

How to Support and Encourage Racial Equality in Northern Ireland Discussion Papers

This paper is one in a series of six pursuing the aim of racial equality in Northern Ireland. In their five-year race equality strategy, the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister envision what they are working towards as:

A society in which racial diversity is supported, understood, valued and respected, where racism in any of its forms is not tolerated and where we live together as a society and enjoy equality of opportunity and equal protection.¹

This vision is further specified by six strategic aims, the **second** of which is the topic of this paper:

SIX SHARED AIMS

- **Elimination of Racial Inequality:** To eliminate racism, racial inequality and unlawful racial discrimination and promote equality of opportunity in all aspects of life, including public life, for people of different ethnic backgrounds in Northern Ireland.
- **Equal Protection: To combat racism and provide effective protection and redress against racism and racist crime.**
- **Equality of Service Provision:** To ensure equality of opportunity for minority ethnic people in accessing and benefiting from all public services.
- **Participation:** To increase participation and a sense of “belonging” of people from minority ethnic backgrounds in public, political, economic, social and cultural life.
- **Dialogue:** To promote dialogue between, and mutual understanding of, different faiths and cultural backgrounds, both long standing within Northern Ireland and recent arrivals to these shores, guided by overarching human rights norms.
- **Capacity Building:** To build capacity within minority ethnic communities to develop a vibrant and sustainable minority ethnic sector at both local and regional level and to help minority ethnic people to fulfil the Government’s aim of a shared future for Northern Ireland.²

The discussion papers in this series are all authored by Omar Khan of the Runnymede Trust.

The Runnymede Trust is an independent policy research organisation focusing on equality and justice through the promotion of a successful multi-ethnic society. Founded as a Charitable Educational Trust, Runnymede has a long track record in policy research, working in close collaboration with eminent thinkers and policymakers in the public, private and voluntary sectors. We believe that the way ahead lies in building effective partnerships, and we are continually developing these with the voluntary sector, the government, local authorities and companies in the UK and Europe. We stimulate debate and suggest forward-looking strategies in areas of public policy such as education, the criminal justice system, employment and citizenship.

Since 1968, the date of Runnymede’s foundation, we have worked to establish and maintain a positive image of what it means to live affirmatively within a society that is both multi-ethnic and culturally diverse. Runnymede continues to speak with a thoughtful and independent public voice on these issues today.

¹ OFMDFM (2005b: 7).

² OFMDFM (2005b: 8).

Aim 2: Equal Protection

To combat racism and provide effective protection and redress against racism and racist crime.

While democratic governments everywhere are committed to ensuring equal treatment for their citizens, the first responsibility of any state is securing the personal safety of its citizens. In Northern Ireland this has often proved difficult to achieve in terms of the violence carried out by paramilitary groups, but recently the problem of individual security has turned towards the threat of racist crime. The Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) has published a number of documents on the issue, as has the House of Commons Northern Ireland Affairs Committee (NIAC), and it is clear from these and other reports that understanding of the phenomenon has been advanced by the important inquiry report on the murder of the teenager Stephen Lawrence in Eltham in London.³

In Northern Ireland, the problem of racist crime has been tied perhaps even more centrally to fundamental questions of democracy and justice. As the Race Equality Strategy affirms:

*All forms of intolerance and violence based on racism, sectarianism or any other extremism are abhorrent in a democracy. There are norms and behaviours within society that are acceptable and those that simply are unacceptable... We, as a society, need to acknowledge the level of racism and racial harassment in Northern Ireland society and act to combat it.*⁴

EVIDENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Although a focus on racist violence may have been eclipsed in the past by sectarian paramilitary activity, there is increasing recognition that racist crimes are an all too frequent blight within Northern Ireland.⁵ Indeed, evidence suggests that Northern Ireland has the highest reported level of racist incidents in the United Kingdom, with newspaper reports referring to it as the 'race-hate capital of Europe'.⁶ Racist incidents are for the purposes of PSNI a particular type of 'hate crime' defined as:

*any incident perceived to have been committed against any person or property on the grounds of a particular person's ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, political opinion or disability, whether it amounts to a crime or not.*⁷

What defines a specifically racist incident is defined by the PSNI as 'any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person'.⁸ Between 1996 and 2001, the PSNI

³ See PSNI (2005) as well as the extensive data on their website: www.psni.police.uk. See also the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee (NIAC, 2005) and for the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report, see Macpherson (1999).

