

Equality and Human Rights Commission
Research report 102

Causes and motivations of hate crime

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Introduction

This report is the result of work commissioned by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC, hereafter the Commission) on the causes and perpetration of hate crime in Great Britain. The Commission seeks to understand the causes and motivations of hate crime perpetration for the different protected characteristics included as ‘strands’ under current hate crime legislation:

- Race
- Religion
- Sexual orientation
- Disability
- Transgender

This is the first time that evidence and emerging insights on the causes and perpetration of hate crime has been brought together in this way, with insights from the law, policy and social science.

This work complements the Commission’s other evidence-led work to understand effective levers, tactics and intervention approaches, to respond to and reduce identity-based harassment and violence. This report provides an oversight of the evidence on hate crime with the intention to inform criminal justice agencies in their approach and use of preventative measures.

Content of report

This research report sets out an overview of the current evidence base on hate crime causation and perpetrator motivation.

Defining hate crime

We begin the report by briefly setting out the operational and legal definitions of hate crime, which are currently recognised across England and Wales, and Scotland,

before looking more closely at the nature and dynamics of hate-motivated victimisation (including both hate incidents and hate crimes).

Here we highlight a number of complexities, in both defining and dealing with hate crime, which practitioners are likely to come across when determining whether an incident should be recorded as a 'hate crime' or 'hate incident'. These include the fact that perpetrators' levels of prejudice can differ depending on context, as can the strength of the causal link between perpetrators' prejudiced attitudes and the offences that they commit. We note also that perpetrators' prejudiced attitudes towards different protected characteristics can sometimes intersect and overlap with one another, thereby making determinations as to what 'strand' (or 'strands') of hate crime has been committed sometimes difficult (for example, race, religion, sexual orientation, disability, transgender).

Patterns of hate crime

Next the report reviews a number of research studies which show how hate crimes can sometimes form part of an ongoing process of victimisation that often makes up part of a victim's everyday experiences of prejudice. This can present as a persistent build-up of targeted hostility, rather than single substantial incidents. We highlight here that a significant proportion of hate crimes are committed by perpetrators who are known to the victim. These motivational and situational factors can sometimes complicate decisions about how an incident should be addressed by justice agencies. To aid practitioners tasked with responding to hate crime we set out common types of incidents that have been shown to occur in communities, along with typical social/situational characteristics, victim–perpetrator relationships and levels of prejudice and causal links for each of these types (see Table 1.2 below).

Processes of hate crime

The main part of the report sets out contemporary explanations of prejudice-motivated conduct from various arms of the social sciences in order to help practitioners understand why perpetrators commit hate crimes, and in turn how they can best address their causes.

Based on reviews of the academic research on this topic, we found that explanations of hate crime can be split into two broad categories:

1. Social psychological: we focus here on the role of intergroup emotions and how perceived threat (for example, to socioeconomic wellbeing or to cultural values) may be linked to hate crime.

2. Structural: we explore a number of structural factors which may impact on hate crime, including how certain social processes (for example, societal norms and values) and practices (for example, the practices and interventions used by statutory agencies) may actually create a social context in which certain groups in society can become marginalised or stigmatised.

Finally, we explore research on the motivations of different ‘types’ of hate-motivated perpetrators, including for the fast-growing phenomenon of online or cyber hate crime.

We conclude with a summary of the commonalities and differences that research suggests exists across various strands of hate crime before proposing how these insights can be used by practitioners, as well as recommendations for future actions.

Key insights

The key points in this report are as follows:

1. Perpetrators of hate crimes are not always motivated by a single type of prejudice or hatred but can be influenced by a combination of different prejudices.
2. There is no single type of hate crime perpetrator. Research shows that in order to fully understand the nature of hate crime, practitioners need to appreciate that situational factors (that is, location and victim–perpetrator relationships) may differ depending on the type of offence (for example, verbal abuse, harassment etc.) and the type of hate-motivation (for example, homophobic, disablist etc.).
3. There is no single type of hate crime. Research shows that some of the most common types of hate crime involve: 1. Incidents that occur during an ongoing local conflict (for example, between neighbours) that has escalated over time; 2. Incidents that form part of a targeted campaign of abuse directed against certain individuals within a neighbourhood; or 3. Incidents that occur in public spaces and are perpetrated by individuals who feel somehow aggrieved by the victim – sometimes occurring during commercial transactions or on public transport.
4. Hate crimes may also be the product of our social environments. Some researchers assert that hate crimes are more likely to occur where society is structured in such a way as to advantage certain identity characteristics over others (for example, white, male, heterosexual). Systemic discrimination, typically codified into operating procedures, policies or laws,

may give rise to an environment where perpetrators feel a sense of impunity when victimising certain minority group members.

5. Perpetrators of hate crime can be motivated by a variety of different factors. Some research (from the US) suggests that there are four ‘types’ of perpetrators, including: thrill seekers (those motivated by a thrill and excitement); defensive (those motivated by a desire to protect their territory); retaliators (those who act in retaliation for a perceived attack against their own group); and mission (perpetrators who make it their mission in life to eradicate ‘difference’).
6. Cyber hate is a growing phenomenon which, reporting figures suggest, vastly outnumbers offline hate crime. There is some research suggesting that perpetrators of cyber hate crime have similar motivations to those who act offline.
7. Evidence of hate crime causation is not yet conclusive. However, there is some evidence within social psychology to suggest that perpetrators may be influenced by their perception that certain groups pose a **threat** to them. These threats can be divided into ‘realistic threats’ – such as perceived competition over jobs, housing and other resources, and physical harm to themselves or others – and ‘symbolic threats’ which are concerned with the threat posed to people’s values and social norms.
8. Though there are some dissimilarities between types of hate crime, we suggest that most, if not all, hate crimes are linked by perceptions of threat. Threats can be linked to economic stability, access to social/state resources, people’s sense of safety in society, and/or values and social norms.

Some differences in the nature and dynamics of hate crime can be observed across the protected strands. Research suggests that both anti-Lesbian, Gay or Bisexual (LGB) and transphobic hate crime can involve a greater propensity towards physical violence. Disability hate crime evidence shows high levels of sexual violence and property offences. Certain trigger events (such as global terrorist attacks) have been linked to sharp rises in anti-religious hate crime.

Research design

The evidence set out in this report is based on a review of the international literature on the causes of hate crime undertaken within the fields of social psychology and criminology. Online searches of academic research studies were conducted on a

number of library-based research databases (Scopus and ASSIA¹) and via free access internet search engines (Google Scholar). Searches of grey literature (public and civil society sector research reports that have not gone through an academic peer review process) were also carried out on Google. Parts of this report also utilise data directly taken from the lead author's own empirical research on the causes and consequences of hate crime.

As part of the research process, two roundtable events were also held in early 2016 at the Commission, involving a total of 27 experts, policymakers and practitioners working in the field of hate crime. The topics and themes that emerged from these roundtable events were then used to inform the structure of this report.

¹ Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts.

1. What is hate crime?

The term 'hate crime' is widely used in the media and the criminal justice system in Britain. Yet it is not always clear what the term actually means. In particular, differences in opinion have arisen as to what the emotion of 'hate' encapsulates, in what circumstances can hate be attached to criminal offences, and which groups are deserving of special protection from it (Hall, 2013, ch. 1; see Chakraborti and Garland, 2015, ch. 1). While some of these debates continue, it has become clear that the word 'hate' is to a large extent a misnomer. A person who commits a 'hate crime' need not actually be motivated by hatred for his or her victim, but rather it is his or her expression of prejudice or bias against the victim's (presumed) group membership that more properly characterises such crimes (Hall, 2013, ch. 1).

This approach to understanding hate crime is reflected in the criminal justice system's (England and Wales) agreed working definition of hate crime as: 'any criminal offence which is perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice...' (College of Policing, 2014). Currently there are five officially protected characteristics (race, religion, disability, sexual orientation and transgender) that are monitored by the police as 'strands' of hate crime, though a number of police services also monitor hate crimes directed towards members of alternative subcultures, such as goths and punks (for example, Greater Manchester Police, 2014; see Garland, 2010).

In Scotland the police define hate crime slightly differently from the definition used in England and Wales, as a 'crime motivated by malice or ill will towards a social group' – covering the same five protected characteristics listed above (Police Scotland, 2016). Both England and Wales and Scotland also record 'hate incidents' which are defined as '[a]ny non-crime incident which is perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice...' (Police Scotland, 2016; College of Policing, 2014). Again, all five protected characteristics are covered.

Defining hate *crimes* and hate *incidents* allows justice agencies to monitor both criminal activity involving prejudice or hostility and other activities (such as anti-social behaviour) that may not officially amount to a crime (at least when viewed as isolated incidents) but which may result in severe harms, and/or escalate over protracted

periods of time into more serious forms of emotional, sexual and/or physical abuse. Responding to hate incidents therefore enables law enforcement agencies to capture escalation, trends and repeat incidents.

The law

Introduction

Below we provide a brief overview of current hate crime legislation and its development over past years. We summarise those provisions that are now key to understanding when a prejudice-motivated offence has been committed and which are therefore fundamental to the process used by criminal justice practitioners addressing hate crimes.

