

# Hidden from public view? Racism against the UK Chinese population

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# Table of Contents

## Time to Act – An introduction from The Monitoring Group

Dedication

Foreword from The Monitoring Group.....	7
Acknowledgements	
<b>Executive Summary .....</b>	<b>11</b>
Key findings.....	10
Methodology.....	11
The literature review.....	12
Reviewing The Monitoring Group files .....	134
The postal questionnaire.....	14
Interviews with Chinese respondents.....	15
Focus Groups feedback.....	16
Recommendations.....	17
<b><u>Section 1: Introduction to the report</u>.....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b><u>Section 2: The research and policy context</u>.....</b>	<b>24</b>
Introduction .....	24
Chinese victims of racist crimes.....	25
Racially-motivated offending .....	30
Victimisation of the UK Chinese .....	31
Current policy developments.....	32
<b><u>Section 3: Review of The Monitoring Group case records</u> .....</b>	<b>36</b>
The sample .....	36
Contents of the case files.....	36
Types of offences and incidents.....	38
Victims-turned-offenders .....	40
Repeat victimisation .....	42
The perpetrators.....	42
The victims .....	43
Official responses and secondary victimisation .....	44
The impact on victims .....	50
The role of The Monitoring Group Min Quan project.....	51
<b><u>Section 4: The questionnaire survey</u> .....</b>	<b>53</b>
The survey respondents.....	53
Experience of racial crime and harassment .....	57
Reporting behaviour and outcomes .....	65
<b><u>Section 5: The in-depth interviews</u>.....</b>	<b>71</b>
Characteristics of respondents.....	71
Types of racist harassment/attacks.....	73
The impact of racist harassment/attacks on respondents .....	80
Responses from police and other organisations.....	81
Chinese organisations.....	87
Suggestions from respondents .....	88
Conclusion – the key themes.....	91

<b><u>Section 6: The focus groups</u></b> .....	<b>92</b>
Introduction .....	92
Older people.....	92
Those involved in the catering business .....	96
Students.....	100
General themes emerging across focus groups .....	102
Conclusion .....	102
<b><u>Section 7: Summary of recommendations</u></b> .....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
<b>Racism against the UK Chinese population: A State of Denial? - endword....</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>References</b> .....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
<b>Appendix 1: Research methodology</b> .....	<b>113</b>
Reviewing The Monitoring Group records.....	113
Questionnaire survey .....	114
In-depth interviews .....	115
Focus group discussions.....	116
Appendix 2: The Questionnaire Survey .....	120
<b>Appendix 3: Information on The Monitoring Group</b> .....	<b>119</b>
Our values .....	120
What we do – supporting victims .....	121
What else do we do?.....	122
National issues and specialist projects .....	123
Min Quan.....	123
Rural Racism Project .....	124
Midlands and Northern Monitor.....	124

## Time to Act – an introduction from the Monitoring Group

### **Dedication: In Memory of Mr Mi Gao Huang Chen**

We dedicate this report – Hidden from public view? Racism against the UK Chinese population – to the memory of Mr Mi Gao Huang Chen, affectionately known to his family and friends as Mi Gao.

Mi Gao was murdered on 23rd April 2005 in a race attack by a gang of over 20 white youths. He was attacked outside his takeaway catering unit in Wigan, Lancashire. According to Mi Gao's partner, Eileen Jia, the tragedy was a culmination of a targeted campaign of harassment by local youths against the business and despite making several attempts to elicit support from authorities, pleas for help went unanswered.

The killing was witnessed by a number of individuals, including Eileen and the chef who was employed by Mi Gao and Eileen. A CCTV camera also captured the events leading to the killing. Its recordings not only showed the violent intent of the assailants but also the desperate attempts of the victims to protect their business and their lives, including the call made to the police and Eileen's brave but vain attempts to save her partner.

On the night of the attack, the initial call reported 'youths causing a nuisance'. However, when it became clear that someone was being attacked, the police were at the scene in minutes. A total of 23 youths were arrested; 13 of whom were charged. Six were charged with murder and the remaining seven with a range of public order offences.

The trial for those charged with murder began at Liverpool Crown Court on 24 October 2005. Out of the six, two pleaded guilty to the murder charge before the trial started. A further two were found guilty of murder. Another was allowed to plead guilty to the lesser offence of violent disorder, and the remaining youth was found not guilty. The remaining seven youths all pleaded guilty to various public order offences. On 16 December 2005, the four who were found guilty of murder were given prison sentences of between eight and ten years. Despite the success of the investigation and prosecution in this case, it is fair to state that the road to justice is not smooth for most victims of violent racism.

When we met Eileen a few days after the murder, she was in a state of shock and devastated by the horror of what she had witnessed. But at the same time, Eileen was determined to fight for justice. She felt betrayed at being arrested and charged simply because she was carrying a stick to defend herself and the business. It took the intervention of the Monitoring Group for the racial motive to be recorded and a public campaign to have her case reviewed and the charges against her dropped.

After the murder, Eileen still managed to live on the premises and keep the business running without any protection or safety measures until the trial. During this time, she had to endure the constant presence around the shop of

those closely associated with the perpetrator group, who waged a vociferous local campaign in support of the attackers while continuously demanding her re-arrest.

Although Eileen's tenacity and determination have allowed her to 'survive' the ordeal, it brought no real comfort and her victory was hollow: the takeaway business was ruined and Eileen remained isolated. In fact, her ethnic origin seemed to work against her. As a Chinese person she was stereotyped as being self-reliant; and not in need of the kind of support offered to other families of murder victims. Although satisfied by the court verdict, she was demoralised by her experience. Consequently, soon after the trial, Eileen left the UK to live abroad.

For us at The Monitoring Group, which is a victim-oriented, anti-racist and human rights group, the murder of Mi Gao posed massive operational and strategic challenges. Although armed with the knowledge and experience of supporting many families – including the families of Stephen Lawrence, Victoria Climbié and Zahid Mubarek – of murdered victims, it took a major and concerted effort to force the investigation and prosecution agencies to work with the victim group and take our concerns seriously.

From the outset it seemed that most criminal justice agencies froze when it came applying the most basic of the Lawrence Inquiry recommendations to Chinese victims. However, as the outcomes in this case show, the persistence of the family can bring about results. Although the Criminal Justice System Justice may sometimes seem indifferent, it nevertheless contains some excellent practice, such as the mechanism of reporting and recording race crimes.

On another front, even the mainstream media appeared unmoved by the murder. It saw the tragedy affecting only a small percentage of the British population, which is not regarded as being part of the mainstream. British Chinese people are only deemed newsworthy if they conform to acknowledged negative stereotypes – whether as members of 'triads' or as mass victims of gangs or gangmasters – or, at the other extreme, as so-called positive role models as high achievers in business or academia. The fact is that racism, in all its forms, is rife even amongst the most 'successful' sections of the Chinese community. Despite objective studies on this issue, this fact is rarely acknowledged or addressed.

This case was the first time we dealt with a racially-motivated murder perpetrated on a Chinese victim. Despite working on cases of great public interest such as supporting family members of those killed in the 'Dover 58' tragedy, when 58 Chinese stowaways died in the back of a container truck on its way to Britain, and countless internal training sessions, nothing prepared us for the obstacles we faced within the Criminal Justice System.

The Min Quan project (established to help victims of racism or hate crime in the Chinese community) found navigating through the judicial process difficult and alienating. Consequently, we made some costly mistakes. At one point,

our lack of judgment led the trial judge to reprimand the then Min Quan project co-ordinator. Although this action had no impact on the evidence or the final result, it caused an unnecessary distraction during a critical period in the public campaign and weakened support for the case.

When commenting on this case, some have said that we judged agencies, especially those connected with law enforcement, too harshly. In return, we have argued that sometimes we were not critical enough. Mi Gao's case was handled by the Greater Manchester Police, who say that since the murder they have made significant improvements in the way they deal with race hate crimes, including a comprehensive review of the force's Hate Crime Policy in 2007 and drawing up a number of Service Level Agreements with the Crown Prosecution Service, setting out standards for each organisation.

The purpose of dedicating this report to Mi Gao is not only to keep his memory alive but also to acknowledge the context in which the tragedy took place. It is also a promise to do 'whatever it takes' to stop the possibility of similar deaths occurring in the future and is the least that we owe to Mi Gao.

Bobby Chan, Chairperson of the Min Quan Project  
Suresh Grover, Director of The Monitoring Group

## Foreword from The Monitoring Group

This report offers a rare insight into the plight of Chinese victims of racism in three different towns and areas of the United Kingdom: London, Manchester and Southampton. Some of the stories and experiences cited in the report are not only harrowing but unique because they belong to a community that is hidden from official view.

Moreover, the report reveals that the Chinese community suffers from levels of racism that are not only unacceptable but also, given the prevalence of under-reporting within the Chinese community, there are perhaps even higher levels of racial violence or harassment than those experienced by any other minority group. This view is contrary to the established myth of the Chinese being a satisfied community that is immune from racism. Additionally, the lack of adequate reporting in the gathering of official statistics, possibly itself driven by stereotyping, means that the real picture remains unacknowledged. Even when Chinese victims persist in reporting race crimes, including serious offences, they frequently face a response that is shaped by institutional racism – a state of inaction and denial.

*Hidden from Public View?* raises serious questions for all of us but especially for official bodies responsible for challenging the scourge of racism. It argues that in addition to facing daily racism, several other relevant, potent and discriminatory factors combine to make the lives of many Chinese people in the UK subject to fear, anxiety and insecurity.

### **The reasons for commissioning the report**

The Monitoring Group is a casework-led, anti-racist and human rights organisation in the UK which provides advice and support services to victims of race and faith-hate harassment and crime. Each year we help over 400 people through our casework service, and over 4,000 victims contact us through the freephone helpline. Additionally, we have assisted and supported many families including the three public inquiries into the deaths of Victoria Climbié, Stephen Lawrence and Zahid Mubarek.

In 1999, soon after the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report,, we established a project to help Chinese victims of racial harassment, domestic violence and general policing problems. Over the years, the project called Min Quan, has supported over 400 victims of racial attacks. Its casework has revealed gross under-reporting of racist incidents because of the community's lack of confidence in the current arrangements, which are sometimes due to cultural barriers and negative experiences.

The 1985 Home Affairs sub-Committee Report into the Chinese Community highlighted key challenges in meeting their needs. But, over 20 years on, government and statutory responses have been piecemeal. In 2000, a Min Quan survey of 30 Chinese businesses in London's Chinatown revealed that an overwhelming majority had experienced secondary victimisation. Secondary victimisation is when other people, in addition to the primary

victim, also suffer. Secondary victims tend to be family members and work colleagues.

In 2003, in an extensive national survey of the Chinese community by Nottingham Trent University, one-third of the respondents from urban, metropolitan and rural areas said they had experienced racial harassment and violence.

In 2005, at a Min Quan public meeting attended by over 100 rural residents and businesses in Devon, the majority said they had experienced racist harassment and attacks. They cited distrust of the police, a lack of victim support services and fear of reprisals as the key reasons for not reporting incidents.

The above surveys highlighted an urgent need for culturally-appropriate services to meet the needs of a community whose profile is rapidly changing. The Chinese population grew by 25 per cent (247,403) in the 2001 Census and continues to grow strongly. Inward migration of legal and undocumented Chinese workers and students has increased the population further.

Our involvement in supporting victims' families after the Dover 58 and Morecambe Bay tragedies, as well as the murder on 19 July 2007 of a Chinese DVD seller in London, has increased a demand for our services from emerging communities. Since many of the people associated with these cases are vulnerable because they are refugees, asylum-seekers and unauthorised workers, there needs to be a new approach as to how such crimes should be reported and dealt with. We believe there is an urgent need to review 'the one size fits all' policy adopted by some public authorities because it was not meeting the needs of this group.

### **Research objectives**

Following a successful bid to the Department of Communities and Local Government to carry out discrete work with the Chinese community, we secured funding to develop Min Quan's work in London, Manchester and Southampton, including funding to produce this research report.

The overall aim of the research report was to capture the experiences of the Chinese community in three regions of England: London, the North West and the South East. The objectives of the research were to:

- report on the prevalence of racial harassment and attacks on Chinese communities and businesses (food and retail establishments) in both urban and rural areas;
- capture the impact of racial harassment and attacks upon the diverse Chinese constituencies (including residents, foreign students, businesses, migrants);
- counterpoint the differences in experiences of race-hate harassment and attacks between urban and rural communities;

- assess the efficacy of current reporting and recording arrangements and evaluate statutory responses to reports of harassment from the Chinese community's perspective;
- assess the compliance of local authorities to their legislative duties (Race Relations Amendment Act, Crime and Disorder Act and any other relevant legislation), their best value requirements and any other relevant arrangements such as the Community Safety Strategies and Local Area Agreement performance framework; and
- develop a series of recommendations.

The report does not answer all the questions or meet all its objectives but, given the findings, we are confident it will at the very least start a national debate on the nature of racism suffered by the Chinese community. The report is a significant start to ensure that the problem is finally acknowledged by the appropriate authorities, a problem that has remained hidden or ignored for many decades.

### **An independent report**

It is rare for an organisation like ours to commission reports as most of our projects are run on tight budgets. In addition, notwithstanding our charitable status and expertise, the involvement of an anti-racist organisation such as the Monitoring Group is bound to raise questions of so-called bias; although we would also want to point out that the same criticism is not raised against mainstream stakeholders operating in this field of work. However, mindful of these concerns, and to ensure the report's independence, our primary aim is to preserve the integrity of the research, its findings and conclusions.

Consequently, we did not set out any terms or impose restrictions on who the research team should talk to, how they should conduct the field work or how the final evidence, including the recommendations, should be presented.

### **Access to our files and documents**

We offered access to our case files and relevant documents for examination.

The final sample of cases used for the purposes of these findings was chosen solely by the research team. Moreover, the basis of examining our files was not to paint a negative picture, either unwittingly or by design, of any responding agency but to examine a legitimate sample of cases held by us – an officially-recognised advocacy group working on behalf of race victims, and the only one representing Chinese victims of race crimes. In order to be transparent on this question, the research findings on our cases are afforded a separate chapter in the report.

### **Acknowledgements**

Although commissioned by The Monitoring Group, the report is the product of a joint-authorship of researchers and academics from the University of Hull, the University of Leeds and the Nottingham Trent University, led by Professor Gary Craig. We extend our gratitude to the whole team for their hard work.

Finally, we also wish to thank the following people for their valuable efforts and advice in the production of the report: Leiwen Chen, Dilys Liu, Qi Lin, Hen Chen Goh, Jack Tan, Jagdish Patel and Arjun Kashyap from The Monitoring Group.

We would also like to thank Sally Sealey from the Department for Communities and Local Government; and Matt James and Claire Rhule from A4e for their support and encouragement.

**Mehar Brar** (Chairperson) and **Suresh Grover** (Director)  
on behalf of The Monitoring Group,

## **Executive Summary**

...‘really being beaten by 22 youths. They used stones and fists to beat my husband ... and forceful verbal attack. After this incident, my husband lost his ability to work. Because of this we became bankrupt.’

...‘at 2am five white youths and one dark youth broke the glass of the main door ... son questioned them and got beaten badly. I told them not to do so and was beaten so badly I passed out.’

### **Key findings**

The UK Chinese people are subject to substantial levels of racist abuse, assault and hostility. The types of racist abuse suffered by UK Chinese people range from racist name-calling to damage to property and businesses, arson, physical attacks sometimes involving hospitalisation and murder.

The failure of many statistical and research reports to identify the experience of Chinese people separately from that of ‘other’ minorities has meant that their experience of racism remains hidden from view.

The impact of racial abuse, harassment and attacks on UK Chinese people is significant, ranging from serious psychological effects, to issues of significant concerns about the safety of their family members including children, hospitalisation, loss of businesses leading to poverty and even death.

Most of the criticisms of the criminal justice system by the Chinese victims were against the police. This raises serious questions about the effectiveness of reporting arrangements and police response to Chinese victims of hate crimes. Whereas there is evidence that police forces in the UK have procedures in place to help victims of hate crime feel more confident report their victimisation, there is no evidence that the UK Chinese have been given any priority in this development.

The government takes hate crime seriously and most criminal justice agencies have policies in place to encourage victims of hate crimes to report their victimisation and to support such victims. These policies include engagement strategies, effective delivery monitoring procedures, outreach, and interpretation and translation facilities. However, the findings indicate that as far as the UK Chinese people are concerned, these facilities are either not being used effectively, or they are inadequate or irrelevant to their specific needs and concerns as victims of crime.

Because of their continuing distrust and lack of confidence in the criminal justice system (particularly the police) and public welfare services, Chinese people have to depend quite heavily on the services of voluntary agencies for support.

In this regard, the Monitoring Group is a very active voluntary agency, supporting Chinese victims of crime in the UK

## **Background**

Several recent studies have indicated that the UK Chinese population is particularly prone to racial harassment and violence, with the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities finding that one-sixth of all Chinese-origin UK residents had experienced racial abuse, assault or other insulting behaviour. Some studies have shown much higher levels of abuse and assault. The most recent studies have all indicated that this problem is getting worse with, in West Yorkshire for example, an increase of about 20 per cent in the number of total offences against Chinese people.

It has always been a matter of dispute as to whether particular crimes committed against minority ethnic groups are racially motivated. In 1986 the Association of Chief Police Officers established a definition of a racist crime as 'any incident in which it appeared to the reporting or investigating officer that the complaint involves an element of racial motivation or any incident which includes an allegation of racial motivation made by any person'<sup>1</sup> This definition placed the onus of reporting a crime as racist on the police. Macpherson (1999) has provided a new definition. A racist incident is: 'any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person.'

The Macpherson definition has been criticised as being subjective, hence the suggestion that the perceived increase in racist crime is simply the result of an increase in reporting and categorisation by the police using the Macpherson definition. Sir William Macpherson has responded to these criticisms, insisting that the definition of a racist incident had to be broad to stop the police 'sweeping these kinds of incidents under the carpet'. More importantly, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 requires the police to look for evidence of racial hostility before recoding a case as a racist crime.

So far, UK Chinese people's experience of racial harassment and violence is yet to be fully researched, save a few studies on racist attacks and harassment of Chinese owners of takeaways. As a result, The Monitoring Group's Min Quan project (otherwise known as 'Min Quan'), a Chinese-led advocacy initiative, with funding from the Department of Communities and Local Government, commissioned a team led by the University of Hull, with researchers also from the University of Leeds and Nottingham Trent University, to explore the issues of racial harassment and violence against the UK Chinese population.

The team included four researchers of Chinese origin who were able to conduct interviews in the language of choice of respondents and translate documentation from Chinese into English. Of those who expressed a willingness to be interviewed through the questionnaire survey, and wished to be interviewed in a Chinese language, three-quarters preferred Cantonese and one-quarter Mandarin.

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<sup>1</sup> 'The definition of a racial incident' New Law Journal (1998)

## **Methodology**

The study, which ran from Spring 2007 to Spring 2008, used a number of tried and trusted methods to reach as wide a cross-section of UK Chinese people as possible:

- a review of the policy and research literature relating to the UK Chinese population's experiences of crime;
- an examination of The Monitoring Group's casework files regarding attacks on and abuse of UK Chinese people in the North West of England, the South East and London;
- a questionnaire survey of Chinese people in the above three areas; questionnaires were sent to a range of Chinese respondents through the post or electronically, accessed through Chinese-led organisations, Chinese student societies and universities, Chinese businesses, telephone directory searches and community groups;
- detailed individual interviews and group discussions with UK Chinese people in the three fieldwork sites: and
- consultative workshops with key policy actors in the three regions.

There are detailed explanations of the methodology at the start of each chapter and again at Appendix 1.

Inevitably, there are advantages and disadvantages to each of the research methods and the response varied. For example, although the response from the postal questionnaire was not high, and the results from London and some rural areas were disappointing, this is not untypical for postal questionnaires.

It should also be pointed out that the Office for Criminal Justice Reform suggests that relations between the UK Chinese population and the police in London is generally a more positive one.

However, the results gave us more than enough credible, valid and reliable data on which to build our research conclusions.

The results from the in-depth interviews with more than 60 members of the Chinese community were particularly helpful in building a detailed picture of the main issues that face the UK Chinese today and what action can be taken in future.

## **The literature review**

A detailed review of policy and research evidence confirmed the extent and seriousness of racist crime against the UK Chinese population. Although the number of Chinese-origin victims of racist crimes appears to be small, relative to the numbers of Chinese people in the UK population, the figures are disturbing. The evidence from the literature suggests that in the UK and in other countries where there is a substantial settled population of people of Chinese origin (such as the USA and European countries), the Chinese are disproportionately represented as victims of crimes with a racial content, more than those from other minority ethnic groups. In the UK, Chinese fast-food (takeaway) shops feature in police reports and research findings covering

workplaces involving Chinese people, as the most likely outlets to experience racial attacks.

In fact, the true nature of UK Chinese victimisation is unknown due to a lack of reporting by Chinese victims. This is due to many factors. For example, Chinese families are known to prefer to deal with their own problems without recourse to public support and there are important issues relating to their lack of confidence in the criminal justice system to provide them with fair and appropriate service. This report deals with some of those issues.

In addition, the presentation of official crime and victims' statistics has not been helpful in ascertaining the true extent of Chinese victimisation. Since 1 April 2003, a standard system of recording using the 16+1 ethnic categories, brought in by the 2001 Census, was introduced but national crime figures are still being presented in the main ethnic categories of White, Mixed, Black or Black British, Asian or Asian British, Chinese and Other, and Unknown.<sup>2</sup>

However, violent racism seems now to be being tackled more robustly by the government and criminal justice agencies as the number of persons cautioned or prosecuted at magistrates' courts for racially-aggravated offences rose by 20 per cent in 2005 compared with the previous year, with one quarter of offenders being below 18 years of age. In addition, there is evidence of ongoing work nationally by various criminal justice agencies to increase the confidence of victims to report hate crimes.

There are particular efforts being made in relation to some minority groups, but there is no evidence that UK Chinese groups have been identified as in need of special attention. The Attorney-General, as ministerial lead for Race for Justice, has set a challenge to provide a consistently high standard of service to all victims of hate crimes. However, it is reasonable to state that most of the strategic and policy initiatives to deal with racism and racially-motivated behaviour and offending are focused mainly on law enforcement and punitive action rather than on prevention.

### **Reviewing The Monitoring Group files**

Additionally, a total of 65 case files were reviewed at The Monitoring Group offices of which 46 had been closed and 19 are ongoing. These files contained correspondence, reports of follow-up action, statements by victims and notes by Min Quan staff. The range of racist abuse and assault was typical of those found more widely in the research.

Given that many of the cases brought to Min Quan resulted from dissatisfaction with police and judicial procedures, the most worrying feature arising from the review of case files was the high level of complaints about the police. The most common complaints about the police included:

- an unwillingness to accept that attacks were racially-motivated despite clear evidence that this was the case;

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<sup>2</sup> Ministry of Justice, 2007

- not taking action to arrest and prosecute perpetrators despite the evidence;
- not acknowledging the seriousness of the offence often until further escalation had occurred;
- not following guidelines on how to deal with racially-motivated attacks;
- not believing victims' statements.

### **The questionnaire survey**

Two thousand questionnaires were sent to a range of UK Chinese-origin people through various networks, 500 questionnaires were sent to Chinese organisations for onward distribution and electronic versions were sent to 28 universities, also for distribution either electronically or as printed copies. A copy of the questionnaire is at Appendix 2.

A total of 254 completed questionnaires were returned with the largest single grouping being people of Hong Kong origin but with representation from most other countries of origin including mainland China, Singapore, Malaysia and UK-born Chinese. The level of response from London and rural areas was disappointing.

The questionnaire asked respondents about their experience in relation to racist attacks and abuse. Respondents were free to give detailed statements in their language of choice and these were translated by a Chinese-origin researcher.

In summary, the survey found:

- respondents had experienced a range of offensive and insulting behaviour; verbal abuse was most frequently mentioned followed by damage to business property and to vehicles;
- 26 individuals mentioned physical attacks, some causing serious injury requiring hospital treatment;
- repeat victimisation was a problem with more than one-third experiencing more than three incidents. Repeats were particularly concentrated in some urban centres;
- twice as many respondents had experienced incidents at work as at home. However victimisation on the street was nearly as frequent as at work;
- the majority saw perpetrators as white and more than half as young people;
- more than half reported incidents to the police. Most of those that did not report the incident gave the reasons that they thought the police would not do anything or that the incident was not serious enough. A minority mentioned fears of reprisal;
- more than two-thirds of those answering the question were dissatisfied with police responses;
- 20 of those who did not report to any organisation lacked the knowledge of where to report suggesting a need for greater publicity regarding advocacy organisations;

- those who had reported to a Chinese organisation had mixed views of the help they received;
- victims of racist incidents felt fear and worry as a result. Some reacted by exercising greater caution in their daily lives; others reported going out less, a detrimental impact on their businesses, and moving house.

### **Interviews with Chinese respondents**

A total of 60 in-depth interviews were completed (35 with males and 25 with females), including Chinese respondents from different countries of origin, together with three discussion groups in each of the three regions covered in the fieldwork. Two-thirds of those interviewed were working in the catering sector; students, the unemployed and a range of other occupations were also represented.

Two experienced Chinese-speaking researchers conducted the interviews. The material was transcribed (in English/Chinese) and the data analysed by the research team.

The key findings from the interviews were:

- most respondents had experienced multiple nuisances including screaming, shouting and swearing inside their shops; damaged property; theft; abuse and intimidation;
- some respondents suffered more serious incidents including arson (2 respondents), physical attacks (25 respondents); sexual harassment (4 respondents); and serious verbal abuse (30 respondents). These took place within workplaces but also in the street, at home and school;
- attacks had multiple personal impacts including on physical well-being (including serious physical injuries); psychological well-being (fear for personal safety especially at night, anger and mental health difficulties); and disruption on businesses;
- the attacks also had wider impacts, including on community cohesion, with a weakening of trust between Chinese people and the wider UK white population;
- Chinese people's trust in the police was damaged. Many respondents reported a lack of effective action from the police in response to their reports and complaints; the police often alleged that they were unable to take action against perpetrators, for example because of their age; and of the many cases of abuse and assault reported, only two were successfully prosecuted.

Respondents reported that police made little use of interpreting services when working with people who had a limited grasp of English. Ninety per cent of respondents said they had lost confidence in the police.

Respondents also felt that most other organisations to which they turned for help – including schools, local authorities, voluntary agencies such as Victim Support and advice centres – failed to accept the seriousness of the complaints brought to them.

Where respondents had access to Chinese-led organisations, these were often thought to be more helpful but they in turn also experienced difficulties in accessing effective responses to their complaints.

### **Focus groups and feedback**

Nine focus groups were also held with a representative sample of members of the UK Chinese population, including older people; those working in the catering industry and students. Three focus groups were held in each of the research areas; London, the South East and the North West. Chinese-speaking researchers conducted the sessions.

The responses from the participants confirmed the wide-ranging experiences of racist crime identified by the other research methods of this study. Two further key points emerged from the group discussions:

- Chinese people feared for their safety but had little idea of where to go for help; and
- there appears to be an overwhelming support for a more effective campaign to tackle racist violence, with improved government help.

## **Recommendations**

The recommendations from this report now follow.

### **Central and local government**

#### **Recommendation 1**

Efforts should be made to improve the reporting of **race** hate incidents against UK Chinese people.