⁴ OFMDFM (2005b: 36).

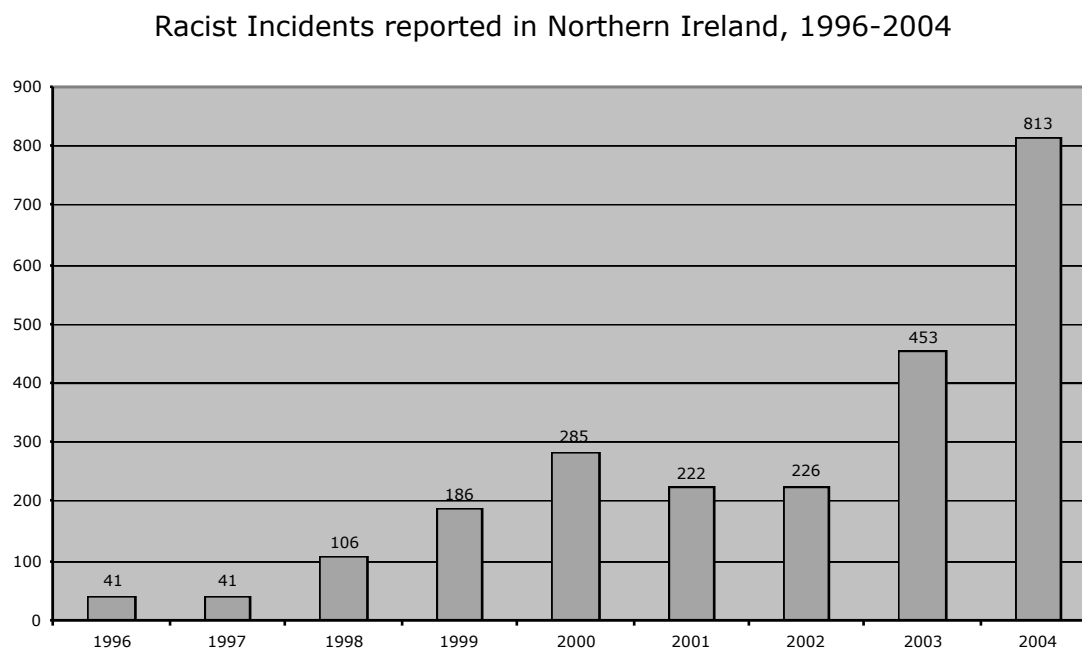
⁵ In addition to the government documents cited in footnotes one and two, see OFMDFM (2005a), NICEM (2006), Jarman and Monaghan (2003), Connolly and Keenan (2001) and Irwin and Dunn (1996).

⁶ Chrisafis (2004). The media has been criticised in NICEM (2006) for simplifying and, to a degree, sensationalising the issue without considering how to improve the situation, especially because those who speak with journalists are often further targeted.

⁷ PSNI 'Hate Crime' definition from website.

recorded 881 racist incidents, after which numbers increased dramatically, with 453 reported incidents in 2003 and 813 incidents in 2004.

