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# Crime, Policing and Justice: the Experience of Ethnic Minorities Findings from the 2000 British Crime Survey

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*The views expressed in this report are those of the authors, not necessarily those of the Home Office (nor do they reflect Government policy).*

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# Foreword

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry set in train a range of policy reforms designed to improve ethnic minority confidence in policing and police response to racially motivated crime. I believe that this study will generate a great deal of interest, as it contains a wide range of information that is highly relevant to this process of reform.

The British Crime Survey (BCS) has a general role in monitoring crime trends, independent of changes in public reporting and police recording changes. Having this independent source available for tracking the extent of racially motivated crime is particularly important at a time when the police are striving to improve their recording practice for these crimes. The fall in the BCS estimated number of racially motivated incidents between 1995 and 1999 is to be welcomed and would not have been evident from police figures.

From January 2001 the BCS moved to an annual cycle and from now on the BCS will include an annual ethnic minority boost. This means that the BCS will be an important regular source for monitoring progress in implementing reform.

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# Contents

# Summary

This report presents findings from the 2000 British Crime Survey (BCS) about ethnic minorities' experience of, and attitudes towards, crime and justice in England and Wales. The BCS is a large sample survey, now carried out annually, designed to collect information on the extent and nature of crime and on other crime related issues. The 2000 BCS had a substantial 'booster sample' of people from the larger minority ethnic groups in the country, thus enabling comparison of their experience and attitudes with those of the white majority.

The BCS collects information on crimes committed against individuals and their property; it also asks victims whether they believed the incident was racially motivated, and so can provide trends for racially motivated offences. Several sweeps of the survey have also covered contact with, and attitudes to, the police in some detail. It also provides various measures of fear of crime, and covers people's confidence in the criminal justice process.

## Experience of crime

Against a background of declining crime there are substantial variations in the risks run by different ethnic groups:

- Ethnic minorities are more at risk than others of household crimes such as burglary and vehicle theft. There are less marked or less consistent differences in risks of personal crimes.

- Whilst people from ethnic minorities are no more at risk of violent crime than others, they are much more likely to perceive a racial dimension in the crimes they experience.

- Most of the differences in risk reflect variations in the demographic profile of different groups, such as area of residence, age, social class and income. However, after controlling for other factors, Indians are more at risk of burglary.

- Overall the results do not suggest substantial over-representation of ethnic minorities amongst offenders, though it points to black over-representation amongst muggers. The risk of being mugged is around three times higher for minority ethnic groups than for white groups.

- The black over-representation amongst muggers largely reflects a concentration of mugging offences in London; and the BCS figures are broadly consistent with police data on the ethnicity of those arrested for robbery.

## Racially motivated offences

- The estimated number of racially motivated offences in England and Wales in 1999 was 280,000 – substantially below the estimated 390,000 in 1995 and similar to the 291,000 for 1993.

- In 1999 the annual risk of being victim of a racially motivated offence was 0.3 per cent for white respondents. The risks for minority ethnic groups were considerably higher (an estimated 2.2 per cent for the black groups, 3.6 per cent for Indians and 4.2 per cent for Bangladeshis and Pakistanis).

- There was a statistically significant fall in the estimated number of racially motivated incidents against minority ethnic groups between 1995 and 1999, tracking trends for other types of crime.

- The rise in racially motivated incidents recorded by the police reflects increased rates of *reporting* to the police and better *recording* by the police of offences reported to them.

- Emotional reactions to racially motivated incidents were generally more severe than for other incidents.

- The general nature of incidents perceived to have been racially motivated by white respondents differed from those against minority ethnic groups with, for example, the ethnicity of the offender being cited more often by white victims in judging that the offence was racially motivated. Incidents against white victims were also less likely to be household offences, such as vandalism.

## Seeking contact with the police

- The most common reason to contact the police across all ethnic groups was to report a crime.

- Overall, white people were more likely than ethnic minorities to contact the police during 1999.

- However, a slightly higher proportion of Asian respondents contacted the police to report a crime than others, reflecting their greater risks of crime rather than a greater predisposition to report crimes.

- Satisfaction with the police response to sought contact was highest amongst white respondents and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were the least satisfied. This trend was found across several different aspects of police performance.

- Barely half of respondents were satisfied with police efforts to keep them informed following their enquiry; dissatisfaction was greatest amongst Pakistanis and Bangladeshis.

- The gap in satisfaction between white victims and those from minority ethnic groups was smallest for household crimes; it was larger for personal crimes, and most marked in relation to racially motivated crimes.

- White victims of crime were the least likely to report an offence involving violence, and black victims most likely. Conversely, black victims were least likely to report vehicle theft. Reporting rates for burglary were highest amongst Indians and lowest amongst Pakistanis and Bangladeshis.

### Contact with the police as a suspect

- The police approached 25 per cent of the adult population in 1999. The most common reason for police initiated contact was vehicle stops.

- Black people were more likely than other ethnic groups to be stopped by the police while on foot or in a car. Asians were least likely to be stopped on foot, whilst white people and Indians were least likely to be stopped in a vehicle.

- The results of logistic regression modelling suggest that after taking other factors into account, ethnicity was not a strong predictor of the risks of being stopped on foot in 1999. This was in contrast to findings from the mid-1990s BCSs, which showed that other things being equal, black people were more at risk.

- Similar logistic regression models for the risks of car stops found that after taking other demographic factors into account, being black remained a predictor of this form of stop, as did being Pakistani or Bangladeshi.

- Gender and age were also found to be a significant factors in police-initiated contacts; males aged between 16 – 29 in all ethnic groups were significantly more likely to be stopped than older adults or females.

- 39 per cent of black males aged under thirty had been stopped in a car in 1999, as against 25 per cent of young white men.

- 32 per cent of black males aged 25 or under were stopped on foot in 1999, as against 21 per cent of young white males.

- Of those stopped on foot or in a car during 1999, black respondents were more likely to be subject to more than one stop during the the year than other ethnic groups.

- Once stopped either on foot or in a car, white respondents were the least likely to be searched whilst black respondents were more likely to be searched than other groups.

- The majority of respondents stopped either on foot or in a car felt satisfied with the way police handled the stop. However, ethnic differences were marked, with white respondents more satisfied than any other group whilst black people were least satisfied.

- Those contacted were asked how well they had been treated. The majority of those stopped felt they had been treated fairly, although black respondents were least likely to feel this. Minority groups were less likely, overall, than white people to rate police behaviour as polite.

## Confidence in the police and other parts of the criminal justice system

- The majority of respondents thought that their local police did a good job. In view of the large differences between ethnic groups in ratings of their actual contacts with the police, there were surprisingly small difference between ethnic groups on this measure.

- Much larger differences emerged within age groups, with younger respondents less likely to rate the police positively than older respondents.

- Previous contact with the police affected ratings. The best predictor of dissatisfaction was the experience of being stopped on foot. Reporting a crime to the police also emerged as a significant predictor of dissatisfaction as did having one's car searched.

- Respondents were rather pessimistic about crime trends with around two thirds of white and minority ethnic respondents believing that national crime levels had increased between 1997 and 1999. Around a third believe crime had increased 'a lot' when this is not indicated by BCS or police figures.

- Ethnic differences in attitudes to the criminal justice agencies are small. Overall, the police were rated most positively, whilst respondents had the lowest opinion of juvenile courts.

- Differences in opinion between victims and non-victims were more marked, with victims rating the criminal justice system less positively than non-victims.

- An examination of Victim Support schemes shows usage to be low. Most victims with experience of Victim Support rated it positively. However, ethnic differences were evident, with white victims rating it highest and Pakistani and Bangladeshi victims least likely to find it helpful.

## Fear of crime

- In general, minority respondents were more anxious than white respondents on most measures.

- 33 per cent of Asian and 28 per cent of black respondents said they were "very worried" about racial attack as compared with 5 per cent of white respondents. Twenty-seven per cent of Asian and 23 per cent of black respondents said they were "fairly worried" as compared with 7 per cent of white respondents.

- The relationships between age and gender and the various measures of 'fear' varied between measures, but were generally consistent across ethnic groups. Thus, for example, regardless of ethnic origin young people, and young men in particular, felt most safe out alone at night; older women felt least safe.

- There were few age differences in worry about mugging, worry about burglary and worry about racial attack – though women tended to be more concerned than men. For all ethnic groups, anxieties about rape were greatest amongst young women.

- Ethnicity can be a strong predictor of fear even when other socio-economic and demographic variables have been taken into account; worry about crime was particularly salient among Bangladeshis and Pakistanis.

## Some pointers for policy

The BCS 2000 shows that ethnic minorities face greater property crime risks than white people, though minority ethnic groups face similar risks of violence. The greater risk of property crime largely reflects the fact that the minority ethnic populations tend to live in areas where risks are high regardless of ethnicity. These higher crime risks are at least in part a consequence of economic disadvantage. This has implications for social policy at its broadest rather than criminal justice policy alone. In assessing the economic disadvantage experienced by some minority ethnic groups, account needs to be taken not only of the direct impact of low income, but also of the indirect consequences, such as higher crime risks.

### *Racially motivated incidents*

Though minority ethnic groups face similar levels of risk of violence, threatening behaviour and vandalism as white people, there is a much greater probability that those incidents that they experience will be perceived by the victim to include an element of racial motivation. However, although the risks of being a victim of racially motivated incidents are low for white groups, the BCS estimates that in 1999 around two thirds of such incidents were against whites.

The BCS suggests that the element of racial motivation can elevate what might otherwise be quite minor incidents into seriously upsetting events – sometimes made worse by their cumulative nature. These findings lend support to the policies being pursued by the Metropolitan Police and other forces to accord priority to racially motivated incidents.

The BCS findings on trends in racially motivated offences are encouraging. The real trend appears to be downward. The steep increase in incidents recorded by the police can be explained by higher rates of reporting to the police but mainly by fuller recording by the police. This is an important finding, and one that needs to be communicated effectively to the public.

### *Confidence in the police and 'sought contact'*

Confidence in the police, and satisfaction with experience of the police, is consistently lower amongst minority ethnic groups and amongst young people from minority groups in particular. Some of these negative attitudes towards the police may derive from reports in the media, from shared or indirect knowledge, even from rumour. However, direct experience as a police 'user' contributes to negative attitudes. One of the more worrying findings in the 2000 BCS is that being a recipient of police services, for example after reporting a crime, in itself predicted reduced levels of confidence in the police.

In regaining the confidence of 'users' from ethnic minorities some tailor-made solutions may be needed – for example in handling racially motivated crime. However, many of the sources of frustration with police service amongst ethnic minorities resembled those experienced by white users – poor response times, lack of police interest, failure to keep them informed and poor demeanour. What this implies is that dissatisfaction amongst ethnic minority users is a specific form of a more general problem about forms of policing which are regarded as *unresponsive*. The BCS cannot, however, address questions about the best ways of allocating or re-allocating resources to achieve a more responsive service.

### *Experience of the police as suspects*

Some minority groups are much more likely than white people to be stopped or searched by the police, and the experience is a strong predictor of dissatisfaction. The over-representation of minorities amongst suspects could arise directly – through biases and stereotyping in police decision-making – or indirectly, by targeting suspicion on groups in which minorities are over-represented – such as young males in inner cities (crime reports may also drive police 'suspicion' but information on this is not available from the BCS). The BCS suggests that black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi people are more at risk of being stopped in their cars, even after many other relevant factors have been taken into account. This leaves open the possibility of bias in police decision making. However, the BCS does not actually *demonstrate* bias, because it does not measure all the factors that the police take into account when stopping vehicles.

The picture is different for foot stops. In the mid 1990s, ethnicity emerged as a significant predictor of risks of being stopped on foot, once other factors had been taken into account, such as age, gender, area of residence, income and patterns of leisure activity. However, in 1999 membership of minority ethnic groups *no longer increased* risks of being stopped on foot, once these other factors had been taken into account. Asians were less likely to be stopped after other factors had been taken into account. Thus police decision-making relating to foot-stops appear to have changed since the mid-1990s, reflecting the impact of factors such as the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. The problem of disproportionality remains, of course – but the BCS suggests that the reasons for it lie in decision processes only indirectly linked to ethnicity that may then lead to unwitting discrimination. Whether the costs of such indirect discrimination – in terms of damage to relations between police and public – is proportional to the benefits derived from foot-stops is an important judgement, but one that lies well beyond the scope of this report.

# 1. Introduction

This report presents findings from the 2000 British Crime Survey (BCS) on ethnic minorities' experience as victims of crime, their experience of the police, and attitudes to crime and justice agencies. Its aim is to identify similarities and differences between the experience of minority ethnic groups and that of white people in England and Wales, and, where differences emerge, to offer reasons for these.

## The design of the 2000 BCS

The 2000 BCS is the eighth in a series of large sample surveys estimating the extent of crimes committed against individuals and their private property in England and Wales.[1] The survey provides an important complement to the statistics of crime gathered by the police. On the one hand it enables estimates to be made of the extent of crime which is neither reported to, nor recorded by, the police. On the other hand it also permits detailed analysis of the factors which can explain differences between social groups in their experience of crime and justice. As well as counting crime, the survey collects information on a broad range of crime-related issues and is an important source of information about public attitudes to crime and justice.

People from visible minority ethnic groups still account for a small proportion of the adult population in England and Wales; the Office for National Statistics estimated that in 1999 visible ethnic minorities accounted for 6 per cent. Thus even very large random sample surveys locate minority sub-samples which are too small to permit detailed analysis. For this reason the British Crime Survey has since 1988 incorporated "booster samples" of the larger minority ethnic groups,[2] to identify more fully the issues surrounding ethnicity and crime.[3] The 2000 British Crime Survey is the largest survey in the series to date, with a core sample of 19,411 respondents, and an ethnic minority boost sample of 3,874 (see Table 1.1 for details).

1 Comparable surveys have been mounted in Scotland, and similar surveys in Northern Ireland, though with less frequency than the BCS. The BCS has also been conducted in 1982, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998. The 2001 BCS is in the field and the survey is now planned to run annually.

2 These being black groups and Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups. Information about the ethnic boost sample is given in Appendix B of Kershaw et al. (2000), and in more detail in Hales et al. (2000).

3 Except in 1998, when the resources available for the BCS were insufficient to allow this.

***Table 1.1: Breakdown of 2000 BCS sample***

| | Core sample | Ethnic minority boost sample[3] | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| White | 18,345 | 10 | 18,355 |
| Black | 264 | 1,509 | 1,773 |
| Indian | 243 | 1,194 | 1,437 |
| Pakistani | 92 | 676 | 768 |
| Bangladeshi | 70 | 220 | 290 |
| Chinese | 52 | 2 | 54 |
| Mixed race | 136 | 129 | 265 |
| Other | 168 | 116 | 284 |
| Refused | 30 | 8 | 38 |
| Missing | 11 | 10 | 21 |
| Total | 19,411 | 3,874 | 23,285 |

Notes:
1. Source 2000 BCS.
2. Unweighted N.
3. A small number of ethnic minority boost respondents answered screener questions indicating that they were from black, Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi groups but later identified themselves as coming from other ethnic groups when the full question on ethnicity was asked.

We recognise that this analysis, like many survey-based studies, is necessarily restricted to an examination of the larger minority ethnic groups. In an ideal world the BCS would have a much larger booster sample, allowing greater disaggregation of the groups which are already included, and coverage of the many smaller minority ethnic groups in England and Wales. However, there was no cost-effective method of doing so, given the size of these groups and their geographical distribution. As it is, the classification which we have used groups together people who are ethnically highly diverse. For example, the 'black' group comprises people of African Caribbean origin, on the one hand, and Africans, on the other. What the two sub-groups share are distant historical origins and the experience of being perceived as black in a largely white culture. In other aspects, some of the differences *within* the black group are likely to be as large as the differences *between* black and other groups. We have generally avoided combining South Asian groups into a single "Asian" category, as the 2000 BCS has a sufficiently large sample to enable disaggregation into Indians on the one hand, and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis on the other. We would have liked to differentiate between the latter two groups, though we judged numbers too small to support reliable analysis. There is also sense in combining the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups as they have similar, relatively deprived, socio-demographic profiles; the profile for the Indian group being more like that for the white group.

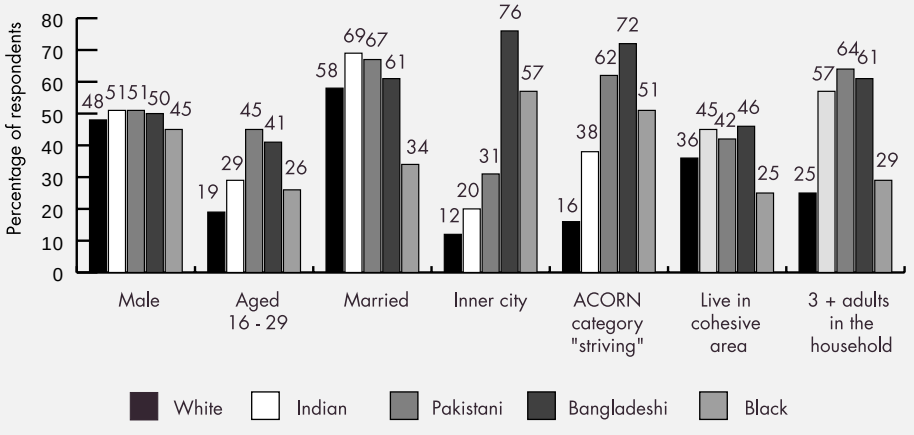
The booster sample was assembled partly by over-sampling in areas with high densities of minority ethnic groups, and partly through a process of "focused enumeration" whereby respondents were selected from homes adjacent to those of core respondents if they were from ethnic minorities.[4] The response rate for the core sample was 74 per cent, and for the booster sample 58 per cent. Figure 1.1 provides a demographic summary of the resultant sample. Full details of the sampling methodology, the representativeness of the sample and other aspects of the survey design, can be found in Hales et al. (2000). The main findings from the 2000 BCS are in Kershaw et al. (2000).

The 2000 BCS followed the same basic structure as previous sweeps. All respondents completed a "main questionnaire", which after some preliminary questions about perceptions of crime asked a comprehensive list of "screener questions" designed to identify if respondents had been the victim of crime in the last calendar year. Victims then completed up to a maximum of six "victim forms", providing details about their crimes. In counting crimes the survey makes a distinction between *household crimes*, such as burglary, whose impact is generally or often shared across all household members, and *personal crimes* they have suffered, such as assault, which more obviously have a single victim.[5] Results are often summarised, both in this report and elsewhere, under the two headings. Household crimes comprise burglary and household theft, theft of and from vehicles, arson and criminal damage to the household or vehicles. Personal crimes comprise, wounding, other assault, sexual offences, robbery, theft from the person and threats.

4 Where results are not broken down by ethnic group, they generally omit the BCS ethnic minority boost sample (as in other BCS research). This is because the 'core' sample by itself is a better representative sample of the adult population in England and Wales than the sample including the booster sample. The exception to this rule are results for racially motivated incidents (see Chapter 3) where ethnic groups face considerably higher risk of victimisation and it is necessary to take special steps to combine the core and ethnic minority boost samples (see Appendix C).

5 The glossary of terms, towards the end of this report, gives detailed definitions of technical terms used in this report. No proxy information on personal crimes against other members of the household is collected.

***Figure 1.1 Respondent characteristics by ethnic group***




Notes:
1. Source 2000 BCS – core and boost combined.
2. Weighted data.
3. "Striving" is a geographical category devised by CACI Ltd. It accounts for around a fifth of the adult population and is generally more deprived than other areas. ACORN is 'A Classification of Residential Neighbourhoods'. CACI developed ACORN categories based on neighbourhood demographic, employment and housing characteristics.
4. A cohesive area is one where respondents judge that "people help each other" as opposed to "people go their own way" or "mixture".

Once respondents had been asked about their experience of crime they completed one of two "follow up questionnaires". Half the core sample, and all except 489 of the ethnic minority boost sample, completed "Follow-up A", covering issues relating to the police. The other half of the core sample and the remainder of the ethnic minority boost answered "Follow-up B", which related to crime prevention strategies, attitudes to sentencing and criminal justice agencies.

Although the BCS is a relatively large survey, there are inevitably limitations to the estimates of crime that it can provide. First the estimates are imprecise, because the results are based on a sample of the population. Secondly, people forget some events, and mis-remember others, so that their accounts of their experience of crime may sometimes be inaccurate. Thirdly – and of particular relevance to the issues considered in this report – people who are not fluent in English may find the interview process difficult. Finally there are several categories of crime that the BCS cannot cover, including:

- Crimes against commercial organisations and other institutions
- Crimes involving fraud or forgery
- Other forms of 'white collar' crime
- Crimes committed against people under 16, and those living in institutions.

Some of these problems will be particularly acute in relation to estimates of racially motivated crime. Victims may disproportionately include the young and those who are not fluent in English. Some incidents targeting commercial premises such as small shops will not be covered, though personal crimes fall within the survey's coverage even if they occur while at work.

## Investigating differences between ethnic groups

The reasons for investigating differences between ethnic groups are ultimately to do with social justice. It is important to find out whether the burden of crime falls disproportionately on any particular ethnic group. It is equally important to establish whether those from minority ethnic groups are treated fairly by the police and other criminal justice agencies, and whether criminal justice agencies command the same levels of confidence amongst minorities as they do amongst the white population.

The BCS can shed a fair amount of light on whether racism and bias can account for minorities' experience of crime and justice. In particular it can help unravel whether it is membership of a visible minority ethnic group *in itself* which accounts for greater (or lesser) exposure to crime (or to criminal justice agencies) or whether other factors are at issue.

Some of the differences between ethnic groups in their experience of crime can be explained simply by variations between groups in factors such as income, household size or average age. Figure 1.1 summarised some of the – very marked – demographic differences between BCS sub-samples. Minority groups are on the whole more likely to be younger than white respondents and to live in poor, inner city areas where risks of crime are high (FitzGerald and Hale, 1996; Coleman and Salt, 1996; Peach, 1996). Thus, for example, we shall describe how people from minority ethnic groups are more at risk of burglary than white people. We shall also suggest that this is largely because people from ethnic minorities are more likely than others to live in areas where *all* households, regardless of ethnicity, face high burglary risks. On the other hand we shall be presenting results which show that some crime risks *are* directly related to the ethnic origin of victims; for example, Indians seem more at risk of burglary than other groups, after taking account of other factors.

It should be stressed that the problem of over-representation of minority groups amongst victims of crime is not "dissolved" or explained away by accounting for it in terms of other demographic differences. The fact that some minority groups are economically disadvantaged means that they not only have to cope with the direct effects of poverty but they also lack the financial means to protect themselves against crime. In other words, they are doubly disadvantaged.

Many of the findings in this report draw on the statistical technique of logistic regression analysis. This is a well-established technique in social research and was used extensively in FitzGerald and Hale (1996). Logistic regression allows us to estimate how much the chances of an occurrence are increased or reduced for members of different groups because of their demographic characteristics, by their behaviour and lifestyle or by the simple fact of their membership of the group. To take a medical example, logistic regression can be used to estimate how much greater the chances are of developing lung cancer for smokers than for non-smokers, *taking into account* other relevant differences such as age, gender, income and general health. It can also say whether *other things being equal*, being a smoker is a stronger predictor of developing the disease than, for example, being poor. In this report, the technique allows us to say whether membership of a given ethnic group increases or decreases a person's odds of being the victim of a given type of crime, taking into account other demographic characteristics. For example, we find that most of the differences in crime risk between white and minority ethnic groups reflect variations in the demographic profile of different groups.

Logistic regression can indicate whether there is a *prima facie* case that membership of a minority ethnic group can have an effect on outcome (i.e. after taking account of demographic characteristics are outcomes different?). It should be remembered, however, that although logistic regression allows us to explore the association between variables, it does not necessarily imply causation and results should be treated as indicative rather than conclusive. There may also be important factors that could explain differences in outcome that are not available via the BCS. Appendix B provides more details, and also includes the technical details of the analyses presented in this report.

## The structure of the report

This introductory chapter has described the design and structure of the BCS. Chapter 2 focuses on victimisation. It compares the experiences of ethnic minorities with those of white people, and examines the extent to which the differences can be accounted for by other

demographic differences between groups. It also provides some findings on the ethnicity of offenders, as reported by victims. Chapter 3 discusses perceptions of racial motivation in victimisation against both white and minority ethnic groups. Chapters 4 and 5 investigate ethnic differences in sought and unsought contact with the police respectively. Chapter 6 examines respondents' overall assessments of police performance, and assesses the factors such as experience of crime and policing that shape levels of satisfaction. It also considers attitudes towards other parts of the criminal justice system. Chapter 7 examines anxiety about crime and explores the extent to which anxiety varies between ethnic groups. Finally, Chapter 8 examines the policy implications of these findings.

# 2. Victimisation

This chapter begins by reviewing the results of previous sweeps of the BCS on ethnic differences in the risks of victimisation, and then summarising findings from the 2000 BCS on levels and trends in crime. It then examines variations in risks of victimisation between ethnic groups, and presents the results of a series of logistic regression models designed to assess what factors account for the over-representation of minority ethnic groups amongst victims. Finally, findings about the ethnicity and other demographic characteristics of offenders who committed crimes against respondents are summarised.

## Previous BCS research

The 1988 BCS was the first significant piece of British research to document differences in victimisation rates between ethnic groups (Mayhew, Elliott and Dowds, 1989). Victimisation rates were significantly higher amongst African Caribbean[6] and Asian respondents than white people. FitzGerald and Hale (1996) undertook a fuller analysis that combined the 1988 and 1992 samples, enabling more reliable conclusions to be drawn. They found that the over-representation of minority groups amongst victims was largely accounted for by socio-economic and demographic differences between ethnic groups as opposed to ethnicity in itself.[7]

Nonetheless, ethnicity in itself appeared to expose individuals to higher risk of victimisation in some instances. Indians were found to be at an increased risk of robbery than could be accounted for by socio-economic factors alone whilst older Pakistanis were more likely to be subject to assault than whites of similar age. Percy (1998) examined ethnic differences in the 1996 BCS, replicating the findings of FitzGerald and Hale. Ethnic minorities in general and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in particular were at greater risk of victimisation than white people.

6 In the 1980s the majority of black adults in Britain were of African Caribbean origin, and research tended to use 'Afro-Caribbean' and 'black' as interchangeable terms; over the last two decades, the proportion of black Africans has increased, and it is no longer accurate to use the terms as synonyms.

7 For example, 69 per cent of African Caribbeans and 44 per cent of Asians in the 1988 BCS sample lived in inner city areas, as opposed to only 16 per cent of white respondents. Similarly, 62 per cent of African Caribbeans and 55 per cent of Asians lived in high crime areas compared with 11 per cent of white people.

## Crime in 1999

Full details on crime as it affected the general population in 1999 can be found in the main report on the 2000 BCS (Kershaw et al., 2000). In summary the 2000 BCS estimated that around 15 million crimes were committed in England and Wales against adults living in private households in 1999; this figure increases by a further 2.4 million if threats are included in the total. (In most BCS reports threats are excluded from crime counts, but results presented in Chapter 2 and 3 include threats in total figures.)

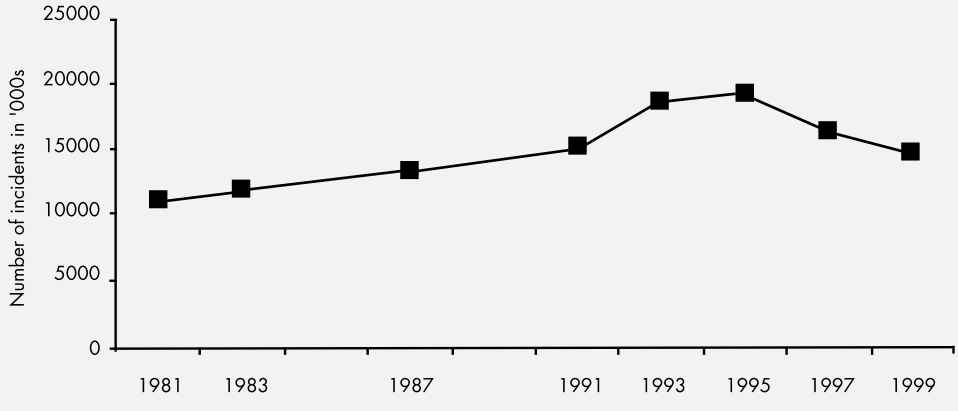
The majority of crimes were against property, most notably vehicles with 13 per cent of vehicle owning households becoming victims at least once of vehicle related theft. It will be remembered that the survey makes a distinction between *household* and *personal* crimes.[8] Overall, 25 per cent of the households became victims of household crime once or more in 1999. Within household crimes, theft of and from vehicles was the most commonly reported crime, affecting 13 per cent of vehicle owners. Four per cent of households reported being burgled; 3 per cent of bicycle owners reported a bike theft. Eight per cent of the population reported being the victim of a personal crime in 1999. Three per cent reported being assaulted, 3 per cent being threatened and 2 per cent being the victim of theft from the person, including thefts from bags, pickpocketing, snatch theft and robbery. Around half a percent of the population reported being mugged.[9]

Crime rates rose steadily until the mid-1990s and thereafter fell (see Figure 2.1). The proportion of crime reported to the police rose in the 1980s, but from 1991 has declined and now appears to have stabilised. The estimated proportion of BCS crime recorded by the police fell to its lowest point in 1995, but has since increased.

8 See the glossary of terms towards the end of this report for the definition of household and personal crimes.

9 Mugging is not a legal term. It is defined in the BCS as robbery (theft or attempted theft using threat or force) and snatch theft (thefts that have no element of threat and minimal force).

***Figure 2.1 Trend in BCS crime 1981 to 1999***

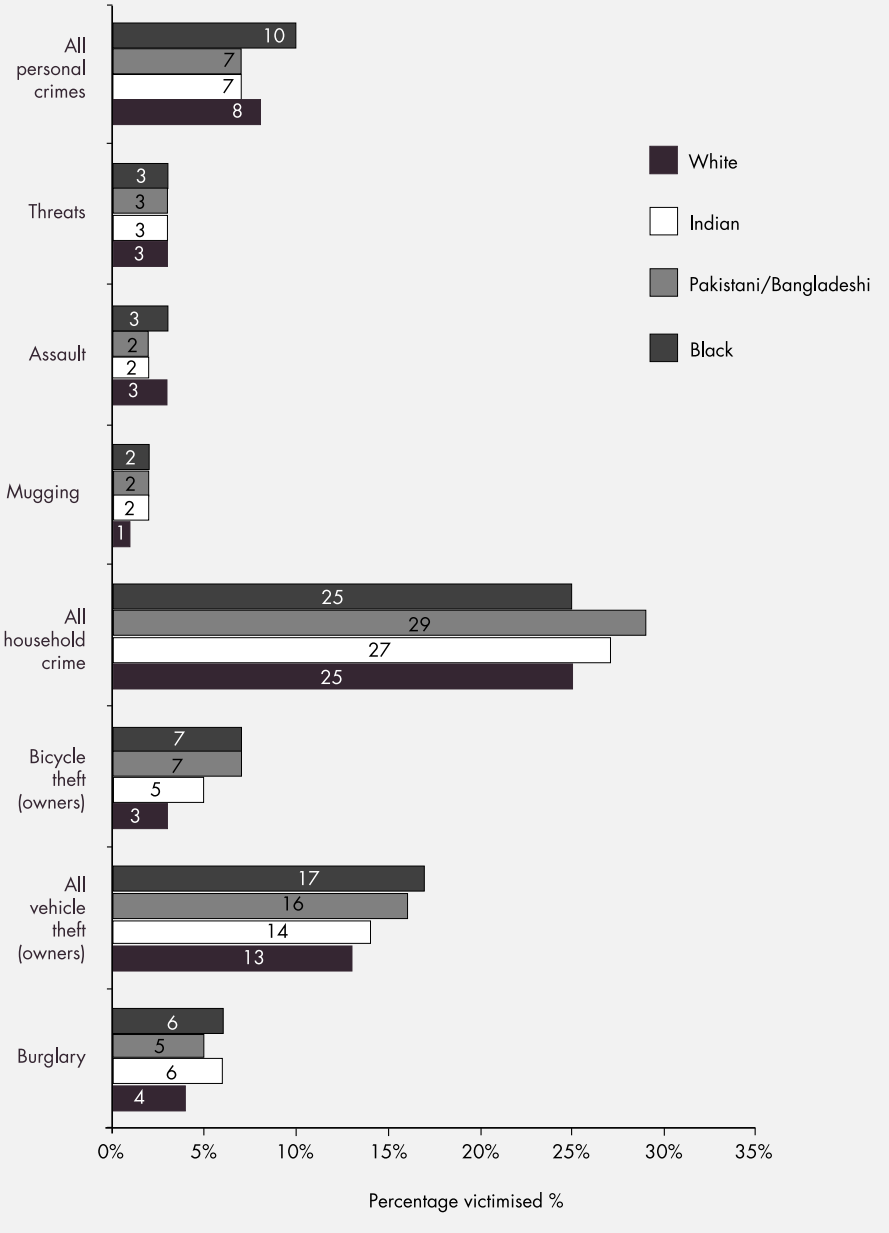



## Ethnicity and victimisation

The various BCS sweeps have found ethnic minorities to be at greater risk of victimisation than white people for both household and personal offences. Figure 2.2 shows marked differences between ethnic groups in crime risk for selected types of crime in 1999. Within the household offence category, Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were *overall* at greater risk than black or white people, although only Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were significantly more likely than either white or black people to be victims of household crime ($p<0.05$).[10] Focusing specifically on burglary and vehicle theft, the minority groups were all significantly more at risk than white people, and black people were particularly at risk ($p<0.01$). Overall risks of personal crime were also highest for black people ($p<0.01$) Risks for Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were broadly similar to those for white people.

