Analysis of
Incidents of Racial Harassment
Recorded by the Police
in
Northern Ireland

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1.0   Monitoring Racism

The police have monitored racially motivated incidents in Northern Ireland from January 1995. However, the format for recording data changed in 1996 and therefore this report is based upon an analysis of all racist incidents recorded by the police since the beginning of 1996 until the end of 2001. The data is drawn directly from racist incident report forms or Race One forms. These are completed at the local station when a crime or incident is perceived to be racist. The information is forwarded to the Community Involvement (formerly Community Affairs) Sergeant in each District Command Unit who has responsibility for responding to all racist incidents. The forms are then forwarded to the Community Involvement Department in Headquarters for monitoring purposes.

This report draws upon an analysis of the 881 racist incidents that have been recorded by the police over a six-year period. The figures are broken down on a year-by-year basis in the table below.

Table 1: Racist incidents recorded between 1996 and 2001

1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	Total
41	41	106	186	285	222	881

These figures differ slightly from those published in the previous report, which analysed the police data on racist harassment from 1996-1999 (Jarman 2002). This is because we have attempted to address differences and anomalies that were apparent between various published police data and the incidents recorded on official racist incident report forms. A re-reading of all the files has led to the inclusion in the overall figures of a number of incidents that had been recorded on other types of forms and notes within the filing system.

The revised figures involve minor increases in the number of incidents in the first three-year period of recording. Nevertheless, the data reveals a substantial increase in the number of reported incidents over this period. Overall there has been an increase of 444% in the number of incidents recorded by the police between 1996 and 2001. However, it is also interesting to note that there was a reduction in the number of incidents recorded in 2001 compared to the figures for 2000. This decline in incidents continued in 2002 when the PSNI recorded 198 racist incidents. The data for 2002 are not included in this study however. Table 2 shows the annual percentage change based on the data for the period under study.

Table 2: Percentage annual increase of racist incidents

1996-1997	1997-1998	1998-1999	1999-2000	2000-2001	1996-2001
0	159	75	53	-22	444

A number of reasons can be suggested to explain the overall increase in recorded incidents over the recording period:

1. There has been a real increase in the number of racist incidents that have occurred in Northern Ireland.
2. There has been a greater willingness of people to report incidents to the police.
3. There has been an increase in the willingness or the awareness of police officers to record incidents as racist incidents.
4. The impact of the Stephen Lawrence Report and the revised definition of a racist incident has focused more attention on racist harassment and encouraged greater reporting and recording.

It is difficult to be certain of the relative importance of each or any of these factors. Recent research in England and Wales suggests that the rise in the number of recorded racist incidents is probably due to increased confidence and awareness of the issue both among members of the communities and the police following publicity around the Stephen Lawrence Report, coupled with greater ease of recording because of the involvement of a wider range of agencies with this issue (Burney and Rose 2002:34). However, the Stephen Lawrence Report has probably had less impact here than in England and it is probable that all four factors have contributed to the increase in recorded incidents in Northern Ireland in different ways.

1.1   Factors Limiting Reporting

To date, there has been no work undertaken of a comparable nature to the BCS in relation to experiences of racist harassment in Northern Ireland. Thus, it is therefore far from clear as to what percentage of racist incidents are reported to and recorded by the PSNI. There is a wide range of factors that reduce the willingness of someone to contact the police (see also Burney and Rose 2002: 36-37; Chahal and Julienne 1999: 2; Sampson and Phillips 1995:15-16). These include:

1. **A Fact of Life**: The term racist incident is a diverse catch-all that includes everything from a violent assault to an act of verbal abuse. Many people state that they have come to accept things such as verbal abuse as a fact of life and would not bother to report it. Others state that they would only report abuse if it became persistent, repetitive, or began to have a serious impact upon their life.
2. **Crimes Yes, Incidents No**: Many people feel that the police will not bother to respond to an 'incident', whether racist or otherwise, because there is little that the police can do to address basic low level racist harassment.
3. **Police Ignorance**: Some people have stated that even if they do report racist harassment, the complaint will not progress through the police system due to the dependence upon the attitudes of police officers to take action. The recommendation in the Stephen Lawrence Report to change the definition of a racist incident was in part aimed at reducing the power of a police officer to decide whether an incident was racist or not.
4. **Suspicion of the Police**: All of the above factors are underpinned by a mistrust of the attitudes of police officers when dealing with members of minority communities and with issues related to racism. In part this may be compounded by differing attitudes and interests of the section officers who respond to incidents and the MLOs who deal with minority communities on a day-to-day basis.
5. **Police Racism**: One specific factor of concern is the belief that some police officers are themselves racist and are unwilling to respond fairly and equitably to

claims of racist harassment. A small number of complaints of racism have been made to the Police Ombudsman's office, and these are discussed below. The PSNI have adopted a pro-active response to building relations with the minority communities, although the perceived hostility towards Travellers within the police is a problem that has yet to be addressed in any significant manner.

6. **Lack of Feedback**: It has been noted that while the police publish details of the number of incidents reported to them, it is more difficult to obtain any details on police responses. For example, no data is published on the number of arrests, prosecutions or convictions for racist activity. This fosters an attitude of 'if the police can't do anything, why bother to report it?'

7. **Language and Cultural Barriers**: Language differences, limited access to translators and interpreters and cultural considerations may also all be factors that reduce the willingness of some members of minority ethnic communities to report incidents to the police.

8. **Fear of Repercussions**: Some people are concerned that reporting cases of harassment to the police will do little to deter the perpetrator and may lead to further trouble. This is particularly the case when the perpetrator is a neighbour or lives nearby and when the victim is isolated from other members of their community. This factor takes on more significance with the presence of paramilitary organisations in many working class estates.

1.2 Victimised Communities

It is possible to disaggregate the number of incidents by each of the six ethnic categories and thus reveal the proportional victimisation of each group. The table below sets out the number of incidents that have been recorded in each of the six years for each of the six racial categories.

Table 3: Number of recorded incidents for each of the six racial categories 1996-2001

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	Total	%
Black	3	3	10	17	46	26	105	12
Chinese	23	14	19	59	85	47	247	28
Indian	13	18	62	72	84	86	335	38
Other	2	5	12	18	42	37	116	13
Traveller				9	10	8	27	3
White		1	3	11	17	18	50	6
Unknown					1		1	
Total	41	41	106	186	285	222	881	100

The overall number of incidents relating to each of the six racial categories over the six-year period reveals a number of trends:

• The largest minority ethnic community in Northern Ireland are the Chinese. They initially reported the most incidents, but in recent years members of the Indian community have reported the most incidents.

- Incidents relating to the Indian community account for 38% of all incidents in the six-year period compared with 28% of incidents reported by the Chinese community.
- In contrast there are still only a very small number (and percentage) of incidents recorded involving the Traveller community, the third largest minority community in Northern Ireland.
- The two most recent years have also witnessed a growing number of incidents involving the 'black' and 'other' categories, which perhaps is evidence of the growing diversity of minority ethnic communities in Northern Ireland.

1.3   Repeat Harassment

Racist harassment is a fact of life for many members of minority ethnic communities in Northern Ireland. It is also a persistent and recurrent problem for many people. In many of the cases recorded by the police the victims of racist harassment have reported previous or longstanding experience of such harassment. In 395 of the 881 recorded cases (45% of the total) the injured party reported that they had previous experience of racist harassment. In some cases the previous harassment had been reported to the police but in many instances the injured party had endured recurrent abuse and worse, before they finally turned to the police for a response.

