

LEICESTER, LEICESTERSHIRE
& RUTLAND

Preventing Serious Violence in the Night Time Economy

[#PreventionThroughConnection](#)

[@VR_Network](#)

www.violencereductionnetwork.co.uk

Introduction

Each year the Violence Reduction Network produces a Strategic Needs Assessment (SNA) which provides a comprehensive assessment of serious violence across Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland (LLR). The SNA draws upon local and national data to provide an overview of the nature, extent and geography of serious violence in LLR, along with the profile of perpetrators and victims of serious violence ([7](#)).

A key finding from the Strategic Needs Assessment is that over a quarter of public place violence across LLR is committed during the hours of 22:00 – 04:59. This briefing aims to provide partners with recent data on serious violence which occurs in the night time economy and more specifically, the nature, extent and distribution of this problem.

As the Violence Reduction Network has a particular focus on young people (under 25), the similarities and nuances in the offences committed by under 25 years old and by those over 25 years old will be highlighted throughout this report.

The local definition of serious violence used within this briefing is the one adopted by the VRN partnership following the commencement of the Serious Violence Duty (2023):

“Violence resulting in significant physical injury and other serious harm, including sexual violence. Violence may be committed with or without weapons, and may take place in domestic or public places”

The offence types which will be focused on through this report are:

- Homicide
- Robbery of Personal Property
- Robbery of Business Property
- Arson
- Violence with Injury
- Public Disorder

Nature and Extent of Serious Violence in the Night Time Economy

In 2023, the volume of offences which took place between 10pm – 5am decreased by 11.5%, when compared to the previous year (January – December 2022).

When looking at the nature of serious violence in the night-time economy (NTE), data shows that the majority of offences were within the ‘Assault with Injury’ group and is mostly made up of ABH (actual bodily harm) offences. It should be noted that ABH is a less serious offence within the ‘Assault with Injury’ group and typically involves less serious injury. This is followed by ‘Affray/Offences against the State’ making up almost a quarter, and ‘Robbery of Personal Property’ making up 5.7% of offences during these hours.

Specifically for under 25s, ‘Assault with Intent to Cause Serious Harm’ offences are reported in a greater proportion than seen in the data for all ages, indicating that under 25s are more likely to be involved in a higher-harm offence.

Offence	All ages	Under 25s
Assault with Injury	64.1%	59.9%
Affray / Offences Against State	23.4%	24.5%
Robbery of Personal Property	5.7%	6.1%
Assault with Intent to Cause Serious Harm	4.5%	6.3%

Table 1: Proportion of serious violence offences in public places between 2200 – 0459hrs involving all ages and suspect/offenders aged under 25 by offence group (January – December 2023) across LLR (Source: Leicestershire Police)

Timing of Serious Violence in the Night Time Economy

Month of the Year

The chart below shows the rate of public-place serious violence committed between 22:00-04:59 in 2023. The data shows each cohort follows a similar trend of peaks and troughs, with the cohorts having the most similar rates in February, where rates for under 25s peaked. Rates per 1000 for all ages peaked in October.