10 This p value is the probability that the difference or relationship found is due to chance alone and does not reflect a real difference/relationship. Conventionally this is required to be less than 0.05 for the finding to be deemed significant. A highly significant difference/relationship is one where the p value is less than 0.01.

***Figure 2.2 Risk of crime in 1999 by ethnic group***




Notes:

1. Source 2000 BCS – core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 23,285 (less for vehicle and bicycle owners).

Table A2.2 in Appendix A shows victimisation rates across ethnic groups per 10,000 adults or households.[11] This gives a more complete picture as it takes account of multiple victimisation.

## Explaining variations between ethnic groups in victimisation

We carried out a series of logistic regression analyses to see whether ethnicity appeared to be an independent factor in accounting for differences between groups in their experience of crime.[12] Table 2.1 presents the results. For four different crime types, they list factors found to be significant predictors of victimisation. Variables are ranked in descending order of predictive power for each offence category; a significance level of 5 per cent was applied across all regressions. Variables not found to be significant are listed at the bottom of each column.

Examining household crimes first, Indians remain more at risk of burglary than others, after taking into account factors such as living in high-risk areas. This is consistent with the findings of Fitzgerald and Hale (1996). However, in contrast to them we did not find that black respondents were any more at risk in 1999. Risks of vehicle crime were also higher for Indian and for black respondents, after taking other factors into account.

Turning to personal crime, the model shows that ethnic minorities are *less* likely to be victimised than whites. These results are broadly consistent with those of FitzGerald and Hale.[13]

Overall, this series of logistic regression analyses confirms the picture from previous research that the risks of crime run by different ethnic groups are largely accounted for by socio-economic and demographic factors other than ethnicity. On the whole, where people live and work are the strongest predictors of victimisation risk for all ethnic groups. The exception to this generalisation is burglary, where Indians are more at risk after taking other factors into account. All minority ethnic groups were less at risk of personal crime overall, after taking other factors into account. However, in a separate logistic regression model examining mugging risks, they appeared *more* at risk of mugging, though due to limited numbers results are indicative only.

11 Figure 2.2 presents prevalence rates, which gives the *percentage* of households or adults who were victims of crime once or more during the calendar year. Table A2.2 presents incidence rates – i.e. the *number* of crimes experienced per 10,000 households or adults in the calendar year. Incidence rates can be grossed up using population figures to give the total number of crimes in England and Wales.

12 For a description of variables used in the analysis see Appendix B.

13 Fitzgerald and Hale found that Indians were more at risk of robbery and of threats than white respondents, but less at risk of assault; Pakistanis emerged as less at risk than whites for all three categories.

***Table 2.1: Regression models predicting victimisation by crime type***

| Burglary | Household vandalism | Vehicle Theft | All BCS personal crime [2] |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Being aged 50 or under | 1. Living in an inner city | 1. Owning a car | 1. Being aged 50 or under |
| 2. Earning a low income | 2. Living in London (*reduces* risk) | 2. Being aged over 50 (reduces risk) | 2. Owning a car (*reduces* risk) |
| 3. Living in an inner city | 3. Having no academic qualifications (*reduces* risk) | 3. Living in an inner city | 3. Having no academic qualifications (*reduces* risk) |
| 4. Being Indian | | 4. Having no academic qualifications (reduces risk) | 4. Being Indian (*reduces* risk)<br>5. Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi (*reduces* risk)<br>6. Being unemployed<br>7. Being black (*reduces* risk)<br>8. Living in London<br>9. Earning a low income<br>10. Living in an inner city |
| *Educational qualifications, gender, being black, being Pakistani or Bangladeshi, living in London, employment status and social class were not significant. | *Age, gender, ethnicity, income, employment status and social class were not significant. | *Gender, living in London, ethnicity, employment status, income and social class were not significant. | *Gender and social class were not significant. |

Notes: 1. A low income is defined as less than £15,000 per annum.
2. Due to small numbers, personal crimes have been combined. This category comprises: wounding, assault, sexual assault and robbery/theft from the person.

Being aged over 50 reduced risk of victimisation for all types of crime with the exception of household vandalism. The greater tendency for older people to stay at home is likely to lessen their chances of being a victim of household crime as their presence in the home may deter offenders. Reduced risk from personal crime is also likely to stem from the reluctance of many older people to expose themselves to risk. The finding that not owning a car increases the risk of personal victimisation may also be due to the probability that non car owners spend more time walking alone in their area and so are more vulnerable to attack. Ethnicity was not found to be a significant predictor of victimisation, with the exception of burglary where Indians were found to be at greater risk after other factors had been taken into account. Indeed, for personal crime ethnic minorities appeared to be less at risk, other things being equal.

This finding does not mean that people from ethnic minorities face lower risks of crime. On the contrary, for household crimes they are generally at greater risk. However the analysis suggests that *overall* the reasons for this greater risk are not due to ethnicity in itself. For example, people from many minority groups are more likely to be younger, to be unemployed and live in inner city areas (cf. Figure 1.1) – all of which increase the risks of victimisation, regardless of ethnicity. As we shall see in the next chapter, racially motivated incidents are the obvious exception to this pattern.

## Ethnicity and other characteristics of offenders

Table 2.2 presents information on the demographic characteristics of offenders who committed crimes against respondents. In over half of cases, the victim was unable to say anything specific about the offender/offenders; where they could do so, it was typically in cases that involved personal contact, such as robbery, assaults and threats. The table summarises characteristics of all BCS offences; Chapter 3 considers in greater depth crimes that were regarded by the respondent as racially motivated.

Table 2.2 shows that the vast majority of alleged offenders were white males; over half were under the age of 25, and over half were known to the victims – unsurprisingly, given the nature of the offences in which respondents were able to provide offender details. Overall the BCS suggests that where the victim could make a judgement about the ethnicity of the offender, 15 per cent of offenders were judged to be from visible ethnic minorities. Obviously, the fact that more than half of victims could say nothing about their offender's ethnicity obviously limits any conclusions that can be drawn about disproportionate involvement in offending. These figures are also skewed towards types of offence where the victim is likely to have had face to face contact with the offender.

Relative to their proportion of the total adult population (6%), visible ethnic minorities are clearly over-represented amongst offenders. However, this is an inappropriate comparison. Most offenders are aged under 30. When account is taken of this, the extent of the over-representation falls as visible ethnic minorities now represent around 10 per cent of the population under 30. There are also important socio-economic differences between ethnic groups that could never be recorded as part of an offender description by BCS victims. These would need to be taken into account before drawing firm conclusions. A study of self-reported offending, rather than victimisation, would be more useful in judging the extent of any over-representation in offending, as this could collect more information about characteristics of offender and the extent to which they offend repeatedly.

***Table 2.2: Offender Characteristics***

| Offender Characteristics | | All BCS incidents |
|---|---|---|
| Victims who could describe the offender | | 44% |
| Ethnicity of offender | White | 85 |
| | Black | 5 |
| | Asian | 3 |
| | Other | 2 |
| | Mixed[4] | 4 |
| | TOTAL | 100% |
| Number of offenders | 1 | 54 |
| | 2 | 17 |
| | 3 | 9 |
| | 4+ | 20 |
| | TOTAL | 100% |
| Gender | Male | 78 |
| | Female | 12 |
| | Both | 11 |
| | TOTAL | 100% |
| Victim/offender relationship | Stranger | 40 |
| | Casual | 28 |
| | Well known | 29 |
| | TOTAL | 100% |
| Age of the offender | School | 22 |
| | 16 – 24 | 34 |
| | Over 24 | 40 |
| | Mixed | 4 |
| | TOTAL | 100% |
| Unweighted number of victim forms | | 5,107 |

Notes:
1. Based on incidents where the victim could say something about the offender.
2. Source, 2000 BCS - core and boost samples combined.
3. Weighted data.
4. Mixed means that the respondent identified offenders from more than one ethnic group.

A breakdown of offender ethnicity by specific crime type is presented in Table 2.3. For crimes involving face-to-face contact the BCS estimates are fairly complete; however, only a relatively small proportion of victims of burglary and vehicle theft could give any details about their offender. The estimated proportion of offenders who are white is much lower for mugging (which comprises robbery and snatch theft) than for the other offence categories. The BCS indicates that in 1999 approaching a third of muggings were committed by black offenders.

***Table 2.3: Ethnicity of offenders by crime type***

| Ethnicity of offender | Assault % | Mugging % | Threats % | Wounding % | Vehicle theft % | Burglary % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| White | 87 | 55 | 85 | 82 | 89 | 89 |
| Black | 5 | 31 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 3 |
| Asian | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 1 |
| Other | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| Mixed[4] | 4 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Unweighted N | 845 | 203 | 1,051 | 285 | 305 | 438 |

Notes:
1. Based on incidents where the victim could say something about the offender.
2. Source, 2000 BCS - core and boost samples combined.
3. Weighted data.
4. Mixed means that the respondent identified offenders from more than one ethnic group.

The relative rarity of mugging means that the number of victims in the sample was small (at 203) and the finding must be treated with caution. However, similar estimates have emerged consistently in previous sweeps of the BCS: the figure was 38 per cent in 1995 and 37 per cent in 1993, for example. It should also be recognised that victims may often have had little time to identify their attacker, and may have had to do so in poor light, making it more difficult to assess the ethnicity of the offender reliably. In making sense of the finding, the geographic distribution of muggings should be taken into account. Just over a third of BCS muggings and 43 per cent of police recorded robberies[14] were in London. The concentration of recorded crime in London is much less for *all* police recorded crime (20% of recorded crime is in London) and recorded violent offences (26%). Metropolitan Police arrest statistics also indicate that over half of those arrested for robbery were judged by arresting officers to be black (Home Office, 2000). Close to half the adult black and Asian population live in London. Elsewhere in the country, BCS recorded incidents of mugging are

14 Derived from figures in Povey et al. (2001) relating to the 12-month period ending 30 September 2000.

fairly evenly distributed with 16 per cent occurring in the North compared to 16 per cent in the Midlands and 20 per cent in the South, although no incidents were recorded by the BCS in Wales. Reflecting these geographical concentrations, ethnic minorities were not only over-represented amongst mugging offenders but also amongst victims; one in eight of those who said they had been mugged were black or Asian. The estimated chance of being mugged in 1999 was around *three* times higher for black (1.6%), Indian (1.5%) and Pakistani/Bangladeshi (1.6%) groups as compared with white people (0.6%). In considering these results, it is important to be aware of the relative rarity of mugging, this meaning that only a small minority from any ethnic group will be involved in a mugging incident, either as a victim or an offender.

## Key points

This chapter has shown that against a background of declining crime there are substantial variations in the risks run by different ethnic groups:

- Ethnic minorities are more at risk of household crimes such as burglary and vehicle theft than others.
- There are less marked or less consistent differences in risks of personal crimes.
- Most of the differences in risk reflect variations in the demographic profile of different groups, such as area of residence, age, social class and income.
- However, after controlling for other factors, Indians are more at risk of burglary.
- Overall the BCS does not suggest substantial over-representation of ethnic minorities amongst alleged offenders, though it points clearly to black over-representation amongst muggers. The risk of being mugged is around three times higher for minority ethnic groups than for white groups.
- The black over-representation amongst muggers largely reflects a concentration of mugging offences in London; and the BCS figures are broadly consistent with police data on the ethnicity of those arrested for robbery.

# 3. Racially Motivated Crime

Racially motivated crime was a largely uncharted phenomenon until the 1980s. In the 1990s a series of high-profile cases of racist murders resulted in a much wider recognition that racially motivated crime needed to be tackled more effectively. It was significantly highlighted in the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (Macpherson, 1999). The report also documented the widespread sense amongst some minority ethnic groups that they were both under-protected against racist crimes and over-policed as crime suspects. It became very clear that racially motivated crime could not only devastate the lives of victims and their families, but also that it could seriously undermine confidence in the police amongst minority ethnic groups if the police response to it was seen as inadequate.

A first requirement in ensuring an adequate police response to racially motivated crime is to collect proper information on the nature and extent of the problem. Since the mid 1980s the police have been required to record all racially motivated incidents that are reported to them. However, this count is inevitably a partial one, and the BCS has an important role in relation to racially motivated incidents – as it does with crime more generally – which go unreported and unrecorded. Its count of racially motivated crime is of particular value at times such as the present, when the police are specifically trying to increase the proportion of incidents that are reported to them.

## Measurement of racially motivated crimes in the BCS

The BCS derives its count of racially motivated incidents from the 'victim forms', which are completed for all those who have been victims of crime in the previous year. All respondents are asked, in respect of all crimes of which they were victims, *"Do you think the incident was racially motivated?"* This question first appeared in the 1988 sweep of the BCS – which was also the first sweep to include an ethnic minority boost sample. In accepting the *prima facie* accounts of victims, the BCS definition of a racially motivated offence is broadly in line with the definition recommended by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry , which has subsequently been adopted by the police:

> *"A racist incident is any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person" (Macpherson, 1999)*

This was a refinement of a definition used by the police since 1985, which was open to interpretation as giving primacy to the perception of the recording or investigating officer.[15] From an epidemiological point of view it is obviously preferable to use the broader definition: any measure of the prevalence of racial incidents which was based on police judgements could confound real changes over place or time with changes in police sensitivity to issues surrounding racial crime.

All BCS respondents who perceive the incident to be racially motivated are asked to explain why. There are obvious difficulties of measurement, given that victims are often poorly placed to assess the offender's intention. In some circumstances it could be difficult to judge motivating factors.[16] Some victims may mistakenly perceive an offence as racially motivated but others will be unaware of the racist intent underlying the incident. Not only may victims be unaware of the intent of the crime, but also in some instances victims may not have any contact with the perpetrator, and thus not be able to provide any information. Whilst this may serve to underestimate BCS estimates of racially motivated crime, there are other factors, such as the recent increase in public awareness of the issue, which may counteract this with regard to trends over time.

## Previous BCS findings

When first introduced in 1988, the question on racial motivation was asked only if the *interviewer* considered a respondent to be black or Asian. This meant that it could not cover racially motivated incidents where the victim was white. From the 1994 BCS sweep onwards the question was also asked of white respondents.

Results from the 1988 and 1992 sweeps were reported in FitzGerald and Hale (1996) and in Aye Maung and Mirrlees-Black (1994). These reports provided estimates of the risk of racially motivated offences for different ethnic groups. They found systematic differences between offences perceived to be racially motivated and other offences against ethnic groups. FitzGerald and Hale found that the group most likely to regard incidents as racially motivated were Pakistanis. Thirty-one per cent of Pakistani victims did so, compared with 18 per cent of Indian victims and 14 per cent of African Caribbeans. Overall, 4 per cent of African Caribbeans had been victims of racially motivated crime in the year preceding the survey compared with 5 per cent of Indians, 8 per cent of Pakistanis and 9 per cent of Bangladeshis.

15 The previous definition was "A racial incident is any incident in which it appears 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".

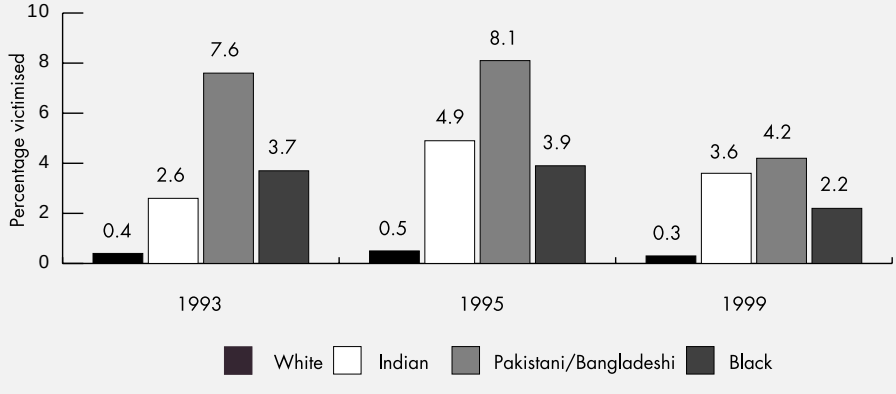
16 For example, disputes between neighbours may be triggered by factors unrelated to ethnicity, but may end up in racist abuse.

Percy (1998) estimated that in 1995 a total of 382,000 offences were considered by the victim to be motivated by racism. The risk of being a victim of a racially motivated offence during 1995 was much higher for ethnic minorities (4%, 5% and 8% for black, Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi groups) than for whites (0.5%). Racially motivated offences represented 15 per cent of all offences committed against ethnic minorities as compared with 1 per cent against white people. (Even so, the relative size of the white population meant that 63% of identified cases of racially motivated incidents were committed against white people.) Revised population and household estimates and other small methodological changes have slightly altered these estimates (see Appendix C).

## Trends in racially motivated crime: 1993 – 1999 [17]

Despite the fact that the majority of victims of racially motivated incidents are white, it is important to stress that the chance of being a white victim of a racially motivated incident is considerably less than being a black or Asian victim. Figure 3.1 shows results from the 1994, 1996 and 2000 BCS sweeps, indicating that the risk of white victimisation is 0.5 per cent or less. The estimated risks in all three sweeps were highest for Pakistani and Bangladeshi respondents. Normally threats are not included in the BCS crime count, but here they are included in total figures as many racially motivated incidents reported to the BCS are categorised as threats. Table A3.1 in Appendix A presents separately the estimated risks for vandalism, threats and violence.

***Figure 3.1 Risk of being a victim of a racially motivated incident***




Note:
Victims are defined as anyone who judged that racial motivation was present in any household or personal crime which they had experienced in the relevant year, including threats.

17 Unfortunately for our purposes, the 1998 British Crime Survey did not incorporate an ethnic minority boost sample and therefore the numbers of minority respondents were insufficient to support any reliable analysis for 1997.

Many racially motivated incidents form part of a series of related incidents. The BCS estimates that in 1999 just over a half of incidents were part of a series as opposed to a third of non-racially motivated incidents. For this reason incidence rates (i.e. the number of racially motivated incidents per 10,000 adults) as opposed to prevalence rates (i.e. the percentage of people that had experienced at least one racially motivated incident in the reference period) give a better indication of the extent of racially motivated incidents.

***Figure 3.2 Estimated rate of victimisation per 10,000 adults for racially motivated incidents***

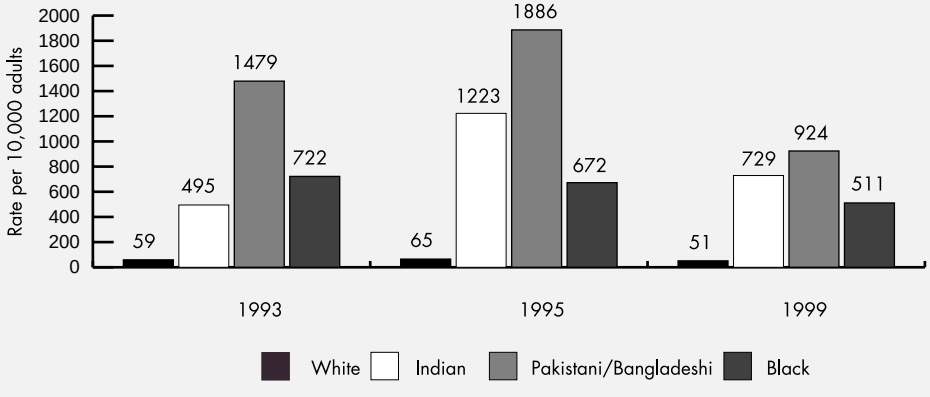



Table 3.1 also contains estimated numbers of incidents per 10,000 adults or household broken down by type of offence. Some of the estimates in Table 3.1 vary considerably between sweeps.

***Table 3.1: Trends in rates of victimisation per 10,000 adults/households of racially-motivated incidents***

| | White | | | Black | | | Indian | | | Pakistani / Bangladeshi | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1993 | 1995 | 1999 | 1993 | 1995 | 1999 | 1993 | 1995 | 1999 | 1993 | 1995 | 1999 |
| Vandalism[3] | 7 | 21 | 11 | 230 | 132 | 113 | 173 | 497 | 240 | 550 | 620 | 358 |
| Threats[4] | 20 | 24 | 15 | 127 | 324 | 112 | 154 | 248 | 192 | 274 | 764 | 280 |
| Violence[5] | 21 | 21 | 24 | 237 | 197 | 174 | 145 | 90 | 47 | 311 | 364 | 129 |
| Total BCS[6] | 59 | 65 | 51 | 722 | 672 | 511 | 495 | 1223 | 729 | 1479 | 1886 | 924 |

Notes:
1. Respondents were asked “Do you think the incident was racially motivated?”
2. “Don't know“ replies included in the base.
3. Risk per household.
4. Threats include any threat made to a respondent or threats made against a respondent to a third party.
5. Violence comprises wounding, common assault, robbery and snatch thefts from the person.
6. Risk based on personal victimisation or being resident in a victimised household, including threats.
7. Source:1994, 1996 and 2000 BCS, core and boost samples: weighted data.

A large part of this variation will be due to sampling variation (as indicated in Table 3.2). Sample variation is higher for estimates of racially motivated incidents than for non-racially motivated incidents as, regardless of the ethnicity of the respondent, both the prevalence and incidence rates of this type of offence are relatively small.[18] Table 3.2 illustrates the fairly wide degree of variation in incidence rate estimates. For example, the 90 per cent confidence interval[19] on the 358,000 estimated vandalism incidents in 1999 against the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group ranges from 244,000 to 472,000.

***Table 3.2: 90% statistical confidence range for racially motivated incident rates per 10,000 adults/households for 1999***

| | White | Black | Indian | Pakistani/ Bangladeshi |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vandalism[3] | 11 + 5 | 113 + 50 | 240 + 81 | 358 + 114 |
| Threats[4] | 15 + 6 | 112 + 50 | 192 + 72 | 280 + 102 |
| Violence[5] | 24 + 7 | 174 + 72 | 47 + 36 | 129 + 70 |
| Total BCS[6] | 51 + 11 | 511 + 105 | 729 + 137 | 924 + 178 |

Notes:
1. Respondents were asked "Do you think the incident was racially motivated?"
2. "Don't know" replies included in the base.
3. Risk per household.
4. Threats include any threat made to a respondent or threats made against a respondent to a third party.
5. Violence comprises wounding, common assault, robbery and snatch thefts from the person.
6. Risk based on personal victimisation or being resident in a victimised household, including threats.
7 Source:2000 BCS, core and boost samples: weighted data.

Although the sampling variation on estimates is quite wide, it is possible to detect statistically significant differences between years for some of the larger changes in incident rates. For whites the higher incident rate for vandalism in 1995 as compared with 1993 and 1999 is statistically significant.[20] For whites the changes in incident rates for threats and violence are *not* statistically significant.

18 Particularly for white respondents, who make up the large majority of the BCS sample.

19 This would be the range that one would expect to contain the true value one in ten times.

20 Based on two-tailed test at the 10 per cent significance level. Changes in all incident rates between 1993 and 1995 that are significant at this level are also significant at the 5 per cent level using a two-tailed test. The same is true for changes in rates between 1995 and 1999, with the exception of the decreases in vandalism for white and Pakistani/Bangladeshi groups.

For black groups the only statistically significant difference is the higher level of threats recorded in the 1995 as opposed to 1993 and 1999. For Indians the only significant difference relates to the high level of vandalism recorded in the 1995 sweep, making the total significantly higher for that year. For Pakistanis and Bangladeshis the increase in the incident rate for threats between 1993 and 1995 is statistically significant, as is the fall in the total incident rate for threats and violence between 1995 and 1999.

Although some of the changes in rates between years are not statistically significant, there is a general pattern of racially motivated rates being highest in 1995. Victimisation rates also remain consistently higher over the years for Pakistani/Bangladeshi respondents.

Incident rates for racially motivated offences can be used in conjunction with estimates of population and household numbers to generate figures for the total number of racially motivated offences in England and Wales (see Appendix C for further details).

***Table 3.3: Estimated number of racially motivated incidents (thousands)***

| | White | | | Black | | | Indian | | | Pakistani/ Bangladeshi | | | Total | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1993 | 1995 | 1999 | 1993 | 1995 | 1999 | 1993 | 1995 | 1999 | 1993 | 1995 | 1999 | 1993 | 1995 | 1999 |
| Vandalism | 14 | 43 | 22 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 12 | 7 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 35 | 70 | 41 |
| Total household | 28 | 51 | 28 | 11 | 7 | 11 | 5 | 16 | 12 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 56 | 87 | 62 |
| Threats[2] | 76 | 94 | 57 | 8 | 22 | 9 | 10 | 16 | 14 | 12 | 33 | 16 | 106 | 165 | 96 |
| Violence[3] | 80 | 83 | 93 | 16 | 13 | 14 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 13 | 16 | 7 | 118 | 118 | 117 |
| Total personal | 166 | 194 | 154 | 24 | 35 | 22 | 19 | 25 | 18 | 25 | 48 | 24 | 235 | 304 | 218 |
| Total BCS[4] | 194 | 246 | 182 | 35 | 42 | 33 | 24 | 42 | 30 | 38 | 61 | 35 | 291 | 390 | 280 |

Notes:

1. Respondents were asked, "Do you think the incident was racially motivated?"
2. Threats include any threat made to a respondent or threats made against a respondent to a third party.
3. Violence comprises wounding, common assault, robbery and snatch thefts from the person.
4. Numbers are based on separate estimates of household incidents and personal incidents.
5. The figures for 1995 differ slightly to those recently published by the Home Office under Section 95 (2001), see Appendix C.
6. Source:1994, 1996 and 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.
7. The total is restricted to estimates for white, black, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi respondents. There was no ethnic boost for other ethnic groups and the number of incidents suffered by these groups could not be reliably determined.

These results confirm the pattern seen in previous research that racially motivated incidents are more commonly personal offences (mostly violence or threats) and that the majority of racially motivated household offences are incidents of vandalism (cf. Hale and FitzGerald, 1996).

Although the risks of being a victim of racially motivated incidents are low for white groups, the BCS estimates that in 1999 around two thirds of such incidents were against white people (reflecting the much larger population in white groups).

The trends in racially motivated offences have generally followed those for other sorts of crime. The overall number of BCS incidents reached an all-time high in 1995 (close to 22 million incidents, including threats). The number of racially motivated incidents fell by 28 per cent between 1995 and 1999, but at the same time the comparable fall for all incidents was 22 per cent. The respective 28 per cent and 22 per cent decreases would not be judged statistically significantly different at the 10 per cent significance level.

The larger fall for racially motivated incidents as opposed to other offences meant that the proportion of incidents that were judged to be racially motivated also fell. Between 1995 and 1999 the estimated percentage of incidents that were racially motivated fell from 1.8 per cent to 1.6 per cent for whites and from 14.9 per cent to 12.4 per cent for ethnic minorities. These falls indicate trends in the desired direction, but again these rates would not be judged to be significantly different at the 10 per cent significance level.

The estimated percentage of incidents in 1999 that were racially motivated varies between ethnic groups, with Asian groups having the highest proportions of racially motivated incidents (the proportion is 9.8 per cent for black groups, 12.2 per cent for Indians and 17 per cent for the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group).

## Characteristics of racially motivated incidents

The BCS interviewer records a brief victim description of the incident that helps to throw additional light on the nature of the incident and assists offence coding. Sibbitt (1997) reports on evidence collected in two London Boroughs on the context within which the perpetrators of racial violence and racial harassment act. This was a qualitative study that contained descriptions of typical incidents. The BCS victim accounts for *ethnic minority respondents* have similarities to those reported by Sibbitt, in that they often indicate that harassment had taken place over a period of time and/or verbal abuse was a feature of incidents (see also Bowling, 1993). For example a few of the typical accounts were:

*Walking home from Mosque at 8–9pm, a group of youths started giving us verbal abuse and throwing stones and glass bottles (coded as a threat)*[21]

*Groups of teenagers shouting abuse, racist words then stones [thrown] at property resulting in broken large window on two occasions (coded as criminal damage)*

*White gang, 4 or 5, started taunting developing into racist taunts then stone was thrown hitting on [my] head (coded as other wounding)*

*Attacked at disco, man standing next to me made racist remarks and hit [me] in face with [his] fist (coded as other wounding)*

The first three of these accounts were from Asian respondents and the last from a black respondent.

The accounts of white victims tended to differ; they were less likely to report that racist language had been used, and the incidents were more likely to take place away from the victim's home. In addition, the offender's race was more often the determining factor in the victim's assessment of the racial intent of the incident. For example, two white victims reported:

*In the park with friends we were offered drugs by some black youths who took my wallet and pager (coded as robbery)*

*Coming out of underpass 5 black guys walked by and tapped back of my head, said what are you playing at then emptied a bottle and threw it, but it didn't hit me (coded as attempted assault)*

There were, however, some instances of accounts of harassment of white respondents:

*Always the same group of Asian youths accosting and verbally abusing me. They follow me home, they never touch me, they do not leave me alone (coded as sexual threat)*

21 BCS offence coding depends not only on the offence description, but also on the answer to a range of other questions contained in the BCS 'victim form'.

Table 3.4 indicates the reasons why respondents considered the incident to be racially motivated. As might be expected, in instances of threats, the use of racist language was the most cited reason (65% of incidents in both years). However, for vandalism, the victim's race was the most common reason given (77% and 84% of incidents respectively for 1995 and 1999). For violent incidents the offender's race was the most common reason (42% of incidents in both years), but racist language and victim's race was cited in around a third of incidents.

