UK Chinese People's Experiences of Racially Motivated Crimes: A pilot study in West Yorkshire and Humberside

ADAMSON, Sue and COLE, Bankole

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UK Chinese People's Experiences of Racially Motivated Crimes
A Pilot Study in West Yorkshire and Humberside

Sue Adamson and Bankole Cole

Background

An ERSC-funded research into the help seeking behaviour of UK Chinese (Chan, Bowitt, Cole and Somerville, 2004) revealed that one of the main concerns of Chinese people in the UK is the fear of racial harassment and attacks. More importantly, many of the respondents in the study said that they are less likely to report their victimisation to the police but would seek other forms of support, for example, from friends, Chinese organisations and families. At the invitation of UK Chinese Organisations, the findings of this research were presented at Westminster, to a group of MPs and representatives of Chinese communities, on May 19, 2004. (The meeting was chaired by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Race Equality, Community Policy and Civil Renewal, Fiona Mactaggart, MP). At that meeting, the issue of racial harassment of Chinese people in the UK was raised again and supported by graphic examples of personal experiences by delegates. Of particular concern was the fact that those who reported their victimisation to the police were not satisfied with the responses and treatment that they received. In a particular case, the victims themselves became the target of police criminal investigation. The delegates were worried about police attitude towards Chinese people, especially since the Morecambe Bay incident.

Chinese people in the UK are, indeed, a minority within minorities. Public perception of UK Chinese population is that of an affluent and generally law-abiding group. This may be a misconception. An obvious misconception, however, is the view that UK Chinese people are a homogeneous group. The 2001 census recorded a total of 156,900 Chinese people living in the UK. Around 26% of this group is UK-born, with almost as many again from Hong Kong. Others come from Malaysia, Vietnam, Singapore, Mainland China and other parts of the world.

The majority of studies on racist crimes in the UK had been on the experiences of the Black African-Caribbean population. In recent years, there has been a significant shift to the experiences of people of South Asian origins, and refugees and asylum seekers from Eastern European and Middle-Eastern countries. In UK official crime statistics, the small numbers of Chinese offenders and victims are classified under an "Other" category, with other small minorities and those whose ethnic origins are unknown. This makes it difficult to appreciate the true nature of the victimisation of Chinese people or the extent of their criminality. No study has yet singled out Chinese people and explored their experiences either as victims or offenders in the UK criminal justice system. The bulk of the studies on Chinese people in the UK had been on their experiences of discrimination and marginalisation, for example, with regard to access to health and welfare provisions.

This research aims to ascertain the nature and extent of crimes committed in West Yorkshire and Humberside where the offenders or victims were Chinese. Particular emphasis is on those offences recorded by the police as racially-motivated.

The specific issues explored include:

1. The nature and extent of crimes committed against Chinese people in the selected regions from the year 2000 to present day.
2. The proportion of the offences that are recorded as racially motivated.
3. Who the perpetrators of the offences were and the characteristics of the victims.
4. Offences where the perpetrators themselves were Chinese and who the victims were.
5. An analysis of the actions taken by the police in respect of the offences classified as racially motivated.

The National Picture

At the 2001 Census about 91% of the population of England and Wales was White. Chinese population formed only 0.4% of the total while the major Census group 'Chinese and Other ethnic group' was 0.9%. Although the Chinese population, like other minorities, is concentrated in London, it forms more than 0.2% in all the English regions. The Chinese population is increasing, with a 56% increase for England between 1991 and 2001 but a variation across the regions from 90% in the South West to only 34% in the North East (Adamson et al 2005).

Since peaking in 1995 the British Crime Survey has shown that crime rates in Britain have fallen by 44% and the risk of being a victim has fallen from 40% to 24% (Nicholas et al 2005). Recorded crime fell from 1992 to 1998/9 when recording practices changed, thereafter rising again until 2003/4. There has been a 6% decrease in the last year to 2004/5. However the total number of racist incidents recorded by the police rose from just over 10,000 in 1996/7 to about 50,000 in 2001/2. This rise is thought to have been the result of encouragement by all agencies and community groups of better reporting by victims and better recording by the police rather than an actual rise in the number of incidents (Barclay et al 2005). After an 11 % fall in 2002/3 racist incidents continued to rise by 9.7% to 52,694 in 2003/4. The 2003/4 BCS, however, shows that the number of victims of racist attacks remained the same as in 2002/3 but with this figure at 206,000 there is still a wide gap between reporting and experience of such incidents. The police recorded 35,022 racially or religiously aggravated offences in 2003/4, an increase of 13% from the previous year (Home Office 2004a). Of this total 59% were harassment, 16% criminal damage, 14% other wounding and 11% common assault. Overall about one third of both racially aggravated and non racially aggravated offences were cleared up.

Ethnic monitoring in the Criminal Justice system varies in recording methods and classification systems between agencies. Since 1 April 2003, a standard system of recording using self classification into the 16 categories used in the 2001 Census, allows direct comparisons with that data. However data is generally presented in the main Census categories of White, Mixed, Black, Asian and Other. In addition, police forces have found the collection of self classification ethnicity from suspects difficult

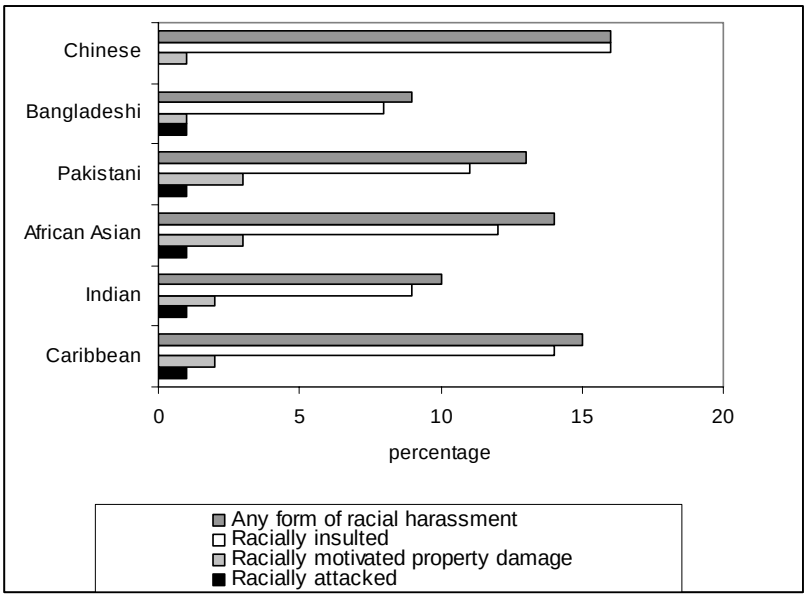
with the result that a high proportion is missing (Barclay et al 2005). The police have therefore continued to rely on police visual assessments of ethnicity and police forces vary in the way in which they record ethnicity. Presentation of police data on ethnicity is nationally presented in the four broad groups Asian, Black, White and Other. This means that there is a lack of information on the experience of smaller ethnic groups. Crime data recorded against Chinese victims or with Chinese offenders is included within the 'Other' category.

The BCS 2003/04 shows that 'Other' groups have the lowest levels of risk of crime victimisation with 21% victimised once or more compared to 26% for White groups and 39 % for those of mixed heritage (Barclay et al 2005). These differences in risk may be partly related to differences in demographic composition between ethnic groups rather than to ethnicity itself. Demographic factors such as income and social class have been shown to relate to crime risk (Hearnden & Hough 2004). The levels of risk for people from 'Chinese and other ethnic groups' fell markedly between 2002/3 and 2003/4 (Home Office 2004a).

The BCS asks all crime victims whether they thought that the incident was racially motivated. Risks of racially motivated victimisation were higher for all BME groups than for white people. In the 2002/3 BCS, 1% of white people were victims of racially motivated crime compared with 2% for Black and Other ethnic groups, 3% of Asians and 4% of those of mixed ethnicity (Hearnden and Hough 2004). 41% of Chinese and other ethnic groups were likely to report the incident, more than other Black and Mixed groups and similar to Asians. There is some evidence that racial harassment may be a greater problem than shown by the BCS. The fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities in 1994 provided a first measure of 'low level' racial harassment and found that 16% of Chinese people had been subject to some form of racial harassment in the past year, more than other ethnic minority groups (Virdee 1997). With a 2001 Census Chinese population of 226,948, extrapolation suggests that 36,000 Chinese people may experience racial harassment in these terms in a year. Chan et al (2004) found in their study of Chinese people in four study areas that a slightly smaller proportion of 12% had been racially harassed or attacked. There is evidence for a similar scale internationally. Lien (2004) found that 14% of respondents to a survey of Chinese in Los Angeles and San Francisco indicated that they had been verbally or physically abused or had property damaged for racial reasons. While these incidents may not be individually major in effect, when they are linked together as a series they may create a climate of insecurity among the victims (Virdee 1997).

Research has shown (Maynard and Read 1997, Clark and Moody 2002, Jarman 2002) that most racist incidents are damage to property or verbal harassment. Figure 1 shows that types of incident vary by ethnic group (Virdee 1997). Incidents against Chinese are generally racial insults and some property damage rather than racial attacks. Chan et al (2004) also found that the most common form of racial harassment towards Chinese people was language abuse by people on the street. Virdee (1997) showed that besides varying with ethnic group, experience of racial harassment differs by gender, age and socioeconomic background. In regard to Chinese victims, his research found more men (19%) than women (14%), more aged under 45 (18%) than over (12%) and more non-manual workers (18%) than manual (10%).

Figure 1 Types of racial incident by ethnic group (Source Virdee 1997)



Respondents to both the BCS and the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities have given as their reason for regarding an attack or property damage as being racially motivated the accompanying verbal abuse. However one quarter of respondents to the latter survey said that they had 'assumed the incident was racial' (Virdee 1997 P 267). In effect the victim made a subjective judgement based on a variety of factors which might include personal histories and previous experience of racism by themselves or families and friends.