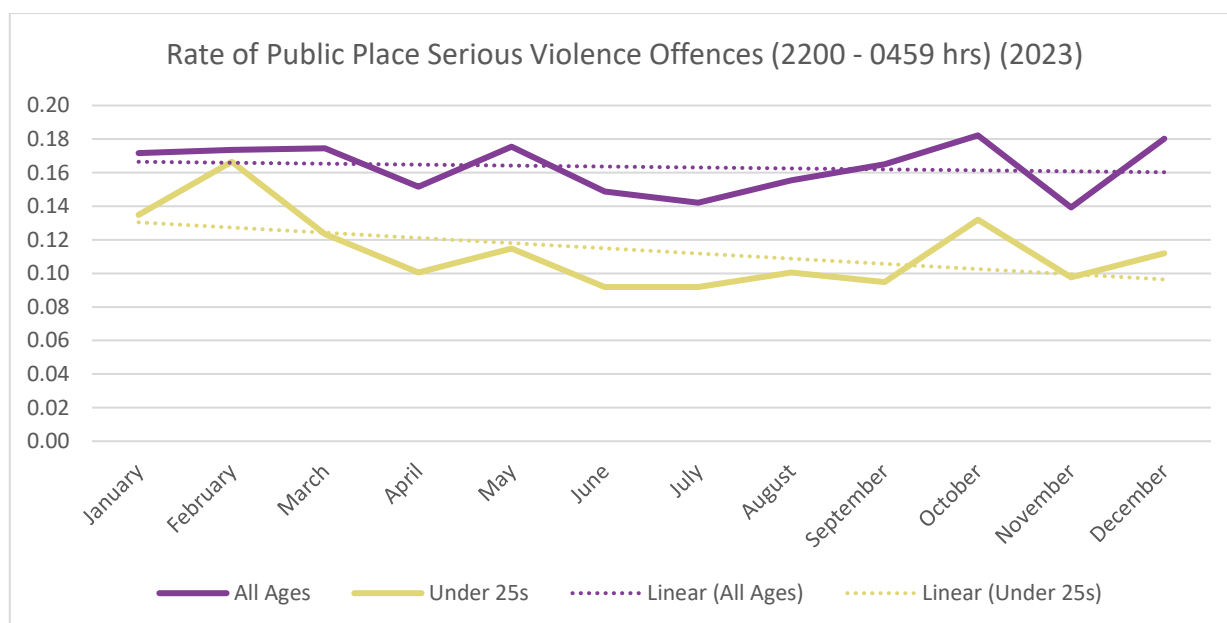


Figure 1: Rate of serious violence offences in public places between 2200 – 0459hrs (January – December 2023) across LLR (Source: Leicestershire Police)

Day of the Week

For both cohorts, the data shows a greater distribution across the weekend, starting to increase on Friday and peaking on Saturday and Sunday. The combined total of public-place serious violence from Friday to Sunday makes up approximately 70% of the total number of offences committed from Monday to Sunday.

Combining the hour of the day and day of the week, the greatest volume of reported offences occurred between 22:00 Saturday night through to 03:59 Sunday morning, with 23:00 on a Friday Night through to 01:59 on a Saturday morning having comparable rates. For under 25s, the highest rates are between 01:00 and 02:59 on Sunday mornings.

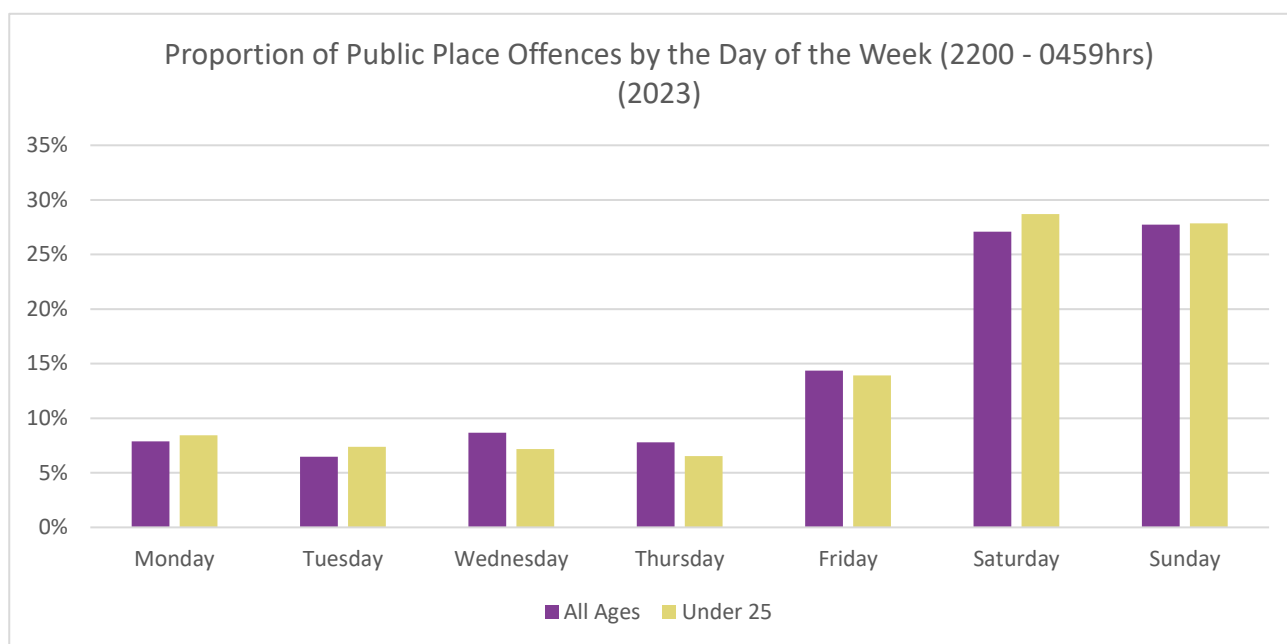


Figure 2: Proportion of serious violence offences in public places between 2200 – 0459hrs involving all ages and suspect/offenders aged under 25 by day of the week (January – December 2023) across LLR (Source: Leicestershire Police)

Similar trends are observed with local health data:

- A&E attendances for violence-related injuries have a higher rate between the hours of 21:00-21:59.
- Ambulance data reveals a peak between the hours of 22:00-22:59 for assault-related callouts with a general increase in rates between 19:00-00:59.

Distribution of Serious Violence in the Night Time Economy

In terms of where serious violence within the NTE is most likely to take place, Central Leicester makes up the majority public-place serious violence with approximately 40% of all offences at this time of day across LLR. This is followed by Charnwood and West Leicester.