***Table 3.4: Reasons why incidents were considered racially motivated*** [1]

| | Violence (1995) [2] | Threats (1995) | Vandalism (1995) | Violence (1999) [2] | Threats (1999) | Vandalism (1999) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Percentage* | | | | | | |
| Racist language | 33 | 65 | 13 | 32 | 65 | 13 |
| Victim's race[3] | 32 | 24 | 77 | 32 | 24 | 84 |
| Offender's race | 42 | 34 | 7 | 42 | 34 | 8 |
| Nature of offence[4] | 5 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 2 |
| Some people pick on minorities | 2 | 4 | 9 | 2 | 4 | 7 |
| Happened before | 11 | 22 | 8 | 11 | 22 | 5 |
| Other reason | 23 | 14 | 8 | 23 | 14 | 5 |

Notes:
1. Includes only incidents where the respondent was certain that the incident was racially motivated. Multiple responses permitted.
2. Violence includes wounding, common assault and mugging (snatch thefts and robbery).
3. The coding frame category was 'Because of the victim's race/country of origin'.
4. The coding frame category was 'Because offence only committed against minorities.'
5. The figures from the 1996 BCS are different to those reported in Percy (1998).
6. Source: 1996 and 2000 BCS core and boost samples: weighted data.

Table 3.5 shows results for 1999 by ethnic group. In around two-thirds of incidents against ethnic minorities racist language was cited as a reason why the victim viewed the incident as racially motivated as opposed to around a third of incidents for whites. The victim's race was viewed as a reason for 22 per cent of white respondents, but close to a half of black or Asian respondents. The offender's race was less often cited as a reason by Asians (11%) than black (27%) or white victims (32%). The differences in reasons cited between whites and Asians will in part be accounted for by differences in the proportion of incidents for different types (e.g. incidents against Asians are more often threats and less often violent incidents). The offence mix for black groups is fairly similar to that for white groups. These results tends to confirm the impression reached from reading individual victim accounts that the nature of typical incidents against whites is not the same as for minority ethnic groups.

***Table 3.5: Reasons why incident was considered racially motivated,[1] by ethnicity of the victim***

| | White | Black | Asian |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Percentage* | | | |
| Racist language | 31 | 61 | 66 |
| Victim's race[2] | 22 | 48 | 47 |
| Offender's race | 32 | 27 | 11 |
| Nature of offence[3] | 3 | 12 | 16 |
| Some people pick on minorities | 5 | 22 | 19 |
| Happened before | 20 | 23 | 24 |
| Other reason | 20 | 8 | 8 |

Notes:
1. Includes only incidents where the respondent was certain that the incident was racially motivated. Multiple responses permitted.
2. The coding frame category was 'Because of the victim's race/country of origin'.
3. The coding frame category was 'Because offence only committed against minorities.'
4. Source: 2000 BCS core and boost samples: weighted data.

Table 3.6 indicates the location of racially motivated incidents in 1999. For both black and Asians victims, more than half of incidents took place close to or at their home. However, only around a third of incidents involving a white victim took place at or near home. For white victims the chance of an incident taking place at work (6%) is also less than for black (8%) or Asian (14%) victims. Another interesting difference is that two-thirds (69%) of racially motivated incidents against white victims took place at night as opposed to 44 per cent for both black and Asian victims.[22]

22 Night is 6pm to 6am.

***Table 3.6: Location of the racially motivated incident, by ethnicity***

| | White | Black | Asian |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Percentage that occurred at*: | | | |
| Home[1] | 36 | 56 | 53 |
| Work[2] | 6 | 8 | 14 |
| Entertainment/leisure[3] | 14 | 14 | 8 |
| On/around public transport | 13 | 9 | 3 |
| Other public/commercial buildings[4] | 11 | 7 | 10 |
| Elsewhere | 21 | 7 | 12 |
| *Unweighted number of victim forms* | 73 | 74 | 169 |

Notes:
1. Defined as within own home or garage (including attempted break in) and immediately outside own home (including shed, garden, and street).
2. Includes in or near the victim's place of work (including work car park).
3. Includes in or around locations such as a pub, bar, nightclub, disco, sports ground, cinema, café, restaurant etc.
4. Includes locations such as shops, hospitals, schools, markets etc.
5. Source: 2000 BCS core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

Around a third of incidents in 1999 (35%) were in London. Nearly a half of incidents against ethnic minorities (44%) were in London. This reflects the fact that close to a half of adult black and Asian groups live in London.[23] Nearly a half (46%) of incidents were against victims living in the *striving* ACORN category; this is a category where residents are generally deprived according to results from the 1991 Census. (This category accounts for an estimated 19% of the adult population in 1999.)

In 1999 for incidents that were *personal* in nature, as opposed to those directed against households, the percentage of victims who were male was 56 per cent (see Table 3.7). A minority of incidents (31%) were against minority ethnic groups, with 21 per cent being against Asians (this is consistent with the higher risks of racially motivated victimisation reported in Tables A3.1 and 3.1). Nearly half (45%) of incidents are against victims aged 16 to 24.

23 48 per cent, based on Office for National Statistics estimates for 1999.

***Table 3.7: Incidents of racially motivated personal offences,[1] by personal characteristics***

| | Percentage of incidents |
|---|---|
| *Age* | |
| 16 - 24 | 45 |
| 25 - 44 | 39 |
| 45 - 64 | 14 |
| 65+ | 2 |
| *Gender* | |
| Male | 56 |
| Female | 44 |
| *Victim's ethnicity* | |
| White | 69 |
| Black | 10 |
| Asian | 21 |

Notes:
1. Personal offences includes assault, attempted assault, sexual offences, robbery, snatch theft, theft from the person and threats including obscene telephone calls.
2. Source: 2000 BCS core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

Not surprisingly the ethnicity of the perpetrator is related to the ethnicity of the victim. White offenders perpetrated the majority of incidents against black and Asian respondents, and conversely black and Asian offenders perpetrated the majority of offences against white respondents (with a fairly even split between black respondents and Asians).

It is also interesting to note that a not insignificant proportion of incidents against white and black victims are perpetrated by offenders from the same broad ethnic group (18% and 22% for white and black victims respectively). In these incidents the respondent often indicates that they became involved in an incident where racist language has been used, though this language was not necessarily directed at the respondent. For example, two cases involved assaults in pubs where the respondent was a member of the bar staff.

***Table 3.8 Ethnicity of the victim of the racially motivated offence, by the ethnicity of the perpetrator***

| | White victim | Black victim | Asian victim |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Percentage of offenders that were:* | | | |
| White | 18 | 74 | 67 |
| Black | 37 | 22 | 13 |
| Asian | 34 | 2 | 4 |
| Other | 6 | - | 2 |
| Mixed | 6 | 2 | 14 |
| *Unweighted number of victim forms* | 62 | 52 | 108 |

Notes:
1. Includes only those incidents where the victim could definitely describe the offender.
2. Source: 2000 BCS core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

The overall characteristics of perpetrators of racially motivated incidents are given in Table 3.9. The breakdown by ethnicity does not, of course, reveal the full picture, as ethnicity of offenders is dependent on the ethnicity of the victim (see Table 3.8) and the percentages cannot be understood without bearing this in mind.

The number of offenders involved in incidents tends to be higher in racial incidents than non-racial incidents. The number of incidents involving only male offenders is close to 80 per cent; this figure is similar to that for non-racially motivated incidents. In racial incidents the perpetrator is more likely to be a stranger or only casually known to the victim than is the case in non-racial incidents. The age profile of perpetrators of non-racially motivated incidents is not far out of line with that for non-racially motivated incidents. However, incidents where the victim could describe the offender tend to be personal in nature, where younger offenders could be expected to be involved.

***Table 3.9: Characteristics of perpetrators***

| *Percentage of incidents with certain offenders* | | Racially motivated incidents | Non-racially motivated incidents |
|---|---|---|---|
| Victims who described the offender[3] | | 95 | 69 |
| Ethnicity of the offender | White | 40 | 87 |
| | Black | 30 | 5 |
| | Asian | 17 | 2 |
| | Other | 3 | 2 |
| | Mixed | 9 | 4 |
| Number of offenders | 1 | 31 | 61 |
| | 2 | 15 | 15 |
| | 3 | 13 | 7 |
| | 4+ | 41 | 17 |
| Sex of the offender | Male | 78 | 80 |
| | Female | 8 | 12 |
| | Both | 15 | 8 |
| Victim/offender relationship | Stranger[3] | 54 | 38 |
| | Casual | 40 | 29 |
| | Well known | 7 | 33 |
| Age of the offender | School | 12 | 15 |
| | 16-24 | 46 | 36 |
| | Over | 27 | 45 |
| | Mixed | 15 | 4 |
| *Unweighted number of victim forms (where the victim could describe the offender)* | | 538 | 9,316 |

Notes:
1. 'Racially motivated' involved those incidents where the victim was certain that they were racially motivated.
2. The figures for 1996 and 2000 have been combined in proportion to the estimated number of racial and non-racial incidents in these years.
3. If the respondent could not provide any information it was assumed that the offender was a stranger.
4. Source: 1996 and 2000 BCS core and boost samples combined, weighted data
5. Appendix Table A3.2 contains the information in this table for 1995 and 1999 separately.
6 Mixed means that the respondent identified offenders from more than one ethnic group.

### *Insults and intimidation*

The 2000 BCS additionally asked respondents whether they had been insulted, pestered or intimidated. In all 15 per cent of white groups reported this. The percentages among minority ethnic groups were a little lower (14%, 13% and 11% respectively for black, Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi respondents). Ethnic minorities were, however, far more likely to say such incidents were racist in nature (5%, 7% and 5% respectively for black, Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi respondents) than white respondents (0.5%).

Care should be taken in interpreting these results. The question on being insulted, pestered or intimidated asked respondents to *include* events previously mentioned, but is likely to have included many incidents that would not be generally viewed as criminal. Respondents with a high level of education (20% for those with A-levels and above) and in professional or managerial occupations (18%) were more likely to recall such incidents. It may be that respondents with higher social status are more sensitive to events of this kind and more likely to recall them to interviewers. Nevertheless, results indicate the wider extent to which minority ethnic groups suffer racially motivated intimidation in addition to behaviour that could be viewed as criminal.

For Indian and black respondents the risk of racist insult, pestering or intimidation in 1999 was roughly *twice* the risk of being a victim of a racially motivated offence. The risk for Pakistani/Bangladeshi respondents was about a third higher than the risk of a racially motivated offence, indicating that for this group a greater proportion of intimidation incidents were also picked up earlier in the BCS questionnaire as racially motivated offences.

## Emotional impact of incidents

A much larger proportion of victims of racial incidents said that they had been very much affected by the incident (42%) than victims of other sorts of incident (19%). The highest proportion very much affected was for black victims (55%). The percentage very much affected for both white and Asian victims was 41 per cent.

The most common emotional reaction to racially motivated incidents was anger (70%) – a little below the corresponding figure of 83 per cent for other sorts of incident. Victims of racially motivated incidents were much more likely than others to report emotional reactions such as shock or fear. For example, around a half of victims of racially motivated incidents reported being fearful, as opposed to a fifth of victims in other incidents.

***Table 3.10: Emotional reaction to the racially motivated offence, by ethnicity of the victim***

| | White | Black | Asian | All racially motivated | All non-racially motivated |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Percentage:* | | | | | |
| Type of emotional response: | | | | | |
| Anger | 69 | 82 | 66 | 70 | 83 |
| Shock | 56 | 60 | 54 | 56 | 32 |
| Fear | 46 | 55 | 46 | 47 | 20 |
| Difficulty sleeping | 38 | 49 | 29 | 37 | 14 |
| Crying | 34 | 23 | 17 | 29 | 13 |
| Other | 13 | 3 | 2 | 9 | 7 |
| *Unweighted number of victim forms* | 64 | 60 | 143 | 300 | 9,274 |
| Degree of emotional upset: | | | | | |
| Respondent was not affected | 3 | 11 | 8 | 5 | 18 |
| Respondent was affected | | | | | |
| Very much | 41 | 55 | 41 | 42 | 19 |
| Quite a lot | 28 | 26 | 32 | 29 | 24 |
| Just a little | 28 | 8 | 20 | 23 | 39 |
| *Unweighted number of victim forms* | 68 | 65 | 152 | 320 | 11,341 |

Notes:
1. Columns do not total to 100% as respondents were allowed to give more than one emotional reaction to the racially motivated incident.
2. Source: 2000 BCS core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

Racially motivated incidents include a large proportion of cases of threats and vandalism, offences that – when racial motivation is absent – are not generally considered by victims as serious crimes. The presence of racial motivation has the effect of elevating the perceived gravity of such incidents, pointing to the particularly strong reactions that racially motivated offending can have on victims. This is borne out by differences in the average 'seriousness scores' assigned to incidents by victims.

BCS victims are asked to score their crime on a seriousness scale running from 0 to 20. Victims are told that zero would be very minor crime (such as milk bottle theft) and 20 would be murder. The average score for racially motivated crime is relatively high at 9.1, with the average scores for black victims (10.9) and Asian victims (9.3) being higher than for white victims (8.6). This compares with a much lower average score for all non-racially motivated incidents of 5.2. It is, however, interesting that for non-racially motivated incidents the average scores for black victims (7.7) and Asian victims (7.9) are also above those for white victims (5.1).

In addition to this, distinction can also be made between those incidents that were a 'one-off' and those that were part of a series of occurrences. The mean seriousness score for 'one-off' racially motivated incidents was 7.9, compared with 4.9 for 'one-off' non-racially motivated incidents. This difference is even more marked for those incidents that are part of a series, with racially motivated incidents given a score of 10.3, compared with 5.6 for non-racially motivated incidents.

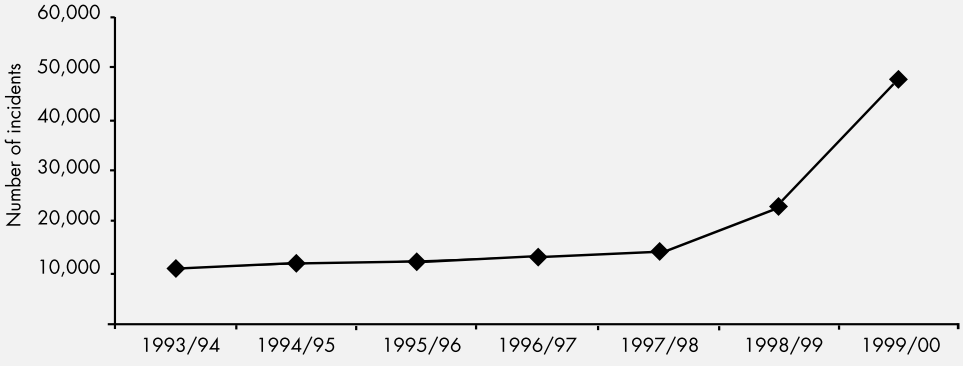
## Comparison of the BCS and police figures

The BCS indicates that 150,000 racially motivated incidents were reported to the police in 1999 and that 39,000 of these were against ethnic minorities. In 1995 the corresponding figures were 174,000 reported racially motivated incidents, of which 41,000 were against ethnic minorities. The BCS estimates of incidents *reported to the police* thus shows a shallower fall than the overall number of offences committed. The reason is that the proportion reported to the police rose over this period. In 1999 reporting rates were 40 per cent for ethnic minority victims, and 61 per cent for white victims, compared with 1995 figures of 28 per cent for ethnic minority victims and 54 per cent for white victims.

The number of racist incidents recorded by the police has increased substantially recently. As mentioned above, the definition of what constitutes a racist incident changed following publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report in February 1999 (Macpherson, 1999) to a definition based on victim perception, with no possible interpretation as giving primacy to the perception of the recording or investigating officer. The increased public debate about racially motivated crime prior to publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report would also have tended to increase the sensitivity of the victims, as well as the police, to racial motivation in offences. It is likely that the issue of racial motivation would more often be raised in discussions between police and crime victims. It is therefore not surprising that the number of police recorded racially motivated incidents has increased substantially

(Home Office, 2001). Sensitivity to racial elements in crime will also have been raised by the introduction of a series of racially aggravated offences[24] under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (from 30 September 1998). The number of such racially aggravated offences recorded by the police was 21,750 in 1999/2000.

***Figure 3.4 Racist incidents recorded by the police in England and Wales***




The very steep increase in the number of racist incidents recorded by the police between 1997/98 and 1999/00 is not reflected in the BCS figures for reported incidents. The evidence of the BCS, from trends in all racially motivated incidents and reported incidents, clearly indicates that the increase can be attributed to a mixture of increased reporting by victims and improved recording practice by the police (cf. Home Office 2000). The BCS provides no support for the view that there has been a real increase in the number of incidents.

The police figure for racist incidents recorded in 1999/00 of almost 48,000 is still substantially lower than the BCS estimate of the number of racially motivated incidents *reported to the police* in 1999 (150,000). Thus the BCS indicates that there is further 'headroom' for an increase in police recorded racial incidents.

Maynard and Read (1997) report results of a national survey of police forces to obtain information on types of crime and methods of disposal of close to 13,000 racially motivated incidents recorded by the police in 1996/97. They found that 58 per cent of incidents were either damage to property or verbal harassment. This is not out of line with results from the BCS, where threats and vandalism contribute a large proportion of the total number of incidents.

24 Racial aggravated harassment, criminal damage, common assault and 'other' wounding (i.e. not serious wounding).

Maynard and Read also report that few incidents resulted in perpetrators facing formal sanction, with over two-thirds of cases where the suspect could be identified being disposed of by informal means (around half at the behest of the victim and half on the advice of the police). The BCS findings on emotional impact of racially motivated incidents do, however, call into question the seriousness that has in the past been attached to these incidents by the police and other parts of the Criminal Justice System.

BCS results on victim satisfaction with police handling of racially motivated offences are presented in Chapter 4 along with satisfaction with police handling of other types of crime (see Table 4.1). The percentage of very dissatisfied respondents is close to 50 per cent for minority ethnic groups as opposed to 24 per cent for white victims, suggesting that ethnic minority victims of racial incidents are more often unhappy with police handling of incidents (this is discussed further in Chapter 4).

## Key points

- The estimated number of racially motivated offences in England and Wales in 1999 was 280,000, this being below the estimated 390,000 in 1995 and similar to the 291,000 for 1993.

- In 1999 the risk of white victimisation for a racially motivated incident was 0.3 per cent. The risks for minority ethnic groups are considerably higher (an estimated 2.2% for the black groups, 3.6% for Indians and 4.2% for Pakistanis and Bangladeshis).

- The estimated number of racially motivated incidents against minority ethnic groups was statistically significantly lower in 1999 as opposed to 1995 (trends in racially motivated incidents have tended to follow trends for all incidents). This indicates that increased levels of racially motivated incidents recorded by the police relate to improvements in the recording and higher levels of reporting of such incidents.

- Emotional reactions to racially motivated incidents were generally more severe than for non-racially motivated incidents.

- The general nature of incident perceived to have been racially motivated by white respondents differed from those against minority ethnic groups with, for example, the ethnicity of the offender being cited more often by white victims in judging that the offence was racially motivated. Incidents against white victims were also less likely to be household offences, such as vandalism.

# 4. Public-Initiated contact with the police

Whilst it is of obvious importance to assess any differences between ethnic groups in their experience of crime, it is equally essential to examine whether there are systematic differences in different ethnic groups' experience of the police, and in their ratings of this experience. This chapter examines the nature and extent of public-initiated contact with the police. It includes findings on the demographic profile of those who contact the police and their satisfaction with, and assessments of, the police.

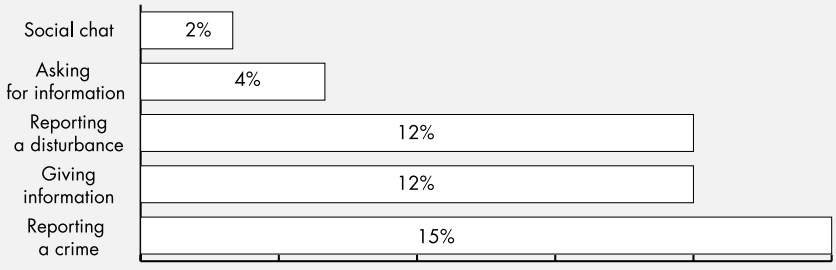
## Previous BCS findings

Willingness to report an offence to the police varies between ethnic groups and for different types of crime. Analysis of the 1988 and 1992 BCS (Skogan, 1990; FitzGerald and Hale, 1996) found that African Caribbean, Indian and Pakistani victims were all more likely than white people to report household crimes to the police, though the picture was less consistent for personal crimes. However, Bucke's (1997) analysis of the 1996 BCS found that ethnic minorities were more likely than white victims to report personal crime. Minority victims who report to the police have generally emerged as less satisfied than white victims with the police response. Their dissatisfaction increases with offences perceived by the victim to have been racially motivated (FitzGerald and Hale, 1996; Bucke, 1997). However, satisfaction levels were increasing in the mid-1990s, with slightly more victims in the 1996 BCS saying they had been kept well informed (38%) than in the 1994 BCS (34%).

## Findings from the 2000 BCS

As with previous sweeps, the 2000 BCS found that a large minority (35%) of the adult population had sought some sort of contact with the police during 1999. Figure 4.1 provides a breakdown of the different forms of public-initiated contact. In total, 15 per cent of respondents reported a crime, 12 per cent contacted the police to give other sorts of information (including reporting an accident or emergency), and 12 per cent reported a suspicious circumstance or disturbance. Asking for information and having a 'social chat' were mentioned infrequently.

***Figure 4.1: Percentage of respondents contacting the police, by reason for contact***

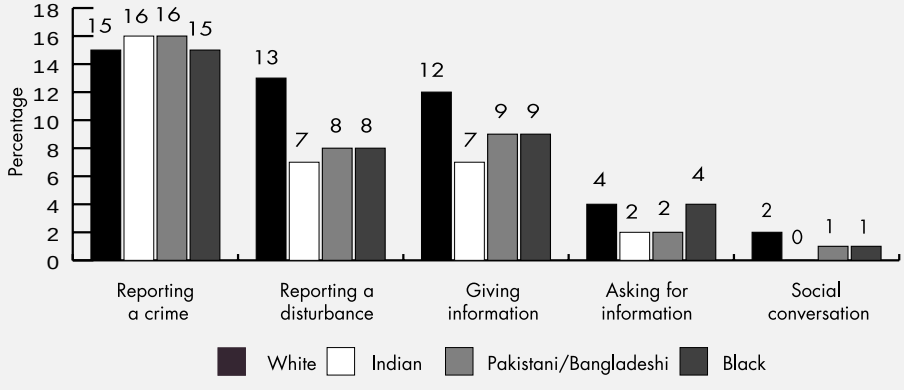



Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core sample only.
2. Giving information includes reporting an accident or emergency.
3. Weighted data, unweighted n = 9,638.

## Differences between ethnic groups

A larger proportion of white respondents (36%) contacted the police than Indians (29%), Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (29%) or black respondents (31%). The difference between white respondents and others was highly statistically significant ($p<0.01$). Reporting a crime was the most common reason for police contact across all groups; a slightly higher proportion of Asian respondents contacted the police to report a crime than others, reflecting their greater risks of crime rather than a greater predisposition to report crimes to the police (see the final section of this chapter). White respondents, however, were significantly more likely than any other group to report a disturbance, suspicious circumstance or nuisance, or to give information to the police ($p<0.01$).

***Figure 4.2: Reasons given for police contact across ethnic group***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 12,535.

## Explaining differences in the extent of public-initiated contact

Many factors may account for lower levels of sought contact amongst ethnic minorities. In determining why minority groups use the police less than whites, it is important to assess whether they are less prepared to use the police *after* taking into account socio-economic and demographic factors. We carried out a logistic regression analysis including the following variables: ethnicity (being Indian, being black, being Pakistani/Bangladeshi), financial status, car ownership, age, education, income, employment status, area of residence, social class and gender. The regression predicts which groups are most likely to use the police. The predictive ordering of statistically significant variables was:

1. Being aged 25 – 49
2. Owning a car
3. Being aged 16 – 24
4. Having no academic qualifications (reduces likelihood of contact)
5. Living in an inner city
6. Working in a manual occupation (reduces likelihood of contact)
7. Living in London (reduces likelihood of contact)
8. Being male

Income and employment status were *not* predictive of police use. Neither was ethnicity. This finding is important as it implies that the reasons for "under-use" by ethnic minorities are to be found in aspects of their lives other than ethnicity *in itself*. For example, factors shown in the model to reduce the likelihood of sought contact with the police, such as having no academic qualifications, working in a manual occupation and living in London, also disproportionately characterise some minority ethnic groups thus accounting for reduced levels of contact. Ethnicity as such does not therefore predict lack of sought contact amongst these groups. Further details of the regression equation are in Appendix B.

## Ethnicity and satisfaction with police service

The BCS can provide quite a comprehensive picture of "customer satisfaction", as victims of crime and others who had sought contact with the police were asked about:

- speed of response
- interest shown by the police
- effort put in by the police
- whether the police kept them informed.

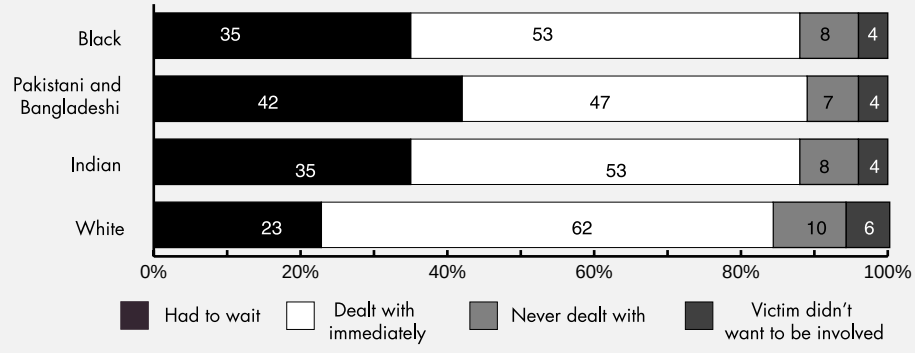
### *Response time*

Of those who sought contact with the police, over half (61%) reported that the police responded immediately. However, marked ethnic differences were found (see Figure 4.3), with more white respondents stating that the police responded immediately than other ethnic groups. More Pakistanis and Bangladeshis reported having to wait[25] than any other group. The differences between the ethnic groups and the white group were found to be highly statistically significant ($p<0.01$). The disparity could reflect many factors, most obviously the level of police resources in areas with high ethnic minority populations.

A comparison of response time across area for each ethnic group was also carried out to determine whether the disparities found between the groups could be linked to problems with police resources in regions where high concentrations of minority ethnic groups exist. Minority respondents were grouped together as numbers were too small in some regions for reliable analysis. As Table 4.1 shows, the proportion of white respondents having to wait remained very similar across all regions in England and Wales. Response times for minority groups on the other hand varied markedly across regions. In the North West/East, Midlands, South West/East and London regions significantly more ethnic minority respondents reported having to wait than white respondents (see Table 4.2).

25 Respondents' answer to the question on police response was pre-coded as 'Had to wait' , 'Dealt with immediately', 'Police never dealt with this matter' or 'Not applicable/Victim did not want to be involved any further'.

***Figure 4.3 Police response to sought contact – % of respondents who had to wait***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 3,711.

***Table 4.1: Police response to sought contact - % of respondents who had to wait, by region***

| | White | Ethnic Minorities |
|---|---|---|
| North West / East | 28% | **44% |
| Yorks / Humber | 21% | 33% |
| Midlands | 20% | **44% |
| South East / West | 22% | *37% |
| Eastern | 21% | 19% |
| London | 24% | **35% |
| Wales | 22% | 15% |

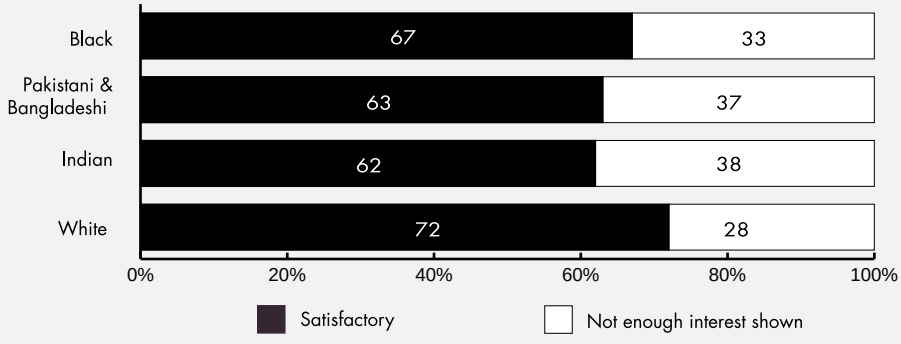
Notes:
1. Source, 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 3,788.
3. * = Statistically significant difference from white people at the 5 per cent level, ** Statistically significant difference from white people at the 1 per cent level.

Respondents having to wait for a police response to their incident were asked whether they perceived the waiting time as reasonable. Overall, 53 per cent of respondents believed the waiting time was unreasonable. This percentage is higher for Indians (60%) than for other groups. These figures represent a marked drop in satisfaction since the 1996 sweep of the survey which showed that overall, 81 per cent of respondents reporting to the police believed the wait was reasonable.

### *Interest and effort*

Overall, 72 per cent of respondents who had sought police contact felt satisfied with the level of interest shown by the police in their incident, though this is lower for crime victims (60% – victims' perceptions are discussed later in this chapter). An ethnic breakdown shows that white respondents were more satisfied than minority groups (see Figure 4.4).

***Figure 4.4: Satisfaction with interest shown by the police – % saying satisfactory***



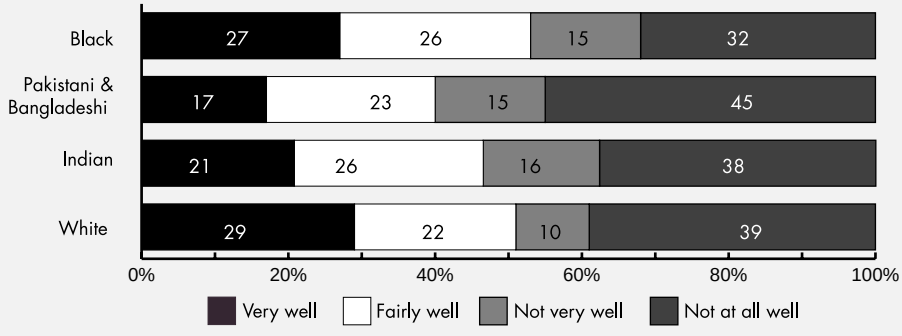

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 3,716.

Respondents' perception of the effort shown by the police was also gauged and again differences emerged between ethnic groups. The majority of white respondents (69%) believed the police had put a satisfactory amount of effort into resolving their problem compared with 64 per cent of black respondents, 57 per cent of Indian respondents and only 53 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis.

### *Keeping people informed*

Many respondents felt that the police had failed to keep them adequately informed. Overall, only 29 per cent of respondents who had contacted the police in the previous 12 months felt that the police had kept them very well informed whilst 39 per cent felt they had not been kept at all well informed. A breakdown of the ethnic groups shows that the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group felt less well informed than respondents from other ethnic groups (see Figure 4.5).

### *Figure 4.5: How well were police users kept informed?*

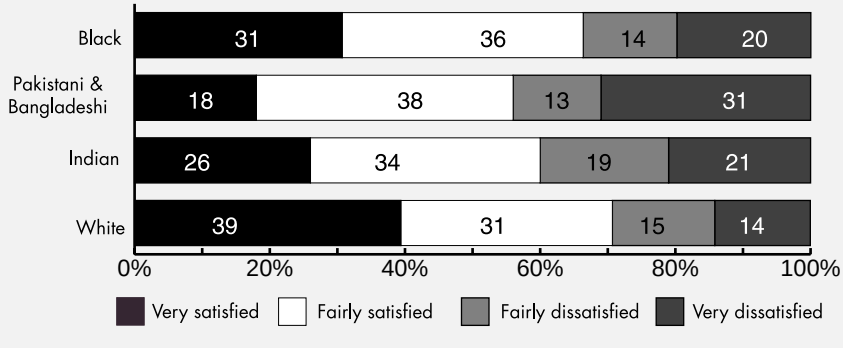



Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted data = 3,342.