Chart 1: Racist Incidents Recorded by PSNI (1996–2004)⁹



Wherever statistics on crime are recorded there is concern for the validity of the figures, both in terms of understanding long- and short-term trends, but also in response to the relationship between recorded figures and actual incidents.¹⁰ In the case of racist incidents, it is likely that the numbers actually represent the ‘tip of the iceberg’,¹¹ though the increase in numbers suggests that individuals are more likely to report incidents today than in the recent past. A barrier to better data and indeed better responses to such crimes is that, like elsewhere in the UK:

there remain substantial and persistent issues surrounding relationships between minority ethnic community members and the Police Service of Northern Ireland and the confidence that minority ethnic community members have in the Police Service.¹²

One indicator of the continued need for better cooperation between the PSNI and minority ethnic communities is the fact that almost half (45%) of all victims of racist incidents between 1996 and 2001 said that they had previously experienced a racist incident. Among Irish Travellers, however, there were few cases of reported racist incidents and indeed few examples of previous reporting. Whether any of these figures have changed since 2001 will have an important impact not only on the relations between different communities in Northern Ireland but also on the relationship between minority ethnic communities and the police.¹³

⁸ PSNI ‘Racist Incidents’ definition from website. This follows Macpherson (1999) although some have argued that it departs from it in significant ways (e.g. NICEM 2006), and see comments on the influence of the Lawrence inquiry report below.

⁹ For 1996–2001, see Jarman and Monaghan (2003: 2); for 2002–2004 see PSNI (2005).

¹⁰ It is often estimated that only 2–3% of perpetrators are ever caught by the criminal justice system (see Khan 2002, citing Home Office 2000).

¹¹ OFMDFM (2005b: 37) and Yu (2004).

¹² OFMDFM (2005b: 37).

¹³ Data for this paragraph from Jarman and Monaghan (2003).

The PSNI categorises racist incidents as one of four types: abuse, assault, theft and damage to property. In many cases, more than one type of incident was recorded, especially racist abuse (in half of all cases) but also damage to property. Different communities experience different rates of various types of racist crime; for example 70% of thefts were reported by the Chinese community and half of all arson attacks were inflicted on Indians. The location of racist crimes also varies: while people from the Black community are much more likely to experience incidents on the street, people from the Chinese community are more likely to face harassment at work and Irish Travellers report a disproportionate number of racist incidents at leisure or social settings.¹⁴ More recent data shows that out of the 813 racial incidents in 2004, 634 were crimes. Of those recorded offences, half (51%) were criminal damage to property, and just under a third (30%) were woundings and assaults.¹⁵

Table 1: Type of Incident by Ethnic Group (1996–2001)¹⁶

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

As elsewhere in the United Kingdom and Europe, minority ethnic populations in Northern Ireland are not evenly dispersed, but are more likely to live in certain areas, particularly urban conurbations. In Northern Ireland, roughly 30% of all minority ethnic people live in Belfast, with a significant number of Chinese individuals in particular living in South Belfast.¹⁷ This of course means that more racist incidents are reported in Belfast, especially in the period between 1996 and 2001. In evidence to the Parliamentary Committee on Northern Ireland, experts suggested that violence in South Belfast was particularly pronounced, and underreported

simply because they cannot find any redress as some of them cannot find a perpetrator. Also, the community has no confidence in the policing because, when they have reported these crimes to them, they have not reacted or responded punctually. Alternatively, when they interview the victim, they do not take race as a factor when they encounter racially-motivated attacks or harassment. As a result, there is very little information or evidence to prosecute further. It becomes a vicious circle.¹⁸

¹⁴ Jarman and Monaghan (2003: 24–5).

¹⁵ PSNI (2005).

¹⁶ Jarman and Monaghan (2003: 25). In England and Wales there is also strong evidence that black and minority ethnic people are overrepresented in the criminal justice process, from stops and searches and arrests, to prison receptions and prison population (see Home Office 2004).

¹⁷ Census 2001 at National Statistics website (NISRA 2001a and 2001b).

¹⁸ Patrick Yu's evidence in House of Commons (2004). This was also emphasised in the final report (NIAC 2005).

