Hate crime: a thematic review of the current evidence

Research Report 102

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Contents

1. Summary

A hate crime is defined as any criminal offence which is perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by hostility or prejudice based on a person's race, religion, sexual orientation, transgender identity or disability, or the perception of the person of having any of these characteristics. This briefing paper provides insight into current understanding and remaining challenges around the following themes: prevalence and reporting; police and prosecution; when and where offending happens; characteristics of victims and perpetrators; and wider community impacts. Although not an exhaustive review, it outlines some of the most relevant and high-quality evidence on these topics.

1.1. Key Findings

1.1.1. Prevalence and Reporting

- Current data limitations mean that understanding the true prevalence of all forms of hate crime, particularly at a sub-strand level, remains a challenge. The most up-to-date estimate for hate crime by the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) is for 2012/13 to 2014/15, and suggests a decline in incidents. The highest proportion - roughly half - of CSEW hate crimes were motivated by race, followed by disability, religion, and sexual orientation. An updated estimate will be published in autumn 2018.

- The CSEW results also estimate that half of the offences captured were brought to police attention. However, wider research indicates barriers to reporting to the police remain, such as the perception that some offences are too minor to report.

1.1.2. Police Practices and the Criminal Justice System

- There were increases in the volume of police recorded hate crime across all five strands in 2016/17 compared to the previous year. This is thought to reflect both genuine spikes in hate crime around specific events such as the EU referendum and terror attacks, and more general improvements in crime recording by the police. Greater public awareness may also have increased the likelihood of cases being reported, and recent research indicates that individual forces have been proactively encouraging reporting. However, practices are inconsistent and flagging of cases is not always accurate.

- The volume of cases flagged as hate crimes received by the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) has fallen. However, both conviction rates and use of sentence uplifts in cases resulting in a conviction have risen.

1.1.3. When and Where Hate Crime Happens

- Spikes in hate crime and abuse, both online and offline, have been associated with high profile 'trigger events' such as terror attacks.

- As might be expected, some of the highest volumes of hate crime are recorded by police force areas with large urban populations. There is also some evidence of a link between hate crime offending and alcohol, as well as the night time economy. However, the evidence around prevalence in specific settings and online platforms is patchy.

1.1.4. Perpetrator and Victim Characteristics

- Research suggests that hate crime perpetrators share similarities with non-hate crime perpetrators in terms of their characteristics. In addition, studies have found that those who commit hate crimes often also commit other kinds of offences.

- In terms of victim characteristics, the CSEW 2012/13 to 2014/15 prevalence estimates identified that minority groups and younger people were more likely to be targeted. Wider evidence has suggested visibility of characteristics, for example, skin colour or dress, may be linked to greater risk of victimisation.

1.1.5. Wider Community Impacts

- There is evidence that hate crime can have serious and pervasive implications for victims. For some hate crime victims, the distress caused can be more severe than for equivalent offences that are not motivated by hostility towards their personal characteristics.

- Research suggests that knowledge of and/or exposure to hate crimes against others may elicit strong emotional reactions. This can in turn lead some victims and members of the wider community to modify their behaviour, such as changing how they dress or avoiding certain locations. As with victims, responses vary between members of the community.

2. Introduction

A hate crime is defined as any criminal offence which is perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by hostility or prejudice based on a person's race, religion, sexual orientation, transgender identity or disability, or the perception of the person of having any of these characteristics. Our understanding of hate crime continues to grow through ongoing academic research, analysis of national data, and an active and engaged civil society. Rates of reporting incidents to the police have also risen, and recording practices have improved. This is giving an increasingly rich picture of the nature and extent of hate crime, its perpetrators and victims. Research is also starting to extend our understanding beyond the direct victim, to explore implications for the community more broadly.

Evidence gaps do however remain, and true rates of victimisation are difficult to establish. While many studies and surveys have worked with victims in the community, our information on perpetrators is more reliant on what is recorded through contact with police and the Criminal Justice System (CJS). In part connected to these gaps, our understanding of the circumstances in which hate crime is most likely to take place is incomplete, as is our knowledge of the nature and extent of online offending.