## *Overall satisfaction*

Finally, respondents were asked to rate their overall satisfaction with the police response to the reported incident (see Figure 4.6). Thirty-nine per cent of white respondents said they were "very satisfied" compared with only 18 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. Similarly, fewer white respondents (14%) reported feeling "very dissatisfied" than any other ethnic group, compared with 20 per cent of black respondents and 21 per cent of Indian respondents whilst 31 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis felt this way.

### *Figure 4.6: Satisfaction with police response to sought contact*

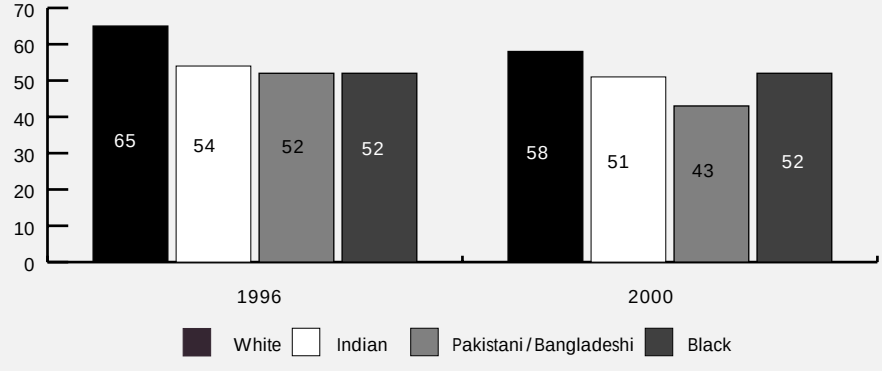



Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted data = 3,681.

## Satisfaction and type of public-initiated contact

Levels of satisfaction were found to vary markedly depending on the reason for sought contact. Analysis of all sought contact indicates that 70 per cent of respondents were very/fairly satisfied with the police response. However, satisfaction amongst victims of crime was found to be notably lower than amongst those who had contacted the police for other reasons. Of the latter, 74 per cent felt satisfied; the figure for victims was 58 per cent. Levels of satisfaction also appear to have dropped over the last few years: 65 per cent of white victims were satisfied in 1995 compared with 58 per cent in 1999. Figure 4.7 highlights the ethnic differences in victim satisfaction between 1995 and 1999.

***Figure 4.7 Percentage of victims very/fairly satisfied with police response (1996 & 2000 BCS)***




Notes:
1. Source: 1996 & 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n (2000) = 4,201 (1996) = 4,794.

Satisfaction with the police amongst victims of crime is also likely to vary across type of incident, as some categories of problem are intrinsically more soluble than others. We examined variations between ethnic groups in satisfaction, for different types of incident: household crimes, personal crimes, and racially motivated crimes. Table 4.1 presents the results. Asian groups have been combined to allow for small numbers. It should also be noted that household and personal crimes are mutually exclusive categories, whilst racially motivated offences comprise subsets of both household and personal crimes.

***Table 4.2: Reporting crime – satisfaction with the police***

| | | Household crime | Personal crime | Racial crime |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| White | | | | |
| | Very/fairly satisfied | 58% | 59% | 50% |
| | A bit dissatisfied | 21% | 16% | 36% |
| | *Very dissatisfied* | 18% | 22% | 14% |
| Asian | | | | |
| | Very/fairly satisfied | 48%** | 49% | 27%** |
| | A bit dissatisfied | 17% | 15% | 15%** |
| | Very dissatisfied | 32% | 33% | 51%** |
| Black | | | | |
| | Very/fairly satisfied | 54% | 47% | 29%** |
| | A bit dissatisfied | 14%* | 19% | 15%** |
| | Very dissatisfied | 28%** | 30% | 56%** |

1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data.
3. * = Significantly different from white people at the 5% level.
** = Significantly different from white people at the 1% level.

Marked differences existed between ethnic groups, with white respondents most often reporting satisfaction. For victims who reported *household* crime around half of all victims felt "very or fairly" satisfied with police response, although significantly lower proportions of white victims felt very dissatisfied than minority victims ($p < 0.01$).

For *personal* offences, such as assault, robbery and threats, again around a half of victims felt "very or fairly" satisfied with the police response – a rate similar to that for household crimes. Ethnic differences in satisfaction were also found amongst those reporting a personal offence: 33 per cent of Asians felt "very dissatisfied" compared with only 22 per cent of white respondents. These differences were statistically significant ($p <0.05$).

Previous sweeps of the BCS (1988, 1992, 1994 & 1996) have indicated that satisfaction with police performance is lower amongst victims of *racially motivated* crime. This is also evident from the 2000 BCS. Only 39 per cent of victims of all racial crime were very or fairly satisfied with the police, whilst 32 per cent felt very dissatisfied with police

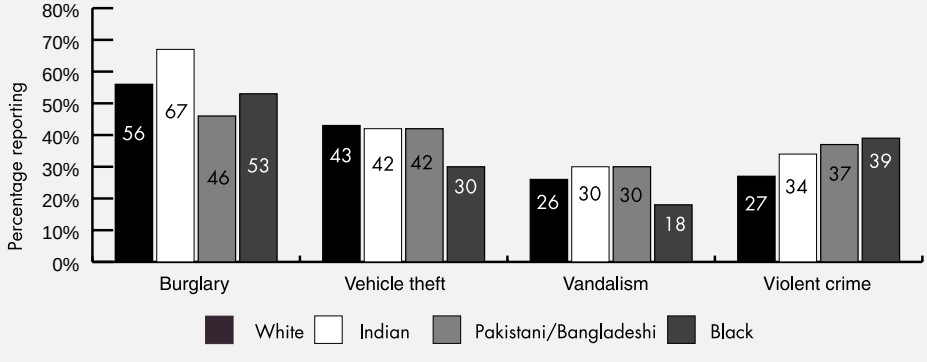
performance. Again, very marked ethnic differences in satisfaction were found: 14 per cent of white respondents feeling very dissatisfied in contrast to the majority of ethnic minority victims feeling very dissatisfied (51% of Asians and 56% of black respondents). Similarly, more white respondents felt very/fairly satisfied than any other group (50%) compared with 29 per cent of black respondents, and 27 per cent of Asians; these differences were highly significant at the 1 per cent level.

## Reporting crime to the police

This section examines reporting rates for different types of crime across ethnic groups. It also considers the factors affecting victims' decisions to report crime to the police.

Figure 4.8 offers a comparison of reporting rates between ethnic groups for selected types of crime. Overall, minority groups were more likely to report *personal* crimes than white respondents, especially crimes involving violence; black people were the most likely to report personal crimes. The same, however, did not hold for property crimes.

***Figure 4.8 Reporting rates by crime type and ethnicity: % of victims informing police***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = burglary – 1,317, vehicle theft – 3,082, vandalism – 2,467 violent crime – 1,356. Vehicle theft consists of thefts of and from vehicles, including attempts.

In interpreting these differences, especially those relating to violent crime, the possibility should be borne in mind that there might be some systematic differences between ethnic groups in preparedness to report incidents to interviewers. One might speculate, for example, that women from some minority ethnic groups might be less prepared than white

women both to report incidents of domestic violence to the police and to tell interviewers about unreported incidents. If so, the net effect would be to inflate BCS rates of reporting to the police for these groups.

## Key points

- The most common reason to contact the police across all ethnic groups was to report a crime.

- Overall, white people were more likely than ethnic minorities to contact the police during 1999 although Asian groups were more likely than any other group to make a crime report.

- Satisfaction with the police response to sought contact was highest amongst white respondents, and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were the least satisfied. This trend was found across several different aspects of police performance.

- Barely half of respondents were satisfied with police efforts to keep them informed following their enquiry; dissatisfaction was greatest amongst Pakistanis and Bangladeshis.

- The gap in satisfaction between white victims and those from minority ethnic groups was smallest for household crimes; it was larger for personal crimes, and most marked in relation to racially motivated crimes.

- White victims of crime were the least likely to report a violent personal offence whilst black victims were most likely to report. Conversely, black victims were least likely to report vehicle theft compared with white victims, who were most likely to report. Reporting rates for burglary were highest amongst Indians and lowest amongst Pakistanis and Bangladeshis.

# 5. Police-initiated contact with the public

Police contact with suspects has been a source of friction – often the focal point of friction – between the police and some minority ethnic groups for several decades. In the 1970s there was vigorous campaigning against the 'sus laws' which, under the 1824 Vagrancy Act, allowed the police to arrest people who were "suspected of loitering with intent" to commit a crime. It was widely felt that the power was being overused, with insufficient grounds to justify suspicion, particularly against young black men, and that relations between police and black communities were being damaged as a consequence. The 'sus' powers were abolished in 1981 – the year when Lord Scarman's (1981) report into the Brixton riots identified poor relations between the Metropolitan Police and young black Londoners as a key trigger of the events. The Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE) 1984 introduced a national power for stopping and searching suspects within a basic legal framework which remains in force today (vehicle stops are conducted under powers derived from the Road Traffic Act 1988 or where a motorist is suspected of having committed a traffic offence or has a vehicle defect).

Arguments about the use of police powers in stopping, searching and arresting suspects have continued. From the late1990s the Home Office (1998, 1999, 2000) has published statistics about the ethnicity of suspects stopped and searched under Section 1 of PACE, which have shown that the number of recorded searches per 1,000 of the population was five times greater for black people than for white.

Two main types of argument have been advanced to explain this over-representation (cf. Jordan, 2000). The first relates to ways in which police occupational culture leads officers to be disproportionately suspicious of people from ethnic minorities. For example, Chapter 6 of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (Macpherson, 1999) includes the thesis that unwitting or unconscious prejudice arises from the highly selective experience which – mainly white – police officers have of minority ethnic groups. The implicit argument is that police exposure to black people as offenders, results in negative stereotyping, and thus disproportionate use of alienating tactics such as stops and searches.

A second set of explanations seems much closer to the idea of indirect discrimination contained in the 1976 Race Relations Act[26]. According to these, the police may apply decision-making criteria that are unrelated to ethnicity, which nevertheless result in disparity.

26 It is unclear whether Lord Macpherson's definition of institutional racism embraces indirect discrimination or not. We have assumed that it does not.

These 'structural' explanations include the concentration of policing in areas with high populations from ethnic minorities and more people from ethnic minorities being 'available' for stops or searches (FitzGerald and Sibbitt, 1997; FitzGerald, 1999; MVA and Miller, 2000). Thus, for example, by focusing suspicion on young unemployed males who are often out on inner-city streets at night, the police end up carrying out foot stops on a much higher proportion of black people than white. There is likely to be something in both types of explanation, but it is important to get a proper sense of their relative importance, for they carry very different implications for policy. The former imply a need for training and managerial control over the workforce, whilst the latter require an assessment of whether the benefits of this form of indirect discrimination outweigh the costs. In considering these issues, it is relevant to note that the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 came into effect on 2 April 2001, meeting a recommendation in the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report that the full force of race relations legislation should apply to the police.

Most sweeps of the BCS since 1988 have been able to document in some detail differences between ethnic groups in their experience as police suspects; as we shall see, the findings can help address issues about the origins of disproportionality. The BCS can also suggest some of the consequences of minority over-representation amongst police suspects, as it collects detailed information about people's reactions to police-initiated contact.

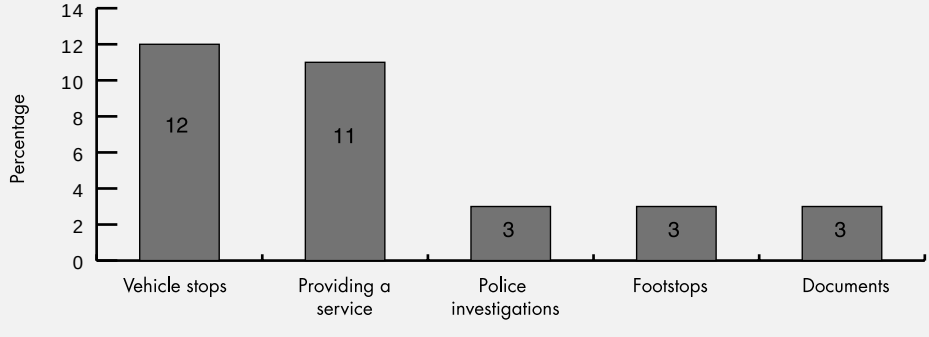
## Previous BCS findings

Large differences between ethnic groups have emerged in their experience as suspects of the police in many sweeps of the BCS, starting with Skogan's (1990) analysis of the 1988 BCS. The 1996 BCS found that the police had approached more African Caribbeans (37%) than white people (33%) or Asians (26%). African Caribbeans were more likely than other ethnic groups to have been stopped in a vehicle or on foot (23%) compared with 15 per cent of Asians and 16 per cent of white people (Miller et al., 2000). The importance of police demeanour has been cited in relation to achieving a positive outcome following such contacts (e.g. Skogan, 1990; Bland et al., 2000a, 2000b); Quinton et al., 2000). Bucke (1997) found that a major determinant of satisfaction with police treatment on the part of suspects was a sense that police behaviour was fair and courteous. He also found large ethnic differences in levels of satisfaction: 81 per cent of white suspects were satisfied compared with 72 per cent of Asians and 55 per cent of African Caribbeans. Other factors which seem to minimise dissatisfaction included giving suspects a clear reason for the stop, giving an explanation of police powers and public rights, and giving written details about the officer who stopped them (Bland et al., 2000a, 2000b; Stone and Pettigrew, 2000).

## Experience of police-initiated contact in 1999

According to the 2000 BCS, the police approached 25 per cent of the adult population during 1999. Reasons for police initiated contact are shown in Figure 5.1. Vehicle stops were the most common form of police initiated contact; in total, 12 per cent of respondents were stopped in their cars and 3 per cent were stopped on foot.

***Figure 5.1 Reasons for police initiated contact in 1999***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core sample only.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 9,439.

Eleven percent of police-initiated contact was to provide a service, e.g. return missing property, deal with a ringing alarm and ask for information about victimisation. Only 3 per cent of contacts resulted from the police carrying out investigations, e.g. investigating an accident, traffic offence or disturbance, house searches, arrests and asking people to move on.

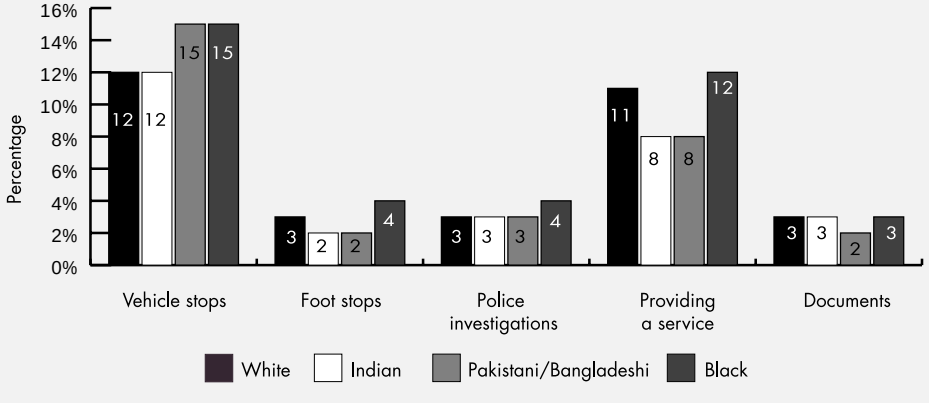
## Differences between ethnic groups

Black respondents were approached most frequently by the police: 28 per cent were contacted in 1999, compared with 21 per cent of Indians, 24 per cent of white respondents and 23 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. The difference between black respondents and all other ethnic groups was highly statistically significant ($p<0.01$), and the lower percentage for Indians as compared with white respondents was significant at the 5 per cent level.

Whilst these figures are consistent with previous BCS findings in showing differences between groups, they show a large drop – for all groups – in the proportion of people approached by the police. Bucke (1997) reported that 37 per cent of black respondents had been approached by the police in 1995 compared to 33 per cent of white people and 26 per cent of Asians. Trends in police-initiated contact are considered more fully below.

Figure 5.2 shows variations between ethnic groups in the nature of police initiated contact in 1999. Whilst vehicle stops were the most common reason across all groups, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and black respondents were more likely than white or Indian respondents to be stopped. Black respondents were also more likely than any other group to have been stopped on foot in the previous twelve months and to be contacted through a police investigation. However, black respondents (12%) were also more likely to be contacted by the police providing a service compared to 11 per cent of white respondents, 8 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis and 8 per cent of Indians.

***Figure 5.2 Reasons for police initiated contact across ethnic group***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 12,535.

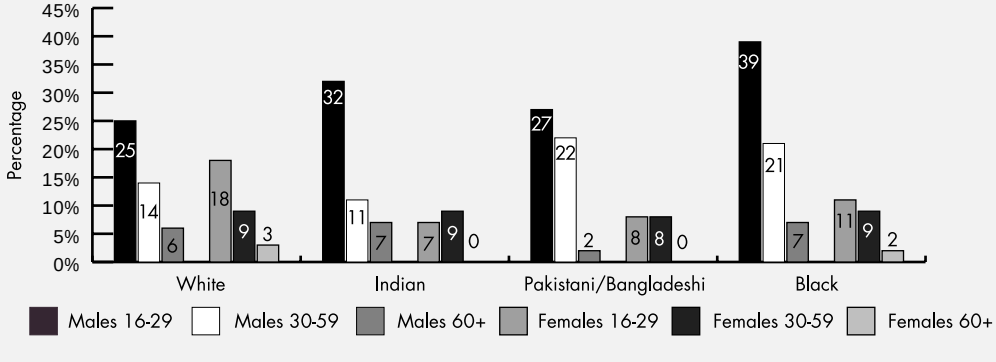
The rest of this chapter considers ethnic differences within the sub categories of police-initiated contact.

### *Vehicle stops*

White respondents and Indians were the least likely to have been stopped in a car (12%) whilst black respondents and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were more likely to have been stopped (15%). Figure 5.3 indicates that the likelihood of being stopped varied according to the gender and age of respondent with males in each ethnic group most likely to be stopped; and those under 30 more likely to be stopped than older respondents. Ethnic differences are also evident with 39 per cent of black males aged 16–29 stopped compared with 32 per cent of Indian males of the same age, 27 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis and only 25 per cent of white males aged 16–29.

Of those stopped in a car in 1999 the majority (92%) were given a reason for the stop. An ethnic breakdown shows that 93 per cent of whites stopped were given a reason compared with 86 per cent of black respondents, 88 per cent of Indians and 88 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. Satisfaction with the reason given varied markedly between ethnic groups. 80 per cent of white respondents felt that the reason given for the stop was adequate compared to 61 per cent of black respondents, 68 per cent of Indians and 67 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. 43 per cent of white respondents stopped believed it was because they had committed an offence compared to 40 per cent of black respondents, 41 per cent of Indians and 39 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis.

***Figure 5.3 Percentages stopped in vehicles in 1999 by age, gender and ethnic group***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 12,527.

Of those stopped in a car, 77 per cent of white respondents were stopped only once compared with 53 per cent of black respondents, 64 per cent of Indians and 60 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. Overall, 4 per cent of respondents were stopped five or more times. An ethnic breakdown reveals that black respondents were subject to the greatest number of multiple stops with 14 per cent stopped five or more times compared with 4 per cent of white respondents, 6 per cent of Indians and 11 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis.

### *Foot stops*

Overall, 3 per cent of respondents were stopped on foot by the police. Black respondents had the highest stop rates with 4 per cent of the population stopped by the police compared with 3 per cent of white respondents and 2 per cent of Indians and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. As with vehicle stops, foot stops varied according to demographic factors with the number of stops highest for young males. Different age categories were used in the analysis of foot stops as the number of stops amongst those aged over 45 were found to be negligible. Thirty-two per cent of black males aged between 16–25 were stopped compared with 21 per cent of white males of the same age. The proportion of females stopped was so small that they have not been included in Figure 5.4.

***Figure 5.4 Percentage of men stopped on foot in 1999, by age and ethnic group***


Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 12,535.

Eighty percent of those stopped on foot said that they had been given a reason for the stop, with only small differences between ethnic groups. As with vehicle stops, satisfaction with the reason given varied between the groups with black respondents markedly less satisfied than any other ethnic group (54% felt satisfied compared with 76% of white respondents, 73% of Indians and 71% of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis). Forty-seven per cent of black respondents believed they had been stopped because they were suspected of committing an offence compared with 36 per cent of white respondents, 29 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis and only 12 per cent of Indians.

Of those stopped, 67 per cent of white respondents were stopped only once compared with 70 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, 63 per cent of Indians and 52 per cent of black respondents. Of all ethnic groups, black respondents were subject to the greatest number of stops with 18 per cent stopped five or more times compared with 12 per cent of white respondents, 10 per cent of Indians and 0 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis.

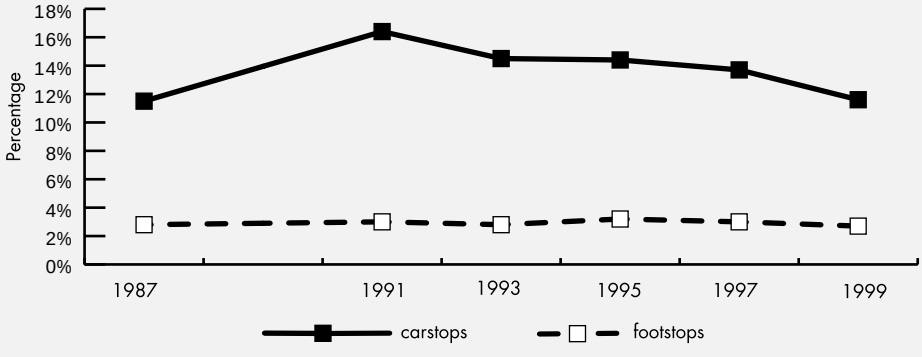
## Trends in unsought contact

The British Crime Survey can now yield a twelve-year trend in rates of unsought contact with the police. Figure 5.5 shows figures from 1987 to 1999. The number of car stops rose in the mid 1990s before falling back to the 1987 level. The changes in the percentage of people stopped on foot are very small.

An examination of trends over time serves to highlight the discrepancies in unsought contact between ethnic groups. Black respondents have consistently been over-represented in police stops since 1987 with 16 per cent stopped in a car that year compared with 11 per cent of white respondents.

During 1991 and 1993, a sharp rise in car stops was recorded across all groups with 25 per cent of black respondents stopped in 1993 compared with 14 per cent of whites. However, the number of black, white and Indian individuals stopped appears to be decreasing following the rise in the mid 1990s. Conversely, the number of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis being stopped rose slightly between 1995 and 1999.

***Figure 5.5 Unsought contact with the police, 1987 to 1999***




Notes:
1. Source: 1988 – 2000 BCS, core samples only.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n ranging from 4,909 (1988) to 9,639 (2000).

Looking at foot stops across the same period, the proportion of white people stopped has remained unchanged since 1987. The proportion of black people stopped has decreased, whilst the proportion of Indians stopped has not changed since 1995. The proportion of Pakistanis/Bangladeshis stopped fell from 2.2 per cent in 1987 to zero in 1991, then rose to 3.9 per cent in 1994. This erratic pattern cannot readily be explained, and the most likely explanation is that the sub-sample of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in 1992 was atypical in some sense, being smaller in size (340) than those for other BCS sweeps that contained an ethnic boost.[27] The proportion of respondents subject to foot stops is also relatively low and sampling error will also account for some of the year-to-year variation.

27 The numbers of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in the 1988, 1992, 1994, 1996 and 2000 BCS sweeps were 400, 340, 640, 616 and 1,058 respectively.

***Table 5.1: Police-initiated contact by ethnic group – car stops***

| | White | Indians | Pakistanis and Bangladeshis | Black |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1987 | 11% | 12% | 12% | 16% |
| 1991 | 16% | 12% | 24% | 24% |
| 1993 | 14% | 17% | 18% | 25% |
| 1995 | 14% | 15% | 14% | 20% |
| 1997[1] | 14% | - | - | - |
| 1999 | 12% | 12% | 15% | 15% |

Notes:
1. An ethnic booster sample was not incorporated in the 1998 BCS. Ethnic groups have therefore been excluded from analyses in this year as numbers were too small for reliable analysis.
2. Source: 1988 – 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
3. Weighted data.

***Table 5.2: Police-initiated contact by ethnic group – foot stops***

| | White | Indians | Pakistanis and Bangladeshis | Black |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1987 | 3% | 2% | 2% | 5% |
| 1991 | 3% | 2% | - | 6% |
| 1993 | 3% | 1% | 4% | 6% |
| 1995 | 3% | 2% | 4% | 6% |
| 1997[1] | 3% | - | - | - |
| 1999 | 3% | 2% | 2% | 4% |

Notes:
1. An ethnic booster sample was not incorporated in the 1998 BCS. Ethnic groups have therefore been excluded from analyses in this year due to numbers being too small for reliable analysis.
2. Source: 1988 – 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
3. Weighted data.

## Explaining disparities between ethnic groups

It is important to determine whether ethnicity *in itself* is a predisposing factor in the likelihood of being stopped by the police or whether other socio-economic factors such as age, class, residential patterns and employment, underlie the over-representation of minority groups in police stops. Logistic regression analysis can shed some light on this issue. As was mentioned in the introduction, logistic regression models can indicate whether there is a *prima facie* case that membership of an minority ethnic group can have an effect on outcome (such as increasing the risk of a foot stop) all other things being equal.

The nature of the technique when applied to survey data is such that it can point to factors *other than* ethnicity which result in minority groups being over-represented amongst police suspects. However, it can rarely prove beyond doubt that ethnicity is a factor which enters police decision-making. This is because no survey data-set will ever have reliable measures of all the factors which police officers may have taken into account, such as demeanour.

We first fitted a simple demographic model to determine whether age, gender and ethnicity were predictive. Predictive factors for *foot stops* in order of significance were:

1. Being aged under 25
2. Being male
3. Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi (reduces risk of being stopped)
4. Being Indian (reduces risk of being stopped)
5. Being black

A similar model was fitted to predict *car stops*, using the same variables plus car-ownership. The results in order of significance were:

1. Car ownership
2. Being aged under 25
3. Being male
4. Being black

Two further stepwise logistic regressions were done incorporating additional variables to measure "exposure to risk" of being stopped (cf. MVA and Miller, 2000).[28] BCS data were also pooled for the years 1994, 1996 and identical regression models were run in order to

28 "Exposure to risk" can be defined as the chance that an individual will be stopped by the police, as predicted by factors in the regression model.

identify any changes in the likelihood of being stopped. The following 13 variables were included in each analysis: being aged under 25, being male, having no academic qualifications, being unemployed, working in a manual occupation, earning less than £15,000 per annum, living in an inner city, being Indian, being black, being Pakistani/Bangladeshi, being a student, living in London and owning a car. Table 5.3 displays the results of the analyses in order of significance.

***Table 5.3: Variables predicting foot stops 1993/1995 and 1999***

| 1994/1996 BCS | 2000 BCS |
|---|---|
| 1. Being aged under 25 | 1. Being aged under 25 |
| 2. Being male | 2. Being male |
| 3. Being Indian (*reduces* risk) | 3. Going out after dark more than 3 times per week |
| 4. Going out after dark more than 3 times per week | 4. Owning a car (*reduces* risk) |
| 5. Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi (*reduces* risk) | 5. Being unemployed |
| 6. Being black | * Ethnicity, living in an inner city, living in London, earning a low income, social class and education were not significant. |
| 7. Living in London | |
| 8. Being unemployed | |
| 9. Working in a manual occupation | |
| 10. Owning a car (reduces risk) | |

*Education and income were not significant.

A comparison of variables predicting foot stops in 1993/1995 with 1999 shows that whilst age and gender have remained consistent predictors, living in London, working in a manual occupation and being black no longer increase the likelihood of being stopped. This may reflect changes in police practice since 1993/1995 following the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report in 1999 (Macpherson, 1999). The Inquiry's criticism of the Metropolitan Police as institutionally racist and its identification of stops and searches as a source of friction undoubtedly led to changes in police practice in London, and probably had an indirect impact on other forces. Nevertheless, ethnic minorities, most notably black groups, remain over-represented amongst police foot stops.

***Table 5.4: Variables predicting car stops 1993/1995 and 1999***

| 1994/1996 BCS | 2000 BCS |
|---|---|
| 1. Owning a car | 1. Owning a car |
| 2. Being aged under 25 | 2. Being aged under 25 |
| 3. Being black | 3. Being black |
| 4. Being male | 4. Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi |
| 5. Going out after dark more than 3 times per week. | 5. Having no academic qualifications (*reduces* risk) |
| 6. Being unemployed | 6. Going out after dark more than three times per week |
| 7. Having no academic qualifications (reduces risk) | 7. Being male |
| 8. Living in London | 8. Being unemployed |
| | 9. Living outside London |
| | 10. Earning a low income (*reduces* risk) |
| *Being Indian, Pakistani/Bangladeshi, living in an inner city, income and social class were not significant. | *Being Indian, living in an inner city and social class were not significant. |

Variables predicting car stops have remained largely unchanged since 1993/1995. Being aged under 25, being male and being black still significantly increase the likelihood of being stopped.[29] However, the regression model for 1999 suggests that Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were more likely to be stopped in 1999 than in 1993/1995, after taking other factors into account. Another notable difference is that living in London *increased* risks of being stopped in the mid 1990s, but decreased them in 1999 – suggesting the possibility of a "Macpherson effect" within the capital.

29 It was not possible to take account of age and condition of the car into account in fitting the regression model, though these may be important explanatory factors, as this information is not collected via the BCS

## Numbers of stops and searches

At present the police are required under section 1 of the 1984 Police and Criminal Evidence Act and other legislation to record 'stops and searches' – that is, stops that result in searches, hereafter referred to as searches. The police recorded 825,356 such searches in 1999/2000.[30]

The BCS can yield estimates both of stops and of searches. There is some imprecision in the estimates. This is partly because of sampling error, partly because respondents may mis-date or mis-count contacts with the police, and partly because assumptions have to be made about the number of stops which might have occurred when respondents say that they have been stopped too many times to remember.[31] A further complication is that the BCS covers the period from the previous January (i.e. around 13–14 months on average) whilst the police statistics cover financial years; the BCS estimates have been deflated to take account of this. Table 5.5 compares BCS and police estimates for searches for 1999.

***Table 5.5: Comparison of BCS with police recorded stops and searches***

| BCS estimated number | Police recorded number | % recorded |
|---|---|---|
| 1,102,000 | 825,356 | 75% |

Notes:
1. The BCS figure is deflated by 20%, as the average interview date was at the end of March 2000.
2. 2000 BCS sample, core and boost combined.
3. Weighted data (using scaled weight for ethnic minorities).
4. Police data derived from Section 95 statistics; the 1999/2000 figures are drawn from Home Office (2000), and include section 60 searches. Compared with 1998/99 the number of recorded stop and search fell by 39% in the Metropolitan Police area and there was an average 14% fall elsewhere.
5. 2000 BCS figures for London derived from a merged sample of 2000 BCS and Policing for London figures. Policing for London is an independently funded examination of police/private relations in London that is due to be published later in 2001.

The police count is smaller than that of the BCS, indicating a recording rate of 74 per cent. However, this estimate must be treated with *considerable* caution. As with estimates of crime, BCS estimates of searches are subject to sampling error, and also to non-sampling error – where for example, people forget or mis-remember events. Taking the estimate at face value, however, there are several possible reasons for the shortfall in police figures. A

30 This total includes searches under Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act.

31 We have assumed that people who said this will have been stopped 20 times in a year. Thus the estimated 140 stops of the 7 people who had been stopped "too many times to remember" in 1999 constitute around 4 per cent of our total number of stops. If we substituted an assumption of 10, this would reduce our estimates by around 3 per cent.

proportion of searches may go unrecorded – for example because of the circumstances under which they were carried out, or because the officer in question saw no need to record the event as a search. There may also be differences between police and suspects in what is judged to be a search.

