHS) is publically funded and is the largest and oldest single-payer health system in the world. Despite this there are commonalities between peace and health in the two systems in the case of deprivation.

Infant and teenage mortality rates are related to peace in the US. Similarly, in the UK health deprivation leading to a large reduction of life expectancy is strongly correlated to peace. So it seems that severe health deprivation at a level that affects peace occurs in both countries. However, much like income, past a certain level of general health further improvements do not correlate with the peacefulness of a region.

Chart 75 shows that teenage pregnancies correlate strongly to the UKPI. This same relationship also exists in the US. This relationship is pertinent given that it is found that high proportions of lone parents tend to live in less peaceful regions. Such a trend suggests lack of opportunity can lead to higher than average proportions of young girls turning to motherhood. This in turn makes them more likely to live in regions of low peace, providing less opportunity for their children, creating and perpetuating a vicious cycle.

LIVING ENVIRONMENT



In analysing health it is important to investigate external factors related to the wellbeing and peacefulness of citizens. For example so called "neighborhood effects" describe the compounding effect of deprivation when highly concentrated in local areas. The broken windows theory, for example, suggests that urban environments that are not well kept and maintained can have a psychological effect on residents inducing higher levels of anti-social behaviour. Furthermore, overcrowding is believed to be an issue in housing, especially in the public rented sector.

Examining the links between the living environment and peace, there is evidence to support both of these premises. Overcrowding, especially in public housing is related to low income and low employment rates. The association of density to peace holds true even when rural areas are factored out of the analysis. Population density is also linked to peacefulness with areas with less people per hectare on average experiencing less violence across the nation.

EDUCATION

CHART 80 UKPI vs % With High School as Highest Qualification
R = -0.61

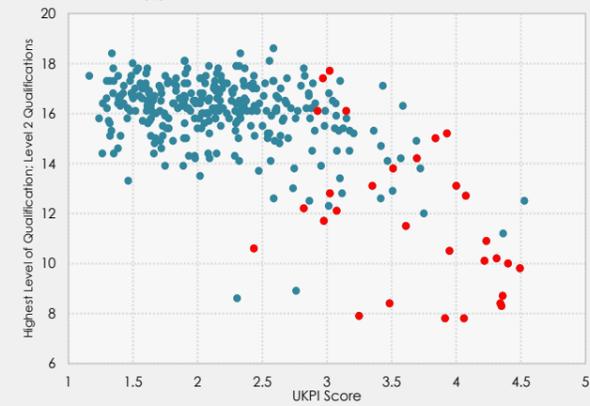


CHART 81 UKPI vs % With No Educational Qualifications
R = 0.11

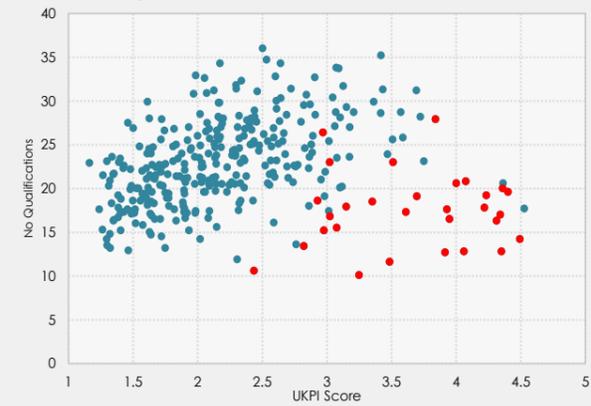


CHART 82 Employment Deprivation vs Education Deprivation
R = 0.85

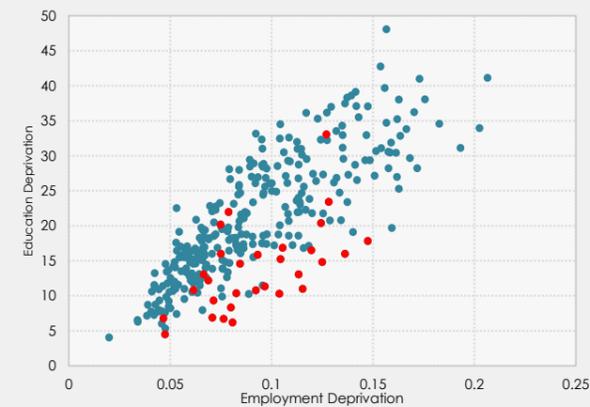
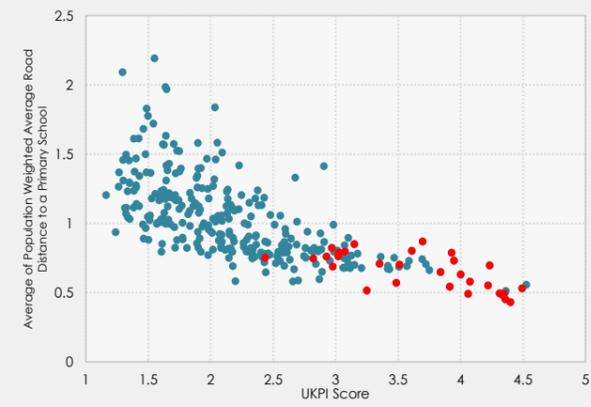


CHART 83 Peace vs Average Distance to Primary School
R = -0.69



Studies on education and violence suggest that the former can influence the latter in at least two different ways. The first is the effect on income. With increased education comes a larger earning capacity after graduation. The promise of this can make anti-social behaviour, theft and violence seem less necessary or attractive. Secondly, the time it takes to attain an education lessens idle time.