The law in England/Wales and Scotland

There is no single piece of legislation for hate crime in the UK. During the late 1990s and early 2000s the Government introduced new laws covering hate crime offences. Principal amongst these laws is the **Crime and Disorder Act 1998** (CDA). The CDA does not use the term 'hate crime' but instead proscribes racially and religiously aggravated offences including: assaults, criminal damage, harassment, stalking and several public order offences (ss. 28–32).² Section 28 of the Act (England and Wales only) states:

- (1) An offence is racially or religiously aggravated for the purposes of sections 29 to 32 below if –
 - (a) at the time of committing the offence, or immediately before or after doing so, the perpetrator demonstrates towards the victim of the offence hostility based on the victim's membership (or presumed membership) of a racial or religious group; or
 - (b) the offence is motivated (wholly or partly) by hostility towards members of a racial or religious group based on their membership of that group.

The **Criminal Justice Act 2003** (England and Wales) additionally provides for sentencing provisions that allow for enhanced penalties where there is evidence that

² Note also that the EU Framework Decision (2008/913/JHA) on combating racism and xenophobia through criminal law in 2008 obligates member states to legislate for racist and xenophobic crimes and to treat this type of hate-motivation as an aggravating factor at sentencing. The Framework Decision only requires racist and xenophobic motivation to be treated as an aggravating feature, not 'hate' generally.

proves the perpetrator demonstrated hostility towards the victim based on the victim's (presumed) race or religion (s. 145), disability, sexual orientation or based on the victim being (presumed) to be transgender (s. 146), or the offence was (partly) motivated by hostility towards persons who have those protected characteristics.³

Hate crime laws in Scotland have some slight differences from those in England and Wales. Section 50A of the **Criminal Law (Consolidation) (Scotland) Act 1995** creates the offence of 'racially aggravated harassment'. All other racially aggravated offences are dealt with under section 96 of the CDA, which states when the court must take the aggravation into consideration at sentencing. The **Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003** separately covers religiously aggravated offences (s. 74), while disability, sexual orientation and transgender aggravation are covered under the **Offences (Aggravation by Prejudice) (Scotland) Act 2009** (ss. 1 and 2).

Hate speech

The United Kingdom has a duty under EU law to legislate against the incitement of hatred directed towards a group of people or member of the group defined by reference to race, colour, religion, descent or national or ethnic origin.⁴

In England/Wales and Scotland, section 18 of the **Public Order Act 1986** (POA) prohibits the use of words or behaviours that are 'threatening, abusive or insulting' and that are intended 'to stir up racial hatred' or where 'having regard to all the circumstances, racial hatred is likely to be stirred up thereby'. Section 29B of the POA proscribes 'threatening words or behaviour' intended to stir up religious hatred⁵ or hatred on the grounds of sexual orientation⁶ (England and Wales only).

In Scotland section 6 of the **Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Act 2012** provides a separate offence of communicating material that is capable of being read, looked at, watched or listened to which is intended to stir up religious hatred.⁷

³ Note that all racially and religiously aggravated offences (*other* than those prescribed under ss. 29–32 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998) should be dealt with at sentencing under s. 145 of the Criminal Justice Act 2003.

⁴ EU Framework Decision (2008/913/JHA). See also the recent 2016 ECRI General Policy Recommendation No. 15 on combating hate speech.

⁵ Inserted by sch 1, para 1 of the Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006.

⁶ Inserted by sch 16 para 6(2) of the Criminal Justice and Immigration Act 2008.

⁷ Note there are separate football-related hate speech offences in both England and Wales and Scotland, see Football (Offences) Act 1991 (England and Wales), s. 3 'racialist chanting'; Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Act 2012, s. 1 'Offensive behaviour at regulated football matches'.

This patchwork of hate crime provisions has left disability and transgender hatred outside the scope of the stirring up of hatred offences in both jurisdictions,⁸ while in Scotland the stirring up of hatred based on sexual orientation remains absent from the legislation (see Figures 1 and 2 in appendix⁹ for a visual representation of what is covered by current hate crime legislation in England/Wales and Scotland). We are left with a complex framework of criminal law and sentencing provisions for hostility-based offences in both jurisdictions which has resulted in uneven legislative protection across the five strands of hate crime (Law Commission, 2014). A full-scale review of the impact of the differential legislation was recommended by the Law Commission in their 2014 report.

Unequal protection

The five recognised strands of hate crime are not equally protected in law in either England and Wales or Scotland, for both the aggravated offences and the stirring up of hatred offences. This is potentially problematic for the effective prosecution of hate crime. Several critics have suggested that this may result in an unintended message being sent to the public that some groups are more worthy of protection than others, giving rise to the assertion that the law has created a ‘hierarchy of victims’ (Law Commission, 2014, p. 84). Some of these critics have also argued that all monitored strands should be treated equally under the law, reflecting the aims of **s. 149 of the Equality Act 2010**,¹⁰ the Public Sector Equality Duty (Law Commission, 2014, p. 84). Noting that the PSED requires public authorities to have due regard to the need to reduce inequality, the Law Commission concluded in its report on hate crime that public authorities such as police forces need legislation in this area to provide clarity, and that the present system does not help in that regard, in that it treats some protected characteristics differently despite (1) all of them being protected for purposes of hostility-based offending (by the enhanced sentencing system) and (2) there being no obvious justification for the different legislative treatment (Law Commission, 2014, p. 94).

⁸ For a full review of this area of law see Law Commission (2014).

⁹ Note that the figures do not include football-related hate crime offences.

¹⁰ Section 149 of the Equality Act requires a public authority, in exercising its functions, to have due regard to the need to:

- (a) eliminate discrimination, harassment, victimisation and any other conduct that is prohibited by or under the Equality Act;
- (b) advance equality of opportunity between persons who share a relevant protected characteristic and persons who do not share it;
- (c) foster good relations between persons who share a relevant protected characteristic and persons who do not share it.

Figure 1:
Legal remedies for hate crimes in England and Wales

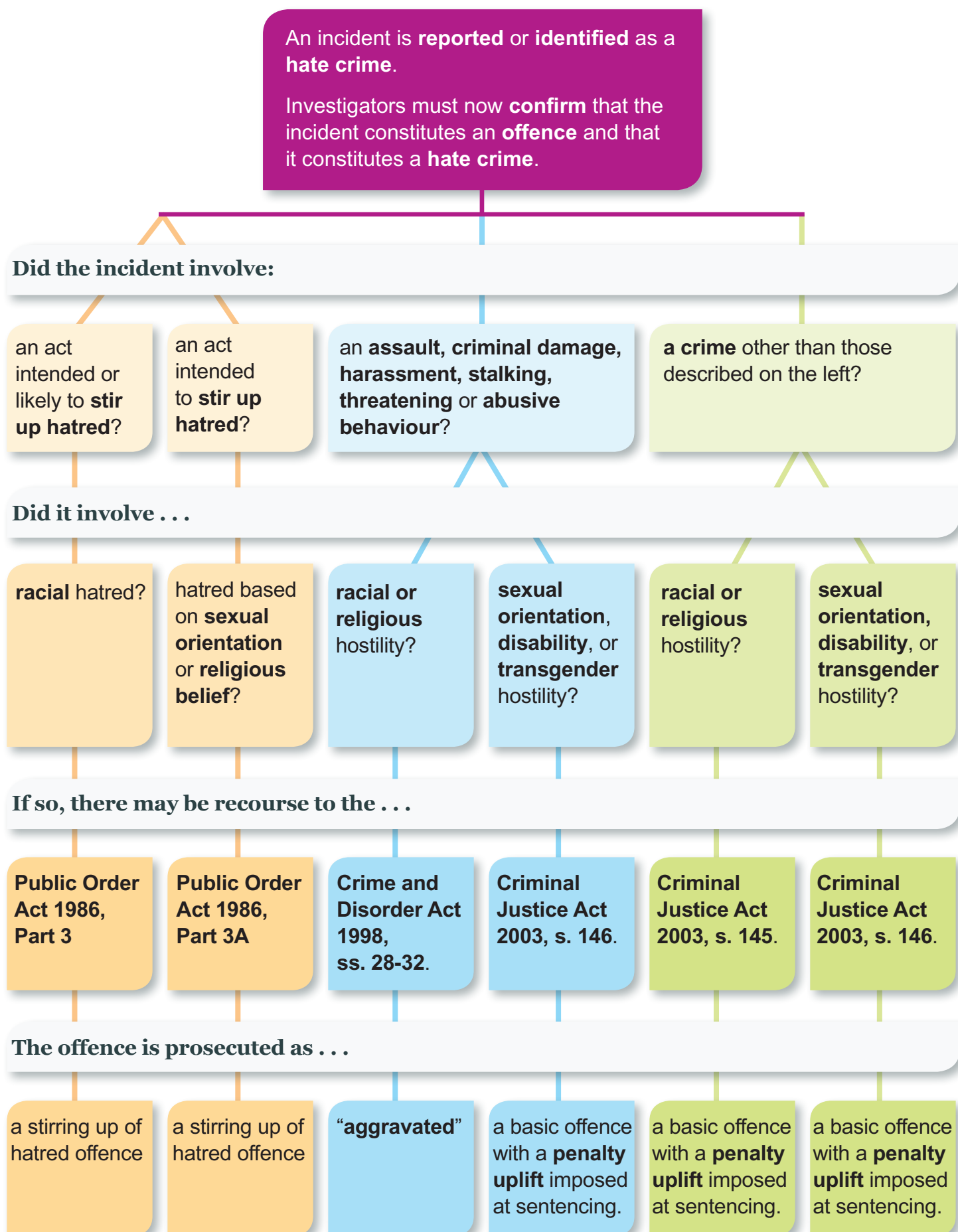
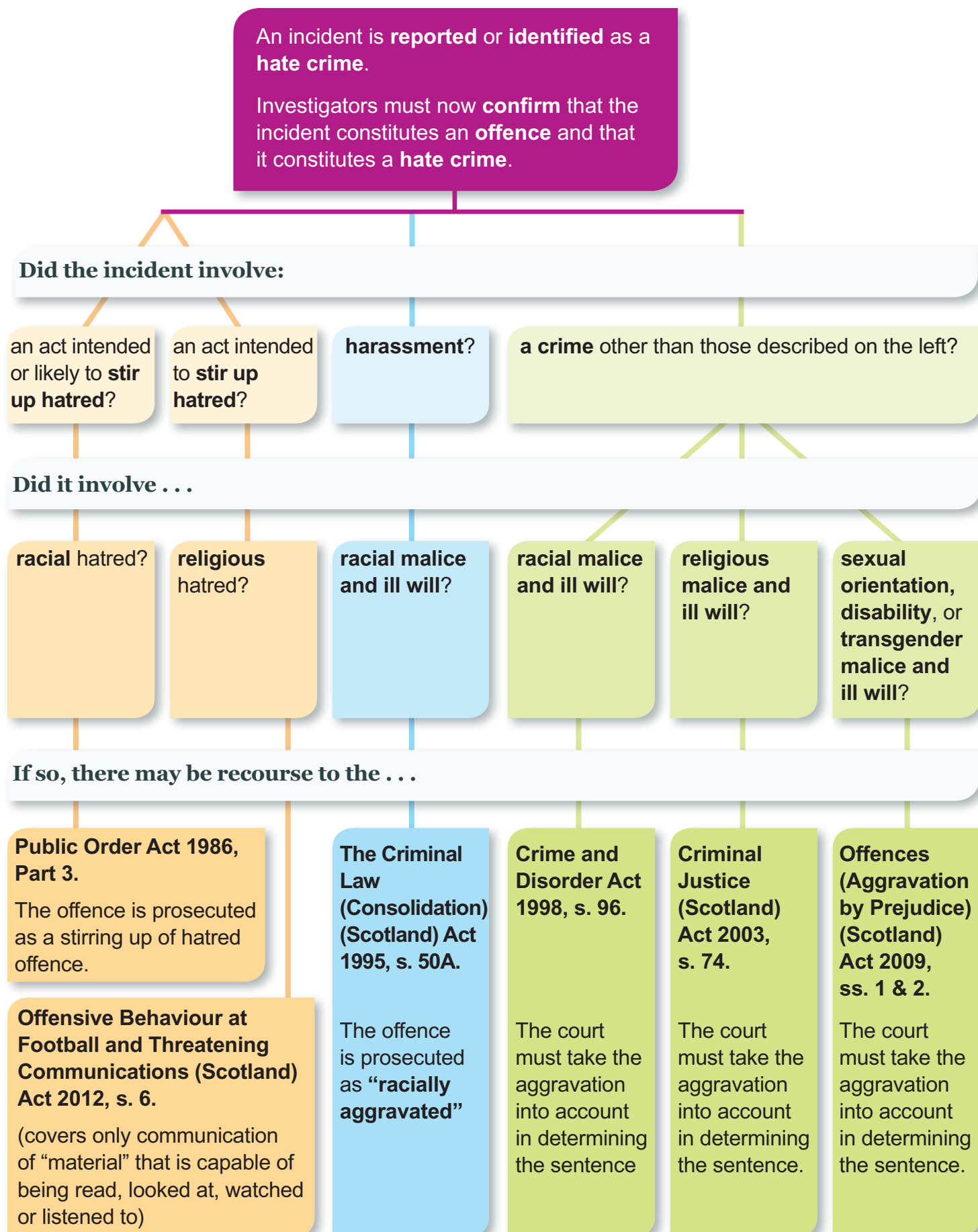