There is an urgent need for a multi-agency approach to reporting **race** hate incidents to include schools, GPs' surgeries, Citizenship Advice Bureaux, Chinese organisations or other organisations that cater for the needs and welfare of UK Chinese people. This refers essentially to the need for the expansions of existing networks of hate crime reporting centres that are accessible to Chinese people.

There is a need to increase understanding amongst UK Chinese of how to report **race** hate incidents, including the use of third party reporting options.

There is a need to review the activities of third party reporting centres in order to assess their fitness for purpose. This should include the extent to which they are accessible and well publicised to Chinese communities and the training that those operating such centres have to deal with reports from Chinese victims.

There is an urgent need to roll-out the recommendations in the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (the Macpherson report) relating to the establishment of culturally appropriate third-party reporting centres in order to help re-establish trust of black and ethnic minority communities in the police and criminal justice system.

## **Recommendation 2**

Efforts should be made to increase Chinese people's confidence in the criminal justice system

ACPO and the Race for Justice Advisory groups need to urgently debate the addition of UK Chinese communities to the list of minority groups who need additional work to increase their confidence to report hate incidents

Local Criminal Justice Boards (and local government organisations) should carry out targeted work with their Chinese communities as part of their statutory requirement to engage with local communities, address race issues and raise the confidence of minority ethnic groups in the criminal justice system. This should include the mapping out of the specific geographical locations of local Chinese groups in both rural and urban areas and designing community engagement strategies specifically to meet their needs and concerns. A one-hat-fits-all approach to all ethnic groups has not worked

## **Recommendation 3**

The government should utilise the energy and dynamism of the Chinese business and student sectors in the UK to develop:

- specific initiatives geared to prevent race hate crimes; and
- strategic partnerships to better understand community needs.

## **Recommendation 4**

Previous studies showed that UK Chinese organisations are run by volunteers with limited human and financial resources. However, these are the most important social institutions which are trusted by Chinese people. Thus, the government needs to evaluate their existing funding mechanism by providing long-term financial assistance for Chinese organisations. In this way, they can recruit professional staff to support Chinese victims of racism as well as equip them with essential knowledge and skills (for example language skills) to help them function more effectively in society as well as able to protect themselves and defend their civil rights.

## **Recommendation 5**

The role of organisations like The Monitoring Group's Min Quan project and other similar Chinese victims support projects must be recognised and appropriate investments be made to enable them to continue their work with Chinese communities across the UK.

## **Recommendation 6**

Central and local government should improve and publicise its recognition and acknowledgement of anti-Chinese racist violence across the UK, including in rural areas where numbers may be small and these issues even more obscured.

## **Recommendation 7**

Government needs to take a lead in improving public understanding of the UK Chinese population, including their benefit to the economy. The Equality and

Human Rights Commission (EHRC) should make efforts to challenge negative media reporting of the Chinese people.

## Criminal Justice Agencies

### **Recommendation 8**

Efforts should be made to keep Chinese victims of hate incidents informed of the progress of their complaints.

It is important to fulfil the requirement of the Victims' Charter to keep victims updated at specific stages of inquiry. Minimum standards should be imposed including sanctions for non-compliance.

Chinese victims of hate incidents need to be provided with adequate information and advice so they know which agency is responsible for which actions or service.

### **Recommendation 9**

As the majority of complaints by victims relate to police performance, there is an urgent need for the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) to take timely action to address the performance issues raised by these complaints.

There is a need for ACPO to initiate a review of current police performance in the services provided to victims of racist incidents and on the basis of the findings of this review decide what appropriate actions need to be taken in order to make future police performance in this area better.

As most of the issues raised by victims' complaints against the police are covered in the new Assessment of Policing and Community Safety (APACS) framework, it is essential that ACPO makes public, on an annual basis, the results of police performance in all the Statutory Performance Indicators in APACS. This will enable communities to judge the performance of the police and other agencies in the delivery of service to victims of racist incidents and other related topics in APACS.

### **Recommendation 10**

The police should consider the benefits of using Information Technology (IT) software and GIS (Geographic Information Systems) mapping to identify the geographical locations of victims of hate crime and the extent of their victimisation, including repeat victimisation. This will enable the police to use available resources effectively to address problems and issues raised from the analyses.

### **Recommendation 11**

Considering the significant number of repeat victimisations (up to 17 repeats in a particular case), cases of repeat victimisation should be given priority by the police and efforts should be made in all such cases to prevent reoccurrence.

### **Recommendation 12**

In the light of complaints of interpretation not being available to victims, criminal justice agencies should ensure as a priority that these are not only in place but are offered to all Chinese victims.

### **Recommendation 13**

Despite their emphasis on diversity in training programmes, the police should make efforts by monitoring to ensure that front line officers put these lessons into practice.

### **Recommendation 14**

There is indication that good work is undertaken in some forces but not picked up in others. It is, therefore, important that the police and other criminal justice agencies encourage the sharing of good practice and publicise success stories. There is much to benefit from spreading the learning from what works and ensuring that the benefits are gained across the criminal justice system.

## **Schools**

### **Recommendation 15**

There is a need to increase awareness amongst school pupils of the true impact of racism and racist violence

In the light of the fact that the majority of perpetrators of racist crimes against Chinese victims are young people, there is a need for a review of the PSHME (Personal Social Health and Moral Education) curriculum in schools, to ensure that it includes a substantial input on racial diversity and cultural awareness of different ethnic groups in the UK and the true impact of racist violence on members of such groups. The curriculum should be more detailed and focused in Years 7 to 11 including specific case studies, statistics and legislation on hate crime. It is suggested that the UK Chinese could be prioritised in this process.

There is a need for national or local evaluations of the progress, effectiveness and impact of the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF)'s policies and advice to schools on countering racist bullying. UK Chinese people may be prioritised in this evaluation.

## **Other Agencies**

### **Recommendation 16**

Victim Support should work more closely with Chinese organisations or other agencies working for the welfare of the UK Chinese in order to ensure that the services that they provide for Chinese victims are relevant to their specific needs and is effective.

In the light of findings from a recent study (Victim Support, 2006), Victim Support should treat as a matter of urgency, the need to improve its services to children who are victims, especially those from minority ethnic backgrounds who are victims of racist bullying in schools or are affected by racist abuse or attack of their parents.

### **Recommendation 17**

Chinese organisations need to work more closely with the police and other legal agencies to provide Chinese people with:

- essential knowledge of the criminal justice system;
- the appropriate actions for dealing with perpetrators; and
- the duties and rights of UK Chinese people in reporting hate or racially-aggravated crimes and what they can expect of the police.

### **Recommendation 18**

Many respondents in this study believed a strong national Chinese organisation is necessary because it could voice the concerns of UK Chinese people and tackle racism. UK Chinese organisations need to work together and form a collective Chinese-led organisation to safeguard and advocate for the rights of Chinese people. This could, in part, act as a national lobbying group to campaign for action to tackle racist violence against the UK Chinese.

### **Recommendation 19**

The nature and extent of secondary victimisation of UK Chinese victims indicate a need for a national evaluation of the extent to which local authority welfare services are complying with their legislative duties under the Race Relations Amendments Act and Public Service Agreements to provide fair and equitable service to victims of hate crimes who approach them for support both during victimisation and afterwards.

### **Recommendation 20**

Min Quan and Chinese Organisations should enhance their publicity for advocacy services to increase reporting levels. In London, in particular, they need to continue to build engagement with the Chinese community.

### **Recommendation 21**

Chinese organisations need to empower Chinese victims by setting up a hate crime concern group which offers assistance to victims and closely monitors the performance of the police and relevant criminal justice agencies.

## **Research**

### **Recommendation 22**

There is a need for further, more detailed research, on the experience of UK Chinese people living and working in rural and remote areas.

### **Recommendation 23**

Research strategies need to take account of the difficulty of reaching some UK Chinese people. In particular, postal surveys are probably less effective than differing forms of face-to-face contact supported by development work and by the use of significant community gatekeepers to facilitate access.

### **Recommendation 24**

Although it is clear that the UK Chinese experience of racial harassment and assault is substantial, and that this experience is not fully acknowledged in

policy and practice, there may be a need for further work to contextualise this research with the experiences of other minority ethnic groups.

## Section 1

### Introduction to the report

This is the report of a national study of the experience of racism by Chinese-origin population in three areas of England.

The message of the report is captured by its title *Hidden from Public View?* The report shows that Chinese-origin people in the UK experience substantial racism, perhaps as much as or more than any other minority ethnic group yet, because of the way in which statistics are collected and presented, and because of the response in practice of most public agencies, this experience is hidden from public view.

Although our research and data collection was limited to three different fieldwork sites in England (London, Southampton and Manchester and the rural areas near to them), the literature review and our knowledge of the experience of Chinese-origin people suggests that what we found is unlikely to be markedly different from the experiences of Chinese-origin people (who we refer to from now on as UK Chinese) living in other parts of the United Kingdom.

The UK Chinese are found in every local authority in the country, and are rather more evenly spread geographically than is the case for many other UK ethnic minorities for reasons largely to do with their economic activity. At the same time, this dispersed coverage across the country makes them more prone to be 'visible', particularly where they live and work in rural and remote areas, which makes them more obvious targets for racist activities.

However, this report does not focus solely on the individual experience of racism and discrimination. It is clear from the research that, despite the introduction of the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 following the Macpherson Inquiry into the death of Stephen Lawrence, and the subsequent duty placed on public authorities to promote race equality and equal opportunities, that public and, for that matter, private and not-for-profit agencies have a long way to go before racism against the UK Chinese is a thing of the past.

Many of the accounts in this report (only a few are selected for reasons of space) challenge those who claim that the UK is no longer a racist country.

Racism against minorities is, of course, not a new phenomenon<sup>3</sup>; indeed, the arrival of the Jews who were fleeing pogroms at the beginning of the twentieth century provoked a racist outcry, led by a virulent media, and provoked the introduction of the first substantial immigration legislation, the 1905 Aliens Act. What should be of concern is that this research reveals substantial levels of racism against a population which, in many cases, is long-settled and,

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<sup>3</sup> Craig, 2007b; Frost, 2007

contrary to the many myths about ‘immigrants’<sup>4</sup>, makes a significant contribution to British culture and its local economies.

The report was commissioned by The Monitoring Group’s Min Quan project which delivers casework and advocacy services to members of the Chinese community and is funded by the Department for Communities and Local Government.

We are grateful to all those who collaborated by providing data in interviews, focus groups or through the postal questionnaire, and who supported the project as a whole. Most of all we want to acknowledge the contribution of respondents to the research, including those whose case records we examined, many of whom had to relive traumatic experiences in talking to us.

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<sup>4</sup> Forty-six per cent of all minorities in the UK are British-born and bred.

## Section 2

### The research and policy context

#### Introduction

Racist violence, its level and scope, and the problems of recording it, have become a problem facing criminal justice agencies across Europe<sup>5</sup>. Although the formal process of data collection within the UK appears to be rather better than in many other European countries, detailed research shows that this view is a somewhat benign one and nowhere are the difficulties of monitoring and then challenging racism against ethnic minorities demonstrated more clearly than in the experiences of the UK Chinese population.

Recent findings from the British Crime Surveys have revealed that black and minority ethnic people continue to be at greater risk of experiencing crime overall than the white majority. For example, analysis of the 2001-02 and 2002-03 British Crime Survey (results show that people from black and minority ethnic groups were at greater risk of personal crime than white people, but not of household crime, and that the risk of racially-motivated victimisation was higher for people from black and minority ethnic backgrounds than for white people in general<sup>6</sup>).

More recent figures from the British Crime Survey 2005-06 show that people from mixed and Asian ethnic backgrounds (31 per cent and 26 per cent respectively) had a higher risk of becoming a victim of crime (any British Crime Survey crime) than people from white (23 per cent), Black (22 per cent) or Chinese and Other<sup>7</sup> (21 per cent) ethnic backgrounds and that there were no statistically significant changes in the risk of victimisation for any of the ethnic groups since 2004-05<sup>8</sup>.

The figures affirm that the risk of becoming a victim of a racist crime is higher for black and minority ethnic people than for white people. They also confirm that where the victim was a minority ethnic, the perpetrator was more likely to be white<sup>9</sup>. In addition, the most current Home Office Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System published under s.95 of the Criminal Justice Act, 1991<sup>10</sup> showed that the number of racist incidents recorded to the police in England and Wales rose by four per cent from 57,978 in 2004-05 to 60,407 in 2005-06.

For racially and religiously-aggravated offences, the figures show an increase of 12 per cent in 2005-06 compared with the previous year (2004-05). Sixty-two per cent of the cases were for harassment, 14 per cent for less serious wounding, 14 per cent for criminal damage and nine per cent for common

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<sup>5</sup> Goodey, 2007

<sup>6</sup> Salisbury and Upson, 2004

<sup>7</sup> Often, statistical reports conflate Chinese with Other ethnic origins because of the relatively small samples that may be obtained: this has tended to mask the experience of UK Chinese people in many ways.

<sup>8</sup> Home Office, 2007

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>10</sup> Ministry of Justice, 2007

assault. The patterns are similar to those recorded for 2004-05<sup>11</sup>. The figures also show that the clear-up rates for racially or religiously-aggravated offences were lower compared with the clear-up rates for non-racially or religiously-aggravated offences<sup>12</sup>.

Furthermore, the most recent court data show that the number of persons cautioned or prosecuted at magistrates' courts for racially-aggravated offences rose by 20 per cent in 2005, compared with the previous year. Twenty-five percent of these offenders were below 18 years of age.

As later chapters in this report also show, the perpetrators of racist crimes often tend to be young. The conviction rate of offenders of racially-motivated crimes proceeded against in magistrates' courts have been rising steadily from 43 per cent in 2003 to 51 per cent in 2005, whilst the proportion of cases terminated early or discontinued has fallen from 38 per cent in 2004 to 34 per cent in 2005<sup>13</sup>.

Similarly, the conviction rate for racially-aggravated crimes for offenders tried at higher courts in 2005 was 63 per cent compared with 62 per cent in the previous year. Finally, the figures show that in 2005-06 the Crown Prosecution Service prosecuted 82 per cent of cases identified as being racist incidents<sup>14</sup>.

### **Chinese victims of racist crimes**

The number of Chinese victims of racist crimes appears to be small when compared with other minority ethnic groups. For example, in Greater Manchester they account for only 3.6 per cent of the total. But when this figure is viewed alongside the fact that Chinese people account for less than one per cent of the total population of Greater Manchester, the gravity of the victimisation becomes clear.<sup>15</sup>

In fact, the true nature of UK Chinese victimisation is unknown because whereas since 1 April 2003 a standard system of recording using the 16+1 ethnic categories brought in by the 2001 Census was introduced, national crime figures are still being presented in the main ethnic categories of White, Black, Mixed Asian and Other. In the past, UK Chinese people were categorised in the 'Other' category, together with various other smaller minority ethnic groups, irrespective of which part of the globe they come from. Some police forces used the label 'oriental' to refer to Chinese victims.

However, the criminal victimisation of UK Chinese people has not gone unnoticed. Chinese takeaways feature in police reports and research findings of workplaces that are most likely to experience racial attacks<sup>16</sup>. An ESRC-

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*: 11

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*: 11

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*:12

<sup>14</sup> CPS, 2006

<sup>15</sup> see Greater Manchester Police, 2007

<sup>16</sup> see Bowling 1998; Law 2004; Chan *et al* 2004; Adamson and Cole 2006

funded study of UK Chinese people's help-seeking behaviour<sup>17</sup>, found that one of the main concerns of those researched was the fear of racial harassments and attacks.

Whereas, nationally, the British Crime Survey results for 2003-04 show that the 'Chinese and Other' group has the lowest level of risk of crime victimisation than the other main ethnic groups<sup>18</sup>, empirical research has shown that Chinese people as a whole are more likely than any other minority ethnic group to be subject to racial harassment and racially-motivated property damage<sup>19</sup>. The Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities<sup>20</sup> found that 16 per cent of Chinese people in the UK encountered more racial abuse and insulting behaviour in the past year. This is more than other ethnic minority groups.

With a 2001 Chinese population of 226,948, extrapolation suggests that 36,000 Chinese people may experience racial harassment in a year. Based on these figures, it is reasonable to say that Chinese people in the UK are disproportionately represented as crime victims, possibly more than any other minority ethnic group. This suggests that statistical counts should in future identify the experience of Chinese people separately from other minorities. To date, this experience has been masked by greater numbers of 'other' black and minority ethnic people, whose experience of racism may be quantitatively less significant.

Research has shown<sup>21</sup> that most racist incidents are damage to property or verbal harassment. One report<sup>22</sup> also found that the most common form of racial harassment experienced by their sample of Chinese respondents was racist verbal abuse in the street. Twelve per cent of respondents in the postal survey conducted by that research team said that they had experienced racist abuse and harassment in the past year.

There is evidence of a similar level of racist assault against Chinese people elsewhere in the world. A survey of Chinese in Los Angeles and San Francisco indicated that 14 per cent of respondents indicated that they had been verbally or physically abused or had property damaged for racial reasons<sup>23</sup>. While these incidents may not be individually major in their effect, when they are linked together as a series of events, they may create a climate of insecurity amongst Chinese people<sup>24</sup>.

It has been suggested that perpetrators of racial harassment are of all ages, of both genders and often act together<sup>25</sup>. Chan's study<sup>26</sup> found that the

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<sup>17</sup> Chan *et al.*, 2004

<sup>18</sup> Barclay *et al.* 2005

<sup>19</sup> Modood and Berthoud, 1997

<sup>20</sup> Virdee, 1997

<sup>21</sup> Maynard and Read 1997; Clark and Moody 2002; Jarman 2002

<sup>22</sup> Chan *et al.*, 2004

<sup>23</sup> Lien, 2004

<sup>24</sup> see Virdee, 1997

<sup>25</sup> Sibbit, 1997

<sup>26</sup> Chan *et al.*, 2004

majority of perpetrators of abuse on the streets and attacks on Chinese takeaways were groups of children and young people. In addition, the perpetrators may not be complete strangers but recognised locals and neighbours; and mostly whites.<sup>27</sup>

Local studies in the regions of Humberside and West Yorkshire<sup>28</sup> and specifically in the city of Leeds<sup>29</sup> have shown high levels of racist violence against Chinese residents. For example, Law's study showed that 79 per cent of the 110 Chinese households surveyed suffered various forms of racist violence and harassment. Law's sample was made up of middle-aged and older Chinese residents. The types of harassment experienced included stone, egg, fireworks and other missile throwing; smearing excrement on windows, and verbal abuse.

The problem of harassment led to increased fear or worry about crime, feelings of isolation and impact on daily life such as children not wanting to go to school or parents keeping their children at home for fear of racial attacks or abuse.

Using recorded crime data from Humberside and West Yorkshire police forces, Adamson and Cole (2006) found that there was a considerable experience of crime amongst Chinese people in these two counties.

In Humberside:

- 985 crimes against 'oriental' victims (the term used in Humberside Police statistics) were recorded between February 2000 and early October 2005;
- 6% of crimes against 'oriental' victims had a racial element. This is higher than the national average for 'other ethnic groups';
- among the crimes recorded as committed against 'oriental' victims, criminal damage and arson increased by more than three times between 2002 and 2005, more than the overall increase in the whole county during the same period; violent crime by nearly five times compared to two-and-a-half times for the whole county; and public order offences by three times;
- offences against 'oriental' victims were more likely to be committed at weekends;
- most crimes against 'oriental' victims occurred in urban areas. In Hull, they were concentrated mainly in the adjacent University and Newland wards of the city;
- 12% of the crimes were to repeat individuals and 19% to repeat addresses;
- 9% of those against repeat individuals and 8% of those against repeat addresses had a racial element;
- the majority of the crimes were undetected, an offender being charged or summonsed in 7% of cases and cautioned in 1% of cases. However,

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<sup>27</sup> Mason, 2005

<sup>28</sup> Adamson and Cole, 2006

<sup>29</sup> Law, 2004

more offences with a racial element than all offences resulted in a charge or summons; and

- the majority of the suspects or offenders were white European, particularly in relation to crimes with a racial element. Offenders were generally young, half were aged 20 or under. For offences with a racial element, 41% of the offenders/suspects were aged 15 or under.

#### In West Yorkshire:

- 1,882 crimes against Chinese victims were recorded between February 2003 and early November 2005;
- Chinese people experienced more crime than the general population in the region;
- crimes against Chinese victims showed increases greater than nationally in crimes such as criminal damage/arson, burglary and public order offences. Criminal damage and arson offences against Chinese victims doubled between 2003 and 2005 whilst the increase for the whole of West Yorkshire from 2002-03 to 2004-05 was only 4%. Public order offences against Chinese victims during the same period more than doubled;
- burglary was more frequent amongst Chinese victims (28%) than generally in West Yorkshire (17%);
- 2% of crimes against Chinese victims were recorded as racially motivated but the numbers increased seven times between 2003 and 2005; more than for all ethnicities in the region;
- offences against Chinese victims were more likely to be committed at weekends;
- most crimes against Chinese victims occurred in urban areas. Within Leeds and Bradford, they were concentrated mainly in the university areas and the city centre. However, this was particularly in relation to burglary. Chinese victims of criminal damage and arson were spread more generally in West Yorkshire, both in rural and urban areas;
- 5% of offences took place at Chinese takeaways/restaurants;
- 18% of the crimes were repeat offences and 24% to repeat addresses;
- repeat victims were concentrated in Leeds, particularly in the university area and city centre, but there were multiple victimisations in police beats scattered all over West Yorkshire, including rural areas. There are individuals who have been victimised more than five times in Keighley, north-west Halifax, Dewsbury, Normanton and the Bradford wards of Bowling and Little Horton;
- the main repeat offences against both the same names and addresses were criminal damage/arson, and burglary;
- 4% of offences against repeat individuals and 2% of those against repeat addresses were reported as racially aggravated;
- 5% of repeat victimisation where the offence was racially aggravated took place at Chinese takeaways;
- the majority of crimes against Chinese victims were undetected, with only 5% of offenders being charged and 1% cautioned. However, a slightly greater proportion of crimes that were racially aggravated were charged; and

- the majority of offenders in crimes against Chinese people were white. Most offenders were aged between 21 and 30.

The above study confirms that UK Chinese people are disproportionately victimised. Further research may show whether this is a reporting/recording effect (for example, since Macpherson) or due to other factors. However, studies have also shown that many Chinese victims are less likely to report their victimisation to the police.<sup>30</sup>

The reasons for this are many but the majority relate to communication problems and the perception from the Chinese that they will not be treated fairly by the police. This is in line with studies in other countries. For example, a study of Chinese attitudes to the police in Toronto found that 15 per cent of respondents considered their recent contacts with the police as unsatisfactory and a further 42 per cent were uncertain.<sup>31</sup>

Perception of the police and their attitude to victims affect the extent to which victims are willing to report their victimisation to the police. Non-reporting means that victims suffer repeat victimisation in silence; and that the victimisation is more widespread than is shown in the official statistics on racist offences.

### **Racially-motivated offending**

The official crime figures listed above are supported by media reports that racially-motivated offending, including religiously and racially-aggravated offending, are on the increase in the UK and, indeed, globally and that this affects minorities across the country. In some rural areas, the situation is particularly problematic.<sup>32</sup>

Some of the causes and motivations for racism and racist violence in recent years have been identified<sup>33</sup> and the list includes the political, cultural, technological, structural, educational and international environments which have provided the impetus for the growth of racism and racist violence both in the UK and globally.

For example:

- the virtual environment, internet sites and networks which may be influential in encouraging racist violence;
- international conflicts and events including ethnic and racial conflicts and acts of terrorism, which heighten local perceptions of insecurity and fear and which are used to rationalise racist violence;
- national political and media messages – often hostile and based on myth rather than fact – on migration, ethnicity and racism which shape racial hostility;

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<sup>30</sup> Chan *et al.* 2004

<sup>31</sup> Chow, 2002

<sup>32</sup> A report published in *The Observer* ('Grim truth about race hate', 27 March 2005) also suggests that the likelihood of being the victim of a racially-motivated attack is far greater in rural areas than in urban areas: many UK Chinese work in isolated situations in rural areas, such as small market towns, where they are particularly vulnerable to attacks and more reluctant to report victimisation.

<sup>33</sup> Law, 2007:6

- economic factors, including patterns of unemployment and low pay, economic decline, exclusion from new economic opportunities;
- educational factors that make racist violence more likely such as patterns of underachievement, exclusion, racial and ethnic segregation, lack of explicit focus in schools, failure to challenge racism through the school curriculum and ethos;
- physical features of local areas that make racist violence attractive to perpetrators such as geographical isolation, lack of natural surveillance, layout of housing estates, poor lighting, lack of leisure facilities;
- family factors where racist hostility is socialised and legitimatised across generations and genders, with old/young, female/male attitudes and talk promoting racism in different ways;
- local social/ community factors, such as the balance between racist violence 'preventors' and 'promoters', and the level and nature of social interaction across ethnic/racial lines;
- adult/youth factors, active local cultures/sub-cultures, values and norms of peer groups which may encourage racist violence;
- activities of ideologically-driven groups, e.g. far right groups, which encourage racist violence; and
- a criminal environment which provides tools, knowledge, motivation, and peer pressure which knowingly or unwittingly promote/incite racist violence.

In addition, the expansion of the European Union has resulted in a changing political and public attitude towards immigration, migrant workers, refugees and asylum-seekers. This has led to a growing disrespect for diversity and the right to difference across Europe.<sup>34</sup> It has also led to the rise of racist tensions in communities across Europe where migrants have settled. Contradictory statements on the numbers of migrants in the labour force or in social housing in the UK supported by largely unsubstantiated stories in the media of preferential treatment towards migrants and asylum-seekers by public bodies, help create a climate of prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour towards migrants.

Furthermore, recent comments by a politician in support of the late anti-immigration politician Enoch Powell offer political support to the notions of segregation and discrimination.<sup>35</sup> Media reports on the criminal activities of the migrant population (for example, Chinese triads) are exaggerated, while ethnicity is linked with all kinds of social ills such as terrorism and insecurity in which the majority population believe that they are themselves mostly 'victims.'

Other studies found that the most common form of racist expression is verbal abuse, and that victims experienced repeat or continuous racist harassment, often with similar patterns of escalation, until they were forced to move away and that the main perpetrators were children and young people between the

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<sup>34</sup> Craig *et al.*, 2008

<sup>35</sup> BBC News, 7 November 2007

ages of 9 and 15, often supported by covert racism from their parents and older people in the area.<sup>36</sup>

Researchers found that hostility and racial hatred resulted from a variety of factors, the most significant of which were a mixture of jealousy, myths about the unfair allocation of resources and fear of the 'other.' Often, the harassment experienced by victims did not appear to be purely racist in motivation but that there was a strong racist element to the incidents. A variety of studies show that the impact on families involves deterioration in mental and physical health, fear, anxiety and, as this report shows, impacts on both their working and social lives. Harassment caused extreme stress and upheaval for those who had to leave their homes.

### **Victimisation of the UK Chinese**

There is some historical evidence of racial hatred and racist violence specifically against Chinese people in the UK.<sup>37</sup>

In 1919, for example, there were anti-Chinese riots in London. The riots were reported in the local newspapers as a 'check against pollution' and the attacks were mainly against Chinese residents of London's Chinatown. *The Daily Express* of 18 June 1919 talked about the 'evil-smelling dens where Chinamen sleep in four tiers of bunks,' and the 'squalor', 'dirt' and 'smell' of Chinatown. The paper concluded, 'Chinatown is growing. There are more Chinese in the purlieus of Rock Street and Pennyfields than ever before. The shop signs are creeping west.' As poverty and squalor were features of most inner-city areas in post-First World War Britain, the attack on the Chinese population can only be seen as racist.

