

The Leicester CRIME Project

Briefing Paper 2 GENDERED HOSTILITY

September 2014

This briefing paper is part of a series of publications produced as part of The Leicester Hate Crime Project:

Findings and Conclusions: Full Report Findings and Conclusions: Executive Summary Report Victims' Manifesto Briefing Paper 1: Disablist Hate Crime Briefing Paper 2: Gendered Hostility Briefing Paper 3: Homophobic Hate Crime Briefing Paper 4: Racist Hate Crime Briefing Paper 5: Religiously Motivated Hate Crime

All of these publications can be accessed at www.le.ac.uk/centreforhatestudies.

GENDERED HOSTILITY

VICTIMS' PERSPECTIVES

Over a two-year period from 2012 to 2014 the Leicester Hate Crime Project team conducted groundbreaking research into acts of hate, prejudice and targeted hostility. Funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, this research – Britain's biggest ever study of hate crime victimisation – engaged with over 4,000 people from a diverse range of backgrounds and recorded the views of 1,421 victims of hate crime. The findings from this work have generated new and significant insights into the nature, forms and impacts of hate offences.

The Leicester Hate Crime Project had three main aims:

- to discover as much as possible about people's experiences of hate, prejudice and targeted hostility;
- to understand the physical and emotional harms suffered by victims and their families; and
- to identify ways of improving the quality of support offered to victims.

The project used a broad definition of hate crime in order to capture the experiences of anyone, from any background, who felt that they had been victimised specifically because of who they are. Among the research participants were those who felt that they had been targeted because of their gender and also those who had been victimised for being transgender. This briefing paper, the second in a series of such papers from the project, outlines the standout findings from this aspect of the research. It focuses upon the nature and extent of gendered hostility; the impact of being targeted; concerns about future victimisation; the profile of offenders; the reporting of hate crimes; and the value of support services supplied to victims.

This briefing paper refers to the views of people who have experienced gendered hostility. It is important to acknowledge, however, that categorising victims like this does underplay the fact that many of our research participants had been targeted as a result of more than one aspect of their identity, and that many issues are shared between different groups. This is noted in the text where appropriate.

A full set of the project's findings, including detailed analysis and commentary, can be found in the *Findings and Conclusions* report.



Profile of gendered hostility victims

Surveys and interviews were completed with 204 people who had been targeted because of hostility towards their gender, and with 24 people who had been targeted because of hostility towards their transgender status. We heard from many people who felt that they had been victimised not simply because of their gender, but because they had not been performing their gender role 'properly' in the eyes of the person targeting them. Society has certain dominant ideas and expectations regarding how men and women conduct themselves, based upon fairly rigid and 'traditional' ideas of masculinity and femininity. Those who do not 'conform' to these expectations can find themselves the targets of hostility, and we heard from a number of people who had been verbally abused, sent hate mail and offensive messages on social networks, and even sexually assaulted because they had not performed the role of a woman, a wife or a mother 'correctly'. What follows is a demographic breakdown of those who felt victimised on the basis of their gender and transgender status.

Age	Total sample ¹	Proportion of total sample (%) ^{2,3}
Under 18	11	5
18 to 24	74	32
25 to 34	45	19
35 to 44	49	21
45 to 54	34	15
55 to 64	8	3
65 to 74	7	3
Prefer not to say	2	1
Not stated	2	1

Age

 $^{\scriptscriptstyle 1}$ This includes participants who felt they had been targeted because of their gender and transgender status.

² This is the percentage for the total sample of gendered hostility victims.

³ Individual percentages have been rounded to the nearest integer in this and subsequent tables.

Gender

Gender	Total sample	Proportion of total sample (%)
Male	33	14
Female	193	83
Not stated	6	3

Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Total sample	Proportion of total sample (%)
White British	99	43
White Irish	4	2
Eastern European	5	2
Western European	8	3
Any other White background	9	4
Black/Black British	2	1
Black Caribbean	2	1
Black African	28	12
Asian/Asian British	20	9
Indian	17	7
Pakistani	7	3
Bangladeshi	1	0
Chinese	4	2
Any other Asian background	1	0
European Roma	1	0
Any other Gypsy/ Traveller background	1	0
Iraqi	1	0
Any other Middle Eastern background	3	1
White and Black Caribbean	1	0



Ethnicity Continued

Ethnicity	Total sample	Proportion of total sample (%)
White and Asian	3	1
White and Black African	1	0
Any other mixed background	5	2
Any other ethnic group	2	1
Not stated	7	3

Religion

Religion	Total sample⁴	Proportion of total sample (%)
Christianity	39	39
Hinduism	13	13
Islam	37	37
Sikhism	1	1
Other	8	8
Prefer not to say	1	1

⁴ This data set is based on those participants who stated that they actively practise a religion.

 $^{\rm 5}$ 'Other' responses included 'Ahmadiyya Muslim' (n=1), 'Catholic' (n=5), 'Shaman' (n=1) and 'Spiritualist' (n=1).

