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Understanding who commits hate crime and why they do it
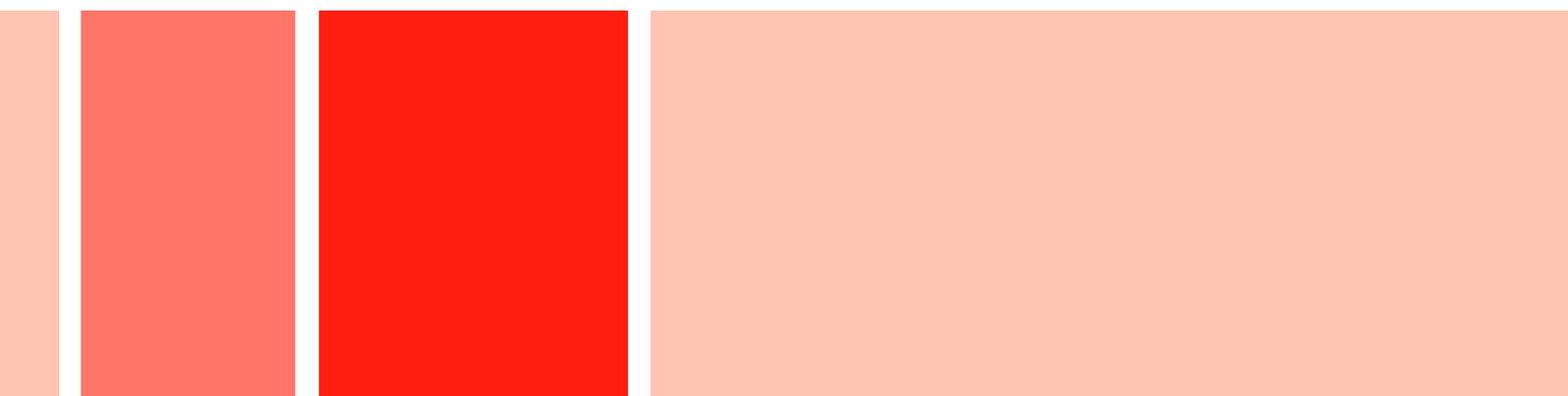
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Views expressed in this report are those of the researchers and not necessarily those of the Welsh Government

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Executive Summary

This study was commissioned by the Welsh Government to explore and assess what is known about the perpetrators of hate crimes and their motivations. By providing a critical analysis of the existing research evidence-base in this area, the study contributes to a more comprehensive and informed understanding of this kind of offending in order to improve policy and practice responses to it.

Based upon a detailed review of the literature in terms of what is known about hate crime offenders and offending nationally and internationally, it is intended that the findings should frame and steer subsequent more detailed empirical analysis of hate crime data.

The available data shows that of the 43,748 hate crimes recorded by the police in England and Wales in 2011/12:

- 35,816 (82%) were race hate crimes;
- 1,621 (4%) were religious/belief hate crimes;
- 4,252 (10%) were sexual orientation hate crimes;
- 1,744 (4%) were disability hate crimes; and
- 315 (1%) were transgender hate crimes.

In that year, there were 1,809 hate crimes recorded in Wales with a broadly similar pattern of offences:

- 1,368 (76%) were race hate crimes;
- 54 (3%) were religious/belief hate crimes;
- 244 (13%) were sexual orientation hate crimes;
- 122 (8%) were disability hate crimes; and
- 21 (1%) were transgender hate crimes.

Reflecting the harm associated with crimes of this type over the past two decades or so, there has been a rapid growth in the amount of policy and research attention paid to it as an issue. A significant proportion of this work has focused upon victims and victim perspectives. Far less research has been conducted into those responsible for causing harm to the victims.

The research design

The study was organised around three key phases of activity:

1) A structured review of published academic and policy-related research to enhance understanding of what is known about the characteristics of people who engage in hate crimes and their motivations for doing so. This phase also sought to identify any key knowledge 'gaps'.
2) Employing emerging empirical findings from on-going research in relation to hate crime to explore the extent to which findings derived from the review of the wider literature are relevant to the unique and diverse characteristics of the communities across Wales.
3) Identifying what works in reducing the harm of hate crime, what looks promising in this respect, and where future activity should be focused.

Key findings

The findings from the review of the literature were organised around six key 'who', 'what', 'where', 'why', 'when', and 'how' questions:

- Who are the perpetrators of hate crimes, in terms of social relationships and identities, and their socio-demographic and socio-economic profiles?

  - One study on hate crime offenders identified four broad categories of offender – 'thrill seekers', 'area or territory defenders', 'retaliatory offenders' and 'mission offenders'.
  - The socio-demographic profiles of hate crime offenders tend to match the demographics of the population of a given area.
  - The majority of hate crime offenders in the UK are white, male and under 25.
  - Hate crime offenders convicted of more serious and violent offences tend to be older.
  - Contrary to classic portrayals of hate crimes, very few are committed by strangers.
  - A small proportion of hate crime offenders appear to 'specialise' only in hate crime.

- What kinds of acts are involved in hate crimes? Are there patterns in the use of verbal harassment and abuse, and different kinds of violence in respect of certain kinds of offender and victim? Relatedly, do individuals 'specialise' in hate crimes, or are they part of a broader pattern of offending?

- Approximately 84% of all hate crime is racially motivated.
- Perpetrators of racial and religious hate crimes and homophobic and transphobic hate crimes, are somewhat more likely than those who commit disability hate crime to commit public order offences and offences against the person.
- Those who commit disability hate crime are more likely than the perpetrators of other types of hate crime to commit sexual offences, theft and handling, and robbery.

- Where do hate crimes take place? Is there any patterning in terms of the geographic locations that can be identified where such offending occurs (i.e. public spaces, or in particular neighbourhoods)?

    - 'Place' is an important yet neglected consideration in relation to hate crime offending.
    - Emerging evidence suggests that there may be identifiable hate crime 'hotspots'.

- Why do individuals commit hate crimes of different kinds and against particular victims?

    - There are a wide variety of accounts engaging with the question of 'why hate crime offenders commit their acts?'
    - Disciplinary backdrops shape these accounts, which in turn shape what issues are held to be important in explaining participation in hate crime.
    - Few attempts have been made either by researchers or policy makers to consciously monitor the 'engineered narratives' of extremist groups and the realistic threats contained and exploited within them.
    - Personal insecurity concerning sexuality and identity are important drivers of hate crime.

- When do perpetrators engage in different kinds of 'hate'-motivated offending? For example, are particular types of 'disinhibitor' involved, or are there specific behavioural/emotional triggers that can be identified?

    - Understanding how hate crimes might be connected to previous events and reactions to them (including interventions applied to offenders) appears a promising line for future research.
    - To date, the 'when do they occur' issue has been relatively neglected in terms of the research evidence-base.

- How do perpetrators acquire their prejudiced attitudes and behaviours, and account for these?

    o The incubation of racist attitudes and views in young people is particularly strong where this is 'normalised' as a result of the public expression of such views by older community members.
    o There are three distinct groups around which interventions can be crafted: perpetrators; potential perpetrators; and the perpetrator community.
    o The identification and active resistance to dehumanising language circulating in communities and media reports, may have a positive impact on polarisation and stereotyping.

Applying a conceptual schema such as this affords an opportunity to look across the available literature in a systematic way, without being beholden to any existing framings or interpretations that the original authors may have placed upon their data.

Following on from this assessment, the analysis draws together some empirical data derived from other studies to establish whether the findings from the review of the literature are coherent with what we know about hate crime perpetration in Wales, and to a lesser extent England.

Assessment of the literature

As part of the study, the research team undertook an overarching assessment of the quality and quantity of research evidence relating to hate crime offending. The results of which are provided in Table 1 below. The blocked out cells indicate where little or no substantive quality evidence about this issue has been identified. A dotted hatched cell denotes where there is some evidence on this issue, albeit of limited quality and quantity. Typically this is where there is one (or several) small-scale, fairly focused study that has been conducted on a specific type of hate crime. Finally, the white cells are used to identify where the research evidence is of a relatively robust standard, both in terms of the research designs used and the total number of studies that have been conducted. 'Plus signs', indicate a substantial body of research in this area, while negative signs indicates a concern about the lack/weakness of studies.

Table 1: Summary of strength and depth of hate crime literature

	Who	What	Where	Why	When	How
Race	+	-	+	+	-	-
Faith	-	-	+	+		-
Sexual orientation		-			-	-
Age		■	■	■	■	■
Gender		■	■	■	■	■
Disability	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transgender status	-	■				■

The summary clearly conveys some evident patterns in terms of the structure of the knowledge base about the different types of hate crime. The quality and quantity of research evidence is best in relation to racist hate crimes. There is also reasonable strength and depth about crimes committed against people because of their sexual orientation and faith/belief. The latter in particular gravitates around the growth in anti-Islamic sentiments post-9/11. For the other protected characteristics, there is much less reliable published evidence about the perpetration of these kinds of activities. What little evidence there is suggests that the profile of perpetrators and their motivations may differ markedly.

The purpose of these analyses has been to clarify what is known about who commits hate crimes and why, and also to locate any key gaps in our knowledge about such issues. On the basis of the work conducted to date, a number of important questions can be identified that still cannot be answered:

- Are there a small, concentrated number of hate crime offenders responsible for a significant proportion of all incidents, or is this kind of activity more widespread?
- What role, if any, is played by organised extremist groups who espouse oppositional agendas to groups with protected characteristics?

Empirical data on hate crime in Wales

There is very little available data specifically concerned with hate crime perpetration in Wales. Accordingly, the British Crime Survey has been used to identify a number of broad patterns in respect of hate crime perpetration:

- Where victims are targeted because of their race or sexual orientation, it is likely to involve more than one offender. In contrast, incidents based upon gender and disability are more often committed by individuals.
- The gender of hate crime offenders is overwhelmingly male, albeit participation in hate offences motivated by sexual orientation, age and disability, involves female participation in around 18% of cases.
- For most types of hate crime roughly one-third of offenders are aged under 24. The exception to this is hate crime on the basis of sexual orientation, where 77% of offenders were aged over 25.
- There are some interesting trends in relation to offender ethnicity. The BCS suggests that just under one-third (31%) of offenders involved in racially motivated hate crime, were themselves from a visible ethnic minority background (VEM). A similar level of VEM involvement was found for hate crime offences motivated by gender.

The analysis of the British Crime Survey (BCS) has been supplemented by inclusion of material from The All Wales Hate Crime Survey (AWHC), which was established to develop a more comprehensive picture of the experience and impact of hate crime across Wales. Based upon a survey of 1,810 respondents, 564 of whom were victims, some limited data about hate crime perpetrator characteristics in Wales can be extracted[1].

Of particular note when compared with the BCS data for England and Wales, is the higher participations of women in race hate crime in Wales (28%) versus England and Wales (15%). Similarly, there is higher female participation in hate crimes on the basis of: age – 40% in Wales compared with 18% in England and Wales; and disability (29% in Wales - 17% in England and Wales). In summary, it appears that women in Wales are more likely to be involved in several types of hate crime offences when compared with BCS data for England and Wales.

It is important to acknowledge that the sampling strategy adopted for the AWHC survey differed from that of the British Crime Survey, and therefore the differences reported here should be interpreted with a degree of caution. To confirm these differences, a random probability sample survey (with appropriate stratification and clustering) needs to be conducted within Wales to compare to the BCS.

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[1] The AWHC survey adopted a quota sampling strategy which oversampled the recognised equality strands and victims of hate crime/incidents. As a result, the sample is not a reliable basis for 'hard' measures such as prevalence. It does however provide a sound basis for 'soft' measures such as perceptions, attitudes and feelings. Any reference to prevalence should therefore be interpreted with a degree of caution.

Conclusions

In moving forward, the analysis concludes it is particularly important given the complexities associated with defining and measuring levels of hate crime, that any new contribution be conceptually robust and precise in terms of what it is seeking to contribute. In the initial overview of the literature reported herein, the tendency to over-extend the relevance of findings was noted. For example, a number of studies of racist hate crimes rapidly move on to talk about the findings as providing insights into 'hate crime' in general, rather than a specific type of crime.

It would seem that in terms of a future agenda for research into why hate crimes happen in Wales, it would be important to look at all such crimes in detail to discover which are influenced by extreme narratives, and which are not; those that are retaliatory and those that are not; and those that are planned and those that are spontaneous.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made within the context provided by the Welsh Government's, Tackling Hate Crimes and Incidents: A Framework for Action:

1. Welsh Government and criminal justice agencies should commission further research using police data from across Wales to better understand what kinds of acts are committed against different groups, in order to identify specific protective measures individual groups may need to reduce victimisation.
2. It is essential that a continuous process is adopted across government and all partners in the criminal justice sector to drive up reporting of *all* hate crimes, while removing inconsistencies in the recognition and prosecution of different types of hate crime. This is particularly vital in relation to disability hate crime. The increase in reported hate crime reporting should be publicly acknowledged as a measure of success.
3. To confirm key differences in patterns of perpetration of hate crimes between Wales and England, a random probability sample survey of sufficient size (with appropriate stratification and clustering) needs to be conducted within Wales to compare to the Crime Survey for England and Wales.
4. Welsh Government should instigate with its partners in the police, Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) and National Offender Management

Service (NOMS), a study of criminal careers of hate crime offenders in Wales, particularly those that use violence, to understand:

a. Whether there is an escalation in violent offending over time.
b. The extent to which hate crime offences are retaliatory, situational, or territorial in nature.
c. If some hate crime offenders specialise only in hate crime and if so why.
d. To what extent hate offending is organised.
e. The relationships between hate crime offending, particularly the commissioning of serious violent offences and the link to extremist groups.
f. The key narratives of extremist groups linked to offending.
g. The role of drug and alcohol intoxication in hate crime offending behaviour.
h. The geographic relationship and proximity of offenders to their victims.

5. Welsh Government should instigate a geographical analysis of all hate crime offences to establish where in Wales 'hotspots' for hate crime offending exist, and then to instigate place-based studies of selected hotspots in order to develop a more 'thickly' descriptive account of what is happening in these areas.

6. Based on Recommendation 3 above, to develop from this study a set of monitored interventions appropriate to different hate crime categories, to de-escalate hate offending, the harm caused by it, and improve reporting of it in priority areas.

7. Welsh Government and the four Welsh police forces should explore the use of restorative justice interventions for less violent/serious hate crime offenders as a possible way of preventing progression in hate crime careers and reducing victim impact.

8. Welsh Government and its partners should seek to establish 'wider and deeper' third-party hate crime reporting mechanisms, particularly with regard to disability hate crime and other minority hate crime sectors, coupled with appropriate publicity, training and awareness campaigns.