During the inter-war years, a period of substantial economic depression, attacks on Chinese in ports such as Liverpool (where merchant seamen often settled) reflected the familiar theme of alleged competition for resources such as jobs and houses.

Considering that UK Chinese people are known to be relatively law-abiding, hard-working, and are more likely to turn to family members and Chinese community organisations for support rather than resort to state welfare,<sup>38</sup> their victimisation cannot be explained by feelings of disenfranchisement highlighted in some studies of racism. However, some of the causes of racist violence are applicable to Chinese victimisation.<sup>39</sup> These include:

- an escalating culture of violence and aggression in which minority ethnic people are seen as soft targets;
- a growing intolerance of difference and change;
- a decreasing fear of authority and the law, especially among youths;
- peer pressure;
- jealousy;

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<sup>36</sup> e.g. Isal, 2006

<sup>37</sup> Bowling, 1998

<sup>38</sup> Chao and Yu 1999; Chan *et al.* 2007a, 2007b

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*

- racial vigilantism;<sup>40</sup>
- visibility (i.e. being visibly different);
- perceptions of all Chinese people as undocumented migrants. This was not helped by media coverage of the Morecambe Bay incident,<sup>41</sup> or the recent police raids of Chinese restaurants in Soho, London, when more than 30 Chinese workers were arrested;
- the vulnerability of undocumented Chinese migrants (e.g. DVD street peddlers);
- lack of accurate official information on the positive impact of migration on British society and the economy; whilst more information is being given on the perceived link between 'race' terrorism and crime;<sup>42</sup> and
- racism – in which behaviour is based on culturally-sanctioned beliefs that members of one 'race' are intrinsically superior or inferior to members of other races.

### **Current policy developments**

The opening statement of the 2007 Public Service Agreement (PSA) 24 states that the government's vision is for a Criminal Justice System (CJS) that puts victims at its heart.

The government plans to uphold a CJS that 'will be effective in bringing offenders to justice.'<sup>43</sup> The PSA asserts that the quality of the service provided by the police is vital to the successful delivery of a fair service to victims. because many victims' cases will not reach trial. For this reason, victim satisfaction is considered an important indicator of Key Priority Action 3.<sup>44</sup> The two indicators of victim satisfaction are:

- satisfaction with the police; and
- satisfaction with the CJS.<sup>45</sup>

In addition, under the new Priority Action 4, all Local Criminal Justice Boards (LCJBs) must collect ethnicity data and monitor outcomes in areas such as:

- use of Stop and Search powers;
- charging decisions;
- prosecution of race hate crime;
- bail;
- breaches of community orders;
- sentencing; quality of life in prisons;
- victim/witness satisfaction; and
- employment, retention and progression rates for CJS staff.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Husband, 1982

<sup>41</sup> Eighteen Chinese people, some of them undocumented migrants, but all in considerable debt to a criminal gang, were drowned whilst cockle-picking in Morecambe Bay in February 2004.

<sup>42</sup> There is a growing body of research evidence demonstrating that the overall economic impact of migration is positive. (see e.g. Craig ,2007a)

<sup>43</sup> PSA Delivery Agreement 24: Deliver a more effective, transparent and responsive Criminal Justice Service for victims and the public, HM Government, 2007

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*: 11

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*: 23

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*: 14

The ethnicity data is to be used:

*'To identify areas of disproportionality at key stages within the criminal justice process; and use that evidence ... to analyse and understand the reasons for any identified race disproportionality.'*<sup>47</sup>

Priority Action 4 also requires all LCJBs to consider:

*'Wider socio-economic factors beyond the control of the CJS, which may be driving racial disparities, and, working across government and with partners at national and local levels to deliver improved outcomes.'*<sup>48</sup>

Since the Macpherson Report there have been extensive policy developments and various interventions to tackle racist violence including legislation to criminalise racist violence and initiatives such as:

- improving reporting, intelligence gathering and surveillance;
- pursuing crime and conflict initiatives;
- improving agency practice;
- improving cross-sector learning/working;
- improving work with perpetrators and offenders; and
- developing performance standards.<sup>49</sup>

There have also been significant policy developments within criminal justice institutions to tackle discriminatory practices when dealing with offenders and victims from black and minority ethnic backgrounds, including the introduction of effective monitoring through impact assessment of criminal justice activities and the setting up of Public Service Agreement targets on 'race' in the criminal justice system.<sup>50</sup>

Training in race awareness and ethnic diversity has been introduced for criminal justice practitioners and it is expected that the lessons learnt from such training should be translated into effective practice. All criminal justice agencies are expected to put mechanisms in place to ensure transparency and accountability so that the services provided are seen to be fair by victims and offenders of all ethnic groups.

The cross-government programme Race for Justice aims to improve the way hate crime is investigated and prosecuted. Race for Justice includes community and non-governmental organisations and not only has a strong influence on policy development generally but an influence across the five CJS agencies (the Police Service, HM Courts Service, Prison Service, Crown Prosecution Service and National Probation Service).

Race for Justice recently presented its views to a Strategic Judicial Group on the development of hate crime training for the judiciary. It is acting as a reference group for the forthcoming edition of the ACPO Hate Crime Manual.

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*: 13

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*: 13

<sup>49</sup> Law, 2007: 4

<sup>50</sup> see for example, Criminal Justice System 2005; Home Office 2004; 2005

Race for Justice and the Association of Chief Police Officers' Hate Crime Group have included asylum and refugee groups in the plan to reflect the challenges faced in protecting these vulnerable sections of our community.

The Crown Prosecution Service has also developed an extensive and targeted consultation process to ensure policies reflect the needs of victims.

However, it is still reasonable to state that most of the strategic and policy initiatives to deal with racism and racially-motivated behaviour and offending are focused mainly on law enforcement and punitive action rather than on prevention.

Indeed, it is argued that racism and racist violence are on the increase because the bulk of the work in dealing with racist violence is not concerned with prevention.<sup>51</sup> Law enforcement alone, or even offender programmes to address the offending behaviour of racist offenders, do not address the wider set of causes and contexts of racism and racist violence.<sup>52</sup> The law enforcement approach focuses on the offender, ignoring the social, economic and political contexts within which racism and racist violence are sustained and legitimated.<sup>53</sup>

Moreover, most of the policies dealing with racism and racist offences have been 'top-down.' There is no research evidence that communities are involved in the development of policies and strategies. There is also no evidence of effective monitoring or evaluation of policies and compliance is often little more than a tick-box exercise for many local criminal justice agencies and public authorities.

Given that studies have shown that increasing levels of law enforcement have failed to bring violent racism under control,<sup>54</sup> there is a strong argument in favour of the development of a 'racism reduction' agenda which combines preventative and punitive actions.<sup>55</sup> This strategy would involve:

*'Identifying the total environment that shapes, promotes and determines racist actions, implementing a programme of actions which impacts on these factors and creating a new environment in which the operation of racism and related violence is reduced.'*

An alternative approach is 'a policy initiative based on generating a wider institutional and community commitment to tackling racist violence and racism in society.'<sup>56</sup> Pursuing a 'racism reduction strategy' requires three steps:

- identifying the total environment that shapes, promotes and determines racist actions;
- implementing a programme of actions which impacts on these factors; and

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<sup>51</sup> Law, 2007

<sup>52</sup> Cole, 2008

<sup>53</sup> Law, 2007: 11

<sup>54</sup> Bowling and Phillips, 2002; Goodey, 2005; Isal, 2006

<sup>55</sup> Law, 2007: 4

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*

- creating a new environment in which the operation of racism and related violence is reduced.<sup>57</sup>

The most important criterion is that the initiatives should be community-based involving the public, criminal justice and community organisations, while aiming to challenge racist attitudes within organisations and communities. This strategy is not to ignore individual responsibility but to challenge attitudes through preventative measures, for example, by using schools to combat false beliefs and prejudices, eradicating institutional racism, and encouraging the media to take a positive approach to promoting understanding between groups and peoples.

In the following sections we draw together data gathered during the course of the present study, much of which supports the analysis outlined above. We start by presenting an analysis of a sample of UK Chinese cases from the records of Min Quan, The Monitoring Group's Chinese-led community organisation working on issues of race hate.

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid: 7

## Section 3

### **Review of The Monitoring Group case records**

This chapter offers an analysis of the case records on racial harassment abuse and violence against Chinese people in which The Monitoring Group's Min Quan caseworkers were involved. Min Quan is the branch of The Monitoring Group that offers advocacy and support services to victims of racial and domestic violence from the Chinese community.

#### **The sample**

The Monitoring Group has many hundreds of case files on Chinese people who have experienced alleged discrimination and unfair treatment at the hands of public institutions and individuals, and who approached Min Quan for advice and assistance.

A large proportion of these cases include Chinese people who have experienced racial harassment, abuse and/or physical attacks at the hands of individuals and public officials, including the police.

This review is of cases of the latter category; that is, Chinese people who have experienced racial harassment, abuse and attacks. The essential element is the racist element in the incident. Therefore, cases in which the victims suffered harassment, abuse and/or violence but in which no racist language or gestures were used and where no allegation of a racist motive was mentioned in the case file, were excluded from the review. However, cases were included in which no racist language or gestures were used but the victims said that they thought that the actions of the perpetrators were racially motivated – the Macpherson definition of a racist crime applied.<sup>58</sup>

Cases were also included where the victims did not indicate to the police that the incident was racially-motivated but who did later mention this voluntarily to Min Quan. Cases of anti-social behaviour (for example, indecent exposure and rude body language towards Chinese victims) accompanied by racist comments were included in the sample.

The final sample consisted of 65 cases covering the period 2000–2007.

#### **The contents of the case files**

The files provide detailed information, in the victims' own words, about the nature of racial harassment, abuse and attacks that the Chinese victims suffered. The files also contain information about who the perpetrators were, the types of responses that the victims received from criminal justice agencies, particularly the local police and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) during the course of the victimisation, and social services after the victimisation.

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<sup>58</sup> The Macpherson Inquiry Report emphasises that it is the perceptions of victims that define what is racially-motivated.

In addition, the files contain cases where the police were the alleged perpetrators and where their actions and those of the social services amounted to secondary victimisation. The documents contained in each file include:

- details of the incidents written by the victims themselves;
- victims' notes indicating how the incident had affected them and their families;
- summaries of incidents provided in Min Quan's letters to the police on behalf of the victims;
- Min Quan's letters to the police on behalf of the victims highlighting problematic areas and requesting explanations from the police of actions taken or not taken in each case;
- letters from Min Quan to victims, advising them on how to collect and preserve evidence for the police and offering advice on how to respond to police action or inaction;
- letters of complaints against the police written by victims or on behalf of victims by Min Quan, to the Police Complaints Authority (before 2004) and the Independent Police Complaints Commission (after 2004);
- replies from the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) to Min Quan;
- Min Quan's letters to the local Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), highlighting reasons why prosecution was not the proper cause of action against the Chinese victims (who often appeared to end up as victims-turned-offenders);
- Min Quan's letters to the local CPS asking for reasons why perpetrators were not prosecuted;
- Min Quan's letters to the local police asking for the reasons why perpetrators were not charged or prosecuted;
- police letters detailing actions taken and response to Min Quan's queries and requests for information;
- letters from other Criminal Justice organisations such as the CPS;
- correspondence between Min Quan and the Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority (CICA);
- police letters on the outcome of investigation and actions taken;
- correspondence between Min Quan, social services and local housing authorities on issues relating to victims' financial assistance and re-housing that have resulted from their victimisation;
- Min Quan's letters to other organisations (e.g. banks) on behalf of the victims;
- The Monitoring Group's file notes; and
- minutes of meetings and case conference notes (for murder cases only).

These documents provide much information on the victims' perspectives about their victimisation and the nature of the police action at the scene of the incident. The information provided also covers some aspects of the police investigation into the alleged incidents and the outcomes in terms of the arrest/non-arrest and prosecution/non-prosecution of perpetrators.

In addition, the documents provide information on the role of The Monitoring Group in pursuing justice for the victims and helping to put measures in place to prevent the future victimisation of the victims. In the cases where victims required support from local authority social services and housing departments, the information contained in the files described what efforts were made and how the victims were treated.

Where complaints were lodged against the police, details of the complaints were fully presented in the files, including police and IPCC responses and, in some cases, the outcome of the complaint.

### **Types of offences and incidents**

This review showed that racially-motivated offences and incidents can take several forms and that they occur in various combinations. The following are the most common types of racially-motivated offences and incidents reported by the UK Chinese victims in the 65 cases reviewed (see Table 3:1 below):

- racial verbal abuse or using threatening abuse accompanied by swearing. The most common racist phrases are: 'Fucking Chinese, go back to your country', and 'Chinky';
- repeated racial harassment and abuse over long periods of time, by the same perpetrators;
- persistent racial abuse and harassment followed by vandalism or criminal damage of victim's property or takeaway;
- persistent racial harassment and abuse followed by racially-motivated assault of the victim, ending in the victim sustaining grievous bodily harm or serious injuries;
- racial harassment followed by aggravated assault leading to loss of consciousness and hospitalisation of the victims;
- racial abuse and harassment accompanied by stone or egg throwing. In one case, human faeces was thrown into a Chinese takeaway;
- racial abuse accompanied by obscene gestures, indecent exposure or rude body language towards the victim, in order to provoke the victim to a fight;
- disorderly behaviour accompanied by racist remarks. For example, shouting racist abuse whilst urinating inside a Chinese restaurant;
- racially-aggravated threatening behaviour after unreasonable demands for free food from Chinese takeaway owners were refused;
- racist taunting. A common phrase was 'Can you speak English?';
- racist bullying, abuse, harassment and threatening behaviour against Chinese children in school, by their schoolmates;
- arson following persistent racial harassment and abuse;
- robbery following persistent racial abuse and harassment;
- making off without payment or refusing to pay for food at a Chinese takeaway, whilst racially abusing the Chinese owners;
- inciting others (neighbours) to racial hatred against Chinese neighbours;
- racially-motivated stalking of a Chinese family;
- racist remarks about the smell of Chinese cooking accompanied by harassment and bullying by neighbours;

- racist attack in the street by (white) strangers;
- death threats accompanied by racial abuse;
- harassment by the police which the victims thought were racially-motivated;
- use of force by the police, which led to serious injuries being sustained by the victim. The victim became unconscious and was hospitalised. Here, the victim thought that the treatment that she received in the hands of the police was racially-motivated;
- arrest and detention by the police that the victim thought was racially-motivated;
- racist murder of Chinese DVD street peddlers.

Table 3.1 below shows that the majority of racist offences and incidents suffered by Chinese people are more likely to go beyond abuse and harassment into deliberate physical harm, mindless destruction of property and even death.

Perpetrators of racist offences against Chinese people are more likely to express their racism in physical terms, either in the form of physical attacks or damage to property. Perpetrators felt confident to carry out their racist behaviour in public.

Table 3.1 Types of offence and incident

Offences and Incidents	Number	Percentage (%)
Racial harassments and threats (including police harassment)	22	34
Racial harassment accompanied by violence, including vandalism, criminal damage and serious injuries leading to hospitalisation	36	55
Racially-motivated murder (of DVD peddlers)	2	3
Others (e.g. racist bullying, stalking etc)	5	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100</b>

The majority of the abuse, harassment and attacks were unprovoked and malicious.

#### **Examples of racial harassment and attacks**

Mr J had just disembarked from a train and was walking towards his home when he was severely attacked by a group of youths at a bus stop. Mr J lost consciousness immediately and only regained consciousness in hospital. (Case 53, 2006)

Mr T was returning to his shop when he was attacked by a gang of six to seven young men and women, holding sticks and metal bars. Mr T had earlier been attacked by one member of the gang. The gang chased Mr T, shouting 'Fucking Chinese, kill him kill him.' They threw sticks and metal bars at Mr T, some of which landed on his body. Mr T picked up a stick from the ground and tried to defend himself and frighten the youths off. He threw

the stick at the youths but it missed them. The youths later caught up with Mr. T and knocked him to the ground. The gang continued to kick and punch Mr T whilst he was on the ground. Mr T lost consciousness. Mr T suffered a broken left rib, a shattered left elbow and multiple injuries, and was hospitalised. Whilst Mr T was in hospital, the gang of youths returned to smash the front window of his shop.  
(Case 39, 2003)

Three of the cases reviewed resulted in the death of the victim. For example:

#### **Attack leading to death of the victim**

Mr Y, a DVD seller of Chinese origin, was found on a towpath in [...] London suffering from serious head injuries that eventually led to his death. Y was discovered by two plain-clothes police officers. An hour after he was found, he was taken to hospital and then transferred to [another] hospital where he died [the following day]. The police [had launched an appeal] for information about a black youth seen chasing Y on a bicycle in the incident area.  
(Case 62, 2007)

#### **Victims-turned-offenders**

There were a number of cases where the victims defended themselves or attempted to protect their property and family (for example, by using a weapon to chase away or scare their attackers), but they were then themselves arrested and charged with an offence.

#### **How victims can find themselves classed as offenders**

At about 10pm, the counter staff reported to Mr C that a group of young people were gathering outside the front door of the shop. Mr C went out and saw about 10 young people aged between 13 and 16 outside the shop, armed with metal pipes or wooden sticks. The group attacked Mr C as he appeared outside his shop to find out what happened. In self-defence, Mr C grabbed a metal bar from one of the attackers and tried to block the blows landing on him. Mr C asked his staff to call Emergency Service. [The] police arrived at the scene and Mr C was taken to hospital. [However] Mr C is now on bail pending the outcome of police investigation [because] the youths gave statements to the police saying that Mr C attacked them.  
(Case 19, 2002)

Other examples include:

- the Chinese victim who tried to defend himself using a 'plastic vacuuming tube' but was then arrested for disorderly behaviour in a public place;
- a Chinese-takeaway owner who was arrested because 'he used excessive force in defending himself and his family' against three attackers who were intending to do serious damage to his shop;
- another Chinese-takeaway owner who protested at the way that the police were handling a dispute between himself and customers who were racially abusing him and his staff, but was himself arrested and cautioned under section 5(1) and (6) of the Public Order Act, 1986 for

‘using threatening, abuse and insulting words or behaviour within the hearing or sight of a person likely to cause harassment.’

In some cases, the police did not arrest or prosecute the perpetrators because of the action of the victims at the scene of the incident. The racial element in the perpetrators’ actions tended to be ignored where the victims took actions to defend themselves or scare off the perpetrators before further damage was done, whilst waiting for the police to arrive.

A victim was referred to by the police as a ‘voluntary participant’ because he ‘has brandished a weapon [a stick] in the street’ when a group of youths attacked his car and house whilst shouting racist abuse at him and his family. There was no evidence that this weapon was used but the victim’s action was enough for the police to decide not to arrest the alleged perpetrators.

It was also noted that in some cases where the perpetrators made a counter-allegation against the Chinese victim or where the victims’ and perpetrators’ versions of events contradicted each other, the police did not arrest or prosecute the perpetrators.

#### **When victims’ and perpetrators’ versions of events contradict each other**

Mr M’s takeaway has been persistently attacked and vandalised by youths in the area. On one occasion, about 40 youths entered Mr M’s shop and were rowdy and disorderly. Mr M asked them to leave but, instead, the youths started swearing and racially abusing Mr M and his staff. When Mr M came out from behind the counter to eject them, he was punched and pushed to the floor. Mr M sustained some wounds and his front window was also smashed. Eventually, two police officers came to the scene and a youth was arrested.

But this did not stop the criminal damage and abuse. On another occasion when the police were again called, it happened that the police officer who came was the one who attended the earlier incident. He told Mr M’s staff that the boy had been released without charges because he made a counter-allegation that Mr M attacked him first.

The police decided no further action will be taken in the case because the statements of Mr M and the youth contradicted each other. No statements were taken from witnesses (including the two white customers who were present at the scene and were themselves attacked by the youths).  
(Case 14, 2001)

An example was a case where the perpetrator admitted to using racist language against the Chinese but said that it was ‘in return for racist language used against himself and that the Chinese threw the first punch.’ The facts of the case were not very clear in the file but the Chinese person was arrested. The case above demonstrates similar issues.

Many victims in the cases examined said that they felt ignored and misunderstood.

### Repeat victimisation

Most of the victims suffered repeat victimisation; that is, 'more than one hate incident in a 12-month period following the date the first incident was reported.'<sup>59</sup>

In one case, a Chinese family was victimised 17 times within the previous 12 months. In fact, the majority of victims approached Min Quan for assistance only after experiencing repeat victimisation and as a last resort, when no positive help appeared to be coming from anywhere else. Many of the victims were able to show to Min Quan evidence of complaints that they had made to the police on previous occasions when they were victimised, usually by the same perpetrators, but the police took no action.

### Persistent abuse and harassment

Mrs V suffered persistent racial abuse, racial harassment and attacks at the hands of her neighbours. She showed records of incidents that she had reported to the police between 2004 and 2005. The records demonstrated that there had been five incidents of criminal damages, one incident of theft and an incident of robbery reported to the police 2004; and that in 2005, there were four incidents of criminal damage, one incident of burglary and one incident of aggravated threatening behaviour by neighbours.

(Case 50, 2006)

In another case of persistent harassment by gangs of youths, the harassment had been going on for more than 13 years (since 1994).

### The perpetrators

As indicated below (Table 3.2), the main perpetrators of racist abuse, harassment and attack of Chinese people are local gangs of youths, ranging between the ages of 10 and 15 (in a few cases the youths were as young as eight). The majority of perpetrators were males but one gang of youths that persistently harassed a Chinese family included female members.

Table 3.2 Nature of Perpetrators

Perpetrators	Percentage
Gang of local youths	53
Neighbours	17
Customers (Chinese takeaways and restaurants)	9
Landlords	3
Schoolmates	5
Unknown persons, in the street	7
The police	6
Total	100

Perpetrators were mostly white, but in one case of racial harassment of a Chinese family who owned a takeaway business, the ring-leader of the gang

<sup>59</sup> ACPO Guidelines on Repeat Victimisation, para 7.2.4

of youths was an 11 year-old Asian (Indian) boy. Also, in the case of the bullying of a Chinese college student, the perpetrators were a gang of black youths from the victim's school. Furthermore, in one of the cases of attack and murder of Chinese DVD peddlers, the perpetrator is believed to be a black youth.

### **When the police are the alleged perpetrators**

Ms P [a Chinese student] was brutally assaulted by police officers at her home address. Due to the severity of the attack, she became unconscious and was hospitalised. ... Whilst the attack was going on, one of Ms P's flatmates began to photograph the incident. Not only was the flatmate threatened with arrest by another police officer present but his mobile phone was forcibly taken away from him and some of the evidence deleted. [Ms P] was even more traumatised when she saw the officer responsible for the assault at her hospital bed asking her whether she could recognise the person who assaulted her.

(Case 59, 2007)

Mr G, with the support of Min Quan, lodged a complaint to the IPCC against WPC X and PS Y. It turned out that as far back as 2005, Mr G had complained against the police for failing to conduct proper investigation of reported incidents of racist crimes against him. At that time, the complaint was upheld ... Following the complaints being upheld, Mr G has been, on a number of occasions, stopped by the police in the street or visited by police officers at his home over allegations of trivial matters or other excuses.

On one occasion in 2006, Mr G was visited by the police at his home and questioned over an alleged offence that Mr G was supposed to have carried out. Mr G wrote to the police expressing his concerns about this visit and was told that the visit was a follow-up on leads supplied to the police by the council tax office about a Mr G's unlawful activities. Mr G wrote to the tax office only to be told that the office did not provide any information to the police that he was carrying out any illegal activities.

This led Mr G to the conclusion that he was being targeted by the police because of his successful complaints against the police in 2005. In his current complaints letter, Mr G said that he believed that the aggressive, arrogant, intimidating and unreasonable behaviour of the said officers amounted to misconduct; that such behaviour also amounted to harassment and abuse of his rights. More importantly, he maintained that the motivation for such actions could only be racism.

(Case 61, 2007)

### **The victims**

As shown in Table 3.3 below, the bulk of the victims were owners of Chinese takeaways and restaurants. However, there were cases where the abuse and harassment, criminal damage, vandalism and stalking came from neighbours and members of the communities where the Chinese victims lived. These cases show that racist behaviour against UK Chinese people is not endured

by those in the catering business alone but also experienced by those who live in particular communities where they are harassed, abused and attacked by fellow residents and neighbours.

Table 3.3 Status of victims

Chinese victims	Percentage (%)
Owners of Chinese takeaways and restaurants	54
Neighbours and residents	30
Tenants	3
Chinese students	5
Chinese children in school	5
Chinese DVD street peddlers	3
Total	100

### **Official responses and secondary victimisation**

The majority of the issues and concerns raised by victims relate to how they were treated by the police during and after their victimisation. With help and support from Min Quan, some victims were able to lodge formal complaints against the police. In addition, some victims experienced frustration and neglect in the hands of the social services (such as housing and benefits offices) when, as a consequence of being victimised, they were faced with the threat of homelessness, bankruptcy or poverty and therefore needed public support.

### ***The police***

Most victims contacted Min Quan when they thought that the police had been insensitive to their plight, failed to carry out a proper investigation into their complaints, failed to arrest and prosecute perpetrators, or treated them (the victims) unfairly during the process, for example, by undermining the racist element, the seriousness of the incident and the impact on themselves and their families.

Those who had collected evidence in the hope that it would aid the investigation and arrest and prosecution of perpetrators were frustrated by the apparent lack of enthusiasm on the part of the police, in spite of the fact that the police had made no positive efforts to collect the evidence themselves. The majority said that they thought that the services rendered by the police were generally poor. While direct racism cannot be inferred from the actions of the police, there is an indication that their actions may have been tainted by a lack of understanding of UK Chinese people and their criminal justice needs.

Examples of issues raised with regards to policing include the following:

The police did not take the allegations of racism seriously or simply decided not to list the cases as racist incidents. For example, in the case of a dispute between a Chinese family and their neighbours, the reporting police officer stated that the racial abuse used against the Chinese family would not have changed the action of the police as 'all parties at the time admitted to hitting each other in self-defence.'

### **When racism is not taken seriously**

Mr B caught a youth who had been racially abusing him and throwing stones which smashed the front window of his shop. When the police arrived, they spoke with the youth and advised Mr B to claim from his insurance. The youth was not arrested.

(Case 17, 2002)

Dr and Mrs S alleged that they have been victims of continuous racial harassment by their neighbour. The police accepted that this was a genuinely held belief by Dr and Mrs S but did not believe that the allegations of racism were true. According to a letter from the local police to The Monitoring Group, much of the behaviour complained of can be explained by the fact that the parties are next-door neighbours, and as a result will from time to time come across each other in the course of their everyday life.

(Case 36, 2003)

The police did not take action to arrest and prosecute perpetrators in spite of the available evidence. Examples include cases where photographs, CCTV footage and videotapes of the incidents were recorded by the victims and handed over to the police only to be told that the evidence did not support the allegation. In one case, the police simply refused to view the video recording of a previous incident that was made by the victims. Related cases include those where the police refused to take action because the incident could not be sustained by 'independent' evidence or corroborated by 'independent' witnesses. In a particular case, the police highlighted the fact that the evidence available was 'eye witness evidence uncorroborated by an independent source.'

In another case, no action was taken because the [six] eye-witnesses to the victim's account were all Chinese, and therefore could not be regarded as 'independent' witnesses. The underlying assumption in this case, it appeared, was that where the witnesses are Chinese their version of events cannot be true.