Sibbit (1997) has said that perpetrators of racial harassment are of all ages, of both genders and often act together. Virdee's research provided detailed indications of the type of person who perpetrates acts of racial violence and harassment although only three quarters of those who reported being subject to racially motivated property damage saw the perpetrator. Table 1 shows that racial attacks and insults were most commonly by complete strangers but that property damage was most often by neighbours. More recent work by Mason (2005) suggests that perpetrators may not be complete strangers but recognised as locals while not being personally known. This work, however, may not have included acts against Chinese people. In both Virdee's and Mason's work the majority of perpetrators were male, particularly for racial attacks. Virdee found age of perpetrator varied with three quarters under 20 for property damage, nearly half 20-29 for racial attacks and racial insults more evenly spread across age groups. Chan et al (2004) found that for abuse of Chinese people on the streets and attacks on Chinese take aways, children and young people were the perpetrators in more than 40% of cases. Virdee showed that considerable numbers of incidents took place at work, and other research has confirmed this. Bowling (1998) describes racially motivated property damage and abuse of a Chinese working at a Chinese fish and chip shop, Chan et al (2004) refer to attacks at Chinese takeaways and Law (2004) to an individual selling his takeaway because of racial harassment and property damage. The employment characteristics of Chinese people may here be relevant. Chinese are the second most likely ethnic group after Pakistanis to be self employed (Office for National Statistics 2003). Two fifths of both Chinese men and

women work in the distribution, hotel and restaurant industry compared to one sixth for white men and one fifth for all women in employment.

Table 1 Characteristics of perpetrator (Source Virdee 1997)

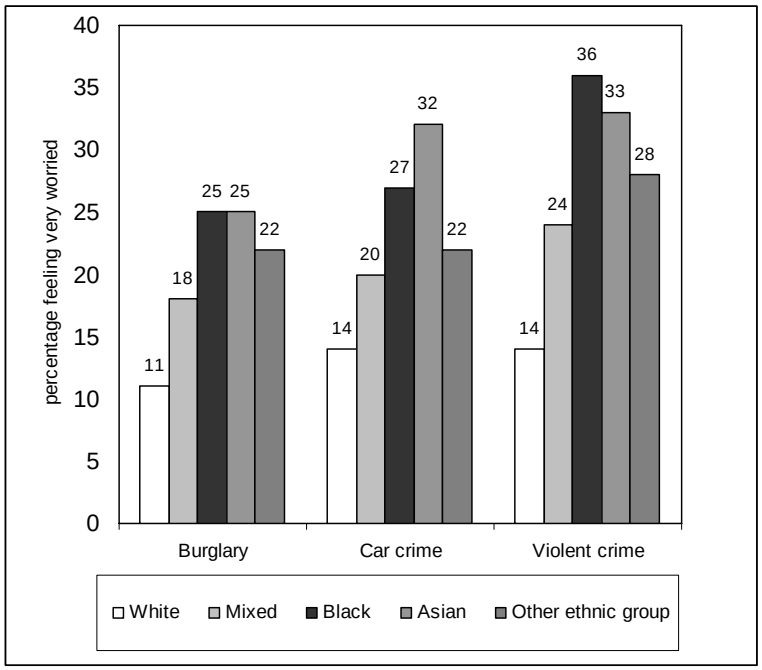
	Percentages Racial attacks	Racially motivated property damage	Racial insults
Perpetrator seen Yes	98	75	99
No	2	25	1
Of those seen:			
Neighbours	7	52	13
Acquaintances	7	5	6
People at work	8	1	16
People in shop	0	0	11
Place of entertainment	12	2	4
Police officers	6	1	3
Other officials	2	0	2
Complete strangers	67	36	62
Others	7	10	5
Age of perpetrator			
Under 13	2	15	9
Teenage	25	60	30
20-29	49	25	37
30+	35	13	34
Gender of perpetrator			
Male	87	79	66
Female	7	0	12
Both	6	21	22
Number of perpetrators			
1	48	14	37
2-4	34	48	45
5 or more	18	38	19
Ethnicity of perpetrators			
White	93	92	90
Black	5	1	3
Asian	0	0	1
Chinese	0	0	1
Mixed	2	7	5

Virdee showed that perpetrators tended to act in groups, particularly for property damage. Most were white, with Blacks having a small involvement in attacks and insults. Chinese perpetrators were involved only in a very small proportion of racial insults. The picture of typical perpetrators of racial harassment as white young men often acting in groups has led to questions as to the motivation for such behaviour. Sibbit (1997) has said that the views held by all kinds of perpetrators of ethnic minorities are shared by the wider communities to which they belong and that perpetrators see this as legitimising their actions. Virdee (1997 page 276) contends that “acts of racial harassment represent the most extreme component and expression of the racism faced by Britain’s ethnic minorities more generally”. His research showed that 8% of White people said they were prejudiced against Chinese, the least

of the minority ethnic groups. Men were generally more likely to say they were prejudiced than women, although the difference was only 1% for prejudice against Chinese.

The BCS shows that people of 'Other ethnic groups' were more likely to worry about crime than white people (Figure 2) in spite of lower levels of victimisation. Those of other ethnic groups worry more than both White and Mixed groups about burglary, car crime and violent crime, although not so much as Black and Asian groups. There were falls in worry for all ethnic groups between 2002/3 and 2003/4 (Home Office 2004a). The Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities showed that Chinese people worry more than other groups except African Asians about racial harassment, in line with the reported greater experience in the last year. However nearly one quarter are worried, more than experience racial harassment. Worries therefore seem greater than experience of both crime and harassment, perhaps because the impact of incidents in the past or because of incidents to friends, family or acquaintances.

Figure 2 Worry about crime by ethnic group (2003/04 British Crime Survey)



Research has also shown that those worried about racial harassment change their behaviour to avoid it (Virdee 1997). More than half avoided going out at night and made their homes more secure (Table 2).

Table 2 Actions taken in past 2 years by those who worry about racial harassment

	Percentage respondents
Started to avoid going out at night	58
Made home more secure	54
Started to visit shops at certain times only	35
Stopped children from playing outside	23
Stopped going out without partner	23
Started to avoid areas where mostly white people live	20
Changed travel routes	17
Stopped going to particular pubs	14

West Yorkshire and Humberside

Table 3 shows the ethnic breakdown of those aged 10 and over for the two police force areas in which the current research is to be undertaken, but Chinese people are included within an "Other" category in the police practice referred to previously.

Table 3 Estimated population aged 10 and over, percentage by ethnic origin and police force area mid 2001 (Source Home Office 2004a)

Police force area	Total population	Percentage			
		White	Black	Asian	Other
Humberside	780350	98.22	0.39	0.94	0.45
West Yorkshire	1833847	88.63	1.63	9.05	0.69

Using the local authorities which comprise these two police force areas, Table 4 provides more detailed information on total Chinese population with the figures for Chinese and Other Ethnic Groups for comparative purposes. The Chinese population varies considerably across the local authority areas from 0.13% in the East Riding to 0.48% in Leeds. There are more than three times the numbers of Chinese people in West Yorkshire as in Humberside and half the Chinese in West Yorkshire and Humberside are in Leeds. The Chinese population is increasing at rather less than the national average, by 35% in Humberside and 45% in West Yorkshire between 1991 and 2001 but this hides variation across the areas. In Calderdale the increase is 59%.

Table 4 Ethnic minority population by local authority area (Source Census 2001)

	All people	Chinese	Percentage		
			All minority ethnic people	Chinese and Other Ethnic Group	Chinese
East Riding	314113	401	1.22	0.22	0.13
Kingston upon Hull	243589	749	2.32	0.51	0.31
N.E.Lincolnshire	157979	248	1.42	0.26	0.16
North Lincolnshire	152849	291	2.46	0.29	0.19
Bradford	467665	896	21.73	0.42	0.19
Calderdale	192405	287	6.98	0.26	0.15
Kirklees	388567	611	14.39	0.29	0.16
Leeds	715402	3447	8.15	0.84	0.48
Wakefield	315172	493	2.26	0.26	0.16
Local authorities in Humberside PFA	868530	1689	1.78	0.32	0.19
Local authorities in West Yorkshire	2079211	5734	11.37	0.50	0.28

In West Yorkshire and Humberside recorded crime rates are higher than the national average except for robbery as shown by Table 5.

Table 5 Crime rates per 1000 population 2004/5 (Source Nicholas et al 2005)

	All crime	Robbery	Burglary	Criminal damage	Theft of & from vehicles
Humberside	141	1	21	32	20
West Yorkshire	126	1	19	30	18
England & Wales	105	2	13	22	14

Between 2000/1 and 2003/4 racial incidents against victims of all ethnicities recorded by the police rose in West Yorkshire (14%) but showed a slight decrease (7%) in Humberside in line with national figures (Table 6). All kinds of racially or religiously aggravated offences recorded by the police increased between 2002/3 and 2003/4 in both Humberside and West Yorkshire (Table 7). There is a particularly large increase in harassment in West Yorkshire while the national trend in common assault is particularly reversed in Humberside.

Table 6 Racial incidents recorded by the police

Police Force area	2000/1	2001/2	2002/3	2003/4
Humberside	422	100	350	391
West Yorkshire	2534	2919	2602	2879
England and Wales	53092	54370	49078	52694

Source Home Office 2004a

Table 7 Racially or religiously aggravated offences recorded by the police

	Humberside			West Yorkshire			England and Wales
	2002/3	2003/4	Change %	2002/3	2003/4	Change %	Change %
Harassment	193	293	+52	268	1218	+354	+23
Other Wounding	54	67	+24	213	298	+40	+11
Criminal damage	33	49	+48	131	257	+96	+2
Common assault	22	29	+32	95	101	+6	-11
Total	302	438	+45	707	1874	+165	+13

Source Home Office 2004a

So far as the Chinese community in West Yorkshire is concerned, Law (2004) found in his work with 110 mainly middle aged or elderly Chinese residents of Leeds that high levels of burglary, vandalism, car theft and street robbery were reported. 41% had had their property or car vandalised, 35% been burgled and 19% robbed on the street. Figures from the BCS 2004/5 (Nicholas et al 2005) show national victimisation rates for all people of 2.7% for burglary, 7.1% for vandalism and 0.5% for robbery and recorded rates in West Yorkshire are even lower (Table 5 above). Other problems included threatening behaviour from gangs of youth at 52%. Nationally only 18%of

people regard as serious the related problem of teenagers hanging around on the streets (MORI 2004). 79% of adults surveyed by Law had experienced some form of racist violence or harassment. Experiences of racial harassment included stone, egg, firework and other missile throwing, smearing excrement on windows, broken windows, verbal abuse such as 'Foreigner go home', 'chinky' and 'you go back to China, you shouldn't be here'. Verbal abuse was often by children and youths. Respondents expressed lack of confidence in police responses, reporting lack of police action even after repeated incidents. This is in line with other research. Chow (2002) found in a study of Chinese attitudes to the police in Toronto that 15% of respondents considered their recent contacts with police as unsatisfactory and a further 42% were uncertain. The problem of harassment led to feelings of isolation and impacts on daily life such as children not wanting to go to school for fear of racial abuse or parents keeping children at home for fear of racial attacks (Law 2004).