Perhaps even more worrying is the suggestion that neo-Nazi groups such as Combat 18 have infiltrated loyalist paramilitary organisations. White nationalist parties, including the BNP, are becoming more active in Northern Ireland and there is some concern that paramilitary activity is shifting from sectarian violence to other forms of crime.¹⁹ In his evidence to the Parliamentary Committee, Patrick Yu suggested that the UVF also had connections with the Chinese Triads in terms of racketeering, with the unfortunate consequence that minority ethnic communities can get involved in the criminality and violence of paramilitaries in the region.²⁰

At the same time, South Belfast has increasing numbers of refugees, asylum seekers and migrant workers, which further helps explain the large number of racist incidents reported there. In 2004, the area of South Belfast had accounted for 53% of the incidents within Belfast, and 20% of the incidents in Northern Ireland.²¹

HATE CRIME LEGISLATION

In September 2004 new legislation was passed to deal with 'crimes motivated or aggravated by "hatred based on" race, religion, disability or sexual orientation'. This has provided a new way for judges in particular to respond to the evidence of hate crime partially documented for the above. Again, the Racial Equality Strategy gives a good summary of the new powers:

*The legislation includes a statutory requirement for judges to treat racial and religious aggravation and hatred of sexual orientation as well as disability, as an aggravating factor when sentencing... For example, the legislation increases the maximum penalty for criminal damage from 10 to 14 years and for putting someone in fear of violence from five to seven years.*²²

It is important to note that these measures are different from those adopted elsewhere in the UK. As the Government's response to the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee pointed out: 'Northern Ireland does not have specific racial, religious, homophobic or disability aggravated offences. Rather the approach adopted in Northern Ireland allows the court to aggravate a sentence where hostility has been established and will give sentencers greater flexibility in sentencing.'²³

Other measures, also adopted in Great Britain, are those that target 'anti-social behaviour' but it is unclear how these have been used to target race-hate crime and harassment in particular. In the Race Equality Strategy, seven further measures are listed to minimise the extent and degree of racist violence as well as to improve relations between the PSNI and minority ethnic communities:

- Introduce a system to record and monitor details of 'hate incidents' (including racist incidents);
- Pilot work with local communities through the South Belfast Roundtable on Racism on developing a community response to racism including 'early warning' systems, and 'good neighbour' schemes;
- Pilot work with organisations in Belfast in developing a 'zero tolerance' zone for racism;

¹⁹ See NIAC (2005), 'Race hate on rise in NI' (2004), NICEM (2006), Chrisafis (2004), and Patrick Yu's evidence in House of Commons (2004).

²⁰ House of Commons (2004).

²¹ PSNI (2005).

²² OFMDFM (2005b: 37).

²³ Appendix to NIAC (2005).

- Continue to build on measures introduced by the PSNI to increase the confidence members of minority ethnic communities have in the Police Service;
- Carry out an audit of training arrangements and course content within the PSNI;
- Consider ways to increase the number of recruitment applications by minority ethnic people to the PSNI; and
- The PSNI will continue to identify and publish 'good practice' to ensure that an effective and consistent response is provided to minority ethnic people and when dealing with hate incidents.²⁴

NIAC REPORT

Despite all of these positive actions, it is clear that much remains to be done in Northern Ireland, not just in terms of changing attitudes but also in terms of government meeting its obligations. In 2005 the Committee on Northern Ireland Affairs published its report on hate crime, which was extremely critical of the response of the state to what it saw as a 'growing problem'. Paragraph 78 gives a good flavour of the tone and emphasis in the report, which required that the government in Northern Ireland, particularly the Office of the First Minister and DFM and the PSNI, do more to combat the 'unsatisfactory state of affairs':

*There must be no doubt about what we have found: the absence of a strongly promoted 'vision' for community relations in Northern Ireland; an unacceptable slowness in policy development; and little evidence that policies are delivering real, 'on the ground', improvements to the lives of vulnerable individuals, all of which is resulting in dissatisfaction amongst these groups and a deteriorating pattern of inter-community relations. We are concerned that, despite officials' reassuring words, present arrangements between OFMDFM and NIO may be insufficiently coordinated to act speedily in producing effective strategies to combat hate crime. The Government must consider what improvements are required to correct this unsatisfactory state of affairs.*²⁵

The British Government has accepted many of the findings of this document, and has placed much of the onus for improvement on the OFMDFM. While the situation in Northern Ireland is of great concern, it is also important to point out that all governments face the difficulty of transforming admirable aims into effective practice. As the next section of this paper points out, the police in Britain have also had some difficulty in ensuring that the best elements of policy become a reality that improves the lives of minority ethnic individuals.

