

All Wales Hate Crime Research Project

Dr Matthew Williams and Dr Jasmin Tregidga

Time For

JUSTICE

Race Equality First



"Working with you
to make equality a reality"



“Can’t I just expect to go to the pub, and have a drink like everybody else? It sounds trivial but it bloody isn’t, it makes me feel like ending my life sometimes.”

“I just wanted to move the house and just have some magical powers and take us somewhere else”.

“The type of abuse I face has changed since 9/11. It used to be more about my colour really, and now it’s about my scarf; it’s now kind of turned on religion and being a foreigner because of the clothes I wear”.

“It’s a horrible thing when it’s your neighbour...coming home to that environment was awful really, because you come home to feel safe, but we were going to home to almost like a warzone of what would happen next”.

“I create my own prison in my flat; it’s an open prison but I don’t feel free.”

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Acknowledgements

Race Equality First and Cardiff University would like to thank the following organisations for their support during the project: Age Concern Cardiff and the Vale of Glamorgan, Age Cymru, All Wales People First, Cardiff Women's Aid, The Crown Prosecution Service, Disability Wales, Diverse Cymru, Dyfed Powys Police, EHRC, Ethnic Youth Support Team (EYST), Gwent Police, Learning Disability Wales, Mencap Cymru, North Wales Police, North Wales Regional Equality Network (NWREN), Safer Wales, South Wales Police, South East Wales Regional Equality Council (SEWREC), Stonewall Cymru, Swansea Bay Regional Equality Council (SBREC), Tai Pawb, Valleys Regional Equality Council (VALREC), Victim Support, Unique Transgender Network, Wales Probation Trust, Wales Strategic Migration Partnership, Welsh Centre for Crime and Social Justice, Welsh Local Government Association (WLGA), Welsh Government, Welsh Women's Aid.

The research team would like to extend a special thank you to all the research participants who shared their experiences of hate crime in Wales and without whom this project would not have been possible.

Chief Executive's Foreword

This final report presents the findings from the Big Lottery funded All Wales Hate Crime Research Project carried out by Race Equality First in partnership with Cardiff University. The Project represents the most comprehensive piece of hate crime research ever to be undertaken in Wales and the findings provide us with a wealth of information about the nature and impact of hate crime. Progress has been made, but our findings make it clear that hate crime is still a daily reality for many people in Wales, devastating individual lives and creating fear and distrust in our communities. The prevention of hate crime is a long term goal that will only be achieved if organisations work together in partnership to meet this challenge. We hope that the data from the research will be used to evidence the resourcing of hate crime services in Wales and to support the development of policy and good practice in this area. The report outlines 10 key recommendations for consideration by Welsh Government, Local Authorities, police and criminal justice agencies, social housing providers, statutory health, education, and third sector organisations. Race Equality First is grateful to Big Lottery for the funding which has enabled us to produce this research which will improve the quality of peoples' lives in Wales.



Aliya Mohammed
Chief Executive Officer
Race Equality First

Project Officer's Foreword

The All Wales Hate Crime Research Project aimed to generate robust data on the nature and impact of hate crime in Wales and enhance communications, capacity building activities and information sharing. Three years on from the beginning of the project we now coordinate a thriving network of organisations and individuals who are committed to tackling hate crime. The events that we've held across Wales during the course of the project have brought organisations together to raise the issues and concerns which have helped shape the project's final recommendations. We hope that the data presented in this report will form the foundation for the development of evidence-based policy and will ultimately make Wales a bastion of good practice in addressing hate crime.

Dr Mair Rigby
Hate Crime Project Officer
Race Equality First

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Chapter One: Research Overview and Executive Summary

1.1 Introduction

This research study forms part of the All Wales Hate Crime Project, which was funded by Big Lottery (2010 – 2013) and led by Race Equality First in partnership with Cardiff University. The primary aim of the research was to generate robust data on both the *nature* of hate crime and hate-related incidents in Wales and the *impact* of that victimisation on individuals, their families and local communities. The study focuses on the 5 protected characteristics for hate crime recognised by the Home Office:

- Disability;
- Race & Ethnicity;
- Religion & Belief;
- Sexual Orientation, and
- Transgender Status/ Gender Identity.

However, the Project also recognises the existence of hate crime victimisation on the basis of **age** and **gender** and both of these identity characteristics are included and examined in the study¹. The wide-ranging scope of the research ensures it has generated the most comprehensive dataset on hate crime victimisation in the UK at the date of publication.

1.1.2 Hate Crime Definitions

The study focuses on both hate ‘crimes’ and ‘incidents’ because both can be reported to the police and both have a profound impact on victims and their families. The Project draws on the hate crime definitions set out by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) in 2005².

A Hate Crime is defined as:

¹ At present, ‘age’ and ‘gender’ are not recognised by criminal justice agencies in England and Wales as protected characteristics within the context of hate crime. Furthermore, existing criminal offences dealing specifically with the problem of hate crime do not recognise the same five protected characteristics. Specific crimes for racially and religiously aggravated common wounding/grievous bodily harm; actual bodily harm; common assault; damage; fear/provocation of violence; harassment/alarm distress; intentional harassment/alarm distress; and harassment and stalking exist under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (amended by Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 and Part 11 of Schedule 9 Protection of Freedoms Act 2012). The Public Order Act 1986 (amended by the Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006 and Criminal Justice and Immigration Act 2008) also makes it a criminal offence to incite hatred on the basis of race, religion and sexual orientation. Section 146 of the Criminal Justice Act 2003 allows for an increase in sentences for aggravation related to disability or sexual orientation. Section 65 of the Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Act 2012 amends section 146 Criminal Justice Act 2003 to include transgender identity. The Law Commission is currently consulting on the case for extending hate crime offences: http://lawcommission.justice.gov.uk/docs/cp213_hate_crime_amended.pdf

² ACPO (2005). ‘Hate Crime: Delivering a Quality Service’.

Any hate incident, which constitutes a criminal offence, perceived by the victim or any other person, as being motivated by prejudice or hate.

A Hate Incident is defined as:

Any incident, which may or may not constitute a criminal offence, which is perceived by the victim or any other person, as being motivated by prejudice or hate.

In the majority of cases hate 'incidents' are identified as acts of low level, persistent disorder which manifest themselves as being insulted, pestered or ridiculed in a public place; being ignored and/or treated with impatience, frustration or intolerance because of some aspect of personal identity. Often, these acts are not criminal in nature but can be reported to the police.

1.1.3 Current Picture

While data specific to Wales can be extrapolated from the British Crime Survey (BCS) (now *The Crime Survey for England and Wales* (CSEW)), the sampling strategy adopted by the Home Office and the Office for National Statistics means that the number of respondents reporting hate crimes/incidents is too small to conduct a robust analysis. Furthermore, not all of the seven characteristics have been covered by the survey consistently over time³. The Home Office and Office for National Statistics state that the BCS/CSEW is designed to provide estimates for England and Wales as one unit of analysis. The national statistician's review of crime statistics⁴ concluded "given the sample size of the survey it cannot be used to produce robust estimates on an annual basis for those crimes that are experienced by relatively small proportions of the population or outside the current scope of coverage". It was on this basis that the All Wales Hate Crime Project was funded by the Big Lottery Fund, to provide a more all-encompassing picture of the nature and impact of hate crimes and incidents across all protected characteristics in Wales.

As a backdrop to the AWHC survey results we present here the national (England and Wales) picture of hate crimes. Home Office⁵ analysis of the British Crime Survey for 2009/10 and 2010/11 revealed the following patterns in relation to hate crime in England and

³ The CSEW asks questions on disability; race; religion/faith; age; sexual orientation; and gender-identity based hate crimes. Questions on gender identity/transgender status were added to the CSEW in 2011/12.

⁴Office for National Statistics (2011) *National Statistician's Review of Crime Statistics: England and Wales*, London: ONS.

⁵Smith, K. Lader, D., Hoare, J. & Lau, I. (2012) *Hate Crime, cyber security and the experience of crime among children: Findings from the 2010/11 British Crime Survey*, London: Home Office.

Wales⁶:

- The 2009/10 and 2010/11 BCS showed that 0.5 per cent of adults were victims of hate crime⁷ in the 12 months prior to interview. A similar percentage of adults were victims of personal hate crime and household hate crime (0.2%). In comparison, 22 per cent of adults were victims of at least one BCS crime overall.
- The protected characteristic most commonly perceived by the victim as an offender's motivation for committing a crime was the victim's race (accounting for an estimated 136,000 incidents on average per year).
- Hate crime was more likely to be repeatedly experienced for household crime offences than for personal crime offences; 37 per cent of victims of household hate crime had been victimised more than once, compared with 19 per cent of victims of personal hate crime. This difference is larger than that found in the BCS overall (29 per cent of victims of BCS household crime were repeat victims, compared with 21 per cent of victims of BCS personal crime).
- The police were more likely to come to know about hate crime than BCS crime overall; 49 per cent of incidents of hate crime came to the attention of the police compared with 39 per cent of incidents of BCS crime overall.
- Fifty-three per cent of hate crime victims were satisfied with the police handling of the hate crime incident (33 per cent were very satisfied and 21 per cent were fairly satisfied) and 45 per cent were not satisfied. Victims of hate crime were less satisfied with this police contact than victims of BCS crime overall: 53 per cent and 69 per cent respectively were satisfied (very or fairly).
- In only 45 per cent of incidents of hate crime, victims thought the police took the matter as seriously as they should, compared with 65 per cent of incidents of BCS crime overall.
- Victims of hate crime were less likely to think the police had treated them fairly or with respect, compared with victims of BCS crime overall. For example, in 63 per cent of hate crime incidents victims thought the police treated them fairly, compared with 79 per cent of incidents of BCS crime overall. Similarly, in 76 per cent of incidents of hate crime, victims thought the police treated them with respect, compared with 89 per cent of incidents of BCS crime overall.
- Victims of hate crime were more likely than victims of BCS crime overall to say they were emotionally affected by the incident (92 per cent and 86 per cent respectively).

⁶Data from the two survey years were combined to provide more robust estimates of hate crime.

⁷Monitored hate crime covers five 'strands': disability; race; religion/faith; sexual orientation; and gender-identity. The BCS asks about the first 4 of these. Questions on gender identity were added to the BCS in 2011/12.

The available police data shows that of the 43,748 hate crimes recorded in England and Wales in 2011/2012⁸:

- 1,744 (4%) were disability-related hate crimes;
- 35,816 (82%) were race hate crimes;
- 1,621 (4%) were religion/faith hate crimes;
- 4,252 (10%) were sexual orientation (homophobic) hate crimes, and
- 315 (1%) were transgender (transphobic) hate crimes.

In the same period there were 1,809 hate crimes recorded in Wales, and the distribution across the protected characteristic groups reveals a broadly similar pattern:

- 122 (8%) were disability-related hate crimes;
- 1,368 (76%) were race hate crimes;
- 54 (3%) were religion/faith hate crimes;
- 244 (13%) were sexual orientation (homophobic) hate crimes, and
- 21 (1%) were transgender (transphobic) hate crimes.

1.2. Research Design

The study incorporated two phases of research:

i. **A large-scale survey⁹**

In total, 1810 respondents completed the survey in Wales, of which 564 identified themselves as victims of hate crime.

The independent research organisation, IpsosMORI was commissioned to manage and distribute the survey across Wales. The survey was completed by both victims and non-victims of hate crime and hate-related incidents, and was accessed via a number of formats including online, paper (postal) copy and face-to-face completion at various public events across Wales.

The study implemented a quota sampling strategy. Each of the seven protected characteristics were identified as quotas to ensure equitable coverage in terms of survey responses. As the research brief indicated the need to understand the nature and impacts

⁸ See <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/science-research-statistics/research-statistics/crime-research/hate-crimes-1112/>

⁹ The survey was available for completion between January – November 2011

of victimisation, the survey was also targeted at victims of hate crimes/incidents¹⁰. Table 1 below indicates the responses achieved in each quota and across police crime commissioner region.

Table 1: AWHC Survey Sample Breakdown

| Age | | Gender | | Disability | |
|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------------|---------|
| n | % | n | % | n | % |
| 16-19 | 149 9 | Male | 782 45 | Disabled | 247 15 |
| 20-34 | 613 35 | Female | 955 55 | Not disabled | 1438 85 |
| 35-54 | 655 37 | | | | |
| 54-64 | 198 11 | | | | |
| 65+ | 131 8 | | | | |

| Race/Ethnicity | | Religion/Belief | | Sexual Orientation | |
|----------------|--------|--------------------|--------|--------------------|---------|
| n | % | n | % | n | % |
| White Welsh | 693 40 | Christian | 792 44 | Gay Men | 228 13 |
| White English | 83 5 | <i>Practicing</i> | 257 14 | Gay Women | 179 10 |
| White British | 706 40 | Hindu | 39 2 | Bisexual Men | 37 2 |
| White European | 14 1 | <i>Practicing</i> | 28 2 | Bisexual Women | 72 4 |
| Black | 65 4 | Muslim | 126 7 | Other | 9 - |
| Asian | 134 8 | <i>Practicing</i> | 108 6 | Heterosexual | 1182 66 |
| Mixed | 41 2 | Other | 103 6 | | |
| Other | 13 1 | No religion/belief | 746 41 | | |

| Transgender Status | | PCC Region | | Hate Crime/Incident Victim ¹ | |
|-----------------------|-------|-------------|--------|---|---------|
| n | % | n | % | n | % |
| Trans (male) | 25 38 | Gwent | 242 14 | Yes | 562 45 |
| Trans (female) | 30 46 | South Wales | 973 57 | No | 1248 55 |
| Trans (not specified) | 10 15 | Dyfed Powys | 251 15 | | |
| | | North Wales | 246 14 | | |

Valid percentages reported

¹ As the survey sample was derived using a quota technique the percentage of victims should not be interpreted as prevalence of hate crimes/incidents in the wider population.

¹⁰ Quota sampling is a non-probabilistic technique. Non-probabilistic techniques result in samples that are likely to be biased towards certain groups and hence are not representative of the entire population under study, making inferences of prevalence (e.g. the number of hate crimes experienced) problematic. This is particularly the case in our survey as we purposely targeted victims and respondents that identified as having protected characteristics. Therefore any references to prevalence in the report must be interpreted with a degree of caution. However, references to non-probabilistic measures, such as impacts, levels of satisfaction etc. are statistically valid (see Dorofeev, S. and P. Grant. 2006. Statistics for Real-Life Sample Surveys: Non-Simple Random Samples and Weighted Data. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

ii. In-depth victim interviews

In total, over 60 hate crime victims participated in face-to-face, telephone or focus group interviews¹¹. In some cases parents or support workers were present and/or participated in interviews on behalf of the victim. The interviews provided the opportunity to give 'voice' to victims' experiences and opinions, and to highlight the nuances (the intersectional nature) of individual identity.

Ultimately, the mixed method approach to data generation facilitated a comprehensive understanding of the complex nature of hate crime and its profound impact on victims, families and communities.

¹¹ The interviews were carried out between August 2011 – June 2012

1.3 Summary of Key Findings

The cross-cutting findings from within five main thematic areas are presented here.

1.3.1 The Impact of Hate Crime

I would prefer someone to beat seven bells out of me and I can spend a couple of days in hospital than actually go through the daily rubbish which I've been through.

Susie, a trans woman living in South Wales

The findings reveal hate crime can have considerable physical and/ or psychological impacts on victims and their families. The study identified a total of 22 physical or psychological impacts. Physical impacts include the desire to move from the local area and the attempt to conceal some aspect of personal identity in an effort to reduce the chance of further victimisation.

- Nearly a fifth (18%) of respondents attempted to conceal their identity post-victimisation
- Nearly a third (29%) of victims had thoughts about moving from their local area post-victimisation
- Nearly one in five (18%) had considered moving out of Wales entirely.

Psychological impacts include feelings of anger; depression, and a reduction in confidence. Arguably the most serious impact of hate crime victimisation was **thoughts of suicide**:

- One in seven hate crime victims reported having suicidal thoughts
- Victims of repeat victimisation were over four times more likely than any other victim to experience thoughts of suicide.

The findings reveal that many victims experience a number of different impacts simultaneously. The Total Impact Scale¹² (TIS) indicates there are several predictors that influence whether a hate crime victim suffers multiple impacts:

Demographic variables

- Being unemployed and having a negative 'sense of belonging' to a local area increased the likelihood of suffering multiple impacts.

¹² The Total Impact Scale (TIS) was constructed by summing 22 impacts and can be considered a cumulative measure of impact. Hence the highest score on the scale indicates the maximum amount of hate crime-related suffering. See Chapter 2.2 for more information of the construction of the TIS.

Perpetration-specific variables

- Repeat victimisation (by the same offender) was by far the strongest predictor of multiple impact experience. Repeat victims were more likely to suffer 13 out of 22 impacts.

Protected characteristic variables

- Transphobic hate crime victims were more likely to suffer 10 out of 22 impacts
- Disability hate crime victims were more likely to suffer 9 out of 22 impacts

Crime/Incident-specific variables

- Violent hate crime victims were significantly more likely to suffer 9 out of 22 impacts
- Victims of low level, persistent disorder were more likely to suffer 5 out of 22 impacts

This last finding is particularly salient given that victims do not tend to report this type of low level hate-incident to the police because a) it happens so frequently, b) they don't think the police can do anything, c) they are often perceived as too trivial in isolation, and d) they are unsure how seriously these incidents will be taken by the police.

Overall, analysis of the data reveals those most likely to suffer the most impacts are:

- Transgender hate crime/incident victims
- Disability-related hate crime/incident victims
- Hate crime/incident victims that are targeted repeatedly by the same offender

1.3.2. The Nature of Perpetration

The survey included several questions that focussed on the victim's perceptions of their perpetrator(s) in terms of relationship, number, gender, age and race. The statistics highlight tentative differences in relation to the characteristics of perpetrators and specific types of hate crime victimisation. However, the complexity of hate crime is exemplified by the profile of offenders, and the qualitative findings make it clear that *anyone can be a hate crime perpetrator* regardless of age, race and gender.

In relation to victims' most serious instance of hate crime/incident victimisation:

- Almost half (43%) reported that they knew their perpetrator
- Just over two thirds (70%) indicated there was more than one perpetrator

- A quarter (24%) witnessed female involvement
- Just under half (40%) recalled hearing hate speech

The survey also asked about the specifics of the most serious hate crime:

- Nearly half (40%) reported being alone when victimised
- Around a quarter were with friends/neighbours or their partner
- Nearly a third (31.3%) were victimised in or immediately outside their home
- Around a quarter (23.5%) were victimised in a public street or park

The findings from victim interviews – across all protected characteristic groups – highlight the main perpetration triggers as:

- The involvement of drink and drugs
- Ignorance/stupidity
- Hostility towards minority groups
- Negative and stereotyped media portrayals of minority groups

1.3.3. Hate Crime Reporting

The victim interviews – across all protected characteristics – indicate there are a number of factors that victims take into account when deciding to report a hate crime/incident to the police or a third party organisation. These are:

- Whether the offender is known to the victim
- Whether the incident is an isolated event or part of an ongoing experience
- The severity of the incident
- The presence of tangible proof that the incident took place

A large number of interview participants highlight inconsistencies in reporting and recording mechanisms, and there are examples where hate-identified incidents have been recorded as neighbour nuisance or anti-social behaviour.

Almost half (44%) of victim respondents stated they had reported their most serious hate crime to the police.

The reasons given for reporting include:

- Victim belief that ‘it was the right thing to do’ (69%)
- Victim desire to ‘stop it happening again’ (62%)

- Victim hope that the offender would be brought to justice (52%)

The reasons given for not reporting include victim belief that:

- The incident was 'too trivial' (29%)
- The police could not have done anything (27%)
- The incident was a private matter that could be dealt with personally (19%)

The vast majority of victims had not been put off contacting the police and said they would encourage other hate crime victims to do so. However, there were a number of issues raised with regards to the third-party (independent non-police) reporting systems in operation in Wales. Currently, the majority of third party reporting options are perceived to be online and it is evident that this often serves as a barrier for some people who do not have access to IT facilities.

1.3.4. Satisfaction with Police and Criminal Justice System

There are a number of cross-cutting issues that inform levels of victim satisfaction with the police at the point of initial contact and during any subsequent case investigation. These include:

- How seriously the police appeared to respond to the initial report
- Whether all witness information and available evidence was gathered in a timely manner
- Whether victims received updates on case progression

For a large proportion of victims their contact with the police was mainly positive and it was felt that the police had responded appropriately given the circumstances of the incident (incident location, witness availability and offender identity). However, there were some that felt they had been treated insensitively and felt let down by the lack of police response following the initial report.

In total, 246 survey respondents answered questions relating to their experience of the criminal justice process beyond initial contact and incident reporting with the police.

Thirty eight victim respondents had some form of contact with the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) and just over half (53%) were very satisfied with the support they received and the provision of information. Of the 29 hate crime victims that had experience of the

courts system; 31% were very satisfied and 52% were fairly satisfied with the support they received and the court facilities during the trial.

Two interview participants had experience of the criminal justice system in a hate crime context and their recollections are broadly positive both in terms of the information they received during the lead up to their court appearance and the support they were offered during the trial. However, a number of criticisms were highlighted with regards to the criminal justice process in general:

- The length of time it took for cases to progress through the CJS, and
- The lack of anonymity that is offered to victims both during and after the trial hearing.

Overall, the study indicates there is a general lack of victim awareness of the criminal justice mechanisms in Wales, particularly in relation to hate crime investigation and prosecution, and it is vital that victim expectations are managed at the outset of their involvement in the criminal justice process.

The research also indicates that there is a **disjuncture between victim-centred reporting mechanisms (that are based on victim perception that an incident was hate-related) and evidence-driven criminal justice prosecution processes**. As a consequence, victims spend time and effort reporting a traumatic ordeal that may go no further than the police recording systems because the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) will not have the stringent, evidential proof they need that a crime was motivated or aggravated by 'hostility'. It can be argued that this situation has two inter-related implications. Firstly, it undermines the ethos of hate crime reporting: that all hate-related crime *and* incidents should be reported to the police, and that no incident is too trivial and victims do not need to suffer in silence. Secondly, it prevents the prosecution and conviction of offenders who perpetrate acts of low-level, persistent disorder that are aggravated by hate hostility. This is of particular concern because the research reveals unequivocally that it is these forms of hate crime that have a significant impact on vulnerable victims.

The interviews also revealed how victims feel hate crime perpetrators should be dealt with in Wales. Ultimately, it is clear that victims' overriding desire is for the hate incidents to ***stop happening to them***, and their thoughts on how this can best be achieved are informed by a number of different factors. These included the severity of the incident and whether the victimisation was an isolated event or part of an ongoing experience. Victim perceptions of appropriate responses to hate crime offending fall into the categories of:

- Criminal justice punishment in the form of prison, community service or fine
- Education (in the form of an equality and diversity awareness course)
- Restorative justice

1.3.5. The provision of support for hate crime victims

The research indicates that emotional and practical support for hate crime victims comes in a variety of forms. In many cases, victims will turn to family and friends for support. In other cases, victims turn to healthcare professionals; housing associations; local authority departments and regional, third sector or voluntary equality organisations.

However, a large proportion of victims highlight considerable challenges to accessing support and, as a result, they will 'suffer in silence'. In many cases, feelings of isolation and vulnerability are exacerbated by the following:

- Disability
- Rural living, and
- The absence of a strong family network¹³

¹³ This is often the case for LGB or transgender hate crime victims because family and friends may be unaware or intolerant of their LGB or transgender identity status.

1.4. Recommendations

Produced by Race Equality First in collaboration with the research team

The findings from The All Wales Hate Crime Research Project indicate that the reduction of hate crime is a long term goal and will require consolidated input from a wide range of organisations in Wales.

1. Sustainable funding and continuing investment is needed to ensure that hate crime services are both protected and developed

Our research shows that there is still a considerable problem in relation to hate crime in Wales. In a time of austerity and funding cuts it's important that funders and public bodies do not reduce resourcing for hate crime and that there is both commitment and clarity in relation to funding:

- **Welsh Government** should ensure that dedicated funding for hate crime is attached to 'Tackling Hate Crimes and Incidents : A Framework for Action' (due 2014) through the Equality and Inclusion Grant;
- **Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs)** should ensure that hate crime is included in their five year *Police and Crime Plans* and take the findings from the All Wales Hate Crime Research Project into account when reviewing their plans and considering the commissioning of services in their areas;
- The Welsh **police forces** should protect resourcing for their Hate Crime and Diversity Officers and ensure the provision of ongoing hate crime training for frontline staff;
- **Local authorities** should ensure that they continue to undertake work on hate crime in line with the commitments in their Strategic Equality Plans.

2. There is a need for more effective partnership work in relation to hate crime to ensure that 1). A clear, united message is conveyed across Wales, and 2). Activities are coordinated and good practice is shared and promoted

Our findings indicate that there is a need for key organisations to work together more effectively to strengthen coordination and communication on the issue of hate crime:

- **Public and third sector bodies, criminal justice agencies and higher education institutions** should sign up to membership of a national hate crime network to be coordinated by Race Equality First in partnership with the regional members of the Wales Equality Group (WEG). This Network will aim to coordinate activities (e.g.,

events, campaigns), improve communication, share good practice, disseminate relevant research and monitor progress on hate crime action plans;

- **Local Authorities** should ensure that hate crime is included as an item in their local partnership arrangements. **Criminal justice agencies, social housing providers, Local Health Boards** and, crucially, **local third sector organisations** that work with groups who may be targets of hate crime should be included in Local Authority partnership arrangements.

3. More needs to be done to raise public awareness about hate crime, paying particular attention to raising awareness about what constitutes a hate incident/crime, what can be reported, and the role of the criminal justice agencies

Our research suggests that victims are often uncertain about whether their experiences fulfil hate crime criteria and that this uncertainty influences their reporting decisions. It's therefore important to raise public awareness that the key term in the legislation is not "hate", but rather, "hostility". It's also very important to reach out to non-networked victims, i.e. those who are not members of local minority group organisations and those for whom English or Welsh are not first languages.

- **Welsh Government** should lead on the launch of a comprehensive national anti-hate crime campaign in Wales with a clear message about what constitutes hate crime, how to report it and the consequences of committing hate-related offences. We would suggest that successful anti-domestic violence campaigns could be used as a model for this campaign, e.g. posters, film and social media should be used to get the message across to different audiences;
- **Local authorities** should work with partners to ensure that National Hate Crime Awareness Week in October is marked on an annual basis with activities in their areas and the dissemination of information about how to report and get support. Hate Crime Awareness Week activities could include conferences, forums, media coverage, posters, leaflets and public vigils for the victims of hate crime. All Local authorities should also include information about hate crime and how to report on their websites;
- **Social housing providers** should provide all new tenants with information about hate crime and how to report it. Tenants should also be informed from the outset that hate crime will not be tolerated and committing it could result in severe consequences that may include eviction.

- **Local Health Boards** should ensure that staff are aware of hate crime and its potential impact on health, and that they know what to do if they suspect that a patient has been a victim of hate crime.

4. **More concerted effort needs to be made to facilitate cultural change by challenging the negative stereotyping and stigmatizing of minority groups in Wales**

Many of our respondents emphasised the importance of education in creating the long-term cultural change that will ultimately be needed to reduce the incidence of hate crime. Our research also indicates that victims perceive the negative and stereotyped portrayals of minority groups in the media to be a motivating factor in the perpetration of hate crime.

- **Welsh Government** and **third sector partners** should work in partnership to produce a good practice guide to support **schools and colleges** in undertaking work around hate crime. This guide should include examples of activities that have worked well elsewhere in Wales. We would also suggest that **Welsh Government** and relevant partners consider establishing an annual award for schools and colleges that can demonstrate the best practice in tackling prejudice and identity-based bullying and which could be presented as part of National Hate Crime Awareness Week;
- **Local authorities** should work with **schools** to develop training and awareness-raising for staff and pupils that challenges stereotypes and promotes good relations, based on identified needs. It's important to ensure that young people and staff know where to go for help in relation to identity-based bullying. In particular we would recommend more age-appropriate, preventative hate crime awareness training in **schools**, starting at the primary level before attitudes and values become entrenched and more difficult to change;
- **Higher education institutions** and **local media providers** should offer more training for student journalists on the importance of responsible reporting in relation to minority groups that already experience social hostility and stigma. This could include students undertaking placements with organisations that work with these groups and third sector organisations giving presentations to students as part of their courses;
- **Local media providers** should also work more directly with key organisations that represent minority groups to ensure balanced media coverage of stories and that offensive language and terminology is avoided. This could be achieved through the

use of diversity panels (e.g., such as the ITV Wales Diversity Panel), or more informal approaches (e.g. tea with the editor).

5. Extend hate crime training provision and ensure that more consistent and standardized training is available

Hate crime training is currently provided by a range of organisations in Wales, but provision is geographically patchy and there is little standardization, monitoring or evaluation of the impact of the training. Standardized multiagency training should be developed to ensure that all frontline staff respond to hate crime reports in the same way, irrespective of which agency they work for.

- **Welsh Government** should take the lead on the development of an online hate crime training toolkit for public bodies to supplement face-to-face training provision. Welsh Government should also explore how an accredited qualification could be developed for practitioners working for organisations that take third-party hate crime reports;
- **The Welsh police forces** need to ensure that all frontline police officers and 101 call centre staff receive hate crime training and this should be refreshed on a regular basis with updates;
- **Local Authorities** should work with partners to develop multi agency training protocols and guidance for staff to ensure clear standards and consistency of response from all agencies;
- **Social housing providers, Local Health Boards, Social Services and public transport providers** should all ensure that managers and frontline staff receive appropriate training on hate crime, protected characteristics and specific vulnerabilities e.g., the issue of “mate crime” in relation to people with learning disabilities and mental health problems.

6. More needs to be done to increase the confidence of victims and witnesses to report hate incidents and to promote the view that reporting hate is the “right thing to do”. There should be consistent, clear standards and pathways through the reporting system in Wales and victims need to be provided with more information at the point of reporting.

Our survey findings show that the reasons given for not reporting tend to be based on perceptions that incidents are “too trivial” to report, or that the police are unable to do anything. A large number of interview participants highlighted inconsistencies in reporting and recording mechanisms and experienced a sense of disjunction between victim-centred reporting systems and evidence-based criminal justice processes. It is apparent that victims need realistic information regarding what might constitute a successful outcome. Survey respondents who did report tended to state that they did so because they believed reporting to be “the right thing to do”, which suggests that efforts to increase reporting could be based on enhancing a principled sense of the rightness of reporting. However, **reporting must also be seen to serve a purpose for the victim**, whether that is through taking a case to court, accessing support, or helping to protect their community by providing intelligence to the police and other agencies.

- **Welsh Government** should take the lead on ensuring that accessible third-party (independent, non police) reporting mechanisms are in place for victims who don't want to report directly to the police, e.g., a number of participants said they would have liked to be able to report via a telephone helpline. We would recommend that careful consideration is given to the promotion of such systems because few victims will understand the term “third-party reporting”. Third party-reporting systems should also include the robust monitoring of data and the holding of relevant agencies (police, CPS, Victim Support) to account in relation to the outcomes for victims;
- The **Police, local authorities** and **social housing providers** must ensure that effective recording mechanisms are in place to identify the difference between reports of hate crime, harassment and antisocial behaviour;
- The **four Welsh police forces** should work in partnership to ensure that reporting and recording mechanisms are consistent and that victims experience the same levels of service across Wales;
- **Social housing providers** should monitor incidents to ensure that, when reported, the hate element is being recorded and not simply logged as antisocial behaviour;
- **Local Authorities** and **criminal justice agencies** should work with partners to continue developing better intelligence on hate crime and ensure it effectively shared on an ongoing basis between partner agencies.

7. Victims of hate incidents and crimes must have access to comprehensive, cohesive and accessible support services and, crucially, must see that something has been done in response to their reports

Many of our interview respondents identified a lack of formal or meaningful support as an issue in relation to their experience of hate crime. The key message in this area is that to improve outcomes, **it's very important for victims to see that something has been done** in response to their report. Victims also expressed confusion about the roles of the different agencies and the options available to them in the criminal justice system. This indicates that it's important to make victims aware of criminal justice processes at the reporting stage and to manage their expectations from the outset. The findings strongly suggest a need for more formal hate crime advocacy services for victims to provide support and help them navigate the system. Ultimately there are two levels at which we would recommend additional support is needed: 1) for victims of low-level, persistent incidents that may not constitute crimes, but which our research shows have a profound impact and 2) for victims involved in complex cases, who may be identified as "vulnerable" or "high risk", and for whom a MARAC (multi agency risk assessment conference) approach may be required.

- **Welsh Government** should work with third sector partners to explore how more formal advocacy for hate crime can be developed in Wales;
- **The Welsh police forces** should make a commitment to rolling out Multi-agency risk assessment conferences (MARACs) for hate crime across Wales to support high risk victims of hate crime, while also ensuring that the approach is tailored to meet the needs of each region. Considering the rural/urban dynamic in Wales, a "one size fits all" approach is unlikely to be appropriate. **Police forces** should also use the data generated by the All Wales Hate Crime Research Project to support the development of risk assessment tools for the hate crime MARACs;
- **Police forces** and **social housing providers** should ensure that hate crime victims are flagged as a special category, asked how they want to be kept informed about their cases and referred to Victim Support and other support agencies;
- **Social housing providers** and **social services** should work with local hate crime partnerships and send representatives to multi agency meetings as required.
- **Social housing providers** should also ensure that housing allocation policies are sensitive to the issue of hate crime and that both victims and known perpetrators are flagged appropriately;
- **The Crown Prosecution Service** must ensure that when cases progress to court, victims are well informed about the **Witness Service**, special measures and their right to make a victim impact statement. The use of live links in courts which allow victims who reside/work in the local vicinity to attend a remote site and not a court building to give their evidence should also be explored for victims of hate crime;

- The role of **third sector organisations** and **PCSOs** should be explored in relation to providing more informal support and reassurance to victims of low-level, persistent incidents, (e.g. weekly phone call, or visit from neighbourhood PCSO).

8. More should be done to ensure that hate crime perpetrators are dealt with effectively and restorative approaches should be made more widely available in Wales

Our research shows that victims' overriding desire is for the hate incidents to stop happening to them. They also want sanctions to be relevant to the offence committed and for perpetrators to recognise the impact of their actions. Many of our respondents emphasised the importance of education, indicating that restorative approaches should be used more widely and consistently. It is a concern, therefore, to find that there is currently very little restorative practice being undertaken in Wales. In particular, our findings suggest it's crucial that restorative options are discussed with victims early in the process because once the victim has started down the criminal justice route it may not be possible to take a restorative approach at a later date. Hate crime often reverberates beyond the individual to the wider family and community, and restorative approaches should reflect this by including options for family mediation and community conferencing.

- **The Judiciary** should ensure that all magistrates receive appropriate training about hate crime and that sentence enhancement options are being used for offences proved to be motivated by hostility;
- Convicted offenders should also undertake rehabilitative work relevant to the "hate" element of their offence. **Wales Probation Trust** should develop and pilot a Specified Activity Requirement (SAR) for offenders convicted of hate related offences;
- **Social housing providers** need to ensure that hate crime offenders are dealt with quickly and effectively and policies do not result in processes that "manage" the victim rather than deal with the perpetrators;
- **Welsh Government** should take the lead on piloting a restorative justice programme in Wales with the new Hate Crime Criminal Justice Cymru Group. This should include a good practice guide and the development of a list of practitioners in Wales;
- **Local Authorities** should consider using Restorative Justice and Restorative Approaches, particularly working with schools (Cardiff Council is undertaking work that could be used as a model). We would recommend that restorative approaches

should also be used more widely in **schools** to equip children and young people with the skills to manage and resolve conflict and enhance consequential thinking.

9. Robust systems for scrutiny need to be in place to ensure that organisations are complying with their hate crime policies and procedures

Our research indicates that it is imperative that hate crime reports are taken seriously, recorded appropriately, linked together and investigated thoroughly. Relevant organisations should have hate crime policies and procedures in place, but it's also important to ensure that organisations comply with these policies and procedures.

- **Welsh Government** should task its proposed new Hate Crime Criminal Justice Cymru Group with ensuring that the criminal justice agencies in Wales have robust monitoring systems in places. **Welsh Government** should also monitor progress on hate crime objectives within public sector equality plans and ensure that the social housing 'Tackling Hate Incident Toolkit' is updated and promoted;
- **The Police and Crime Commissioners** should ensure that they hold police forces to account for work on hate crime and consult with the public on this issue;
- **Schools** should ensure that they are recording the nature of identity-based bullying and sharing this with the local authority so they can work together on targeted responses;
- Data from the proposed hate crime MARACs should be used by the **police** and **Welsh Government** to monitor services and support continuing improvement.

10. More empirical research needs to be undertaken on the experiences specific groups in relation to hate crime perpetration and more randomised data is needed to gauge the prevalence of hate crime in Wales

The findings from the All Wales Hate Crime Research Project are comprehensive, but in the process of carrying out the research we have identified some areas that could benefit from more specific, targeted research. For example, the number of refugees and asylum seekers who participated in the research was relatively small, but it was clear that this group was severely impacted and very fearful of talking to us about their experiences. Gypsies and Travellers are another group that we think would benefit from a specific research project looking into their experiences of hate crime and support needs. The issue of "mate crime" (targeted exploitation and abuse of people with learning disabilities and mental health conditions) was raised in the interviews, but it is apparent that this is a very complex and under researched area that needs a specific research project. Our research provides some

data on perpetrator characteristics from the point of view of victims, but more robust data on would require research to be undertaken with hate crime offenders themselves.

- **Welsh Government, higher education institutions, third sector organisations and criminal justice agencies** should work together to identify funding opportunities to undertake further empirical research in relation to the following groups: refugees and asylum seekers, Gypsies and Travellers and victims of “mate crime”.
- We welcome **Welsh Government’s** review of the current literature with regard to hate perpetration and would recommend that it should be used to provide the basis for more empirical research on this subject (e.g. qualitative interviews with offenders);
- **Welsh Government** should consider ways to generate randomised data on hate crime prevalence in Wales e.g. through adding a question about hate crime to the *Living in Wales* survey.

Chapter Two: Cross-Cutting Themes

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the main findings within the themes that emerge across all protected characteristic groups at the centre of this research. The chapter highlights the common issues and shared concerns of hate crime victims across Wales and is divided into eight main sections.

2.1.1 Use of the term 'Hate Crime'

It is widely acknowledged that the use of the term, hate crime is problematic for a number of reasons. In some cases people feel that the term is too generic and therefore precludes an understanding of the divergent nature and impact of hate crime across all protected characteristic groups. The inclusion of the word 'crime' is often misleading for people and in many cases victims are unsure whether their experiences are hate crimes because the term leads them to believe that all hate-based experiences must be criminal in nature and therefore serious enough to be reported to the police or a third-party organisation. The following observation by Steve, a gay man living in South Wales epitomises the confusion for many victims:

I sort of think, 'well if it's not a crime, it's not a hate crime, you know...it could be some bullying or ignorance or stonewalling somebody that hasn't reached the threshold of a crime that's still unacceptable...

It is apparent that often, confusion is compounded by the disjuncture between a victim-centred approach to reporting and recording hate crime (that is based on victim or witness perception) and an evidence-driven criminal justice process in the UK where there must be proof beyond reasonable doubt that a hate crime was motivated by hostility towards an aspect of the victim's identity. It can be argued that the term *hate crime* undermines collective efforts to encourage the reporting of all hate motivated encounters, including low level, persistent disorder which may not necessarily be criminal in nature, but which this research reveals has a profound impact on victims and their families (see Chapter 1.3).

Furthermore, it is clear that reference to the word 'hate' is unsettling for people who have experiences of hostility or abuse on the basis of some aspect of their identity. In short, no one likes to believe they are hated for being who they are. The notion that someone 'hates' you is highly emotive and often triggers negative thought patterns associated with personal identity and the presentation of self in public settings. Moreover, it quite understandably leads victims to believe that they have been targeted because the offender is hostile or

prejudiced towards them on a personal level. As Sue, a minority ethnic woman living in North Wales comments:

It's quite a strong word isn't it, 'hate', and it's an uncomfortable feeling to think that people in your locality hate you because of your colour or your disability or your sexual orientation.

In general, respondents are familiar with the term 'hate crime' and indeed it is clear that victimisation often increases familiarisation with the term. However, the majority of research participants use different terms to describe their experiences. These include 'prejudice', 'hostility' and 'bullying', and the more specific concepts of racist, homophobic and transphobic abuse. The findings from a focus group carried out in Gwent with participants with a learning disability revealed that the term hate crime is widely recognised but not commonly used to describe hostile encounters. Group participants tended to use more specific words for what had happened to them, including verbal and physical abuse and bullying. A number of group participants talked about 'people taking advantage' and this reflects emerging concerns around incidents of 'mate crime' in the UK¹⁴.

The interviews with hate crime victims provided insight into notions of what constitutes a hate crime act from the victim's perspective. It is interesting to note the difference in individual victim's tolerance thresholds for confrontational experiences and the distinctions many victims draw between 'personal hostility' and 'general ignorance or stupidity'. This is exemplified by comments made by Jane, a trans woman living in Dyfed Powys:

For me, if you call me 'sir' once, that's fine; keep calling me 'sir', that's when it becomes a hate incident ¹⁵...

Some victims believe that the term, hate crime has been devalued, and that it is important to note the context and the intent with which comments are made. As Susie, a trans woman living in South Wales comments:

I think it's about freeing people from thinking that every single speech incident is a hate crime. There needs to be a degree of flexibility: sometimes things are said and it's culturally or contextually acceptable. I think it's a balancing act between getting people to think about whether somebody's comment actually has a negative impact on somebody else...

¹⁴ See Pam Thomas 2011. 'Mate Crime: ridicule, hostility and targeted attacks against disabled people', *Disability & Society*, 26:1, 107 – 111.

¹⁵ For further detail on the notion of 'misgendering' see Sub-chapters 7.5.2 and 8.5.2.

The complexity of the issues associated with the term hate crime – in particular the criminal associations with non-criminal but reportable acts of low level, persistent disorder – ensures that victims are often uncertain whether their experiences fulfil hate crime criteria in Wales. This confusion undoubtedly influences reporting decisions, which in turn contributes to low reporting rates across the UK. The findings in this area indicate there must be proactive efforts to enhance awareness and understanding of what constitutes a hate crime so that more people come to share Steve's perspective:

You don't have to put up with it, this isn't part of life. It is a crime and there is something you can do about it. And so I think raising awareness isn't just about 'oh if you've experienced a hate crime report it', [because] someone might not even identify that what they're experiencing is a hate crime.

2.2 The Impact of Hate Crime Victimization

Summary: this research reveals that hate crime has a profound impact on victims and their families. Moreover, the data indicates that victims suffer both physical and psychological effects. The findings from the survey data are presented first, followed by the interview findings.

2.2.1 Survey Findings

Respondents who had suffered a hate crime/incident were asked to indicate the impact of victimisation. Twenty-two impact items were listed and are presented in Table 2.1 below. Over two-thirds of respondents (70.6%) indicated that their victimisation made them angry. Those who reported transphobic hate crimes/incidents were most likely to have been angered (87.5%) and those who reported race hate crime/incidents were least likely to have been angered (70.4%). Over half of respondents also indicated that they experienced a loss of confidence (52.8%) and stress (50.3%). Again, those who reported transphobic hate crimes/incidents were most likely to have reported a loss of confidence (83.3%). Those who reported faith based hate crime/incidents were least likely to report this impact (41.7%). Victims of disability hate crimes/incidents were most likely to report the impact of stress (69.6%) while victims of race related hate crimes/incidents were least likely (50%). Just over a quarter of hate crime/incident victims reported that they verbally retaliated against their perpetrator(s), while just under one tenth indicated they retaliated physically. Victims of transphobic hate crimes/incidents were most likely to have reported both types of retaliation (37.5% and 25%) while victims of gender based hate crimes/incidents were least likely (21% and 9.9%). Nearly one fifth (18%) of respondents attempted to conceal their identity post-

victimisation, with victims of sexual orientation (34.7%) and transgender (33.3%) based hate crimes/incidents reporting highest levels. The same types of victims were also most likely to report avoiding certain places post-victimisation (54.4% and 66.7% respectively). Nearly a third of victims (28.8%) had thought about moving from their local area post-victimisation, while nearly one in five (17.5%) had considered moving out of Wales entirely. Those who had suffered disability hate crimes/incidents were most likely to have thought of moving from the local area (38%) and transphobic hate crime/incident victims were most likely to have considered moving out of Wales (45.8%). One in seven hate crime/incident victims reported having suicidal thoughts. By a significant margin, victims of transphobic hate crimes/incidents were most likely to think about suicide (45.8%), followed by victims of disability hate crimes/incidents (27.8%).

Table 2.1: Percentage of Victims Experiencing Types of Hate Crime Impact (n=555)

| Type of Impact | Age | Disability | Gender | Race | Religion | Sexual Orientation | Trans-gender | Total |
|-----------------------|------|------------|--------|------|----------|--------------------|--------------|-------|
| Made me fearful | 56.7 | 62.0 | 55.6 | 44.4 | 50.0 | 48.2 | 54.2 | 43.8 |
| Made me angry | 71.6 | 75.9 | 72.8 | 70.4 | 75.0 | 74.1 | 87.5 | 70.6 |
| State of shock | 38.8 | 39.2 | 38.3 | 29.6 | 41.7 | 32.6 | 50.0 | 29.5 |
| Made me depressed | 52.2 | 58.2 | 45.7 | 40.8 | 41.7 | 45.1 | 50.0 | 40.4 |
| Made me anxious | 38.8 | 54.4 | 40.7 | 27.5 | 36.7 | 31.6 | 66.7 | 30.6 |
| Lose confidence | 59.7 | 81.0 | 61.7 | 43.7 | 41.7 | 62.2 | 83.3 | 52.8 |
| Difficult to sleep | 35.8 | 50.6 | 33.3 | 30.3 | 30.0 | 26.9 | 41.7 | 28.8 |
| Cry | 55.2 | 46.8 | 59.3 | 38.0 | 45.0 | 46.6 | 58.3 | 40.7 |
| Isolated | 37.3 | 50.6 | 38.3 | 34.5 | 33.3 | 34.2 | 62.5 | 32.3 |
| Suicidal | 16.4 | 27.8 | 18.5 | 9.2 | 13.3 | 17.6 | 45.8 | 14.4 |
| Distrustful of others | 50.7 | 62.0 | 44.4 | 45.8 | 48.3 | 50.8 | 62.5 | 44.9 |
| Reduced respect | 44.8 | 48.1 | 45.7 | 39.4 | 46.7 | 38.9 | 41.7 | 36.9 |
| Increased hostility | 29.9 | 31.6 | 37.0 | 22.5 | 30.0 | 25.4 | 25.0 | 21.6 |
| Physically retaliate | 11.9 | 10.1 | 9.9 | 10.6 | 11.7 | 12.4 | 25.0 | 8.8 |
| Verbally retaliate | 34.3 | 36.7 | 21.0 | 26.1 | 26.7 | 32.1 | 37.5 | 25.9 |
| Family upset | 23.9 | 20.3 | 22.2 | 15.5 | 20.0 | 19.2 | 33.3 | 18.4 |
| Stress | 61.2 | 69.6 | 59.3 | 50.0 | 58.3 | 53.9 | 54.2 | 50.3 |
| Changed | 19.4 | 19.0 | 21.0 | 9.9 | 13.3 | 21.2 | 33.3 | 13.7 |
| Conceal identity | 22.4 | 19.0 | 21.0 | 10.6 | 20.0 | 34.7 | 33.3 | 18.0 |
| Avoid places | 50.7 | 50.6 | 53.1 | 32.4 | 45.0 | 54.4 | 66.7 | 42.3 |
| Thought move area | 32.8 | 38.0 | 35.8 | 28.2 | 31.7 | 32.6 | 33.3 | 28.8 |
| Thought move | 17.9 | 22.8 | 21.0 | 23.9 | 30.0 | 16.1 | 45.8 | 17.5 |

The Total Impacts Scale

For a sense of the overall impacts experienced by respondents, a scale was constructed by summing the 22 impact types presented in Table 2.1. The scale therefore ranges from 0 to 22, with those scoring 0 experiencing no impacts and those scoring 22 experiencing all impacts. The total impacts scale can be considered a cumulative measure of impacts. Hence the highest score on this scale indicates the maximum amount of suffering stemming from hate crime/incident victimisation, whereas the lowest score indicates the least amount of suffering. The mean for the scale was 7.1 with a standard deviation of 5.2. The reliability coefficient for this scale ($\alpha=.88$) indicated that it is a very reliable measure of the impacts of hate crime/incident victimisation. Next, regression analyses were performed to explore in more detail the impact of hate crimes/incidents on victims in Wales. Multivariate regression is a statistical procedure that allows the effects of many variables on an outcome (such as impact) to be estimated simultaneously. Unlike the bivariate analyses, which only estimate the relationship between two variables, regression analyses more accurately model social reality because many potentially important factors may be taken into account.

Table 2.2 and 2.3 present the results of the regression analyses. Predictor variables are those that we hypothesised might have an effect on the likelihood of respondents' experiencing impacts, such as demographic characteristics, the type of crime/incident (e.g. violent versus acquisitive), the type of perpetration, and criminal justice factors as well as the various strands of hate crime/incident. The dependent variables are the 22 types of impact in addition to the Total Impact Scale.¹⁶ Therefore 23 regression equations in total were performed. For ease of presentation, significant predictors are identified in the table as being 'more' or 'less' likely to result in hate crime/incident impact.

¹⁶ The eight dichotomous dependent variables were coded as yes=1 and no=0, and analysed using logistic regression. The total discrimination scale dependent variable was analysed using linear regression.

Table 2.2: Regression Models Predicting Impacts of Hate Victimisation

| Predictor Variables | Made me fearful | Made me angry | State of shock | Made me depressed | Made me anxious | Lose confidence | Difficult to sleep | Cry | Isolated | Suicidal | Distrustful of others | Reduced respect |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|------|----------|----------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Victim a refugee | | | | | | | | | | MORE | | |
| In a relationship | | | | | | | | MORE | | | MORE | |
| Child carer | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Practicing religion | | | | | | | | | MORE | | | LESS |
| English speaker | | MORE | | | MORE | | | | | | | |
| Welsh speaker | MORE | | | | | | | | | | | MORE |
| Unemployed | | | | MORE | | | MORE | | | | | |
| Lack of sense of Council renter | MORE | | | MORE | MORE | MORE | | | MORE | | MORE | LESS |
| HA renter | | | | | | | | MORE | | | | |
| Private renter | | | | | | | | MORE | | | MORE | |
| <i>(compared to: Owned)</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hate Victim: Gender | MORE | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hate Victim: Age | | | | | | | | MORE | | | | |
| Hate Victim: Race | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hate Victim: Religion | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hate Victim: Disability | MORE | | MORE | MORE | MORE | MORE | MORE | | | | MORE | |
| Hate Victim: SO | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hate Victim: Trans | | | MORE | | MORE | MORE | | | MORE | MORE | | |
| Acquisitive Crime | | | | | | | | | | | MORE | MORE |
| Violent Crime | | | | | MORE | | MORE | | MORE | MORE | | |
| Property Crime | | | | | | | MORE | | | | | |
| Threats | MORE | | MORE | MORE | | | | | | | | |
| Hate Incidents Home | | | | | | | MORE | | MORE | | | |
| Victim alone | | | | | | | | MORE | | | | |
| Offender stranger | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Repeat perpetrator | | | | MORE | | | | MORE | MORE | MORE | | MORE |
| More than one | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Report to police | | | MORE | | | MORE | MORE | | | | | |
| Report to Third Party | | | | | | MORE | MORE | | | | | |
| Gwent Police | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| South Wales Police | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| North Powys Police | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>(compared to: DPP)</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Table 2.3: Regression Models Predicting Impacts of Hate Victimization

| Predictor Variables | Increase hostility | Physically retaliate | Verbally retaliate | Family upset | Stress | Changed appearance | Conceal identity | Avoid places | Thought move area | Thought move Wales | Total Impact Scale* |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------|--------------------|------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Victim refugee | | | | | | | | | MORE | | |
| In a relationship | | | | | | | MORE | | | | MORE |
| Child carer | | | | MORE | | | | | | | |
| Practicing religion | | | LESS | | | | LESS | | | | LESS |
| English speaker | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Welsh speaker | MORE | | MORE | | | | | MORE | | | |
| Unemployed | MORE | MORE | | | | | | | MORE | | MORE |
| Lack of sense of | MORE | | | | MORE | MORE | MORE | MORE | MORE | MORE | MORE |
| Council renter | | | | | | | | | | | |
| HA renter | | | | MORE | | | LESS | | MORE | | MORE |
| Private renter | | | | | | | | | MORE | | MORE |
| <i>(compared to: Owned)</i> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hate Victim: Gender | MORE | | LESS | | | | | | | | |
| Hate Victim: Age | | | MORE | | | | | | | | |
| Hate Victim: Race | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hate Victim: Religion | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hate Victim: Disability | | | MORE | | MORE | | | | | | MORE |
| Hate Victim: SO | | MORE | | | | | MORE | MORE | | | |
| Hate Victim: Trans | | MORE | | MORE | | MORE | | MORE | | MORE | MORE |
| Acquisitive Crime | MORE | | MORE | | | | MORE | | | MORE | MORE |
| Violent Crime | | MORE | | MORE | | MORE | | MORE | | MORE | MORE |
| Property Crime | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Threats | | | | | MORE | | | | | | MORE |
| Hate Incidents | | | MORE | | | MORE | MORE | | | | MORE |
| Home | MORE | | | | MORE | | | | MORE | | MORE |
| Victim alone | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Offender stranger | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Repeat perpetrator | MORE | | MORE | MORE | MORE | | MORE | | MORE | MORE | MORE |
| More than one | | | MORE | | | | | | | | |
| Report to police | | MORE | MORE | | | | | | | | |
| Report to Third Party | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gwent Police | | | MORE | | | | | | | | |
| South Wales Police | MORE | | | | | | MORE | | | | |
| North Powys Police | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>(compared to: DPP)</i> | | | | | | | | | | | |

Only statistically significant ($p < .05$) findings are listed. All dependent variables are yes/no except for the Total Impact Scale. * The Total Impact Scale was created by summing all experiences of the 22 types of impact ($\alpha = .88$, range 0-22).

Several predictors emerged as highly influential over whether a victim of hate crimes/incidents suffers multiple impacts.

i. Demographic Specific Predictors of Impact

In relation to the demographic set of variables, being unemployed and having a negative sense of belonging¹⁷ was predictive of several types of impact, including the total impact scale. Holding all other factors constant, unemployed victims were statistically significantly more likely to suffer depression, sleep deprivation, feelings of hostility, thoughts about moving from the local area and react physically towards perpetrators, compared to employed victims. Having a negative sense of belonging increased the likelihood of suffering 13 out of 22 types of impact, compared to those with a more positive sense of belonging. Compared to victims who own their own home, victims who rent via Housing Associations were statistically significantly more likely to suffer crying, family upset and thoughts of moving from the local area. Similarly, compared to home-owners, private renters were more likely to suffer crying, feelings of distrust of others and thoughts of moving from the local area. Both types of renters were also more likely to score higher on the total impacts scale. Those in council accommodation were no more or less likely than owners to suffer any type of impact. The only demographic variable to be predictive of suicidal thoughts was whether the victim was a refugee or not. Those with refugee status were over 7 times more likely to suffer from these kinds of thoughts.

ii. Crime/Incident Type Specific Predictors of Impact

The strongest predictor of suffering impacts in the crime/incident type set of predictors was hate-related violent crime. Holding all other factors constant, victims of this type of hate crime were statistically significantly more likely to suffer 9 out of the 22 types of impact: anxiety, sleeplessness, isolation, suicidal thoughts, physical retaliation, family upset, change appearance, avoidance behaviour and thoughts of moving from Wales. Victims of acquisitive crime were significantly more likely to suffer 6 types of impact: distrust of others, reduced respect for others, increased hostility towards others, verbal retaliation, concealed identity and thoughts of moving out of Wales. Above victims of threats and property crimes, victims of hate incidents (defined as insulted, pestered or ridiculed in a public place; being ignored and/or being treated with impatience, frustration or intolerance) were more likely to suffer 5 of the 22 impacts: loss of confidence, cry, verbal retaliation, change appearance and conceal identity. Victims of hate-related threats were more likely to suffer shock, depression and stress, while victims of hate-related property crimes/incidents were more likely to suffer loss

¹⁷ A sense of belonging refers to the extent to which survey respondents feel they 'belong' within their local area. This concept is explored further within the Community Cohesion sections of Chapters Three – Eight.

of confidence. All crime types except property crime/incident were predictive of scoring higher on the total impact scale.

iii. Perpetration Specific Predictors of Impact

By far the most predictive of multiple hate impacts in the perpetration set of predictors was repeat, targeted perpetration by the same offender. Holding all other factors constant, victims indicating this was a factor in their victimisation were statistically significantly more likely to suffer 13 out of the 22 types of impact, including thoughts of suicide and of moving out of the local area and Wales. They were also more likely to score high on the total impacts scale (3rd highest, following victims of transgender and disability hate crimes/incidents). Those who were victimised close to their home were statistically significantly more likely to feel increased hostility towards others, to feel stressed and to think about moving out of the local area. They were also more likely to score highly on the total impacts scale. Those victims that were alone during the hate crime/incident were more likely to suffer sleeplessness, while those who were victimised by more than one perpetrator were more likely to verbally retaliate.

iv. Criminal Justice Specific Predictors of Impact

Holding all other factors constant, those who reported their hate crime/incident to the police were significantly more likely to have been suffering from shock, sleeplessness, loss of confidence, and to have physically and verbally retaliated. Those who reported to a third-party organisation were more likely to have been suffering from sleeplessness and a loss of confidence. Compared to the Dyfed Powys PCC area, respondents who were victimised in the South Wales PCC area were more likely to have suffered feelings of increased hostility towards others and to have concealed their identity from potential perpetrators. Those in Gwent PCC area were more likely to have verbally retaliated.

v. Protected Minority Group Specific Predictors of Impact

Several group-specific motivated hate crimes emerged as significantly predictive of impacts. Holding all other factors constant, those suffering transgender and disability motivated hate crimes/incidents were by far the most likely to suffer multiple types of impact, with the former more likely to suffer 10 out of 22 impact types, and the latter more likely to suffer 9 out of 22 impact types. Both types of victim were also more likely to score higher on the total impacts scale, with victims of transgender hate crimes/incidents placing highest and victims of disability hate crimes/incidents second highest. Only victims of transphobic hate crimes/incidents were more likely to suffer thoughts of suicide. Victims of sexual orientation

motivated hate crimes/incidents were more likely to avoid certain places, conceal identity and physically retaliate. Victims of age motivated hate crimes/incidents were more likely to cry and verbally retaliate. Whereas, victims of gender based hate crimes/incidents were more likely to feel increased hostility towards others but less likely to verbally retaliate. Conversely, victims of race and faith hate crimes/incidents were no more or less likely to suffer any type of impact. These findings provide the first evidence in Wales and beyond that, while controlling for other related factors, the impacts of hate crimes/incidents are not homogeneous across the seven protected characteristic groups.

Linear regression analysis was conducted on the Total Impacts Scale, including all the predictor variables. The results showed that while holding all other factors constant, victims of transphobic hate crimes/incidents suffered the most compared to all other types of victims. Second and third to these respondents in terms of suffering were victims of disability hate crimes/incidents and those who reported being targeted repeatedly by the same perpetrator. In diminishing order of suffering the following types of victims were also more likely to score higher on the total impacts scale: unemployed victims, refugee victims, victims in housing association rented accommodation, victims of hate-related threats, victims of hate-related violence, victims in private rented accommodation, those victimised near their home, victims with a negative sense of belonging, victims in relationships, victims of hate-related acquisitive crime, and victims of hate incidents.

The item 'suicidal thoughts' was included as an impact in the total impacts scale. However, given that it is possibly the most debilitating psychological state to stem from hate crime/incident victimisation we also wish to report here in more detail the results from the logistic regression analysis on this impact. Victims of transphobic hate crime were over 10 times more likely than any other victims to suffer this impact, and refugees were over 7 times as likely. Victims who were targeted repeatedly by the same perpetrator(s) were over 4 times as likely. In terms of type of crime, victims of violent hate crimes were almost 3 times as likely to suffer suicidal thoughts, and victims of acquisitive hate crimes nearly twice as likely.

vi. Impacts on the Wider Community

Several items in the survey asked all respondents (N=1810, victims and non-victims) what impact they felt hate crimes/incidents had on the local area/community. A quarter of all respondents (24.1%) felt that they resulted in increased fear of crime in the local area. Nearly a third (31.5% and 30.7%) felt that hate crimes/incidents increased the isolation of people and created distrust between people in the local area. Around a quarter of respondents (28.2% and 23.4%) felt that these crimes/incidents resulted in reduced respect for each other and increased hostility between people in the local area. Around 1 in 10

(9.3%) felt that hate crimes/incidents in the local area increased the possibility of social unrest/riots, while only 6.5% of respondents felt that they have no impact at all on the local community. Multiple-regression analysis, that considers the impact of many factors simultaneously on an outcome, revealed that victims of hate crimes/incidents were almost 3 times more likely to think hate crimes/incidents have a negative impact on the community. Black and minority ethnic respondents were around 1.5 times more likely to think this, as were disabled respondents.

2.2.2 Interview Findings

One hundred cumulative incidents can have more impact than one physical assault. I would prefer someone to beat seven bells out of me and I can spend a couple of days in hospital than actually go through the daily rubbish which I've been through.

Susie, a trans woman living in South Wales

The interview findings support the survey results by revealing that hate crime has a profound impact on victims across all of the protected characteristic groups at the centre of this research. Importantly, the interviews highlight the extent to which victims are affected by **incidents of low level, persistent disorder**. This is a particularly salient finding given that the data also indicates victims do not tend to report low level persistent disorder to the police or a third-party organisation. It is possible that such victims have a higher level of tolerance for this low level victimisation because of the frequency with which they experience it. Conversely, they may believe that, because such an incident is not overtly criminal in nature, the police or a third-party organisation may not view it as serious enough to warrant investigation¹⁸. However, just as it is important to note victim perceptions of whether an act of verbal or physical abuse was hate-related, it is vital that a victim's perception of incident impact and level of seriousness is acknowledged and logged by those responsible for responding to hate crime incidents in Wales. As Susie, a trans woman living in South Wales states:

I know from experience what a risk of serious harm is to a trans person, because I know the impact that minor, accumulative offences have. The impact increases the risk of serious harm to a trans person because it reduces confidence and increases risk of suicide.

¹⁸It is also important to note that if cases of low level persistent disorder are reported they are sometimes recorded as anti social behavior - youth annoyance or neighborhood nuisance – and the hate element is at best diluted if not excluded from the record altogether. For more information on this topic see Chapter 7.7.1.

This research reveals that the consequences of hate crime victimisation can manifest themselves as both physical impact and psychological effect. Often these impacts are compounded by a number of interlinking issues, many of which are highlighted in this chapter, including repeat victimisation, rural living and a weak support network. This subsection documents a vast range of psychological and physical impacts that were highlighted consistently across all hate crime areas, and in some cases, associated with certain protected victim groups specifically.

i. Psychological Effects

The interviews consolidated the impacts listed in the survey, and the main psychological effects highlighted by victims included:

- Thoughts of suicide
- Depression
- Suspicion of others and the local community
- A lack of confidence
- Feeling of shame and embarrassment
- Feelings of isolation and vulnerability
- The propensity to hate yourself

One of the most worrying effects of hate crime victimisation revealed to the research team was victims' **thoughts about suicide**. This is a theme that emerged during interviews with victims of homophobic hate crime, disability hate crime and transphobic hate crime¹⁹. Participants who suffered homophobic hate crime disclosed attempted suicide in the past or thoughts of suicide either as a direct or indirect consequence of hostility or harassment, and victims of disability hate crime revealed they had considered suicide as a way to escape their situation.

I've been in work sometimes and been really upset. And you feel like jumping off a cliff or hanging yourself or something because no one is helping you.

Seb, victim of learning disability hate crime living in Gwent

¹⁹The psychological impact of transphobic hate crime can have far reaching consequences beyond the immediate well-being of the victim. In many cases the mental health of gender transitioning people is closely monitored by health practitioners. Any evidence of anxiety, depression or social withdrawal – common reactions to hate crime victimisation across all protected characteristic groups – can have a profound impact on an individual's gender transition progress.

Can't I just expect to go to a pub, and have a drink like everybody else? It sounds trivial but it bloody isn't, it makes me feel like ending my life sometimes.

Steve, victim of physical disability hate crime living in North Wales

I hid inside a marriage. I tried to commit suicide, hated myself and just didn't feel comfortable. It wasn't right, that internal feeling that this isn't right.

Annie, a gay woman living in Dyfed Powys

A number of transgender interview participants also disclosed thought of suicide following their hate crime experience(s) and many of their thought processes are exemplified by the following observation made by Susie, a trans woman living in South Wales:

I'm not suicidal by emotion; I've sat down and been through the emotional bit. I've got to the place now where suicide is a lifestyle option. I now know that if it gets to point X, if A outweighs B then it's something which...it's a pragmatic²⁰.

The other psychological effects experienced consistently across all of the protected characteristic groups in Wales included depression; a loss of confidence and motivation to carry on with social activities; a sense of fear when leaving the house, and often a profound sense of shame, embarrassment or frustration with the situation. Another common psychological impact was a pervading fear or distrust of certain individuals and groups.

There was one psychological effect that the interviews indicated was most closely associated with victims of homophobic hate crime, and this involved a propensity to question or hate your own identity as a consequence of hate crime victimisation.

There are those who suffer – mentally and physically. You get some who really suffer because of the internalised homophobia. It comes to the point where tear themselves to shreds because they're not comfortable on the inside.

Annie, a gay woman living in in Dyfed Powys

²⁰ The research team was assured that Susie had a support network in place and she was in contact with a transgender organisation in South Wales.

It makes you feel ashamed of what you are when you come up against that sort of prejudice all the time. I know I won't tell anyone that I'm gay; I really do just keep it to myself all the time.

Ed, a gay man living in North Wales

ii. Physical Impacts

This research indicates that hate crime victimisation can have a long-lasting, physical impact on individual victims, their families and, in some cases, the local community as a whole. In the interviews these impacts manifested themselves as:

- Social isolation and withdrawal
- Behaviour modification
- A desire to move away from the local area
- A knock-on effect to children and other family members
- Community hostility.

A number of interview participants indicated that they wanted to **move house** as a result of their hate crime victimisation. The desire to change location was triggered primarily by cases of repeat victimisation, fear of further hate crime incidents and hate crime perpetrated near a victim's home by a known offender. Maya was a victim of racially-aggravated verbal and physical abuse by a neighbour outside her own home and in front of her children:

I just wanted to move the house and just have some magical powers and take us somewhere else. If it was somewhere else, like if we were shopping and it happened then you don't see that person again. When you're just living in that street and that's where you are, you can't get away from it, there's a constant reminder.

A number of participants described how they became **socially withdrawn** following their hate crime experience(s). This physical impact was particularly apparent during interviews with victims of disability hate crime and transphobic hate crime. In almost all cases hate crime experience and the fear of subsequent hate-related incidents prompted victims to withdraw from social interaction which in turn left them either isolated and/or increasingly reliant on family and carers in the case of some victims of disability hate crime.

I don't want to go to work sometimes or go and have a drink or play pool with my friends.

Seb, a victim of learning disability hate crime living in Gwent

One concerned carer of a physically disabled man living in North Wales describes the impact on his client:

He is very intimidated so his mobility options are reduced and as a result his exposure to the community is reduced to a fraction.

Sylvie, a trans woman living in South Wales describes her social isolation:

I create my own prison in my flat. It's like an open prison but I don't feel free.

Another overarching example of the physical impact of hate crime victimisation is conceptualised as **behaviour modification**. It is clear that hate crime victims will modify their physical presentation and/or behaviour as a form of personal risk management. A large number of interview participants revealed that their hate crime experiences had prompted them to adopt certain avoidance strategies in order to reduce the risk of further victimisation. Such strategies fall into two discrete categories: 1) location avoidance and 2) presentation of self.

A number of participants revealed they now **avoid certain areas** in their local communities if they have suffered abuse in that place or know from friends and family that some form of hate crime hostility or harassment had taken place in that area. Furthermore, some interview participants stated that they had attempted to **conceal certain aspects of their identity** in order to reduce the risk of repeat hate crime victimisation. This might include adapting physical presentation (e.g. dress) or minimising behaviour that might stand out as visible identity indicators and serve as triggers for hostility and harassment.

