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Hate Crime: Insights into the context, setting and prevalence.

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Introduction

This chapter presents a systematic review conducted as part of a wider empirical study that sought to inform operational police practice in terms of identifying and addressing hate crime. The systematic review was conducted and guided by The PRISMA guidelines (Prisma, 2009), with PsycINFO, Medline, Cochrane Library and ERIC being used to source existing literature. Analysis of the existing literature generated four themes with a series of subthemes, offering insight into the context, setting and prevalence of Hate Crime. In doing so, it revealed the complexity of this crime type. The themes presented in this chapter are:

- *Theme 1: Nature and Extent of Hate Crime;*
- *Theme 2: Perpetrators of Hate Crime;*
- *Theme 3: Victims of Hate Crime;*
- *Theme 4: Reporting and Recording Hate Crimes/Incidents.*

First the background to this crime type is presented, accounting for the theoretical positions that can be used to understand Hate Crime in meaningful way for, in particular, practitioners, before moving onto a detailed description of these themes.

Background

Globally, there has been a trend in rising levels of hate incidents. In the United States, 7,175 hate crime incidents involving 8,437 offences were reported in 2017 which was a 5.9% increase from the previous year according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (Justice, 2017). In the United Kingdom there were 94,098 hate crime offences recorded by police in England and Wales in 2017/2018, an increase of 17% compared with the previous year (Hambly, Rixom, Singh & Wedlake, 2018). While in Australia, between the years 2013-2016, 1,050 cases were recorded as bias crime, suspected bias crime or bias incidents in New South Wales, Australia (Mason, 2019). However, these figures may not fully represent the true extent of hate crime as it is widely acknowledged that hate crime is underreported (Pezzella, Fetzer & Keller, 2019) and that there are problems with the identification and categorisation (Mason, 2017). Thus, policing and prosecuting perpetrators, as well as supporting victims of hate crime is an

unyielding challenge (Giannasi, 2015). Regardless, scholars have argued the increase in hate crime is reflective of significant social problems within society (Chakraborti, 2018).

Defining and Theorising Hate Crime

There are multiple complexities in defining hate crime. First, definitions vary. A broad definition is that "a hate-motivated crime is one that was motivated in whole or in part, by a bias" (Roberts, 1995, pp. 6). However, whilst this definition provides a starting point for defining this crime types, it does not offer any clarification about what types of behaviours constitute hate crimes or who is at risk of hate crime. Indeed, it has been argued that there is no clear consensus about the characteristics of hate crime (Garland, 2012). Adding to the complexity of defining hate crime is whether Police forces use an exclusive definition, whereby the crime must be solely based on protected characteristics, or whether a lower threshold is used, as this is likely to impact on hate crime reporting data (Roberts, 1995). Within the UK, the College of Policing (2014: 2) define hate crime as any crime or incident where the perpetrator's hostility or prejudice against an identifiable group of people is a factor in determining who is victimised. Five strands of hate crime are identified including disability, race, religion, sexual orientation and transgender status. There is some suggestion that this might marginalise other groups such as the homeless, sex workers, the elderly and foreign nationals, despite their vulnerability and experiences of hate and prejudice, because of their perceived difference (Chakraborti, 2015a). It could, therefore, be argued that this jeopardises the principle of equality (Mason, 2015) and creates a victim hierarchy (Walters, Brown & Wiedlitzka, 2016). Marginalising less visible targets who may not have the means or opportunity to share their experiences certainly limits any true conceptualisation of this crime.

Intersectionality, which describes the overlap between social correlates such as race, class and gender, which can create disadvantage and discrimination, also impacts on the way that hate crime is viewed and reported. Hate crime legislation does not consider the fact that a victim may be targeted on the basis of one or more aspect of their identity or lifestyle. Evidencing intersecting prejudices can serve to confuse the recording of hate crime (Walters, Brown & Wiedlitzka, 2016). The potential diversity in victim experience, as a result of characteristic intersectionality, is also often overlooked (Mason-Bish, 2015). However, discreet categorisation has allowed the law to recognise crimes of hate and prejudice (Mason, 2015). Without this approach there would be no guidance for the criminal justice system.