Methodology

Humberside Police provided individual crime records for crimes against Oriental victims during the period 2000-2005 and limited information on suspects/offenders for those crimes. West Yorkshire Police supplied similar data for crimes against Chinese victims between 2003 and 2005. There are substantial differences between the two data sets. In particular, ethnicity information is more detailed in West Yorkshire, enabling the identification of Chinese victims and offenders, whereas for Humberside the categories were broader, Oriental potentially including other South East Asian peoples. There were differences in information concerning repeat victimisation, the racial dimension and location. However many variables are shared such as type of crime, date and time fields, disposals and age/gender of victims and suspects.

Analysis of repeat victimisation was possible for both police forces and in West Yorkshire this extended to numbers of repeat victims and repeat addresses, numbers of times repeated and types of crimes repeated. In Humberside it was additionally possible to consider time between repeats and the series of crimes experienced by particular individuals. Both police forces provided information on racially aggravated crimes but in Humberside there was also information relating to completion of a racial incident form for offences. Both police forces provided police beats for the location of the offences but Humberside were unable to supply geographic boundaries in order to map this data. Both police forces provided some geographic information with which to locate victim addresses but this was postcodes for Humberside and police beats for West Yorkshire.

The substantial differences mean that it has not been possible to join the two data sets and conduct one analysis. The following sections describe separately the findings from the two data sets using descriptive tools in SPSS and geographic analysis. The differences in the data, particularly in geographic information, have also resulted in some differences in the detailed methodology. For example, since postcodes nest inside ward boundaries, the Humberside data could be directly related to the Census data by ward whereas in West Yorkshire this had to be through an intermediate stage of constructing geographic grids.

Humberside – Crimes against Oriental victims 2000-2005

Types of crime and changes over time

The sample consisted of 985 crimes against Oriental victims between February 2000 and early October 2005. However, there were only 8 crimes recorded in 2000 and 5 in 2001, and a substantial increase in 2002 which may suggest a change in recording practice of ethnicity of victim rather than a change in actual crime levels. Table 1 shows crimes against Oriental victims by crime category and years 2002-5. Burglary, vehicle crime and criminal damage/arson each contribute approximately one fifth of the total offences against oriental victims, in line with these types of crime in Humberside as a whole between 2001/2 and 2004/5 (Home Office 2002, 2005). Violent crime accounts for 12% of offences against oriental victims, rather less than the proportion for all victims in Humberside.

Table 8 shows an increase in total offences from 183 in 2002 to 315 in 2005, even though there is data only until early October 2005. This is the equivalent of a 72% increase, even assuming that there are no more crimes in 2005. This compares with a 6% increase in total recorded crime for Humberside between the years 2001/02 and 2004/05 and a 6% decrease between 2002/3 and 2004/5 (Home Office 2002, 2003, 2005). The question arises how much of the increase is an increase in crime, how much is an increase in reporting by oriental people and how much an increase in awareness and recording of ethnicity by the police.

Table 8 Crimes by type and year of report

	Offences in year 2002		2003		2004		2005 First 9 months		Total offences	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
Violence	10	5.5	16	8.6	44	15.2	47	14.9	117	12.0
Public Order	4	2.2	13	7.0	22	7.6	12	3.8	51	5.2
Vehicle crime	30	16.4	26	14.1	57	19.7	57	18.1	170	17.5
Sexual offences	3	1.6	0	0	2	0.7	3	1.0	8	0.8
Burglary	56	30.6	53	28.6	52	18.0	46	14.6	207	21.3
Robbery	5	2.7	15	8.1	9	3.1	6	1.9	35	3.6
Theft from person	18	9.8	20	10.8	7	2.4	10	3.2	55	5.7
Other theft	34	18.6	18	9.7	28	9.7	55	17.5	135	13.9
Criminal damage & arson	22	12.0	24	13.0	59	20.4	71	22.5	176	18.1
Other offences	1	0.5	0	0	9	3.1	8	2.5	18	1.9
Total offences	183		185		289		315		972	

Table 8 shows that certain kinds of crime against Oriental victims have remained stable or fallen. Burglary, for example, has fallen steadily, in line with the fall in recorded burglary figures for Humberside as a whole. The trend for theft from person is generally downward and that for robbery is stable. However, criminal damage and arson have increased markedly, by more than 3 times between 2002 and 2005 while the overall increase in Humberside from 2001/2 to 2004/5 was 24%. Violent crime against oriental victims has increased by nearly 5 times compared to two and a half times for Humberside 2001/2 to 2004/5. Public order offences have increased by 3 times against Oriental victims.

Timing of offences

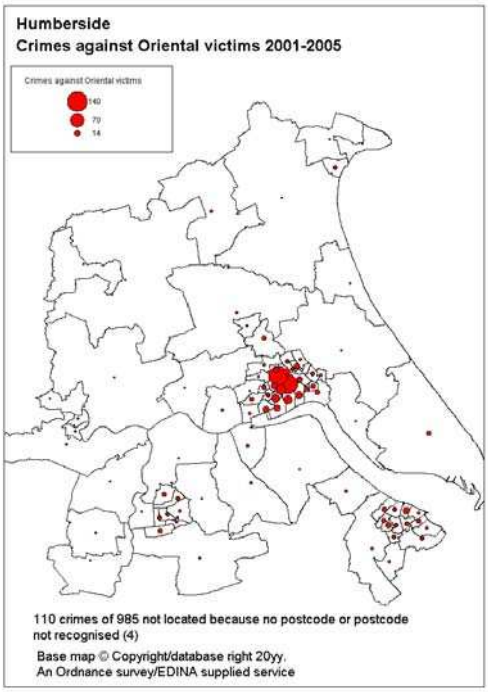
The data show that offences against Oriental people are slightly more likely to be committed at weekends than during the week. This is increased for repeat victims where Saturday is the most frequent day. Crimes with a racial element are more likely to be committed on Friday, with 21% on that day.

Location of offences

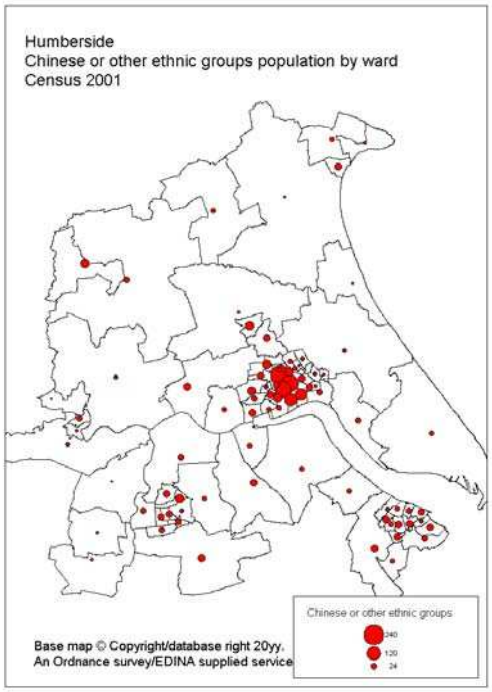
It has not at present been possible to map the locations at which offences against Oriental people were committed as the only locational information is the police beat for which we do not have geographic coordinates or boundaries. Figure 3a shows the distribution of crimes against Oriental people mapped by the victim address. For some kinds of crime, such as burglary or criminal damage to the home, the victim address and the offence location are likely to be the same. Other types of offence, such as violent offences or vehicle crime, may well be committed far from the home address for example in the town centre.

Figure 3 3a Offences against Oriental people by victim address
3b Distribution of Chinese and other ethnic groups population

3a

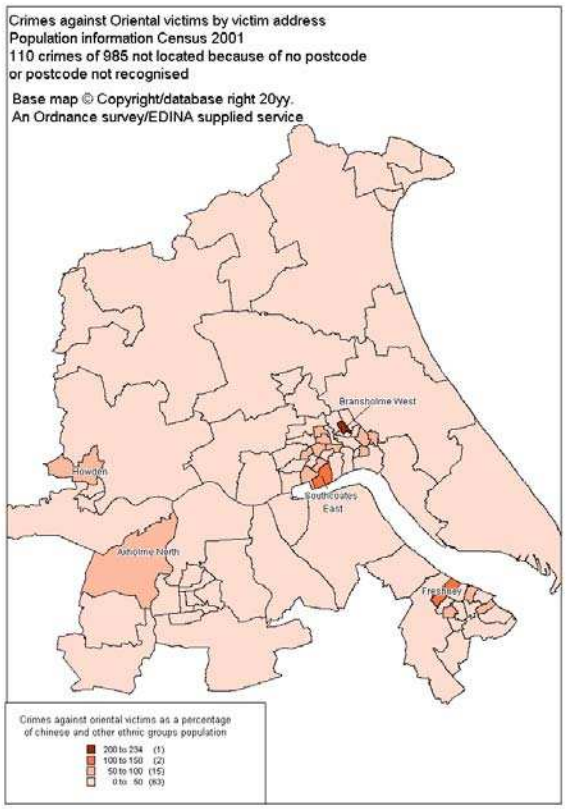


3b



The map indicates that Oriental victims, while most frequent in major centres of population particularly Hull but also Grimsby and Scunthorpe, also live in rural locations across the area. Figure 3b shows that this pattern generally reflects the distribution of Chinese and Other ethnic groups population across the region and statistical analysis shows a strong association (correlation 0.854 significant at the 0.01 level). It is, however, noticeable that Oriental crime victims are strongly concentrated in University and Newland wards while the Census Chinese and other ethnic groups population is spread over a wider area of Hull. Also, the Chinese and other ethnic groups population in Scunthorpe, Goole and Pocklington do not seem to suffer as much crime as might be expected from the population. The patterns of Chinese only population is similar to that of Chinese and other ethnic groups. Figure 4 shows the distribution of addresses of Oriental people against whom the offences have been committed mapped by ward relative to the Census Chinese and other ethnic groups population. It can be seen that there are particular concentrations of Oriental victims in Bransholme West and Southcoates East wards in Hull and in Freshney ward in Grimsby relative to the levels of Chinese and other ethnic groups population in those wards.

Figure 4 Offences by victim address as a proportion of resident population



Geographic distribution of individual types of crime generally reflects the distribution of crime overall with Hull dominating for all crime types and Grimsby being the other main centre. Outside these areas, however, Bridlington has a minor concentration of public order offences, and Beverley, Driffield and Goole of criminal damage and arson. There are vehicle crimes and violent offences in Beverley and in southern Holderness. Higher levels of burglary are seen in Scunthorpe wards than Grimsby. Within Hull, Newland and University wards have high levels of violent crime,

criminal damage and arson and burglary, Newland of vehicle crime and University and Newington of public order offences.