I will change how I present myself. One time I was going out with my partner. I dressed one way and I looked in the mirror and thought, no I'm not going out like that; I thought I looked too masculine so I changed.

Kate, a gay woman living in South Wales

Here, the issue of identity intersectionality²¹ is highlighted and, in particular, the perceived need to 'play down' or compartmentalise different aspects of identity. This issue was raised by a number of interview participants including those victimised on the basis of sexuality and race, and sexuality and religion, and is exemplified by John, a gay, black man living in South Wales:

For me, I had compartmentalised my sexuality and race, because this [refers to face] you could always see and the fact that I'm gay people didn't know. So, that kept me in a place for a long time where I wasn't exposed to the same types of hate crimes. The crimes that would've been directed at me would've been race related, because anything sort of dealing with my sexuality was hidden because that was a protection.

The interviews also highlight the impact that hate crime victimisation can have on **families and, in particular, children**. The survey data reveals that 36% of hate crime incidents were witnessed by partners, children or other family members. The interview data provides often distressing accounts of the impact of hate crime on children in particular:

It had a tremendous impact. I've got two older children in their 20s, and they both left home partly because of it, because they couldn't stand it any longer the tension and the atmosphere.

Hannah, a gay woman living in Gwent

My kids were so scared; they didn't want to leave the house and wondered why the woman was so mean to us.

Maya, minority ethnic woman in South Wales

The research also highlights the impact that hate crime victimisation can have on both minority communities and local communities in general (see section 2.2.1). These types of community impacts are exemplified by the enduring hostility faced by a care home for people with a learning disability (LD) in Dyfed Powys. The quote below describes the effect that local area tensions can have on vulnerable groups within those communities.

[The care home] was being referred to as a hostel for drug abusers and paedophiles. There were placards appearing all up the street. They were just everywhere, every house was displaying them in their garden and they said 'no to special care homes'. They didn't want people with learning disabilities, autism, or what their perception of

²¹ The intersectional nature of identity is a theme that occurred consistently across all protected characteristic groups.

learning disabilities and autism was living in their community. We felt physically ill about it. We've had to have CCTV cameras put up on a house which is domestic in nature, and some of our guys are paranoid so it's not really helped them with their wellbeing. We had to ensure that all of our service users had one to one support to walk down to catch the bus or to the local shop, because we couldn't risk them walking down by themselves, so they were given additional support, when they didn't actually need additional support, it was to protect them from the potential risk from the neighbours.

However, the following example, highlighted by Kate in South Wales provides insight into the often undisclosed, knock-on effect that hate crime victimisation can have on minority communities, that was not covered in the survey:

It can create a bit of solidarity. I mean certainly in the gay community, it [hate crime victimisation] can become a source of rallying around and creating solidarity among people – sort of, 'we're all in this together'. That can be good and bad because you can also end up with a bit of a victim mentality in the community, you know, all these homophobic people are attacking us. On the one hand that can be a basis for solidarity, for campaigning or it can have that negative effect when you just close down, you just hang out with only people from your own group.

It is clear that this scenario can be seen as a positive or negative impact depending on individual perspective. However, what it does show is that **the impacts of hate crime often reverberate far beyond the targeted individual**, and it is important that any form of response framework and support mechanisms in Wales acknowledge this and retain the capacity to manage such consequences effectively.

The findings in this section provide just a snapshot insight into the enduring and restrictive impact that hate crime victimisation can have on individuals, families and in some cases whole communities. The observations made by victims highlight the extremely personal impact of crimes or hostile incidents that target the unique and inherent aspects of an individual's character and identity. The findings highlight the sense of isolation, hopelessness and, in some cases, the desperation that hate crime victims feel, often on a daily basis. Moreover, the majority of these people – and thousands more that suffer in silence – feel the way they do as a result of **low level persistent acts of public disorder** and not just as a result of one-off, serious assaults. The AWHC Project reveals that the cumulative effect of daily acts of taunting, pushing, being ridiculed and generally being treated with intolerance or frustration on account of some aspect of personal identity has a profound impact on victims of hate crime. **It is vital that this is acknowledged in the**

formulation of the comprehensive, risk-assessed response, management and reduction of hate crime in Wales.

2.3 Hate Crime Perpetrators and Victim Perception of Offender Characteristics and Motivation

The complexity of hate crime is exemplified by the profile of offenders. However, it is important to acknowledge that the data generated in this research on the nature of perpetration and perpetrator characteristics is limited. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that all information emanates from a victim's perspective. These two issues necessitate that the findings be interpreted with a degree of caution. **The findings from the survey data are presented first, followed by the interview findings.**

2.3.1 Survey Findings

The survey included several questions that focussed on the victim's perceptions of their perpetrator(s) in terms of relationship, number, gender, age and race. Victims were also asked to recall if the perpetrator(s) used hate speech, had any hate crime symbols (e.g. a swastika tattoo) or were known to be in a gang. Chart 2.4 includes a summary of responses to these questions by the total sample of victims and by each hate crime type²².

For the most serious hate crime/incident reported by victims in the survey, almost half of all victims reported that they knew their perpetrator (43%). Just over two-thirds (70%) indicated that there was more than one perpetrator during the worst incident. Female involvement in hate crime/incident perpetration was witnessed by a quarter (24%) of all victims, and two thirds (66%) of perpetrators were perceived to be age 30 or under. Around 1 in 10 (9%) perpetrators were perceived to be black/minority ethnic. Of those victimised, 40 per cent recalled hearing hate speech during the event, while 7 per cent suspected perpetrators to belong to a gang, and 4 per cent recalled seeing hate crime symbols.

Table 2.4 and Charts 2.1 to 2.7 also break down the above findings by hate crime type and Police Crime Commissioner (PCC) area. **However, given the low number of victims recalling the characteristics of their perpetrators the differences reported next must be interpreted with a high degree of caution and should be considered provisional²³.**

²²The number of respondents able to recall the characteristics of their perpetrator(s) and the event itself are relatively low in some cases. Where a cell has a count of less than n=25 the results should be interpreted with a degree of caution.

²³Due to the resource restrictions of the Big Lottery Fund grant the sampling strategy adopted for the AWHC survey was non-probabilistic. To confirm the differences between protected characteristic groups reported here a random probability sample survey of crime in Wales (with appropriate stratification and clustering) needs to be conducted to compare to the AWHC survey. Using the British Crime Survey (BCS) or the Crime Survey for

Victims of disability hate crimes/incidents were most likely to have known their perpetrator compared to other types of victim, while victims of faith hate crimes/incidents were least likely (50 per cent compared to 32 per cent). In terms of the number of perpetrators, victims of faith and homophobic hate crimes were most likely to be victimised by more than one offender (78 per cent for both), compared to victims of gender based hate crimes/incidents who were least likely (65%). The gender of perpetrators also differed by the type of hate crime/incident victim. Victims of age based hate crimes/incidents reported being victimised by women most (40%) compared to victims of homophobic (18%) and transphobic (0%) hate crimes/incidents who reported the lowest level of female participation. Victims of disability hate crimes/incidents were most likely to be victimised by perpetrators aged 31 and over (53%) compared to victims of homophobic (27%) and transphobic hate crimes/incidents (0%) who were least likely. In relation to the ethnicity of the perpetrator, the numbers are too low to make any tentative claims in terms of differences between protected characteristic groups.

England and Wales (CSEW) to compare to the AWHC is problematic. The sampling strategy adopted for the BCS & CSEW precludes the disaggregation of Wales from England in relation to hate crimes/incidents. The Home Office and Office for National Statistics state that the designs for previous versions of the BCS and the new CSEW were tailored to provide a national (England and Wales) picture of crime, and therefore any sub-geographical analysis may be problematic given the lower number of responses in smaller areas and to some questions in the survey.

Table 2.4: Descriptive Statistics of Perpetrator Characteristics (n=564)

| | | <i>Sample</i> | | <i>Race HC/I</i> | | <i>Religion HC/I</i> | | <i>SO HC/I</i> | | <i>Age HC/I</i> | | <i>Gender HC/I</i> | | <i>Disability HC/I</i> | | <i>Transgender HC/I</i> | |
|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------|------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|----------------|----------|-----------------|----------|--------------------|----------|------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|
| <i>Perpetrator</i> | <i>Coding</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>%</i> |
| Relation | Known | 243 | 4 | 54 | 38 | 19 | 32 | 74 | 38 | 27 | 40 | 36 | 44 | 40 | 50 | 8 | 33 |
| | Unknown | 319 | 5 | 88 | 62 | 41 | 68 | 119 | 62 | 40 | 60 | 45 | 56 | 39 | 50 | 16 | 67 |
| Number | One | 158 | 3 | 42 | 32 | 12 | 22 | 41 | 22 | 17 | 28 | 28 | 35 | 22 | 30 | 7 | 32 |
| | More than one | 362 | 7 | 90 | 68 | 42 | 78 | 145 | 78 | 44 | 72 | 51 | 65 | 54 | 71 | 15 | 68 |
| Gender | Male | 155 | 7 | 48 | 72 | 14 | 78 | 61 | 82 | 18 | 60 | 17 | 71 | 17 | 71 | 6 | 100 |
| | Female | 48 | 2 | 19 | 28 | 4 | 22 | 13 | 18 | 12 | 40 | 7 | 29 | 7 | 29 | 0 | 0 |
| Age | Up to 30 | 113 | 6 | 32 | 57 | 10 | 71 | 55 | 73 | 13 | 65 | 14 | 54 | 7 | 47 | 2 | 100 |
| | 31 and over | 57 | 3 | 24 | 43 | 4 | 29 | 17 | 27 | 7 | 35 | 12 | 46 | 8 | 53 | 0 | 0 |
| Race | White | 134 | 9 | 42 | 88 | 13 | 87 | 55 | 92 | 11 | 92 | 14 | 88 | 13 | 87 | 4 | 100 |
| | Minority Ethnic | 14 | 9 | 6 | 12 | 2 | 13 | 5 | 8 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 12 | 2 | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | Used Hate | 220 | 4 | 60 | 42 | 32 | 53 | 113 | 59 | 27 | 40 | 26 | 32 | 25 | 32 | 13 | 54 |
| | Gang member | 37 | 7 | 12 | 9 | 8 | 13 | 17 | 9 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 3 | 13 |
| | Hate crime | 21 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 11 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 4 |

Notes:

HC/I= Hate Crime/Incident

Valid percentages reported apart from 'Other'

Characteristics of perpetrators elicited from victims' perspectives; data should be interpreted with a degree of caution especially for characteristics that are not easily identified (e.g. age)

For cells with fewer than 25 counts interpret percentages with a degree of caution

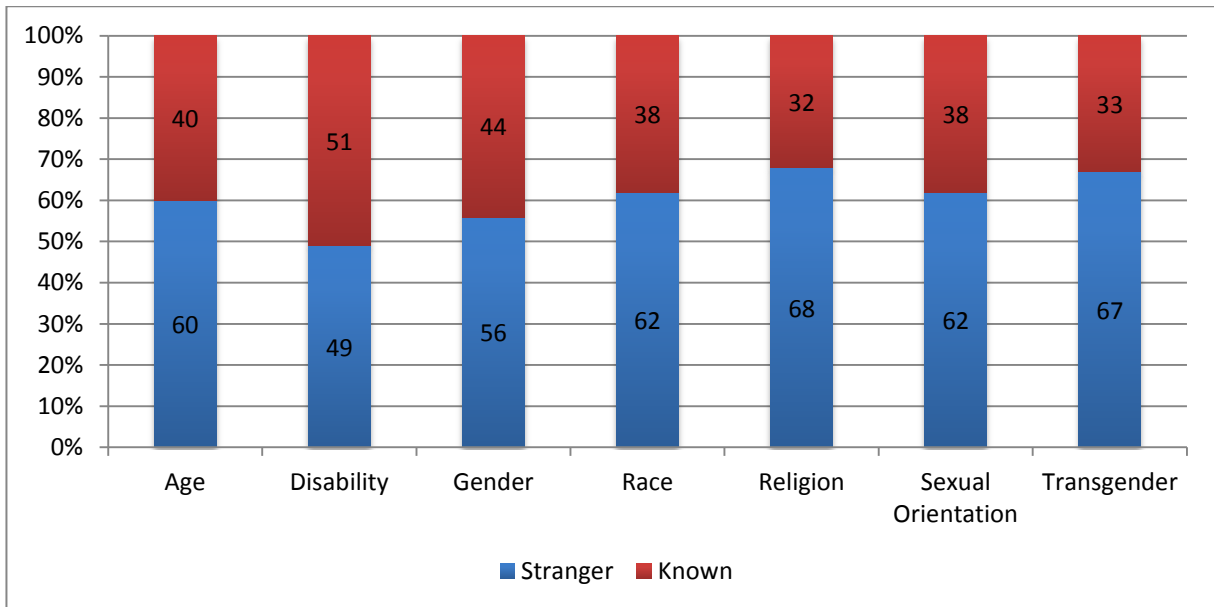


Chart 2.1: HC Perpetrator Relationship [by HC Type]

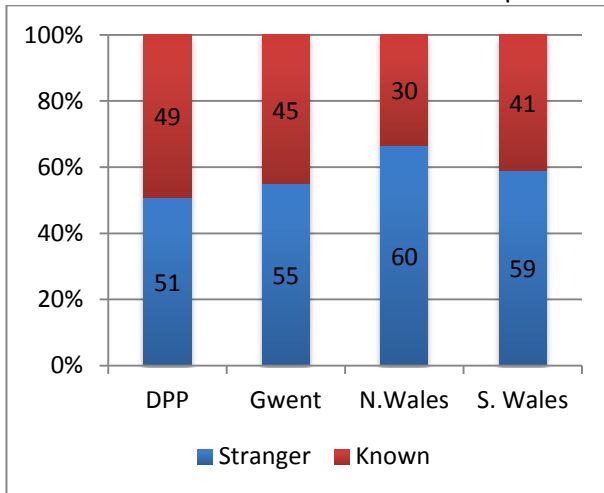


Chart 2.2: HC Perpetrator Relationship [by PCC Area]

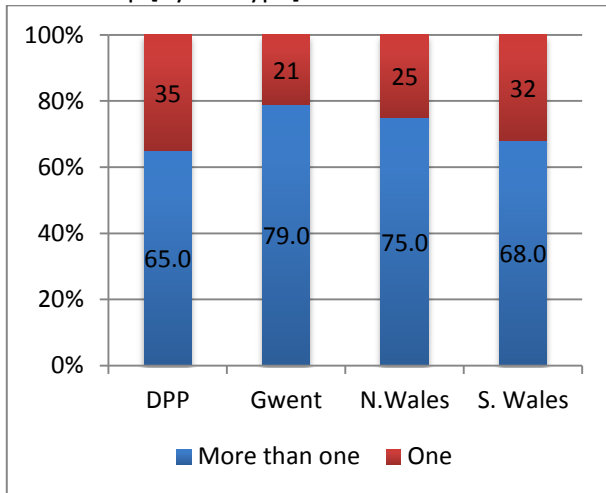


Chart 2.3: Number of HC Perpetrators [by PCC Area]

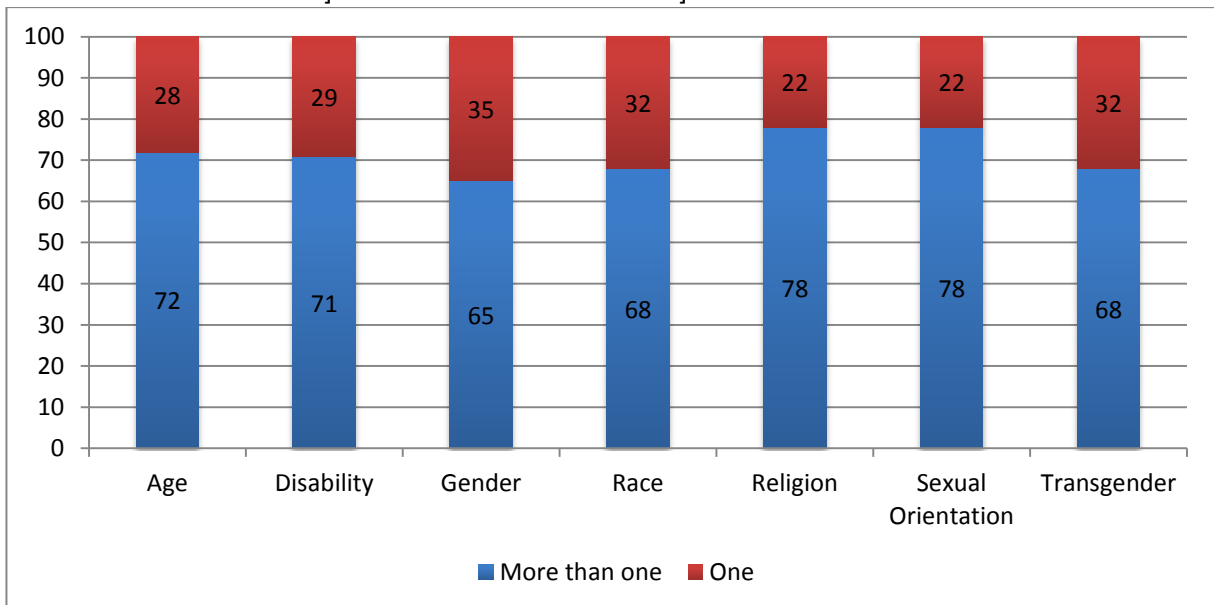


Chart 2.4: Number of HC Perpetrators [by Hate Crime Type]

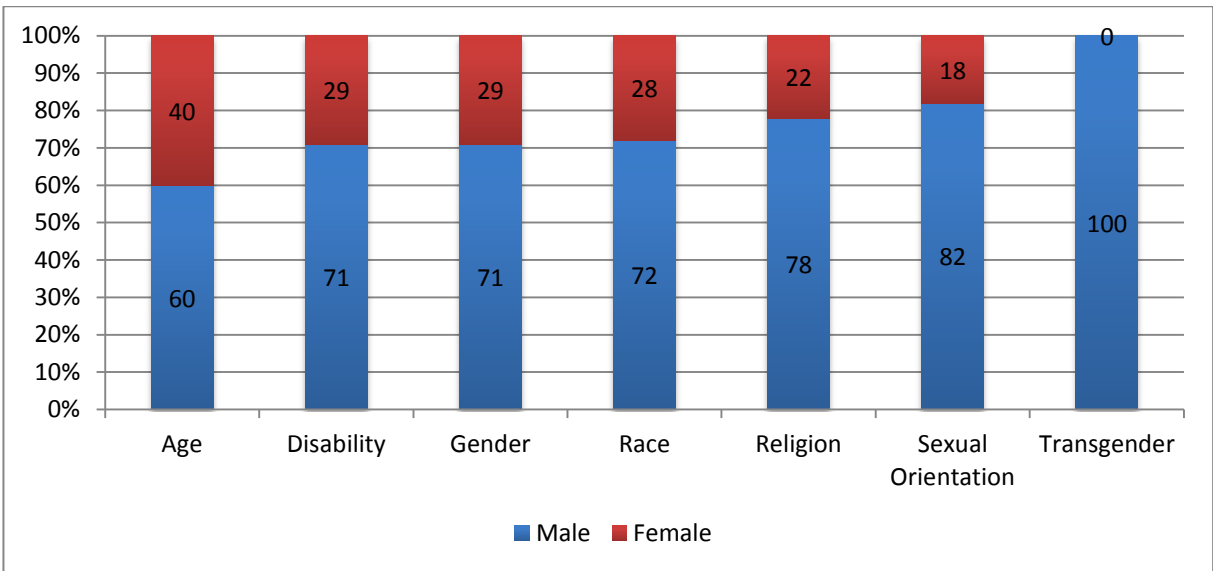


Chart 2.5: Gender of Perpetrators [by Hate Crime Type]

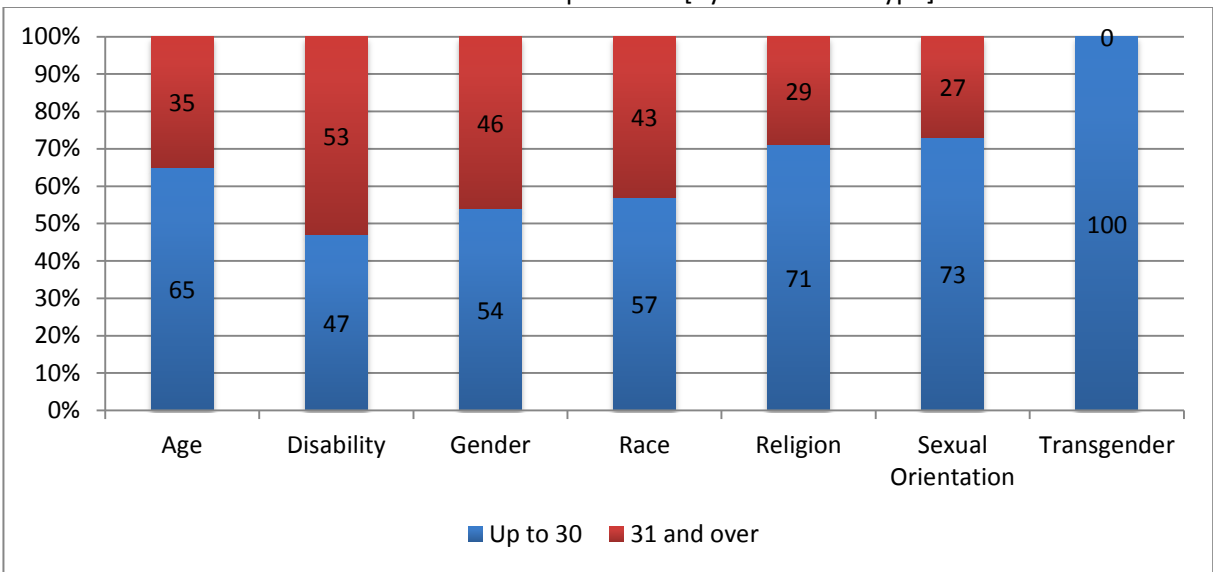


Chart 2.6: Age of HC Perpetrators [by Hate Crime Type]

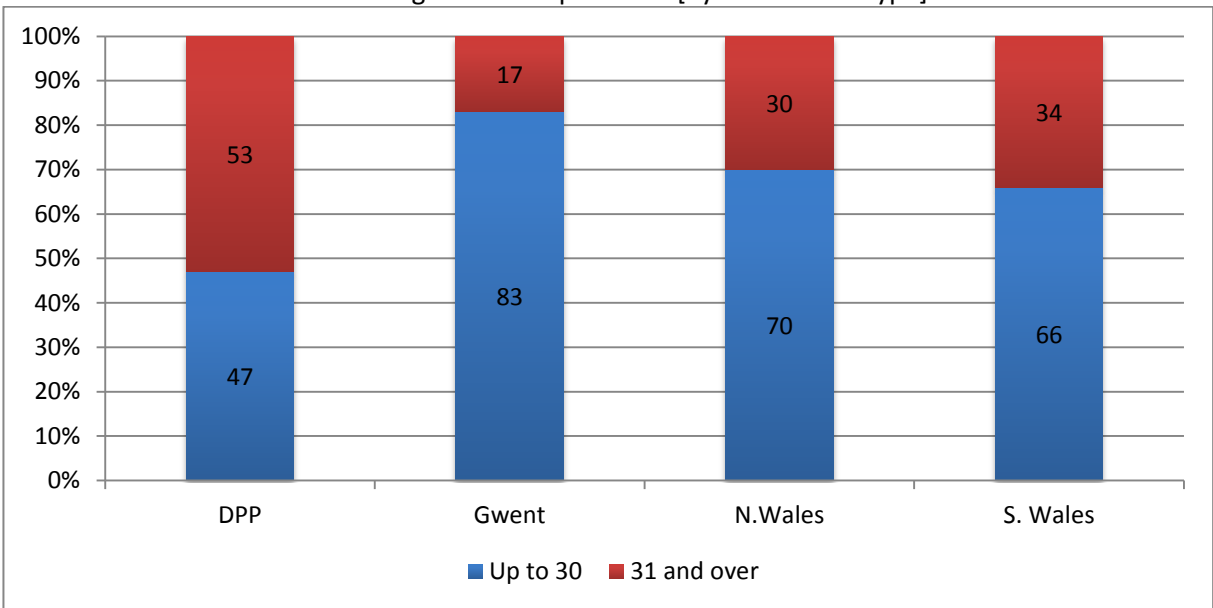


Chart 2.7: Age of HC Perpetrators [by PCC Area]

2.3.2 Interview findings

They just hate you because you're different...

Hannah, a gay woman living in Gwent

The statistics highlight tentative differences in relation to the characteristics of perpetrators and strand-specific hate crime victimisation, but the interview findings reinforce the reality that *anyone can be a hate crime perpetrator* regardless of age, race and gender. Moreover, the interview data reveal that hate crime is not perpetrated solely by an individual or small group of people. In some cases, hate crime or hostility is perpetrated *by* local communities as a misguided response to a perceived threat to community safety. It is evident that this form of hate crime perpetration can increase substantially the sense of vulnerability and isolation felt by victims and those attempting to protect and support them.

i. Victim Perception of Offender Motivation

The interview findings highlight the main 'perpetration triggers' as:

- The involvement of drink and drugs
- Showing off in front of peers
- Ignorance
- Stupidity
- Victim identity/presentation
- Hostility to minority groups
- 'Protecting' community
- Acting out society's views

Many interview participants referred to drink or drugs as an aggravating factor in their hate crime experience and it was determined that these factors often make people more inclined to act in hostile ways, and/or prompt people to show off in front of their peer group. The majority of interview participants believed their hate crime victimisation experience was motivated by stupidity or ignorance and a general lack of awareness that acts of taunting, intimidation and other forms of verbal abuse can have a profound effect on other people. A large number of victims believed their **physical presentation or behavioural conduct** may have had a role to play in their hate crime victimisation. In such cases, victims did not feel that they were in any way to blame for their victimisation, but they did concede that their experience(s) often prompted them to modify their dress or behaviour in certain public settings.

The experiences of the LD care home in Dyfed Powys led the respondent concerned to believe that hostility is often motivated by a misinformed attempt to 'protect the community':

They [local residents] stood at this meeting and said we don't want paedophiles in our village; we don't want bars on windows, we don't want people masturbating in the windows upsetting our children. And then, part of one argument was, 'we don't want you bringing English people here'. We were trying to explain, 'well we've got lots of Welsh people who live in somebody's house in England because there's not enough houses here, we're trying to bring Welsh people back'. But no, that wasn't acceptable, that wasn't a good enough reason. And she [resident] was saying you're bringing English speakers in here to live here and to work here', or, you know, 'foreign people'.

In many cases victims stated that they struggled to comprehend the hostility and anger that one individual or minority group can generate in another person or group of people. A number of interview participants felt that some perpetrators justify their actions on the basis that some people are 'members of a bad group' or that their perceived difference makes them deficient or worthless:

Sometimes I wonder when someone has a go at me that they're thinking, 'OK I had a go at her but she's just a dyke'...the kind of demeaning of that whole group feeds into the offender's rationalisations for what they're doing.

Kate, a gay woman living in South Wales

The overwhelming majority of victims refer to the role of **negative and stereotyped portrayals of certain minority groups in the media** as a primary motivating force behind much hate crime motivation. This theme was associated with all protected characteristic groups including Evangelical Christians referred to as 'Bible bashers' and Muslim communities branded 'hotbeds for radicalisation'. However it was an issue particularly associated with the media portrayal of transgender men and women, disabled people and their entitlement to state benefits, and individuals with a mental health condition and their perceived 'risk' to society. As the following hate crime victims observe:

There's all this rhetoric around disabled people as being worthless and benefit scroungers, and you can't help getting the feeling that some people believe this and

think, 'well, if they're getting special treatment and nicking money, why can't we nick money from them ... they don't deserve it anyway, they're all crooks'.

Kate, a gay woman living in South Wales

There's a lot of negative media reporting about transgender people at the moment – they [the media] use very derogatory language, talking about using public money to pay for 'sex swaps'. There's no real understanding or attempt to educate the public, no reference to gender dysphoria, for example. Some people reading those things repeatedly and not knowing anything about the issues might think they're a menace to society. In a sense they're only enacting what the [national newspaper] is telling them to do as far as they're concerned.

Susie, a trans woman living in Dyfed Powys

A number of interview participants also suggested that the negative portrayal of people with a mental health condition or a learning disability as a 'dangerous risk to the community' often had an impact on how individuals or, indeed, local communities viewed members of these minority groups. The respondent in the case of the learning disability care home that experienced community hostility discussed their thoughts on what might have influenced the negativity and harassment directed at the residents and staff of the home.

I think you had a few people who had their views of what somebody with a learning disability or autistic spectrum disorder is, and that was based on the information from the press, you know, from negative reporting. You don't ever hear about anything good that somebody with schizophrenia does, do you, you hear they've gone and killed somebody, and I think it stemmed from there.

It is clear that the role of the media is linked inherently to victim perceptions of hate crime motivation, and in particular the sense that some offenders might believe they are 'acting out society's views' as presented and reinforced by the media. There is a need for further research in this area and it will be important to focus on, among other factors, the extent to which society as a whole enables and legitimises hate crime perpetration generally, and the extent to which media-fuelled prejudice informs rationalisations for offending behaviour specifically.

Interestingly, the interview data indicates that, in contrast to other forms of hate crime, victims of age-associated hostility and gender-related harassment were not as confident in

articulating a clear motive for the hate crime or hate-related incident. What does come through quite clearly in these cases is that **a person's age and/or gender are often key intersectional factors in hate crime victimisation**. Moreover, a victim's age in particular may contribute negatively to how a hate crime is experienced, but it is not necessarily a dominant, motivating factor.

A number of research participants stated that not enough attention is paid to **why people commit hate crime**, and this is articulated effectively by the respondent in the care home case in Dyfed Powys:

At what point do people say hang on, why are you doing this? What's motivating you? What's this really all about? Is it really about them [care home residents] playing football in their back garden? Nobody ever questions or challenges the motivation ever anywhere along that process. Even in court, nobody really cared why they'd done it, it was whether they'd done it or not was what they cared about, and I wanted people to see why they'd done it. And that really, the risk of them doing it again hasn't been reduced because the reason why they've done it is still there not being addressed in any shape or form.

It is vital that further research is carried out to examine both the nature of hate crime perpetration and offender motivations for perpetration. It is clear that issues such as repeat victimisation (which can provide information on escalation of offence frequency and severity); offence location (proximity) and whether the offender is known to the victim (familiarity) are significant risk indicators that need to be factored in to an effective risk assessment framework to monitor and protect hate crime victims.

2.4. Reporting Experience and Police Contact

Reporting experience and police contact were significant themes to emerge from the research and all findings relating to each protected characteristic group are presented in the relevant chapter (Chapters Three – Eight). However, there are a number of common themes arising from both the survey and interview data and for ease of reference the issues relating to reporting and police response are presented separately in this chapter.

2.4.1 Reporting Behaviour and Experiences

i. Survey Findings

Of the victims who responded to the survey, 44% stated that they reported their most serious hate crime/incident to the police. Over 4 in 5 victims (85%) reported acquisitive hate crimes, two thirds (61%) reported violent hate crimes, just under half (43%) reported property hate crimes and threats, and less than 1 in 5 (18%) reported incidents. Charts 2.8 to 2.14 break down reporting behaviour by protected characteristic and within the four PCC areas. Those suffering faith and homophobic hate crimes/incidents were most likely to report to the police (47% for both), while those suffering gender based hate crimes/incidents were least likely to report to the police (30%). A comparison of PCC area reveals that victims in the South Wales area were most likely to report (47%), whereas victims in the Dyfed Powys area were least likely to report (31%). Respondents were also asked if they would encourage others to report hate crimes/incidents to the police. Victims of transphobic hate crimes/incidents were the most likely to encourage others to report (100%), while victims of faith hate crimes/incidents were least likely (84%).

Chart 2.11 shows the percentages of victims who, during reporting, informed the police that they perceived the crime/incident was motivated by hostility or prejudice towards an aspect of their identity. Victims of transphobic hate crimes/incidents were most likely to inform the police of this during reporting (73%), closely followed by victims of homophobic hate crimes/incidents (71%). Victims of age based hate crimes/incidents were least likely (33%) followed by victims of faith hate crimes/incidents (44%).

A high proportion of victims who indicated that they reported to the police stated they did so because they felt it was the right thing to do (68.8%). Two thirds of victims (62.2%) reported as they wanted to prevent hate crimes/incidents from happening again. Around half of all victims who reported felt that hate crimes/incidents in particular should be reported (50%), while a similar proportion felt that reporting was necessary given the seriousness of the crime/incident (51.4%). Just above half of respondents reported as they hoped that the

offenders would be brought to justice (51.6%). Over one fifth reported as they needed assistance at the time (22.8%). Around 1 in 10 reported as they hoped their property would be returned (12.9%) or needed to do so due to an insurance claim (8.2%).

Chart 2.12 details the reasons why victims decided to report to the police by hate crime/incident protected characteristic. Victims of age, disability and race hate crimes/incidents were most likely to report because they felt it was the right thing to do. Victims of gender, religion and homophobic hate crimes/incidents were most likely to report to prevent crimes/incidents from happening again. Victims of transphobic hate crimes/incidents were equally likely to indicate both these reasons for reporting to the police.

Chart 2.13 details the reasons why victims decided not to report to the police by hate crime/incident strand. Victims of age, disability, faith and homophobic hate crimes/incidents who did not report were most likely not to do so because they believed the police could not have done anything. Victims of gender and race hate crimes/incidents who did not report were most likely not to do so because they felt it was too trivial/not worth it. Victims of transphobic hate crimes/incidents who did not report were most likely not to do so because they felt the police would not have understood and because of a previous bad experience.

Chart 2.14 shows the reasons for not reporting by PCC area. In all but one PCC area (South Wales) the most likely reason not to report given by victims was because they felt the crime/incident was too trivial. In South Wales the most likely reason to not report was because victims did not believe the police could have done anything. Notably the second most likely reason not to report in Dyfed Powys was embarrassment (over double the amount compared to other PCC areas), compared to believing the police could not have anything in Gwent and North Wales, and thinking it was too trivial in South Wales.

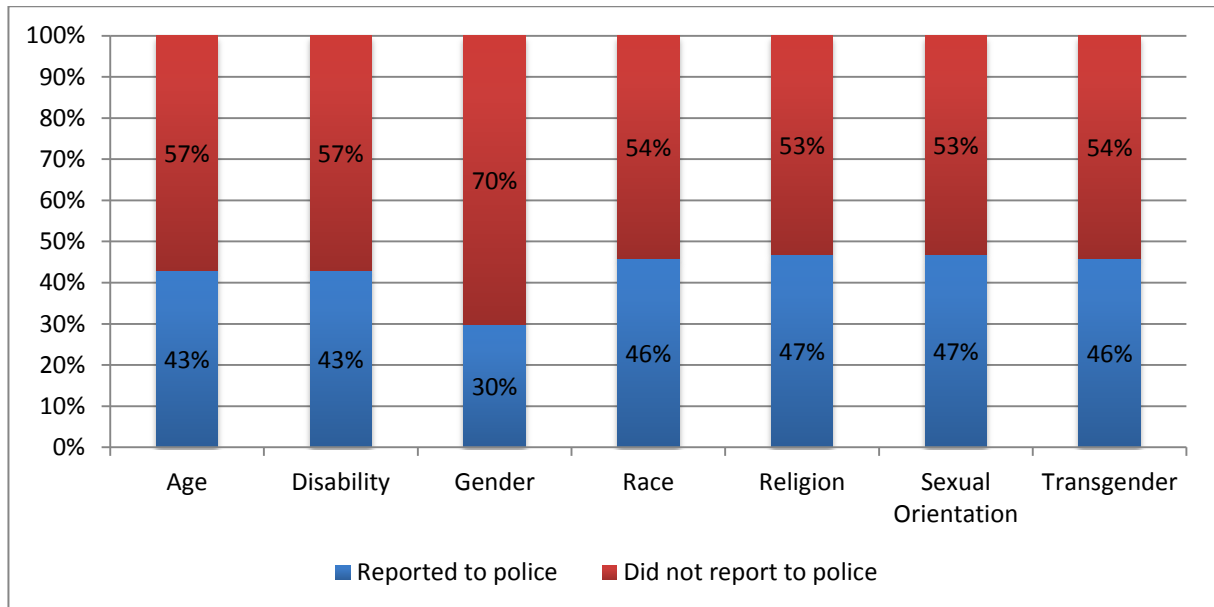


Chart 2.8: HC reported to Police [by Hate Crime Type]

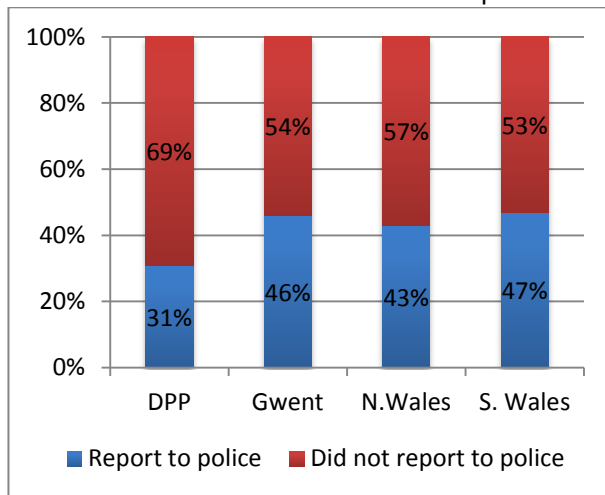


Chart 2.9: HC reported to police [by PCC Area]

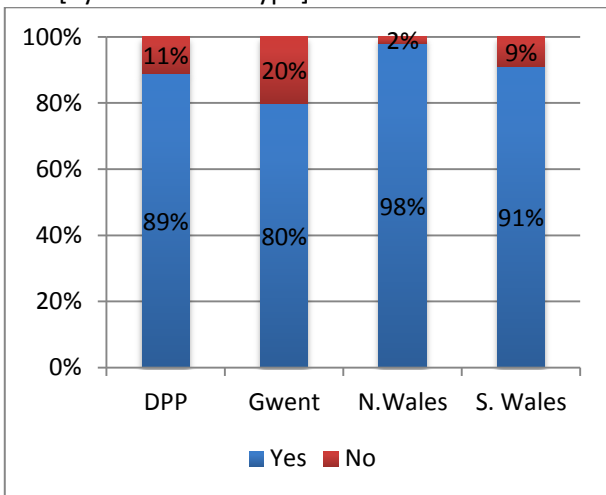


Chart 2.10: Would you encourage others to report HC to the Police [by PCC Area]

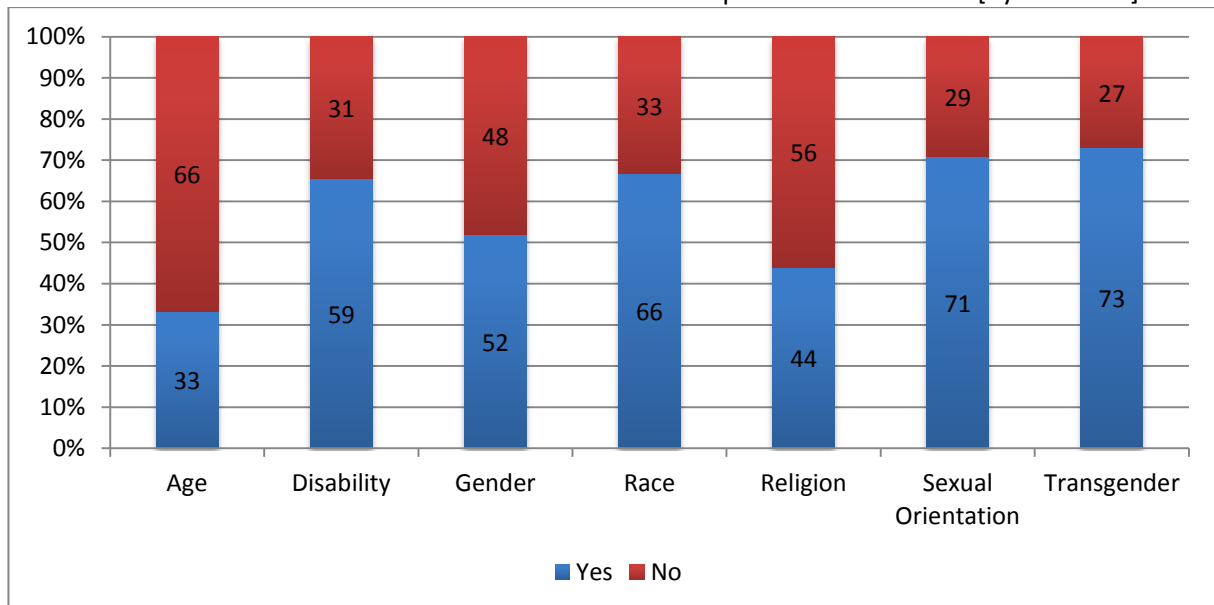


Chart 2.11: Did you tell Police that you thought HC was motivated by hostility or prejudice [by Hate Crime Type]

Chart 2.12: Reasons for Reporting HC to Police by Hate Crime Type

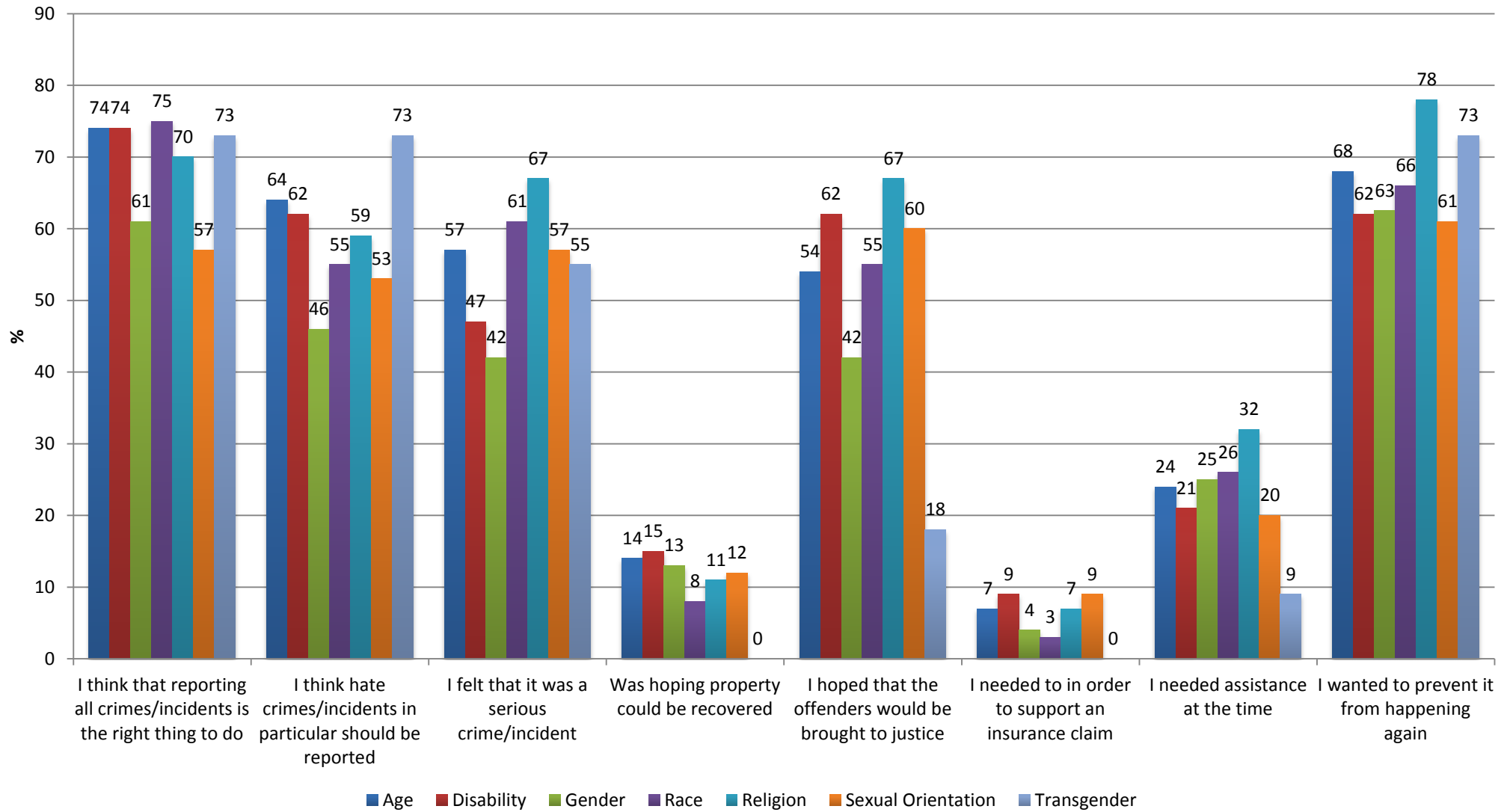


Chart 2.13: Reasons for not reporting by Hate Crime Type

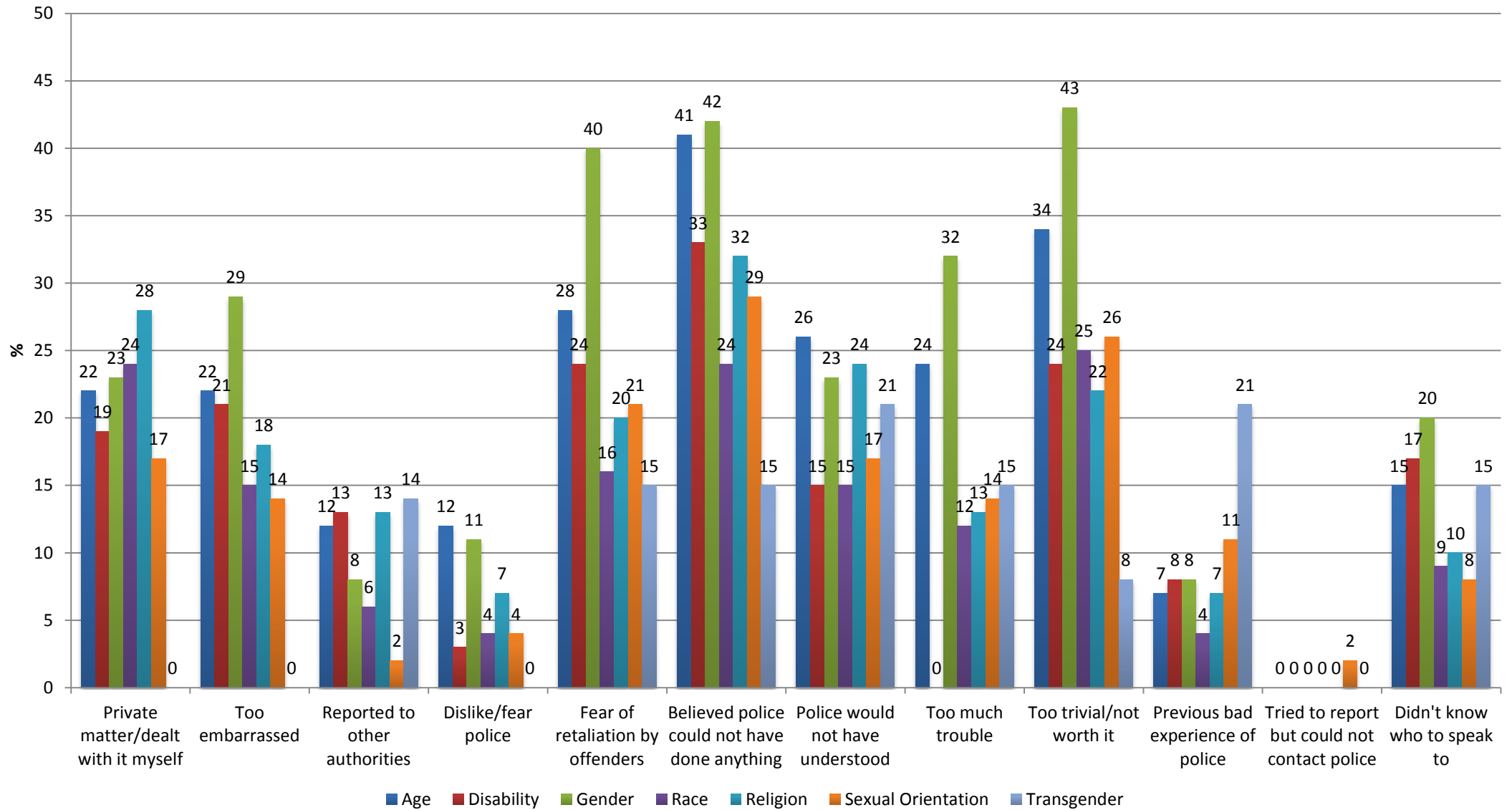
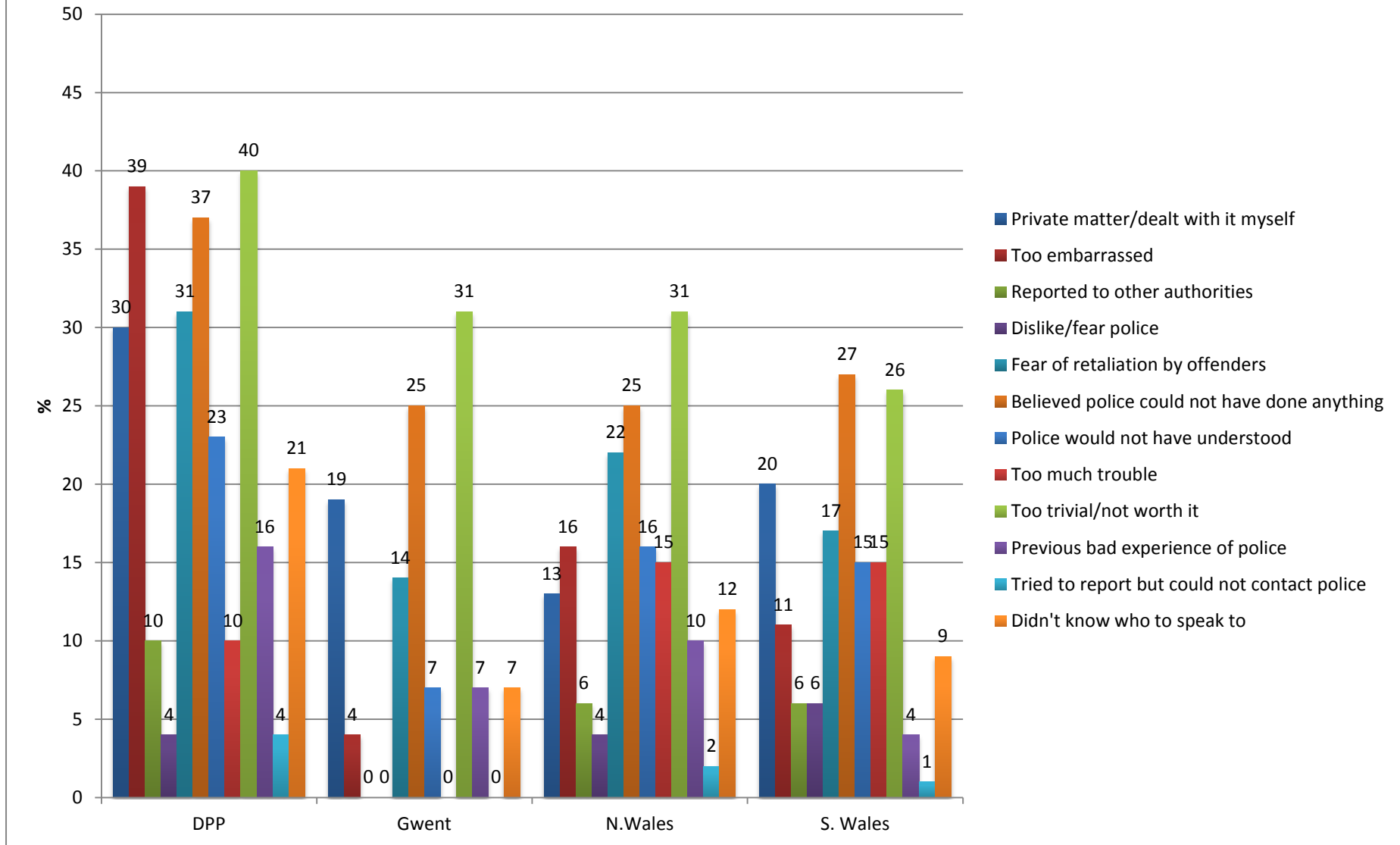


Chart 2.14: Reasons for not reporting by PCC Area



ii. Interview Findings

A large number of interview participants highlighted **inconsistencies in reporting and recording mechanisms across Wales**. There have been instances where victims have stated the police have been reluctant to record an incident as a hate crime, or that a hate-related incident has been recorded as harassment or in many cases, anti-social behaviour. Paula, whose autistic son was physically assaulted in a leisure centre in Gwent reinforces this point:

I told them [the police] that I wanted it prosecuted as a hate crime and they just laughed in my face. They will never prosecute those types of crimes. They'll tell you to log, log, log ... you can have 50 or 60 log numbers but they'll never take action, they don't want to know.

In another case, Hannah, a gay woman living in Gwent experienced repeat victimisation by a male neighbour. In this case the hate incidents escalated in severity and culminated in attempted strangulation. The victim reported the incidents to the police on a number of occasions but they were always logged as 'neighbour nuisance'; the 'hate' element, although raised consistently by the victim was not acknowledged until the final, and most serious incident.

I think they didn't take it seriously from my point of view especially early on. We kept telling them that he doesn't like women; he doesn't like us because we're gay. They continued to call it 'neighbour nuisance' and it took the female sergeant to come up before anybody actually started saying 'yeah okay this may be a hate crime' and they then started saying you need to keep the records and gave us some proper support. If they'd taken it seriously before it escalated to the assault and actually prosecuted him for harassment I think that would have stopped him.

Hannah's account reflects a number of victim experiences of repeat victimisation across Wales. It is a particularly worrying finding given well publicised, tragic cases such as Fiona Pilkington and her daughter, Francesca Hardwick in 2007. There need to be effective recording mechanisms in place to identify the difference between hate crime and harassment or anti-social behaviour. It is imperative that hate crime reports are taken seriously, recorded appropriately, linked together and investigated thoroughly in order to identify cases of repeated hate crime victimisation.

A large number of victims stated they had reported a hate crime to the police only to discover that no further investigation had been undertaken or that the case did not continue

through the criminal justice system. This was the case for both public order offences and serious assaults. Amir suffered a racially-aggravated assault in South Wales:

They said there was no CCTV around the area; they said that they couldn't really pursue it because there was hardly any evidence or anything, apart from my face.

This research indicates that there is a **disjuncture between victim-centred reporting mechanisms (that are based on victim perception that an incident was hate-related) and evidence-driven criminal justice prosecution processes**. As a consequence, victims spend time and effort reporting a traumatic ordeal that may go no further than the police recording systems because the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) will not have the stringent, evidential proof they need that a crime was indeed motivated or aggravated by 'hostility'. It can be argued that this situation has two inter-related implications. Firstly, it undermines the ethos of hate crime reporting: that all hate-related crime *and* incidents should be reported to the police, and that no incident is too trivial and victims do not need to suffer in silence. Secondly, it prevents the prosecution and conviction of offenders who perpetrate acts of low level, persistent disorder that are aggravated by hate hostility. This is of particular concern because this research reveals unequivocally that it is these forms of hate crime that have a significant impact on vulnerable victims. It is acknowledged that policing and criminal justice issues are not devolved Welsh Government responsibilities at this point in time. However, it is imperative that hate crime victims are made aware of the CJS process at the reporting stage and that expectations of outcomes are managed right from the outset.

2.4.2 Police Contact and Victim Satisfaction

There are a number of cross-cutting issues that inform levels of victim satisfaction with the police at the point of initial contact and during any subsequent case investigation. These include:

- How seriously the police appeared to respond to the initial report
- Whether all witness information and available evidence was gathered in a timely manner
- Whether victims received updates on case progression.

2.4.3 Survey Findings

i. Police Action

The survey asked victims who reported what action was taken by the police. A word of warning is required when interpreting these results as they are based on questions that asked victims who reported what they perceived and remembered as the action taken by police. In some cases actions may have been taken that were not communicated to the victim, and hence are absent from this analysis.

Over two-thirds of victims who reported (65%) recalled the crime/incident being recorded, while forty-three per cent recalled it being investigated. Less than 1 in 5 (18%) recalled someone being arrested and just over 1 in 10 (12%) recalled someone being cautioned. 1 in 20 (5%) recalled the situation being mediated by the police following the report. Just over 1 in 10 (12%) recalled no action being taken following their report.

Chart 2.15 details the actions taken by police following reporting by hate crime strand. Recording was most likely where a transphobic hate crime/incident was reported (82%), and least likely when gender based hate crimes/incidents were reported. Investigation was most likely in the case of disability and age related hate crimes/incidents (50% for both), and least likely in the case of religion based hate crimes/incident (19%). No action was most likely in relation to disability hate crimes/incidents (18%), and least likely in relation to transphobic hate crimes/incidents (0%).

Chart 2.16 shows actions taken by the police following the reporting of hate crimes/incidents by PCC area. There is little difference between areas with regards to recording, with the exclusion of Gwent who score at least 20 percentage points lower than all other areas. Broadly similar rates of investigation, arrests and cautions are observed in each area. Mediation is most prevalent in North Wales (11%), and low in South Wales (3%) and Gwent (0%) by comparison. There are stark differences in relation to no action taken, with Gwent scoring highest (21%), and South Wales lowest (7%).

ii. Satisfaction with contact with police

The survey also asked respondents how satisfied they were with their contact with the police. Several measures of satisfaction were included in the survey, including a question on how satisfied victims were with the way the police took into account their identity during

the reporting process. Chart 2.17 shows that victims of transphobic hate crimes/incidents were most likely to be satisfied with this aspect of the reporting process, while victims of faith hate crimes/incidents were least likely. It is noteworthy that all except victims of transphobic hate crimes/incidents register their satisfaction with this aspect of the reporting process somewhere between fairly dissatisfied (2) and fairly satisfied (3).

Charts 2.17 – 2.20 report the sum of all police reporting satisfaction questions in the survey (range 4-32 with a higher score indicating higher satisfaction) by hate crime strand, type and PCC area. Victims of transphobic hate crimes/incidents report being most satisfied when all measures are considered together, while victims of faith hate crimes/incidents reporting being least satisfied. Highest levels of satisfaction are indicated in relation to reporting violent hate crimes, and lowest in relation to reporting incidents and acquisitive hate crimes. When taking into account PCC area, satisfaction levels are highest in North Wales and lowest in Gwent. Multiple-regression analysis which took into account and controlled for all demographic, criminal justice, perpetrator, hate crime protected characteristic and type factors, revealed two statistically significant findings. Victims of transphobic hate crimes/incidents were the most likely to be satisfied with the reporting process and respondents who were victimised by one perpetrator were more likely to be satisfied with their reporting experience than those who were victimised by more than one perpetrator. Therefore the differences between crime types and forces in the charts are insignificant when other factors are controlled for.

Chart 2.15: As a result of your report, what action was taken by the Police by hate crime type

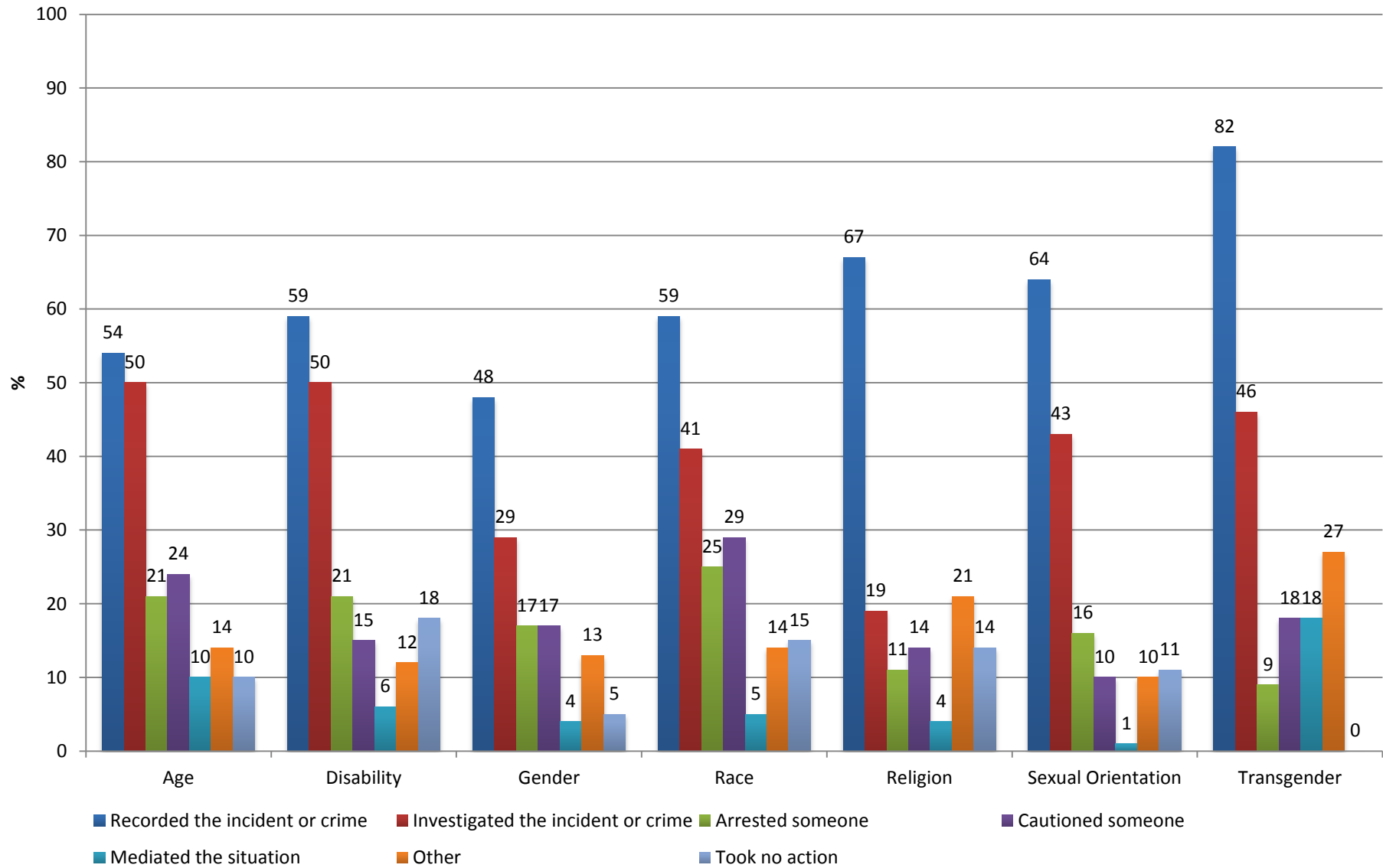
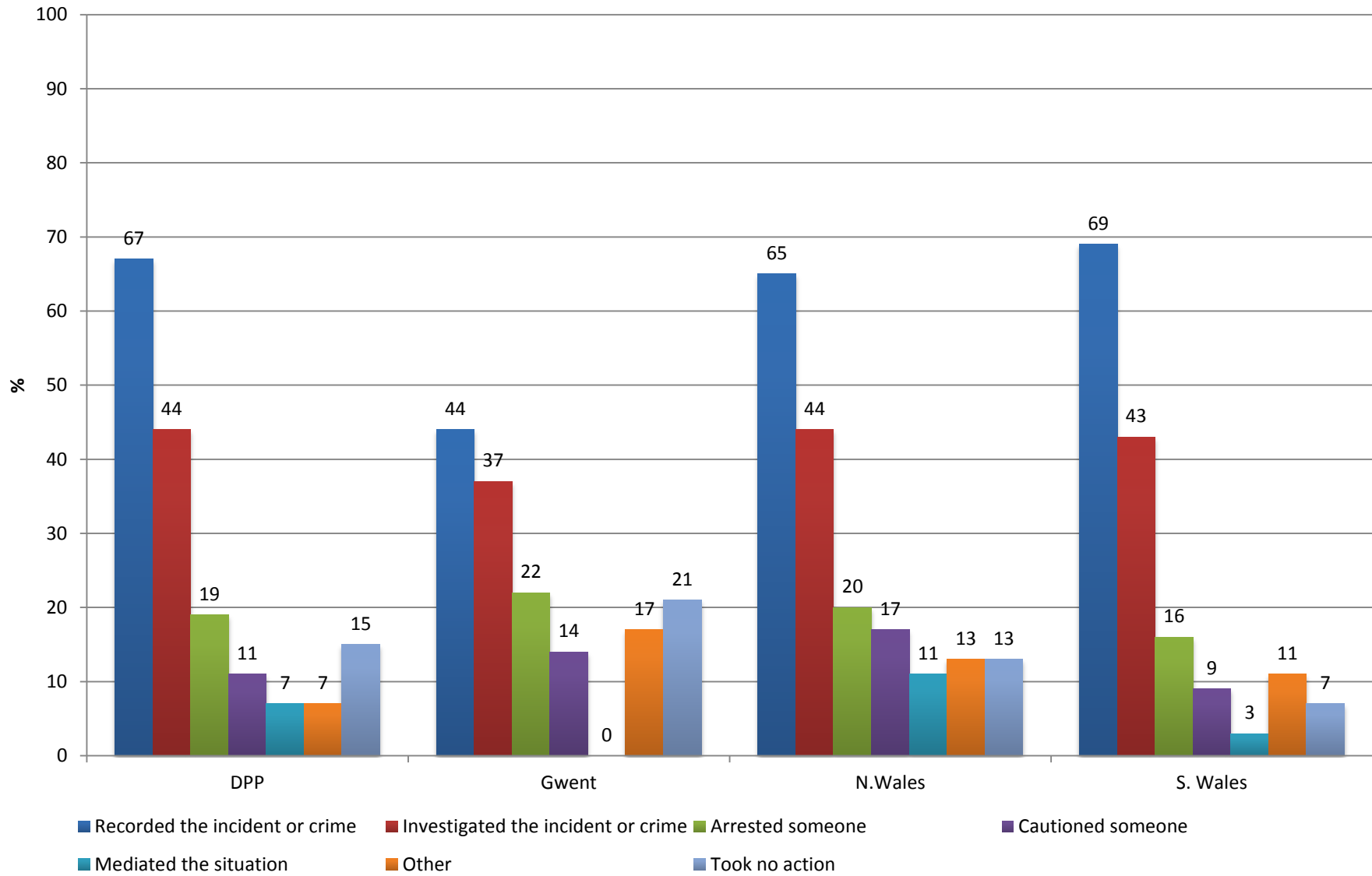


Chart 2.16: As a result of your report, what action was taken by the Police by PCC Area



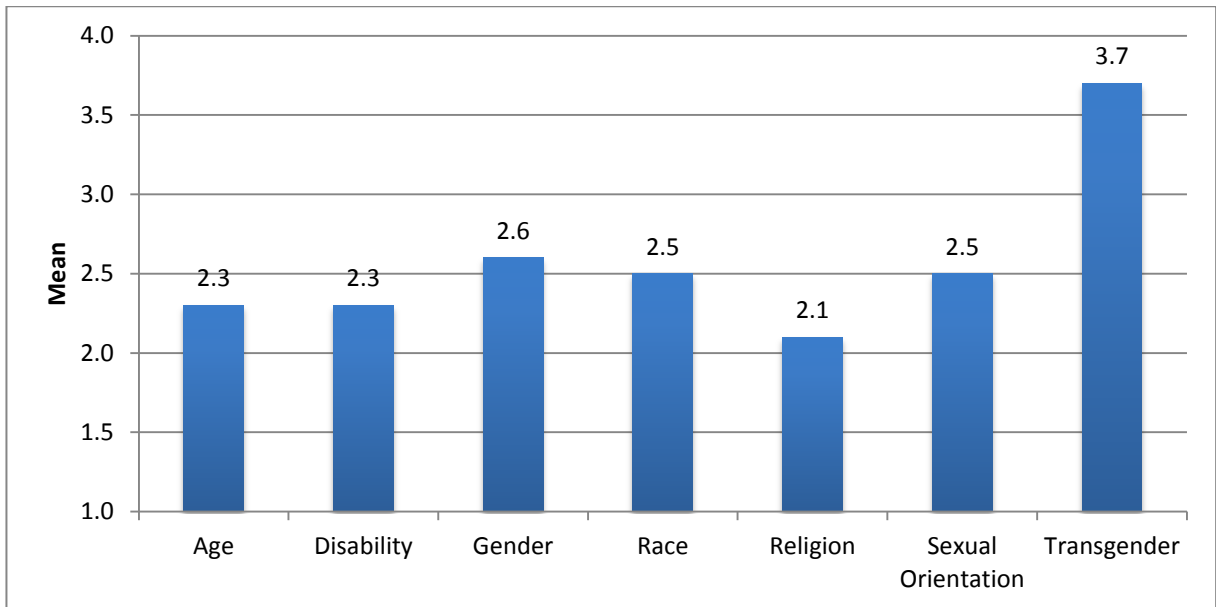


Chart 2.17: Satisfaction with the way the police took into account your identity

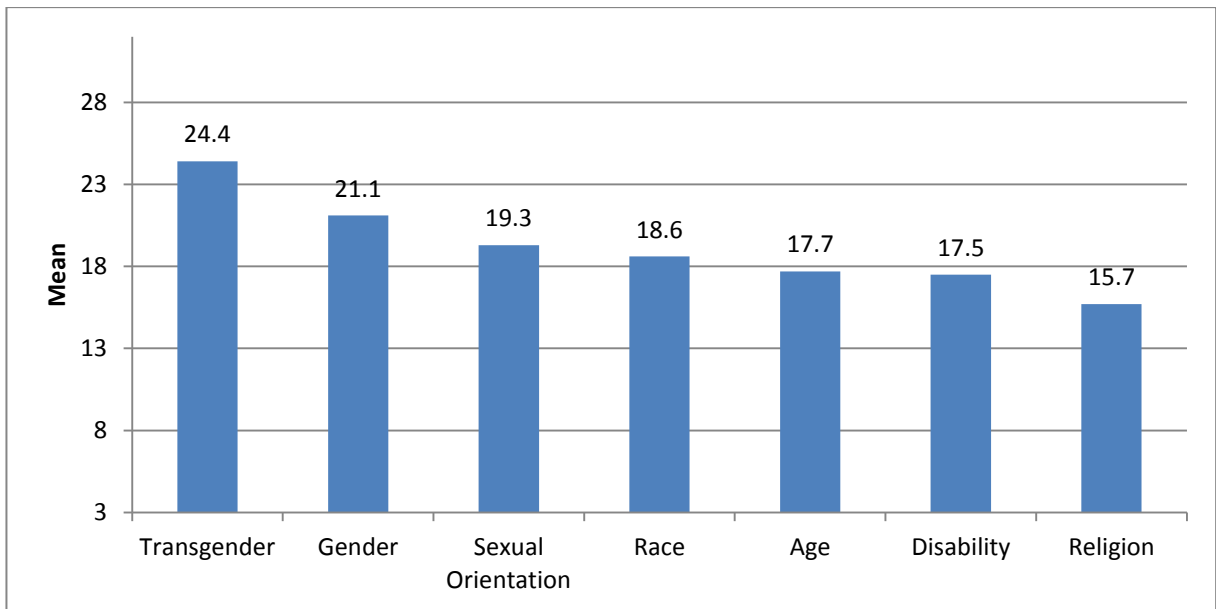


Chart 2.18: Satisfaction with Contact with Police [by Hate Crime Type]

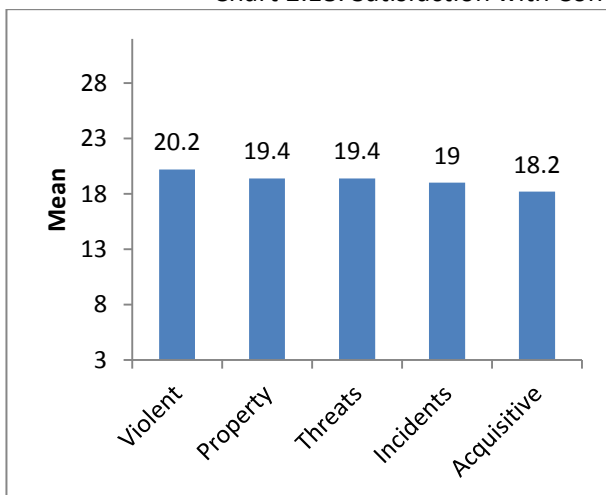


Chart 2.19: Satisfaction with Contact with Police by Reporting Most Serious Hate Crime/Incident

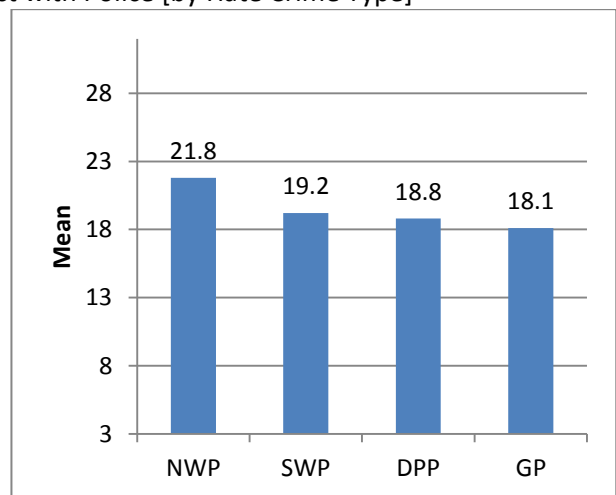


Chart 2.20: Satisfaction with Contact with Police [by PCC Area]

2.4.4 Interview Findings

The victim interviews revealed mixed experiences of initial police contact and levels of satisfaction with any subsequent police response to the hate crime report. For a large proportion of victims their contact with the police was mainly positive and it was felt that the police had responded appropriately given the circumstances of the incident (incident location, witness availability and offender identity). However, there were some that felt they had been treated insensitively and many that felt let down by the lack of police response following the initial report. The findings indicate that there is a general lack of victim awareness of the criminal justice mechanisms in Wales and it is vital that **victim expectations are managed at the outset of their involvement in the criminal justice process**. Moreover, any hate crime awareness campaigns established to enhance knowledge of hate crime in Wales and to encourage reporting of all types of hate-related incidents must provide information on the role of criminal justice agencies in investigating hate crime and the likelihood of successful prosecution in the majority of cases.