There are various theories that attempt to provide an explanation for hate crime. Hierarchy and power dynamics form a common theme within the hate crime literature. For example, Perry (2001, pp. 10) defines hate crime as "a mechanism of power, intended to reaffirm the precarious hierarchies that characterise a given social order". However, to view hate crimes in the context of subordination may be an overstate (Chakraborti, 2015b). It obscures more spontaneous actions and suggests that members of a dominant group can only ever be offenders and members of a minority group can only be victims, which is not reflective of the complexity of hate crime (Hall, 2015). Furthermore, the motivation for hate crime by perpetrators may not solely be about dominance, but may be reflective of other emotions, beliefs and experiences, such as disconnection, alienation and feeling abused (Rabrenovic, 2007). Therefore, other theories and approaches should be considered. Individual level explanations of hate crime highlight the concept of the authoritarian personality and how prejudicial attitudes and beliefs towards minority groups develop because these groups are perceived as a challenge to normality (Walters et al., 2016). Similarly, *Social Dominance Theory* (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, cited in Walters et al., 2016) highlights how those who covet social dominance tend to believe their 'ingroup' is superior to others and thus they are more prejudiced towards other groups.

It has also been suggested that hate crime may arise from intergroup conflict as a result of competing for resources (Rabrenovic, 2007). *Strain Theory* (Merton, 1968, cited in Walters, 2011) gives support to this, as this theory argues that deviant behaviour occurs as a result of the strain created when culturally prescribed goals cannot be met legitimately (Walters, 2011). Therefore, hate crime can be seen as a product of economic hardship (Anderson, Dyson & Brookes, 2002). Alternatively, a *Symbolic Interactionism* Approach proposes that people in groups communicate orally and via symbols, with personality and behaviour being shaped through communication and interaction with the group. In this context if the group advocates violence towards a particular minority, the members who display such behaviour (e.g. such as engaging in hate crimes) become highly valued (Anderson et al., 2002). In contrast, *Social Learning* perspectives propose that there is a combination of social and psychological factors that influence behaviour. Aggressive behaviour can be learned by observing and imitating the aggressive behaviour of others. Reinforcement can then inform and incentivise this behaviour (Bandura, 1977). Within the context of hate crime, hatred and prejudice thus becomes learnt (Anderson et al., 2002), with factors such as family, religion, economy, government and education having an impact.

The chapter now moves on to present the findings from systematic review. The aim of the review was to identify and review published studies examining the causes of hate crime and subsequent risk factors evidenced by the perpetrators and victims associated with this crime type.