Racial dimension

The data includes two kinds of information indicating a racial element to the offence. Firstly, the recorded offence may be racially aggravated and secondly a racial incident form may have been completed. 46 offences are recorded as having a racial element and 35 as having a racial incident form. With some overlap between the two types of information, 56 or 6% of offences against Oriental victims have a racial dimension recorded in some way. The data show increasing numbers of crimes recorded as having a racial dimension but the percentage has remained static in 2004 and 2005 (Table 9). This stabilisation is similar to the national situation for all racially motivated offences. Nationally numbers of racist incidents against all ethnicities recorded by the police rose from 1996/7 to 2001/2 but thereafter remained static until 2004 (Section 95 Statistics 2003/4). Information from the BCS on experience of racist incidents indicates similarly high levels in the mid 1990s but lower numbers in 2002/3 and 2003/4. However, BCS figures for 2002/3 showed percentages of incidents thought to be racially motivated at 3% for Asian people and 2% for other ethnic groups (Section 95 Statistics 2002/3). The percentages for recorded crimes against Orientals with a racial dimension in the Humberside data would therefore appear to be above average.

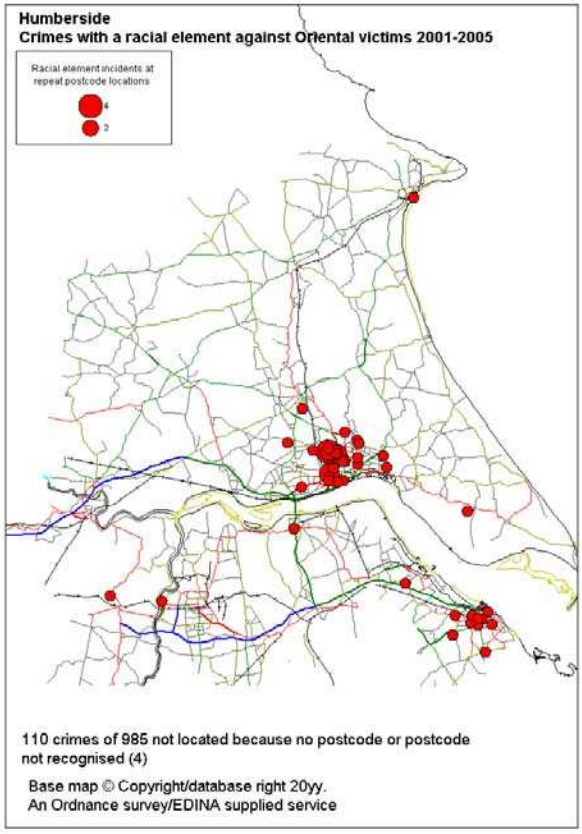
Table 9 Crimes with a recorded racial dimension

	Crimes with a recorded racial dimension	
	Number	Per cent
2002	5	2.7
2003	14	8
2004	18	6
2005 (first 9 months)	19	6
Total	56	6

Of the offences against Oriental victims with both a recorded racial element and a racial incident form 12 are public order, 9 are violence and 4 are criminal damage or arson. Of the offences with a recorded racial element only, 12 are public order offences, 6 violent offences and 3 criminal damage/arson. This compares with the national figures for racially aggravated offences in 2002/3 of 54% harassment and 28% wounding or common assault (CJS Race Unit 2004). Of the offences with a racial incident form only, 3 are public order, 3 violence, 2 burglary and 2 criminal damage/arson.

Figure 5 illustrates the distribution of Oriental people who have been the victims of offences with a recorded racial dimension. It can be seen that most such offences are in Hull and Grimsby.

Figure 5 Victims of crimes with a racial dimension



Repeat victimisation

Among the 985 crimes against Oriental victims, 12% were to repeat individuals. 50 persons had been victimised more than once and 69 addresses had been victimised more than once (Table 10).

Table 10 Repeat victimisation

Number of times victimised	Repeat names	Repeat addresses
Twice	40	50
3 times	5	6
4 times	3	9
5 times	1	1
7 times	1	
8 times		1
9 times		1
10 times		1
Total repeats	50	69

Of the offences against both repeat names and repeat addresses, the main offences concerned were criminal damage/arson, burglary, violence and other theft (Table 11). Of persons who have experienced multiple victimisation, one had experienced 4 public order offences, one violence and two other theft. Another had experienced 1 burglary, 1 other theft and 3 criminal damage/arson and another 4 criminal damage/arson. The others had been the victims of varied crimes. All of the 9 incidents

against one address, all four at another and five out of 10 at another were criminal damage/arson. One address had experienced 3 and six 2 violent incidents and another 3 incidents of vehicle crime. There were three addresses with three burglaries and one with four. 21 of the 68 offences repeated for names were within less than one month and a further 18 within 1 to 3 months. 43 of the 116 offences repeated for addresses were within less than one month and a further 25 within 1 to 3 months.

Table 11 Repeat victimisation by type of offence

Offence	Against repeat names		Against repeat addresses	
	Number	%	Number	%
Violence	17	14	25	13
Public order	10	8	15	8
Vehicle crime	11	9	12	7
Sexual offences	1	1		
Burglary	25	21	56	30
Robbery	1	1	3	2
Theft from person	4	3	4	2
Other theft	16	13	24	13
Criminal damage/arson	33	28	44	24
Other offences	1	1	3	2

Repeat victims by name are concentrated in Hull and Grimsby as shown in Figure 6. As can be seen most of the repeat names live in Hull or Grimsby although there are individuals who have been victimised twice in Bridlington, Goole and Snaith. In Hull victims are concentrated in University and Newland wards although the individual with the most victimisations lives in Newington ward (Figure 7).

Figure 6 Repeat victims by name

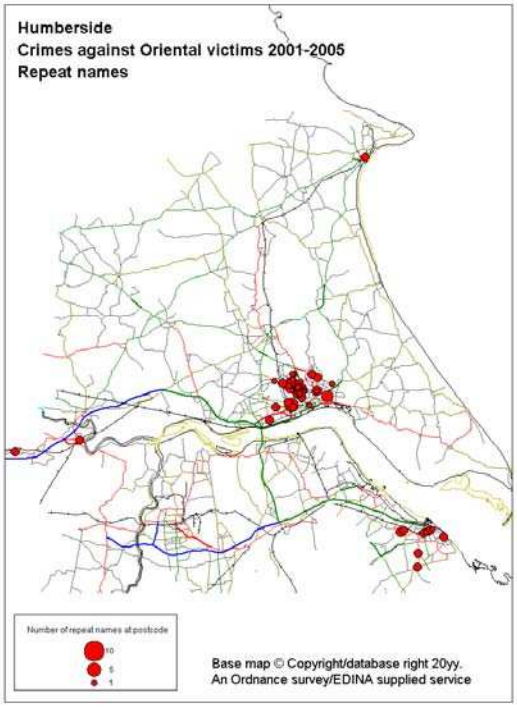
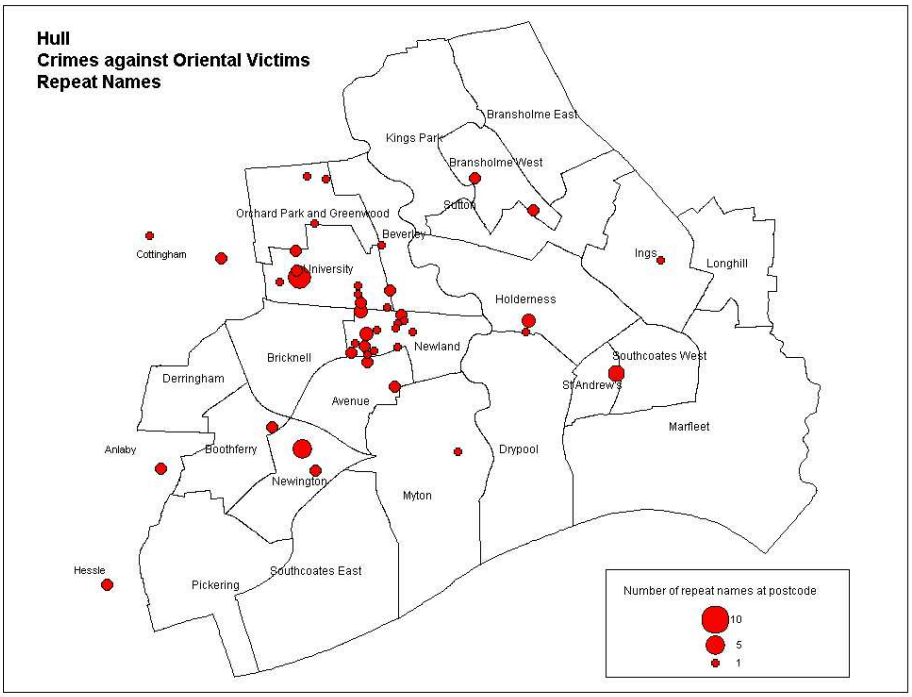


Figure 7 Repeat victims by name in Hull (Map shows Census ward boundaries)



A map of repeat addresses located by victim address shows a similar pattern of concentrations in Hull and Grimsby but since the location of the offence may be different from the home address of the victim the pattern may be inaccurate in detail.

For 11 (9%) offences against repeat names and 15 (8%) against repeat addresses the recorded offence had a racial element. For 9 (8%) repeat names and for 11 (6%) repeat addresses there was a racial incident form. The offences concerned were criminal damage/arson, public order and violent offences for both repeat addresses and names. Criminal damage/arson was of similar importance in both but violence was greater and public order lesser for repeat addresses. The repeat names with a racial element were in Hull or Grimsby, with 3 offences against one victim in Newington ward.

Characteristics of the victims

Rather under two thirds of the victims for the whole sample were male (63%) and just over one third (37%) female. The proportions were similar for single and repeat victims. There was some variation by type of crime with rather more victims of vehicle crime (76%) and robbery (69%) being male and of other theft (48%) and theft from person (46%) being female. All but one of the sexual offences were against females.

More than half the victims were aged 30 or less with 36% aged 21-30, 11 % aged 16-20 and 6% 15 or under. Those over 30 were evenly divided between 31-40 and 41-60 with very few over 60. One quarter of violence victims were aged under 20 (Table 12) but one third were 21-30 and a further quarter 31-40. Theft from person was concentrated in the 21-30 age group. There were more older victims of criminal damage/arson, burglary and public order offences, particularly in the 41-60 age group.