The police did not comply with ACPO (Association of Chief Police Officers) guidelines on Identifying and Combating Hate Crimes and police guidelines on how to deal with racist incidents, especially those that specifically affect Chinese people such as 'making off without payment in Chinese restaurants.' Two of the reviewed cases were of this nature and Min Quan had to remind the police about the importance of taking the regulations and guidelines seriously.

The police failed to use other measures, short of arrest for example, Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) against perpetrators who were too young to be prosecuted. In one case – a frequently-heard comment – the police said that 'there is very little that the police can do to under-age offenders.'

The police did not acknowledge the seriousness of the offence until much more (physical) damage was carried out or the harassment deteriorated into attacks. In a case of harassment of a Chinese by his neighbour, the police ignored repeated calls by the Chinese to intervene until the harassment escalated into a fight in which both parties sustained serious injuries. The Chinese person was arrested and charged with assault.

The police apparently took sides by taking statements from the white perpetrators but not the Chinese victims.

### **Only one side of the story...**

Two customers at Ms L's restaurant refused to pay after completing their meals. They alleged that the food was unhygienic. They asked Ms L's staff for a container to take the alleged unhygienic food to Trading Standards. After bagging the alleged contaminated food, they refused to pay for the food that they had consumed. Ms L's staff decided to call the police. One of the customers also called the police. Two officers arrived. They didn't ask Ms L or her staff what happened but went over to talk to the two [white] customers. One of the police officers approached Ms L's staff and accused them of falsely detaining the two customers. The staff were arrested and detained for false imprisonment. (Case 48, 2006)

The police were perceived as being incompetent in their investigations. Examples include cases where:

- a summons against the offender to appear in court was issued by the police, six months after the offence, resulting in the summons becoming invalid because it had been issued 'out of time';
- victims were not informed by the police of the progress of their cases, leading to anxiety and a prolonging of the ordeal;
- the police did not take statements from witnesses at the scene, which ultimately weakened the case of the victim;
- a Crime Reference Number was not given because the victim was not hurt;
- the police said that the record of the incident was missing on the police computer.

### **Lack of action despite continuing harassment**

Mr K's takeaway shop suffered constant attacks and abuse from local youths. On one occasion, the harassment consisted of verbal abuse, racial abuse, and eggs and bricks throwing by 15 to 20 youths hanging outside the shop, stopping customers from entering.

Every time, Mr K called the police, they either took a long time to arrive, by which time the youths had dissipated, or the police told Mr K that there was not enough evidence for them to take action.

(Case 8, 2000)

Other complaints include cases in which the police:

- failed to turn up when called;

- refused to take any statements from victims because they believed that the incidents had become less serious;
- did not act because 'many of the incidents complained of do not fall within the remit of the police to deal with';
- turned down the victim's request for more protection on the grounds that they had to prioritise cases;
- would not support the victims' application for housing transfer because the police 'cannot get involved in housing issues';
- allegedly failed to obtain crucial evidence at the scene of the incident;
- said that there was not enough evidence upon which to take action, in spite of being told of the racist nature of the incident;
- said that they could not do anything about the attacks because the perpetrators had left the scene before their arrival, despite the fact that the victims knew who the attackers were and were prepared to show the police where they lived;
- failed in their duty of care by taking witness statements too late, thereby losing crucial evidence and making assumptions based on inconclusive evidence;
- failed to obtain crucial evidence from key people in the case and allowed crucial evidence to be tampered with at the scene of crime;
- refused to take action, claiming that the case was a civil matter;
- refused to prosecute school pupils who had been bullying, harassing and assaulting a Chinese school boy. The police allegedly said that the violence on the victim was common assault, which is 'the lowest grade of physical injury to others; not an arrestable offence';
- said that there was nothing they could do 'until the crime had happened';
- did not respond to the victim's call. They said that they were busy;
- said that there was nothing they could do because the victim could not identify the perpetrator;
- did not communicate with the victim's family until days after the incident.

However, there is also evidence that the police did take appropriate actions in a number of cases. For example, in most of the cases where the police were called, they did eventually arrive at the scene.

In many cases, it appeared that the police turning up was simply routine. In some cases, the police tried to negotiate between the parties and settle the disputes without an arrest. In one case, the police suggested the services of mediation professionals. This was seen by the victim as undermining the racist element of the complaint. In this case, the victims reported to the police the remarks of a local mediation organisation that racial incidents are 'far beyond mediation.'

In some cases, the police did take action (usually after much persuasion by Min Quan) to prevent further victimisation of the Chinese victims. For example, victims' takeaways were flagged-up on police computers and panic alarms and covert CCTV cameras were installed.

On a positive note, however, in a few cases the incidents were immediately recorded as racist incidents and the perpetrators were charged and prosecuted. In addition, the police took complaints against their officers seriously. In one case, the officer complained against was disciplined for failing to investigate allegations of criminal assault against the victim. A similar complaint by another Chinese victim was not as successful because the officer concerned had already left the force.

### ***Local authority social services***

As indicated above, those victims who decided to move out of their local areas faced further victimisation as they tried to secure support from local authority social services and housing authorities. Recorded incidents include those where the victims were threatened with homelessness but it took a lot of persistence and persuasion by Min Quan before the victims were provided with council accommodation. There were other cases where the victims became bankrupt as a result of the closure of their takeaway businesses but who had problems securing the state financial support to which they were entitled.

While the experiences of these Chinese victims with social services could not be regarded as uncommon, not least because social services have to work within certain constraints, it appeared that being Chinese meant that their cases were not seen as a priority.

Such treatment of victims by the police and local authorities' departments amounts to secondary victimisation: the victimisation that occurs not as a result of the criminal act itself but through the response of institutions and individuals to the victim during and after victimisation.

### **Secondary victimisation**

Mr and Mrs P were persistently harassed at their takeaway shop by a gang of youths in the area.

On one occasion, Mr P was so concerned about the safety of his family, including their seven-year-old son, that he thought he had to close his shop early. But some of the youths became more aggressive. Mr P decided to chase them away from his shop. He chased them to a point where around 20 other youths aged between 18 and 20 were waiting. The youths threw stones at Mr P and some of them punched and kicked him. The police arrived at the scene and one youth was arrested. The attacks continued after this incident. Racist words were often used during these attacks.

Mr and Mrs P decided that it was best for them to leave their property as the attacks continued. With the help of The Monitoring Group, emergency accommodation was secured for the family for one night. However, a full homelessness assessment was needed. The Homeless and Family Services simply advised the family to return to their home. The officer who did the assessment said that kids would normally get bored doing the same thing and would stop when they get bored. The officer [white] used her own experience

as an example. After further questioning, the officer concluded that Mr and Mrs P were not homeless as they had somewhere to live, her argument being that it was the shop that was being attacked, not their home. Moreover, the officer said that the safety issue that Mr and Mrs P were concerned about was a policing issue, not a housing issue.

Further attempts to make the council change the decision failed. Instead, the family was told that the council had reported the matter to the police; that the police have taken the case seriously and would protect the family. It was only when Mr and Mrs P decided to close their shop that the council decided to give them accommodation. As a result of the experience and being unemployed, Mr P ended up with a debt of over £20,000. He had no option but to declare himself bankrupt. In addition, Mr P agreed to go for counselling. Mrs P was advised to see a psychiatrist as she too was depressed.

The next series of encounters included Mr and Mrs P's desperate attempts to get permanent housing, housing benefit and income support and the hurdles that they had to get past with the welfare services to get these. The couple were eventually successful in getting permanent housing, with the help and persistent support of Min Quan.

(Case 64, 2007)

### **The impact on victims**

The victimisation affected the victims in various ways. Victim responses range from accepting the victimisation as normal, taking drastic steps to prevent further victimisation by installing security devices in their homes and takeaways, to closing down business altogether and moving away from the area.

In one case, the victim said that he would only report incidents if it was 'serious' – that is, if the racial harassment or abuse is accompanied by violence or criminal damage to property. A Chinese family who had to close down a takeaway business and move out of the area because of persistent racial harassment and attacks said that they would never return to their home even if the situation improved.

More important are the effects on the victims' wellbeing. Victims mentioned feeling vulnerable. A few said that they felt that Chinese people are not well-protected by the police simply because they are foreigners. Some said that they felt helpless and frightened, constantly living in fear of being attacked. Victims mentioned in letters to Min Quan, their fear of going out after dark, leaving home when gangs of youths are gathered nearby, and fear of an arson attack if their houses were left unattended at any time.

Victims with families felt concerned about the health and safety of their vulnerable members – children and the elderly. Some victims said that they had experienced depression and anxiety because of the incidents. One victim needed sleeping tablets, medication, and counselling to settle her nerves.

Generally, victims talked about the incidents having seriously affected their quality of life.

### **The effects of persistent harassment on the victims**

Mr J and his family [have been] suffering from persistent harassment and anti-social behaviour by groups of local youths aged around 13-15. One of them is an Indian boy aged 11-13. Mr J said that this ongoing harassment and anti-social behaviour have seriously affected his quality of life and that of his parents (aged 80 – 90).

Mrs J said that her husband is now getting nervous whenever he saw a group of youths gathering outside his house because he didn't know what form of harassment would be committed against his family again. Mrs J said that they have lost confidence in the police in the area due to their poor response to numerous previous calls to them. As a result, the family no longer feel safe living in their house. Mrs K believes that the situation would get worse as they do not have any protection. Mr K said that he had no option but to move out of the area. The harassment and criminal damage continued.

(Case 62, 2007)

Most important is the loss of confidence or trust in the local police and social services. Some victims said that they believe that the police discriminate against victims generally and Chinese victims in particular, many others that their experience had created a barrier between themselves and the police. The implications in terms of the under-reporting of racist incidents by Chinese people and the lack of trust and confidence in the police by the Chinese communities in general were highlighted in many of the Min Quan letters to the police.

### **Effects of lack of action**

Ms W was having some problems with her landlord over the use of electricity in her shop. The police were called but they decided not to intervene because the matter is a 'civil', even though racist comments were made by the (white) landlord towards Ms W during the course of the conflict.

Ms W felt that the police took sides in favour of the landlord by ordering her to comply with the landlord's demands. Ms W felt that she was racially discriminated against by the police. She said that she had always been proud to be British but that the incident has affected her feelings about the police. She felt helpless. She said that she had not been able to sleep well after the incident.

Ms W is a respected member of the Chinese community and has lived in the UK for more than 26 years. She has received several awards, including awards from the Queen and the University of Sheffield, and a letter of commendation from local dignitaries. She felt that the police are biased and discriminate against victims and was concerned that what happened to her might happen to other Chinese people in the community.

(Case 63, 2007)

**Lack of action leads to loss of confidence in police**

Mr X had to close his [takeaway] shop because of persistent harassment and anti-social behaviour around his shop by groups of local youths. Mr X was forced out of business as a result. He was unable to pay his rent and bills because customers did not patronise his shop due to fear of being attacked when they came to collect their food. Home delivery was equally impossible because staff were attacked.

The incidents included physical and verbal racist abuse and serious assaults on Mr X on two occasions, leading to hospitalisation. The extent of the problem was reported by a local newspaper. In response, a police officer was quoted by the newspaper as saying that 'he did not believe that the crime was motivated by racism as the shop next door had also been seriously vandalised.'

Mr X said that the daily onslaught of threats and violence and the lack of positive action by the police have made him lose confidence in the police.

(Case 50, 2006)

**The role of The Monitoring Group Min Quan project**

It was apparent in the case files, that the experiences of the victims would probably not have been heard had they not approached Min Quan for help.

Min Quan not only wrote letters on behalf of the victims to the police but also alerted the police as to what action they are supposed to take under the law; urging the police to comply with existing police guidelines on how to deal with racist incidents and protect the victims from further victimisation.

On some occasions, the police had to be reminded of the Macpherson definition of a racist incident which states that 'a racist incident is any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any person', and of local police community and race relations strategies which state that a 'racist incident does not have to be proven or confirmed, nor necessarily have to be a crime. All incidents must be investigated with equal commitment.'

Min Quan questioned police action or inaction, asking for explanations where police action appeared unreasonable, misleading or unclear. Most of the Min Quan letters to the police also asked for more information about the police investigation. Some of these letters express frustration at the slow pace of the investigation and the fact that the police had not done what they should have done, either to protect the victim or collect vital evidence.

Some Min Quan letters also contained advice and suggestions to the police on practical steps that they should take to prevent further victimisation such as:

- installing panic alarms at the victims' residences or takeaway shops;
- installing CCTV surveillance technology to help catch the culprits;

- flagging up the victims' telephone number and address on police computers to ensure a priority response in the event of further victimisation.

Min Quan also gave advice to the victims including, for example: to log all events and incidents;

- keep all correspondence with the police, such as 'logging how long it took the police to arrive, the PC's name and number, what he/she said and did in each incident.'
- keep and mark the dates of any incident; and, if the police should ask for video footage, to tell them that copies will be sent after the footage has been seen by a solicitor.'

Other services offered by Min Quan caseworkers included:

- lodging complaints against the police, on behalf of victims, to the IPCC. In a few cases, Min Quan's intervention led to the police re-opening the cases for further investigation;
- referral of cases to competent lawyers;
- writing letters to the hospitals where victims are hospitalised, requesting their medical reports;
- making an application to the Criminal Justice Compensation Board for compensation, on behalf of victims who had sustained injuries as a result of the harassment and assault;
- attendance at Case Conferences; for example, to request an update on police investigation or for the police to answer important questions on their handling of cases;
- writing to all parties that might help with the investigation of the case – for example, schools/colleges where the victims attended and local council officials – asking them to play their part or carry out their duty in helping with the investigation of the case;
- getting involved in outdoor campaigns for witnesses;
- giving information to victims' families on funeral arrangements and how to arrange for the post-mortem examination of the dead body of the victim;
- providing moral support to vulnerable victims and their families, including support to families of murdered victims;
- providing support to victims and their families when they visited police stations or other public institutions;
- making visits to victims' homes to obtain more evidence or information;
- giving information to Chinese communities on what they should do if they suffered racial harassment.

The contribution of Min Quan to the progress and successful outcome of the cases reviewed cannot be under-estimated and should be commended. The Monitoring Group's proactive involvement in cases and their expertise in seeking just outcomes for victims highlight the need for culturally-appropriate victim support services which meet the need of ethnic minority communities who are disproportionately targeted as victims of hate crime in the UK.

## Section 4

### The questionnaire survey

A postal questionnaire of respondents in our three fieldwork sites was also undertaken, reaching respondents through a combination of:

- identifying Chinese-owned establishments through business directories;
- targeting Chinese community organisations;
- approaching major institutions such as universities;
- the use of telephone directories; and
- networking

The questionnaire was available in both English and traditional Chinese and spaces were left for respondents to write their own experience in either language. Chinese text was then translated by a Chinese-speaking member of the research team.

#### The survey respondents

Slightly more respondents who answered the question were female (54 per cent) than male. The single largest group of respondents to the survey were Hong Kong Chinese (nearly half the respondents) as shown by Table 4.1. Mainland Chinese and Singapore and Malaysian Chinese together comprised a further 40 per cent.

Table 4.2 shows that the survey responses represent substantially fewer UK-born Chinese compared with the proportion in the country at the last two Censuses (1991 and 2001). There is a small over-representation of those from China compared with the 2001 Census. Whilst no figure for Hong Kong is separately available for the 2001 Census, compared with the 1991 Census, there are considerably more Hong Kong survey respondents. This bias towards respondents born outside UK is similar to that found by other researchers.<sup>60</sup>

Table 4.1 Ethnicity of respondents

	Number of respondents	Percentage (%)
Hong Kong Chinese	114	46
Mainland Chinese	64	26
UK-born Chinese	16	6
Singapore / Malaysian Chinese	37	15
Vietnamese Chinese	8	3
Other Chinese	9	3
Other Ethnic Origin	1	1

<sup>60</sup> Chan *et al.*, 2004

Total	249
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Table 4.2 National ethnicity distributions, censuses 1991 and 2001

Census 1991	Percentage (%)	Census 2001	Percentage (%)
UK-born	28	UK-born	28
China and Taiwan	13	China and Taiwan	19
Hong Kong	34	Other Far East	48
Malaysia & Singapore	13	Other parts of the world	4
Other parts of the world	18		

Sources: Cheng, Y. (1996), Census Tables 2001, ONS 2003.

Nearly three-quarters of the respondents were aged over 30 and the biggest single group were aged 31 to 45 (Table 4.3). There were few under 16 or over 65. However, five adult respondents referred to incidents that had affected their children or where they had fears for their children.

Table 4.3 Age groups

	Number of respondents
Under 16	4
16 to 30	60
31 to 45	98
46 to 64	80
65 and over	10
Total	252

Unsurprisingly, in view of the targeting of the questionnaire at businesses such as restaurants and takeaways, almost half the respondents were self-employed (Table 4.4). A further quarter were in full-time employment and 15 per cent were students. Few of these, however, resulted from contacts through the universities, only four being returned electronically. Over one-third of the student respondents were from the Manchester area. There were also student responses from Hull, Leeds, Huddersfield, Oxford and Cambridge, none of which were targeted. Some of these responses no doubt resulted from contacts with the research team.

Table 4.4 Employment status

	Percentage (%) respondents (n=245)
Student	15
Part-time employment	9
Full-time employment	27
Self-employed	44
Migrant worker	1
Unemployed	4
Homemaker/Housewife	5
Retired	5
Other	1

Figure 4.1 below shows the geographic distribution of responses, with concentrations in Manchester/Stockport/Liverpool and London and the Home Counties.

Outside the immediate London area, there were concentrations in the Southampton/ Portsmouth and Oxford areas. The differentiation between postcodes and area codes is because some respondents gave only the first part of their postcode or said simply 'Manchester' or 'Blackpool', for example, and these are therefore only approximately located. Part of the reason for the concentrations in Manchester and Southampton may be due to the efforts of the Min Quan regional offices in those areas. The responses with Manchester and Stockport postcodes or area codes accounted for almost a quarter of the responses.

The regional breakdown is shown at Table 4.5. As can be seen there was a fairly even split between the South East and North West regions but much fewer in London. The 'other' category included Leeds, Huddersfield, Hull, Sheffield, Swindon and Cambridge.

Figure 4.1 Geographic distribution of responses

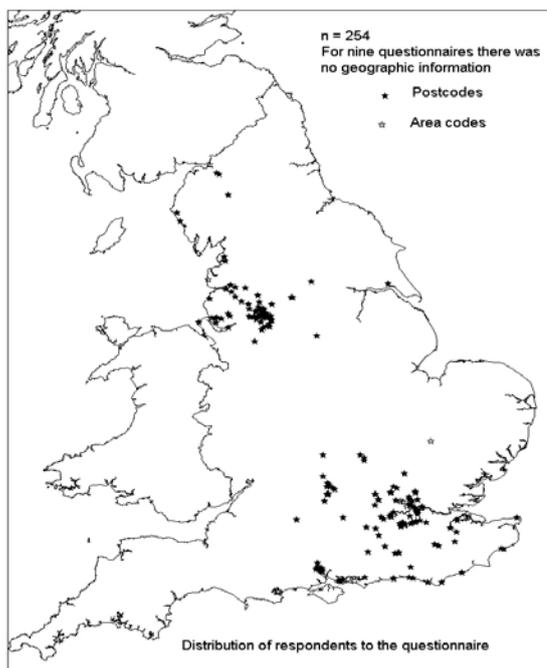


Table 4.5 Regional distribution of responses with post/area codes (n=245)

	Percentage (%) responses
London	9
South East	45
North West	40
Other	6

There may be several reasons for the smaller response from London. First, the analysis shows that only one-fifth of the businesses directly addressed

were in London. However, two-fifths of the organisations, which it was hoped would distribute up to 10 questionnaires each, were also in London (Table 4.6). Questionnaires were sent to one organisation, in Cambridge, (outside London, the South East and North West). Thirteen universities and colleges in London also agreed to take part compared with nine in the South East and seven in the North West.

Secondly, eight per cent of the questionnaires in London were returned by the Post Office, including those for two organisations, compared to two per cent in the North West and South East. There may be particular issues in relation to mobility in London, with a substantial number of businesses changing address.

Thirdly, while the Min Quan’s regional office in Manchester and individuals in Southampton made particular efforts to promote the survey, it is not known whether this happened in London. The willingness of local organisations to support the research may have been a key factor and resources prevented the research team from being able to undertake substantial development work in each of the fieldwork sites which, given the suspicion of many UK Chinese towards research, may have had an impact on response rates.

Table 4.6 Addressees for questionnaires

	Businesses	Rural Sample	Organisations
London	274	0	22
South East	814	287	16
NorthWest	413	136	17
Total	1501	423	55

Because of the particular vulnerability of UK Chinese to attacks in rural areas (as noted in Chapter 2), the research team made particular efforts to ensure that a reasonable sample of rurally-based respondents was obtained, by searching telephone directories and other directories. The Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra) classification defines as rural those areas that fall outside the Census 2001 areas with a population of 10,000 or more

The postcodes and other location information provided by the survey respondents indicate that the vast majority (93 per cent) live in urban areas. Of the rural respondents, 13 were from ‘town and fringe’ areas and only four from villages, hamlets and isolated dwellings. This means that our efforts to secure a rural sample had little success and we would recommend a specific and more grounded study is undertaken of the experience of UK Chinese people living in rural areas. The small number of rural responses was partly because the sampling strategy was not sufficiently rigorous in delimiting rural postcodes for selection of addressees. Of the 423 addresses targeted, only 97 were classified as rural under the Defra system.

Additionally, there was a poor response rate and 20 responses were received indicating that the addressees were not Chinese, some apparently Chinese names turning out to be English or Dutch as well as Chinese.

Nearly 90 per cent of the respondents lived where they were completing the questionnaire and nearly three-quarters worked in that area. The length of time involved was biased towards fewer years with over 40 per cent living or working in the area for five years or less (Table 4.7). Only 27 respondents said that they did not enjoy living in the area at all, with an even split between those saying 'yes definitely' and 'yes to some extent.'

Table 4.7 Length of residence/work in area

	Percentage (%) respondents live in area (n=216)	Work in area n=176
1 to 5 years	42	43
6 to 10 years	22	24
11 to 20 years	19	22
21 to 30 years	11	8
31 or more years	6	3

### Experience of racial crime and harassment

One hundred and fifty-four (61 per cent) respondents considered that they had been targeted at some time for incidents or crimes because they were Chinese. Other research has made varied assessments of the proportion of Chinese people who experience racial incidents (see Section 2).

One qualitative survey in Leeds found that 79 per cent of Chinese adults surveyed reported experiencing some form of racist violence and harassment.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, a postal survey across 25 areas nationally found that 18 per cent experienced racial discrimination and 12 per cent racial harassment or attacks.<sup>62</sup>

An earlier survey found that 16 per cent of Chinese people encountered racial abuse and other insulting behaviours<sup>63</sup>. The results of the present survey are, therefore, within the range of previous findings, although the breadth of that range calls into question the extent to which current findings are representative of the Chinese community as a whole. There may be a number of factors influencing the accuracy of findings from a postal survey. First, there is the issue of poor response rates, encountered in the current research and by Chan et al.

There is the possibility that addressees might be more likely to complete a questionnaire and return it if they have had problems, particularly if fear of reprisal, lack of knowledge of where to find help or poor experience of the police had prevented them from discussing it elsewhere. Those who have had no difficulties may not bother to respond and this may inflate the proportion experiencing racial incidents.

<sup>61</sup> Law, 2004

<sup>62</sup> Chan *et al.*, 2004

<sup>63</sup> Virdee, 1997

In addition, the efforts to increase the responses by regional offices of The Monitoring Group might have skewed results towards those with problems. On the other hand, some who have been targeted may not want to report their experience, even in an anonymous survey and given what other research has found about the difficulties UK Chinese people have had in engaging effectively with formal organisations, this may be a substantial number. Individually-addressed questionnaires may result in distrust because of a lack of perceived anonymity.

Those targeted for racist incidents were divided between 85 women and 64 men, a greater number of women than men would be expected from the respondent gender distribution, although the difference is not statistically significant. The breakdown in terms of ethnicity was broadly the same as the ethnic composition of the sample although mainland Chinese were slightly more likely to be targeted and Singapore and Malaysian Chinese slightly less likely.

Those aged 16 to 30 were more likely to be targeted and those in older age groups less likely but by smaller margins.

Students were rather more likely to be targets than might be expected.<sup>64</sup> This finding connects with Adamson and Coles's 2006 research, which identified concentrations of crime against Chinese victims in the university areas of Hull, Leeds and Bradford. Those in full-time employment were less likely to be victims.<sup>65</sup>

Figure 4.2 shows the geographic distribution of those who had been targeted at some time and those who had not. It can be seen that there is experience of racial incidents across the surveyed areas. This is not confined to the metropolises although there is a strong concentration in the Manchester/Stockport area. There are also problems in many smaller towns.

Respondents with Manchester/Stockport/Liverpool postcodes showed a considerably greater incidence than would be expected<sup>66</sup> and Southampton/Portsmouth a slightly greater one.<sup>67</sup> Forty-eight respondents with postcodes within the Greater Manchester boundary had experienced incidents. Of these half (25) were within the Manchester district boundary. Respondents with postcodes in the Thames Valley (but excluding London), however, were less likely to be targeted.<sup>68</sup> These differences are significant at the 0.001 level. The question arises as to whether the concentrations in Manchester/Stockport and Southampton/Portsmouth reflect a stronger concentration of racial prejudice in those two areas than elsewhere or whether these are at least, in part, the result of Min Quan's active encouragement of responses.

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<sup>64</sup> (O-E =5.5 significance 0.05)

<sup>65</sup> (O-E =-8.9 significance 0.01)

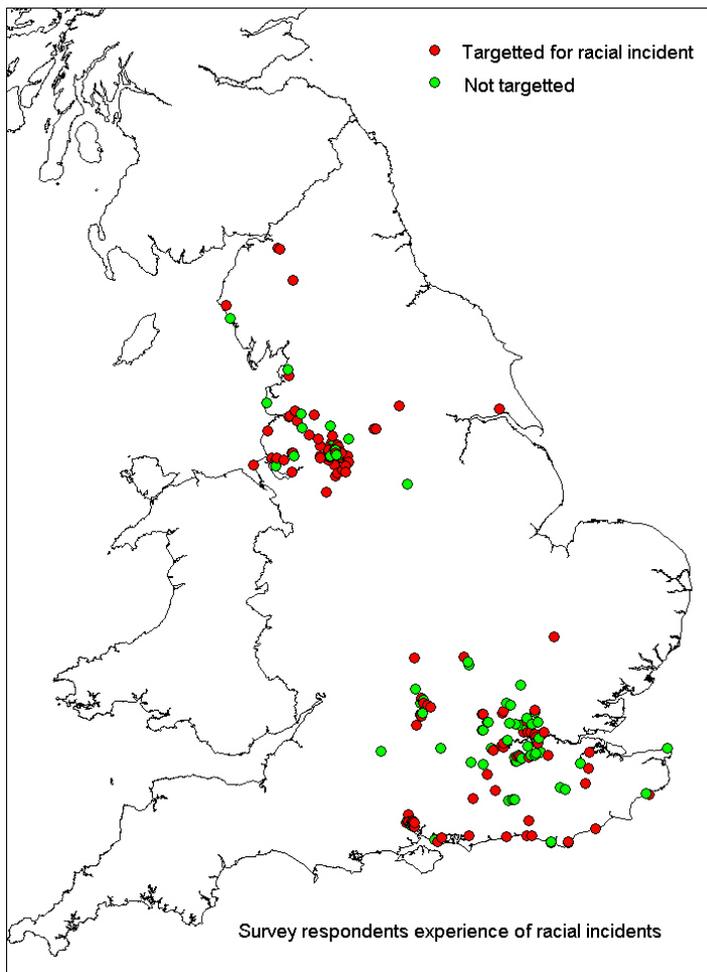
<sup>66</sup> (O-E=12.9)

<sup>67</sup> (O-E=2.3)

<sup>68</sup> (O-E=-8.8)

One respondent from Stockport was emphatic that there was not a problem saying, 'I've been here 30 years and have a fish and chip shop. Nothing happens that is of any consequence. Minor incidents happen everywhere regardless of nationality.' The small number of rural responses means that analysis of differences in experience of racist incidents between urban and rural areas is not reliable but there are tentative suggestions that there are few differences.