In the US greater high school graduation rates are related to more peaceful regions. In contrast, the percent of citizens with a bachelor degree or higher does not correlate suggesting that once a minimum level of attainment is achieved the impact of further education on peace decreases.

Analysis of peace and education highlight some conflicting results. At the national level, attaining GCSE or equivalent correlates with more peace. However, looking outside of London, we do not see the same relationship ($r = 0.30$). Having said this, areas outside of London with high proportions of residents with no qualifications tend to be less peaceful ($r = 0.51$). Overall, the domain of education is the only indicator of deprivation that does not correlate with peace.

Therefore the link between education and peace is perhaps best understood through its effect on employment. As deprivation of education decreases, employability increases. As shown previously, employment is a strong factor when looking at areas of high levels of peace. Furthermore correlations do suggest that levels of literacy within a region do correlate with peace. Access to schools is important and places where citizens have to travel further to get to schools tend to be less peaceful.

ECONOMIC VALUE OF PEACE



- **The total economic impact of violence and crime on the UK economy is estimated to be £124 Billion.** This equates to a household impact of £4,700 per year.
- The total economic effect of **a reduction in violence and crime of 9% is equivalent to the total cost of the London Olympics.**
- **A reduction of 25%** is equivalent to the total cost required for building the Birmingham Motorway, the Forth Replacement Bridge in Edinburgh and the London Crossrail.
- **A 50% reduction** could pay off the debt owing on all hospitals built in the past 13 years.
- The amount owed by all 72 clubs in the English Football League is equivalent to **less than 1% of the total economic impact of crime.**

ECONOMIC IMPACT OF VIOLENCE ON THE UK ECONOMY

Static Peace Dividends

(Medical + Related Judicial costs + Prevention Costs + Incarceration Costs)

Homicide	£131,910,584
Violent Crime	£18,960,594,677
Public Disorder	£876,229,251
Weapons Crime	£26,841,700
Theft	£3,051,733,362
Burglary	£4,183,829,933
Crimes not covered in the UKPI	£3,271,589,418
TOTAL	£30,502,728,927

Dynamic Peace Dividends

(Lost Productivity)

Homicide	£1,172,996,656
Violent Crime	£27,603,023,696
Public Disorder	£2,146,480,222
Weapons Crime	£9,743,696
Theft	£905,394,414
Burglary	£1,161,720,474
Incarceration	£990,402,000
Crimes not covered in the UKPI	£12,911,073,881
TOTAL	£46,900,835,041
One for One Multiplier	£46,900,835,041

TOTAL ECONOMIC IMPACT
£ 124,304,399,000

METHODOLOGY

Violence impacts individuals and society in a number of detrimental ways. There is the emotional and physical impact, which may affect the victims of crime in both the short and the long term. There may also be the direct loss from damage to property, lost work time and medical costs.

High crime and violence rates foster a sense of fear that affect people's day to day quality of life and the economic choices that they might make. Even the fear engendered by violence has a cost, potentially resulting in more defensive expenditures on personal security items and avoidance of areas that are considered dangerous.

Such expenditures are important to count. Development theory and emerging literature on peace indicate that direct violence has a serious negative effect on both social and economic development. This holds true for both high and low income countries, and is made more pertinent in the United Kingdom which is currently facing the prospect of a triple-dip recession since 1975 forcing the government to seek new ways of saving money and stimulating the economy.

One of the key factors generally not understood by the business community is that violence in the developed world has a bigger economic impact on business operations than in the developing world, simply because of the larger size of developed world's economies. As a consequence, small increases in peace in developed economies has substantial positive impacts on business.

The estimates contained in this study, although higher than other prior studies into the total cost of crime are considered to be conservative. There are many types of costs and lost productivity from crime that cannot be estimated in a study of this size and have therefore been excluded. Some of these costs include the preventative measures of additional security guards, the cost of surveillance equipment, higher insurance premiums, government crime prevention programs or costs to the offender's family. One of the features that makes this approach unique and an improvement on prior studies is the fuller estimate of the flow on effects to the economy from reductions in violence and crime.

To estimate the economic benefits of peace, the economic impacts have been broken down into two categories, known as the static peace dividend and dynamic peace dividend. The first being the direct cost of crime while the second is the additional economic activity that would be generated by reductions in crime.

Static Peace Dividend. These are the savings that accrue from reductions in the direct costs of crime. For an individual or organisation these include insurance premiums, home security

systems and property loss. To the State, the direct cost of violence includes policing, judicial expenses, incarceration costs and services to the victims. Savings made by the reductions in these costs would free up expenditure which could be used for more productive economic activities.

Savings in violence could reduce the tax burden on individuals which in turn would stimulate the economy with the purchases of more goods and services. Alternatively, reductions in the direct costs of crime could be spent in areas such as infrastructure investment, repayment of debt or on additional hospital beds. These investments would produce positive future returns to the economy. Static savings shift expenditure from one area of the economy to another but the overall economic pie remains the same. Thus, the dividend is defined as the transfer of the resources from violence containment industries to other activities with better economic flow-on effects.

