Triad-related homicides in Hong Kong
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Abstract
This study provides an overview of the first systematic research on triad-related homicide in a Chinese society. In the ten year period from 1989 to 1998, 11.9% of all homicides or a total of 95 triad-related homicides were extracted from the Hong Kong Homicide Monitoring Database. These events resulted in 124 victims (13.2 percent of all victims) and involved 526 known offenders. Triad homicides were classified into various types based on different combinations of circumstances, motivation and outcomes, including ‘unintended’ outcomes.

Keywords: Chinese triads, triad-related homicides, homicides, victim-offender relationships,
1. Introduction

A romanticized but distorted view [1] of triad society [2] has been depicted widely by Asian film industries and lately in Hollywood ‘blockbusters’. Rooted in historical events in China and in keeping with Chinese migration to all corners of the globe, triads as a Chinese criminal subculture [3] evolved in many parts of the world initially as mutual-help groups, clans or associations. This can be seen in countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the U.S. where the Chinese have become among the most successful immigrant ethnic groups. Such immigration however invariably carries with it individuals associated with criminal activities [4], thus forming new groupings or branches of old triads with real or alleged allegiance to the home triad societies. Much of the patriotism and ritualism associated with the traditional triad groups have now been lost. Young triad members have little understanding of the elaborate traditional initiation rituals now often substituted by simplified symbolism. Contemporary triad activities have thus become less and less distinguishable from other youth and street gangs [5].

The proliferation and spread of triad gangs and related Chinese organized criminal activities across transnational borders [6] also creates a major criminological and forensic problem, particularly when serious injuries or homicide occurs. Often injuries form a pattern distinctive to a particular triad punishment. The increasing involvement of juveniles and youths in triad related gang activities suggest the need for specific policy initiatives to curb youth recruitment[7,8,9]. Gang homicides in the USA are often perpetuated with firearms by minority youths [10,11,12,13,14,15] in search of identity [16,17,18] and are associated with narcotic activities [19]. The US gang literature also reports on the treatment of gang-related gunshot injuries [20,21,22], the relationship between socioeconomic factors and gang violence [23,24,25,26,27], and how to handle gang members in an emergency department [28]. The problem of how to define a gang-related homicide has been well noted in literature and may stress membership as well as motivation [29].

Research on homicide or violence is scarce in Hong Kong (HK), and has mainly investigated the domestic or mental aspects of homicide [30,31]. Definitions of gang-related homicide vary in the US [32] but here we apply the Hong Kong Police (HKP) definition of triad related homicide as motivated by triad identity or related activities, rivalry, revenge, profit and conflict, including triad attacks on ordinary citizens due to the above reasons. We exclude any homicide, however, where a triad member was an incidental victim or offender as in the case of family related homicides.

2. Methodology and background

The case materials were extracted from the HK Homicide Monitoring Database [33,34], which covered all homicides in HK over a ten-year period from 1st January 1989 to 31st December 1998 – the data collection is ongoing. Coded data were based on all homicide cases identified from the HK Coroner’s Court and HK Police Criminal Record Bureau [HKP CRB]. The database contains a total of 804 homicide events of which 95 have been identified as triad-related homicides, involving 124 victims and 526 known offenders. Triad related homicide cases were identified and described in terms of the situational and temporal circumstances of those involved as well as the response of police. The basic
demographics of the victims and suspects (including any prior offense history, marital and employment status), victim-offender relationships, involvement of drugs or mental health, modes and causes of death were coded and tabulated. Due to the diversity of cases we also attempted to classify triad-related homicides. Several different combinations of circumstance, motivation and outcomes, including ‘unintended’ outcome were noted and constituted distinct precursors to the different forms of triad–related homicides observed.