9. Related to Recommendations 4 and 5 above, Welsh Government and partners should assess how the police and other official bodies interface with 'groups' rather than individuals acting in this area, in order to strengthen local targeted action and opposition to hate crime in areas of most concern in Wales. It is particularly important that partnership delivery is focused on the essential 'bridging' activities that bring people together from different communities in a meaningful way, in order to demystify narratives of difference.

1   Introduction

This document reports findings from a study designed to explore and assess what is known about the perpetrators of hate crimes and their motivations. It is intended that, by providing a critical analysis of the existing research evidence-base in this area, the study should contribute to the development of a more comprehensive and informed understanding of this kind of offending in order to improve responses to it.

This report provides a detailed review of the literature in terms of what is known about hate crime offenders and offending nationally and internationally. It is intended that this should frame and steer subsequent more detailed empirical analysis of hate crime data supplied by the four police forces in Wales.

Defining hate crime

An agreed national definition of hate crime for England, Wales and Northern Ireland was first introduced in 2007 by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS). According to this definition, 'hate crimes' are where the perpetrator's hostility or prejudice against an identifiable group of people is a factor in determining who is victimised. This is a broad and inclusive definition. A victim does not have to be a member of the group[2]. In fact, anyone could be a victim of a hate crime[3].

Commensurate with this definition, police and CPS collect data for the following five 'monitored' categories of hate crimes:

- disability;
- race;
- religion or belief;
- sexual orientation; and
- transgender identity.

Transgender hate crime/hate incidents were the last to be added to the list of monitored categories in April 2009. Consequently, meaningful analysis of all recorded 'monitored hate crime' and incident types only became possible from April 2010.

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[2] Hate crime thus for example could include the scenario where a man was attacked because he was thought to be gay by an offender (although he wasn't).
[3] ACPO/CPS Definition of hate crime - http://www.cps.gov.uk/news/fact_sheets/hate_crime/.

Within official data, a distinction is routinely made between 'hate incidents' and 'hate crimes', with the latter recordable and reportable under the National Crime Recording Standards. Hate crimes have two key components. The first involves the infraction of criminal law, and the second the recognition of the presence of an aggravating factor aligned to any of the five monitored categories associated with the commissioning of the crime. This element is then flagged up through the criminal justice process and may attract a higher sentencing tariff at court.

The precise definition of what acts are classified as 'hate crimes' has been refined and altered through several pieces of legislation. The Crime and Disorder Act (1998) established a number of specific offences of racially aggravated crime. This was amended by the Anti-Terrorism Crime and Security Act 2001, which extended the scope of the previous legislation by creating new religiously aggravated offences and applying the same sentencing duty to all other offences where there is evidence of religious aggravation. Further amendments were introduced via the Protection of Freedoms Act 2012, which identified new specific offences of stalking and racially and religiously aggravated versions of these offences.

These legislative manoeuvres have sought to build upon the basic framework of protected characteristics established by the Equality Act (2010). This recognises that people can be discriminated against on the grounds of disability, race, religion or belief, sexual orientation or gender reassignment, age, marital status and civil partnerships, maternity and gender. What the level of legislative activity described above tends to show is just how important hate crime has become as a public policy issue, and how complex an arena it is in terms of understanding the prevalence and distribution of the problem.

Recorded Hate Crime

One view of hate crime can be obtained by examining police recorded crime figures. In overview, there were 43,748 hate crimes recorded by the police in 2011/12[4] for England and Wales. This figure relates to the monitored categories of hate crime listed above, but is not a definitive count of crime as more than one form of hate crime can be assigned to an offence. The Home Office suggest that less than 5% of hate crime offences have more than one monitored strand assigned to them (this ranged between 1% and 7% of offences for the 17 Welsh and English police forces whose data was reviewed by the Home Office).

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[4] http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/science-research-statistics/research-statistics/crime-research/hate-crimes-1112/

Of the 43,748 hate crimes recorded by the police in England and Wales in 2011/12:

- 35,816 (82%) were race hate crimes;
- 1,621 (4%) were religious/belief hate crimes;
- 4,252 (10%) were sexual orientation hate crimes;
- 1,744 (4%) were disability hate crimes; and
- 315 (1%) were transgender hate crimes.

Disaggregating the combined total above, there were 1,809 hate crimes recorded in Wales in the same period:

- 1,368 (76%) were race hate crimes;
- 54 (3%) were religious/belief hate crimes;
- 244 (13%) were sexual orientation hate crimes;
- 122 (8%) were disability hate crimes; and
- 21 (1%) were transgender hate crimes.

Although there are some differences evident when comparing like for like categories for England and Wales, for example disability hate crime, where the percentage is double that of England, we should nevertheless be cautious of drawing any firm conclusion from this because of the low number of crimes recorded.

As can be seen from the data above, race hate crime is by far the most common type reported to and recorded by police in England and in Wales. This is supported by the most recent analysis of the British Crime Survey, which suggests that each year about 0.5% of the total adult population for England and Wales are victims of hate crime, with the greatest proportion of victims believing they were targeted because of their race (Smith et al, 2012). Although there are relatively few victims of hate crime proportionate to the entire population, it is clear that it is a type of offending that can cause profound harm to those who experience it. The same Home Office study recorded that 92% of hate crime victims stated they had been emotionally affected by their experiences.

1.1 How the research is structured

Reflecting the harm associated with such victimisation over the past two decades or so, there has been a rapid growth in the amount of policy and research attention paid to this issue. A significant proportion of this work has focused upon victims and victim perspectives. Far less research has been conducted into those responsible for causing harm to the victims. Set against this backdrop, the current study was commissioned by the Welsh Government

to establish a comprehensive picture of what is and is not known about who commits hate crimes and why they do it.

The research design for the study was organised around three key phases of activity:

1. A structured review of published academic and policy-related research to enhance understanding of what is known about the characteristics of people who engage in hate crimes and their motivations for doing so. This phase also sought to identify any key knowledge 'gaps'.
2. Employing emerging empirical findings from on-going research in relation to hate crime to explore the extent to which findings derived from the review of the wider literature, are relevant to the unique and diverse characteristics of the communities across Wales.
3. Identifying what works in reducing the harm of hate crime, what looks promising in this respect, and where future activity should be focused.

Reflecting this structure, the current report is organised around three principal sections. The first sets out the concepts and methods that underpin the study in order to position it in a broader context. The findings from the review of the literature are then analysed, organised around six key questions:

- Who are the perpetrators of hate crimes, in terms of social relationships and identities, and their socio-demographic and socio-economic profiles?

- What kinds of acts are involved in hate crimes? Are there patterns in the use of verbal harassment and abuse, and different kinds of violence in respect of certain kinds of offender and victim? Relatedly, do individuals 'specialise' in hate crimes, or are they part of a broader pattern of offending?

- Where do hate crimes take place? Is there any patterning in terms of the geographic locations that can be identified where such offending occurs (i.e. public spaces, or in particular neighbourhoods)?

- Why do individuals commit hate crimes of different kinds and against particular victims?

- When do perpetrators engage in different kinds of 'hate'-motivated offending? For example, are particular types of 'disinhibitor' involved, or are there specific behavioural/emotional triggers that can be identified?

- How do perpetrators acquire their prejudiced attitudes and behaviours, and account for these?

Applying a conceptual schema such as this affords an opportunity to look across the available literature in a systematic way without being beholden to any existing framings or interpretations that the original authors may have placed upon their data.

Following on from this assessment, the report then seeks to draw together some empirical data derived from other studies to establish whether the findings from the review of the literature are coherent with what we know about hate crime perpetration in Wales, and to a lesser extent England. The final section of the report seeks to use the analysis to map out the implications for policy and practice, including a number of specific recommendations.

2 Structured Literature Review

This section positions the present study in relation to the wider literature, in order that readers should be able to understand how the view that is set out in subsequent sections has been arrived at. Specifically, it describes the key concepts and methods that have been used to orient the analysis.

2.1 The idea of 'hate crime'

Hate crime as a concept first came to prominence in the United States in the 1970s and has acquired increasing importance in the UK over the past decade. Despite growing academic and policy interest, it remains the case that most of the research emanates from the United States. More recently, significant emerging contributions to the literature have started to come out of Australia, Canada and South Africa.

In terms of disciplinary orientations, as the hate crime literature has developed, it has attracted contributions from a variety of academic disciplines. The most notable contributions emanating from perspectives could be broadly labelled as psychological, social-psychological, sociological and criminological (Iganski, 2008). Tracing these intellectual genealogies is important inasmuch as they subtly shape the questions that researchers ask, and the interpretative explanations that they proffer. For example, psychologists tend to focus more on individuals, social psychologists on small group dynamics, sociologists on the impact of social forces, and criminologists on illegal acts.

These roots are important also in terms of disaggregating certain concepts and ideas that are deployed. In particular, there is a sense that hate crime scholarship might benefit from being treated less in isolation as something of a 'special interest' issue, and connecting to mainstream traditions. For example, Green, McFalls and Smith (2001) suggest that when looking across the extensive literature, those seeking to understand the nature and origins of bigoted violence are likely to be 'disappointed by extant scholarship on prejudice, racism and discrimination'.

> It may take the better part of a lifetime to read the prodigious research literature on prejudice…. Yet scarcely any of this research examines directly and systematically the question of why prejudice erupts into violence. (p.2)

This view was echoed by Ardley (2005) who further states, "Little empirical data or analysis of specifically targeted acts exists in the United Kingdom". Accepting these constraints, Green, McFalls and Smith's (2001) review found a number of additional problems with the available literature that should be taken into account when attempting, as we are here, to build a theoretical synthesis as to 'why' people commit hate crimes. These problems include: the small scale of many studies; poor methodology; and highly partisan and selective renderings, often the product of pressure and campaign groups. Most problematic they found, was that researchers did not always state their theoretical premises explicitly, frequently combining perspectives into 'multi-causal narrative accounts'.

A second key identifiable pattern in the hate crime literature is the pre-eminence of a victim perspective. Much of the work that has been undertaken has been focused upon victim perceptions and experiences. The volume of victim-oriented work significantly outstrips consideration of the perpetrators of hate crime. Moreover, and as will be discussed in more detail, research focusing upon perpetrator characteristics and motivation is largely preoccupied with racism and racially motivated crime. Understanding of the causes of crimes and incidents motivated by hostility towards sexual orientation, gender, disability, religion and transgender status/gender identity is relatively limited. Importantly for the current study, many of these accounts are themselves based upon data collected from victims and their interpretations of perpetrator motivation. This is self-evidently problematic as it fails to interrogate in depth the individual offender perspective on their own motivations and the socio-economic and psycho-social dynamics of perpetration.

Arguably more critical though, are the definitional problems with the notion of hate crime itself. These, as discussed above, have profound effects and

implications for police and criminal justice recording practices. To unpack this further, it is clear that there are a range of offensive and harmful behaviours that are routinely labelled as 'hate crimes', including verbal harassment and abuse, vandalism and criminal damage of property and buildings, physical assaults through to extreme forms of personal violence. As such, some of the issues routinely categorised as 'hate crimes' do not strictly speaking, involve criminal conduct as defined in law, but are nevertheless classed as 'hate incidents' by police.

Further, acts of discrimination defined in the Equality Act 2010 - including direct, indirect, perceptive, associative, harassment, harassment by a third-party and victimisation - while essentially confined to employer/employee relations in civil law, could also in some circumstances be regarded as hate crimes in criminal law. This depends on where they occur, how they are reported and to whom. Reflecting such complexities, some analysts have proposed adopting alternative conceptual framings. However, we do not propose to introduce a new concept, or to adopt some of these alternative framings that have been proposed. For the purposes of this study, we will refer to 'hate crimes' meaning 'monitored hate crimes' within the ACPO definition, whilst acknowledging and being aware of some of the conceptual problems that attend this notion.

These conceptual matters are particularly salient to this report inasmuch as they alert us to the importance of assessing the aggregate quality and strength of the research evidence on hate crime offenders. Most empirical studies of hate crime tend to be focused upon investigating particular behaviours/incidents involving certain kinds of victim. However, the findings are then either explicitly or implicitly held to be generalisable to other forms of supposedly related conduct. A prime example of this is Sibbitt's (1997) study in London for the Home Office entitled "The Perpetrators of Racial Harassment and Racial Violence'.

A key empirical finding of Sibbitt's (1997) approach was that racist attitudes and behaviours can be found across all age ranges. A particular focus of the analysis was upon developing a model of inter-generational transmission, in that the attitudes of younger offenders were found to be strongly influenced by older family members or community representatives. Although presented as identifying a series of dynamic risk factors, implicit in her account, was the notion that there is some form of career progression from using racist language at a very young age, through to offensive anti-social behaviour during teenage years, before participating in more serious forms of hate violence in adulthood.

This is a career path that may well apply for some violent offenders, but equally, many who may be willing to engage in verbal abuse will never escalate their conduct to directly engaging in violence. We should be mindful of the dangers of thinking that we can read across from verbal threats of violence as some reliable indicator of actual willingness to use violent conduct. For as empirical studies of different kinds of violence have shown, the move from verbal conflict to physical action happens comparatively rarely. As Collins (2008) documents from a diverse range of empirical materials, 'competent' and 'calculating' violence is quite hard to do. There may be a lot of posturing and threats, but most of these do not translate into violent actions. And when violence does manifest, it is more usually in the context of a 'hot' emotionally-charged interaction, than a deliberative and calculated act. Collins (2008) helps us understand that group acts such as marches and demonstrations may serve to lower the threshold for engaging in violent conduct to an extent, making violence more likely for some. However, most hate crimes do not occur in these rather specialised environments, but in the more mundane day-to-day world of inter-personal interaction.

A related but distinct concern is whether the socio-demographic profile and motivations underpinning differently focused forms of hate crime are shared or unique. That is, how much in common is there between those who engage in racially motivated crimes and for example, those who abuse or assault people with disabilities. This is an issue that appears to have been relatively neglected to date. This is perhaps indicative of the more general tendency, noted above, for hate crime to be something of a 'special interest' subject and somewhat disconnected from other kinds of acts defined as crimes. As a consequence of which there are a series of questions about whether the profile of those who commit hate crimes are similar to other criminals that are deserving of consideration.

2.2 Structured literature review method

To address the series of questions set out above (who, what, where, why, when and how) a structured review of the published research literature was undertaken. This involved a process of identifying possible key words and then searching across key library databases for references to these terms.