Dynamic Peace Dividend. In contrast to the Static Peace Dividend, the Dynamic Peace Dividend also estimates the additional economic output that would be created from the liberated expenditures in the Static Peace Dividend. This benefit is usually overlooked in many economic studies of the cost of crime but is important as different types of expenditure have different flow-on effects through an economy. Some of these are immediate while others may have benefits in the longer term, such as infrastructure investment. To account for this, a conservative one-for-one multiplier has been used. In many economic assessments a flow-on factor of two or three might be used. In other words, the Dynamic Peace Dividend is the additional economic value generated by releasing the productivity currently trapped by violence and crime.

Some examples of the Dynamic Peace Dividend include:

- The additional economic output that may result from government investment in local infrastructure. For example, this may free up investment in transport that reduces the costs and travel times of commuters which in turn unlocks additional resources and productivity.
- Governments redirect funds to education and business stimulation in areas of national competitive advantage
- The future benefits of national innovation that occurs from investing in education and business stimulation and competitiveness such as technology, renewable energy or medicine.
- When a skilled person is placed in prison there is decay in their skills during the term of their incarceration. Once released it is more difficult for them to be employed and with a productivity loss due to the loss of skills.
- The economic stimulus of the private sector that occurs from a potential reduction of the individual tax burden.
- Reinvestment of savings into basic healthcare to improve preventative health resulting in longer and healthier lives and greater productive capacity in the future work-force.

TOTAL COST OF VIOLENCE

HOME OFFICE BASELINE STUDY

In 2000, the Home Office estimated the costs of individual crimes to the UK. Table nine summarises the costs investigated in the UKPI.

TABLE 9 Costs of Crime Descriptions

COST TYPE	COST	BORNE BY
Costs in anticipation of crime (£)	Defensive Expenditure (Alarm systems, self defence)	Individual
	Insurance Administration (Administration fees for Insurance (not payouts))	Individual
Costs as a consequence of crime (£)	Physical and Emotional Impact on Direct Victims	Individual
	Value of Property Stolen	Individual/ State
	Property Damaged/ Destroyed	Individual/ State
	Property Recovered	Individual/ State
	Victim Services (counselling)	Individual/ State
	Lost Output (wages and time lost)	Individual
Costs in response to crime (£)	Health Services	Individual/ State
	Criminal Justice System (incl Police, courts and legal aid)	State

To estimate costs to the state, the Home Office takes into consideration crime and conviction rates to estimate on average how much of the total criminal justice system's annual budget, including policing, incarceration and judicial process, is dedicated to each crime recorded. Direct expenditure in the prevention and response to crime on the part of government and citizens is included. Loss or damage of property to the victim is also in these figures.

However, in order to assess the full impact of violence on society, the Home Office also includes the intangible costs of lost opportunity. These include lost wages and emotional impact of crime to the victim and their families. The Home Office regards the sum total of all of the costs as the true impact of crime and violence on society.

The Home Office has not included lost wages to the economy due to persons not participating in the workforce while incarcerated. Previous national studies of the US however have shown that the majority of people incarcerated have held full-time employment for more than a year prior to being incarcerated. As such their potential economic input to the economy should be counted. Consequently this study includes an estimate of the lost wages of prisoners due to incarceration. US studies have found that 70% of persons incarcerated held full-time employment for 12 months prior to being incarcerated. Assuming a similar proportion for the UK, a total estimate of lost wages is calculated by multiplying the total number of people who would find employment by an flat salary. To be conservative it is assumed that the average salary each of these persons would be 75% of the median of the minimum and average wage, or around £15,000 per annum. The full time equivalent minimum wage in the UK is £12,200 while the average wage is £26,700.

Additionally, the Home Office does not account for the additional flow on effects of the lost wages through the economy. As has been done previously in the USPI, the additional economic activity from a redistribution of the peace dividend is calculated in the UKPI as a one to one multiplier. That is, for every pound lost to violence another additional pound of value would be generated by other economic activity. For example, every pound that an injured person would ordinarily spend if they were earning would have a flow on effect and generate another pound of economic activity. This multiplier is not considered in the Home Office studies and so estimates of total costs of previous studies will be much lower. This methodology is similar to one used in the USPI and will allow for direct comparisons between the US and the UK. Static and dynamic peace dividends are calculated in the following way:

- **D = Aggregated direct cost per recorded crime to the victim**
- **E = Aggregated emotional cost to the victim**
- **J = Aggregated total criminal justice system costs (including police, judicial process and incarceration) per recorded crime**
- **S = Aggregated health and other service costs provided per recorded crime**
- **L = Aggregated lost output per recorded crime**
- **I = Wages lost to the economy due to incarceration**
- **Static Peace Dividend = D + J + S**
- **Dynamic Peace Dividend = 2 x (L + E + I)**

TABLE 10 Static and Dynamic Peace Dividend Examples

STATIC PEACE DIVIDEND (Costs to society and government)	DYNAMIC PEACE DIVIDEND (Costs that affect economic activity)
Direct costs to the victim for all crimes (security, loss of property, etc)	Productivity loss from homicide
Direct costs to the state for victim support for all crimes (health, victims services, etc)	Productivity loss from violent crime
Cost of police and the judicial system for all crimes	Productivity loss from public disorder
Prison service costs for all crimes	Productivity loss from weapons crime
	Productivity loss from burglary and theft
	Productivity loss of individuals in jail

Using the Home Office costs and the definitions of the static and dynamic peace dividends the total impact to society due to crime and violence calculations are based on the figures in table 11.