3. Findings

3.1 Incident characteristics

About one-in-eight (11.9 percent) of all homicide events were triad-related, involving 13.2 percent of all homicide victims recorded in the ten-year period 1989-1998 [35]. The risk of a triad member becoming a homicide victim, although low, was estimated to be approximately 13 times greater than that of a non-triad member [36]. Triad homicide victimization averaged 0.206 per 100,000 populations HK. Triad homicides often involved multiple offenders and resulted in multiple victims, for instance, two triad-related arson attacks on entertainment premises resulted in six deaths in 1990 and 17 deaths in 1997. (See Fig. 1)

3.2 Victim-offender characteristics

Triad homicide victims were predominantly male (83.9%, N=104) and the The 16.1% (N=20) female victims mostly died as a result of the two arson cases previously mentioned. Of the 526 known triad homicide offenders or suspects recorded, 91.3% (N=480) were male. Females participated in only 1.3% (N=7) of triad related homicide and the remaining were offenders whose sex was unknown. Triad related homicide offenders (mean age =23.2) were on average younger than their victims (mean age =30.4). A large proportion of victims (58%) and offenders (37%) were below the age of 30. Nevertheless, due to the frequency of multiple offenders about half of the (50.8%) of the offender’s age was unknown. (see Fig. 2 and 3)

Victims (96%, N=119) and offenders (95.8%, N=504) of triad related homicide were predominantly Chinese, showing these homicides were mainly intra-racial events. More than two-third (70.1%, N=75) of victim were reportedly employed, a ratio much higher than for offenders (26.4%, N=139). Nevertheless, many offenders (61.6%, N=324) employment status was unknown, which limits the reliability of such differences. The marital status of triad homicide victims and offenders differed dramatically. Only 2.5% (N=13) of offenders were married, compared to 39.6% (N=36) of victims. Again, a large proportion of offenders had unknown marital status (75.3%, N=396) that distort this comparison.

The average number of fatal victims per triad-related homicide incident was 1.32, and 1.37 non-fatal victims. Triad related homicides usually involved multiple participants: on average 6.10 offenders per homicide incident [37]. Triad related homicide are thus group or ‘gang’ events usually involving young males as both offenders and victims (See Fig. 2 and 3). In 93.7% (N=89) of incidents at least one male was killed in the incident. In 81.2% of triad homicide incident the sex of the offender(s) were male, in the remaining 18.8% the offenders had not been identified. The majority of triad related homicides are
committed by multiple offenders against a single victim (72.6%, N=69), followed by incidents involving multiple offenders and multiple victims (9.4%, N=9). (See Table 1) Almost two-third (62.1%) of triad homicides involved offenders that were either stranger(s), person(s) acquainted within 24 hours, or recognized as unknown relationship by the police.

3.3 Time Trends
There is an obvious increase in triad homicides in the month of July (20.8%). Over half of triad homicide cases (54.1%) occurred during the summer months of May to September. The frequency of triad related homicides peaked on Saturdays (26.0%) compared to other week-days although small increases are also noted on Monday and Thursday. Nearly half of the triad homicides occurred between midnight and 6am early morning (48.4%), followed by late evening from 6pm to mid-night (34.4%). Only 17.2% of triad homicide occurred during the daytime hours of 6am-6pm.

3.4 Place
The majority of triad homicides (90.6%) took place in an open space or non-dwelling area such as a public entertainment premise. The rest (9.4%) occurred inside a residence.

3.5 Use of Firearms
The prevalence of firearm usage is low in triad homicides in Hong Kong (11.5%).

3.6 Drugs and Alcohol
Most homicide offenders were not apprehended at the scene and reliable toxicological information was scant. One fourth of triad homicide victims (24.5%, N=26) consumed alcohol before the homicide event while a smaller proportion (12.3%, N=14) had consumed a drug beforehand.