This briefing paper is based on a review of some of the pertinent evidence on hate crime in relation to the following themes: prevalence and reporting; police and prosecution; when and where offending happens; characteristics of victims and perpetrators; and wider community impacts.

Thirty sources were initially identified through liaising with relevant Home Office policy and analytical teams, and drawing on evidence put forward by academics at a 2016 round table on hate crime. 'Snowballing' of academic material, grey literature, and published data through citations and linked articles was then completed over a one-week period in May 2018.[1] In addition, relevant statistics were provided by the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) and Home Office teams.

In total, 121 sources were identified for initial light touch assessment, of which 66 were prioritised for more in-depth review based on relevance and quality. While not being a formal Systematic Review of evidence, this briefing provides insight into current knowledge across the themes listed as part of wider work to increase our understanding of hate crime. This is a key aspect of the Hate Crime Action Plan published in 2016 and refreshed in October 2018.

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1 This exercise was restricted to material online, and so largely excluded books that were not generally available. This also included flagging of some imminent releases.

3. Prevalence and Reporting

The last prevalence estimate released in 2015 suggested that hate crime victimisation had fallen in England and Wales, and that around half of cases were reported to police. These estimates will be updated in autumn 2018.

The most recent prevalence estimates for hate crime are based on CSEW combined data from 2012/13 to 2014/15 (due to be updated in autumn 2018). These estimates suggest around 222,000 offences were committed each year in this period. This is a statistically significant fall from the previous combined 2007/08 to 2008/09 estimate of 307,000 hate crimes per year (Home Office, 2015a).

CSEW estimates for individual strands suggest that the highest proportion of offences - roughly half (106,000) – were motivated by race, followed by disability (70,000), religion (38,000) and sexual orientation (29,000) (Home Office, 2015b).[2] However, there are several limitations to the CSEW which affect the extent to which it reflects true prevalence of hate crime overall and for the various strands.[3] Numbers of transgender identity motivated offences captured in the survey were too small to provide a CSEW estimate for this strand, though other studies suggest that rates of offending against transgender people may be relatively high.[4]

Almost half (48%[5]) of CSEW hate crime offences are brought to police attention, compared with 40% of CSEW crime overall. This is likely to be influenced by the types of crime that make up hate crime offences. For example, a relatively high proportion of hate crimes are violent offences (49% compared with 19% of all CSEW crimes) which have comparatively high average reporting rates (Home Office, 2015a).

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2 There is some overlap between the hate crimes identified in the CSEW, particularly those identified as racially and religiously motivated. This is because respondents can select more than one motivating factor relating to a single offence (Home Office, 2015a).

3 For example, it is possible that estimates for disability hate crime are higher due to potential misinterpretation of the survey question by respondents who may conflate vulnerability to crime and motivation. In addition, the survey will not capture children or offences which may have been motivated by hate, but where the specific individual 'victim' or motivation isn't identifiable, such as graffiti or vandalism of a public space (see Home Office 2015a for more detail).

4 The Sussex Hate Crime Project concluded that trans people were more likely to have been a victim of hate crime than their LGB counterparts (Paterson et al. 2018). The All Wales Hate Crime Project (Williams and Tregidga, 2013) also found that among their research participants, transgender individuals were most likely to experience repeat victimisation.

5 Note: percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number throughout.

Surveys and academic studies have sought to understand the barriers to reporting rates further. A factor affecting reporting is how serious or commonplace victims perceive the offence.[6] This may mean offences are less likely to be reported if they are considered more minor by the victim (such as verbal abuse) and not worth police time, or when committed against people who are regularly victimised and have normalised it as 'part of everyday life'. Certain barriers are more specific to the victim community. For example, qualitative research with the LGBT community found that fear of being 'outed' was a frequent concern (Chakraborti and Hardy, 2015).[7]

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[6] This theme has been identified in studies focussed across different strands. See research by Chakraborti and Hardy, (2015), and survey results from GEO (2018) and the National Union of Students (2011a, 2011b, 2012a, and 2012b) for examples.