We have examined differences across area in search rates. The recorded police figures show a search rate in London of 32 searches per 1,000 adults in 1999/2000, as against 18 searches per 1,000 elsewhere in England and Wales. Corresponding BCS estimates for 1999 are 51 and 20 searches per 1,000 adults.

Recommendation 61 of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (Macpherson, 1999) was that the police should make records not only of searches but of any stop made under any legislative provision, regardless of whether it led to a search. The BCS count of stops (including those resulting in searches) provides some guide to the sort of figures that can be expected. Around 8,500,000 car stops and 2,600,000 foot stops were carried out during 1999. Figures for 1995 were around 11,300,000 car stops and 3,400,000 foot stops.

## Suspects' ratings of police-initiated contact

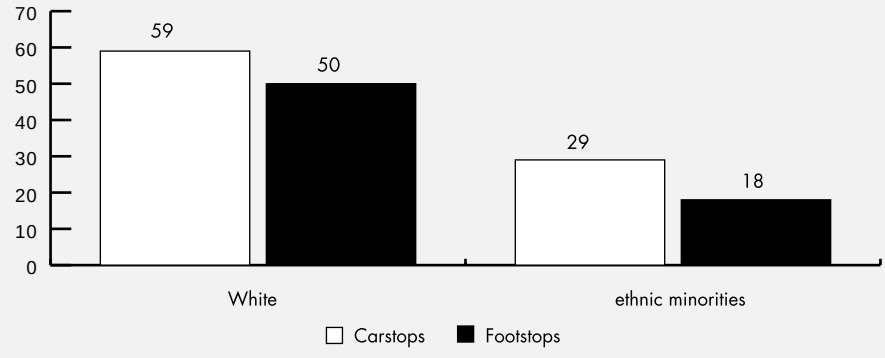
The BCS can give some insights into the impact on people of being treated by the police as suspects. Those who had been approached by the police were asked to rate them on:

- politeness
- fairness
- overall satisfaction with the way the police handled the stop

### *Police demeanour*

Police demeanour has been shown in previous studies to impact upon levels of satisfaction with the police (Bland et al., 2000a, 2000b; Bucke, 1997; Skogan, 1990). The majority of respondents stopped by the police either on foot or in a car in 1999 felt they had been treated "very fairly or quite fairly" during the stop. Nevertheless, there were large ethnic differences, with white suspects much more likely to feel that they had been treated well. Figure 5.6 shows the proportion of stopped respondents who felt that they had been treated "very fairly". Numbers for foot stops are very small (n=285), and those for car stops fairly small (n=1,469), so we have not disaggregated ethnic minority respondents into separate groups.

***Figure 5.6 Perceived fairness of foot and car stops: % saying "very fair"***

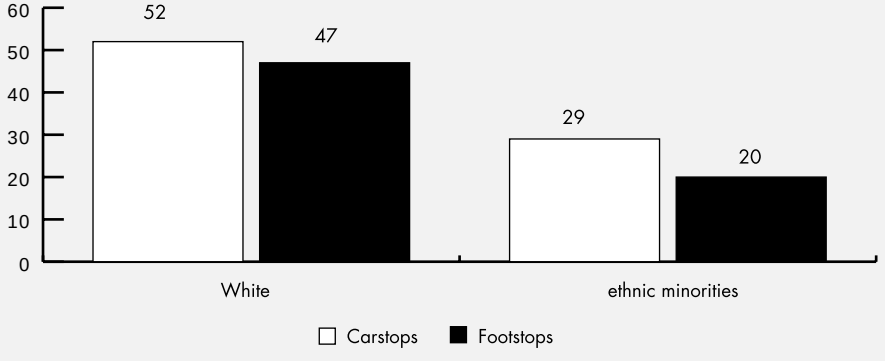



Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 1,469 (car stops) 285 (foot stops).

Respondents were asked to rate the politeness of the police during stops. Figure 5.7 shows that a similar pattern emerged, with very large differences between white and minority suspects.

The vast majority of respondents stopped on foot or in a car rated the police as being "very" or "fairly" polite. As with the question on fairness, however, there were large variations between groups. Figure 5.7 shows that white respondents were significantly more likely to rate the police as very polite than minority ethnic groups ($p<0.01$).

***Figure 5.7 Perceived police politeness in foot and car stops: % of suspects saying "very polite"***

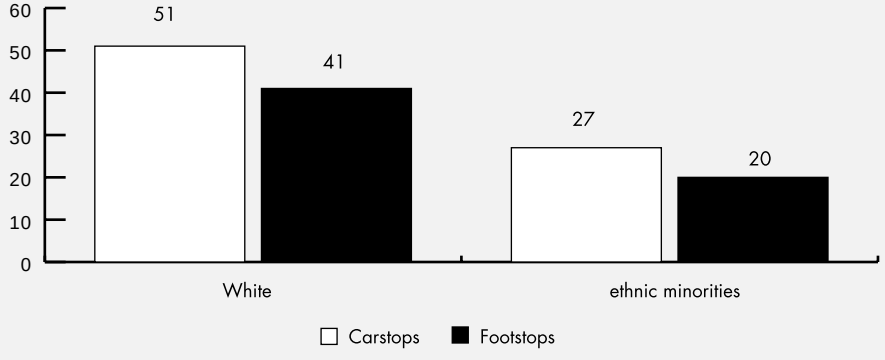



Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 1,472 (car stops), 284 (foot stops).

### *Overall satisfaction*

Of those stopped by the police either on foot or in a car, the majority of respondents felt very or fairly satisfied with the way the police had handled the stop. Four out of five white respondents felt "very" or "fairly satisfied"; but less than two thirds of those from minority groups did so. Figure 5.8 shows the proportions of each group saying they felt "very satisfied". For both foot and car stops significantly more white suspects were "very satisfied" than others ($p<0.01$).

***Figure 5.8 Satisfaction with police behaviour in foot and car stops: % saying "very satisfied"***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 1,472 (car stops), 284 (car stops).

## Key points

- The police approached 25 per cent of the adult population in 1999. The most common reason for police initiated contact was vehicle stops.

- The percentage of the adult population stopped in a car rose from 12 per cent in 1987 to 16 per cent in 1991, and has subsequently declined to 12 per cent in 1999. Between 1987 and 1999 the percentage stopped in foot stayed static at 3 per cent.

- Black people were more likely than any other group to be stopped by the police while on foot or in a car. Asians were least likely to be stopped on foot whilst white people and Indians were least likely to be stopped in a vehicle.The results

of logistic regression modelling suggest that after taking other factors into account, ethnicity was not a strong predictor of the risks of being stopped on foot in 1999. This was in contrast to findings from the mid-1990s BCSs, which showed that other things being equal, black people were more at risk.

- Similar logistic regression models for the risks of car stops found that after taking other demographic factors into account, being black remained a predictor of this form of stop, as did being Pakistani or Bangladeshi.

- Gender and age were also found to be a significant factors in police-initiated contacts, with males aged between 16 – 29 in all ethnic groups significantly more likely to be stopped than older adults or females.

- Of those stopped on foot or in a car during 1999, black respondents were more likely to be subject to more than one stop in the year than other ethnic groups.

- Once stopped either on foot or in a car, white respondents were the least likely to be searched whilst black respondents were more likely to be searched than any other group.

- The majority of respondents stopped either on foot or in a car felt satisfied with the way police handled the stop. However, ethnic differences were marked with white respondents more satisfied than any other group whilst black people were least satisfied.

- Satisfaction with specific aspects of police behaviour was also measured. The majority of those stopped felt they had been treated fairly although again, black respondents were less likely to feel this way compared with white people. Minority groups were also less likely than white people to rate police behaviour as polite.

# 6. The Police and other parts of the Criminal Justice System

This chapter examines public confidence in the police, and explores the relationship between experience of the police and attitudes towards the police. Trends in confidence over time between different demographic groups are then considered. Respondents' knowledge of crime and sentencing is also examined, together with their attitudes towards the criminal justice system as a whole. (See also Mirrlees-Black, 2001 and Sims and Myhill, 2001 for further BCS findings on public confidence in the police and the criminal justice system.) Finally, victims' ratings of Victim Support services are explored.

## Previous BCS findings

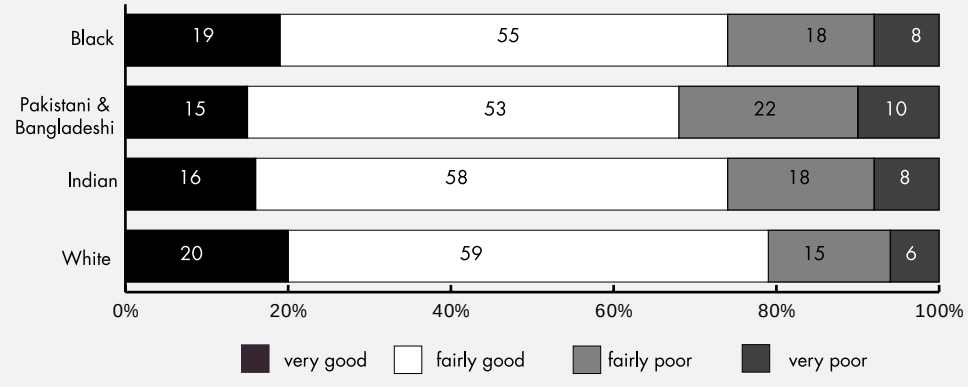
Previous sweeps of the BCS have shown that when they use the police ethnic minorities consistently report lower levels of satisfaction than white people. FitzGerald and Hale's analysis of the combined 1988 and 1992 BCS sweeps found highest levels of dissatisfaction amongst young African Caribbeans and Pakistani males. Overall 67 per cent of white people reckoned that the police did a "very" or "fairly" good job, compared with 61 per cent of Indians, 57 per cent of Pakistanis and 53 per cent of African Caribbeans (FitzGerald and Hale, 1996). Analysis of the 1994 and 1996 BCSs carried out by Bucke (1997) found that satisfaction with the police had increased, with 81 per cent of whites rating the police as doing a "very" or "fairly" good job compared with 75 per cent of Asians and 78 per cent of African Caribbeans.

## Ratings of the local police

One key question about confidence, repeated in every sweep of the BCS, asks, "Would you say the police in this area do a good job or a poor job?" Overall the majority of respondents (78%) believed the police did a "fairly" or a "very good" job. An ethnic breakdown reveals relatively little difference between groups; the majority of all ethnic groups thought their local police did a "very" or "fairly good job" (see Figure 6.1), though white respondents were the most likely to say "very good" and least likely to say "very poor".

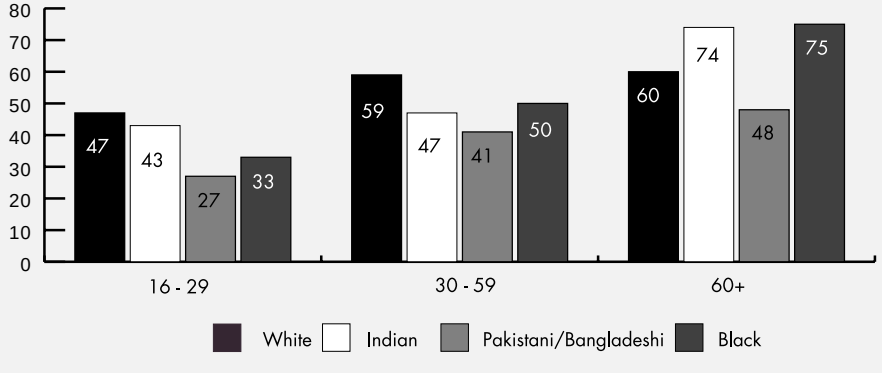
However, a further breakdown of these figures by age group reveals larger differences between ethnic groups (see Figure 6.2). The figure shows 'net confidence' in the quality of local police work, calculated by subtracting, for each group, the proportion of respondents who thought the police did a poor job from the proportion who thought they did a good job. Within each ethnic group, those aged 16–29 showed lower 'net confidence' than older respondents. For all age groups Pakistani and Bangladeshi respondents rated the police lower than other groups; young black respondents were also relatively dissatisfied, but this dissatisfaction lessened amongst the middle-aged. For those aged 60 or more net satisfaction for black and Indian respondents is actually above that for white respondents.

***Figure 6.1 Assessment of police performance by ethnic group***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined 2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 11,055.

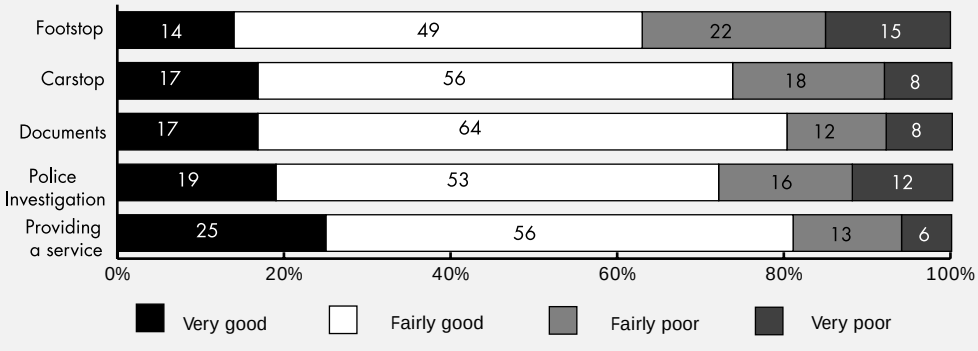
***Figure 6.2 Net satisfaction scores by age and ethnic group***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined. 2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 11,048.

To understand these confidence ratings for the police better, it is important to determine what effect direct experience of the police has upon confidence in their performance. As a first step in our analysis, we compared confidence levels amongst people who had had different sorts of police contact (see Figure 6.3). Unsurprisingly, the lowest ratings were given by those who had had recent experience as suspects; and the highest were given by those contacted by the police providing a service.

***Figure 6.3 Do the police "do a good job"? Ratings according to type of contact***

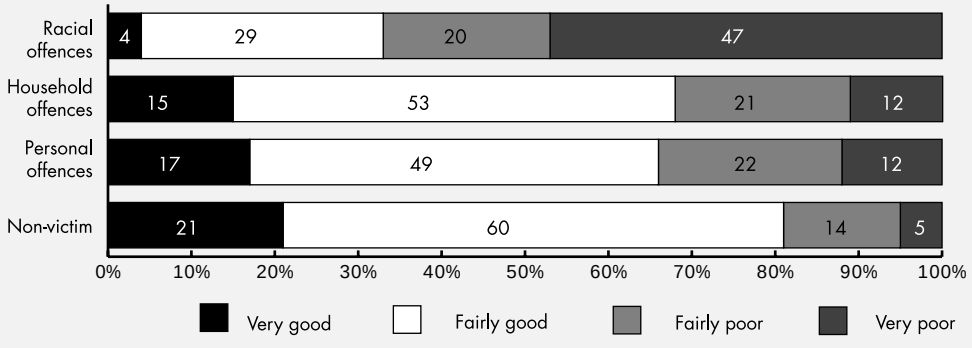



Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core sample only.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n: foot stops = 192, car stops = 969, documents = 234, police investigation = 274, providing a service = 1,065.

A comparison of ratings by type of victimisation was also carried out (see Figure 6.4). Non-victims held the most positive view of the police with only 5 per cent rating the police as doing a "very poor" job. Victims of household and personal offences rated the police very similarly with the majority rating the police as doing a "very/fairly good job" and 12 per cent rating the police as doing a "very poor" job. Conversely, nearly half (47%) of respondents subject to racially motivated crime believed the police did a "very poor" job.

These sets of findings point to various possible explanations of the relationship between experience of the police and confidence in them. The simplest is that the quality of interaction with the police directly affects levels of confidence. Another possibility is that those who are most likely to be suspects or victims are – for quite extraneous reasons – more sceptical of the police than others. A third possibility, at least in the case of crime victims, is that regardless of the quality of the police response, victims blame the police in some sense for the crimes that they have suffered.

***Figure 6.4 Do the police "do a good job"? Ratings by type of victim experience***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core sample only.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n: racial offences = 67, household offences = 3,422, personal offences = 1,381, non-victims = 6,217.

We aimed to test the validity of the first two of these explanations by fitting a logistic regression model to predict dissatisfaction with the police. The analysis was designed to identify the best predictors of people who thought their local police did a "very poor" job. We included amongst the predictor variables demographic characteristics, sought and unsought contact with the police, experience of crime and perceptions of levels of local disorder (or incivilities). Direct experience of the police emerged as a powerful predictor of ratings. Unsurprisingly, being searched on foot was the best predictor of dissatisfaction; worryingly, being a "customer" of the police was also highly predictive.

Significant factors for predicting dissatisfaction with the police are, in predictive order:

1. Being searched on foot
2. High levels of neighbourhood incivilities
3. Seeking contact with the police to report a crime
4. Having a vehicle searched
5. Being employed (*reduces* likelihood of dissatisfaction)
6. Owning a car (*reduces* likelihood of dissatisfaction)
7. Being Pakistani or Bangladeshi
8. Working in a manual occupation
9. Being a victim of any BCS crime
10. Being stopped in a car

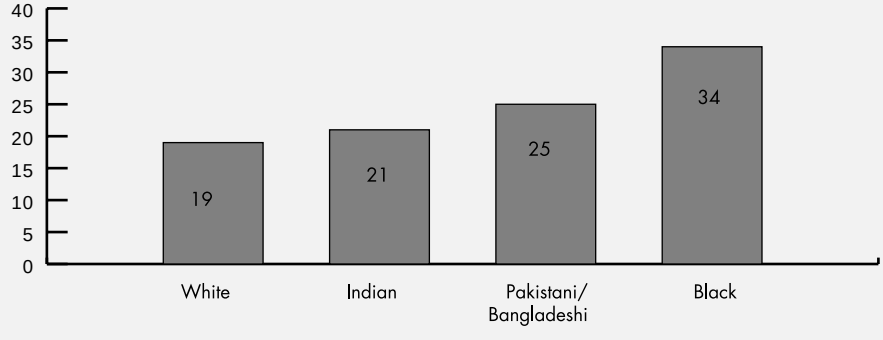
Several variables were excluded from the model, as they failed to contribute significantly to the prediction: being black or Indian, being stopped on foot, having no academic qualifications, low income, living in London, living in an inner city, contact with the police other than reporting a crime, being a victim of a serious offence and gender.

The model suggests that people's assessments of police performance are shaped to a considerable extent by direct first-hand experience of the police. Experience of crime in itself also plays a part, as does living in an area characterised by high levels of disorder. It is surprising, given the generally low ratings that black respondents gave of the police, that being black was not included in the model as it did not contribute significantly to the prediction. The absence of this variable from the model implies that black respondents' low ratings can be predicted by their direct experience of the police, and of crime and disorder (i.e. this indicates that they are no more or less dissatisfied than those white or Indian respondents who have had similar experiences).

## Being "really annoyed" with the police

Respondents were asked whether they had been really annoyed in the last five years by the way police had behaved towards them or someone they knew. Overall 20 per cent had been. Figure 6.5 provides an ethnic breakdown, showing that black respondents were most likely to have been annoyed by the police whilst white respondents were least likely.

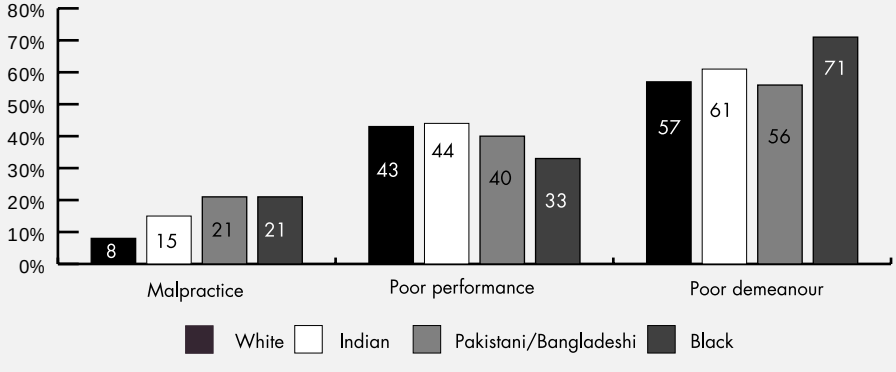
***Figure 6.5 Percentage of respondents "really annoyed" by the police in the last five years by ethnic group.***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 12,535.

Figure 6.6 shows the differing reasons for annoyance between the ethnic groups: respondents were asked, "last time you were really annoyed, what was the reason?" Over half of all respondents annoyed in the last five years mentioned police demeanour or manners. Twenty-one percent of both black respondents and Pakistani/Bangladeshi respondents who reported being "really annoyed" reported malpractice[32] amongst police compared with 15 per cent of Indians and only 8 per cent of white respondents. All minority groups had experienced significantly more cases of malpractice than white people ($p<0.01$). A large percentage of respondents also mentioned poor police performance as the reason for their annoyance with 44 per cent of Indians and 43 per cent whites citing this reason compared with 40 per cent of Pakistanis/Bangladeshis and 33 per cent of black respondents.

***Figure 6.6 Reasons for annoyance with the police, by ethnic group: percentage of those "really annoyed" citing each reason***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 2,546.

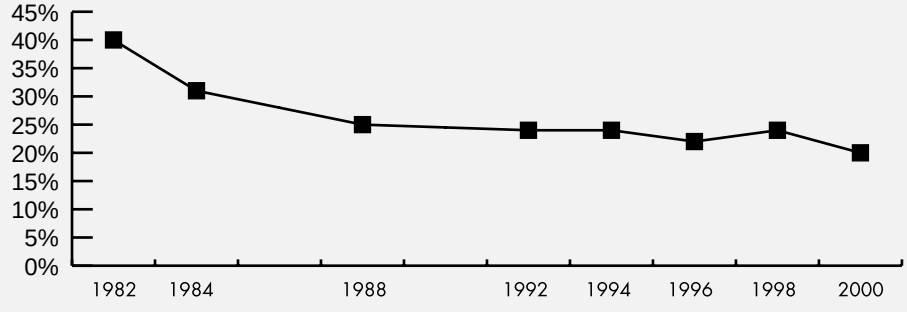
## Trends in public confidence in the police

The BCS is able to provide a long-term analysis of trends in public confidence in the police. Figure 6.7 shows that since 1982 there has been a fall, with half the number of respondents rating local[33] police as "very good" in 2000 compared with 1982, with much of this decline occurring in the 1980s.

32 The category "malpractice" comprises use of undue force/violence/assault, illegal behaviour, use of racist language or behaviour.

33 There is a further BCS question on how good a job the police do *in general* – allowing comparisons to be made with other parts of the criminal justice system. These findings are reported below.

***Figure 6.7 Percentages saying that local police do a "very good job", 1982 – 2000***




Notes:
1. Source: 1982 – 2000 BCS, core samples only.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n: 1982 = 5,141, 1984 = 6,120, 1988 = 4,246, 1992 = 4,249, 1994 = 6,796, 1996 = 7,392, 1998 = 6,699, 2000 = 8,592.
2. Very good ratings for 1982 and 1984 are 40 per cent and 31 per cent; these are slightly lower than figures previously published in Sims and Myhill (2001) and elsewhere (the previously published rates were 43% and 34%). The rate are now consistent with those for more recent years, with "refusals" and "don't know" responses excluded from the calculations.

Table 6.1 compares "very good" ratings by ethnic groups from 1988 to 2000. It is clear that ethnic minorities are consistently less likely than white respondents to think that the police do a very good job. The "very good" rating for white respondents reached its lowest point in 2000 (20%), but for minority ethnic groups the trends are less clear, with the equivalent rating given by black respondents (19%) being at its highest.

***Table 6.1: Trend in 'very good' ratings of local police by ethnic group, 1988 – 2000***

| | White | Indian | Pakistanis and Bangladeshis | Black |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1988 | 26% | 11% | 17% | 16% |
| 1992 | 23% | 22% | 23% | 18% |
| 1994 | 24% | 18% | 18% | 17% |
| 1996 | 22% | 17% | 16% | 19% |
| 1998[1] | 24% | - | - | - |
| 2000 | 20% | 16% | 15% | 19% |

Notes:
1. An ethnic minority booster sample was not incorporated in the 1998 BCS. Ethnic groups have therefore been excluded from analyses in this year due to numbers being too small for reliable analysis.
2. Source: 1988 – 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
3. Weighted data.

## Attitudes towards other parts of the Criminal Justice System

Previous sweeps of the BCS have indicated that public knowledge of crime and criminal justice is often limited. There is clear evidence that public misperceptions reduce confidence in the criminal justice system as a whole (Hough and Roberts, 1998; Mattinson and Mirrlees-Black, 2000). Mirrlees-Black (2001) contains the main findings on public confidence in the criminal justice system. Here we summarise some of the key findings from the 2000 BCS as they relate to differences between *ethnic* groups in attitudes and knowledge about the criminal justice system. Only a small proportion[34] of the ethnic minority booster sample answered this set of questions, and numbers in sub-samples are insufficient to support detailed analysis. Instead, we have simply compared white respondents with those from visible ethnic minorities to give some limited indication on differences in attitudes between white and minority ethnic groups.

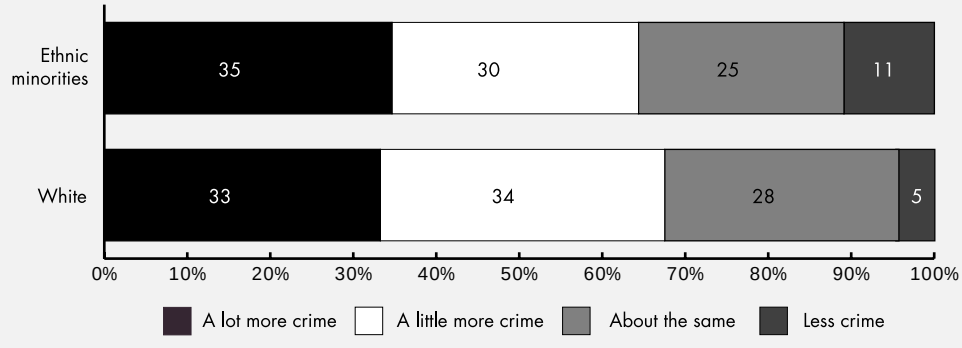
The limitations on the sample meant that it was not possible to take account of the younger age profiles of ethnic minority respondents in assessing differences in levels of confidence in the CJS. Interestingly, Mirrlees-Black (2001) reports that in general the middle-aged tend to be less confident in the criminal justice system as a whole than the young or the old.

### *Knowledge of crime and sentencing*

Between 1997 and 1999, recorded crime rates fell in England and Wales by 5 per cent. If anything, the police figures understate the real trend, as the BCS indicated a 10 per cent fall over the same period. Respondents in the 2000 BCS were asked how the recorded crime rate had altered over the previous two years. As Figure 6.8 shows, only a small proportion of people were aware of this trend, with few clear differences emerging between ethnic groups: 67 per cent of white respondents and 65 per cent of ethnic minorities thought crime had risen; most of the remainder thought it had stayed the same. However, a higher proportion of minorities than whites were correct in saying that recorded crime had fallen, a difference which was statistically significant.

34 489 out of a total ethnic minority boost of 3,874 .

***Figure 6.8 Estimation of recorded crime trend over the past two years***

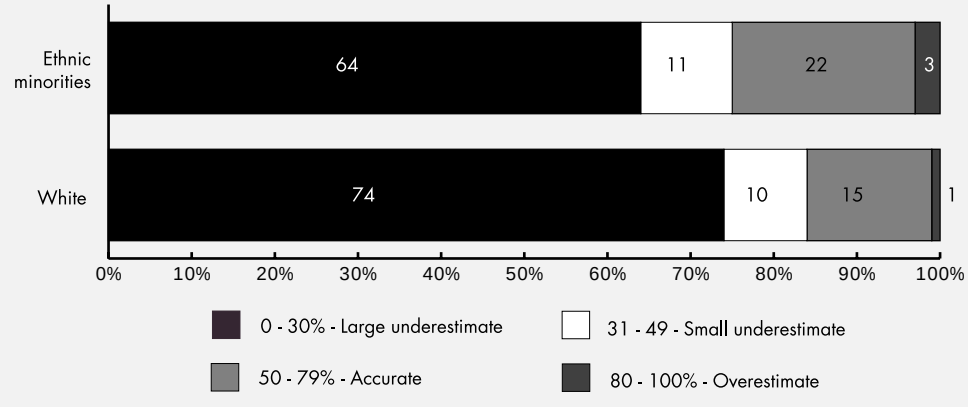



Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 9,707.

Respondents were asked to estimate the proportion of convicted adult house burglars (aged 21 or over) who received a prison sentence. We have defined as accurate any response that fell between 50 per cent and 79 per cent , the correct figure for 1999 being 72 per cent.[35] The majority of respondents gave substantial underestimates (see Figure 6.9). White respondents were significantly more likely than those from ethnic minorities to do so; 74 per cent of the former and 64 per cent of the latter believed that less than 30 per cent of convicted burglars are sent to prison. More minority respondents gave accurate estimates than white ones – 22 per cent, compared with 15 per cent, another statistically significant difference.

35 The banding being is skewed to accept a greater range of lower percentages as 'accurate' as this percentage has been increasing in recent years.

***Figure 6.9: Estimates of use of imprisonment for convicted adult burglars***



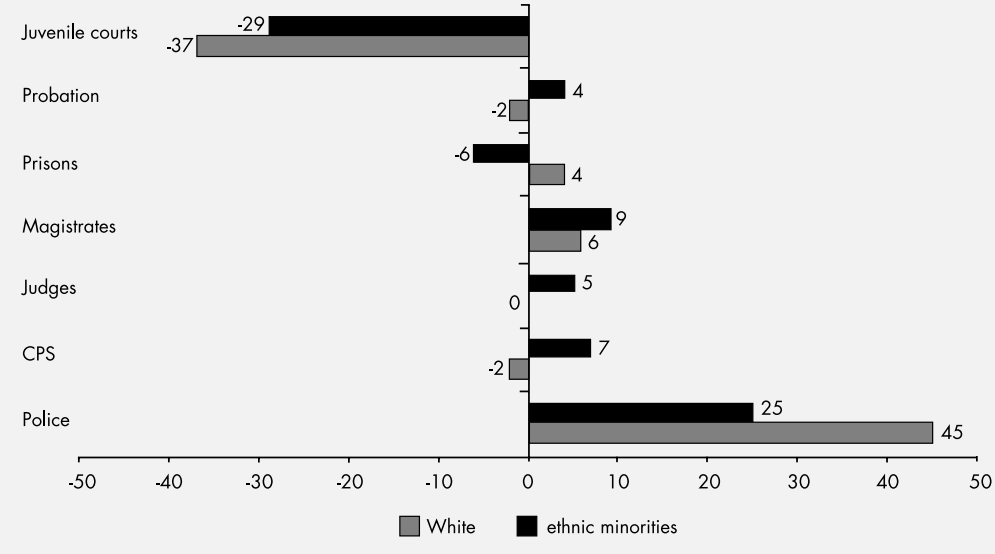

Notes:
1. Question: "Out of every 100 adults aged 21 or over who are convicted of house burglary, how many do you think are sent to prison?"
2. Source, 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
3. Weighted data, unweighted data n = 9,437.

### *"How good a job" is done by different parts of the criminal justice system?*

Respondents were asked to say how good a job they thought different parts of the criminal justice system were doing. Figure 6.10 shows that differences between ethnic minorities and white respondents are small. The figure shows a "net satisfaction" score for each group, which has been calculated by subtracting the percentage of respondents saying that the group does a "poor" or "very poor" job from the percentage of respondents who say the group does an "excellent" or "good" job (those saying the group do a "fair" job do not enter into the calculation).[36] For both white and minority respondents the police commanded more confidence than other agencies. However, minorities' net satisfaction with the police was almost half that of whites. In contrast, minorities' net satisfaction scores for other parts of the system was *higher* than that of whites for all other parts of the system with the exception of the Prison Service.