Official police crime records are only a subset of all crime in a country. There are many crimes that go unreported. Those that do get reported are only recorded at police discretion. Estimates for reporting and recording rates can be found in past versions of the British Crime Surveys. Due to the disparities in the number of crimes in the UK and police records, the Home Office has developed a method of estimating the total number of crimes based on the number that are recorded. Using this method with the most recent Home Office data the total cost and impact of crime against households and individuals in 2012 in the UK is calculated to be £124 billion. This equates to a

household impact of £4,700 per year. This figure is conservative for a number of reasons. For example no attempt has been made by the Home Office to quantify many costs including but not limited to fear of crime, quality of life and miscarriages of justice. Also, the Home Office has not updated its costs estimates since 2005, however, since then budgetary expenditure on the criminal justice system will have changed. For example since 1999 prison populations have increased by 21,597 inmates, a rise of 30%. The Ministry of Justice's estimates the average cost per prisoner including overheads, property, maintenance, custody to be £40,800 per prison place. At this cost, the population rise since 1999 has resulted in an increase of £881 million of public expenditure. This will have an effect on future Home Office estimates for costs of crimes. However, for the purposes of this report the Home Office estimates suffice to get a approximate value for comparative purposes and have been adjusted to 2013 costs using the the inflation rate.

CHART 85 Increase In Incarceration Rate
Increases in the incarceration rate have increased expenditure on prisons by £881 million

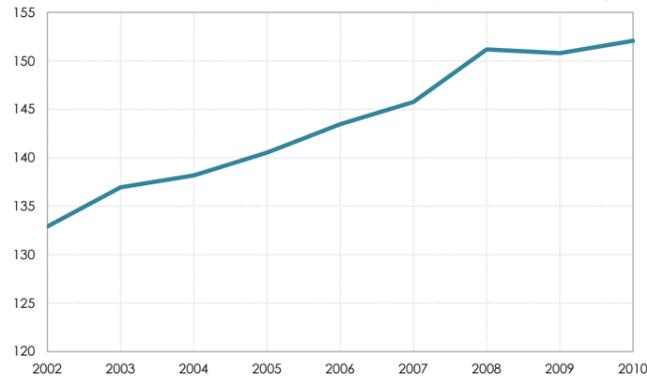


TABLE 11 Total Economic Impact of Each Offense, Using a 1:1 Multiplier All values are in 2012 GBP

Home Office Offence Category Used	Direct Cost of Crime to Victim (A)	Emotional Impact (B)	Lost Output (C)	Health Costs (D)	Cost to Criminal Justice System (E)	Static Peace Dividend (F) = (A) + (D) + (E)	Dynamic Peace Dividend (G) = 2 x [(B) + (C)]	Total Economic Impact (F) + (G)
Homicide	3,218.80	1,118,494.00	586,443.00	1,001.00	187,510.70	191,730.50	3,409,874.00	3,601,604.50
Serious wounding	11.70	5,920.20	1,515.80	1,752.40	18,648.50	20,412.60	14,872.00	35,284.60
Other wounding	11.70	5,920.20	1,515.80	1,752.40	1,271.40	3,035.50	14,872.00	17,907.50
Sexual offences	52.00	29,580.20	5,759.00	1,190.80	4,287.40	5,530.20	70,678.40	76,208.60
Common assault	7.80	1,024.40	349.70	159.90	331.50	499.20	2,748.20	3,247.40
Robbery	180.70	3,962.40	1,314.30	627.90	3,381.30	4,189.90	10,553.40	14,743.30
Burglary in a dwelling	1,846.00	839.80	83.20	-	1,478.10	3,324.10	1,846.00	5,170.10
Theft - not vehicle	276.90	153.40	3.90	-	391.30	668.20	314.60	982.80
Theft of vehicle	4,018.30	1,040.00	61.0	-	258.70	4,277.00	2,202.20	6,479.20
Theft from vehicle	678.60	345.80	26.00	-	65.00	743.60	743.60	1,487.20
Attempted vehicle theft	313.30	252.20	14.30	-	84.50	397.80	533.00	930.80
Criminal damage	341.90	613.60	7.80	-	163.80	505.70	1,242.80	1,748.50

ECONOMIC BENEFIT OF IMPROVEMENTS IN PEACE

This section estimates the cost-benefits of improvements in the homicide, violent crime and public disorder rates in the UK using data from the Home Office studies. The comparison is done on the basis of a counterfactual exploring the impact on the economy if the homicide, violent crime and public disorder rates could be reduced to that of other European countries, and what would be the impact if it was reduced to the most peaceful region in the UK. This analysis is useful as it highlights the potential expenditure which could be directed to other, more productive areas, such as education, health, and/or tax cuts. The savings from reductions in homicides is small when compared to the cost of violent crime.

ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF REDUCTIONS IN HOMICIDE

Including total incarcerations costs and conviction rates, each homicide costs around £192,000 in static costs and £3.4 million in lost economic activity. Including lost productivity, the total economic effect of homicide in 2012 was over £1.9 billion. In the past decade though the UK has experienced a drastic decrease in intentional homicides with 2012 numbers being around half that of 2002 levels. Chart 86 shows that the total economic effect of this homicide decrease has been calculated to be over £1.9 billion. The region with the lowest homicide rate is the South East. If the rest of the country could reduce its homicide rates to the level of the South East it would potentially add £1.4 billion to the UK economy.