[7] Aside from CSEW and police recorded data, third sector organisations have conducted surveys which could provide alternative indications of prevalence of particular strands. However, these are not generally representative and methodological differences make it difficult to compare or combine findings.

4. Police Recorded Hate Crime

General improvements in police recording practices mean more hate crimes are being accurately recorded, with increases seen across all five strands.

In 2016/17, 80,393 hate crimes were recorded by the police (Home Office, 2017a).[8] Race was identified as a motivating factor for more than three quarters of recorded cases (78%), followed by sexual orientation (11%), religion (7%), disability (7%) and transgender identity (2%). Some recorded offences have more than one motivating factor.[9]

Figures for 2016/17 recorded hate crime represented a 29% overall increase on the previous year (see Figure 1) (Home Office, 2017a). Volumes of recorded offences across all five monitored strands of hate crime displayed an increase, but were proportionally higher for disability (53%) and transgender identity (45%).

Figure 1: Hate crimes recorded by the police, by monitored strand, 2012/13 to 2016/17
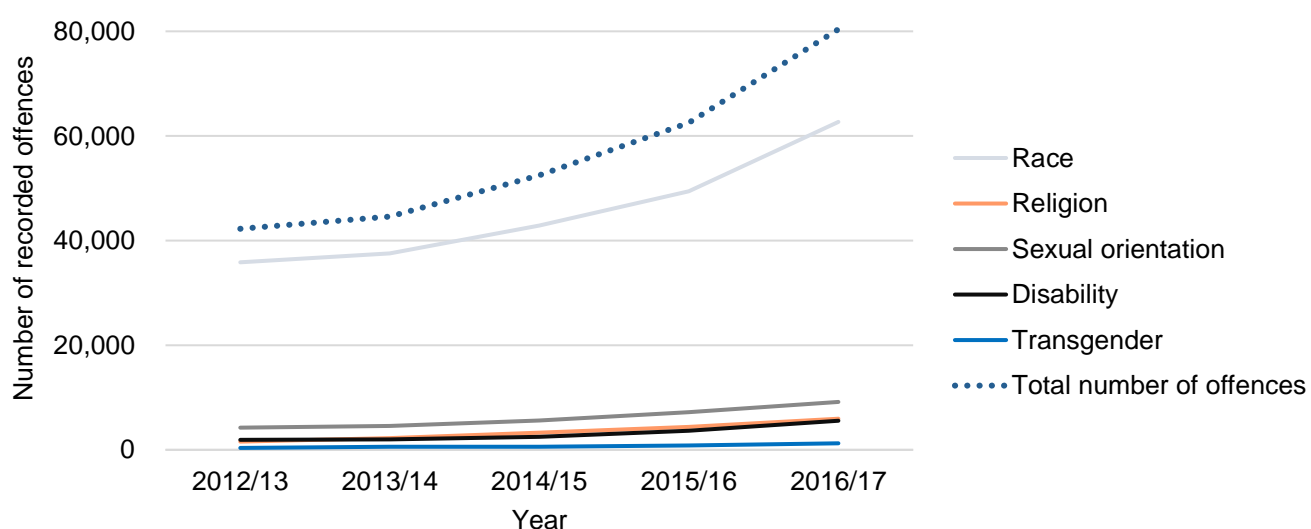
Source: Home Office (2017b, Table 2) Note: Recorded offences can have more than one motivating factor, and so the count of motivating factors will exceed the total number of hate crime offences.

A rise in the recording of hate crime offences is likely to have been driven by several factors. Overall increases are thought to reflect both a genuine spike in hate crime around specific

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8 This is considerably lower than might be expected based on the proportion of CSEW offences brought to police attention. Although some of this is likely to reflect a lack of reporting and accurate identification and recording by police to some extent, it is difficult to compare figures due to differences in what is included in the two sources (e.g. time periods referenced, offence types covered etc.). See Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2014/15 (Home Office, 2015a) for more details.