Table 12 Victims by age and type of crime

	Per cent victims in age group			Total
	0-20	21-30	Over 30	number
Violence	25	33	42	118
Public order	20	20	61	51
Vehicle crime	11	40	49	168
Sexual offences	63	25	13	8
Burglary	18	36	46	206
Robbery	28	39	33	36
Theft from person	13	70	18	56
Other theft	23	44	34	140
Criminal damage/arson	11	24	65	180
Other offences	11	33	56	18
Total	17	36	46	981

There were no differences significant at the 0.05 level in age between single victims and repeat victims.

5% of the offences overall were at take away/fast food outlets, 9% where the offences were to repeat victims and 11% where the offences had a recorded racial dimension.

Disposals

The majority of the crimes are undetected, an offender being charged or summonsed for only 7% and cautioned 1% (Table 13). There is a greater proportion charged, summonsed or cautioned in the years 2004 and 2005 than in the earlier years.

Table 13 Disposals

	All Crimes		Crimes with racial dimension	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Caution	12	1	0	0
Charge or summons	68	7	7	12
Victim declines	10	1	2	4
No crime	47	5	2	4
Not worth further action	30	3	0	0
Under investigation	50	5	1	2
Undetected	749	76	44	79
Other	19	2	0	0

Nationally one third of both all offences and racially aggravated offences are cleared up by the police (Section 95 Statistics 2003/4). It would seem that the proportion undetected of crimes against Oriental victims is higher in Humberside, although more offences with a racial dimension than all offences result in charge or summons.

Offender information

There is some information concerning suspects/offenders available for 349 or 35% of the offences against oriental victims. For all of those charged and 11 of those cautioned, some information is available concerning the offender. There is also

information concerning suspects for 195 of the undetected crimes and 75 of crimes with other disposals. For some crimes more than one suspect is concerned. For nearly two thirds of offences with a racial dimension there is information on offenders/suspects. Of the crimes for which offender information is available nearly one third are violent crime, 15% burglary and 13% criminal damage and arson. For those with a racial dimension, half are violent crime, 44% public order offences and the remainder criminal damage and arson.

The large majority of suspects/offenders are male (88% of all suspects and 85% of those for crimes with a racial dimension). Age information is available for only just over half the offenders. Where information is available, suspects/offenders are generally young, half being aged 20 or under but this is particularly so where offences have a racial dimension and 41% of offenders/suspects are aged 15 or under (Table 14). Half of those aged over 30, one quarter of those 15 and under or 21-30 and one third of those aged 16-20 are suspected of violent crime. Public order offences are important only for those aged 15 and under. One fifth of those aged 21-30 are suspects for burglary and one fifth of those aged 16-20 for vehicle crime. Criminal damage and arson shows least variation, from 13% of those aged over 30 to 22% of those aged 21-30. Where offences have a racial dimension, most violent offences are by those 20 or under but suspects for public order offences are mainly 15 or under or 21 to 30.

Table 14 Age of offenders/suspects

	Percentage of offenders/suspects	
	All	Cases with racial dimension
15 or less	20	41
16-20	30	26
21-30	29	22
Over 30	21	11

Table 15 indicates the ethnicity of offenders/suspects for the crimes against oriental victims. and there may be suspects of more than one ethnicity for any particular crime. As can be seen, the vast majority of suspects/offenders are White European, particularly for cases with a racial element. For most types of crime there are very few suspects of ethnicities other than white. However, 15 of the 98 violent crimes for which the ethnicity of suspects is recorded are by oriental suspects and these are two thirds of the offences with oriental suspects.

Table 15 Ethnicity of suspects/offenders

	Percentage of offenders/suspects	
	All	Cases with racial dimension
Arab	1	
Oriental	7	2
Black/Afro	2	
Asian	2	2
White European	88	96

Summary of main points

- The sample is of crimes against "Oriental" victims, including Chinese and other South East Asian people.
- Offences against Oriental victims show substantial year on year increases from 2002-2005 at a time when recorded crime generally was decreasing. The increases may reflect at least in part changes in reporting or recording rather than actual increase in crime.
- Crimes against Oriental victims showing increases include criminal damage/arson, violent crime and public order offences.
- Crime against Oriental victims is concentrated in Hull, Grimsby and Scunthorpe but also occurs in more rural areas. While generally reflecting the Chinese and other ethnic group population distribution there are anomalies in both low and high victimisation.
- 6% of recorded crimes against Oriental victims have a racial dimension, this figure being higher than national figures for "other ethnic groups".
- 12% of the crimes are to repeat individuals and 19% to repeat addresses. Repeat victims are concentrated in Hull, particularly University and Newland wards, and in Grimsby.
- 9% of the offences against repeat individuals and 8% of those against repeat addresses have a racial element. The offences concerned are criminal damage/arson, violent crime and public order offences.
- The majority of both victims and offenders are male and aged 30 or less.
- The majority of crimes against Orientals are undetected.
- The majority of suspects/offenders for crimes against Orientals are white. Only 2% are Oriental but where Oriental people are suspects, two thirds of the offences are violent crime.

W. Yorkshire – Crimes against Chinese victims 2003-2005

Types of crime and changes over time

The sample consisted of 1882 crimes against Chinese victims between February 2003 and early November 2005. Table 1 shows crimes against Chinese victims by crime category and year. Over one quarter of the total offences against Chinese victims are burglary, one fifth criminal damage/arson and 15% vehicle crime. The latter two offences are in line with those in West Yorkshire as a whole in 2003/4 and 2004/5. The proportion for burglary is rather more than that for all victims where burglary is only around 17% of the total offences (Home Office 2004a, 2005). Violent crime accounts for 8% of offences against Chinese victims, about half the proportion of all victims in West Yorkshire.

Table 16 shows a 37% increase in total offences against Chinese victims from 2003 to 2004 but then a 13% reduction in the first just over 10 months of 2005. Overall the change from 2003 to 2005 is a 19% increase even assuming that there are no more crimes in 2005. This compares with a 18% decrease in total recorded crime for West Yorkshire between the years 2002/03 and 2004/05 (Home Office 2003, 2005). The question arises how much of the increase is an increase in crime, how much is an increase in reporting by Chinese people and how much an increase in awareness and recording of ethnicity by the police.

Table 16 Crimes by type and year of report

	Offences in year						Total offences	
	2003		2004		2005 First 10 months			
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
Violence	37	7.0	54	7.5	57	9.1	148	7.9
Public Order	9	1.7	7	1.0	21	3.3	37	2.0
Vehicle crime	88	16.6	91	12.6	93	14.8	272	14.5
Sexual offences	6	1.1	3	0.4	1	0.2	10	0.5
Burglary	166	31.4	213	29.4	149	23.7	528	28.1
Robbery	23	4.3	24	3.3	19	3.0	66	3.5
Theft from person	43	8.1	66	9.1	40	6.4	149	7.9
Other theft	69	13.0	97	13.4	76	12.1	242	12.9
Criminal damage / arson	80	15.1	152	21.0	161	25.6	393	20.9
Other offences	8	1.5	17	2.3	12	1.9	37	2.0
Total offences	529	28.1	724	38.5	629	33.4	1882	

Table 16 shows that certain kinds of crime against Chinese victims have remained stable or fallen. Burglary, for example, has fallen although not by as much or as consistently as for all victims in West Yorkshire (Home Office 2003, 2005). The trend for robbery is generally downward and that for robbery is only marginally upward.

Violent crime against Chinese victims has increased in line with rates for all victims in West Yorkshire. However, criminal damage and arson have doubled between 2003 and 2005 while the increase in West Yorkshire from 2002/3 to 2004/5 for all victims was 4%. Public order offences against Chinese victims have more than doubled.

Timing of offences

The data show that slightly more offences against Chinese people committed on Saturday than on other days and fewest on Tuesdays and Sundays. For repeat victims this is more marked. Crimes with a racial element are more likely to be committed on Friday, with 17% on that day.

Location of offences

Figure 8 shows the distribution of offences against Chinese victims, located by the police beat where the offence took place and Figure 9 the same offences located by the police beat in which the victim lives. It can be seen that for both there is a concentration in Leeds and Bradford although there are few police beats with no offences at all against Chinese victims. Within Leeds most of the offences and victim addresses are in the university area or in the city centre and in Bradford also in the university area. Figure 10 shows the ubiquity of small Chinese minority populations. Since the units for population are wards and those for crimes are beats it is not possible to directly relate the two sets of data. However, by constructing grids in which surfaces are interpolated between the centroids of the wards/beats, population and crimes can be visually compared and measures of correlation calculated.