Figure 2:
Legal remedies for hate crimes in Scotland



Understanding the nature and dynamics of hate crime

This next section explores the different types of prejudices that are linked to hate crimes and the relationships that commonly exist between perpetrators and victims. We highlight, in particular, that hate crimes are not always caused by a single type of prejudice, that incidents can often form part of a process of ongoing victimisation, and that multiple social and situational factors are likely to underlie any single hate crime.

First, it is important to note that there have been a number of complexities, in both defining and dealing with hate crime, that arise when attaching prejudice-motivation, or demonstrations of hostility, to criminal offences (see Burney and Rose, 2002; Law Commission, 2014). Perhaps of greatest difficulty for criminal justice practitioners to ascertain is whether 'prejudice' forms a key element of a reported crime or incident. The problem is that the levels of prejudice motivating perpetrators can vary drastically. At one end of the spectrum, a perpetrator may have intense feelings of prejudice against an entire identity group leading to him or her feeling disgust and even hatred towards members of that group. These perpetrators will be motivated by deep-seated prejudice, with some making it their mission in life to target and eradicate certain identity groups from society (for example, when David Copeland unleashed nail bomb attacks against various minority groups in London during 1999 (McLagan and Lowles, 2000)). At the other end of the spectrum, a perpetrator may feel just a mild dislike of members of that group or view members with suspicion based on his or her ignorance about who these individuals are or what they stand for (Hall, 2013). These perpetrators may feel little hostility towards the victim's group identity (a group or category that the victim belongs to, or is perceived to belong to), instead demonstrating identity-based hostility towards the victim because of some other perceived grievance or conflict with the victim. The following two examples help to illustrate the difficulties that will be faced by practitioners when dealing with cases where prejudice and hostility is, on the surface, a less evident part of the motivation.

Example A: A minor personal dispute about noise pollution escalates into a conflict during which an individual lashes out in the heat of the moment, using racist or homophobic expletives. In such cases, the 'crime' or 'incident' is not necessarily the direct result of the perpetrator's feelings of identity-based prejudice, but is instead a vocalised demonstration of racism or homophobia that is used as a way of venting

frustration at the victim, often occurring while the perpetrator is intoxicated (Gadd, 2009; Walters, 2014a). In such a case the perpetrator may not be motivated solely by prejudice but has still 'demonstrated' hostility based on the victim's group identity, meaning that the incident should still be recorded as a 'hate crime/incident'.

In these types of cases it can be very difficult to ascertain whether identity-based prejudice is partly causal to the incident, or whether the hostility demonstrated is incidental to the crime committed. Regardless, the courts have made it clear that a demonstration of this type must still fall within the meaning of hostility under hate crime legislation (Walters, 2014a).

Example B: B, a non-ambulant person, is purposely pushed to the ground by A in an effort to gain swifter movement through a crowd of people. There is no evidence of verbalised expletives directed towards the victim. The key factors to assist in determining the cause of this incident may need to be situational rather than personal. A number of questions will arise such as: were only non-ambulant people pushed out of the way? Has the perpetrator a history of targeting non-ambulant people? Did the perpetrator when questioned about the incident comment on his or her frustration of having non-ambulant people in public spaces? Answers to these questions may provide evidence of prejudice or hostility.

Intersecting prejudices

The complexities in deciphering what incidents should be recognised as hate crime are further complicated by the fact that many perpetrators will have mixed motivations and hold intersecting prejudices (Chakraborti and Garland, 2012; Walters, 2013). Research by Chakraborti *et al.* (2014) suggests that a significant proportion (50%) of hate crime victims is targeted because of more than one of their identity characteristics. For example, a perpetrator may be motivated by a dislike of Asian and Muslim people, or he or she may demonstrate hostility towards someone because that individual is both disabled and gay. In some cases, perpetrators may verbalise their demonstrations of multiple identity-based hostilities (such as where someone uses both anti-gay and transphobic expletives). However, hostility may also

be expressed using terms and phrases which may or may not be related to the victim's (perceived) identity (for example, the term 'paedophile' is frequently used against LGBT and disabled people, but the word is not in and of itself considered to be homophobic or disablist but is a deflating insult used to further target the victim or distance the victim from support). Evidencing these intersecting or deflating prejudices can become confusing as it will not always be clear what type of hate crime the incident should be flagged as.

As we go on to explain in this report, layered on top of these mixed prejudices are multiple causal factors, including feeling provoked, wanting to steal something, peer pressure, and feeling threatened (amongst others) (Chakraborti and Garland, 2012; Iganski, 2008).

Victim–perpetrator relationships

The difficulties in defining hate crime make estimating how many incidents occur each year a difficult task. The Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) and the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS) are measures available for determining the prevalence of crime in Britain, both being large-scale yearly surveys designed to complement police-recorded crime statistics. Data collated for the survey allows for reliable estimates to be made about total crime levels in Britain.¹¹ The Office for National Statistics and the Home Office have published a number of reports analysing data on hate crimes in England and Wales (the most recent being Corcoran *et al.*, 2015; see previously, Home Office *et al.*, 2013).¹² However, there have been no reports published specifically on hate crime that analyse data from the SCJS.¹³

The most recent data on hate crimes committed in England and Wales showed that there were approximately 222,000 hate crime incidents each year (estimate averaged from years 2012–15) (Corcoran *et al.*, 2015).¹⁴ Of these thousands of

¹¹ Note that the CSEW does not cover the population living in group residences (for example, care homes or halls of residence) or other institutions, nor does it cover crime against commercial or public sector bodies. While this a very comprehensive survey, some groups of people may be less likely or be denied the opportunity to respond to the survey, and therefore even these figures may not fully capture the breadth of experience of hate crimes experienced by some groups.

¹² While crime survey figures may be an underestimation of the scale of hate crime, the police's own recorded figures of reported hate crimes are significantly lower than these estimates.

¹³ The most recent SCJS report does, however, refer to levels of harassment that are motivated by identity characteristics. The report showed that 9% of 11,472 respondents of the survey had experienced some form of harassment over the previous 12 months and that 10% of these victims thought that their harassment was motivated by their race, while 3% thought it was because of sectarianism, 3% disability, 2% religion and 1% sexual orientation (National Statistics, 2016).