Given the diversity of conceptual approaches to the area outlined above, a wide-ranging set of search terms were initially identified (listed in the Appendix). These terms were used to search the following databases:

- PsycInfo; Equalities and Human Rights Commission's Databases; Campbell Collaboration; Home Office website; International Bibliography of the Social Sciences; JSTOR; LexisNexis; National

Criminal Justice Reference Services Abstracts; National Institute of Justice; Oxford Scholarship Online (Political Science); Science Direct; Sociological Abstracts; Westlaw UK.

As potential sources were identified, a process of 'concept mapping' was employed whereby new ideas and terms were added to the list refining the initial search criteria. During the process of the research, this led to a widening of the search strategy in terms of incorporating the names of authors who had penned significant studies of some aspect of hate crime. At the same time, a fairly focused effort was made to check academic journals where significant pieces on the topic in question had been published.

Reflecting the wide conceptual base of the hate crime literature that is a product of the variety of underpinning disciplinary backgrounds, a relatively large number of potentially relevant studies and papers were identified. Accordingly, an interim assessment stage was introduced whereby members of the research team were tasked to 'scan read' the abstracts from all materials located, and provisionally grade them in terms of their relevance to the focus of this study. The grades used were as follows:

1) Clearly in scope for the focus of this project. Output is focused upon hate crime motivations/perpetrators and includes new empirical data.
2) Possibly in scope for the project. Title or abstract indicates potential relevance to the project's focus upon hate crime perpetrator motivations, but this is not confirmed.
3) Unclear relevance for the study. The study may contain data/comment on hate crime perpetrator motivations, but this is not the main focus, or a minority interest in terms of what is reported.
4) Not directly relevant to the focus of the study, but nevertheless makes a significant contribution to understanding of hate crime.
5) Not relevant.

An overview of how these assessments were used to filter and focus the literature is provided in the Appendix.

2.3 Who commits hate crimes?

In presenting the results of the literature review we will start by addressing the question of 'who the perpetrators of hate crimes are in the UK?' In overview, McDevitt, Levin and Bennett's (2002) study identifies four broad categories of hate crime offenders:

1. thrill offenders - those who commit their crimes for the excitement or the thrill;
2. defensive offenders - those who view themselves as defending their 'turf';
3. mission offenders - those whose life's mission is to rid the world of groups they consider evil or inferior; and
4. retaliatory offenders - those who engage in retaliatory violence in the belief that by doing so, just desserts is served (McDevitt *et al: 2002*).

However, McDevitt, Levin and Bennett's research is limited by being based on secondary analysis of police case files (in Boston, USA). The police interviewers did not seem to have asked the young offenders, who went outside their area in gangs to assault gays and ethnic minority groups, why they chose this way to get their excitement or thrill.

As Chakraborti and Garland (2009) point out:

"There is therefore more to these attacks than bored youths simply seeking "thrills", as they reveal the existence of negative attitudes and stereotypes about marginalised groups that somehow render their pain meaningless". (Chakraborti, N. & Garland, J. (2009), *Hate Crime. Impact, Causes and Responses*, Sage, London, p. 27).

"Defensive offenders", in McDevitt, Levin and Bennett's (2002) study, were those who conducted attacks against ethnic minorities when they moved into an all White area.

McDevitt et al's categorisation is useful in clarifying that hate crime offenders are not a single homogenous category. In fact, categories 1, 2 and 4 would hold true for a wide range of violent crime. Looking in more detail at hate crime offenders, Iganski and Smith (2011) report that the majority tend to be young males who are 'versatile' in their offending in that they tend to be involved in other types of crime. However, the so called "thrill offenders , who attacked gays in Levin and McDevitt's 1993 study, were said to be typically "average" young men without criminal records. (Levin, J. & McDevitt, J. (1993) *Hate Crimes: The rising tide of bigotry and bloodshed*, Plenum Press, NY). What Iganski and Smith are less clear on is whether such offenders, when committing hate crimes, tend to focus upon one type of victim or target people with a range of different protected characteristics.

Similar profiles are evident from analysis of the British Crime Survey (reported in Sibbitt, 1997), where for hate crimes against African Caribbean victims:

- 82% of offenders were described as white;

- 75% male; and;
- 36% aged between 16-25.

For Asian victims where a perceived racial motivation was recorded:

- 82% of offenders were white;
- 87% male; and
- 53% aged 16-25.

International data tends to support these broad patterns. In Canada, 38% of all those accused of hate crime in 2006 were aged 12-17 (Dauvergne, Scrim and Brennan, 2008), and in Sweden, 40% of those suspected of involvement in hate crimes were aged under 20 (Bra, 2009).

Focusing in particular upon racist hate crime, Iganski and Smith (2011) report empirical data from Lancashire Police, the Police Service of Northern Ireland and the Metropolitan Police Service on the ethnicity of perpetrators of homophobic and racially aggravated crimes. These data suggest that between 8-9% of homophobic attacks were committed by people of Asian backgrounds. It is also of note that although the majority of racially motivated offences were committed by white offenders, a proportion of these were resulting from the actions of individuals who themselves are drawn from BME backgrounds. A 2008 Joseph Rowntree report[5] on young people and territoriality in British cities, indicates that territoriality and gang violence is likely to be implicated in the statistics above and can be considered as an additional 'exacerbating factor'. The latter is important in terms of pointing to the presence of a complex web of inter-community tensions that are associated with some aspects of hate crime offending.

Examining the available data from the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS (2012) 2010- 2011 data) about the make-up of those hate crime offenders categorised as 'defendants' (i.e. those offenders charged and prosecuted), a broadly similar pattern can be seen to the BCS data reported. Thus, in the CPS (2012) report (the first to report transphobic data): 83.3% of all hate crime defendants across all monitored strands of hate crime were men; 73.7% were categorised as 'white British'; and 26.3% were from a category other than white. As such, these findings broadly concur with the earlier findings provided by Sibbitt (1997), suggesting the broad pattern observed is enduring.

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[5] *Young People and Territoriality in British Cities (2008)*
(http://www.jrf.org.uk/publications/young-people-and-territoriality-british-cities).

The age of defendants in the CPS data differs however from the studies reported above. Amongst hate crime defendants, 51% were aged between 25 and 59, and 29% between the ages of 18 and 24. Thus the age of the subset of offenders that commit crime serious enough to be referred for prosecution is substantially older and differs from the international data. However, this may be reflecting differences in national proportions of the populations in each age range. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the disaggregated demographic data of defendants by monitored category shows no significant differences in offender gender, ethnicity or age profile across ALL victim groups.

The 'classic' portrayal of the hate crime offender is a person motivated by some individual level of hostility to a victim's social group, or 'animus', who attacks strangers perceived to represent that animus in some form. This is, as has been shown above, a rather narrow portrayal encompassing only one of the four motivations discussed. Whilst the motivation may hold true in some cases, the reality painted by the literature is that the 'violent stranger' attack is not the modal form. As Gail Mason (2005) points out in her detailed analysis of racist and homophobic hate crime data from the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), there is now a small, but well established body of research that actively challenges the 'stranger-danger' image, by arguing that perpetrators are likely to be known to the victim (see also Von Schulthess 1992; Bowling 1993; Mason 1997; Sibbitt 1997; Maynard and Read 1997; Stanko 1990; Tomsen and Mason 2001). Mason reports that only 10.2% of racist incidents were perpetrated by a stranger to a victim and for homophobic incidents, only 15% were classified as stranger perpetrators. Local youths made up the largest proportion of offenders at 28%, followed by neighbours accounting for 21%. This led Stanko (2001:323) to the conclusion that the very 'logic of the stranger obscures our ability to understand the ordinariness of hate crime'. This observation is underscored by Mason's (2005:851) analysis of MPS data which showed that in 83% of hate crime incidents, the victim knew or believed the suspect to be a neighbour or someone local to their residential area.

However, the references to perpetrators "likely to be known to the "victim", "neighbours" and "colleagues and customers", may give the false impression that these were people the victim knew, or had some social relationship with, rather than simply recognised. Sibbitt (1997) found that common assaults were often carried out by groups of white youths or adult males against people they did not know. On the other hand, acts of intimidation, including verbal abuse and damage to property, were carried out by children and adults against those who lived near them (cited by Chakraborti and Garland (2009), p. 131). Mason's (2005) study of homophobic and racist harassment cases reported to the police, found that 90% occurred at or near the victim's home.

Mason argues, however, that those living in proximity to each other can be known, but still be strangers (cited by Chakraborti and Garland (2009), p. 132)

In positioning these findings, it is worth emphasising that they are derived from reported hate crime data, and as the British Crime Survey (BCS) indicates, there are known to be significant levels of under reporting and recording. The potential consequences of this were illuminated by data from the BCS (2000) where 54% of racially motivated offenders were unknown to their victims, whereas homophobic victimisation studies indicate at least 60% of offenders were not known to their victims (Berrill 1990; Comstock 1991). Nevertheless, the MPS data starts to paint a picture of the 'localised' nature of day-to-day hate crime incidents, which will be developed further in the section on 'where' hate crime happens below.

The Demographics of Hate Crime Perpetrators

Moving on to look at the demographics of hate crime perpetrators, work from the United States indicates that proportionately perpetrators tend to match the demographics of the area where the hate crime occurred. As areas show demographic change, so the make up of hate crime perpetrators tends to reconfigure to match the shift in area level demography. This shift has been observed in a particularly distinct way in the United States where areas have changed rapidly from white and black areas, to ones where large scale Hispanic immigration is now evident. Where this has occurred the number of Hispanic hate crime offenders has risen sharply, but remains consistent with the proportion of the total population that are Hispanic (Stacy, Carbone-Lopez and Rosenfield 2011).

In terms of gender, Mason (2005) indicates that hate crime perpetrators are twice as likely to be male than female. This finding is challenged by results from large scale offender population studies in the United Sates, where male offenders outweighed female offenders 6 to 1 (Dunbar, Quinones and Crevecoeur, 2005). However, this may be an attribute of persons convicted of serious hate crime offences, versus the wider spectrum of reported hate crimes. The available research suggests that the more serious the category of offence, particularly with regard to racially aggravated offences against the person, the more masculine the sample becomes.

In the MPS studies described above, the age of suspects was found to be poorly recorded, and was only available in 27.5% of MPS records. Within the total sample of hate crime assailants, 22.5% of suspects were under 20 years of age and 5% between 31-40. The Dunbar, Quinones and Crevecoeur (2005) study found the mean age for offenders to be 32.7 years, with 84% of the

offender sample classified as adults at the time when their crimes were committed.

Data from Northern Ireland and London suggests that the socio-economic profile of hate crime offenders is a further relevant consideration with over-representation of those who are unemployed or economically inactive. Of those accused of sectarian offences in Northern Ireland, 25% were unemployed, and 60% of those accused of homophobic hate crimes in London were similarly out of work (Iganski and Smith, 2011).

A further relevant consideration in terms of engaging with the question of 'who are the perpetrators?' is their membership of far right extremist groups. The work on this issue is very sparse in the context of UK-based studies, and most in the United States involves offenders in prison. The general conclusion is that most hate crime offenders are not members of formal groups. However, the previously mentioned Dunbar et al study (2005) based upon a painstaking analysis of crime reports, concluded that in their sample 16% of the identified offenders were members of hate-orientated criminal gangs or groups. This is a significant finding and one that would benefit from further research in the UK context, and should form a substantial component of future research enquiry. There is also the issue of the extent to which more loosely coupled forms of 'perpetrator community' (such as those who are motivated by animus who associate through social media or in social settings, but are not part of recognised or organised groups) may function as 'incubators' for abuse and violence (Sibbitt, 1997).

Drawing aspects of these findings together, several psychological studies intimate that stranger-related incidents may be more often associated with serious violent hate crime offenders, particularly those who are members of extreme far right/white supremacists gangs, or those that have adopted that ideology (Dunbar 2003, Dunbar, Quinones and Crevecoeur 2005). In these studies, it was found that 56% of hate crime offenders had prior criminal convictions. This suggests that at least a significant proportion of hate crime perpetrators 'specialise' in hate crime offending. For these individuals and groups, the motivation for engaging in hate crimes, may be about 'sending a message' to the wider community, rather than just the violence itself (Perry and Alvi 2012).

Developing this insight, one study found that the number of prior arrests and criminal convictions were significantly higher for those offenders who targeted racial minorities. In addition, offenders who targeted racial minorities had significantly more serious histories of violence than offenders who committed crimes due to religious or sexual orientation bias (Dunbar et al 2005:11). Offenders belonging to 'bias-orientated' groups had far more extensive and

violent criminal histories, committed more severe hate crimes, and engaged in significantly more violent forms of aggression in the commissioning of hate crimes. They concluded that this small group of individuals reflects the popular image of the violent hate crime offender as a 'highly dissocial and aggressive individual', yet these offenders constitute a very small percentage of all individuals who commit hate crimes (p13).

Section summary

- One study on hate crime offenders identified four broad categories of offender – 'thrill seekers', 'area or territory defenders', 'retaliatory offenders' and 'mission offenders'.
- The demographics of hate crime offenders tend to match the demographic proportions of the population of any given area.
- The majority of hate crime offenders in the UK are white, male and under 25.
- Hate crime offenders convicted of more serious and violent offences tend to be older.
- Contrary to classic portrayals of hate crimes, very few are committed by strangers.
- A small proportion of hate crime offenders appear to 'specialise' only in hate crime.

2.4 What acts are committed as hate crimes?

Analysis as to what acts are committed as hate crimes is surprisingly sparse. It is clear that hate crimes range from verbal abuse, through criminal damage of buildings and property, and on to 'minor' and 'serious' forms of violence. The latter being the exception rather than the rule. As Iganski (2008) describes it, most hate crime, most of the time, is possessed of an "everyday normality".