9 There are challenges for police in distinguishing what is racially and what is religiously motivated hate crime, as there is often overlap and the correct attribution to these categories is not always clear. Also see footnote 2.

events such as the EU referendum and terror attacks, and more general improvements in crime recording by the police (Home Office, 2017a). Heightened public awareness, both generally and surrounding high profile incidents, may also have increased likelihood to report. Recent research indicates forces have been actively seeking to encourage victims to report hate crimes, but practices vary at a local level (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS), 2018). However, the same report also found that hate crimes were not always flagged accurately by police (*ibid.*).

Of the hate crimes recorded by police in 2016/17, nine in ten (89%) were either public order offences[10] (56%), or involved violence against the person (33%) (Home Office, 2017b). This is a similar proportion to previous years (Home Office, 2017a).

In 2016/17, exploratory analysis of hate crimes flagged by police as having an online element was completed for the first time (Home Office, 2017a). A total of 1,067 (2%) of all hate crime offences recorded in 23 police forces had an online element, compared to 1% of online offences in recorded crime overall. In terms of volume, race was the most common motivating factor among hate crime offences with an online element, accounting for 671 crimes. The proportion of online offences that were racially motivated was lower than for hate crime offences overall (63% compared with 78%).[11] However, this flag is thought to be currently underused and the Home Office continues to work with police to improve accuracy (*ibid.*).

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10 These include offences involving threatening, abusive or insulting behaviour.
11 Some of these offences may have additional motivating factors.

5. Criminal Justice

The volume of hate crime cases received by the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) has fallen. However, both conviction rates and use of sentence uplifts in cases resulting in a conviction have risen, indicating that the law is being applied to better effect.

In 2016/17 the overall number of hate crime police referrals to the CPS increased by 0.7%. However, this followed a more substantial fall of 9.6% from 2014/15 to 2015/16 (CPS, 2017a). The CPS and National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) are collaborating to understand the factors which have contributed to this. In terms of finalised cases, the number of hate crime flagged cases brought to a conclusion by the CPS[12] in 2016/17 shows a small increase compared to the previous year (13,086 from 12,997) (CPS, 2017b). Cases started by the CPS in one year will not necessarily be finalised in the same year. As such, the figures for cases flagged and cases finalised in any given year relate to volumes only and are not necessarily connected.

The volume of completed hate crime prosecutions fell by 6% between 2015/16 and 2016/17 (15,422 to 14,480) (CPS, 2017c). The volume of convictions also fell by 6% from 12,846 in 2015/16 to 12,072 in 2016/17. However, the proportion of prosecutions resulting in a conviction was consistent with the previous year (83%). This compares with the average CPS conviction rate of 84% (*ibid.*).

Out of all 2,408 non-convictions in 2016/17, 30% were due to complainant issues[13], roughly consistent with the previous year (CPS, 2017c). Feedback indicates that actions have been taken locally to put in place requisite support measures for victims.

Courts are required to consider evidence of hostility on the grounds of religion, race, disability, sexual orientation or transgender identity in sentencing decisions, and should apply a sentence uplift where that evidence is accepted. In 2016/17, 52% (6,306) of cases resulting in a conviction received a sentence uplift, a substantial rise compared with 34% (4,347) in 2015/16 (CPS, 2017c). An increase in the application of a sentence uplift in convicted cases is a positive indicator of the law being applied to better effect.

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12 'Police Referrals' are defined as cases that have been flagged by the police or CPS lawyers as a hate crime. A 'conclusion' may include a range of outcomes such as being charged, no prosecution, out of court disposal or administratively finalised.
13 Issues relating to the victim include such things as retraction of complaint and non-attendance.

At the end of a prosecution, cases are allocated a principal offence category indicating the type and seriousness of the charges. In 2016/17, offences against the person and public order offences were the most common principal offences across all hate crime prosecutions. The offences against the person category was particularly prevalent among racially and religiously aggravated offences, accounting for 88% of primary offences in the reporting period. In the context of disability hate crime, however, 'acquisitive' offending (such as burglary, robbery, theft and handling and fraud and forgery) is more common relative to offences motivated by other characteristics (CPS, 2017c).

