

YOUTH DEATHS: THE REALITY BEHIND THE 'KNIFE CRIME' DEBATE

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IRR BRIEFING PAPER NO.5

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The media portrayal of, and government response to, the 'knife crime epidemic' created a distorted image of the reality on the ground, according to new research undertaken by the Institute of Race Relations (IRR).

The evidence suggests that, whilst some marginalised young people are carrying knives, the image of violently nihilist, feral, often Black or ethnic minority teen gangs armed with knives and guns is, at best, only a snapshot of the grim reality for a very small minority. At worst, this kind of imagery, replicated unchallenged and unqualified on our screens and from the dispatch box, leads to a punitive and misguided political climate which may ultimately fail the very teenagers it aims to reach.

Here, the IRR publishes a summary of its key findings for 2008.[1] It aims to provide a description of who was killed and by whom and in what circumstances – a factual description which was largely missing from much media and political evaluation at the time.

Introduction

2008 saw a spate of youth killings in the capital, the second year in a row (in 2007 there were twenty-six teenage deaths and in 2008 there were thirty – up from a stable average of seventeen a year since 2000 and which seems to have returned to that average in 2009 with thirteen teenage deaths).[2] This included three high-profile deaths of White teenage boys in the summer (Jimmy Mizen, Rob Knox and Ben Kinsella) accompanied by blanket media coverage of the growing, and apparently unchallenged, threat of 'knife crime' and 'teen gangs'.

The government was quick to respond. The Youth Crime Action Plan was launched in July 2008 with £100 million of funding, targeting 'problem families', lifting blanket anonymity for

16- and 17-year-old offenders and introducing the increased use of stop-and-search powers.[3] A month earlier, the Tackling Knives Action Programme (TKAP) had launched, pledging £2 million funding for the ten police force areas in England and Wales judged to be most affected by knife crime.[4] The year ended with a scrap between the Conservatives and Labour over the release of contested knife crime statistics.[5]

The way in which 'knife crime' and 'teenage gangs' has dominated the public imagination over the last few years, and the government and media response to it, have been picked apart in a number of insightful pieces of independent research.[6] Similarly, the degree to which both of these terms carry heavily racialised overtones – the 1980s image of Black 'muggers' and 'street robbers' now morphed into one of Black teenage street gangs armed with knives – has similarly been covered.[7]

However, in an attempt to further unpick the issues raised in these earlier pieces of research, IRR chose to look in detail at the seventy-three violent teenage deaths in Britain in 2008. What it found was first, a picture far more complex than that suggested by the media/political response and by the overwhelming focus on anti-knife and anti-gang strategies,[8] and second, a clear disparity between what happened within and outside Greater London.[9]

A cursory glance at measurements of deprivation and locations of teenage homicides (by other teenagers and/or following the knife-gun-gang pattern) indicates a strong correlation between the two. IRR's research demonstrates that if you are poor and come from a disadvantaged background you are more likely to be caught up in a cycle of violence. And if you are from a BME group or have a refugee background this risk is heightened.

What are the trends on 'knife crime' and youth deaths?

At a national level, the number of 'sharp instrument' homicides has fallen, although there is anecdotal evidence that knife carrying may be increasing, particularly amongst children and young people (however the police acknowledge that these figures must be treated with caution, as the degree to which they reflect increased police activity on knife possession is unclear.)[10] Statistics show that, nationally, the number of teenage violent deaths remains stable, and has done so for a number of years, (although Greater London remains the anomaly, with 2007 and 2008 seeing significant increases).[11]

Outside Greater London

Outside Greater London (across England, Wales and Scotland), the picture of teenagers dying violently is complex and defies the easy stereotyping so loved by popular opinion makers. Although there were cases in 2008 which conformed to the stereotype of teenagers, knives, guns and gangs, they were so few as to be seen as the exception rather than the rule. Many of these cases were found in large cities (Liverpool, Manchester, Hull, Sheffield, Birmingham, Salford, Derby) with some of the highest levels of social and economic deprivation.[12] According to research conducted by the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies, social inequality and poverty heighten an individual's chances of being caught up in youth violence – findings which are reflected in the demographic backgrounds of those killed in 2008 and listed here.[13]

■ Forty-three teenagers died in violent circumstances outside the Greater London area in 2008.

■ The majority of these teenagers were killed by adults, with a large number killed in instances of domestic violence or in late-night drunken fights.

■ Only seven teenagers (of the cases successfully prosecuted) were killed by other teenagers carrying knives. All of these teenagers were White and were killed by other White teenagers, and only one of these was possibly linked to gangs.

■ There are only a handful of cases, perhaps four, in which there is strong evidence of local gang involvement in the killing.

■ Ten of those who died (just under a quarter) were teenage girls, virtually all of whom were killed in cases of domestic violence by relatives or partners.

■ There were only seven cases nationally which involved non-White teenagers, as perpetrators or victims, being killed in ways which conform to the gang-gun-knife-teenager stereotype. They all came from Birmingham, Manchester, Derby, Sheffield, Liverpool or Dewsbury. Four of these cases were gun attacks, two of which remain unsolved or with no convictions. Only two of the cases, for which there is information available, involve what appear to be gangs created along ethnic lines. The first: an Asian teen gang in Dewsbury who savagely beat to death a 17-year-old Asian boy. The second: a Somali gang from Liverpool, involving both adults and teenagers, who killed a 17-year-old Somali boy in a row about alcohol.

In Greater London

The picture in 2008 in Greater London, which has fourteen per cent of the population of England and Wales and is one of the 'largest cities in the developed world', was in stark contrast to that outside London (in Britain at large).[14] There were more teen deaths, many at the hands of other teenagers (most of whom were Black or Asian), a very high number of knife deaths and a large number of newly arrived migrants or refugees who were caught up in the violence.

■ There was an **increase in teen deaths.**

Thirty teenagers died in Greater London in 2008, compared to twenty-six in 2007 (yet by 2009, this number had more than halved to thirteen).

■ Half of those who died were **killed by other teenagers.** This is in contrast to the fourteen teenagers (a third) killed by other teenagers outside Greater London. (It is worth noting that young people make up a larger proportion of London's population than in the rest of the country.)

■ Only two of those who died in 2008 were **girls** – a significantly lower level compared to the ten girls who died outside Greater London.

■ **The use of knives in Greater London was significant.** There were more teenagers stabbed to death in London by other teenagers than in the whole of the rest of Britain. Thirty-five per cent of teenagers killed in Greater London were stabbed to death by other teenagers, compared to sixteen per cent across the rest of the country. There was also a disproportionately high number of knife attacks in Greater London: twenty-two deaths compared to twenty-one in the rest of Great Britain.