36 The score has been devised to enable a single comparison between groups in a way that takes account both of proportions satisfied and dissatisfied – the responses categories differ from those used for rating the local police that use a four point response scale of "very good/fairly good/fairly poor/very poor".

***Figure 6.10: Net satisfaction with the criminal justice system***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n: 8,740.

Differences in assessments of the criminal justice system between those who report that they have *ever* being a victim of crime reported to the police and non-victims were also considered (see Table 6.2). Those who had come into contact with the police or other criminal justice agencies as victims of crime had a lower opinion than those who had not been victimised; this was true for both white and ethnic minority victims.

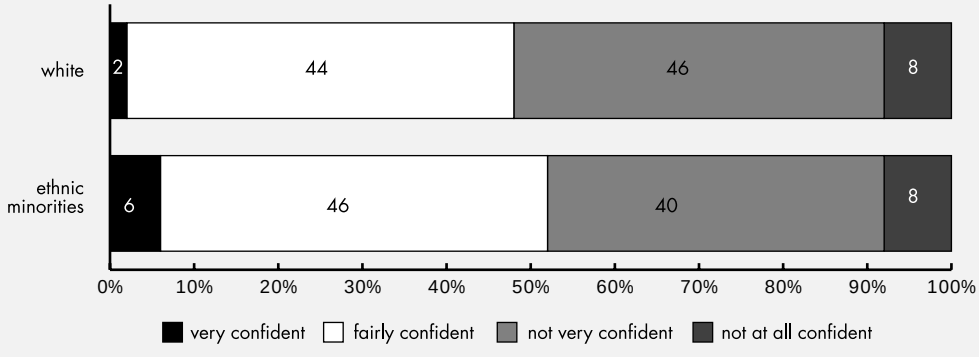
***Table 6.2: Percentage of "poor" ratings of professional groups within the Criminal Justice System by ethnicity and experience of victimisation***

| | White non victims | Ethnic minority non victims | White victims | Ethnic minority victims |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Juvenile courts | 35 | 30 | 37 | 34 |
| Probation service | 18 | 16 | 22 | 23 |
| Prisons | 20 | 24 | 23 | 28 |
| Magistrates | 17 | 14 | 18 | 25 |
| Judges | 23 | 15 | 26 | 27 |
| Crown Prosecution Service | 18 | 16 | 22 | 21 |
| Police | 6 | 13 | 8 | 14 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, smallest unweighted n is 8,738.

Respondents were asked whether judges and magistrates were in touch with what ordinary people think. As in previous sweeps, the vast majority of both white and minority respondents said they were not. Eighty percent of white respondents and 76 per cent of ethnic minorities said that judges were out of touch. Scepticism was slightly more muted in relation to magistrates: 66 per cent of ethnic minorities and 62 per cent of white respondents said they were "a bit" or "very out of touch".

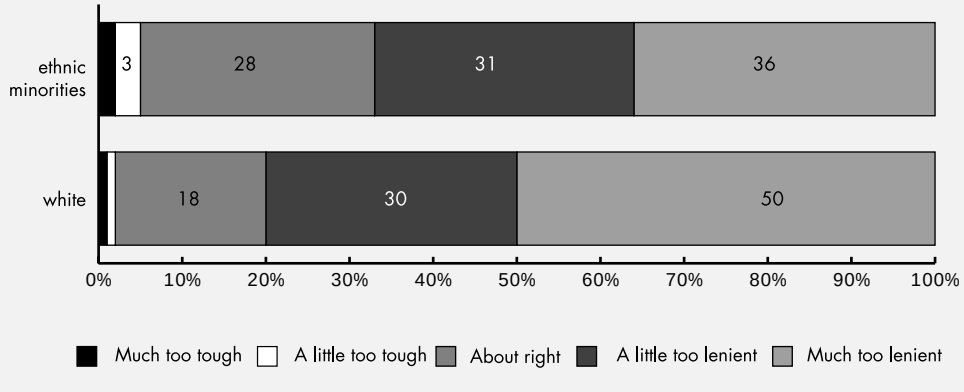
***Figure 6.12: Respondent confidence in the effectiveness of the criminal justice system in bringing people to justice***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 9,860.

Public opinion about sentencing severity was also examined by the survey. The majority of respondents thought that courts were too lenient, though there were marked differences between white respondents and others: 50 per cent of white respondents thought they were "much too lenient", compared with 36 per cent of minority respondents (see Figure 6.13).

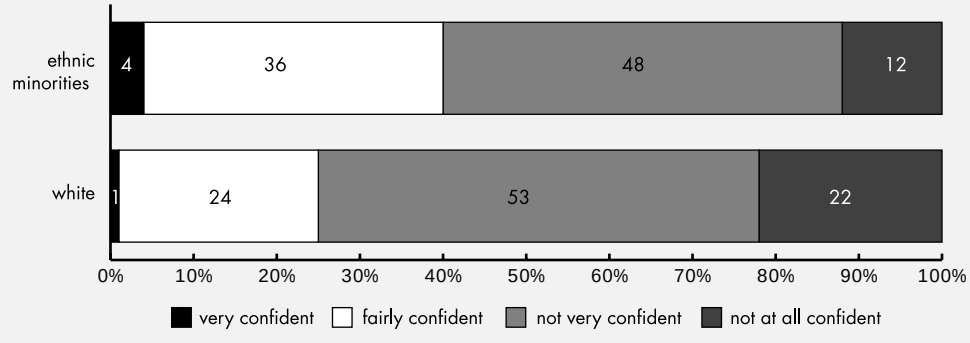
***Figure 6.13: Views on the adequacy of court sentencing***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 9,579.

We examined differences between ethnic groups in the belief that the criminal justice system treated offenders fairly. Seventy percent of white respondents said they were very or fairly confident that suspects are treated fairly, compared with 62 per cent of ethnic minorities. In contrast, the majority of respondents felt that the criminal justice system is not adequately meeting the needs of victims although ethnic minorities had slightly more confidence in the justice system than white respondents (see Figure 6.14).

***Figure 6.14 Respondents' confidence in the ability of the criminal justice system to meet the needs of victims***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 9,815.

## Victim Support

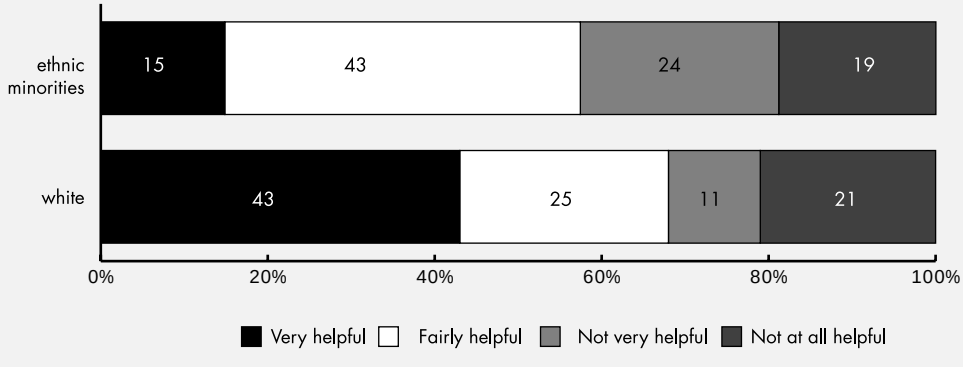
The 2000 BCS asked respondents who had been victims of serious crime in the previous 12 months whether they had contact with Victim Support[37] services. Only 6 per cent of victims reporting to the police had been referred for contact and only 17 per cent of those who had no contact or had never heard of Victim Support felt it might have been helpful. Of those who had been referred, the majority found it to be helpful with 68 per cent believing Victim Support to be "very/fairly" helpful. Referral rates were the same for both household and personal crime (6%). However, within these broad groupings there was considerable variation amongst offence types, with more serious crimes attracting higher referral rates. Referrals rose to 11 per cent for violent and sexual crimes whilst 17 per cent of burglary victims were referred. For thefts of and from vehicles, only 2 per cent of victims were referred.

37 Victim Support is a national charity with about 380 member schemes. In 2000 Victim Support had around 800 employees and over 14,000 volunteers. It provides free, confidential support, information and practical help to victims. Most referrals to Victim Support are made by the police. Self-referral is also possible (e.g., via the Victim Support line).

Maguire and Kynch's (2000) analysis of the 1998 BCS suggested that victims from ethnic minorities might be referred to support workers less frequently than white victims. Amongst victims who contacted the police, those from minorities in the 2000 BCS were in fact slightly more likely to be contacted by Victim Support services (8%) than white victims (6%). The 2000 BCS is probably a better guide, as the 1998 BCS did not have a booster sample of ethnic minority respondents.

There is some indication that ethnic minority victims were less satisfied with Victim Support services than whites. Although numbers are small (with only 86 minority victims who received Victim Support services) Figure 6.15 shows a difference of 28 percentage points between these and white victims in the proportion who found Victim Support very helpful. This difference is statistically significant ($p<0.01$); however, there are insufficient cases to allow us to investigate whether it is a function of differences between groups in the nature of victim experience. It is possible that the minority victims had had experiences for which it was intrinsically harder to provide satisfactory support.

***Figure 6.15: Rating of Victim Support service by ethnic group***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 296.
3. Based on victims reporting to the police.

Comparisons of victims who had no contact with support services reveals marked ethnic differences in estimations of its benefits: 33 per cent of such victims from minority ethnic groups said that referral to Victim Support would have been useful, compared with 15 per cent of white victims.

## Key points

- The majority of respondents thought the police did a good job and very little difference was found between ethnic groups. Conversely, marked differences existed across age groups, with younger respondents less likely to rate the police positively than older respondents.

- Previous contact with the police affected ratings with those stopped on foot giving the lowest ratings compared with those contacted by the police providing a service who rated the police most positively. Ratings by victims of crime were also measured, the majority of those affected by household or personal crime rated the police as doing a good job. Conversely, nearly half of those subject to racial victimisation thought the police did a very poor job.

- Respondents were rather pessimistic about crime trends with around two thirds of white and minority ethnic respondents believing that national crime levels had increased between 1997 and 1999. Around a third believe crime had increased 'a lot' when this is not indicated by BCS or police figures.

- Ethnic differences regarding attitudes to the criminal justice system are small. Overall, the police were rated most positively whilst respondents had the lowest opinion of juvenile courts.

- Differences in opinion between victims and non-victims were more marked with victims rating the criminal justice system much less positively than non-victims.

- An examination of Victim Support shows usage to be low. A comparison of opinions of Victim Support between minorities and white people reveals that the majority of victims who had experienced it rated it positively. However, ethnic differences were evident with white victims rating it most highly and Pakistani and Bangladeshi victims least likely to find it helpful.

# 7. Anxiety about Crime

Anxiety about crime has come to be recognised as a pervasive social phenomenon, which nevertheless impacts more heavily on some groups than others (e.g.Mirrlees and Allen, 1998; Hough, 1995; Krahn and Kennedy, 1984; Skogan, 1986; Smith, 1989). Any thorough examination of the impact of crime on different ethnic groups needs to take account not simply of the risks that different groups run, but of the anxiety that these risks create. Where there are differences between ethnic groups in anxiety about crime, the sources of these differential anxieties need to be understood, so that the need for a policy response can be assessed.

Earlier sweeps of the BCS have established that such differences exist. FitzGerald and Hale's (1996) analysis of the 1988 and 1993 BCSs found that Asians were more fearful of crime than other groups. Similarly, Hough's (1995) analysis of the 1994 BCS found that 61 per cent of Asians were "very" or "fairly" worried about racial crime compared with 49 per cent of African Caribbeans and 15 per cent of whites. Asians were more likely to express worry about a range of different sorts of crime, even when other predisposing factors such as local crime risks had been taken into account. This chapter updates earlier BCS analyses, and explores possible reasons for ethnic differences.

## Who is anxious about crime?

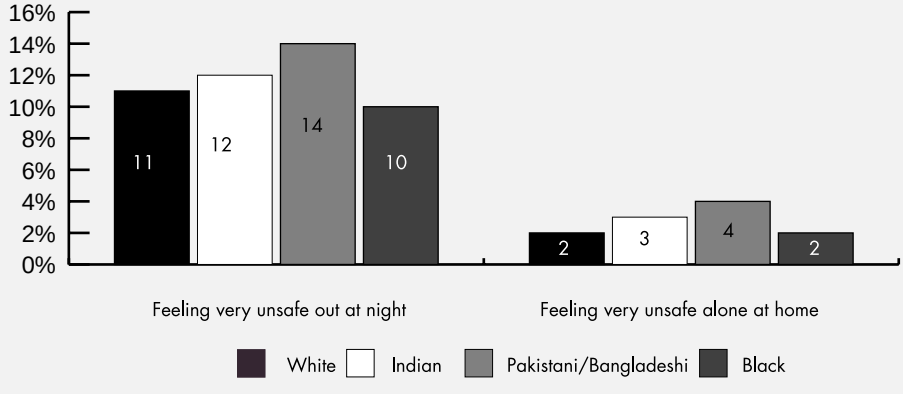
The BCS has a battery of questions that measure different dimensions of "fear of crime". There are two questions that ask how safe people feel in two specific circumstances: when walking alone in their area at night, and when alone in their own home at night. There is a series of further questions asking how worried people are about a range of crimes which includes burglary, rape, vehicle crime and racial attack.

First we have presented some simple bivariate findings, showing how different measures of anxiety about crime vary across ethnic group. It should be remembered from Chapter 2 that minorities are on average more at risk of crime than white people, and unsurprisingly they tend to be more anxious about crime. Later in the chapter we explore whether this is a function simply of the greater risks they run.

### *Feeling unsafe*

Overall, the majority (67%) of respondents felt "very" or "fairly" safe walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark with only 12 per cent feeling "very unsafe"; 92 per cent of respondents felt "very" or "fairly" safe alone in their homes at night. Figure 7.1 shows that Asian respondents, and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in particular, were more likely than others to say that they felt "very unsafe" at night, both in their homes and walking alone in their neighbourhood.

***Figure 7.1 Percentage of respondents feeling "very unsafe" by ethnic group***



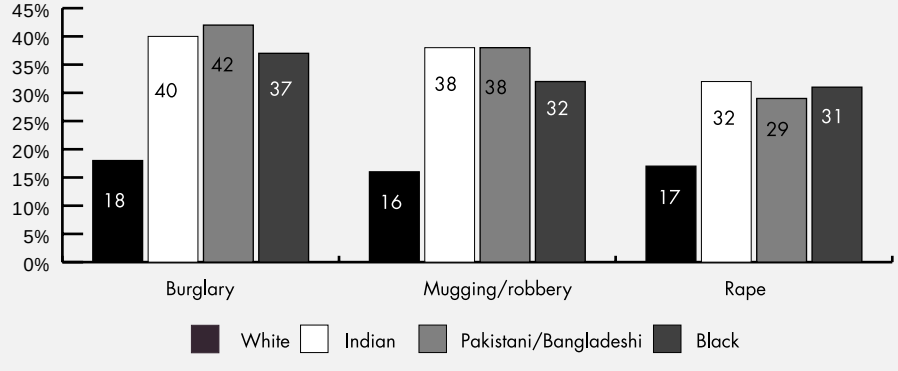

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n: out at night = 22,498, at home alone = 22,599.

Many more respondents reported feeling "very unsafe" alone in their neighbourhood after dark than in their homes. Differences between the ethnic groups were not marked, though there were very large differences between the sexes, with women much more likely to say they felt unsafe. Older people were much more likely to feel unsafe than younger people. These demographic patterns were consistent (and statistically significant) across ethnic groups. There were also statistically significant differences between white respondents living in London and others, with the latter being less likely to feel unsafe ($p<0.05$). However, ethnic minorities living in London were less likely to feel unsafe than those living elsewhere, although these differences were not significant.

### *Worry about specific types of crime*

Respondents from minority ethnic groups were again more likely to express anxiety than white respondents. Figure 7.2 shows the percentages who said that they were "very worried" about burglary, mugging and rape. Minority respondents were more worried than whites for all three crimes (see Kershaw et al., 2000, for additional findings).

***Figure 7.2 Anxieties about specific crimes – percent "very worried"***

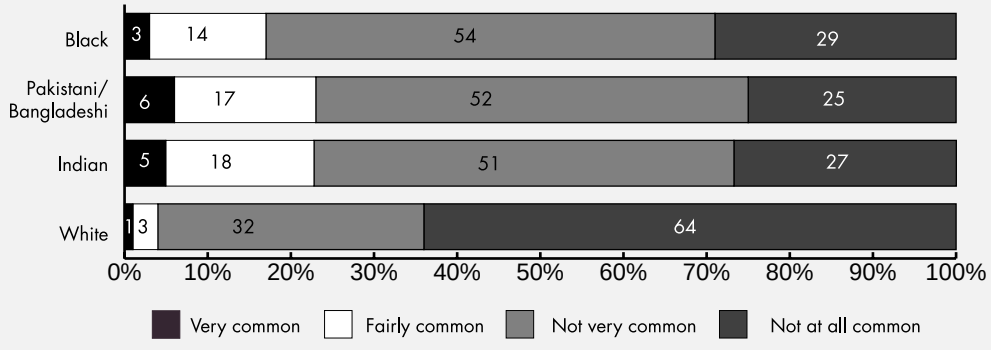



Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n: burglary = 22,617; mugging/robbery = 22,597; rape = 22,547.

Within age groups, sexes, and geographic area, minority respondents were consistently more likely to express anxiety about burglary and robbery than white respondents. As previous analyses have shown, anxiety about these crimes does not increase with age (see for example Hough, 1995); and this remained true for ethnic minorities. Young women worried more than older ones about rape, regardless of ethnicity.

Respondents were asked about the extent of racial crime within their neighbourhood, and how much they worried about it. Figure 7.3 shows that Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Indians were more likely to see racial crime as common than black respondents, and (unsurprisingly) white respondents.

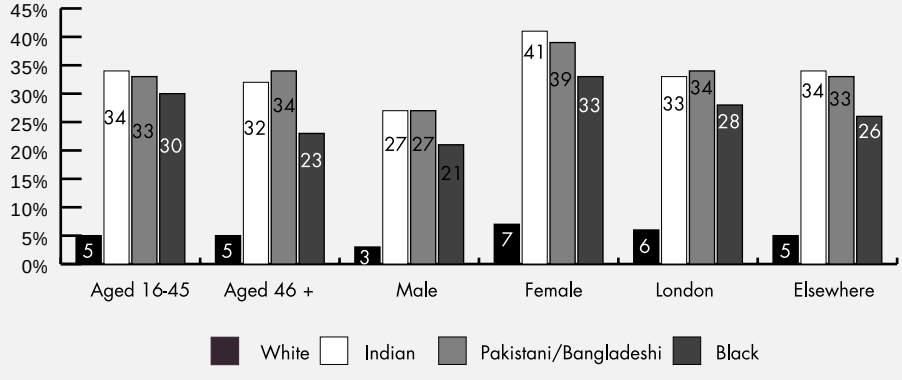
***Figure 7.3: Respondents' perceptions of the extent of racial crime within their neighbourhood by ethnic group***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS – core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted data, unweighted n = 12,257.
3. Respondents were also asked how much of a problem racial attacks were in their area. Results were almost identical (see Hales et al., 2000).

Figure 7.4 shows that a minority of all groups felt "very worried" about racial crime. Nevertheless, ethnic minorities were markedly more likely to worry about racial attack than whites, with Asians expressing more worry than black respondents. Where people lived did not seem an important determinant: differences between respondents living in London and others were slight. Women were more worried than men. Young people were no less worried than older ones; and indeed amongst black respondents older individuals seemed less worried.

***Figure 7.4: Percentage of respondents "very worried" about racial attack***




Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.
2. Weighted n, unweighted n: 16–45= 11,160; 46+ =11,423; male = 10,291; female = 12,307; London = 4,019; elsewhere = 18,579.

## Factors affecting anxiety about crime

This section uses logistic regression to examine which factors are most predictive of anxiety about crime. We initially developed simple demographic models to determine *who* is most susceptible to fear of crime. More in-depth explanatory analyses were then carried out to identify *why* some groups were more fearful than others.

Table 7.1 lists demographic variables in order of predictive power for each measure of fear. Being of Asian origin is predictive of worry for all crimes. So too is being black, for all measures except that relating to walking alone at night.

***Table 7.1: Demographic factors predicting fearfulness***

| Feeling unsafe walking alone in neighbourhood at night | Feeling unsafe alone at home at night | Worry about being burgled |
|---|---|---|
| 1.Being female | 1.Being female | 1.Being Indian/Pakistani/ Bangladeshi |
| 2.Being aged over 60 | 2.Being Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Indian | 2.Being black |
| 3.Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 3.Being black | 3.Being male |
| 4.Being Indian | 4.Being aged over 60 | 4.Being aged 60 or under |
| 5.Living alone | 5.Living alone | 5.Living alone (*reduces* fear) |
| **Worry about being mugged** | **Worry about being raped** | **Worry about racial attack** |
| 1.Being Indian/ Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 1.Being female | 1.Being Indian/ Pakistani/Bangladeshi |
| 2.Being female | 2.Being Indian/ Pakistani/ Bangladeshi | 2.Being black |
| 3.Being black | 3.Being black | 3.Being female |
| 4.Being aged under 25 | 4.Being aged under 25 | 4.Living alone (*reduces* fear)[1] |
| *Number of people in the household was not significant | 5.Living alone (*reduces* fear) | 5.Being aged less than 40 |

Note:1 This may be due to individuals' fear for the safety of their family, a factor that could increase fear among Asians in particularly as they are more likely to live in families.

Women are more anxious on all six measures, most notably (and unsurprisingly) with regard to rape. Younger age is also predictive of increased anxiety for the four types of crime considered. Despite popular stereotypes, (and consistent with previous BCS analysis) the elderly emerge as no more fearful than others on the majority of the measures; they are less anxious about burglary, and young people are more anxious about mugging, rape and racial attack. However, the elderly were found to be more fearful when walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark and when at home alone.

We then ran fuller regression analyses incorporating additional variables, with the intention of identifying the factors that predispose people to worry about crime. The additional variables were: previous experience as victim; perceptions of the extent of local 'incivility' (e.g. vandalism, litter); the perceived social cohesiveness of the neighbourhood; perceptions of risk of crime; and measures of social vulnerability to crime.

The results are presented in Table 7.2 (for worry about personal crimes) and Table 7.3 (for worry about household crimes). They are broadly consistent with a similar analysis of the 1994 BCS (Hough, 1995). Whilst women are more fearful for all six measures, direct or indirect experience as a victim of crime also emerge as highly predictive, as do perceptions of risk. Perceived levels of 'incivilities' are also important: people who think that their area has high levels of disorder, litter and graffiti tend to be more anxious on several measures of fear. Respondents' social vulnerability to crime was also a factor: people who lived in cohesive neighbourhoods, or who were affluent, generally worried less than others did.

What is striking about these tables is that when all these factors have been taken into account, ethnicity still emerges as a strong predictor on several measures of anxiety about crime. It is not surprising that ethnicity is the strongest predictor of worry about racial attack, but it is noteworthy how frequently it emerges as a predictor for the other measures. The Pakistani/Bangladeshi group in particular emerges as a group for whom worry about crime is obvious highly salient.

**Table 7.2: Demographic and other predictors of anxiety about personal crime (most to least)**

| Feeling unsafe alone after dark | Worry about mugging | Worry about rape | Worry about racial attack |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Being female | 1. Being female | 1. Being female | 1. Being Indian |
| 2. Racism in local area | 2 Perceiving risk of victimisation as high | 2. Perceiving risk of victimisation as high | 2. Being Pakistani or Bangladeshi |
| 3 Perceiving victimisation risks as high | 3. Being Indian | 3. Being Pakistani or Bangladeshi | 3. Being black |
| 4. Being in poor health | 4. Racism in area | 4. Being Indian | 4. Racism in area |
| 5. Being aged over 60 | 5. Being Pakistani or Bangladeshi | 5. Racism in local area | 5. Perceiving victimisation risks to be high |
| 6. High levels of local incivilities | 6. Having no academic qualifications | 6. Working in a manual occupation | 6. Being female |
| 7. Being Indian | 7. Previous experience of robbery | 7. Being aged less than 25 | 7. Living in London |
| 8. Being black (*reduces* fear) | 8. High levels of local incivilities | 8. Being black | 8. Living alone (*reduces* fear) |
| 9. Being Pakistani or Bangladeshi | 9. Living in London | 9. High levels of local incivilities | 9. Earning a low income |
| 10. Having no academic qualifications | 10. Owning a car (*reduces* fear) | 10. Living in London | 10. Having no academic qualifications |
| 11. Living in a socially uncohesive area | 11. Being black | 11. Living alone (*reduces* fear) | 11. Working in a manual occupation |
| 12. Not owning a car | 12. Working in a manual occupation | | |
| 13. Living in an inner city | 13. Living alone (reduces fear) | | |
| 14. Earning a low income | 14. Earning a low income | | |
| 15. Knowing a victim of street crime | 15. Living in an inner city | | |
| * Social class, previous experience of burglary, vehicle theft, violent crime, robbery, sexual attack, number in household, employment status and living in London were not significant. | *Social cohesion, previous experience of vehicle theft, burglary, violent crime, health, employment status, age and knowing a victim of street crime were not significant. | *Health, income, car ownership, social cohesion, living in an inner city, previous experience of burglary, vehicle theft, violent crime, robbery, sexual attack, employment status, education and knowing a victim of street crime were not significant | *Social cohesion, high levels of local incivilities, previous experience of vehicle theft, burglary, violent crime, sexual attack, robbery, health, living in an inner city, owning a car, employment status, being aged over 30 and knowing a victim of street crime were not significant. |

***Table 7.3: Demographic and other predictors of anxiety about household crime (listed most to least predictive)***

| Feeling unsafe alone at home | Worry about burglary |
|---|---|
| 1. Being a victim of sexual abuse | 1. Perceiving victimisation risks as high |
| 2. Being female | 2. Previous experience of burglary |
| 3. Perceiving victimisation risks as high | 3. Being Indian |
| 4. Previous experience of burglary | 4. Being Pakistani or Bangladeshi |
| 5. Being in poor health | 5. Racism in the local area |
| 6. Being Indian | 6. Knowing a victim of burglary |
| 7. Racism in the local area | 7. High levels of local incivilities |
| 8. Being Pakistani or Bangladeshi | 8. Being employed |
| 9. High levels of local incivilities | 9. Being black |
| 10. Living in a socially uncohesive area | 10. Being aged 60 or under |
| 11. Earning a low income | 11. Being female |
| 12. Knowing a victim of burglary | 12. Living alone (*reduces* fear) |
| 13. Being aged over 60 | 13. Having no academic qualifications |
| 14. Working in a manual occupation | 14. Working in a manual occupation |
| | 15. Living in an inner city |
| | 16. Earning a low income |

*Being black, living in an inner city, previous victimisation, experience of vehicle theft, violent crime, robbery, number of people in household, employment status, living in London and education were not significant.

*Health, social cohesion, previous experience of vehicle theft, violent crime, robbery, sexual attack and living in London were not significant.

## Key points

- Fear of crime differs across ethnic groups with minority respondents more likely to be fearful than white people. Young males report the lowest overall fear whilst fear increases amongst older respondents and those living in inner city areas.

- Fear levels fluctuate across ethnic groups for different types of crime although minority groups are more fearful than white individuals of all crime types. Specifically, Indians report the greatest fear of burglary and all Asian groups are more fearful than other groups of being mugged/robbed.

- Ethnicity can be a strong predictor of fear even when other socio-economic and demographic variables have been taken into account, with the Bangladeshi/Pakistani group being a group for whom worry about crime is obviously highly salient.

# 8. Discussion

This report has presented findings from the 2000 BCS on ethnic minorities' experience of, and attitudes towards, crime and policing. The results are extensive and wide-ranging. They are of value to policy mainly in supporting description of social *problems*. Descriptive data of this sort do not generally point to precise *solutions*, though they can indicate where solutions are needed.

The findings can also provide a baseline against which to assess change. They need to be considered against the backdrop of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (Macpherson, 1999). The Inquiry not only identified the shortcomings in police performance relating specifically to the investigation of Stephen Lawrence's murder. It also considered the wider context of relations between police and minority ethnic groups in London and elsewhere, examining the sources of tension between the police and some minority ethnic groups and the relatively low confidence in the police amongst ethnic minorities. The report triggered a range of policing reforms both in London and nationally, designed specifically to improve the response to racially motivated crime, and more generally to improve confidence in policing and criminal justice amongst minority ethnic groups. Many of these measures were announced shortly after the publication of the Inquiry's report in February 1999, and put into place over the following months. A recent report on progress (Home Office, 2001) details the steps that have been taken and are in hand to implement the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry recommendations.

It is a moot point whether one should expect survey measures of public confidence to show any improvement after a gap of twelve months or less (fieldwork for the 2000 BCS was largely in the first quarter of that year). The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry placed problems under the spotlight and it is not surprising if indices of confidence therefore dip before improving. And in any case, it is likely that there would be a lag between substantive improvements and public recognition of this.

## Key findings

The main findings have been summarised at the start of the report. As might be expected, most of them are consistent with previous sweeps of BCS, and there are few surprises. The key findings to emphasise are:

- Ethnic minorities run greater risks of crime than white people, though this largely reflects the fact that minority populations are concentrated in large cities and in particular in those parts of conurbations where the crime risks are high for everyone, regardless of ethnicity.

- Whilst ethnic minorities do not generally face greater risks of crime than white people living in similar areas, a much greater proportion of the assaults, threats and vandalism that they experience are judged by victims to be racially motivated.

- The BCS indicates that the number of racially motivated incidents has fallen between 1995 and 1999 alongside a general fall in crime. It appears that the very substantial increases in police statistics reflect victims' greater willingness to report, and better recording by the police.

- People from ethnic minorities worry more about crime than white respondents – a finding which held up even when account was taken of the sorts of area in which respondents lived, and their direct and indirect experiences of crime.

- Although people from minority ethnic groups are no less prepared to seek help from the police, they are consistently less satisfied with the service they receive.

- The experience of reporting crimes to the police seemed in itself to reduce confidence in the police, this being the case for both ethnic minority and white victims.

- Black people were more likely than either whites or Asians to be stopped by the police, and when they were stopped – on foot or in vehicles – they were more dissatisfied with the treatment they received. Being stopped and being searched seemed to lead to a reduced confidence in the police.

## Greater crime risks for ethnic minorities

This finding confirms what previous sweeps of the BCS have established. Ethnic minorities' risks of crime are generally greater than those of white people, largely reflecting the fact that the minority ethnic populations are concentrated in areas where risks are high regardless of ethnicity. The higher crime risks among minority ethnic groups may be thought of quite largely as a consequence of the economic disadvantage experienced by many minority groups. The implications of this are less for criminal policy, and more for broader social policy; in assessing the need for action to address the economic disadvantage experienced by some minority ethnic groups, account needs to be taken not only of the direct impact of low income, but also of the indirect consequences, such as higher crime risks.

## Racially motivated crimes

The BCS sheds considerable light on levels and trends in racially motivated offending. The 2000 BCS shows that racially motivated *attacks* account for less than half of all racially motivated incidents. Victims from ethnic minorities frequently identify a racial motivation in incidents involving threats, insults or vandalism. As FitzGerald and Hale (1996) suggested, many of these incidents are likely to be *racially aggravated* – where, for example, a dispute between neighbours culminates in racist abuse.

What this means is that people from ethnic minorities face similar levels of risk of violence, threatening behaviour and vandalism as white people, but that in similar circumstances there is a much greater probability that those incidents which they experience will include a racial element. The BCS suggests that this element of racial motivation can elevate what would otherwise be quite minor incidents into seriously upsetting events – made worse by the cumulative nature of some of them.