CHART 86 UK Homicide Rate Trend
The potential total economic impact due to the drop in homicide is equal to £1.9 billion

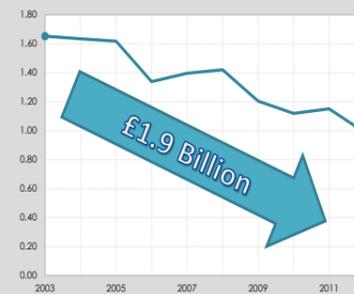


CHART 87 UK Violent Crime Rate Trend
The potential additional economic activity due to the drop in violent crime is £33 billion since 2006

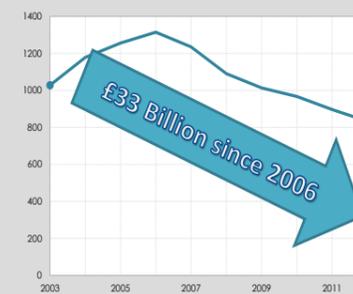


CHART 88 Homicide Savings
If the UK could lower homicide rates to that of the South East it could potentially add £1.4 billion to the UK economy

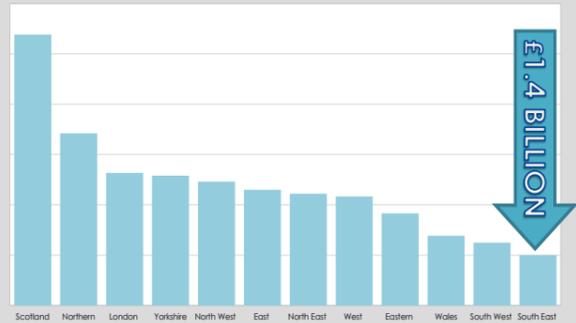


CHART 89 Violent Crime Savings
If the UK could drop its violent crime rate to that of the South East the potential additional economic activity to the UK is £22 billion

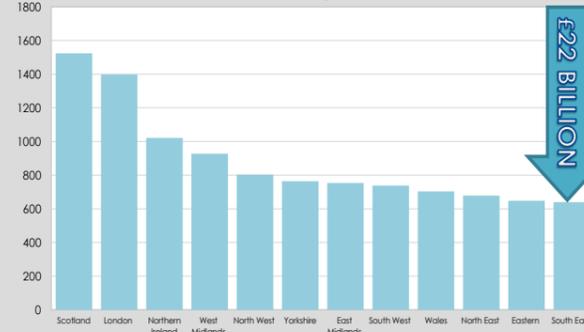
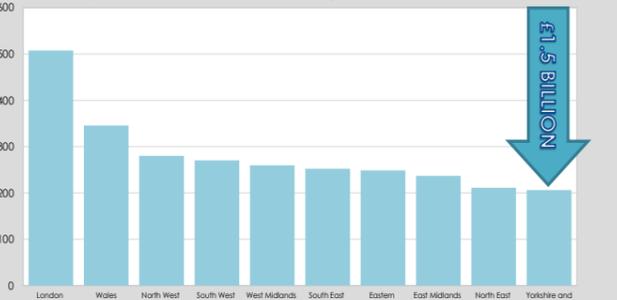


CHART 90 Public Disorder Savings
Lowering the public disorder rate could generate an extra £1.5 billion



COMPARISON TO THE USA

The UK and the US differ in their cultural attitudes towards and policy strategies aimed at reducing violence. For example, this is evident in the UK where the majority of police officers are not armed. In contrast, eligibility to own and carry a firearm is at a minimum standard for the average police officer in the United States. Using the same definitions for categorising violent crime, it is possible to make harmonized economic comparisons between the UK and the US on violence.

The most striking difference between the US and UK in terms of their composition of violence is the difference between the homicide rate and violence crime rates. The homicide rate in the US is second largest in the OECD countries whereas the violent crime rate in the UK is one of the highest. Thus, it is interesting to explore what the effect would be to each economy if rates of these crimes were lowered.

In the 2012 USPI the total effect of violence in the US was calculated to be around \$460 billion USD. This estimate included the medical and material losses incurred as a result of violence in the US. It also includes estimations of the costs of policing, incarceration and the judiciary based on federal budget numbers. Of all crimes, homicide in the US is an issue that gets the most regular media attention. In 2010 the number of homicides in America was 14,748 resulting in a rate of around 5 per 100,000.

Estimates for the static and dynamic effects of homicide in the USPI are calculated using medical cost data from the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). According to these figures, the average medical cost per homicide was around \$6,100 USD (£4,100). The average cost in lost productivity per homicide was estimated by the CDC as being around \$1.6 million USD (£1 million).

When a person can't work because they are injured then there is a loss of output to the economy. For each additional pound not spent as a result, there is a flow-on effect for the rest of the economy. To account for this flow on effect, the USPI in its calculation of the dynamic peace dividend applies a one-for-one multiplier. The same approach has been adopted for the UKPI. Therefore, in 2012 the dynamic cost of a homicide in the US was estimated to be over £2 million GBP or US\$3.2 million dollars. At these levels, the total economic effect of homicide alone in the US in 2012 was £32 billion (around US\$48.5 billion). Currently, the UK homicide rate is around 5 times lower than the US. Therefore, if the US could lower its rate to that of the UK's, it would potentially add £25 billion or US\$38 billion to its economy.

At a rate of over 800 per 100,000 people, violent crime in the UK is one of the highest in the developed world. On average a violent crime costs the UK around £3,700 per incident in direct costs medical costs. A further £50,000 is lost from the economy

in lost productivity and emotional trauma. Applying the one-for-one multiplier it can be estimated that the dynamic peace dividend of lost productivity in the UK due to violent crimes is around £100,000 per crime. At these levels this means that violent crime currently diverts a potential £47 billion from the UK economy in medical and lost output alone. If the UK could reduce its violent crime rate by half to be comparable to the US, it would potentially add £23 billion to its economy in realised productivity and saved medical costs.