6. When Hate Crime Happens

Spikes in hate crimes and abuse, both online and offline, have been associated with high profile 'trigger events' such as terror attacks.

As alluded to in the discussion of recent rises in police recorded hate crime, there is evidence from both the UK and overseas that 'trigger events' (for example terror attacks) can lead to 'spikes' in racially and religiously motivated hate crime (King and Sutton, 2013; Cuerden and Rogers, 2017; Home Office, 2017b). However, it is unclear to what extent public sensitivity and awareness around these events may influence trends.

Similarly, in the online world, Williams and Burnap (2015) identified a spike in racially or religiously motivated hate speech on Twitter following the 2013 Woolwich attack. This accounted for 1% of all original Tweets identified as associated with the attack. Research into both online and offline trigger events for other strands is more limited.[14]

Evidence relating to more routine fluctuations in hate crime is relatively sparse. However, analysis of charges for religiously aggravated offences in Scotland in 2017/18 (Scottish Government, 2018) found that peaks were typically recorded on weekday evenings with larger spikes at weekends, particularly on Saturday nights and the early hours of Sunday morning. Concerns about the links between hate crime and the night-time economy have also been raised by third party organisations, the Institute for Race Relations and Tell MAMA.[15]

Potentially connected to these concerns is research suggesting that drink or drugs can be an aggravating factor in hate crime offending (Franklin, 2000; Williams and Tregidga, 2013). Recent analysis of charges for religiously aggravated offences in Scotland found that police described roughly half of those accused in 2016-17 and 2017-18[16] as under the influence of alcohol, and around 10% were suspected as having taken drugs (Scottish Government, 2018). Alcohol has similarly been associated with wider offending - the CSEW 2016/17 found that in 40% of all violent crimes identified, victims perceived perpetrators to have been under the influence of alcohol (Office for National Statistics, 2017).

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14 Burnap and Williams (2016) also piloted a machine classification model to identify different types of cyber hate for race, sexual orientation and disability. Results of the classifier had variable success across the strands during the pilot.

15 Burnett (2011) identified 55 media reported incidents of racial violence in the UK within the context of the night-time economy between August 2010 and January 2011 alone. Based on analysis of cases reported to them in their 2016 annual report, Tell MAMA suggested that working in the night-time economy, such as taxi drivers, security personnel and those in the hospitality sector, may be more vulnerable to hate crime (Tell MAMA, 2017).

16 There were 678 charges in 2016-17, and 642 in 2017-18.

7. Where Hate Crime Happens

As might be expected, some of the highest volumes of hate crimes are recorded by police force areas with large urban populations, but evidence on prevalence in specific settings and online platforms is patchy.

Hate crimes identified in the CSEW were twice as likely to be in urban areas (Home Office, 2015b). Recorded hate crimes were also concentrated in police forces with large urban populations during 2016/17 (Home Office, 2017c).[17] These patterns are similar to those seen in crime overall and are likely to reflect areas with more diverse populations.

Geographical distribution of recorded hate crime by strand is also uneven. For example, Norfolk and Suffolk have relatively high levels of disability hate crime for their population size, with the first and second highest rates of offending per 1,000 population. Sussex and Lincolnshire on the other hand have higher rates of transgender hate crimes compared to other police force areas (*ibid.*). In addition to the influence of local population profiles, recent research identified that crime recording practices differ between police forces, potentially affecting observed local area trends (HMICFRS, 2018).

Hate crimes recorded by British Transport Police account for around 3% (2,730) of the 2016/17 figures (Home Office, 2017c). More granular information from official statistics on where hate crime takes place is limited, however there is some evidence in the wider literature. For example, the All Wales Hate Crime Research Project (Williams and Tregidga, 2013) highlights the most common setting for disability, race, religion and sexual orientation hate crime as inside or just outside the victim's home. The most common environment for transgender hate crime is in a pub, club or entertainment venue (44%). However, the ability to triangulate these findings or generalise to build a national picture is made difficult by factors such as small sample sizes and recruitment methodology.