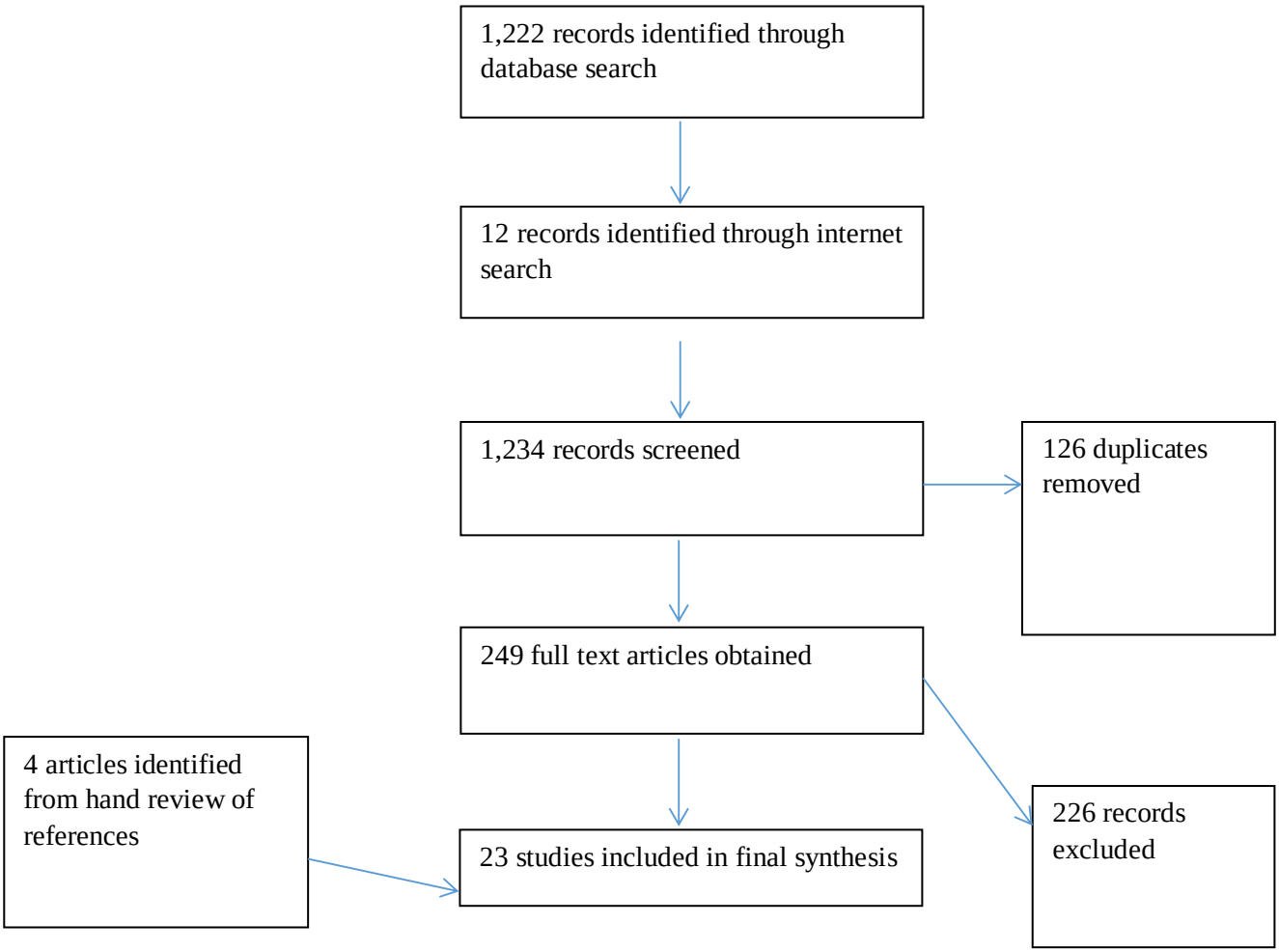
A Systematic Review: Explaining the approach and framework

A systematic literature review was conducted adhering to the relevant sections of the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Review (PRISMA, 2009). Searches were completed using the following databases: ERIC, PsycINFO, MEDLINE and COCHRANE library. These databases were selected because of their relevance to the area of hate crime. The search procedure used the following abstract terms: *Hate Crime OR Prejudice Crime OR Bias Crime AND Triggers AND Causes AND Antecedents OR Risk Factors OR Risk Assessment OR Risk Screening.* Synonyms and Boolean operators were then added. The search was limited to words that were included in the abstract. No date limits were set.

Additional internet searches were undertaken, as was a hand review of the reference lists from identified articles to find additional studies for inclusion. Articles were excluded if they were not full text, if they were not available in the English language or if they were non-empirical (i.e. narrative and review papers). Papers identified from the literature search were initially screened by examining titles and abstracts. Following this, all full text articles that met the inclusion criteria were assessed for eligibility.

A total of 1,222 article hits were returned. Internet searches were conducted which returned 12 article hits. Once duplicates were removed, 1,108 article abstracts were screened for relevance. Abstracts were marked as either relevant, maybe relevant, or not relevant. Those marked as not relevant were given a code based on its reason; (1) abstract only; (2) unrelated topic; (3) secondary source/narrative/ review. This resulted in 249 full text articles obtained in full copy formats and reviewed for further screening. A more in-depth inspection of the articles was performed for each of the full text articles. In addition to the reasons for exclusion for the abstract screening, the full text articles were also marked as not being included if they were: (4) not available in the English language. This resulted in 19 articles being identified for the review based on the search criteria. The references of these 19 studies were hand-searched, resulting in a further four studies being identified. As a result, 23 papers were included in the synthesis. Figure 1 outlines the process.