In the process of conducting this review, we have not been able to identify a comprehensive breakdown of the make-up of hate crimes in England and Wales. However, in terms of those hate crimes reported to the police, the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) published data on what the proportion of hate crimes by monitored category were in 2009. These data are represented below:

FIGURE 1: Hate Crimes Reported to the Police in 2009,
England, Wales and Northern Ireland
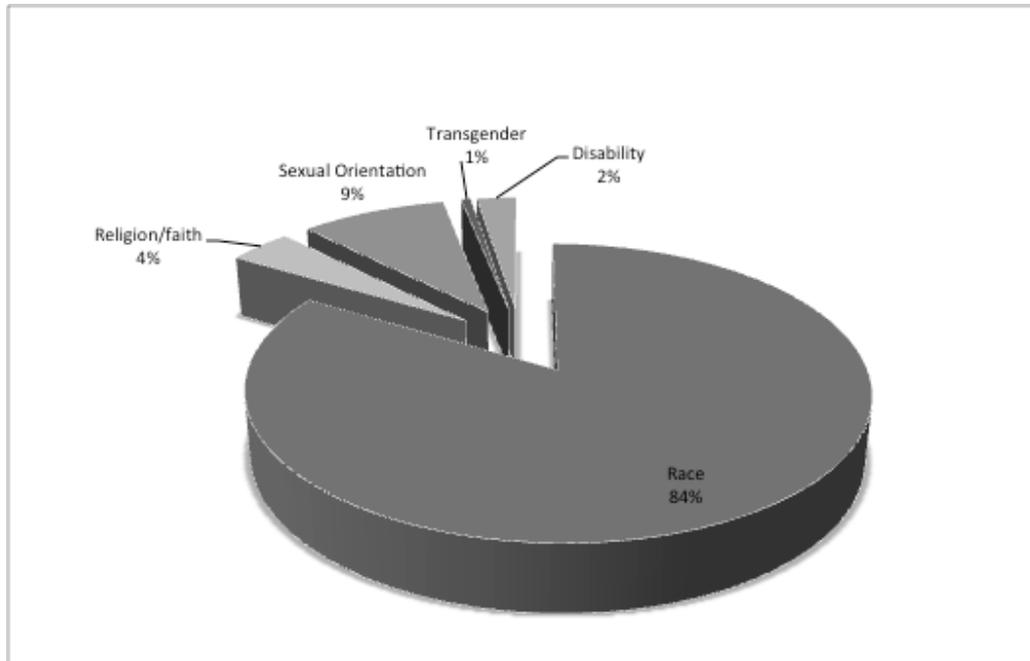
A total of 51,920 incidents were reported in 2009. This figure was not disaggregated to distinguish between crime and non-crime incidents, and the vast majority of reports were defined by victims as racially motivated.

Some indication of the kinds of act that are committed against different groups, can be gleaned from Crown Prosecution Service data on hate crime prosecutions for the year 2010-11 (Crown Prosecution Service, 2012). Such data obviously do not provide a comprehensive picture of all kinds of hate crimes, as they are biased towards those types of act where prosecutions were undertaken. These limitations notwithstanding, they are useful in illuminating how different types of hate crime involve different acts.

FIGURE 2: CPS Prosecution Data for 2010-11
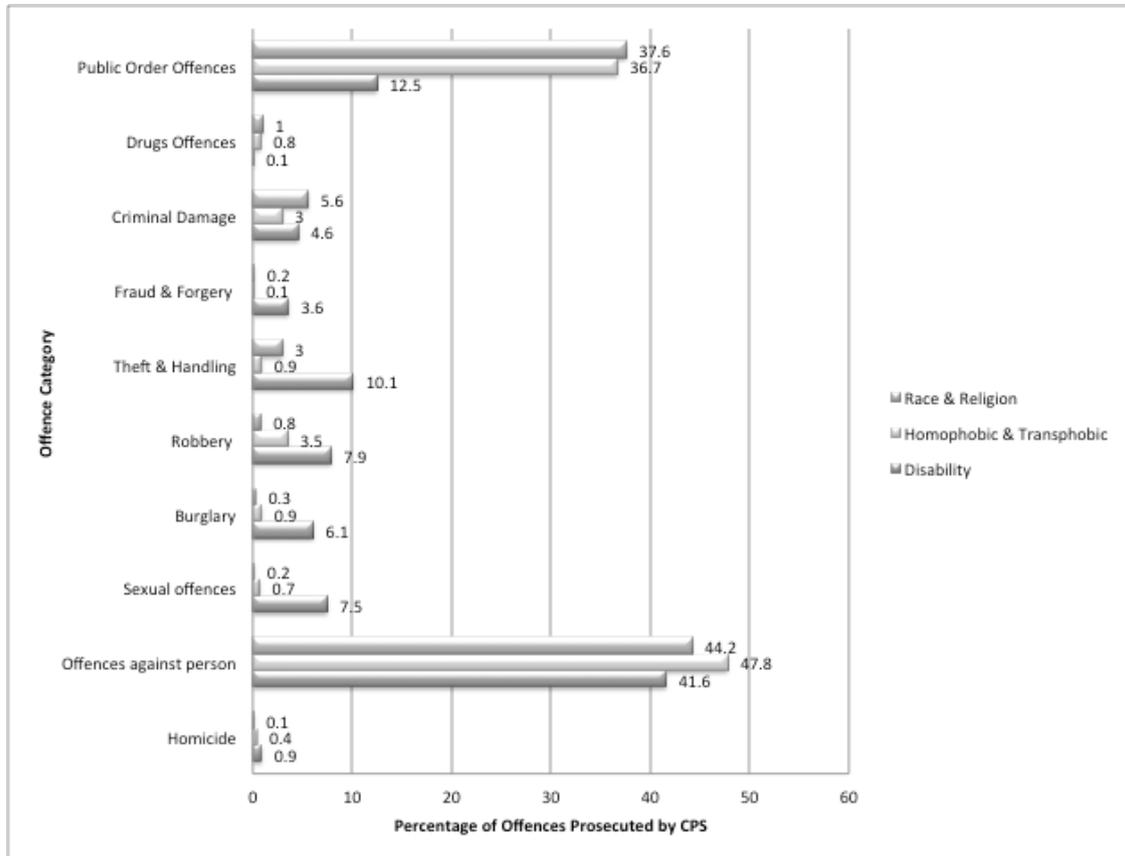
These data show that the most common types of offence for all categories of hate crime victim, are offences against the person, and public order offences, However, people with a disability are more likely than other victim groups to suffer from sexual offences, and crimes motivated by financial gain (Theft and Handling, Robbery, Burglary and Fraud and Forgery.

A rather different approach to answering the question of what acts are committed as hate crimes can be derived from Hall (2005). Synthesising the work of Perry (2001) and others, he suggests hate crimes typically have both symbolic and instrumental qualities in that, through their enactment, they are designed to send a 'message'. For Perry (2001) this is pivotal to understanding the ontology of the variety of acts that collectively tend to be labelled as hate crimes. For what they share is an intent to intimidate and subordinate a group of people, of whom the victim is merely a selected representative. Hate crime is designed to send a message to the victimised community "that they are somehow "different" and "don't belong". Perry stresses the role of hate crime in maintaining social hierarchies in society:

"Hate crime…involves acts of violence and intimidation, usually directed towards already stigmatised groups. As such it is a mechanism of power and oppression, intended to reaffirm the precarious hierarchies that characterise a given social order. It attempts to recreate simultaneously the threatened (real or imagined) hegemony of the perpetrator's group and the "appropriate" subordinate identity of the victim's group". (Perry (2001) p.10)

From this perspective, hate crime perpetrators can be seen as acting out the hostility felt by a wider community to a subordinate group.

That such acts are designed to send a message should not be taken to imply that hate crimes are in some sense extra ordinary. The preponderance of research evidence tends to suggest that the majority of hate crime incidents are not highly violent. Tracing this across to offenders, Sampson and Philips' (1992) intensive work on a single housing estate identified 31 repeat offenders responsible for 111 racial incidents. This is important in terms of suggesting at least the potential for a relatively small number of offenders committing a disproportionate amount of crime.

Section Summary

- Approximately 84% of all hate crime is racially motivated.
- Perpetrators of racial and religious hate crimes and homophobic and transphobic hate crimes are somewhat more likely than those who commit disability hate crime to commit public order and offences against the person.
- Those who commit disability hate crime are more likely than the perpetrators of other types of hate crime to commit sexual offences, theft and handling, and robbery.

2.5 Where do hate crimes occur?

Compared with questions of who commits hate crime and why, the issue of where such incidents occur has received less attention. There are though several studies that have engaged with this issue in different ways. For instance, 25% of the cases in McDevitt et al.'s (2002) study were what they labelled as 'defensive'. That is, the offender(s) committed their acts against outsiders that they perceived as intruding into their 'territory'. In contrast though, in the same study, the authors remarked that just under two-thirds of

cases were motivated by pursuit of a 'thrill'. Here, the perpetrators left their neighbourhood to commit the offence, actively searching for a target.

Analysis of Metropolitan Police data found that when examining racial and homophobic incidents, a very high proportion occur at or near a victim's home address. One in three racial incidents occurred at or near home, as did about one-half of homophobic incidents. In both types, what might be termed 'residential localisation' was strongly evident. Drawing from the same source, about a third of racial incidents occur in 'work/school' and around a quarter were categorised as occurring in the 'street'. If the racial or homophobic incident is not a one-off and forms a 'course of conduct' amounting to harassment, then the localisation factor rises further, with 90% of incidents taking place at or near the victim's home. The remaining 10% occurring at or near the victim's place of work (Mason 2005:849). One study from the United States also suggest that homophobic crimes are more likely to occur in schools than racial crimes (Stacey 2011:3025), but it is not known if this is reflected in the context of schools in England and Wales.

Iganski et al. (undated) provide important refinements to our understandings of the importance of place. They report that in London, one-third of anti-Semitic incidents are recorded as occurring in the London Borough of Barnet – an area with a large Jewish population. Relatedly, they also note that the majority of incidents occur either at identifiably Jewish locations (such as places of worship and schools) or in public locations where victims are identifiably Jewish. As such, this connects our consideration of 'where' hate crimes occur with the previously examined issue of 'what' acts are used to send hate-inspired messages.

Drawing upon wider developments in Environmental Criminology, the idea of 'hotspot' locations for certain types of hate crime is addressed by Disha, Cavendish and King (2011) examining post-9/11 attacks on Muslims/Arabs. They report that levels of hate crime have tended to rise in areas with Muslim residential communities in the aftermath of Islamist extremist terrorist events. As such, this is a finding that also speaks to the question of 'when' hate crimes occur. But the broader point is that the presence of identifiable hate crime hotspots has practical relevance in terms of making it possible for agencies to predict when and where future incidents are likely to occur. The results above stress the importance of 'place', a finding echoed by Croall and Wall (2003) who concluded that hate crime incidents must be seen in the context of 'where' they take place. As will be developed in due course, this has important implications for the further study of police-recorded hate crime data using geo-spatial mapping techniques.

The more general point to be made about reliance upon police hate crime data though, is that it is in many ways a better reflection of police activity than the actual prevalence and distribution of the problem. So in areas where police actively seek to 'do something' about hate crime, and public confidence reflects this, then there will be higher hate crime levels because people are reporting and the police recording more. At a national level, this is underscored by European comparative data provided by Garland and Chakraborti (2012). For example, in 2009 in England and Wales 52,102 hate crimes were recorded by police. This compares with: 4,583 in Germany; in France 3,960 (in 2008); Italy – 142; and in Spain 23. Such data also tend to underscore the point made in the opening sections about how official definitions shape the scale and scope of the problem that is to be solved.

Section summary

- 'Place' is an important yet neglected consideration in relation to hate crime offending.
- Emerging evidence suggests that there may be identifiable hate crime 'hotspots'.

2.6 When do hate crimes occur?

In raising the question of 'when do hate crimes occur?' we are interested in the temporal dimension, as well as whether there are any patterns evident in terms of other factors triggering such incidents. For example, it seems entirely plausible that, in areas where there are escalated levels of community tension, incidents might occur in 'chains' or sequences as processes of action and reaction link together specific events over time.

In one of the few studies to engage explicitly with the question of 'when hate crimes occur?', Mason (2005) reports that over two-thirds of recorded incidents happened between midday and midnight. This pattern is similar to the temporal profile for recoded crime in general.

McDevitt et al (2002) identify that, when some people are bored or seeking excitement, then they are more likely to initiate or participate in hate crimes. Based upon an analysis of 169 police cases in Boston they concluded that in around 66% of these, offenders were motivated by the 'thrill' of their act and the need to enhance their own feelings of power and importance. Again this replicates the commissioning of crimes in general as Katz (1988) showed.

Bowling (1999) identifies that from a victim's perspective, whilst the authorities tend to treat racist offences as discrete crimes, they are often experienced as part of a process of multiple victimisations. From this, we might extrapolate

that if an offender commits a crime against a victim and there is no consequential intervention, then it raises the likelihood that they will do something similar again because they know they are likely to get away with it. This has parallels with Robinson and Howarth's (2012) research on domestic violence pointing up the need for early intervention as a key interdicting strategy.

It is well documented that rates of hate crime offending increase when there are escalated community tensions. Recent scholarship on the interactive social dynamics of violence more generally might usefully be imported into debates on this issue to start to unpack causal associations. Most notably, Collins' (2008) work shows that the introduction of violence into a social conflict or tense situation tends to arise when there is an imbalance in the power between the parties. That is, where those involved are equally strong (or weak) they tend to neutralise each other. Violence is more likely where one party thinks they can use it to 'win' the conflict. The potential insight this offers to hate crime scholarship, is the extent to which motivated hate crime perpetrators might select victims who they perceive as 'vulnerable' in some sense.

More recently, Collins (2012) has sought to develop the role of time in the escalation and de-escalation of violent conflicts. He contends that violent events provide the 'ammunition' that can promote polarisation between groups over time. Violent events can promote greater internal group solidarity between victims and those who share the targeted identity characteristics, and then separately perpetrators and those who share similar attitudes and beliefs. This effect amplifies, as events from each side are committed. This perspective is useful to analysis of hate crime perpetration in several key ways. First, it starts to show how the occurrence of particular incidents might shape the sequencing in terms of when other hate crimes or 'retaliatory' acts occur. It might also start to answer some of the 'how' issues, in terms of people acquiring a willingness to engage in such behaviours.

Section summary

- Understanding how hate crimes might be connected to previous events and reactions to them including interventions applied to them, appears a promising line for future research.
- To date, the 'when do they occur' issue has been relatively neglected.

2.7 Why do perpetrators commit hate crimes?

For understandable reasons, the question 'why do individuals and groups commit hate crimes?' has received perhaps the most attention of all those we will consider in this section. Green, McFalls and Smith (2001) provide a useful overarching typology of the key orienting perspectives that have been used to engage with the 'why?' question:

A. psychological;
B. social-psychological;
C. historical-cultural (not discussed as not enough quality material was identified through the literature search);
D. sociological; and
E. economic and political.

<u>Psychological</u>

Psychological explanations tend to start from an assumption of some 'animus' - an individual level of hostility to a victim's social group. Such individual-level accounts limit themselves to the analysis of the 'cognitive and affective' processes by which perpetrators identify their victims, generate hostility and engage in aggression and violence. Key works defining and explaining hate crime as an extreme or disproportionate form of prejudice include Kleg (1983) and Roberts (1995). These and other similar studies invariably draw, either explicitly or implicitly, on Gordon Allport's (1954) seminal 'The Nature of Prejudice'. Allport argued that stereotyping coupled with 'affective disorders' of frustration, guilt avoidance, projection and paranoia, pushes individuals to acts of discrimination, including hate speech, avoidance, and various forms of interpersonal violence. The latter ranging from low-level physical assault, through to homicide and even genocide of whole groups.