3.7 Motives
One third of triad related homicide cases involved disputes over money (31.3%) or/and were instigated by revenge (34.7%). Loss of face and/or an honour contest triggered 15.8% of all triad homicides [38]. Motives of a very personal nature such as jealousy were not recorded. (See Table 2)

3.8 Causes of Death
The leading cause of death for triad related homicide victims were injuries inflicted by sharp instrument (37.9%, N=47), followed in order by: fire/burn/inhalation of fumes which was common in multiple victim incidents (25%, N=31), blunt instrument injury (21%, N=26) and, gunshot wounds (9.7%, N=12). Not surprisingly there were no victims of strangulation / suffocation. (See Table 3)

3.9 Convictions and Sentence
In 19 triad related homicide cases, at least one offender has been convicted of the more serious charge of murder (other defendants in these cases also may have pleaded guilty to manslaughter). Most of those convicted for murder received a mandatory life sentence. Fourteen of these “murder incidents” involved the use of knives (73.7%), two involved arson, one involved a blunt instrument, and one involved punching and kicking. In 17 cases at least one offender was convicted of manslaughter. Seven of these “manslaughter” cases involved the use of blunt instruments, six cases involved punching and kicking, and three cases involved knives or other sharp instruments. Offenders of manslaughter cases tended to use a blunt weapon or beating (76.5%) and pleaded guilty to their manslaughter charge (76.5%). The length of custodial sentences received ranged from two to ten years (mean=5.8 years) (Table 4). Evidently, triad homicide offenders who used a blunt instrument or bare hands as the weapon were given less severe punishments than those using knives. Nine cases out of the eleven triad homicides that had involved the use of firearms by the suspects were unsolved at the offenders still at large.
4. Discussion: a preliminary classification of triad-related homicides

The predominantly young age and lower socio-economic ‘class’ of offenders and victims of triad related homicides was not unexpected given studies of gang homicides elsewhere. The offender-victim ratios are typical of ‘street-gang’ type homicides where there is often a clash of several individuals with the resultant death of one or two victims. Despite these similarities the diverse characteristics of triad-related homicides suggests several forms are observed. However in circumstances where an attack is planned on a targeted individual victim there are also usually several attackers and this differs from the “solo hired gun” or professional assassin more commonly encountered in jurisdictions where there is ready availability of firearms.

The data showed that there are a variety of motives for a triad-related homicide, often there are several co-existing motives in any one homicide. Classifying homicides based on these motives derived from case summaries and the observed modus operandi was limited by our inability to interview any of the offenders. Another deficiency was that a significant percentage of the triad related homicides were unresolved and no arrests and/or convictions had been made. Despite these deficiencies this paper offers a typology of triad related homicides by providing six categories based on motive and circumstantial similarities as follows: – armed clash (territorial profits/conflicts), stare contest (skirmish and honour contest), punishment (including non triad customers of illicit services), revenge (retaliation), execution and contract killing, and others not classifiable.

4.1 Armed clash
These typically involve two warring gangs and can involve up to a dozen on each side. Weapons typically used are iron pipes, baseball bats, bladed knives or occasionally sharpened steel rods. Motivated by territorial profits or conflicts, the two sides gather and clash at an appointed place and the clash involves a rapid running battle which lasts two to three minutes at most. Death occurs generally when a person is unable to continue to run either due to a debilitating blow/injury or due to a trip and fall whereby he is set upon by several attackers. The following is a case example.

Case 54. Leun Ying She (LYS) triad versus Sun Yee On (SYO) triad after a breakdown of a settlement talk over the selling of pirated compact discs (CD)