Neighbourhood Policing Area	All Ages	Under 25s
Central Leicester	36.9%	40.0%
Charnwood	12.6%	11.3%
West Leicester	9.6%	10.6%
Hinckley & Blaby	8.7%	7.1%
East Leicester	8.5%	6.4%
North West Leicestershire	8.0%	7.7%
Harborough and Wigston	6.7%	7.3%
Melton and Rutland	5.0%	4.4%
South Leicester	4.1%	5.3%

Table 2: Proportion of serious violence offences in public places between 2200 – 0459hrs involving all ages and suspect/offenders aged under 25 by offence location (January – December 2023) across LLR (Source: Leicestershire Police)

Profile of Perpetrators and Victims of Serious Violence in the Night Time Economy

Police data reveals that those aged 20-24 are most at risk of being a victim of public-place serious violence across LLR between 2200 – 0459. The next age group most at risk is those aged 25-29. Analysing the individual ages reveals the greatest proportion of victims at this time of day are aged between 18-22, with the peak being 18 years old.

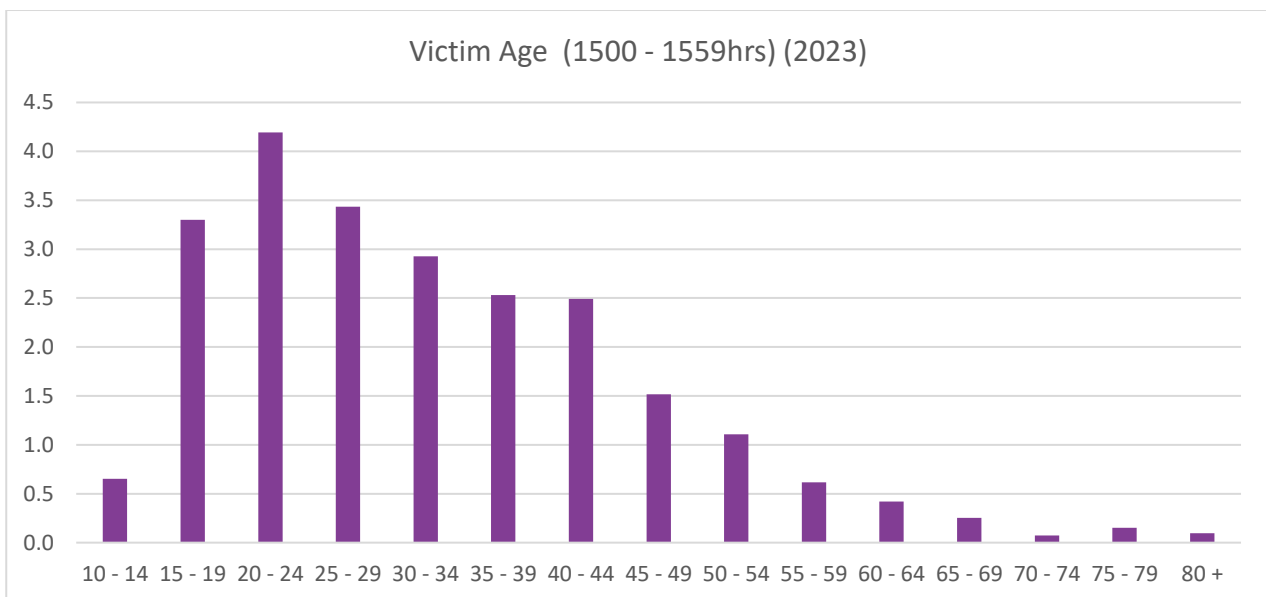


Figure 3: Rate (per 1000 population) of victims by age group (at date of offence) for serious violence offences committed between 2200 – 0459hrs in public places across LLR (January – December 2023) (Source: Leicestershire Police)

The chart below shows the ages of suspected perpetrators and identifies 25-29 as the peak age group, closely followed by 20-24. Looking at the individual ages, the greatest proportion of suspected perpetrators are aged 18, followed by 20, with fluctuating figures per age between 17-29.