¹⁴ 106,000 (race) 70,000 (disability), 38,000 (religion), 29,000 (sexual orientation). Numbers of transgender-related hate crimes were too small to make credible estimates.

incidents that occur each year, it is often only the most extreme manifestations of hate-motivated violence that capture the attention of the media. The reporting of cases that involve brutal levels of violence and torture helps to promote an image of hate crime as one-off acts of violence that are committed by hardened bigots. This has given rise to the image of hate crime as a form of 'stranger danger', that is, random acts carried out by strangers unknown to the victim (Mason, 2005). However, hate-motivated victimisation often involves 'low-level' and escalating acts of harassment such as verbal abuse, spitting and general forms of intimidation (see Chakraborti *et al.*, 2014; EHRC, 2011; Walters, 2014b; Williams and Tregidga, 2013). Recent studies have also shown that many hate crime incidents form part of an ongoing process of victimisation that is repeated over protracted periods of time, sometimes escalating into threatening and abusive behaviour and to physical violence (Bowling, 1998; Chakraborti *et al.*, 2014, pp. 15–20; Walters and Paterson, 2015; Williams and Tregidga, 2013). These often seemingly inconsequential incidents are not always captured by official statistics (police-recorded hate crime) or within victim surveys such as the CSEW or the SCJS, meaning that large data on hate crime does not necessarily capture the frequently routine nature of hate-motivated victimisation.

Iganski (2008) argues, therefore, that rather than hate crimes/incidents being conceptualised as the violent actions of bigots who operate at the margins of society (see below for more information about so-called 'mission offenders' and hate groups), we must examine more carefully the 'everyday' hate incidents that form a seemingly ordinary part of many individuals' daily lives.

We turn now to some of the most common everyday situations in which hostilities are likely to be demonstrated, and the different relationships that exist between perpetrators and victims. By understanding the situational contexts in which incidents occur we can begin to more effectively address the problem of hate crime.

Perpetrators as strangers

A large research study recently conducted in England (The Leicester Hate Crime Project) estimated that 49% of hate crimes are committed by perpetrators who are unknown to their victim (Chakraborti *et al.*, 2014). The authors reported that incidents commonly occurred in public spaces including streets, parks and city centres, as well as in and around public transport infrastructures (Chakraborti *et al.*, 2014, p. 31). Yeung and Duncan (2016) recently reported that there has been a 37% increase in the number of race hate crimes reported to British Transport Police over the past five years. Public transport can be a particularly difficult place to negotiate and can be

viewed as a 'necessary evil', often experienced as overcrowded, under-staffed with heightened senses of frustration, anxiety and anger. Passengers can feel trapped in enclosed and overcrowded spaces where people of 'difference' come into close contact with one another, and where perceived grievances combined with simmering prejudices can quickly escalate into violent altercations (see Chakraborti *et al.*, 2014, pp. 34–5; EHRC, 2011, p. 83).

In the week after the EU referendum results, the National Police Chiefs' Council reported a fivefold increase in xenophobic and racist hate incident reports to their online reporting mechanism, True Vision (*The Guardian*, 2016). Many of these incidents were directed towards people going about their daily lives – at work, on public transport and in local neighbourhoods.

Perpetrators who are known to the victim

While a significant proportion of hate crimes are perpetrated by strangers, many other hate crime perpetrators are known to the victim – such as neighbours, local community members, and even friends, carers, family members and work colleagues (Chakraborti *et al.*, 2014, p. 58; Mason, 2005; Quarmby, 2008; Roxwell, 2011; Sibbitt, 1997). The All Wales Hate Crime Project found that 43% of victims reported that they knew their perpetrator, with almost one-third being victimised in or immediately outside their home (Williams and Tregidga, 2013, p. 46). Victim–perpetrator relationships may differ depending on types of hate crime; analysis of British Crime Survey (BCS)¹⁵ data by Roberts *et al.* (2013) found that 75% of victims of anti-LGB hate crimes knew their assailant compared with only 31% of victims of race hate crime. Similarly, research by Mason (2005) on homophobic incidents in London found that 89% of victims knew the perpetrator as either a neighbour or as a work colleague.

Research on disability hate crime also suggests that a majority of victims will know the perpetrator. Williams and Tregidga's (2013, p. 47) study reported that 51% of victims of disability hate crime knew the perpetrator, compared, for example, to 32% of anti-religious hate crimes (see also Chakraborti *et al.*, 2014; Roberts *et al.*, 2013, table 2). Perpetrators of some types of abuse against disabled people can often act as 'pretend' friends (sometimes referred to as 'mate crime'), who use their perceived friendship to take advantage of the victim and their access to money or other resources, or to develop sustained abusive relationships. In other cases, perpetrators have been found to be carers and even relatives – we see here how hate crime and

¹⁵ Now the Crime Survey for England and Wales.

domestic abuse may overlap (Quarmby, 2011; Sin *et al.*, 2009; in relation to Intrafamilial hate crimes against gay men and lesbians see, Asquith and Fox, 2016).

These findings highlight the fact that, in order to fully understand the nature of hate crime, practitioners need to appreciate that situational factors (that is, location and victim–perpetrator relationships) may differ depending on the type of offence (for example, verbal abuse, harassment etc.) and the type of hate-motivation (for example, homophobic, disablist etc.).

Types of hate crime and hate incidents

Corcoran *et al.*'s (2015) analysis of CSEW data (taken from 2012–15) estimated that there are 148,000 incidents of personal hate crime (for example, violence, robbery, theft) and 74,000 incidents of household hate crime (for example, criminal damage, burglary) per year. Two offence types accounted for the majority of hate crime incidents in the CSEW data, with 49% of hate crime incidents relating to violence, and 19% being criminal damage (a greater proportion than crimes in general captured by CSEW), see Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Percentage of hate crime incidents, by type of offence, 2012/13 to 2014/15 CSEW

Percentages	England and Wales, CSEW	
	All hate crime	All CSEW crimes
PERSONAL CRIME		
Violence without injury	26	10
Violence with injury	24	9
Robbery	4	2
Theft from person	8	7
Other theft of personal property	6	12
ALL PERSONAL CRIME	67	40
HOUSEHOLD CRIME		
Criminal damage	19	20
Burglary	8	11
Vehicle-related theft	1	13
Bicycle theft	1	5
Other household theft	4	11

ALL HOUSEHOLD CRIME**33****60**

Note: Table reproduced from Corcoran *et al.* (2015, p. 16).

Criminal justice agencies are tasked with attending to and providing recourse for hate crime/incidents, and must be aware that prejudice-based conduct will happen within different contexts, some of which may mask the prejudice element of an offence. In order to help practitioners to identify which reported incidents are 'hate crimes' or 'hate incidents' we provide Table 1.2 (adapted from Walters, 2014b, p. 250).¹⁶ The table identifies the three most common types of hate crime that came to the attention of either a statutory agency or third sector organisation during Walters' 2014b study. Note that the table provides guidance on common 'everyday' types of hate crime and does not include every type of conduct that perpetrators may carry out (see further information below under 'types of hate crime perpetrators').

¹⁶ Walters (2014b, ch. 9) developed a typology of incidents based on data collated from 90 separate reports of hate crime from case reports and interviews with victims, restorative justice practitioners and police officers across England.

Table 1.2: Key types of ‘everyday’ hate crime/incidents

Type of hate crime/incident	Characterisation	Common social factors	Victim/perpetrator relationship	Level of prejudice/causal connection
Incident/s form part of an interpersonal conflict	Conflicts frequently escalate over protracted periods of time culminating in the commission of an incident often marked (for example) by the use of racist, homophobic, transphobic, anti-religious or disablist language.	Can occur in and around social housing; noise pollution; neighbour disputes; alcohol- and drug abuse-fuelled; multiple disputants.	Known, typically neighbours. ¹⁷	Low-medium/Low-medium.
Persistent targeted abuse	Persistent and ongoing targeted abuse of victims that occurs over prolonged periods of time (process-led).	In and around social housing, alcohol/drug abuse-fuelled.	Known, neighbours or local community members.	Medium-high/High.
‘One-off’ attacks	‘One-off’ incidents typically committed in public areas.	Incidents often occur during people’s routine activities. Offences frequently occur late at night during commercial transactions, such as takeaway food establishments. Alcohol intoxication is common. ¹⁸	Previously unknown (strangers); individuals often come into contact via commercial relationship based on goods/service provider and customer.	Medium-low/Medium.

¹⁷ Note in relation to disability hate crimes, other studies have found that perpetrators are often known to the victim as carers and/or family members (EHRC, 2011).

¹⁸ Other settings also include public transport.

2. Understanding the causes of hate crime

There are many causes that can help to explain the different types of hate crime outlined above.¹⁹ Following, we provide an accessible overview of what we consider to be the central factors that explain why people commit hate crime/incidents.²⁰

We show how there is a strong theoretical basis in social psychology for linking prejudiced attitudes, perceptions of threat, and hate crime. We outline further a number of persuasive arguments that connect structural factors to the perpetration of hate crimes. While there is some empirical evidence to support these theoretical explanations of hate crime, we note that the evidence base on hate crime causation remains relatively weak. This is in part due to a lack of research being undertaken in this area, but it is also due to the fact that there are multiple and intersecting variables that affect people's behaviours. In understanding perpetration it is important to recognise the many different forms, contexts, and drivers of hate crime, while recognising that there are likely to be common factors to perpetration.