The incident took place on a Monday night 2030 on the street outside a restaurant. The area and a nearby Mass Transit Railway (MTR) entrance were dominated by LYS triads selling pirated CDs of which “offender 1” was a key figure. SYO member “A” asked two of his male followers to start hawking pirated CD’s at this location. Two days later, offender 1 of LYS (mastermind/leader) approached with 5-6 males and swore at the newcomers alleging that the street belonged to them and he forbade them to run the stall there. The next day the two SYO continued to operate the stall but informed “A” that a group of LYS were putting them under close observation and were gathering in the vicinity. “A” immediately looked for his associate (later deceased) SY for
“reinforcement”. At around 2000 hours “A” and the “deceased” gathered about 10 SYO triad followers and marched to a restaurant to look for offender 1. They found him with about 30 LYS followers inside. Offender 1 and another male asked them to go to a bar opposite to the restaurant to discuss the selling of pirated CD matters. The negotiation lasted for a while but no agreement was reached. “A” and the deceased left the bar and returned to the restaurant and told their SYO followers to disperse. At this juncture many LYS, waiving wooden poles and knives, dashed from two surrounding streets towards the restaurant. The deceased was chased and chopped in the middle of the road and suffered 11 cut wounds over the upper body and head and bruises and abrasions were also found all over his body. Alcohol was found in his blood. He was 31 years old, unemployed but married.

### 4.2 Stare Contests

This is a phenomenon where it is often difficult to understand or appreciate the alleged rationale for such a fatal attack. It is sometimes questionable if there actually was an intimidating or obnoxious eye contact. The trigger arises when a group accuses an individual from another group of ‘staring’. There may be an exchange of angry words and foul language before one group leaves for reinforcement or to arm in order to attack or ambush the alleged “starer” and his group. Such skirmishes are unpredictable and are often motivated by a perverse sense of honour between the groups of males. They often involve younger aggressors seeking to establish violent reputations [39,40].

**Case 2. SYO youth gangs skirmish**

At about 2200 hours on a Saturday, the deceased and his SYO (Group A) gathered at a waterfront site. Noticing a group of four males (SYO Group B) of similar age “staring” at them, the deceased led his group to confront the smaller group about the “staring”. He took aside and slapped Group B’s leader for being “cheeky”. Asking Group B which Triad Society they belonged to and upon receiving no answer the larger Group A started to beat-up all of Group B. The confrontation resolved itself when the smaller Group B declared the same SYO allegiance. At about 2330 hours, Group A saw two men from Group B suspiciously sneaking into the male toilet on the ground floor of a nearby commercial centre. The leader of Group A and two companions then followed inside and was issued with a challenge to fight by a member of Group B standing at the far end of the toilet. Group A responded by kicking open the doors to the toilet cubicles. Suddenly the other members from Group B came out of an adjacent cubicle armed with a kukri, while the “challenger” also produced a knife. The two knife-wielding assailants then delivered several serious ‘chops’ to a member of Group A as they headed towards their leader (later deceased), who was the main target. The leader of Group A sustained fatal blows to his arms, head, chest and pelvic area. His other Group A member was chopped once as the assailants made their escape whilst the rest of Group A had fled. By chance an off-duty constable saw one of the assailants running from the scene with a kukri in hand, followed by several teenagers in pursuit. The constable saw the deceased sitting against the wall gravely wounded. The deceased was a 16 yrs old male and unemployed.
4.3 Punishment

Punishment involves the assertion of authority or power in which a triad party inflicts punishment upon a customer of illicit services, an illegal business associate or a member of the same triad. Victims are generally perceived to have done wrong by breaching unwritten rules about conduct and include matters ranging from unpaid debts, persistent disrespect to a triad-boss or triad society, stealing or cheating the triad group or suspicion of colluding with a rival triad or with the authorities. The victim is often duped to attend a meeting or gathering where he is quickly surrounded and punished by a beating. Death in these situations is sometimes “unintended” although the wish to inflict bodily harm or to disable is clear.