Figure 4.2 Survey respondents experience of racial incidents



The most frequently-mentioned type of incident was verbal abuse, mentioned by 102 individuals (71 per cent) (Table 4.8). For most of the verbal abuse, no detail is provided but some respondents made specific references to comments such as 'Chinky', 'Chink' and 'yellow.' Other frequently mentioned incidents were damage to business property and to vehicles. These findings are therefore in line with previous research.<sup>69</sup> Actual physical attack was mentioned by 26 individuals. Two physical attacks were specifically associated with drunkenness but drink was otherwise mentioned only once.

Table 4.8 Types of incident

<sup>69</sup> Maynard and Read, 1997; Clark and Moody, 2002; Jarman, 2002

	Number of times mentioned	Percentage (%) of respondents (n=142)
Verbal abuse	102	71
Damage to home	32	22
Damage to business	58	41
Damage to vehicle	48	34
People not paying	34	24
Threats	27	19
Physical attack	26	18
Burglary	21	15
Theft	15	11
Robbery	11	8
Arson	3	2
School bullying	2	1
Spitting	2	1
Throwing missiles	5	4
Other	10	7

There were no significant differences in the types of incident by race but more women than might be expected were the subject of verbal abuse (sig 0.05) and more students (sig 0.01). More of those aged 16 to 30 were subject to verbal abuse but this result may not be reliable because of the size of the sample. Students were also more likely to be the subject of physical attacks<sup>70</sup>. Those self-employed were, unsurprisingly, more subject to damage to business property,<sup>71</sup> people not paying,<sup>72</sup> and damage to vehicles,<sup>73</sup> all these differences being statistically significant.<sup>74</sup>

Those in full-time employment were less likely to be the subjects of verbal abuse<sup>75</sup> and damage to vehicles.<sup>76</sup>

Those with postcodes in Manchester/Stockport and Liverpool were significantly more likely to have suffered verbal abuse<sup>77</sup> and damage to business property.<sup>78</sup> More of those from Southampton and Portsmouth had also been victims of verbal abuse.

The respondents were asked to describe in their own words the incident which had affected them most. It is clear from the responses that most Chinese people are experiencing a wide range of offensive behaviour including verbal abuse on their own premises; and in the street, stones and other missiles thrown at them, sometimes causing injury, and behaviour intended to be insulting. This behaviour is similar to that encountered in racist behaviour generally. Nearly 60 per cent of those who made comments mentioned verbal abuse or other insulting behaviour.

<sup>70</sup> 0.05).

<sup>71</sup> (O-E=11.1),

<sup>72</sup> O-E = 9.4)

<sup>73</sup> (O-E=12.4)

<sup>74</sup> 0.001

<sup>75</sup> 0.01)

<sup>76</sup> 0.05).

<sup>77</sup> (0.001)

<sup>78</sup> (0.05).

Some examples were:

*'...it was more than a year ago when four children of teenage age verbally abuse towards me and then throwing small stones and saying to me to go back to where I have come from. Swearing a lot and very aggressive in their choice of words when confronted by me.'*

*'...can't believe that they would throw several unfinished cans of fizzy drinks and stones at a woman. They set off firework in the shop.'*

*'...besides pulling their trousers off and showing us their rears they also pounded on the glass.'*

*'...Also got hit with a stone above my ear at my temple. I became unconscious for several seconds before I recovered.'*

About one-quarter of the respondents who made comments had experienced vandalism of one kind or another, often to shop premises or to cars. Some other respondents were concerned about theft and burglary. Nearly 10 per cent described incidents where customers had not paid bills either in restaurants and takeaways or on receipt of delivery services. These incidents were generally accompanied by abuse and sometimes other offences. An example was:

*'...a customer came in to order a meal. After the food was cooked we were told it wasn't the order. The order was again taken and another meal was cooked, then the customer throw the meal at me and also used a stick and dented the stainless steel potato fryer.'*

Fourteen of the respondents described assault, including some causing serious injury. Some comments included:

*'...when I went to catch the underground train, six or seven children used chilli water to spray my eyes.'*

*'...unfortunate to have been beaten so badly in the street for no reason that had to go to A&E.'*

*'...a young child damaged my left eye with a stone. I had stitches in hospital.'*

*'...at 2am. one morning in July 2006 five white youths and one dark youth broke the glass of the main door of the shop's living quarters. My son questioned them and got beaten badly. I told them not to do so and was beaten until I passed out.'*

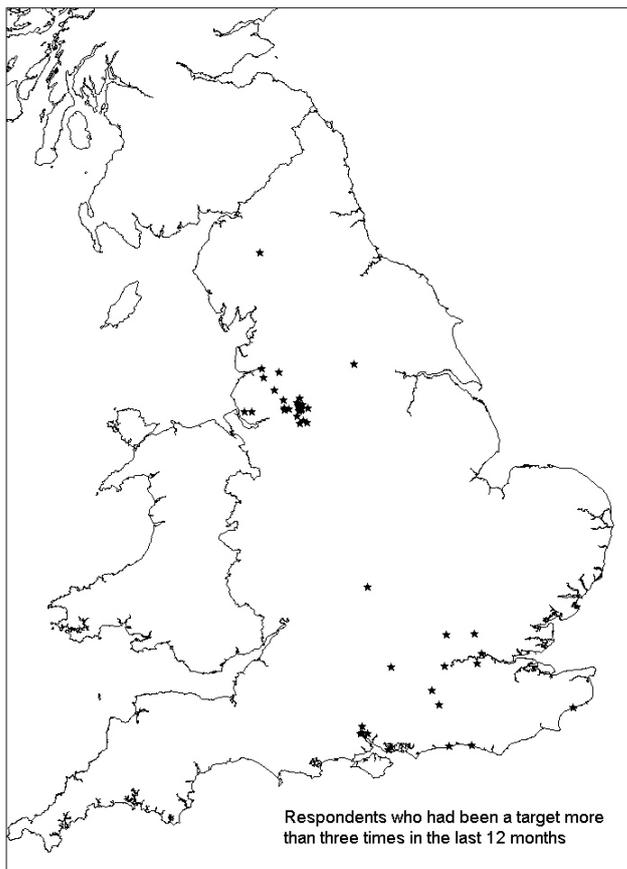
*'...being really beaten by 22 youths. They used stones and fists to beat my husband. That is racial abuse. They also used forceful verbal attack to shout at my husband. After this incident my husband lost his ability to work. Because of this we became bankrupt.'*

Three respondents mentioned incidents that had happened to their children. One said 'my child was beaten up by white people on the street' and on another occasion 'my child got beaten in school.' Others referred to school bullying and 'racial prejudice at school because of not knowing English.' Of those that had experienced incidents in the last 12 months, over one-third had been victimised more than three times (Table 4.9). Figure 4.3 shows that these individuals are particularly concentrated in the Manchester and Southampton/Portsmouth areas.

Table 4.9 Multiple victimisation

	Number of respondents
Never	25
Once	29
Twice	25
Three times	19
More than three times	52
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>

Figure 4.3 Respondents targeted more than three times in the last 12 months



One hundred and nine respondents had experienced the same type of incident more than once. Most of these repeat incidents were verbal abuse (45 individuals) and damage to business property or home (28 individuals). However, eight people had been a victim of repeated physical attack. Representative comments made were:

*'...having wing mirrors on my car vandalised twice in a month.'*

*'...shop and accommodation got damaged. We phoned the police many times but there has been little change. Because of language difficulty the police would not bother. This matter gradually disappeared.'*

*'...My son works in a restaurant and they often receive trouble from people. The glass in the restaurant got broken several times. Since my son put up CCTV things have improved slightly. I feel that more or less it's because we are Chinese that we are harassed.'*

*'...several times they did not pay for their meals but swore at us instead.'*

*'...I have been here several decades. Not only have I been burgled, I have also been assaulted. When working in a business, my glass had been broken and I had been harassed. I feel that these are the result of racial prejudice.'*

*'...From half a year ago we have received numerous threatening phone calls, spit at the glass and throw stones into the house. My family and I worry every day and live in fear. We have no sense of security.'*

*'...The past year at the restaurant where I work the local youths threatened us every Friday and Saturday. The police ignore this yet we are extremely worried, affecting our daily lives greatly and our business suffers tremendously.'*

Eighty-one respondents (57 per cent of those victimised in the last 12 months) had experienced incidents at work and 67 (54 per cent) on the street. 40 had been victims at home. Only nine individuals said they had experienced incidents at college. Ninety-nine respondents had been victims more than once at the same location, 59 at work, 27 on the street and 31 at home.

Nearly 90 per cent of those who had experience of racial incidents were aware of the identity of the offender. The vast majority of offenders were seen to be white although there were also references to other or to several ethnicities (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10 Ethnicity of offenders as perceived by respondents

	Number of Respondents	% those answering question
White	102	78
Black	5	4
Asian	1	<1
White and Black	13	10
White and other ethnicities / all ethnicities	10	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>131</b>	

Almost 95 per cent of victims were aware of the age of the offenders, more than half perceiving them to be exclusively young people (Table 4.11). That the main perpetrators of racist behaviour are generally young has been identified in previous research, as noted earlier.<sup>79</sup>

The types of incident identified by those perceiving the perpetrators as adult and as children showed some differences. Verbal abuse was mentioned by similar proportions of both but those who saw perpetrators as adults were less likely to refer to vandalism and throwing missiles and more likely to mention people not paying, robbery and assault.

<sup>79</sup> e.g. Chan *et al.* 2004

Table 4.11 Age of offenders as perceived by respondents

	Number of Respondents	% those answering question
Under 10	3	2
10 to 17	72	52
18 and over	34	24
Under 17	3	2
10 and over	20	14
All ages	7	5
Total	139	

### Reporting behaviour and outcomes

More than half the respondents (85, or 55 per cent) had reported the incidents to the police and a further 11 had done so sometimes. Forty of those who reported to the police at least sometimes had been victims more than three times. The types of crime experienced by those who reported to the police are varied, including notifiable offences, and less serious incidents (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12 Types of incident experienced by those who reported to police

	Number of respondents
Burglary	16
Threat	10
Robbery	9
Damage to home	24
Damage to business	48
Damage to vehicle	37
Verbal abuse	65
Physical attack	17
People not paying	24
Threats	21
Arson	2
Spitting	2
Throwing missiles	4
Other	7

However, there were still 56 respondents (36 per cent) who said they had not reported to the police. Of those who did not report, 35 (62 per cent) did not because they thought the police would not do anything. Nearly as many thought that the incidents were not serious enough. These attitudes are similar to those found by others.<sup>80</sup> Fifteen respondents mentioned fear of reprisal, a fear also encountered in more general studies of racism. Thirteen said they could not be bothered and fourteen gave other reasons. There was no variation by area in reporting to police.

Nineteen of the 63 who said they did not speak English fluently were offered an interpreter by the police but 24 were not. Seventy per cent of those who answered the question in Manchester, Liverpool and Stockport were not offered an interpreter compared with only just over half elsewhere. However,

<sup>80</sup> Chan *et al.* (2004)

the numbers responding were very small and the difference is not statistically significant. The police response is shown in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13 Police response

	Number of respondents
The police recorded the incident	64
They gave me a crime record number	40
They said there was nothing they could do	26
Other response	23

In nearly two-thirds of cases, the police recorded the incident. However, more than two-thirds of the 94 respondents who answered the question were not satisfied with the police response. (Table 4.14).

Again, this is similar to findings of other research.<sup>81</sup> Five of the six respondents who answered the question in London (83 per cent) were not satisfied and 21 of the 27 in Manchester, Liverpool and Stockport (78 per cent). Only 24 of the 40 (60 per cent) in the South East were not satisfied.

Respondents were not asked the reasons for their dissatisfaction but seven individuals referred to the police 'not caring', 'not bothering', 'not being concerned' or ignoring the incident. Only 13 respondents knew that the offender had been identified, only three that the offender had been arrested and charged while of the 85 who reported to the police, 77 said they did not know what happened. Of the three where the case came to court, two were satisfied with the court outcome.

Table 4.14 Satisfaction with the police

	Number of respondents
Satisfied	20
Not satisfied	63
Too early to say	11

The survey asked if respondents did not report the incident to the police, to whom did they report the incident. However, in fact, one hundred and sixteen people answered the question including both those who reported to the police and those who did not. The largest numbers reported to friends and family and this was the case among those who never or sometimes reported to the police and among the whole group that answered the question as shown in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15 Reporting to others

	Percentage (%) of Respondents		
	Those who did not report to police	Those who reported to the	Those who answered question

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*

	(n=52)	police (n=53)	(n=116)
Family	69	40	53
Friends	75	49	60
Neighbours	15	22	19
The Monitoring Group Min Quan	8	35	22
Other Chinese organisations	10	32	22
Other	10	11	10

The proportion reporting to Chinese organisations was considerably larger than identified in other research work,<sup>82</sup> possibly because of the active involvement of Min Quan in this project. A larger proportion of those who did not report to the police said they consulted family and friends. Other organisations mentioned by individual respondents were neighbourhood wardens, neighbourhood partnership, housing association, the Law Society, the Lord Mayor's website, local MP/councillor, the school and a work colleague of different race.

However, although those who reported to the police were not requested to answer the question, it is clear from those who did, that reporting to Min Quan and other Chinese organisations is more likely among those that report to the police as well. All but one of the 12 receiving support from Victim Support and ten of the 12 receiving support from Race Equality Councils had also reported to the police. This suggests that many Chinese people are not seeking help other than from family and friends. Fifty-one respondents felt that they had been targeted at some time because they were Chinese but had never reported either to the police or to Min Quan or to another Chinese organisation. Nine had been victimized more than three times and 33 had been victims of the same type of incident more than once.

There may be various reasons for not reporting, such as the seriousness of the incident or the number of incidents. Thirteen of the nineteen who reported to Min Quan as well as the police had been victimized more than three times. Table 4.16 shows a wide range of types of incident experienced by those who did not report, including serious crimes.

Table 4.16 Types of incident experienced by those who did not report to the police, or to Min Quan, or to another Chinese organisation

	Number of respondents
Burglary	4
Theft	3
Robbery	2
Damage to home	7
Damage to business	9

<sup>82</sup> Chan *et al.* 2004

Damage to vehicle	9
Verbal abuse	32
Physical attack	7
People not paying	9
Threats	4
Arson	1
School bullying	2
Throwing missiles	1
Other	3

Half (26) of those who had not reported to any organisation thought that the incident was not serious enough to report to the police but 14 per cent (7) had concerns about reprisal.

Table 4.17 shows the reasons given for not reporting to any organisation. The largest number said they did not know to which organisation they could report which suggests that more publicity is needed for advocacy services, a need also identified by other research.<sup>83</sup> As with reporting to the police, a large number of respondents thought that the incident concerned was not sufficiently serious. Four individuals referred to previous poor experience. The other reasons mentioned included the incident being connected with the father of a friend, not wanting to make a fuss and not wanting to publicise the incident.

There was some variation in reporting by area. Those with postcodes in Manchester, Stockport and Liverpool and Southampton/Portsmouth were more likely than would be expected to report to Min Quan, although the numbers involved were small and the results may not be statistically reliable. There were fewer differences in reporting to other Chinese organisations.

Table 4.17 Reasons for not reporting to any organisation

	Number of respondents
Not know who to report to	20
Incident not serious enough	19
Nothing they can do	13
Could not be bothered, not see the point	5
Previous poor experience	4
Cannot speak English	3
Worried about reprisal	2
Other	6

Few of those who sought help from family, friends and neighbours found it helpful, 44 per cent saying that it was not very helpful and 26 per cent not at all helpful. There were no area differences in the extent to which help was valued. Those that had reported to a Chinese organisation mentioned mainly help with translation and advocacy in dealing with the police or the local council. Forty-four of those who reported to a Chinese organisation

<sup>83</sup> Chan *et al.* (2004)

commented on the help that they had received. More than one-third found it very helpful and a similar number found it quite helpful. One respondent was very appreciative, saying:

*'...received a vast amount of help. Tell me how to deal with it, help me to report it and at extreme times help was at hand.'*

Another commented on receiving...*'a great deal of mental and psychological help.'*

However, others found the Chinese organisation, although willing, powerless to help or lacking in providing support. Comments included:

*'...they will try their best to help but effortless.'*

*'...didn't provide us with any help or comfort.'*

The question concerning changes made as a result of the experience of racial incidents brought comments about the effect these had had on them emotionally as well as about actual changes made.

The comments about feelings are shown in Table 4.18. Fear, feeling unsafe, worry and stress were felt by more than half the respondents. Some felt fear on behalf of their families as well as themselves. One said, 'I have three children at home. I spend every day in deep anxiety and fear.'

Others referred to dislike or hatred of white people, particularly youths or of Britain as a country. Among the 'other' category were individuals who had lost faith, felt unsettled or who said, 'I don't want to live here any more.'

Table 4.18 Emotional responses

	Number of respondents
Fear, insecurity	20
Worry, stress	9
Dislike, distrust of Britain, British	8
Unhappiness, hurt, lower self confidence	6
Mental Health impacts	1
Other	9

More than two-thirds of respondents had made changes to their lives as a result of their experience of racial incidents (Table 4.19). The most frequently mentioned was simply taking more care or being cautious outside. Some however said they went out less, particularly at night or restricted their children. Comments included:

*'Don't dare let my 14 year-old child go out and play in the park by self.'*

*'When it reaches eight o'clock in the evening and my husband is not home, I become frightened and stay indoors.'*

Three individuals mentioned the impact on their business, one to the extent that it had closed, two had moved house and two taken to carrying a weapon for protection. Two had responded by making active efforts to get to know British people and white culture. One said:

*'Improve myself, get to know others so others can get to know me and learn from each other's culture.'*

Table 4.19 Changes to day-to-day life

	Number of respondents
Wariness	16
Go out less	8
Avoid young or white people	5
Work or go out in pairs	2
Business suffered	3
Carry weapon	2
Move house	2
Active rapprochement	2
Other	4

## Section 5

### The in-depth interviews

Sixty respondents were successfully interviewed between June and September 2007, in Chinese or English. We aimed at exploring in their own words and in detail the extent of racist harassment/attacks towards our respondents and how they responded to these incidents.

In this section, we use 'L' to indicate London respondents, 'SE' South East region respondents and 'NW', for North West region respondents.

After giving an account of the key features of our respondents, we report the types of racist harassment/attacks encountered by our respondents. We then review the reactions of various organisations towards our respondents' complaints. Finally, the views of Chinese victims on tackling racist incidents will be examined.

#### Characteristics of respondents

More than half of respondents in our sample were Hong Kong Chinese, a quarter were mainland Chinese, and the rest were Chinese people from the UK and other South East Asian countries (Table 5.1). These figures were close to that of a national postal survey<sup>84</sup> which reported that 53 per cent of their respondents were Hong Kong Chinese and 19 per cent were Chinese from mainland China (including Taiwan).

Chinese people working in the catering industry have always been a target of racist attacks. As many as 68 per cent of our respondents were owners or staff members of takeaways, the findings of this study can reveal the extent and types of racist harassment/attacks encountered by this group. However, nearly one-third of respondents were in other employment areas both in the private and public sectors (Table 5.5). These respondents provide a wider perspective on the racist experiences of UK Chinese people.

Table 5.1 The countries of origin of respondents

Countries of origin	Number	Percentage (%)
Hong Kong Chinese	31	51.7
Mainland Chinese	15	25.0
UK-born Chinese	3	5.0
Malaysian Chinese	6	10.0
Vietnamese Chinese	4	6.7
Macau Chinese	1	1.6
Total	60	100

Table 5.2 Respondents' gender

Gender	Number	Percentage (%)
Male	35	58.3

<sup>84</sup> conducted by Chan *et al.* 2004

Female	25	41.7
Total	60	100

Table 5.3 Respondents' age

Age	Number	Percentage (%)
Under 16	1	1.6
16-30	8	13.3
31-45	20	33.4
46-64	29	48.4
65 and over	2	3.3
Total	60	100

Table 5.4: Respondents' educational levels

Age	Number	Percentage (%)
Illiteracy	2	4
Primary	7	12
Secondary (GCSE) *	26	44
A Level **	8	14
Higher Education ***	2	4
Degree or above	13	22
Total	58 (2 missing)	100

\* Junior secondary school from mainland China classified as 'Secondary'

\*\* Senior secondary school from mainland China classified as 'A Level'

\*\*\* Below degree level such as diploma and certificate.

Table 5.5: Respondents' employment status

Occupation	Number	Percentage (%)
Takeaway proprietor / restaurant owner	36	60
Restaurant manager / waitress / takeaway assistance	5	8
Retired	2	3
Homemaker	2	3
Student	4	7
Unemployed	4	7
Others -	7	12
Website Development Manager	1	
Software Engineer	1	
Book-keeper	1	
Secondary school teacher	1	
Community worker	1	
Traditional Chinese medicine practitioner	1	
Food factory worker	1	

Total	60	100
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### **Types of racist harassment/attacks**

Many respondents suffered intense and prolonged racial harassment/attacks over a long period of time. In particular, the Chinese catering business has had to face numerous troubles. According to one respondent:

*'For over 20 years, I witnessed various kinds of incidents in many occasions. These types of incidents are familiar to many people working in the takeaway business ... customers do not pay bills, complain about food hygiene, pay bounced cheques, snatch food being delivered, smash shop windows, cause troubles in the shop, and more and more.'* (L19)

Another respondent stressed:

*'Actually, most of my friends in the takeaway business have encountered racist incidents. One of my ex-employers had been harassed for several decades; it was not until he retired that racial harassment stopped.'* (SE18)

Most respondents had encountered multiple nuisances mainly caused by children and young people. These include:

- screaming, shouting and swearing inside their shops;
- eggs and stones thrown at their shops;
- salt and vinegar bottles as well as menu books from the counter stolen and thrown outside their shops;
- shop windows smashed;
- chips thrown over the floors of their shops;
- young people hanging around and playing football outside their takeaways/ restaurants;
- bounced cheques paid;
- delivered food snatched;
- staff verbally abused;
- customers demanded refund or refused to pay by claiming their dissatisfaction over the quality of food; and
- the vehicles of takeaway owners vandalised.

This confirms the findings of a separate study which reported that Chinese people suffered racist incidents such as verbal abuses, vandalism, physical attacks, refusal to pay and swearing.<sup>85</sup> Our respondents were scared and also angry with the aggressive behaviour of troublemakers:

*'Most of these naughty black youths are under 16, each group with about 5 to 6 people ... They not only disturb our shop, but also the greengrocers next door. Sometimes they steal fruit; sometimes they throw them on the floor. They act as if they are in no-man's land, behaving like hoodlums.'* (L18)

*'We have been harassed many times. The latest incident occurred in July this year when we were repairing our shop-sign. While I was holding a ladder upon which my husband was carrying out repair work, a bucket of water was*

<sup>85</sup> The Monitoring Group 2002

*suddenly thrown to me from a car behind us. The car was then quickly driven away. My clothes were wet through.'* (SE15)

*'Two white troublemakers wanted to buy chips but didn't have enough money. I told them that I couldn't give them unless they paid the required amount. Suddenly, they shouted and insulted me. After leaving the shop for a few minutes, they returned and used a stick to break the windows of my shop.'* (L17)

A restaurant manager pointed out:

*'The worse time is during the summer holidays. They come in a big crowd and it's so scary. Even the police are scared of them. If the police come down they laugh and joke with them [the problem makers], the police don't dare say anything . . . it's almost like the kids run the place, like a lawless country, this is not reasonable.'* (NW7)

Most respondents had encountered multiple nuisances for many years. As many as one in six of our respondents suffered racial harassment on a daily basis. In Kent, a respondent's takeaway was targeted by a white teenage boy who kicked the rear door and damaged the windows on several occasions. Sometimes, he 'did this twice in a single day.' (SE10)

Another takeaway owner said that 10 eggs were thrown at the window of her shop by some Pakistani kids. (SE16)

In London, a respondent pointed out: *'We are harassed by youths almost on a daily basis. They throw stones or soft-drink bottles at our shop window.'* (L17)

Another respondent from the North West region said that his takeaway was encountering two or three disruptions every week. (NW9)

Racial attacks occurred not only in our respondents' workplaces but also in their houses. According to one respondent:

*'We, in fact, have been living under a lot of pressures. Our home has been a target of racist attacks on many occasions. A group of teenagers aged 13-17 harassed us, causing damages at night. They threw stones at our windows, poke holes through our door with sharp objects. They even threw rubbish and stones at us while we were having a picnic in our garden. We have no peace in a single day.'* (SE14)

Similar incidents also happened to three other respondents who complained some children and young people threw stones at their houses, swearing and playing 'knock a door run.' One respondent was disappointed that his family had to 'put up with these problems for over 10 years', and their daily lives were severely disrupted 'from eating to sleeping.' (NW2)

### **Arson and physical attacks**

The personal safety of Chinese people was under threat by more serious attacks. Two respondents (SE10; SE14) were victims of arson. According to SE10, some youths caused a fire by lighting cardboards soaked with petrol at

the rear of his restaurant. Another victim described an incident in September 2006:

*'In the early hours of the morning, I returned home from my takeaway shop and spotted a fire in the wooden-plate (a home sale advertisement). The fire quickly spread to the lawn. I immediately called the Fire Brigade. They came and put out the fire.'* (SE14)

There were 25 counts of racist physical attacks on our respondents and their family members. Most incidents occurred in takeaways/restaurants, some on the streets and some in schools. For example, a respondent, accused of making the 'wrong food', was on the receiving end of salt and vinegar thrown by a customer. After a few minutes, the customer even came back and threatened to hit him with a wooden stick (NW1).

According to another respondent (NW9), her husband went outside to pull down the metal shutters of her takeaway after three troublemakers had left. *'When outside, he found himself surrounded by five men who threw stones at him. He tried to run away from the five men and was confronted by a group of over 20 men who also attacked him whilst shouting racist remarks. He tried to run away again but was badly injured and did not get far before collapsing on the floor whilst still being attacked by 4 men who had followed him.'* (NW9)

Because of serious injury, the couple were unable to continue running their business and had to declare bankruptcy. Now, they had 'no livelihood' and were living on benefits (NW9). In London, a chef who was working at the open kitchen of a takeaway was hit in the eye by an onion thrown by a group of black youths. (L18).

The boss of a restaurant was angry with an old white man who 'hit a waitress's stomach and hands' because 'he was not happy with the food.' (NW10) This incident was witnessed by other customers. Although the perpetrator was successfully prosecuted, he was only subject to a caution.