Social psychological approaches

Given the centrality of 'prejudice' to definitions of hate crime in the British criminal justice system, it is worth considering how prejudice has been understood in academic research and how it can help us to explain the phenomenon of hate crime. A concise definition of prejudice has been provided by Abrams (2010):

'bias that devalues people because of their perceived membership of a social group'

However, most theoretical analyses of prejudice amplify that definition to emphasise its multi-faceted nature and its underlying antipathy. A recent example would be:

¹⁹ For a comprehensive review of the literature see, Hall (2013, chs. 5 and 6); Roberts *et al.* (2013).

²⁰ In October 2015 Scottish Ministers established an Independent Advisory Group on Hate Crime, Prejudice and Community Cohesion, due to report in 2016.

'any attitude, emotion or behaviour towards members of a group which directly or indirectly implies some negativity or antipathy towards that group' (Brown, 2010, p. 7)

But why do people hold prejudiced attitudes, emotions and behaviours? Social psychological theories offer several explanations for why perpetrators target people belonging to certain minority groups. These range from the purely psychological (for example, in terms of personality or cognitive processes), through accounts based on education and familial and group influences (for example, learning prejudiced attitudes at school, in the home or from peer groups), to 'intergroup perspectives' (that is, where prejudice is seen as the result of conflicts or tensions that exist between groups of people). The next section explores some of these theories in more detail.

Personality explanations

During the mid-part of the 20th century, some psychologists believed that individuals who displayed high levels of prejudice towards certain groups had what was called 'The Authoritarian Personality' (Adorno *et al.*, 1950).

More recent theories echo this, most notably in Altemeyer's (1998) concept of Right Wing Authoritarianism. The central idea here is that some people's personal history (in the family or elsewhere) leads them to have an overly deferential orientation towards authority figures, to be very conformist to conventional societal values, and to hold negative attitudes (prejudice) towards a wide range of minority groups since, by definition, such groups can challenge what is considered 'normal'.

Another similar explanation offered by psychologists is called Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). The core assumption here is that people differ in the extent to which they desire and seek superior status and power over others. People who desire a greater level of social dominance tend to be more prejudiced towards other groups, believing that their 'ingroup' is superior to others.

These two approaches have generated widely used measures of a disposition to exhibit prejudice, Right Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation. Both have been reliably linked to a wide range of intergroup prejudices – for example, towards ethnic and religious minorities, immigrants, lesbians and gay men, and disabled people (Duckitt, 2001; Duriez *et al.*, 2005).

Quite recently, a new measure has been developed to test individuals' 'motivation to express prejudice' (Forscher *et al.*, 2015). People differ not only in their *motivation to control* their own levels of prejudice but also in their *willingness to express* prejudice

overtly. Although negatively linked, these two motivations are not exact mirror images of each other (Forscher *et al.*, 2015). Motivation to express prejudice is also associated with Right Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation, although not very strongly. This tendency to express prejudiced attitudes may be linked to individuals' (in)ability to regulate their own emotions and behaviour.

Although plausible, personality accounts of prejudice (and hate crime) suffer from several limitations, not least because they tend to underplay situational factors, group influences and historical change (see Brown, 2010, ch. 2 for a review).

Cognitive explanations

Other psychological approaches emphasise the role that cognitive (mental) processes play in prejudiced attitudes and emotions – especially in relation to categorisation of groups and stereotyping (for example, Fiske, 1998, 2005; Tajfel 1969). In this view, the seeds of prejudice are to be found in the way people process information as they seek to simplify, make sense of and justify their social environments. When people attempt to make sense of the world around them they tend to create overgeneralisations (stereotypes) about other people, in some cases these may develop at a subconscious level and so the person may not be aware of them (see Brown, 2010, chs. 3 and 4). Such a perspective has several drawbacks, including that it fails to adequately consider the influence that people's group memberships and intergroup relationships have on their attitudes. It assumes that mental processes operate autonomously, independently of the groups that people belong to and unaffected by whether the groups are in conflict (or not) with each other.

Family and educational factors

Common sense would suggest that prejudiced attitudes are learnt like any other attitudes, via socialisation in the family and through exposure to media and other societal influences (see sections below). Surprisingly, however, direct evidence for such socialisation effects is neither very strong nor consistent (Brown, 2010, ch. 5). Evidence of the link between parent-to-child prejudices tends to be weak, perhaps because researchers have overlooked the role of peer group influences which some believe to be stronger (Harris, 1995). Similarly, demonstrating the causal effects of media or political rhetoric on people's prejudiced attitudes or conduct is fraught with methodological difficulties and few convincing studies exist. Some researchers have found correlations between people's educational attainments and their prejudiced attitudes – increased education levels being correlated with lower levels of prejudice.

However, such correlations are usually quite weak and the reasons why increased education is connected with lower levels of prejudice remain to a large extent unexplained (for example, Quillian, 1995).

Perceptions of threat and socio-economic factors

Intergroup threats

Recent research has focused more on intergroup factors in explaining prejudice. The perceived threat that certain groups of people pose to one's own ingroup has become particularly dominant in explaining prejudice. Social psychologists commonly distinguish between 'realistic' and 'symbolic' threats (Stephan and Stephan, 2000).

Realistic threats consist of tangible conflicts of interest – such as perceived competition over jobs, housing and other resources between the (majority) ingroup and outgroups (an 'ingroup' is any group to which a person belongs and with which they identify; in contrast, an 'outgroup' is one which people do not belong to or identify with. Typically, these terms refer to characteristics such as ethnicity, sexual orientation or religious beliefs, but they are not limited to these. In particular situations, any identity characteristic can become an ingroup or an outgroup). Immigrants and disabled people are two groups often targeted because they are perceived to pose threats in competition for limited resources, such as access to employment or welfare services. Occasionally, realistic threats take the form of disputes over 'territory' (for example, Green *et al.*, 1998b). These can transpire at times of heightened economic and/or financial insecurity.

Symbolic threats relate to people's social identities, such as the ingroup's 'way of life', including culturally important values and norms. For example, where immigrants settle into a community that is traditionally inhabited by mostly well-established non-immigrants, new community members can sometimes be viewed as importing 'alien' customs and values. Fear may be felt that the newcomers will bring about unwanted changes to existing social norms and practices (Gadd *et al.*, 2005; Ray and Smith, 2002).

Much survey and experimental evidence exists to support the link between perceived threats (both realistic and symbolic) and outgroup prejudice (Brown, 2010, chs. 6, 8). Kaplan (2006) provided a clear-cut example of the effects of external threats on hate crime. Using FBI statistics, he showed how there was a sharp spike in Islamophobic hate crime in the US immediately following the terrorist attacks in September 2001. However, evidencing similar links between economic threat and hate crime has

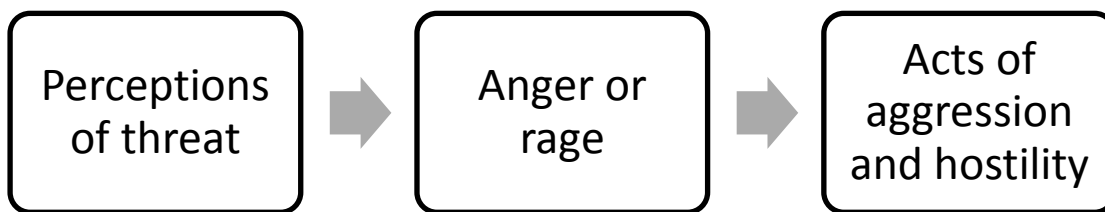
proved more problematic. Green *et al.* (1998b) found correlations between demographic change (mainly rate of influx of ethnic minorities to predominantly white neighbourhoods) and hate crime incidents. However, correlations between economic deprivation (for example, income levels, unemployment) and hate crime are less evident (Green *et al.*, 1998a; Green *et al.*, 1998b).

Intergroup emotions

Linked to people’s perceptions of threat are the emotions that these threats can give rise to. Central to this intergroup emotions approach is the idea that particular threats elicit specific emotions which in turn give rise to certain behaviours (Cottrell and Neuberg, 2005; Mackie and Smith, 2015). For instance, threats to central group values may generate the feeling of disgust which may also cause a hostile reaction to the outgroup.

A similar kind of explanation is offered by Ray and colleagues (2004) in their study of racist perpetrators, although from a different theoretical perspective. They argue that many perpetrators may experience an unacknowledged sense of shame as a result of economic threat, which they experience as rage and which is then projected onto ethnic minority groups who are viewed as the source of their socio-economic problems.

Figure 1.3: Intergroup emotions linked to perceptions of threat



Some quantitative evidence supports the view that emotional reactions people have in response to perceived threats are better predictors of people’s behaviour towards outgroups compared with people’s general feelings of prejudice (Cottrell and

Neuberg, 2005; Cottrell and Richards, 2010; Mackie *et al.*, 2000), though none, as yet explain the relationship to the perpetration of hate crime.²¹

Structural explanations of hate crime

‘Doing difference’

Criminologists have argued that in order to understand the causes of hate crime we need to more fully understand the structures in society within which it is likely to manifest itself. Perry (2001) argues that hate-motivated crimes are best understood as extreme forms of discrimination that have emanated from a history of segregation, discrimination and marginalisation of people who are seen as somehow ‘different’. Perry asserts that social hierarchies in society are formed through dominant (majority) identity traits relating to gender, race, sexual orientation and class, amongst others (Perry, 2001, p. 46). Those individuals with the most social and political power claim their identity as the characteristics on which society should base its ideal identity (for example, in Britain that may be typically white, male, heterosexual, Christian, and middle class).