There are a number of factors that all victims take into account when deciding to report a hate crime to the police or via a third party organisation in Wales:

- Whether the offender is known to the victim
- Whether the incident is an isolated event or part of an ongoing experience
- The severity of the incident
- The presence of tangible proof that the incident took place

It is important to note that these factors are almost always evaluated on the basis of victim perceptions of either how seriously the police will take the report or how much the police can actually do to reach a satisfactory outcome for the victim. In addition, many victims feel that it is their responsibility to investigate their own situation before contacting the police. Kate's account reflects many of the observations made by hate crime victims during interviews:

I just could not see what the police could possibly do in the situation. They were entirely anonymous incidents. They're strangers shouting abuse at me, usually kids. One of the things that the police are going to want is a description and I think this is hilarious. They always say, 'oh well you know you need to describe who it was', yeah, because if someone's shouting abuse at you, the first thing you're going to do is stop and turn around and have a good look at them. It's the last thing a victim's going to do; you're just going to keep walking aren't you and not look, so half the time

you don't even know what they look like. It's a bit different for people who are experiencing it with people that they know. I mean there might be CCTV in the area but you don't know and really that's for the police to look into, and even if there is CCTV, it's not going to tell you that much, if you haven't got volume you're not going to hear what they were saying so it's again still your word against whoever it was.

If victims do not believe their experience satisfies some form of assumed police criteria then the likelihood is that they will not report what has happened to them. This is an interesting finding when viewed alongside the low reporting rates for incidents (low level, often persistent disorder) of hate crime and the profound, physical and psychological impact they can have on victims.

2.4.5 Recommendations for Improvement

It is important to note that the majority of research participants had not been put off contacting the police and that they would encourage other victims of hate crime to report their experiences, as indicated in Charts 2.21 and 2.22 below.

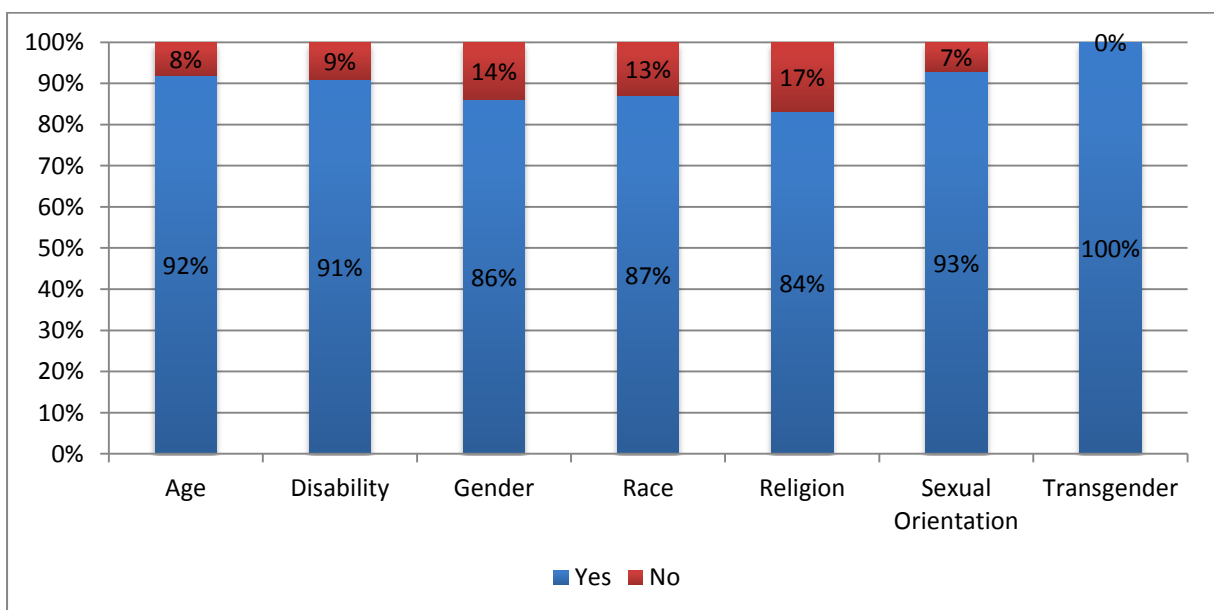


Chart 2.21: Would you encourage others to report HC to the Police? [By Hate Crime Type]

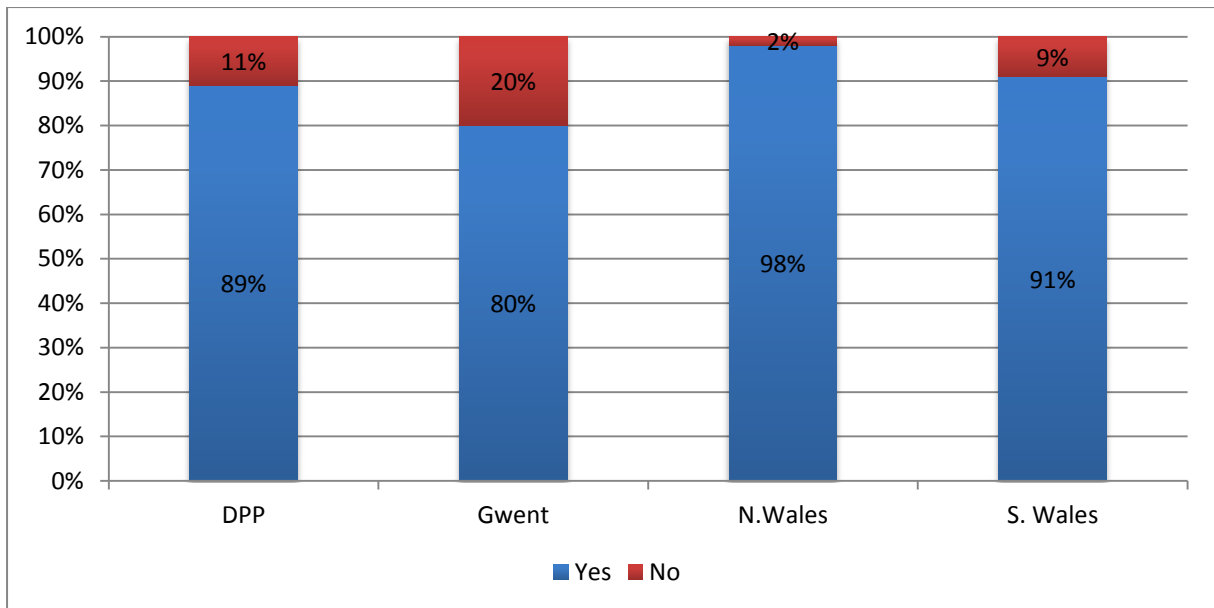


Chart 2.22: Would you encourage others to report HC to the Police? [by PCC Area]

However, a number of areas for improvement were highlighted by victims, and it is clear that attempts to address some of these key issues would make victims more confident to report hate incidents and crimes to the police in the future.

In terms of reporting to the police specifically it was determined there was a need for:

- A single point of contact within the police to update victims on case progression
- Advice and guidance on logging details of hate crime incidents

This point is particularly important given the need for tangible evidence to ensure that hate crime cases proceed through the criminal justice system.

- Realistic information at the outset regarding what might constitute a successful outcome.

The majority of victims are realistic about the potential outcome of reporting their hate crime experiences. The key message in this area is that it is very important for victims to see that *something was done*. This message can nearly always be conveyed by updating the victim and providing some follow-up information. As Kate in South Wales observed:

It would be nice to get some follow up contact from the police to show that they looked into it [the case]. I suppose just a sense that something's been done would be good, rather than just getting a letter with your crime number and never hearing anything ever again, perhaps a bit of a follow up. It doesn't even have to be a letter, just an email or a phone call, you know.

Many victims are under the impression that the police do not do anything to investigate their hate crime experience and, in reality, this is rarely the case. By providing a personalised follow up the police can update victims on the activity that has been carried out on their behalf, provide reassurance and, where appropriate, gather information on any case developments. This research reveals that it is important to **ask victims how they want to be contacted** because it is clear that often victims do not necessarily want a high level of contact from the police.

Furthermore, a large proportion of research participants across all protected characteristics indicate there needs to be a **comprehensive (re)assessment of police officer awareness and training on equality and diversity issues** across the PCC areas in Wales. This resonated particularly within disabled and transgender communities. This research suggests that disabled people are particularly reluctant to contact the police because they are worried that the police may not listen to them or understand what they are trying to communicate. In relation to learning disability-related hate crime both victims and carers suggest regular Police Community Support Officer (PCSO) attendance at local learning disability group meetings might make some feel more confident to report to the police. It offers the opportunity for LD hate crime victims to get to know local officers, trust them and report hate crimes and incidents to them. This was also seen as a way to mitigate concerned parent or carer involvement in the reporting process. If a police officer came to day services then the victim could make their own decisions about reporting hate crimes and incidents.

A number of victims also suggested that there is a need for more hate crime telephone helplines in Wales. Currently, the majority of third party reporting options are perceived to be online and this serves as a barrier for some people. There is also a common belief that a lot of the third party reporting systems in Wales assume a significant amount with regards people's personal capacity to seek support and advice.

I think a lot of the time people just want to call someone up and talk to them, to say 'this has happened to me, I don't know if it's hate crime, I don't know if I should report it'. There seems to be a gap there, you know. I mean I think I'd find that reassuring, if I could phone someone up who I know is going to be sympathetic and empathetic and could refer you to other support services because maybe it's not appropriate for you to report it to the police, perhaps, for various reasons, but they can refer you to Victim Support or other things.

Kate, a gay woman living in South Wales

2.5 Criminal Justice Experience²⁴

The research generated only a small amount of data on hate crime victims' experience of the criminal justice system beyond initial contact and incident reporting with the police. As a result it was not possible to present data on Criminal Justice System (CJS) experience from within a protected characteristic specific context. However, the data does provide some insight into a number of important issues, including victim experiences of the criminal justice process and victim perceptions of how hate crime offenders should be dealt with in Wales.

2.5.1 Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) and Courts

In total, 246 survey respondents answered questions relating to their experience of the criminal justice process beyond initial contact and incident reporting with the police. The data – which reflects victim perceptions – reveals that eighteen per cent (n=45) of hate crime cases went to court and seventy-six per cent of those cases proceeded to trial, and the defendant was found guilty²⁵. In seventeen per cent of these cases the defendant was either found not guilty or the case was dismissed or discontinued due to lack of evidence. Thirty eight hate crime victims had some form of contact with the CPS and the majority (53%) were very satisfied with the support they received and the provision of information. Of the 29 hate crime victims that had experience of the courts system, thirty-one per cent were very satisfied and fifty-two per cent were fairly satisfied with the support they received and the court facilities during the trial.

Two interview participants had experience of the criminal justice system in a hate crime context and their recollections are broadly positive both in terms of the information they received during the lead up to their court appearance and the support they were offered during the trial. Both women, one a victim of transphobic hate crime and one a victim of race hate crime attended Magistrates Courts and were satisfied with the court facilities during the trial. These included a pre-court visit that was offered by the Witness Service and a degree of flexibility in relation to childcare issues. Maya, in South Wales, comments on the support she received pre-court appearance:

It helped because I was more confident, you see how you stand, you stand there, she'll be standing there, this is the waiting room when you go in, because I've never

²⁴ Criminal Justice experience is defined as any contact or involvement with criminal justice agencies and institutions (Crown Prosecution Service, Court System and Probation Service) post-reporting and is therefore categorised as distinct from initial police contact and subsequent reporting experience.

²⁵ However, it is not possible to know what the defendant was ultimately found guilty of at trial. In many cases the hate element of the actual offence is not taken into account at the point of conviction.

ever been in there it was helpful. They wanted us to be there at nine o'clock and we said no, we're going to drop the kids off and we'll probably be there by half past nine, they said yeah okay, it's fine. The criminal justice system, this department, they were quite good, there's a person in there that we had to contact and they were quite happy.

However, a number of criticisms were highlighted with regards to the criminal justice process in general. Firstly, both victims were critical of the **length of time it took for cases to progress through the CJS**. Secondly, there was concern over the **lack of anonymity** that is offered to victims both during and after the trial hearing. As Jane, in South Wales stated,

As a trans person you don't want your name in the press. You have to ask for it [anonymity] and there's no guarantee you'll get it.

Research participants were also asked to express their levels of satisfaction with the way in which their case was resolved through the CJS in Wales. Forty three surveyed victims responded to this question: forty-two per cent were very satisfied, thirty per cent were fairly satisfied, and nineteen per cent were very dissatisfied. Both of the interview participants expressed dissatisfaction with the outcome of their cases. In one case it was clear that the 'hate element' of the original offence had been dropped during criminal justice proceedings and the offender was ultimately convicted of a public order offence. This finding is significant because if the hate crime element of offences is not recognised and incidents are prosecuted as public order offences and minor assaults then offenders will often be dealt with by the community payback scheme and therefore will not register for a full risk assessment by the Probation Service. This ensures that, among other issues, the motivation for offending behaviour will not be examined and discussed with the perpetrator during a one-to-one session with a probation officer.

2.5.2 How Offenders Should Be Dealt With

This research provided the opportunity to capture victim perceptions of how offenders should be dealt with in more general terms. Ultimately, it is clear that victims' overriding desire is for the hate incidents to stop happening to them. Their thoughts on how this can best be achieved are informed by a number of different factors. These include the severity of the incident and whether the victimisation was an isolated event or part of an ongoing experience. In general, victims felt it was imperative that any form of sanction was relevant to the offence and it facilitated recognition of the impact that the hate crime abuse had on

victims and their families. The findings reveal victims perceptions of appropriate responses to hate crime offending fall into the categories of:

- Criminal justice punishment in the form of prison, community service or fine
- Education (in the form of an equality and diversity awareness course)
- Restorative justice

A minority of victims felt that criminal justice sanctions were the most effective way to deal with perpetrators of hate crime. However, it was suggested that they could be implemented in a range of ways according to the severity of the crime. A number of these victims, who felt that the offender deserved to be punished and the sanction should be commensurate to the offending act to some degree had suffered a serious, physical assault and wanted justice to be done. Some victims who favoured criminal justice sanctions believed they should be used as a deterrent mechanism and a means by which to criminalise hate crime acts. As Huw, a carer for a physically disabled man in North Wales notes:

Hate Crime needs to be criminalised. At the moment it is often seen as a prank. It is seen as a low level issue often because people don't understand the negative impact.

However, the majority of victims felt that unless criminal justice punishment is relevant to what offenders have done, it will not change offenders' attitudes and in some cases may further entrench hostile attitudes. Many victims, like Kate in South Wales thought that sanctions should be used as a form of rehabilitation:

If it's a minor, low-level crime then my personal view is that the hate element should be recognised and used more to determine some kind of rehabilitative, educational process. The guy in the park the other day, I don't really want him punished. I want his attitude to change. I don't want him to do it again and I want him to know why what he said is unacceptable and understand the impact that it's having [on me].

The overwhelming majority of victims felt that some form of **education** was the most effective way to deal with hate crime offending. It was seen as an effective means by which to raise awareness of equality and diversity issues and, crucially, to make offenders aware of the impact their actions have on victims and their families.

They should change their attitude. If they knew what it was like to step in our shoes then they might change their attitude.

Diane, a victim of LD hate crime in Gwent

I would like to have them educated. So people actually get to know we're not monsters, we're just people getting about our own business. Understand people. I don't ask you to like me but you can tolerate me surely to god; I have to tolerate other people.

Annie, a gay woman living in Dyfed Powys

Victims suggested a number of facets that could be incorporated into an education framework for hate crime offenders including an equality and diversity awareness course, along the same lines as a speeding awareness course which facilitates either working with or talking to members of minority groups. As Jane, a trans woman living in Dyfed Powys suggested:

There should be an awareness course where people get to listen to stories from trans people or other minority groups. I had to attend a speed awareness course as a penalty and I actually learned something; I became more aware...

Some victims were broadly supportive of some form of restorative justice as an appropriate means to address hate crime offending. As Carl, a Roma Gypsy man living in South Wales comments,

I think it should be explained why it happened. So if someone attacked me I would like to know why it happened. If there is a reason, I can tell him sorry. If there is no reason then they should do something for me.

In many cases victims are left wondering why they were targeted and some would very much like the opportunity to find out what motivated the offender's actions. For some victims, meeting the offender in a safe, mediated environment might provide an opportunity for some form of closure or resolution and the chance to make offenders aware of the impact of their actions.

2.6 Support Service Provision

The research findings indicate that emotional and practical support for hate crime victims comes in many forms. In many cases, victims turn to friends and family for support during periods of ongoing harassment or following isolated events. Some victims, particularly victims of disability hate crime, turn to their GP or other health professionals for support and

advice. In other cases victims will turn to housing associations, local authority departments, local politicians and, in some cases, Assembly Members. Furthermore, the findings reveal that a large proportion of hate crime victims are aware of regional equality organisations and forums, and protected characteristic-specific organisations that can offer support and practical advice. Indeed, a number of victims, including Maya in South Wales, have contacted support agencies across Wales and report very positive experiences:

She [support worker] was the only person who helped. She was ringing me every other week, you know, are you okay, what's happened now? And I literally told her everything that was happening and she was recording everything. And then she was finding out things for me that the police wasn't telling me, why wasn't a statement taken? And it felt like somebody's ringing on my behalf, they know there's someone there with me, backing me up, some sort of organisation and it gives you that confidence.

However, a large proportion of victims highlight considerable challenges to accessing support and, as a result, they will 'suffer in silence'. In some cases barriers such as disability, rural living (see next section) and the absence of a strong family network²⁶ exacerbate feelings of isolation and vulnerability. In many of these cases the experience and impact of hate crime victimisation is compounded by the perception that there are no formal or meaningful support mechanisms in place for hate crime victims. Some victims suggest that awareness of support services is enhanced by membership of a group or network that aims to highlight minority issues or tackle hate crime. In light of these comments a number of recommendations for improvement to support service provision were proposed by research participants. These include:

- A one-stop shop for hate crime victims in Wales

The All Wales Hate Crime Project suggests that a **hate crime advocacy service** for victims would prove an invaluable resource in Wales. It could act as a reporting centre as well as a forum to provide emotional support, practical advice and criminal justice information. Currently this role is often fulfilled by a case worker based in a strand-specific voluntary sector organisation. However, regional hate crime centres could provide an efficient and comprehensive service for victims across all of the protected characteristic groups in Wales. Moreover, it could address and mitigate many of the issues that are highlighted by hate crime victims in Wales including the need for increased awareness of what constitutes a

²⁶ This is often the case for LGB or transgender hate crime victims because family and friends may be unaware or intolerant of their LGB or transgender identity status.

hate crime and the management of expectation in relation to the likely outcome of hate crime reporting in the UK. Currently, many hate crime victims are unaware there is an alternative means by which to report a hate crime incident in the form of third party reporting centres. The findings in relation to police satisfaction, hate crime reporting rates and general hate crime support service provision in Wales all indicate that a one-stop, hate crime advocacy service in Wales would provide many vulnerable victims with the opportunity to raise awareness of their situation and secure much needed support for themselves and their families.

- Comprehensive equality and diversity training for appropriate organisations across Wales including Housing Associations, GPs and politicians

The findings indicate that many victims of disability hate crime turn to housing associations, health professionals or their local politicians for support and advice. Yet some victims are met with indifference and/or a lack of empathy. As Clive, a physically disabled man living in South Wales recalls:

I told my GP what had happened and that I felt discriminated against. She said, 'oh you disabled people have it better than ever these days'...

- A national campaign to raise awareness of support service provision for hate crime victims

This is viewed as particularly important for 'non-networked' victims i.e. those who are not members of an equality forum or local minority group organisation and for those for whom English or Welsh are not their first language.

- User-led support services

This research reveals that a large proportion of hate crime victims make proactive attempts to secure emotional support and practical advice. In many cases they are successful and are satisfied with the help they receive from a range of organisations across Wales. However, there are just as many victims who were simply unaware of support avenues or expressed frustration with the lack of a tailored, cohesive response to their calls for support. It is vital that a comprehensive and accessible support system is established for hate crime victims in Wales.

2.7 The Rural Dynamic in Hate Crime Victimization

When examining the nature and impact of hate crime victimisation it is clear that a rural dynamic has a role to play in Wales. There are some who highlight the positive aspects of rural communities in relation to tradition and moral value systems. Ceri, one of the support workers in a focus group with people with a learning disability suggested that many rural places retain a degree of community spirit:

In small places you've still got integrated families. So if a child is lippy they know that their parents will find out about it. In a town, they can be lippy and you don't know who their parents are. There are still good things about the small communities. If my children said something it wouldn't be long for someone was knocking my door.

However, this research indicates that often the geographic (and cultural) location of hate crime victims contributes to the:

- Nature of hate crime victimisation
- Impact of hate crime experience
- Awareness and accessibility of support service provision for hate crime victims

A number of victims suggested that their geographic location had a role to play in the type of hostility or harassment they experienced in their lives. A number of interview participants referred to a 'small town mentality' and a lack of cohesion and integration within rural communities. In some cases, victims were keenly aware of their minority status and often felt that they 'stood out in their local area' and that 'different' was perceived as 'dangerous'. In some cases victims felt that hostility arises as a result of misguided attempts to defend the status quo in a rural community. This is exemplified by the respondent in the LD care home case in Dyfed Powys:

A part of her argument was 'we don't want you bringing English people here, you're bringing English speakers in here to live here and to work here'. We were trying to explain, 'well we've got lots of Welsh people who live in somebody's house in England because there's not enough houses here, we're trying to bring Welsh people back'. But no, that wasn't acceptable, that wasn't a good enough reason.

A number of interview participants indicate that the rural nature of their locality exacerbates feelings of vulnerability and a sense of isolation. This is often because they feel that there are not as many opportunities to attend support groups or even meet similar people who may well be able to empathise with their situation. Moreover, some research participants

believe that their geographic location prevents them from being able to access formal support services for hate crime victims. As Annie, a gay woman living in Dyfed Powys states:

I'm definitely the 'only gay in the village'. It's very difficult to meet other people who are gay. You get a very tight circle of people that you know, which is quite incestuous in many ways, but in places like the one that I'm living in there is nothing for gay people. It's taken me years to build up any sort of network round here, and still there is very little in the place that I'm living. I know there are people out here, sometimes you see them and you say hello, that's about it. There is nowhere safe that we can go. And a lot of people you get who just can't travel, they don't drive. They don't have a car; they're not earning enough to run a car. And bus routes are horrendous. So there are geographical challenges.

2.8 General Hate Crime Reduction and Prevention

Ultimately, the findings reveal that the overwhelming majority of victims recognise the reduction and prevention of hate crime as a long term issue that requires consolidated input from a wide range of institutions and organisations including policy makers, statutory and voluntary bodies and grass roots, support networks across Wales. Moreover, there is general acknowledgment that any policy development in this area will only have an impact if there is also a shift in societal values and a reduction in the threshold for tolerance for the expression of prejudice and hostility towards individual identity. Generally, it is thought that such improvements can be helped by awareness raising campaigns across Wales. Steve's observation mirrors the sentiment held by many hate crime victims:

I suppose the glib answer is it's everyone's responsibility [to tackle hate crime]. I mean it's a shame that we have to look for establishments to do it when society isn't doing it itself. We need better promotion or more advertising that hate crime and hostility to certain groups isn't acceptable. We need posters on buses, internet campaigns.

However, it is 'education' that is highlighted as the most effective medium through which to begin to reduce rates of hate crime in Wales. There is a general sense that understanding diversity and encouraging tolerance could – and should – be incorporated into a range of different community and education activities in an attempt to increase local integration and cohesion. However, it is widely recommended that diversity and equality initiatives should be mainstreamed into schools and their education curricula. A number of research

participants highlight examples of community support groups and equality networks that work closely with schools to raise awareness of diversity and hate crime. The comments below reinforce the need for continued development in this area.

I'd like to see more diversity training in schools; I really think that is an area that is ripe for change. It's got to start when kids are small because they get their values in their formative years.

Annie, in Dyfed Powys

Our network is working with kids in schools now and we've come across quite a lot of racist remarks, even young children make which is terrible sad. Education is so important and I do think you've got to start young with children.

Sue, a minority ethnic victim of hate crime living in North Wales

The All Wales Hate Crime Project welcomes continued development in this area and recommends widespread but targeted funding for this type of collaboration. It is important particularly given the research findings associated with the worrying and often hidden instances of hate-related, school bullying (see Chapter Three).

2.9 Chapter Summary

Although hate crime victimisation is a highly individualised experience, the findings presented in this chapter highlight a wide range of issues that cut across all protected characteristic groups in Wales. They highlight the enduring and profound impact of hate crime on victims and their families, and they contribute to an enhanced understanding of the complex relationship between hate crime perpetration and victimisation. Moreover, the findings provide further insight into reporting behaviours, and the various factors that influence levels of satisfaction with police contact, case development and criminal justice experiences more generally. Furthermore, the findings highlight victim perceptions of support service provision and introduce associated factors such as the role of the rural dynamic in Wales. It is important that all of these themes and issues are acknowledged by policy makers and key stakeholders and used to inform the development of comprehensive and cohesive mechanisms for protecting and supporting hate crime victims in Wales.

Chapter Three: Age

It was threatening; as you get older you feel more vulnerable.

Annie, in Dyfed Powys

3.1 Introduction

Age-related hate crime is an under-researched area both in terms of young victims of hate-related hostility and older victims of what is now commonly termed, 'elder abuse'. The findings reveal that for older victims of hate crime, age is often highlighted as an intersectional factor that increases their sense of vulnerability. It is acknowledged that younger victims of hate crime are a difficult group to reach but this is often through no fault of their own. It is often the case that young people are excluded from victimisation surveys due to ethical considerations (often associated with issues of informed consent), which ensures their experiences are overlooked and their voices unheard. Furthermore, children and young people may not always understand the nature of their hate crime experiences and are often reliant on other actors (for example, parents, schools and youth groups) to recognise their victimisation. However, it is vitally important to recognise and respond to hate crimes involving young people. This research identifies unique aspects of youth hate crime that must be acknowledged and addressed by a range of actors including local authorities, schools and families. These include the prevalence of hate-related bullying in schools and the absence of age-appropriate support services and reporting mechanisms.

This chapter presents findings on a range of issues within an age-related context, including:

- Community cohesion
- Fear of general crime and hate crime
- Perceptions of hate crime impact on local communities.

The chapter then focuses specifically on hate crime experience and in particular:

- The nature of hate crime
- Perpetration
- Reporting experiences.

In total, 1746 (97%) respondents provided their age for the AWHC Survey²⁷. Chart 3.1 below shows that eight percent (N=149) of respondents were aged 16 – 19, and seven per cent (N=131) were aged 65 and above. The greatest proportion (almost 20%) of respondents were aged 26 – 34 (N=348).

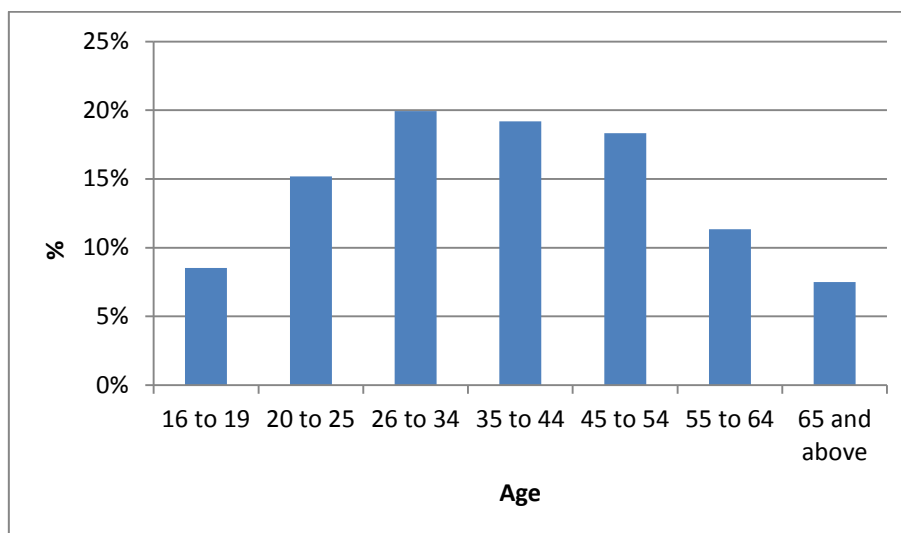


Chart 3.1

3.2 Community Cohesion

All survey respondents were asked to provide information regarding their local area including how long they have lived in the immediate area and their perceptions of levels of interaction and integration within the local community. The responses from three survey questions were combined to generate a ‘community cohesion scale’²⁸. Chart 3.2 shows that on a scale of 3 to 12 (3 being most strongly disagree and 12 being most strongly agree), respondents over the age of 65 (mean score of 9.9) most strongly feel that they live in a cohesive community within Wales. Those respondents 16 – 19 fall mid-range on the community cohesion scale (mean score of 9.1).

²⁷ Sixty four respondents declined to give their age.

²⁸ The questions were, ‘to what extent do you agree or disagree that your local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together?’; ‘to what extent do you agree or disagree that residents in their local area respect differences between people?’; and ‘how strongly do you feel you belong to your local area?’. The strength of agreement and sense of belonging were interpreted as proxy values for community cohesion. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being ‘definitely disagree’ or ‘not at all strongly belong’ and 4 being ‘definitely agree’ or ‘very strongly belong’). When the three questions were combined the cohesion scale included mean values that ranged from 3 to 12 (3 being least cohesive and 12 being most cohesive).

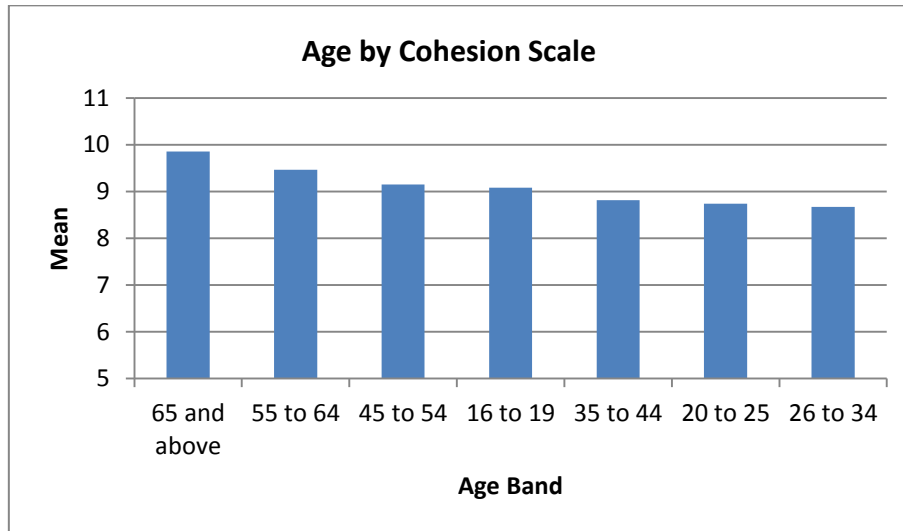


Chart 3.2

3.3 General Fear of Crime and Police Satisfaction

Charts 3.3 and 3.4 provide information on levels of fear of crime²⁹ and police satisfaction within the different age categories. On a general fear of crime scale (4 being the least fearful and 16 being the most fearful), most groups are fairly mid range in terms of their fear levels (means ranging from 8.4 – 8.7). However, it is interesting to note that respondents aged 16-19 are the most fearful of becoming a victim of crime with a mean score of 8.9, and respondents aged over 65 are the second least fearful of becoming a victim of crime. There are also a number of significant differences in levels of fear of crime between the age categories. Respondents aged 16 -19 are significantly more fearful of becoming a victim of violent crime than respondents 35 – 44 and 45 – 64. The youngest respondents are also significantly more fearful of becoming a victim of sexual violence than respondents aged 35-44, 45-54 and 55-64. The mean levels of police satisfaction are broadly similar across all age categories (3 = fairly satisfied).

²⁹ The general fear of crime scale was constructed by combining the data from a survey question that asked respondents to state how worried they were about being a victim of 1) property crime; 2) violent crime, 3) sexual violence and 4) harassment, verbal abuse or threats. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being not at all worried and 4 being very worried). When the four crime types were combined the general fear of crime scale included mean values that ranged from 4 to 16 (4 being the least worried and 16 being the most worried).

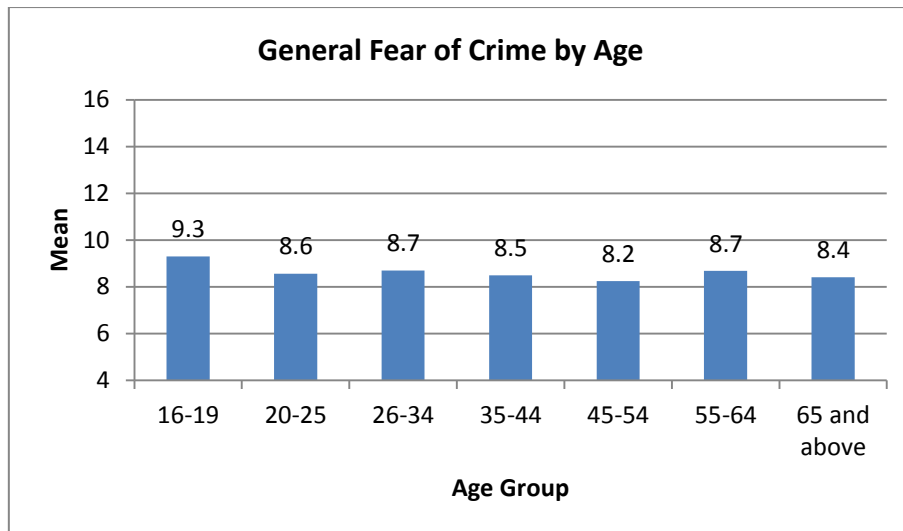


Chart 3.3

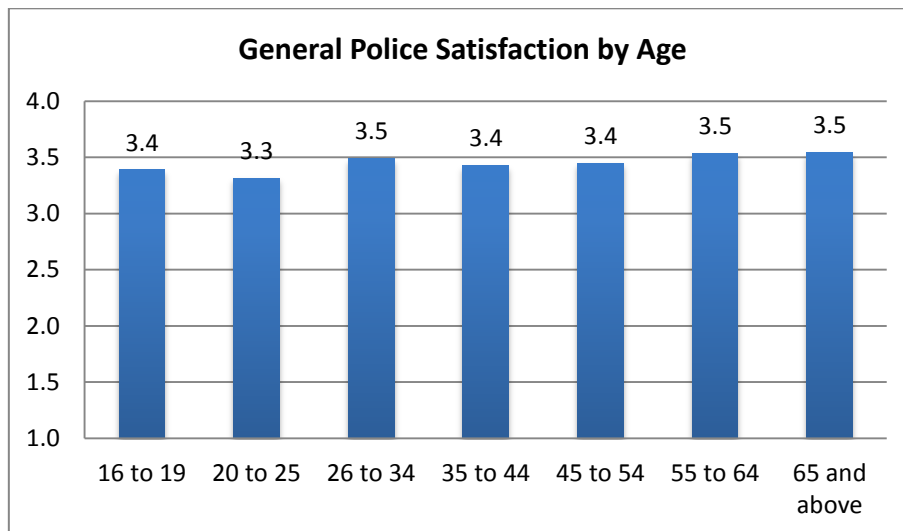


Chart 3.4

3.4 General Hate Crime Issues

This section presents the findings from questions regarding issues and concerns around hate crime and hate crime victimisation from within an age-related context. It is important to note that all survey respondents could answer the questions in this section. Therefore, findings include data from both victims and non-victims of hate crime. Where possible, interview data is presented in order to provide a more holistic understanding of key themes emerging from the statistical findings.

3.4.1 Scale and Impact of Hate Crime on the Community

Survey respondents were asked their perceptions of the scale of the hate crime problem in their local area. The data shows that on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being not a problem at all and 4 being a very big problem), the mean value is broadly similar across the age categories, ranging between 1.9 and 2.3 which indicates that the majority of respondents believe that hate crime is not a very big problem in their local area. However, there is a significant difference in perception of the scale of the hate crime problem between those aged 16 – 19 who believe hate crime to be a bigger problem in their local area than those aged 65 and over (mean scores 2.3 and 1.9 respectively). Multiple-regression analysis which took into account and controlled for all demographic and victimisation factors, revealed that **younger respondents were significantly more likely to feel hate crime was a problem in their area and that it had more of an impact on their community, compared to older respondents.**

3.4.2 Perception of police performance in relation to hate crime and hate-related incidents

All respondents were asked how good a job they perceived the police to be doing to tackle hate crime and hate-related incidents in their local area. The levels of police effectiveness were measured on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being a very poor job and 5 being an excellent job). The responses across all age categories were mid range (i.e. the perception was that the police were doing a 'fair' job). Those respondents aged 65 and over rated police performance highest (mean score of 3.8) and younger respondents aged 20 – 25 rated police performance lowest (mean score of 3.1), followed by those aged 16 – 19 (mean score of 3.2). Moreover, respondents aged 65 and over were significantly more likely to rate police performance in relation to hate crime more highly than respondents aged 16-54. Multiple-regression analysis revealed that older respondents were significantly more likely to feel the police were doing a good job in relation to hate crimes/incidents in their community, compared to younger respondents, even when controlling for demographic and victim related factors.

3.4.3 Fear of hate crime victimisation and hate crime avoidance strategies

The survey was able to measure fear of hate crime on the basis of age³⁰. Chart 2.5 shows that respondents aged 16 – 19 are the most fearful (mean score of 8.2) while respondents aged 65 and over are the least fearful of becoming a victim of a hate crime or hate-related incident (mean score of 7.1). However, multiple regression analysis revealed that this difference did not emerge as statistically significant when other demographic and victim factors were taken into account.

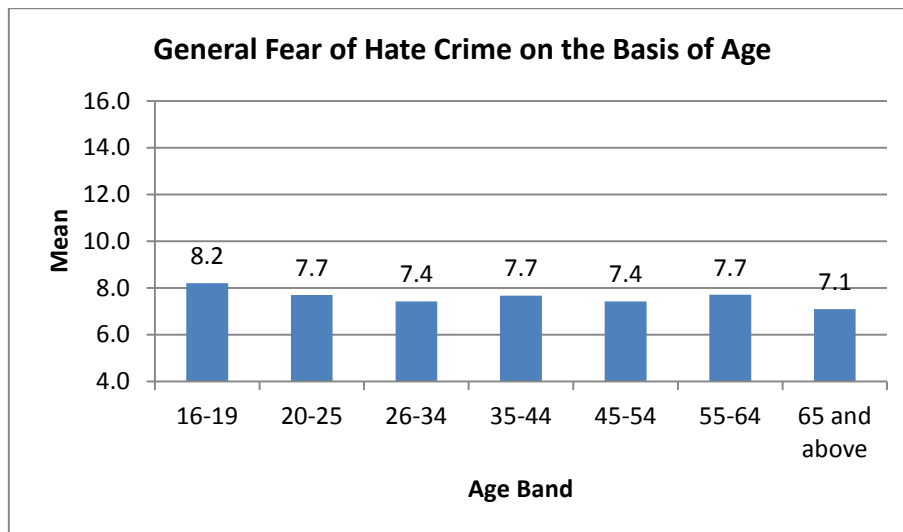


Chart 3.5

In association with a fear of hate crime, all respondents were asked whether they had taken specific precautions to reduce the risk of becoming a victim of hate crime, including improving home security, carrying personal security devices, avoiding certain areas/places, moved house/area and avoiding going out at night. We combined these measures to create a Precautions Scale (range 0-5). Those scoring higher on the scale have reported taking more precautions against hate crime. Chart 3.6 below shows there was little difference between age groups in relation to taking precautions.

³⁰ See footnote 29 for an explanation of the construction of the fear of (hate) crime scale.

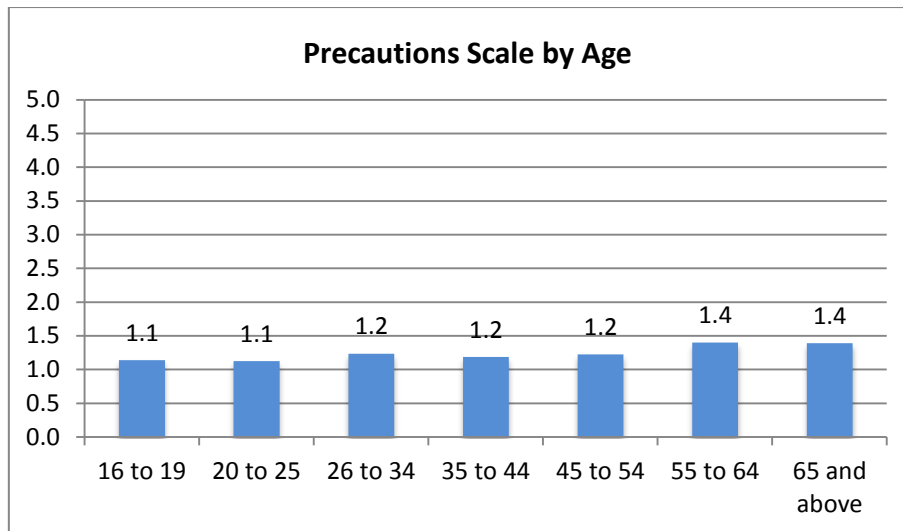


Chart 3.6

3.4.4 Effect of hate crime worry on quality of life

Finally, respondents were asked to measure the extent to which their quality of life was affected by the fear of hate crime victimisation. The impact of hate crime worry was measured on a scale of 1 to 10 (with 1 being no effect on quality of life and 10 being total effect on quality of life). Chart 3.7 shows that the majority of responses were towards the lower end of the impact scale across all age categories. **However, it is interesting to note that worry about hate crime victimisation has the biggest effect on the quality of life of young respondents aged 16-19 (mean score of 3.5) and the least effect on older respondents aged 65 and over (mean score of 2.7).**

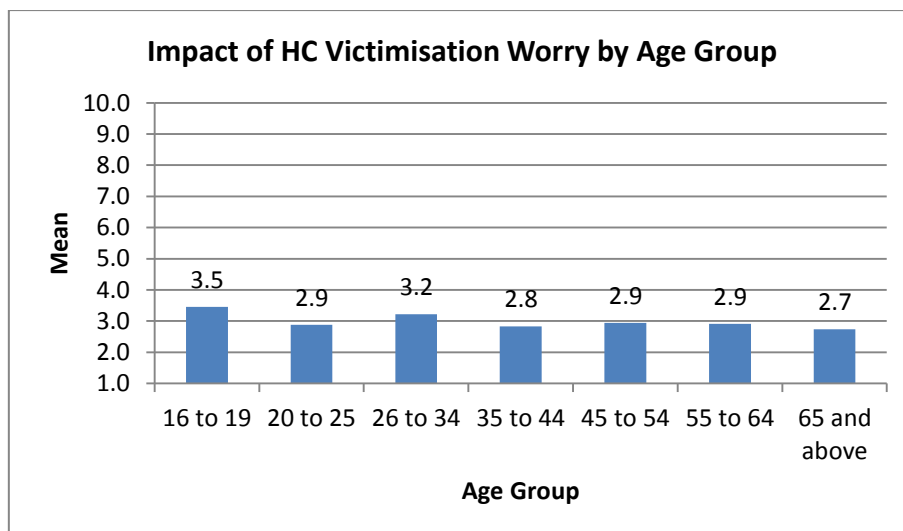


Chart 3.7

3.5 Hate Crime Victim Experience

This section focuses specifically on the findings from data provided by research participants who have been victims of hate crime in Wales. In addition to the relevant survey analysis, interview data is presented where possible to provide a more holistic understanding of key themes emerging from the statistical findings and to reinforce the complex nature of hate crime victimisation. The data included in the charts presented in this section highlight the nature of victimisation across ALL protected characteristics. It is important to view the nature of age-related hate crime in context and to reinforce the point that hate crime is not a generic phenomenon; it is a complex offence that can differ markedly between protected characteristic groups.

3.5.1 Nature of Hate Crime

This sub-section highlights the nature of hate crime victimisation and focuses on the following issues and characteristics:

- The range of hate crimes and hate-related incidents experienced by victims
- Whether the victim was alone or accompanied at the time of the offence
- Where the offence took place
- Repeat victimisation
- Victim perception of offender motivation

3.5.2 Most Serious Hate Crime

Nearly half (44.9%) of all victims of age-related hate crimes/incidents stated that hate incidents were the most serious they had experienced. Roughly a quarter (23.9%) stated violent crimes were the most serious they had experienced, compared to just over 1 in 10 (13.4%) who stated threats were the most serious. Just over 1 in 20 (7.5%) stated acquisitive and property crimes were the most serious hate crimes they had experienced. Chart 3.8 shows that the majority of victims of age related hate crimes/incidents were alone at the time, while around one third were with friends or their partner.

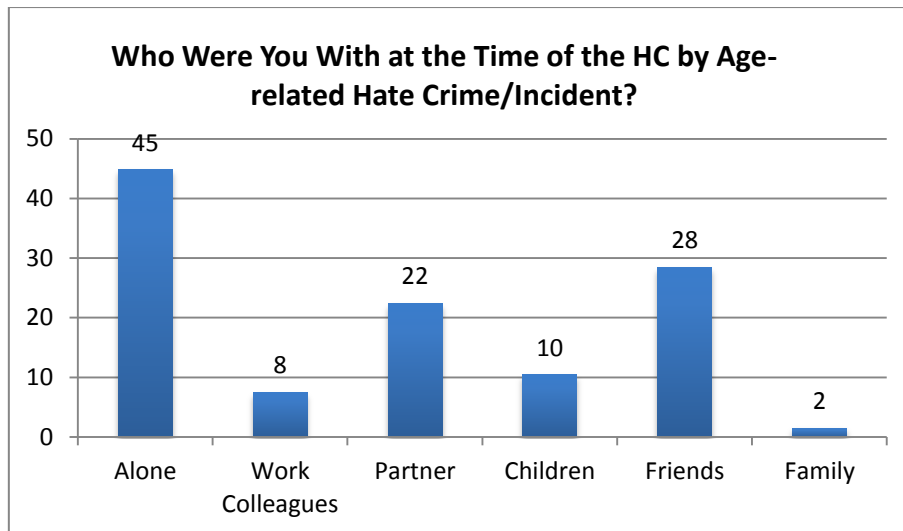


Chart 3.8

Chart 3.9 shows that thirty-two per cent of age-related hate crime victims were in or just outside their own home when the incident took place; fourteen per cent of victims were partaking in the night-time economy (NTE) and forty-one per cent of victims were in a public street or park. Only a fraction of age-related hate crime incidents took place on public transport.

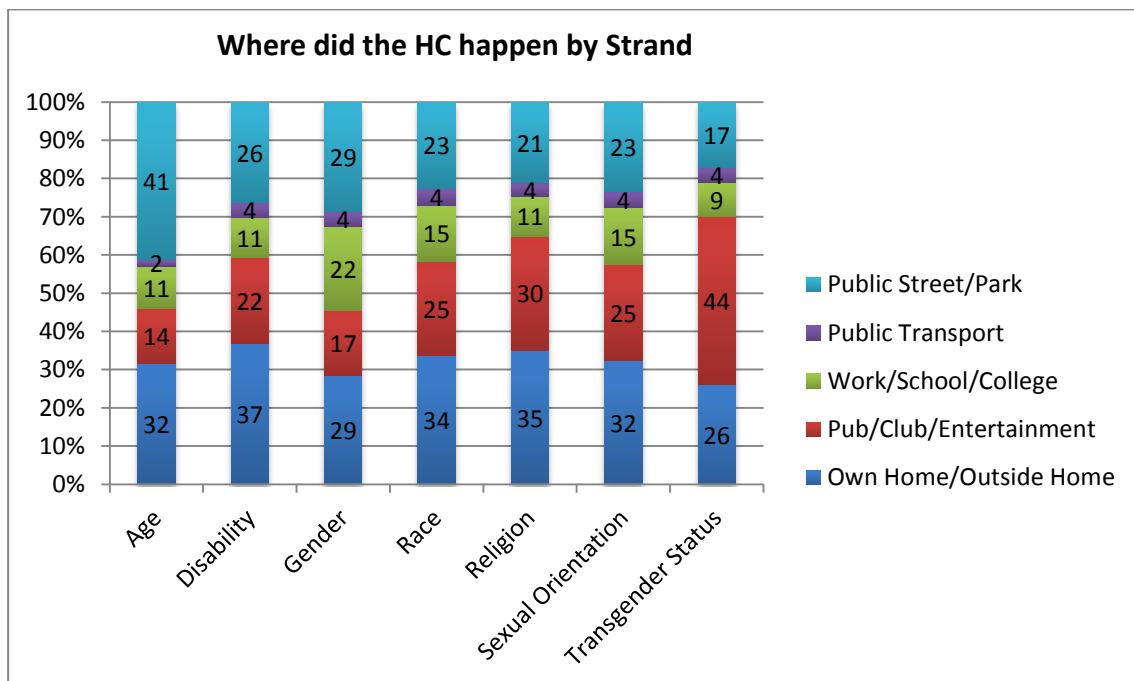


Chart 3.9

3.5.3 Repeat Victimization

Victims were asked to disclose whether they had experience of repeat hate crime victimisation³¹. Chart 3.10 shows that age-related hate crime victims experienced the second fewest cases of repeat victimisation across the protected characteristic groups.

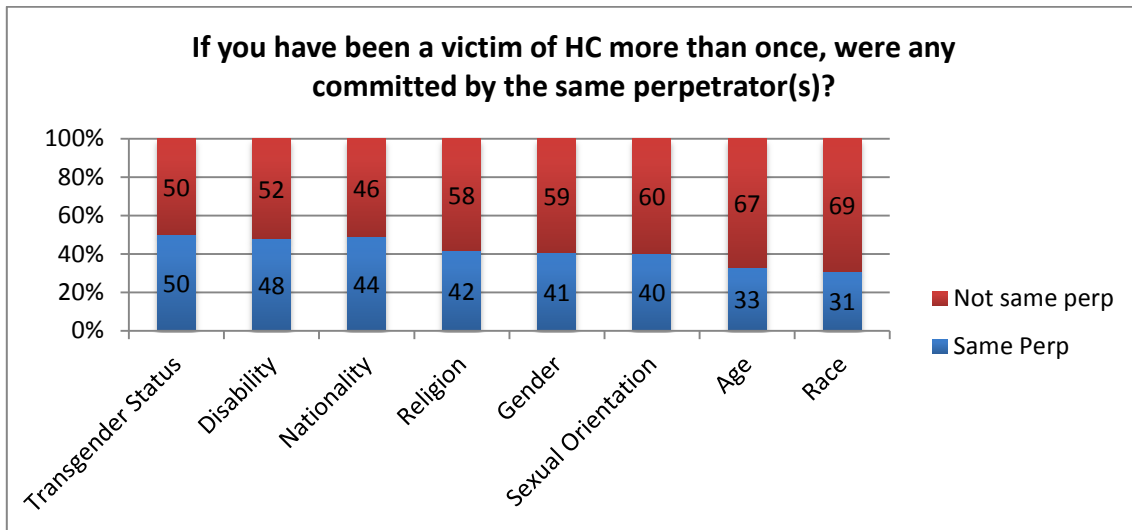


Chart 3.10

However, it is important to disaggregate the age group categories when examining the concept of repeat victimisation. Chart 3.11 shows that fifty-seven per cent of repeat victimisation cases against young respondents aged 16-19 were perpetrated by the same person.

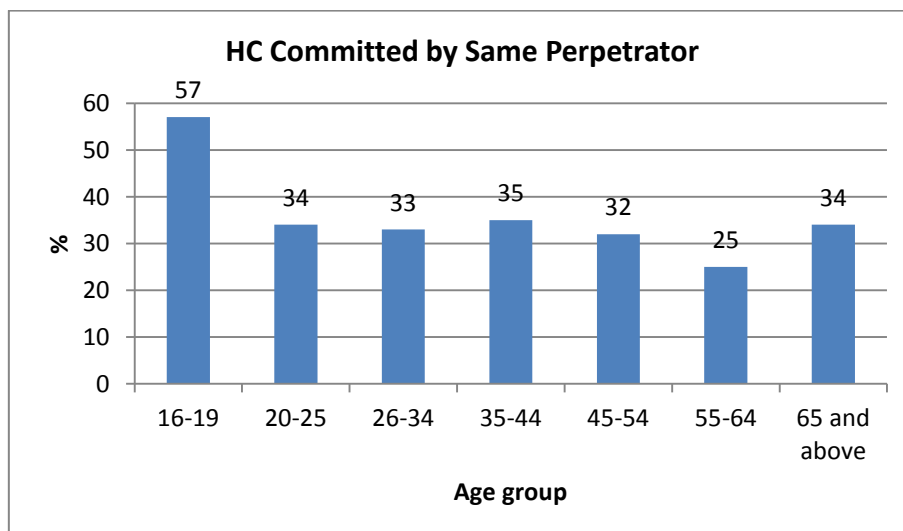


Chart 3.11

³¹ It is important to note that the term 'repeat victimisation' refers to more than one incident perpetrated by the same offender or group of offenders. It is distinct from multiple, unconnected experiences of hate crime victimisation by different perpetrators at various points in people's lives.

The interview process enabled the nature of age-associated hate crime to be explored in a more comprehensive yet nuanced way. This proved particularly useful when focusing on younger victims of hate crime. The interviews revealed that much of the hate crime these victims' experience takes place in or around their school environment and is often labelled as '**bullying**'. It is often systematic, carried out by the same group of children and, therefore, should be categorised as repeat, hate crime victimisation.

One interview was carried out with Kim and Bill, the parents of two children who are suffering repeat victimisation in school and on the school bus in the Dyfed Powys area. These parents are concerned their children, aged 9 and 6, are targeted on the basis of their mixed race heritage. The abuse has been going on for several years and has left their eldest child scared to attend school and he has missed substantial periods of his education:

They call my son, 'rice cooker' because they must know his mum is Asian. He always comes home with bruises and he has been attacked at the bus [sic]. He seems unhappy every time he comes back from school...most students come running out full of beans but he never did, he always seems to be not happy [sic] every time he comes back home from school".

Kim and Bill cannot see how things will improve, particularly because the school is reluctant to engage with the race hate aspect of what they consider to be simply the '*rough and tumble of school*'. They have even received conflicting advice from the school and police as to how their children should respond to the bullies which in itself reinforces their concerns that their children have been left with the responsibility of dealing with these upsetting incidents.

In many cases schools are even reluctant to label negative interactions between school children as 'bullying'. However, systematic bullying is a form of repeat victimisation that is often characterised by an escalation in frequency and severity of abuse. Further research needs to be done in this area, but this research reveals hate-related school bullying to be an increasingly concerning phenomenon. Yet, it appears that statutory bodies are sometimes reluctant and very often ill-equipped to address the problem. It is vital that clear distinctions are made between playground bullying and hate-related victimisation. Furthermore, when such distinctions are identified it is vital that there are age-appropriate support services and reporting mechanisms in place for parents and young respondents to get the emotional support and practical advice they require. The absence of appropriate support services is an issue that was raised on a number of occasions by young respondents and parents of

vulnerable children. Paula's autistic son was fifteen when he was physically assaulted following a swimming lesson at a public pool in Gwent:

I asked for him to have counselling because he was in a real mess psychologically after, and I was told there was no counselling because he was at the age of fifteen. I complained that he was a nervous wreck and I was told there was nothing.

3.5.4 Victim Perception of Offender Motivation

Survey respondents were asked what they believed motivated the offence against them. Those who believed their age was a contributing factor to the abuse they suffered drew this conclusion primarily because of the use of hate speech during the encounter (in forty per cent of cases); where they were at the time of the incident (in thirty-three per cent of cases), and that they believed the offender to be hostile to minority groups (thirty-three per cent of cases). The interview data indicates that, in contrast to other forms of hate crime, victims of age-associated hostility were not as confident in articulating a clear motive for the hate crime or hate-related incident. What does come through quite clearly is that age is often a **key intersectional factor** in hate crime victimisation. It may contribute negatively to how a hate crime is experienced, but it is not necessarily a dominant, motivating factor. It is important to disaggregate the age group categories when examining the nature of hate crime in Wales to facilitate a focus on young and older victims. It may well be that younger victims of hate crime are not targeted on the basis of their age per se. This research reveals that a lot of younger victims are targeted on the basis of race or disability. Whatever the underlying motivation the victims are often very young children – sometimes as young as 6 or 7 – who are victimised systematically on account of some aspect of their personal identity. **Their age may be an intersectional factor but it is a factor that makes them vulnerable.** In many cases, interview participants – both young and older – stated that their age increased their feelings of vulnerability. As both Annie in Dyfed Powys and Sue in North Wales observe respectively:

It was threatening; as you get older you feel more vulnerable.

I don't want to see this man again, it was a horrible experience and, I mean, I'm an elderly woman...

A victim's age should also increase their 'vulnerability' and therefore their 'risk' in the eyes of those responsible for responding to hate crime reports and reducing hate crime in Wales. It

should be highlighted as a key risk indicator and incorporated into a comprehensive risk assessment tool devised to respond to and manage hate crimes and hate-related incidents (see Chapter Two).

3.6 Victim-Perpetrator Relationship and Perpetrator Characteristics

This sub-section details information provided by victims on key perpetrator characteristics. The provision of data in this area was very limited across all of the protected characteristic groups. This in turn restricted the amount of statistical analysis that could be carried out and, as a result, all findings in this area should be interpreted with a large degree of caution. However, empirical research pertaining to hate crime perpetration is very limited generally in the UK, and the type of data generated through the AWHC Project can contribute usefully to this under researched area.

Chart 3.12 shows that in sixty per cent of age-related hate crime the offender(s) was not known by the victim. This is broadly comparable with the victim-perpetrator relationships detailed by victims across the other protected characteristic groups³².

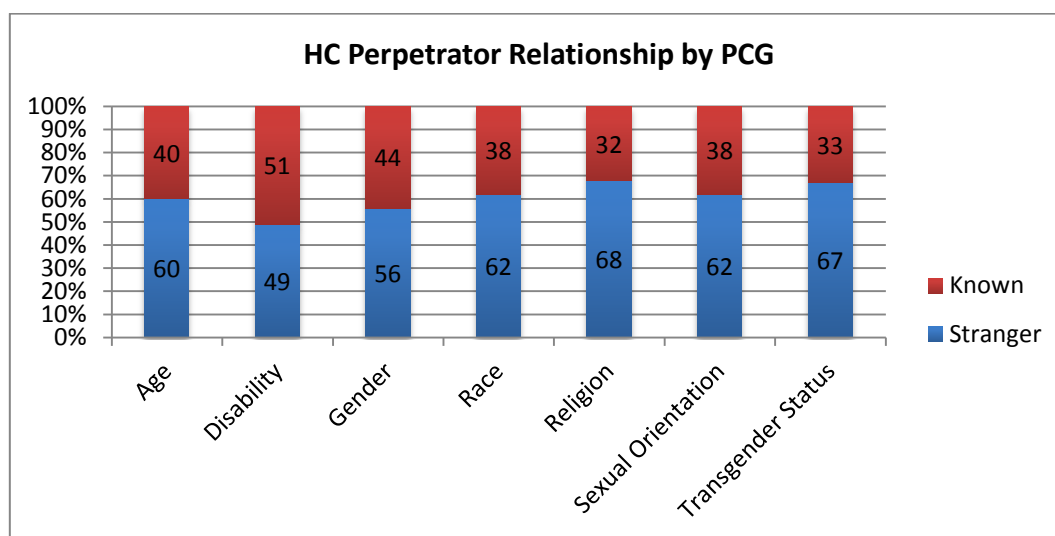


Chart 3.12

Chart 3.13 reveals that seventy-two per cent of age-related hate crimes were perpetrated by more than one offender. Charts 3.14 – 3.16 indicate that sixty per cent of perpetrators were men; sixty-five per cent were 30 years old or younger, and ninety-two per cent were white.

³² The majority of hate crimes and incidents across all strands were committed by strangers. The exception is disability-related hate crime where 51% of incidents were perpetrated by someone known to the victim.