Chinese children and young people were also victims of racist attacks on the streets and in schools. The leg of a respondent's seven-year-old son was 'caught by firework thrown by young culprits.' (NW9)

The daughter of a takeaway owner was bullied at school. She fell on the floor as a result of her chair having been pulled away by fellow classmates. (SE17)

A respondent was angry at her six-year-old son being beaten up by three white boys in school. (L3)

Another respondent (NW8) described the impact of bullying on his son: *'I asked him [the son] if he was okay after the physical attack [a black pupil put Mr. L's son in a headlock and beat him up badly]. My son said he was okay and carried on going to school. But now I've noticed, he's very scared when people are near, and he looks really nervous...As a father it's hard to see.'* (NW8)

Several respondents reported that they were attacked by strangers on the streets. The son of a respondent was beaten up by a group of young people near her house. (SE20) On failing to respond to a group of teenagers' questions about the sale of DVDs while waiting for a train at an underground station, a male respondent's face was sprayed with something that made it difficult for him to open his eyes. He was also kicked and punched. (L5)

### ***Verbal abuse***

As many as half of our respondents (30) encountered verbal abuse from customers, classmates, and strangers. As one emphasised, 'I am subject to verbal abuses over years, being called 'bloody Chinese' or told to 'go home.' (SE1)

Owners and staff of takeaways and restaurants were often targets of verbal abuse. For example, after refusing to reduce the price of a set meal from £5 to £3, a Chinese takeaway proprietor was shouted and spat at by a 20-year-old white man (SE9). According to another respondent, a dozen people who dined at his restaurants, 'threw towels and verbally insulted us' while eating. (L20)

Some people may argue that racist incidents are related to the poor English skills of Chinese people who cannot effectively integrate into mainstream UK society. Our findings show that most culprits were actually strangers in the streets, having no knowledge of the language ability of our respondents. Having lived in the UK for nearly 30 years, NW18 experienced verbal abuse several times. Perpetrators called her a 'Chinkie', urging her to 'go back to your country. This land does not belong to you.' (NW18)

Similarly, a respondent and his six-year-old son were shouted at by a white man in front of a Tesco superstore: 'This is my country. Go back to your country and never come back!'(L3)

Even respondents with good English were victims of verbal abuse. A UK-born student claimed that she experienced racist comments once every two months. A man once shouted at her: 'Go home you fucking Chink.' (NW20)

A secondary school Chinese teacher was upset by her students' racist comments such as 'you fucking Chink' and 'Oh Chinese, ching chong, ching chong.' (NW17)

This evidence illustrates that the UK Chinese people have become a target of verbal abuse regardless of their years of stay in the UK, their English skills, age and occupation.

### ***Sexual harassment/assaults***

There were four counts of sexual harassment/assaults towards our respondents and family members. A sister was 'touched up' by a youth riding a bike in her housing estate (NW3). A secondary school female student was sexually assaulted twice by an Asian man who touched her breast during the

daytime on a main road. On a second occasion, a member of a youth gang touched her bottom and laughed at her. (NW11)

One person working at a Chinese takeaway was sexually harassed by phone calls asking if 'they provide striptease and home delivery services.' (L9)

To summarise, the evidence shows that the Chinese respondents suffered a wide range of forms of prolonged and intense racial harassment. They did not feel safe in workplaces, schools or the streets. In particular, respondents working in the catering industry became a target of nuisances, racist comments or physical attacks.

The verbal abuse and attacks against the respondents by strangers suggest the existence of an anti-migrant culture in the UK. Perpetrators were verbally and physically aggressive towards the respondents without reasonable cause. It would seem that racist harassment and attacks have become a vehicle for the demands of some perpetrators to require 'foreigners' (many of whom were British born and bred) to leave Britain.

As one victim stressed: 'The incident [verbal abuse from strangers] upset me. I feel that people look at you from a different way because of your colour of skin and your country of origin.' (L8)

### **The impact of racist harassment/attacks on respondents**

Ironically, the UK Chinese people have been praised as a model ethnic minority because of their hard work and unwillingness to rely on public benefits.<sup>86</sup>

The catering business, takeaways in particular, allows them to mobilise family resources to improve their living standards. Over several decades, Chinese takeaways and restaurants have employed more than 60 per cent of Chinese workers. However, the personal safety of Chinese people working in the catering industry has been threatened by frequent racist harassment/attacks which have damaged their physical and psychological well-being, which in turn impacts greatly on their business and home life.

#### ***Physical well-being***

Apart from cases of minor injuries, two respondents were badly injured by perpetrators. As a result of racist attacks, one man suffered a serious injury that prevented him from running his business. His family had to live in temporary housing and receive state benefits. His wife remarked: 'without normal accommodation, we lose the focus of our family life.' (NW9).

Another man was attacked by a stranger with a broken glass. It took him several months to recover. (SE19)

#### ***Psychological well-being***

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<sup>86</sup> Chan *et al.* (2007b)

Seventeen respondents felt anger, fear, and worry as a result of the racist attacks. One woman felt 'scared' whenever she was at the counter of her takeaway. In particular, she was 'nervous when they [the troublemakers] are all outside.' (SE14)

Similar feelings were expressed by another respondent:

*'Having experienced these racist incidents, I have a lot of psychological pressures. It's not too bad during the daytime, I don't feel too scared... But at night, it's dark. I'm worried. Sometimes I open the door for business in the morning, I am afraid that horrible incidents will happen at night.'* (L17)

Two other respondents in Southampton were also affected psychologically by the incidents:

*'Not a single day that I can live in peace. I can't even sleep at night. I'd be awakening suddenly whenever there's a noise. I will look around to see if something happens.'* (SE14)

*'After having encountered a lot of harassment, we are now frightened. We are extremely cautious every single day. We don't know when eggs will be thrown, and what they will do to us.'* (SE18)

Because of prolonged and intense racist troubles, two respondents (SE19; NW15) suffered serious mental health problems. One woman's daughter was hospitalised for three years as a result of a long period of being bullied in school.

*'She was sensitive to being called "Chinese, Chinese." She didn't know how to respond. Some kids kept asking her: "Why your eyes are like this? Or "Why you have a flat nose?" They even pulled her chair and she fell to floor. They laughed at her and she was embarrassed. She was too quiet and didn't know how to respond. These incidents disturbed her for years and, eventually, it is too much for her to bear.'* (SE17)

Another respondent was also racially harassed for a long period. Having faced verbal abuse, property damage, intimidation, and threatening behaviour for years, one woman was diagnosed with depression that required counselling. As she pointed out:

*'I have suffered a lot and now suffer depression. I don't want to go out ... I don't want anybody coming to my house. When people are hanging around my house, I feel uncomfortable ... Deep inside I live in fear, I stay in my home for the whole day.'* (NW15)

After suffering severe racist incidents, two respondents were extremely angry to the extent that they wished they had killed the perpetrators and unresponsive police officers, the latter causing them to suffer secondary victimisation. 'Sometimes I dream: if I could buy a gun with all my money, I'd shoot them all.' (SE17)

Another respondent wished she were an army officer so that she could 'flatten the police station with a missile.' (SE20)

### ***Disruption to businesses***

The reputation of some Chinese takeaways and restaurants was spoiled by teenagers hanging around and causing a nuisance. Being perceived to be an unsafe work environment, some Chinese takeaway and restaurants faced a high staff turnover. One respondent was angry with the troublemakers who made his shop a less attractive place:

*'On Friday and Saturday they get together, more than 10 people, they sit inside messing around screaming, swearing. I ask them to leave and they go outside the shop smoking, screaming and swearing. It's stopping people coming inside; it's not good for my business.'* (NW6)

A restaurant manager complained that troublesome youths disturbed her customers:

*'A teenager, aged 16-17 flashed her bosoms and pressed her breasts against the restaurant window and shocked my customers. Some even stand at the restaurant windows and urinate in full view.'* (NW7)

According to another respondent, youths always 'tease our customers and provoke them to fight when the latter leaving the restaurant. They also use smear tactics to undermine our business' (SE12). To escape these nuisances, the respondent was thinking of selling his shop.

A sister of another respondent closed her business and moved to another area. (NW8)

### ***Damaging trust between Chinese people and the white population***

In recent years, the government has argued that poor English has prevented ethnic minorities from successfully integrating into the mainstream society. As a result, new immigrants applying for British citizenship and permanent residency are now required to pass a Life in the UK Test. Those who have applied for British citizenship since November 2005 also attend a citizenship ceremony. These measures, as the then Immigration Minister, said, 'help new citizens to gain a greater appreciation of the civic and political dimension of British citizenship.'<sup>87</sup>

The Prime Minister also suggested that new migrants should do community work as a condition of obtaining British citizenship.<sup>88</sup> Local councils have been urged to reduce expenses on translation in order to enhance immigrants' motivation to learn English.<sup>89</sup>

The experiences of the respondents, however, reveal that their trust towards British people and their sense of belonging in the UK were weakened by the multiple racist incidents and the unresponsive actions of the police. For

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<sup>87</sup> *The Guardian*, 31 October 2005

<sup>88</sup> BBC, 8 November 2007

<sup>89</sup> *The Guardian*, 6 October 2007

example, having endured years of racial harassment, one respondent 'does not believe that Chinese and English people can mix together successfully', (NW19).

Attacked by a white man in his takeaway, another respondent was very frightened of 'gweilows' (white men) (NW1). He avoided serving white male customers and asked female employees to do the job.

Similarly, faced with frequent nuisance behaviour, but receiving little support from the police, a respondent who completed his secondary and higher education in the UK said: 'I'm a second class citizen here.'(SE13) He was assessing his circumstances and would 'make up my mind where to go in the future.'

Racist incidents strengthened the ethnic identity of the respondents who did not see themselves as having equal citizenship status within UK society.

### **Responses from the police and other organisations**

The UK Chinese people have always been perceived to be a 'silent' community. As well as the traditional Chinese self-help culture, it has been argued that language barriers prevent them from voicing their concerns or expressing their needs to the public authorities. In reality, most of the respondents actively sought assistance from the police. However, the respondents were dissatisfied with the police handling of their cases. Fifty-three respondents out of the 60 lost confidence in the police.

This section examines how the police and other organisations responded to our respondents' complaints about racist harassment and attacks.

#### ***Positive responses from the police***

Some police officers took positive action to tackle the respondents' problems. According to NW3, the police gave her advice on crime prevention. A girl who punched NW6 was cautioned by the police. Also, a group of young people was taken to a police station, having their fingerprints taken because they kicked a football and broke the sign of our respondent's takeaway. (NW13)

#### ***Negative responses from the police***

Most respondents of our in-depth interviews, however, were frustrated by the actions (or lack of action) of the police:

##### *Late response*

Many respondents calling the police for assistance complained the police were too slow to take action. For example, a respondent's window was broken by an air gun. Seeing a member of a youth gang holding an air gun outside her house, the respondent's son immediately called the police. However, the police came to her home two hours after the call. (NW3)

Late responses were also reported in more serious cases. For instance, one respondent reported an arson attack to the police. However, 'it was only after one month later that the police took my statement.' (SE14)

### *No follow-up*

Very often, the police told the respondents that their problems were too minor and little could be done to tackle troublemakers.

In several cases, even though the victims had collected evidence by themselves and handed it to the police officers, the latter took no further action. For example, NW13 reported to the police about bad cheques. Although the police said they would take the relevant actions, NW13 did not hear anything from the police for more than six months.

In another case, an off-duty police officer sent a letter on behalf of NW14 to complain about troubles at her takeaway. However, 'nothing came of it.'

Similarly, one respondent told a police officer the names of a group of culprits who had turned the nozzle of a fire extinguisher and sprayed at his shop. Although the extinguisher was taken away by police officers, the respondent did not hear anything from the police. (NW19)

Another said: *'There is no follow-up whenever I report a case. The police have not even called us.'*(SE6)

Even violent cases had little follow-up by the police. After chasing a teenage girl who stoned his windows, the girl's mother hit one respondent's face. Although the case was reported to the police, he was later told that the incident could not be followed up because *'the family had already moved away.'* (NW2)

After experiencing numerous nuisances caused by some youths, one respondent installed a CCTV and recorded their behaviour. After submitting the tapes to the police, he did not hear anything from them, nor did they return the tapes to him. He wondered 'what else we can do?' (SE14)

The restaurant of another respondent was burgled and some money was stolen. Despite having handed the CCTV footage to the police in November 2006, she did not hear any news from them for more than six months. The respondent and her colleagues 'have to constantly ring up the police station for police assistance and to chase up previously reported incidents.' (NW17)

Another respondent had a similar experience. She said: *'Our CCTV taped a man scraping our shop's window. We called the police and gave them the tape. Later, the police told us that they had watched the tape and would follow up the case. The tape would also be returned to us next week. However, nothing happened after that... It was useless to call the police.'* (L9)

Another respondent was also disappointed with the actions of the police. He handed a CCTV tape to the police which recorded two culprits damaging his takeaway:

*'The tape had a clear image of the customer's face and had recorded the event, but there was no sound. Due to the lack of sound, the police said this would be insufficient evidence to press charges.'* (NW1)

Having had eggs thrown at him by a gang three times in a single day, SE18 reported the incident to the police. To his amazement, *'the police said that it was Halloween and it was just British custom to do that!'* (SE18)

Many respondents said that they no longer trusted the police. One stressed: *'I do not have much confidence in the police on dealing with cases of harassment and violence. We don't know if they have investigated the matter after we called them. They don't inform us about the results of their investigation.'* (SE15)

#### *Few prosecutions*

Despite the harassment and attacks reported by the 60 respondents, the victims felt the police did not take active actions to prosecute culprits. Only two cases were successfully prosecuted; and one case was in progress.

The sons of one respondent were verbally abused and beaten up by a group of white youths in a tennis court. The police immediately arrived and chased the culprits but according to the respondent:

*'The police said there's not much they could do because the kids were too young. Further, we were told we could bring them to court but the procedures were too complicated. Well, their intention was to tell us not to take the issue further.'* SE10

Without active support from the police, the respondent did not take any action to bring the perpetrators to justice.

As mentioned above, a respondent had salt, vinegar pots and hot gravy thrown at him by a drunken white man who also threatened to hit him with a wooden stick. (NW1) Even though there was CCTV footage that showed a clear image of the face of a drunken white man throwing salt, vinegar pots and gravy; and threatening the respondent with a stick, the police said that *'this would be insufficient evidence to press charges'* because of *'no sound.'*

In another case, a white youth was caught while burgling L16's takeaway. Waiting outside the court for the second hearing, L16 was told by a female police officer that he could leave because the perpetrator was ill. A letter was then sent to L16 saying that the case was dropped because the perpetrator did not appear at a court hearing. The respondent was very angry about this incident.

Because the police often failed to take action to prosecute the perpetrators, the respondents became frustrated with the police, believing they could not help. Some respondents suggested that the police only protected white perpetrators but not Chinese victims. As one respondent said: *'White men will stand on the side of the white man.'* (NW1)

### *Use of interpreting services*

After analysing the contents of in-depth interviews, we were able to establish that at least 14 Chinese victims had serious difficulties in communicating with the police. This is rather less than the figure reported in a national study<sup>90</sup> where 29 per cent of respondents had 'communication difficulties with health workers.'

Despite their language barriers, only two respondents (L9; NW5) were provided with interpreters and another respondent had his case handled by a Chinese-speaking police officer (L12).

For most cases, the police did not actively use interpreting services accurately to record the respondents' problems which meant that Chinese victims did not know their rights and duties under the English criminal justice system. For example, NW12 encountered communication barriers: '*If I can speak better English, they [the police] would know my problems more. Sometimes they don't understand what I'm saying.*'

Similarly, despite receiving a letter from the police, L5 was not sure whether a crime reference number or the date for another interview had been given to him. This was because he '*can't understand the contents of the letter.*'

Although one respondent reported many racist incidences to the police, she was '*frustrated that she could not communicate with them [because] no interpreter was provided.*' (NW3)

After his takeaway was vandalised by two troublemakers, one respondent called the police and was asked to sign a statement. However, he said: '*I don't really understand the content because of my limited English.*' (L17)

When interpreting services are not used, the complainant cannot understand the Criminal Justice System – and lack of interpreting services discourages the reporting of crime.

### *Alleged discrimination against Chinese victims by police officers*

Some respondents felt police officers were not sympathetic. For example, one respondent was mugged near his house. He had a badly bruised face and suffered dizziness. However, a police officer dealing with the case suggested that NW10 was only slightly injured and the incident was also not serious. He further mentioned that NW10 was Asian and could not speak much English. NW10 felt the police officer was being disrespectful: '*At that moment I had tears in my eyes and later cried.*'

As illustrated above, many respondents had negative experiences with the police and did not believe the police would help them. One respondent said: '*Discrimination exists in the police force. If you meet a black policeman, he will deal with your case a little bit better, because he is also a coloured person*

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<sup>90</sup> Chan *et al* (2004)

*from a minority ethnic background. If you report an incident to a white policeman, he will ask you to sit down and wait for hours, until you feel tired and eventually want to leave.'* (SE3)

A similar view was also expressed by another respondent:

*'Maybe we called the police too many times. In several occasions, our calls were cut off by the police. Maybe they are unwilling to deal with our problems. Maybe there is only one Chinese family here. From my point of view, they are simply reluctant to communicate with me.'* (SE20)

As a result of the attitude of some police officers and the way in which they did not deal with the perpetrators, the respondents perceived themselves as being excluded from the protection of the police.

#### *Limited action to tackle concerns*

Many respondents believed that little had been done by the police to tackle their concerns. According to NW18, the police's favourite phrase was 'there's nothing we can do' and stressed that troublemakers were too young to be prosecuted.

One respondent in the South-East region mentioned that his restaurant was disturbed by troublemakers several times but the police only asked the perpetrators to leave and then said: 'they couldn't do anything else.' (SE12) Fifty-three (almost 90 per cent) of our respondents did not have confidence in the police.

Comments included:

*'Sometimes calling the police is absolutely useless because they hardly understand ethnic minority groups are targets of racial harassment. I would rather see a social worker for solving problems than seek help from the police.'* (SE2)

*'All my friends agreed that the police won't be able to help with anything.'* (NW18)

*'I don't have confidence in the police basically. Sometimes they don't even come after our calls. Even if they come, they'd need hours to get here.'* (SE13)

*'I don't have confidence in the police at all. Occasionally they may patrol here. But when they come, the youths are no longer around.'* (SE14)

*'I am not entirely happy with the way that the police deal with my concerns. They deal with them merely for the sake of procedure... We don't know whether they have caught a suspect.'* (SE9)

*'The police were not helpful.'* (SE7)

*'The police did not bring any end results.'* (NW9)

*'The police can't protect me.'* (NW14)

*'Calling the police was wasting time.'* (NW12)

*'The police haven't taken things seriously and reported incidents were not always followed.' 'Reporting is therefore meaningless.'* (L5)

As a result, many respondents no longer sought help from the police, often attempting to cope with continued violence on their own.

*'Facing such incidents, we normally try to be tolerant as much as possible. Even if you call the police, they can't really do much about it anyway.'* (SE16)

*'The police may make an effort for such cases like arsons or murders, but for minor things I'd rather not report to them. For example like the case when the drunkard broke my glass unintentionally, I didn't call the police.'* (SE4).

*'Sometimes Chinese people don't phone the police, they think it's not that serious, they can sort out the problem. It's not only me, I chat with my friends, yeah they say, the police won't be able to help with anything.'* (NW18)

*'In most incidents, I don't think the police can help you settle the problem. You really have to settle the problem yourself.'* (SE2)

*'We sometimes call the police over such incidents, sometimes we don't. When the police arrive, these youths already fled. The police can't do a thing. Then the police come, they'd say the troublemakers have already gone. We'd try to investigate the case. It's just formality stuff. As this kind of responses has happened many times, we no longer have confidence in the police. We are tired of calling the police.'* (SE18)

The belief that reporting a crime is a waste of time is undoubtedly a factor that leads to a serious under-reporting of such incidents in the official statistics. Similar findings were reported by The Monitoring Group, which pointed out that 'many respondents thought that the police would not help or would be sympathetic to the perpetrators.'<sup>91</sup>

This research shows that part of the reason for Chinese people's under-reporting is the result of the reception they get when they do report. Dissatisfaction with the police response has led some respondents to take the law into their own hands in order to save their business and protect family members. For example, seeing a group of youths kicking a football at her takeaway window, a respondent took a knife to confront them. (NW14)

Moving to a new area was one of the coping strategies of some UK Chinese people. According to a respondent: *'If Chinese people can't put up with these [troublemakers and problems] any more, they will move to another area.'* (NW8)

Some respondents became silent victims, while another respondent pointed out that racial harassment towards Chinese takeaways was 'normal' in the UK, 'there's nothing you can do.' (NW12)

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<sup>91</sup> (2002:13)

One Chinese victim stated: *'I am living under a lot of psychological pressures. I feel uncomfortable whenever I see young people hanging around. I am suffering in silence; there is nothing I can do.'* (L17)

This section examines how non-Chinese and Chinese organisations responded to our respondents' complaints on racist harassment and attacks.

### **Schools**

Our respondents mentioned that they or their children had encountered various types of racial harassment in schools. Again, the evidence shows that the respondents tried to seek assistance from schools in order to tackle racist behaviour.

Although one respondent mentioned language barriers as preventing him from making complaints about his son being bullied (NW12), most respondents, regardless of their backgrounds, reported racist incidents to schools.

Three schools took actions to punish troublemakers and a staff member. For example, a culprit was subject to detention by insulting NW11. However, most respondents<sup>92</sup> felt schools failed to take effective actions to protect them. For example, a son of NW14 was bullied in school by a group of white youths who also caused trouble at her takeaway. The bullying was so serious his 'son did not dare go to school.' Despite expressing her concerns to the school, NW14 found that the teachers 'were not helpful.'

In another case, NW13's son continued to experience bullying although he was told by the school that the perpetrators had been warned. Seeing that the school had failed to prevent bullying, NW13 told his son to 'hit them back so they didn't dare hit my son again.'

Similarly, SE15 complained to the school about a white boy who physically smeared his son but 'nothing was done.'

Some respondents said teaching staff also treated their children unfairly. According to one respondent: *'In the past whenever my son had a row with his fellow students, the assistant teacher would always tell him to say sorry. I wasn't happy about this.'* (SE17) Finally, she expressed her dissatisfaction to the head teacher who gave a warning to the assistant teacher.

### **Other organisations**

Although our respondents sought help from other mainstream organisations, there was a limited impact on their problems.

After approaching a Citizens Advice Bureau, one respondent was unable to receive any support, being told instead to inform the police. (NW14)

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<sup>92</sup> For example SE1; SE15; SE17; NW14; NW17

The police told one respondent that Victim Support would offer assistance. However, *'except for one phone call, she had not heard anything from the organisation.'* (SE7)

Similarly, another respondent *'did not ring Victim Support because it could not provide any assistance. Also, English is not my first language.'* (NW15)

A respondent who had frequent contacts with a local council felt that council staff failed to offer adequate assistance to Chinese people:

*'In particular, older people and new migrants from mainland China can't always make themselves understood because of language barriers. Council officers are often impatient when people ask for help. Very often, they deal with requests in a rather slapdash manner by sending them away without really solving anything. As a consequence, Chinese people are detached from the council more.'* (SE8)

A language barrier was occasionally an obstacle for some respondents to approach mainstream organisations but this appeared to be used as an excuse by organisations which failed to offer an appropriate service.

Respondents were disappointed with the lack of practical support given to them. These two factors discouraged some UK-Chinese victims from seeking assistance from mainstream organisations.

### **Chinese organisations**

Some respondents were not aware of any Chinese organisations in their areas that could offer assistance. For example, one respondent did not know the Wai Yin Chinese Women Society (WYCWS) were providing services on racial incidents. She thought that *'it was just a place for Chinese people to chat and learn. Nobody told me you could get help from there with problems.'* (NW18)

Some respondents did seek help from Chinese organisations and had mixed feelings about their services. One described the WYCWS as *'very helpful and supportive'*, providing various forms of assistance for her. A WYCWS staff member spoke to other organisations on behalf of NW15 (e.g. the Housing Association) in order to relocate her to another area.

Another respondent approached the WYCWS for help. They spoke to the police and her lock, damaged by children, was repaired. (NW3)

After being attacked, NW9 received financial aid and temporary accommodation as a result of help offered by the WYCWS.

Similarly, a staff member from the WYCWS assisted NW8 to lodge a complaint about his victimisation at work and the lack of police assistance. Later, a police officer visited NW8 and took statements. Finally, the police officer applied a restriction order to limit the activities of the perpetrators.

A secondary school pupil (NW11) also received a lot of support from the youth leaders at WYCWS on issues such as troubles at school, educational matters, relationships with family and friends as well as racist incidents. In addition, NW11 could share her experience with other Chinese young people who had also encountered bullying at schools.

Apart from the WYCWS, respondents received support from other Chinese organisations. For example:

*'We asked Min Quan for help. They sent someone to assist us and accompanied us to the police station. They told our incidents to the police. The police began to realise the seriousness of our case. As a result, the police helped us install a security alarm in the shop which was linked to the alarm system in the police station.'* (SE18)

On the other hand, some respondents felt that Chinese organisations were unable to help them on racial issues. SE17 and NW18 mentioned that they shared their experience with some members of Chinese organisations but received no concrete support.

A respondent said Chinese organisations only provided social and recreational activities for older people, *'there's no service focussing on racial harassment and racial violence.'* (L1)

Although two Chinese organisations provided effective support for the respondents on racist incidents, many other Chinese organisations only provided general services. However, many UK Chinese organisations are relatively small, and lacking the required resources and skills to tackle racial issues.<sup>93</sup> It should also be noted that 12 respondents<sup>94</sup> were not aware of any organisations which could offer support on racist harassment and attacks.

This means that more work needs to be done by mainstream and Chinese organisations to promote their services.

### **Suggestions from respondents**

The respondents offered various suggestions for tackling racial harassment and violence towards UK Chinese people. These include:

- a more active role among UK Chinese organisations on racial issues;
- more multi-cultural education for young people;
- more effective work from the police; and
- stronger legislation to punish culprits.

#### *UK Chinese need collective action*

Most respondents expressed their deep concern over the lack of collective action and the need for a strong Chinese organisation to safeguard their rights.

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<sup>93</sup> Chan *et al* (2007a),

<sup>94</sup> L4; L5; L9; L10; L11; L15; L16; L17; SE5; NW1; NW2; NW3

Some respondents argued that the UK Chinese community was a relatively disorganised and weak ethnic group. According to one respondent, (which supports the statistical pattern of settlement referred to earlier), the UK Chinese people were isolated from each other with few united actions: *'Chinese live in scattered places far from each other. The Chinese themselves are like a plot of loose sands.'* (SE14)

This led to a situation in which:

*'Chinese organisations are rather isolated from each other. A lot of them just focus on personal issues, seeking self-interests.'* (L6)

One respondent was disappointed with the current work of Chinese organisations:

*'By comparison with other ethnic groups, Chinese do not speak up for ourselves so that many Chinese suffer in silence and are not sure who they can turn to help and support.'* (NW15)

Chinese people were not well informed, so a lot of them *'won't get help, because they haven't thought of it.'* (NW8)

As a result, 20 respondents believed that UK Chinese people should work together to tackle racism. One respondent stressed: *'Chinese people must have a powerful organisation so that we can actively support each other. Only in this way that we can live in peace.'* (SE15)

Chinese people engaging in the catering business particularly should have *'some organisations similar to a trade union'* to provide mutual help. (SE3)

On the other hand, several respondents mentioned that the Chinese community should also be integrated more into the British society. For example, one respondent believed Chinese people should integrate into mainstream society, letting others know more about Chinese culture (SE7).

Another stressed that the Chinese population should do more in order to have a better understanding of British society (SE10).