Sexual Orientation	Total sample	Proportion of total sample (%)
Heterosexual (straight)	147	63
Gay	6	3
Lesbian	19	8
Bisexual	18	8
Asexual	1	0
Pansexual	4	2
Undecided	6	3
Prefer not to say	13	6
Not stated	18	8

Sexual Orientation

1 What is the nature and extent of gendered hostility?

1.1 What forms of hate crime do people experience, and where do they occur?

- 86% of survey respondents had been a victim of verbal abuse.
- 77% had experienced a form of harassment such as bullying or threatening behaviour.
- 41% had been the victim of violent crime.
- Over a third had experienced some form of sexual violence (36%).
- Almost four in ten had experienced cyberbullying (38%).
- Just under a third of hate crimes had occurred in a public street or park (30%). Outside, near or in the home accounted for 26% of the most recent experiences of gendered hostility.



Of those targeted because of hostility towards their transgender status:

- 86% had been a victim of verbal abuse, and for over a third this form of victimisation had been experienced regularly (36%).
- 77% had experienced a form of harassment such as bullying or threatening behaviour.
- Over a third had experienced cyberbullying (36%).
- 59% had been the victim of violent crime.
- Just over a third of hate crimes had occurred in a public street or park (36%). Outside, near or in the home accounted for 27% of transphobic hate crimes.

I actually logged every hate crime and I'd got about 500 in one year. And that went on for two and a half years.

Transgender woman

It's the name-calling and things like that. You never really know with people how far they would go and how fast things can escalate. What could be somebody asking a question, or name calling, or anything like that, can easily turn to violence in less than a minute. It isolates you.

Transgender woman

1.2 What concerns do people have about future victimisation?

- 92% of survey respondents said that they were concerned about being harassed because of their gender again in the future.
- One in three referred to being 'very concerned' about becoming a victim of a violent crime in the future (32%).
- A third were 'very concerned' about being a victim of sexual violence in the future (34%).
- 62% felt that their quality of life was significantly affected by the fear of hate crime.

Of those targeted because of hostility towards their transgender status:

- 91% said they were concerned about being harassed because of their transgender identity again in the future.
- Over a quarter referred to being 'very concerned' about becoming a victim of a violent crime in future (27%).
- Victims were also concerned about their dress and appearance (59%), sexual orientation (41%) and gender (27%) contributing to future targeted hostility.
- 64% felt that their quality of life was significantly affected by the fear of hate crime.

The most dangerous part of my daily life is using washrooms in public places like restaurants and bars and pubs and hotels, clubs and all these things. That is really, really dangerous for me.

Transgender woman

I more or less expect something to happen every day. I'm getting quite used to it, and you know I'm so used to the verbal abuse.

Transgender woman

1.3 Who commits hate crime?

- Over a third of survey respondents had been targeted by one offender (36%) in their most recent experience of victimisation.
- 11% knew the offenders as acquaintances, 7% as friends, 6% as neighbours, 5% as family members and 4% as work colleagues.
- Three quarters of the most recent incidents of targeted hostility had involved a male offender (76%).
- One in five of the most recent incidents had involved offenders aged 13-19 (22%), while 43% involved those aged 20-30.
- Over half of the most recent experiences of targeted hostility had involved a perpetrator who was of White ethnicity (55%).



Of those targeted because of hostility towards their transgender status:

- Around two thirds of the most recent incidents involved more than one offender (64%).
- 55% of the most recent incidents had involved offenders who were not known to the victim.
- Nearly three quarters of the most recent incidents of targeted hostility had involved a single male or multiple males (77%).
- The same proportion of most recent experiences of targeted hostility had involved a perpetrator between 13 and 19 years old and under 30 years of age (45% for each age band).
- Half of the most recent experiences had involved a perpetrator who was of White ethnicity (50%). For just over a quarter the perpetrators had been Asian or Asian British (27%).

It's normally like four or five white, young, early twenties, maybe late teens, men. And they will be the ones who will usually start shouting stuff.

Transgender youth

2 What is the impact of victimisation?

2.1 Verbal abuse and harassment

- Just 1% of survey respondents stated that being a victim of verbal abuse and harassment had had no impact on them.
- 83% said that these experiences had upset them.
- Nearly six out of ten referred to feeling anxious (58%) and vulnerable (55%).
- Over a third said that being verbally abused and harassed had made them depressed (37%).
- Just under half had avoided areas (45%) in order to reduce the risk of victimisation.

Of those targeted because of hostility towards their transgender status:

- Every single transgender respondent stated that being a victim of verbal abuse and harassment had had some form of impact upon them.
- 95% said that these experiences had upset them.
- Nearly two thirds said that their experiences had made them feel angry towards others (60%), with a third stating that their experiences had made them want to retaliate either verbally or physically (30%).
- 65% said that their experiences had made them distrust others and 60% described feeling depressed.
- Just under half said that being targeted had made them avoid certain areas (45%), and had led to them changing their appearance or the way that they dressed (40%).