**Cas 68. Non-triad customer of prostitution chopped by Wo Shing Wo (WSW)triads for damaging the signboard of a brothel**

The chopping took place early on a Thursday morning (0555 hrs). The male deceased left after a drinking and karaoke session with his friends at 0300 hours. Having consumed a substantial amount of alcohol, he was escorted to take a taxi but his friends had no idea where he was going. Indeed, the deceased then patronized a prostitute but had a dispute with the brothel cashier over double charging for the service. The premises was protected by WSW triads. Unable to summon assistance from his friends, the deceased paid the bill, left the brothel but smashed the signboard as he was leaving. The cashier then summoned the triad bouncers who went to look for the deceased. Two WSW triad bouncers found the deceased and argued with him at a public sitting out area. He was chopped once on his left chest and his back leaving a small wound. He then escaped before collapsing and dying on a road pavement. The offenders were seen escaping with a weapon in the opposite direction and are believed to have left the jurisdiction. The deceased was a 34 years old male with no triad background and a clean record, living in a private housing. He was employed as decoration worker at a construction site and was married with children. The offenders were males about 25-35 years old but further detail are unknown.

4.4 Revenge

In revenge motivated attacks the victim has been targeted either because of previous clashes or because he had assaulted a rival triad member. These revenge assaults carry a warning message to others by clearly focusing on one person or a group. The assault generally occurs in public irrespective of the presence of the general public. As long as bystanders do not get in the way or interfere they are left unharmed. Victims are commonly chopped and/or beaten till they collapse and are left for dead.

**Case 1 Sun Yee On (SYO) and Wo Ho Top (WHT) rivalry**

This double murder incident was triggered by a series of retributive acts of vandalism of vehicles owned by two triad societies. A group of SYO led by one of the deceased harassed WHT establishments and seriously injured a WHT member. This led to a meeting of WHT seniors who sanctioned a major attack on the SYO. On Wednesday at around 0050 hours two young members of the SYO were murdered and several others
seriously wounded by six *WHT* who entered a bar well known as a gathering place of *SYO*. The deceased victims were well-built 25 and 23 years old Chinese males, one had full body tattoos but neither had a criminal record. Both were employed, one as a bar tender, the other as a parking attendant. They had been drinking and chatting with other victims at the time, playing finger-guessing games and karaoke when two young men appeared at the entrance of the bar staring at them before disappearing round the street corner. Soon after, six Chinese males entered the bar ignoring the greeting of the waitress, produced knives and promptly attacked the deceased’s party. In the ensuing chaos and panic some managed to fend off some blows with chairs and stools while others managed to flee, but the two men sustained fatal multiple chop wounds. The attack lasted no more than 30 seconds, and ended when the target victims were rendered unconscious. One of the assailants warned the others present not to move before they escaped via two taxis with all lights switched off. Only one *WHT* triad was identified and arrested. Aged 30, he was employed as a newspaper vendor and had a prior non-violent criminal record.

### 4.5 Execution and contract killing

Usually executions are ‘ordered’ by seniors of a triad group and are carried out as a strategic means of achieving supremacy in some activity or district or to remove an individual, sometimes even a triad office bearer, believed to have “sold out” in some way the triad group or the syndicate of which he supposedly owed allegiance. This may involve the use of a firearm and the execution is used to warn others against disloyalty. In the illustrative case an element of spontaneity arises due to the nature of the challenge to the recognized leader.

#### Case 6  Power and illegal gambling profits

This fatal shooting took place on an early Tuesday morning (0430) at a village playground dominated by a *14K* sub-group. The incident arose from a dispute between a triad ‘426’ office-bearer and his follower, a 29-year-old male deceased. The deceased had prior criminal records including assault and was employed as an illegal casino operator by his senior ‘426’. He was gambling in an adjacent illegal casino not long before quarreling with his ‘426’ triad brother over his share of earnings from another illegal gaming establishment. The deceased accused his ‘426’ of not contributing to the costs of setting up the gambling establishment and during the argument the ‘426’ shouted and punched the deceased several times. While leaving the scene the deceased deliberately and repeatedly drove his car towards the ‘426’ attempting to knock him down. The ‘426’ allegedly shouted to his associates: ‘Shut the gate, don’t let him go, fix him up.’ One of his followers immediately drew a 7.62mm handgun and shot at the car twice. The gunman chased the moving car, firing one more shot as he came alongside it near the gate of the playground. The car continued to move but hit a concrete barrier and the gunman opened the driver’s door, at which point the deceased fell to the ground with his feet still in the compartment. The gunman then dragged the victim out and fired two more shots at close range. The triad ‘426’ and the gunman escaped via another vehicle. Associates of the deceased took him to a nearby hospital but the gunshot wounds to the chest and abdomen were fatal. The ‘426’ was a 42-year-old Chinese male from Macau.
Having multiple previous criminal convictions and was also involved in illegal gambling and a decoration business monopoly.