Approaches based on prejudice are limited because they do not answer the question why the prejudices were acquired and are maintained. In the view of Simpson and Yinger (1985) cited in Brown (2011), "prejudice exists because someone gains by it" (Brown R. (2011) *Prejudice: its Social Psychology*) p. 12.

Theories of authoritarian personality (Adorno et al 1950; Altmeyer 1981) elaborate this model of hate crime by characterising the psychological attributes of individuals most likely to resort to prejudiced violence (see Mazz 1991, Heitmeyer 1992, Hopf et al. 1995, Modena 1997 and Pfeiffer in Sharma

1999). Importantly, whilst personality profiling appeals to many policy-makers and practitioners, Green, McFalls and Smith (2001) conclude that individual psychological accounts are not sufficiently diagnostic. They point to large-scale attitudinal surveys (see Green et al. 1998 confirming that while hate crime perpetrators may have authoritarian tendencies, only a small subset of authoritarians are hate criminals (Green, McFalls and Smith 2001 p485).

Social-Psychological

Social-psychological explanations of the causes of hate crime offending, seek to identify not only the source of potentially violent prejudicial orientations, but also the circumstances under which they will be expressed. Models of small group dynamics suggest how contagion, conformism, the influence of extremists ideologies on moving people to more extreme attitudes, dis-inhibition, and the yearning for group acceptance, can all conspire to 'push' a person to commit acts of hate crime (Bohnisch and Winter 1993; Erb 1993; Williams et al. 1993; Watts 1996; Rieker 1997; Wahl 1997).

Also featuring in such accounts is the influence of mass media. Sensationalist coverage of hate crime events has been shown to cause 'contagion' events or 'spikes' in hate crime (Brosius and Esser 1995). Media reports can play an active role in formulating, propagating and legitimating stereotypes about target populations. Allied to this, is the dissemination by political parties and other organisations, such as far-right and Al-Qaeda-inspired groups, of 'hate amplifying' political discourse. This was found to be of particular significance in Blee's (2007) study of female members of extreme far-right/white supremacist groups in the United States. Interestingly, this analysis also highlights the increasing influence of the Internet in propaganda and recruitment.

Within this branch of the literature is a particular 'psychosocial' approach, seeking to provide an interpretive account of why some individuals and groups engage in hate crime offences. Psychosocial studies draw upon conceptual resources from across the disciplines of Sociology, Social Work, Counselling and Forensic Psychotherapy. The defining quality of such accounts is the notion that psychological phenomenon (personalities, emotions, dispositions) and sociological phenomenon (class, gender, inequality, strain[6], poverty) should not be reduced to each other. This leads advocates of this position to question social scientific notions of 'typicality' as fundamentally problematic, on the grounds that one should not assume that people from any particular demographic group are likely to think and feel the

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[6] Strain due to the inability to achieve goals such as an adequate income, status and respect, and autonomy. (http://www.criminology.fsu.edu/crimtheory/agnew.htm)

same: a critical insight for considering questions about the motivations of hate crime offenders.

Gadd and Jefferson (2007) and Gadd and Dixon (2011) seek to show how, in relation to hate crime motivations, a blending of post-structuralist and relational psychoanalytic insights can be used to theorise the behaviour of an individual who is not merely conditioned by social circumstances or upbringing, but able to choose within limited contemporary circumstances how to present themselves. Where this becomes particularly important in explicating why people commit hate crimes, is the notion that such individuals may be motivated to act out feelings, which they cannot fully articulate. So for example, someone who has committed a racist crime, might elect to project a social identity of themselves as 'able to get along with everyone as long as they don't interfere', as well as being someone 'tolerant of other faiths', but at the same time 'worried about unrestricted immigration'. Such depictions involve the individual actively positioning themselves through a number of competing discourses - 'the laid back individual', 'the multi-culturally sensitive', and the 'economically rational and reasonable' man – that sometimes fit well together, but can also fall into tension (i.e. when someone perceived as an immigrant is perceived to be staking a claim that restricts the individual's choices). Psychosocial accounts are thus interested in the way in which individuals invest in various discourses. This includes hate crime offenders' post-offence rationalisations, as well as how the general populace positions themselves in relation to other individuals and groups in their communities, including those labelled 'outsiders'.

The strength of this position is it enables a complex and multi-layered approach to how individuals position in relation to complex social problems. The idea that people are entirely rational, conscious beings whose thoughts all hang together in a unitary and uncomplicated way is profoundly questioned. Instead psychosocial analyses accent how most people espouse attitudes that are at least a little contradictory. It happens in our work lives, schools, politics and in local communities; all the places where hateful attacks are mounted.

Psychosocial criminologists adopt the psychoanalytic view that such contradictions are commonly managed using psychological defence mechanisms that protect the individual from feelings of vulnerability. This can mean burying certain feelings – like shame, disgust and guilt – in the unconscious, from whence they are likely to come forth occasionally in ways that are not always strictly controllable, such as slips of the tongue, sudden outbursts, dreams. For example, Ray *et al* (2004) apply the work of Scheff (1990,1994,1997) to the motivations of hate crime perpetrators convicted of racially aggravated offences in Greater Manchester. In their interviews with

those on probation they detected unacknowledged shame where offenders saw themselves as weak, disregarded, unfairly treated and made to feel small by their Asian victims. In some instances an act of violence represented an attempt to re-establish control, to escape from shame into a state of pride.

These unconscious or barely conscious states can also be managed through psychic splitting and projection processes whereby unwanted feelings are attributed to others where they can be attacked. This might be the case, for example, in a homophobic attack where someone who feels insecure about their heterosexuality will attack someone else for their perceived homosexuality. The motive may not be intrapersonal, as much as to demonstrate to their male peer group that they are not gay. According to Jennings and Murphy (2000) the shame explanation for hostility towards homosexuality, is that the individual male is ashamed of his homoerotic feelings and represses them. The humiliation theory, on the other hand, is that the great majority of men are not homophobic because they fear their homosexual tendencies, but because they fear that other men will think they might be homosexual.

Herek's et al (1992) work informed by first hand accounts of homophobic perpetrators, points out that in many cases of hate crime, 'hate' is not the primary motive. Instead, the act expresses culturally pervasive bias, hostility or prejudice towards gay, lesbian and bisexual people.

Similar social-psychological processes are engaged when someone who is worried about their reputation for being workshy, attacks immigrants or disabled people for 'stealing our benefits' as if they are the 'real' problem. Most bullying involves some form of splitting and projection. Socially predominant discourses that cast gay people, black people, immigrants and the disabled as different, lacking or threatening, facilitate a certain amount of this kind of bullying projection in predictable directions.

How dependent people are on these projective defence mechanisms is posited to depend a little on their own emotional well-being and their personal biographical history of accommodating difference. Some people manage anxiety better than others, and thus keep their feelings to themselves. Others are more vulnerable to 'exploding' in crisis situations, or when feeling threatened. Potentially this explains why many hate crimes happen in the context of other conflicts where the offender feels unduly persecuted, and why some of the worst hate crimes are committed by people who are known to have been quite disturbed, or have a track record for violence. Some people will, of course become highly invested in extremism or in tough, muscular personas as a means of insulating from potential threats to the self. But these are not the only ways in which the hatred of weakness manifests itself.

In *Losing the Race* (2011), Gadd and Dixon argue that many people's investments in racist discourses are motivated by unconscious perceptions of loss. Some of these losses are social or cultural, following from economic decline - the loss of jobs, loss of respect, loss of a certain way of life – that can be found in many deindustrialising towns and cities. Others' losses are more deep-rooted and personal (including the loss of a loved one, parent or child, or the loss of one's physical or mental sense of health and security). The sense that such losses are 'eating one up' – all consuming - can take many forms; some collective, like the nostalgic celebration of mythical bygone times before cultural diversity presided; and some quite individualistic and/or extreme, for example, a personal obsession with miscegenation. What is personal and what is cultural can, of course, suddenly become reconfigured in the political landscape or by media coverage, so that personal fears about catastrophe are merged with wider political noise-making about the risks of unrestrained migration. For this reason, hate crime perpetrators and the general populace are not always easy to distinguish. The contingent nature of interpersonal conflict, the multiplicity of discourses through which prejudices are articulated and reinforced, and the defended nature of the emotions that underpin many forms of violence and harassment, often combine to make it difficult for those who commit hate crimes to see themselves as committed hate crime perpetrators. That is, in the same terms as the criminal justice system tends to conceive of them.

Sociological

Sociological accounts of hate crime are many and varied, although there is a general tendency to treat hate crime as a variant of youth violence and delinquency. From this perspective, hate crime results principally from either the 'anomic' outbursts of poorly integrated individuals within society, or from a solidarity reaction to a threatened community or group (Green, McFalls and Smith 2001 p.487). While Hamm's (1993) study of American skinheads showed that some appeared 'hyperactively bonded to the dominant social order'. For others, as Kathleen Blee's (2007) research shows, there seems to be an attraction to violence per se. These offenders become attached to extremist groups for the violence, rather than an attraction to any particular racist or supremacist ideology. Members of the White Power skinhead groups she observed, commonly violently attack each other as part of ritualised group dynamics. Further, members sometimes change sides and joined anti-fascist groups in order to engage in violent clashes with former allies. Blee (2007:263) concluded that 'violence *makes* a group', rather than being necessarily an 'outcome of group strategy'.

Another significant sociological contribution to the question of why people commit hate crime, is the 'Defended Community Perspective' (Suttles 1972). This conceives, particularly racial hate crime, as strategies for defending against threats posed to valued identities and ways of life. This perspective can be conceived as a variant of traditional racial threat, or as Green, Strolovitch and Wong (1998:376) suggest, "a rapprochement between symbolic and realistic perspectives". This is important because hate crimes symbolically target whole social groups, not just individual victims (Boyd, Berk, and Hamner 1996; Levin and McDevitt 1993). As such, these crimes may have particularly pernicious consequences that reverberate across communities. Such that, even relatively minor acts in terms of criminal law, may disproportionately affect communities exacerbating any existing tensions and increasing the potential for retaliation and escalating violence (Craig 1999). In addition, acts of this kind are likely to be seized upon by extremist groups on all sides as 'evidence' of their extreme political stance.

Economic

Developing some of the themes of defended communities discussed above, a number of economic accounts of why hate crimes happen have gained significant traction. Although an emphasis on social change links the two, sociological theories of hate crime stress anomie engendered by social disintegration, whereas economic theories see the roots of hate crime in displaced frustration and stress for scarce material resources (Banton, 1983; Bjorgo, 1993).

In their investigation of lynching patterns over time, Tolnay and Beck (1995) contend, "whites attacked when they believed that blacks were threatening their privileged access to society's scarce resources" (1995, p59). Realistic group conflict theory, LeVine and Campbell (1972) argue, focuses on hostilities arising from power differentials amongst groups. This has prompted a series of studies on post-reunified Germany and the proliferation of racist attitudes there (Legge 1996: Krueger and Pischke 1997; McLaren 1999). An important addition to the debate made by Green et al (1998) and Olzak (1989) is that the subjective perception of 'realistic' conflict may well depend on whether frustrations are made salient and mobilised by political elites and interest groups. National interest groups may seek to pick up on and 'amplify' local agitation around specific intergroup grievances for their own political advantage.

Seeking to synthesise aspects of these differing theoretical approaches, Green et al (1998) suggest integrating, structural, social and psychological approaches. However, surprisingly few researchers have drawn on both objective conditions and subjective interpretation in constructing theories

specific to hate crime. Even fewer have integrated political analysis of 'engineered narratives' promulgated by groups operating within a local community context, who exploit the day-to-day grievances and slights that we are all subject to for their own political aims.

Of those that have attempted this, Koopmans (1996) and Karapin (1996) applied social movement theory to the rise of racist and right-wing violence in Western Europe by combining real and perceived grievances with objective and subjective opportunity structures. Green, McFalls and Smith (2001:489) are concerned though that such methods may be inapplicable to 'day-to-day hate crime' that occurs in times and places apparently outside of any identifiable social movement.

Section summary

- There are a wide variety of accounts engaging with the question of 'why hate crime offenders commit their acts?'.
- Disciplinary backdrops shape these accounts, which in turn shape what issues are held to be important in explaining participation in hate crime.
- Few attempts have been made either by researchers or policy makers to consciously monitor the 'engineered narratives' of extremist groups and the realistic threats contained and exploited within them.
- Personal insecurity concerning sexuality and identity are important drivers of hate crime.

2.8 How do hate crime perpetrators acquire their attitudes and account for hate crime?

The final question posed in our 'deconstruction' of the hate crime literature, concerns 'how people acquire their attitudes and account for their behaviour?' Arguably, the most sophisticated analysis that we have identified is Sibbitt's (1997) model of inter-generational and cultural transmission. She introduces the important concept of the 'perpetrator community' to highlight the sense of social support for engaging in racial harassment and racist violence that is derived from being situated in a community that supports such attitudes. The incubation of racist attitudes and views in young people being particularly strong where this is 'normalised' as a result of the public expression of such views by older community members.

Several other studies suggest that the inculcation of prejudiced beliefs becomes more acute under competition for scarce economic resources (jobs, housing, benefits) (Stonewall 2003; Bjorgo 1993). Such attitudes being

reinforced and buttressed by a lack of personal contact and also the mass media climate (Stonewall 2003). As a consequence, Sibbitt (1997) identifies three potential intervention points: perpetrators; potential perpetrators; and the perpetrator community. The latter is especially consequential in that it proposes that effective action is required not just against those who engage in hate crimes, or those who are adjudged at risk of engaging in such acts, but also those who provide a 'conducive social environment'.

Such considerations connect to Byers et al.'s (1999, 2002) study of hate crimes committed against the Amish, and in particular their application of Sykes and Matza's (1957) five techniques of neutralization. They show how some (but not all) offenders sought to explain or justify their behaviour by: denying any real harm or injury had been done; de-humanising the victims and casting them as deserving of their victimisation ('denial of the victim'); appealing to higher loyalties such as peer group bonds; questioning the position of those who would seek to condemn them; or 'neutralising their responsibility' by blaming other factors for what they did. The efficacy of such guilt neutralising devices is obviously shaped, in part, by the likelihood that a wider community of people will accept any such rationalisations. The Bryers er al.'s (1999) study although very small, also showed that the community set limits on what was acceptable with regard to the enacting of hate crimes against the Amish. For example, throwing stones directly at an Amish or acts that risked the lives of Amish people, such as driving their buggies off the road with a vehicle were deemed unacceptable. However, being verbally abusive or even threatening were accepted. This underscores the relevance of the interplay between offenders and their community locally in defining, even supporting, the acceptability of some hate crimes.