LESSONS FROM THE STEPHEN LAWRENCE REPORT

The measures suggested in the Race Equality Strategy document will go some way towards improving the police response to racist harassment and violence. As elsewhere in the UK, and even in the Republic of Ireland, the report following the murder of Stephen Lawrence (sometimes known as the Macpherson Report or the Lawrence Inquiry Report) has had some influence on policy. One of its important conclusions was that the police were 'institutionally racist', sparking changes both in how the police recruit and train officers and in how they interact with the public. Institutional racism was defined as follows:

²⁴ OFMDFM (2005b: 38).

²⁵ NIAC (2005: Paragraph 78).

*'Institutional Racism' consists of the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness, and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.*²⁶

One of the most important, but also controversial, elements of this definition is its focus on the 'unwitting' attitudes or informal institutional cultures in fostering or at least failing to combat racism. In its definition of a 'racist incident' the report was similarly guided by such considerations, a definition that has been adopted in Northern Ireland. However, in its draft report, NICEM has expressed serious concerns about the way in which the lessons of the Lawrence Inquiry Report have been understood in Northern Ireland:

*It bears emphasis that Macpherson specifically repudiated the ascription of 'racial motivation' yet it continues to dominate PSNI and other statutory definitions in Northern Ireland.*²⁷

The report senses that some of the lessons of Lawrence have been ignored in Northern Ireland, particularly by the PSNI and the public prosecution system. At the same time, the report acknowledges that police services in England and Wales have had similar difficulties, citing an important CRE publication:

*There is no doubt that the Police Service has made significant progress in the area of race equality in recent years. However, there is still a long way to go before we have a service where every officer treats the public and their colleagues with fairness and respect, regardless of their ethnic origin. Willingness to change at the top is not translating into action lower down, particularly in middle-management where you find ice in the heart of the Police Service. For example, managers are not properly supported or fully trained on how to handle race grievances, so relatively minor issues are often unnecessarily escalated.*²⁸

Although these issues of training must remain at the forefront, as elsewhere in the UK the police in Northern Ireland have clearly learned some lessons about what sorts of interventions work and, just as importantly, how to improve their relationship with local communities, without whose confidence and interaction they cannot discharge their basic responsibility of public safety. With the involvement of minority ethnic communities, especially in training police officers and liaison officers, racist incidents will at least be better prosecuted even if they do not drop in frequency.

One example of successful work in this area is the Donegal Pass police station, where during 1997–8 the Northern Ireland Council for Ethnic Minorities trained every officer, and which continues to be cited as an example of best practice.²⁹ A related concern is that without some minority ethnic presence among police officers, it is unlikely that the services will be able to serve their communities, as the case of the RUC and Northern Irish Catholics in the past should illuminate. Such reforms have been at least partly taken on board in Northern Ireland, though it will take some time to see the good effects.

²⁶ Macpherson (1999).

²⁷ NICEM (2006: Section 3.1)

²⁸ CRE (2005) as cited in NICEM (2006).

²⁹ See Patrick Yu's evidence in House of Commons (2004) and the positive response of MPs.