Figure 8 Offences against Chinese victims – location of offence

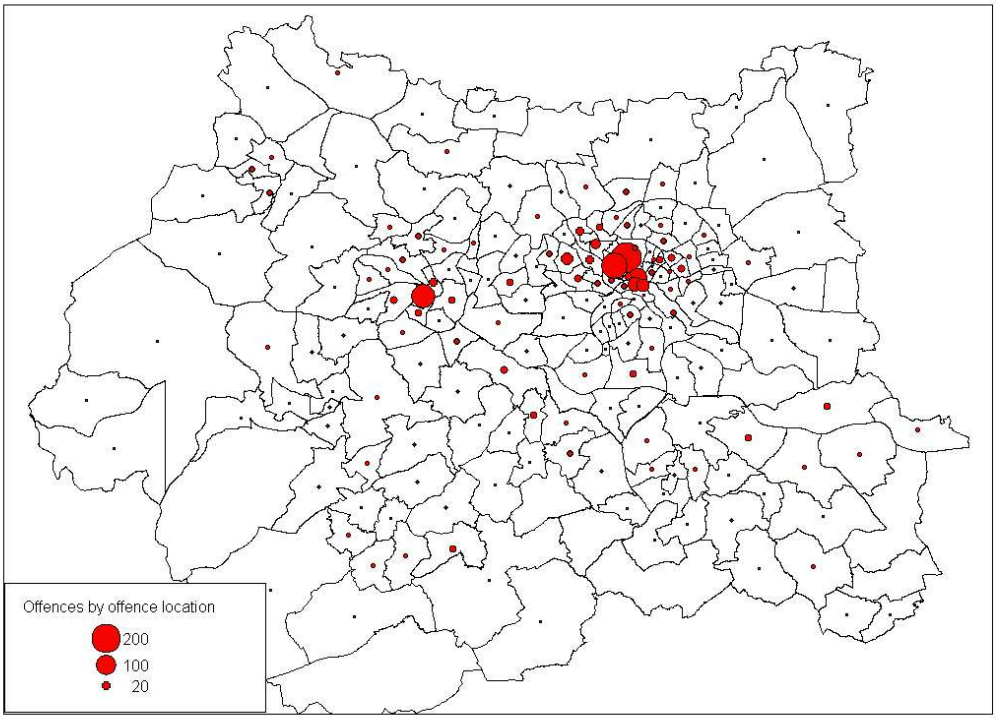


Figure 9 Offences against Chinese victims – police beat of victim address

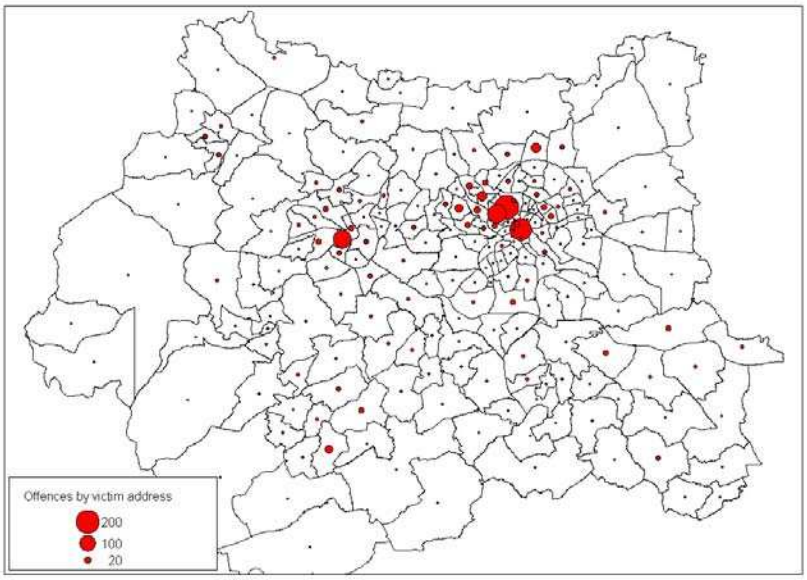
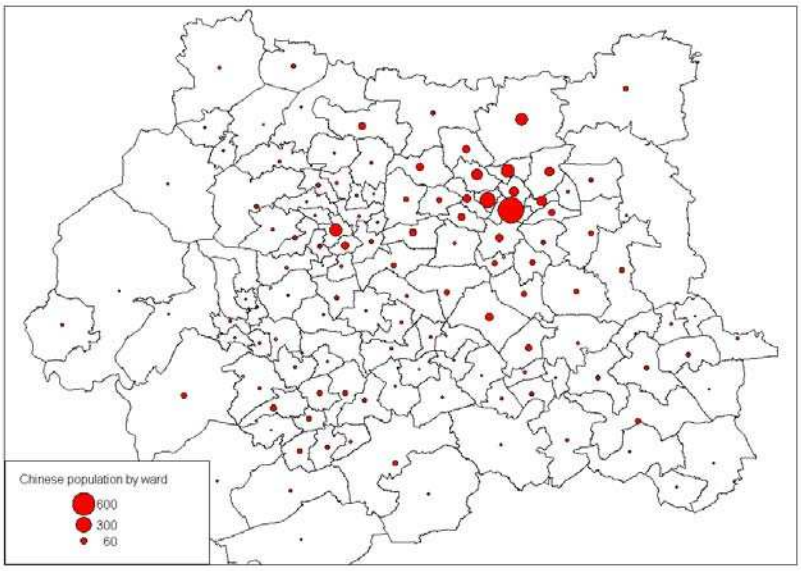


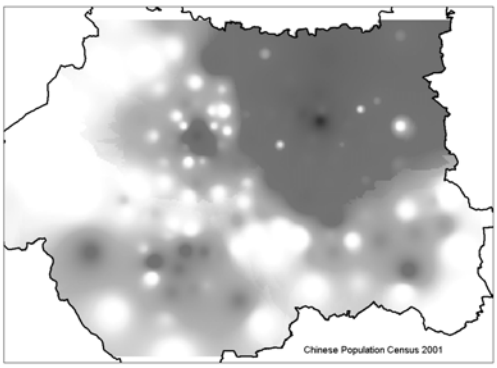
Figure 10 Chinese population in West Yorkshire by Census 2001 ward boundaries



There is a strong correlation of victim addresses and Chinese population generally. Interpolated statistics from kernel density surfaces for the two sets of data showed a correlation of 0.879 significant at the 0.01 level. However when population readings from a surface constructed by natural neighbour interpolation are compared with the crime levels for each beat the correlation is less strong (0.446 significant at the 0.01 level), while the grid surfaces constructed by inverse distance weighting at Figure 11 show visually differences between the two patterns. The concentration of victim addresses and Chinese population in Leeds is clearly shown but the city centre shows offence hotspots as well as the university. While the university ward in Bradford is an area of both Chinese population and offences, wider areas of Bradford, Huddersfield, Keighley and Castleford/Pontefract show offences. There are a few areas of Leeds with Chinese populations which have relatively little experience of crime.

Figure 11 Surface maps of population and crime against Chinese people

11a Chinese population Census 2001



11b Crimes against Chinese people by victim address

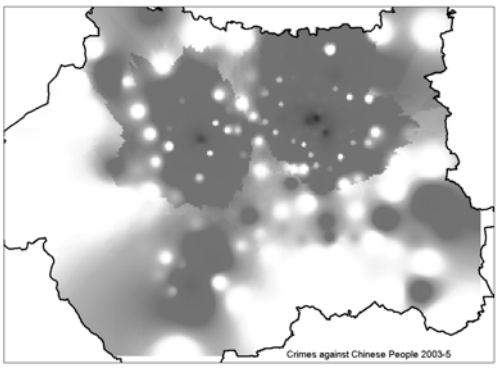
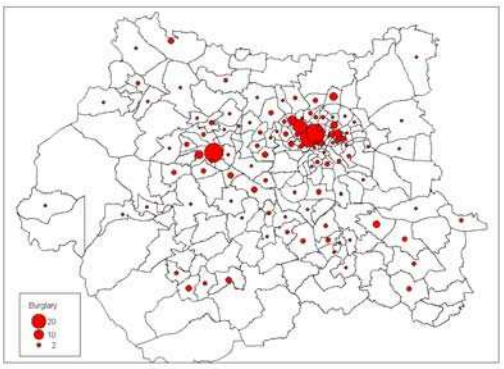
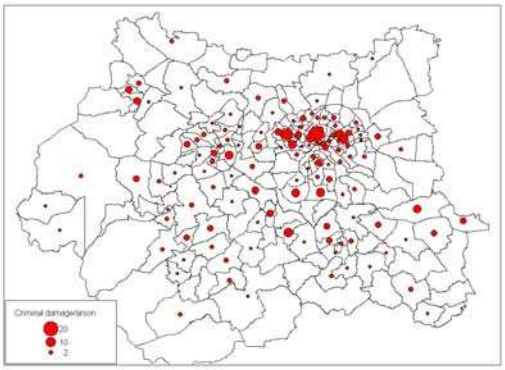


Figure 12 shows that there are geographic variations in the distribution of types of offence. Burglary, which is more frequent among Chinese victims (28%) than generally in West Yorkshire (17% Home Office 2004a, 2005) , is strongly concentrated in Leeds, particularly the university area and the university area of Bradford. Criminal damage and arson are spread more generally across West Yorkshire with incidents in various parts of Leeds, in Keighley, Dewsbury, Batley, Morley, the Bowling area of Bradford and Castleford. Vehicle crime is concentrated in central Leeds and the university area of Bradford. Violent crime is particularly in Leeds university area and city centre but not in Bradford.

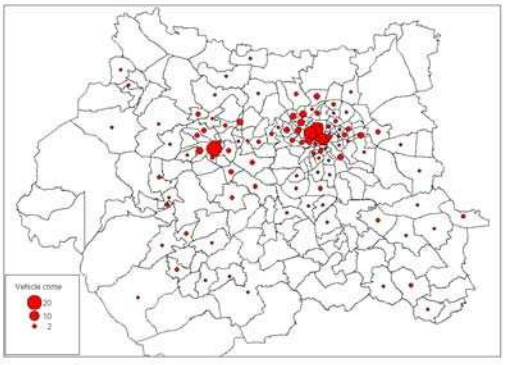
Figure 12 Distribution of crime types by location of offence



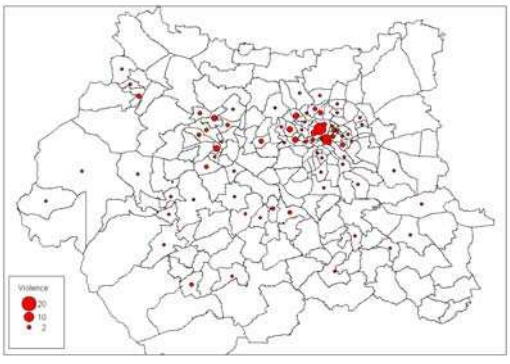
12a Burglary



12b Criminal damage/arson



12c Vehicle crime



12d Violence

Racial dimension

Information has not been available concerning racial incidents against Chinese victims other than recorded racially aggravated offences. 43 offences of the 1882 (2%) are recorded as being racially aggravated but the numbers have increased by seven times from 2003 to the present (Table 17). Nationally there has been an increase in racially aggravated crimes against all ethnicities of 13% between 2002/03 and 2003/04 (Home Office 2004a). For West Yorkshire the increase for all ethnicities is 165%. The increase for Chinese victims is therefore particularly large.