### ***Multi-cultural education***

Seeing the negative behaviour of some young British people, the respondents suggested that children and young people should learn to respect other ethnic groups and understand their cultures. The role of education could be significant here.

*'There is a need for society to minimize prejudice against minority ethnic groups. The government should promote education to the general public, encouraging people to know the importance of multi-culture.'* (L19)

*'The government should also do more to educate younger generation so that they know everyone is equal. Different races should live without boundaries.'* (SE10)

*'The UK government should provide more culture activities so that people can understand Chinese customs and culture. In this way, we can respect each other more.'* (SE2)

A Chinese teacher believed that education is fundamental to tackle racism: *'It should be put in citizenship, a topic devoted to racism. Get kids to understand that there are other nationalities in this country as well, there's diversity not just them. England is a diverse country.'* (NW17)

### ***More punitive measures against young troublemakers***

After being told by the police about their inability to prosecute young perpetrators, our respondents believed families and the government should do more work to manage the behaviour of children and young people. A restaurant manager emphasised:

*'The biggest problem here is the government and the law, it has to be stricter. If children are committing wrong doings they should be punished. They can't be let off because they are young and the view that children need protection. That's not reasonable.'* (NW7)

Similar views were voiced by another respondent who felt:

*'Government regulations tend to tolerate troublemakers. As long as a person hasn't reached adulthood, they don't have to go to prison even if they have committed murders.'* (SE14)

Other respondents said that young children should be punished for their crimes in order to 'teach them a lesson' (NW995).

### ***The police***

Respondents felt that translators were required so that it would be easier for Chinese victims to report crimes. (NW1; NW3) and to assist those who had difficulties in 'voicing their concerns and needs.' (NW2) For example, a person who had been sexually harassed was not reported to the police because the victim could not 'speak a word of English.'(NW3)

Many respondents demanded that the police should be more responsive to their complaints and do more to protect them. Some respondents thought that more patrols on the streets could deter perpetrators (NW6):

*'In order to tackle racial harassment towards Chinese takeaways, more police patrol is necessary. More police patrol acts as a deterrence.'* (L17)

*'You pay council tax and expect something to be done. Need more police to look after this area. However, more police doesn't mean there will be less disturbances or nuisances. But at least this is deterrence, there's nothing in this moment.'* (NW14)

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<sup>95</sup> A view also supported by NW3 and NW13

Additionally, Chinese people needed to be better informed of relevant legislation on racial harassment because 'a lot of Chinese don't know the law and how the law can protect us.' (NW8)

## **Conclusion – the key themes**

Several key themes emerged from the experiences of the 60 interviewees:

- most of our respondents suffered various types of racist harassment and violence for a long period of time;
- these incidents threatened their psychological and physical well-being, disrupted their businesses, and damaged their relationship with white people;
- most respondents were dissatisfied with the services of the police. Many respondents said that the police did not actively follow up their reported cases. As a result, the majority of them did not have confidence in the police. Some of them no longer formally reported racist incidents but handled them by themselves;
- the respondents had mixed feelings on services provided by other mainstream and Chinese organisations. Some schools took actions to tackle perpetrators and some Chinese organisations helped respondents to report cases to relevant authorities. However, some schools took only limited action so that respondents continued to be a target of bullying.

To effectively tackle racist incidents, the respondents believed that:

- UK Chinese people should work together;
- schools should provide multi-cultural education to children and young people; and
- the police should be more responsive to reported racist incidents.

## Section 6

### The focus groups

#### Introduction

This section of the report presents the findings from the nine focus groups carried out for this study and feedback sessions.

The purpose of using focus groups was to explore in more detail the perceptions and experiences of racist violence held by three groups of UK Chinese people:

- older people;
- those working in the catering business; and
- students.

The focus groups also assessed the strength of the themes and messages emerging from the other data collection.

Three focus groups were held in each area (London, the North West and South East) with people drawn from each of the three target groups.

This chapter gives consideration to the key issues emerging from the concerns and experiences of each of the groups. The research team analysed the focus group transcripts using manual methods.

Chinese-speaking researchers were available in each of the focus groups.

#### Older people

Almost all older Chinese people were able to narrate stories of encountering and dealing with a wide range of racist harassment and violence over the course of their lives in the UK.

One respondent, for example, recalled the wearying regularity of having to confront white ‘trouble-makers’ and their verbal racist abuse, failure to pay for food, deliberate false complaints and other forms of harassment which led to physical confrontations and fighting inside and outside Chinese takeaways and restaurants from the 1960s onwards.

*‘...some white guys were really bullying us. They came to eat and when they finished, would say to us: “I won’t pay you, so what?” So you see, is this really fair? For this reason there had been occasions when we simply shut the door if we saw these people come in the restaurant. We’d come to blows. The waiters and those guys in the kitchen all joined the punch-up. It was scary to see fighting in the restaurant. So some of the restaurant staff hide steel bars under the table, just in case there is a fight.’*

At one restaurant in the South East:

*'Iron sticks were kept in the restaurant for protection, should something end in a fight. The police were not too keen in stopping the trouble. They somehow tolerated it.'*

Racist violence included young people wrecking and smashing up the business premises. One Chinese fish and chip shop owner who has been living in the UK for 50 years talked about the regular violence and intimidation from children:

*'It's irritating when you get things wrecked ...even young girls do the same. Also, some young teenagers of about 11 and 12 years-old call us "Chinky". We feel disturbed. And it's hard to explain such feeling in a few words.'*

This type of racial harassment was also experienced from black, mixed-race as well as white youth. One older person reported that his shop had been firebombed by a 12 year-old black boy. As a result, CCTV was installed and the boy was caught on camera. The police arrested him and a court order banned him from coming near the shop. On other occasions, egg-throwing and similar incidents went on for days. The Chinese woman who narrated this set of incidents said that although she reported many of these to the police: 'On many occasions nothing I could do but cried.'

The impact of such instances was much greater when the business premises were also the family home and family members had to face up to such violence themselves:

*'My son-in-law has confronted the trouble-makers many times. Since we live above the shop, we have seen numerous incidents of this kind. We are concerned about our relatives' safety. We are frightened.'*

*'Since we live above the takeaway shop, whenever something happens, we'd be worried about our safety, in particular we have small children in the family. This makes us even more worried.'*

Living in vulnerable locations whether in poor inner-city areas or in smaller urban and rural locations where few Chinese people live, the fact that they were more 'visible' was cited as a contributory factor to feelings of fear and insecurity.

Some Chinese elders reported on other ways in which they tried to deal with harassment and intimidation. One woman used to give customers (particularly drunken customers) free meals to negate any troublesome behaviour and advised her Chinese neighbours to do the same. Although her English skills were severely limited, she tried hard to build up a rapport with customers to improve relations and pre-empt or lessen any bullying and violence.

### ***Harassment in different contexts***

Forms of racist discrimination and harassment had been experienced across a number of social contexts including work, on the street, on public transport, in shops, schools and at home.

Older Chinese people also talked about racist bullying and victimisation of Chinese staff working in the mainstream catering trade, such as in well-known hotels in London, and in hospitals (see below) and reported abuse such as 'being cursed' and 'often being called names in the street', feelings of being treated as inferior, 'being looked down on' and discrimination in everyday interactions with white people on buses, on the street, in other public spaces and in shops.

For example, they described instances when children abused them and stole their personal property while in the supermarket queue. One woman reported regular intimidation of Chinese elders by children of about 10 or older at train and bus stations including snatching belongings, pulling ears and splashing water in their faces.

They also recalled feeling racial discrimination in the allocation of social housing. One Chinese elder was re-housed, due to a compulsory purchase, into a flat with no running water, whereas she witnessed white families moving into fully-renovated properties. Also poor-quality accommodation was experienced with racial harassment from neighbours who 'chucked mice and other things' into her flat.

The older UK Chinese had often felt bullied and intimidated by housing officials (and private landlords), partly because they could not understand English, which resulted in impatience and a lack of consideration and respect in face-to-face interactions.

Earlier experiences in the UK also included racial discrimination against Chinese children by primary schools and private landlords. It was reported that many schools refused to enrol Chinese children and that it was very difficult to find one that did:

*'Not only the schools discriminated against we Chinese, the landlords also discriminated against us. If they saw you with young children, they wouldn't hire their flat to you. As a result, it was almost impossible for Chinese people with children to rent accommodation then.'*

However, the majority of the older UK Chinese people perceived a lessening in the severity of violence and harassment since the 1960s, when there were more regular experiences of having to get involved in fights and physical confrontation at work, 'these days customers are more civilised.' But they said there was always verbal abuse on the street which made them feel 'irritated' and 'powerless' and mainly 'suffered in silence':

*'As the Chinese saying goes: "A dumb man tastes the bitter herbs – he has to suffer in silence."*

Indeed, verbal abuse had been a constant experience throughout their lives: *'Thinking back in the 1950s and 60s, every time we walked in the streets, we'd be shouted at "Chink, Chink, Chink", as if we were a different group of humans ... The incidents of harassment I encountered over the past year were mostly verbal abuse that I heard in the streets, like being shouted at "Chink"*

*or “Fucking Chinese”. As an old man, when hearing such things, I’d choose not to fuss about it, pretending not to hear anything. I won’t be angry either, for me, business as usual.’*

It was felt by some that one reason for putting up with these incidents was the comparison with the physically and economically difficult lives they led before migration, for example, working in poor farming communities, and the overall benefits of moving to the UK.

One major reason for the perception of lower levels of racial harassment for elders today compared to when they were younger was that many tended to stay at home, and not to go out alone to avoid possible intimidation. Factors improving the elders’ sense of safety included an increasing Chinese presence in major cities, the growth of Chinese community-based organisations and churches, and increased public awareness of China’s growing global significance.

There was also a perception by some of an improving police and government response over the years:

*‘...in the past the police tended not to take the issue of racially harassment too seriously; discrimination even came from the police themselves. However things are improving in recent years. There are good officers in the police force. It is not all of them are cold and indifferent.’*

*‘If you ask me to give the police a mark, I’d say 70 out of 100. Although they won’t come to our shop every time we call them, they’d help when there’s something serious.’*

But for many Chinese older people there is a lack of confidence about reporting incidents and whether there will be a fast and effective police response, good follow-up of cases and keeping the victims informed about progress:

*‘I don’t have lots of confidence in the police. In the past whenever something happened to our shop, they’d just come to smooth down the matter; they’d mainly be concerned with how to settle it without adding more to their workload.’*

As a result, some turned to Chinese organisations for help and support and it was strongly felt that local councils should also support these organisations due to their importance for the well-being of the Chinese.

In the North West, a group of older Chinese women expressed satisfaction with the availability and help that Chinese organisations could now provide, specifically in terms of reporting racial harassment or violence. They suggested that they would visit the Chinese organisations before they approached the police, as the organisations were seen as effective in representing them and helping them to find solutions to their problems. This group also agreed that Chinese people did not generally inform police of their troubles because of the communication difficulties and the lack of available help for Chinese people such as translation services.

*'Chinese people can't communicate so they put up with it.'* [problems and troublemakers]

Some older people did not know what to do or where to go for help:  
*'I don't know much about Chinese organisations or organisations belonging to Westerners. I don't speak English, it's impossible for me to ask for help.'*

Others expressed the need for unity amongst Chinese communities and collective action to raise their concerns with local and central government. One obstacle identified to this approach, however, is the increasing division of income and wealth within the Chinese communities and the disregard by some of the rich for the everyday difficulties faced by the poor.

Although many Chinese people were still seen as being too scared to speak out about racial harassment and violence, it was felt that these issues must be addressed and that the UK government was unaware of the extent and difficulties some Chinese currently face. This report strongly underlines this view.

### **Those involved in the catering business**

A range of evidence is presented above on the forms of racist harassment and violence experienced by Chinese people working in restaurants and takeaways. This section provides a further brief confirmation of persisting difficulties in this area.

One woman who had owned two takeaways had continually experienced missiles and stones being thrown at the shop, smashed windows, abuse and taunts regarding her English skills. Perpetrators were described as mainly children and teenagers, aged from 10 upwards.

One man who has owned his takeaway for over 10 years recalled countless problems with young troublemakers (aged between 10 and 15). He had experienced damage to his shop (doors, windows, shop signs and lights)' having mud thrown into the kitchen (which ruined all the prepared food), as well as young people causing a general nuisance while waiting for food (e.g. being loud and obnoxious and ignoring the requests of counter staff). On one occasion, a group of youths climbed on top of the shop roof and refused to come down (even with the threat of police action). He had also been involved in physical encounters with troublemakers at his shop.

Racial harassment often involved targeting owners at work and at home. One couple reported local young people throwing stones and eggs at the takeaway and letting off fireworks by the shop counter. It was felt that racial motivation was behind the acts of the young people because they only targeted the home and shop of the Chinese and not those of their white neighbours. The racial harassment was because 'they look down on us.'

One owner suggested that the recent reduction in incidents was due to:

- the use of CCTV;

- taking meals like burgers and sausages off the menu to stop attracting the custom of young people; and
- changes in the counter staff such as using employees who can speak English and have conversations with the young people which had helped to lessen problems.

Delivering food was also seen to be 'a dangerous job' due to the experiences of attacks, robberies and car theft.

There were mixed opinions from others regarding police help and co-operation, with some having the impression that police performance had improved. Some positive reports of police response were given, while others identified some racist hostility from the police who were thought to see the Chinese as troublesome; together with a lack of concern from officers about racial harassment, which in turn led to a loss of faith in the police by the Chinese. At the same time, there was a perception among some that white victims received better treatment. One respondent stated: 'There's still racism within the police force.'

Concern was also expressed over the inability of the police to respond: 'A lot of times, police have given us the impression that they are no use and bring no results. So if you can put up with it, just carry on working.' One man was very dismissive of police assistance, saying they were 'of no help and useless.'

A lack of English skills was also identified as a factor in some cases which obstructed obtaining police help.

Apart from informing the police, many had installed CCTV cameras on the shop premises as a deterrent to troublemakers and these cameras were praised as being a useful tool and very effective in frightening troublemakers from causing problems.

Many had not been to any organisations for help. One woman complained to the local school about their students on one occasion and did find this useful in deterring problem behaviour for a brief period.

Very little mention was made of help from Victim Support. There was also some confusion as to the extent to which Chinese organisations could provide help with racial harassment cases. It was suggested that there was a problem with the law regarding young offenders, the child's upbringing (family background) and the lack of Chinese action against racial harassment.

Parents of troublemakers were seen as being casual in their parenting approach. Some parents may also pass on their own racist opinions to children. For example, one man recalled a time when he was working outside and heard someone saying 'chinky, chinky.' The comments became louder and this man was surprised to find that it was a child aged about five. Parents were also described as providing mixed support, often being hostile when they were told of their offspring's behaviour at the takeaways.

There was some suggestion that girls were more problematic than boys. It was also felt that the Chinese are hesitant to speak out about their problems and do not retaliate, like other ethnic groups who are targeted. This was seen as being partly due to Chinese cultural attitudes of keeping out of trouble.

'There's not enough Chinese living close together, there's only a few Chinese in one place, so they will leave you to it [problems with troublemakers], they won't help each other. We are too spaced out, so we're easier to target ... If Chinese people could get together, we'd be more powerful, but it's not achievable because Chinese people don't like to get together to talk about these things or report it to the police. They just leave it and put up with things instead.'

Incidents with troublemakers were described as upsetting and frustrating, and this often led to depression and family conflict over how to respond. Constant battles with troublemakers was one reason why some had given up the catering trade. However, these problems also affected other issues such as housing choice:

'You become really worried, when you feel that people purposely target Chinese people. So when you are buying a house you have to think about racial harassment issues.'

Respondents suggested that action was needed to improve parental responsibility, combat racist attitudes and build collective political action by Chinese groups.

'We don't complain to the police because they don't do anything. Then the impression left is that there are no problems for Chinese people and no solutions as a result ... I hope Chinese organisations can help improve our positions and listen to us to tell the government our problems. If Chinese organisations can raise this awareness and let the government know this may have some effect.'

### **Collective action**

There was awareness of previous collective action in London to challenge some of the difficulties faced by those working in the Chinese catering business:

'A group of nearly 200 of us got together. We talked to two MPs and explained that we Chinese had to struggle to survive, now then these people came to eat but didn't pay. They are apparently bullying us!

...So in 1991 we gathered outside the Houses of Parliament to protest against this and demanded increased police protection. I said, "let me ask you: Hong Kong is part of the UK, yet in Hong Kong it's a crime if you eat and not pay (Ba Wong Tsan). Why does the UK not recognise that this Ba Wong Tsan is a crime? You must treat us Chinese fair. Right?" ...

We had to thank those who helped us, our British friends, and so on. They gave us lots of support. The situation is getting better these days. Why? Because China is getting stronger than before, its economy and political system are improving. Racist incidents against Chinese are happening less frequent these days.

'We Chinese must unite ourselves. We are living outside China and we must unite ourselves, then our voice will be stronger. So the chances where we are bullied by others would be less.'

### **Students**

Evidence was given of experiences of racist bullying and harassment at both primary and secondary schools in the UK.

A typical scenario would involve crude and racist remarks being said to provoke a reaction or a fight. If the victim reacted, the harassment worsened, thus, as one man suggested, the best thing to do was to ignore the troublemakers and leave the scene as quickly as possible. If victimisation was tolerable then it was tolerated, and retaliation only occurred when the bullying or harassment had become unbearable or 'crossed the line.' Fights were often outside of school and, therefore, not subject to school control and gave much amusement to other white pupils who would cheer and yell for the fight to continue. Some felt that racial harassment at school was more frequent than in higher education.

Some evidence of similar problems at youth clubs was also given.

Cases of racist victimisation were also reported by university students both on and off campus, on the streets, on public transport, in bars, and whilst doing part-time work. One student said:

*'The incidents that happened to me and to the Chinese students around me make me feel disgusted about the UK. I will not stay to work here. This country disappoints me; discrimination is everywhere. I will go back to China as soon as I finish my studies.'*

The most common report was use of racially-insulting language by groups of youths in the street who were provocative and seemingly well-prepared for a fight.

A specific racially-motivated case reported in the South East group involved seven youths, including three 13 to 14 year-old girls, who attacked a Chinese student, Ms X, and her boyfriend near the campus. One punched Ms X and broke the bridge of her nose. Her boyfriend was also kicked and punched, sustaining injuries to his head and body. The couple ran and took cover in a classmate's dormitory, who called the police. First, the ambulance arrived; paramedics checked their injuries, told Ms X that her nose was broken and checked her partner's blood pressure, dressed the wounds and told him that there was no need to go to hospital.

Apart from taking statements the police did not give any further advice as to what action they would take and there was no crime reference number given. They subsequently went to the hospital the next morning and to the police station for a crime reference number.

The police eventually managed to catch the girl who hit Ms X and prosecute her. She was required to do some hours of community service and fined £500 for damage, which was paid by instalment. Ms X is unhappy about the way the police dealt the case.

*'First. When the police took statements from me that evening, they did not tell me how to prevent similar incidents happening in future. What if I was attacked again like this? The police didn't tell me how they would deal with and investigate the case either. More importantly, they didn't take photos of the wounds I sustained and the relevant objects that I had with me that evening. They didn't give me a Crime Reference Number after taking statements.'*

*'Later a senior police officer told us that the two officers who took our statements the previous evening were not sufficiently trained, so that there were mistakes in the process. How come this is allowed to happen? It's unbelievable. Secondly, my boyfriend was beaten up a lot more severely than I was; and we did provide information about where the perpetrators might have come from. But how come the three girls who hit me were found, yet there was no sign of the boys who beat up my boyfriend? We're not too sure if the police had really done all they could to find them.'*

In another incident on campus, seven or eight children between the ages of 12 and 14 threw rotten apples at a Chinese student. This student said: *'It hit my right eye. A blood vessel in my right eye was broken, causing congestion in the eyeball. My glasses were thrown on the floor; luckily the lenses were plastic so they did not break into pieces ... Doctors tell me that a period of three months would be needed in order to be certain whether any long-term damage is caused to my eye.'*

Experiences of racist violence by students whilst doing part-time work included regular incitement and intimidation.

*'I was working part-time in the evenings in a (fast-food shop) ... a Chinese colleague who was also working in the shop and I had been verbally insulted many times. For example, some of the white customers said very nasty things to us, claiming that we had taken their jobs and that because of this they had no work.'*

*One evening we were attacked in the shop. Three youths entered the shop as we were cleaning the floor. Deliberately, the youths dropped bags of salt and pepper all over the place. We asked them not to do that and suggested that they should leave. They punched me and another colleague. We fought back and in the end the two of us did manage to force them out. Immediately we called the police. Since we were not far from the police station, the police*

*arrived within ten minutes. After viewing the CCTV footage, they said they had identified the three young perpetrators.'*

In another incident:

*'Once, two white young men came in and seemingly wanted to order food, though we noticed that they were there to stir up trouble. They swore at us with vulgar language, saying that they were in the mood for a fight. I said, "Fine, you wait in the back of the shop till 11 o'clock when I finish work and I'll meet you there." Hearing this they became even more provocative, and even striking the first blow at me. Alone, I was forced to pick up the two of them in order to defend myself. Actually there was a third person outside. So they were three of them in the gang. In the end we came out even and they went off.*

*'We did call the police after the attack; the police arrived in no time. After viewing the CCTV footage, they were convinced that the three men had come to stir up trouble; they asked me if I would prosecute the men in case they caught them. I said I would. Before long, the police got the men. A few days later, the police asked me if I would go ahead with the prosecution; they said that if the answer was yes, I should not leave the UK in the next three months, as the court might need my presence. At that time though I had already prepared myself for vacation in China and couldn't wait there for nothing. In the end the men were not prosecuted.'*

Some students also confirmed the experiences of racist harassment faced by catering businesses, where they had worked occasionally, and their staff. Examples included having stones thrown at the shop, having windows broken and disruptive behaviour from troublemakers in the shop front. Customers have not paid for orders, ordered food then claimed that it's the wrong order and asked for more food to be made or for refunds leading to large amounts of food being wasted. Customers have also accused staff of short-changing them.

The use of CCTV was seen as helpful. However, banning certain customers had not been helpful as it led to further victimisation. One incident occurred when some banned youths came into a shop and threw rubbish everywhere. Some of the staff tried to catch the troublemakers. The following night the shop front's glass panel was broken.

The police were not contacted for a variety of reasons: the incident happened at around midnight so it was thought to be too late to call the police; the culprits were aged between 12 and 13, and were too young to be arrested or prosecuted and there was also no evidence of because the youths were out of sight from the CCTV camera. The owner complained that the police could not do anything to help anyway, gave little follow-up information or advice and response times were unpredictable.

The activities of Min Quan in supporting Chinese victims of violence in the South East were praised:

*'Min-Quan ... took the initiative to contact us, and helped us follow-up the case - the police's investigation and prosecution. Without Min-Quan, we didn't know what to do.'*

*'Min-Quan and our [Chinese Students'] Association held a talk at the university for over 200 newly-arrived Chinese students, sharing with them information on how to keep safe and so on, so that in case something happens, they would know what action to take.'*

Other students raised a wider set of concerns including advocating greater cultural exchange and dialogue between young people in the UK and China and also with established Chinese communities in the UK. They also argued for an acknowledgement of the contribution that Chinese migrants make to western societies, economies and medicine.

### **General themes emerging across the focus groups**

Interviewees were hesitant and/or did not inform the police of their problems with trouble-makers for several reasons:

- lack of English skills;
- incidents were often seen as 'too minor', although this included damage to people's property, theft and intimidation;
- most troublemakers were under the age of 16 and the victims thought they were too young for the police to deal with. ;
- verbal racist abuse was frequently encountered at the interviewee's home; place of work and on the street. The racist comments were not reported to police, as interviewee's could not justify the seriousness of such encounters;
- poor experiences with the police in the past prevented the victims from informing the police of other encounters with troublemakers;
- some interviewees reasoned (and were advised by family and friends) that complaints to the police about troublemakers would cause further problems and retaliation from the offenders;
- many interviewees resorted to their own preventative measures in reducing the effects of troublemakers, such as buying property in reputable areas, keeping doors and windows locked, installing CCTV and metal shutters at takeaway shops and 'keeping your head down' to avoid trouble.

There was a common theme of interviewees 'putting up' with their experiences of racial victimisation and attacks, as well as 'getting used to it.'

Those who were victimised at work often faced difficulties with troublemakers at their home address also, as the family household would either be directly above their takeaway business or within the same neighbourhood.

Victims often felt a lack of support from the community and, when troublemakers are young people, from the culprits' parents as well as from the police.

## **Conclusion**

The experience gained from the focus groups further confirms evidence of wide-ranging forms of racial harassment and violence experienced by UK Chinese people across a multiplicity of contexts including at primary and secondary school, in higher education, at home, at work, at leisure, on public transport and while shopping. All three groups, of younger students, catering business workers and older people, were able to substantiate the prevalence of racial harassment experienced in and around restaurants and takeaways. The role of children and young people as perpetrators and victims is a recurring theme.

While, in some cases, there was an awareness of a positive response from the police and an improving performance, there was nonetheless an ambivalence about police responses with evidence of a lack of confidence for many in the ability of the police to effectively address racial harassment.

It is clear that some UK Chinese people have no idea where to go for help and assistance, and for others the work of Chinese organisations is highly valued. It appeared that universities had given some support to victims but that schools and other victim support services appear to be failing to meet the needs of this group.

Racist harassment has detrimental effects on mental health and can increase family stress and conflict with particular implications for the well-being of children. Despite longstanding racist hostility towards Chinese people, the increasing presence of UK Chinese in major cities, the growth of Chinese community-based organisations and churches and awareness of China's growing global significance is improving perceptions of safety.

A strong call to build Chinese collective action and campaign work to tackle racist violence across the UK was voiced across all groups, together with a demand for an improved response from the government, public agencies and the private sector.

## Section 7

### Summary of **Recommendations**

#### Central and local government

##### **Recommendation 1**

Efforts should be made to improve the reporting of race hate incidents against UK Chinese people.

There is an urgent need for a multi-agency approach to reporting race hate incidents to include schools, GPs' surgeries, Citizenship Advice Bureaux, Chinese organisations or other organisations that cater for the needs and welfare of UK Chinese people. This refers essentially to the need for the expansions of existing networks of hate crime reporting centres that are accessible to Chinese people.

There is a need to increase understanding amongst UK Chinese of how to report race hate incidents, including the use of third party reporting options.

There is a need to review the activities of third party reporting centres in order to assess their fitness for purpose. This should include the extent to which they are accessible and well publicised to Chinese communities and the training that those operating such centres have to deal with reports from Chinese victims.

There is an urgent need to roll-out the recommendations in the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (the Macpherson report) relating to the establishment of culturally appropriate third-party reporting centres in order to help re-establish trust of black and ethnic minority communities in the police and criminal justice system.

##### **Recommendation 2**

Efforts should be made to increase Chinese people's confidence in the criminal justice system

ACPO and the Race for Justice Advisory groups need to urgently debate the addition of UK Chinese communities to the list of minority groups who need additional work to increase their confidence to report hate incidents

Local Criminal Justice Boards (and local government organisations) should carry out targeted work with their Chinese communities as part of their statutory requirement to engage with local communities, address race issues and raise the confidence of minority ethnic groups in the criminal justice system. This should include the mapping out of the specific geographical locations of local Chinese groups in both rural and urban areas and designing

community engagement strategies specifically to meet their needs and concerns. A one-hat-fits-all approach to all ethnic groups has not worked

### **Recommendation 3**

The government should utilise the energy and dynamism of the Chinese business and student sectors in the UK to develop:

- specific initiatives geared to prevent race hate crimes; and
- strategic partnerships to better understand community needs.