Figure 1: PRISMA Flow chart of included studies.



Thematic Synthesis

A thematic synthesis of the included studies was conducted to identify patterns within the data, following the techniques outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). Each subtheme is presented with a percentage. This represented the proportion of studies from the systematic review which related to that issue.

Findings

From the systematic review, four themes emerged, each theme is presented below containing a series of sub themes in order to provide insights into the context, setting and prevalence of hate crime. As a result, the existing literature can be used to inform police practice with regards to this crime type.

Theme 1: Nature and Extent of Hate Crime

Hate crime offences vary in nature (39%)

Several studies highlighted that physical assault, verbal abuse/threats and property damage were the most frequently reported offences (Czajkoski, 1992; Barnes & Ephross, 1994; Dunbar, 2003; McMahon, West, Lewis, Armstrong & Conway, 2004; Chakraborti, Garland & Hardy, 2014; Paterson, Walters, Brown & Fearn, 2018; Mason 2019). Within the reviewed studies, it was also reported that racial hate crimes and sexual orientation hate crimes were more likely to be directed against the person, whereas religious hate crimes were more likely to be directed against property (Roberts, 1995; Cheng, Ickes & Kenworthy, 2013).

Hate crime areas are not localised (30%)

The home or public area (e.g. street) were the most common locations for victimisation (McDevitt, Balboni, Garcia & Gu, 2001; McMahon, et al., 2004; Mason, 2005; Tiby, 2007; Chakraborti, et al., 2014; Williams & Tregidga, 2014; Walters et al., 2018). It was also reported that victimisation occurred in other areas, such as the workplace, via telephone/internet or SMS text and on public transport (Mason, 2005; Tiby, 2007; Chakraborti, et al., 2014). In one study it was noted that the location of the hate crime had a significant impact on how the incident affected the victim, particularly if it occurred in or near their home (Chakraborti, et al., 2014).

Race informing perpetration and/or victimisation (48%)

Hate crimes/incidents based on race were typically the most common occurrence (McMahon, et al., 2004; Iganski, Dixon, Kielinger, Mason, Jack, Perry, 2011; Walters & Krasodomski-Jones, 2018). Several studies showed that ethnicity of hate crime perpetrators was more likely to be white (Czajkoski, 1992; Dunbar, 2003; Dunbar, Quinones, & Crevecoeur, 2005; Herek, Cogan & Gillis, 2002; Jolliffeiffe & Farrington, 2019) and that hate crime against black victims was higher than any other race hate crimes (Roberts, 1995; Cheng et al., 2013).

It was also reported that white perpetrators consistently committed more hate crimes against black victims than against any other racial group. Black perpetrators also consistently committed more hate crimes against white victims (Cheng et al., 2013). However, these findings should be interpreted with caution as they may reflect reporting bias.

One study (Dunbar et al., 2005) also identified that racially motivated offenders had more extensive criminal histories than those who committed offences based on religious bias. They also had significantly more severe histories of violence.

Theme 2: Perpetrators of Hate Crime

Men are more likely to be potential hate perpetrators (41%)

Numerous studies showed that men were more likely to commit or be accused of committing hate crime (Czajkoski, 1992; Herek et al., 2002; Dunbar, et al., 2005; Mason, 2005; Tiby, 2007; Iganski et al., 2011; Roxell, 2011; Chakraborti, et al., 2014; Walters et al., 2018).

Hate perpetrators are more likely to be younger (22%)

Perpetrators were more likely to be teenagers or younger adults below the age of 35 (Herek, et al., 2002; Iganski et al., 2011; Roxell, 2011, Chakraborti, et al., 2014; Jolliffe et al., 2019). However, there was evidence that when compared to non-hate crime violent offenders, violent hate crime offenders were significantly older (Jolliffe et al., 2019).