■ **The large majority of victims were Black or Asian, as were their attackers.**

(Ninety per cent of victims were Black or Asian [compared to 20 per cent outside Greater London]. Twenty Black or Asian teenagers were killed by other Black or Asian people, thirteen of these by other Black or Asian teenagers.) It is worth bearing in mind that some of this disparity could be as a result of the greater number of BME people living in London. According to the Greater London Authority's *Focus on London: 2009 edition* report, 'London is home to 39 per cent of England's Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic populations' and 'each of the sixteen ethnic groups, with the exception of White British, has a higher representation in London than in the country as a whole'. As for newly arrived communities, 'a third of all Londoners were born outside the UK, compared with 11 per cent of the population of the UK as a whole'.[15]

■ Two thirds of cases in Greater London had some association with **teenagers and guns, knives or gangs.** However, of these, there were **only three cases** (Shakilus Townsend, Ryan Bravo and Shaquille Smith of those cases that have been successfully tried in the courts) in Greater London where there was unequivocal evidence of **gang involvement.**

■ **A third of those killed in Greater London were either refugees or newly arrived migrants** (students or moved to the UK as children). They came from the DRC, Somalia, Afghanistan, Eritrea, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Vietnam, Jamaica, Morocco and Mauritius. It is harder to find out the backgrounds of those who carried out the killings, but it is clear that some were also newly arrived migrants or refugees,

including those from Eritrea, Pakistan, Ghana, Jamaica and Nigeria. This does not apply to the rest of the UK: only three teenagers were newly arrived migrants (from Qatar, Algeria and Somalia) and none were killed in a teens-gangs-guns-knives scenario (instead they were killed in a racist attack, in an act of domestic violence and by other Somalis in a fight over alcohol). It is widely acknowledged that asylum seekers arriving in the UK have often experienced extreme levels of trauma, both in their country of origin and in their often dangerous and prolonged journeys of escape, which heavily impacts on their mental health. Once in the UK, according to a recent report by mental health charity Mind, the process of integrating into a new and often hostile environment, whilst trying to navigate an asylum system that can leave individuals in desperate poverty, further marginalised and excluded, has 'devastating effects on the mental health, well-being and long term integration prospects of refugees and asylum seekers'.[16] Compounding this, according to a report published by the Mayor of London in 2003, is the fact that London has a significantly higher level of mental health needs in comparison to other parts of the country. This stems from a variety of factors, including levels of poverty and deprivation, the higher proportion of younger people (who are more likely to suffer from psychotic disorders), the numbers of asylum seekers and refugees, and the large proportion of BME people, who are 'more likely than White people to be diagnosed as suffering severe mental illness than depression, less likely to receive therapy and counselling treatments and more likely to be admitted to secure hospitals'.[17]

■ Greater London has the **highest rate of child poverty** compared to other regions in England and Wales, a rate which has remained 'stubbornly high' despite national improvements, according to analyses conducted by the Greater London Authority (GLA).[18] In particular, London's children are 'most likely to live in families on key benefits' and represent the highest percentage of children living in workless households, major contributors to poverty levels.[19] A statistical device called the Indices of Deprivation is used to identify areas in England where disadvantage is concentrated.[20] Around two thirds of Greater London's boroughs rank among the fifty most deprived local authorities in England according to the Indices of Deprivation for 2007: **all bar three of the areas (Acton, Bexley and Westminster) where teenage homicides occurred in London were in one of these boroughs.** Enfield had the highest number of deaths (five), all of whom were Black teenagers being killed by other Black teenagers and two of whom were refugees from the Congo. Other deaths in North London were in Hackney (3), Brent (1), Camden (1) and Islington (1). In the south: Southwark (4), Lambeth (2) and Croydon (3). In the southeast: Bexley (2), Greenwich (2) and Lewisham (1). In the west: Ealing (1) and Acton (1). In the east: Redbridge (1) and Waltham Forest (1). In Westminster, one.

Footnotes

[1] The majority of cases involving the death of a young person in 2008 have now reached conclusion in the courts, allowing for a more thorough understanding of what happened and who was involved. Cases from 2009 are progressing through the courts and so it is less easy to draw conclusions at this time. IRR continues to collect data on these and also holds information on cases from before 2008.

[2] BBC News, 'Mapping UK's teen murder toll', 15 December 2008,

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7777963.stm>.

[3] BBC News, 'Youth Crime: Key Measures', 15 July 2008, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7507713.stm>; *Guardian*, 'Youth crime: parents face fines and prison in government plan to reinforce young offenders' sentences', 16 July 2008,

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2008/jul/16/youthjustice.youngpeople1>.

[4] Home Office, 'Tackling Knives Action Programme', http://www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/tackling_knives.htm. In March 2009, the Programme was extended with an extra £5 million of funding and a total of sixteen police forces included.

[5] BBC News, "'Selective" knife figures blasted', 12 December 2008,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/7780057.stm; BBC News, Mark Easton's UK, 'More statistical fury', 6 January 2009,

http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/thereporters/markeaston/2009/01/more_statistical_fury.html; BBC News, Mark Easton's UK, 'More on the unchecked knife crime stats', 5 February 2009,

http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/thereporters/markeaston/2009/02/knife_crime.html.

[6] Centre for Crime and Justice Studies (CCJS), *'Knife crime': A review of the evidence and policy* (2nd edition, London, December 2007); Centre for Crime and Justice Studies, *Young people and gun and knife crime: a review of the evidence* (A literature review for 11 Million) (London, March 2009); Howard League for Penal Reform, *Why carry a weapon?* (16 October 2008); Peter Squires and Carlie Goldsmith, 'Bullets, blades and mean streets: youth violence and criminal justice failure', School of Applied Social Science, University of Brighton, unpublished paper; Runnymede Trust, *A Tale of Two Englands – 'Race' and Violent Crime in the Press* (London, March 2008); Communities Empowerment Network, *Black Parents Beware! What you need to know about the government's REACH report and 'role models' for the Black communities – A critique by Professor Gus John*, London.

[7] Runnymede Trust, op. cit.

[8] Anti-knife and anti-gang initiatives have included the mooted introduction of 'gangbos' (new antisocial behaviour injunctions aimed at tackling teenage gang members and labelled a 'gimmick' by rights group Liberty) in the new Crime and Security Bill, the use of posters, websites and music videos (e.g. 'Don't Shank Just Skank') as campaigning material, re-education programmes run by schools, colleges, doctors, nurses and police, anger management courses, role-model initiatives, family intervention schemes, anti-stab knives and gang-spotting guides for parents. Many of these initiatives are being run under the auspices of the Tackling Knives Action Programme (TKAP), Youth Crime Action Plan (YCAP) and the Serious Youth Violence Action Programme.