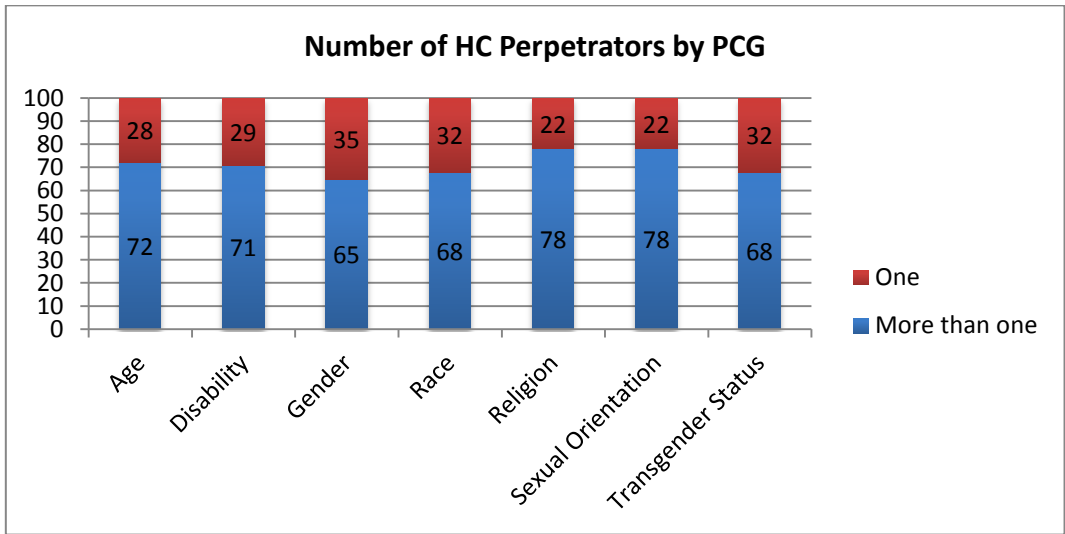


Chart 3.13

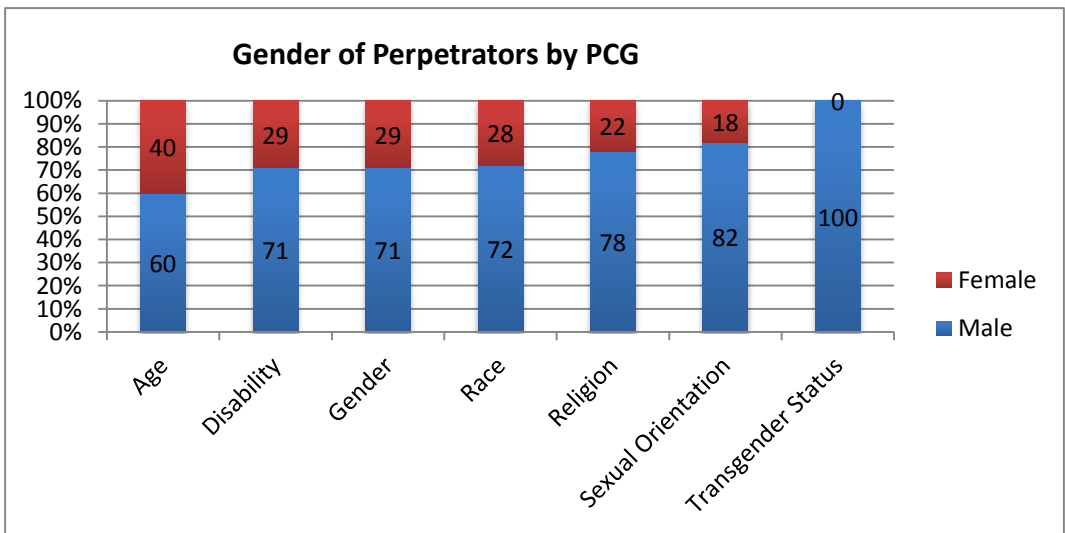


Chart 3.14

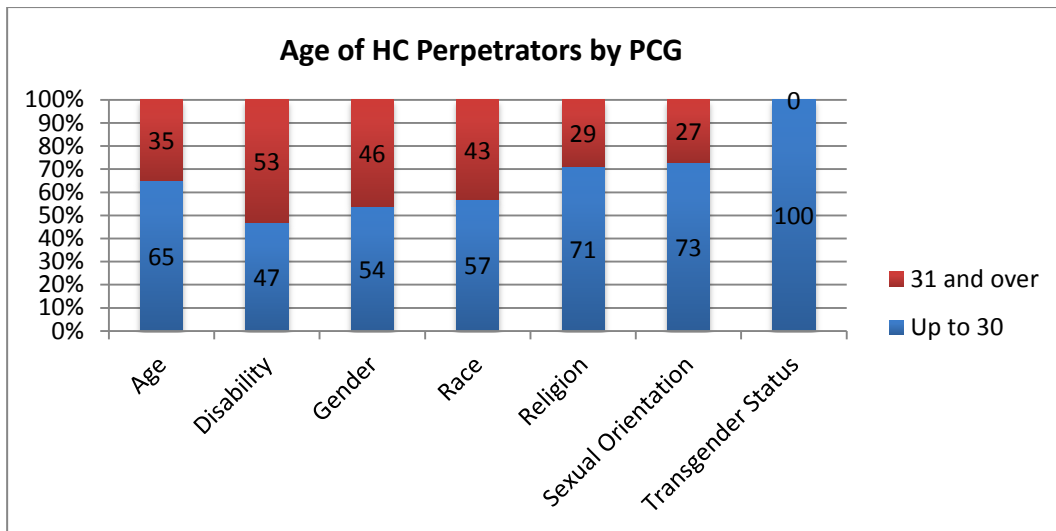


Chart 3.15

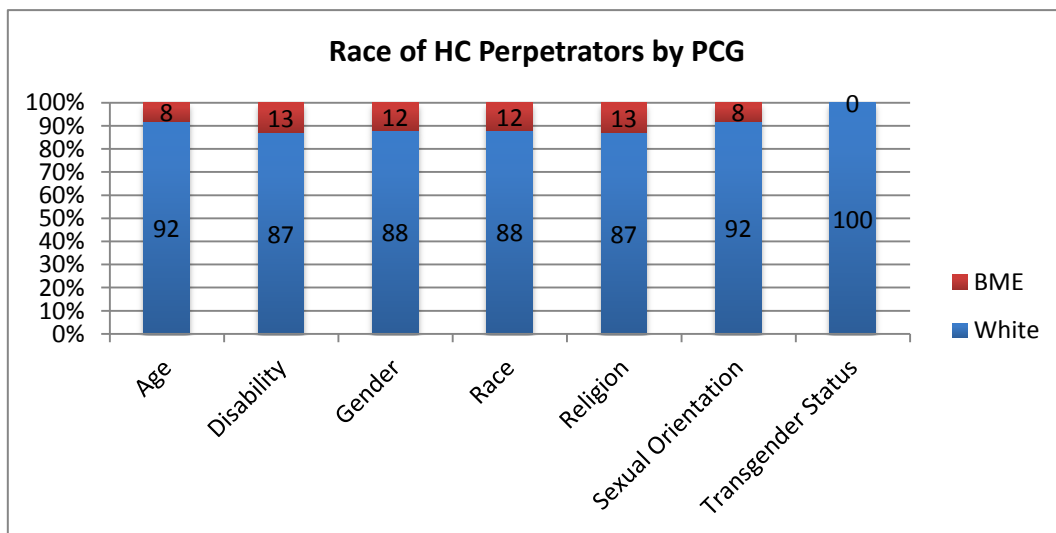


Chart 3.16

The primary focus of the AWHC Project was to generate data and thereby increase awareness and understanding of the nature and impact of hate crime *victimisation* in Wales. As a consequence, information on the nature of perpetration and perpetrator characteristics is limited. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that all data is generated from a victim's perspective. These two issues ensure that the findings must be interpreted with a degree of caution. It is vital that further research is carried out in this area because it is evident that issues such as repeat victimisation (which can provide information on escalation of offence frequency and severity), offence location (proximity) and whether the offender is known to the victim (familiarity) are significant risk indicators that need to be factored in to an effective risk assessment framework for hate crime victims.

3.7 Police Contact and Reporting Experience

This subsection highlights key findings in relation to victims' experience of the hate crime reporting process in Wales. The findings relate to both police and third party organisations. The section is framed mainly around the data generated by survey respondents. However where possible, qualitative findings are included because the interview data provides more nuanced accounts of victims' experiences of the police reporting process.

3.7.1 Police Contact, Reporting Experience and Levels of Satisfaction

Forty-three percent of age-related hate crimes were reported to the police. This is broadly comparable with reporting rates across the protected characteristic groups³³. It is important to note here that the survey was not able to capture whether the victim reported a hate crime perpetrated exclusively on the basis of age, or whether age was a contributing factor. However, these **victims told the police explicitly that they believed the incident was age-related in only thirty per cent of reports which is perhaps indicative of the uncertain role played by a victim's age in many of these hate crimes.**

Chart 3.17 shows the action taken by police as a result of reporting the incident. Almost fifty-five per cent of the age-related hate crime reports were subsequently recorded by the police and fifty per cent of them initiated some form of police investigation. Just over twenty per cent of age-related hate crime reports resulted in the arrest of an offender, and in ten per cent of cases no further action was taken following the incident report. It is important to acknowledge that these findings are generated wholly from the victim's perspective and individual victims may not have been fully updated on police activity after incidents were reported.

Chart 3.18 shows the various reasons given for reporting the hate crime or incident across the protected, minority groups. Below are the top 3 reasons for reporting age-related hate crime victimisation:

1. Victim believes reporting all crimes/incidents is the right thing to do (N=74)
2. Victim wanted to prevent it from happening again (N=68)
3. Victim believes reporting hate crimes in particular is important (N=64)

³³ The exception here is gender-based hate crimes which were only reported in 30% of cases.

Chart 3.19 depicts the various reasons for not reporting hate crime incidents to the police across the protected characteristic groups. The top three reasons given by victims of age-related hate crime were:

1. It was believed the police could have done nothing to help (N=41)
2. The incident was too trivial/it wasn't worth it (N=34)
3. Fear of retaliation by offenders (N=28)

As a Result of your Report, What Action Was Taken by the Police?

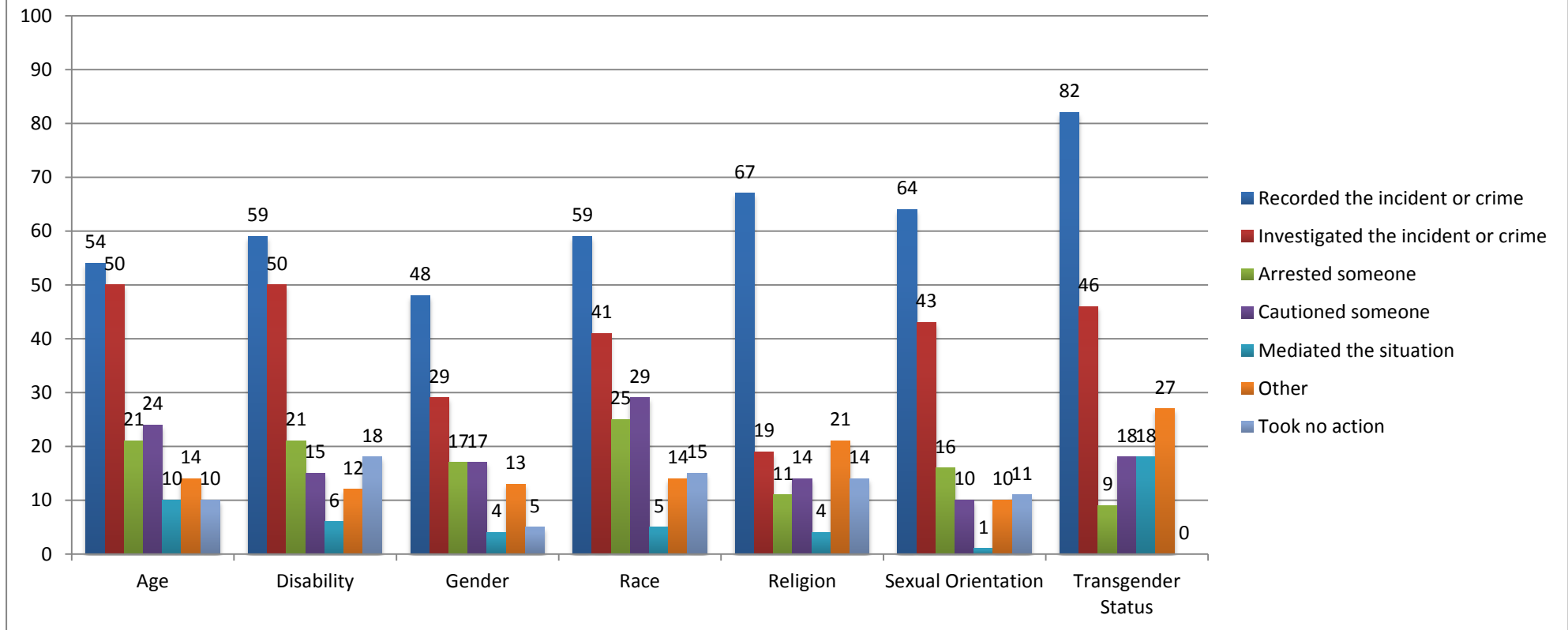


Chart 3.17

Reasons for Reporting HC to Police by PCG

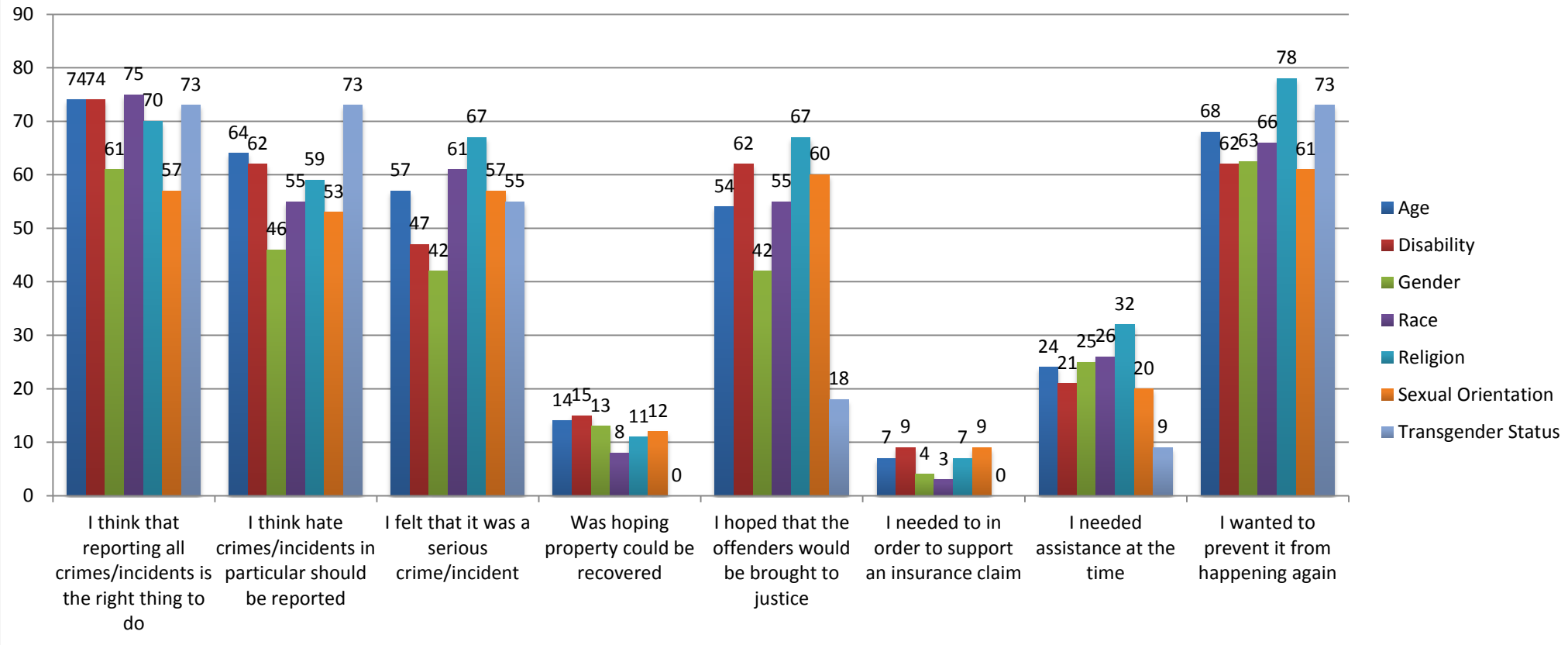


Chart 3.18

Reasons for Not Reporting by PCG

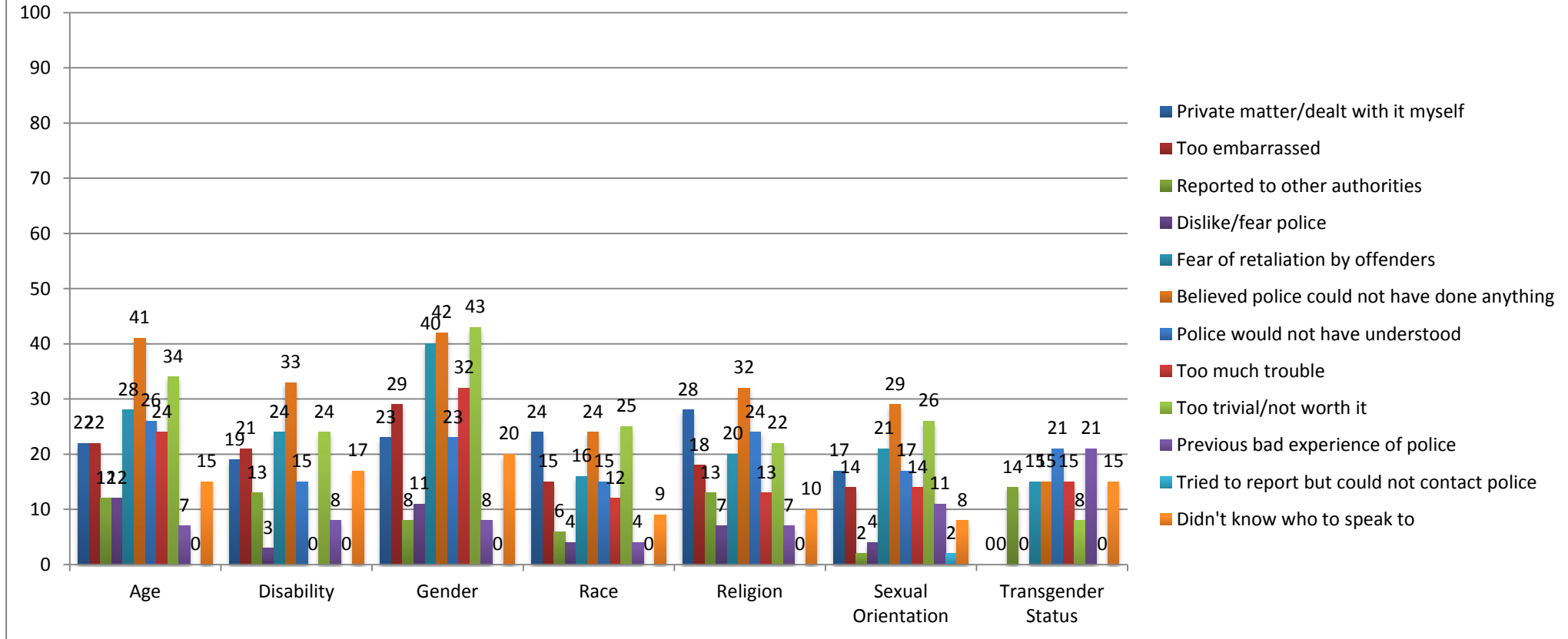


Chart 3.19

Ninety-two percent of age-related hate crime victims would encourage a victim of hate crime to report to the police. This percentage is relatively high when comparing data across all protected characteristic groups. The interview data indicates that the perspective taken on whether to recommend reporting is often contingent on previous experience and informed by levels of satisfaction with police contact and response at the time of reporting and subsequent case investigation, and – in a minority of cases – satisfaction with the criminal justice process more generally (including case outcome).

A scale of satisfaction was devised by combining the data from 8 questions relating to victim satisfaction during the course of contact with the police in their local area³⁴. Chart 3.20 shows that age-related hate crime victims were among the least satisfied (mean score of 17.7) with their contact with the police at the point of incident reporting and during any subsequent case investigation when compared to the other protected characteristic groups. However, multiple regression analysis revealed that this difference did not hold up when demographic and perpetration factors were considered, meaning victims of age related hate crimes/incidents were no more or less likely to be dissatisfied with the police compared to other victims who reported.

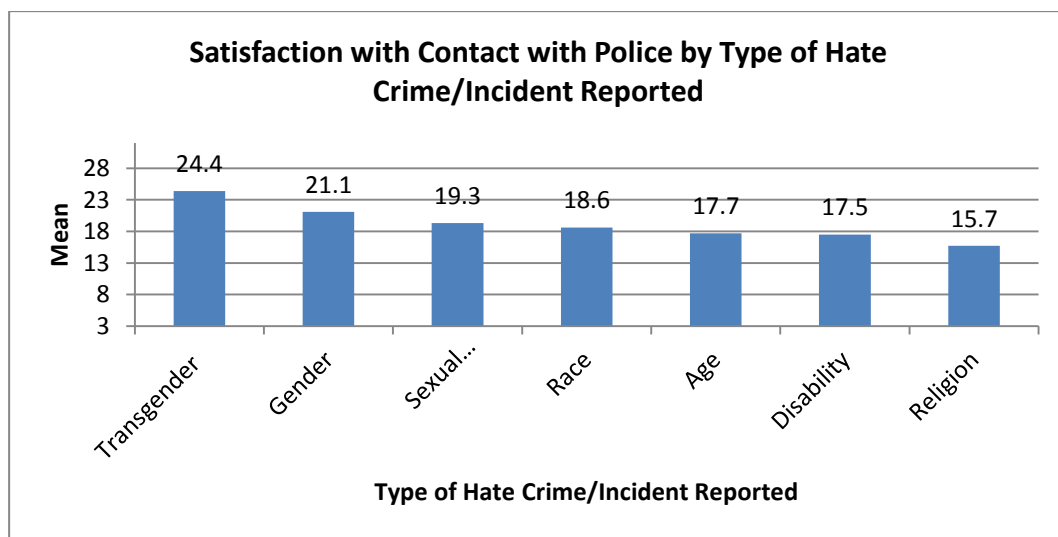


Chart 3.20

³⁴ The eight questions captured satisfaction levels according to: Ease of police contact; treatment by police officers/staff; how well police listened to the victim; how seriously victim information was taken; how quickly the police responded to initial contact; the way in which subsequent information was provided by the police; the extent to which police took account of personal circumstances/minority identity, and the outcome of police investigation. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being very dissatisfied and 4 being very satisfied). When the eight questions were combined the police satisfaction scale included mean values that ranged from 8 to 32 (8 being the least satisfied and 32 being the most satisfied).

There is limited qualitative data on age-related victim satisfaction with the police. However, a number of participants who discussed their children's victimisation recall mixed experiences characterised by good initial contact that was undermined by uncertainty as to how to proceed with the report.

I was impressed with a lady police officer. She came over to talk to [interview participant's son] about his bullying at school.

Kim and Bill (parents), Dyfed Powys

3.7.2 Third Party Reporting

Both survey respondents and interview participants were asked if they had every reported a hate-related hate crime or incident to a third party individual or organisation. Twenty eight percent of survey respondents who answered this question had reported an incident to a third party organisation. This is broadly comparable to third party reporting patterns across the protected characteristic groups³⁵. Overall, ninety-four per cent of age-related hate crime victims would encourage other victims to report to a third party individual or organisation. None of the interview participants had contacted a third party organisation. Indeed, very few victims were aware of third party reporting centres that they could contact as an *alternative* to calling the police directly, and this is a pattern replicated across all of the protected characteristic groups.

3.8 Summary of Key Points

It is interesting to note that younger people are more fearful than older people of becoming a victim of crime in general, and younger people are more likely than older people to believe hate crime is a problem in their local area.

³⁵ The exception here is transphobic hate crime victims who reported to a third party individual or organisation in 54% of cases.

In terms of hate crime victimisation:

Impact

- Worry about hate crime victimisation has the biggest effect on the quality of life of young respondents aged 16-19 and the least effect on older respondents aged 65 and over.

Perpetration

- In relation to their most serious hate crime/incident age-based hate crime/incident victims reported being victimised by women more than any other group.

Reporting Behaviour

- Age-related hate crime/incident victims were least likely to disclose the incident was motivated by this aspect of their identity (66%);
- Age-related hate crime/incident victims were most likely not to report because it was believed the police could not have done anything to help (41%).

The findings also reveal

- Nearly half (44.9%) of all victims of age related hate crimes/incidents stated that hate incidents were the most serious they had experienced. Roughly a quarter (23.9%) stated violent crimes were the most serious they had experienced, compared to just over 1 in 10 (13.4%) who stated threats were the most serious. Just over 1 in 20 (7.5%) stated acquisitive and property crimes were the most serious hate crimes they had experienced.
- In relation to hate crimes against older people, a person's age may contribute negatively to how a hate crime is experienced (e.g. increase feelings of fear or vulnerability) but it is not necessarily a dominant motivating factor from a victim perspective.
- The study reveals that in relation to hate crimes against young people, hate-related bullying in schools is a considerable problem.

Chapter Four: Disability

I feel like I'm being treated like a subspecies because of my disability...

Steve, a physically disabled man living in North Wales

4.1 Introduction

Disability hate crime has gained increased social and political attention and has been the focus of more detailed academic research in recent years. In this research, 247 survey respondents identified as disabled. This represents fourteen per cent of the total number of respondents who completed this question³⁶. It was not possible to disaggregate those respondents with a physical impairment or learning disability. However, the qualitative aspect of the research enabled a specific focus on both physical and learning disability hate crime experiences. Four interviews (three one-to-one interviews and one focus group) generated data on the views and experiences of 17 victims of learning disability hate crime. The majority of views and experiences were disclosed by the victims themselves but in some cases discussions were carried out with parents and carers/day centre leaders. In addition, qualitative data was gathered on the experiences and opinions of 6 victims of physical disability hate crime.

This chapter presents findings on a range of issues within a disability-related context:

- Community cohesion
- Fear of general crime and hate crime
- Perceptions of hate crime impact on local communities

The chapter then focuses specifically on hate crime experience and in particular:

- The nature of hate crime
- Perpetration
- Reporting experiences

4.2 Community Cohesion

All survey respondents were asked to provide some local community information including how long they have lived in the area and their perception of levels of interaction and integration within the local community. The responses from three survey questions were

³⁶ 125 survey respondents did not complete this question.

combined to generate a 'community cohesion scale'³⁷. Chart 4.1 shows that on a scale of 3 to 12 (3 being most strongly disagree and 12 most strongly agree), disabled respondents were significantly less likely to agree that they lived in a cohesive community.

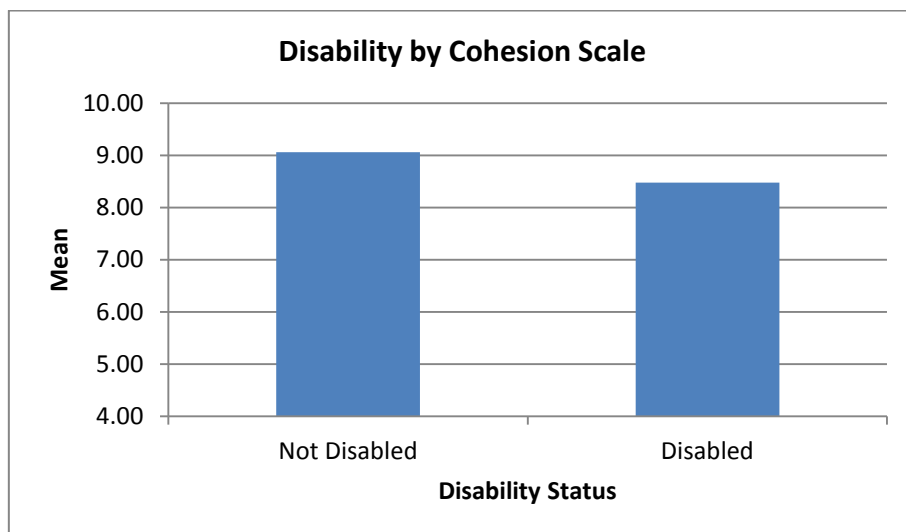


Chart 4.1

4.3 General Fear of Crime and Police Satisfaction

Charts 4.2 and 4.3 provide information on levels of fear of crime³⁸ and police satisfaction according to respondents who identified as disabled. On a general fear of crime scale (4 being the least fearful and 16 being the most fearful), the data reveals that disabled respondents appear more fearful of becoming a victim of crime than non-disabled respondents (mean score of 9.47 compared to mean score of 8.43). This difference in level of fear is persistent across all forms of crime included in the survey – property crime; violent crime; sexual violence, and harassment/threats. Multiple regression analysis revealed that

³⁷ The questions were, to what extent do you agree or disagree that your local area is a place where people from different backgrounds got on well together; to what extent do you agree or disagree that residents in their local area respect differences between people, and how strongly do you feel you belong to your local area. The strength of agreement and sense of belonging were interpreted as proxy values for community cohesion. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being definitely disagree or not at all strongly belong and being definitely agree or very strongly belong). When the three questions were combined the cohesion scale included mean values that ranged from 3 to 12 (3 being least cohesive and 12 being most cohesive).

³⁸ The general fear of crime scale was constructed by combining the data from a survey question that asked people to state how worried they were about being a victim of 1) property crime; 2) violent crime, 3) sexual violence and 4) harassment, verbal abuse or threats. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being not at all worried and 4 being very worried). When the four crime types were combined the general fear of crime scale included mean values that ranged from 4 to 16 (4 being the least worried and 16 being the most worried). The findings can be used as an effective proxy for 'vulnerability'.

this difference was statistically significant even when other demographic and victim factors were taken into account. **Therefore we can conclude that this higher level of fear expressed by disabled respondents is attributed in large part to being disabled.** Furthermore, disabled respondents appear less satisfied with the perceived job that the police were doing in their local area in Chart 4.3, and again this difference holds up when additional factors are considered.

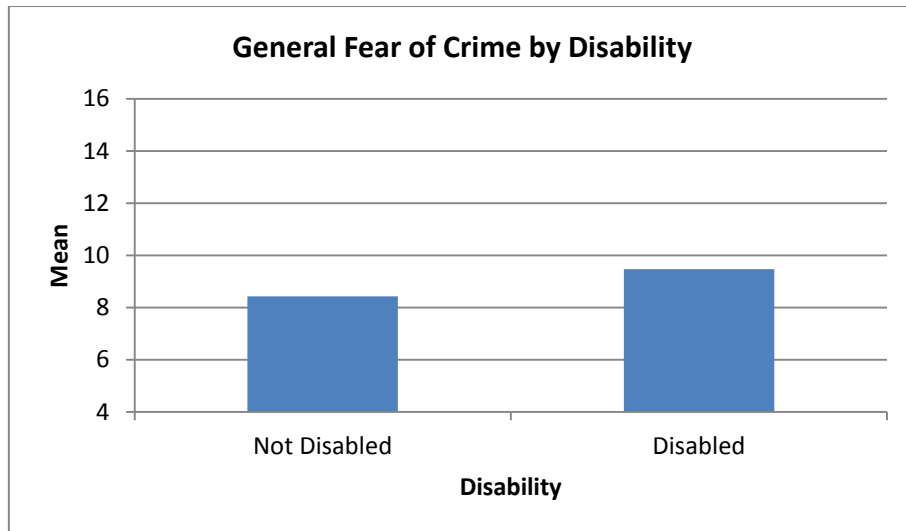


Chart 4.2

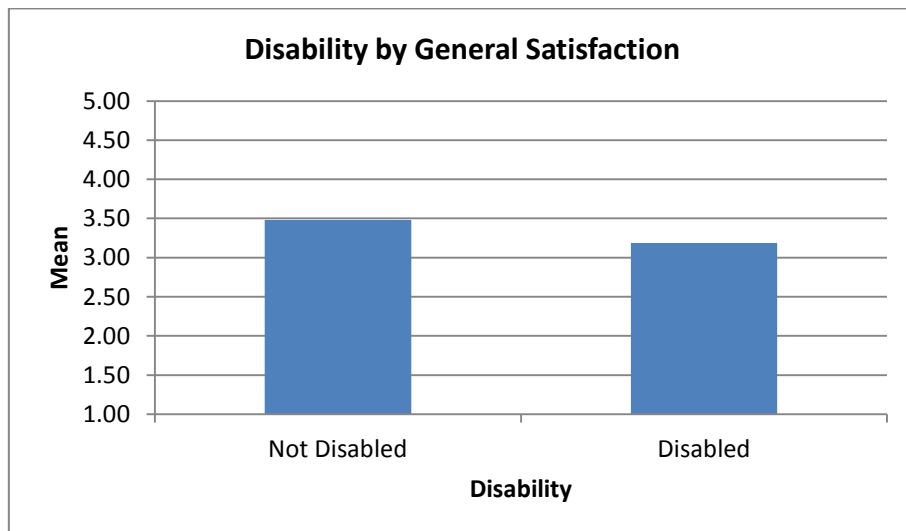


Chart 4.3

4.4 General Hate Crime Issues

This section shows the findings from questions regarding issues and concerns around hate crime and hate crime victimisation from within a disability context. It is important to note that all survey respondents could answer the questions in this section. Therefore, findings include data from both victims and non-victims of hate crime. Where possible, interview data is presented in order to provide a more holistic understanding of key themes emerging from the statistical findings.

4.4.1 Scale and Impact of Hate Crime on the Community

Survey respondents were asked their perceptions of the scale of the hate crime problem in their local area. The data shows that on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being not a problem at all and 4 being a very big problem), the mean score for disabled respondents was 2.4 compared to 2.1 for not disabled respondents. This difference emerged as statistically significant in multiple regression where we took into account other factors that may have an influence on perceptions of the hate crime problem (age, gender, previous victimisation etc.). Holding all other factors constant, **disabled respondents to the survey were 1.4 times more likely to think there was a problem, and to think hate crimes have a negative impact in their area, compared to non-disabled respondents.**

4.4.2 Perception of police performance in relation to hate crime and hate-related incidents

All respondents were asked how good a job they perceived the police to be doing to tackle hate crime and hate-related incidents in their local area. The levels of police effectiveness were measured on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being a very poor job and 5 being an excellent job). The data reveals that disabled respondents believe the police are doing a worse job compared to non-disabled respondents (mean score of 3.1 compared to 3.3), however, this difference does not emerge as statistically significant in the multiple regression where other factors are taken into consideration, as well as disability.

4.4.3 Fear of hate crime victimisation and hate crime avoidance strategies

The survey was able to measure fear of hate crime on the basis of disability³⁹. Chart 4.4 shows that disabled respondents are more fearful of becoming a victim of hate crime than non-disabled respondents (a mean score of 8.9 compared to 7.3). This difference emerged as statistically significant even when other factors were taken into consideration in multiple regression.

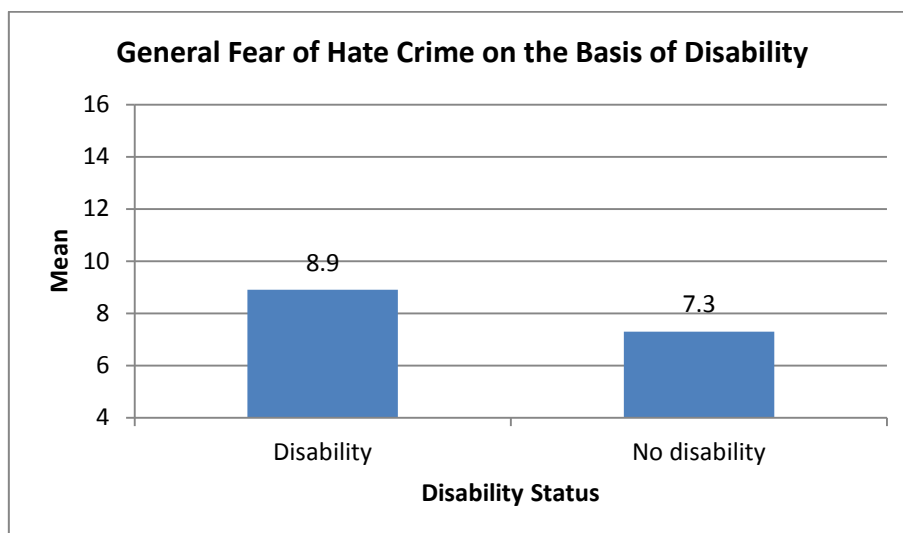


Chart 4.4

In association with a fear of hate crime, all respondents were asked whether they had ever attempted to conceal aspects of their identity or taken specific precautions to reduce the risk of becoming a victim of hate crime. **Almost thirty per cent of survey respondents who identified as disabled stated that they had, at some point, attempted to conceal their disability where possible in order to minimise the risk of hate crime victimisation.** Additional precautions listed in the survey included improving home security, carrying personal security devices, avoiding certain areas/places, moved house/area and avoiding going out at night. We combined these measures to create a Precautions Scale (range 0-5). Those scoring higher on the scale have reported taking more precautions against hate crime. Chart 3.5 below shows there was little difference between disabled and non-disabled respondents in relation to taking precautions and no significant findings emerged in multiple regression analysis.

³⁹ See footnote 38 for an explanation of the construction of the fear of (hate) crime scale.

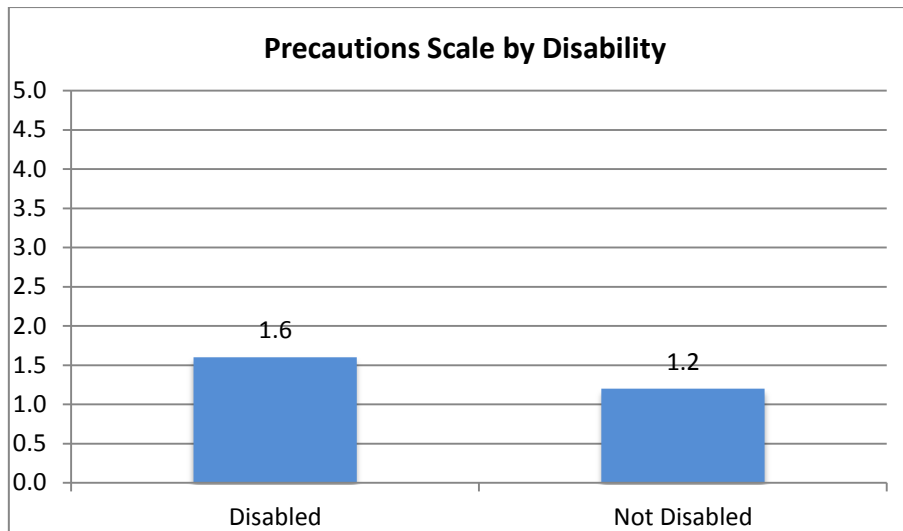


Chart 4.5

4.4.4 Effect of hate crime worry on quality of life

Finally, respondents were asked to measure the extent to which their quality of life was affected by the fear of hate crime victimisation. The impact of hate crime worry was measured on a scale of 1 to 10 (with 1 being no effect on quality of life and 10 being total effect on quality of life). Chart 4.6 shows a mean score of 4.2 indicating that worry about hate crime victimisation has a relatively high level impact on a disabled respondent's quality of life as compared to non-disabled respondents (2.8). Multiple regression analysis shows that even when taking into account other factors, this difference remains and is statistically significant.

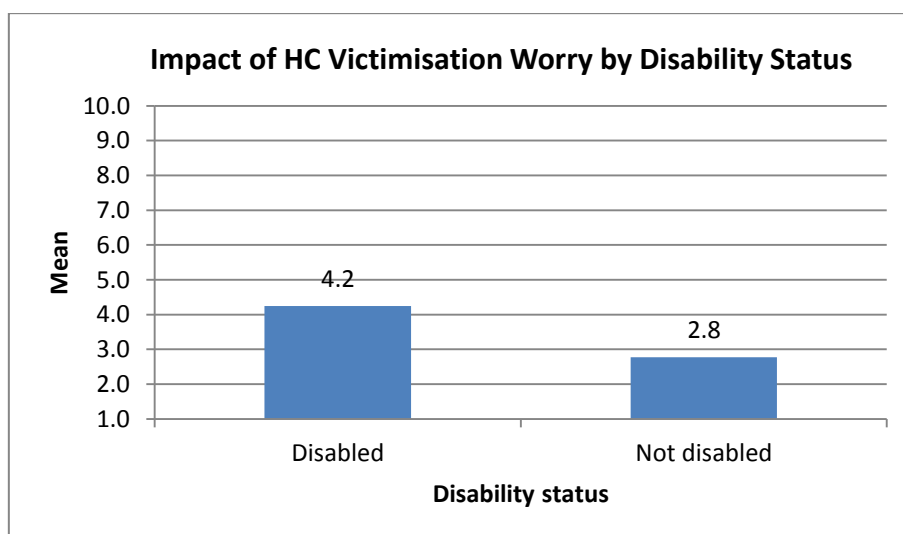


Chart 4.6

4.5 Hate Crime Victim Experience

This section focuses on the findings from data provided by research participants who have been victims of hate crime in Wales. In addition to the relevant survey analysis, interview data is presented where possible to provide a more holistic understanding of key themes emerging from the statistical findings and to highlight the complex nature of hate crime victimisation. The data included in the charts presented in this section highlight the nature of victimisation across ALL strands. It is important to view the nature of disability hate crime in context and to reinforce the vital point that hate crime is not a generic phenomenon; it is a complex offence that can differ markedly between victim groups.

4.5.1 The Nature of Disability-related Hate Crime

This sub-section highlights the nature of hate crime victimisation and focuses on the following issues and characteristics:

- The range of hate crimes and hate-related incidents experienced by victims
- Whether the victim was alone or accompanied at the time of the offence
- Where the offence took place
- Repeat victimisation
- Victim perception of offender motivation

4.5.2 Most Serious Hate Crime

Nearly half (45.6%) of all victims of disability hate crimes/incidents stated that hate incidents were the most serious they had experienced. Over one third (36.7%) stated violent crimes were the most serious they had experienced, compared to just over 1 in 20 who stated property crimes and threats were the most serious (6.3% and 5.1% respectively). A similar amount (just over 1 in 20 or 6.3%) stated acquisitive crimes were the most serious hate crimes they had experienced. Chart 4.7 shows that the majority of victims of disability related hate crimes/incidents were alone at the time, while around one fifth were with their partner.

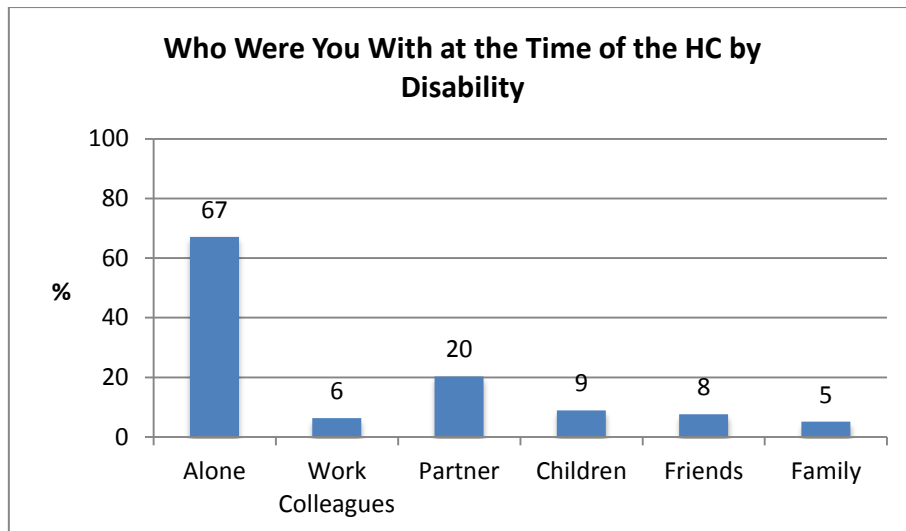


Chart 4.7

Chart 3.8 shows that 37% of victims were in or just outside their own home when the hate crime incident took place; twenty-two per cent of victims were partaking in the night-time economy (NTE) and twenty-six per cent of victims were in a public street or park. Only a fraction of disability hate crime incidents took place on public transport.

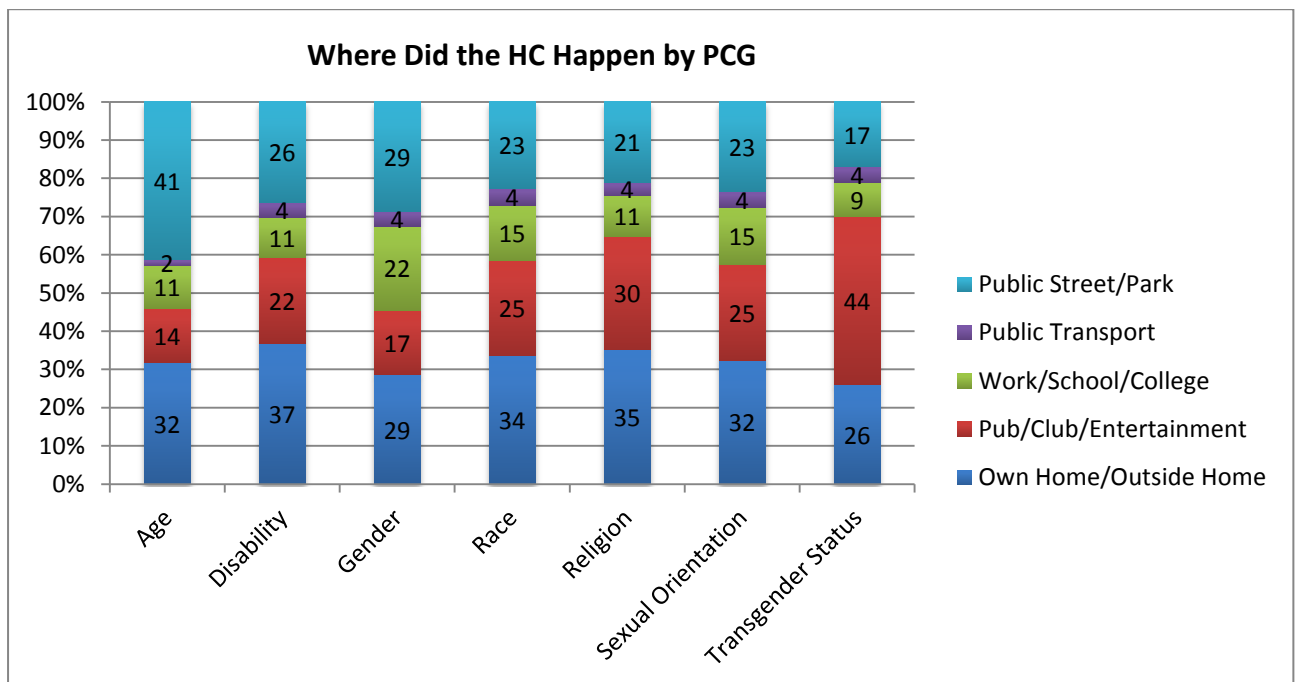


Chart 4.8

The qualitative data reveals that disabled victims experienced different forms of hate crime including verbal abuse, bullying and serious physical assault. The vast majority of victims of

learning disability hate crime who took part in focus groups had experienced consistent, low level disorder such as pushing, poking, being laughed at, spitting, hitting, staring and other forms of harassment in public. It is apparent that individual vulnerabilities are often used to ridicule and harass victims. Members of learning disability focus groups stated that often people exploit delays in the ability to communicate by asking difficult questions and then laughing when victims struggle to formulate a response. And Steve, who is a medium-level tetraplegic living in North Wales recalled a recent incident:

A woman was walking along the street with friends and had obviously had a few drinks or something and she came up to me and was like, 'can I have a ride in your wheelchair'? I've got no muscle control below my shoulders, so it's scary if someone starts leaning on me, I can very easily fall out. And so I said, 'look stop it, you're making me fall over'. And then the response was kind of like, 'oh don't be stupid, what are you going on about, don't be like that'. And this kind of thing has happened to me a few times, usually when I've been out or something.

Some learning disability focus group participants indicated that they had been the victim of cyber bullying or had received cruel text messages or phone calls. One of the group leaders confirmed that a lot of bullying takes place on social network sites and that it appears to be a growing problem. Julie and Seb's recounted their stories:

People text me on my phone. I know who they are. They leave threatening messages. They say they're going to put a brick through my window but they never do it.

The neighbour is trying to friend me [on a social network site] so he can send me messages but I've blocked him. I know he's trying to get someone else to friend me so he can send me messages. If the police were to look into these things properly they could trace all that. But sometimes they are abroad, in America. They don't have to be nearby.

A number of learning disability focus group members also stated they had been abused by people who they viewed as friends:

Sometimes people are your friends and they do things. My friend pushed me in the chest yesterday...

Karen, living in South Wales

The survey data reveals that nearly seventy per cent of disabled victims of hate crime were on their own at the time of the incident. The interview data corroborates this. The victim interviews reveal that the vast majority of face to face hate crime incidents occur in a public place and often in front of witnesses. Paula describes the physical assault on her 15 year old, autistic son:

It was at the local leisure centre. Five strangers just attacked him and beat him up quite badly. These five boys were drugged up and drunk. They told him that he behaved oddly, you know, they said to him that he was a weirdo and all that. And he has it all the time, because he looks different, he acts different. I took photographs of the injuries at the hospital. There were bootmarks on him and everything. He's an easy target; you're just a second class citizen and that's the end of it.

In contrast to the statistical findings, the victim interviews reveal that a large number of incidents took place on public transport and in particular the local buses and bus stations. A number of focus group participants said they know that buses have CCTV but they have often seen the drivers turn off the cameras. Traditionally, public transport systems have been highlighted as hotspot areas for hate crime victimisation. However, group leaders acknowledge that some transport companies are making proactive attempts to address the situation. The focus group members plan to work with one of the national train companies in Wales to deliver training and generally raise awareness of learning disability which is a positive development. However, it is important that consistent progress is made in this area as a number of the group's members now avoid going on buses, which often leaves them anxious and socially isolated.

4.5.3 Repeat Victimization

Respondents were asked to disclose whether they had experience of repeat hate crime victimisation⁴⁰. Chart 4.9 shows that forty-eight per cent of disability hate crime victims experienced cases of repeat victimisation.

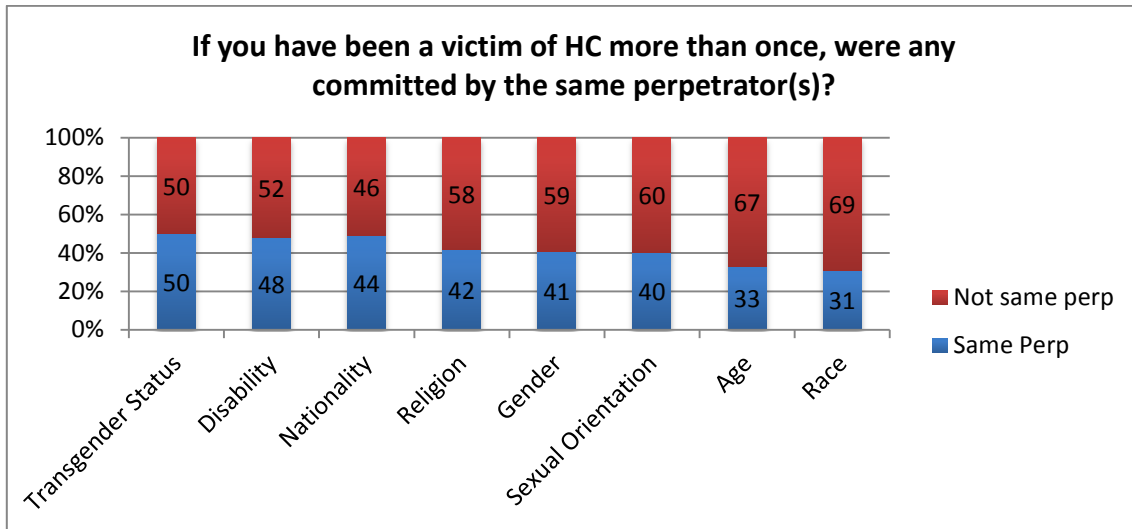


Chart 4.9

4.5.4 Victim Perception of Offender Motivation

Respondents were also asked what they believed motivated the offence against them. As Chart 4.10 shows over forty per cent of disabled survey respondents felt their physical appearance/dress had contributed in some way to their victimisation. Almost thirty-three per cent of victims believed that the offender was hostile to minority groups, and thirty-two per cent felt that their disability had been targeted because of the nature of the hate speech directed towards them.

⁴⁰ It is important to note that the term 'repeat victimisation' refers to more than one incident perpetrated by the same offender or group of offenders. It is distinct from multiple, unconnected experiences of hate crime victimisation by different perpetrators at various points in people's lives.

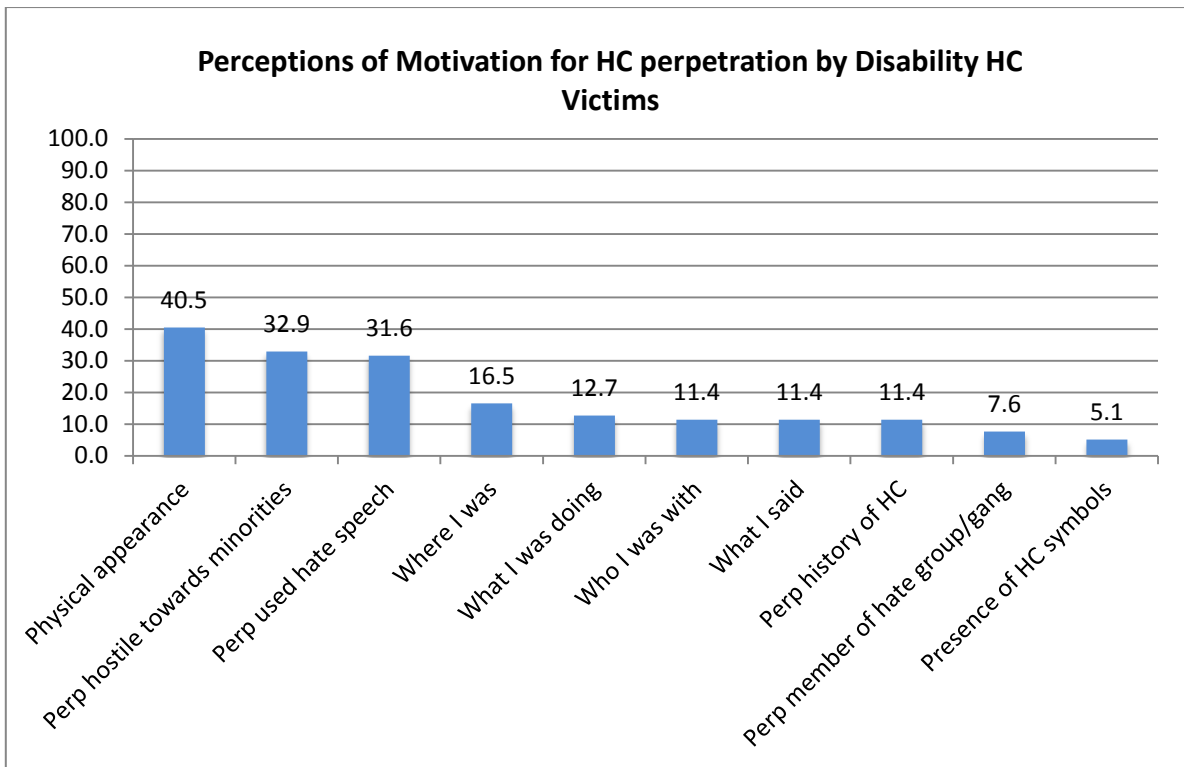


Chart 4.10

The interviews with disability hate crime victims provided the opportunity to elaborate on possible explanations for offender behaviour. A number of focus group participants suggested that offenders might feel they could take advantage of them, and Julie’s comments reflect the thoughts of the group:

People think they can take advantage. They know you’re at a disadvantage in life, so they take advantage; it’s[sic] an easy target for them.

4.6 Victim-Perpetrator Relationship and Perpetrator Characteristics

This sub-section details information provided by victims on key perpetrator characteristics. The data in this area is very limited across all of the protected characteristic groups. This in turn restricted the amount of statistical analysis that could be carried out and, as a result, all findings in this area should be interpreted with a large degree of caution. However, empirical research pertaining to hate crime perpetration is very limited generally in the UK, and therefore the type of data generated through the AWHC Project can contribute usefully to this under researched area.

A number of disability hate crime victims provided details of perpetrator characteristics and the findings are presented below in charts 4.11 to 4.15. Chart 4.11 shows that the offender was known to the victim in over half of all disability hate crime incidents. This is the highest proportion reported across the protected characteristic groups. This finding also reinforces increasing concerns about the perpetration of ‘mate crime’ against people with a learning disability.

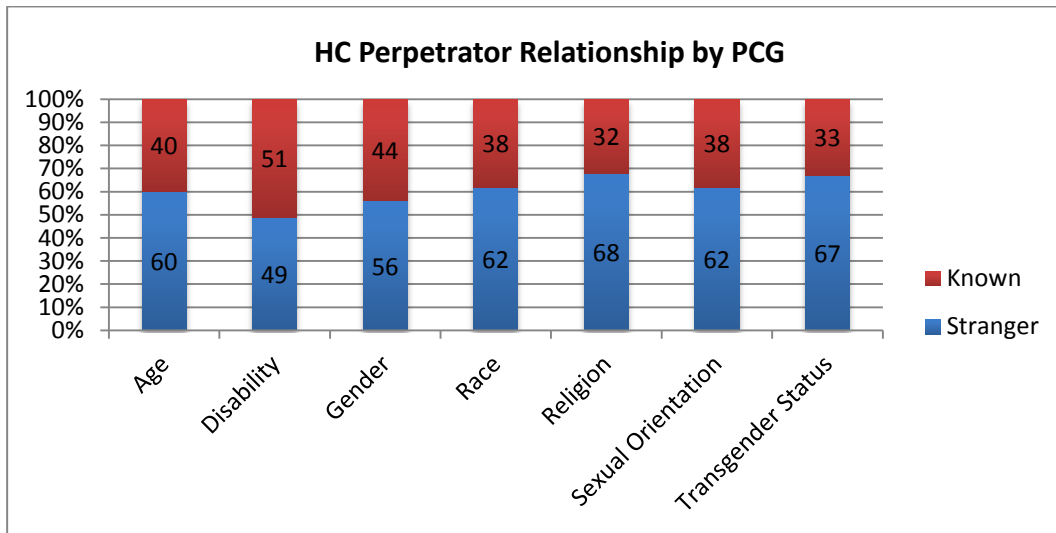


Chart 4.11

Chart 4.12 reveals that seventy-one per cent of hate crimes or hate-related incidents involving disabled victims were committed by more than one perpetrator. Charts 4.13 – 4.15 indicate that seventy-one per cent of perpetrators were men; fifty-three per cent were over 30 years old, and eighty-seven per cent were white.

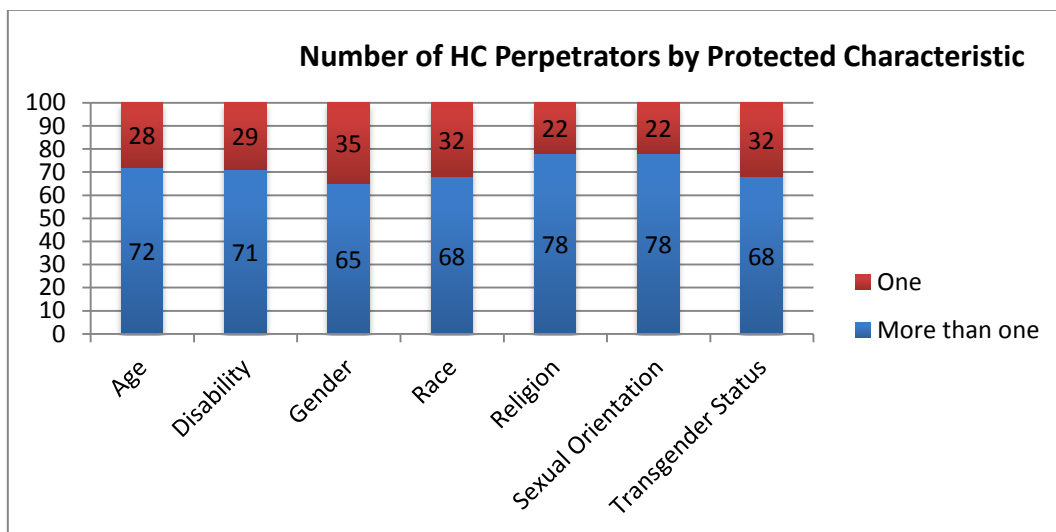


Chart 4.12

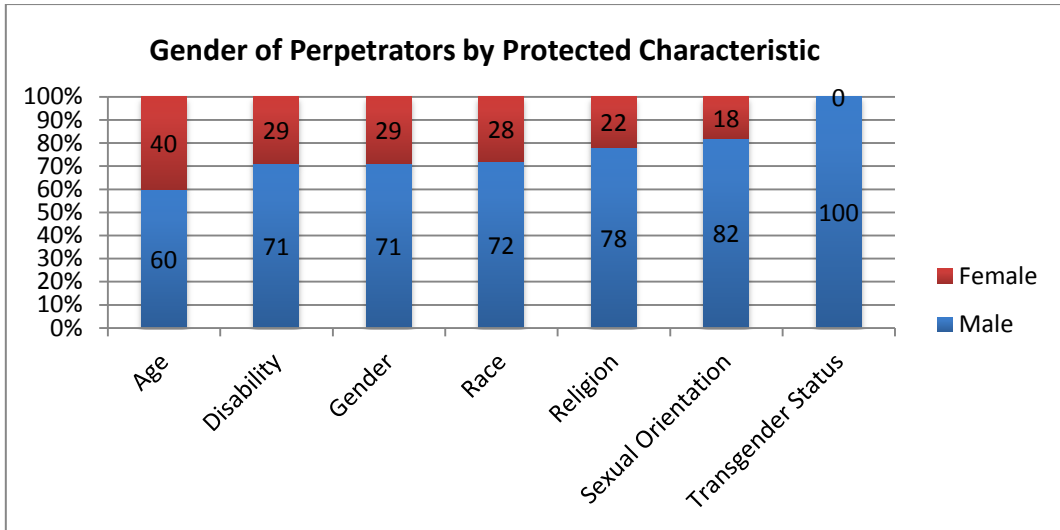


Chart 4.13

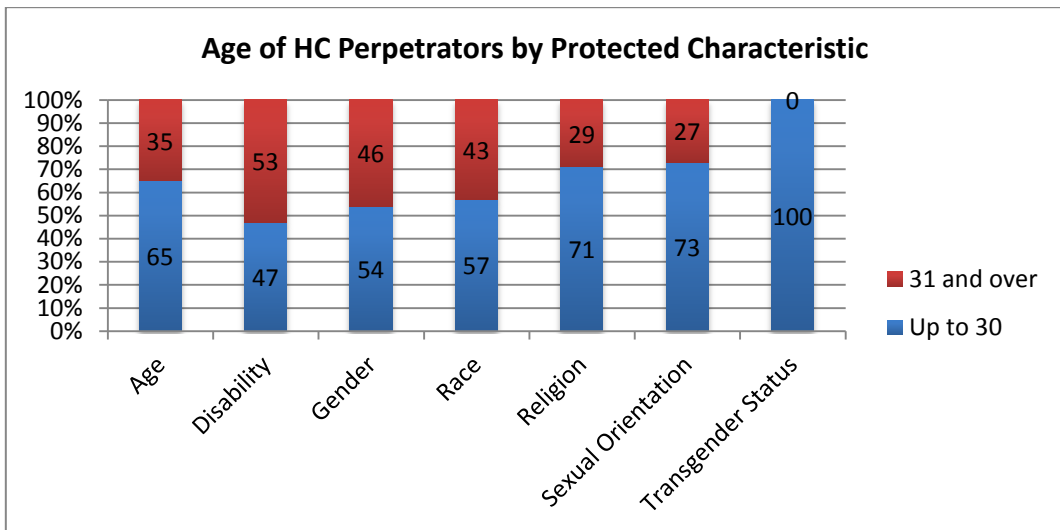


Chart 4.14

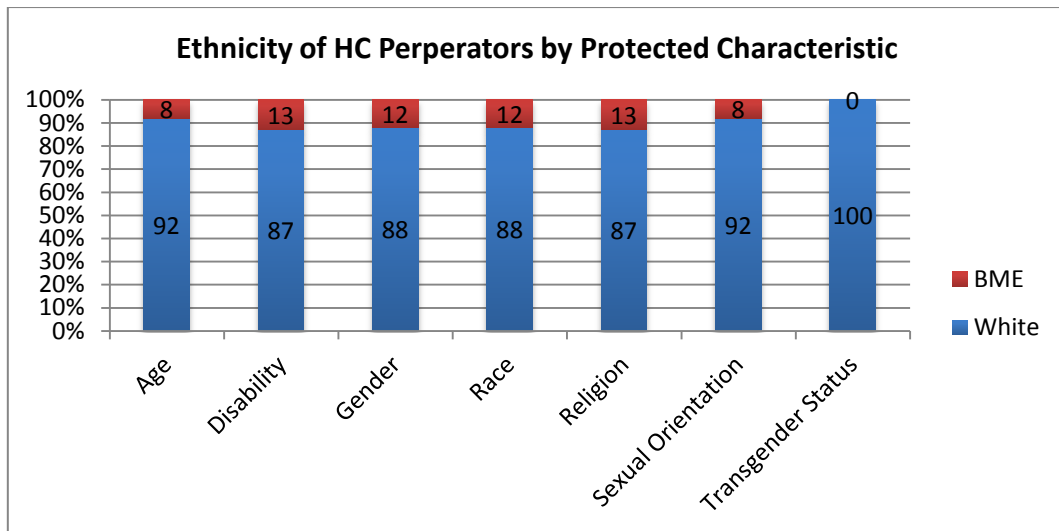


Chart 4.15

The primary focus of the AWHC Project was to generate data and thereby increase awareness and understanding of the nature and impact of hate crime *victimisation* in Wales. As a consequence, information on the nature of perpetration and perpetrator characteristics is limited. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that all data is generated from a victim's perspective. These two issues ensure that the findings must be interpreted with a degree of caution. It is vital that further research is carried out in this area because it is evident that issues such as repeat victimisation (which can provide information on escalation of offence frequency and severity), offence location (proximity) and whether the offender is known to the victim (familiarity) are significant risk indicators that need to be factored in to an effective risk assessment framework for hate crime victims. The interviews with disabled respondents reveal that, in line with other forms of hate crime, disability-related hate incidents are perpetrated by a wide range of individuals and groups. The victims interviewed for this research have experienced victimisation by people who are strangers or known to them, and by individuals and groups of men and women of all ages and ethnicities. However, it is important to note the presence of high-risk indicators that characterise a large proportion of disability-related hate situations. These include the rate of repeat victimisation by a known offender and the proximity to a victim's local community or place of residence.

4.7 Police Contact and Reporting Experience

This subsection highlights key findings in relation to victims' experience of the hate crime reporting process in Wales. The findings relate to both police and third party organisations. The section is framed mainly around the data generated by survey respondents. However, qualitative findings are included, where appropriate, because the interview data provide a

nuanced account of victims' experiences of the police reporting process. The majority of physical disability hate crime victims who were interviewed had reported at least one incident to the police. However, only one of the victims with a learning disability had reported their experience to the police.

4.7.1 Police Contact, Reporting Experience and Levels of Satisfaction

Forty-three percent of hate crimes perceived to have been perpetrated on the basis of disability were reported to the police. Learning disability focus groups revealed that many victims of learning disability-related hate crime talk in terms of 'telling someone' rather than formal reporting to the police or a third party organisation. In fifty-nine percent of these cases the victims told the police explicitly that they believed the incident was motivated by disability-aggravated hostility or prejudice.

Chart 4.16 shows the action taken by police as a result of reporting the incident. Almost fifty-nine per cent of the disability hate crime reports were subsequently recorded by the police and fifty per cent of them initiated some form of police investigation. Twenty one per cent of disability hate crime reports resulted in the arrest of an offender, and in twelve per cent of cases no further action was taken following the incident report. It is important to acknowledge that these findings are generated wholly from the victim's perspective and individual victims may not have been fully updated on police activity after incidents were reported.

Chart 4.17 shows the various reasons given for reporting the hate crime or incident across protected characteristic groups. Below are the top three reasons for reporting disability hate crime victimisation:

1. Victim thinks reporting all crimes is the right thing to do (N=74)
2. Victim hoped the offenders would be brought to justice, (N=62)
3. Victim wanted to prevent it from happening again (N=62)

Chart 4.18 depicts the various reasons for not reporting hate crime incidents to the police by protected characteristic. The top three reasons given by victims of disability hate crime were:

1. It was believed the police could have done nothing to help (N=33)
2. The incident was too trivial/it wasn't worth it (N=24)
3. Fear of retaliation by offenders (N=24)

As a Result of Your Report, What Action Was Taken by the Police?