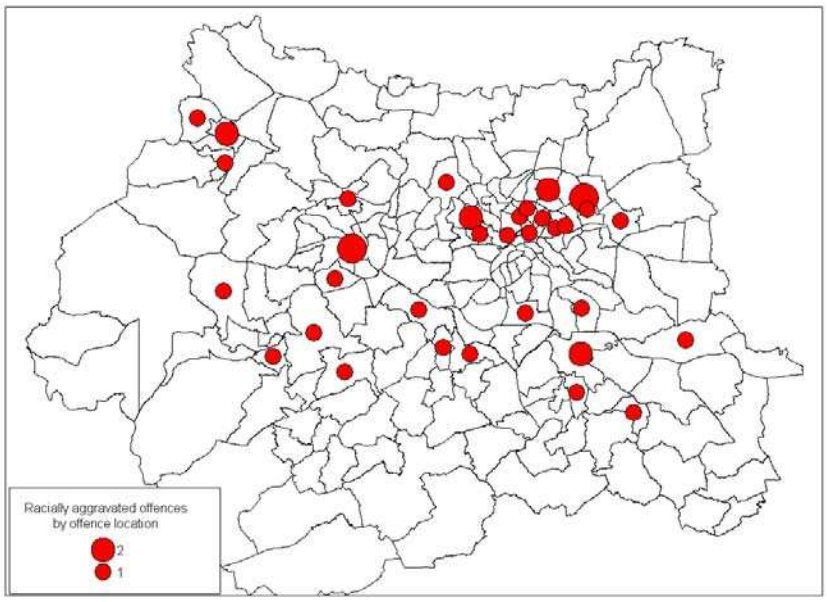
Table 17 Racially aggravated crimes

	Number	Per cent
2003	4	1
2004	11	2
2005 (first 9 months)	28	5
Total	43	2

Of the 43 racially aggravated offences against Chinese victims 21 (49%) are public order, 21 (49%) are violence and 1 is criminal damage or arson. This compares with the national figures for racially aggravated offences in 2002/3 of 54% harassment and 28% wounding or common assault (CJS Race Unit 2004). There is information regarding the premises at which the offences took place for only 18 of the offences, of which 2 were take away food shops.

The distribution of racially aggravated offences by police beat where the offence took place is shown in Figure 13. While many of these offences are located in Leeds, the university area is not so prominent but rather Armley, Seacroft and Roundhay. Outside Leeds, there are racially aggravated offences across the area but particularly in the university area of Bradford, in Keighley and in Stanley and Altoft ward to the north of Wakefield. The distribution of offences when plotted by victim address is very similar.

Figure 13 Racially aggravated offences by police beat in which offence took place



Repeat victimisation

Among the 1882 crimes against Chinese victims, 18% were to repeat individuals. 144 persons had been victimised more than once and 162 addresses had been victimised more than once (Table 18).

Table 18 Repeat victimisation

Number of times victimised	Repeat names	Repeat addresses
Twice	112	105
3 times	23	33
4 times	2	7
5 times	5	9
6 times	1	2
7 times	1	2
8 times		2
29 times		1
Total repeats	144	162

Of the offences against both repeat names and repeat addresses, the main offences concerned were criminal damage/arson and burglary (Table 19). Of persons who had experienced victimisation 3 times or more, half had experienced criminal damage or arson and a further 17% burglary. This was reversed for the offences against repeat addresses, with 49% burglary and 17% criminal damage or arson.

Table 19 Repeat victimisation by type of offence

Offence	Against repeat names		Against repeat addresses	
	Number	%	Number	%
Violence	24	7	42	9
Public order	18	5	10	2
Vehicle crime	38	11	33	7
Sexual offences	1	1	1	1
Burglary	75	22	194	43
Robbery	10	3	14	3
Theft from person	21	6	35	8
Other theft	29	9	34	8
Criminal damage/arson	114	34	82	18
Other offences	9	3	8	2

As shown by Figure 14 repeat offences to individuals are concentrated in only 40% of the West Yorkshire police beats, with by far the largest numbers in Leeds, in the university area and town centre. However, there are multiple victimisations in police beats scattered over the area. Notably there are individuals who have been victimised more than five times in Keighley, northwest Halifax, Dewsbury, Normanton and the Bradford wards of Bowling and Little Horton as well as the university area, Harehills and Seacroft in Leeds. Victimisations to repeat addresses show a similar pattern but addresses with more than five victimisations are found only in the university and Seacroft areas of Leeds and the university area of Bradford. For 13 (4%) offences against repeat names and 8 (2%) against repeat addresses the recorded offence was racially aggravated. As Figure 15 shows, these are mainly in Leeds but also occur

elsewhere in the area. 8 of the 13 repeat offences against individuals were public order offences and 5 violent crimes.

Figure 14 Offences to repeat victims by police beat and beats with individuals victimised 5 or more times

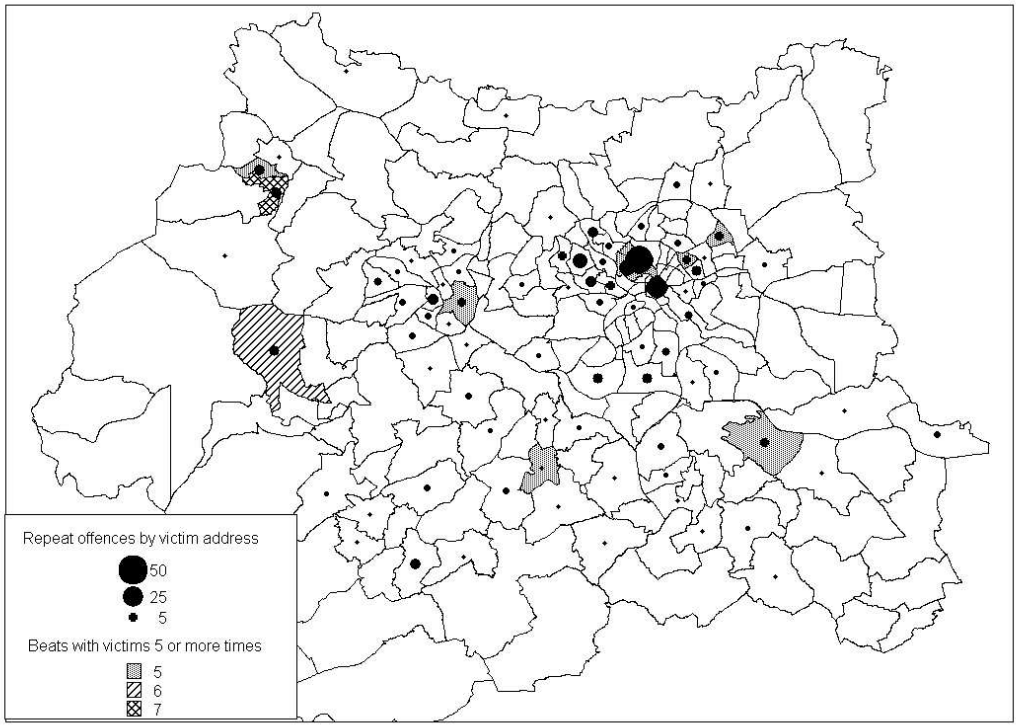
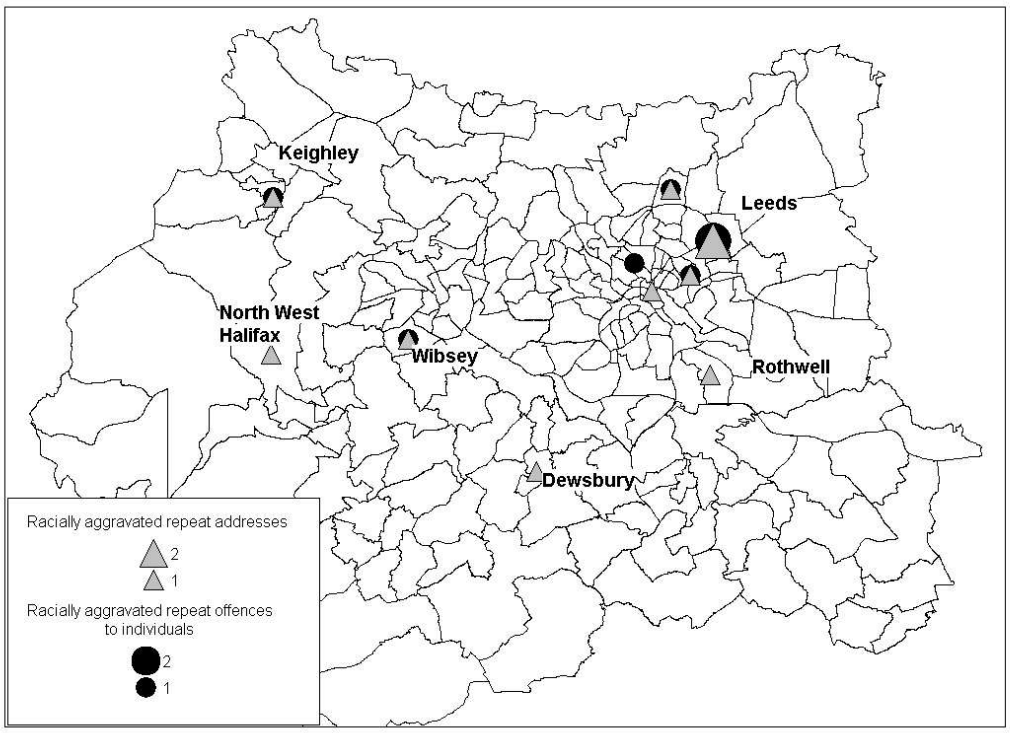


Figure 15 Racially aggravated repeats



Characteristics of the victims

Rather more than half of the victims for both the whole sample and for repeat victims were male (56%). There was some variation by type of crime with rather more victims of vehicle crime (77%) being male and of other theft (61%) and public order (54%) being female. All but one of the sexual offences were against females.

Three fifths of the victims were aged 30 or less with 46% aged 21-30, 13 % aged 15-20 and less than 1% under 15. Those over 30 were evenly divided between 31-40 and 41-60 with very few over 60. There was more violence to those aged 10 to 20 than would be expected from the sample. Burglary, robbery, theft from person and other theft were more likely among those aged under 30 (Table 20) while vehicle crime was particularly important among those 21 to 30. There were more older victims of criminal damage/arson, particularly for those over 40. More repeat victims were in the 31-40 age group and less 15 to 20 than single victims. For repeat addresses, however, there were less aged 21-40 and more aged 21-30.

Table 20 Victims by age and type of crime

	Per cent victims in age group				Total number
	10-20	21-30	Over 30	Not stated	
Violence	23	37	40	0	148
Public order	11	35	51	3	37
Vehicle crime	10	51	37	2	272
Sexual offences	20	60	20	0	10
Burglary	17	51	32	1	528
Robbery	20	59	20	1	66
Theft from person	17	65	16	2	149
Other theft	17	50	31	3	242
Criminal damage/arson	4	30	65	1	393
Other offences	14	41	43	3	37
Total	14	46	39	1	1882

In the university areas of Leeds and Bradford, which have concentrations of Chinese residents and of crimes against Chinese victims, two thirds of the offences against Chinese victims are committed against those aged 21 to 30 compared to half in West Yorkshire generally (Table 21). In Leeds burglary forms a particularly large proportion of those crimes although levels are higher for this age group in Bradford than in West Yorkshire as a whole. Vehicle crime is more important in Bradford but less so in Leeds. There are fewer criminal damage offences in these areas of Leeds and Bradford than generally and similar levels of violent crime.