CHART 91 US and UK: Violent Crime Rate
If the UK could drop its violent crime rate to that of the US the potential additional activity to the economy is £23 billion.

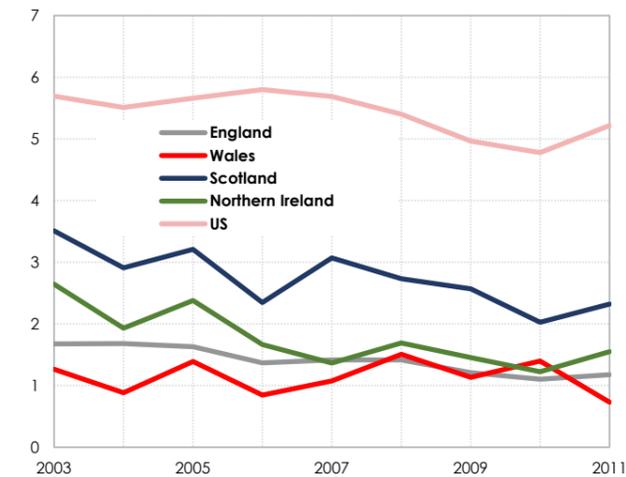


CHART 92 UK vs US: Homicide Rate
If the US could drop its homicide rate to that of the UK the potential additional activity to the economy is £25 billion.



The spate of mass shootings in the US has reignited debate around guns, crime, public and private safety, and homicides. The debate has prompted comparisons of homicides and violent crime between the US and other developed nations such as the United Kingdom. The following section presents a comparison between the US and UK including Scotland and Northern Ireland.

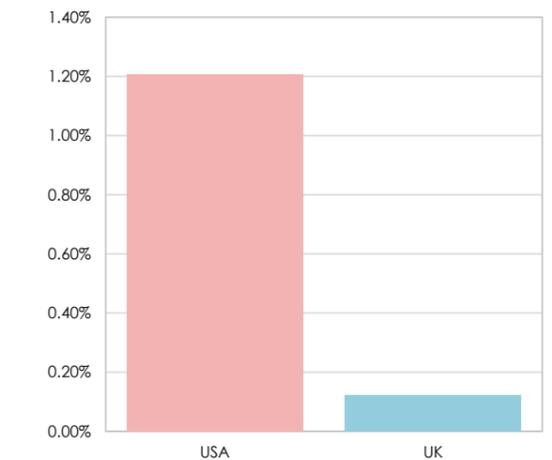
CHART 93 Homicide Rate: Home Nations and the US (2003-2011)



The homicide rates of England and the US, along with Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, are shown in the chart above. As with many developed countries, there has been a long term decline in the homicide rate. Whilst in particular instances, extra policing can be cited as a possible reason for declines in homicide, the cause for why this phenomenon has occurred across several nations is not fully known and the reasons can differ for different countries. For instance, in New York City a large increase in the police force during the 1990s was the most likely and plausible reason for the fall in crime rates, although through the 2000s police numbers and crime dropped together. However, the UK has similarly seen a reduction in homicides and violent crime despite police numbers being cut back.

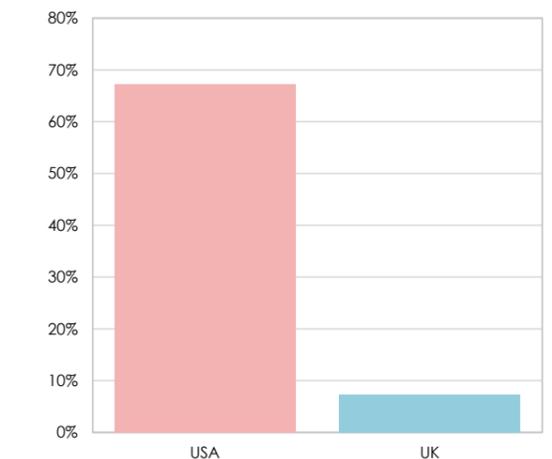
Chart 93 shows the homicides rates between 2003 and 2011. The average homicide rate over the period for England is 1.4 homicides per 100,000 people whilst the US is almost 4 times higher at 5.4 per 100,000. In the UK, Scotland has the highest homicide rate at an average of 2.7 homicides per 100,000 for the same period whilst Wales has the lowest at 1.1 per 100,000. The homicide rate in Northern Ireland has more than halved during the same period. The US 9-year average was 16,287 homicides per year. The UK on the other hand had peaked in 2003 with 996 homicides and averages 725 homicides per year for the nine year period. If the US had the average homicide rate of England over the nine year period, almost 12,000 deaths per annum could be avoided.

CHART 94 Homicide as a % of all Violent Crime (2003-2011 Average)



The graph above shows homicides as a percentage of all serious violent crimes. It shows that homicides make up around, on average, 1.2% of all serious violent crimes in the US compared to the UK's 0.13%. Thus, homicides as a portion of total serious violent crimes is almost 10 times greater in the US than the UK.

CHART 95 % of Homicides by Firearm (2004-2010 Average)



The issues around gun control especially in the US is politically contentious and stirs deep passions. Yet the effect of guns on both societies have been profound. In the US, access to guns contributes to the high portion of homicides by firearms: two out of three homicides are caused by guns. On the other hand, in the UK only 7% of all homicides are caused by firearms, equating to 1 in 13. Furthermore, whilst gun violence is geographically distributed all over the US, over half of all firearm related offences in the UK occur in three police authorities: Metropolitan London, Greater Manchester, and West Midlands.