The BCS findings on trends in racially motivated offences are encouraging. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry recommended that performance indicators should be developed to track changes in the reporting of racist incidents to the police. The BCS shows that the very large increase in incidents recorded by the police can be explained partly by higher rates of reporting to the police and partly by fuller recording by the police. This is an important finding, and one that needs to be communicated effectively to the public. If soaring trends in recorded racist incidents were taken at face value, public confidence in the police might be damaged further, especially amongst minority ethnic groups.

Although the gap between police figures and BCS figures is narrowing, the number of BCS racially motivated incidents reported to the police is still substantially higher than police recorded racist incidents. This suggests that there could be further scope for increases in racist incidents recorded by the police if victims, when reporting crimes, were routinely asked whether they perceived the incident as racially motivated.

It should be noted that a Code of Practice drafted by the Racist Incidents Standing Committee (RISC) on the reporting of racist incidents was published in May 2000, this promulgating the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry's simplified definition of racist incident. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) reported that they had found almost complete awareness and understanding of this Code within police forces (HMIC, 2000).

## Anxiety about crime amongst minority groups

Both this and previous sweeps of the BCS have shown that people from ethnic minorities express more anxiety about crime than white people. This is true both when simple comparisons are made and when account is taken of the higher crime rates experienced by ethnic minorities. In other words, people from minority ethnic groups score higher on most measures of 'fear of crime' than groups of white people with similar socio-economic profiles who live in similar areas and who face similar crime risks.

This finding may be explained in part by levels of racially motivated offences experienced by people from ethnic minorities. Being the victim of crime is at best an irritant and usually a more upsetting experience. However, most victims can take some comfort from the likelihood that they were not personally targeted but were selected as a victim at random. This is obviously not the case in many racially motivated offences. Thus white and minority groups may face the same objective risks of vandalism, for example, but there may be a qualitative difference between the groups in the experience of many of these offences.

## Confidence in the police

The 2000 BCS confirms the findings from previous sweeps that confidence in the police, and satisfaction with experience of the police, is consistently lower amongst minority ethnic groups. The problem is at its most acute amongst young people.

Some of the negative attitudes towards the police amongst minority groups may derive from reports in the media, from shared or indirect knowledge, even from rumour. However, the BCS shows that direct experience both as a police 'user' and as a suspect contributes to negative attitudes.

### *Police 'users' and confidence*

An important implication from the 2000 BCS is that improvements in confidence in the police require improvements in the way police "users" are treated. Large minorities of victims and of other users complained of poor response times, lack of police interest, failure to keep them informed and poor demeanour. These are not new findings. They may point to several problems: low levels of resourcing is one possibility; unrealistic public expectations, coupled with an increased 'consumerist' attitude to the police is another; inadequate training or managerial control is a third. A survey such as the BCS can do little to adjudicate between such explanations, and cannot say whether there are differences between ethnic groups in their expectations of the police, or, indeed, in the levels of police resources to which they have access.

Whatever the case, it is clear that users from minority groups express greater levels of dissatisfaction than white users, and that differential effort may be needed to regain their confidence – regardless of the source of the difference in satisfaction. However, it would be wrong to approach problems of reduced confidence in the police specifically as one that relates solely to minority ethnic groups. Whilst levels of dissatisfaction amongst white people were a little higher in aggregate, the sources of dissatisfaction were similar and may need addressing in similar ways.

### *Experience as suspects and confidence*

The BCS shows both that some minority groups are more likely than others to be stopped and searched by the police, and that the experience is a strong predictor of dissatisfaction. The survey shows a marked fall in car stops since the 1991 and little change in the level of foot stops over the period 1987 to 1999 (police figures do, however, show a drop in foot stops between 1998/1999 and 1999/2000: this being particularly marked in London - see footnote to Table 5.4).

It will obviously be important to track BCS trends both in levels of public contact with the police as suspects, and in suspects' assessment of their treatment by the police. The BCS provides an important – and somewhat under-exploited – source of sample survey information about stops and searches, even accepting that there will be sampling error on estimates. The statistics on stop-and-searches recorded by the police, for example under Section 1 of the 1994 Police and Criminal Evidence Act, cover only those incidents resulting in searches. Whilst they provide a count of the *number of searches* which is fairly consistent

with the BCS estimate, they offer no indication of the number of *people searched*. This means that they allow only a partial comparison of the differential risks run by different groups of being searched. At present the BCS is the only reliable source of information about the risks run by different ethnic groups of being stopped by the police, and of their subsequent chances of being searched.

Survey-based measures of proportions of the population stopped and searched are obviously relevant to judgements on whether the police are using their powers too little or too much. Thus for example, the BCS shows that black males aged under 30 faced a four in ten chance of being stopped in a car in 1999, whilst young white men faced a one in four chance. A third of black males aged 25 or under were stopped on foot in 1999, as against a fifth of young white males.

The over-representation of minorities amongst suspects could arise directly – through biases and stereotyping in police decision-making – or indirectly, by targeting suspicion on groups in which minorities are over-represented – such as young males in inner cities. The BCS can go a little way in testing such hypotheses. Chapter 6 showed that black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi people are more at risk of being stopped in their cars, after many other relevant factors have been taken into account. This leaves open the possibility of bias in police decision making. However, the BCS cannot demonstrate bias unequivocally, because it does not measure all the factors which the police take into account when stopping vehicles.

The evidence on foot stops is different. In the mid 1990s, being black emerged as a significant predictor of risks of being stopped on foot, once other factors had been taken into account, such as age, gender, area of residence, income and patterns of leisure activity (being Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi reduces risk). However, in 1999 membership of being black *no longer increased* risks of being stopped on foot, once these other factors had been taken into account. This suggests the possibility that police decision-making relating to foot stops has changed since the mid-1990s. The problem of disproportionality remains, of course – but the BCS suggests that the reasons for it lie in decision processes only indirectly linked to ethnicity that may then lead to unwitting discrimination. Whether the costs of such indirect discrimination – in terms of damage to relations between police and public – is proportional to the benefits derived from foot stops is an important judgement, but one that lies well beyond the scope of this report.

## Further research and monitoring

The 2001 BCS will provide further information on trends in people's experience of crime and policing and in their confidence in the police and the rest of the criminal justice system. The 2000 BCS can reasonably be regarded as providing a benchmark against which to assess measures to improve public confidence introduced after publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (Macpherson, 1999).

The BCS is now being conducted on an annual basis, with an ethnic minority boost in each year. This will allow the BCS to monitor trends in racially motivated incidents to set in context police figures for racist incidents. The BCS will also allow continuous monitoring of public confidence in the police, other parts of the criminal justice system and Victim Support, measurable by ethnic group at national level. Police forces are also taking steps to complement the BCS with local surveys of satisfaction (see Home Office, 2001).

One example of a local survey linked into the BCS is provided by the Policing for London study. This is an independently funded examination of police/public relations in London, an important component of which is a population survey with a sample of 2,800. The survey has been designed to enable it to be combined with the London sub-sample of the BCS 2000 (which has a similar sample size) where precision is needed, as in estimating contacts with the police. In combination the two surveys represent a very substantial database on the crime-related attitudes and experience of Londoners. Results are planned to be published shortly.

The BCS used to provide a biennial snapshot of experience of, and attitudes to, crime and the criminal justice system. It has now become a "rolling survey", with interviews conducted throughout the year. This will allow rather more sensitive monitoring of changes in public attitudes, making it easier, for example, to detect whether recently implemented policies appear to have any impact, and if so, the degree of lag between implementation and impact on public perceptions and attitudes. A Witness Satisfaction Survey has also now been instituted (Whitehead, 2001) and this may in future provide information on satisfaction of ethnic minority victims who reach the stage where an offender is apprehended and a case goes to court.

Recommendation 61 of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry was that the current requirement on the police to record *searches* should be extended to include stops. At the time of writing the Home Office was embarking on a consultation exercise to see how this might best be done, following the results of a pilot exercise (Bland et al., 2000a). Whilst it might be intrinsically desirable to record stops, problems in defining stops need to be solved. Ways also have to

be found to ensure that any new recording requirements placed on the police do not have the perverse effect of further alienating those who have been subject to police suspicion. Whatever decisions are taken in response to Recommendation 61, the BCS is likely to play an important part in providing an *independent* measure of the extent of police stops, against which police statistics can be assessed.

Surveys can provide valuable insights into people's experience and attitudes relating to crime, the police and the criminal justice system. Their limitations must be recognised, however. They do not allow in-depth exploration of issues. There is a need to understand the specific local contexts that give rise to racially motivated and racially aggravated crime. Research such as that conducted by Sibbitt (1997) throws light on what lies behind the figures.

Similarly, surveys can only go so far in providing an understanding of the complex dynamics underlying police practice in relation to stop and search. There will be a continued need for additional work using other approaches, as in the extensive body of research on police stop and search conducted by the Home Office Policing and Reducing Crime Unit. Tackling problems identified by the BCS and local surveys requires local investigation, consultation and research.

# Glossary of terms

**ACORN** – ('A Classification of Residential Neighbourhoods') classifies households according to the demographic, employment and housing characteristics of the surrounding neighbourhood. ACORN was developed by CACI Ltd.

**Asian** respondents are those who describe themselves as Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi.

**Black** respondents are those who describe themselves as Black-African, Black-Caribbean or Black-Other.

**Household crimes** – For household offences, all members of the household can be regarded as victims, so the respondent answers on behalf of the whole household. The offence categories concerned are: bicycle theft; burglary; theft in a dwelling; other household theft; thefts of and from vehicles, and vandalism to household property and vehicles.

**Incidence rates** – The number of crimes experienced per household or adult in the survey. See also **prevalence rates**.

**Mugging** – This is a popular rather than a legal term, comprising robbery, attempted robbery, and snatch theft from the person.

**Personal crimes** – For personal offences, the respondent reports only on his/her experience to the BCS. This applies to the following offence categories: assault, sexual offences, robbery, theft from the person, and other personal theft. Information is also collected on threats. Normally threats are not included in the BCS crime count, but in this report they are included in total figures as many racially motivated incidents reported to the BCS are categorised as threats. Threats are treated as personal rather than household crimes.

**Prevalence rates** – Prevalence rates show the percentage of the BCS sample who were victim of an offence once or more during the year. Unlike incidence rates they take no account of the number of victimisations experienced.

**Racially motivated crime** – Respondents are asked whether they thought the incident was racially motivated. The BCS then asks these respondents to state why they thought this, giving the responses:

(i) Racist language used

(ii) Because of victim's race/country of origin

(iii) Because of offender's race/country of origin

(iv) Because offence only committed against minorities

(v) Because some people pick on minorities

(vi) Because it has happened before

(vii) Other

The Stephen Lawrence Report recommended used the definition of racially motivated offence as:

*"A racist incident is any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person" (Macpherson, 1999)*.

This superceded the definition used previously by the police:

*"A racial incident is any incident in which it appears 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."*

**Robbery** – Incidents in which force or the threat of force is used either during or immediately prior to a theft or attempted theft.

**Sampling error** – A sample is a small-scale representation of the population from which it is drawn. As such, the sample may produce estimates which differ from the figures which would have been obtained if the whole population had been interviewed. The size of the error – which depends on the sample size, the size of the estimate, and the design of the survey – can be computed and shown as confidence ranges. The error is also taken into account in tests of statistical significance.

**Statistical significance** – Because the BCS estimates are subject to sampling error, changes in estimates between sweeps of the survey may occur by chance. Tests of statistical significance are used to identify which changes are unlikely to have occurred by chance. Where a 10 per cent significance level has been applied there is a one in ten chance of

incorrectly identifying a difference solely due to chance variation; at the 5 per cent level this become one in twenty at at the 1 per cent level one in a hundred.

**Weighted data** – Raw data from the survey is adjusted in various ways at the data processing stage to correct for imbalances introduced in sampling and by the design of the interview.

# Appendix A Supplementary tables

***Table A1.1: Characteristics of BCS respondents by ethnic group***

| | White | Indian | Pakistani | Bangladeshi | Black |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Personal characteristics | | | | | |
| Male | 48% | 51% | 51% | 50% | 45% |
| Age 16 – 29 | 19% | 29% | 45% | 41% | 26% |
| Married | 58% | 69% | 67% | 61% | 34% |
| Household characteristics | | | | | |
| Household head under 30 | 9% | 9% | 15% | 13% | 13% |
| Children under 16 in household | 29% | 52% | 75% | 77% | 46% |
| Non-manual household head | 45% | 41% | 31% | 24% | 40% |
| Owner – occupier | 74% | 78% | 68% | 28% | 39% |
| 3 + adults in household | 25% | 57% | 64% | 61% | 29% |
| Area of residence | | | | | |
| Inner city | 12% | 20% | 31% | 76% | 57% |
| Acorn category – "striving" | 16% | 38% | 62% | 72% | 51% |
| Lived in same area 10+ years | 66% | 65% | 64% | 57% | 47% |
| People in area help each other | 36% | 45% | 42% | 46% | 25% |
| Unweighted N | 18,355 | 1,437 | 768 | 290 | 1,773 |

Note:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

***Table A2.1: Trends in BCS crime – 1981 – 1999***

| Percentages | Number of Incidents in '000s |
|---|---|
| 1981 | 11,046 |
| 1983 | 11,894 |
| 1987 | 13,313 |
| 1991 | 15,125 |
| 1993 | 18,559 |
| 1995 | 19,161 |
| 1997 | 16,371 |
| 1999 | 14,716 |

Note:
1. Source:1982 - 2000 BCS, weighted data.

***Table A2.2: Victimisation rates in 1999 per 10,000 adults/households***

| | White | Indian | Pakistanis & Bangladeshis | Black |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Household vandalism | 592 | 432 | 654 | 477 |
| Burglary | 579 | 737 | 725 | 833 |
| Attempts no loss | 341 | 399 | 469 | 496 |
| With loss | 238 | 338 | 256 | 338 |
| Vehicle crime (owners) | 2,653 | 3,080 | 3,680 | 3,468 |
| Vandalism | 937 | 1,116 | 1,526 | 1,108 |
| All thefts | 1,716 | 1,964 | 2,154 | 2,360 |
| Bicycle thefts (owners) | 380 | 629 | 892 | 735 |
| Other household theft | 876 | 644 | 961 | 601 |
| Assault | 685 | 385 | 552 | 662 |
| Threats | 581 | 678 | 666 | 488 |
| Robbery/theft from person | 206 | 357 | 251 | 469 |
| Other personal theft | 360 | 205 | 137 | 353 |
| All BCS crime | 5,768 | 5,680 | 6,361 | 5,614 |

Note:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

***Table A2.3: Risk of crime in 1999 by ethnic group (% victimised once or more)***

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani Bangladeshi | Black | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All personal crimes | 8% | 7% | 7% | 10% | |
| Unweighted N | 18,355 | 1,437 | 1,058 | 1,773 | 22,623 |
| Threats | 3% | 3% | 3% | 3% | |
| Unweighted N | 18,355 | 1,437 | 1,058 | 1,773 | 22,623 |
| Assault | 3% | 2% | 2% | 3% | |
| Unweighted N | 18,355 | 1,437 | 1,058 | 1,773 | 22,623 |
| Robbery/theft from the person | 2% | 3% | 2% | 4% | |
| Unweighted N | 18,355 | 1,437 | 1,058 | 1,773 | 22,623 |
| All household crime | 25% | 27% | 29% | 25% | |
| Unweighted N | 18,355 | 1,437 | 1,058 | 1,773 | 22,623 |
| Bicycle theft (owners) | 3% | 4% | 10% | 6% | |
| Unweighted N | 8,229 | 454 | 284 | 527 | 9,494 |
| All vehicle theft (owners) | 13% | 14% | 16% | 17% | |
| Unweighted N | 14,324 | 1,173 | 772 | 996 | 17,265 |
| Burglary | 4% | 6% | 5% | 6% | |
| Unweighted N | 18,355 | 1,437 | 1,058 | 1,773 | 22,623 |

1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

***Table A2.4 Victimisation rates in 1995 per 10,000 adults / households***

| | White | Indian | Pakistanis & Bangladeshis | Black |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Household vandalism | 748 | 820 | 1,038 | 514 |
| Burglary | 799 | 1,138 | 1,696 | 1,262 |
| Attempts no loss | 442 | 644 | 838 | 667 |
| With loss | 357 | 494 | 858 | 595 |
| Vehicle crime (owners) | 3,836 | 5,643 | 5,877 | 5,024 |
| Vandalism | 1,153 | 1,838 | 2,203 | 1,334 |
| All thefts | 2,682 | 3,805 | 3,675 | 3,690 |
| Bicycle thefts (owners) | 660 | 889 | 1,162 | 908 |
| Other household theft | 876 | 644 | 961 | 601 |
| Assault | 898 | 542 | 843 | 983 |
| Threats | 672 | 617 | 1,076 | 878 |
| Robbery / theft from person | 218 | 435 | 482 | 427 |
| Other personal theft | 511 | 251 | 268 | 531 |
| All BCS crime | 7,762 | 9,976 | 10,309 | 7,525 |

Notes:
Source: 1996 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

***Table A2.5 Risk of crime in 1995 by ethnic group (% victimised once or more)***

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | Black | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All personal crimes | 10% | 9% | 10% | 12% | |
| Unweighted N | 15,355 | 953 | 616 | 1,609 | 18,533 |
| Threats | 4% | 4% | 5% | 5% | |
| Unweighted N | 15,355 | 953 | 616 | 1,609 | 18,533 |
| Assault | 5% | 4% | 4% | 5% | |
| Unweighted N | 15,355 | 953 | 616 | 1,609 | 18,533 |
| Robbery/theft from the person | 2% | 4% | 4% | 4% | |
| Unweighted N | 15,355 | 953 | 616 | 1,609 | 18,533 |
| All household crime | 32% | 39% | 40% | 32% | |
| Unweighted N | 15,355 | 953 | 616 | 1,609 | 18,533 |
| Bicycle theft (owners) | 6% | 8% | 10% | 9% | |
| Unweighted N | 6,588 | 279 | 160 | 447 | 7,474 |
| All vehicle theft (owners) | 19% | 23% | 27% | 25% | |
| Unweighted N | 11,114 | 765 | 410 | 837 | 13,126 |
| Burglary | 6% | 9% | 11% | 9% | |
| Unweighted N | 15,355 | 953 | 616 | 1,609 | 18,533 |

Notes:
1. Source: 1996 BCS, core and boost samples combined.

***Table A3.1: Trends in the prevalence of racially-motivated incidents***

| % victims once or more | White | | | Black | | | Indian | | | Pakistani / Bangladeshi | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1993 | 1995 | 1999 | 1993 | 1995 | 1999 | 1993 | 1995 | 1999 | 1993 | 1995 | 1999 |
| Vandalism[3] | <0.1[7] | 0.1 | 0.1[7] | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.4 | 1.0 | 2.2 | 1.3 | 2.7 | 3.8 | 1.7 |
| Threats[4] | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.9 | 1.5 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 1.4 | 1.1 | 1.8 | 3.4 | 1.3 |
| Violence[5] | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.5 | 1.7 | 2.3 | 0.9 |
| Total BCS[6] | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 3.7 | 3.9 | 2.2 | 2.6 | 4.9 | 3.6 | 7.6 | 8.1 | 4.2 |

Notes:

1. Respondents were asked “do you think the incident was racially motivated?”
2. “Don't know” replies included in the base.
3. Risk per household.
4. Threats include any threat made to a respondent or threats made against a respondent to a third party.
5. Violence comprises wounding, common assault, robbery and snatch thefts from the person.
6. Risk based on personal victimisation or being resident in a victimised household, including threats.
7. <0.1 denotes a risk less than 0.05%.
8. Source: 1994, 1996 and 2000 BCS, core and boost samples, weighted data.

### *Table A3.2: Characteristics of perpetrators*

| *Percentage of incidents with certain offenders* | | Racially motivated incidents (1995)[1,2] | Non-racially motivated incidents (1995)[1,2] | Racially motivated incidents (1999)[1] | Non-racially motivated incidents (1999)[1] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Victims who described the offender[3] | | 96 | 57 | 93 | 88 |
| Ethnicity of the offender | White | 45 | 87 | 34 | 87 |
| | Black | 30 | 5 | 30 | 5 |
| | Asian | 12 | 2 | 24 | 2 |
| | Other | 1 | 2 | 5 | 2 |
| | Mixed | 11 | 4 | 7 | 4 |
| Number of offenders | 1 | 33 | 62 | 27 | 59 |
| | 2 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 15 |
| | 3 | 14 | 7 | 11 | 8 |
| | 4+ | 36 | 17 | 48 | 17 |
| Sex of the offender | Male | 76 | 82 | 80 | 77 |
| | Female | 5 | 11 | 10 | 13 |
| | Both | 18 | 7 | 9 | 10 |
| Victim/offender relationship | Stranger | 55 | 37 | 51 | 40 |
| | Casual | 38 | 30 | 41 | 27 |
| | Well known | 6 | 33 | 7 | 33 |
| Age of the offender | School | 12 | 13 | 12 | 18 |
| | 16-24 | 46 | 38 | 46 | 33 |
| | Over | 30 | 45 | 22 | 45 |
| | Mixed | 12 | 5 | 20 | 3 |
| Unweighted number of victim forms (where the victim could describe the offender) | | 268 | 4641 | 270 | 4675 |

Notes:
1. 'Racially motivated' involved those incidents where the victim was certain that they were racially motivated.
2. The figures from the 1996 BCS differ from those reported in Percy (1998).
3. If the respondent could not provide any information it was assumed that the offender was a stranger.
4. Source: 1996 & 2000 BCS core and boost samples, weighted data

***Table A4.1: Percentage of respondents contacting the police according to reason***

| Percentages | | Total England and Wales |
|---|---|---|
| Reporting a crime | 15 % | 1,420 |
| Reporting disturbance | 12 % | 1,186 |
| Giving information | 12 % | 1,115 |
| Asking for information | 4 % | 381 |
| Social chat | 2 % | 155 |
| Total | | 9,638 |

Note:
1. Source:2000 BCS, core sample only, weighted data.

***Table A4.2: Percentage of respondents contacting the police according to reason and ethnicity***

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | Black | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Reporting a crime | 15% | 16% | 16% | 15% | 1,921 |
| Reporting disturbance | 13% | 7% | 8% | 8% | 1,420 |
| Giving information | 12% | 7% | 9% | 9% | 1,362 |
| Asking for information | 4% | 2% | 2% | 4% | 475 |
| Social chat | 2% | 0% | 1% | 1% | 169 |
| Unweighted N | 9,128 | 1,140 | 842 | 1,425 | 12,535 |

Note:
1. Source :2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined,weighted data.

***Table A4.3: Police response to sought contact - % of respondents who had to wait***

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | Black | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Had to wait | 23% | 35% | 42% | 35% | 947 |
| Dealt with immediately | 62% | 53% | 47% | 53% | 2,214 |
| Police never dealt with this matter | 10% | 8% | 7% | 8% | 356 |
| Victim did not want further involvement | 6% | 4% | 4% | 4% | 194 |
| Unweighted N | 2,815 | 389 | 276 | 231 | 3,711 |

Notes:
1. Source : 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A4.4: Satisfaction with interest shown by the police in respondents' enquiry***

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | Black | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Satisfactory | 72% | 62% | 63% | 67% | 2,621 |
| Not enough interest shown | 28% | 38% | 37% | 33% | 1,095 |
| Unweighted N | 2,829 | 276 | 223 | 388 | 3,716 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined.weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A4.5: How well were police users kept informed? Respondents' perceptions***

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | Black | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very well | 29% | 21% | 17% | 27% | 907 |
| Fairly well | 22% | 26% | 23% | 26% | 764 |
| Not very well | 10% | 16% | 15% | 15% | 385 |
| Not at all well | 39% | 38% | 45% | 32% | 1,286 |
| Unweighted N | 2,551 | 245 | 206 | 340 | 3,342 |

Notes:
1. Source :2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A4.6: Satisfaction with police response to sought contact***

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | Black | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very satisfied | 39% | 26% | 18% | 31% | 1,362 |
| Fairly satisfied | 31% | 34% | 38% | 36% | 1,156 |
| Fairly dissatisfied | 15% | 19% | 13% | 14% | 566 |
| Very dissatisfied | 14% | 21% | 31% | 20% | 597 |
| Unweighted N | 2,803 | 275 | 219 | 384 | 3,681 |

Notes:
1. Source : 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A4.7: Percentage of victims very/fairly satisfied with police response (1996 and 2000 BCS)***

| | 1996 BCS | 2000 BCS | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|
| White | 65% | 58% | 7,154 |
| Indian | 54% | 51% | 637 |
| Pakistani & Bangladeshi | 52% | 43% | 430 |
| Black | 52% | 52% | 774 |
| Unweighted n | 4,794 | 4,201 | 8,995 |

Note:1.
Source, 1996 & 2000 BCS, weighted data.

***Table A4.8: A comparison of reporting rates by crime type and ethnicity – % of victims reporting***

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | Black |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Burglary | 56% | 67% | 46% | 53% |
| Unweighted N | 958 | 133 | 78 | 148 |
| Vehicle-theft | 43% | 42% | 42% | 30% |
| Unweighted N | 2,398 | 237 | 191 | 256 |
| Vandalism | 26% | 30% | 30% | 18% |
| Unweighted N | 1,955 | 193 | 153 | 166 |
| Violent crime | 27% | 34% | 37% | 39% |
| Unweighted N | 1,057 | 90 | 80 | 129 |

Note:
1. Source : 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data

***Table A5.1: Percentage of respondents approached by the police according to reason***

| | Percentages | Unweighted N |
|---|---|---|
| Vehicle stops | 12 % | 1,027 |
| Providing a service | 11 % | 1,038 |
| Police investigations | 3 % | 267 |
| Footstops | 3 % | 195 |
| Documents | 3 % | 251 |
| Unweighted N | | 9,439 |

Note:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core sample,weighted data.

***Table A5.2 Reasons for police initiated contact across ethnic group***

| Percentages | White | | Indian | | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | | Black | | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | N |
| Vehicle stops | 12 | 989 | 12 | 127 | 15 | 125 | 15 | 204 | 1,445 |
| Foot stops | 3 | 189 | 2 | 17 | 2 | 16 | 4 | 51 | 273 |
| Police investigations | 3 | 253 | 3 | 28 | 3 | 28 | 4 | 60 | 369 |
| Providing a service | 11 | 1,011 | 8 | 94 | 8 | 70 | 12 | 169 | 1,344 |
| Documents | 3 | 241 | 3 | 32 | 2 | 19 | 3 | 37 | 329 |
| Total | | 9,128 | | 1,140 | | 842 | | 1,425 | 12,535 |

Note:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

***Table A5.3: Percentage of vehicle stops by ethnic group, age and gender***

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | Black | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males 16-29 | 25% | 32% | 27% | 39% | 1,053 |
| Males 30-59 | 14% | 11% | 22% | 21% | 3,145 |
| Males 60+ | 6% | 7% | 2% | 7% | 1,555 |
| Females 16-29 | 18% | 7% | 8% | 11% | 1,278 |
| Females 30-59 | 9% | 9% | 8% | 9% | 3,619 |
| Females 60+ | 3% | - | - | 2% | 1,877 |
| Unweighted N | 9,123 | 1,140 | 842 | 1,422 | 12,527 |

Note:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

### *Table A5.4: Proportion of police foot stops amongst males by ethnic group and age*

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | Black | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males 16-25 | 21% | 12% | 10% | 32% | 637 |
| Males 26-45 | 3% | 1% | 2% | 4% | 2,299 |
| Unweighted N | 9,128 | 1,140 | 842 | 1,425 | 12,535 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.
3. Females and those aged over 45 are not presented due to negligible numbers stopped.

### *Table A5.5: Unsought contact with the police, 1987 – 1999*

| Percentages | 1987 | 1991 | 1993 | 1995 | 1997 | 1999 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Footstops | 3% | 3% | 3% | 3% | 3% | 3% |
| Unweighted N | 4,909 | 5,114 | 7,237 | 7,923 | 7,409 | 9,639 |
| Carstops | 12% | 16% | 15% | 13% | 14% | 12% |
| Unweighted N | 4,904 | 5,114 | 7,237 | 7,923 | 7,409 | 9,639 |

Note
1. 1988 – 2000 BCS, core samples, weighted data.

### *Table A5.6: Percentage of respondents rating police as "very fair" during foot and car stops across ethnic group*

| Percentages | White | Ethnic minorities | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|
| Car stops | 59% | 29% | 1,469 |
| Foot stops | 50% | 18% | 285 |
| Unweighted N | 1,171 | 583 | 1,754 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A5.7: Percentage of respondents rating police as "very polite" during foot and car stops across ethnic group***

| Percentages | White | Ethnic minorities | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|
| Car stops | 52% | 29% | 1,472 |
| Foot stops | 47% | 20% | 284 |
| Unweighted N | 1,175 | 581 | 1,756 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A5.8: Satisfaction ratings of police management of car/footstops across ethnic group***

| Percentages | White | Ethnic minorities | Unweighted N |
|---|---|---|---|
| Car stops | 51% | 27% | 1,472 |
| Foot stops | 41% | 20% | 284 |
| Unweighted N | 1,173 | 583 | 1,756 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A6.1: Assessment of police performance by ethnic group***

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | Black | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very good | 20% | 16% | 15% | 19% | 2,165 |
| Fairly good | 59% | 58% | 53% | 55% | 6,381 |
| Fairly poor | 15% | 18% | 22% | 18% | 1,766 |
| Very poor | 6% | 8% | 10% | 8% | 743 |
| Unweighted N | 8,177 | 985 | 742 | 1,151 | 11,055 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost sample combined, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

### *Table A6.2: Net satisfaction scores by age and ethnic group*

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | Black | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16 – 29 | 47% | 43% | 27% | 33% | 2,105 |
| 30 – 59 | 59% | 47% | 41% | 50% | 6,014 |
| 60+ | 60% | 74% | 48% | 75% | 2,929 |
| Unweighted N | 8,172 | 985 | 742 | 1,149 | 11,048 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

### *Table A6.3: Comparison of ratings by type of contact*

| Percentages | Foot stop | Car stop | Documents | Police investigation | Providing a service |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very good | 14% | 17% | 17% | 19% | 25% |
| Fairly good | 49% | 56% | 64% | 53% | 56% |
| Fairly poor | 22% | 18% | 12% | 16% | 13% |
| Very poor | 15% | 8% | 8% | 12% | 6% |
| Unweighted N | 192 | 969 | 234 | 274 | 1,065 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core sample, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

### *Table A6.4: Comparison of ratings between non victims and victims of household, personal and racial offences*

| Percentages | Racial | Household offences | Personal offences | Non victims |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very good | 4% | 15% | 17% | 21% |
| Fairly good | 29% | 53% | 49% | 60% |
| Fairly poor | 20% | 21% | 22% | 14% |
| Very poor | 47% | 12% | 12% | 5% |
| Unweighted N | 67 | 3,422 | 1,381 | 6,217 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core sample, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.
3. See glossary of terms for definitions of offence categories.