Perpetrators may have pre-existing antisocial tendencies and/or mental health/trauma issues (17%)

Antisocial tendencies reflect behaviours that are not in keeping with societal norms, such as unemployment, offending and substance misuse. Within the literature there was some evidence that perpetrators were likely to have prior criminal convictions (Dunbar, 2003; Dunbar et al., 2005; Jolliffe et al., 2019) and were unemployed (Dunbar, 2003; Iganski et al., 2011). It was also reported that hate crime offenders who committed offences based on racial hatred had more extensive and violent criminal histories. (Dunbar et al,, 2005). One study found that over half of hate crime perpetrators had a history of substance misuse and nearly one in four had had psychiatric treatment (Dunbar, 2003). There was also evidence of maladjustment specifically parental separation and/or domestic violence within the family history (Dunbar, 2003; Dunbar et al., 2005).

Perpetrators are unlikely to belong to a hate group or be hate crime specialists (18%)

Although only two studies reported on hate groups, there was evidence that only a small number of offenders were part of hate-orientated gangs or groups (Dunbar, 2003; Dunbar et al., 2005). Two studies (Roxell, 2011; Jolliffe et al., 2019) noted that hate crime offenders were unlikely to be specialists who committed only hate motivated crime.

Hate crime as a uni-or-multiple perpetrator offence (30%)

Although some studies found that hate crimes were generally committed by one suspect/perpetrator (Tiby, 2007; Roxell, 2011; Walters et al., 2018), some studies showed that multiple perpetrators were often involved (McDevitt, et al., 2001; Herek, et al., 2002, Dunbar, 2003; Chakraborti, et al., 2014). Those experiencing sexual violence were more likely than others to state that the offence had been committed by one perpetrator (Chakraborti, et al., 2014).

Hate crime as a multifaceted motivated event (9%)

Only two studies made reference to perpetrator motivation. McDevitt, Levin & Bennett (2002), for example, found four primary motivations, which they described as thrill seeking, defensive, mission and retaliatory. Perpetrators motivated by thrill seeking were described as having a desire to be powerful and committed their crimes for excitement, whereas perpetrators whose motivation was defensive were described as trying to protect their 'turf' and protect against perceived threats. Mission perpetrators were reported as being motivated to 'rid the world of evil' and retaliatory motivated perpetrators as attempting to avenge a perceived wrong. In a later study by Dunbar (2003) it was reported that when one or more signifiers of racial bias motivation were present (e.g. membership to a hate group) the nature of aggression was more instrumental and planned, with instrumentally aggressive perpetrators typically seeking social dominance, rather than monetary or material gain.

Theme 3: Victims of Hate Crime

Men are more likely to be identified as victims (26%)

According to several studies, men were generally more likely to be the victims of hate crime (Czajkoski, 1992; Herek, Gillis & Cogan, 1999; Tiby, 2007; Chakraborti, et al., 2014; Mason, 2019). However, one study (Mason, 2005) found that although men were more likely to report racial and homophobic incidents as a whole, in their sample, victims of racial incidents were more likely to be women, whereas men were more likely to be victims of homophobic incidents.

Hate crime victims are likely to be adults (17%)

There was little information reported relating to victim age, but one study reported that most hate crimes were committed by adults against adults (Czajkoski, 1992). Another found the mean age of victims was 35 (Walters et al., 2018), with Mason (2019) reporting victims were aged between 30-65 years. It may be that victim age differs depending on the type of hate crime. Although generalisations cannot be made, one study found that those reporting harassment tended to be older than those reporting hate crime as a whole (Mason, 2005).

Hate crime victims identifying as homosexual are most at risk (22%)

Several studies showed that victims identifying as homosexual were more likely to experience hate crime and targeted hostility (Roberts, 1995; Herek, et al., 1999; Cheng et al., 2013; Chakraborti, et al, 2014, Mahoney, Davies & Scurlock-Evans, 2015). One study reported that hate crimes against male victims who identified as homosexual victims were significantly higher than hate crimes against female victims who identified as homosexual (Cheng et al., 2013).