Those who fall outside some, or all, of society’s ‘identity ideals’ are viewed by many dominant group members as being ‘different’. Some will see this difference as a potential threat to social norms and values or ‘ways of being’ (similar to ‘symbolic threat’ outlined above). Some sociologists argue that dominant ideas about ‘ways of being’ can become entrenched in social structures and processes, which in turn help to perpetuate dominant forms of identity (this process has been termed ‘doing difference’) (Perry, 2001).

Perpetrators of hate are likely to be those who are most influenced by prevailing expectations of what is society’s ideal identity. They act to police the boundaries of the identity ideal through verbal and physical violence against those seen as breaching dominant norms. By abusing those who are ‘different’, perpetrators of hate crime send a clear message to certain ‘Others’ that they are not welcome in society. For instance, gay men, especially those who fail to conform to traditional masculinity norms, may become the targets of anti-gay violence (Franklin, 2000). Perpetrators of such crimes (especially young men) use verbal abuse or physical violence as a means of expressing their own identity as masculine men (Bibbings, 2004; Franklin, 2000). Behind these individual acts of violence sit stereotypes about gay men that

²¹ Recent research by Fearn *et al.* (2016) and Paterson *et al.* (2016) has, however, shown that victims’ responses to hate crime are correlated with their emotional reactions that are directly connected to threat.

have become culturally and systemically ingrained in social structures which are used to justify violent behaviour (Burnett, 2015).

Insights into the structural context of hate crime

This next section highlights some of the evidence which shows how the work and practices of some statutory institutions can (indirectly) disadvantage certain groups of people in society and potentially link to a propensity to experiencing hate crime.

The historical subordination of various minority groups at the hands of statutory agencies (including law enforcement agencies) was saliently demonstrated during the public inquiry into the death of Stephen Lawrence – a young Black teenager who was brutally murdered by a group of racially motivated men in 1994. The resulting Macpherson Report in 1999 found that the botched investigation into Lawrence's death was partly the result of what was labelled as 'institutional racism' within the Metropolitan Police Service (Macpherson, 1999).

More recently the response to terrorism post 9/11, and subsequent anti-terrorist legislation enacted by governments across the world, has been identified as being another example of statutory agencies disproportionately targeting certain minority groups in society. While these laws and policies are aimed at preventing terrorism and are enacted with the purpose of 'protecting the public', some authors have suggested that in attempting to enforce them, some statutory agencies may disproportionately target members of particular communities (for example, the UK Government's anti-terrorism strategy, which may be associated with a particular focus on Islamist extremism), and that this has caused further feelings of stigmatisation and alienation amongst people from that group (Awan, 2012). Such a situation can be further exacerbated by some parts of the media. Researchers have documented how many media outlets regularly conflate the issue of terrorism with Muslims and Islam (Githens-Mazer and Lambert, 2010; see also Poynting and Perry, 2007).

Awan's review of empirical research in this area concluded that 'while counter-terrorism policies such as Prevent have an overall goal of community engagement to combat extremism, it may alienate sections of the Muslim community through counterterrorism policing tactics. Such policies have, in effect, constructed a "suspect" community within the dictum of community engagement for counterterrorism purposes' (2012, p. 1168).

Recently, it has been suggested that a national context of past welfare reforms, alongside a general narrative of 'benefit scroungers', may have had a

disproportionate impact on disabled people with qualitative evidence suggesting that many disabled people experience more hostility towards them as a result (Chakraborti *et al.*, 2014: 29).

These examples illustrate how socio-structural and institutional discrimination can result in minority groups encountering marginalisation in society, which can feed back into their experiences of victimisation.

Despite the introduction of many new criminal justice policies post-Macpherson (1999), aimed at improving responses to hate crimes/incidents (see Hall, 2013, ch. 2), research has suggested that a significant proportion of victims still believe that statutory agencies do little to prevent hate crime (Chakraborti *et al.*, 2014; Dunn, 2009; Walters 2014b). For example, in Chakraborti *et al.*'s large survey of hate crime victims in Leicester, they report that over three-quarters of respondents had not reported their experience of hate crime to the police, with the most commonly cited reason for this being that they did not feel the police would take it seriously (30%) (2014, p. 70).

The perceived failure of statutory agencies to take reported hate crimes seriously can be compounded further where there is a lack of community condemnation of certain prejudices, or where other community members 'turn a blind eye' to hate incidents. The failure to directly challenge hate-motivated conduct may in fact help to foster cultural climates within which perpetrators feel that they can demonstrate their acts of hate with impunity (Levin and Rabrenovic 2009; Sin *et al.*, 2009). This was demonstrated by Byers *et al.*'s (1999) research into hate crimes against the Amish in Fulham County, US where they found that hate offenders viewed their victims as deserving of victimisation, a view held by other community members who supported attacks against the Amish as 'fair game' (see also Sibbitt, 1997).

If it is possible that some systems put in place by statutory agencies may, under some circumstances, be supporting environments in which hate crimes can flourish, or victims are not able to seek support, it is important to identify where this may be happening and what action statutory agencies could take to help prevent or respond to hate crimes.

Types of hate crime perpetrators

Linked to the theories and research on causation outlined above are studies that have explored the 'types' of perpetrators who commit hate crimes. It is important to note that there is no *single* 'type' of person who commits hate crime. As we have seen above, there are multiple social psychological and structural causes of hate

crime. A number of other social and situational factors, including opportunity, proximity, intoxication, housing issues, and victim–perpetrator relationships etc., can affect a perpetrator’s decision to commit a hate crime/incident. Williams and Tregidga (2013, p. 13) concluded in their recent report that, ‘anyone can be a hate crime perpetrator regardless of age, race and gender’. Nevertheless, several studies have revealed a number of common background traits of perpetrators of different types of hate crime, providing information which may be useful when addressing each of these forms of hate-motivated victimisation. We look at these in detail below.

Perpetrator profiles

Most studies on hate crime offending have found that perpetrators generally tend to be young white men (Chakraborti *et al.*, 2014, p. 56; Iganski and Smith 2011; Smithson *et al.*, 2011; Williams and Tregidga, 2013, p. 46), supporting the assertion that hate crimes are most frequently committed by those from the majority groups. However, this does not mean that hate crimes are committed by young white men only. Roberts *et al.*’s (2013, p. 45) analysis of BCS²² data found that just under one-third (31%) of offenders involved in racially motivated hate crime, were from an ethnic minority background.

Two recent studies on hate crime conducted in England (The Leicester Hate Crime Project; Chakraborti *et al.*, 2014) and in Wales (The All Wales Hate Crime Project; Williams and Tregidga, 2013) found that the profiles of perpetrators can also differ markedly depending on the type of hate-motivation, the location (proximity) of the incident and the relationships that exist between victim and perpetrator.

Chakraborti *et al.*’s quantitative survey found that, although overall the majority of perpetrators were men, in cases where the victim was known to the perpetrator almost half were committed by female perpetrators, and where the incident occurred at school, college or university, over half were carried out by female perpetrators (2014, p. 55). In contrast, cases where a hate crime had been committed in a public place, the perpetrator was more likely to be male.

In terms of type of hate-motivation, the All Wales Hate Crime Project reported that 100% of transphobic hate crimes were committed by men, compared to sexual orientation (82%), religion (78%), race (72%) and disability (71%) (Williams and Tregidga, 2013, p. 47). These findings suggest that gender plays a greater or lesser role in explaining hate crime, depending on the type of hate-motivation under scrutiny – with women being unlikely to commit transphobic hate crime, compared with almost

²² Now the Crime Survey for England and Wales

one-third of hate crimes against disabled people being carried out by female perpetrators.

General criminality

There is some research to suggest that perpetrators of hate crime may also be prone to criminality more generally (Dunbar *et al.*, 2005; Ray *et al.*, 2004). US studies using official data have found that racist perpetrators were more likely to have previous criminal records than homophobic or anti-religious perpetrators, while those perpetrators involved in hate groups were most likely to have extensive histories of violence (Dunbar, 2003; Dunbar *et al.*, 2005).

What motivates perpetrators?

Beyond these general demographic profiles of perpetrators, researchers have additionally examined the (perceived) motivations underlying hate crime offending (Byers *et al.*, 1999; Franklin, 2000; McDevitt *et al.*, 2002; Sibbitt, 1997; Sin *et al.*, 2009; Williams and Tregidga, 2013). The most prominent amongst these studies has been the typology of hate crime perpetrators, first developed by Levin and McDevitt in 1993 and updated in 2002. Using 169 hate crime case reports from the Boston Police Department, Levin and McDevitt (1993, 2002) found that hate crime perpetrators could be separated into four categories: 'thrill', 'defensive', 'retaliatory' and 'mission'. We review each of these types in turn below, as well as any further research that supports or challenges the original claims made by Levin and McDevitt.

Thrill seekers and group dynamics

McDevitt *et al.* (2002) found that most hate crime²³ perpetrators (66%) are motivated primarily by the 'thrill' of offending. These perpetrators typically act in groups made up of young men led by one or two 'ringleaders', who frequently venture outside of their local neighbourhood in search of targets to verbally abuse and/or physically assault. The main aim of the thrill-seeking perpetrator is to victimise others as a means of experiencing excitement, using low-medium level prejudices as the reason for choosing particular victim groups to target.

Other research has also linked thrill seeking to hate crime offending by young men in small groups, often fuelled by alcohol (Byers *et al.*, 1999; Franklin, 2000; see also Williams and Tregidga, 2013, p. 49). The fact that many hate crimes occur in groups is of particular significance to understanding hate offending. Williams and Tregidga

²³ The authors looked at hate crimes based on race, ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation only.