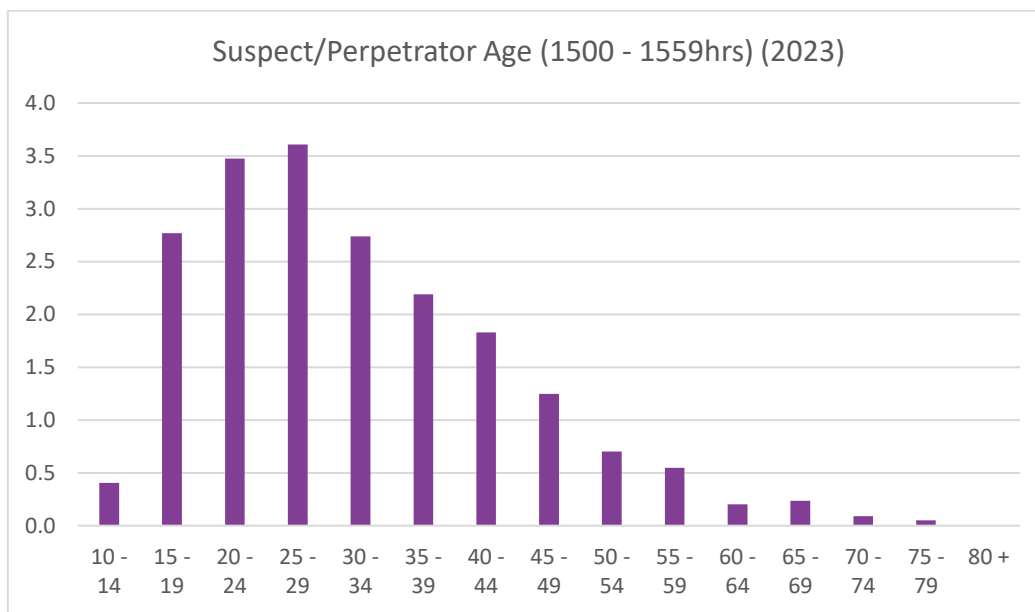


Figure 4: Rate (per 1000 population) of suspected perpetrators by age group (at date of offence) for serious violence offences committed 2200 – 0459hrs in public places across LLR (January – December 2023) (Source: Leicestershire Police)

The table below shows the proportion of males and females for victims and suspects/offenders. Both cohorts show males making up the majority, but a greater proportion of males are committing offences compared to being the victim. It should also be noted that females make up a significant minority of both cohorts. Similar proportions are also noted when looking at individuals aged under 25.

Gender	Victims (All Ages)	Suspects/Offenders (All Ages)
Male	67.6%	79.7%
Female	32.4%	20.3%

Table 3: Proportion of victims and suspected perpetrators by gender for serious violence offences committed between 2200 – 0459hrs in public places across LLR (January – December 2023) (Source: Leicestershire Police)

Table 4 below provides a breakdown of the areas where victims and suspects/offenders who are involved in public-place serious violence within the NTE. Both cohorts report similar proportions across each area with West Leicester, Charnwood, and Hinckley and Blaby being in the top three areas. For victims, Charnwood and West Leicester make up the greatest proportion (16.2%) and for suspects/offenders, the greatest proportion reside in West Leicester (20.5%).

Neighbourhood Policing Area (Residency)	Victims (All Ages)	Suspects/Offenders (All Ages)
Charnwood	16.2%	17.8%
West Leicester	16.2%	20.5%
Hinckley and Blaby	13.0%	15.6%
East Leicester	12.1%	13.1%
Harborough and Wigston	10.8%	10.3%

Neighbourhood Policing Area (Residency)	Victims (All Ages)	Suspects/Offenders (All Ages)
North West Leicestershire	10.8%	10.2%
Central Leicester	9.8%	8.3%
South Leicester	6.9%	10.3%
Melton and Rutland	5.6%	6.1%

Table 4: Proportion of victims and suspected perpetrators by residency (Neighbourhood Policing Area) for serious violence offences committed between 2200 – 0459hrs in public places across LLR (January – December 2023) (Source: Leicestershire Police)

Preventing serious violence in the NTE

Implementing high quality, evidenced-based interventions is key to preventing and reducing serious violence. There is a growing body of evidence on effective interventions and approaches for tackling serious violence within the NTE and this section provides an overview of the programmes which show most promise.

The Causes of Serious Violence in the NTE and Interventions which Tackle Them

There is no single cause of serious violence but rather it arises from a complex interplay between a wide range of risk factors operating within and across individual, relationship, community and societal domains. While many of the drivers for serious violence within the NTE overlap with other forms of violence, there are some factors which are specific to the NTE setting.

Graham (2009) developed a situational crime prevention model (see Figure 6) to explain the causes of serious violence within the NTE and to highlight the potential opportunities for prevention activity.