Victims identifying as Muslim may be more likely to be victims of hate crime (17%)

Although evidence is limited, some studies reported that victims who identified as Muslim were more likely to be targeted (Cheng et al., 2013; Chakraborti, et al., 2014, Walters, et al., 2018; Mason, 2019) and to cite their religion as the reason for their victimisation (Chakraborti, et al., 2014).

Pre-existing relationships between victims and perpetrators (35%)

Although some studies found that perpetrators were more likely to be strangers (McDevitt, et al., 2001; Herek, et al., 2002; Williams et al., 2014), numerous found that perpetrators were often known to the victim (Mason, 2005; Tiby, 2007; Roxell, 2011; Chakraborti et al., 2014). In one study it was reported that disabled victims were more likely to know the perpetrator, with neighbour reported as the most common relationship when the perpetrator was known (Walters et al., 2018). Dunbar (2003) further reported that offenders of multiple perpetrator hate crimes were less likely to have a prior relationship with the victim(s).

Evidence of repeated victimisation (17%)

Several studies reported that there was evidence that repeat or ongoing victimisation was common (Barnes & Ephross, 1994; Mason, 2005; Chakraborti, et al., 2014; Paterson et al., 2018).

Negative impacts on victims and the wider community (34%)

Several studies revealed that there was a significant psychological impact for those experiencing hate crimes, including increased anger, fear and vulnerability (Herek, et al., 1999; McDevitt, et al., 2001; Chakraborti, et al., 2014; Paterson, et al., 2018). It was reported that this often led to behavioural changes, such as increasing personal safety, avoiding areas or changing appearance (Barnes et al., 1994; Simich et al., 2018; Chakraborti, et al., 2014). Two studies found that those experiencing transgender or disability crime were significantly more likely to experience both psychological impacts and physical reactions, including depression and suicidality (Chakraborti, et al., 2014; Williams et al., 2014). In addition, it was recognised that the effects of hate crime were likely to reach beyond victim and potentially have a negative impact on other members of society who identify with the victims. A study by Paterson et al., (2018), for example, found that even indirect experience of hate crime victimisation could lead to feelings of anger and vulnerability.

Theme 4: Reporting and Recording Hate Crimes/Incidents

Reporting differs based on the nature of the hate crime and the experience of the victim(s)(17%)

It was evident that only a small portion of hate crime victims reported the incident to the Police (Chakraborti et al., 2014; Simich et al., 2018), although hate crimes deemed serious were more likely reported (Roxell, 2011; Chakraborti, et al., 2014). One study also found that older victims were more likely to report the crime, with previous victims less likely to report another hate crime (Paterson, et al., 2018). Victims were slightly less likely to report if the perpetrator was known to them in some way (Simich et al., 2018).

Lack of confidence in an official response (17%)

The primary reason for not reporting was a belief that the Police would not take action and/or that they would not take the incident seriously (Chakraborti, et al., 2014; Simich et al., 2018). While there is evidence that some victims were dissatisfied with the Police response, there was also evidence that when victims do engage with the Police, they rate their experience positively (Chakraborti, et al., 2014). However, misreporting of hate crime by Police was identified as an issue in some studies, with hate crime motivation being neglected or not fully representative of the offence (Czajkoski, 1992; McMahon, et al., 2004; Simich et al., 2018).

Discussion

This chapter has examined the context, setting and prevalence of Hate Crime. In doing so, it can help inform police practice with regards to the nature and extent of offending along with providing some direction concerning who are involved in such offences. As a result, several themes of interest for the profession have emerged, which will be presented here. These include diversity, definition and reporting practice, a role for race, accounting for perpetrator and victim characteristics and the support required, recognising pre-existing relationships in the perpetrator-victim relationship, remaining mindful that hate crime can occur anywhere and be motivated by several and sometimes shared reasons, whilst also being attentive to an evolving literature base.