(2013, p. 139) reported that as many as 70% of victims of hate crimes in Wales indicated that there was more than one perpetrator. There is some evidence to suggest that group-based offending is likely to be more prevalent for certain types of hate-motivation. For example, Roberts *et al.* (2013, p. 45) found that racist and anti-LGB hate crime was more likely to involve more than one perpetrator (60% and 52% respectively) compared with disability hate crime, which was more likely to involve a single perpetrator (59%).

It is unclear why group-based offending is slightly more prevalent for some strands of hate crime. Group-based offending may suggest that committing hate crimes serves as a form of peer bonding, with particularly young males gaining acceptance, respect and approval from one another (Franklin, 2000; Steinberg *et al.*, 2003). Still, we do not know why only some young men choose to commit hate crimes to obtain a thrill and to bond with their peers while others choose not to.²⁴

Defensive

Levin and McDevitt's second largest category of hate crime perpetrators (25%) is classified as 'defensive'. These perpetrators are motivated mostly by a perceived threat to their 'territory' (or 'turf') that must be defended. Many perpetrators view certain identity groups as 'invading' locations whereby they compete for, and often are perceived as 'unfairly' taking, jobs, housing and social welfare (Gadd *et al.*, 2005; Green *et al.*, 1998b), or where certain individuals (such as disabled people) are viewed as 'sponging' off the State (Chakraborti *et al.*, 2014, p. 29), potentially reducing resources for others.

Retaliatory

Some 8% of perpetrators in Levin and McDevitt's study were classified as 'retaliators'. These perpetrators only commit a hate crime during situations where they feel that their ingroup is directly under attack by an 'outgroup'. Several studies have found evidence for this type of hate crime (for example, Hanes and Machin, 2014). In particular, national or international events (often referred to as 'trigger events'), such as those of 11 September 2001, 7 July 2005 or Paris 2015, have sparked violent reactions by those who see their very existence as coming under threat (for example, Feldman and Littler, 2014; Hanes and Machin, 2014).

²⁴ Walters (2011) suggests that the missing link here may be to view young men as having lower levels of self-control than adults, with those most susceptible to impulsive behaviour being affected by structural (including dominant masculinity) and socio-economic factors. This remains to be empirically tested.

Retaliation may also relate to a perceived threat to an 'ingroup's' way of life. For example, the introduction of equal marriage rights for same-sex partners in France was met with angry street protests by those who saw the new legislation as an attack on the institution of marriage. This in turn led to a significant increase in violent attacks against LGB people (SOS Homophobie, 2014).

With the rise in (social) media coverage of terrorist activity and online debates on other social issues during the 21st century, it is likely that 'retaliatory' hate crimes have become more prominent today than Levin and McDevitt originally supposed.

Mission offenders and hate groups

McDevitt *et al.* (2002) expanded their original typology to include a final type of perpetrator, labelled the 'mission' perpetrator. This type of perpetrator was the least prolific, making up less than 1% of cases. This finding is broadly in line with other hate crime research (outlined above) that suggests that hate crime incidents are likely to be carried out by 'everyday' people during the course of their 'everyday' lives (Iganski, 2008). However, though smaller in numbers, 'mission' perpetrators remain a very important part of understanding the phenomenon of hate crime.

McDevitt *et al.* assert that mission perpetrators make it a purpose in life to identify and target certain groups. These types of perpetrators will often be members of organised groups (hate groups) who co-ordinate protests and attacks against certain groups. It is likely that such individuals are driven by an ideology of hate and are therefore likely to carry out the most extreme forms of violence (Dunbar *et al.*, 2005). An example of a mission offender is that of Anders Behring Breivik, a far-right extremist who murdered 77 people in Norway in 2011 after publishing online his '2083: A European Declaration of Independence'. In the document he describes his far-right ideology, including opposition to Islam and feminism (see Chakraborti and Garland, 2015, pp. 137–8).

The role of the internet in disseminating and galvanising support for hate-based ideologies is not to be underestimated (see, for example, Perry and Scrivens, 2016). We discuss online hate (cyber hate) in the next section. There has been a significant increase in support for anti-immigrant political parties across Europe (and the US) over recent years (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015). Although most of these political organisations do not explicitly advocate physical violence against immigrants and refugees, many have adopted a style of language that is increasingly hostile towards them (Schweppe and Walters, 2016). The public debate that these organisations spark regarding the human value of certain groups in society (including immigrants and refugees but also Gypsies, Roma and Travellers, amongst others) is

seen to fuel social climates of hate in Britain. As explained above, this may, in turn, give further justification to those inclined to carry out the more 'low-level' and everyday acts of hate and hostility (Levin and Rabrenovic, 2009).

What these newer studies suggest is that compartmentalising perpetrators into single 'types' may be overly simplistic, with many perpetrators having multiple motivations for offending. Moreover, the various 'types' of perpetrators may influence each other. 'Mission' perpetrators and the activities of hate groups, though small in number, may, alongside other factors, help to fuel wider climates of hate, fostering an environment within which 'thrill seekers' and 'defensive' perpetrators feel justified in committing offences. 'Defensive' offences may give rise to 'retaliatory' ones, and so a vicious circle between (perceived) victimisation and perpetration is perpetuated.

Table 1.3: Types of hate crime perpetrators

Type of Perpetrator	Motivations	Other causal factors can include:	Example of hate crime ²⁵
Thrill Seeker	Excitement; boredom; dislike of outgroup	Peer pressure; alcohol; machismo; male/peer bonding	A homophobic attack in a city centre by a group of young men encouraging each other to escalate violence
Defensive	Protecting territory or geographical 'turf' of ingroup by 'othering' newer communities	Perception of threat to ingroup's socio-economic security; socio-economic deprivation; anger; internalised shame	Anti-immigrant or anti-Gypsy/Roma/traveller abuse directed towards individuals who are new to an area
Retaliatory	Seeking revenge for a (perceived) attack against ingroup	Perception of threat/change to social and cultural norms	Anti-Muslim or anti-Semitic attacks and criminal damage to Mosques or Synagogues following trigger events (for example, murder of Lee Rigby; Paris Attacks)
Mission	Ideological/world view; desire for power	Extremist/hate group links; influenced by masculinity; socio-economic deprivation; anger; internalised shame	Neo-Nazi organised racist violent attacks; organised marches involving physical or verbal attacks on Muslims

²⁵ Note that 'examples of hate crime' may relate to each of the different strands of hate crime and those provided in the table are given for illustrative purposes only.

Online (cyber hate) hate crime perpetrators

The above typologies of hate crime perpetrators refer almost exclusively to hate crimes committed in the physical world. But there are hate-based offences that occur online which, at least for hate speech, we suggest are likely to dwarf the number of offences in the physical world.

The huge number of electronic messages containing hate speech is perhaps most starkly highlighted by the nohomophobes.com website which tracks homophobic tweets. It shows that there have been over 34 million tweets (internationally) of the word 'Faggot' between July 2012 and March 2016.²⁶ Research on anti-Muslim hate crime also found that 74% of all anti-Muslim hostility reported to the charity TellMama, a third-party reporting platform for anti-Muslim attacks and other incidents, occurred online compared with 26% which involved offline incidents (Copsey *et al.*, 2013).

Little is currently known about the perpetrators of this type of abuse. While some researchers have begun to analyse the use of the internet by members of hate groups to communicate with each other (Bartlett and Krasodonski-Jones, 2015; Perry and Scrivens, 2016), few have examined in any detail the motivations of those cyber haters who specifically target individuals or the links to offline hostility. Awan (2014) has attempted to fill this gap by developing an online typology of anti-Muslim hate crime perpetrators. His research focused solely on Twitter and used an online content behavioural perpetrator typology. A random sample of 500 Anti-Muslim tweets was grouped into the following categories: trawler, apprentice, disseminator, impersonator, accessory, reactive, mover and professional, see Table 1.4.

²⁶ Website checked at 1 March 2016.

Table 1.4: Typology of offender characteristics

Type	Characteristics
The trawler	Someone who has gone through other people's Twitter accounts to specifically target people with a Muslim connection
The apprentice	A person who is fairly new to Twitter but nonetheless has begun to target people with the help of more experienced online abusers
The disseminator	Someone who has tweeted about and retweeted messages, pictures and documents of online hate that are specifically targeting Muslims
The impersonator	A person who is using a fake profile, account and images to target individuals
The accessory	A person who is joining in with other people's conversations via Twitter to target vulnerable people
The reactive	A person who following a major incident, such as Woolwich, or issues on immigration, will begin an online campaign targeting that specific group or individual
The mover	Someone who regularly changes their Twitter account in order to continue targeting someone from a different profile
The professional	A person who has a huge following on Twitter and regardless of consequences has and will launch a major campaign of hate against an individual or group of people because they are Muslim. This person will also have multiple Twitter accounts all aimed at targeting Muslim communities

Note: Table reproduced from Awan (2014).

Awan (2014) found that 72% of these tweeters were male. The most common type of tweeter was 'reactive', closely followed by 'accessories', 'impersonators' and 'disseminators'. Regardless of type, most perpetrators seemed to be motivated by similar factors to those discussed earlier, including a perceived grievance which was ultimately linked to a desire for power and a thrill gained by targeting vulnerable people (Awan, 2014). This has led Awan and Zempi (2015) to conclude that online and offline incidents should not be examined in isolation.