[9] Greater London consists of the City of London plus thirty-two surrounding boroughs, divided into Inner and Outer London. For more information, see this map: http://www.statistics.gov.uk/geography/downloads/london_boro.pdf.

[10] *Guardian*, 'Police figures show unexpected 8% drop in crime', 21 January 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/jan/21/police-figures-unexpected-drop-crime>; CCJS, *'Knife crime': A review of the evidence and policy*, op. cit., Squires and Goldsmith, op. cit.

[11] BBC News, 'Mapping UK's teen murder toll', 15 December 2008, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7777963.stm>.

[12] According to the Communities and Local Government's Indices of Deprivation 2007 for England, as listed in the LA Summaries ID 2007, <http://www.communities.gov.uk/communities/neighbourhoodrenewal/deprivation/deprivation07/>. These findings are supported by a group of MPs who found that victims and their attackers are 'concentrated in the deprived parts of big cities'. House of Commons Select Committee, *7th Report of Session 2008-9 of the Home Affairs Committee on Knife Crime (Report, together with formal minutes)*, June 2009, p. 3.

[13] CCJS, *'Knife crime': A review of the evidence and policy*, op. cit.

[14] Greater London Authority, *Focus on London: 2009 Edition*, Chapter 1: Population and Migration, 2009

<http://www.london.gov.uk/focusonlondon/docs/fol09-1-population.pdf>.

[15] Greater London Authority, *Focus on London: 2009 Edition*, Chapter 2: Diversity, 2009

<http://www.london.gov.uk/focusonlondon/docs/fol09-2-diversity.pdf>.

[16] Mind, *A Civilised Society: Mental health provision for refugees and asylum seekers in England and Wales, 2009*.

Read an IRR News story on the Mind report:

<http://www.irr.org.uk/2010/january/ha000010.html>.

[17] Mayor of London, *Getting a Move On: Addressing the housing and support issues facing Londoners with mental health needs*, July 2003,

http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor/health/docs/health_mental.pdf.

[18] Greater London Authority's Data Management and Analysis Group (DMAG), *Briefing: Child Poverty in London – 2007 Update*, June 2007, p. i,

<http://www.london.gov.uk/gla/publications/factsandfigures/dmag-briefing-2007-09.pdf>.

[19] Ibid. p. i-iv.

[20] DMAG Update, *Deprivation in London*, December 2007,

<http://www.london.gov.uk/gla/publications/factsandfigures/dmag-update-2007-24.pdf>.

SUMMARY OF YOUTH DEATHS IN 2008

Outside Greater London (England, Wales, Scotland)

Bradley Whitfield (m), 16, 1 January 2008, White, Braunstone, Leicester, Leicestershire.

Whitfield died from a puncture wound to his neck following a street attack near his home in the early hours. He was stabbed with a broken vodka bottle and kicked, punched and hit with a metal bar. Darren Carr (35, White), Lewis Faulds (16, White), Nicola Faulds (32, White) and Chelsea Faxon (16, White) were walking home after a New Year's Eve party when they attacked and killed Whitfield. Carr claimed at one point that he acted in self-defence, under attack from Whitfield and his gang. Reporting restrictions on the names of the 16 year olds were lifted. The Faulds are mother and son, and Faxon was 16-year-old Lewis' girlfriend. Carr and Lewis Faulds were convicted of murder and given a minimum of nine years each. Nicola Faulds and Faxon were acquitted of murder, but convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to eight and five years respectively.

Alex Holroyd (m), 19, 9 January 2008, White, Todmorden, West Yorkshire.

Holroyd was stabbed in what was described as an attack planned since November 2007. The intention of the attack, according to the attackers, was not to kill Holroyd. Hanif Mohammed (45, Asian), Johannes Thompson (44, unknown ethnicity), and Mohammed Javid Afsar (35, Asian) stalked Holroyd for over an hour before attacking him in a quiet part of the street, out of the view of CCTV cameras. He suffered a six-inch wound which penetrated his lung. Holroyd was apparently targeted because he had previously been involved in 'incidents of violence with racial overtones with young Asian men'. 'Mohammed claimed that Mr Holroyd was a racist and a bully but that was not accepted by the Crown, though Mr Holroyd did have previous convictions and there had been incidents of racial abuse in the past'. 'The court heard that

Mohammed had harmed himself with a knife to scare the deceased and had instinctively lashed out. The Judge gave stiffer sentences because a knife was involved and said: "Those who take the law into their own hands to punish people, whether they deserve it or not, will find themselves severely punished". *Bradford Telegraph & Argus*, 14 August 2008. Mohammed pleaded guilty to manslaughter and was given ten years. Thompson and Afsar pleaded guilty to conspiracy to cause grievous bodily harm and were sentenced to six and four years respectively.

Craig Hargreaves (m), 19, 19 January 2008, White, Castleford, Leeds, West Yorkshire.

Hargreaves suffered serious head injuries as he tried to break up a fight at a nightclub. He was punched once in the head. Jamie Wainberg, a 22-year-old White man from Leeds, was convicted of manslaughter and jailed for twelve months.

Christopher Johnston (m), 17, 26 January 2008, White, Bishopbriggs, East Dunbartonshire.

Johnston was stabbed in the leg outside his home after confronting a 14-year-old White boy who had just knifed one of his friends. The boy is described as having Attention Deficit Disorder and having been drunk on the night of the attack. The boy was convicted of culpable homicide and stabbing to injury. The court ordered that he should be detained for five years and kept under supervision for a further five years following his release.

Louis Braithwaite (m), 16, 10 February 2008, Black, Withington, Manchester, Greater Manchester.

Braithwaite died in hospital twelve days after being shot inside a bookmakers. A year after his death, his mother made an appeal for witnesses to come forward. In April 2009, another appeal for information was made and CCTV footage of a car at a garage and a Black man wanted for questioning about the attack

was released. The police also suggested that the witness protection programme would be available for potential witnesses.

Joe Dinsdale (m), 17, 11 February 2008, White, Hull, East Yorkshire.

Dinsdale died in hospital from a stab wound to the stomach after being attacked after an argument. Lewis Stephen Gray, 21, White, was found guilty of murder and ordered to serve a minimum of fifteen-and-a-half years, as well as thirty months concurrently for each of five counts of supplying a Class A drug.

Nathan Ridler (m), 17, 24 February 2008, White, Bournemouth.