The data indicates that the Indian community have reported the highest percentage of cases where the injured party had indicated they had suffered previous harassment, with over 50% of injured parties experiencing racist harassment previously. However, all of the racial category groups, except the Travellers, have reported significant levels, over 37%, of previous harassment.

Table 4: Number and percentage of cases where victim has previously experienced racist harassment

	Previously Reported	%
Black	39	37
Chinese	105	43
Indian	176	53
Other	47	41
Traveller	6	22
White	22	44
Total	395	45

These figures for repeat victimisation are high when compared to published data from England and Wales. The highest figure for repeat victimisation was in Cumbria where 38% of victims had previously been affected (an area which also had a high rate per 1000 people), while West Yorkshire reported 32% repeat victimisation (Maynard and Read 1997:5). Both of these cases are substantially below the Northern Ireland average of 45%, although more localised studies reveal higher rates in some inner city estates (Sampson and Phillips 1995).

These figures should also be treated as a minimum level of cases of previous harassment as on many forms the question of whether there had been a previous incident had been left blank by the police officer. Furthermore, the question demands only a yes or no answer and therefore does not take into account, or acknowledge cases of multiple or persistent harassment. It is thus difficult to get a clear picture of the true level of repeat harassment from the information provided.

Nevertheless, there is a small number of cases (n = 25, or 3%) where there is reference to previous, or repeated harassment over a period of time, sometimes years. In most cases this previous harassment had not been reported to the authorities. There are also a number of cases in several locations and over a number of years where individuals or families have finally taken the decision to report harassment to the police and then for other cases to follow with disturbing frequency. This suggests that persistent and repetitive racist harassment is a serious problem for a number of families and individuals.

2.0 Gender and Age of Victim

The report forms identify the person reporting a racist incident by gender and in many cases also include the age of the victim. However, the form does not require all persons who may feel themselves to be injured parties to be identified. Thus in the case of incidents at or near to a domestic property or a place of work only a single injured party need be identified even though many more people, whether members of a household or co-workers, may also be affected by the incident. The table below therefore indicates the gender and age of those reporting racist incidents and in the case of children, where they are the primary recipients of racist harassment.

Table 5: Gender and age group of victims of reported racist incidents

	Black	Chinese	Indian	Other	Traveller	White	Total
Males	69	145	231	85	15	22	567
Females	30	83	83	24	9	22	251
Both	5	18	19	5	3	6	56
Unknown	1	1	2	2			6
Total	105	247	335	116	27	50	880
Male Adult	53	111	196	69	7	12	448
Fem. Adult	17	70	69	15	5	15	191
M+F Adult	2	12	13	4	1	2	34
Male Youth	6	6	9	6	1	2	30
Fem. Youth	5	5	5	2	2	4	23
M+F Youth		1			1		2
Male Child	6	17	15	6	5	5	54
Fem. Child	7	4	6	3		1	21
M+F Child	1	1	1	1			4
Male U/K	4	10	9	4	2	3	32
Fem. U/K	1	3	3	2		2	11
M+F U/K		3	1		1	1	6
Ad't+Ch'ld	2	3	6	2	2	3	18

Note: Figures differ from other tables, as a small number of report forms do not include data on gender or age and some incidents include males and females.

The data indicates that 71% of those who reported racist incidents were males, while 34% of incidents included female victims (some cases involved male and female victims. In total 11% of incidents included children under the age of 16 and a further 7% involved 'youths'. In all communities except the 'White' group males reported between 64% and 77% of cases. In contrast, incidents relating to the 'White' group were reported equally by males and females.

Some of these reporting patterns might result from the different demographic profiles of the various communities; some might be due to varying cultural practices, while some might result from differentiated gender working patterns. However, the data on age and gender could also reasonably be assumed to be more of a reflection upon those

members of the household or workplace with authority or with better command of English than with those who necessarily feel affected by an incident. One might speculate that males would report incidents more frequently than females where both are present and / or affected and similarly that the elderly might be less likely to report incidents in multi-generational households or workplaces.

Furthermore, it is not possible to identify the number of people resident in a property or the number of persons working in premises, which are subjected to racist harassment from the current data. Therefore, while the report forms suggest that most racist incidents have a single injured party this may be far from the truth. Attacks on family property or on family members may affect all members of the household and incidents in the work place may well have an effect on all people who work there. The number of people affected by racist incidents and racist harassment will therefore be considerably higher than the number of incidents that are recorded.

It is also reasonable to assume that the data drawn from the report forms will severely underestimate the number of children who experience some form of racist harassment unless they are the immediate victims. For example, 29 incidents are identified that involve a household – with children being identified as present when an incident occurred, but again this must be taken as the bare minimum of such incidents.

The attempt to analyse the age ranges and gender of victims is hampered by the quality of the data recorded on the report forms, which in turn is related to the type and range of questions that police officers are expected to ask. Improving the data on age and gender would be relatively simple to achieve. For example, the form could have a series of tick boxes to identify the age of victims, the number of victims and the gender of each victim. Better data would allow a clearer analysis of the problem and therefore better and more appropriate responses.

2.1 Incidents involving children and young people

The number of racist incidents involving children and young people as the primary target increased from 2 in 1996 to 66 in 2000 but dropped again to 35 in 2001. In a further 18 incidents a child was with an adult when the incident occurred and another 29 incidents can be identified where children were involved as part of the harassment of their household. Incidents involving children alone increased from 2 in 1996 to 36 in 2000 and then declined to 14 in 2001. These incidents included the harassment of children as young as 2 years of age.

Table 6: Incidents involving children and young people 1996-2001

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	Total
Child	2	1	6	21	36	14	79
Youth		1	1	2	30	21	55
Adult/ Child	1			3	4	10	18
Household	1	3	2	5	12	6	29
Total	4	5	9	31	82	51	181
%	10	12	8	17	29	23	21

Over the six-year period at least 21% of all incidents involved children and young people, with the annual percentage increasing from 10% in 1996 to 29% in 2000, and then dropping to 23% in 2001. In those cases where gender can be clearly identified, 88 involved male children and youths, while 48 involved females. The gender difference among children was larger than among those categorised as youths, male children out-numbered female children who were recorded as victims of racism by 54:21, while among youths the figures were 30:23. This ratio of males to females is virtually the same as for the entire sample; overall 70% of incidents involved males and 34% involved females, whereas 66% of incidents of children and youths involved males and 33% involved females.

The largest number of cases involving young people occurred in the street (n = 77/181 or 42% of incidents with young people) or other public place such as shops, fast food outlets or leisure venues (n = 25, 14%). This compares with the general figures whereby nearly 21% of incidents occurred in the street and less than 6% of incidents occurred to people in shops and leisure settings. Most of the other incidents (n = 70, 39%) occurred in or close to the home. In a majority of cases that occurred in the street or public place (60/102 incidents, 59%) there was more than one perpetrator involved in the harassment and in general the harassers were older than the victim. Again this compares unfavourably with the overall figure in which under 41% of cases involved more than one perpetrator.

In all these cases, the young person was subjected to racial abuse, most frequently from one or more child or young person, although a small number of incidents involved abuse by an adult. More significantly in 73 of the 181 cases (40%) the young person also reported physical as well as verbal abuse. This proportion of combined verbal abuse and physical assault towards children is much higher than in cases of harassment involving adults. In total in 24% of all cases of racist harassment the victim reported being subject to physical assault.