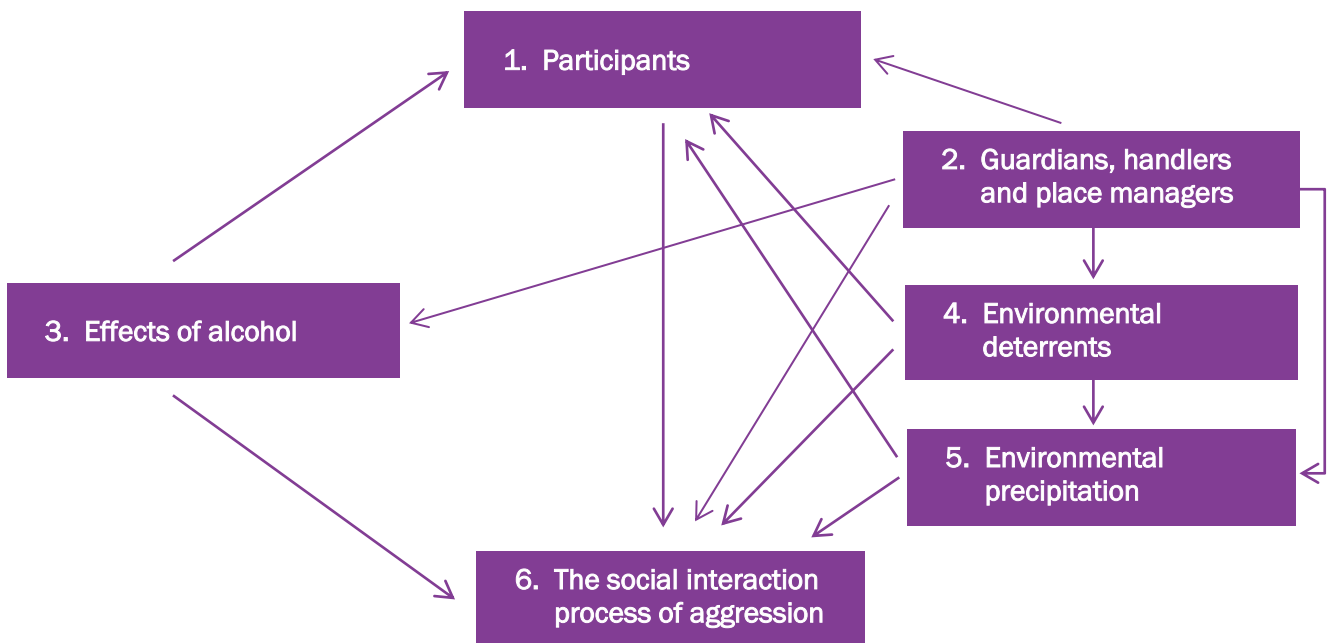


Figure 6: A situational crime prevention model for preventing alcohol-related violence (Graham, 2009)

The following provides a brief overview of the six conditions which can increase the risk of serious violence in the NTE. It also includes a number of evidence-informed approaches and interventions which can mitigate these situational factors and reduce the likelihood of serious violence taking place.

1. Willing and Unwilling Participants

One of key theories which seeks to explain offending is Routine Activities Theory which was developed by Cohen and Felson (1979). This theory argues that crime occurs when there is a coming together of a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a guardian to prevent a crime occurring.

It could be argued that the NTE as a social context, has a higher proportion of 'motivated offenders' with Graham (2009:103) suggesting that there are more parties who are 'equally willing to engage in aggression' (Graham, 2009:103). Most often these are young males (as suggested by the data

above), who can accept and endorse serious violence within the NTE as a result of 'male honour, face saving, group loyalty, and fighting for fun' (Graham and Wells, 2003:560).

2. Guardians, Handlers and Place Managers

As highlighted in the visual above, there are a number of actors within the NTE whose actions or inaction is thought to facilitate or inhibit serious violence. Building on the Routine Activities Theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979), the absence of an external deterring actor can encourage serious violence within the NTE. In the context of NTE, these actors and the potential role they can play in preventing violence are:



Figure 7: Guardians, Handlers and Place Managers – from the Situational Crime Prevention Model for Preventing Alcohol-Related Violence (Graham, 2009)

Research has shown that those licenced premises which do not prioritise crime and violence prevention activity – such as proactive venue maintenance and strict adherence to licensing responsibilities – often have high levels of violence (Burgason *et al.*, 2017).

Effective interventions which build upon this theory include bystander training for staff working within the NTE. For example, a recent evaluation of the 'Good Night Out Campaign', which involves the delivery of training to licensed premises, found that staff reported improved knowledge on sexual harassment and violence and confident levels in intervening when they observed incidents.

Find out more about the 'Good Night Out Campaign'

Similarly, a visible police presence is also thought to have a positive effect on reducing violence, working best when targeting hot spots and specific times, with an optimal period of presence being around 11-15 minutes (Dau *et al.*, 2021).

Hot spots policing

Locations with higher levels of crime and violence are known as 'hot spots'. Hot spots tend to form in small locations such as sections of streets or parks, areas around train stations, shops, pubs or clubs. Research shows that 58% of all crime happens in the top 10% of places with the most serious crime. Hot spots policing identifies locations where crime is most concentrated and focuses policing resources and activities on them. There are two main approaches to policing hot spots:

- Problem-oriented policing (POP), which aims to understand the root causes of crime in hot spot locations. It involves designing and implementing tailored interventions to reduce crime.
- Increased police presence, which aims to deter offenders from committing crimes in hot spot areas by increasing either the number of visits or the amount of time police officers spend in the hot spots.

An example of a project which sought to increase uniformed and non-uniformed officers to tackle perpetrators of VAWG in the NTE can be accessed [here](#).

FIND OUT MORE

Research suggests that hot spots policing can reduce violence crime by 14%, overall offending by 17%, drug offences by 30% and property crime by 16%.

Behaviour change and active bystander campaign, Walk Away, has also been piloted in Leicestershire's night-time economy, with promising initial evaluation findings and has since adopted by forces across the UK to share the campaign's message nationally [Walk Away | Leicestershire Police \(leics.police.uk\)](https://www.leics.police.uk/walk-away).