There is limited understanding of the distribution of online hate crime, both in terms of platforms and location of individuals. Police crime data is experimental, and online content analysis has been largely restricted to analysis of text content on a limited range of platforms (for instance, Twitter). [18]

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17 Forty-three per cent of incidents were recorded in just four police force areas. These cover large urban areas including London, Manchester, Leeds, Bradford and Birmingham (Home Office, 2017c). Merseyside, the Metropolitan Police Service (excluding City of London) and West Yorkshire also had the highest rate of recorded hate crime per 1,000 usual residents as of the 2011 Census (Office for National Statistics, 2011).

18 There are also jurisdictional complexities over whether the 'crime' occurs where the victim sees it or where the perpetrator sends it from. Added to this, there are international differences in definition, so that what may be an offence in one country, may be protected as free speech in other countries.

8. Hate Crime Perpetrators

Hate crime perpetrators share similarities with non-hate crime perpetrators, and are generally versatile in their offending.

Our understanding of perpetrators is largely reliant on their contact with the criminal justice system (through arrest and prosecution) and victim perceptions. Analysis of the common characteristics of accused hate crime offenders using police data demonstrates parallels with the general offending population (young, white and male) (Iganski et al., 2011).[19] Demographics of defendants prosecuted for hate crime (where available) also reflect these broad trends for ethnicity and gender (around 68% of defendants were white, and 81% were male in 2016/17) (CPS, 2017b). The age distribution of defendants is less clear due to the large age brackets used in published CPS data - 26% of defendants were aged 24 and under and 70% aged 25-59 (*ibid.*). Other studies suggest that local demographics and employment status are influential in the profile of offenders (Iganski et al., 2011).[20]

Research has identified the versatility and varying motivations of hate crime offenders (Iganski et al., 2011; McDevitt et al., 2002; 2010). US research on 169 hate crime offenders established thrill-seeking (66%), defensive (25%), retaliatory (8%) and 'mission'[21] (less than 1%) as motives. Understanding the motivations of hate crime allows us to explore how these attitudes might develop (such as through intolerance between groups), and a large body of research examines how prejudicial attitudes are generated.[22] Despite inconclusive evidence of the causes of hate crime, there is some indication that 'perception of threat' to an in-group is a strong contributory factor in some types of offending (McDevitt et al., 2002). Hate crimes may also become ongoing, sustained disputes within communities, for example, between neighbours (Walters et al., 2016).

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19 Iganski and colleagues (2011) study of hate crime perpetrator characteristics found profiles broadly reflected wider offender demographics, but also identified variation depending on the type of hate crime, location and the victim-perpetrator relationship. Data collected from Lancashire Constabulary, Metropolitan and Northern Ireland Police Service (2008-09 financial year).

20 For example, police data from Northern Ireland and London suggests over-representation of the unemployed and economically inactive in hate crime offenders.

21 Mission offenders refer to those whose life is revolved around ridding the world of groups they consider inferior (McDevitt et al., 2002).

22 These include psychological (e.g. perceptions of other groups as an economic or cultural threat, conformism, desire for group acceptance), criminological and sociological research (social factors of hate crime, e.g. cultural values, integration).

9. Victims of Hate Crime

Minority groups and younger people are more likely to be targeted, and visibility of characteristics may be linked to risk of victimisation.

Hate crime legislation is designed to protect anyone from hostility or prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, disability and transgender identity. However, the CSEW 2012/13-2014/15 shows that hate crime victimisation varies within and between strands. For instance, Asian/Asian British groups were twice as likely to experience racially motivated hate crime (1.0%) than hate crime motivated by religion (0.5%) (Home Office, 2015b).