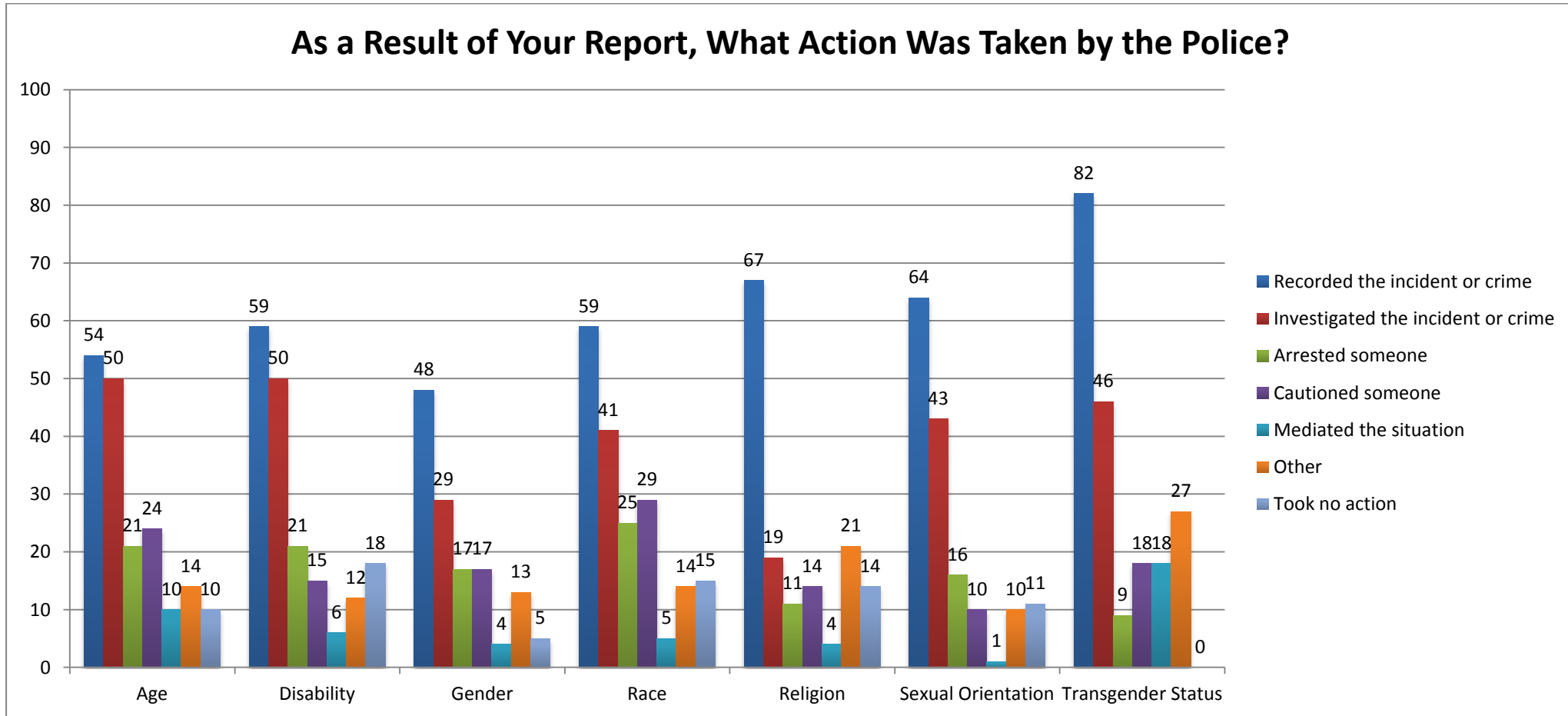


Chart 4.16

Reasons for Reporting HC to Police by PCG

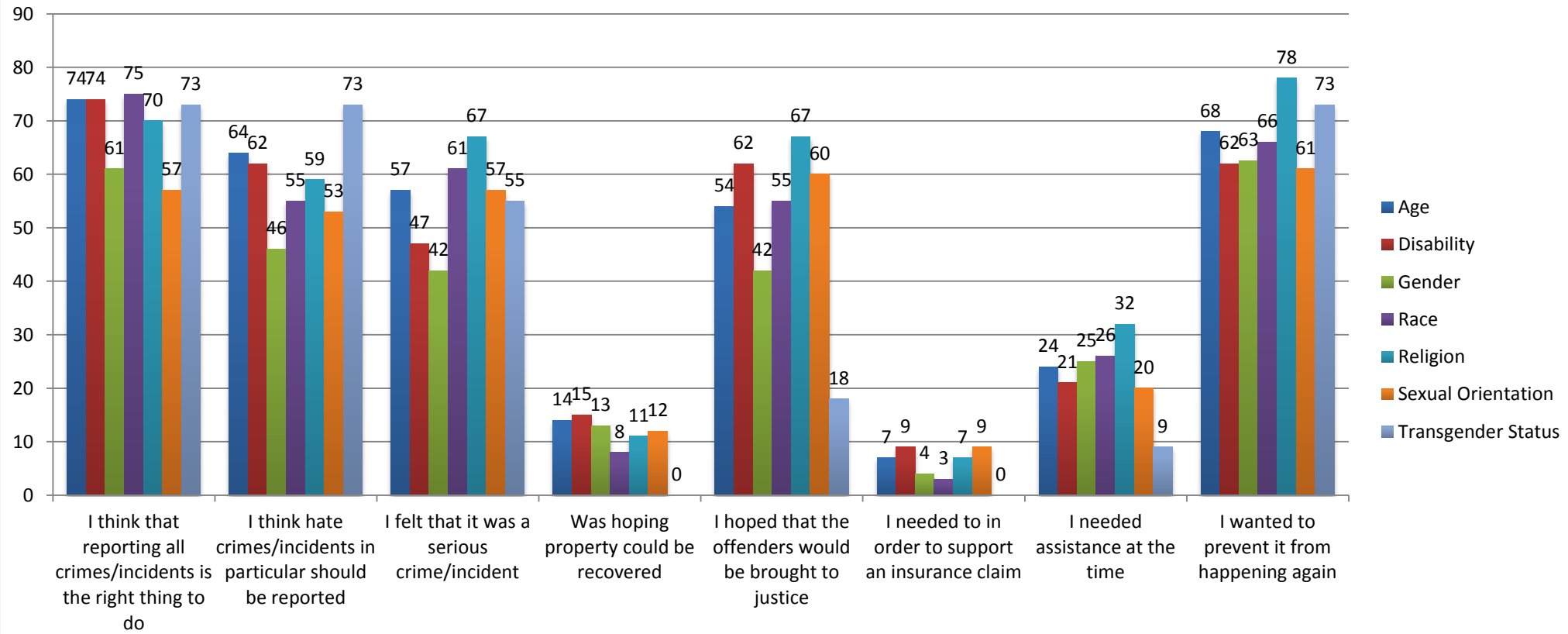


Chart 4.17

Reasons for Not Reporting by PCG

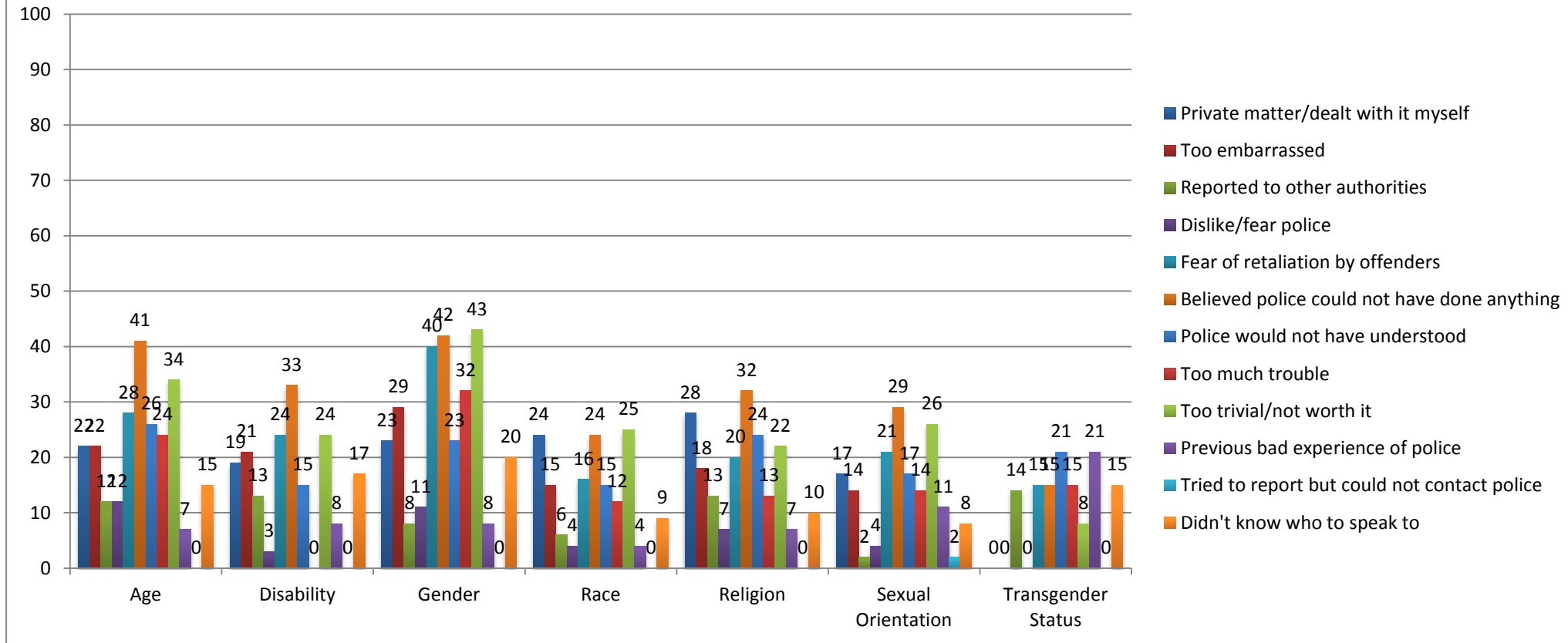


Chart 4.18

Ninety-five percent of disability-related hate crime victims would encourage a victim of hate crime to report to the police. This percentage is relatively high when comparing data across all the protected characteristic groups. The interview data indicates that the perspective taken on whether to recommend reporting is often contingent on previous experience and informed by levels of satisfaction with police contact and response at the time of reporting and subsequent case investigation, and – in a minority of cases – satisfaction with the criminal justice process more generally (including case outcome). A scale of satisfaction was devised by combining the data from 8 questions relating to victim satisfaction during the course of contact with the police in their local area⁴¹. Chart 4.19 shows that disability hate crime victims were among the least satisfied with their police reporting experience (mean score of 17.5). However, multiple regression analysis revealed that this difference did not hold up when demographic and perpetration factors were considered, meaning victims of disability hate crimes/incidents were no more or less likely to be dissatisfied with the police compared to other victims who reported.

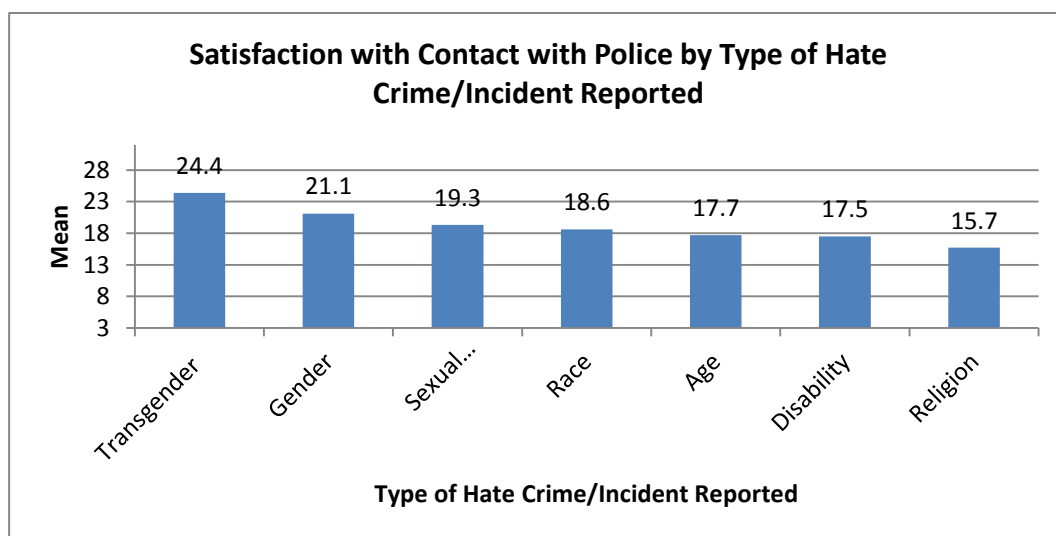


Chart 4.19

In the main, the qualitative data reflects this finding although there are examples of very positive encounters with the police as highlighted by Johnny who is a physically disabled man living in South Wales.

⁴¹ The eight questions captured satisfaction levels according to 1. Ease of police contact; treatment by police officers/staff; how well police listened to the victim; how seriously victim information was taken; how quickly the police responded to initial contact; the way in which subsequent information was provided by the police; the extent to which police took account of personal circumstances/minority identity, and the outcome of police investigation. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being very dissatisfied and 4 being very satisfied). When the eight questions were combined the police satisfaction scale included mean values that ranged from 8 to 32 (8 being the least satisfied and 32 being the most satisfied).

They were excellent. They had my mobile number and rang me to ask if I could come in to the station. They seemed shocked to hear what had happened to me. They then rang me the week after that to tell me they'd arrested him and bailed him. The two officers who I talked to about it actually gave me their numbers and said to contact them if I got any grief off him. They've kept me updated and it's been a really positive experience.

The victim interviews reveal that, for respondents with a learning disability, trust and feeling comfortable and understood are crucial issues when dealing with hate crime victimisation, and many focus group members stated they turned to family and carers for support and guidance. They disclosed feeling nervous about talking to the police for a number of reasons. One of the main concerns was that the police would not understand them very well or that they would not be taken seriously. Another issue raised during interviews was the fear that there might be negative consequences for them or their family.

Sometimes it's very hard because you're nervous about what might happen to you. If people found out you'd told the police you could get worse problems and all that...and it could come back on you.

Graham, a victim of learning disability hate crime in South Wales

However, as Paula's comments indicate, some victims of disability-related hate crime experience particularly negative interactions with the police:

I'd never go to them again. They [police] said he couldn't make a statement because he's autistic. There were loads of witnesses who said, yeah we'll say what they [offenders] did, and then the police said, 'oh no, we can't go and visit witnesses, we can't do this, that and the other. I told them [the police] that I wanted it prosecuted as a hate crime and they just laughed in my face. They will never prosecute those types of crimes. They'll tell you to log, log, log...you can have 50 or 60 log numbers but they'll never take action, they don't want to know.

4.7.2 Third Party Reporting

Both survey respondents and interview participants were asked if they had ever reported a disability-related hate crime to a third party individual or organisation. Thirty eight percent of

survey respondents who answered this question had reported an incident to a third party organisation. **This represents the second highest third party reporting rate across the protected characteristic groups.** Overall, ninety-five per cent of disability hate crime victims would encourage other victims to report to a third party individual or organisation. Further analysis shows that disabled respondents are significantly more likely than any other protected characteristic group to report hate crimes and incidents to a third party organisation.

4.8 Chapter Summary

It is interesting to note that disabled people are significantly more fearful than non-disabled people of becoming a victim of hate crime and significantly more likely to think that hate crime is a problem in their local area. Furthermore, worry about hate crime victimisation has a significantly bigger impact on the quality of disabled people's lives.

In terms of hate crime victimisation:

Impact (read in conjunction with Chapter 2.2)

- Disability-related hate crime/incident victims were the second most likely group to suffer multiple types of impact (9 out of 22 impacts)
- Disability-related hate crime/incident victims were second most likely group to think about suicide
- Disability-related hate crime/incident victims were most likely to think about moving from their local area

Perpetration

- In relation to their most serious hate crime/incident disability-related hate crime victims were the group most likely to have known their perpetrator compared to all other protected characteristic groups. This finding reinforces concerns around the emergence of 'mate crime'.

Reporting Behaviour

- Of the disability-related hate crime/incident victims that reported to the police (43%), three quarters (74%) stated they did so because they felt it was the right thing to do.
- Of the disability-related hate crime/incident victims that did not report to the police one third (33%) stated they did not do so because they believed the police could not have done anything to help.

The findings also reveal

- Nearly half (45.6%) of all victims of disability hate crimes/incidents stated that hate incidents were the most serious they had experienced. Over two thirds (36.7%) stated violent crimes were the most serious they had experienced, compared to just over 1 in 20 who stated property crimes and threats were the most serious (6.3% and 5.1% respectively). A similar amount (just over 1 in 20 or 6.3%) stated acquisitive crimes were the most serious hate crimes they had experienced.
- In contrast to the survey findings, victim interviews reveal that a large proportion of hate crime incidents occur on public transport.
- A number of disabled hate crime victims revealed experience of cyber bullying and malicious texts.

Chapter Five: Race and Ethnicity

I think it's not just about being black now, it's about, 'you're not British or you're not integrated because you're dressing differently, or you look different'...

Abid, South Wales

5.1 Introduction

Race hate crime is one of the most widely researched forms of hate crime in the UK. This research corroborates much of the existing research in relation to issues such as the nature of race hate crime, the impact on the victim and their family and the experience of reporting hate crimes and incidents to the police. Yet, this study also provides insight into the complexity of individual identity within the context of hate crime and it is suggested that this chapter is read alongside Chapter Six, which focuses on faith hate crime.

This chapter presents findings on a range of issues within a race and ethnicity context, including:

- Community cohesion
- Fear of general crime and hate crime
- Perceptions of hate crime impact on local communities

The chapter then focuses specifically on hate crime experience and in particular:

- The nature of hate crime
- Perpetration
- Reporting experiences

In total, 1749 (96%) respondents provided information on their nationality or racial/ethnic identity⁴². In broad terms, eighty-six per cent (1496) of respondents identified as white; eight per cent (134) as Asian, four per cent (65) as Black and two per cent as Mixed Race⁴³. In addition, twenty five respondents stated that they had refugee status in the UK.

⁴² See Table 1 in Chapter 1 for a detailed breakdown of nationality, race and ethnicity within the survey population.

⁴³ Three per cent (61) of respondents did not disclose information on their national or racial identity.

5.2 Community Cohesion

All survey respondents were asked to provide some local community information including how long they have lived in the area and their perception of levels of integration within the local community. The responses from three survey questions were combined to generate a 'community cohesion scale'⁴⁴. Chart 5.1 shows that on a scale of 3 to 12 (3 being most strongly disagree and 12 most strongly agree), Asian or Asian British respondents most strongly feel that they live in a cohesive community with a mean score of 9.6, followed by Black or Black British respondents (mean score of 9.4). The respondents who are less likely to agree that they live in a cohesive community are White English (mean score of 8.4); Mainland White Europeans (MWE) with a mean score of 7.8, and other ethnic groups (mean score of 7.1).

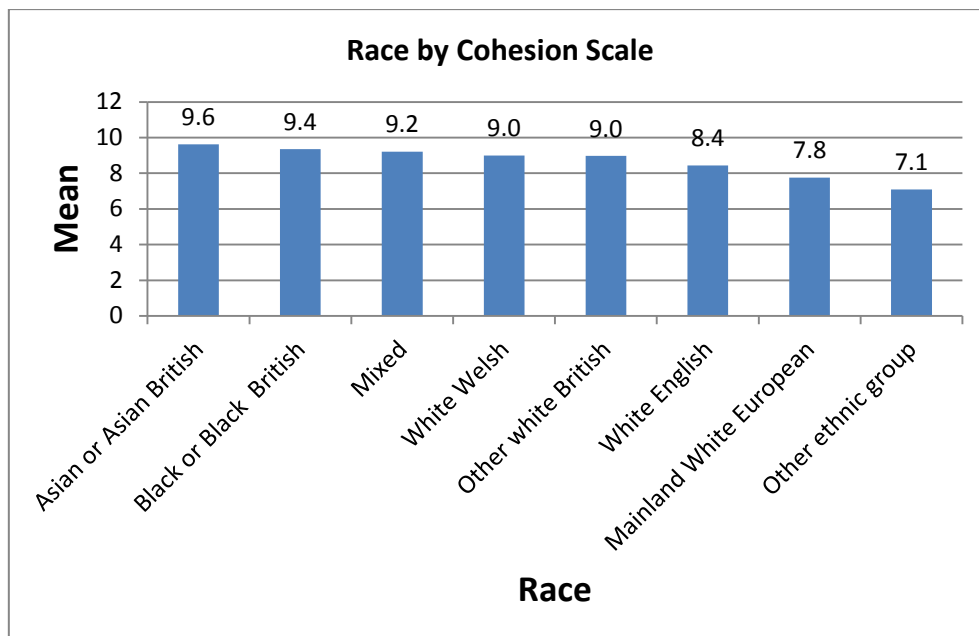


Chart 5.1

⁴⁴ The questions were 2a) To what extent do you agree or disagree that your local area is a place where people from different backgrounds got on well together? 2b) To what extent do you agree or disagree that residents in their local area respect differences between people, and 3) how strongly do you feel you belong to your local area. The strength of agreement and sense of belonging were interpreted as proxy values for community cohesion. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being definitely disagree or not at all strongly belong and being definitely agree or very strongly belong). When the three questions were combined the cohesion scale included mean values that ranged from 3 to 12 (3 being least cohesive and 12 being most cohesive).

5.3 General Fear of Crime and Police Satisfaction

Chart 5.2 and 5.3 provide information on levels of fear of crime⁴⁵ and police satisfaction within different race and ethnic communities. On a general fear of crime scale (4 being the least fearful and 16 being the most fearful), all groups are fairly mid range in terms of their fear levels. However, it is interesting to note that White Welsh respondents are the most fearful of becoming a victim of crime with a mean score of 8.9. This group is followed by Mainland White European (MWE) respondents (8.5), White British (8.4) and White English (8.3) respondents. Black or Black British respondents are the least fearful of becoming a victim of crime in Wales with a mean score of 7.9. However, these differences did not emerge as statistically significant in the multiple regression analysis that took into account other demographic and victim related factors. Furthermore, Chart 5.3 shows that White Welsh respondents are also the least satisfied (mean score of 3.3) with the perceived job the police are doing in their local area. However, it is interesting to note that MWE respondents are the most satisfied (mean score of 3.8) with the policing in their local area. Again however, these difference did not emerge as statistically significant in the multiple regression analysis that took into account other demographic and victim related factors.

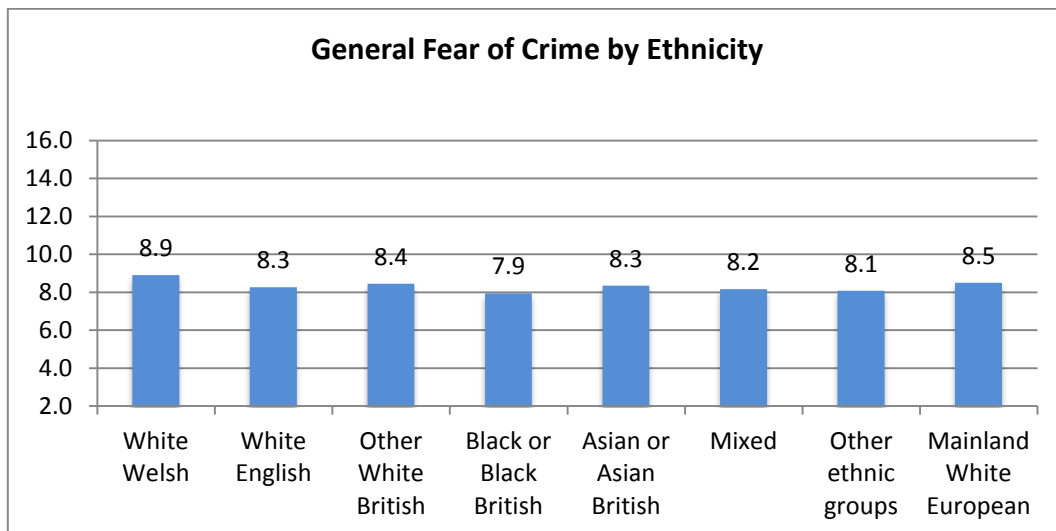


Chart 5.2

⁴⁵ The general fear of crime scale was constructed by combining the data from a survey question that asked respondents to state how worried they were about being a victim of 1) property crime; 2) violent crime, 3) sexual violence and 4) harassment, verbal abuse or threats. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being not at all worried and 4 being very worried). When the four crime types were combined the general fear of crime scale included mean values that ranged from 4 to 16 (4 being the least worried and 16 being the most worried).

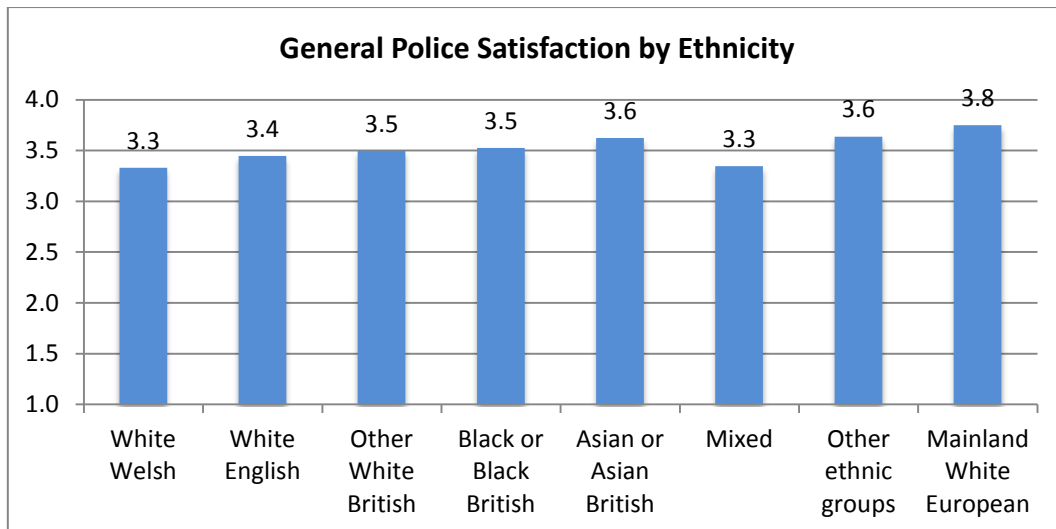


Chart 5.3

5.4 General Hate Crime Issues

This section shows the findings from questions regarding issues and concerns around hate crime and hate crime victimisation from within a race and ethnicity context. It is important to note that all survey respondents could answer the questions in this section. Therefore, findings include data from both victims and non-victims of hate crime. Where possible, interview data is presented in order to provide a more holistic understanding of key themes emerging from the statistical findings.

5.4.1 Scale and Impact of Hate Crime on the Community

Survey respondents were asked their perceptions of the scale of the hate crime problem in their local area. The data shows that on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being not a problem at all and 4 being a very big problem), the mean average across all race and ethnicity groups was 2 indicating that the majority of respondents believe that hate crime is not a very big problem at all in their local area. However, Chart 5.4 shows that mixed race respondents see hate crime as a bigger problem in their community than all other groups. However, this difference did not emerge as statistically significant in multiple regression where we took into account other factors that may have an influence on perceptions of the hate crime problem (age, gender, previous victimisation etc.). Holding all other factors constant, minority ethnic respondents to the survey were no more likely than white respondents to think there was a problem. **However, the same analysis did reveal that minority ethnic respondents**

were statistically significantly more likely to think that hate crimes/incidents had a negative impact upon the community, and were over 1.5 times more likely to think this compared to white respondents.

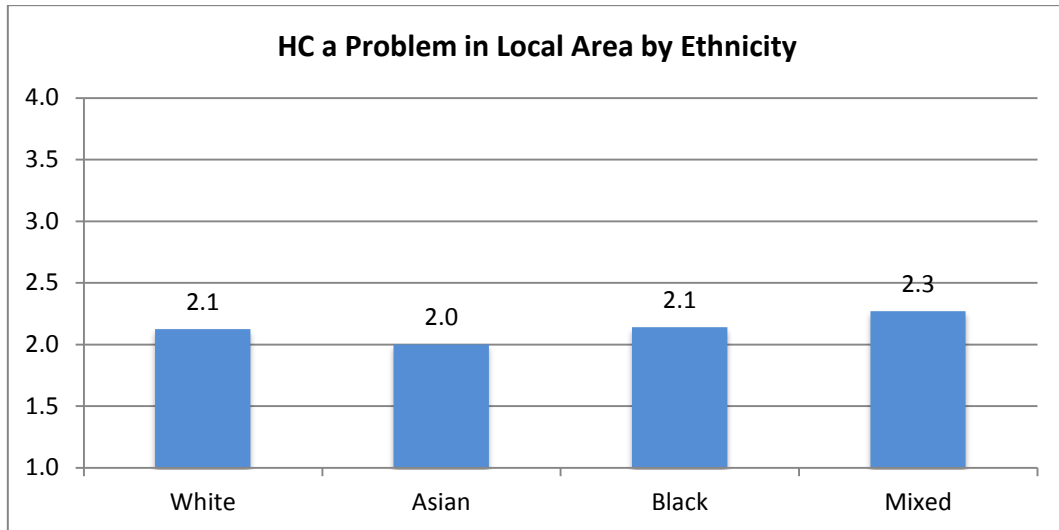


Chart 5.4

5.4.2 Perception of police performance in relation to hate crime and hate-related incidents

All respondents were asked how good a job they perceived the police to be doing to tackle hate crime and hate-related incidents in their local area. The levels of police effectiveness were measured on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being a very poor job and 5 being an excellent job). The responses across all race and ethnicity categories were mid range (i.e. police were doing a 'fair' job) although Asian respondents rated police performance higher than White and Black respondents (mean score of 3.5 versus 3.3 respectively) and respondents from a Mixed Race background who rated police performance lowest (3.0). Multiple regression analysis did not reveal any statistically significant findings, showing that minority ethnic and white respondents perceptions of police performance in relation to hate crime did not differ to a significant extent⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ However we must acknowledge that the AWHC survey targeted the seven protected characteristic groups, and so we cannot with confidence state that this finding would be replicated in a sample of the general population in Wales.

5.4.3 Fear of Hate Crime Victimization and Hate Crime Avoidance Strategies

The survey was able to measure fear of hate crime⁴⁷ on the basis of race and ethnicity. Chart 5.5 shows that 'other ethnic groups' are the most fearful (mean score of 9.0) followed by Black or Black British respondents (mean 8.4) and MWE (mean 8.1). White English respondents were mid range in terms of their fear of hate crime levels (mean 7.9) and White Welsh respondents and Other White British were the least fearful of becoming a victim of hate crime (mean scores of 7.1 and 6.8 respectively). Multiple regression analysis revealed that the difference between minority ethnic and white respondent levels of hate crime fear was statistically significant.

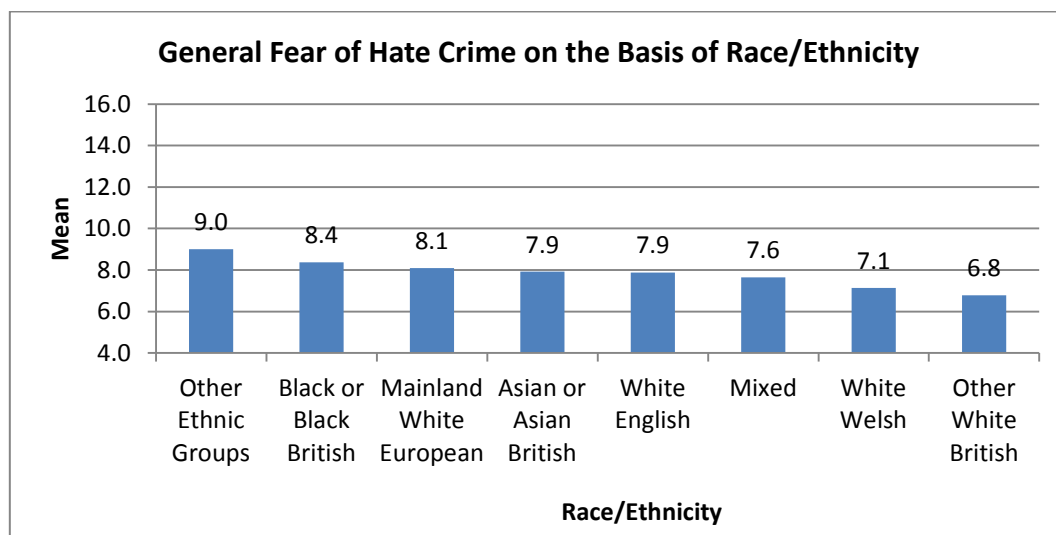


Chart 5.5

In association with a fear of hate crime, all respondents were asked whether they had ever attempted to conceal aspects of their identity or taken specific precautions to reduce the risk of becoming a victim of hate crime. Eight per cent of survey respondents had attempted to conceal their racial or ethnic identity in order to reduce the risk of hate crime victimisation. In addition, three per cent revealed that they had tried to hide their accent or language so as to reduce the risk of hate-related hostility or harassment. Additional precautions listed in the survey included improving home security, carrying personal security devices, avoiding certain areas/places, moved house/area and avoiding going out at night. We combined these measures to create a Precautions Scale (range 0-5). Those scoring higher on the scale have reported taking more precautions against hate crime. Chart 5.6 below shows

⁴⁷ See footnote 46 for an explanation of the construction of the fear of (hate) crime scale.

there was a slight difference between minority ethnic and white respondents in relation to taking precautions and a significant finding emerged in multiple regression analysis.

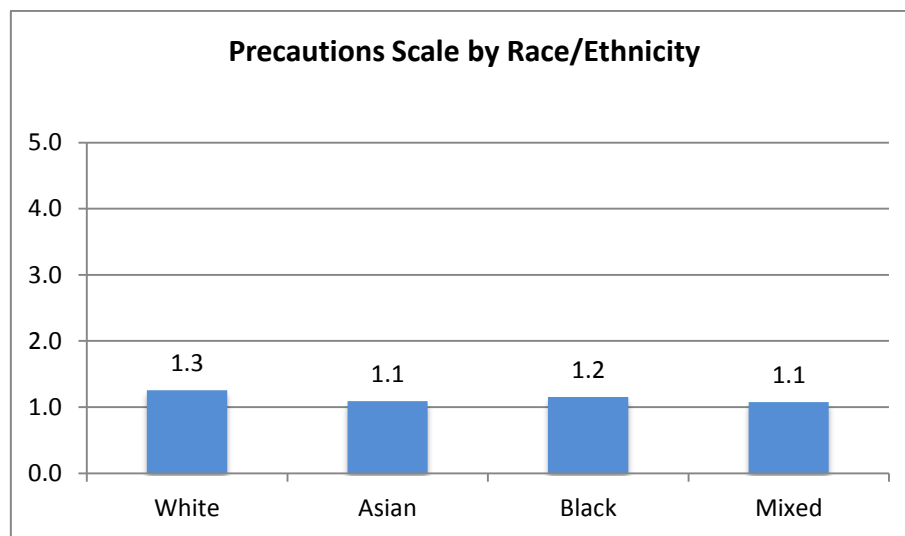


Chart 5.6

5.4.4 Effect of Hate Crime Worry on Quality of Life

Finally, respondents were asked to measure the extent to which their quality of life was affected by the fear of hate crime victimisation. The impact of hate crime worry was measured on a scale of 1 to 10 (with 1 being no effect on quality of life and 10 being total effect on quality of life). Chart 5.7 shows that the majority of responses were towards the lower end of the impact scale across all race and ethnicity categories indicating that worry about hate crime victimisation has a relatively minimal impact on quality of life. However, the findings reveal that worry about hate crime has the biggest effect on Black respondents (mean score of 3.8) and the least effect on White respondents (mean score of 2.9). The difference between minority ethnic and white respondents in relation the impact of fear of hate crimes/incidents victimisation was statistically significant in the multiple regression analysis.

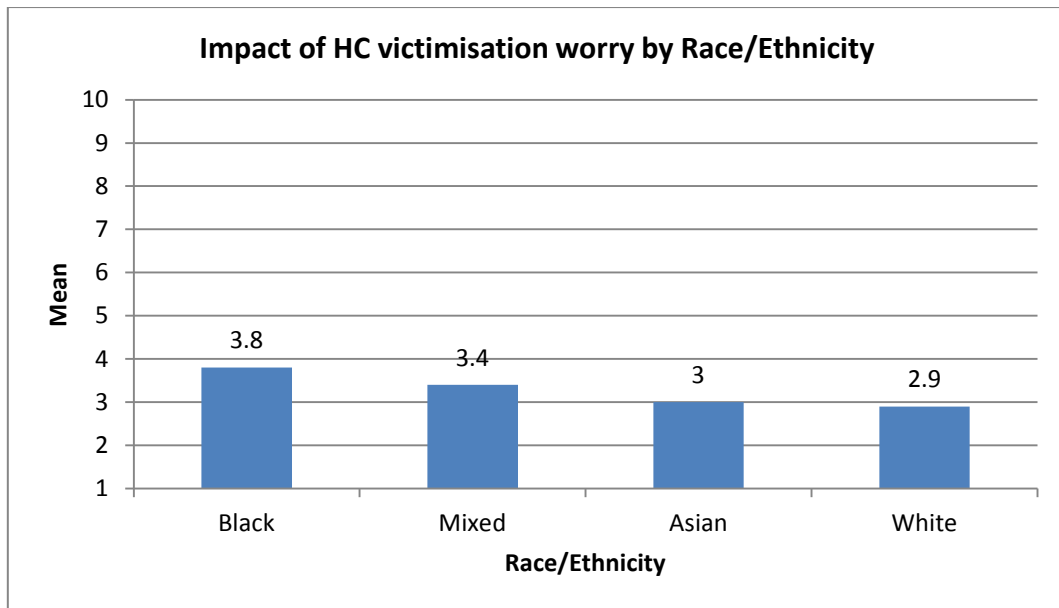


Chart 5.7

5.5 Hate Crime Victim Experience

This section focuses on the findings from data provided by research participants who have been victims of hate crime in Wales. In addition to the relevant survey analysis, interview data is presented where possible to provide a more holistic understanding of key themes emerging from the statistical findings and to highlight the complex nature of hate crime victimisation. The data included in the charts presented in this section highlight the nature of victimisation across ALL strands. It is important to view the nature of race hate crime in context and to reinforce the vital point that hate crime is not a generic phenomenon; it is a complex offence that can differ markedly between victim groups.

5.5.1 The Nature of Race Hate Crime

This sub-section highlights the nature of hate crime victimisation and focuses on the following issues and characteristics:

- The range of hate crimes and hate-related incidents experienced by victims
- Whether the victim was alone or accompanied at the time of the offence
- Where the offence took place
- Repeat victimisation
- Victim perception of offender motivation

5.5.2 Most Serious Hate Crime

Nearly half (42.3%) of all victims of race related hate crimes/incidents stated that hate incidents were the most serious they had experienced. Around 1 in 5 (21.8%) stated violent crimes were the most serious they had experienced, compared to just over 1 in 10 who stated threats and acquisitive crime were the most serious (14.8% and 10.6% respectively). Just over 1 in 20 (4.9%) stated property crimes were the most serious hate crimes they had experienced. Chart 5.8 shows that the majority of victims of race related hate crimes/incidents were alone at the time, while over one third were with friends or their partner.

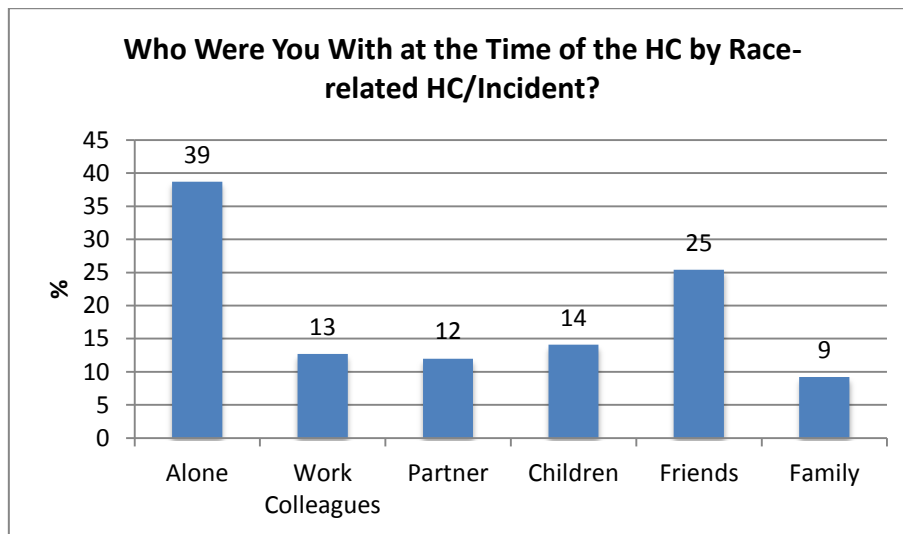


Chart 5.8

Chart 5.9 shows that thirty-four per cent of victims were in or just outside their own home when the hate crime incident took place; twenty-five per cent of victims were partaking in the night-time economy (NTE) and twenty-three per cent of victims were in a public street or park. Only a fraction of race hate crime incidents took place on public transport.

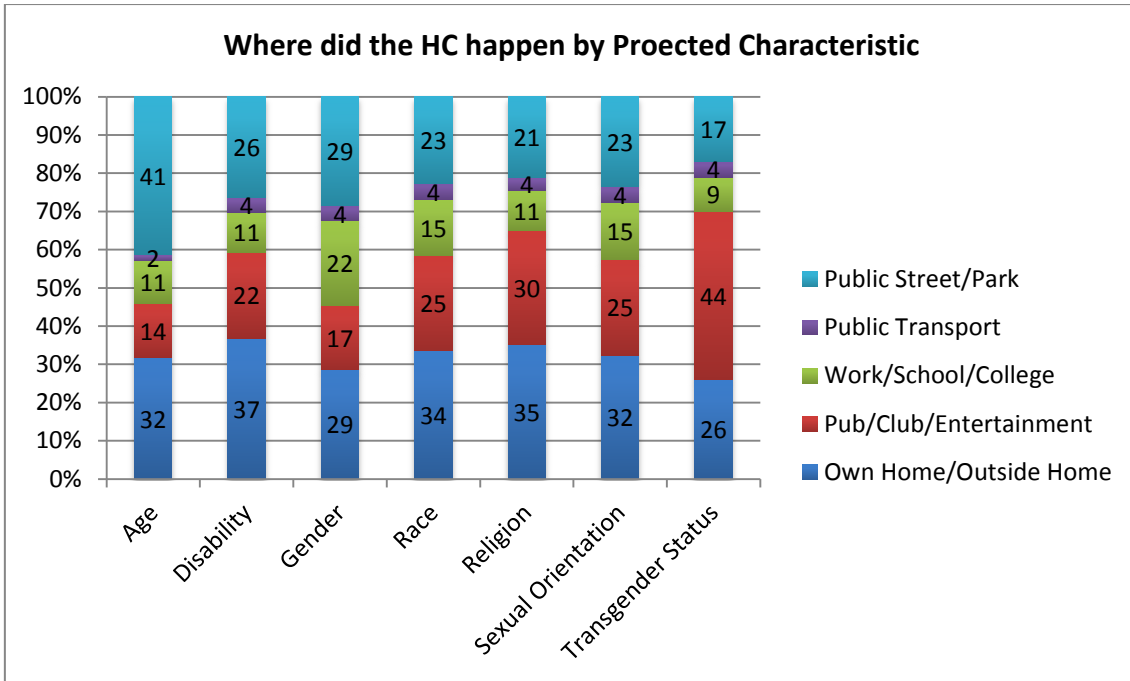


Chart 5.9

In the main the interviews with victims of race hate crime corroborated the statistical findings. Victims disclosed experiences of both physical and verbal abuse in public places. Further details of the nature of race hate crime are presented in subsequent sections of this chapter.

5.5.3 Repeat Victimization

Victims were asked to disclose whether they had experience of repeat hate crime victimisation⁴⁸. Chart 5.10 shows that race hate victims experienced the fewest cases of repeat victimisation. One interview participant revealed ongoing victimisation for which they received both statutory and third sector support. Further details of this case are presented in the following subsection.

⁴⁸ It is important to note that the term 'repeat victimisation' refers to more than one incident perpetrated by the same offender or group of offenders. It is distinct from multiple, unconnected experiences of hate crime victimisation by different perpetrators at various points in people's lives.

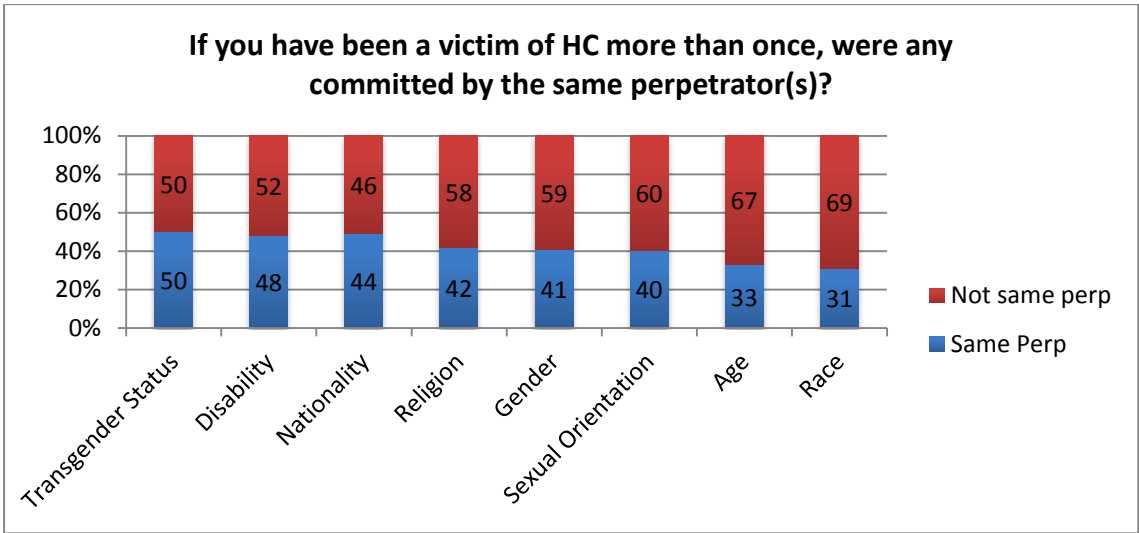


Chart 5.10

5.5.4 Victim Perception of Offender Motivation

Research participants were asked what they believed motivated the offence against them. As Chart 5.11 shows, nearly fifty per cent of respondents who answered this question felt that the offender was hostile to minority groups. Moreover, over forty per cent of survey respondents were left in little doubt that the offender was motivated to some degree by racism because of the nature of the hate speech directed towards them. In addition, almost thirty per cent of race hate crime respondents felt their physical appearance/dress had contributed in some way to their victimisation.

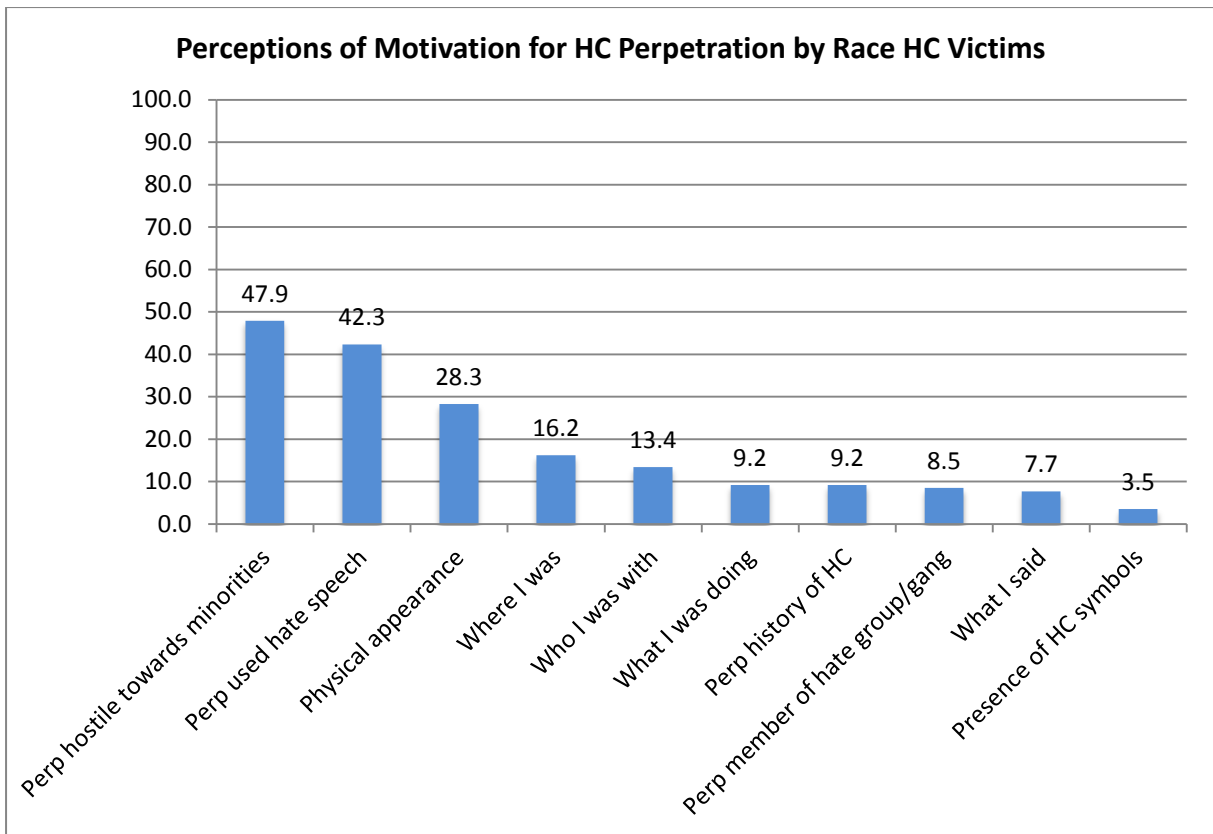


Chart 5.11

A number of interview participants believed they had been targeted as a result of general ignorance and anger towards minority groups rather than having been singled out premeditatively for personal attack. Amir, a victim of race hate crime in South Wales reflects on his experience:

I was targeted because of ignorance. I don't think I had very much to do with it, I just think I was there. Like I don't think it was me; not 'me' specifically but 'me' in general...

In this way Amir believes he represented a minority group towards which the perpetrator(s) harboured hostility and frustration. This perspective was reflected in a number of participant interviews and exemplified by Tusmo's experience:

I was with one of my friends and she wears a full face covering. An elderly man walked past us and as he got closer he said to his companion, 'she should be shot'. You could see in his face that he was really angry. I just couldn't understand how someone could be so affected by someone else, how someone dresses...

5.6 Victim-Perpetrator Relationship and Perpetrator Characteristics

This sub-section details information provided by victims on key perpetrator characteristics. The data in this area is very limited across all of the protected characteristic groups. This in turn restricted the amount of statistical analysis that could be carried out and, as a result, all findings in this area should be interpreted with a large degree of caution. However, empirical research pertaining to hate crime perpetration is very limited generally in the UK, and therefore the type of data generated through the AWHC Project can contribute usefully to this under researched area.

A number of race hate crime victims provided details of perpetrator characteristics and the findings are presented below in Charts 5.12–5.16. Chart 5.12 shows that in over sixty per cent of racially-motivated hate crime the offender(s) was not known by the victim. This is broadly comparable with the victim-perpetrator relationships detailed by victims across the other protected characteristic groups⁴⁹.

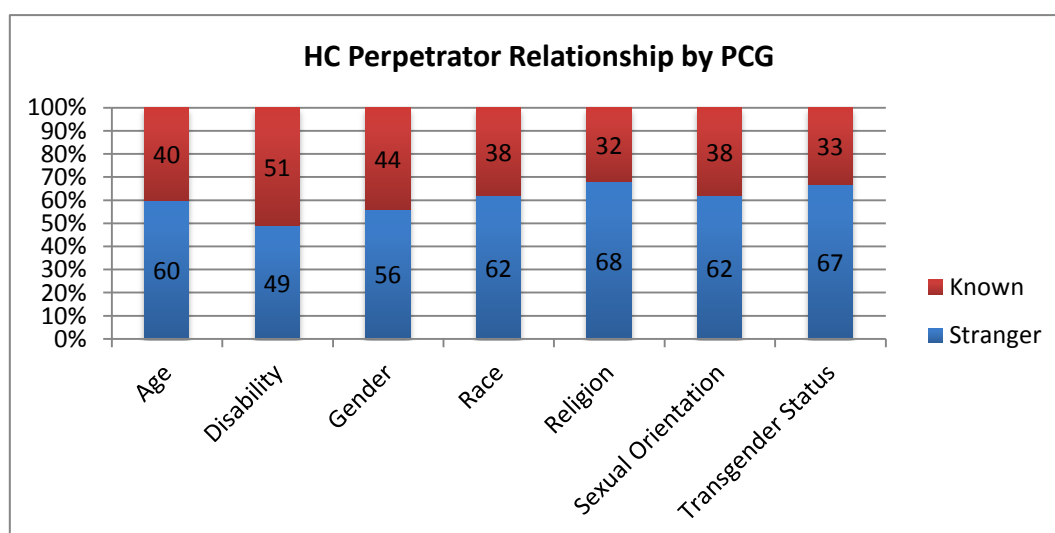


Chart 5.12

The interview data indicate that the majority of participants have been physically or verbally abused by complete strangers in a public place away from their home. However, the data also reveals that often there is a correlation between where the hate crime took place and whether the perpetrator was known by the victim. Maya recounts her race hate crime experience in South Wales. She was verbally and physically abused by a neighbour outside her own home and in front of her children. Ultimately, the young female offender was

⁴⁹ The majority of hate crimes and incidents across all strands were committed by strangers. The exception is disability-related hate crime where 51% of incidents were perpetrated by someone known to the victim. This finding reinforces increasing concerns about the perpetration of 'mate crime' against people with a learning disability.

prosecuted for racially-aggravated assault and pled guilty during the criminal justice process, but the nature of the incident and subsequent feelings of vulnerability and intimidation continue to have an effect on Maya and her children.

She [neighbour] kept saying, ‘you paki cow, you paki bitch’ and pushed me against the car. And it was totally unprovoked. You wouldn’t believe the hell I’ve been through because it’s on your doorstep, every time we was to leave the house she was there, looking at us, giving us dirty looks. And, my kids were so scared. We never dared park the car outside their house. That’s how scared we were. It’s been a year and we still don’t [park outside the neighbour’s house]. I just wanted to move the house and take us somewhere else. If it was somewhere else, like if we were shopping and it happened then you don’t see that person again. When you’re just living in that street and that’s where you are, you can’t get away from it, there’s a constant reminder.

Chart 5.13 reveals that almost seventy per cent (N=68) of racially motivated hate crimes were perpetrated by more than one offender. Charts 5.14 – 5.16 indicate that seventy-two per cent (N=72) of perpetrators were men; fifty-seven per cent were 30 years old or younger, and eighty-eight per cent were white.

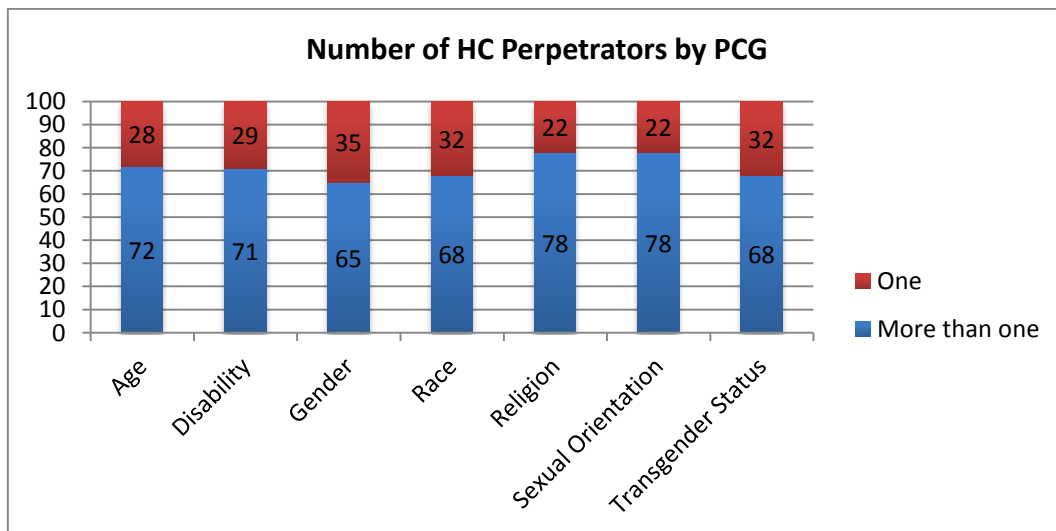


Chart 5.13

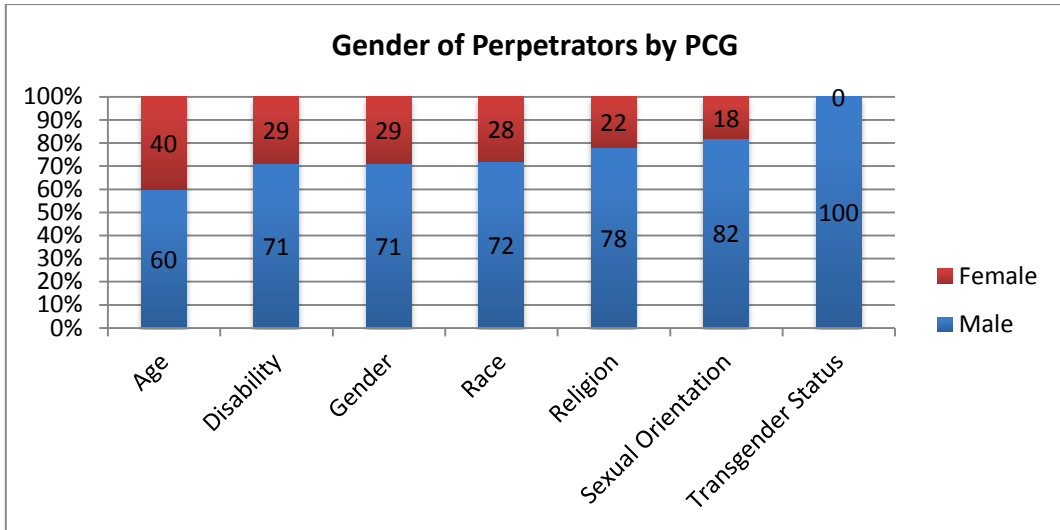


Chart 5.14

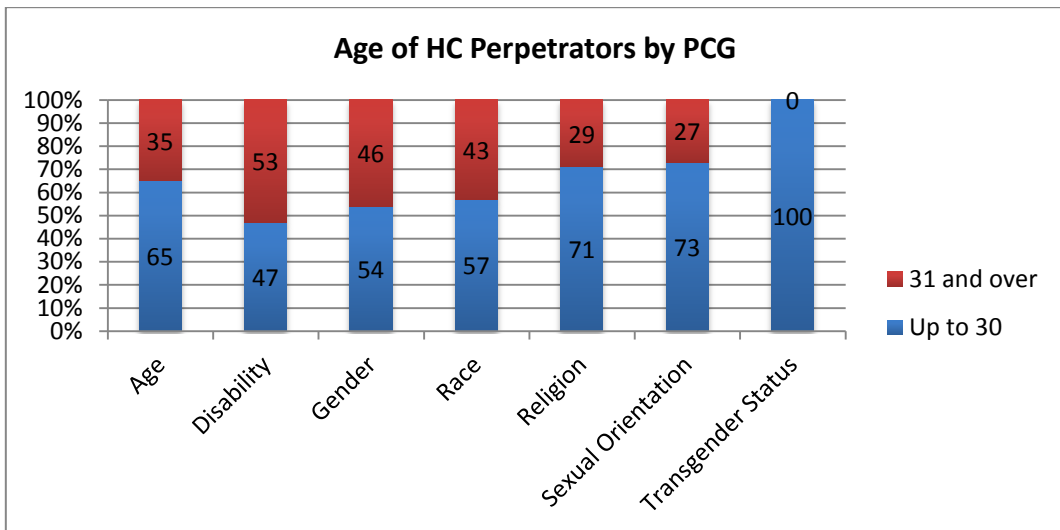


Chart 5.15

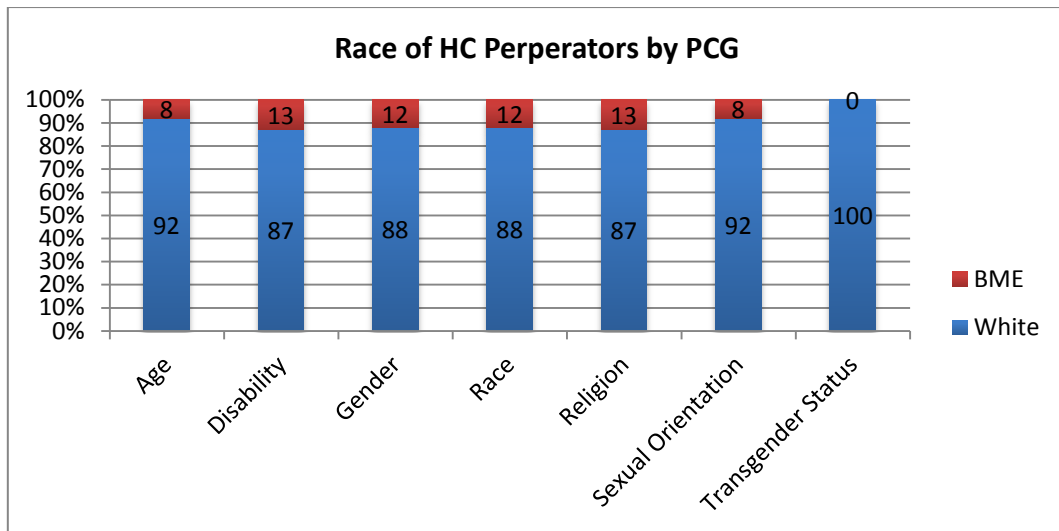


Chart 5.16

The primary focus of the AWHC Project was to generate data and thereby increase awareness and understanding of the nature and impact of hate crime *victimisation* in Wales. As a consequence, information on the nature of perpetration and perpetrator characteristics is limited. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that all data is generated from a victim’s perspective. These two issues ensure that the findings must be interpreted with a degree of caution. It is vital that further research is carried out in this area because it is evident that issues such as repeat victimisation (which can provide information on escalation of offence frequency and severity), offence location (proximity) and whether the offender is known to the victim (familiarity) are significant risk indicators that need to be factored in to an effective risk assessment framework for hate crime victims.

5.7 Police Contact and Reporting Experience

This subsection highlights key findings in relation to victims’ experience of the hate crime reporting process in Wales. The findings relate to both police and third party organisations. The section is framed mainly around the data generated by survey respondents. However, qualitative findings are included, where appropriate, because the interview data provide a nuanced account of victims’ experiences of the police reporting process. Ten of the eleven victims of racially-motivated hate crime who were interviewed had reported at least one incident to the police.

5.7.1 Police Contact, Reporting Experience and Levels of Satisfaction

Forty-six percent of race hate crimes were reported to the police. This is broadly comparable with reporting rates across the protected characteristic groups⁵⁰. In sixty-six per cent of these cases the victims told the police explicitly that they believed the incident was motivated by racially-aggravated hostility or prejudice.

Chart 5.17 shows the action taken by police as a result of reporting the incident. Almost sixty per cent of the race hate crime reports were subsequently recorded by the police and forty-nine per cent of them initiated some form of police investigation. A quarter of race hate crime reports resulted in the arrest of an offender, and in fifteen per cent of cases no further action was taken following the incident report. It is important to acknowledge that these findings are generated wholly from the victim's perspective and individual victims may not have been fully updated on police activity after incidents were reported.

Chart 5.18 shows the various reasons given for reporting the hate crime or incident by equality strand. Below are the top three reasons for reporting race hate crime victimisation:

1. Victim believed reporting all crimes/incidents is the right thing to do (N=75)
2. Victim wanted to prevent it from happening again (N=66)
3. Victim felt it was a serious crime/incident (N=61)

Chart 5.19 depicts the various reasons for not reporting hate crime incidents to the police by equality strand. The top three reasons given by victims of race hate crime were:

1. The incident was too trivial/it wasn't worth it
2. It was believed the police could have done nothing to help
3. The police would not have understood

⁵⁰ The exception here is gender-based hate crimes which were only reported in 30% of cases.

As a Result of Your Report, What Action Was Taken by the Police?

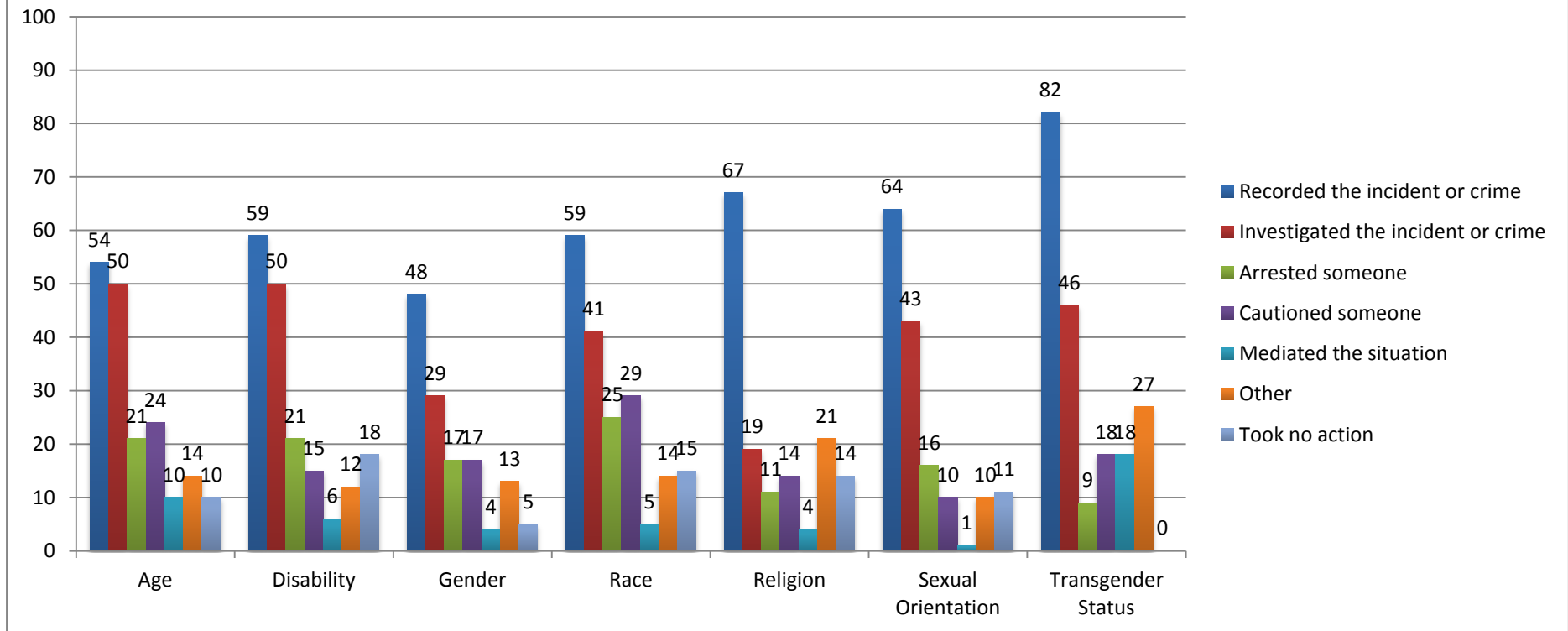


Chart 5.17

Reasons for Reporting HC to Police by PCG

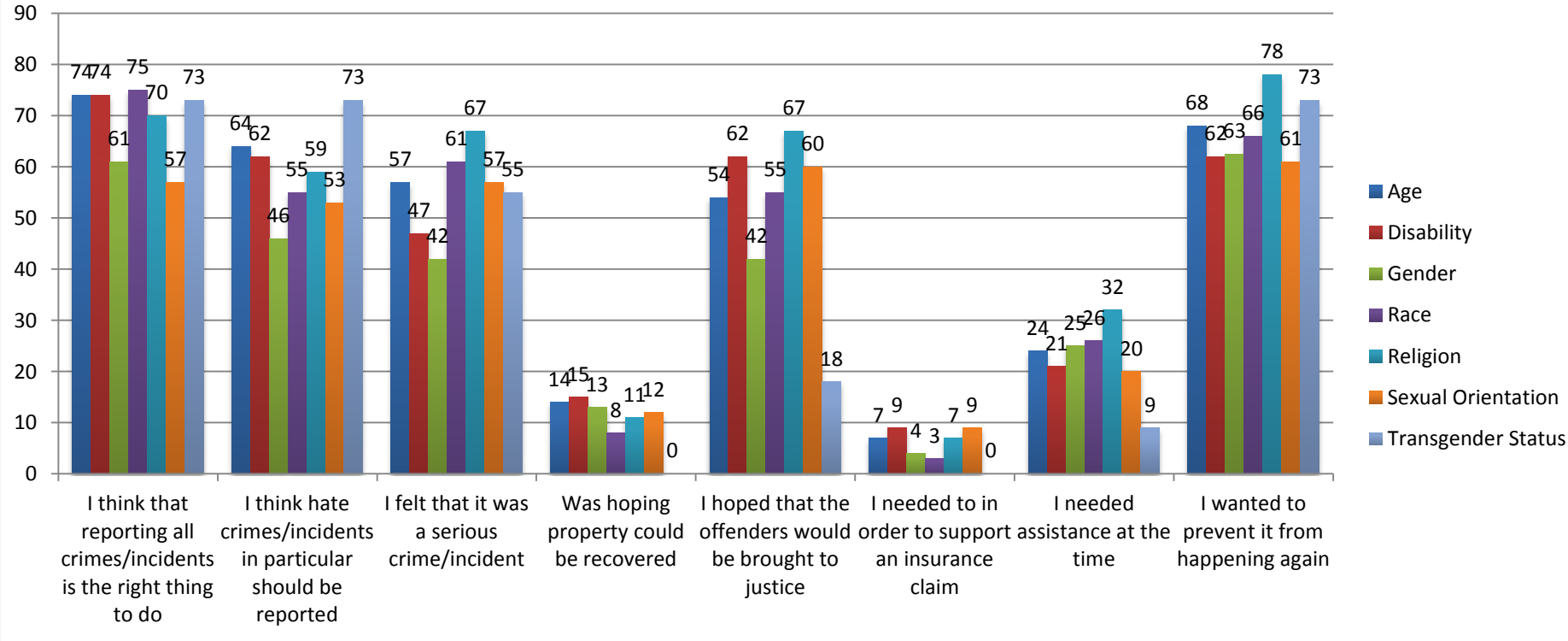


Chart 5.18

Reasons for Not Reporting by PCG

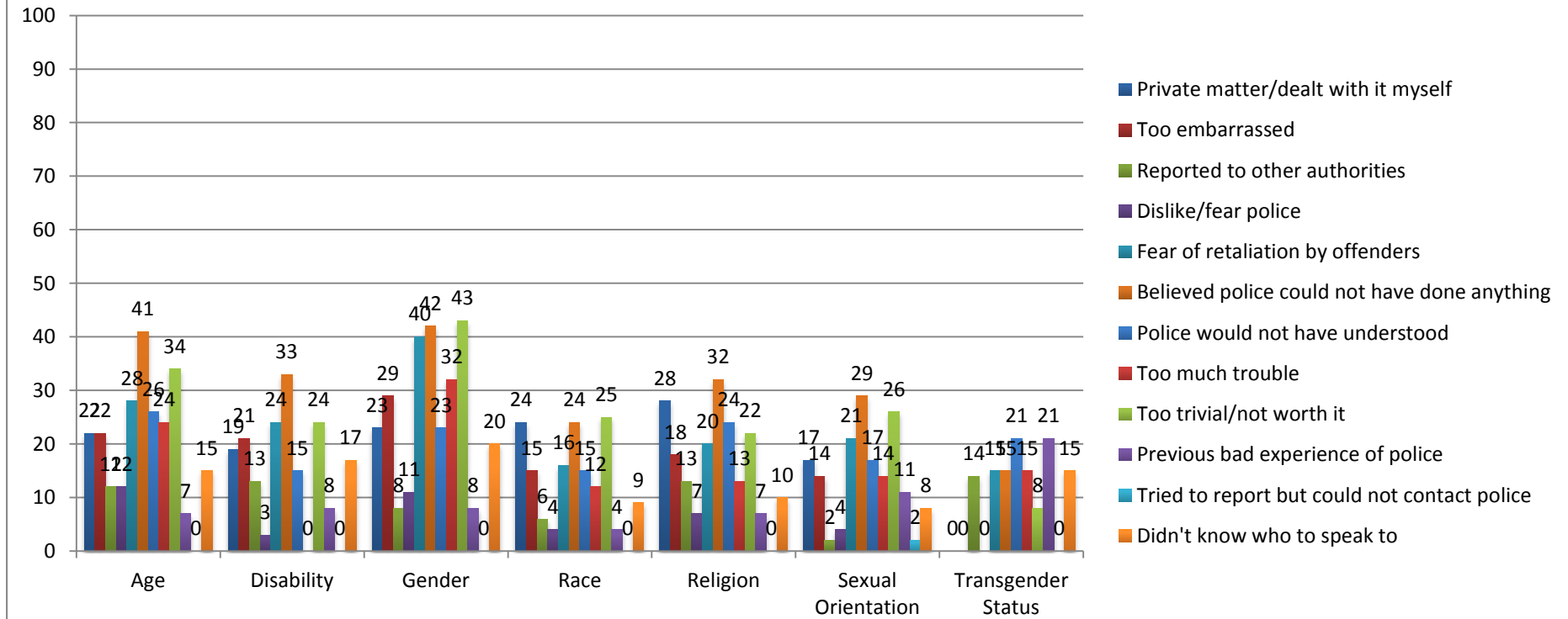


Chart 5.19

Eighty-seven percent of race hate crime victims would encourage a victim of hate crime to report to the police. This percentage is low when comparing data across all protected characteristic groups. The interview data indicates that the perspective taken on whether to recommend reporting is often contingent on previous experience and informed by levels of satisfaction with police contact and response at the time of reporting and subsequent case investigation, and – in a minority of cases – satisfaction with the criminal justice process more generally (including case outcome).