The results from the systematic review reflect the diversity of hate crime and how *hate crime offences vary in nature*, with crimes ranging from physical assault, to vandalism of property. There was also evidence highlighting differences in how hate crime is targeted, with racial and sexual orientation hate crimes reported as more likely to be directed against the person and religious hate crimes more likely to be directed against property. Further research is needed to explore these differences to determine whether they are a genuine reflection of victim experiences and, if so, why these differences occur, or whether these differences are more reflective of reporting and recording issues concerning hate crime. In terms of practice, it is important that those working with victims and perpetrators appreciate the subtleties and variety of forms that hate crime can comprise and, in doing so, can properly identify and address it.

Race was reported as a significant factor informing *perpetration and/or victimisation* of hate crime. There are no clear explanations for this, although a range of factors including intolerance, perceived threat, insecurity and strain, as well as vulnerability may be relevant. It is likely that the significance of race is multi-layered and as more is learned about hate crime perpetration and victimisation a better understanding may be gained. In the meantime although the reasons why race is significant may not be fully understood, it is important that this factor is accounted for since it has implications for the coordination of resources and the development of hate crime prevention strategies.

Being male, young and white were clearly highlighted as *perpetrator characteristics* within several studies. There was some evidence that perpetrators were more likely to be unemployed and have a history of offending, substance misuse, psychiatric treatment and a family history of domestic violence or parental separation. In addition, there was evidence that

perpetrators were unlikely to be specialists in hate crime offences and that only a small number belonged to hate motivated groups. The age-crime curve is a well-established relationship within the literature, with criminal behaviour typically peaking in adolescence and young adulthood (Roque, Pusnick & Hoyle, 2016), with the general profile of offenders tending to be young males (Iganski et al., 2011). Many of the characteristics identified in this review are already commonly explored in structured risk assessments for violent offenders (Douglas, Hart, Webster & Belfrage, 2013). It may therefore be useful to consider how resources can be utilised to target at risk of perpetrating hate crime, to support deterrence and desistance. However, it is also important that in identifying prevalent or typical characteristics, other types of perpetrators such as women, are not overlooked. Further research is needed with perpetrators to better understand the realities of hate crime in relation to perpetrator characteristics.

From the studies reviewed the most likely *victim characteristics* were reported as being male, black, homosexual, Muslim or disabled. Interestingly, victims perceived that they were often targeted based on more than one aspect of their identity or lifestyle. Identifying victim characteristics is undoubtedly important in order to focus resources and support crime prevention measures by the Police. However, further investigation is required, particularly in relation to hidden victims who may not feel or be able to report their experiences, and accounting for intersectionality in victim characteristics.

The evidence with regards to *pre-existing relationships between victims and perpetrators* was unclear. Some studies reported that perpetrators of hate crime were likely to have some degree of acquaintance with the victim(s), whilst others reported perpetrators were more likely to be strangers. Problems with the recording and reporting of hate crimes including misreporting, fear and mistrust and may provide some explanation for why there is inconclusive evidence about the relationship between victims and perpetrators. Equally, there could just be diversity in the relationship that is not always accounted for. It is important that Police are sensitive to this, the potential impact any pre-existing relationship may have on victims and their willingness to report their experiences to an investigating officer.

Hate crimes areas were not localised with the studies reviewed reporting offences occurring in a range of places. This would suggest that it would not be effective to try and localise Police resources. There was also some evidence that victim impact differs depending on location, with some studies indicating that impact was more significant when incidents took place in or near the home. It may be that if victims perceive the home and the surrounding area

as a safe personal space, the violation experienced as a result of an attack in this location intensifies psychological and emotional the trauma following the incident. It may be useful for Police to be particularly attuned to this so that they can enhance proactive signposting to victim support agencies.