Section Summary

- The incubation of racist attitudes and views in young people is particularly strong where this is 'normalised' as a result of the public expression of such views by older community members.
- There are three distinct groups around which interventions can be crafted: perpetrators; potential perpetrators; and the perpetrator community.
- The identification and active resistance to dehumanising language circulating in communities and media reports, may have a positive impact on polarisation and stereotyping.

2.9 Assessing the quality and strength of the research evidence

Cutting the data in relation to the questions identified above provides a useful framework for establishing an overview of some of what is, and is not, known about the commission of hate crimes and those responsible for them. From a policy and practice view however, attention tends to gravitate more around offences committed against particular groups of victim. Accordingly, it is appropriate to conduct a second analysis organised more directly around the key protected characteristics of race, religion and belief, age, gender, disability, gender reassignment and sexual orientation. This analysis seeks to understand what is known about the 'who, what, where, why, when and how' of hate crime perpetration, in relation to offences committed against individuals and groups in possession of each of the protected characteristics.

An overview of the results of this assessment is provided in Table 1 below. The black cells indicate where little or no substantive quality evidence about this issue has been identified. A dotted hatched cell denotes where there is some evidence on this issue, albeit of limited quality and quantity. Typically this is where there is one (or several) small-scale, fairly focused study that has been conducted on a specific type of hate crime. Finally, the white cells are used to identify where the research evidence is of a relatively robust standard, both in terms of the research designs used and the total number of studies that have been conducted. 'Plus signs', indicate a substantial body of research in this area, while negative signs indicates a concern about the lack/weakness of studies. These summary results are developed and expanded upon in the commentary following the Table.

Table 1: Summary of strength and depth of hate crime literature

	Who	What	Where	Why	When	How
Race	+	-	+	+	-	-
Faith	-	-	+	+	-	-
Sexual orientation		-			-	-
Age		■	■	■	■	■
Gender		■	■	■	■	■
Disability	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transgender status	-	■	-	-	-	■

The summary clearly conveys some evident patterns in terms of the structure of the knowledge base about the different types of hate crime. The quality and quantity of research evidence is best in relation to racist hate crimes. There is also reasonable strength and depth about crimes committed against people because of their sexual orientation and faith/belief. The latter in particular gravitates around the growth in anti-Islamic sentiments post-9/11. For the other protected characteristics, there is much less reliable published evidence about the perpetration of these kinds of activities. What little evidence there is, suggests that the profile of perpetrators and their motivations may differ markedly. By way of example, Clements et al (2011) report that 'carers' are responsible for a significant proportion of the violence and abuse of disabled people. This involves rather different motivations than those involved in relation to the other protected characteristics.

As a method for representing what is known about hate crime perpetration, the above Table also serves to illuminate how there has been a particular focus upon 'who', 'where' and 'why' questions. These are self-evidently the most important issues in trying to understand hate crime. However, introducing different questions can help to frame debates in slightly different ways and in the process stimulate new insights. In this regard we would highlight the potential benefits afforded by asking 'when does hate crime occur?' Thinking in such terms about how a particular incident or event may trigger a subsequent chain of incidents/events, might be useful for practitioners.

Section summary

The purpose of these analyses has been to clarify what is known about who commits hate crimes and why, and also to locate any key gaps in our knowledge about such issues. On the basis of the work conducted to date, a number of important questions can be identified that still cannot be answered:

- Are there a small, concentrated number of hate crime offenders responsible for a significant proportion of all incidents, or is this kind of activity more widespread?
- What role, if any, is played by organised extremist groups who espouse oppositional agendas to groups with protected characteristics?

In an attempt to engage with some of these questions, in the next section of this report we introduce some empirical data, to see if that helps to answer any of these questions.

3 Empirical Data on Hate Crime in Wales

The preceding analyses have been based on published sources and materials that have been identified from a structured review of the literature. In this section of the report, we introduce some empirical data in an effort to test the findings from the literature review against some emerging findings from several projects that provide insight into the situation in Wales. The first such element is survey data from the British Crime Survey and the All Wales Hate Crime Survey. The second set of data is derived from a telephone survey conducted by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary of victims of ASB. This is useful in developing a picture of the prevalence of non-criminal forms of abuse and harassment, particularly in relation to people who may be targeted because of their physical ability. The third data source is more qualitatively oriented and is drawn from a recently completed fieldwork project examining the activities of far-right extremist groups in Wales. This is included in light of the above noted lack of evidence about the role of organised extremist groups in propagating and conducting hate crimes.

Victim Surveys

The Crime Survey for England and Wales (formerly the British Crime Survey or BCS) has, for a number of years, collected some limited data on hate crime victimisation. As the most comprehensive national dataset on crime in England and Wales, it collects data from over 44,000 households on most

types of criminal activity, including some perceived perpetrator characteristics (age, gender, whether they were a stranger, whether they were in a gang etc.). Crimes perceived by the victim to have been motivated by hate on the basis of race, religion, disability and sexual orientation are covered in this survey of victims. However, due to the relatively low incidence of hate crime in comparison with other crimes, the BCS is not able to provide robust figures for the different components of hate crime outside of that which is racially motivated. Further, the BCS sample of households in Wales is relatively small, making statistical analysis on region-specific hate crime data problematic. These limitations notwithstanding, given the dearth of data sources on perpetrators, it is appropriate to try and make use of the BCS data.

An overview of what can be gleaned from analysis of the BCS is provided in Table 2.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of Hate Crime Perpetrator Characteristics by Equality Strand – British Crime Survey for England and Wales 09/10 and 10/11

	Coding	Race	Sexual Orientation	Age	Gender	Disability
Perpetrator Characteristics		%	%	%	%	%
Relation	Known	31	75	49	53	64
	Unknown	69	25	51	47	36
Number	One	40	48	52	73	59
	More than one	60	52	48	27	41
Gender	Male	85	82	82	96	83
	Female	15	18	18	4	17
Age	Up to 24	27	23	34	29	29
	25 and over	73	77	66	71	71
Race	White	69	81	81	69	79
	BME	31	19	19	31	21
Gang member	Yes	5	4	5	4	1

Notes:

1. The BCS datasets for 09/10 and 10/11 were merged to increase the number of respondents who reported experiencing hate motivated crime.

2. Percentages derived from complex samples cross-tabulations of incidents with cluster (psuid), stratum (fin_stra2) and incident weight (weighti) variables. The British Crime Survey is not based on a simple random sample and instead uses a stratified and partially clustered sample design. The design of the survey means that confidence intervals for estimates from the survey are based on complex standard errors (CSEs) around estimates. Standard statistical commands do not account for complex survey design, and treat the data as a simple random sample. Many statistical procedures assume that observations are independent and identically distributed (iid). The effects of clustering, stratification, and unequal selection probabilities however may mean this is not the case. As well as incorrectly estimating standard errors, estimates may be biased if the value of variables is related to selection probability (see Rafferty, A. (2009) *Introduction to Complex Sample Design in UK Government Surveys*, Essex: ESDS Government).

3. Variables used: racemot; hatemtso; hatemtage; hatemtgen; hatemtdis; knowoff1; numoff2; offsex1; ageoff2; raceoff3; stgang (non-binary variables recoded for analysis).

4. 'hatemtage', 'hatemtgen', 'hatemorelig', 'hatemtdis', and 'hatemtso' are variables derived from the following multiple response question: Looking at the things on this card do you think the incident was motivated by the offender's attitude towards any of these factors? (CODE ALL THAT APPLY): Your religion or religious beliefs; Your sexuality or sexual orientation; Your age; Your gender; Any disability you have; Don't Know; None of these.

The BCS data can be used to identify a number of patterns in respect of hate crime perpetration:

- Where victims are targeted because of their race or sexual orientation, it is likely to involve more than one offender (60% and 52% respectively). In contrast, incidents based upon gender and disability are more often committed by individuals (73% vs 59%).
- The gender of hate crime offenders is overwhelmingly male, albeit participation in hate offences motivated by sexual orientation, age and disability involves female participation in around 18% of cases.
- For most types of hate crime, roughly one-third of offenders are aged under 24. The exception to this is hate crime on the basis of sexual orientation where 77% of offenders were aged over 25.
- There are some interesting trends in relation to offender ethnicity. The BCS suggests that just under one-third (31%) of offenders involved in racially motivated hate crime, were themselves visible ethnic backgrounds (VEM) backgrounds. A similar level of VEM involvement was found for hate crime offences motivated by gender.

As noted above, it is not possible to disaggregate data for Wales from these figures. Nevertheless, while we must be cautious of making any claims from this data it still may provide some indication of key contours of the problem, and in terms of providing a comparator for some uniquely Welsh data.

The All Wales Hate Crime Survey was established to develop a more comprehensive picture of the experience and impact of hate crime across Wales. Based upon a survey of 1,810 respondents, 564 of whom were victims, some limited data about hate crime perpetrator characteristics in Wales can be extracted from the survey[7].

To commence this analysis, Figure 3 displays the total number and percentages of offenders identified as being involved in hate crimes in Wales, divided by gender.

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[7] The AWHC survey adopted a quota sampling strategy which oversampled the recognised equality strands and victims of hate crime/incidents. As a result, the sample is not a reliable basis for 'hard' measures such as prevalence. It does however provide a sound basis for 'soft' measures such as perceptions, attitudes and feelings. Any reference to prevalence should therefore be interpreted with a degree of caution.

FIGURE 3: AWHCS Welsh Hate Crime Offenders by Gender
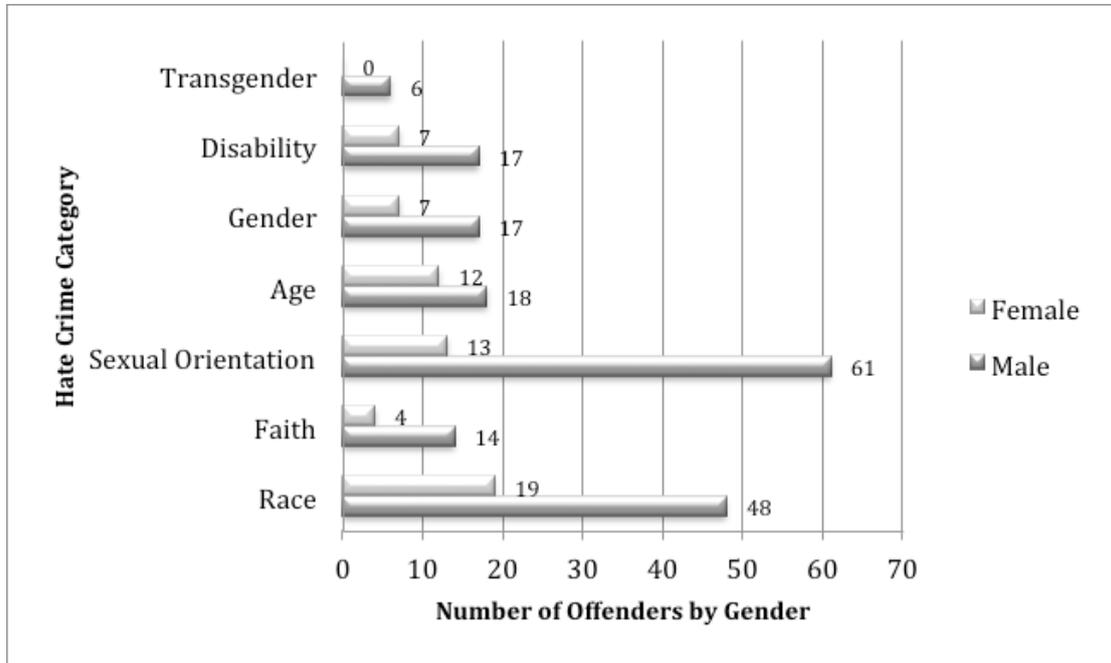
	Race	Faith	Sexual Orientation	Age	Gender	Disability	Transgender
Male	72%	78%	82%	60%	71%	71%	100%
Female	28%	22%	18%	40%	29%	29%	0%

Of particular note when compared with the BCS data for England and Wales, is the higher participations of women in race hate crime in Wales (28%) vs England and Wales (15%). Similarly, there is higher female participation in hate crimes on the basis of: age – 40% Wales vs 18% England and Wales; and disability (29% Wales vs 17% England and Wales). In summary, it appears that women in Wales are more likely to be involved in several types of hate crime offences when compared with BCS data for England and Wales. However, the sampling strategy adopted for the AWHC survey differed from that of the British Crime Survey and therefore the differences reported here should be interpreted with a degree of caution. To confirm these differences, a random probability sample survey (with appropriate stratification and clustering) needs to be conducted within Wales to compare to the BCS. Figure 4 compares the number of hate crimes by protected characteristics in terms of whether they were committed by individual or multiple offenders.

FIGURE 4: AWHCS Comparison of Individual and Multiple Offenders
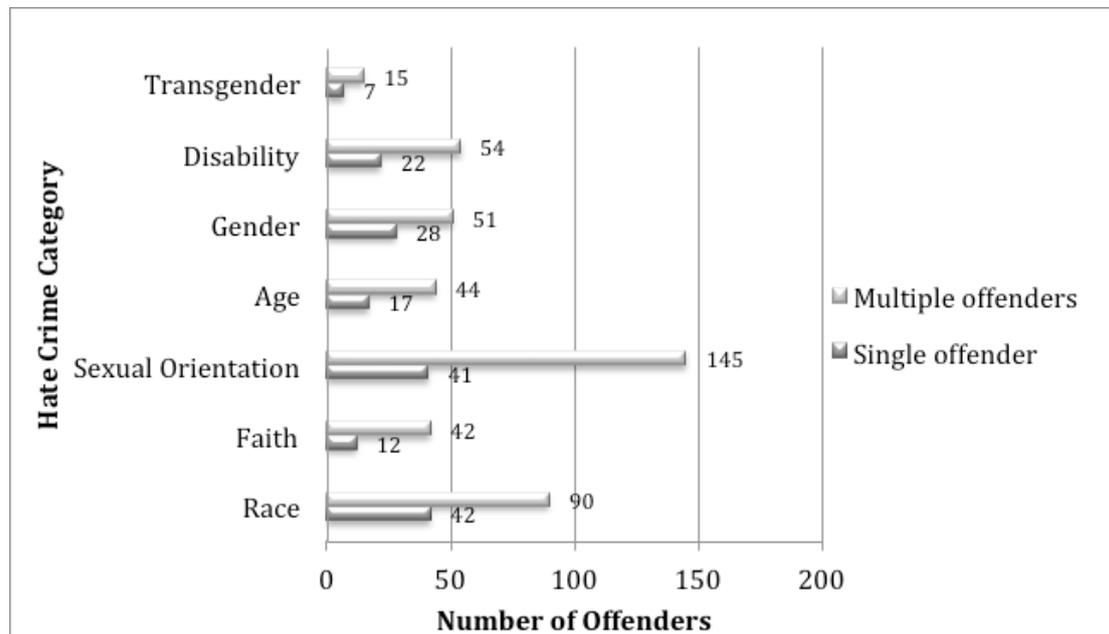
	Race	Faith	Sexual Orientation	Age	Gender	Disability	Transgender
Single offender	32%	22%	22%	28%	35%	29%	32%
Multiple offenders	68%	78%	78%	72%	65%	71%	68%

Echoing the findings from the BCS data, this analysis confirms that victims of race-based and sexuality-based hate crime are significantly more likely to be abused or assaulted by multiple offenders. Interestingly though, the Welsh data suggest that all types of hate crime are more likely to involve multiple offenders, which was not the pattern in the BCS data in relation to gender and disability crimes. Again, these comparisons must be interpreted with a degree of caution given the differences in sampling strategy.