Ridler died as a result of a single punch to the head in the early hours of the morning outside a takeaway where he was trying to break up a fight. Jamie Sloane, 18, White, was sentenced to three years and three months in a young offenders' institute after admitting manslaughter.

Ahmed Mohammed Ibrahim (m), 17, 10 March 2008, Black, Somali refugee, Sefton Park, Liverpool, Merseyside.

Ibrahim was repeatedly hit across the head with a samurai sword, baseball bat, machete and metal pole after being chased in Sefton Park, Liverpool. The attack happened following a row about alcohol. Ibrahim had been in the country for only nine months. The assailants were all young Somali men. Khadar Mohammed, 23, and Ali Mohammed, 19, were found guilty of murder in a 'planned and premeditated attack'. They were ordered to serve a minimum of sixteen years and fourteen years respectively. Essa Mohammed Ismail, 22, Ahmed Kayse Ahmed, 30, and his brother Ibrahim Ahmed, 23, were convicted of violent disorder and given three years each.

Samantha Bennett (f), 19, 19 March 2008, White, Burslem, Stoke on Trent, Staffordshire.

The 19-year-old mother was found beaten to death behind a house in Staffordshire. Matthew Robinson, 21, White, bludgeoned Bennett to death because he

did not have £20 to pay her for sex. He admitted murder and was sentenced to a minimum of fourteen years.

Joshua Mitchell (m), 17, 22 March 2008, White, South Kessock, Inverness, Invernesshire.

Mitchell was stabbed near his parents' home in an unprovoked attack by Alan Dewar, 17, White, who had been drinking and taking valium pills and was carrying a knife. He admitted the murder and was sentenced to serve at least thirteen years in jail.

Ross Davidson (m), 19, 23 March 2008, White, Byker, Newcastle, Tyne and Wear.

Davidson died from head injuries after being beaten in front of his girlfriend by burglars who broke into his flat. Kenneth Power, 22, White, and Graeme Duncan, 22, White, were sentenced to a minimum of twenty-four and twenty-two years respectively for his murder.

Ashley Horton (m), 16, 27 March 2008, White, Kings Norton, Birmingham, Midlands.

Horton died in hospital after being stabbed in the leg at a boarded-up house. Johnson was a habitual knife carrier. Tion Johnson, 29, ethnicity unknown, was convicted of his murder (sentence unknown).

Michelle Reid (f), 18, 19 April 2008, White, Maryhill, Glasgow, Lanarkshire.

Reid was found dead at a flat following a row over a boyfriend. Catherine Grant, 24, pleaded guilty to culpable homicide and was sentenced to eight years in jail.

Adam Paton (m), 17, 24 April 2008, White, Montrose, Angus.

Paton was stabbed six times after a fight broke out. Ross Anderson, 17 (but 16 at the time of the attack), White, was found guilty of culpable homicide and sentenced to eleven-and-a-half years in detention. Paton had punched and challenged Anderson in a flat. They then left the flat and Anderson picked up a kitchen knife, after which another fight broke out. Anderson lost an attempt to have his sentence cut. He

was born in Cornton Vale prison to a mother who was a heroin addict but his adoptive parents had tried to help him. The defence argued that Anderson had been suicidal in the days before the attack.

Robert Spence (m), 17, 02 May 2008, Black, Reading, Berkshire.

Spence, also known as Junior, was stabbed at the end of a night out in Reading town centre. He and his group of friends became involved in an altercation with another group, unknown to them at the time, who had driven to Reading from Bristol for a night out and who then armed themselves with knives and samurai swords to enact a revenge attack after the earlier altercation. Nicholas Olu, 30, Black, Leon Wilson, 32, Black, and David Brooks, 33, Black, were convicted of murder and attempted murder and sentenced to minimum terms of between twenty and twenty-two years each.

Nathan Lyons (m), 17, 13 May 2008, White, Redditch, Worcestershire.

Lyons' body was found in a tip lorry at a waste depot in Crayford, south-east London but police believe it was originally dumped in Redditch, Worcestershire. Scott Hancox, 35, and Amanda Allden, 29, both White, were found guilty at Worcester Crown Court of killing the 17-year-old from Birmingham. Drug dealer Hancox, of Fownhope Close, Redditch, and Allden, of Burcot Lane, Bromsgrove, were given minimum tariffs of seventeen and fifteen years respectively. They also received concurrent sentences of three years and three-and-a-half years after admitting perverting the course of justice.

Amar Aslam (m), 17, 25 May 2008, Asian, Crow's Nest Park, Dewsbury, West Yorkshire.

Aslam was beaten to death in a walled garden. He was beaten savagely and suffered a broken jaw and multiple head injuries. The attack was apparently filmed on a phone. At the time four 15-year-olds, one 12 and one 13-year-old were arrested on suspicion of murder. It is widely thought that Aslam was an innocent victim of gang violence. Amin Hussain Ali,

20, and Asif Khan, 16, both Asian, were sentenced to a minimum of twelve and nine years for murder and three-year concurrent sentences for robbery. Ibrar Hussain, 16, and Hassan Ali Rehman, 16, both Asian, were given twenty-four months' detention and training orders for manslaughter.

Rhys Butler (m), 17, 27 May 2008, White, Northwich, Cheshire.

Butler was found dead at a flat having suffered multiple stab injuries. Butler was a drug dealer and user, who was attacked and killed by Ian Broughton, 28, White, in an attempt to steal his drugs. Broughton pleaded guilty to murder and will serve a minimum of twenty-two years.

Laura Thomson (f), 18, 1 June 2008, White, Ayr, Ayrshire.

Thomson was murdered by her ex-boyfriend with whom she had a young daughter. Stuart McDonald, 21, White, stabbed her in the neck in a jealous rage. He was sentenced to eleven years in jail.

Simon Everitt (m), 17, 7 June 2008, White, Mautby, Norfolk.

Everitt went missing in Great Yarmouth on 7 June. His body was found two weeks later in farmland five miles away. Jimi-Lee Stewart, 25, White, and Maria Chandler, 40, White, both of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, and Jonathan Clarke, 20, White, from Telford in Shropshire, were convicted of his murder. Stewart was sentenced to a minimum term of twenty-two years, Chandler to seventeen years and Clarke to twenty-seven years. Everitt died from petrol inhalation and had been tied up and set alight, apparently because of his relationship with a girl with whom both the men had been involved too. The media reported the murder as a copycat attack from a 2006 horror film.

Frazer Endicott (m), 19, 7 June 2008, White, Balby, Doncaster, South Yorkshire.