Information is available concerning the premises at which offences took place for only half of the crimes against Chinese victims. Less than 4% of the offences overall were at take away/fish and chip shops and a further 1% at restaurants. Where the offences were to repeat victims or were racially aggravated, takeaways were very slightly more represented (5%).

Table 21 Offences in the university areas of Bradford (Beat GA/09) and Leeds (Beat AA/18 and AA/19)

	Those aged 21-30 % total offences against Chinese victims		
	Bradford	Leeds	W Yorks
Violence	4	5	6
Public order	1	1	2
Vehicle crime	20	8	16
Sexual offences	1	1	1
Burglary	41	57	31
Robbery	4	8	5
Theft from person	12	8	11
Other theft	13	6	14
Criminal damage/arson	3	6	13
Other offences	0	2	2
Offences against 21-30 per cent all offences	71	68	46

Disposals

The majority of the crimes are undetected, with for only 5% an offender being charged and 1% cautioned, although a slightly greater proportion are charged for racially aggravated crimes (Table 22). Nationally one third of both all offences and racially aggravated offences are cleared up by the police (Home Office 2004a). It would seem that the proportion undetected of crimes against Chinese people is higher in West Yorkshire.

Table 22 Disposals

	All Crimes		Racially aggravated crimes	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Caution	18	1	1	2
Charge	84	5	5	12
Victim declines	13	1	0	0
Warning/reprimand/penalty notice	16	1	1	2
No useful purpose served by proceedings	5	<1	0	0
TIC offence previously reported	63	3	0	0
Undetected	1682	89	36	84
Other	1	<1	0	0

Offender information

There is some information concerning offenders available for 155 or 8% of the offences against Chinese victims. For 71 of the 84 charged and 17 of the 18 cautioned, information is available concerning the offender. There is also information

concerning suspects for 9 of the undetected crimes and 58 of crimes with other disposals. There is information on offenders for only 4 of the 43 racially aggravated offences. One fifth of the crimes for which offender information is available are violent crime, one quarter burglary, and 14% respectively vehicle crime and criminal damage/arson. The four racially aggravated offences are split between violence and public order.

The large majority of offenders are male (89%) and young, nearly half being aged 20 or under (Table 23). The few offenders for racially aggravated crimes are atypical, being evenly split between the sexes with three are aged 21-30 and one over 30. One quarter of offenders aged 15 or less were suspected of burglary and one fifth each of other theft and criminal damage/arson. Burglary was also important for those aged 21-30 (34%) and over 30 (24%). One fifth of those 16-20 were suspects for criminal damage/arson. Violent offences were associated with one quarter of those aged 16-20 and one third of those over 30. Vehicle crime was important only among those aged 21-30 (22%).

Table 23 Age of offenders/suspects

	Percentage of offenders/suspects
	All
15 or less	14
16-20	30
21-30	38
Over 30	8

Table 24 indicates the ethnicity of offenders for the crimes against Chinese victims. As can be seen, the vast majority of suspects/offenders are White, although 7 suspects for violent crimes are Chinese, of a total of 9 offences with Chinese suspects. All four offenders in the racially aggravated cases are White British.

Table 24 Ethnicity of offenders

	Percentage of offenders
White British/White Other	66
Black	5
Chinese	6
South Asian	8
Mixed	6
Other ethnic group	<1
Not stated	9

Summary of main points

- The sample is of crimes against Chinese victims.
- Offences against Chinese victims show an overall increases from 2003-2005 at a time when recorded crime generally was decreasing. The increase may reflect at least in part changes in reporting or recording rather than actual increase in crime.

- Crimes against Chinese victims showing increases greater than generally in West Yorkshire include criminal damage/arson and public order offences. Burglary is more frequent among Chinese victims than all victims in West Yorkshire.
- Crime against Chinese victims is concentrated in Leeds and Bradford but there are few police beats with no offences at all. While generally reflecting the Chinese population distribution there are anomalies in both low and high victimisation.
- 2% of recorded crimes against Chinese victims are racially aggravated, but the numbers have increased by seven times between 2003 and 2005, more than for all ethnicities in West Yorkshire.
- 18% of the crimes are to repeat individuals and 24% to repeat addresses. Repeat victims are concentrated in Leeds, particularly in the university area and town centre, but there are mulitiple victimisations in police beats scattered over West Yorkshire.
- 4% of the offences against repeat individuals and 2% of those against repeat addresses were racially aggravated. The offences concerned are violent crime and public order offences.
- The majority of both victims and offenders are male and aged 30 or less.
- The majority of crimes against Chinese are undetected.
- The majority of offenders for crimes against Chinese victims are white. Only 6% are Chinese but where Chinese people are suspects, three quarters of the offences are violent crime.

Discussion

The recorded crime data has shown that there is considerable experience of crime among Chinese/Oriental people in the two areas considered. A number of questions arise, however, either posed by the data or questions beyond the scope of the data which require further research using other methodologies.

The first question is whether the scale of the problem is different to that experienced by the population generally. Table 25 attempts to compare the victimisation rates for Oriental/Chinese population with those for all people in the two areas. In Humberside victimisation of Oriental people would seem to be similar to that experienced by the population generally whereas Chinese people in West Yorkshire experience more crime than generally. Further research may show whether for West Yorkshire this is a reporting/recording effect or whether there are other factors resulting in the higher rate.

Table 25 Crimes against Chinese /Orientals in the two areas

	Census Population 2001		Crimes 2003 and 2004 against Oriental/Chinese victims			All Crimes 2003/04*
	Chinese	Chinese/ other ethnic groups	Number	Per cent Chinese /other population	Per cent Chinese population	Per cent total population
Humberside (Oriental)	1689	2803	474	16.91		16.3
West Yorkshire (Chinese)	5734	10373	1253		21.85	15.6

*Source Home Office 2004b

A second question concerns the problem of racially aggravated crime and racial harassment. The data shows only a small percentage of the crimes against Chinese/Orientals as being racially aggravated, or, in Humberside, having an additional otherwise recorded racial element. However, this percentage for Humberside would seem to be higher than that shown nationally by the BCS for "other ethnic groups" while for West Yorkshire it is similar to the BCS but increasing rapidly. Table 26 shows that the number of recorded racially aggravated incidents for the latest complete year is very small in relation to the Chinese/ Oriental population. Is this a reflection of the true extent of racial harassment in the two areas? Other research (Virdee 1997) has shown 16% of Chinese people being subject to some form of racial harassment but also that the majority of incidents are verbal harassment. Very few of the crime incidents in this data are recorded as harassment offences. It is very likely that many of such incidents are not reported to the police. Docking and Tuffin (2005) found that generally minority ethnic respondents who had suffered less serious incidents were less likely to report them to the police. Their research showed that reasons for not reporting included perceiving the incident to be insufficiently serious as well as fear of reprisals, a belief that the police would not be interested and lack of confidence in the police. Further research is required specifically among Chinese people to investigate the extent of unreported harassment, differences that

may exist in the nature of the unreported and recorded incidents and the reasons why incidents are not reported. Qualitative approaches to this research could also consider the effects of victimisation on those involved in increasing worries about crime and causing changes in behaviour. Such approaches could also make possible assessment of differences in experience within the Chinese community such as between those who are UK born and those from Hong Kong and other parts of the world.

Table 26 Racially aggravated crimes in relation to population

	Census Population 2001		Racially aggravated crimes against Oriental/Chinese victims 2004		
	Chinese	Chinese/ other ethnic groups	Number	Per cent Chinese /other population	Per cent Chinese population
Humberside (Oriental)	1689	2803	16	0.6	
W. Yorkshire (Chinese)	5734	10373	11		0.2

A third question concerns similarities and differences between the two areas. Although direct comparisons between the data for Humberside and West Yorkshire have limited validity for reasons already discussed, some tentative conclusions can be drawn. The data show significant differences (at 0.01 level) in the amount of repeat victimisation. In Humberside 12% of offences against Oriental victims are repeat names whereas in West Yorkshire 18% of offences against Chinese victims are repeats. In Humberside 19% are repeat addresses whereas in West Yorkshire the figure is 24%. Further research might consider the circumstances of the repeat incidents and seek differences in the types of incident or causal factors which might explain the differences in rates. In Humberside 4.7% of offences against Oriental victims are recorded as racially aggravated while in West Yorkshire racially aggravated offences against Chinese are only 2.3%. Further research might consider the extent to which this is a reporting/recording effect and the nature of the incidents in order to investigate possible causal factors. The proportion of male victims is higher for Humberside (63%) than West Yorkshire (56%). Humberside has more victims aged 20 or under and over 30 and West Yorkshire more aged 21-30. In West Yorkshire the proportions of total offences against Chinese are higher for burglary, and to a lesser extent criminal damage/arson. In Humberside the proportions of total offences against Orientals are higher for violent crime and public order offences. More crimes are classified as undetected in West Yorkshire. In Humberside there is more offender information but this includes information on suspects for many undetected offences as well as cleared up crimes. Further consideration of the background to these differences provide explanations which contribute to knowledge on racist crime.

There are interesting anomalies in the geographic distribution of crimes against Orientals/Chinese. In both areas, the pattern of crime generally reflects the distribution of Chinese population but there are in both Humberside and West Yorkshire areas of population which have little experience of crime and other areas where the extent of victimisation is disproportionately large relative to the population. The reasons for these variations are likely to lie in the circumstances of the incidents, investigation of which may add to the knowledge base about racial crime.

Further questions relate to the offenders who committed the offences and the action taken by the police and other criminal justice agencies in dealing with the offences. The amount of data supplied on offenders has been limited but nevertheless has confirmed that for crime against Chinese people offenders, as in previous research in relation to ethnic minorities, are generally white (Virdee 1997). It is interesting that Chinese are seen as perpetrators only in relation to violent crime in both West Yorkshire and Humberside. Work with offenders could seek to discover the reasons.

Unfortunately neither police force was able to supply information regarding the outcome of the offences beyond a simple recoding of disposal. Further research is required to investigate the handling by the police and other criminal justice agencies such as the Crown Prosecution Service of crimes against Chinese people, in particular those with a racial dimension.

This limited examination of recorded crime was designed to assess the extent of crimes against Chinese people as shown by recorded crime data. The analysis, while limited by the quality of data available, has provided an interesting perspective on a problem which has hitherto received little attention. The research has thrown up a number of questions which require exploration using other research methods, many of which will be qualitative.

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