The figures for incidents involving children and young people should be considered a minimum number on at least three counts:

1. Police report forms do not have to record whether children were present when an incident occurred and given the number of incidents that occur in or near the domestic arena, it is likely that children are far more exposed to the impact of racist harassment than these figures suggest.
2. Only a small number of incidents (n = 5) have been recorded that took place in schools. Research by Connolly and Keenan (2000b: 65) asserts that *'racist bullying and harassment is a serious problem for a significant proportion of minority ethnic children in schools'*. A further six of the incidents occurred on the way to or from school or can be linked to school in some way, but the fact that school based harassment is largely absent from the police figures highlights a key gap in the statistics.
3. In at least 76 of the 181 recorded incidents there is mention of previous incidents of a similar nature. This suggests that young people were prepared to endure ongoing problems with harassment before they decided to report the problem to the police. If all of the previous incidents were recorded then the scale of racist harassment of children would have been considerably higher.

The scale and impact of racist harassment on children and young people is probably severely underestimated, because of the lack of requirement on the police to document all those exposed to racist harassment, because of the high percentage of incidents that occur in the domestic arena (and thus affect all those living in a household), and because of the limited documentation of racist harassment in places such as schools and youth clubs in the police figures. This is one area where the relevant agencies clearly need to come together to determine the scale of the problem and to formulate an appropriate response. However, before this stage is reached it will be necessary for schools and other educational establishments to acknowledge the need to respond in a more explicit manner to the problem, or a potential problem of, racist bullying.

The Department of Education does acknowledge that bullying is a significant and persistent problem for many pupils and recently commissioned a major study of bullying across Northern Ireland (Collins, McAleavy and Adamson 2002). This study revealed that 12% of primary school pupils and 8% of post-primary pupils claimed to have been bullied 'with mean names about my race and colour' (pp 12 & 23). This would appear to be a high level compared with the estimated 2% of the population who come from minority ethnic communities. The authors state that the 'level of reports regarding bullying about race and colour was a surprise finding' and suggest that some children 'may have responded to this question with religion rather than race in mind' (p69). However, it is not clear on what evidence they base this suggestion. The findings may well indicate that racist bullying is a more severe problem for children from minority ethnic communities than has been formally acknowledged, even though it has been noted in research studies (Connolly and Keenan 200b; Irwin and Dunn 1997).

At present there are no statistics, aside from the recent report, that document the scale of racist bullying, nor is there any requirement on schools to record or report incidents of racist bullying. The Stephen Lawrence Report recommended that racist incidents in schools should be recorded and published (Recommendation 68) and the adoption of such a process would be one step towards identifying the significance of racist harassment within schools in Northern Ireland and quantifying the overall scale and number of cases of racist harassment that are being experienced by children and young people.

3.0 Geographical Location of Incidents

Racist incidents have been recorded in 67 towns or villages across all six counties of Northern Ireland. Table 7 identifies the number of locations and the number of incidents that have been recorded in each of the six counties plus Belfast.

Table 7: Incidents by county

	Locations	Incidents	% Incidents
Belfast	1	430	49
Antrim	21	172	20
Armagh	8	83	9
Down	14	78	9
Fermanagh	5	13	1.5
Londonderry	10	47	5
Tyrone	8	57	6
Total	67	880	99.5

Note: The location of one incident is not specified on the report form.

The figures indicate that almost half of all recorded incidents occurred in Belfast and that 680 of the 881 incidents (77% of the total) occurred in Belfast and the two adjacent counties of Antrim and Down. The figures also reveal that the three western counties of Fermanagh, Derry Londonderry and Tyrone accounted for 117 incidents or 13% of the total.

The Census data gives the population of each of the minority ethnic communities in relation to a number of geographical boundaries: local government districts, social services boards, education and library boards, parliamentary constituencies and NUTS level III, but not by county, the means by which we are able to agglomerate the police data. It is possible to combine the two sets of figures to compare population figures with recorded incidents at a broader level: Belfast, Eastern NI and Western NI. Under this schema the Eastern area includes the three Antrim constituencies, North and South Down, Lagan Valley, Strangford and the Upper Bann, while the western area includes East Londonderry, Fermanagh and South Tyrone, Foyle, Mid-Ulster, Newry and Armagh and West Tyrone.

Table 8: Percentage minority ethnic population and racist incident by zone

	Number of persons	% Minority Population	Number of incidents	% Racist Incidents
Belfast	4 582	32	411	49
East NI	5 760	40	288	35
West NI	3 934	27	131	16
Total	14 276	99	830	100

Note: Incidents recorded against 'whites' are excluded as they are not included in the Census figures for minority communities.

These figures suggest that there are a disproportionate number of racist incidents in Belfast where nearly half of all incidents are recorded but where less than one third of the minority ethnic population lives.

3.1 Incidents in Belfast

The location of incidents in Belfast can be further broken down into five relatively discrete zones: North, South, East, West and Centre. For the purposes of this report Crumlin Road serves as the boundary between North and West Belfast; the M1 motorway serves as the boundary between West and South Belfast and the Ormeau Road serves as the boundary between South and East Belfast. The central area is defined as the core commercial, entertainment and leisure area bounded by the River Lagan, York Street, Frederick Street, Carrick Hill, Millfield, College Square, Great Victoria Street, Dublin Road, Ormeau Avenue and Cromac Street and including Bradbury Place and Botanic Avenue.

Racist incidents were not evenly or randomly distributed across the city.
- Most incidents were recorded in the south of the city, with 198 incidents, or 47% of the total recorded in the six-year period under study.
- The second largest number was recorded in east Belfast, with 81 incidents and 19% of the total.
- North Belfast recorded the next highest number with 78 incidents over six years.
- There were 47 incidents recorded in the central Belfast area.
- In contrast, only 21 incidents, 6% of the total, were recorded in West Belfast (an area which encompasses both the Shankill and Falls) over the same period.

If these five zones of Belfast were treated as distinct urban areas they would rank as the first (South Belfast), second (East), third (North), fourth (Centre) and eleventh (West) most significant areas for racist incidents in Northern Ireland. South Belfast in fact accounts for over 22% of all racist incidents, while East Belfast recorded over 9% and nearly 9% of all incidents were recorded in North Belfast.

Table 9: Incidents in Belfast

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	Total	%
Centre			5	8	19	15	47	11
East	2	6	7	15	32	19	81	19
North	1	4	37	16	13	7	78	18
South	19	15	18	42	61	43	198	47
West			2	4	7	8	21	6
Total	22	25	69	85	132	92	425	101
% of total	53	61	65	46	48	42		

Note: In five cases not enough details are given to locate the address on a map.

There is little micro demographic data on any of the minority ethnic groups in Belfast. The 2001 Census provides information on the minority population in each of the four

Belfast parliamentary constituencies, this indicates that South Belfast has 2,513 people identifying in one of the 11 ethnic categories; 787 in East Belfast, 643 in North Belfast and 639 in West Belfast. Local knowledge indicates a sizeable Chinese community in South Belfast and a small Sikh community in North Belfast, and these are both areas with a high number of recorded racist incidents and both of these two small communities feature prominently in the number of recorded incidents.

In South Belfast the highest number of incidents, 119 out of 198 (or 60%), were recorded in the inner city and university area. This includes:
- 43 incidents in the Village area;
- 37 incidents in the Donegall Pass area;
- 20 incidents in the Lisburn Road area;
- 20 incidents in the University area.

Furthermore, another nine of the 13 incidents recorded in the Central Belfast area took place in the area between Dublin Road, Bradbury Place and Botanic Avenue, adjacent to the inner city south area. The inner South Belfast residential and leisure zone is thus the area with the most racist incidents in Northern Ireland. This area has recorded the most incidents in each year with the exception of 1998. The majority of these incidents affected the Chinese community living and working in the area.