Endicott died after being found stabbed on a pavement in the early hours. He was killed by his half-brother David Fieldsend, 25, White, in a row over beer

after the pair had been drinking. Fieldsend was sentenced to life for murder and will serve a minimum of fifteen years.

Joseph Dymond-Williams (m), 17, 22 June 2008, White, Bristol.

Police say the A level student intervened in a row between a man and his girlfriend in Bristol city centre. He suffered head injuries and was taken to hospital but died two weeks later. The attack was described as a drunken brawl. Thomas Swift, 18, White, admitted manslaughter but was found guilty of murder and ordered to serve a minimum of nine years. Jack Sanderson-Hunt, 18, White, pleaded guilty to manslaughter and was sentenced to three and a half years. Both were 17 at the time of the attack.

Tarek Chaiboub (m), 17, 11 July 2008, of Syrian origin, Burngreave, Sheffield, South Yorkshire.

Chaiboub was gunned down at a barber's shop in a revenge attack. Nigel Ramsey, 22, Black, Denzil Ramsey, 20, Black, Michael Chattoo, 23, Black, and Levan Menzies, 17, Black, were found guilty of murder and sentenced to thirty-five years, twenty-five years, thirty years and twenty years respectively. Nigel Ramsey, Chattoo and Javan Galloway, 20, were also found guilty of attempted murder after a knife attack against Chaiboub on 6 July. The prosecution alleged that the killing was gang related.

Stephanie Flanagan (f), 19, 14 July 2008, White, Hyde, Manchester, Greater Manchester.

Mother-of-two Flanagan was found dead at her home. She died from a serious head injury. Gareth Jones, 25, White, admitted murder and rape and was given a life sentence, with a minimum of twenty-two years to serve.

Michael Causer (m), 18, 25 July 2008, White, Huyton, Liverpool, Merseyside.

Causer was savagely beaten in what some described on the social networking website, Facebook, as a homophobic attack. He suffered serious head injuries

and died in hospital eight days later. James O'Connor, 20 (19 at the time of the attack), White, pleaded guilty to murder, but not a homophobic attack. He was sentenced to serve a minimum of eleven years and six months before he is allowed to seek parole. Meanwhile Gavin Alker, who was initially accused of launching a homophobic attack on Causer, was cleared of both manslaughter and murder.

Conor Black (m), 16, 16 August 2008, White, Harpurhey, Manchester, Greater Manchester.

Black died after being stabbed in the shoulder in the early hours after attending a house party. He was murdered after an argument over an Xbox games console. Black was smashed over the head with a can of lager, before being stabbed in the back as he turned to escape. Shane Boyd, 16, White, boasted about the killing afterwards. Boyd admitted manslaughter but was found guilty of murder and sentenced to serve a minimum of eleven years. His cousin John Boyd, 20, White, was sentenced to three years in a young offenders' institution for assault and perverting the course of justice.

Mohammed Al-Majed (m), 16, 24 August 2008, Qatari student, Claremont, Hastings, Sussex.

The foreign language student died in a London hospital two days after being attacked near a takeaway. He was punched in his chest and hit his head on the pavement as he fell. A group of White men were racially abusing Al-Majed, his friend and another Black teenager. George Austin, 21, White, was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to four-and-a-half years in jail. Paul Rockett, 20, White, was found guilty of racially aggravated common assault on one of Al-Majed's friends and sentenced to four months. Alexander Quinn, 18, White, was found guilty of wounding another of the student's friends.

Dominic Barritt (m), 18, 25 August 2008, White, Walton-on-the-Naze, Essex.

Barritt died after being punched once and hitting his head on the pavement during a street attack in the

early hours of 23 August. He suffered a severe head injury and died in hospital two days later. His attacker was described as having psychopathic tendencies and had a history of drug and drink-induced violence. Mark Brewer, 22, White, admitted manslaughter and was told he must serve a minimum of two years in jail before being considered for parole.

Kirstie Foster (f), 15, 26 August 2008, White, Maesbrook, Shropshire.

Foster was killed along with her mother at the family home. Police believe her 50-year-old father, Christopher, whose body was also found at the burnt out house, killed the pair then committed suicide.

Luke Howard (m), 16, 30 August 2008, White, Knotty Ash, Liverpool, Merseyside.

Howard was stabbed twelve times during an argument at a party, after a group of teenage boys drank alcohol, smoked cannabis and snorted cocaine. Howard was apparently 'prodding' Charlizo Calvert, 15, White, with a screwdriver throughout the night and they were 'winding each other up'. This escalated into a full-blown fight, with Howard pinning Calvert down on a bed and stabbing at his face with the screwdriver. Calvert reached for something to defend himself with but ended up grabbing a knife, which had been brought into the room to open wine with. Calvert's claim of self-defence was accepted by the judge and jury. He denied murder but admitted manslaughter and was initially sentenced to seven years' detention. The judge at his trial lifted an order banning publication of Calvert's name. Calvert appealed the sentencing and it was reduced to four-and-a-half years, given the provocation and his age at the time of the attack.

Stephon Davidson (m), 19, 2 September 2008, Black, Ladywood, Birmingham, Midlands.

Davidson died in hospital of injuries sustained in a drive-by shooting on 5 August, after gunmen fired at a car he was travelling in with friends. The attack came in the wake of a series of apparent tit-for-tat killings in Birmingham. Police said at the time that they believed it to be gang-related, but that although

Davidson had friends who were gang members, there was no indication that he was himself. A year after his death, his family made an appeal for the killer to give himself up. Detectives said that they do not have a motive and have not made any arrests. They also released CCTV footage apparently of the killer leaning out of a car moments before he fired the fatal shots.

Courtney Eaton (m), 17, 5 September 2008, White, Winton, Salford, Greater Manchester.

Eaton died of stab wounds after a fight near a petrol station. Stuart Fagan, 18, White, had been drinking heavily and carried a fold-up knife, for protection, he said. Eaton's friend had shouted an insult at Fagan's brother - a 'minor incident', as the police described it. Fagan was found guilty of manslaughter after insisting he did not mean to use the weapon. He was sentenced to eight years' detention in a young offenders' institution. Fagan admitted carrying the knife for self protection and pleaded guilty to carrying an offensive weapon - he will serve three years for this offence concurrently.

Dale Robertson (m), 18, 7 September 2008, White, Parsons Cross, Sheffield, South Yorkshire.