4.6 Others
A number of cases are unclassifiable and for this group it was not possible to categorize because of insufficient data or information. This also includes a small number of cases where several issues coexisted and it was not possible to identify any factor as a predominant one. The following case illustrates these sorts of case although the circumstances suggest ‘punishment’ as the likely motivation.

Case 8 Execution outside a sauna
The deceased was a 40-year-old Chinese male who was known to the HKP Narcotic Bureau as a probable drug trafficker moving large quantities from Thailand to Europe, Australia and Hong Kong since the late 1980s. The ‘hit’ occurred at around midnight on a Wednesday in November outside a sauna in which he had a financial interest and frequently used by him and his associates. Although his triad status was unclear he had close WN Gang, WSW, WSY and Thai criminal connections. He was known to be involved in remninbi exchange deceptions, loan-sharking and debt collection but he was also a habitual gambler who had recently pawned his Rolex watch. He entered the sauna at 15 minutes before mid-night and made a number of overseas calls and then walked out of the sauna and waited outside for someone at mid-night. A few minutes later two shots were heard by a number of witnesses. No one saw the actual shooting or offender(s) but a vehicle was seen to leave the scene. The deceased was then found lying on the pavement with a point blank shot to the temple and another shot fired two feet from the neck.
5. Conclusions

The majority of triad related homicide victims and offenders were Chinese males, with a few females involved as collateral victims in two serious arson cases that resulted in multiple fatalities. On average, triad homicide offenders were younger than their victims and they also tended to have an earlier criminal onset. The leading cause of death was sharp weapon injuries. Most triad related homicides occurred over the weekend and outdoors or in a non-dwelling. Neither the victim nor the offenders in triad related homicides had histories of mental illness, but psychosis or depression has been found among some victims and offenders in other homicides, especially in domestic circumstances (Chan et al. 2003). Triad homicides mostly involved multiple offenders targeting a single victim who was usually a recent acquaintance or a ‘stranger’. Money disputes, face, stare or honour contests, and revenge were the motives most commonly established for triad related homicide. This paper presents the findings from a retrospective study of 95 cases of triad-related homicides. It confirms that triad-related homicides involve a much younger and perhaps more impulsive group of males when compared to the demographics of victims and offenders of non-triad homicides. This paper attempts to show that there are diverse causes of triad-related homicides, which are unique to this type of homicide. These situations vary in terms of their intended outcomes; with some showing little intention to kill but a wanton use of force rather than a targeted use of fatal force. This is possibly a moot point from the perspectives of law enforcement but may well mean the difference between a murder and manslaughter under common law. Although triad-related homicides are rare they attract wide publicity and confirm the reputational violence of triads. The breaking of triad retaliation cycles, the identification and treatment of youths and juveniles with early criminal onset, problem-oriented policing focusing on specific times and places, tough firearm control policies including the continued ban on gun possession [41] are all suggested responses to the incident of triad related homicides..