Direct comparison between the Wales Survey and the BCS on the age of offenders, is not possible because they employ slightly different categorisations. However, Figure 5 below provides a comparison of the age profiles of offenders by type of hate crime.

FIGURE 5: AWHCS - Number of Offenders in Wales by Age
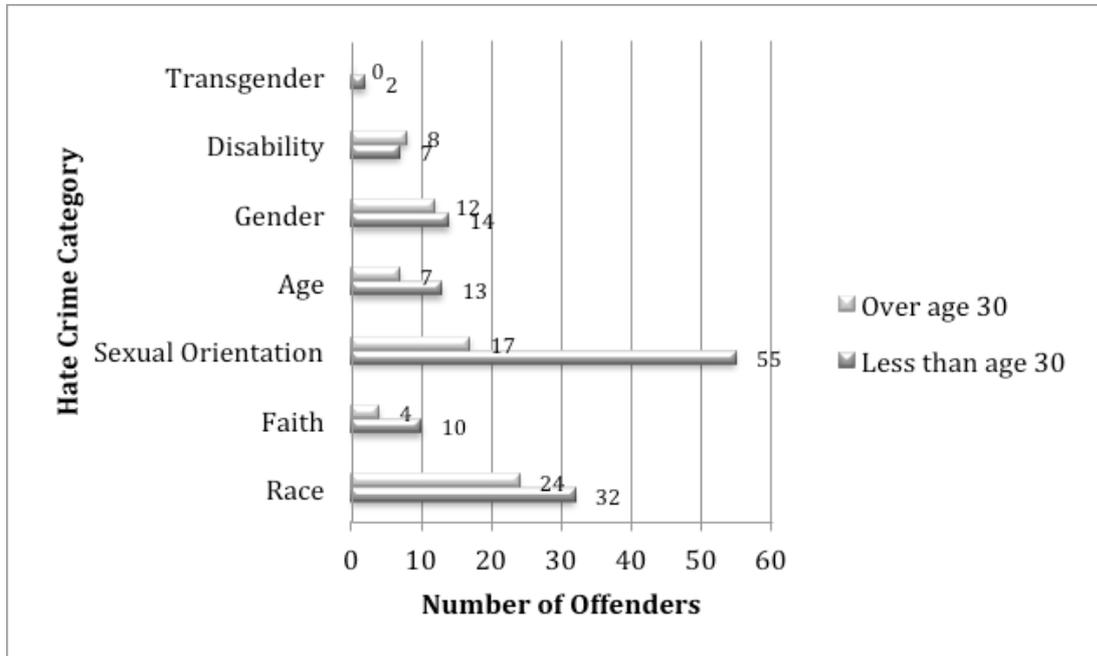
	Race	Faith	Sexual Orientation	Age	Gender	Disability	Transgender
Less than age 30	57%	71%	76%	65%	54%	47%	100%
Over age 30	43%	29%	24%	35%	46%	53%	0%

This graphical representation of the data clearly shows some interesting variations in terms of the age of offenders participating in different sorts of hate crime.

The Wales survey also includes some useful data on the use of hate speech by offenders. It reveals that on average, 40% of hate crimes recalled by victims involved some hate speech component. This was a particular feature of offences motivated by:

- the sexual orientation of the victim – where 59% of victims said they had been verbally abused;

- faith-based hate crimes where 53% of victims stated that this had happened to them; and

- transgender hate crime where 54% of victims said they had been verbally abused.

Victims of anti-social behaviour (ASB)

In the preceding analysis, it was identified that there is only a limited quantity of reasonable quality research evidence concerning the perpetration of hate crimes against people with disabilities. In an effort to explore this issue further, as it relates to communities in Wales in particular, we will draw upon data from a large scale survey of victims of ASB conducted by Ipsos-MORI for Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary. Anti-social behaviour is defined by the Crime and Disorder Act 1988 as, "behaviour likely to cause alarm, harassment or distress to members of the public not of the same household as the perpetrator". A total of 9,311 respondents were surveyed, sampled from police records as having reported an ASB incident during the month of September 2011. The data covers all 43 police force areas in England and Wales and is the largest survey of ASB victims conducted to date.

From the point of view of this report, it is important to note that these are victims of ASB, rather than 'crimes' per se. As such, these data also speak to the previously raised concern about how some offensive and harmful conduct that is motivated by prejudice or hatred may not necessarily be criminal. Given the general lack of empirical data that there is on disability hate crime, any material that helps us to better understand this issue warrants consideration.

Looking across the survey overall, 12% of victims who had contacted the police defined the incident as 'hate motivated ASB'; that is, they considered the ASB to be motivated by hostility or prejudice on the grounds of race, religion, disability, gender or sexuality (not necessarily against them personally). This suggests there is a sizeable proportion of non-criminal, but distinctly anti-social, conduct that is being committed against various groups in society. On the grounds that there are some 2.4 million incidents of ASB reported to police each year in England and Wales, we might estimate that there are in the region of 200,000 hate-motivated incidents of ASB. Such estimates are notoriously difficult to construct, but the key point is that there are significantly more offensive and harmful acts being committed than the much smaller number of officially recorded 'hate crimes' suggests.

Respondents to the survey were asked whether they, or anyone in their household, self-defined as having a long-term illness or disability. Overall, 41% of men and 45% of women who had reported ASB incidents to police, indicated that they self-defined in this way. In addition, respondents were asked whether they perceived that the ASB they had experienced was deliberately targeted at them personally, their family or a particular group they are part of. Just over one-third of all those surveyed responded positively.

Whilst these figures should be read as broad indicators, rather than a direct measure of the problem, what they do suggest is that there is a sizeable proportion of victims who are afflicted with a long-term illness or disability and/or believe that they are being targeted through prejudice and deliberate acts of anti-social behaviour.

A particular advantage of this victim survey is that it is of sufficient size to be broken down to force level, in order to compare the prevalence of different victim types. As above, such data should be treated with some caution as an indicator, rather than measure, but they are useful in enabling us to look at hate crime in a Welsh context. In Figure 6 we have combined the percentage of ASB victims who self-define as 'long-term ill' or 'disabled' and who believe the ASB was targeted at them personally. We have included only those individuals who we define as 'high frequency callers'. A high frequency caller was an individual who reported having called the police about ASB issues more than 10 times in the past year. This we view as a proxy measure of the most acute victims of ASB, for whom a persistent ASB problem is likely to have a profound negative impact upon their quality of life.   As can be seen, this potentially has important implications for Wales.

However, the evidence is somewhat tenuous since it is not clear if they, their family or a group that they were part of, were being targeted because of the long-term illness or disability of one of them. Equally, since disability is partly coterminous with old age, they may have been targeted because of age. Further research is needed to clarify these issues.

FIGURE 6: High Frequency Repeat and Vulnerable
Victims on Health and Targeting

Police force	Percentage of high frequency repeat callers vulnerable on health and/or personal targeted ASB
Wiltshire	10
West Yorkshire	15
West Midlands	13
West Mercia	12
Warwickshire	11
Thames Valley	12
Sussex	11
Surrey	7
Suffolk	7
Staffordshire	18
South Yorkshire	23
South Wales	20
North Yorkshire	7
North Wales	18
Northumbria	15
Notts	15
Northamptonshire	15
Norfolk	11
Merseyside	22
London	14
Lincolnshire	9
Leicestershire	14
Lancashire	9
Kent	11
Humberside	15
Hertfordshire	6
Hampshire	11
Gwent	14
Gt. Manchester	17
Gloucestershire	11
Essex	11
Dyfed Powys	13
Durham	16
Dorset	9
Devon & Cornwall	9
Derby	14
Cumbria	12
Cleveland	4
C of L	4
Cheshire	10
Cambridgeshire	9
Bedfordshire	8
Avon & Somerset	8

Source: Ipsos- MORI (2012) Policing Antisocial Behaviour: The Public Perspective, Wave 2.

Looking across the data, it can be seen that South Wales had the third highest percentage of high frequency callers falling into either or both categories of long-term illness/disability and personally targeted ASB. North Wales police force area was the fourth highest area (along with Staffordshire) where this type of acute victim accounted for 18% of its caller profile. Dyfed-Powys and Gwent were more towards the middle of the distribution across forces, but still above the national average. Looking across several other measures in the survey concerned with vulnerabilities relating to ill-health and

disability, there was a fairly consistent pattern - the four Welsh police forces tended to have relatively high proportions of ASB victims self-defining in this way.

It is important not to over state this evidence, nor to draw too firm conclusions from it. However, it does seem appropriate to suggest that there is an issue warranting further investigation here concerning the experience of hate-motivated ASB and crime against disabled people in Wales. This is on the grounds that it may be relatively high compared with other areas of England.

The Role of Extremist Groups

One gap in knowledge identified during the structured literature review, was the role of organised groups and networks in hate crime. The implicit suggestion that can be derived from the literature is that the majority of hate crime offenders are not linked to extremist groups. For example, McDevitt et al. (2002) suggest that only 1% of hate crime offenders are what they label 'mission offenders', completely dedicated to this type of activity. However, this conclusion somewhat misses the point about why investigating this possible association is warranted, in that extremist groups might have both a direct and indirect influence upon the prevalence of hate crime offences of particular kinds, inasmuch as they create a climate and supply a vocabulary of motives encouraging others to engage in such behaviours.

In the All Wales Hate Crime Survey a question was included asking victims to indicate whether the offender was a gang member. Across all categories of crime, a positive answer to this question was given in under 10% of cases, except in respect of racist hate crime. According to the victim/respondents, 13% of the race hate offenders in Wales had some sort of gang affiliation. This warrants more thorough investigation, and may have the potential to bring together some of the questions we have posed about 'who', 'where' and 'when'.

There have been several instances where the conversion of buildings into new Mosques has been controversial in Wales, and attracted attention from far right groups, such as the British National Party and English/Welsh Defence League. Yet it is not known whether or not these events and the inflammatory public debates associated with them caused 'spikes' in the numbers of hate crimes against people and property. As such, there would be considerable value to be derived from undertaking more detailed and focused retrospective empirical studies of what happened in relation to these 'signal events'. Accurate quantification of the distribution and volume of hate crime associated with such developments would have potential diagnostic utility for agencies in

terms of being able to anticipate when and where future problems could be expected.

Addressing Offending

In considering how hate crime offending can be addressed, several key approaches are described in the literature. A distinction can be drawn between 'enforcement', 'treatment', 'restorative' and 'community cohesion' based approaches.

Framed as it is by criminal law, it is unsurprising that in respect of the hate crime problem, policing responses are a key consideration. And whilst there is a reasonable amount of research evidence documenting the challenges with dealing with racist hate crimes (see Bowling, 1999 for an overview), there is far less primary research that has been conducted in respect of other kinds of hate victimisation. One interesting study is Hall's (2012) comparison of policing approaches in London and New York. Starting with the observation that the two cities have markedly different rates of hate crime recording, he seeks to explain the key differences found. He notes that in New York the operating model is far more police-led and dominated than is the case in London, a factor he takes as explaining the differences in recording. In particular, the absence of third-party reporting mechanisms meant that the public could not by-pass police procedures if they were victimised, and were highly dependent upon the views and attitudes of the front-line officers in terms of having their complaint taken seriously or not.

The issue of responding effectively to all forms of hate crime, particularly those outside of racist and religious hate crime, have been highlighted in a recent Criminal Justice Joint Inspection Report (2013), *Living in a different world: Joint review of disability hate crime*[8]. It points out that the reporting and handling of hate crime cases is far from a level playing field, with disability hate crime described in the report as, "the hate crime that has been left behind" (2013:5). As in Hall's (2012) study, the attitudes of front-line police officers towards the victims of disability hate crime were called into question. The conclusion of the report was that victims of disability hate crime were failed by the entire criminal justice system. Clearly, it is essential to increase reporting and case handling, as it is very difficult to deal with offenders effectively if the cases are never reported, or worse, reported and not acted upon. Therefore, increasing and supporting the reporting of all hate crimes

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[8] Report available at http://www.hmic.gov.uk/media/a-joint-review-of-disability-hate-crime-living-in-a-different-world-20130321.pdf.

needs to be seen as a critical measure of success, and as a core strategy in addressing hate crime offending.

Treating hate crime

Treatment-based responses include psychiatric, counselling and rehabilitation programmes directed towards hate crime offenders. Dunbar (2003) is somewhat pessimistic about their general efficacy and argues they decline in impact as the severity of the hate crime committed increases, with repeat violent hate crime and terrorist offenders being the least 'treatable' group. This leads him (2003:210) to conclude, "It may be that bias-motivated offenders are particularly immune to rehabilitation efforts". In essence, he is pointing out that hate crime offenders differ from ordinary criminals in the way their criminality is constructed. This he suggests results from the numerous developmental factors associated with violence in this group of offenders. In examining a range of therapeutic programmes designed to develop greater interpersonal capacity and address wider education deficits his conclusion is stark:

> The use of psycho-educational programmes that incorporate tolerance education, interpersonal skills development, and anger management has yet to be proven efficacious in reducing recidivism risk of hate crime offenders. (p210)

Instead, Dunbar's analysis points to the need to address issues of endemic substance misuse, poverty and the reliance on violence as important treatment goals. Such comprehensive 'wrap-around' interventions have proved effective with young at risk offenders. Dunbar, Quinones and Crevecoeur (2005) highlight Multi-systemic Therapy (Henggeller, Melton, Brondino, Scherer and Hanley 1997) as useful in this regard.