### **Recommendation 4**

Previous studies showed that UK Chinese organisations are run by volunteers with limited human and financial resources. However, these are the most important social institutions which are trusted by Chinese people. Thus, the government needs to evaluate their existing funding mechanism by providing long-term financial assistance for Chinese organisations. In this way, they can recruit professional staff to support Chinese victims of racism as well as equip them with essential knowledge and skills (for example language skills) to help them function more effectively in society as well as able to protect themselves and defend their civil rights.

### **Recommendation 5**

The role of organisations like The Monitoring Group's Min Quan project and other similar Chinese victims support projects must be recognised and appropriate investments be made to enable them to continue their work with Chinese communities across the UK.

### **Recommendation 6**

Central and local government should improve and publicise its recognition and acknowledgement of anti-Chinese racist violence across the UK, including in rural areas where numbers may be small and these issues even more obscured.

### **Recommendation 7**

Government needs to take a lead in improving public understanding of the UK Chinese population, including their benefit to the economy. The Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) should make efforts to challenge negative media reporting of the Chinese people.

## **Criminal Justice Agencies**

### **Recommendation 8**

Efforts should be made to keep Chinese victims of hate incidents informed of the progress of their complaints.

It is important to fulfil the requirement of the Victims' Charter to keep victims updated at specific stages of inquiry. Minimum standards should be imposed including sanctions for non-compliance.

Chinese victims of hate incidents need to be provided with adequate information and advice so they know which agency is responsible for which actions or service.

### **Recommendation 9**

As the majority of complaints by victims relate to police performance, there is an urgent need for ACPO to take timely action to address the performance issues raised by these complaints.

There is a need for ACPO to initiate a review of current police performance in the services provided to victims of racist incidents and on the basis of the findings of this review decide what appropriate actions need to be taken in order to make future police performance in this area better.

As most of the issues raised by victims' complaints against the police are covered in the new Assessment of Policing and Community Safety (APACS) framework, it is essential that ACPO makes public, on an annual basis, the results of police performance in all the Statutory Performance Indicators in APACS. This will enable communities to judge the performance of the police and other agencies in the delivery of service to victims of racist incidents and other related topics in APACS.

### **Recommendation 10**

The police should consider the benefits of using Information Technology (IT) software and GIS (Geographic Information Systems) mapping to identify the geographical locations of victims of hate crime and the extent of their victimisation, including repeat victimisation. This will enable the police to use available resources effectively to address problems and issues raised from the analyses.

### **Recommendation 11**

Considering the significant number of repeat victimisations (up to 17 repeats in a particular case) cases of repeat victimisation should be given priority by the police and efforts should be made in all such cases to prevent reoccurrence.

### **Recommendation 12**

In the light of complaints of interpretation not being available to victims, criminal justice agencies should ensure as a priority that these are not only in place but are offered to all Chinese victims.

### **Recommendation 13**

Despite their emphasis on diversity in training programmes, the police should make efforts by monitoring to ensure that front line officers put these lessons into practice.

### **Recommendation 14**

There is indication that good work is undertaken in some forces but not picked up in others. It is, therefore, important that the police and other criminal justice agencies encourage the sharing of good practice and publicise success

stories. There is much to benefit from spreading the learning from what works and ensuring that the benefits are gained across the criminal justice system.

## **Schools**

### **Recommendation 15**

There is a need to increase awareness amongst school pupils of the true impact of racism and racist violence

In the light of the fact that the majority of perpetrators of racist crimes against Chinese victims are young people, there is a need for a review of the PSHME (Personal Social Health and Moral Education) curriculum in schools, to ensure that it includes a substantial input on racial diversity and cultural awareness of different ethnic groups in the UK and the true impact of racist violence on members of such groups. The curriculum should be more detailed and focused in Years 7 – 11 including specific case studies, statistics and legislation on hate crime. It is suggested that the UK Chinese could be prioritized in this process.

There is a need for national or local evaluations of the progress, effectiveness and impact of the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF)'s policies and advice to schools on countering racist bullying. UK Chinese people may be prioritised in this evaluation.

## **Other Agencies**

### **Recommendation 16**

Victim Support should work more closely with Chinese organisations or other agencies working for the welfare of the UK Chinese in order to ensure that the services that they provide for Chinese victims are relevant to their specific needs and is effective.

In the light of findings from a recent study (Victim Support, 2006), Victim Support should treat as a matter of urgency, the need to improve its services to children who are victims, especially those from minority ethnic backgrounds who are victims of racist bullying in schools or are affected by racist abuse or attack of their parents.

### **Recommendation 17**

Chinese organisations need to work more closely with the police and other legal agencies to provide Chinese people with:

- essential knowledge of the criminal justice system;
- the appropriate actions for dealing with perpetrators; and
- the duties and rights of UK Chinese people in reporting hate or racially-aggravated crimes and what they can expect of the police.

### **Recommendation 18**

Many respondents in this study believed a strong national Chinese organisation is necessary because it could voice the concerns of UK Chinese

people and tackle racism. UK Chinese organisations need to work together and form a collective Chinese-led organisation to safeguard and advocate for the rights of Chinese people. This could, in part, act as a national lobbying group to campaign for action to tackle racist violence against the UK Chinese.

#### **Recommendation 19**

The nature and extent of secondary victimisation of UK Chinese victims indicate a need for a national evaluation of the extent to which local authority welfare services are complying with their legislative duties under the Race Relations Amendments Act and Public Service Agreements to provide fair and equitable service to victims of hate crimes who approach them for support both during victimisation and afterwards.

#### **Recommendation 20**

Min Quan and Chinese Organisations should enhance their publicity for advocacy services to increase reporting levels. In London, in particular, they need to continue to build engagement with the Chinese community.

#### **Recommendation 21**

Chinese organisations need to empower Chinese victims by setting up a hate crime concern group which offers assistance to victims and closely monitors the performance of the police and relevant criminal justice agencies.

### **Research**

#### **Recommendation 22**

There is a need for further, more detailed research, on the experience of UK Chinese people living and working in rural and remote areas.

#### **Recommendation 23**

Research strategies need to take account of the difficulty of reaching some UK Chinese people. In particular, postal surveys are probably less effective than differing forms of face-to-face contact supported by development work and by the use of significant community gatekeepers to facilitate access.

#### **Recommendation 24**

Although it is clear that the UK Chinese experience of racial harassment and assault is substantial, and that this experience is not fully acknowledged in policy and practice, there may be a need for further work to contextualise this research with the experiences of other minority ethnic groups.

## **Racism against the UK Chinese population: A State of Denial?**

### **Endword**

The UK Chinese population is scattered more widely across the UK than any other minority ethnic population, with a settled Chinese-origin population present in every local authority.

Although the total UK Chinese population is fairly small compared with some other minorities, it is exposed to higher levels of racism than many other minority groups. However, the indifference of many policy agencies, including substantial sections of the police, and the lack of appropriate reporting in official statistics, means that this experience of racism is often hidden from view.

This detailed and unique national study, by a team led from the University of Hull, of the experience of racism of the UK Chinese population raises very serious questions for us all, but in particular for the policies and practices of those, particularly the police and other elements of the criminal justice system, who are responsible for addressing the scourge of racism.

On top of their actual day-to-day experience of racism, myths about this population, hostile treatment by many agencies and by sections of the media, and a failure to acknowledge the significant contribution they make to the social, economic and cultural life of the UK, combine to make the lives of many Chinese people in the UK subject to fear, anxiety and insecurity.

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## Appendix 1: Research methodology

The research team was commissioned by the Monitoring Group's Min Quan, to investigate racial harassment and violence towards Chinese people in three regions: London, South East and North West England, areas in which the Monitoring Group is currently providing services for Chinese people, and helping them to tackle racist issues.

It should be stressed that this is the first major study investigating the types, extent and impact of racial harassment and violence towards the UK Chinese people across the country. To systematically and comprehensively examine the experiences of the UK Chinese people on these issues, the research team used four data collecting methods, including reviewing The Monitoring Group Min Quan's case files, a postal survey, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions.

### Reviewing The Monitoring Group records

Min Quan is the only service unit which deals with Chinese racist victims. Established in 1999, Min Quan provides 'legal, moral and practical support to Chinese people suffering racial harassment, domestic violence and policing problems.'<sup>96</sup>

The records of Min Quan not only can inform the research team on questionnaire design but also provide detailed information about the nature of racist incidents and how relevant organisations handle them.

After reading all files provided by The Monitoring Group, the research team selected a total of 65 cases as a sample. The selection was based on the following criteria:

- racist language or behaviour (harassment) was used against Chinese people;
- abusive behaviour and harassment led to violent and anti-social behaviour by the perpetrators against Chinese victims;
- Chinese victims perceived the violence was racially-motivated; and
- Chinese victims told Min Quan that their incidents were racially-motivated even though they did not mention this to the police.

Of the 65 cases, 46 were closed cases from 2000 to 2006, and 19 were ongoing cases. The documents reviewed included victims' own statements, The Monitoring Group Min Quan's file notes, written materials from Min Quan to the police and CPS, complaints made by Min Quan on behalf of their victims to PCA (pre-2004) and IPCC (post-2004), and minutes of meetings and case conferences (murder cases only).

The research team analysed these cases to give a picture on the nature of incidents, their impact on Chinese victims, the characteristics of perpetrators, the backgrounds of victims, and the responses from the police and other actors.

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<sup>96</sup> The Monitoring Group, 2002: 2

## Questionnaire survey

The aim of the survey was to give a quantitatively valid and comprehensive picture of the extent and types of racist incidents amongst Chinese people in the three selected areas. A copy of the questionnaire can be found at Appendix 2.

The lack of an easily accessible sample frame for UK Chinese people has been well documented.<sup>97</sup> To overcome this barrier, the research team used a number of different sampling approaches, collecting residential addresses of Chinese people from the BT telephone directory based on Chinese surnames and business addresses from a UK Chinese business directory.

The research team also asked Chinese organisations and universities in the three regions to distribute questionnaires to their members and students. As a result of these efforts, a substantial number of addressees were collected and postal survey questionnaires were sent out. The details are as follows:

- 1,501 businesses obtained from a Chinese business directory each of whom received a questionnaire by post;
- 56 Chinese organisations such as Chinese associations, community centres and churches to each of whom 10 questionnaires were sent for onward distribution;
- 423 Chinese residents of 'rural' areas. These were derived by identifying postcodes of rural parts of North West and South East England. These postcodes were then searched for Chinese names using the BT Phone Disc. The Chinese names were obtained from a list called 'The Hundred Families Surnames' obtained from the website: <http://www.geocities.com/Tokyo/3919/hundred.html>
- 28 universities in London, the South East and the North West agreed to make the questionnaire available to their students either electronically or as printed-out copies in their international offices. Only one university declined to co-operate with the survey;
- the postal questionnaire mainly included closed questions and tick boxes as it was thought that this might help increase the response rate. A few open questions, however, were included, notably a description in the respondent's own words of the incident which had most affected him/her and explanations of why the respondent had not reported the incident and of changes made to day-to-day life. The questionnaire was printed in both English and Chinese languages and sent out with a dual language covering letter. Respondents were asked to give their views on the following:
  - time lived and worked in the area;
  - experience of racially motivated incidents;
  - reporting behaviour, action taken by those to which reported and victim satisfaction with that action;
  - changes made to day-to-day life as a result of experiences
  - personal details – ethnicity, gender, age and employment status

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<sup>97</sup> Pang 1993; Parker 1995; Prior *et al.* 1997; Chan *et al.* 2004.

- postcode

The preparation of the databases and dispatch of the postal questionnaires took place in March and April 2007. By the end of May, the team had received only 196 completed questionnaires. One problem was that substantial quantities were returned as 'not at address' showing that the databases used were not up-to-date. There may be an issue here concerning the mobility of the Chinese population.

Another was that there was little response from students. In a bid to collect more questionnaires for analysis, Min Quan encouraged Chinese people to complete questionnaires through their regional offices as well as directly contacting local takeaways and restaurants. They also arranged for the questionnaire to be reproduced in one Chinese newspaper and a notice concerning the survey in another. This resulted in an additional 58 responses including two from the newspaper.

Seventy-nine returned questionnaires included free text answers in Chinese text. These were translated into English. The responses were entered into a database, coding frames devised for the free text responses and analysed using the quantitative analysis package SPSS. Because of the small dataset, the detailed analysis is not statistically robust but where differences are statistically significant this is stated in footnotes. Elsewhere the sample size generally did not permit reliable tests. The postcode data was used to enable a geographic element to the analysis. The Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs (Defra) Rural and Urban Area Classification 2004 was used to allocate responses to urban or rural areas using Lower Super Output Area level information.

### **In-depth interviews**

While the postal survey provided mainly quantitative data, in-depth interviews yielded qualitative data on respondents' experiences of racial harassment and violence.

In-depth interviews are particularly suitable for exploring issues such as 'the reasons why incidents are not reported', and 'the handling by the police and other criminal justice agencies such as the Crown Prosecution Service of crimes against Chinese people, in particular those with a racial dimension.'<sup>98</sup> In short, in-depth interviews can provide details on the seriousness of racial incidents encountered by Chinese victims and their interactions with the perpetrators and the police.

Twenty respondents were interviewed in each region and a total of 60 interviews were thus conducted in the three regions from June to September 2007. Three of these were telephone interviews and the rest were face-to-face interviews. Telephone interviews were conducted because of the respondents' tight work schedules, childcare commitments and feelings of being more comfortable in expressing their concerns.

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<sup>98</sup> Adamson and Cole 2006: 34-35.

All questions, except personal details, were open-ended questions in order to explore the following issues:

- the details of racial harassment and violence experienced by respondents;
- the impact of racist incidents on their economic conditions as well as their physical and psychological well-being;
- how they responded to these incidents;
- the extent of support offered to respondents from the police, other mainstream bodies and Chinese organisations;
- what types of barriers which prevented respondents from effectively tackling racist harassment and violence.

As mentioned above, there is a lack of a sampling frame for the UK Chinese people. This study encountered an additional barrier, because not all Chinese people faced racial harassment/attacks over the past 12 months. As a result, the research team used various methods for recruiting suitable respondents (see Table A.1). First, respondents who had completed the postal survey were invited to do in-depth interviews. Secondly, researchers contacted various Chinese organisations to identify suitable respondents. Thirdly, researchers used informal networks to seek potential respondents. All in-depth interviews were conducted by two Chinese research team members who used languages (English, Mandarin and Cantonese) which the respondents found easy to express their views.

Table A.1 Methods for recruiting 60 respondents for in-depth interviews

Region	Recruiting Methods		
	Respondents who completed the survey	Respondents referred from Chinese organisations	Others (known to researcher / snowballed)
London	5	(*) 4	11
South East	18	0	2
North West	16	0	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>17</b>

(\*) Berkshire Chinese Association and Dragon Page

### Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions were used to investigate the experiences of three specific Chinese groups over racial harassment and violence, offering a supportive environment in which participants could describe their experiences in some depth. They included older people, those working in the catering industry and students. The selection of these three groups was due to the following considerations:

The needs of older people deserve special attention. Previous research studies showed that older UK Chinese people received little English education and encountered a serious communication problem with public service

providers.<sup>99</sup> One study<sup>100</sup> that included middle-aged and elderly Chinese residents reported that 79 per cent of the 110 Chinese households in Leeds suffered various forms of racist violence and harassment such as stone, egg, fireworks and other missile throwing, smearing excrement on windows and verbal abuse.

The family is still the key supportive network for Chinese older people. For example, 71 of 100 respondents of a study 'thought that the family was the best institution for providing care.'<sup>101</sup>

However, there is little data on the effectiveness of Chinese children in helping older parents on tackling racist incidents. By addressing the needs of older people, it is important to examine how they cope with racial incidents and their sources of support.

The catering sector is 'the pillar of the economy for the Chinese community in Britain.'<sup>102</sup> Many Chinese people have their own takeaways or restaurants. As many as 19 per cent of Chinese people were self-employed in contrast to 11 per cent of all ethnic groups in 2001-02.<sup>103</sup>

However, it has been widely reported that Chinese people working in takeaways and restaurants are always the target of racist abuse.<sup>104</sup> Moreover, a significant number of people from this group received little education and have limited English ability, therefore finding it difficult effectively to voice their concerns or defend their rights. Thus, it is important to explore how they cope with racial incidents and the responses of mainstream organisations towards their problems.

The needs of Chinese students are the least researched area within this general field. However, over the past 10 years, there has been an increasing number of mainland China students studying in the UK.

The number of mainland Chinese students (48,000) studying in the UK was more than twice that of Hong Kong Chinese (20,000) in 2005-2006.<sup>105</sup>

The existing UK Chinese organisations are mainly Cantonese-speaking organisations providing services for Hong Kong Chinese.<sup>106</sup> Thus, it is crucial to understand the types of racial violence experienced by UK Chinese students, mainland Chinese in particular, and their sources of support.

By recruiting respondents for focus group discussions, our research team members sought assistance from various Chinese organisations such as the

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<sup>99</sup> Eaton 1998; Yu 2000; Chan *et al.* 2004

<sup>100</sup> Law's study, 2004

<sup>101</sup> Yu 2000: 31.

<sup>102</sup> The Monitoring Group 2002:11)

<sup>103</sup> National Statistics, 2002

<sup>104</sup> Parker 1995; Song, 1999; The Monitoring Group, 2002; Law, 2004; Chan *et al.* 2004; Adamson and Cole, 2006

<sup>105</sup> All Party Parliamentary China Group, 2007

<sup>106</sup> Chan *et al.* 2007a

UK Chinese Takeaway Association, the Monitoring Group, and several Chinese associations and community centres (Table A.2).

It should be stressed that the team was constrained by limited resources from obtaining a more representative sample so that 19 out of 45 focus group participants were recruited through researchers' networks or based on the snowball method. Nevertheless, the discussions were enriched by respondents recruited from various other organisations.<sup>107</sup>

Table A.2 Methods for recruiting respondents for focus group discussions

Region	Group Nature	Recruiting Method		Total	
		Respondents referred from Chinese organisations	Others (known to researcher / snowballed)		
London	Catering	*	2	4	6
	Trade				
	Older People	**	6	0	6
South East	Students		0		
	Catering	***	4	2	6
	Trade				
	Older People	***	6	0	6
North West	Students	****	5	0	5
	Catering		0	4	4
	Trade				
	Older People		0	3	3
	Students	*****	3	0	3
Total			26	19	45

\* Chinese Takeaway Association, Chinese Christian Resources Limited

\*\* London Chinese Community Centre, Haringey Chinese Community Centre, Islington

Chinese Community Association, and Camden Chinese Community Centre

\*\*\* Berkshire Chinese Association

\*\*\*\* The Monitoring Group

\*\*\*\*\* Manchester Chinese Community Centre – Youth Project

<sup>107</sup> In Greater Manchester there was some concern about the relatively higher levels of incidents reported by the survey compared with other areas and whether this reflected a real problem or whether it was merely a function of the survey methodology. There was some feeling in that area that further research might be needed to explore this issue.

## Appendix 2

The Questionnaire [TOMAS: HAVE FORWARDED A VERSION OF THIS TO YOU SEPARATELY]

## Appendix 3

### **Information on The Monitoring Group**

Established in 1979, The Monitoring Group (TMG) is a registered charity and a leading national anti-racist casework agency. For more than 25 years we have been helping individuals, families and communities facing racial and religious violence, harassment and abuse. We have a long and proud track record and have helped many thousands of people and families from all over the UK, including many who have been faced with racist murders and suspicious deaths of their loved ones.

TMG is recognised nationally as the result of direct work on the racist murder cases of Blair Peach, Stephen Lawrence, Zahid Mubarek and many other high profile cases which have led to justice for families and victims. The important lessons learnt from these and numerous other 'loss of life' cases have transformed the debate on racist violence and led to significant changes in dealing with racially and religiously motivated crime.

Our commitment to supporting those in distress is evident from the continuing increase in the number of people turning to us for help.

#### **Our Values**

We believe that racial and religious violence are fundamental human rights issues. We firmly believe that victims have the same rights as everyone else in Britain. People from all sections of our communities should feel safe from attacks, whether they are in their homes, at school, on the streets, or at their workplaces.

We also believe that is obligated to provide, without favour or harm, professional services to all those who seek its support.

We believe very strongly in putting victims first and involving them fully in all decision-making, to safeguard their health, safety and welfare. By helping victims in this way, we aim to solve their problems quickly, influence how organisations deal with problems of racial violence more effectively and raise public wider awareness of the issues.

At TMG our work is victim-centred. This means that when we work with those who have experienced racial violence and harassment we will always:

- Believe what the victim tells us and empathise with their problems and situation
- Make the victim's personal safety our first priority
- Establish what the victim wants and work closely with them to achieve those outcomes
- Respect confidentiality and protect the victim's interests at all times

## **What we do – supporting victims**

Helping people in dangerous situations is our priority. We provide free direct support to victims of racial and religious violence and harassment, in a number of ways:

### **National 24-hour Emergency Helpline service**

We have been running our 24-hour Emergency Helpline for more than 20 years. This unique national freephone service is available to victims of racist attacks living anywhere in the UK, 24 hours-a-day, 7-days-a-week and 365-days-a-year. Each month an average of 300 people call us for help and support.

We put victims first and run this service in a way which ensures that people get immediate telephone help and assistance from those who are highly trained to deal with emergency situations. This service is managed by a team of committed volunteers (many of whom have been victims themselves), who are fully supported by a network of solicitors, specialist advisors and translators.

The overall aims of our Emergency Helpline are to:

- provide good quality information and advice to callers to help them make quick decisions about their situation;
- to intervene in serious cases to ensure callers safety;
- reduce the likelihood of repeat incidents; and
- encourage statutory agencies to take swift action against perpetrators.

### **Information and advice services**

An important part of our work is to make sure that victims have accurate information about their rights and the options available for them to get problems solved.

We provide individual and community advice sessions for people requiring specialist legal advice relating to racial or religious violence and harassment and other forms of racial discrimination and injustice. Our advice surgeries are held at our three regional offices as well as being 'out-reached' directly into local communities. These sessions are run by trained advisors and solicitors, and supported by skilled interpreters when necessary.

### **Advocacy and casework services**

Advocacy and casework are cornerstones of our work with victims of racial and religious violence and harassment. Nationally, our specialist caseworkers deal with around 300 'live' cases at any one time, including those involving racist murders and race-related deaths.

Our victim-centred approach ensures that all our clients are fully involved with all aspects of their cases. Case plans explore and identify all possible remedies, civil and criminal, that could be used in securing positive results for victims.

Our caseworkers are supported by a network of specialist legal practitioners and we are able to deal with cases at all levels within the criminal justice and civil law systems.

This work could include anything from initial incident reporting on behalf of clients, to gathering evidence and investigations, to arranging case conferences with the police, prosecutors and local authorities to making applications (where necessary) for judicial reviews and campaigning for public inquiries.

### **Supporting family campaigns**

Working to ensure the delivery of justice for families in racist murder and race-related death cases is labour-intensive, requires complex legal and strategic interventions and places a high demand on specialist support skills and knowledge of critical incidents beyond the classic remit of casework. These types of cases have a profound impact on the public imagination and their support, which consequently have the potential for altering statutory policies and procedures. TMG remains the only voluntary community organisation that supports and assists these families in such tragic circumstances on a national basis.

Ultimately, however, the pain of losing a loved one and the burden of holding the authorities to account is always carried by the families we assist. These include those related to Stephen Lawrence, Ricky Reel, Michael Menson, Zahid Mubarek, Shaun Rodney, Amarjit and Nancy Chohan and many others. Our strategy in these circumstances is to establish family-led legal campaigns that press for competent investigations and proper responses to critical unanswered questions.

### **What else do we do?**

We work together with a range of different organisations, including government departments and local authorities, criminal justice agencies, community safety partnerships, housing associations and voluntary agencies.

This work is aimed at improving policies and procedures for dealing with racial violence and harassment, and to ensure that victims receive better support services. We believe we do this in a number of ways:

#### *Influencing policies and procedures*

Because we have worked with victims for over 25 years, many organisations ask us to help them to improve their services.

TMG participates in and contributes to the work of a number of national, regional and local multi-agency forums concerned with racial violence and harassment. Through our advocacy and casework service and the vast learning gained from individual cases we are in a very strong position to identify the things that work in the best interests of victims' rights and dealing with perpetrators.

As well as working at a national policy level with bodies such as the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) and the Prison Service, we have also been commissioned to assist a number of local authorities, housing associations and other agencies.

### ***Training for other organisations***

We provide other organisations with training on dealing with racist incidents, support for victims and other related issues. We also work closely with grassroots' ethnic minority community groups to ensure that they too can benefit from this training and get access to information.

Our training and educational packages not only offer accurate and up to date information, but they are also focussed on problem-solving and taking effective action.

We have a wealth of experience in this type of training and deliver our modules in partnership with many real experts in the field.

### ***Information services and consultancy***

If organisations are to deal with racial violence properly it is important they have as much information as possible about the problem and how to deal with it.

We have a large information library. We also undertake research projects and produce various publications on issues relating to racist and religious violence, racial harassment and other related topics.

We also have a website which contains internet advice for victims, as well as lots of detailed information about racist attacks in the UK, research reports and training courses. TMG also runs a free weekly news service for those who use email.

### ***National issues and specialist projects***

Since the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report, our successes at combining specialist knowledge with practical victim-centred approaches has led to a massive increase in demand for our services and people turning to us for help.

We have been increasing our services to victims by developing special projects, which are tailored to the needs of local and specific communities.

In addition to our London-wide service based in Southall, we are developing a number of projects targeting an increasingly diverse Black and minority ethnic constituency in both urban and rural areas across England. We are also expanding our work into Europe by developing trans-European anti-racist networks and victim-support projects.

### ***Min Quan***

The Min Quan project was initially established in 1999 to assist victims of racist attacks in London's Chinatown. Since then, we have been working hard

to develop a specialist project for Chinese victims of racial attacks across the country.

This unique, groundbreaking national project provides specialist services for Chinese people in the UK. Min Quan also aims to raise awareness about racism towards Chinese communities through a number of regional offices based in London, Manchester and Southampton.

### **Rural Racism Project**

TMG recognises that ethnic minority people living in rural areas are often more vulnerable and isolated than those living in urban areas. We also recognise that racism and racial violence is a significant and increasing problem in the South West of England and other rural areas.

The Rural Racism Project was set up in 2003 in Plymouth, to provide specialist support services to those living in areas with small Black and minority ethnic communities who are suffering from racial violence and harassment or experiencing institutional racism. The Rural Racism Project also undertakes grass-roots community development work to address the lack of support and isolation faced by those living in predominately rural areas and provides victims a voice to influence local decision making.

### **Midlands and Northern Monitor**

The Midlands and Northern Monitor was established in 2002. Based in Nottingham this project provides the full range of TMG's core victim support services to those living across the East Midlands, South Yorkshire, as well as in rural Norfolk and Lincolnshire.

The Midlands and Northern Monitor is pioneering a number of new models of multi-agency working on tackling racist incidents and racial violence. In addition, this project is also currently developing an extensive e-Library of research reports and publications relating to racial violence and harassment.

Our current work in Yorkshire following the riots in the North of England and the 7th July bombings in London, aims to provide safe spaces to re-engage disenfranchised young people and promote both rights and responsibilities among BME communities increasingly feeling under siege.

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