The other areas of South Belfast where significant numbers of incidents were recorded were Finaghy/Taughmonagh (36 incidents) and the Ormeau Road (19 incidents).

In North Belfast, 58 of the 78 incidents (74%) were recorded in an area between Glandore Avenue and the Limestone Road. These were centred on Alexandra Park Avenue where 47 of the incidents occurred. The remaining incidents were scattered across the area. The majority of the incidents in North Belfast affected the small Sikh community resident in the area.

In contrast to South and North Belfast the incidents in East and West Belfast were spread broadly across the area with no significant clusters.

When one looks more closely at the micro geography of Belfast, it is evident that the majority of incidents have been recorded in predominately Protestant working class areas. This is a principle factor in South, North and East Belfast: in South Belfast 134 of the 198 incidents (67%), in North Belfast 58 out of 78 incidents (74%), and in East Belfast 65 out of 81 incidents (65%) were in predominately Protestant working class areas. In contrast, there have been far fewer incidents recorded in Catholic working class residential areas, but 22 of the 99 incidents (22%) in North and West Belfast have occurred in Catholic parts of the city.

3.2   Incidents Outside of Belfast

Those towns, villages or other areas, outside of Belfast and which have recorded five or more incidents over the six-year period are shown in Table 10 below. The year-by-year data for recorded incidents shows distinctly uneven patterns. Derry Londonderry and Portadown are the only towns to have recorded racist incidents in every one of the six years. In contrast, Bangor, the town with the highest aggregate number of incidents

had no incidents recorded prior to 1999, and Carrickfergus, with the second highest number of incidents had recorded only two cases of harassment prior to 1999. Most incidents have been recorded in the larger towns in the province although Dollingstown is something of an exception as a result of the ten incidents recorded in the village in 2000.

This list reveals that a large proportion of those incidents occurring outside of Belfast have been recorded in towns and districts that make up the Greater Belfast area. We include in that area the towns that make up the contiguous urban area on the shores of Belfast Lough but exclude places such as Antrim, Templepatrick, Carryduff or Newtownards. The western Greater Belfast area includes south-east County Antrim from Carrickfergus, through Newtownabbey and Glengormley, to Dunmurray and Lisburn. This area accounts for 104 incidents. The eastern zone includes the north County Down towns of Bangor, Holywood and Dundonald and this area accounts for a further 59 incidents. Thus 594 out of the 881 incidents, or 67% of the total, have been recorded in Belfast and the Greater Belfast area.

Table 10: Towns with five or more racist incidents since 1996

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	Total
Bangor	1			12	16	5	34
Carrick	1		1	6	10	12	30
Glengormley	4		6	10	4	5	29
Derry	1	3	7	1	13	4	29
Portadown	1	2	2	3	6	15	29
Ballymena	1		1	15	11		28
N'abbey	1		2	7	4	8	22
Holywood				3	9	6	18
Dungannon			4	1	3	8	16
Strabane				4	7	5	16
Lisburn				1	8	6	15
Armagh	4			4	3	3	14
Lurgan		1	3		6	4	14
Dollingstown				1	10	1	12
Antrim	1	1		2	2	5	11
Cookstown				2	3	4	9
Craigavon		1	4	2	1	1	9
Dunmurray				5	2	1	8
Coalisland				1	3	3	7
Enniskillen	1				3	3	7
Omagh		1	2	3		1	7
Dundonald		1	1	1		3	6
Ballymoney		1		1		3	5

The other principal area in which racist incidents have been recorded has been the mid-Ulster triangle bounded by Dollingstown/Lurgan in the east, Armagh in the south and Coalisland/Dungannon in the west within which 104 incidents (12% of the total) have been recorded. Apart from the Greater Belfast and mid-Ulster areas only Derry

Londonderry, Ballymena and Strabane have recorded more than 10 incidents over the six-year period.

4.0 Relationships Between Place and Racism

This section reviews the relationship between the ethnic background of the victim and the location in which racist incidents occurred. The data from the 2001 Census reveals that the Belfast local government district has the largest population of each of the main minority ethnic communities. It also indicates that:

- The largest Chinese communities are in the Greater Belfast area and in particular Castlereagh, Newtownabbey, Lisburn and North Down local government districts. The largest communities elsewhere are in Craigavon and Coleraine.
- The Census indicates that the largest Traveller communities are in Newry and Mourne, Derry, Dungannon and Craigavon, while according to the recent Housing Executive survey (2002) 51% of the Traveller community lives in the area west of the Bann, 43% live East of the Bann and 6% were unspecified.
- The Indian community is fairly widely spread across all areas. The largest community outside of Belfast are in Derry, with other significant communities in Castlereagh, Coleraine, Craigavon, Lisburn and Newtownabbey.
- There is a large Pakistani community in Craigavon with other significant communities in North Down and Omagh.
- The Bangladeshi community is largely resident in Ards, North Down and Castlereagh.
- The Black communities are widely spread across the north with significant groups in Limavady, Castlereagh, Derry, Down and North Down.

The following table shows the number of incidents recorded by the police for each of the six racial categories in each of the six counties plus Belfast.

Table 11: Incidents by racial category and county

	Black	Chinese	Indian	Other	Traveller	White	Total
Belfast	51	141	147	63	9	19	430
Antrim	18	34	90	19		11	172
Armagh	2	19	41	13	4	4	83
Down	15	33	16	4	2	8	78
Fermanagh	6		2	3		2	13
Londonderry	8	12	19	3	2	3	47
Tyrone	5	8	20	11	10	3	57
Total	105	247	335	116	27	50	880

Note: The data for one incident is incomplete and cannot readily be classified by place.

As Belfast has the highest number of racist incidents overall, it is only to be expected that it has a higher number of incidents relating to each of the minority ethnic communities than any of the counties. The only exception being incidents relating to Travellers, where Tyrone has a slightly higher number.

While nearly 49% of all incidents were recorded in Belfast, these are not equally divided among the six different racial categories. Over 57% of incidents affecting the Chinese community occurred in the city and 54% of incidents affecting the 'Other' category, while only 33% of incidents affecting Travellers and 38% of those affecting Whites were recorded there. The figures also indicate that County Antrim is the county with the second highest proportion of incidents for all groups except Travellers.

It is also possible to disaggregate the figures further to reveal some of the minor variations within the broad figures for Belfast and for the towns with higher numbers of recorded incidents. The following tables illustrate the figures for the five sub-areas of Belfast, for the South East Antrim and North Down parts of the greater Belfast area and finally for the mid-Ulster region. As noted in the previous section these are the areas with the highest numbers of incidents and they account for nearly 80% of all incidents.

The figures for Belfast reveal quite distinct patterns of victimisation for the two largest minority communities - the Chinese and the Indian. Chinese people, for example, reported more extensive harassment in the south of the city than any other part: nearly 44% of all incidents in South Belfast were reported by the Chinese and 64% of incidents affecting the Chinese community in Belfast occurred in this area. A further 24% of incidents involving the Chinese were in East Belfast, where over 40% of incidents involved harassment of Chinese people. In contrast, only 4% of cases of harassment of Chinese people occurred in the North of the city where the Indian community was most victimised: 44% of incidents affecting the Indian community occurred in the north of the city, and in fact 83% of all incidents in North Belfast targeted the Indian population. Only 29% of incidents involving the Indian community occurred in South Belfast and 10% took place in the east of the city. Apart from the attacks on the Indian community, there have in fact been relatively few reported incidents in either North or West Belfast.