Robertson died after being stabbed following a party, after a row over an Xbox games console. The *Times* (8 September 2008) reported: 'A teenager was stabbed to death when rival "postcode" gangs, some armed with baseball bats and knives, fought running battles in the street after clashing at a girl's 16th birthday party. Up to 40 youths were involved in the fight in Sheffield'. Sean Thompson, 16 (15 at the time of the attack), Black, and Reece Mendez, 18, White were convicted of murder. They will serve ten and eleven-and-a-half years minimum. Spencer Jessop, 17, ethnicity unknown, and Travis Hurst, 18, ethnicity unknown, were convicted of violent disorder. They will serve ten months and two years - the maximum sentence that could have been handed down. Three other youths were found not guilty of violent disorder.

Sabrina Larbi-Cherif (f), 19, 15 September 2008, Algerian-born British national, Ladywood, Birmingham, Midlands.

Larbi-Cherif, who came to the UK in 1998, was killed alongside her elder sister Yasmine, 22. Mohammed Ali, 29, used three knives to inflict thirty-five knife wounds on Sabrina and two on Yasmine. He was found guilty of murder.

Victoria Couchman (f), 19, 14 October 2008, White, Hastings, East Sussex.

Her remains were found by children playing in woodland on the outskirts of Hastings. She had not been reported missing and it is unclear how she died. Her father, Tony, 45, who was accused of her murder and was due to go on trial in January 2010, was found dead in his prison cell on 4 January 2010.

Joseph Lappin (m), 16, 20 October 2008, White, Everton, Liverpool, Merseyside.

Lappin died after being stabbed outside a youth club. He was murdered on 20 October after being chased by a gang. He had enjoyed a night with friends at the Shrewsbury House Youth Club in Everton. It was the first time he attended the church building and was there to support a friend's band. He and Callum Naden were waiting for a lift home when they were confronted and chased back to the youth club where they sought safety. But Lappin, a member of the Liverpool Scottish Regiment, received a fatal stab wound and Naden was knifed twice. Ten people were charged with Lappin's murder. A Merseyside Police spokesman said the six adults and four juveniles (ethnicity unknown) were also charged with the grievous bodily harm of Naden. The trial is set for 12 January 2010.

Amy Leigh Barnes (f), 19, 8 November 2008, White, Farnworth, Bolton, Lancashire.

Barnes was found stabbed in her home and was taken to hospital but died of her injuries. Ricardo Morrison, 22, Black, who had a long history of violent attacks against women, was convicted of murder and ordered to serve a minimum of twenty-four years.

Kyle Grand (m), 18, 9 November 2008, Leeds, West Yorkshire.

Grand died on a night out with friends. Police said an 'incident' took place and it was being treated as murder. As yet, no motive or cause of death has been established and although five people (ethnicity unknown) were arrested shortly after his death on suspicion of murder, no one has been charged.

Kadeem Blackwood (m), 15, 11 November 2008, Black, Derby, Derbyshire.

The 15-year-old was shot in the chest. A fight had been arranged with some members of rival gang A1. Blackwood was carrying a knife and was then shot himself in Caxton Street recreation ground in Sunnyhill, Derby. He was taken to hospital where he died from his injuries. Michael-Paul Hamblett-Sewell, 20, Black, and Callum Campbell, 19, Black/Mixed race, were found guilty of his murder and sentenced to twenty-three and twenty-one years respectively. Ashley Campbell, 24, Black, was sentenced to two-and-a-half years for assisting an offender.

Michelle Stewart (f), 17, 14 November 2008, White, Drongan, Ayrshire.

Stewart was stabbed in the early evening outside some shops. Her brother, who is a nurse, tried to save her but she died shortly after arriving at hospital. John Wilson, 20, White, admitted murdering his former girlfriend and was sentenced to a minimum of twelve years.

Boris Reavey (m), 19, 15 November 2008, White, Bedford, Bedfordshire.

Reavey was stabbed in the chest near a church car park in Bedford town centre. He dragged himself to a nearby club but died later in hospital. Milton Downer, 52, Black, is a paranoid schizophrenic who pleaded guilty to manslaughter on the grounds of diminished responsibility. He was sent to a mental institution indefinitely on the grounds of diminished responsibility.

***Jane Treasure (f), 19, 18 November 2008,
White, Slough, Chalvey, Berkshire.***

Treasure was found stabbed to death at a house. Mario Carvalho, 24, (ethnicity unknown) is charged with the fatal stabbing of his girlfriend and the attempted murder of his 22-year-old friend Damian Sharpe. He is due to go on trial on 1 March 2010.

***James Taylor (m), 11, 2 December 2008,
White, New Ash Green, Dartford, Kent.***

James was drowned and found with drugs in his system. His mother, Jennifer Taylor, 45, White, pleaded guilty to manslaughter on grounds of diminished responsibility and has been detained indefinitely.

**In Greater London
(The City of London plus thirty-two
surrounding London boroughs)**

***Henry Bolombi (m), 17, 1 January 2008,
Congolese refugee, Edmonton, Enfield, north
London.***

Bolombi was a refugee from the Congo, sent to live with his aunt and uncle at the age of 13. He was stabbed to death in the early hours of New Year's Day, when a fight broke out between a group of four youths and Bolombi and his nine Black friends. A 20-year-old and a 14-year-old were arrested at the time in connection with his murder but there have been no developments since then.

***Faridon Alizada (m), 18, 5 January 2008,
Afghan refugee, Erith, Bexley, southeast
London.***

Alizada and two other 16-year-old teenagers were attacked by Lee James, a 32-year-old White man, who was found guilty of murder and sentenced to a minimum twenty-five years for the murder and twenty-two years for two counts of wounding with intent, to run concurrently. James, a cocaine addict, burst into their flat, stabbing Alizada and the two Afghan teenagers who used the room to take crack and sell drugs. James was a regular customer of the teenagers who, it was alleged by the *Evening Standard* and the *London Paper*, were associated with either the Woolwich Boys gang or the IVS (InVincible Soldiers) gang. James had already tried to rob the flat the previous week and had been to the flat three or four times that day and returned with a friend having failed to get drugs from another dealer and with the intention of robbing the boys. He later claimed that they were al-Qaida supporters who wanted to blow up Bluewater shopping centre. Alizada arrived in the UK two years prior to his death. In mitigation, the defence claimed that James suffered from a personality disorder and was having a drug-induced psychosis during the attack. James, a former professional bare knuckle fighter, had a string of violent offences dating back to 1992.

Boduka Louis Mudianga (m), 18, 21 January 2008, Congolese refugee, Edmonton, Enfield, north London.

Kevin Lewis, 17 at the time of the attack, was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to five years' youth detention. On the day of the attack, Mudianga was getting off of a bus with a friend, when they saw two youths, including Lewis. Mudianga threw a punch at Lewis' friend and Lewis 'instinctively' stabbed him. Kevin Lewis arrived from Jamaica in the UK aged 14. He said he was 'paranoid most of the time' about being attacked and had been robbed five times in four years. He was carrying a knife and wearing a stab vest at the time of the attack and had 'over-reacted'. Mudianga had come to the UK with his family at the age of three from the Congo.