Due to the relatively poor access and availability of guns in the UK, the use of knives has become a mainstream issue after numerous tragic knife related incidents. As a response, new offences categories such as 'aggravated knife crime', and measures like mandatory life sentences for those who commit a second serious violent crime or sexual assault have been put in place to deter knife crime in particular.

Table twelve shows the average number of homicides by firearms and knives in the US and the UK between 2009 and 2011. In the US, for every knife homicide there are 5 homicides by firearms. Interestingly, the reverse holds for the UK: for every firearm homicide, there are 5 knife homicides for every one by a gun. In the US two-thirds of homicides were caused by firearms in 2012.

TABLE 12 Knife and Firearm Homicides (2009-2011)

	USA	ENGLAND & WALES
Firearms	8885	47
Knives	1754	233
Ratio (F/K)	5.1	0.2
Ratio (K/F)	0.2	4.9

In the UK homicides involving knives or sharp instruments accounted for 39% of all homicides. The BCS found that in the UK, out of all violent incidents knives were used 6% of the time. In the London area, knife crime accounted for less than 0.5% of the total reported crime. Although the UK may have a higher violent crime rate than the US, the likelihood of a weapon being used in a violent crime is higher in the US than the UK.

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APPENDIX B DATA SOURCES

INDICATOR	SOURCE	CODE	YEAR	R
Living in a couple: Married	UK Office of National Statistics	Living Arrangements KS104EW	2011	-0.86
Not Living in a Couple: Never Married	UK Office of National Statistics	Living Arrangements KS104EW	2011	0.84
Not Living in a Couple: Separated or Divorced	UK Office of National Statistics	Living Arrangements KS104EW	2011	0.49
One person household: Total	UK Office of National Statistics	Household Composition KS105EW	2011	0.36
Lone Parent Households	UK Office of National Statistics	Lone Parent Households with Dependent Children IEP Calculation	2011	0.72
Very good health	UK Office of National Statistics	Household Composition KS105EW	2011	-0.01
Good health	UK Office of National Statistics	Household Composition KS105EW	2011	-0.26
Bad health	UK Office of National Statistics	Household Composition KS105EW	2011	0.32
Very bad health	UK Office of National Statistics	Household Composition KS105EW	2011	0.42
Under 18 Conceptions	UK Office of National Statistics	Conceptions	2011	0.69
Average of Health Deprivation and Disability Score	UK Office of National Statistics	Health Deprivation and Disability	2010	0.57
Average of ID 2010 Years of Potential Life Lost indicator	UK Office of National Statistics	Health Deprivation and Disability	2011	0.63
Average of Acute morbidity indicator	UK Office of National Statistics	Health Deprivation and Disability	2012	0.41
Number of persons per hectare	UK Office of National Statistics	Population Density QS103EW	2011	0.77
No Qualifications	UK Office of National Statistics	Qualifications and Students KS501EW	2011	0.11
Highest Level of Qualification; Level 1 Qualifications	UK Office of National Statistics	Qualifications and Students KS501EW	2011	-0.25
Highest Level of Qualification; Level 2 Qualifications	UK Office of National Statistics	Qualifications and Students KS501EW	2011	-0.61
Highest Level of Qualification; Apprenticeship	UK Office of National Statistics	Qualifications and Students KS501EW	2011	-0.54
Highest Level of Qualification; Level 3 Qualifications	UK Office of National Statistics	Qualifications and Students KS501EW	2011	-0.14
Highest Level of Qualification; Level 4 Qualifications and Above	UK Office of National Statistics	Qualifications and Students KS501EW	2011	0.08
Schoolchildren and Full-Time Students; Age 16 to 17	UK Office of National Statistics	Qualifications and Students KS501EW	2011	-0.19
Schoolchildren and Full-Time Students; Age 18 and Over	UK Office of National Statistics	Qualifications and Students KS501EW	2011	0.54
Full-Time Students; Age 18 to 74; Economically Active; In Employment	UK Office of National Statistics	Qualifications and Students KS501EW	2011	0.56
Full-Time Students; Age 18 to 74; Economically Active; Unemployed	UK Office of National Statistics	Qualifications and Students KS501EW	2011	0.65
Full-Time Students; Age 18 to 74; Economically Inactive	UK Office of National Statistics	Qualifications and Students KS501EW	2011	0.49
High Proficiency in English	UK Office of National Statistics	Proficiency in English QS205EW	2011	-0.73
Low Proficiency in English	UK Office of National Statistics	Proficiency in English QS205EW	2011	0.73
Higher Managerial, Administrative and Professional Occupations	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	-0.14
Large Employers and Higher Managerial and Administrative Occupations	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	-0.44
Higher Professional Occupations	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	-0.06
Lower Managerial, Administrative and Professional Occupations	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	-0.36
Intermediate Occupations	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	-0.38
Small Employers and Own Account Workers	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	-0.52
Lower Supervisory and Technical Occupations	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	-0.2
Semi-Routine Occupations	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	-0.02
Routine Occupations	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	0.12
Never Worked and Long-Term Unemployed	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	0.82
Never Worked	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	0.81
Long-Term Unemployed	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	0.73