All victims were asked how satisfied they were with the response they received from the police. Abid's observation sums up just how important initial police contact is to levels of victim trust and confidence:

When you're a victim and something happens, that police officer whoever they may be could change your life around. They could either make you feel, 'hang on I will never trust the police, or they could make you feel, 'hang on that was worth my time...'

A scale of satisfaction was devised by combining the data from 8 questions relating to victim satisfaction during the course of contact with the police in their local area⁵¹. Chart 5.20 shows that race hate crime victims were mid-range (mean score of 18.6) in terms of their satisfaction with the police when compared to the other protected characteristic groups. However, multiple regression analysis revealed that this difference did not hold up when demographic and perpetration factors were considered, meaning victims of race related hate crimes/incidents were no more or less likely to be dissatisfied with the police compared to other victims who reported.

⁵¹ The eight questions captured satisfaction levels according to 1. Ease of police contact; treatment by police officers/staff; how well police listened to the victim; how seriously victim information was taken; how quickly the police responded to initial contact; the way in which subsequent information was provided by the police; the extent to which police took account of personal circumstances/minority identity, and the outcome of police investigation. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being very dissatisfied and 4 being very satisfied). When the eight questions were combined the police satisfaction scale included mean values that ranged from 8 to 32 (8 being the least satisfied and 32 being the most satisfied).

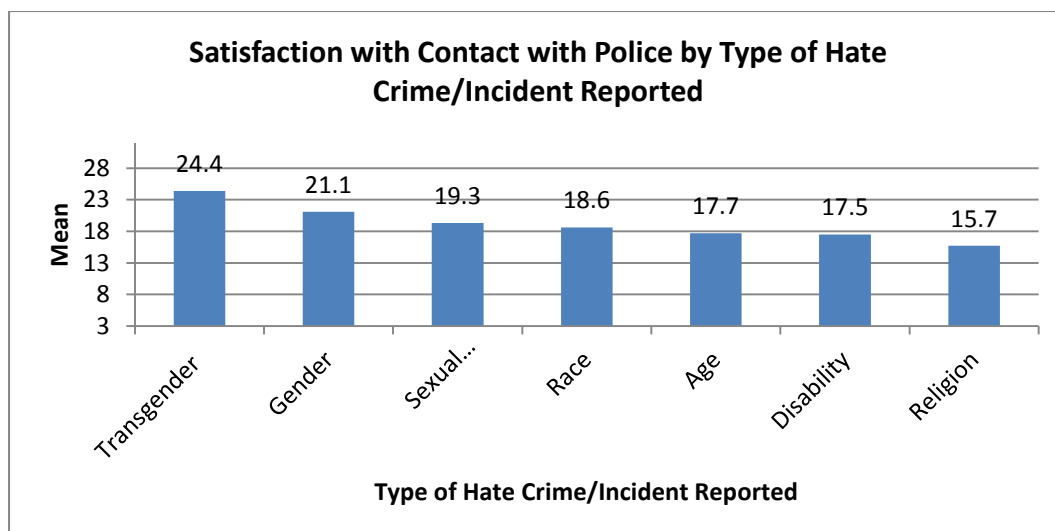


Chart 5.20

The interviews with race hate crime victims reveal mixed levels of satisfaction with the police at the stage of reporting and during any subsequent case investigation. Interview participants highlight a lack of consistency in treatment by the police and victims are critical of the length of time it took to gather evidence or to receive case updates. These perceptions, outlined in the following extracts, can lead to a lack of trust in the police and increased feelings of frustration and vulnerability:

They don't represent us. I think from my personal experience they [the police] need to treat both parties equally without seeing the colour in between, without assuming, 'hang on these guys are black or Asian or whatever. They need to see both culprit and victims equally and treat it as they would treat an incidence where both parties are white. If people could have this trust it would be easier for them to report.

Abid, South Wales

Carl, a Roma Gypsy living in South Wales reinforces Abid's observations to some extent:

I think they [the police] should be more friendly to people from other countries. I don't think the police would knock UK people's doors and ask if they have been chasing Czech Roma people.

It is important to acknowledge that often victims have limited knowledge of the criminal justice system (CJS) in Wales, and as the most visible aspect of the CJS, the police are often deemed inaccurately to be the reason for lengthy delays in the criminal justice process. However, this is an important finding in itself. It is vital that victim expectations in relation to

case outcome are managed from the outset and that they are also provided with clear and relevant information about the criminal justice process in Wales.

5.7.2 Third Party Reporting

Both survey respondents and interview participants were asked if they had ever reported a racially-aggravated hate crime to a third party individual or organisation. Twenty-eight percent of survey respondents who answered this question had reported an incident to a third party organisation. This is broadly comparable to third party reporting patterns across the protected characteristic groups⁵². **Overall, ninety-three per cent of race hate crime victims would encourage other victims to report to a third party individual or organisation.** A number of interview participants had contacted a third party organisation in addition to reporting the hate crime incident to the police. These victims recalled positive experiences in terms of the emotional support and practical advice they received from a single point of contact within the organisation⁵³. However, very few victims were aware of third party reporting centres that they could contact as an *alternative* to calling the police directly. This is a pattern replicated across all victim groups.

5.8 Chapter Summary

Black or Black British respondents are the second most fearful of becoming a victim of crime and analysis shows that there is a significant difference in fear levels among white and minority ethnic respondents. Furthermore, worry about hate crime has the biggest effect on Black respondents and the least effect on white respondents and there is significant difference minority ethnic respondents and white respondents in relation to the impact of fear of hate crime victimisation.

In terms of hate crime victimisation:

Impact

- Minority ethnic respondents were over 1.5 times more likely to think that hate crimes/incidents had a negative impact upon the community compared to white respondents.

⁵² The exception here is transphobic hate crime victims who reported to a third party individual or organisation in 54% of cases.

⁵³ See Chapter 2.6 for further information on support service provision

Perpetration

- In relation to their most serious hate crime/incident two-thirds of race-related hate crime/incident victims reported knowing their perpetrator;
- In relation to their most serious hate crime/incident just over two-thirds of race-related hate crime/incident victims reported being victimised by more than one perpetrator.

Reporting Behaviour

- Of the race-related hate crime/incident victims that reported to the police (46%), three quarters (75%) stated they did so because they felt it was the right thing to do;
- Of the race-related hate crime/incident victims that did not report to the police, one quarter (25%) stated they did not do so because they believed the incident was too trivial.

The findings also reveal

- Nearly half (42.3%) of all victims of race related hate crimes/incidents stated that hate incidents were the most serious they had experienced. Around 1 in 5 (21.8%) stated violent crimes were the most serious they had experienced, compared to just over 1 in 10 who stated threats and acquisitive crime were the most serious (14.8% and 10.6% respectively). Just over 1 in 20 (4.9%) stated property crimes were the most serious hate crimes they had experienced.
- Interviews reveal mixed levels of satisfaction with the police with some participants highlighting mixed treatment by the police.

Chapter Six: Religion and Belief

We keep a low profile, we have our faith; it's a sad thing that we don't have freedom.

Asaf, victim of faith hate crime in South Wales

6.1 Introduction

This research reveals the divergent nature of faith hate crime in Wales but it is clear that more work needs to be done to understand and raise awareness of the forms it takes in Wales. The findings presented in this chapter were generated via survey response and one to one interviews and focus groups with victims of faith hate crime, and focus on a range of issues including:

- Community cohesion
- Fear of general crime and hate crime
- Perceptions of hate crime impact on local communities

The chapter then focuses specifically on hate crime experience and in particular:

- The nature of hate crime
- Perpetration
- Reporting experiences

Exactly one quarter (443) of the survey respondent total stated that they were practicing religion in Wales. Of this total, two hundred and fifty seven (58%) identified as Christian; one hundred and eight (24%) as Muslim; twenty-eight (6%) as Hindu; twenty-eight (6%) as Other⁵⁴; and twenty-two (5%) as Buddhist.

6.2 Community Cohesion

All survey respondents were asked to provide some local community information including how long they have lived in the area and their perception of levels of interaction and integration within the local community. The responses from three survey questions were combined to generate a 'community cohesion scale'⁵⁵. Chart 6.1 shows that on a scale of 3

⁵⁴ The 'other' category includes Bahai, Jewish, Sikh, Pagan and Spiritualist. These faiths have been grouped together in this way because it was not possible to carry out any statistical analysis on the low numbers they represented on their own.

⁵⁵ The questions were; to what extent do you agree or disagree that your local area is a place where people from different backgrounds got on well together; to what extent do you agree or disagree that residents in their local area respect differences between people, and, how strongly do you feel you belong to your local area. The strength of agreement and sense of belonging were interpreted as proxy values for community cohesion. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being definitely disagree or not at all strongly belong and being definitely agree or very strongly belong). When the three questions were combined the cohesion scale included mean values that ranged from 3 to 12 (3 being least cohesive and 12 being most cohesive).

to 12 (3 being most strongly disagree and 12 most strongly agree), Christian and Hindu respondents most strongly feel that they live in a cohesive community with a mean score of 9.7, followed by Buddhist respondents (mean score of 9.4). Further analysis reveals that non-practising respondents were significantly more likely than Christian, Hindu and Muslim respondents to feel they lived in a cohesive community.

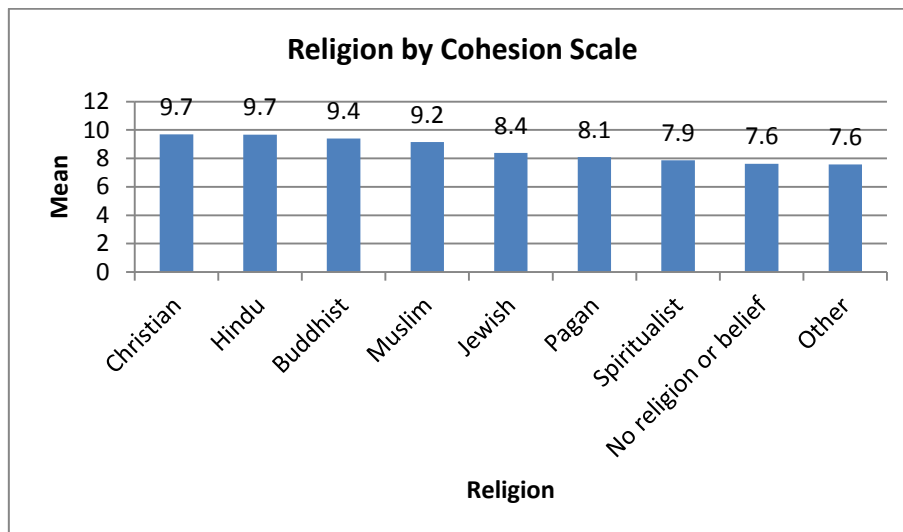


Chart 6.1

6.3 General Fear of Crime and Police Satisfaction

Charts 6.2 and 6.3 provide information on levels of fear of crime⁵⁶ and police satisfaction within different religious groups. On a general fear of crime scale (4 being the least fearful and 16 being the most fearful), all groups are fairly mid range in terms of their fear levels (mean scores of 8.1 – 9.7). However, Jewish respondents are the most fearful of becoming a victim of crime with a mean score of 9.7 and Muslim respondents are the least fearful (mean score of 8.1). Multiple regression, that takes into account other factors, such as demographic characteristics and previous victimisation, revealed that whole controlling for these other factors, **respondents who said they were religious emerged as statistically significantly more fearful than those that said they were not religious**. In terms of general police effectiveness, all religious groups were mid range (i.e. the police were doing a

⁵⁶ The general fear of crime scale was constructed by combining the data from a survey question that asked respondents to state how worried they were about being a victim of 1) property crime; 2) violent crime, 3) sexual violence and 4) harassment, verbal abuse or threats. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being not at all worried and 4 being very worried). When the four crime types were combined the general fear of crime scale included mean values that ranged from 4 to 16 (4 being the least worried and 16 being the most worried).

'fair' job) although Hindu respondents were the most satisfied with the perceived job the police were doing in their local area. No statistically significant findings emerged in the multiple regression analysis in relation to perceptions of general police effectiveness and religious background.

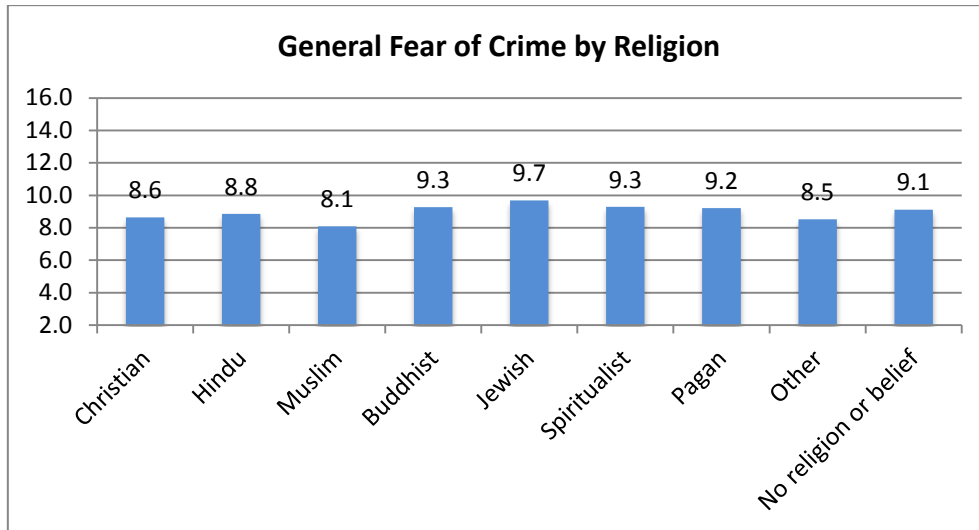


Chart 6.2

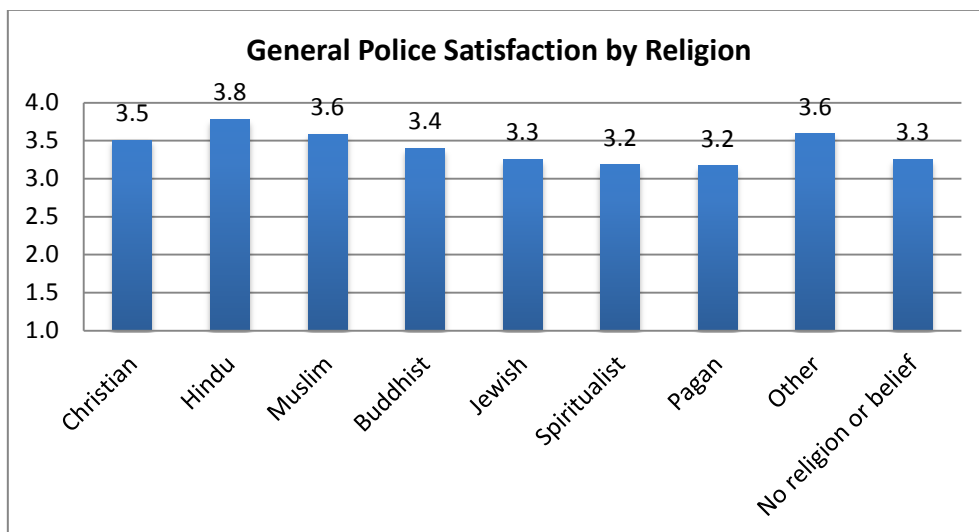


Chart 6.3

6.4 General Hate Crime Issues

This section shows the findings from questions regarding issues and concerns around hate crime and hate crime victimisation from within a religious context. It is important to note that all survey respondents could answer the questions in this section. Therefore, findings include data from both victims and non-victims of hate crime. Where possible, interview data

is presented in order to provide a more holistic understanding of key themes emerging from the statistical findings.

6.4.1 Scale and Impact of Hate Crime on the Community

Survey respondents were asked their perceptions of the scale of the hate crime problem in their local area. The data shows that on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being not a problem at all and 4 being a very big problem), the mean value across religions was 2 indicating that the majority of respondents believe that hate crime is not a very big problem at all in their local area. However, Chart 6.4 shows that Christian and Hindu respondents are least likely to believe that hate crime is a problem compared to all other religion categories (mean score of 2.0). However, this difference did not emerge as statistically significant in multiple regression where we took into account other factors that may have an influence on perceptions of the hate crime problem (age, gender, previous victimisation etc.). Holding all other factors constant, respondents practicing religion were no more likely than respondents who were not practicing a religion to think there was a problem. The same analysis also revealed that respondents practicing religion were no more likely than respondents who were not practicing a religion to think that hate crimes/incidents had a negative impact upon the community.

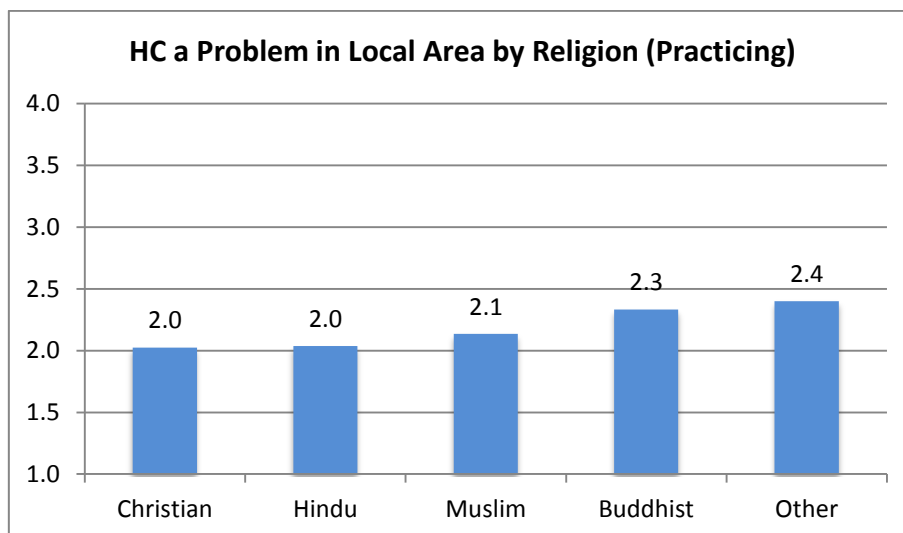


Chart 6.4

6.4.2 Perception of police performance in relation to hate crime and hate-related incidents

All respondents were asked how good a job they perceived the police to be doing to tackle hate crime and hate-related incidents in their local area. The levels of police effectiveness were measured on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being a very poor job and 5 being an excellent job). Again, responses across all religious groups were fairly mid-range (i.e. the police were doing a 'fair' job). However, the 'other'⁵⁷ religious groups were more likely to view the police response most favourably (mean score of 3.6) whereas Buddhists were least likely to think that the police were doing an effective job to address hate crime (mean score of 3.2). Multiple regression analysis did not reveal any statistically significant findings.

6.4.3 Fear of Hate Crime Victimisation and Hate Crime Avoidance Strategies

The survey was able to measure fear of hate crime⁵⁸ on the basis of faith/religion. **Chart 6.5 shows that Hindu respondents are the most fearful (mean score of 10.3) followed by Muslim respondents (mean score of 8.4). Furthermore, there are a number of statistically significant differences when these findings are broken down into specific crime types, and the religious groups are compared to each other.** On a general hate crime fear scale Hindu respondents are significantly more fearful of becoming a victim than Christian respondents. In terms of fear of becoming a victim of hate-related property crime, Muslim respondents are significantly more fearful than Christian respondents. Finally, Hindu respondents are significantly more fearful than Christian respondents of becoming a victim of hate-related violent crime and hate-related harassment and threats than Christian respondents. Multiple regression analysis did not reveal any statistically significant differences between those practicing a religion and those not.

⁵⁷ For the purposes of statistical analysis the following faiths/religions were grouped together: Bahai; Judaism; Sikhism, and practicing Pagans and Spiritualists.

⁵⁸ See footnote 58 for an explanation of the construction of the fear of (hate) crime scale.

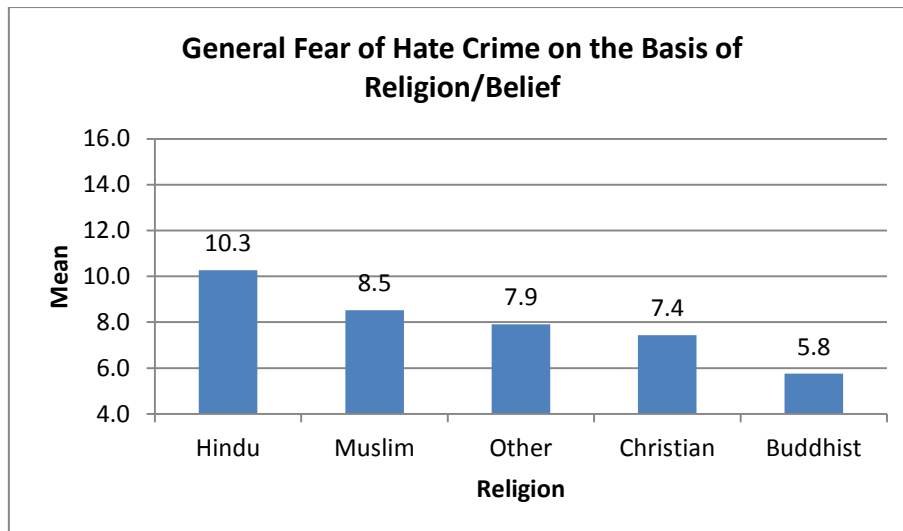


Chart 6.5

In association with a fear of hate crime, all respondents were asked whether they had ever attempted to conceal aspects of their identity or taken specific precautions in an attempt to reduce the risk of becoming a victim of hate crime. **Fifteen per cent of survey respondents had attempted to conceal their religion in order to reduce the risk of hate crime victimisation.** This finding is mirrored to some extent in the qualitative interview data. Bob, an Evangelical Christian man living in South Wales stated that he concealed his faith while at work because he had overheard colleagues labelling people who go to church as 'irrational'.

Additional precautions listed in the survey included improving home security, carrying personal security devices, avoiding certain areas/places, moved house/area and avoiding going out at night. We combined these measures to create a Precautions Scale (range 0-5). Those scoring higher on the scale have reported taking more precautions against hate crime. Chart 6.6 below shows there was a slight difference between religions in relation to taking precautions but no significant findings emerged in multiple regression analysis.

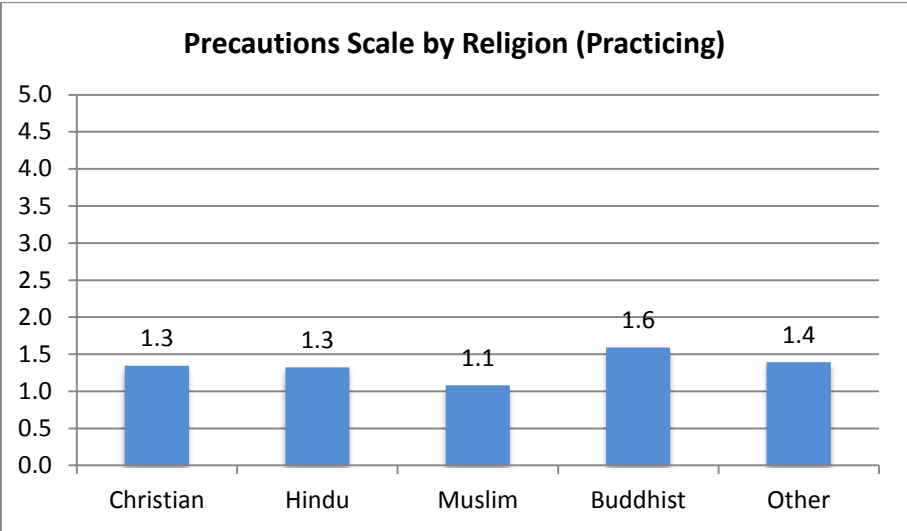


Chart 6.6

6.4.4 Effect of Hate Crime Worry on Quality of Life

Finally respondents were asked to measure the extent to which their quality of life was affected by the fear of hate crime victimisation. The impact of hate crime worry was measured on a scale of 1 to 10 (with 1 being no effect on quality of life and 10 being total effect on quality of life). Chart 6.7 shows that Buddhists indicate the highest level of impact, while Christians indicate the lowest. However, results from multiple regression analysis did not reveal any statistically significant associations.

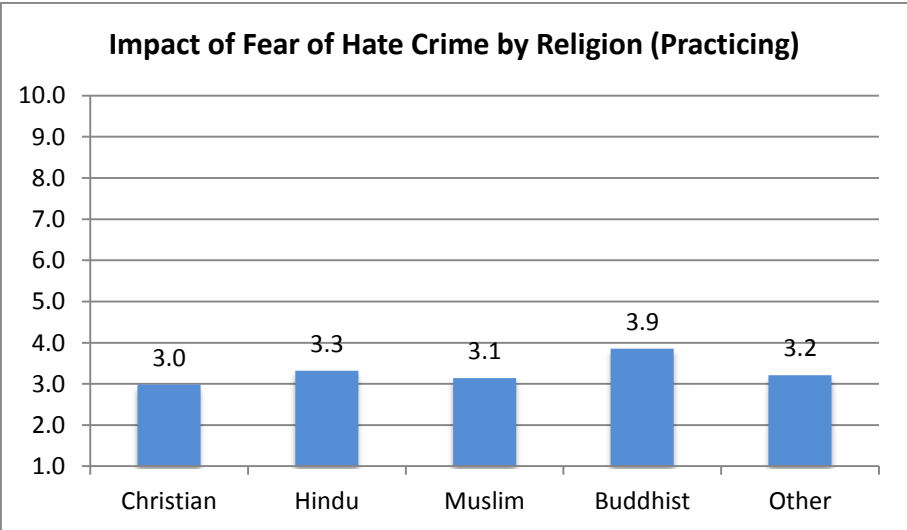


Chart 6.7

6.5 Hate Crime Victim Experience

This section focuses on the findings from data provided by research participants who have been victims of hate crime in Wales. In addition to the relevant survey analysis, interview data is presented where possible to provide a more holistic understanding of key themes emerging from the statistical findings and to highlight the complex nature of hate crime victimisation. The data included in the charts presented in this section highlight the nature of victimisation across ALL victim groups. It is important to view the nature of faith hate crime in context and to reinforce the vital point that hate crime is not a generic phenomenon; it is a complex offence that can differ markedly between strands.

6.5.1 The Nature of Faith Hate Crime

This sub-section highlights the nature of hate crime victimisation and focuses on the following issues and characteristics:

- The range of hate crimes and hate-related incidents experienced by victims
- Whether the victim was alone or accompanied at the time of the offence
- Where the offence took place
- Repeat victimisation
- Victim perception of offender motivation

6.5.2 Most Serious Hate Crime

Nearly half (43.3%) of all victims of faith related hate crimes/incidents stated that hate incidents were the most serious they had experienced. One in five (20%) stated violent crimes and threats were the most serious they had experienced, compared to just over 1 in 10 who stated property and acquisitive crime were the most serious (8.3%). Chart 6.8 shows that the majority of victims of faith related hate crimes/incidents were alone at the time, while near one third were with friends and seventeen per cent with children.

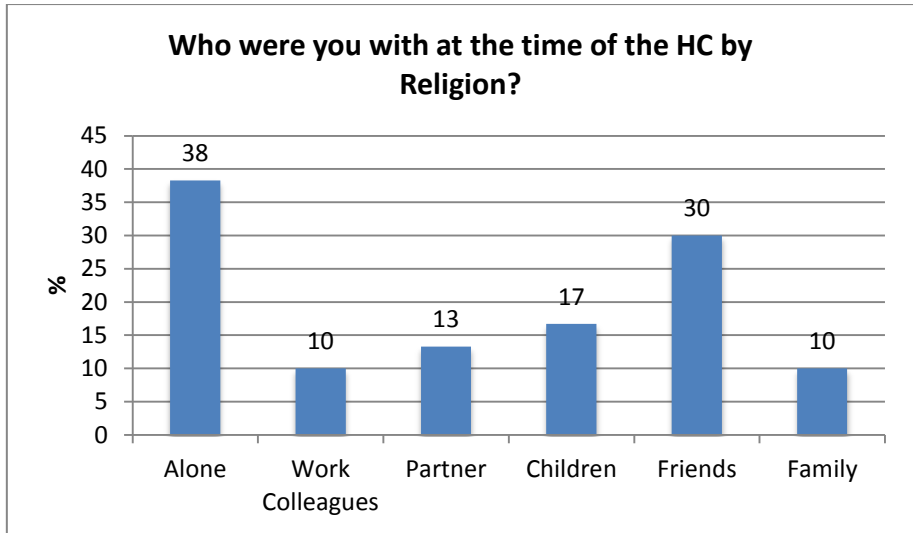


Chart 6.8

Chart 6.9 shows that thirty-five per cent of victims were in or just outside their own home when the hate crime incident took place; thirty-five per cent of victims were partaking in the night-time economy (NTE) and twenty-one per cent of victims were in a public street or park. Only a fraction of religiously-aggravated hate crime incidents took place on public transport.

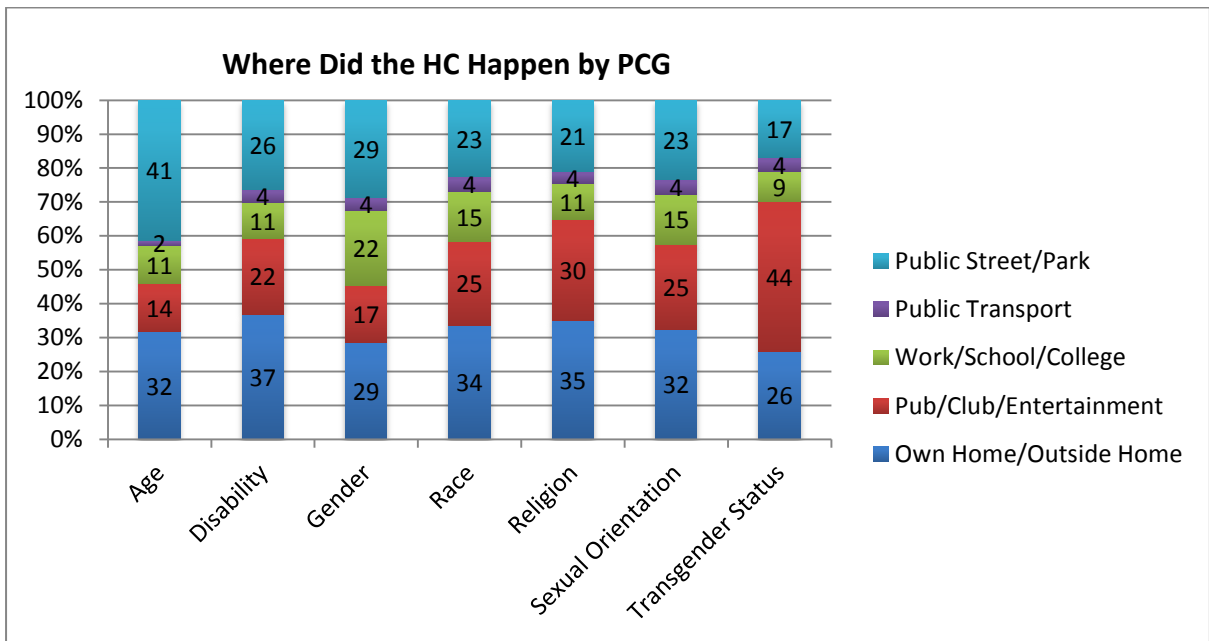


Chart 6.9

The victim interviews reveal the divergent nature of faith hate crime in Wales. The findings indicate it is a form of hate crime that can be both subtle and explicit, and both forms carry a number of implications for victims. It is a form of hate crime that is perpetrated by members

of the secular society, but it can also be the culmination of inter-faith hostility. In some instances faith hate crime is characterised by the **conflation of the racial and religious** aspects of a victim's identity. In the interview data this manifests itself in two ways:

- An intolerance of religious freedom with certain cultures
- Islamophobic hate crime (discussed in the following section)

6.5.3 The conflation of race and religion

The interview data reveals the existence of **inter-faith tension** that can lead to hate crime victimisation. In such cases victims often struggle to determine whether they are the victim of inter-religious hostility or intra-racial hate crime. This is particularly apparent within the Christian and Muslim faith communities.

Two focus group participants highlight the lack of religious freedom they experience as a result of the hostility within their cultural communities. One participant, a Muslim man living in South Wales, converted to Christianity after following the Islamic faith for 33 years. He has been the victim of Muslim hostility as a result of his conversion. He regularly receives threats to his life and that of his family, receives threatening calls to his church and has had frequent contact with the police. He believes that people in his congregation are made to feel fear and shame with regards to religious conversion which he suggests has led to a 'spiritual battle' within his local community.

I worry and am anxious for my family. It makes me very sad. We don't have freedom; I am looking out all the time but I trust in the Lord. The threat is always there but I also worry about people who want to be a Christian. They are governed by a fear not to convert.

Another focus group participant living in South Wales is a Pakistani Christian who has experienced victimisation by Pakistani Muslims.

Pakistani Christians and Pakistani Muslims have no contact with each other. People say, 'which Mosque are you going to? Why are you a Christian and not a Muslim? I fear for Pakistani Christians. We keep a low profile; it's a sad thing that we don't have freedom.

6.5.4 Islamophobic Hate Crime

There is often a tendency to conflate race and religion when profiling some forms of hate crime. This is particularly the case in relation to hate crime against Muslim people, and this research indicates that Muslim victims of hate crime are often unsure which of these aspects of their identity served as the motivating trigger for the abuse they experienced. This type of hate crime problematises the relationship between race and religion and is commonly associated with the term, Islamophobia. However, a number of interview participants believe that the term misrepresents the nature of the problem:

I think there is Islamaphobia, it does exist but I don't know whether that is the right word. I think a lot of people don't really know much about Islam; it's more getting abuse because we're dressed as people think Muslims' dress.

Tusmo, South Wales

According to victims interviewed for this research so-called 'Islamophobic' hate crime is often characterised by specific forms of verbal abuse that reference 'bombers' and 'terrorists'. It is often perpetrated in public places by white men and women. A number of interview participants make insightful comments when attempting to articulate the defining aspects of Islamophobic hate crime.

The new racism isn't towards the colour anymore, it's against religion. Even if you're white convert Muslim you will still get that racism, because you're a Muslim. A friend of mine, he's pure Asian boy brought up in the Valleys. So he's married to a white Welsh native lady and she wears hijab. She even gets called paki, terrorists and stuff like that, and she's thinking 'hang on I'm white, I'm pure white Welsh. It's changed because when you look at Muslims, it's not a colour anymore...you're not just targeting one specific race or culture or nationality, you're targeting even the people from your own homeland.

Abid, South Wales

This observation is corroborated by Tusmo a young, Muslim woman living in South Wales. She agrees that it is often the physical presentation of self, or the visibility of religious 'identifiers' such as a woman's headscarf or hijab that can trigger islamophobic hate crime

incidents. Moreover, she also suggests that the nature of the abuse she experiences has evolved following the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 in America.

The type of abuse I face has changed since 9/11. It used to be more about my colour really, and now it's about my scarf; it's now kind of turned on religion and being a foreigner because of the clothes I wear. My family, especially female members of my family are vulnerable. They visibly can be seen to be Muslim, like when they wear the headscarf. So it's definitely changed. It used to be more about me being black; people on the estate used to call my family 'black pakis. Nothing about being a Muslim used to come up at all.

All of the interview participants who have experienced so-called 'islamophobic' suggest that the problem is exacerbated by negative media portrayals of Islam and Muslim communities and in particular the continual associations made between Muslim communities, Al Qaeda and radicalisation.

6.5.5 Subtle, implicit Hate Crime

Yet, the interview data also highlights the often **implicit nature** of faith hate crime and that in some instances it is characterised by misinformed, negative associations and observations. Bob, an Evangelical Christian man living in South Wales recounts his experience:

It just happened that Evangelicals were in the news that day and this guy said, 'oh, they've just lost their minds' type stuff.

As a result some victims indicate that it is quite hard to prove they have been a victim of faith-based hate crime. Indeed, all focus group participants believe the lack of tangible proof impacts on the quality of support they can access and the reaction they receive from the police (see section below).

6.5.6 Repeat Victimization

Victims were asked to disclose whether they had experience of repeat hate crime victimisation⁵⁹. Chart 6.10 shows that forty-two per cent of faith hate crime victims experienced cases of repeat victimisation.

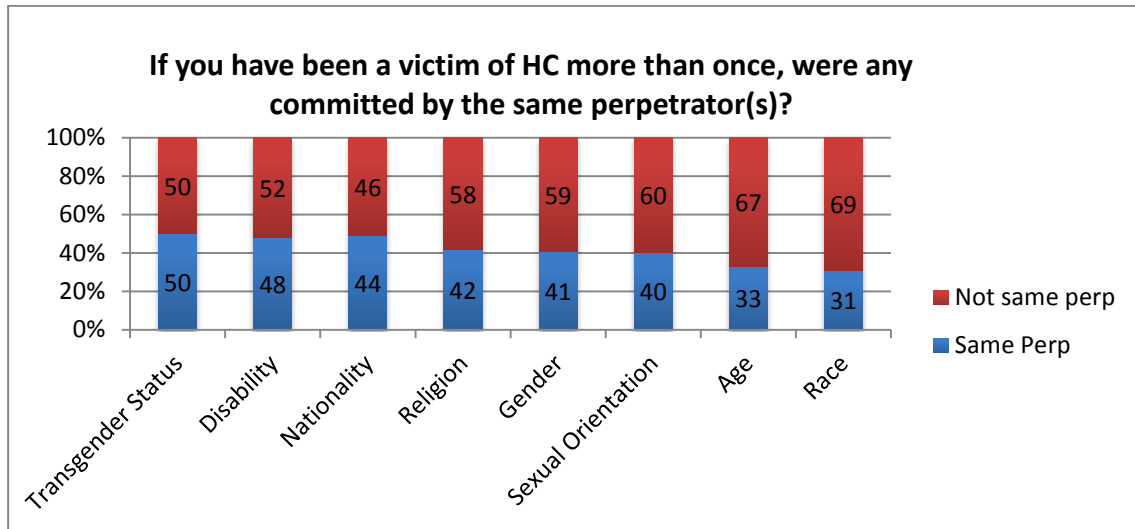


Chart 6.10

A number of faith hate crime victims revealed they had experience of repeat victimisation within their local communities. Their experiences demonstrate the complexity of faith hate crime and reflect the type of incident that is characterised by a conflation of racial and religious identities⁶⁰.

6.5.7 Victim Perception of Offender Motivation

Research participants were asked what they believed motivated the offence against them. Over fifty per cent of respondents who practiced a religion were left in little doubt that the offender was motivated to some degree by hostile attitudes because of the nature of the hate speech directed towards them. As Chart 6.11 shows, forty per cent of faith hate crime respondents felt their physical appearance/dress had contributed in some way to their victimisation, and that the offender was hostile to minority groups.

⁵⁹ It is important to note that the term 'repeat victimisation' refers to more than one incident perpetrated by the same offender or group of offenders. It is distinct from multiple, unconnected experiences of hate crime victimisation by different perpetrators at various points in people's lives.

⁶⁰ See Chapter 2.3 for more information on repeat victimisation and the need for effective police recording mechanisms to register and monitor high-risk incidents and ongoing situations.

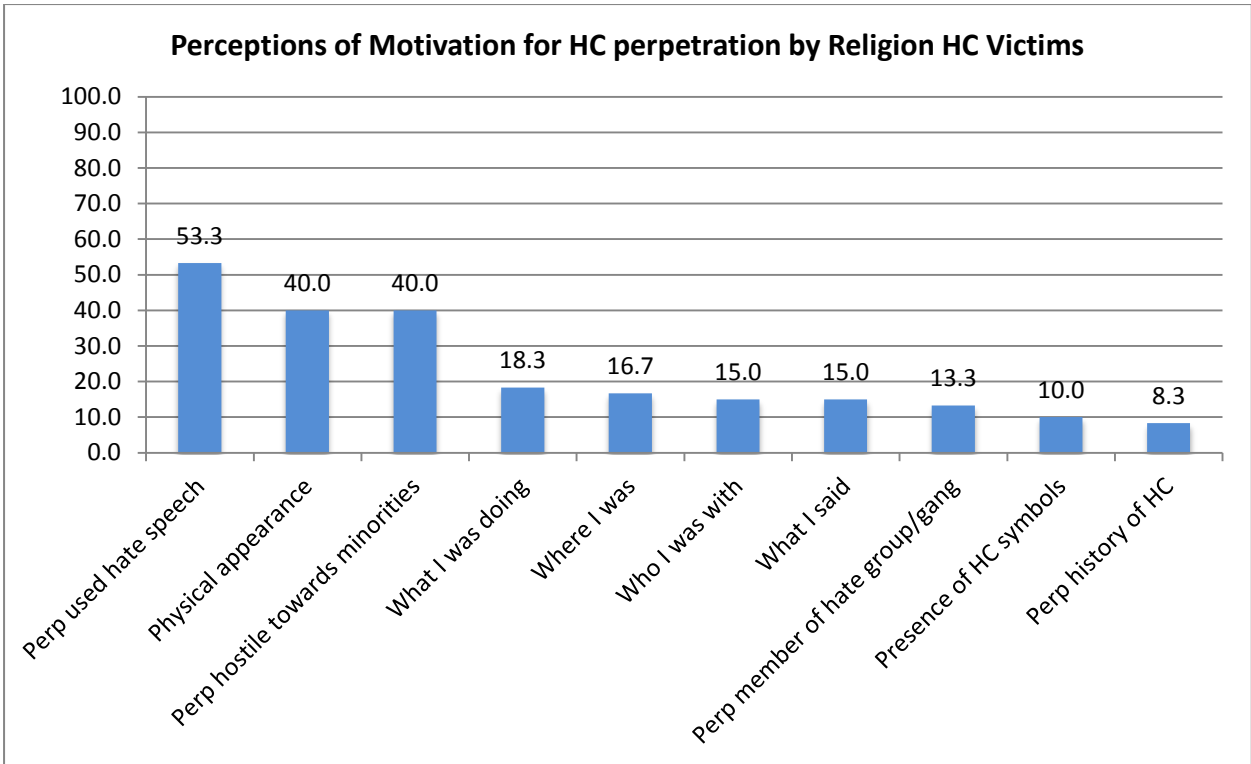


Chart 6.11

6.6 Victim-Perpetrator Relationship and Perpetrator Characteristics

This sub-section details information provided by victims on key perpetrator characteristics. The data in this area is very limited across all of the protected characteristic groups. This in turn restricted the amount of statistical analysis that could be carried out and, as a result, all findings in this area should be interpreted with a large degree of caution. However, empirical research pertaining to hate crime perpetration is very limited generally in the UK, and therefore the type of data generated through the AWHC Project can contribute usefully to this under researched area.

A number of faith hate crime victims provided details of perpetrator characteristics and the findings are presented below in Charts 6.12–6.16. Chart 6.12 shows that in nearly seventy per cent of faith hate crimes the offender(s) was not known by the victim. This is broadly comparable with the victim-perpetrator relationships detailed by victims across the other protected characteristic groups⁶¹.

⁶¹ The majority of hate crimes and incidents across all strands were committed by strangers. The exception is disability-related hate crime where 51% of incidents were perpetrated by someone known to the victim. This finding reinforces increasing concerns about the perpetration of 'mate crime' against people with a learning disability.

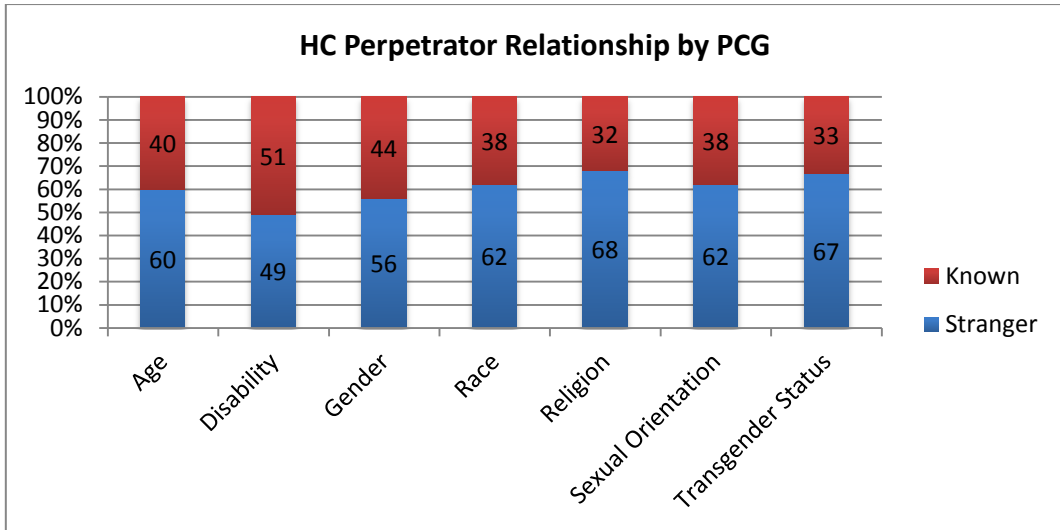


Chart 6.12

Chart 6.13 reveals that the overwhelming majority of faith hate crimes were committed by more than one perpetrator. Charts 6.14 – 6.16 indicate that seventy-eight per cent of perpetrators were men; one per cent were 30 years old or younger, and eighty-seven per cent were white.

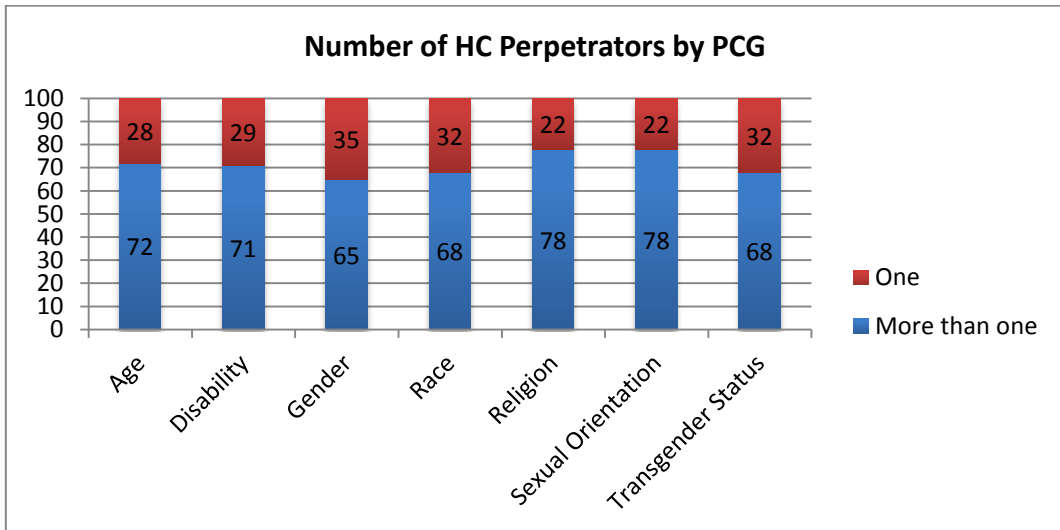


Chart 6.13

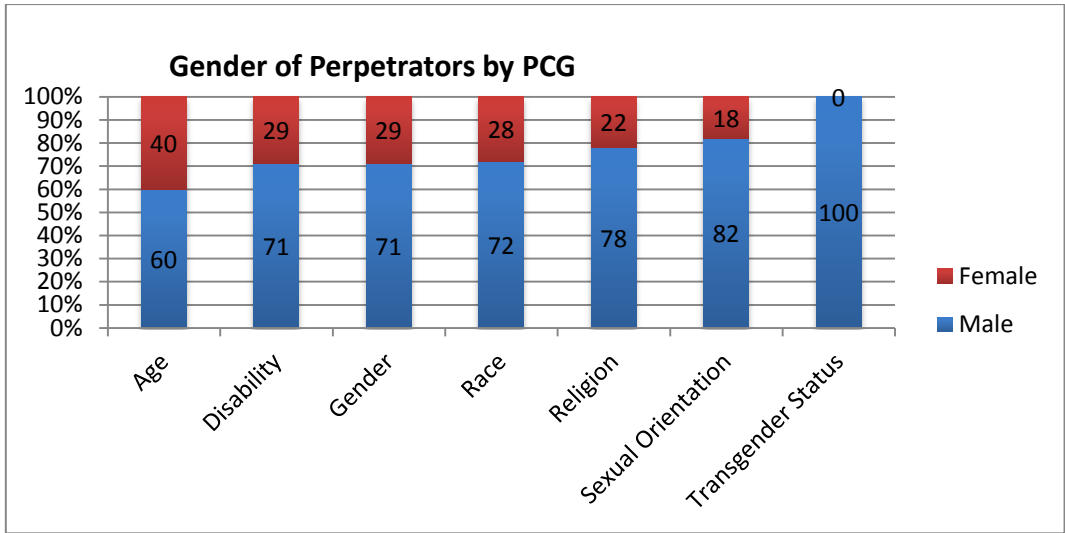


Chart 6.14

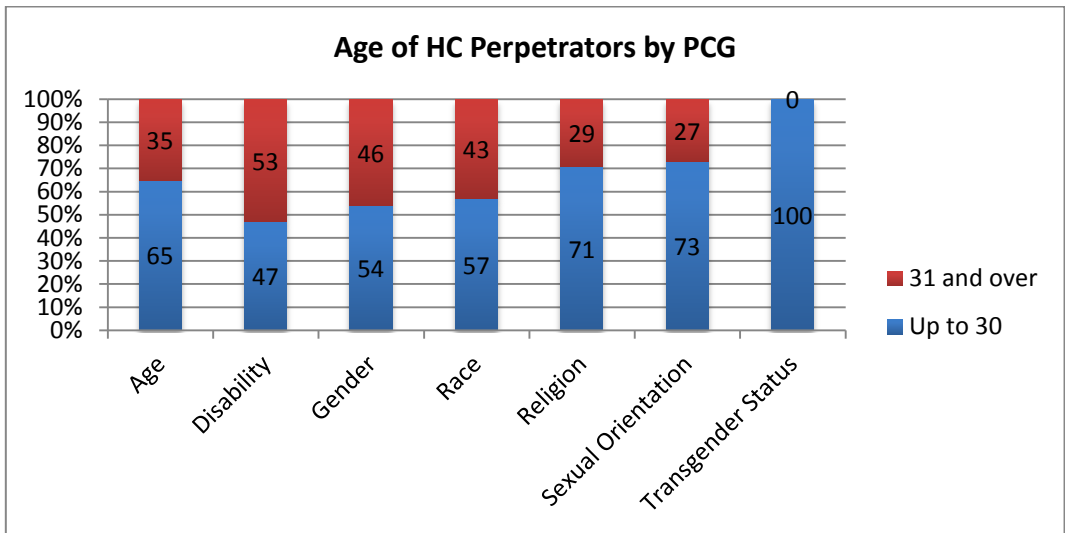


Chart 6.15

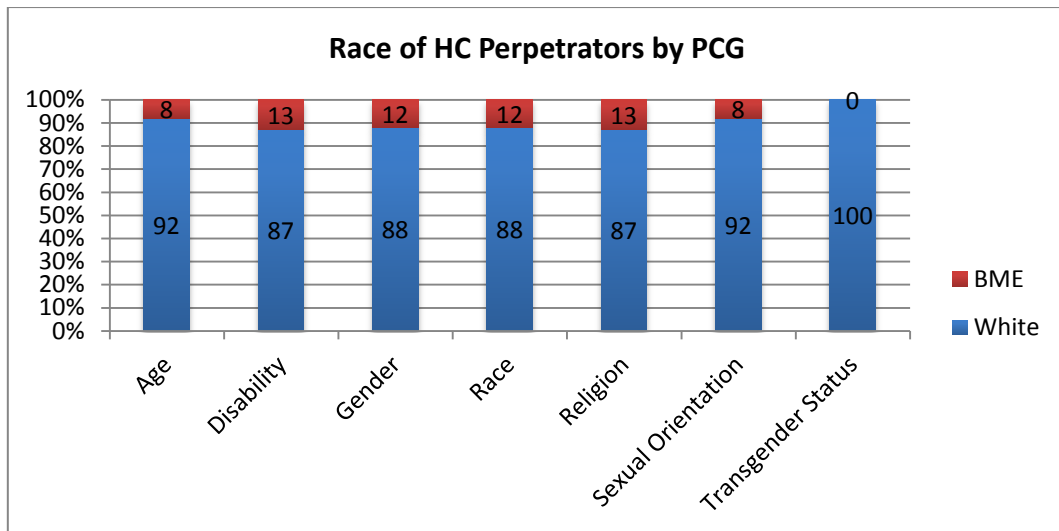


Chart 6.16

The primary focus of the AWHC Project was to generate data and thereby increase awareness and understanding of the nature and impact of hate crime *victimisation* in Wales. As a consequence, information on the nature of perpetration and perpetrator characteristics is limited. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that all data is generated from a victim’s perspective. These two issues ensure that the findings must be interpreted with a degree of caution. It is vital that further research is carried out in this area because it is evident that issues such as repeat victimisation (which can provide information on escalation of offence frequency and severity), offence location (proximity) and whether the offender is known to the victim (familiarity) are significant risk indicators that need to be factored in to an effective risk assessment framework for hate crime victims.

6.7 Police Contact and Reporting Experience

This subsection highlights key findings in relation to victims’ experience of the hate crime reporting process in Wales. The findings relate to both police and third party organisations. The section is framed mainly around the data generated by survey respondents. However, qualitative findings are included, where appropriate, because the interview data provide a nuanced account of victims’ experiences of the police reporting process. Three quarters of the victims of faith hate crime who were interviewed had reported at least one incident to the police.

6.7.1 Police Contact, Reporting Experience and Levels of Satisfaction

Forty seven percent of hate crimes perceived to have been perpetrated on the basis of religion/belief were reported to the police. This represents the joint highest reporting rate across all seven protected characteristic groups⁶². In forty-four per cent of these cases the victims told the police explicitly that they believed the incident was motivated by religiously-aggravated hostility or prejudice. Chart 6.17 shows the action taken by police as a result of reporting the incident. According to the victims over sixty-five per cent of the faith hate crime reports were subsequently recorded by the police but only nineteen per cent of them initiated some form of police investigation. Eleven per cent of faith hate crime reports resulted in the arrest of an offender, and in fifteen per cent of cases no further action was taken following the incident report. It is important to acknowledge that these findings are generated wholly from the victim's perspective and individual victims may not have been fully updated on police activity after incidents were reported.

Chart 6.18 shows the various reasons given for reporting the hate crime or incident by protected characteristic. Below are the top three reasons for reporting faith hate crime victimisation:

1. Victim wanted to prevent it from happening again (N=78)
2. Victim thinks that reporting all crimes is the right thing to do (N=70)
3. Victim felt it was a serious crime/incident (N=67)

Chart 6.19 depicts the various reasons for not reporting hate crime incidents to the police by protected characteristic. The top three reasons given by victims of faith hate crime were:

1. It was believed the police could not have done anything (N=32)
2. The police would not have understood (N=24)
3. The incident was too trivial/not worth it (N=22)

⁶² The joint highest reporting protected characteristic is sexual orientation.

As a Result of Your Report, What Action Was Taken by the Police?

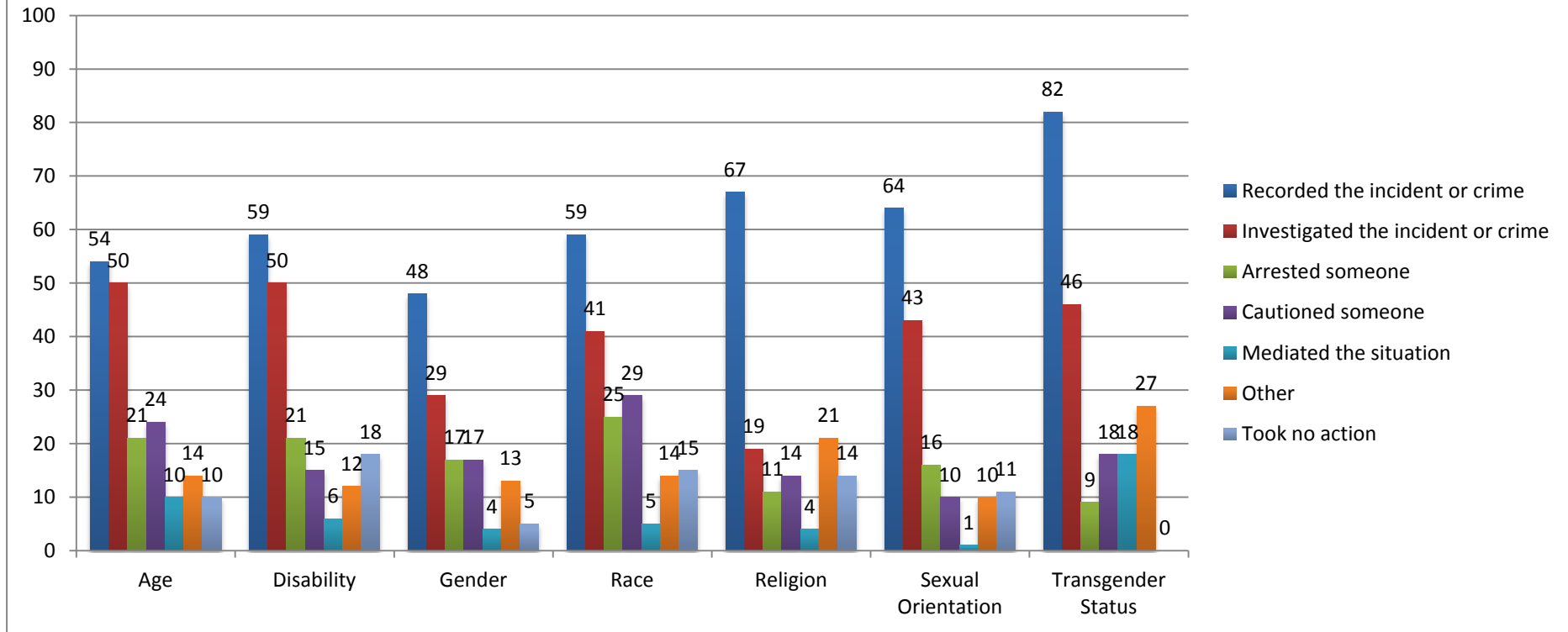


Chart 6.17

Reasons for Reporting HC to Police by PCG

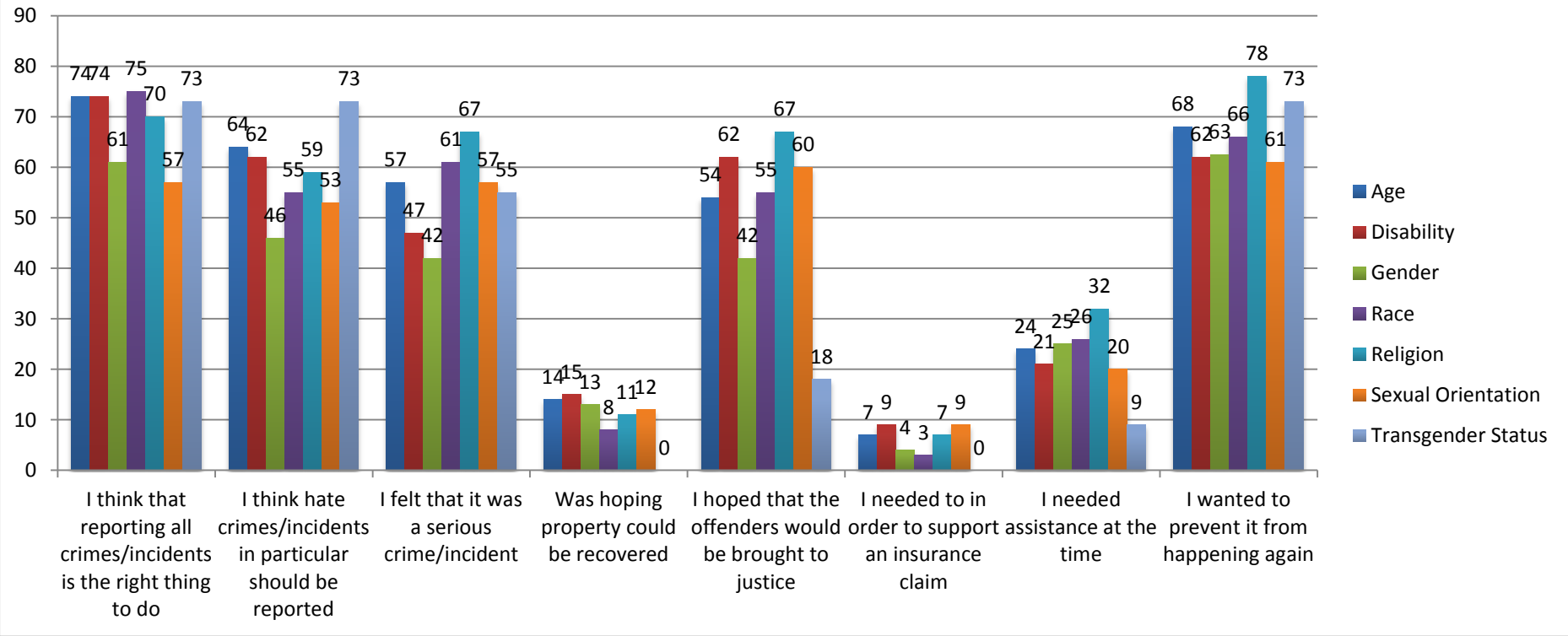


Chart 6.18

Reasons for Not Reporting by PCG

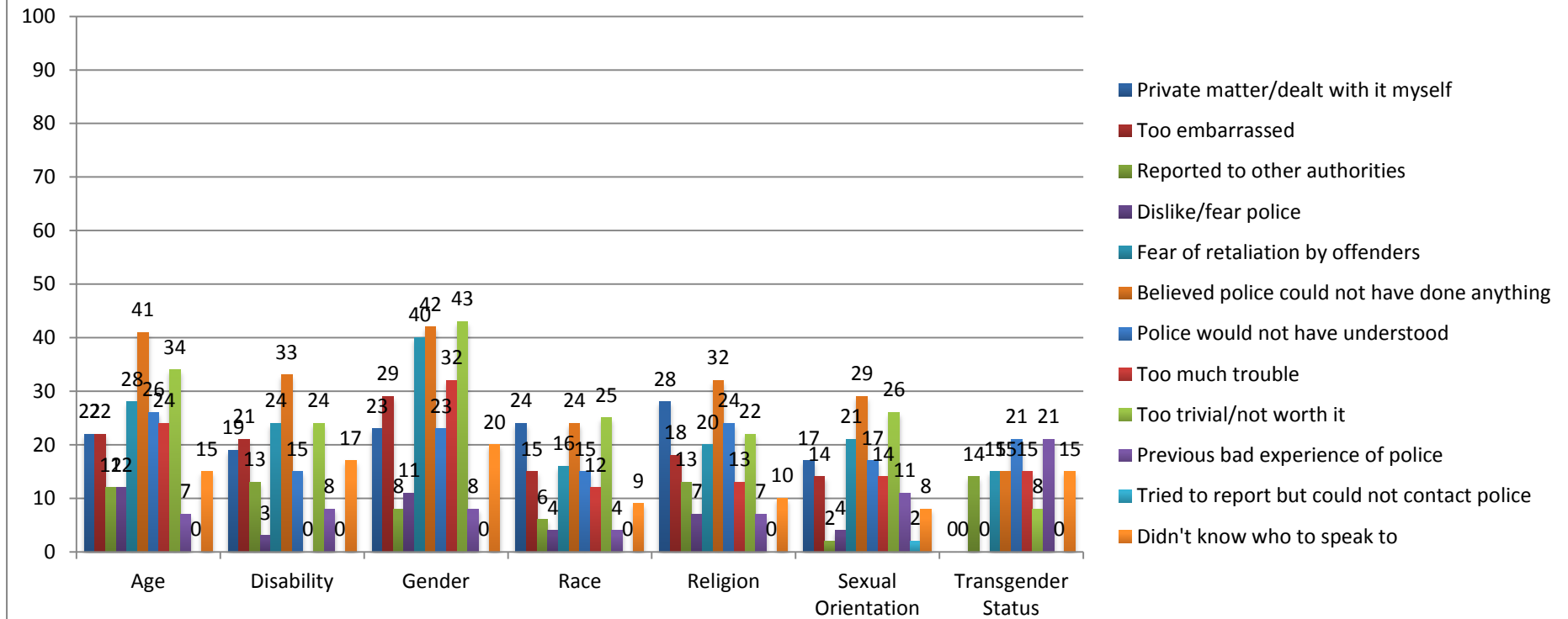


Chart 6.19

Eighty-four percent of faith hate crime victims would encourage a victim of hate crime to report to the police⁶³. This is the lowest rate when that data is compared across all protected characteristic groups. The interview data indicates that the perspective taken on whether to recommend reporting is often contingent on previous experience and informed by levels of satisfaction with police contact and response at the time of reporting and subsequent case investigation, and – in a minority of cases – satisfaction with the criminal justice process more generally (including case outcome).

A scale of satisfaction was devised by combining the data from 8 questions relating to victim satisfaction during the course of contact with the police in their local area⁶⁴. Although faith hate crime victims reported most frequently to the police, chart 6.20 shows that faith hate crime victims were the least satisfied with the police when compared to the other protected characteristic groups (mean score of 15.7). However, multiple regression analysis, that takes into account other contextual factors, such as demographics and the nature of perpetration, revealed that this difference was not statistically significant.