Table 12: Racist Harassment by group in all areas of Belfast

	Central	%	East	%	North	%	South	%	West	%	Total	%
Black	12	**24**	11	**22**	3	**6**	23	**46**	1	**2**	50	
Chinese	5	**3.5**	33	**24**	6	**4**	87	**64**	5	**3.5**	136	
Indian	19	**13**	15	**10**	65	**44**	43	**29**	5	**3**	147	
Other	8	**13**	14	**22**	3	**4**	32	**51**	6	**10**	63	
Traveller			2	**22**			4	**44**	3	**33**	9	
White	3	**16**	6	**32**	1	**5**	8	**42**	1	**5**	19	
Total	47		81		78		198		21		425	
%		**11**		**19**		**18**		**47**		**5**		**100**

Although one is dealing with smaller numbers, similar distinctive patterns emerge in the other locations recording relatively large numbers of racist incidents. In North Down, for example, attacks on the Chinese community account for over 44% of cases, with the Black community the next most numerically harassed (13 cases and 22% of the total) largely because of incidents that have been recorded in Holywood. These are the two largest minority ethnic communities in the North Down local government district.

Table 13: Racist Harassment by group in North Down

	Black	Chinese	Indian	Other	Traveller	White	Total
Bangor	5	18	4	1	2	4	34
Holywood	8	5	4			1	18
Dundonald		3		1		2	6
Helen's Bay			1				1
Total	13	26	9	2	2	7	59

In South East Antrim, in contrast, attacks on the Indian community account for nearly 54% of all cases, largely because of incidents reported in Carrickfergus, Glengormley and elsewhere in the borough of Newtownabbey. A much smaller number of incidents have been reported by the Chinese community although they are by far the largest community in the area.

Table 14: Racist Harassment by group in South East Antrim

	Black	Chinese	Indian	Other	Traveller	White	Total
Carrick	4	3	15	2		6	30
Glengormley		4	21	3		1	29
Newtownabbey	4	3	13	1		1	22
Lisburn	3	4	5	2		1	15
Dunmurray		3	4	1			8
Greenisland		2					2
Total	11	19	56	9		9	104

In mid-Ulster, the Indian community was again the most severely harassed and reported over 40% of all cases. Over 65% of incidents in Portadown affected the Indian community and 11 of the 12 cases in Dollingstown. Otherwise over 20% of cases were recorded by the disparate 'Other' grouping with 9 of the 16 incidents in Dungannon reported by 'Others'. Far fewer cases were reported by the Chinese community although they are at least as large a population as the Indian group.

Table 15: Racist Harassment by group in Mid-Ulster

	Black	Chinese	Indian	Other	Traveller	White	Total
Portadown	1	4	19	5			29
Dungannon	2	2	2	9	1		16
Armagh		5		4	4	1	14
Lurgan	1	3	6	4			14
Dollingstown		1	11				12
Craigavon		1	5			3	9
Coalisland	1			1	5		7
Richhill		3					3
Total	4	19	43	23	10	4	103

The breakdown into ethnic groups for incidents that have been recorded in other towns with more than five incidents are set out below. Distinctive patterns of harassment of

the Indian community are evident in the figures for Strabane, Ballymena and Derry Londonderry. In Derry Londonderry the Indian community is the largest minority ethnic group but Travellers are larger communities in both Strabane and Ballymena and the Chinese community is also larger than the Indian community in Ballymena.

Table 16: Racist Harassment by group in Other Locations

	Black	Chinese	Indian	Other	Traveller	White	Total
Derry	6	6	12	3	1	1	29
Ballymena	5	4	17	1		1	28
Strabane			15				15
Cookstown	1	4			1	3	9
Enniskillen	2		2	3			7
Omagh	1	1	2	1	2		7
Ballymoney		3	2				5

By disaggregating the gross figures for each location into the six racial categories it is possible to observe a number of distinctive patterns emerging, particularly in relation to the spatially distinctive patterns of reporting of attacks on the Chinese and Indian communities. The police records also confirm the growing diversity of many, if not all, towns in Northern Ireland. The fact that cases of racist harassment were reported to the police for example in Omagh by Blacks, Chinese, Indians, Travellers and Others; in Enniskillen by Blacks, Indians and Others and in Ballymena by Blacks, Chinese, Indians, Others and Whites in itself reveals something of the variety of communities well beyond the core communities in Belfast.

The clear pattern of racist harassment that emerges from the data is of a problem that is concentrated in the urban core of Greater Belfast. This is perhaps only to be expected as all the evidence suggests that the vast majority of members of the minority ethnic communities live in this area. A similar pattern on a much larger scale has been identified in England and Wales, with the vast majority of incidents recorded in the capital, London. However the data for England and Wales also indicates that racist harassment is a problem for minority communities throughout the country and that it is perhaps proportionately more of a problem in rural areas where small minority communities experience relatively more problems (Dhalech 1999; Garland and Chakraborti 2002, Maynard and Read 1997). This problem can be made worse by the lack of local support or interest, the distance from minority ethnic organisations and lower levels of awareness of such issues among police officers in rural areas.

The evidence for Northern Ireland indicates that racism exists in all areas of Northern Ireland. Incidents have been recorded in small towns and villages in all six counties including Ballymoney and Islandmagee in Antrim; Crossmaglen and Markethill in Armagh; Moira and Warrenpoint in Down; Eglington and Tobermore in Derry Londonderry; Bellanaleck, Belleek and Derrygonnelly in Fermanagh and in Castlederg and Dromore in Tyrone. Responding to the problem of racism is thus clearly a problem for all police district command units and for statutory bodies in each of the six counties.

5.0   Location of Racist Incidents

This section deals with the nature of the location in which many racist incidents took place. These have been grouped into four relatively discrete areas: in or near the home, in the street or other public place, at work and in a social or leisure setting. This last category includes incidents that occurred at pubs, clubs, restaurants or fast food outlets and at leisure centres where the injured party was a customer rather than in their working environment. In most cases the category of the location is clear cut but there are occasional instances where boundaries are, or maybe, blurred, for example where the perpetrators of harassment are in the street and the injured party in the domestic arena; or where a car was damaged outside a home, but these are a relatively small number of cases.

Of the racist incidents recorded between 1996 and 2001:
- 462 or 53% took place at or involved attacks on the home.
- 183 or 21% took place in the street.
- 180 or 21% took place at the victim's place of work.
- 51 or 6% occurred at places of leisure.

There were also 92 incidents (10% of the total) which involved an attack on a motor vehicle, these are also included in the above figures in relation to the location of the car at the time of the attack, the majority of which (86/92) took place in the vicinity of the home.

Table 17: Number of recorded incidents in each of four categories for each racial group

	Home	Street	Work	Leisure	Total
Black	38	39	15	12	104
Chinese	143	38	62	3	246
Indian	185	67	70	10	332
Other	55	21	24	16	116
Traveller	11	8	1	7	27
White	29	10	8	3	50
Unknown	1				1
Total	462	183	180	51	876*
%	52.7	20.8	20.5	5.8	99.8

Note: In the case of 5 incidents the location was not recorded.

This table shows that 40% of incidents in the home were reported by members of the Indian community and 31% by the Chinese community, while 41% of incidents at work were reported by the Indian community and 34% by members of the Chinese community. The Indian community reported 37% of incidents that occurred in the street while members of the Chinese and Black communities each reported 21% of such incidents.