The next category of intervention programmes pivot around the notion of 'mediation', often using restorative justice (RJ) practices with hate crime offenders. Whilst controversial, there is some evidence from small-scale studies suggesting this can be effective in some circumstances. RJ is far from being mainstreamed or even accepted as an official response to general crime, let alone hate crime (Gavrielides 2012).

Walters and Hoyle (2012) differentiate between two distinct types of 'hate conflicts': targeted persistent abuse of vulnerable victims; and, ongoing multi-layered conflicts, where hate incidents are part of, and embedded within, the wider dispute. Based upon a relatively small number of cases observed in Southwark, they suggest that mediation might have a particular role to play in helping to broker 'peace' for the latter form in particular.

Again researchers in this field such as McDevitt et al (2002) point up the difference between ordinary crimes and hate crime, but in this context the problem is located within the dynamics of the RJ process. They agree with Dunbar, that the complex and deep routed problems seen in hate crime offenders makes it likely that they will be less susceptible to rehabilitative community-based interventions. However, in the context of RJ they focus on the problematic imbalance of power between offenders and victims that is central to the notion of hate crime. They fear that, as a consequence, victims may be exposed to further harm if brought into direct contact with offenders, irrespective of how remorseful the perpetrator may seem to be. Nevertheless, Gavrielides' (2012) study shows that the application of RJ to hate crime is now widespread but 'inconsistent and piecemeal'. However, the same study shows that it can be effective not only on a one-to-one basis where its use is most frequent, but for wider mediation processes involving inter-community hate crime and the tensions resulting from them. Another study by Race on the Agenda (ROTA) *Restoring Relationships: Addressing Hate Crime through Restorative Justice* (June 2007) is also positive in its assessment of RJ's application to hate crime, but points out that most activity is carried out by voluntary and community organisations in the shadow of the criminal justice system, not by it. Thus, the wider application of RJ in Wales would require a systematic and supported development plan.

The final area where progress is being made in addressing hate crime and extremism, is in the use of intergroup contact to reduce bias and hostility. This is not focused upon individual hate crime offenders, but upon changing 'meta'-patterns of social relations between whole communities. It is an approach drawing upon Allport's (1954) contention that positive contact with members of a negatively stereotyped group could improve attitudes to the group as a whole.

Although Putnam (2007) argues that the advent of diversity is generally perceived as threatening and can have negative consequences for trust, Hewstone's (2012) recent work has found contact between diverse communities over time will increase trust. However, he concludes that actual 'contact' is crucial for integration, stressing it has to be meaningful. Just living in the same neighbourhood is not enough (see Hewstone 2009, Turner R.N, Hewstone M, Voci A, Paolini S, and Christ O, 2007; Brown R and Hewstone M, 2005). In summary, he defines the dimensions of contact in the following way:

Direct Contact
- Quantity of contact – frequency of interaction with outgroup members, e.g. 'how often do you meet/talk to outgroup members where you

live/shop/socialise, etc?'
- Quality of contact – nature of the interaction with outgroup members, e.g. how positive/negative; friendly/unfriendly, etc, is the contact?'
- Cross-group friendship – being friends with outgroup members, e.g., 'How many close outgroup friends?'

Extended Contact
- Indirect/vicarious contact, via family or friends, e.g., 'How many of your family members/friends have outgroup friends?'

This approach may provide a way forward for thinking about engineering effective community contact activities and investment within a community cohesion context to diffuse the drivers for hate crime. Given parts of Wales are the least ethnically diverse areas in whole of England and Wales combined, this might be necessary.

4 Conclusions and Recommendations

This final section of the report seeks to draw together the key findings and make recommendations for the future. The aim of the study was to establish a robust overview about what is known about the perpetrators and perpetration of hate crime. To do this, a review of the literature was carried out and subject to two structured analyses. The first analytic framework used to 'cut' the data sought to assess studies on the grounds of six key questions. This demonstrated that overall we know most about 'who' engages in hate crime, in terms of personal and socio-demographic characteristics. There is also a comparatively good set of studies examining why hate crimes are committed. The exception being incidents motivated by age or gender-based 'hate'.

On the basis of the structured literature review it appears that less attention has been directed towards answering questions such as: 'what kinds of hate 'crime' are being committed?' It was identified that there are a wide variety of acts that can be classified as hate crimes, ranging from verbal harassment through to serious forms of violence? In a UK context, there is a striking lack of data about what kinds of acts are being committed against particular types of victim. It would also be worthwhile tracking offender careers in terms of the kinds of acts they commit to answer whether there is an escalation of behaviour, or whether the performance of particular behaviours is more situational. Relatedly, we identified a suggestion that there is a sizeable minority of offenders who engage in hate crime, but do not perpetrate other types of crime. There is also a suggestion of some form of association between the most serious types of violence, and membership of extremist organisations. For some of these issues, it is not the case that there is no

evidence available, but rather what exists is very focused or limited and so questions of generalisability are raised.

Developing this line of thought, there were a number of areas where we perhaps expected to find more empirical evidence. For example, in relation to the question of 'when do offenders commit such crimes?' there was remarkably little discussion of the role of alcohol or drugs as 'dis-inhibitors' for violence. There also appears to be opportunities here for developing a more nuanced perspective in terms of understanding how hate crimes may interact with other kinds of incident. That is, in certain settings and under particular circumstances, there may be 'chains' of incidents in terms of a sequence of actions and reactions.

A particular opportunity for development appears to exist in relation to the question of 'where' hate crimes occur, utilising advances in geo-spatial analysis and statistics and applying them to police hate crime and offender data sets. As such, we would suggest that this constitutes a potentially promising approach for future work. This is particularly important as being able to identify where hate crimes are likely to occur affords particular opportunities for practical interventions to increase reporting, but also reducing associated harms.

A second form of place-based analysis would be to examine the relationships between victim residence, offender residence and place of offence. There is some evidence that a significant proportion of hate crime is quite locally based, but the application of new geo-spatial analysis techniques could be used to derive additional insights. Such an analysis could also support other forms of investigation. For example, we would advocate conducting a focused-applied research study using qualitative methods in some of those areas that geo-spatial analysis suggest are hate crime hotspots. Developing a more 'thickly' descriptive account of what is occurring in these areas could be very helpful in terms of understanding the causes of the clusters of incidents.

A second 'cut' of the data was used to reveal a different set of strengths and weaknesses. By looking at the evidence available based upon the key protected equality characteristics, it is possible to establish that the evidence is comparatively good in affording an understanding of racist, faith-based and sexual orientation-based hate crimes. It is rather less insightful in regards to age, gender, disability and transgender status.

Of these we would suggest that developing the knowledge base around disability hate crime might be a particular priority. In part, this reflects a possible suggestion in the data from the survey of victims of ASB that comparative rates of hate motivated ASB against people with long-term illness

or disability might be quite high in some parts of Wales. This could form part of a longer-term strategy designed to prepare for an ageing population in Wales. For as Garland (2012) notes, the overall prevalence of particular hate crime categories shifts as a part of wider societal changes.

Another possible lead for future work in Wales was also derived from the empirical data. This was the suggestion that when compared with offenders in England, in Wales women were far more likely to be participants in hate crime. To confirm these differences a random probability sample survey of sufficient size (with appropriate stratification and clustering), needs to be conducted within Wales to compare to the Crime Survey for England and Wales.

In moving forward, we think it is particularly important that any new contribution be conceptually robust and precise in terms of what it is seeking to contribute. In the initial overview of the literature reported herein, the tendency to over-extend the relevance of findings was noted. For example, a number of studies of racist hate crimes rapidly move on to talk about the findings as providing insights into 'hate crime' in general, rather than a specific type of crime.

It would seem that in terms of a future agenda for research into why hate crimes happen in Wales, it would be important to look at all such crimes in detail to discover which are influenced by extreme narratives, and which are not; those that are retaliatory and those that are not; and those that are planned and those that are spontaneous. In addition, if indeed such narratives are associated most strongly and adhere to particular communities or neighbourhoods as the theories discussed contend, it will be vital to understand how radiating narratives of influence affect the overall commissioning.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made within the context provided by the Welsh Government's, Tackling Hate Crimes and Incidents: A Framework for Action:

1. Welsh Government and criminal justice agencies should instigate further research using all Wales police data to understand what kinds of acts are committed against different groups in order to identify specific protective measures individual groups may need to reduce victimisation.
2. It is essential that a continuous process is adopted across government and all partners in the criminal justice sector, to drive up reporting of *all*

hate crimes, while removing inconsistencies in the recognition and prosecution of different types of hate crime, particularly disability hate crime. The increase in reported hate crime reporting should be a publicly acknowledged measure of success.

3. To confirm key differences in patterns of perpetration of hate crimes between Wales and England, a random probability sample survey of sufficient size (with appropriate stratification and clustering) needs to be conducted within Wales to compare to the Crime Survey for England and Wales.

4. Welsh Government should instigate with its partners in the police, CPS and NOMs a study of criminal careers of hate crime offenders in Wales, particularly those that use violence, to understand:

   a. Whether there is an escalation in violent offending over time.
   b. The extent to which hate crime offences are retaliatory or situational, or territorial in nature.
   c. If some hate crime offenders specialise only in hate crime and if so why.
   d. To what extent hate offending is organised.
   e. The relationships between hate crime offending, particularly the commissioning of serious violent offences and the link to extremist groups.
   f. The key narratives of extremist groups linked to offending.
   g. The role of drug and alcohol intoxication in hate crime offending behaviour.
   h. The geographic relationship and proximity of offenders to their victims.

5. Welsh Government should instigate a geographical analysis of all hate crime offences to establish where in Wales hotspots for hate crime offending exist, and then to instigate place-based studies of selected hotspots in order to develop a more thickly descriptive account of what is happening in these areas.

6. Based on Recommendation 3 above, to develop from this study a set of monitored interventions appropriate to different hate crime categories, to de-escalate hate offending, the harm caused by it and improve reporting of it in those areas.

7. Welsh Government and Welsh police forces should explore the use of restorative justice interventions for less violent/serious hate crime offenders as a possible way of preventing progression in hate crime careers and reducing victim impact.

8. Welsh Government with its partners should seek to establish wider and deeper third-party hate crime reporting mechanisms, particularly with

regard to disability hate crime and other minority hate crime sectors, coupled with appropriate publicity, training and awareness campaigns

9. Related to Recommendations 4 and 5 above, Welsh Government should consider with its partners how the police and other official bodies interface with 'groups' rather than individuals acting in this area, in order to strengthen local targeted action and opposition to hate crime in areas of most concern in Wales. It is particularly important that partnership delivery is focused on essential 'bridging' activities that bring people together from different communities in a meaningful way, in order to demystify the narratives of difference.

APPENDIX 1

1. Keyword Search

Hate crime
Prejudice crime
Bias crime
Harassment
Hate crime offenders
Hate crime motivations:

- race; racially motivated; racially aggravated crime; racial aggravation; racial; black; asian; minority ethnic; Islamic; Islamophobia; anti-Muslim; Paki-bashing; immigrants; gypsy traveller;
- gender identity; sexual orientation; gay; homophobic; lesbian; transgender; bi-sexual; transphobic (need to exclude DV) gender-based violence; honour crime;
- religious; belief; Islamophobia; anti-Semitism;
- disability-related; ageism;
- online harassment; online bullying; cyber-harassment; cyber bullying; trolling;
- far-right extremism; extreme far-right groups; neo-Nazis; religious extremism; and
- 'shame-rage traps'; in-group; outgroup; intolerance; anger, culture of hate/bigotry.

Literature Review Summary (Databases and Journals)

Database search results ('relevant' results include all of those ranked 1-4.)

The results of the search procedures are listed below by database source. Where there was a nil return for a search term, this is not listed below. The figures in brackets indicate the second wave of filtering where the studies identified were assessed against the relevance criterion.

PsycInfo (searching all PsycInfo databases)
- 'Hate crime': 411 results including several articles that appear more than once (24 relevant).
- 'Disability hate crime': four results (two relevant).
- 'Bigotry': 496 results – no apparent relevance, narrowed search terms.
- 'Bigotry crime': one result (none relevant).

Campbell Collaboration
- No results on any search terms including: hate crime, prejudice crime, bias crime, hate crime offenders, hate crime motivations, bigotry, harassment, racial crime, disability crime, transgender crime, online hate crime.

Home Office
- 'Hate crime': 39 results (two relevant).
- 'Harassment': 9 results (none relevant).

JSTOR
- 'Hate crime offenders': five results (none relevant).
- 'Hate crime' offenders: 44 results (none relevant).
- 'Hate crime': 383 results (one relevant).
- 'Transgender crime': 64 results (none relevant).

IBSS
- 'Hate crime': 280 results – narrowed search.
- 'Prejudice crime': 148 results (14 relevant).
- 'Hate crime motivation': 21 results (20 relevant).
- 'Hate crime offenders': 25 results.
- 'Gay hate crime': 27 results (20 relevant).
- 'Internet hate crime': 22 results.
- 'Transgender hate crime': 20 results.

European Human Rights Commission
- 'Hate crime': 385 results – narrowed search terms.
- 'Hate crime motivation': 83 results (two relevant)
- 'Hate crime offenders': 117 results (two relevant, as above)
- Overall, the various searches on the EHRC website returned publications and documents centred around a variety of issues including hate crime, gender identity, disability, transgender hate crime and bullying but there was no significant mention of hate crime perpetrators save for the announcement of a research study into the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders – the published report for which was later found (authored by Iganski and Smith 2011).

Lexis Library
- 'Hate crime': three results (none relevant).

NCJRS
- 'Hate crime': 263 results.

- 'Hate crime motivation': four results (four relevant).
- 'Hate crime offenders': two results (two relevant).

Oxford Scholarship Online (Political Science)
- 'Hate crime offenders': six results (none relevant).
- 'Disability hate crime': eight results (none relevant).
- 'Hate crime motivations': 60 results (none relevant).

Westlaw UK
- 'Hate crime': 1,053 results (311 cases, six legislation, 678 journals, one current awareness, 57 EU).
- 'Hate crime motivation': 164 results (27 cases – none relevant, 133 journals, four EU).
- 'Hate crime offenders': 211 results (51 cases, two legislation, 147 journals, 11 EU).

Swetswise (incorporating relevant/listed journals)
- 'Hate crime': 234 results – some repetition of earlier searches, narrowed search.
- 'Disability hate crime': five results (one relevant).
- 'Hate crime offenders': five results (four relevant).

British Journal of Criminology
- 'Hate crime': 39 results.
- 'Hate crime offenders': three results.

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