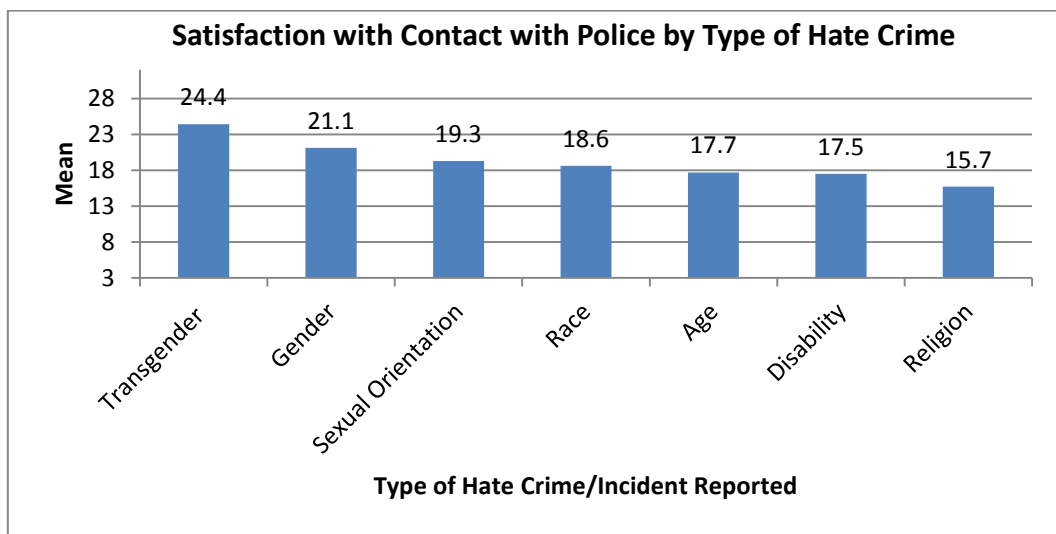


Chart 6.20

⁶³Some interview participants felt that the support from a strong faith community might also play a role in reasons for not reporting faith hate crime. It is thought that victims might turn to their church minister or wider church network for advice and support.

⁶⁴ The eight questions captured satisfaction levels according to 1. Ease of police contact; treatment by police officers/staff; how well police listened to the victim; how seriously victim information was taken; how quickly the police responded to initial contact; the way in which subsequent information was provided by the police; the extent to which police took account of personal circumstances/minority identity, and the outcome of police investigation. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being very dissatisfied and 4 being very satisfied). When the eight questions were combined the police satisfaction scale included mean values that ranged from 8 to 32 (8 being the least satisfied and 32 being the most satisfied).

6.7.2 Third Party Reporting

Both survey respondents and interview participants were asked if they had ever reported a faith hate crime to a third party individual or organisation. Thirty-two percent of survey respondents who answered this question had reported an incident to a third party organisation. This represents the second highest third party reporting rate across the protected characteristic groups. **Moreover, 100% of faith hate crime victims would encourage other victims to report to a third party individual or organisation.** None of the interview respondents had experience of reporting a faith hate crime to a third party organisation in Wales.

6.8 Summary of Key Themes

Survey respondents who practiced religion were significantly more fearful of becoming a victim of crime. On a general hate crime fear scale Hindu respondents are significantly more fearful of becoming a victim of hate crime than Christian respondents.

In terms of hate crime victimisation

- Faith hate crime is often characterised by a conflation of race and religion
- Faith hate crime can manifest itself in a number of ways including:
 - Inter-faith tension
 - Islamophobia
 - Subtle, implicit hate crime incidents

Impact

- Fifteen percent of survey respondents had attempted to conceal their religion in order to reduce the risk of hate crime victimisation.
- Victims are often unsure as to which aspect of their identity is the target of hostility and harassment and inter-faith and intra-racial tension can exacerbate feelings of social isolation and vulnerability.

Perpetration

- In relation to most serious crime/incident faith hate crime victims are most likely (along with victims of homophobic hate crime) to be victimised by more than one perpetrator (78%).
- A proportion of interview participants stated they believed negative and stereotyped media portrayals had a role to play in faith hate crime perpetration, particularly in the case of Islamophobic hate crime.

Reporting Behaviour

- Faith hate crime victims were most likely (alongside homophobic hate crime victims) to report hate crime experiences to the police (47%)
- Of the faith-related hate crime/incident victims that did not report to the police one third (32%) stated they did not do so because they believed the police could not have done anything to help
- Faith hate crime victims were least likely to encourage other victims to report (84%)

The findings also reveal

- Nearly half (43.3%) of all victims of faith related hate crimes/incidents stated that hate incidents were the most serious they had experienced. One in five (20%) stated violent crimes and threats were the most serious they had experienced, compared to just over 1 in 10 who stated property and acquisitive crime were the most serious (8.3%)

Chapter Seven: Sexual Orientation

'It's a basic human right to be happy. That's all we want – to be who we are and love who we want to'...

Annie, Dyfed Powys

7.1 Introduction

This report corroborates much of the existing research into the nature and impact of homophobic hate crime. However, it also provides insight into the complexity of individual identity within the context of hate crime victimisation and highlights prominent issues such as the role of 'misgendering' and the effect that victimisation can have on personal perception of 'self' and the presentation of identity in public settings. This chapter presents findings on a range of issues within a LGB context, including:

- Community cohesion
- Fear of general crime and hate crime
- Perceptions of hate crime impact on local communities

The chapter then focuses specifically on hate crime experience and in particular:

- The nature of hate crime
- Perpetration
- Reporting experiences

Of the 1713 respondents who stated their sexual orientation⁶⁵, 1182 (65% of the total) identified as heterosexual; 228 (13%) as gay man; 179 (10%) as gay woman or lesbian; 72 (4%) as bisexual woman, and 37 (2%) as bisexual man. Only a minority identified as other⁶⁶ (9 or 0.5%).

7.2 Community Cohesion

All survey respondents were asked to provide some local community information including how long they have lived in the area and their perception of levels of interaction and integration within the local community. The responses from three survey questions were

⁶⁵ Ninety-seven respondents did not complete the question on sexual orientation resulting in the 5% unknown.

⁶⁶ Other includes self-referenced pansexual, polysexual, asexual/celibate

combined to generate a 'community cohesion scale'⁶⁷. Chart 7.1 shows that on a scale of 3 to 12 (3 being most strongly disagree and 12 most strongly agree), heterosexual respondents most strongly feel that they live in a cohesive community with a mean score of 9.2, followed by bisexual men (mean score of 9.4). The respondents who are less likely to agree that they live in a cohesive community are gay women (mean score of 8.6) and bisexual women with a mean score of 7.8. Moreover, there are a number of significant differences in relation to community cohesion. Heterosexual respondents are significantly more likely than both gay women and bisexual women to think that they live in a cohesive community, and gay men are significantly more likely than bisexual women to agree that they live in a cohesive area.

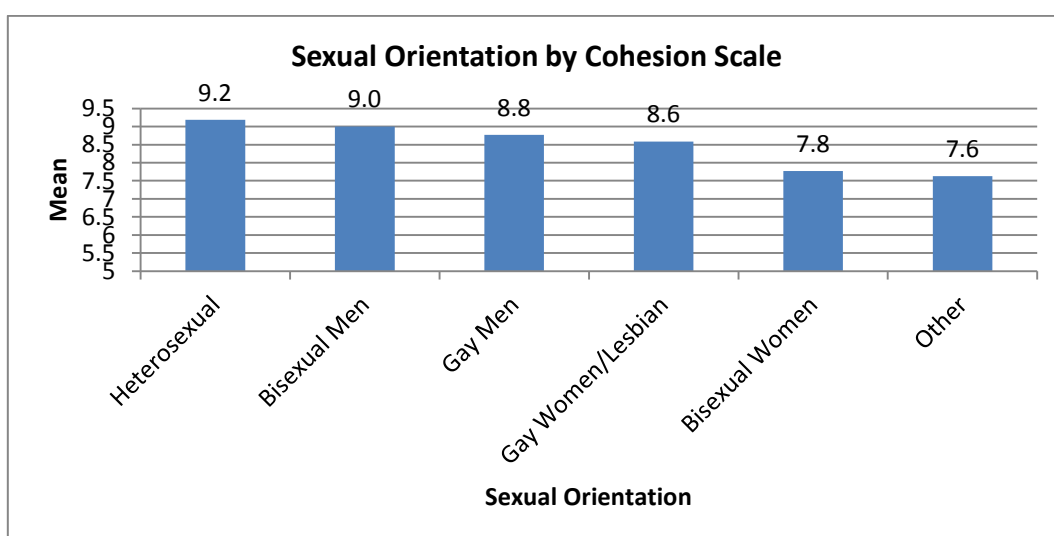


Chart 7.1

7.3 General Fear of Crime and Police Satisfaction

Charts 7.2 and 7.3 provide information on levels of fear of crime⁶⁸ and police satisfaction within the LGB respondent community. On a general fear of crime scale (4 being the least

⁶⁷ The questions were; to what extent do you agree or disagree that your local area is a place where people from different backgrounds got on well together; to what extent do you agree or disagree that residents in their local area respect differences between people, and, how strongly do you feel you belong to your local area. The strength of agreement and sense of belonging were interpreted as proxy values for community cohesion. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being definitely disagree or not at all strongly belong and being definitely agree or very strongly belong). When the three questions were combined the cohesion scale included mean values that ranged from 3 to 12 (3 being least cohesive and 12 being most cohesive).

⁶⁸ The general fear of crime scale was constructed by combining the data from a survey question that asked respondents to state how worried they were about being a victim of 1) property crime; 2) violent crime, 3) sexual violence and 4) harassment, verbal abuse or threats. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being not at all worried and 4 being very worried). When the four crime types were combined the general fear of crime scale included mean values that ranged from 4 to 16 (4 being the least worried and 16 being the most worried). The findings can be used as an effective proxy for 'vulnerability'.

fearful and 16 being the most fearful), bisexual women (9.8) were the most fearful followed by bisexual men; gay women and gay men (8.4). In fact, the data reveals that gay women and bisexual women are significantly more fearful than heterosexual respondents, and bisexual women are significantly more fearful than gay men. Moreover, there are a number of significant differences when the data is analysed in terms of the four specific crime types included in the survey. In terms of sexual violence gay women and bisexual women are significantly more fearful than gay men and heterosexual respondents, and gay women and bisexual women are significantly more fearful of becoming a victim of threat/harassment than heterosexual respondents. This would indicate that gender has a role to play in fears around sexual violence and harassment victimisation. Multiple regression, that takes into account other factors, such as demographic characteristics and previous victimisation, revealed that while controlling for these other factors, respondents who said they were LGB did not emerge as statistically significantly more fearful than those that said they were not LGB.

As Chart 7.3 shows, survey respondents within the LGB community were slightly less satisfied than heterosexual respondents (3.48 versus 3.34) with the perceived job the police were doing in their local area. This represents a significant difference between the two groups. However, there is no significant difference in satisfaction levels within the LGB community. No statistically significant findings emerged in the multiple regression analysis in relation to perceptions of general police effectiveness and LGB status.

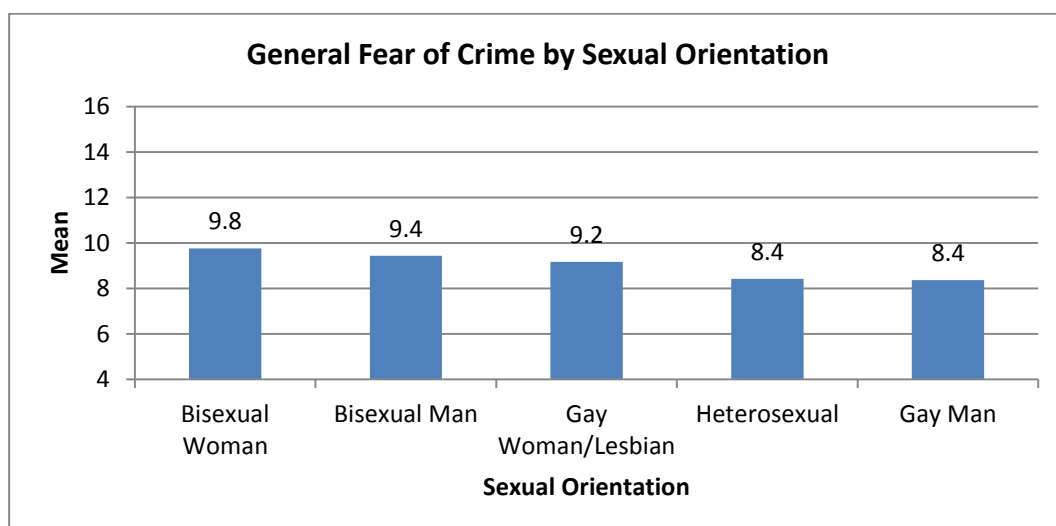


Chart 7.2

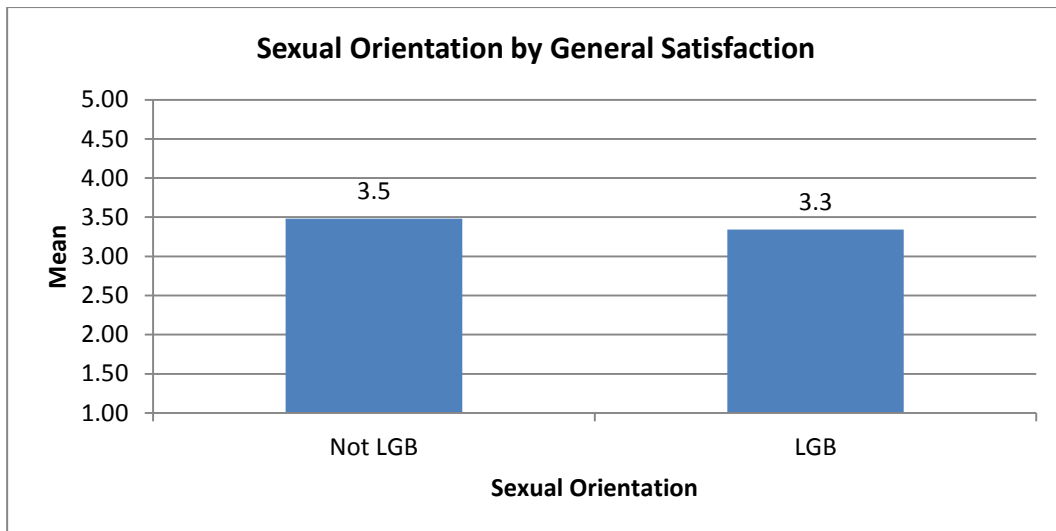


Chart 7.3

7.4 General Hate Crime Issues

This section shows the findings from questions regarding issues and concerns around hate crime and hate crime victimisation from within a LGB context. It is important to note that all survey respondents could answer the questions in this section. Therefore, findings include data from both victims and non-victims of hate crime. Where possible, interview data is presented in order to provide a more holistic understanding of key themes emerging from the statistical findings.

7.4.1 Scale and Impact of Hate Crime on the Community

Survey respondents were asked their perceptions of the scale of the hate crime problem in their local area. The data shows that on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being not a problem at all and 4 being a very big problem), the mean value across the LGB categories was 2 indicating that the majority of respondents believe that hate crime is not a very big problem at all in their local area. However, Chart 7.4 shows that bisexual women are more likely to believe that hate crime is a problem compared to all other LGB categories. Moreover, gay men and women and bisexual women are significantly more likely than heterosexual respondents to perceive hate crime as a problem in their local area. Multiple regression analysis did not reveal any statistically significant findings in relation to the differences in the perception of the problem and the impact it has on local communities between LGB and non-LGB respondents.

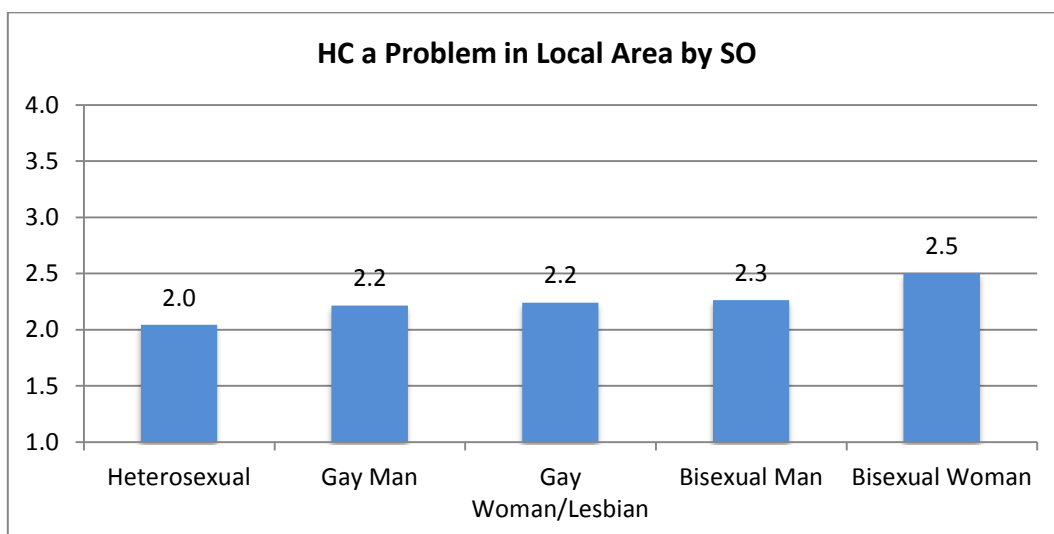


Chart 7.4

7.4.2 Perception of police performance in relation to hate crime and hate-related incidents

All respondents were asked how good a job they perceived the police to be doing to tackle hate crime and hate-related incidents in their local area. The levels of police effectiveness were measured on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being a very poor job and 5 being an excellent job). On average, gay men view the police response most favourably (mean score of 3.4) followed by bisexual women, gay women and bisexual men (mean score of 2.8). Multiple regression analysis did not reveal any statistically significant findings in relation to the differences in the perception of police performance in relation to policing hate crimes/incident between LGB and non-LGB respondents.

7.4.3 Fear of Hate Crime Victimization and Hate Crime Avoidance Strategies

The survey was able to measure fear of hate crime on the basis of sexual orientation⁶⁹. Chart 7.5 shows bisexual women (9.8) are again the most fearful followed by bisexual men (9.4), gay women (9.3) and gay men (8.7). There are a number of statistically significant differences when these findings are broken down into specific crime types, and the sexual orientation categories are compared to each other. On a general hate crime fear scale all LGB categories are more fearful of becoming a victim than heterosexual respondents. In terms of fear of becoming a victim of hate-related property crime, gay men and women are

⁶⁹ See footnote 70 for an explanation of the construction of the fear of (hate) crime scale.

more fearful than heterosexual respondents. All LGB groups (except 'other') are more fearful than heterosexual respondents of becoming a victim of hate-related violent crime. In terms of fear of becoming a victim of hate-related sexual violence gay and bisexual women are significantly more fearful than heterosexual respondents, and bisexual women are significantly more fearful than gay men. Finally, all LGB groups are significantly more fearful of hate-related harassment and threats than heterosexual respondents. Multiple regression analysis revealed statistically significant findings in relation to the differences in levels of general hate crime fear between LGB and non-LGB respondents, even when taking into account demographic and victim factors. **Of all the protected characteristic groups, LGB respondents were second most likely to fear hate crime, after transgender respondents.**

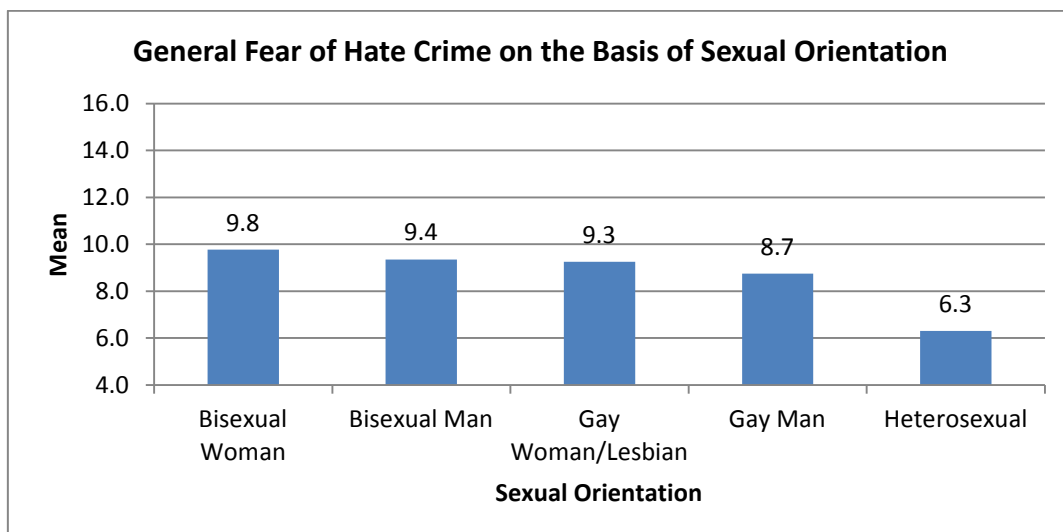


Chart 7.5

In association with a fear of hate crime, all respondents were asked whether they had ever attempted to conceal aspects of their identity or taken specific precautions in an attempt to reduce the risk of becoming a victim of hate crime. **Forty-four percent of survey respondents had attempted to conceal their sexual orientation in order to reduce the risk of hate crime victimisation.** This is the joint highest percentage across all protected characteristic groups.

Additional precautions listed in the survey included improving home security, carrying personal security devices, avoiding certain areas/places, moved house/area and avoiding going out at night. We combined these measures to create a Precautions Scale (range 0-5).

Those scoring higher on the scale have reported taking more precautions against hate crime. Chart 7.6 below shows there was a slight difference between LGB groups in relation to taking precautions but no significant findings emerged in multiple regression analysis between LGB and non-LGB respondents.

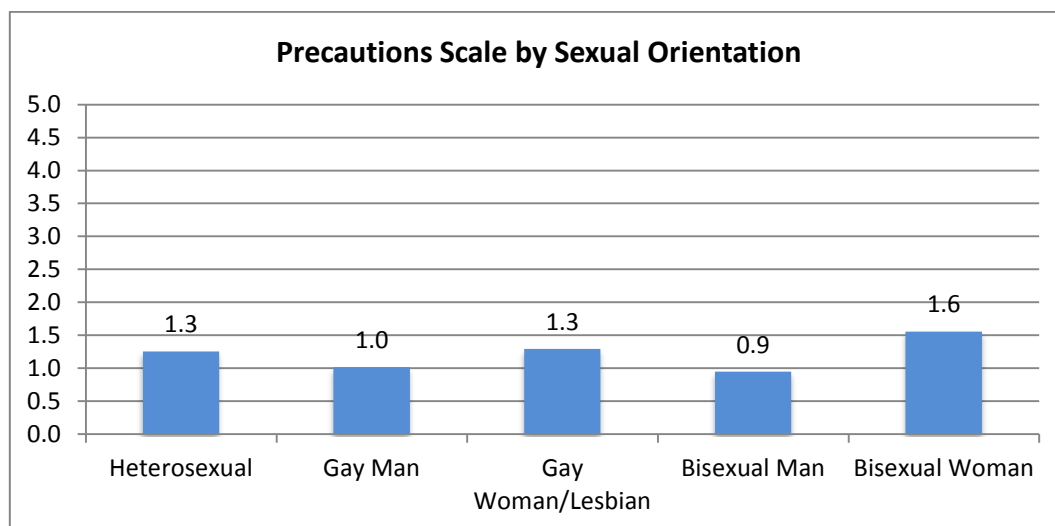


Chart 7.6

This type of avoidance behaviour or risk management was also disclosed in the research interviews⁷⁰. Ed, a gay man living in North Wales revealed that he keeps his sexuality a secret while at work:

I haven't told anyone. They ask questions 'have you got a girlfriend' and things, I just say no I'm single, and I just, you know, change the subject quick and I've not come across any prejudice yet.

And Kate, a gay woman living in South Wales comments:

Sometimes I think I listen to my mp3 player partly to avoid making eye contact with people and partly to avoid any incidents, because I think well if you're listening to music they're less likely to try and engage with you. There was an incident where me and my partner were walking through [the park] and there was a gang of youths ahead of us who were behaving in quite an antisocial kind of way. They were shouting and being aggressive and pushing each other around and stuff, and we really backed off and stayed away from them. And then when they turned off, we went like the other direction, just that kind of risk management.

⁷⁰However, it must be acknowledged that interviews took place with hate crime victims, and therefore it is possible that their previous experience of victimisation may have prompted them to adapt their behaviour.

7.4.4 Effect of Hate Crime Worry on Quality of Life

Finally respondents were asked to measure the extent to which their quality of life was affected by the fear of hate crime victimisation. The impact of hate crime worry was measured on a scale of 1 to 10 (with 1 being no effect on quality of life and 10 being total effect on quality of life). Chart 7.7 shows that the majority of responses were towards the lower end of the impact scale across all LGB categories indicating that worry about hate crime victimisation has a relatively minimal impact on quality of life. However, the findings reveal that worry about hate crime has the biggest impact on bisexual women (mean score of 3.8) followed by bisexual men; gay women and gay men (mean score of 3.2). Multiple regression analysis revealed statistically significant findings in relation to the differences in levels of hate crime fear impact between LGB and non-LGB respondents, even when taking into account demographic and victim factors.

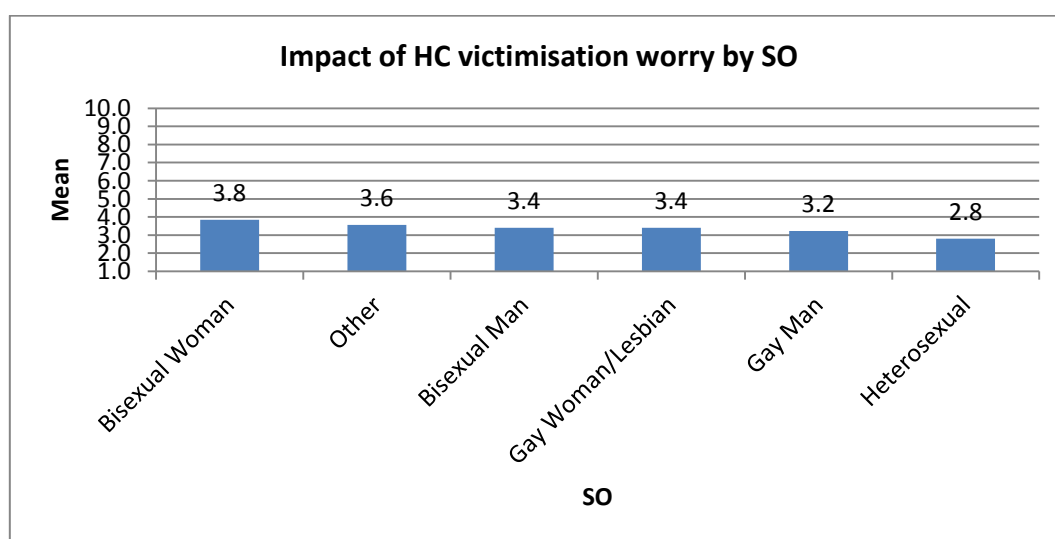


Chart 7.7

Kate's observations reflect the increased concern that some members of minority groups feel in relation to the possibility of becoming a victim of hate crime:

I think with people often being robbed is a main fear or with women sexual assault and rape. I think when you belong to a group that's victimised by hate crime, you've got to add in the hate crime element as well, so you have the usual fears plus hate crime. It's very high in my mind definitely and I think that it's that fear that you're extra likely to be targeted because you're seen as different or you're seen as

belonging to a certain group that's generally perceived with a bit of hostility. I don't know how rational that is but that's like the feeling I think.

7.5 Hate Crime Victim Experience

This section focuses on the findings from data provided by research participants who have been victims of hate crime in Wales. In addition to the relevant survey analysis, interview data is presented where possible to provide a more holistic understanding of key themes emerging from the statistical findings and to highlight the complex nature of hate crime victimisation. The data included in the charts presented in this section highlight the nature of victimisation across ALL protected characteristic groups. It is important to view the nature of homophobic hate crime in context and to reinforce the vital point that hate crime is not a generic phenomenon; it is a complex offence that can differ markedly between strands.

7.5.1 The Nature of Hate Crime on the basis of Sexual Orientation

This sub-section highlights the nature of hate crime victimisation and focuses on the following issues and characteristics:

- The range of hate crimes and hate-related incidents experienced by victims
- Whether the victim was alone or accompanied at the time of the offence
- Where the offence took place
- Repeat victimisation
- Victim perception of offender motivation

7.5.2 Most Serious Hate Crime

Over a third (38.3%) of all victims of sexual orientation related hate crimes/incidents stated that violent crimes were the most serious they had experienced, the highest amongst all strands in the AWHC survey. A similar proportion (33.7%) indicated hate incidents were the most serious they had experienced, compared to just over 1 in 10 who stated threats and property crimes were the most serious (13% and 9.8% respectively). One in twenty (4.7%) stated acquisitive crimes and the most serious experienced. Chart 7.8

shows that the majority of victims of homophobic hate crimes/incidents were alone at the time, while near one third were with partners and twenty-six per cent with friends.

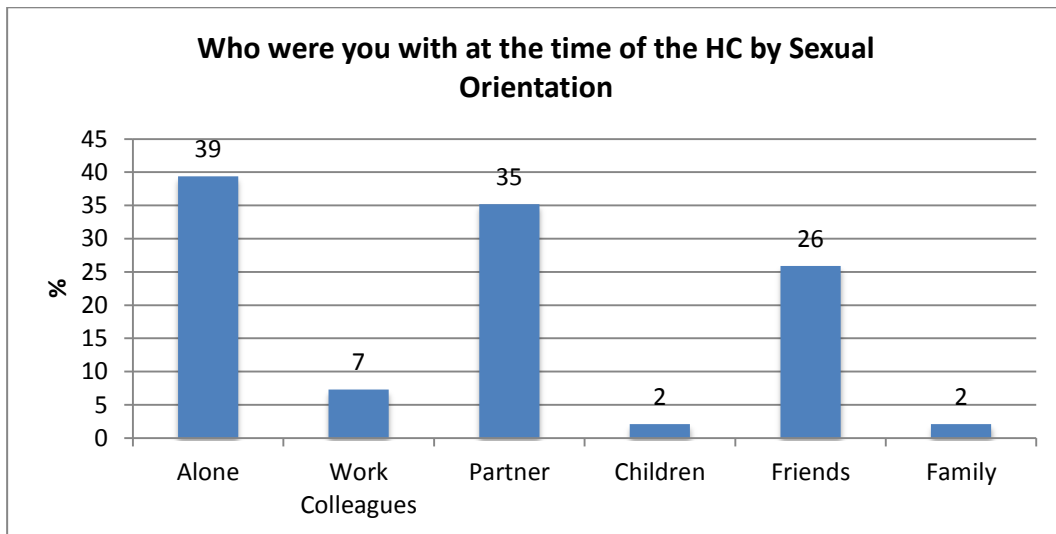


Chart 7.8

Chart 7.9 shows that thirty-two per cent of victims were in or just outside their own home when the hate crime incident took place; twenty-five per cent of victims were partaking in the night-time economy (NTE) and twenty-three per cent of victims were in a public street or park. Only a fraction of homophobic hate crime incidents took place on public transport.

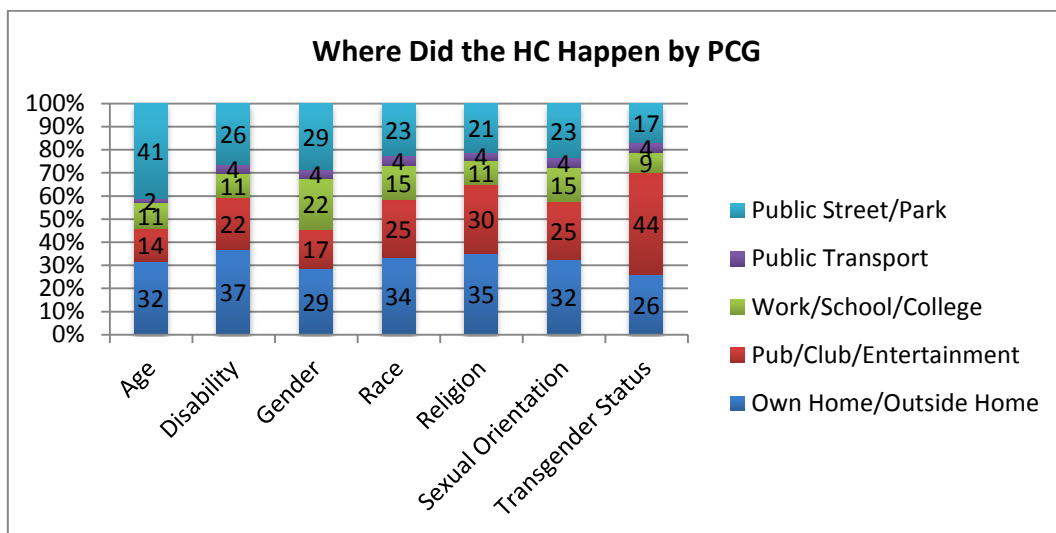


Chart 7.9

The interviews with LGB victims highlight a broad range of types of hate crime victimisation including verbal abuse; physical and sexual assault and criminal damage. The location of hate crime offences also varies markedly but the majority of incidents occurred in a public place. In all cases victims were accompanied by friends or their partners which some victims

believe made their sexual orientation more identifiable to others and therefore increased the chance of suffering some form of hate crime victimisation.

The issue of 'misgendering' within the context of hate crime is highlighted as a significant issue for LGB hate crime victims.⁷¹ For some gay women there is a clear relationship between gender presentation and hate crime experience. A number of women recall incidents of 'mis-gendering' and the unsettling effect such experiences have had on them:

It's always men who have called me 'sir' or 'mate'. It's happened a couple of times in shops and a couple of times with club doormen. In some ways these incidents are more hostile, because that's quite deliberate and a bit more intimidating in some ways. Mis-gendering is hard to describe. It's quite invasive and has definitely made me quite nervous about how I'm dressing.

Kate, South Wales

The **intersectional nature of individual identity** in the context of hate crime is a theme raised consistently by LGB victims. A number of LGB victims, particularly gay women highlight the relationship between their sexuality and their gender when recalling their hate crime experiences. A number of gay women disclosed a sexual element to the abuse they experienced.

This guy grabbed me and touched me inappropriately and said something abusive. It was definitely sexual and this incident that I had a couple of weeks ago was as well. It was me and my partner, we were walking through [the park] just arm in arm and this guy was walking towards us. He shouted at us. He was quite close, like close enough to be kind of eye to eye, and he went 'lesbianos, that's what I like to see', in a leering kind of tone of voice...

Kate, South Wales

⁷¹ It is also a significant issue for transgender men and women living in Wales (see Chapter Eight).

7.5.3 Repeat Victimization

Victims were asked to disclose whether they had experience of repeat hate crime victimisation⁷². Chart 7.10 shows that forty per cent of homophobic hate crime victims experienced cases of repeat victimisation.

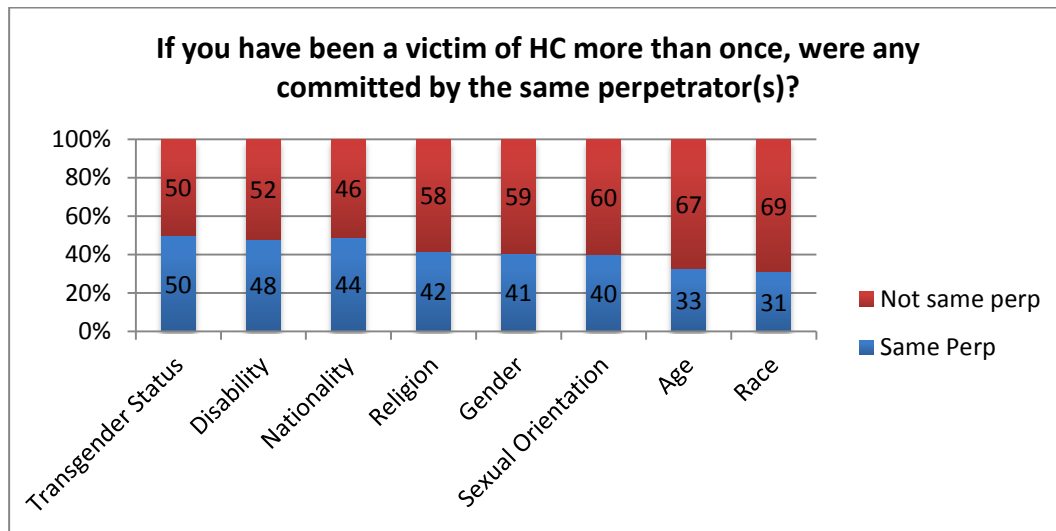


Chart 7.10

The majority of LGB interviews reveal that victims have experienced hate crime on a number of occasions but that each incident was an isolated event. However, one participant had experienced repeat victimisation by a male neighbour. In this case the hate incidents escalated in severity and culminated in attempted strangulation⁷³. See Chapter 7.6 for further information on this case.

7.5.4 Victim Perception of Offender Motivation

Victims were asked what they believed motivated the offence against them. Almost sixty per cent of LGB survey respondents were left in little doubt that the offender was motivated to some degree by homophobic attitudes because of the nature of the hate speech directed towards them. Chart 7.11 shows that over thirty per cent of homophobic hate crime

⁷² It is important to note that the term 'repeat victimisation' refers to more than one incident perpetrated by the same offender or group of offenders. It is distinct from multiple, unconnected experiences of hate crime victimisation by different perpetrators at various points in people's lives.

⁷³ See Chapter 2.4 for more information on repeat victimisation and the need for effective police recording mechanisms to register and monitor high-risk incidents and ongoing situations.

respondents felt their physical appearance/dress had contributed in some way to their victimisation, and that the offender was hostile to minority groups.

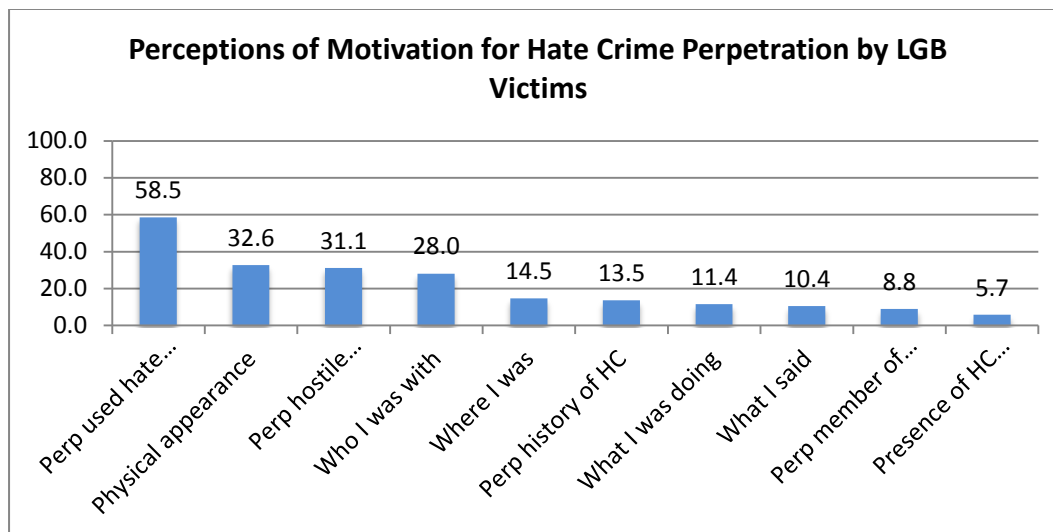


Chart 7.11

The interviews with LGB hate crime victims provided the opportunity to elaborate on possible explanations for offender behaviour. A number of participants, particularly gay women, once again highlighted the role of **intersectionality** in hate crime victimisation. When articulating the relationship between gender and sexuality in the context of hate crime some victims believe that girls who aren't seen as 'feminine' are deemed to be less worthy and there to be 'trodden on'. Others believe that if women are not seen to be sexually obtainable, or not in the dating pool, then some form of 'challenging of them' is deemed to be justified. Hannah's experience epitomises the experiences of many victims.

We feel that he's [offender] homophobic and, you know, he doesn't like women either, he's a misogynist. We feel we were kind of a threat to him a) because we were women and then b) because we were lesbians.

Annie in Dyfed Powys highlights the inter-relationship between age, gender and sexuality in relation to the hate crime she experienced:

We [women] do tend to link arms as we go along, and that's quite common to see, but if you do it as you get older as well then there's something not right about it. I was actually out with my daughter. This bloke came up to me then when I was with her, and said what's an old dyke like you doing with a pretty girl like that, she should be with me, and then he started to try and chat her up.

7.6 Victim-Perpetrator Relationship and Perpetrator Characteristics

This sub-section details information provided by victims on key perpetrator characteristics. The data in this area is very limited across all of the protected characteristic groups. This in turn restricted the amount of statistical analysis that could be carried out and, as a result, all findings in this area should be interpreted with a large degree of caution. However, empirical research pertaining to hate crime perpetration is very limited generally in the UK, and therefore the type of data generated through the AWHC Project can contribute usefully to this under researched criminological area.

A number of LGB hate crime victims provided details of perpetrator characteristics and the findings are presented below in Charts 7.12–7.16. Chart 7.12 shows that in over sixty per cent of sexual orientation hate crimes the offender(s) was not known by the victim. This is broadly comparable with the victim-perpetrator relationships detailed by victims across the other protected characteristic groups⁷⁴.

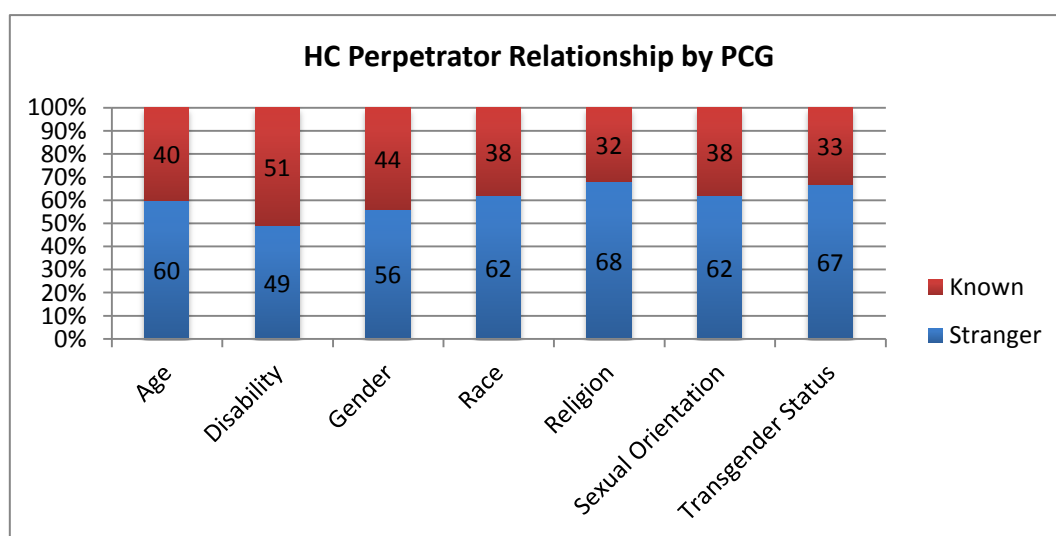


Chart 7.12

Chart 7.13 reveals that the overwhelming majority of hate crimes or hate-related incidents involving LGB victims were committed by more than one perpetrator. Eighty-six percent of hate crimes against bisexual men were committed by more than one offender; 81% of hate crimes against gay women or lesbians; 79% of hate crimes against bisexual women, and 73% of hate crimes against gay men. Charts 7.14 – 7.16 indicate that 82% of perpetrators were men; 73% were 30 years old or younger, and 93% were white.

⁷⁴ The majority of hate crimes and incidents across all strands were committed by strangers. The exception is disability-related hate crime where 51% of incidents were perpetrated by someone known to the victim. This finding reinforces increasing concerns about the perpetration of 'mate crime' against people with a learning disability.

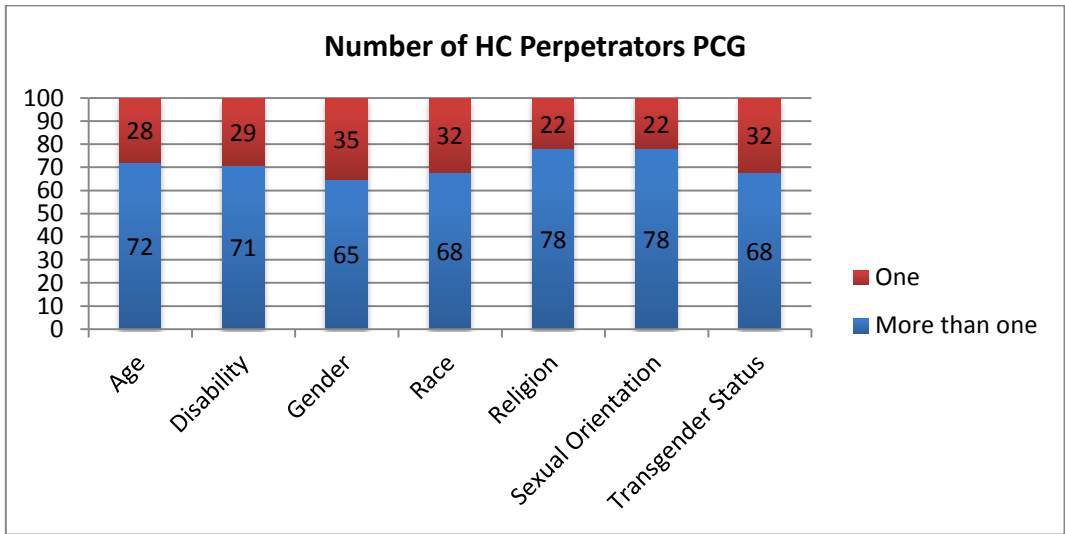


Chart 7.13

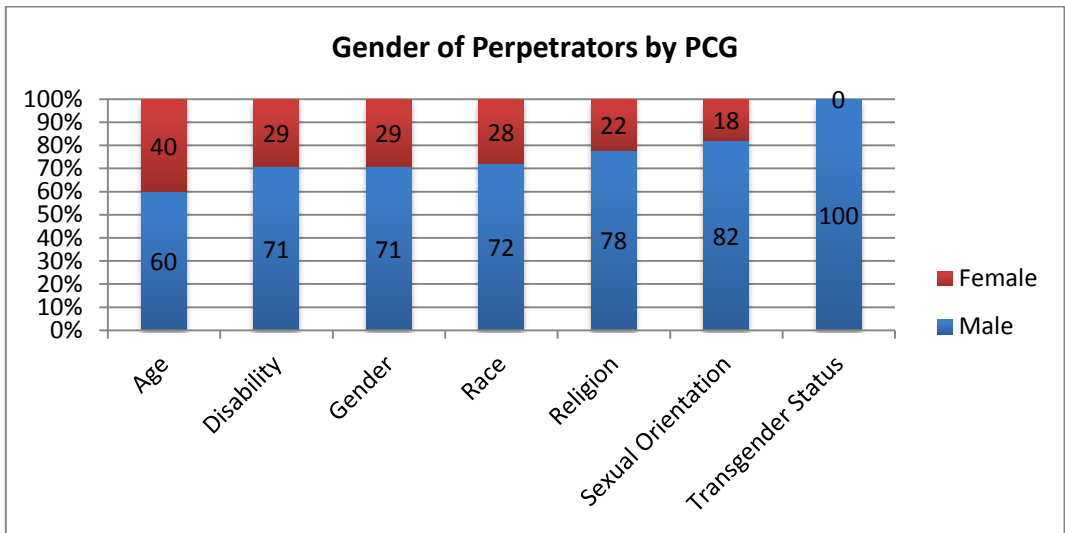


Chart 7.14

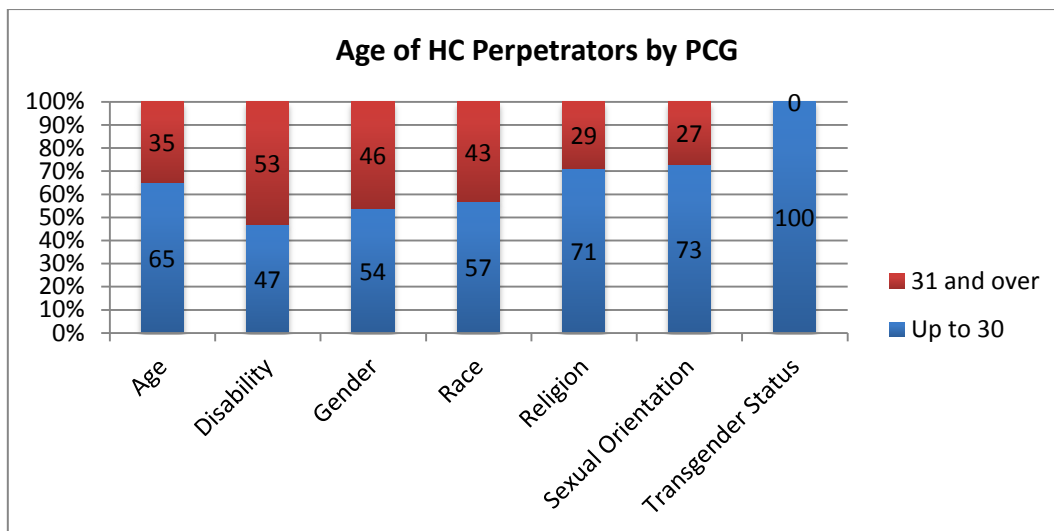


Chart 7.15

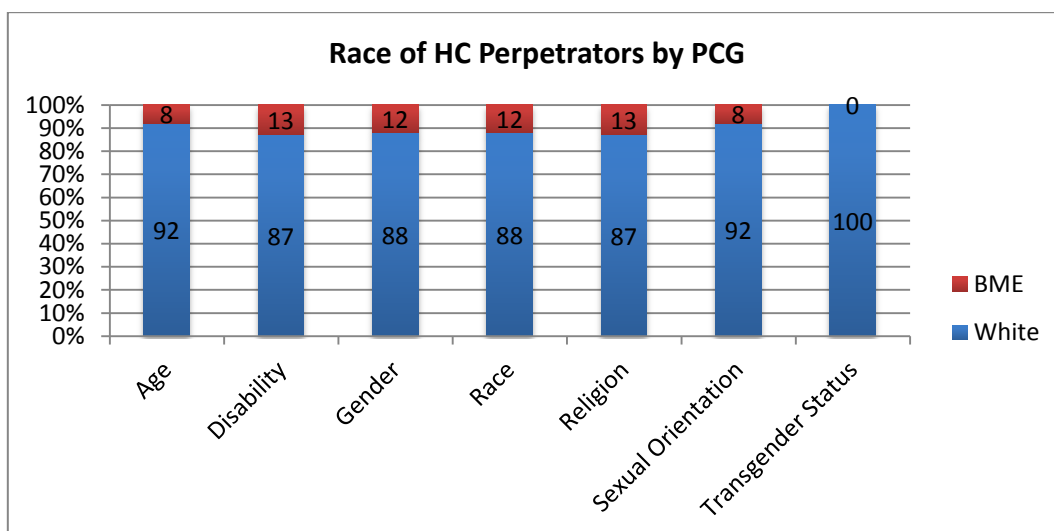


Chart 7.16

The interview data reflects these findings to some extent; participants report the vast majority of perpetrators were white males and ranged in age between 20s – 40s. The interview data indicate that the majority of participants have been physically or verbally abused by complete strangers in a public place away from their home. However, the data also reveals that often there is a correlation between where the hate crime took place and whether the perpetrator was known by the victim. Hannah recounts her experience of repeat victimisation by a male neighbour. In this case the hate incidents escalated in severity and culminated in attempted strangulation:

It's a horrible thing when it's your neighbour...coming home to that environment was awful really, because you come home to feel safe, but we were going to home to

almost like a warzone of what would happen next. And it was tremendously stressful, you know, it was a really appalling environment to live in and we considered moving, but the market being flat none of the properties were selling in our area. So, you know, we were sort of trapped there really.

The primary focus of the AWHC Project was to generate data and thereby increase awareness and understanding of the nature and impact of hate crime *victimisation* in Wales. As a consequence, information on the nature of perpetration and perpetrator characteristics is limited. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that all data is generated from a victim's perspective. These two issues ensure that the findings must be interpreted with a degree of caution. It is vital that further research is carried out in this area because it is evident that issues such as repeat victimisation (which can provide information on escalation of offence frequency and severity); offence location (proximity) and whether the offender is known to the victim (familiarity) are significant risk indicators that need to be factored in to an effective risk assessment framework for hate crime victims.

7.7 Police Contact and Reporting Experience

This subsection highlights key findings in relation to victims' experience of the hate crime reporting process in Wales. The findings relate to both police and third party reporting organisations. The section is framed mainly around the data generated by survey respondents. However, qualitative findings are included, where appropriate, because the interview data provide a nuanced account of victims' experiences of the police reporting process. All of the victims of sexual orientation hate crime who were interviewed had reported at least one incident to the police.

7.7.1 Police Contact, Reporting Experience and Levels of Satisfaction

Forty seven percent of hate crimes perceived to have been perpetrated on the basis of sexual orientation were reported to the police. This is broadly comparable with reporting rates across the protected characteristic groups⁷⁵. In seventy one percent of these cases the victims told the police explicitly that they believed the incident was motivated by

⁷⁵ The exception here is gender-based hate crimes which were only reported in 30% of cases.

homophobic attitudes or prejudice. Chart 7.17 shows the action taken by police as a result of reporting the incident.

Almost sixty five percent of the homophobic hate crime reports were subsequently recorded by the police and forty three percent of them initiated some form of police investigation. Sixteen per cent of homophobic hate crime reports resulted in the arrest of an offender, and in eleven percent of cases no further action was taken following the incident report. It is important to acknowledge that these findings are generated wholly from the victim's perspective and individual victims may not have been fully updated on police activity after incidents were reported.

Chart 7.18 shows the various reasons given for reporting the hate crime or incident by protected characteristic. Below are the top three reasons for reporting sexual orientation hate crime victimisation:

1. Victim wanted to prevent it from happening again (N=61)
2. Victim hoped the offenders would be brought to justice, (N=60)
3. Victim felt it was a serious crime/incident (N=57)

Chart 7.19 depicts the various reasons for not reporting hate crime incidents to the police by protected characteristic. The top three reasons given by victims of homophobic hate crime were:

1. It was believed the police could have done nothing to help (N=29)
2. The incident was too trivial/it wasn't worth it (N=26)
3. Fear of retaliation by offenders (N=21)

As a Result of Your Report, What Action Was Taken by the Police?

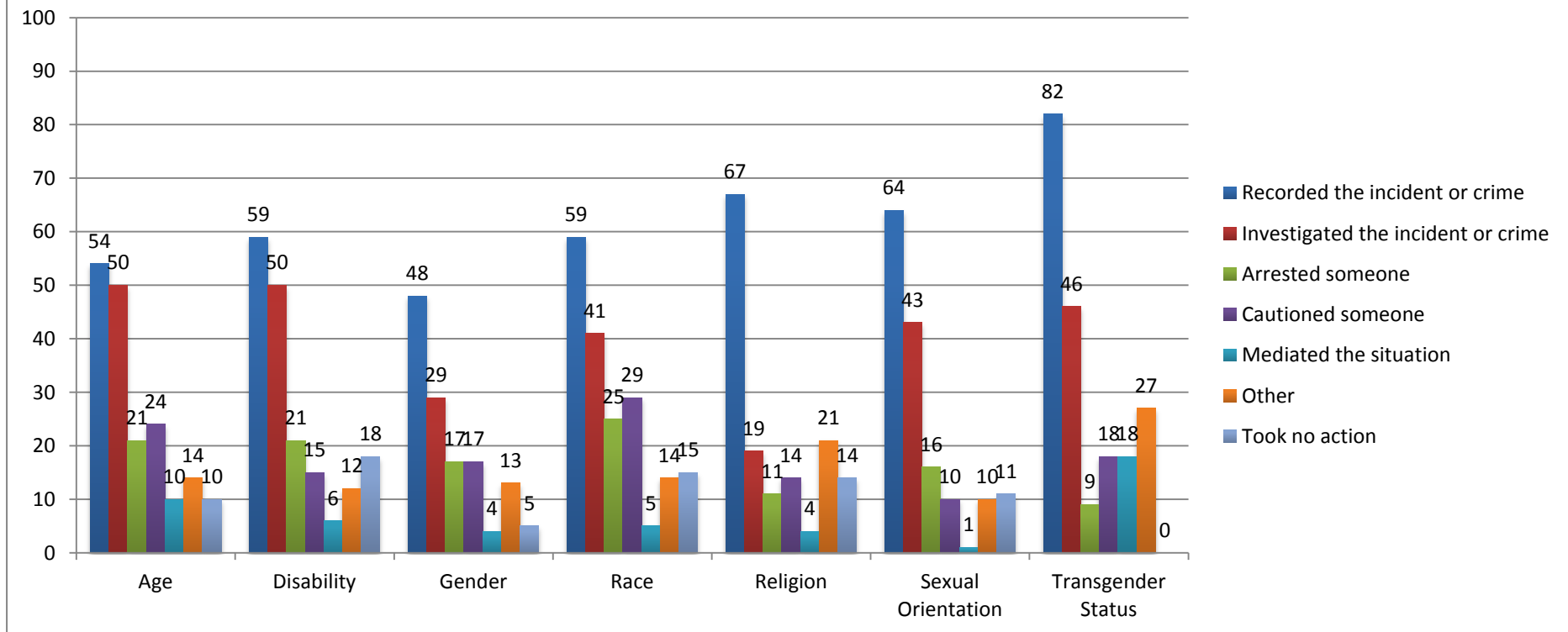


Chart 7.17

Reasons for Reporting HC to Police by PCG

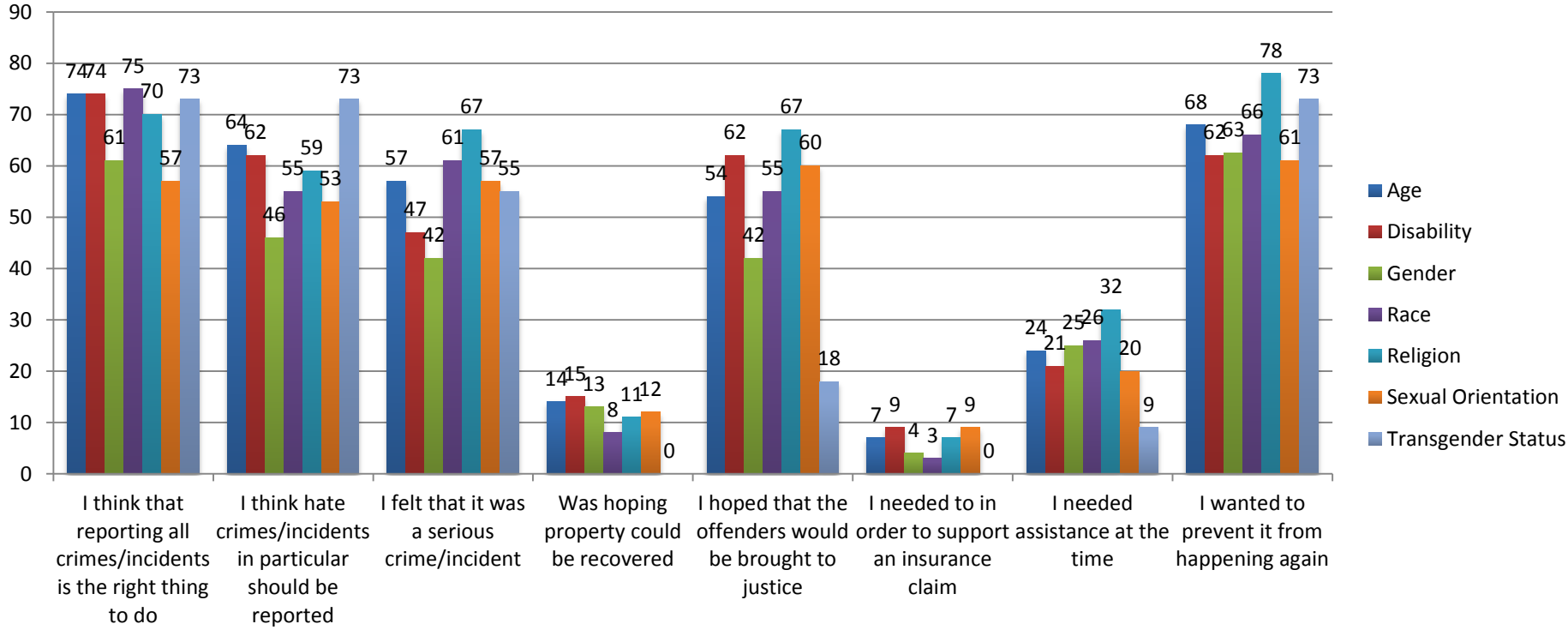


Chart 7.18

Reasons for Not Reporting by PCG

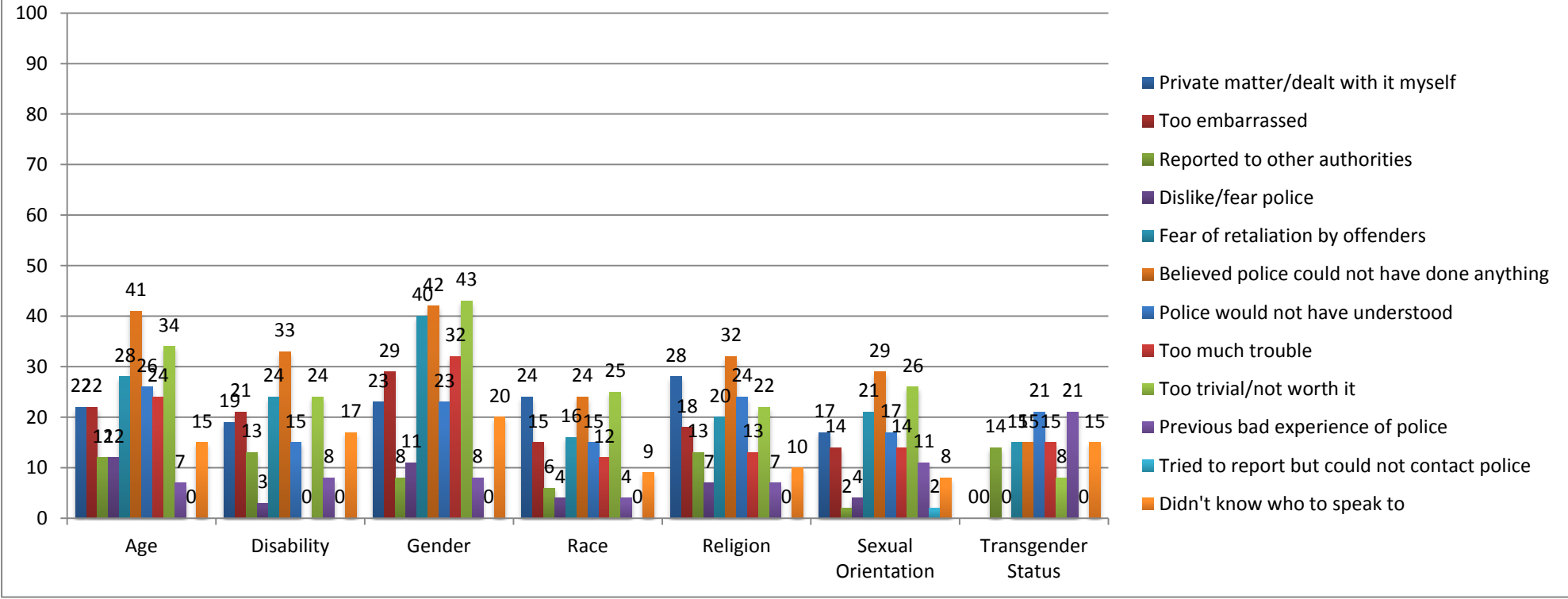


Chart 7.19

Ninety-three percent of homophobic hate crime victims would encourage a victim of hate crime to report to the police. This percentage is relatively high when comparing data across all protected characteristic groups. The interview data indicates that the perspective taken on whether to recommend reporting is often contingent on previous experience and informed by levels of satisfaction with police contact and response at the time of reporting and subsequent case investigation, and – in a minority of cases – satisfaction with the criminal justice process more generally (including case outcome). A scale of satisfaction was devised by combining the data from 8 questions relating to victim satisfaction during the course of contact with the police in their local area⁷⁶. Chart 7.20 shows that sexual orientation hate crime victims ranked third (mean score of 19.3) in terms of their satisfaction with the police when compared to the other protected characteristic groups. However, no statistically significant results emerged in the multiple regression analysis, indicating that the satisfaction levels of victims of sexual orientation hate crimes/incidents who reported to the police did not differ in a significant way from the satisfaction levels other types of victims who reported.

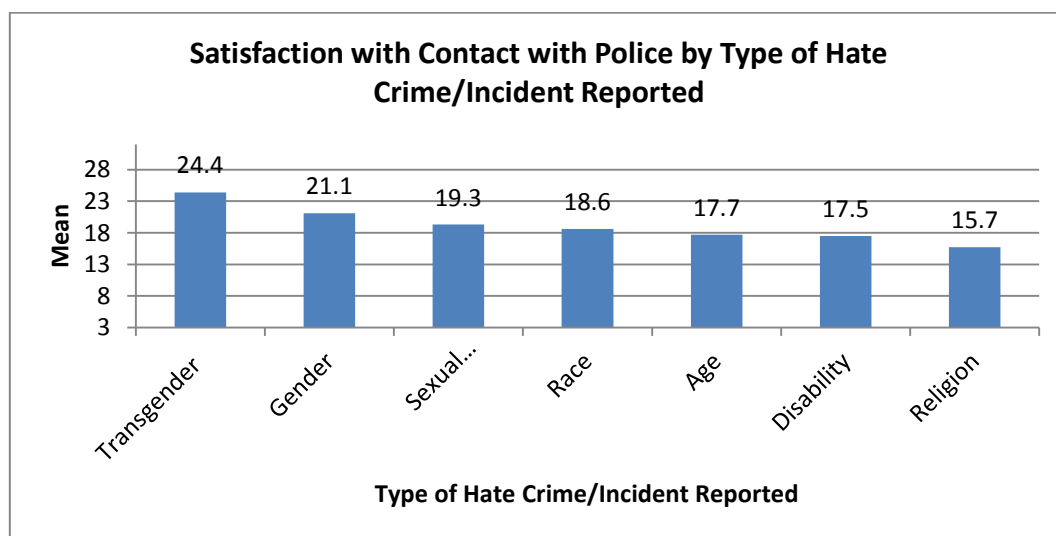


Chart 7.20

The majority of LGB interviewees stated that they had reported incidents – either isolated events or ongoing victimisation – to the police but, in some cases, they had been nervous to

⁷⁶ The eight questions captured satisfaction levels according to 1. Ease of police contact; treatment by police officers/staff; how well police listened to the victim; how seriously victim information was taken; how quickly the police responded to initial contact; the way in which subsequent information was provided by the police; the extent to which police took account of personal circumstances/minority identity, and the outcome of police investigation. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being very dissatisfied and 4 being very satisfied). When the eight questions were combined the police satisfaction scale included mean values that ranged from 8 to 32 (8 being the least satisfied and 32 being the most satisfied).

highlight the hate-related aspect of the incident because they were worried about being judged or ridiculed. In some cases fears were unfounded as Ed in North Wales highlights:

'I was very nervous because I didn't know what sort of reaction I was going to get'. A lot of people are scared if you're gay that they're [police] going to think you're some sort of weirdo/pervert. I think people need to be aware that the police are very sympathetic when you go and see them and that they [victims] will be looked after like, you know, like a burglary, a rape or anything. And I was looked after; I can't fault the police at all.

However, in a number of instances, victims were actively discouraged from highlighting the hate-related aspect of the criminal victimisation. As Annie, a gay woman who lives in Dyfed Powys recalls:

One police officer actually turned around and said, 'I don't think we want to go down that path, it'll open a whole new can of worms'...

However, a number of interviewees reveal that the hate-related element of the incident(s) was not taken seriously or that the initial report was recorded as anti social behaviour or neighbour nuisance. Hannah's case exemplifies this:

I think they didn't take it seriously from my point of view especially early on. We kept telling them that he doesn't like women; he doesn't like us because we're gay. They continued to call it 'neighbour nuisance' and it took the female sergeant to come up before anybody actually started saying yeah okay this may be a hate crime and, you know, then started saying you need to keep the records and gave us some proper support. If they'd taken it seriously before it escalated to the assault and actually prosecuted him for harassment I think that would have stopped him'...