Leicestershire Police's innovative use of third-sector non-uniformed street violence prevention patrols sees outreach youth workers concentrate their activity on young people under twenty-five years of age in the night-time economy. Preliminary analysis has reported a reduction in both the frequency and severity of crime (Sherman, Neyroud and Neyroud, 2016).

3. & 4. Environmental Deterrents and Precipitators of Aggression

Another key criminological theory which has helped to explain offending is Situational Crime Prevention (Clarke, 1995) which underpins points 3 and 4 in Graham's (2009) model. This theory suggests that the ways in which public spaces are designed and managed can exacerbate or inhibit the commission of crime including violence.

Graham (2009) and Wortley (2001) highlight a number of considerations for the design and management of NTE environments which could reduce serious violence:

1. Increasing the perceived risk of being caught and punished
 - Increased or visible CCTV
 - Sufficient numbers of staff to consistently enforce rules
2. Making crime less rewarding
 - Removing or barring those who cause harm
3. Making modifications or effectively managing situations to reduce the potential for conflict (e.g. avoiding bumping, spilled drinks and other unwanted contacts)
 - Limiting opportunities for and dispersing crowding (e.g. at bars, taxi ranks or takeaways)
 - Improving ventilation
 - Reducing vertical drinking
 - Reducing activities which encourage competition (e.g. playing pool)
 - Reducing noise levels
 - Improving street lighting
 - Pedestrianising highstreets
 - Investing in street-based entertainment (e.g. street performers)

5. Alcohol

There are two key ways in which alcohol can act as a driver for serious violence within the NTE:

Pharmacological Effects

While drinking does not result in violence-related behaviour for the majority, it does increase the risk of an individual becoming involved in serious violence in the NTE (Wiesmann *et al.*, 2020). This is often compounded by personal characteristics such as irritability or previous involvement in serious violence (Giancola, 2002; Homel and Tomsen, 1992).

Research has shown that alcohol has a pharmacological effect on 'cognitive, affective and behavioural functioning' (Miller *et al.*, 2016:2). The Alcohol Myopia Theory (Steele and Josephs, 1990) argues that alcohol narrows attentional focus on to salient cues and reduces a person's capacity to process meaning from information (Parrott and Eckhardt, 2018). This can lead to distorting 'benign social signals' into threatening ones (Miczek *et al.*, 2015:97) and 'liquid courage'.

However, this is also why bystander approaches which seek to distract those who are intoxicated can be effective because it shifts the 'tunnel-vision' onto inhibitory cues (e.g. a friend/handler suggesting that they go outside for a cigarette) (Parrott and Eckhardt, 2018).

Drinking Patterns and Availability

Binge-drinking is associated with a higher prevalence of violence (Richardson and Budd, 2006). However, it is those who pre-drink who are most at risk of being violent, with price disparities between venues and off-licenses having a significant effect (Hughes *et al.* 2007). This is compounded by a culture of British 'determined drunkenness', whereby intoxication is 'socially accepted, if not expected' (Cabinet Office, 2004:23).

Alcohol availability correlates with higher rates of serious violence (Resko *et al.*, 2010). Research has highlighted that the most deprived 20% of postcodes have around three times as many outlets selling alcohol within walking distance (Ashton *et al.*, 2017). There is some evidence to suggest that reducing trading hours and increasing alcohol cost have been found to reduce violence (Wilkinson, Livingston and Room, 2016). However, despite international support for reduced alcohol trading hours resulting in violence reductions, a four-year Manchester-based study found that changes in temporal alcohol availability had no relation to changes in violence (Humphreys and Eisner, 2014).

Intervention: Reducing the Strength of Alcohol

One intervention which involved reducing the strength of alcohol has been found to lead to reductions in assaults, ASB, and alcohol-related hospital admissions. Alcohol was limited after midnight at which point no drinks over 3.3% ABV can be sold, essentially ruling out all wines and spirits, and most beers.

An evaluation of the intervention found that alcohol-related serious violence for the period had a 35% reduction compared to the previous year. An additional positive outcome was that customers were leaving venues at a lower level of intoxication, resulting in greater awareness of their actions and behaviour which increased their likelihood of getting home safely.



Intervention: Breathalysers

One initiative that has been effective in targeting both the pharmacological effects of intoxication and the drinking patterns and availability of alcohol across the UK has been the use of handheld breathalysers by NTE venue door staff.

The #RU2drunk campaign, a collaborative effort from Dorset Police, the OPCC, and Weymouth BID, is an example of this initiative which involved giving breathalysers to door staff to identify intoxicated individuals above a prescribed level set by each venue. This was accompanied by a media campaign, with information and posters distributed around the local area, via local radio, and via social media.