However, if these figures are viewed as a percentage of incidents per ethnic group a different pattern emerges as can be seen in the table below. The percentage of incidents that occurred in the home is similar for the Chinese, Indian and White communities and all have a higher than average percentage of incidents at or near their home. In contrast, the percentage figures for the Black and Traveller groups fall well out of this range.

Table 18: Percentage figures for each location category per ethnic group

	Home	Street	Work	Leisure
Black	37	38	15	12
Chinese	58	15	25	1
Indian	56	20	21	3
Other	47	18	21	14
Traveller	41	30	4	26
White	58	20	16	6
Average %	52	21	20	6

This pattern is almost exactly reversed with regard to incidents in the street. A far higher percentage of incidents occurring in the street have been reported by the Black and Traveller communities than by any other groups. Blacks are in fact more than twice as likely to report being harassed in the street than members of the Chinese and Other communities. The likelihood of being harassed at work shows a similar pattern to home based incidents. The Chinese community are likely to be the victims of harassment at work with over one in four incidents they report occurring in the workplace, in contrast Travellers have reported only a small number of incidents relating to place of work.

Finally, Travellers report a higher percentage of incidents occurring in a leisure or social setting (albeit the total number of incidents is small), although a higher than average percentage of incidents in a social setting are also reported by both the Other and Black communities. Both the Chinese and Indian communities have reported only a small percentage of incidents occurring at leisure venues. A majority (29/51) of the incidents in leisure or social settings occurred in a pub or club, while another 10 took place at a shop, fast food outlet or restaurant.

These figures raise issues about the randomness of racist incidents: how far are the targets specifically or individually chosen and how far are they chosen by chance and are thus targeted more as a representative victim of an ethnic community than as an individual. The relatively high percentage of figures for incidents that occur in or near the domestic arena suggests that in many cases the victims are known to the perpetrators in some way. They are not random victims of racist attacks but individually chosen as part of a systematic practice. The fact that in many cases the victim recognises or even knows the perpetrator and/or that the victim is subject to repeat harassment helps to confirm this.

In contrast, many of the attacks and incidents that occur in the street or in leisure settings may be considered more likely to be random attacks or a chance opportunity to express hatred and racist attitudes. For example, in one incident a motorist stopped

to help another driver whose car had broken down and was verbally abused and physically assaulted for his pains. In another case a man sitting at traffic lights in his car was assaulted by two men who opened the car door and began to punch him. These seem to be cases of random racist assault.

Incidents that occur in the workplace may fall somewhere between these two poles. A high proportion of such incidents (116 out of 180 or 64% of such incidents) were reported at restaurants or food outlets of some kind. Some 54 of these were Chinese restaurants, 31 were Indian restaurants and 31 were fast food outlets. A further 23 incidents occurred at a shop, with 16 of these affecting the Indian community and 3 the Chinese. These are environments where perpetrators know they will encounter the minority ethnic 'other' although they will not necessarily know who a particular individual will be. Such attacks may thus incorporate elements of random representativeness and personal harassment of a local individual. Similarly, while cases of abuse or discrimination in a pub or club may be part of a pattern of systematic discrimination or harassment against members of minority communities, they are not likely to target specific minority ethnic individuals. They may therefore be considered as both random and systematic events.

Consideration of the form and the nature of the attack may appear relatively abstract in these circumstances but it may be relevant to whether an individual feels the need to report it – will it do any good, is it likely to happen again? – and also in formulating an appropriate response – persistent or repetitious attacks are more amenable to problem solving methods than random attacks.

6.0   Nature of Incidents

The nature of the incidents of racist harassment experienced by members of minority ethnic communities is extremely diverse, but nevertheless they can be usefully grouped into four main categories of harassment: physical assault, abuse, damage to property and theft. However, each of the incidents recorded by the police may include one or more of these forms of harassment, for example in an extreme case an individual may be verbally harassed, physically attacked, have their car damaged and be robbed as part of a single event.

The figures in Table 19 below refer to the principal or more serious incident being recorded. Assaults are considered most serious, then theft, damage to property and finally abuse. Thus if a victim reports assault and abuse, the incident is described here as an assault, if the report includes damage to property and theft it is categorised as a theft. The first total therefore includes only the most serious incident, while the 'all cases' figure refers to the total number of each type of incident. The 'total main incident' figure therefore adds up to 881 incidents, whereas the 'all cases' figure is far greater than the total number of incidents.

Table 19: Number of incidents in each of four main categories per racial group

	Assault	Theft	Property	Abuse	Total Incidents
Black	35	1	20	49	105
Chinese	51	30	113	53	247
Indian	67	8	143	117	335
Other	32	2	40	42	116
Traveller	9	0	3	15	27
White	15	4	9	22	50
Total Main Incident	209	45	329	298	881
All Cases	209	60	360	497	1126

The figures indicate that in nearly 24% of cases assault was the principal incident, in 37% of cases it was an attack on property, 5% of cases involved theft and in 34% of cases the principle problem was some form of abuse. A study in England and Wales of 300,000 incidents suggests that 7% of these involved assault, 14% attacks on property and 80% were abuse (Virdee 1997). The difference between the two sets of figures suggests either Northern Ireland is experiencing a very high level of assaults and attacks on property or that fewer cases of abuse are being reported. It is reasonable to assume that people are more likely to report more serious incidents, such as assault and attacks on property, to the police rather than cases of abuse. Therefore if one assumes that the figure for assault represents around 7% of the total, then the total number of incidents over the period 1996-2001 would be approximately 2900. This would also indicate that only about 30% of incidents are being recorded by the police, and that the majority of unrecorded incidents involve abuse of some form.

6.1   Physical Assault

The data reveals that nearly 24% of all recorded incidents involved some form of physical assault. Most incidents involved punching, hitting or kicking but this category also includes 23 cases where a weapon was involved, a further seven where stones were thrown and 14 cases where the victim required hospital treatment. In 14 of the 23 cases where weapons were used, the attacks were upon members of the Chinese community, while nine of these 14 cases also involved theft.

In spite of the largest numbers of incidents of physical assault occurring in attacks against members of the Chinese and Indian community, assault is proportionally more significant in incidents recorded against the Black, Traveller and White groups. Assault is a factor in between 30% and 33% of incidents, whereas assaults account for around 20% of incidents against the Chinese and Indian community. It may well be that the higher proportion of incidents involving the Black and Traveller communities that occur in the street is a factor in the higher percentage of incidents involving assault. However, there is no correlation between street based harassment and violence with regard to the White community.

6.2   Theft

Theft is the smallest category of incidents numerically: theft was the principal activity in 45 incidents (5% of the total) but was recorded as a factor in 60 incidents (7% of the total). Thefts can in turn be subdivided by the nature of the crime (either burglary or 'theft') and the sub-categories of location of the 'thefts', that is whether they took place in the home, at work or in the street.

Table 20: Cases of theft by ethnic group

	Burglary	House	Work	Street	Total
Black		1		1	2
Chinese	22	13	4	2	42
Indian	1	4	1	3	9
Other	1	1		1	3
Traveller					
White		1	2		3
Total	24	22	7	7	60

Theft and burglary is primarily a problem for the Chinese community, 70% of all thefts have been reported by Chinese people and 17% of all incidents reported by members of the Chinese community involve theft of some kind. In 9 of these cases (21%) the perpetrator of the crime carried a weapon. In contrast, theft was a factor in between 2% and 3% of cases involving the Black, Indian and Other communities and was involved in 6% of cases reported by the White community. There were no cases of theft reported by the Traveller community.