In a number of cases, LGB victims felt that there was a lack of support and information after reporting the incident to the police. Often victims felt they had to chase for information and were obliged to repeat themselves because they found themselves talking to different police officers each time they called for information. In general, the findings highlight **a lack of consistency** in terms of the response and subsequent support that LGB hate crime victims receive from the police in Wales. **Many victims felt that the service they received was**

‘hit and miss’ and that their experience was positive or negative depending on the officer who dealt with them at the time.

*Most of the time I was having to repeat myself over and over again, it got very, very tedious. So if there was someone who you could specifically ring up and say, you know, this is the reference number, you know, we’re at such and such a stage, rather than them saying oh we’ll get back to you, because we don’t know where we are with it – that doesn’t help. **It’s me that has to do all the work.***

Ed, North Wales

In some respects these are issues that can be addressed through a systematic assessment of police training provision. However, it is particularly worrying in cases where there is evidence of certain high risk factors including repeat victimisation and an escalation in frequency and severity of incidents. There have been a number of high profile and ultimately tragic cases in the UK of repeated hate crime victimisation that were either not taken seriously enough or recorded inaccurately as neighbour nuisance or anti-social behaviour. It is imperative that hate crime reports are taken seriously, recorded appropriately, linked together and investigated thoroughly⁷⁷.

7.7.2 Third Party Reporting

Both survey respondents and interview participants were asked if they had ever reported a sexual orientation related hate crime to a third party individual or organisation. Twenty two percent of survey respondents who answered this question had reported an incident to a third party organisation. This represents the lowest third party reporting rate across the protected characteristic groups although 97% of homophobic hate crime victims would encourage other victims to report to a third party individual or organisation. However, a number of LGB victims reported their experiences through third party organisations, and interviews reveal this decision is often determined by a desire to remain anonymous and the perception that the police will not be able to help them.

Although third party reporting systems were used successfully on a number of occasions there were a number of recommendations for improvements to the mechanisms in place in Wales. Some victims stated that online reporting systems do not always function correctly, and a number of older victims of hate crime suggest that they exclude people without a

⁷⁷ A number of similar accounts were disclosed across the protected characteristic groups and a detailed examination of the apparent disconnect between reporting information and recording practice is presented in Chapter 2.4.

computer and those who are not IT minded. Additionally, it was suggested that reporting packs are not always easy to obtain, particularly in more rural areas.

In many cases respondents were unaware of third party reporting organisations, and it is clear that more work needs to be done to raise awareness of such facilities across Wales. In addition it is vital to ensure that third party reporting system and functioning effectively and that they are easily accessible across Wales.

7.8 Summary of Key Points

The intersectional nature of individual identity in the context of hate crime is a theme raised consistently by LGB victims. A number of LGB victims, particularly gay women highlight the relationship between their sexuality and their gender when recalling their hate crime experiences. The issue of 'misgendering' within the context of hate crime is highlighted as a significant issue for LGB hate crime victims.⁷⁸ For some gay women there is a clear relationship between gender presentation and hate crime experience.

Hate Crime Impact

- Homophobic hate crime/incident victims were more likely to physically retaliate during the event, along with victims of transgender hate crimes/incidents;
- Homophobic hate crime victims were more likely to avoid certain places post victimisation, along with victims of transgender hate crimes/incidents;
- Homophobic hate crime victims were more likely to attempt to conceal some aspect of their identity post-victimisation.

Hate Crime Perpetration

- In relation to most serious crime/incident homophobic hate crime/incident victims were most likely (alongside faith hate crime victims) to be victimised by more than one perpetrator (78%).

Hate Crime Reporting Behaviour

- Homophobic hate crime/incident victims were most likely (alongside faith victims) to report hate crime experience (47%);
- Of the homophobic hate crime/incident victims that reported to the police two thirds (61%) stated they did so to prevent a hate crime/incident from happening again;

⁷⁸ It is also a significant issue for transgender men and women living in Wales (see Chapter Eight).

- Of the homophobic hate crime/incident victims that did not report to the police near one third (29%) stated they did not do so because they believed the police could not have done anything to help.

The findings also reveal

- Over a third (38.3%) of all victims of sexual orientation related hate crimes/incidents stated that violent crimes were the most serious they had experienced, **the highest amongst all strands in the AWHC survey**. A similar proportion (33.7%) indicated hate incidents were the most serious they had experienced, compared to just over 1 in 10 who stated threats and property crimes were the most serious (13% and 9.8% respectively). One in twenty (4.7%) stated acquisitive crimes and the most serious experienced;
- Of all the equality strands, LGB respondents were second most likely to fear hate crime, after transgender respondents;
- Worry about hate crime has the biggest impact on bisexual women, followed by bisexual men; gay women and gay men. There were statistically significant differences in levels of hate crime fear impact between LGB and non-LGB respondents.

Chapter Eight: Gender Identity

8.1 Introduction

In total 65 survey respondents indicated that they were transgender and their experiences highlight the complex nature of transphobic hate crime and the profound impact it has on victims in Wales. However, it is clear that more work needs to be done to understand and raise awareness of the forms of transphobic hate crime in Wales. The findings presented in this chapter were generated via survey response and one to one interviews with victims of transphobic hate crime, and focus on a range issues, including:

- Community cohesion
- Fear of general crime and hate crime
- Perceptions of hate crime impact on local communities

The chapter then focuses specifically on hate crime experience and in particular:

- The nature of hate crime
- Perpetration
- Reporting experiences

8.2 Community Cohesion

All survey respondents were asked to provide information regarding their local area including how long they have lived in the local area and their perceptions of levels of interaction and integration within the local community. The responses from three survey questions⁷⁹ were combined to generate a 'community cohesion scale'. Chart 8.1 shows that on a scale of 3 to 12 (3 being most strongly disagree and 12 being most strongly agree), transgender respondents are less likely to believe that they live in a cohesive community within Wales (mean score of 8.2).

⁷⁹ The questions were, to what extent do you agree or disagree that your local area is a place where people from different backgrounds got on well together; to what extent do you agree or disagree that residents in their local area respect differences between people, and how strongly do you feel you belong to your local area. The strength of agreement and sense of belonging were interpreted as proxy values for community cohesion. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being definitely disagree or not at all strongly belong and being definitely agree or very strongly belong). When the three questions were combined the cohesion scale included mean values that ranged from 3 to 12 (3 being least cohesive and 12 being most cohesive).

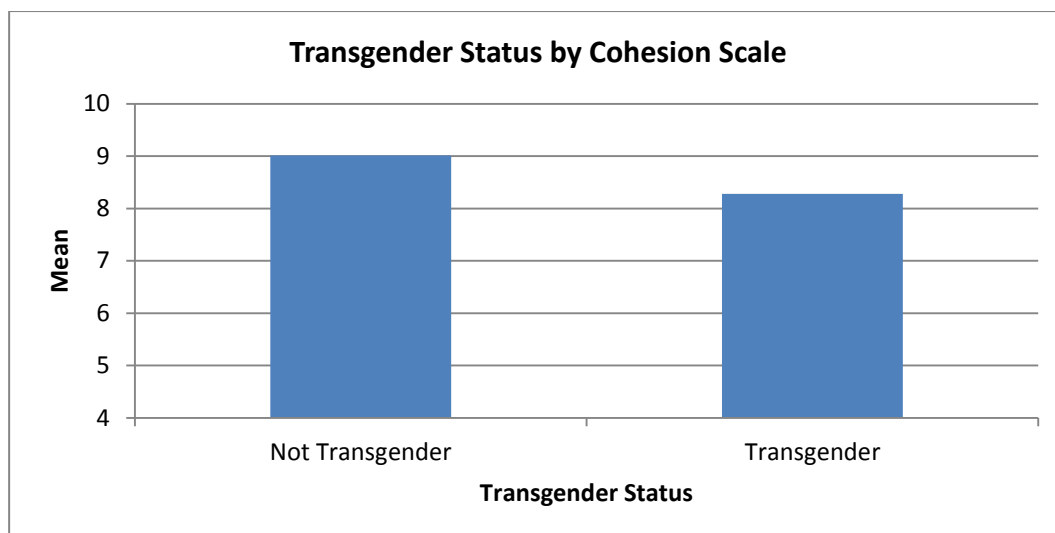


Chart 8.1

8.3 General Fear of Crime and Police Satisfaction

Charts 8.2 and 8.3 provide information on levels of fear of crime⁸⁰ and police satisfaction within the transgender communities across Wales. On a general fear of crime scale (4 being the least fearful and 16 being the most fearful), transgender respondents are significantly more fearful of becoming a victim of crime than non-transgender respondents. Moreover, there are a number of significant differences in the findings when fear levels are analysed in relation to specific types of crime. Transgender respondents are significantly more fearful of becoming a victim of violent crime, sexual violence and harassment/threats than non-transgender respondents. Multiple regression, that takes into account other factors, such as demographic characteristics and previous victimisation, revealed that while controlling for these other factors, respondents who said they were transgender emerged as statistically significantly more fearful than those that said they were not transgender. Of all strands, these were by far the most fearful of general crime in the survey.

Chart 8.3 shows that transgender respondents are less satisfied with the perceived job the police are doing in their local area (mean score of 2.9) compared with non-transgender respondents (mean score of 3.4). However, multiple regression analysis did not reveal any

⁸⁰ The general fear of crime scale was constructed by combining the data from a survey question that asked respondents to state how worried they were about being a victim of 1) property crime; 2) violent crime, 3) sexual violence and 4) harassment, verbal abuse or threats. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being not at all worried and 4 being very worried). When the four crime types were combined the general fear of crime scale included mean values that ranged from 4 to 16 (4 being the least worried and 16 being the most worried).

statistically significant findings, indicating that transgender status alone cannot account lower levels of satisfaction with the police.

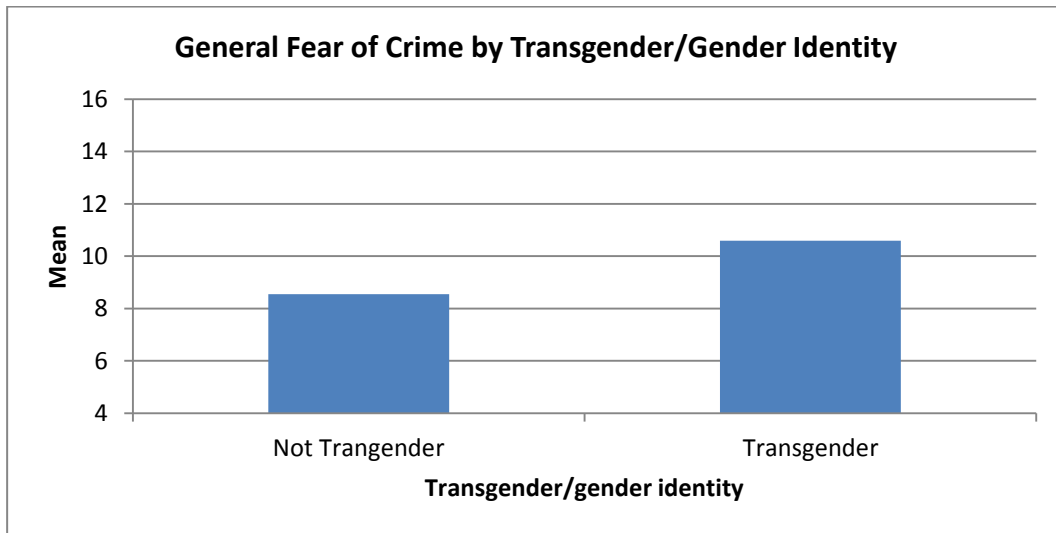


Chart 8.2

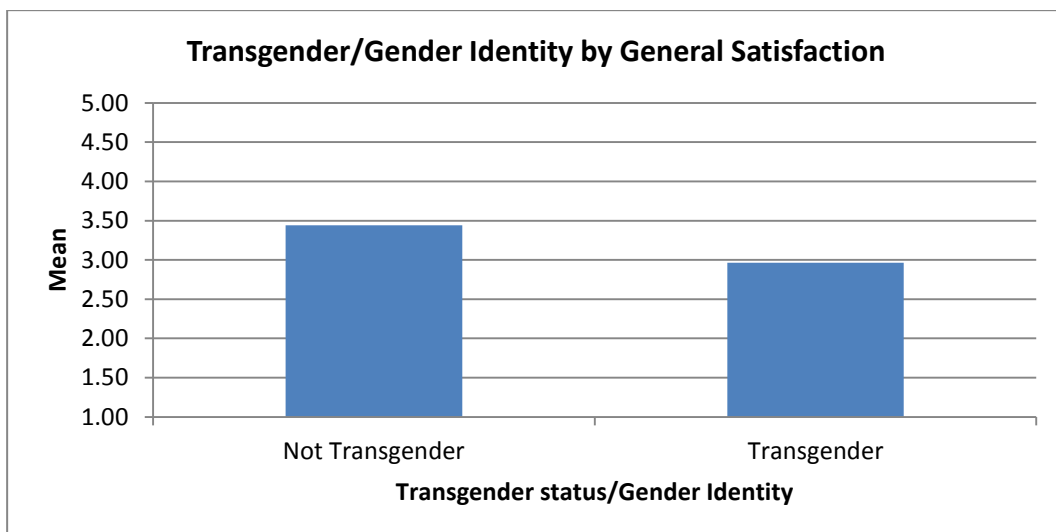


Chart 8.3

8.4 General Hate Crime Issues

This section shows the findings from questions regarding issues and concerns around hate crime and hate crime victimisation from within a transgender identity context. It is important to note that all survey respondents could answer the questions in this section. Therefore, findings include data from both victims and non-victims of hate crime. Where possible,

interview data is presented in order to provide a more holistic understanding of key themes emerging from the statistical findings.

8.4.1 Scale and Impact of Hate Crime on the Community

Survey respondents were asked their perceptions of the scale of the hate crime problem in their local area. The data shows that on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being not a problem at all and 4 being a very big problem), the mean value across the transgender respondent community was 2 indicating that the majority of respondents believe that hate crime is not a very big problem at all in their local area. However, Chart 8.4 shows that there are differences in perceptions within the transgender community: those who consider themselves to be transgender (but do not state their gender) see hate crime as a bigger problem in their local area (mean score of 2.7) than trans women (mean score of 2.4) and trans men (mean score of 2.3). Multiple-regression analysis which took into account and controlled for all demographic and victimisation factors, revealed that transgender respondents were not significantly more likely to feel hate crime was a problem in their area, nor were they more likely to think that it had more of an impact on their community, compared to non-transgender respondents.

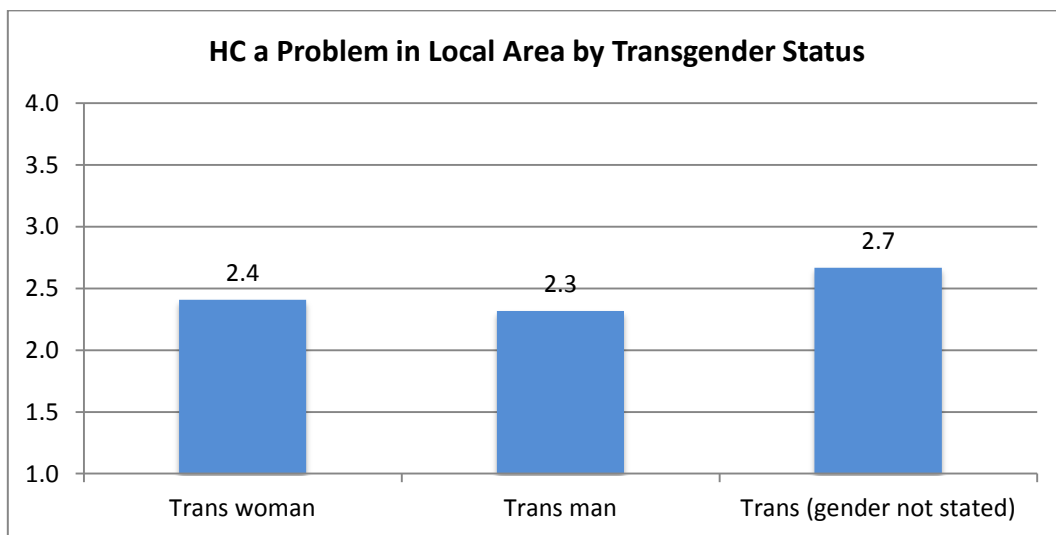


Chart 8.4

8.4.2 Perception of police performance in relation to hate crime and hate-related incidents

All respondents were asked how good a job they perceived the police to be doing to tackle hate crime and hate-related incidents in their local area. The levels of police effectiveness were measured on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being a very poor job and 5 being an excellent job). The responses within the transgender respondent community varied to some degree. Trans women respondents rated police performance higher than trans respondents who did not state their gender (mean score of 3.6 compared to 2.7) and trans men gave the lowest rating for police performance in relation to hate crime (mean score of 2.2). No statistically significant results emerged from the regression analysis, showing that transgender status had little impact on perceptions of police performance in relation to hate crime.

8.4.3 Fear of Hate Crime Victimization and Hate Crime Avoidance Strategies

The survey was able to measure fear of hate crime on the basis of transgender status/gender identity⁸¹. Chart 8.5 shows that trans women are the most fearful (mean score of 9.9) followed by trans respondents (who did not state their gender) with a mean score of 9.6 and trans men (mean score of 8.9). Multiple regression analysis revealed statistically significant findings in relation to the differences in levels of general hate crime fear between transgender and non-transgender respondents, even when taking into account demographic and victim factors. **Of all the protected characteristic groups, transgender respondents were the most likely to fear hate crime.**

⁸¹ See footnote 82 for an explanation of the construction of the fear of (hate) crime scale.

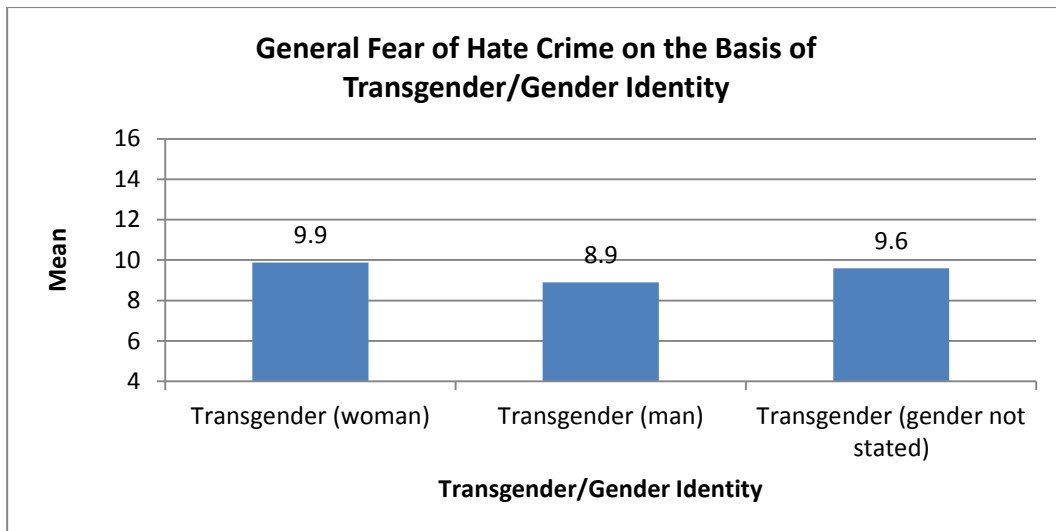


Chart 8.5

In association with a fear of hate crime, all respondents were asked whether they had ever attempted to conceal aspects of their identity or taken specific precautions to reduce the risk of becoming a victim of hate crime. Forty four percent of survey respondents stated they had attempted to conceal their transgender status/gender identity in order to reduce the risk of hate crime victimisation. This is the joint highest percentage across all protected characteristic groups (alongside LGB respondents).

Additional precautions listed in the survey included improving home security, carrying personal security devices, avoiding certain areas/places, moved house/area and avoiding going out at night. We combined these measures to create a Precautions Scale (range 0-5). Those scoring higher on the scale have reported taking more precautions against hate crime. Chart 8.6 below shows there was a slight difference between transgender groups in relation to taking precautions but no significant findings emerged in multiple regression analysis between transgender and non-transgender respondents.

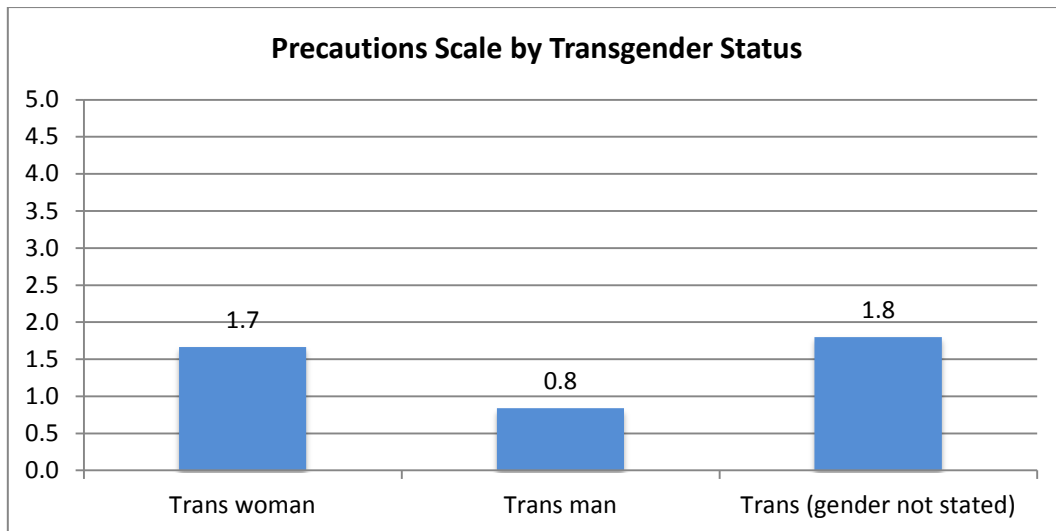


Chart 8.6

8.4.4 Effect of Hate Crime Worry on Quality of Life

Finally respondents were asked to measure the extent to which their quality of life was affected by the fear of hate crime victimisation. The impact of hate crime worry was measured on a scale of 1 to 10 (with 1 being no effect on quality of life and 10 being total effect on quality of life). Chart 8.7 shows that there were marked differences in the amount that worry about hate crime victimisation impacted on quality of life with the transgender respondent community. For transgender respondents (who did not state their gender) the worry about hate crime victimisation has over twice as much effect on quality of life over twice as much than it does for trans men (mean score of 6.4 compared to 2.9). However, no statistically significant findings emerged in the multiple regression, indicating that there was little difference between impact of fear on quality of life between transgender and non-transgender respondents, even though differences exist between transgender groups.

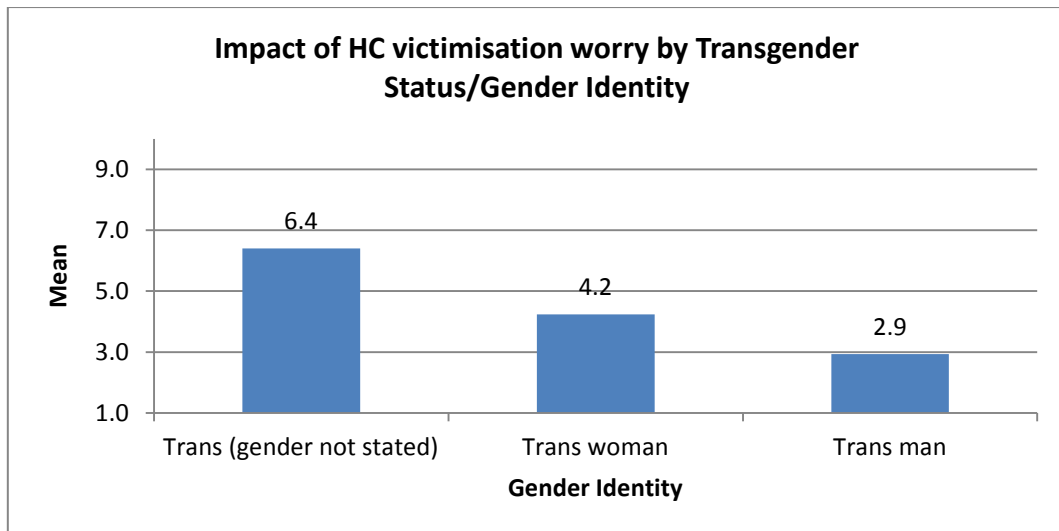


Chart 8.7

8.5 Hate Crime Victim Experience

This section focuses on the findings from data provided by research participants who have been victims of hate crime in Wales. In addition to the relevant survey analysis, interview data is presented where possible to provide a more holistic understanding of key themes emerging from the statistical findings and to reinforce the complex nature of hate crime victimisation. The data included in the charts presented in this section highlight the nature of victimisation across ALL protected characteristic groups. It is important to view the nature of transphobic hate crime in context and to reinforce the point that hate crime is not a generic phenomenon; it is a complex offence that can differ markedly between protected characteristic groups.

8.5.1 The Nature of Transphobic Hate Crime

This sub-section highlights the nature of hate crime victimisation and focuses on the following issues and characteristics:

- The range of hate crimes and hate-related incidents experienced by victims
- Whether the victim was alone or accompanied at the time of the offence
- Where the offence took place
- Repeat victimisation
- Victim perception of offender motivation

8.5.2 Most Serious Hate Crime

Over a third (37.5%) of all victims of transgender related hate crimes/incidents stated that violent crimes were the most serious they had experienced, **the second highest amongst all protected characteristics in the AWHC survey, after sexual orientation**. A quarter (25%) indicated hate incidents and threats were the most serious they had experienced, compared to just over 1 in 10 who stated acquisitive crimes were the most serious (8.3%). Roughly 1 in 20 (4.2%) stated property crimes were the most serious experienced. Chart 8.8 shows that the majority of transphobic hate crime victims were on their own at the time of the most serious incident. Around 1 in 5 (17%) reported they were with friends at the time of the most serious incident.

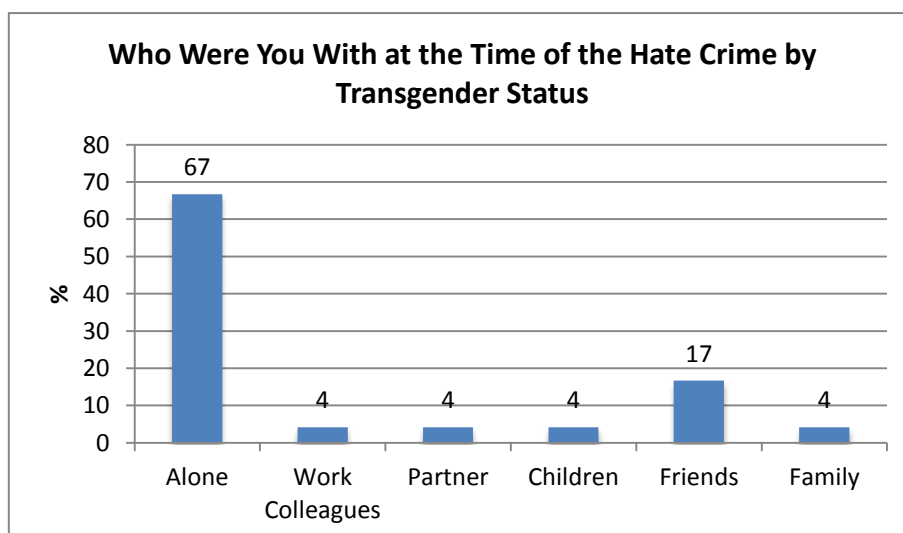


Chart 8.8

Chart 8.9 shows that 26% of transgender victims were in or just outside their own home when the hate crime incident took place; 44% of victims were partaking in the night-time economy (NTE) and 17% of victims were in a public street or park. Only a fraction of transphobic hate crime incidents took place on public transport.

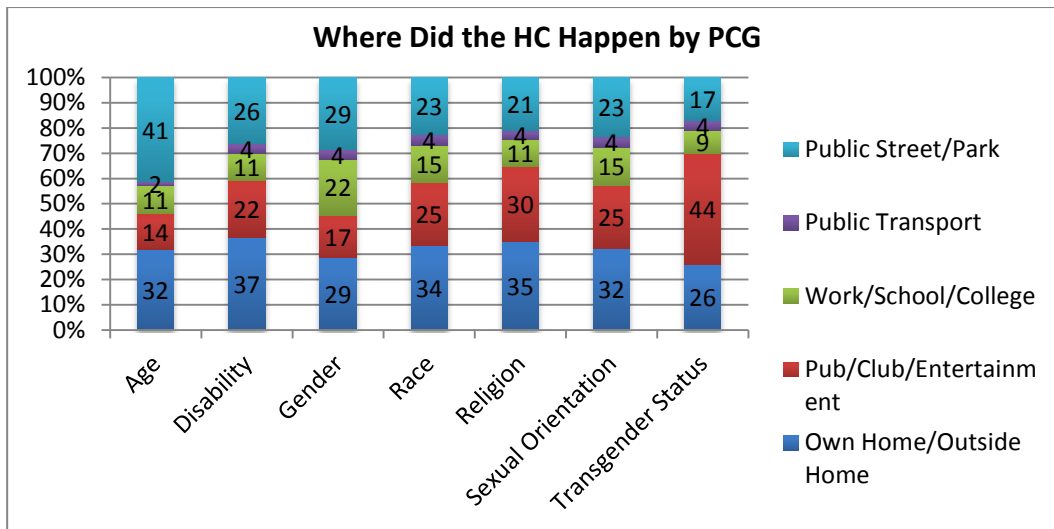


Chart 8.9

The majority of transgender interview participants reveal hate crime experiences characterised by verbal abuse, harassment and in some cases physical/sexual assault. In the majority of cases this type of hate abuse is experienced in a public setting, for example a public street. A number of transphobic hate crime victims endure low level, persistent abuse on a daily basis. As Jane, a trans woman living in South Wales comments:

There is always a sense that you are being evaluated, checked out and questioned and I'm made to feel uncomfortable. There have been people who have tried photographing me on their phone to send to their friends.

All of the trans men and women interviewed for the AWHC Project have experienced transphobic hate crime characterised by 'misgendering'. Sylvie, a trans woman who lives in South Wales endures taunts of 'HeShe' from groups of both children and adults who live in her local area. In addition, Jay's experience reflects many of the issues raised by transgender victims of hate crime. Jay is a trans man who lives in South Wales:

I was in a local LGBT bar with friends when a woman started to make offensive comments such as, 'look, there's a woman here who thinks she's a man'. The woman followed me and my friends out onto the street and then grabbed my chest. We were trying to get away but then she grabbed me between the legs. She kept referring to my private parts as a woman's and kept calling me 'she'.

Jay goes on to say that there is a widespread belief that the conflation of issues around gender and sexual orientation is an aggravating factor in relation to transphobic hate crime⁸²:

'There is a lot of confusion around the difference between sexual orientation and gender – even within the LGBT community.'

He also highlights violence against trans women as an enduring concern within the transgender community. Victims observe the damaging impact of gender stereotypes and assumptions that are made about trans women in particular.

Sometimes they are made to feel that they should be able to protect themselves because of the testosterone hormone levels they had when they were men.

This observation is borne out by Sylvie*, who reveals that after a physical altercation with a group of local residents, she stopped taking her hormones:

Because of the fight, I shaved my long hair and I started to practice martial arts, because I was scared. I was not wearing skirts anymore. I stopped taking hormones and I went to the gender clinic in London and they noticed; they wrote to me saying I looked very androgynous.

The interviews also reveal that a large proportion of transphobic hate crime is often perpetrated online. Susie, a trans woman living in Dyfed Powys recalls her online hate abuse experience:

I received emails in a public forum, it was a yahoo group or a facebook group something like that but I knew they were aimed at me. In the end I set a rule in my email client to dump all of the emails into a folder and I never bothered reading them. I was told it wouldn't be recorded because it was non-geographic; there wasn't a physical location.

⁸² Refer to Chapter Seven for further discussion of 'misgendering' and the impact that it can have on victims of homophobic hate crime.

8.5.3 Repeat Victimization

AWHC victims were asked to disclose whether they had experience of repeat hate crime victimisation⁸³. Chart 8.10 shows that transphobic hate victims experienced the most cases of repeat victimisation. In fact, fifty percent of transgender respondents had experienced repeat victimisation.

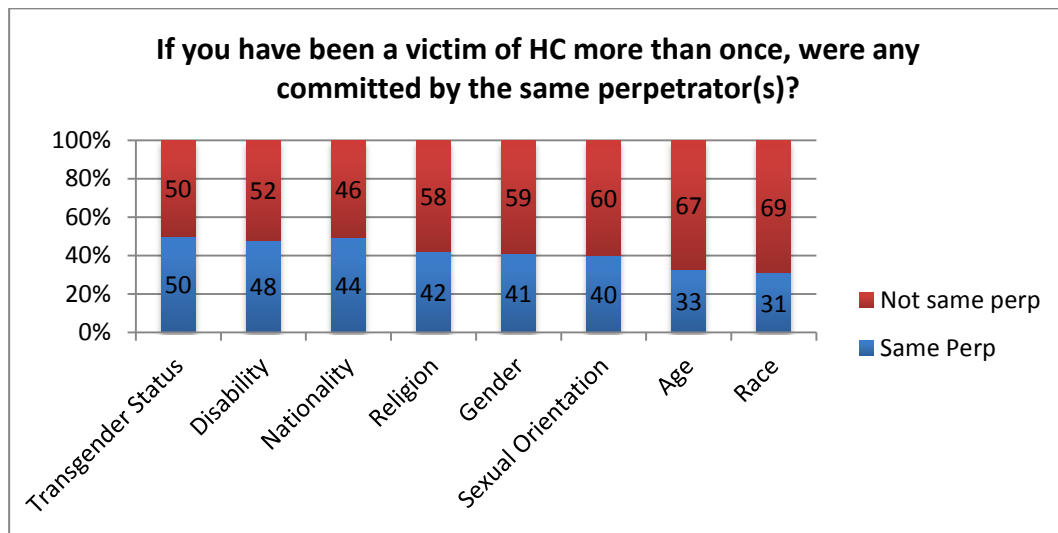


Chart 8.10

Half of the transgender interview participants revealed they had been or continued to suffer from repeat hate crime victimisation. Susie articulates the unsettling effects of repeat victimisation:

I put it down to stupidity when it [harassment] happened once; when he did it again it made me feel that something else was going on...

Sylvie's experiences highlight many concerning aspects of repeat victimisation, in particular the potential for an escalation in incident frequency and severity to take place:

The group started to approach me again and again, asking me the same questions, 'are you man or woman', and laughing and laughing. The crowd would get bigger and bigger and then one time they started to come and fight. Because of that incidents happened regularly and in the end I had to put my dog down because I was so stressed to go outside and walk the dog.

⁸³ It is important to note that the term 'repeat victimisation' refers to more than one incident perpetrated by the same offender or group of offenders. It is distinct from multiple, unconnected experiences of hate crime victimisation by different perpetrators at various points in people's lives.

8.5.4 Victim Perception of Offender Motivation

Research participants were asked what they believed motivated the offence against them. As Chart 8.11 shows, nearly fifty five percent of transgender respondents who answered this question felt that the offender was hostile to minority groups or had used some form of hate speech during the incident.

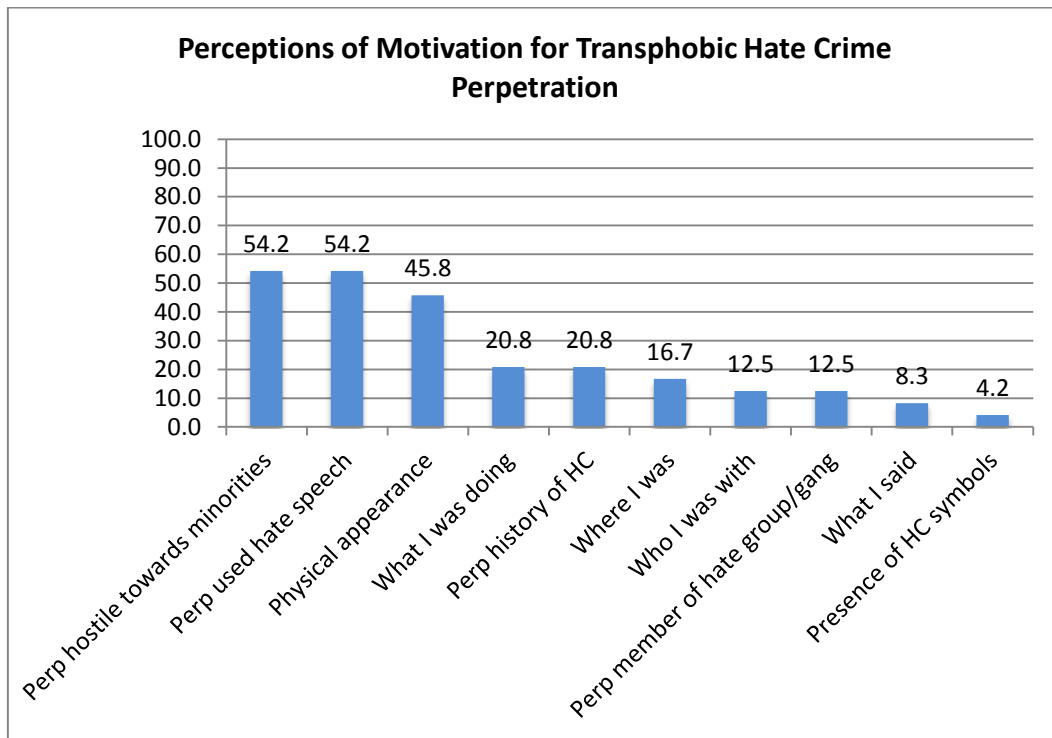


Chart 8.11

Furthermore, forty six percent of victims felt that their own physical appearance had contributed in some way to the perpetration of the hate crime incident.

Perhaps it's the way I was dressing, because I was dressing feminine and my face doesn't look feminine.

Sylvie, South Wales

I think it has a lot to do with the physical; it's how you look but also how you present in terms of the way you walk and think. I think for me it's about my size, my build and the rest of it.

Jane, South Wales

A large proportion of interview participants believed their hate crime experiences were motivated by ignorance and stupidity. A number of interview participants referred to the

intersectional nature of hate crime by highlighting both their gender and sexual orientation as motivating factors for their victimisation. As Jay observes:

The woman was homophobic but I think it was also motivated by my gender. My gender is fluid; don't put me in a box...

8.6 Victim-Perpetrator Relationship and Perpetrator Characteristics

This sub-section details information provided by victims on key perpetrator characteristics. The provision of data in this area was very limited across all of the protected characteristic groups. This in turn restricted the amount of statistical analysis that could be carried out and, as a result, all findings in this area should be interpreted with a large degree of caution. However, empirical research pertaining to hate crime perpetration is very limited generally in the UK thus the type of data generated through the AWHC Project can contribute usefully to this under researched area.

Chart 8.12 shows that in over sixty seven percent of transphobic hate crimes the offender(s) was not known by the victim. This is broadly comparable with the victim-perpetrator relationships detailed by victims across the other protected characteristic groups⁸⁴.

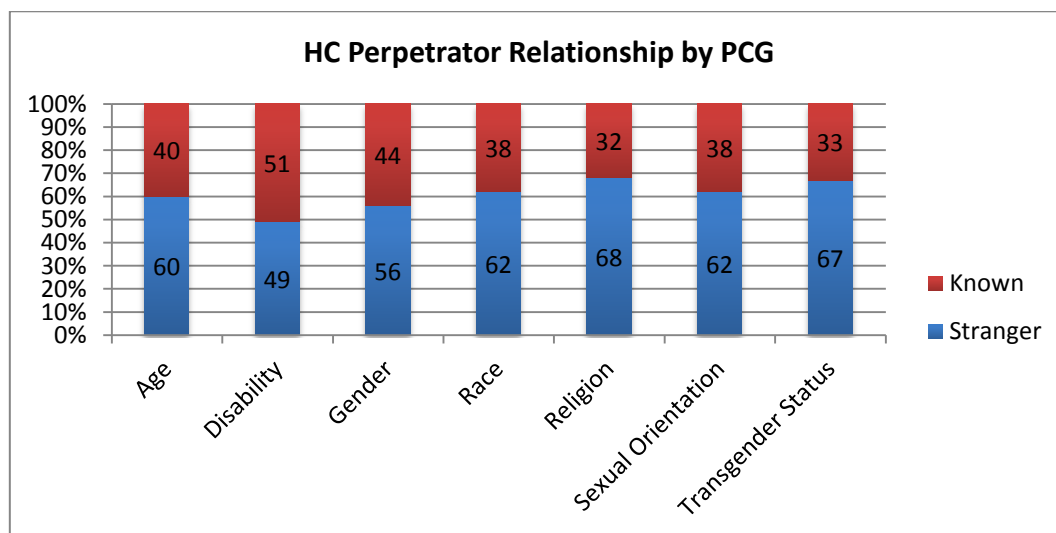


Chart 8.12

⁸⁴ The majority of hate crimes and incidents across all strands were committed by strangers. The exception is disability-related hate crime where 51% of incidents were perpetrated by someone known to the victim.

Chart 8.13 reveals that almost seventy percent of transphobic hate crimes were perpetrated by more than one offender. Charts 8.14 – 8.16 indicate that all offenders were men, 30 years old or younger, and white.

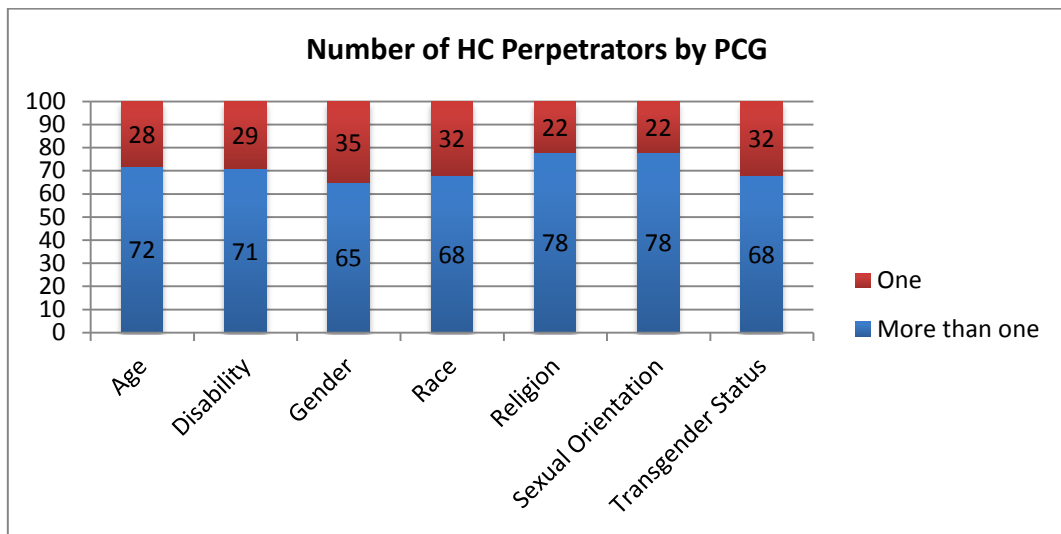


Chart 8.13

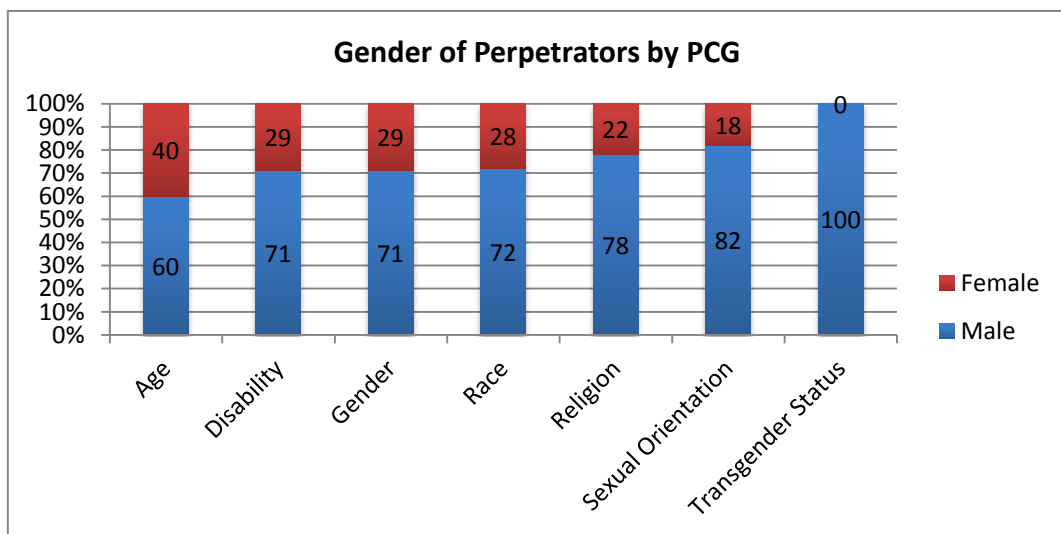


Chart 8.14

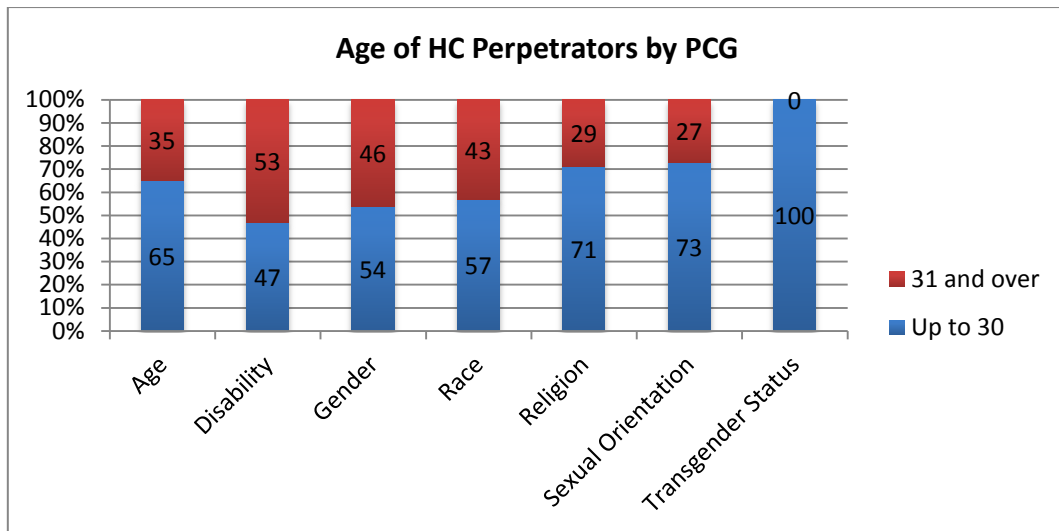


Chart 8.15

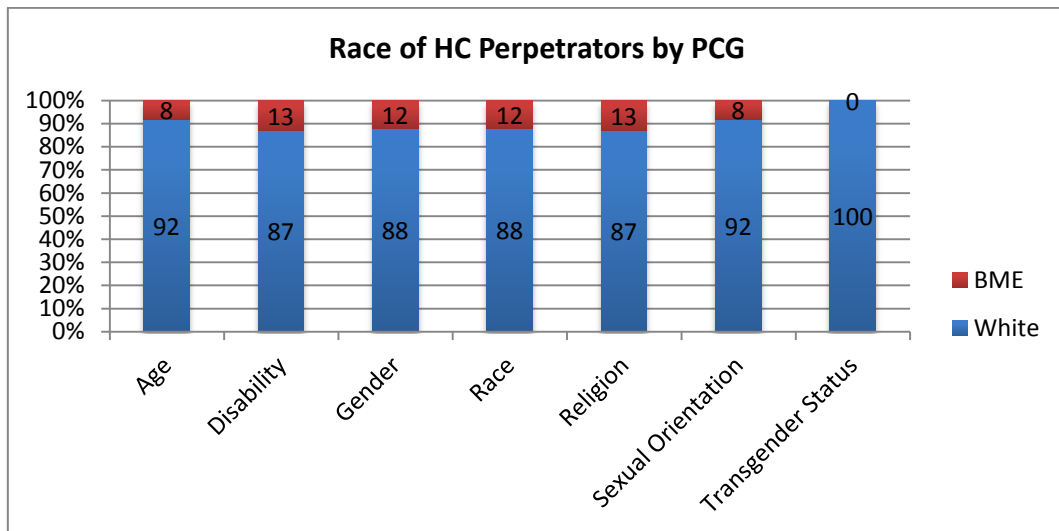


Chart 8.16

The interview data indicate that the majority of transgender participants have been physically or verbally abused by complete strangers in a public place away from their home. However, the data also reveals that often there is a correlation between where the hate crime took place and whether the perpetrator was known by the victim. Sylvie reveals the profound impact her repeated confrontations in her local community have had on her quality of life:

Every day I had to walk a little dog around area where I live. And I started to notice some people start to become prejudicial to me by calling me lshi [HeShe], and they started to approach me and asking me questions about what you are, man or a woman? First times I had with them I tried to explain but then I started to notice they were not wanting any logic, they were just wanting fun and laugh, of me, making me like feeling a clown of the crowd. And since that time they mock me I started to be more bullied by groups of children and adults. I create my own prison in my flat; it's

an open prison but I don't feel free. I had to put my dog down because I was so stressed every time I had to come out with the dog.

The primary focus of the AWHC Project was to generate data and thereby increase awareness and understanding of the nature and impact of hate crime *victimisation* in Wales. As a consequence, information on the nature of perpetration and perpetrator characteristics is limited. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that all data is generated from a victim's perspective. These two issues ensure that the findings must be interpreted with a degree of caution. It is vital that further research is carried out in this area because it is evident that issues such as repeat victimisation (which can provide information on escalation of offence frequency and severity); offence location (proximity) and whether the offender is known to the victim (familiarity) are significant risk indicators that need to be factored in to an effective risk assessment framework for hate crime victims.

8.7 Police Contact and Reporting Experience

This subsection highlights key findings in relation to victims' experience of the hate crime reporting process in Wales. The findings relate to both police and third party organisations. The section is framed mainly around the data generated by survey respondents. However, qualitative findings are included, where appropriate, because the interview data provide a nuanced account of victims' experiences of the police reporting process. All of the victims of transphobic hate crime who were interviewed had reported at least one incident to the police.

8.7.1 Police Contact, Reporting Experience and Levels of Satisfaction

In terms of reporting rates within the transgender survey community, forty six percent of hate crimes perceived to have been perpetrated on the basis of gender identity were reported to the police. This is broadly comparable with reporting rates across the protected characteristic groups⁸⁵. In seventy three percent of these cases the victims told the police explicitly that they believed the incident was motivated by transphobic attitudes or prejudice. Chart 8.17 shows the action taken by police as a result of reporting the incident. Eighty two percent of the transphobic hate crime reports were subsequently recorded by the police and forty six percent of them initiated some form of police investigation. Only nine percent of

⁸⁵ The exception here is gender-based hate crimes which were only reported in 30% of cases.

reports resulted in the arrest of an offender. Some form of police action was carried in all cases identified in the survey. It is important to acknowledge that these findings are generated wholly from the victim's perspective and individual victims may not have been fully updated on police activity after incidents were reported.

Chart 8.18 shows the various reasons given for reporting the hate crime or incident by protected characteristic. Below are the joint top three reasons for reporting transphobic hate crime victimisation:

1. Victim believed reporting all crimes/incidents is the right thing to do (73%)
2. Victim believed that hate crimes/incident in particular should be reported (73%)
3. Victim wanted to prevent it from happening again (73%)

Chart 8.19 depicts the various reasons for not reporting hate crime incidents to the police by protected characteristic. The top three reasons given by victims of transphobic hate crime were:

1. The police would not have understood (N=21)
2. Previous bad experience of the police (N=21)
3. Fear of retaliation by the offender(s) (N=15)

As a Result of Your Report, What Action Was Taken by the Police?

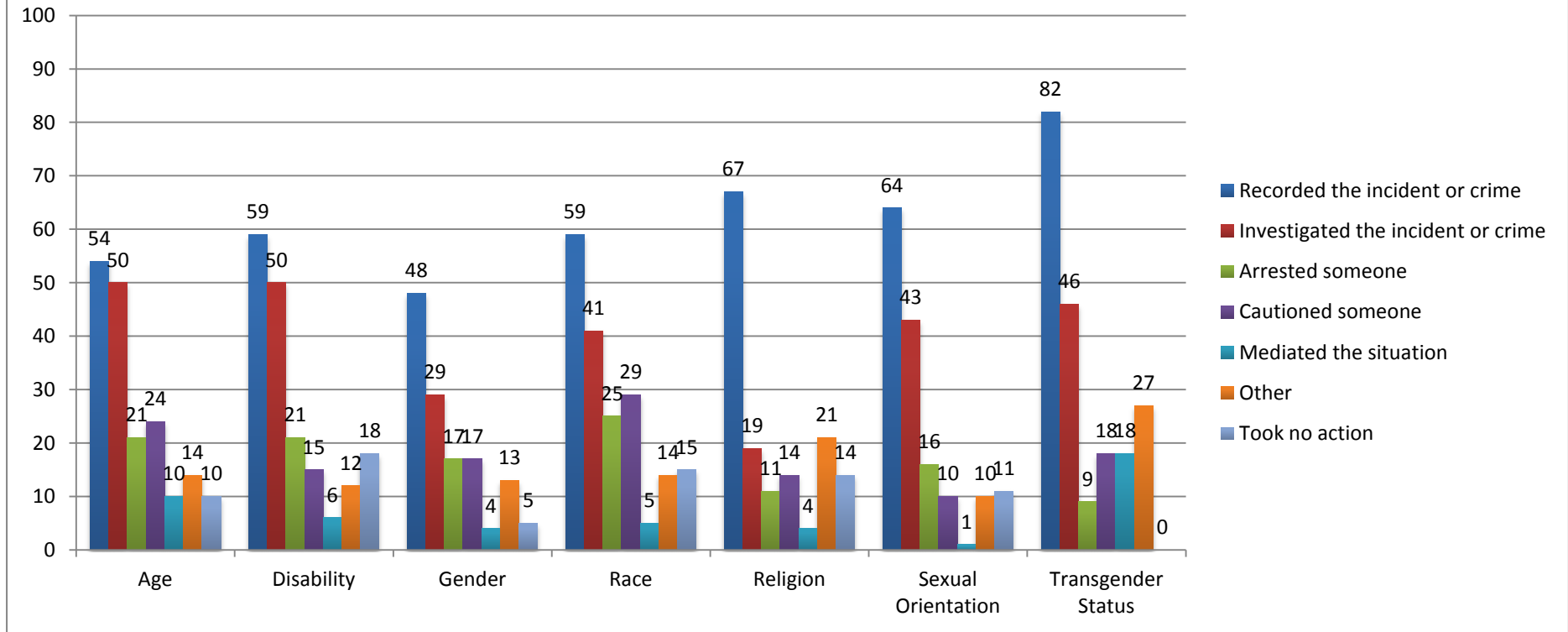


Chart 8.17

Reasons for Reporting HC to Police by PCG

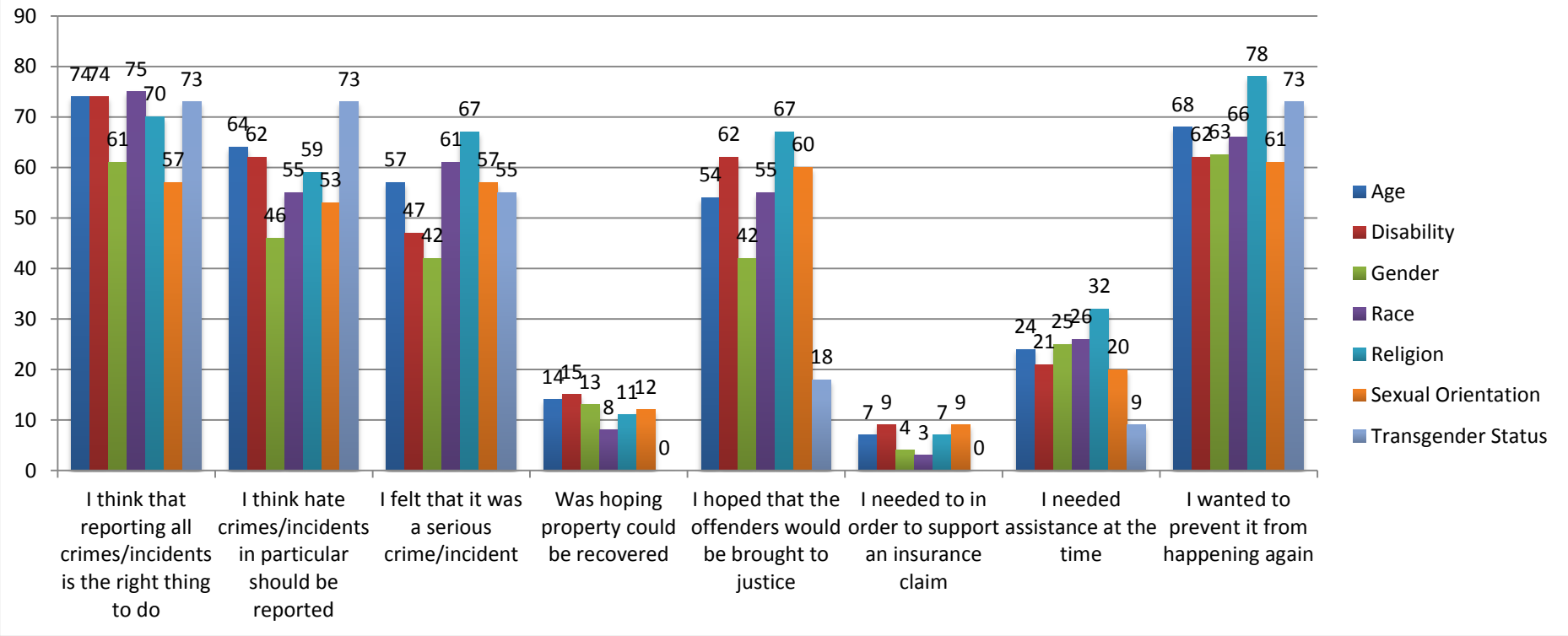


Chart 8.18

Reasons for Not Reporting by PCG

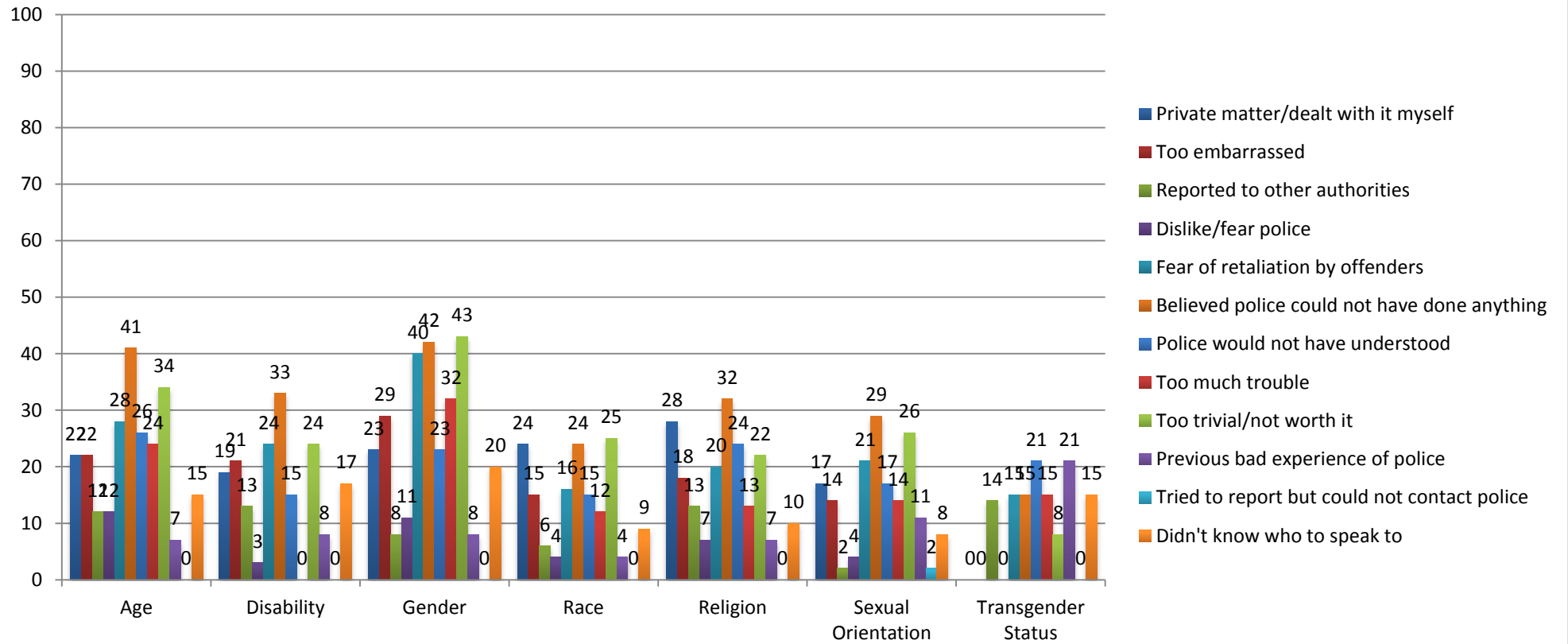


Chart 8.19

All transgender hate crime victims would encourage a victim of hate crime to report to the police and many state that it has to be recorded so that more respondents are aware of it and the impact it can have on victims. The interview data indicates that the perspective taken on whether to recommend reporting is often contingent on previous experience and informed by levels of satisfaction with police contact and response at the time of reporting and subsequent case investigation, and – in a minority of cases – satisfaction with the criminal justice process more generally (including case outcome). A scale of satisfaction was devised by combining the data from 8 questions relating to victim satisfaction during the course of contact with the police in their local area⁸⁶. Chart 8.20 shows that transgender hate crime victims were more satisfied with police contact than any other protected characteristic (mean score of 24.4). Multiple regression, that takes into account other demographic and perpetration characteristics, showed a statistically significant positive association between reporting a transphobic hate crime and higher levels of satisfaction with the reporting process.

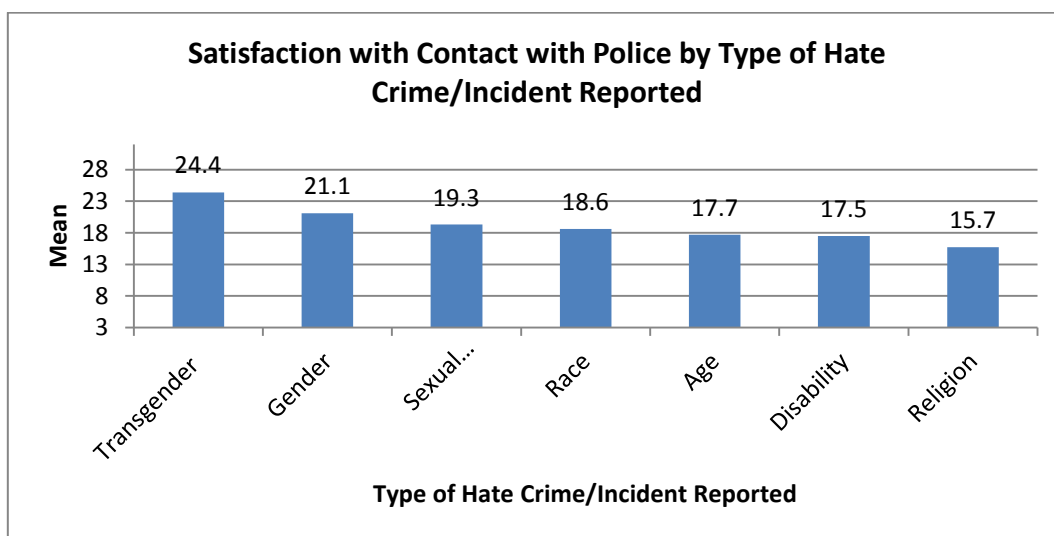


Chart 8.20

There is a general acknowledgment that the police are often limited in what they can do to investigate hate crime incidents that are often characterised by verbal abuse and intimidation and perpetrated in a public place by unknown offenders. However, some participants are

⁸⁶ The eight questions captured satisfaction levels according to 1. Ease of police contact; treatment by police officers/staff; how well police listened to the victim; how seriously victim information was taken; how quickly the police responded to initial contact; the way in which subsequent information was provided by the police; the extent to which police took account of personal circumstances/minority identity, and the outcome of police investigation. Each question operated on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 being very dissatisfied and 4 being very satisfied). When the eight questions were combined the police satisfaction scale included mean values that ranged from 8 to 32 (8 being the least satisfied and 32 being the most satisfied).

critical of what they perceive as, *'flaws in the criminal justice system'* (Jane, South Wales). These include the length of time it takes to collate and process evidence (usually in the form of CCTV) or receive case updates, and the lack of a joined up approach to dealing with a hate crime following reporting and during case construction and prosecution.

It is important to acknowledge that often victims have limited knowledge of the criminal justice system (CJS) in Wales, and as the most visible aspect of the CJS, the police are often deemed inaccurately to be the reason for lengthy delays in the criminal justice process. However, this is an important finding in itself. It is vital that victim expectations in relation to case outcome are managed from the outset and that they are also provided with clear and relevant information about the criminal justice process in Wales. Although participants reveal general satisfaction with the police response, it is concerning to note that all transgender interview participants experienced 'misgendering' to some degree during initial contact with the police. As a consequence, victims suggest that police training on equality and diversity is comprehensive and reviewed on a regular basis.

8.7.3 Third Party Reporting

Both survey respondents and interview participants were asked if they had ever reported a transphobic hate crime to a third party individual or organisation. Fifty four percent of transphobic hate crime victims who answered this question had talked to a third party, support organisation about the hate victimisation. **This is the highest third party reporting rate across the protected characteristic groups.** Overall, all transgender respondents would encourage other victims to report to a third party individual or organisation. This was reflected in the five interviews with transgender hate crime victims. However, very few victims were aware of third party reporting centres that they could contact as an *alternative* to calling the police directly. Those that were aware thought themselves in the minority and suggested there should be more public awareness of these centres.

8.8 Summary of Key Points

The report reveals that of all the protected characteristic groups, transgender respondents were the most likely to fear hate crime. Furthermore, the research indicates that transphobic hate crime takes various forms in Wales, and includes a significant proportion of 'misgendering' and online abuse. There is a widespread belief that confusion with regards to the difference between gender and sexual orientation is an aggravating factor in relation to

transphobic hate crime and a number of victims report confusion about which aspect of their identity (gender identity or sexual orientation) was being targeted by perpetrators.

Hate Crime Impact⁸⁷

- Transphobic hate crime victims were most likely to suffer multiple types of impact (10 out of 22 impacts);
- Nearly half (46%) of transphobic hate crime/incident victims disclosed thoughts of suicide;
- Transphobic hate crime victims were over 10 times more likely than any other victim to have suicidal thoughts.

Hate Crime Perpetration

- In relation to their most serious hate crime/incident transphobic hate crime victims were most likely to not know their perpetrator (67%);
- In relation to their most serious hate crime/incident transphobic hate crime victims were second most likely to be victimised by one perpetrator (along with victims of race-related hate crime).

Hate Crime Reporting Behaviour

- Transphobic hate crime victims were most likely to encourage other victims to report (100%);
- Transphobic hate crime victims were most likely to disclose the incident was motivated by some aspect of their identity;
- Of the transphobic hate crime/incident victims that did not report to the police near one quarter (21%) stated they did not do so because of a previous bad experience;
- The findings showed a statistically significant positive association between reporting a transphobic hate crime and higher levels of satisfaction with the reporting process.

⁸⁷The psychological impact of transphobic hate crime can have far reaching consequences beyond the immediate well-being of the victim. In many cases the mental health of gender transitioning people is closely monitored by health practitioners. Any evidence of anxiety, depression or social withdrawal – common reactions to hate crime victimisation across all protected characteristic groups – can have a profound impact on an individual's gender transition progress.

The findings also reveal

- Over a third (37.5%) of all victims of transgender related hate crimes/incidents stated that violent crimes were the most serious they had experienced, **the second highest amongst all strands in the AWHC survey, after sexual orientation**. A quarter (25%) indicated hate incidents and threats were the most serious they had experienced, compared to just over 1 in 10 who stated acquisitive crimes were the most serious (8.3%). Roughly 1 in 20 (4.2%) stated property crimes were the most serious experienced.

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