Results from two studies found:

- Violence dropped by 22.5% in the town overall and 39% in the NTE area.
- Two-thirds of survey participants felt that the initiative made them feel safer in the NTE
- Over 77% of survey participants supported the roll-out of the initiative
- Door staff found that customers were calmer when faced with a breathalyser than just door staff making independent judgements
- Door staff felt that breathalysers combatted the sense of injustice many customers feel about being questioned at venue entrances, with readings being 'neutral' and definitive

(Boyd, Farrimond and Ralph, 2018)

6. The Social Interaction Process of Aggression

Another key cause of serious violence in the NTE as suggested by Graham's (2009) model is the social interaction process of aggression which is based upon the Social Interactionist Theory. This theory argues that aggression is not a single behaviour, 'but a culmination of a social process' whereby an offender perceives an insult, acts on it, and 'dominance is asserted' (Graham, 2009:105). This is where social and gendered norms can be especially influential, particularly in relation to the expectation that males must adopt stereotypically aggressive behaviours.

The NTE also makes it more likely that third parties (e.g. friends) will become involved. While third party involvement has the potential to exacerbate the altercation, it can also result in de-escalation through bystander intervention. Research has found de-escalating conflict works most effectively when it's adapted to the specific interactions of the situation at hand, rather than applying a blanket approach to all situations (Ejbye-Ernst, Lindegaard and Bernasco, 2022).

Other Interventions and Approaches

This report has highlighted a number of interventions and approaches where there is evidence to suggest that could be effective at reducing serious violence in the NTE. Importantly, evidence suggests that it is the way that these interventions are implemented which will give them the best chance of succeeding. Evidence from a recent systematic review (McGuire *et al.*, 2020; Jones *et al.*, 2011) found that the most effective programmes involved engagement with stakeholders – such as license holders – combined with enforcement where the stakeholders share the same objectives as the police.

The most effective partnership programmes included components such as stricter enforcement of licensing laws, awareness-raising campaigns, training for venue staff, and engagement with licensees to encourage considerations of environment design and management.

A three-year evaluation of the Stockholm Prevents Alcohol and Drug Problems (STAD) model (Quigg et al., 2019) which incorporated similar components, found that there is potential for the effective transfer of the model to different drinking settings (e.g. home drinking and public drinking environments). It was also found to be associated with addressing factors that promote the harmful use of alcohol.

Finally, community mobilisation was found to be central to the successful development and implementation of the interventions. For a discussion of how to effectively engage communities see the article by Ure et al (2021).

The table below provides an overview of other commonly used approaches and interventions to prevent and reduce serious violence in the NTE, along with whether there is evidence to support their effectiveness. The information below is taken from the [College of Policing's review](#).

Multi-level community interventions are underpinned by strong evidence

How can communities influence alcohol licensing at a local level?

Name	Description of Intervention	Effectiveness
Street Pastors	Street pastors are church-run and provide outreach service to users of the night-time economy, often in partnership with the police. Research on street pastors and other citizen patrol models has tended to focus on implementation issues, so their effectiveness in reducing crime overall is unknown, although there is some limited evidence that they improve perceptions of safety (Swann et al., 2015).	Limited Evidence
Drinkaware Crew	The Drinkaware Crew are specially trained staff who work in pubs, bars and clubs to reduce drunken anti-social behaviour among those between 18 and 24 years old. They are employed by venues to identify vulnerable individuals within the venue(s) and promote a positive atmosphere. An evaluation of the Drinkaware Crew initiative and a version adapted to a music festival context suggests that the impact did not reduce crime within the venues studied (Garius et al., 2020). However, there were limitations with the data, as 'lower-level' sexual crime is especially subject to under-reporting and recording practices (Office for National Statistics, 2017). It was not possible to draw final conclusions in relation to the impact of the Drinkaware Crew initiative, but the potential for impact was evident.	Limited Evidence
Bar Staff Training	While evaluations have shown no evidence of bar staff training having an impact on responsible serving or on alcohol consumption (Jones et al.,	Moderate Evidence

Name	Description of Intervention	Effectiveness
	2011), the 'Safer Bars' scheme (Graham <i>et al.</i> , 2004) found that staff training using the three-hour training (see Braun <i>et al.</i> , 2000) to prevent and de-escalate bar-room violence, as well as identifying environmental risk factors, had a modest effect on reducing aggression. However, the effect was lower when there was a high turnover of managers and of door and security staff.	
Publicity Campaigns	<p>Many publicity campaigns to reduce unwanted sexual behaviour and sexual violence in the night-time economy have been aimed at giving safety messages to women to reduce their risk and have been criticised as putting the responsibility for sexual violence purely onto women (Carline <i>et al.</i>, 2017).</p> <p>There are some examples of campaigns targeted at men and boys, such as the 2008 Rape Crisis Scotland outdoor publicity campaign, '<u>This is not an invitation to rape me</u>'. While an evaluation found it had good awareness, there is no evaluation of its impact on attitudes or behaviours.</p>	Untested