6.3   Damage to Property

Attacks on, or damage to, property account for the primary form of harassment in 329 cases, but it is a factor in 360 cases overall, almost 41% of all incidents. Damage to property can be broken down into a number of sub-categories of damage or action. These include having windows broken; having stones or missiles thrown at property; having fireworks put through a letterbox, petrol bombs thrown or a fire started; damage being caused to vehicles; or miscellaneous damage to home or garden. These are broken down in Table 21. A small number of cases involve more than one category of damage.

Table 21: Nature of damage to property

	House/Garden	Windows	Missiles	Fire*	Vehicle	Business
Black	2	4	14	2	1	1
Chinese	12	31	39	7	34	3
Indian	13	37	48	15	38	6
Other	7	13	11	4	14	
Traveller		2	1		1	
Unknown					1	
White	5	1	4	1		
Total	39	88	117	29	89	10

Note: 'Fire' includes: 19 cases where fires were started, 3 petrol bomb attacks and 7 cases where fireworks were used.

The figures show that the most widespread type of incident involving damage to property involves missiles being thrown at a house or windows being broken (although separated here they are practically often linked); and damage to a vehicle parked near someone's home. Perhaps most worrying is the small number of incidents (3% of the total) that have involved the use of fire or incendiary devices. These include fires being started in or near property, fireworks being pushed through a letterbox and in three cases petrol bombs being thrown at a house. In 15 of the 29 cases involving fire, the victim was a member of the Indian community.

6.4   Abuse

Table 22 indicates that racist abuse is the most frequently reported form of harassment. In 298 cases (34% of cases) abuse is the principal form of harassment being recorded and abuse is a factor in 497 cases overall (56% of total incidents). It is the single most common form of harassment recorded in incidents against the Black, Other, Traveller and White communities, although both the Chinese and Indian communities have reported damage to property more frequently than abuse. Abuse can be sub-divided into a number of distinct categories: verbal abuse, threats, written abuse in the form of letters, telephone abuse, graffiti and other generalised forms of discrimination.

Some form of abuse features in 77% of incidents involving Blacks, in 70% of cases involving Travellers and Whites, 67 % of incidents reported by Others, and 56% of

cases reported by members of the Indian community. However, abuse is only recorded in 40% of cases involving members of the Chinese community. Verbal abuse is a factor in 69% of cases reported by Blacks, 62% by Others, 58% by Whites and 52% by Travellers. It is noted in 45% of cases involving the Indian community, but appears to be a factor in only 30% of cases reported by the Chinese community.

Table 22: Number of incidents of different forms of racist abuse

	Verbal	Threats	Written	Phone	Gr'fiti	Other	Total	% of Total
Black	70	2	2	2	3	2	81	77
Chinese	67	8	2	12	8	1	98	40
Indian	139	11	7	12	14	6	189	56
Other	66	6		3	2	1	78	67
Traveller	13	1	2			3	19	70
White	25	4	2	1	2	1	35	70
Total	380	32	15	30	29	14	500	

Note: Other includes: Causing a Nuisance (7); Discrimination (4); Being Refused Service (2) and Indecent Exposure (1).

The Chinese community may well be subject to less frequent or widespread abuse than other communities, but it may be that they choose to report such matters less readily. These figures in fact probably understate the significance of racist abuse overall because many report forms do not specifically state whether abuse was a factor or not. Furthermore, in cases of serious assault or damage to property examples of abuse may not be included on the report form.

The varied nature of racist abuse indicates that often it is not a random act. Cases involving the use of the telephone, abusive letters and graffiti written on someone's house clearly involve a degree of detailed knowledge regarding the injured party. Similarly, cases of verbal abuse may also involve a threat of further action to the injured party. In such cases there is a real concern that the perpetrators of the abuse know, or are monitoring the behaviour of the people that they are harassing and thus increasing the likelihood that such action will occur again. In fact some form of abuse was noted in 197 cases (50% of the total) where the victim indicated they had been subject to repeated or previous instances of harassment.

6.5   Summary

These figures show that the nature or form of racist harassment experienced by the different communities has slightly different profiles.

- All the communities note a high degree of abuse, although the Chinese community reports such abuse less frequently than the others.
- Over 40% of incidents reported by both the Chinese (46%) and Indian (43%) communities involve some form of damage to property.

- Blacks, Travellers and Whites all report a higher percentage of cases involving physical assault than the other communities.
- The Chinese community were most likely to report cases of theft or burglary.
- Members of the Chinese community also reported a majority of cases involving the use of a weapon.

7.0 Time of Year and Time of Day of Incidents

Over the six years under consideration racist incidents have been recorded fairly evenly over the year. Most incidents (90) have been recorded in February and the least (63) have been recorded in January.

Figure 1: Number of Incidents By Month, 1996-2001
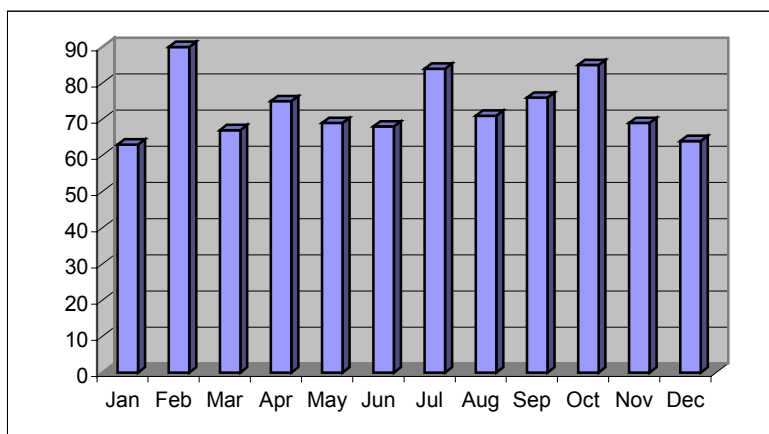
Apart from the peak month of February, there have been slightly more incidents recorded in the late Summer/Autumn than over the rest of the year and there has been a lower number of incidents recorded through the early winter months. In the period from July to October there has been an average of 79 incidents per month, while from November to January the average drops to 65. This is compared with an average for the year of 73 incidents per month.

In 1996 there were a number of cases of car theft, which were associated with protests and violence related to the marching dispute at Drumcree, but apart from that year there does not appear to be any correlation between other social tensions and a rise in racist harassment. In fact most incidents in July occur after the Twelfth rather than in the run up to it.

7.1 Day of the week on which incidents occur

It is not possible to determine whether there are any trends or patterns in relation to the day of the week on which incidents have occurred because police forms do not indicate the day on which the incident took place. Analysis of data on racist incidents by the Metropolitan Police indicated that in London 'incidents were spread fairly evenly across days of the week' (Metropolitan Police 2002).

7.2 Time of day of incident

The time of day that the incident occurred is supposed to be recorded on the police report form. However, 143 of the 881 forms (16%) had no time recorded. In some cases the lack of time could be explained by the fact that incidents occurred when the victim was at work or on holiday, in which case the time was unknown. In a number of cases, officers appeared to have neglected to fill in the time of incident box. On a

further 71 forms (8%) the time stated was in more general terms, for example 'overnight' if the incident was discovered when the person got up in the morning, or 'during the day' if it was discovered when a person returned from work. Therefore, only 667 incidents (76%) can be clearly categorised by the time they took place.