Fuad Buraleh (m), 19, 26 January 2008, Somali refugee, Ealing, west London.

Buraleh and his friends were attacked in a park after an altercation on a bus. Carl Cadogan, a 63-year-old Black man, rounded up family and friends for a revenge attack after a drunk Buraleh spat at him on the bus. Carl's son, Myles Cadogan, 24, was found guilty of murder at the Old Bailey on 10 December 2008 and sentenced to a minimum of twenty years. Five other men were given prison sentences for violent disorder: Anthony Sheehan, Lee Beavis, Scott Baker, Richard O'Donoghue, Carl Cadogan.

Sunday Essiet (m), 15, 19 February 2008, Black (Nigerian), Woolwich, southeast London.

Essiet was sent to the UK from Nigeria as a baby and was an orphan with no fixed abode. He was waving an imitation gun around on the day he died, angry about an earlier altercation. He was stabbed nine times in the road after being chased through a park. Four Black teenagers were found guilty of murder and given minimum sentences of between thirteen and sixteen years. Following the murder, two of the attackers, Ademola Oloyede and Ifedotun Gbadebo-Araoye, both 19, attempted to flee to Nigeria.

Tung Le (m), 17, 29 February 2008, Vietnamese, Westminster, central London.

Le died after being stabbed by Vietnamese man, Chien Nguyen, 18, outside a club in Trafalgar Square, central London. Nguyen pleaded guilty to manslaughter due to diminished responsibility and was detained indefinitely under the Mental Health Act.

Ofiyke 'Iyke' Nmezu (m), 16, 29 February 2008, Black, Enfield, north London.

Nmezu was hit over the head with a brick by 18-year-old Black youth Liam Palmer in an ongoing dispute about rap lyrics. Nmezu went to two hospitals but his head was not scanned. He deteriorated and collapsed and died within hours of going to casualty for a third time two weeks after the attack. His family were angered by his lack of treatment at the second hospital. Palmer was found guilty of manslaughter. He was given four and a half years' youth custody. Palmer's 20-year-old-brother pleaded guilty to perverting the course of justice.

Michael Jones (m), 18, 13 March 2008, Black, Enfield, north London.

Jones died after a savage attack in which he was beaten and stabbed by 45-year-old Black civil servant Gerard Tony Paul, who had been dating Jones' mother. Paul was found guilty of murder and sentenced to a minimum twenty-four years.

Nicholas 'Ratty' Clarke (m), 19, 14 March 2008, Black, Brixton, south London.

Clarke died from a gunshot wound to the head. Operation Trident is investigating his death. Three teenagers (15, 16 and 17 year olds) and a 26 year old were arrested and bailed. A year after his death, police offered a £20,000 reward for any information that would lead to his killers.

Devoe Roach (m), 17, 27 March 2008, Black, Hackney, northeast London.

Roach was stabbed by 20-year-old Asian man Imran Khan. Khan was found to have psychotic fantasies and stabbed Roach - an unknown stranger - after a minor

altercation. He was found guilty of murder and sentenced to a minimum of twenty years.

Amro Elbadawi (m), 14, 27 March 2008, Egyptian origin, Brent, northwest London.

Elbadawi was stabbed on his way home from school. He died from a knife wound to his throat during a 'play-fight' with his 16-year-old friend, Yusuf Drissi (ethnicity unknown). Drissi admitted manslaughter after his not guilty murder plea was accepted. The defence argued that Drissi had acted in self defence and was aware that Elbadawi had a 'capacity for violence'. Drissi was sentenced to two years' youth detention.

Lyle Tulloch (m), 15, 3 May 2008, Black, Elephant & Castle, Southwark, south London.

Tulloch was stabbed thirteen times in a stairwell after being accused of stealing 18-year-old Black youth Damien Sobowale's phone at a party. Sobowale and 17-year-old Tobi Peters (Black) were found guilty of murder and sentenced to a minimum of twelve years each.

Jimmy Mizen (m), 16, 10 May 2008, White, Lewisham, southeast London.

Mizen was killed when Jake Fahri, 19, whose father is a Turkish Cypriot, flung a glass plate at his face in a bakery, leaving him bleeding to death. Fahri was found guilty of murder and sentenced to a minimum of fourteen years. The papers made much of the idea of killing for 'respect' and of Fahri's apparent lack of remorse. Mizen was widely described as a 'gentle giant'.

Rosimeiri Boxall (f), 19, 18 May 2008, of Brazilian origin, Greenwich, southeast London.

Boxall was viciously bullied and beaten before jumping to her death in an attempt to flee her attackers. Hatice Can, 15 (then 13) (of Turkish origin) and Kemi Ajose, 19 (then 17) (Black) were found guilty of manslaughter. Can was sentenced to eight years' detention. Ajose, who has a history of mental health problems, was ordered to be detained indefinitely at a psychiatric hospital.

Rob Knox (m), 18, 24 May 2008, White, Sidcup, Bexley, southeast London.

Knox was killed by Karl Bishop, 22 (21 at the time of the attack), who stabbed him five times outside a club in Sidcup, southeast London. Bishop described himself as Black. Bishop was found guilty of murder and sentenced to serve a minimum of twenty years and concurrent sentences for wounding.

Sharmaarke Hassan (m), 17, 24 May 2008, Somali refugee, Camden, north London.

Hassan was shot at close range whilst sitting on a bench with friends. Police believe he was part of The Money Squad, a Somali gang, but said at the time that they were keeping an open mind as to the motivation. The *Times* suggested he was ambushed by three people in an area where 'street gangs are fighting to control the supply of drugs'. He died from a gunshot wound to the head. In an article in *Camden New Journal*, his family specifically questioned both the way in which the police and media had dealt with them ('if we were white or from a larger community, this would not happen') and the assertions that Sharmaarke was in a gang. They acknowledge that he had been in trouble with the police before, but said they did not recognise descriptions of him as a 'drug dealer' and 'gangster' in the press. Although two men and a 16-year-old were charged with murder the case has not reached completion.

Arsema Dawit (f), 15, 2 June 2008, Eritrean refugee, Waterloo, Southwark, south London.

Dawit was stabbed thirty times by former boyfriend and fellow Eritrean refugee Thomas Nugusse, 21, in Waterloo, central London. He was found to have committed the murder, but suffered brain damage as the result of a suicide attempt in prison and has been committed to a mental hospital for life. He had threatened to kill her prior to her death and despite alerting the police, the family say that nothing was done to protect her. The IPCC are investigating police conduct in the run up to her murder.