The lessons from the Lawrence Inquiry are such that the PSNI is much more aware of its responsibilities in responding to racist violence and harassment and meeting its basic responsibility of providing protection for citizens. Indeed, one of the problems with the Lawrence Inquiry was that its narrow remit on policing has allowed other bodies to underplay if not ignore the findings.³⁰ In Britain there is increasing concern about the ability of the Crown Prosecution Service to respond to the important findings of the Lawrence Inquiry Report, but with regard to Northern Ireland a recent report has concluded even more sharply: 'if the PSNI should be doing more, the other parts of the Northern Ireland Criminal Justice System appear to be doing nothing at all'.³¹ Here it is obvious that the lessons of Lawrence need to be spread much more widely so that all individuals from every ethnic community in Northern Ireland feels secure in the provision of the protection of the law.

LESSONS: WORKING WITH PERPETRATORS

Research has recently turned to the difficult but important issue of working with the perpetrators of racist violence. Although resources must continue to be directed to the victims of racist violence and harassment, preventing such violence in the future clearly requires changing attitudes so that potential perpetrators are not turned into offenders. As Runnymede's initial research report in the area concluded:

Addressing the needs of victims of racist violence must remain paramount. But the prevention of such violence ought to begin to drive strategy and policymaking over the next decade. We – academic researchers, research organisations, voluntary and community organisations, and local and central government – should begin to systematically explore and examine the causes of racist violence, its permutations, its current and potential perpetrators, and assemble the evidence of interventions which have been successful in preventing it from taking hold ... Any methodology that fails to capture the importance of addressing the communities that surround the perpetrators will miss a crucial opportunity to prevent potential perpetrator groups from forming amongst the next generation.³²

Following research by Rae Sibbitt,³³ we distinguished between perpetrators, potential perpetrators and the perpetrator community, who provide support to those who commit violence through their attitudes and beliefs. The perpetrators of racist violence are usually seen to be motivated either by a pathological racist mindset, or, perhaps more typically, are individuals who commit other types of crime as well. Evidence of paramilitary involvement in racist attacks in Northern Ireland demonstrates how both factors must be taken into account.

While most of the work in this area is punitive and directed towards those who commit violence, preventative work is also necessary in order to forestall racist attitudes from taking root. However, as Runnymede's final report indicated, prevention work is necessarily long-term and difficult to assess: 'it's *not* easy to measure the true impact of something not happening'.³⁴

In addition, it is 'easier to measure the impact of reducing offending behaviour than the effect of achieving attitudinal shifts'. We noted that 'racist violence prevention is not given priority on the

³⁰ See Richard Stone's Introduction to Khan (2002) and a number of articles in Sociological Research Online (1999).

³¹ NICEM (2005: Sections 3.9 and 3.10).

³² Khan (2002: 54); as cited in Isal (2005: 44).

³³ Sibbitt (1997).

³⁴ Isal (2005: 21).

crime reduction agenda' and that the community cohesion agenda might be one way of bringing perpetrator and victim groups together.³⁵ For those working in any area related to crime prevention or changing attitudes, the 28 recommendations made in that report suggest how those agencies can build on their success and perhaps involve themselves more broadly in multi-agency work.

CONCLUSION

Given the history of violence in Northern Ireland it is perhaps not surprising that racist harassment and violence pose such a serious problem in the region. Where individuals resort to violence to deal with social or psychological difficulties they become more likely to harm others. Furthermore, sectarian attitudes have encouraged distrust and fear of outsiders, and such resentment is too easily passed on to the 'newer' communities who now live in Northern Ireland.

Preventing racist violence must involve the police services, who have not always had the full confidence of minority ethnic communities in Northern Ireland. However, following the passage of the 2004 hate crimes legislation, and the measures taken to improve recruitment and training in the police, influenced by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report, there is good evidence that the PSNI understands the need to respond better to minority ethnic communities.

At the same time, social attitudes must be encouraged to change. This is perhaps beyond the scope of any single organisation, but the prevention of racist attitude development and making violence an unacceptable option are both absolutely necessary for reducing racist harassment and violence. Here the suggestions made in the paper one of this series come to the fore again: without an adequate affirmation of the basic standards of human equality and human rights by individuals of all communities towards each other, it is hard to see how Northern Ireland can move from a society of sectarian animosity and racist harassment to a fair, tolerant and successful democratic society.