***Table A6.5: Percentage of respondents "really annoyed" by the police across ethnic group***

| | Percentage | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|
| White | 19% | 9,128 |
| Indian | 21% | 1,140 |
| Pakistani & Bangladeshi | 25% | 842 |
| Black | 34% | 1,425 |
| | | 12,535 |

Notes:
1. Source:2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A6.6: Reasons for annoyance with the police in the last five years by ethnic group***

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistanis & Bangladeshis | Black |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Malpractice | 8% | 15% | 21% | 21% |
| Poor performance | 43% | 44% | 40% | 33% |
| Poor demeanour | 57% | 61% | 56% | 71% |
| Unweighted N | 4,977 | 672 | 588 | 1,401 |

1. Source:2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A6.7: Trends in "very good" ratings of the police, 1980 – 1999***

| Percentages | % | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|
| 1981 | 40% | 5,141 |
| 1983 | 31% | 6,120 |
| 1987 | 25% | 4,246 |
| 1991 | 24% | 4,249 |
| 1993 | 24% | 6,796 |
| 1995 | 22% | 7,392 |
| 1997 | 24% | 6,699 |
| 1999 | 20% | 8,592 |

Notes:
1. Source: 1982 – 2000 BCS, core samples, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A6.8: Estimation of crime trend over the past two years by ethnicity***

| Percentages | White | Ethnic minorities | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|
| A lot more crime | 33% | 35% | 3,290 |
| A little more crime | 34% | 30% | 3,222 |
| About the same | 28% | 25% | 2,622 |
| Less crime | 5% | 11% | 573 |
| Unweighted N | 8,875 | 832 | 9,707 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A6.9: Respondents' estimations of percentage of convicted burglars given a custodial sentence***

| Percentages | White | Ethnic minorities | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0 – 30% | | | |
| Large underestimate | 74% | 64% | 6,894 |
| 31 – 49% | | | |
| Small underestimate | 10% | 11% | 929 |
| 50 – 79% | | | |
| Accurate | 15% | 22% | 1,472 |
| 80 – 100% | 1% | 3% | 142 |
| Overestimate | | | |
| Unweighted N | 8,665 | 772 | 9,437 |

Note:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

***Table A6.10: Net satisfaction with the criminal justice system***

| Percentages | White | Ethnic minorities |
|---|---|---|
| Police | 45% | 25% |
| Unweighted N | 9,060 | 870 |
| CPS | -2% | 7% |
| Unweighted N | 8,375 | 760 |
| Judges | 0% | 5% |
| Unweighted N | 8,863 | 812 |
| Magistrates | 6% | 9% |
| Unweighted N | 8,846 | 800 |
| Prisons | 4% | -6% |
| Unweighted N | 8,563 | 751 |
| Probation | -2% | 4% |
| Unweighted N | 8,021 | 719 |
| Juvenile courts | -37% | -29% |
| Unweighted N | 8,293 | 732 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A6.11: Percentage of "poor" ratings of professional groups within the Criminal Justice System by ethnicity and experience of victimisation***

| Percentages | White non victims | Ethnic minority non-victims | White victims victims | Ethnic minority |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Police | 6% | 13% | 8% | 14% |
| Unweighted N | 3,674 | 434 | 5,384 | 435 |
| Crown Prosecution | 18% | 16% | 22% | 21% |
| Unweighted N | 3,368 | 371 | 5,005 | 388 |
| Judges | 23% | 15% | 26% | 27% |
| Unweighted N | 3,582 | 403 | 5,278 | 408 |
| Magistrates | 17% | 14% | 18% | 25% |
| Unweighted N | 3,573 | 395 | 5,270 | 404 |
| Prisons | 20% | 24% | 23% | 28% |
| Unweighted N | 3,455 | 360 | 5,105 | 390 |
| Probation Service | 18% | 16% | 22% | 23% |
| Unweighted N | 3,270 | 354 | 4,750 | 364 |
| Juvenile courts | 35% | 30% | 37% | 34% |
| Unweighted N | 3,357 | 357 | 4,935 | 374 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A6.12: Respondents' confidence in the effectiveness of the Criminal Justice System in bringing people to justice***

| Percentages | White | Ethnic minorities |
|---|---|---|
| Very confident | 2% | 6% |
| Fairly confident | 44% | 46% |
| Not very confident | 46% | 40% |
| Not at all confident | 8% | 8% |
| Unweighted N | 9,019 | 841 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A6.13: Respondents' opinion regarding court sentencing***

| Percentage | White | Ethnic Minorities |
|---|---|---|
| Much too tough | 1% | 2% |
| A little too tough | 1% | 3% |
| About right | 18% | 28% |
| A little too lenient | 30% | 31% |
| Much too lenient | 50% | 36% |
| Unweighted N | 8,775 | 804 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

***Table A6.14: Respondents' confidence in the ability of the Criminal Justice system to meet the needs of victims***

| Percentage | White | Ethnic Minorities | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|
| Very confident | 1% | 4% | 149 |
| Fairly confident | 24% | 36% | 2,388 |
| Not very confident | 53% | 48% | 5,104 |
| Not at all confident | 22% | 12% | 2,088 |
| Unweighted N | 8,908 | 821 | 9,729 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples, weighted data
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

### *Table A6.15: Rating of victim support service by ethnic group*

| Percentage | White | Ethnic minorities | Total England & Wales |
|---|---|---|---|
| Very helpful | 43% | 15% | 100 |
| Fairly helpful | 25% | 43% | 93 |
| Fairly unhelpful | 11% | 24% | 47 |
| Very unhelpful | 21% | 19% | 56 |
| Unweighted N | 214 | 82 | 296 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

### *Table A7.1: Feeling 'very unsafe' by ethnic group*

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | Black |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feeling 'very unsafe' walking alone in area after dark | | | | |
| All | 11% | 12% | 14% | 10% |
| Unweighted N | 18,272 | 1,427 | 1,044 | 1,755 |
| Feeling unsafe at home alone after dark | | | | |
| All | 2% | 3% | 4% | 2% |
| Unweighted N | 18,341 | 1,433 | 1,056 | 1,769 |

Notes:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.
2. "Don't knows" excluded.

### *Table A7.2: Fear of crime – specific anxieties*

| Very worried about | White | Indians | Pakistanis & Bangladeshis | Black |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Burglary | 18% | 40% | 42% | 37% |
| Unweighted N | 18,352 | 1,436 | 1,057 | 1,772 |
| Mugging/ Robbery | 16% | 38% | 38% | 32% |
| Unweighted N | 18,337 | 1,434 | 1,057 | 1,769 |
| Rape | 17% | 32% | 29% | 31% |
| Unweighted N | 18,315 | 1,423 | 1,044 | 1,765 |

Notes:1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

***Table A7.3: Respondents' perceptions of the extent of racial crime within their neighbourhood by ethnic group.***

| | White | Indians | Pakistanis and Bangladeshis | Black |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very big problem/ very common | 1% | 5% | 6% | 3% |
| Fairly big problem/ fairly common | 3% | 18% | 17% | 14% |
| Not very big problem/ Not very common | 32% | 51% | 52% | 54% |
| Not a problem/ not common | 64% | 27% | 25% | 29% |
| Unweighted N | 8,950 | 1,117 | 835 | 1,355 |

Note:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

***Table A7.4: Respondents 'very worried' about racial attack***

| Percentages | White | Indian | Pakistani & Bangladeshi | Black |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16 - 45 | 5% | 34% | 33% | 30% |
| Unweighted n | 8,162 | 934 | 834 | 1,230 |
| 46+ | 5% | 32% | 34% | 23% |
| Unweighted n | 10,167 | 499 | 220 | 537 |
| Male | 3% | 27% | 27% | 21% |
| Unweighted n | 8,316 | 713 | 506 | 756 |
| Female | 7% | 41% | 39% | 33% |
| Unweighted n | 10,023 | 730 | 539 | 1,015 |
| London | 6% | 33% | 34% | 28% |
| Unweighted n | 1,727 | 708 | 398 | 1,186 |
| Elsewhere | 5% | 34% | 33% | 26% |
| Unweighted n | 16,612 | 725 | 657 | 585 |

Note:
1. Source: 2000 BCS, core and boost samples combined, weighted data.

# Appendix B Logistic regression models

Logistic regression is a multivariate statistical technique which allows one to determine whether any independent variable (e.g. age or social class) thought to be related to a dependent variable (e.g. worry about crime) is statistically important once possible associations with other variables have been taken into account. For example, employment status and area of residence are both predictors of being a victim of crime, but they are also related to each other. Logistic regression means that one can assess whether employment status has a correlation – and by implication a possible causal link – with victimisation in its own right and not in a way that is simply explained by its association with area. In other words, the technique indicates whether certain outcomes, such as crime victimisation, are more likely for members of particular groups once explanatory factors have been taken into account. A fuller discussion of logistic regression and it interpretation may be found in Hosmer and Lemeshow (1989).

As is often the case with survey data, the regression models explain only a small part of the variance in the dependent variables. This is because the dataset captures only a fraction of the relevant information. For example, the models predicting anxiety about crime would obviously be better if the dataset contained information on psychological traits. Where the attribute to be predicted is relatively rare in the population, the model often predicts that *noone* has the attribute. Thus the first victimisation models predicts that noone will be burgled. This does not mean that the model is valueless, however. It still calculates the extent to which having one attribute (such as living in the inner city) appears to increase the chances of having another attribute (such as being burgled).

The following models display factors correlated with:

- Risk of victimisation
- Public initiated contact with the police
- Police initiated contact with the public
- Dissatisfaction with the police
- Fear of crime

The models have been run on unweighted data.

The tables that follow show the value of EXP (ß) or the *odds ratio*. This figure represents the

*change in the relative odds* of experiencing a particular event (e.g. a burglary) if we increase the value of the variable under consideration by one unit (controlling for all other independent variables). If EXP (ß) is greater than one, then the odds are increased; if EXP (ß) is less than one, then the odds of experiencing a burglary are decreased.

As the *odds ratio* increases the relative risk of the event also increases. However, the *change in odds* should not be interpreted as the *change in the relative risk* (e.g. an *odds ratio* of 2 does not mean that the relative risk of an event is doubled). For example, if two groups, having respective risks of 75 per cent and 60 per cent for a particular outcome, have an *odds ratio* equal to 2 (i.e. the respective odds are 3:1 and 6:4 and the *odds ratio* is (3/1)/(6/4)=2). Similarly two groups with respective risks of 33 per cent and 20 per cent also have an *odds ratio* equal to 2 (i.e. (1/2)/(1/4)=2; the respective odds are 1:2 and 1:4).

Variables in the analysis

The full set of variables used in all regression analyses is set out below. Variables were retained in the model only if their contribution was statistically significant at the 5 per cent level.

### *a. Dependent variables*

- Risk of victimisation –
  calculated from victimisation rates of respondents for burglary, household vandalism, vehicle theft and BCS personal crime.

- Sought contact with the police –
  whether respondents had contacted the police for any reason during the previous year.

- Police stops –
  whether respondents had been stopped either on foot or in a car during the previous year.

- Dissatisfaction with the police –
  whether respondents thought the police in their area did a " very bad job"

- Fear of crime –
  whether respondents said they felt unsafe walking alone in their area after dark
  whether respondents said they felt unsafe about being at home alone
  whether respondents said they were worried about being burgled
  whether respondents said they were worried about being mugged
  whether respondents said they were worried about being raped
  whether respondents said they were worried about being racially attacked

## b. Independent variables

- over50 = (aged 16 – 50 vs 51+)
- over60 = (aged 16 – 59 vs 60+)
- less40 = (16–39 vs 40+)
- newage (1) = (aged 16–24 vs 25+)
- newage (2) = (aged 25–49 vs 50+)
- newsex = (male vs female)
- black = ( black vs other)
- indian = (Indian vs other)
- pakbang = (Pakistani/Bangladeshi vs other)
- noquals = (no academic qualifications vs having academic qualifications GNVQ+)
- manual = (social class measured by occupation:
professional/managerial/technical/skilled non-manual vs skilled
manual/partly skilled manual/unskilled manual)
- unemploy = (employment status – unemployed vs employed)
- less15k = (Income: <
£2,500/£2,500–£4,999/£5,000–£9,999/£10,000–£14,999 vs
£15,000–£19,000/£20,000–£29,000/£30,000–£49,000/£50,000+)
- peophhld = (number living in household, 1 vs 2+)
- health = (general health is bad vs good)
- owncar = (whether household had use of car since Jan 1999, yes/no)
- london = (living in London vs living elsewhere in England & Wales)
- innerc = (whether live in inner city, yes/no)
- evenout = (whether go out after dark more than 3 times per week yes/no)
- out9 = (1994/1996 BCS whether go out after dark more than 3 times per yes/no)
- car2 = (whether stopped in car by police during the previous 12 months, yes/no )
- foot = (whether stopped by police on foot during the previous 12 months, yes/no)
- search = (whether searched following foot stop, yes/no)
- search1 = (whether searched following car stop, yes/no)

- racehate = (whether racism is perceived as a problem in the area, yes/no)
- inciv = (whether local problems such as tramps/vandalism/ are a problem, yes/no)
- cohesion = (whether people in the neighbourhood help each other, yes/no)
- allbcs = (whether been a victim of any BCS crime since 1 January 1999, yes/no)
- repcrim = (whether contacted the police to report a crime, yes/no)
- probvic = (scale summing perceived risks of burglary, vehicle theft, mugging and being attacked by strangers)
- probburg = (perceived likelihood of being burgled)
- probcar = (perceived likelihood of having car stolen)
- probmug = (perceived likelihood of being mugged)
- probviol = (perceived likelihood of being attacked)
- knowatt = (knows someone attacked/mugged in last year, yes/no)
- knowburg = (knows someone burgled in last year, yes/no)
- sexcrim = (whether victim of sex crime in last year, yes/no)
- violcrim = (whether victim of violent crime in last year, yes/no)
- robbery = (whether victim of personal theft in last year, yes/no)
- burg = (whether victim of burglary in last year, yes/no)
- vehtheft = (whether victim of vehicle theft in previous year, yes/no)

***Table B2.1: Logistic regression model for risks of burglary***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant* | | |
| 50+ | 0.52 | ** |
| Earning less than £15,000 | 1.52 | ** |
| Living in an inner city | 1.50 | ** |
| Being Indian | 1.38 | * |
| *Non-significant* | | |
| Having no academic qualifications | - | - |
| Gender | - | - |
| Being black | - | - |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | - | - |
| Living in London | - | - |
| Being unemployed | - | - |
| Working in a manual occupation | - | - |
| N = 17,526 | - | - |

Notes:

1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B2.2: Logistic regression model for risks of household vandalism***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant* | | |
| Living in an inner city | 1.76 | ** |
| Living in London | 0.70 | ** |
| Having no academic qualifications | 0.81 | * |
| *Non-significant* | | |
| Age | - | - |
| Gender | - | - |
| Ethnicity | - | - |
| Income | - | - |
| Being unemployed | - | - |
| Working in a manual occupation | - | - |
| N = 17,526 | | |

Notes:

1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B2.3: Logistic regression model for risks of vehicle theft***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Owning a car | 27.56 | ** |
| Being aged over 50 | 0.56 | ** |
| Living in an inner city | 1.52 | ** |
| Having no academic qualifications | 0.85 | ** |
| *Non-significant Variables* | | |
| Ethnicity | - | - |
| Gender | - | - |
| Living in London | - | - |
| Income | - | - |
| Being unemployed | - | - |
| Working in a manual occupation | - | - |
| N = 17,526 | | |

Notes:

1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B2.4: Logistic regression model for risks of BCS personal crime***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being aged over 50 | 0.36 | ** |
| Owning a car | 0.57 | ** |
| Having no academic qualifications | 0.59 | ** |
| Being Indian | 0.65 | ** |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 0.67 | * |
| Being unemployed | 1.45 | ** |
| Being black | 0.74 | ** |
| Living in London | 1.26 | ** |
| Earning less than £ 15,000 | 1.24 | ** |
| Living in an inner city | 1.21 | ** |
| *Non-significant Variables* | | |
| Gender | - | - |
| Working in a manual occupation | - | - |
| N = 17,526 | | |

Notes:

1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B4.1: Logistic regression model for public-initiated contact with the police***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being aged 25 - 49 | 1.69 | ** |
| Owning a car | 1.49 | ** |
| Being aged 16 - 24 | 1.41 | ** |
| Having no academic qualifications | 0.73 | ** |
| Living in an inner city | 1.24 | ** |
| Working in a manual occupation | 0.83 | ** |
| Living in London | 0.84 | ** |
| *Non-significant Variables* | | |
| Income | - | - |
| Being unemployed | - | - |
| Ethnicity | - | - |
| N = 17,526 | | |

Notes:

1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß̂), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B5.1: Logistic regression model for risks of being stopped on foot (demographic)***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being aged under 25 | 8.33 | ** |
| Being male | 3.85 | ** |
| Being Pakistani./Bangladeshi | 0.46 | ** |
| Being Indian | 0.51 | ** |
| Being black | 1.52 | * |
| N = 12,920 | | |

Notes:

1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B5.2: Logistic regression model for risks of being stopped on foot (2000 BCS)***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being aged under 25 | 9.58 | ** |
| Being male | 3.30 | ** |
| Going out after dark more than 3 times per week | 2.04 | ** |
| Owning a car | 0.55 | ** |
| Being unemployed | 1.78 | * |
| *Non-significant Variables* | | |
| Ethnicity | - | - |
| Income | | |
| Social class | | |
| Education | | |
| Living in an inner city | - | - |
| Living in London | - | - |
| N = 9,613 | | |

Notes:

1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B5.3: Logistic regression model for risks of being stopped in a car (2000 BCS)***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Owning a car | 2.74 | ** |
| Being aged under 25 | 2.46 | ** |
| Being black | 1.90 | ** |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 1.90 | ** |
| Having no academic qualifications | 0.57 | ** |
| Going out after dark more than 3 times per week | 1.69 | ** |
| Being male | 1.65 | ** |
| Being unemployed | 1.65 | ** |
| Living in London | 0.75 | ** |
| Earning less than £15,000 | 0.86 | * |
| *Non-significant Variables* | | |
| Being Indian | - | - |
| Living in an inner city | - | - |
| Social class | - | - |
| N = 9,598 | | |

Notes:

1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B5.4: Logistic regression model for risks of being stopped on foot (94/96 BCS)***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being aged under 25 | 7.68 | ** |
| Being male | 3.88 | ** |
| Being Indian | 0.30 | ** |
| Going out after dark more than 3 times per week | 2.09 | ** |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 0.51 | ** |
| Being black | 1.41 | * |
| Living in London | 1.36 | * |
| Being unemployed | 1.28 | * |
| Living in an inner city | 1.26 | * |
| Working in a manual occupation | 1.24 | * |
| Owning a car[7] | 0.81 | - |
| *Non-significant Variables* | | |
| Education | - | - |
| Income | - | - |
| N = 17,990 | | |

Notes:

1. This variable is included in the model although it is not quite significant at the 5% level. When introduced into the model it was significant, but the level of significance fell with the inclusion of subsequent variables in the model.
2. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
3. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
4. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
5. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level
6. Source: 1994 & 1996 BCS.
7. This variable is included in the model although it is not quite significant at the 5% level. When introduced into the model it was significant, but the level of significance fell with the inclusion of subsequent variables in the model.

***Table B5.5: Logistic regression model for risks of being stopped in a car (94/96 BCS)***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Owning a car | 3.12 | ** |
| Being aged under 25 | 2.54 | ** |
| Being black | 1.89 | ** |
| Being male | 1.84 | ** |
| Going out after dark more than 3 times per week | 1.78 | ** |
| Being unemployed | 1.58 | ** |
| Having no academic qualifications | 0.67 | ** |
| Living in London | 1.32 | ** |
| *Non-significant Variables* | | |
| Being Indian, Pakistani/Bangladeshi | - | - |
| Income | - | - |
| Living in an inner city | - | - |
| Social class | - | - |
| N = 17,678 | | |

Notes:
1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 1994 & 1996 BCS.

***Table B6.1: Logistic regression model for dissatisfaction with the police***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being searched on foot | 4.74 | ** |
| High levels of neighbourhood incivilities | 2.46 | ** |
| Seeking contact with the police to report a crime | 2.00 | ** |
| Having a vehicle searched | 1.88 | * |
| Being employed | 0.56 | ** |
| Owning a car | 0.65 | ** |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 1.52 | * |
| Working in a manual occupation | 1.40 | ** |
| Being a victim of any BCS crime | 1.38 | ** |
| Being stopped in a car | 1.37 | * |
| *Non-significant Variables* | | |
| Being stopped on foot | - | - |
| Age | - | - |
| Gender | - | - |
| Being black | - | - |
| Being Indian | - | - |
| Education | - | - |
| Area of residence | - | - |
| Income | - | - |
| Being a victim of a serious crime | - | - |
| Contacting the police other than to report a crime | - | - |
| N = 6,139 | | |

Notes:

1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B7.1: Logistic regression model for feeling unsafe walking alone in neighbourhood after dark (demographic)***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being male | 0.23 | ** |
| Being aged over 60 | 1.99 | ** |
| Being Pakistani / Bangladeshi | 1.92 | ** |
| Being Indian | 1.78 | ** |
| Living alone | 1.29 | ** |
| *Non-significant Variables* | | |
| Being black | - | - |
| N = 18,320 | | |

Notes:

1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS

### *Table B7.2: Logistic regression model for feeling unsafe at home alone after dark (demographic)*

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being male | 0.29 | ** |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 3.00 | ** |
| Being Indian | 2.53 | ** |
| Being black | 1.43 | ** |
| Being aged over 60 | 1.23 | ** |
| Living alone | 1.13 | * |
| N = 23,184 | | |

Notes:
1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3 Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

### *Table B7.3: Logistic regression model for worry about burglary (demographic)*

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being Indian | 2.13 | ** |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 2.01 | ** |
| Being black | 1.50 | ** |
| Being male | 0.76 | ** |
| Being aged over 60 | 0.86 | ** |
| Living alone | 0.88 | ** |
| N = 829 | | |

Notes:
1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B7.4: Logistic regression model for worry about being mugged (demographic)***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being Indian | 2.73 | ** |
| Being Pakistani / Bangladeshi | 2.66 | ** |
| Being male | 0.40 | ** |
| Being black | 1.57 | ** |
| Being aged under 25 | 1.17 | ** |
| *Non-significant Variables* | | |
| Living alone | - | - |
| N = 9,336 | | |

Notes:
1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß̂), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B7.5: Logistic regression model for worry about rape (demographic)***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being male | 0.12 | ** |
| Being Pakistani / Bangladeshi | 2.44 | ** |
| Being Indian | 2.42 | ** |
| Being black | 1.94 | ** |
| Being aged under 25 | 1.87 | ** |
| Living alone | 0.82 | ** |
| N = 18,297 | | |

Notes:
1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß̂), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B7.6: Logistic regression model for worry about racial attack (demographic)***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being Indian | 9.28 | ** |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 8.31 | ** |
| Being black | 6.14 | ** |
| Being male | 0.57 | ** |
| Living alone | 0.85 | ** |
| Being aged less than 40 | 1.14 | ** |
| N = 18,029 | | |

Notes:
1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS

***Table B7.7: Logistic regression model for feeling unsafe walking alone in neighbourhood after dark***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| Significant Variables | | |
| Being female | 0.23 | ** |
| Racism in local area | 2.26 | ** |
| Perceiving victimisation risks as high | 2.03 | ** |
| Being in poor health | 2.00 | ** |
| Being aged over 60 | 1.96 | ** |
| High levels of local incivilities | 1.70 | ** |
| Being Indian | 1.51 | ** |
| Being black | 0.67 | ** |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 1.41 | ** |
| Having no academic qualifications | 1.41 | ** |
| Living in a socially cohesive area | 0.71 | ** |
| Not owning a car | 0.73 | ** |
| Living in an inner city | 1.27 | ** |
| Earning a low income | 1.26 | ** |
| Knowing a victim of street crime | 1.21 | ** |
| Non-significant Variables | | |
| Social class | - | - |
| Previous experience of burglary, vehicle theft, violent crime, robbery, sexual attack | - | - |
| Living alone | - | - |
| Employment status | - | - |
| Living in London | - | - |
| N = 7,987 | | |

Notes:

1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS..

***Table B7.8: Logistic regression model for feeling unsafe at home alone***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| Significant Variables | | |
| Being a victim of sexual abuse | 3.44 | ** |
| Being male | 0.31 | ** |
| Perceiving victimisation risks as high | 2.83 | ** |
| Previous experience of burglary | 2.54 | ** |
| Being in poor health | 2.34 | ** |
| Being Indian | 1.87 | ** |
| Racism in local area | 1.80 | ** |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 1.57 | ** |
| High levels of local incivilities | 1.50 | ** |
| Living in a socially cohesive area | 0.72 | ** |
| Earning a low income | 1.41 | ** |
| Knowing a victim of burglary | 1.32 | ** |
| Being aged over 60 | 1.30 | ** |
| Working in a manual occupation | 1.28 | ** |
| Non-significant Variables | | |
| Education | - | - |
| Previous experience of vehicle theft, violent crime, robbery, | - | - |
| Living alone | - | - |
| Being black | - | - |
| Employment status | - | - |
| Living in London | - | - |
| N = 9,548 | | |

Notes:
1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B7.9: Logistic regression model for worry about burglary***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| Significant Variables | | |
| Perceiving victimisation risks as high | 2.91 | ** |
| Previous experience of burglary | 1.80 | ** |
| Being Indian | 1.76 | ** |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 1.47 | ** |
| Racism in the local area | 1.43 | ** |
| Knowing a burglary victim | 1.33 | ** |
| High levels of local incivilities | 1.31 | ** |
| Being unemployed | 0.76 | * |
| Being black | 1.28 | ** |
| Being aged 60 or under | 0.80 | ** |
| Being male | 0.81 | ** |
| Living alone | 0.82 | ** |
| Having no academic qualifications | 1.23 | ** |
| Working in a manual occupation | 1.17 | ** |
| Living in an inner city | 1.16 | * |
| Earning a low income | 1.15 | * |
| Non-significant Variables | | |
| Health | - | - |
| Social cohesion | - | - |
| Previous experience of vehicle theft, violent crime, robbery and sexual attack | - | - |
| Living in London | - | - |
| N = 3,865 | | |

Notes:
1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source, 2000 BCS.

### *Table B7.10 Logistic regression model for worry about mugging*

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being male | 0.39 | ** |
| Perceiving risk of victimisation as high | 2.36 | ** |
| Being Indian | 2.25 | ** |
| Racism in local area | 2.01 | ** |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 1.63 | ** |
| Having no academic qualifications | 1.51 | ** |
| Previous experience of robbery | 1.45 | * |
| High levels of local incivilities | 1.37 | ** |
| Living in London | 1.29 | ** |
| Owning a car | 0.79 | ** |
| Being black | 1.22 | * |
| Working in a manual occupation | 1.21 | ** |
| Living alone | 0.84 | ** |
| Earning a low income | 1.20 | ** |
| Living in an inner city[1] | 1.16 | - |
| *Non-significant Variables* | | |
| Health | - | - |
| Social cohesion | - | - |
| Previous experience of vehicle theft, violent crime, burglary and sexual attack | - | - |
| Age | - | - |
| Knowing a victim of street crime | - | - |
| Employment status | - | - |
| N = 4,660 | | |

Notes:

1. This variable is included in the model although it is not quite significant at the 5% level. When introduced into the model it was significant, but the level of significance fell with the inclusion of subsequent variables in the model.
2. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
3. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
4. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
5. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
6. Source, 2000 BCS.

***Table B7.11: Logistic regression model for worry about rape***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being male | 0.11 | ** |
| Perceiving risks of victimisation as high | 1.93 | ** |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 1.79 | ** |
| Being Indian | 1.77 | ** |
| Racism in local area | 1.66 | ** |
| Working in a manual occupation | 1.54 | ** |
| Being aged under 25 | 1.47 | ** |
| Being black | 1.42 | ** |
| High levels of local incivilities | 1.28 | ** |
| Living in London | 1.20 | ** |
| Living alone | 0.85 | * |
| *Non-significant Variables* | | |
| Health | - | - |
| Income | - | - |
| Car ownership | - | - |
| Living in an inner city | - | - |
| Employment status | - | - |
| Education | - | - |
| Social cohesion | - | - |
| Previous experience of burglary, vehicle theft, violent crime, robbery and sexual attack | - | - |
| Knowing a victim of street crime | - | - |
| N = 6,763 | | |

Notes:

1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

***Table B7.12: Logistic regression model for worry about racial attack***

| Factor | EXP (ß) | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| *Significant Variables* | | |
| Being Indian | 7.29 | ** |
| Being Pakistani/Bangladeshi | 5.91 | ** |
| Being black | 5.34 | ** |
| Racism in local area | 3.49 | ** |
| Perceiving victimisation risks as high | 2.17 | ** |
| Being male | 0.62 | ** |
| Living in London | 1.57 | ** |
| Living alone | 0.73 | ** |
| Earning a low income | 1.35 | ** |
| Having no academic qualifications | 1.28 | ** |
| Working in a manual occupation | 1.24 | ** |
| *Non-significant Variables* | | |
| Social cohesion | - | - |
| High levels of local incivilities | - | - |
| Previous experience of vehicle theft, burglary, violent crime, sexual attack and robbery | - | - |
| Health | - | - |
| Living in an inner city | - | - |
| Owning a car | - | - |
| Employment status | - | - |
| Age | - | - |
| Knowing a victim of street crime | - | - |
| N = 5,981 | | |

Notes:

1. Variables are ordered according to their level of predictiveness in the model (i..e. This is according to the extent to which they alter the relative odds. Factors are listed in descending order of EXP(ß), after values with negative beta values have been expressed as their own reciprocals).
2. Exp (ß) rounded to two decimal points.
3. Exp (ß) greater than one indicates risks are higher relative to the base category; Exp (ß) less than one indicates risks are lower relative to the base category.
4. ** Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, *indicates significance at the 5% level.
5. Source: 2000 BCS.

# Appendix C Estimating racially motivated incidents

In forming estimates of racially motivated incidents the following estimated numbers for households and population were used:

***Population age 16 and over and numbers of private households England and Wales***

| | White | Black | Indian | Pakistani or Bangladeshi |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Households (thousands)* | | | | |
| 1993 | 19,816 | 364 | 265 | 152 |
| 1995 | 20,203 | 387 | 244 | 156 |
| 1999 | 20,791 | 440 | 286 | 212 |
| *Population aged 16 and over (thousands)* | | | | |
| 1993 | 38,808 | 666 | 619 | 421 |
| 1995 | 38,986 | 680 | 649 | 436 |
| 1999 | 39,423 | 778 | 717 | 571 |

The estimates are drawn from figures supplied by the Office for National Statistics. Those for households are based on Labour Force Survey estimates and the population figures are ONS mid-year estimates. The proportionate increase in the estimated number of Bangladeshi and Pakistani households is particularly large between 1995 and 1999. The figures have been rescaled to exclude the 'not stated' categories. They have also been adjusted so that the total figures are consistent with those used elsewhere in the BCS.

Application of these population and household numbers to incident rates derived from the BCS generates estimated numbers of racially motivated incidents against white, black, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups. As the BCS ethnic boost does not include any other ethnic groups, it is not possible to reliably include incidents against other groups in national estimates (this follow the convention adopted in Percy, 1998).

The estimates for households and population numbers differ to some extent from those used in Percy (1998). This has the effect of altering estimates of the number of racially motivated incidents for 1995 published in Percy (1998) and subsequently quoted in Home Office (2000). We also found, in attempting to replicate Percy's results, that our figures were not always consistent with his. Our calculations have been carefully checked. It was not possible to rerun all Percy's calculations as the software used for BCS analysis changed in 1998 from P-Stat to SPSS.

In forming estimates across ethnic groups the household and population numbers given above have been used in preference to the estimated proportions in ethnic groups derived directly from the BCS

# Appendix D Ethnic composition of the England and Wales population

In 1991 the U.K Government Census included for the first time a question about people's ethnicity. 5.8 per cent of the population classified themselves as either Black, Asian or Chinese. More recently, the1997 Labour Force Survey indicates a rise in minority numbers to 6.4 per cent of the population.

***Table D1.1: – Ethnic Group Composition - England and Wales, 1991***

| Ethnic Group | Composition % |
|---|---|
| Whites | 94.5 |
| Blacks | 1.8 |
| Black-Caribbean | 1.0 |
| Black-African | 0.4 |
| Black-Other | 0.4 |
| South-Asian | 2.9 |
| Indian | 1.7 |
| Pakistani | 0.9 |
| Bangladeshi | 0.3 |
| Chinese and Others | 1.2 |

Source: Government Census, 1991

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