Visibility of a community (through observable ethnicity, dress or impairment for example) may play a role in risk of victimisation. For instance, 49% (381) of anti-Muslim hate crime victims who reported to Tell MAMA in 2016 could be described as 'visibly Muslim' during the incident, compared with 24% (189) that were not (Tell MAMA, 2017). [23] An increased sense of vulnerability based on visible characteristics has also emerged as a theme through various surveys and qualitative studies, with individuals altering appearance to lessen the perceived risk of victimisation (Zempi and Chakraborti, 2015). Understanding motivation is, however, complicated by both intersectionality (overlapping social identities, such as victims being both transgender and disabled) and the role of perception in identifying reasons for hostility.

Analysis of the CSEW has indicated that people aged 16-24, particularly men, were more likely to be victims of personal hate crime. This reflects broader victimisation trends identified for all CSEW offences. It also found that single parents, those renting social housing and people in lower income brackets were more likely to be victims of household hate crime (Home Office, 2015b).

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23 Level of religious visibility was 'unknown' for the remaining victims. Visibility may be a factor in other strands of hate crime.

10. Wider Harms of Hate Crime

Knowledge of hate crime against others may elicit strong emotional reactions that spread beyond the immediate victim. This can in turn lead victims and members of the wider community to modify their behaviour.

The impacts of hate crime can spread beyond the immediate victim, and may affect friends, families and partners, as well as the wider community of people sharing similar personal characteristics. Studies have found that, although not universal[24], victims of hate crime often experience greater post-victimisation distress (including anxiety, depression, and withdrawal) than victims of equivalent non-prejudice offences (Iganski and Lagou, 2015). A small number of studies also suggest that hate crime incidents impact the home environment, for example, by creating tension[25] (Chakraborti et al., 2014) or dependency[26] between family members (Zempi and Chakraborti, 2015). Qualitative research also suggests that the trauma of witnessing hate crime can have damaging effects on family members, particularly children (Williams and Tregidga, 2013; Zempi and Chakraborti, 2015). However, the non-representative, often small-scale, and qualitative nature of available studies makes it difficult to generalise these findings.

Qualitative research suggests that fear of hate crime can become normalised among groups that are routinely targeted (Perry and Alvi, 2012). Daily anticipation of victimisation and discrimination has been identified by numerous studies and surveys as resulting in adoption of 'safety mechanisms' - such as concealing visible characteristics, avoiding certain places or being out at particular times, and reluctance to use certain services. [27]

There are indications that social networks can play an important role in the experience and impact of hate crime. Fox and Asquith (2018) found that sexual minorities who feel connected to the wider LGBQTIQ[28] community are likely to experience less fear of discrimination related to their sexual orientation. These connections were identified as providing a protective and supportive environment that recognises the effects and consequences of prejudice. Interviews completed for the All Wales Hate Crime Project also concluded that weak support networks can compound the impact of hate crime (Williams and Tregidga, 2013).

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24 Analysis by Iganski and Lagou (2015) illustrated that experiences of individual victims of hate crime victims are variable, and not all will have the same or greater negative outcomes when compared to victims of equivalent non-prejudice offences.

25 Examples include arguments within the family, which was found to be more likely to occur where the offender is known (such as a neighbour or work colleague).

26 Focus groups with veiled Muslim women highlighted how experiences of (often repeat) victimisation impacted men in their family, such as feeling a need to be protective or to accompany them in public.

27 Avoidance behaviours have been identified in studies across strands Examples include the Stonewall survey (2017) findings of LGBT people adjusting how they dress. Zempi and Chakraborti (2015) Muslim women discouraged from wearing a veil. The National Union of Students survey (2011a) revealing 43% of disabled students altered behaviours, personal appearance or daily patterns through fear of discrimination. Research by Clark (2014) also found Roma population in area of Glasgow avoid engagement with services as a result of prejudice.

28 Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, questioning, intersex and/or queer

There is some evidence that experience and awareness of hate crimes may encourage proactive engagement with the wider community. Findings from the Sussex Hate Crime Project suggest that exposure to hate crime may propel some individuals to join a community organisation or use social media to raise awareness of hate crime (Paterson et al., 2018). However, the nature and durability of the relationship between connectedness to a community and the indirect impacts of hate is complex and not well understood.

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