INDICATOR	SOURCE	CODE	YEAR	R
Economically active: Unemployed	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	0.76
Economically inactive: Retired	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	-0.63
Average Weekly Household Total Income Estimate	UK Office of National Statistics	Model Based Estimates	2008	-0.1
All Usual Residents Employed In The Armed Forces	UK Office of National Statistics	Armed Forces QS121EW	2011	-0.22
Percentage Households below 60% of Median Income	UK Office of National Statistics	Model Based Estimates	2010	0.74
Household is not deprived in any dimension	UK Office of National Statistics	Households by Deprivation Dimensions QS119EW	2011	-0.64
Household is deprived in 1 dimension	UK Office of National Statistics	Households by Deprivation Dimensions QS119EW	2011	0.33
Household is deprived in 2 dimensions	UK Office of National Statistics	Households by Deprivation Dimensions QS119EW	2011	0.5
Household is deprived in 3 dimensions	UK Office of National Statistics	Households by Deprivation Dimensions QS119EW	2011	0.74
Household is deprived in 4 dimensions	UK Office of National Statistics	Households by Deprivation Dimensions QS119EW	2011	0.83
Index of Multiple Deprivation	UK Office of National Statistics	Indices of Deprivation Local Area Summaries	2010	0.75
Income Deprivation	UK Office of National Statistics	Indices of Deprivation Local Area Summaries	2010	0.79
Employment Deprivation	UK Office of National Statistics	Indices of Deprivation Local Area Summaries	2010	0.56
Health Deprivation and Disability	UK Office of National Statistics	Indices of Deprivation Local Area Summaries	2010	0.57
Education Skills and Training Deprivation	UK Office of National Statistics	Indices of Deprivation Local Area Summaries	2010	0.35
Barriers to Housing and Services	UK Office of National Statistics	Indices of Deprivation Local Area Summaries	2010	0.53
Crime	UK Office of National Statistics	Indices of Deprivation Local Area Summaries	2010	0.74
Living Environment Deprivation	UK Office of National Statistics	Indices of Deprivation Local Area Summaries	2010	0.66
Claimants Receiving Both Housing Benefit and Council Tax Benefit	UK Office of National Statistics	Housing Benefit/Council Tax Benefit Claimants	2011	0.77
Claimants Receiving Housing Benefit Only	UK Office of National Statistics	Housing Benefit/Council Tax Benefit Claimants	2011	0.76
Claimants Receiving Council Tax Benefit Only	UK Office of National Statistics	Housing Benefit/Council Tax Benefit Claimants	2011	0.07
Housing Benefit Recipients in Social Rented Sector	UK Office of National Statistics	Housing Benefit/Council Tax Benefit Claimants	2011	0.74
Homeless	UK Office of National Statistics	Homelessness	2011	0.51
Overcrowding	UK Office of National Statistics	Indices of Deprivation: Overcrowding, Barriers to Housing and Services	2004	0.77
Violent crimes attributable to alcohol Definition: Violent crime rate per 1000 attributable to alcohol	Local Alcohol Profiles for England		2012	0.82
Sexual crimes attributable to alcohol Definition: Sexual crime rate per 1000 attributable to alcohol	Local Alcohol Profiles for England		2012	0.76
Binge drinking	Local Alcohol Profiles for England		2008	-0.1
Deaths from lung cancer	Local Tobacco Control Profiles		2013	0.54
Smoking Prevalence (IHS)	Local Tobacco Control Profiles		2013	0.44
Mental Health Service Users; Total	UK Office of National Statistics	Mental Health: Adults Accessing NHS Specialist Mental Health Services	2011	0.3
Mental Health Service Users; Males	Mental Health	Mental Health: Adults Accessing NHS Specialist Mental Health Services	2011	0.43
Mental Health Service Users; Females	Mental Health	Mental Health: Adults Accessing NHS Specialist Mental Health Services	2011	0.18
Average of Affordability Indicator	Indices of Deprivation	Indices of Deprivation: Barriers to Housing and Services	2010	0.34
Population Weighted Average Road Distance to a Post Office	Indices of Deprivation	Indices of Deprivation: Barriers to Housing and Services	2010	-0.69
Population Weighted Average Road Distance to a Food Store	Indices of Deprivation	Indices of Deprivation: Barriers to Housing and Services	2010	-0.59
Population Weighted Average Road Distance to GP Premises	Indices of Deprivation	Indices of Deprivation: Barriers to Housing and Services	2010	-0.66
Population Weighted Average Road Distance to a Primary School	Indices of Deprivation	Indices of Deprivation: Barriers to Housing and Services	2010	-0.69
Long-Term Unemployed	UK Office of National Statistics	Socio-economic Classifications KS611EW	2011	0.73

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IEP and Media Tenor have jointly analysed global television networks' coverage of peace and violence issues; it covers over 160,000 news items from 31 programs.



Pillars of Peace

Institute for Economics and Peace - October 2011 (updated January 2013)

Pillars of Peace is a new conceptual framework for understanding and describing the factors that create a peaceful society.



Holding G8 Accountability to Account

Jeffery Sachs, Earth Institute and Steve Killelea, IEP – September 2010

A critical analysis of the G8's internal accountability mechanism and the failure of the G8 to meet self determined deadlines for aid relief donations in Africa.



Available for download at
www.economicsandpeace.org



INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMICS & PEACE

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IEP has offices in Sydney and New York. It works with a wide range of partners internationally and collaborates with intergovernmental organizations on measuring and communicating the economic value of peace.

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