The review also identified a relative paucity of research concerning the motivation for hate crime. One study identified four motivations, thrill seeking, desire to defend, retaliation and mission. Another reported that the more planned and aggressive hate crime perpetrators are typically seeking social dominance. However, this does not explain hate crimes where exploitation is a central motivation (Hamad, 2017). It is therefore likely that hate crime is *a multifaceted motivated event*, particularly as intersecting prejudices may be present. Establishing perpetrator motivation is likely difficult, particularly when the perpetrator(s) is unknown. However, awareness of these different typologies may support Police in their questioning of victim(s) and any suspected perpetrator(s), as they seek to support a potential prosecution. It would be useful for future research to explore whether motivation varies for different types of hate crime, as this may support hate crime detection, interventions and rehabilitation.

There was evidence in the studies that some victims experienced greater *frequency of victimisation*. This may be because victims are unable or unwilling to seek help, perhaps due to normalisation of hate crime or other factors, such as lack of trust in the Police. Alternatively, it may be that the action taken by the Police is insufficient in preventing further victimisation. Understanding why frequent victimisation occurs is important if hate crime incidents are to be reduced. Maintaining awareness that a victim may have experienced victimisation in the past and that the perpetrator may have committed previous offences, may assist Police in their investigations and help offer some insight into what influences hate crime re-victimisation.

The *impact of victimisation* was reported within the studies as significant. It involved negative psychological and behavioural affects, sometimes reaching beyond the victim to the wider community. These affects included increased anger, fear and vulnerability, changes in routine and personal safety and, within the transgender and disabled community, higher rates of depression and suicidality. It is therefore essential that efforts are made to appropriately support victims of hate crime to try and limit the negative impact of their experiences. This should inform the approach the Police take when working with victims of hate crime. Indeed, it has been suggested that hate crime victims should not be subjected to unnecessary or intrusive

questioning by the Police in order to prevent secondary victimisation (European Commission, 2017). Ensuring that all Police consistently refer victims to support agencies, and that there is a commitment to evaluating the effectiveness of such support could assist with this.

There are clear gaps within the literature around motivations for hate crime, the official response to hate crime and the treatment of hate crime perpetrators. Further research into perpetrator and victim characteristics is also needed. Without this, the true picture of hate crime will remain unclear and it is unlikely that hate crime policies, initiatives and procedures will be fully effective as they are unable to capture the evolving nature of such crime. Utilising other sources of data, such as Court judgements, may also prove useful in addressing some of the deficits in the literature.

Problems with *recording and reporting of hate crimes* were evident in the studies were reviewed. Serious hate crimes were more likely to be reported and older victims were more likely to report their experiences. However, victims who had experienced previous hate crimes or hate incidents were less likely to report another hate crime. This remained the case if the perpetrator was known to the victim. Reasons for not reporting included lack of belief in the Police and normalisation of hate crime. For some victims who do report, there was evidence of dissatisfaction with the response received, which may reinforce negative beliefs about the Police and reduce motivation to report further crimes. Misreporting of hate crime by Police was also identified as a problem. This has serious implications since accurate reporting is crucial to understanding and responding effectively to hate crime (Roberts et al., 2013). It has been recognised that if the Police are proactive and focus on delivering services that meet the needs of victims, victims can be supported to disclose (College of Policing, 2014). Working with local communities to build positive relationships and encourage hate crime reporting, as well as supporting Police to recognise and understand the complexities of hate crimes through additional training, may be valuable strategies to address some of the reporting issues.

Although hate crime is under reported and under recorded, it is clear that victim experiences are diverse and that the impact of victimisation has significantly negative consequences. There is some information about who perpetrates hate crime, where they perpetrate it and why, but further research is needed in relation to both perpetrators and victims to enhance understanding and inform interventions and policy.

What remains clear is that Police play a central role in addressing hate crime, in all aspects of prevention, disruption and reduction. It is important that they are appropriately

resourced for dealing with hate crime, perhaps with specific police investigation teams dedicated to dealing with this. Furthermore, ensuring Police receive the specialist training needed will be crucial in ensuring they remain confident in recognising hate crime and feel able to effectively support victims. Evidence informed structured assessments, which highlight risk indicators, may therefore represent an important addition in assisting Police identify suspects and potential victims.

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