Acknowledgements

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References


[2] In Hong Kong [HK], the Societies Ordinance Chapter 151 Section 18 defined “‘Unlawful Society’ as a triad society, whether or not such society is a registered society or an exempted society and whether or not such society is a local society, or every society which uses any triad ritual or which adopts or makes use of any triad title or nomenclature shall be deemed to be a triad society,” the Organized and Serious Crimes Ordinance Chapter 455 Section 2 defined “organized crime as a Schedule 1 offence that [a] is connected with the activities of a particular triad society.” See Societies Ordinance (Cap. 151, Laws of Hong Kong) and Organized and Serious Crimes Ordinance (Cap. 455, Laws of Hong Kong), Hong Kong Government Publishers.
[3] Triad societies are traditional Chinese secret societies, also known as Hung Mun (Hung League), Tian Di Hui (Heaven and Earth Society), Sam He Hui (Three United Association), or Hak Sh’e Hui (Black Society Association). See W.P. Morgan (1960). Triad Societies in Hong Kong, Government Printer, Hong Kong.


[5] The most organized element of contemporary triad society occurs with the street gang formed by a few core triad members, usually led by the area boss a [rank] 426 Red Pole (office bearer), 49 triad followers (ordinary members) and Blue Lanterns (initiates) recruited among youths and juveniles by their area boss. See Y.K. Chu (2000). The triads as business, Routledge, London.


[33] The HK Homicide Monitoring Database [1989-2004] is a project funded by the HK Research Grant Council (RGC grant #No 0203188) and directed by Dr. R.G. Broadhurst and Dr. S.L. Beh.
[37] Research data from this paper
[38] A crude risk ratio can be calculated based on the number of triad members estimated in 1994 at 100,000 compared to the average population of HK over the period at 6
243150 persons. Of all 948 homicide victims, triad members comprised 163 and 785 were non-triad victims. Thus the risk of a triad member becoming a homicide victim was 163/100000=0.00163 and the risk of a non-triad homicide victim was 785/6143150=0.000128; this yields a risk ratio of 0.00163/0.000128=12.756 or approximately 12.8:1 triad member victims to every non-triad homicide victim.

[39] Parametric t-test was performed on testing the difference of means in general. Non-parametric Mann-Whitney Test was performed on the differences of the number of offenders since there was existence of unknown offenders in the database and the result was also significant (p<.001).

[40] The HK Homicide Monitoring Database allowed multiple coding of motives, which means overall motives >100%.


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[36] The HK Homicide Monitoring Database allowed multiple coding of motives, which means overall motives are greater than 100%.


**Figure Legends:**

Fig. 1. Yearly distribution of triad homicide, 1989-1998.

Fig. 2. Age distribution of victims

Fig. 3. Age distribution of offenders

*Note the offender age for 50.8% of triad homicide, 36% of non-triad homicide, and 41.2% of total homicide was unknown.
Table 1. Number of offenders and victims in triad and other homicide

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<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face or honor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>84.2</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Motives and relationships in triad and other homicides
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General argument</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love/Jealousy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Relationship**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-stranger*</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: *non-stranger includes intimates, acquaintances and unknown.

**Table 3. Modes of death by triad involvement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause of death</th>
<th>Triad</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverse effect</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blunt instrument</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire/burn/inhalation</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunshot</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Neck pressure/strangulation/suffocation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sharp instrument</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unascertainable</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong>*</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In one triad case the cause of death is missing or unknown.

(Optional) Table 3. Age groups of homicide offenders and victims by triad involvement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Victim age (%)</th>
<th>0–12</th>
<th>13–18</th>
<th>19–29</th>
<th>30–39</th>
<th>40–59</th>
<th>≥60</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total % (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Triad</strong></td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100 (125)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-triad</strong></td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>100 (705)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>All Victims</strong></td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>100 (830)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offender age (%)</th>
<th>10–14</th>
<th>15–19</th>
<th>20–29</th>
<th>30–39</th>
<th>40–49</th>
<th>≥50</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total % (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Triad</strong></td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>100 (526)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conviction</td>
<td>No. case</td>
<td>Type of weapons</td>
<td>Sentence length</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Knives (14), arson (2), blunt (1),</td>
<td>Life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hands/feet (1), unknown (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manslaughter</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Blunt (7), hand/feet (6), knives (3),</td>
<td>Mean=5.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>unknown (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Summary of known court conviction result for triad related homicide