Ben Kinsella (m), 16, 29 June 2008, White, Islington, north London.

Kinsella (the third White teenager to be killed in 2008 in London) was chased down an Islington street by three Black teenagers and stabbed eleven times. The attack came after a series of earlier fights between gangs of youths and had started when Jade Braithwaite, 19, felt he had been disrespected by a group not linked to Kinsella. Braithwaite and a friend then confronted a friend of Kinsella's. Shortly after this, Braithwaite and his friend were attacked by about thirty youths. Braithwaite's friend had a cut to his head that required treatment. Braithwaite left the pub, but phoned Juress Kika, 18, and Michael Alleyne, 18, for backup. They returned to the pub, and chased Kinsella's group who were stood outside, before kicking Kinsella to the ground and stabbing him. As with Jimmy Mizen's killer Jake Fahri and Rob Knox's killer Karl Bishop, the media picked up on the idea of killing for 'respect', the apparent lack of remorse and in the enjoyment of 'posturing' in court. The three were convicted of murder and sentenced to minimum nineteen year terms.

Shakilus Townsend (m), 16, 4 July 2008, Black, Thornton Heath, Croydon, south London.

Townsend was beaten with a baseball bat and stabbed. The attack was 'planned and targeted' and described as a 'honey trap' murder after Townsend was lured to his death by ex-girlfriend Samantha Joseph. All attackers were Black and were 17 or under at the time of the attack. Seven teenagers were convicted of murder, despite initially denying murder, with minimum sentences of between ten and fifteen years. The police believe that the attackers were all members of the Shine My Nine (SMN) gang who wear orange.

David Idowu (m), 14, 7 July 2008, Black (Nigerian), Borough, Southwark, south London.

Idowu was stabbed to death. Elijah Dayoni, 16, was convicted of his murder and sentenced to a minimum twelve years' detention. Dayoni moved from war-torn Congo to Angola, before joining his parents in England in 2000 and eventually being put into temporary

accommodation. The judge lifted a ban on naming Dayoni. In the two years prior to the murder, he had mugged a man, been excluded from school for carrying a replica gun, shoplifted and carried out a burglary.

Melvin Bryan (m), 18, 10 July 2008, Black, Edmonton, Enfield, north London.

Bryan was stabbed in a bedsit when he refused to pay £10 for a rock of crack cocaine. Two Black men, O'Jay Rodgers, 23, and Damion Sealey, 28, were convicted of murder and given minimum terms of twenty-two and twenty years respectively.

Frederick Moody Boateng (m), 18, 17 July 2008, of Ghanaian origin, Stockwell, south London.

Boateng was attacked on a street corner by six youths. He was pushed to the ground by three, who then kicked him. He was then stabbed, but his killer has never been identified. Police have not charged anyone with Boateng's murder and are still appealing for witnesses. Boateng was rendered defenceless and the killer was able to stab and kill him. Three Black teenagers Jeffrey Adu-Sarso, 19, Shane Isaacs, 21, and Abdul Wahab, 17, were sentenced for violent disorder (for three-and-a-half years in jail, two years and nine months in jail, and one year detention and training order respectively).

Ryan Bravo (m), 18, 6 August 2008, Black, Walworth, Southwark, south London.

Bravo was an innocent bystander who was killed in a drive-by shooting. Black man Ashley Bucknor, 20 (19 at the time), was found guilty of murder and sentenced to a minimum thirty-two years in prison. The judge commented in his summing up on Bucknor's ongoing involvement in gangs. Three others have been charged with murder and two with possession of a firearm.

Nilanthan Murddi (m), 17, 16 August 2008, Sri Lankan Tamil, Croydon, south London.

Murddi was killed in a racist attack. Stephen Braithwaite, 31, White, was found guilty of murder and given a minimum sentence of nineteen years.

Ahmed Benyermak (m), 16, 21 August 2008, of Moroccan origin, Hackney, north London.

Benyermak was allegedly chased by six 'masked' 'black male youths' on bicycles, some possibly carrying knives. Benyermak was apparently so fearful for his life that he climbed down six floors (on the outside of a block of flats) before falling to his death. No arrests have been made and the police are currently treating his death as an unlawful killing. Although some of the press coverage made allusions to gang involvement, the police said that there is no indication that Ahmed was involved in gangs.

Charles Junior Hendricks (m), 18, 24 August 2008, Black, Walthamstow, Waltham Forest northeast London.

Hendricks was found with stab wounds as two or three males were seen running away. He died shortly afterwards. Press described him as being caught up in a gang dispute. Although some teenagers have been charged with his murder, no one has been brought to trial.

Shaquille Smith (m), 14, 31 August 2008, of Jamaican origin, Hackney, northeast London.

Smith was caught in the middle of a dispute between two gangs – one from the London Fields area and one from the E9 postcode. It is believed up to fifteen youths from the Fields Boys were involved. Six Black teenagers, some of Ghanaian origin and all members of the London Fields gang, were convicted of Smith's murder: Godiowe Dufeal, 19, George Amponsah, 18, Amisi Khama, 18, Freddie Amponsah, 17, Kadean Dias, 18, Leon Atwell, 17. They were jailed for minimum terms of between fifteen and eighteen years.

Oliver Kingonzila (m), 19, 13 September 2008, refugee from the DRC, Croydon, south London.

Kingonzila was stabbed to death after an ongoing feud with his attacker's brother over an ex-girlfriend. Black teenager Triston Burke, 19, pleaded guilty to murder and was given a minimum sentence of fourteen years.

Craig Marshall (m), 19, 26 September 2008, ethnicity unknown, Acton, west London.

Marshall was stabbed to death during an argument over a cannabis deal. Kandeepan Balasubramaniam, 22 (Asian) was found guilty of manslaughter and jailed for an indeterminate sentence with a minimum of eight years.

Nabeer 'Ashik' Bakurally (m), 19, 8 November 2008, Mauritian, Ilford, Redbridge, east London.

Bakurally, a student from Mauritius, was stabbed to death during a street brawl with three Asian youths. His 17-year-old friend was also stabbed but survived. Bakurally had been in the UK for three years studying at university. According to a report in the *Times*, his friends allege that he died as the result of a feud between Asian and Mauritian youth. Abdul Siddique, 25, pleaded guilty to murder and was jailed for a minimum of twenty-one years. Kalam Kazi, 23, was cleared of murder but jailed for ten years for manslaughter.

Published by the Institute of Race Relations ©
January 2010.

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