Works Cited

Government Documents:

Race Relations (Northern Ireland) Order 1997 (amended 2003)

Race Relations Act 1976

UK Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000

UK Census 1991 and 2001

Northern Ireland Census 2001: www.nisra.gov.uk/census/start.html

Northern Ireland Act 1998: www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts1998

Equality Commission of Northern Ireland: <http://www.equalityni.org>

Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission: www.nihrc.org

Chrisafis, A. (2004) 'Racist war of the loyalist street gangs', *The Guardian*, 10 January.

CRE (2005) *Report into Racism in the Police Service: An opportunity for mediation?* London: Commission for Racial Equality.

CFMEB (2000) *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: The Parekh Report*. London: Profile Books for the Runnymede Trust.

³⁵ Isal (2005: 23ff).

Connolly, P. (2002) *'Race' and Racism in Northern Ireland: A review of the research evidence*. Belfast: OFMDFM Research Branch.

Connolly, P. and Keenan, M. (2001) *The Hidden Trust: Racist harassment in Northern Ireland*. Belfast: NISRA.

ECNI and NCCRI (2005) *Seeking Advice and Redress Against Racism in Northern Ireland: An Information Handbook*. Belfast: Equality Commission for Northern Ireland and National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism.

Home Office (2000) *Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System*. A Home Office publication under section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991.

Home Office (2004) *Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System*. London: Home Office.

House of Commons (2004) *Minutes of Evidence Taken Before Northern Ireland Affairs Committee: Hate Crime in Northern Ireland [Uncorrected]* 5 May. Accessed via the www.parliament.uk website.

Irwin, G. and Dunn, S. (1996) *Ethnic Minorities in Northern Ireland*. Coleraine: Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster.

Isal, S. (2005) *Preventing Racist Violence*. London: The Runnymede Trust.

Jarman, N. and Monaghan, R. (2003) *Analysis of Incidents of Racial Harassment Recorded by the Police in Northern Ireland*. Belfast: Institute for Conflict Research.

Khan, O. (2002) *Perpetrators of Racist Violence and Harassment*. London: The Runnymede Trust.

Macpherson, W. (1999) *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report*. London: HMSO.

NICEM (2006) *The Next Stephen Lawrence? Racist Violence and Criminal Justice in Northern Ireland*. Belfast: NICEM (draft copy only).

NISRA (2001a) 'Table KSO6 Ethnic Group'. Data extracted from 2001 Census.

NISRA (2001b) 'Table S323: Age and Highest Level of Qualification by Ethnic Group'. Data extracted from 2001 Census.

Northern Ireland Affairs Committee, House of Commons (NIAC) (2005) *The Challenge of Diversity: Hate Crime in Northern Ireland*. London: TSO. Available online at <http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200506/cmselect/cmniaf/396/39602.htm>.

O'Hara, M. (2005) 'Fear and Loathing', *The Guardian*, 29 June.

OFMDFM (2005a) *A Shared Future*. Belfast: Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland.

OFMDFM (2005b) *A Racial Equality Strategy for Northern Ireland: 2005–2010*. Belfast: Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland.

PSNI (2005) *Hate Incidents and Crime*. Belfast.

PSNI 'Hate Crime' definition: www.psni.police.uk/index/hate_crimes.htm

PSNI 'Racist Incidents' definition: www.psni.police.uk/index/hate_crimes/racial_harassment.htm

'Race hate on rise in NI' (2004) BBC online, 13 January:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/3390249.stm

'Racist attacks condemned' (2004) BBC online, 18 June:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/3818973.stm

Sibbitt, Rae (1997) *The Perpetrators of Racial Violence and Racial Harassment*. London: Home Office.

Sociological Research Online 4(1) (1999) A number of articles in response to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report: www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/4/lawrence