For Figure 2 the incidents have been grouped into one of eight three-hour blocks throughout the day. The chart shows that the vast amount of incidents (553 or 83% of those whose time was well documented) were recorded in the afternoon, evening and night time, between 3pm and 3am, with a peak occurring between 9pm and midnight. Overall 37% of incidents occurred in the late afternoon and early evening, while 46% occurred in the three hours either side of midnight. In contrast only a small proportion of incidents (n = 114 or 17%) were recorded in the twelve hours from 3am to 3pm.

Figure 2: Incidents by time of day
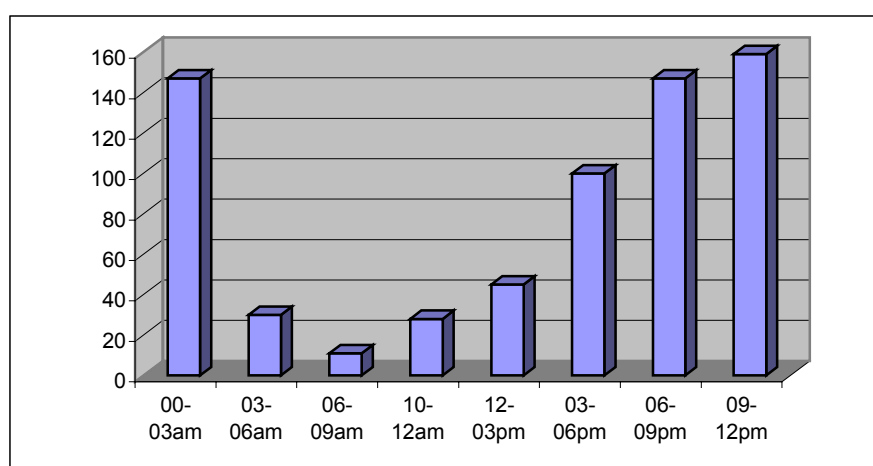
The pattern of time at which the incidents have been recorded in Northern Ireland is somewhat different from those recorded in London. Metropolitan Police data reveals that racist incidents peaked in the late afternoon and that around 43% of incidents occurred between 3pm and 9pm. Furthermore, some 25% of incidents in London occurred between 9am and 3pm a period in which only 11% of racist incidents were recorded in Northern Ireland (Metropolitan Police 2002).

8.0 Perpetrators of Racist Harassment

The police report forms can frequently give information about the perpetrators of racist incidents. Although the details are often rather vague, and therefore of limited value to the police, the information can be useful for constructing general patterns regarding the identity of perpetrators and perpetrator groups and the relationships with the victims.

In 286 of the incidents, or 32% of cases, the perpetrator was unknown and no information of any kind is available. This could be due to a number of factors, for example because the incident occurred overnight or while the person was at work or because an object was thrown but the thrower unseen. However, this also means that in 68% of the cases recorded, the perpetrator has been seen or identified to some extent either by the injured party or by a third party.

This group of 593 cases can be further disaggregated by degrees of identification: whether the person was simply seen and can thus be identified broadly by age, gender, ethnicity etc; if the person was identified as someone living locally or was even an immediate neighbour; and finally if the person is identified by name on the form either because he/she was apprehended or known to the victim.

- There were 239 cases, 22% of the total, where the perpetrator was seen by the injured party.
- There were 121 cases, 14% of the total, where the perpetrator was recognised and identified as 'local' by the injured party.
- There were 170 cases, 19% of the total, where the perpetrator was 'known' and could be identified by name.
- Of these, in 63 cases, 7% of the total, the perpetrator was identified as a 'neighbour' by the injured party.

One could also combine the categories of 'local' and 'neighbour' to illustrate that in 233 instances, 26% of the total recorded cases, the perpetrator of the racist harassment was someone who lived close to the injured party. Furthermore, it is reasonable to suggest that local people also carried out many of the 288 incidents in which the perpetrator was unseen. Particularly in those cases where windows were broken in a house, missiles thrown at a home or other damage was done to the property or to a vehicle parked near the home. This would indicate that in a further 181 cases the perpetrator was a local person and subsequently 414 examples of recorded harassment or 47% of all incidents were perpetrated by someone living close to the injured party.

The forms can also reveal something of the age, gender and ethnicity of the perpetrators of racist harassment. However, the figures are uneven as not all of the forms contain the same amount of information.

8.1   Age of Perpetrators

There were 480 cases where the age of the perpetrator was indicated.

- In 170 cases (35% of cases where the perpetrator was identified in some way and 19% of all cases) the perpetrator was described as an adult.
- In 220 cases (46% and 25%) the perpetrator was described as a youth.
- In 88 cases (18% and 10%) the perpetrator was identified as a child.
- In two cases an adult and child were both involved in the harassment.

8.2   Gender of Perpetrators

There were 469 cases where the gender of the perpetrator was identified.

- In 401 cases (85%) the perpetrator was a male or group of males.
- In 48 cases (10%) the perpetrators were all female.
- In 20 cases (4%) both males and females were involved in the harassment.
- Males were thus involved in 421 cases (90% of the total).
- Females were involved in 68 cases or 14.5% of cases where gender was specified.

Table 23: Perpetrator by age and gender

	Adult	Youth	Child	Ad + Ch'd	Unknown	Total
Male	141	139	35		86	401
Female	13	14	14	1	6	48
Total	154	153	49	1	92	449

It is interesting to note that where females were identified as perpetrators they were evenly divided between adults, youths and children, whereas male adults and youths were more likely to be identified as perpetrators than male children. In fact girls accounted for 29% of cases where females were identified as a perpetrator whereas boys accounted for only 9% of male perpetrators.

8.3   Ethnic Group of Perpetrator

There were 396 cases where it was possible to determine the broad ethnic background of the perpetrator. In 384 cases the perpetrator was identified as White. In just over 3% of cases (n = 12) the harasser was identified as a member of another minority ethnic community. In 4 cases the perpetrator was described as Black, in 3 cases they were categorised as Other, in 2 cases each the perpetrator was identified as Chinese and Travellers. Finally, in one case an Indian was accused of racist harassment.

The victims in these 12 cases came from across each of the racial categories. However, in four of the 12 cases the victim was described as White.

Data from England and Wales indicates a diversity of evidence of racist harassment both in cases where the perpetrator and victim are from minority communities and cases where the perpetrator is from a minority community and the victim is white. The

Metropolitan Police data, for example, suggests that around one in four racist incidents in London include a victim who is described as white European (Burney and Rose 2002). It is perhaps further, if depressing, evidence of the growing cultural diversity and social complexity of Northern Ireland when one does not automatically assume that the perpetrator of racist harassment is white.

Table 24: Minority ethnic perpetrators of racist harassment

Perpetrator	Black	Chinese	Indian	Other	Traveller	Total
Victim						
Black	1	1				2
Chinese	1					1
Indian			1	1		2
Other				1	1	2
Traveller		1				1
White	2			1	1	4
Total	4	2	1	3	2	12

8.4   Number of Perpetrators

The report forms also reveal that in 202 cases (36% of cases where the data was given) a single person was involved in the harassment while in 361 cases (64% of cases where data was available) more than one person was involved in the harassment.

8.5   Stereotyping

In generalising from these various pieces of information the data on the police report forms suggests that the principal perpetrator of racist harassment is a white male, over the age of 16, who is acting in consort with one or more similar white males and that these young white males will live near to, and therefore know the victim of their racism.

However, having identified the rather predictable perpetrator one should not ignore some of the other facts revealed by the data from the 881 racist incidents:

- In 14.5% of cases females were involved in racist harassment and,
- In 18% of cases where the age of the perpetrator classifiable, the perpetrator was a child under the age of 16.

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