References

- Ashton, K., Janine, R., Parry Williams, L. and Green, L. (2017) 'Developing a framework for managing the night-time economy in Wales: a Health Impact Assessment approach', *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 36(1), pp. 81-89.
- Boyd, K., Farrimond, H. and Ralph, N. (2018) 'The impact of breathalysers on violence and attitudes in the night-time economy', *European Journal of Criminology*, 15(5), pp. 609-631.
- Burgason, K., Drawve, G., Brown, T. and Eassey, J. (2017) 'Close only counts in alcohol and violence: Controlling violence near late-night alcohol establishments using a routine activities approach', *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 50, pp. 62-68.
- Cabinet Office (2004) *Alcohol Harm Reduction Strategy for England*. Available at: https://www.fai.org/sites/default/files/documents/alcoholhar_pdf.pdf (Accessed: 11 August 2022).
- Clarke, R. (1995) 'Situational Crime Prevention', *Crime and Justice*, 19, pp. 91-150.
- Cohen, L., and Felson, M. (1979) 'Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach', *American Sociological Review*, 44(4), pp. 588-608.
- Dau, P., Vandeviver, C., Dewinter, M., Witlox, F. and Vander Beken, T. (2021) 'Policing Directions: a Systematic Review on the Effectiveness of Police Presence', *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, pp. 1-35.
- Ejbye-Ernst, P., Lindegaard, M. & Bernasco, W. (2022) 'How to stop a fight—A qualitative video analysis of how third-parties de-escalate real-life interpersonal conflicts in public', *Psychology of Violence*, 12(2), pp. 84-94.
- Giancola, P. (2002) 'Irritability, acute alcohol consumption and aggressive behaviour in men and women', *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 68(3), pp. 263-274.

- Graham, K. and Wells, S. (2003) ‘‘Somebody's Gonna Get Their Head Kicked in Tonight!’ Aggression Among Young Males in Bars—A Question of Values?’, *The British Journal of Criminology*, 43(3), pp. 546-566.
- Graham, K. (2009) ‘They fight because we let them! Applying a situational crime prevention model to barroom violence’, *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 28(2), pp. 103-109.
- Hemel, R. and Hemel, P. (2012) ‘Implementing Crime Prevention: Good Governance and a Science of Implementation’, in Farrington, D. and Welsh, B. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook for Crime Prevention*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 423-445.
- Hughes, K., Anderson, Z., Morleo, M. and Bellis, M. (2007) ‘Alcohol, nightlife and violence: the relative contributions of drinking before and during nights out to negative health and criminal justice outcomes’, *Addiction*, 103(1), pp. 60-65.
- Humphreys, D. and Eisner, M. (2014) ‘Do flexible alcohol trading hours reduce violence? A theory-based natural experiment in alcohol policy’, *Social Science and Medicine*, 102, pp. 1-9.
- Laub, J. H., Sampson RJ. (1993), Turning points in the life course: Why change matters to the study of crime. *Criminology*. 31, 301–325.
- Miczek, K., DeBold, J., Hwa, L., Newman, E. and de Almeida, M. (2015) ‘Alcohol and violence: neuropeptidergic modulation of monoamine systems’, *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1349, pp. 96-118.
- Miller, P., Raimondo, B., Morgan, A., Mayshak, R., Cox, E., Coomber, K., ... Voce, I. (2016) *Drug and Alcohol intoxication and Subsequent Harm in night-time Entertainment Districts*. Available at: <https://www.aic.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-05/monograph-67.pdf> (Accessed: 22 July 2022).
- Office for National Statistics (2020) *Nature of crime: violence*. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/natureofcrimetab esviolence> (Accessed: 02 August 2022).
- Parrott, D. and Eckhardt, C. (2018) ‘Effects of alcohol on human aggression’, *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 19, pp. 1-5.
- Resko, S., Walton, M., Bingham, R., Shope, J., Zimmerman, M., Chermack, S., ... Cunningham, R. (2010) ‘Alcohol Availability and Violence among Inner-City Adolescents: A Multi-Level Analysis of the Role of Alcohol Outlet Density’, *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 46, pp. 253-262.
- Richardson, A. and Budd, T. (2006) ‘Young adults, alcohol, crime and disorder’, *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 13(1), pp. 5-16.
- Sherman, L., Neyroud, P. W., & Neyroud, E. (2016). The Cambridge Crime Harm Index : Measuring Total Harm from Crime Based on Sentencing Guidelines. *Policing*, 10(3), 171–183.
- Steele, C. and Josephs, R. (1990) ‘Alcohol myopia: its prized and dangerous effects’, *American Psychologist*, 45, pp. 921-933.
- Wieshmann, H., Davies, M., Sugg, O., Davis, S. and Ruda, S. (2020) *Violence in London: What We Know and How to Respond*. Available at: <https://www.bi.team/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/BIT-London-Violence-Reduction.pdf> (Accessed: 25 July 2022).
- Wilkinson, C., Livingston, M. and Room, R. (2016) ‘Impacts of changes to trading hours of liquor licences on alcohol-related harm: a systematic review 2005-2015’, *Public Health Research and Practice*, 26(4), pp. 1-7.
- Wortley, R. (2001) ‘A Classification of Techniques for Controlling Situational Precipitators of Crime’, *Security Journal*, 14, pp. 63-82.