2.2 Violent victimisation

- 99% of survey respondents said that being the victim of targeted violence and sexual assault had had some form of impact on them.
- Around six out of ten said that they felt anxious (64%) and vulnerable (67%) as a result of their experiences of violent victimisation.
- Just under a third stated that their experiences had made them want to move house (28%). A similar proportion cited that they had wanted to move to a different city altogether as a result of their experiences (24%).
- Significant numbers had avoided certain areas (74%), stopped going out at night (45%), and improved home security (31%) to reduce the risk of victimisation and feel safer.



Of those targeted because of hostility towards their transgender status:

- Every single transgender respondent stated that being the victim of targeted violence and sexual assault had had an impact upon them.
- A high proportion referred to feeling anxious (54%) and vulnerable (77%).
- 62% felt that their experiences made them distrust others.
- Over half said that their experiences had made them feel depressed (54%) and 38% reported feeling suicidal as a result of targeted violence and/or sexual assault.
- 77% had avoided certain areas, 64% had avoided going out at night and 50% had improved home security.
- Nearly two thirds had changed the way that they look in order to feel safer and avoid victimisation (59%).

It makes you feel quite upset and angry. You know there was a time when I couldn't leave the house without crying.

Female victim of gendered hostility

The first couple of times you lose somebody from the community you get upset and whatever else, but then eventually you come to the point where I can't remember half their names now ... Since I've been out on the scene anywhere between seven and twelve people have killed themselves.

Transgender woman

It made me feel very vulnerable, powerless, targeted. It made me worry about my safety in the future. It made me feel self-conscious and uncomfortable going out and about within the same area. It made me feel very exposed, like I was an easy target and ... it caused me to have panic attacks, to have real problems with being out and about, especially alone.

Female victim of gendered hostility

3 How are agencies responding to victimisation?

3.1 Did victims report their most recent hate incident or crime to anyone?

- Under a third of survey respondents who had been targeted because of hostility towards their gender or transgender status (29% and 27% respectively) had reported their experiences to the police.
- The reason most frequently given by gender-based and transgender victims for reporting the incident to the police was that it was a serious crime (cited by 77% and 100% of respondents respectively). This was followed by needing emotional (36% and 50%) and practical support (36% and 17%).
- Of those who had reported the incident to another organisation, the most common form of help provided was emotional support, cited by roughly half of those victimised because of their gender and a third of those victimised because of their transgender status (48% and 33% respectively).
- Over half of those who had been targeted because of their gender or transgender status had not reported their last incident of hate crime to anyone (54% and 55% respectively).
- Of those victims who had not reported their most recent experience to the police, the most common explanation was that the police would not take it seriously, a perception shared by 41% of those victimised because of their gender and 31% of transgender victims.

If I went to the police to report every single incident I wouldn't be doing anything else. I would be spending half my day being insulted and humiliated. Then the other half a day I would spend in the police station reporting things.

Transgender woman

I know how much money there isn't and how things are being cut. You know, thinking logically, this is horrible to me personally but I've not had a brick through the window. It's not on a regularly basis. Again I must stress the fact that the police had been very helpful but I don't think they'll be able to do anything and to a certain extent we accepted that.

Female victim of gendered hostility



3.2 How satisfied were victims with the support they received?

- 71% of survey respondents targeted because of hostility towards their gender believed that the incident(s) they had reported to the police had been recorded. This was slightly higher for transgender victims (83%).
- Under half (41%) of victims who were targeted because of gendered hostility said that the police had investigated their hate incident, compared to 33% of transgender victims.
- Just over one in ten cases reported by victims targeted because of their gender (12%) had gone to, or were in the process of going to court. None of the cases reported by those targeted because of their transgender status had gone to, or were in the process of going to court.

Their services were appalling. The police promised, I don't know how many times, to follow up and come round to my flat, and all sorts of things. I don't even have a crime reference number ... they just completely ignored me, which is really, really frustrating.

Transgender woman

- Overall, 75% of victims targeted for their gender and 67% for their transgender status would encourage others to report hate crimes to the police.
- Of those who had reported to organisations or individuals other than the police, 67% of those targeted for their transgender status and 50% of those targeted for their gender would encourage others to report to these services.
- A third of those victimised because of their gender were very satisfied with their response from the police (36%) whilst only 17% of those targeted because of their transgender status said they were satisfied.
- Similar proportions of victims targeted because of hostility towards their gender and transgender status felt the police were doing a good or excellent job of tackling hate crime in Leicester (36% and 32% respectively).
- Under a third of the same subset of victims felt the police were doing a poor or very poor job of tackling hate crime in the city (28% and 23%).

I was offered counselling. I kinda went, no, no, no, I'm a closed person. But part of me wishes I had of done that, because I would have got it all out then, rather than let it fester. Because it was a long time before I could talk about it.

Female victim of gendered hostility

I remember last time when I was assaulted, I was really desperate to sit down and have a talk with somebody, but I didn't really get much attention from the LGBT centre I went to just afterwards. I didn't get much attention from Victim Support either.

Transgender woman



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