The huge number of cyber hate incidents suggests that those who feel prejudices towards certain protected characteristics are more likely to act online than offline. We suggest that this is likely to be because of the anonymity that the internet offers, combined with its private accessibility, ease of use, and its ability to reach massive

audiences. Collectively, these features are likely to tip many of those individuals, who might otherwise control their real-world behaviour, into becoming online perpetrators of hate. The resulting proliferation of internet-based hate incidents, combined with the anonymity that the internet can give its users, means that regulating and policing online hate speech is perhaps the most challenging contemporary aspect of preventing hate crime (Bakalis, forthcoming).

3. Commonalities and differences across strands of hate crime

In this next section we examine some of the commonalities and differences in the nature and dynamics of hate crime across the five strands. We do not attempt to explore all similarities and differences but instead show how different types of hate-motivation can be linked more or less with different types of crimes. We conclude this section by highlighting how most, if not all, hate crimes (regardless of strand) can be linked to individuals' perceptions of threat, and it is this issue which practitioners must therefore focus on when attempting to address the causes of hate crime more generally.

Differences

There remains a lack of empirical research that specifically compares and contrasts differences in causation across types of hate-motivation. That said, a number of themes have emerged within the literature which identify some important differences between the five hate crime strands. We highlight several of these key differences below.

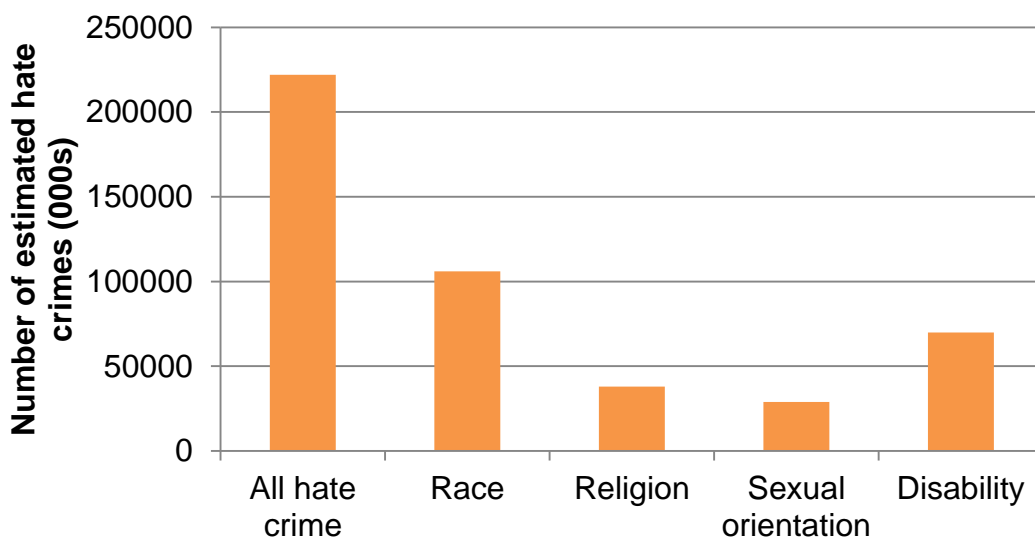
Prevalence of hate crime: the issue of visibility

The CSEW estimates that there are 222,000 hate crimes per year in England and Wales (as noted above).²⁷ The most prevalent of all hate crimes (48%) accounted for here are racially motivated offences (106,000 incidents per year). The CSEW reports that the second most prevalent are disability hate crimes, estimated at 70,000

²⁷ Note we are only able to use evidence from England and Wales as there is no published victimisation data on hate crime from Scotland.

incidents per year, while anti-religious hate crimes number 38,000 incidents, and anti-LGB incidents are estimated at 29,000. Note that the number of transphobic hate crimes reported in the survey was too small to make statistically significant estimates.

Figure 1.4: Number of estimated incidents of hate crimes, 2012/13 to 2014/15
CSEW



Reproduced from Corcoran *et al.* (2015, p. 14)

The prevalence of all strand hate crimes may be connected (at least partly) to the extent to which group members are ‘visible’ in society. Thus, where certain characteristics are more noticeably different from dominant group traits in any given community, individuals who have these traits may be most vulnerable to targeted abuse. The larger the group of visible people, the greater the likelihood that they will cross the paths of would-be perpetrators. Simply put then, race hate crimes may make up the largest percentage of all hate crime groups partly because there are greater numbers of minority ethnic people in society (estimated at 14% of the population²⁸) who have identity traits that are visibly different to dominant group traits, including: skin colour, spoken language or accent (amongst others).²⁹

The CSEW also estimates that there are 70,000 disability hate crimes each year (the second highest number). It is estimated that ‘around 6% of children are disabled ... 16% of working-age adults and 45% of adults over State Pension age’ (ODI, 2014).

²⁸ ONS (2011)

²⁹ Hence, within the category of race hate crimes, Black people (0.7% of respondents) are much more likely to be targeted than White (0.1%) victims (Corcoran *et al.*, 2015, p. 16).

Based solely on these figures, one might expect disability hate crime to be the most prevalent of all types of hate crimes. However, many disabled people have hidden impairments, while other impairments will only become visible during certain activities or social situations. This may partly help to explain why disability hate crimes, though common, are not as numerous as race hate crimes. The Director of Public Prosecutions Keir Starmer, in 2011, said that disability hate crime ‘... is not fully understood by the general public and, more surprisingly perhaps, is not always recognised by the victims of such behaviour or by those with responsibility for dealing with it’ (CPS, 2011). In addition, victims of disability hate crime may not recognise incidents as hate crime, and so not report them to others or to the CSEW.

Although race and disability-related incidents remain the most numerous types of hate crime currently known about, some research suggests that certain groups may be more likely to be disproportionately victimised, based on their total number in society. For instance, Turner *et al.*'s (2009, p. 1) online survey of 2,669 trans people across Europe found that ‘79% of respondents had experienced some form of harassment in public ranging from transphobic comments to physical or sexual abuse’ (see also Whittle *et al.*, 2007). Similarly, Walters and Paterson recently reported that 85% of trans*³⁰ respondents (including those who identify as non-binary and gender fluid) reported having been the victim of hate-motivated verbal abuse, while 29% had experienced a physical assault. Some 91.5% of respondents also knew other trans* people in their community who had experienced verbal abuse, while 73% knew of other trans* victims of physical assaults (Walters and Paterson, 2015, p. 6; see also Morton's (2008) survey of transgender people in Scotland which found that 60% of respondents had experienced harassment).

When comparing rates of transphobic hate crime with homophobic hate crime, Turner *et al.* (2009, p. 1) note that their ‘data suggests that trans people are three times more likely to experience a transphobic hate incident or hate crime than lesbians and gay men [experience] homophobic hate incidents or crimes’. Moreover, trans* victims of hate crime are likely to experience incidents more frequently. Walters and Paterson found that ‘54% of trans* people reported more than three instances of verbal abuse in the past 3 years and 13.5% reported more than three physical assaults. By comparison, 19.5% and 1.5% of non-trans* [LGB] participants

³⁰ Trans* with the asterisk denotes that trans is an inclusive term which includes not only those who consider themselves to be transgender or transsexual but also those who refute non-binary labels and who do not consider themselves to be either male or female, this may include (amongst others): transvestite, genderqueer, genderfluid, non-binary, genderfuck, genderless, agender, non-gendered, third gender, two-spirit, bigender, and trans man and trans woman.

experienced more than three instances of verbal abuse and physical assaults during the same period' (Walters and Paterson, 2015, p. 10).

Why then might some minority groups be at a higher risk of being targeted? The answer to this question is likely to lie with the *extent* to which certain groups' visible difference diverges from accepted cultural and identity norms at any given point in time. Hence, the visibility of transgender men or women as individuals whose identity fails to conform to some people's perception of how females and males should look and behave means that these individuals can become particularly vulnerable to hate-based violence when compared to other forms of hate crime (Chakraborti and Garland, 2015, ch. 5).³¹ Conversely, this may also be why bisexual men are less likely to be victims of homophobic hate crime compared with gay men because bisexual men are less likely to be open about their sexual orientation (FRA, 2013). However, when bisexual people are 'out' about their sexual preferences their visibility can give rise to double victimisation as they can become the targets of abuse from both straight people and members of lesbian and gay communities (Monro, 2015).

It is also likely that certain members *within* each strand of hate crime will be at greater risk of victimisation based on how visible their characteristics are and the extent to which they are viewed as being more or less threatening to dominant norms (such as where a gay man is too 'gay', the lesbian woman is too 'butch', the disabled boy behaves too 'strangely', or the Muslim girl wears clothes that are too 'Islamic').

Levels of physical violence

CSEW figures show that 24% of all hate crimes in England and Wales involve physical violence with injury (compared to 9% for overall crime) (Corcoran *et al.*, 2015, p. 16). All strands of hate-motivated crime can involve severe levels of violence, including torture and murder. The Commission's 2011 inquiry into disability-related harassment set out a number of hate crime cases which illustrate how harrowing and sometimes sadistic certain forms of hate crime can be (EHRC, 2011, p. 48).

There is some evidence to suggest that there are higher levels of physical violence for certain types of hate-motivated crime. For instance, CSEW data shows that 42% of anti-LGB hate crimes involved violence against the person, compared with 24% (religion), 27% (race) and 34% (disability) (Home Office *et al.*, 2013; see also Cheng

³¹ See also research that suggests that Muslim women who wear the headscarf are more likely to be victims of anti-Muslim hate crimes (Zempi and Chakraborti, 2014; Awan and Zempi, 2015).

et al., 2013).³² Police data from England and Wales similarly shows that 14% of all recorded anti-LGB hate crime relates to offences against the person resulting in injury – this can be compared to 7% of anti-religious hate crimes, 8% for race hate crime and 11% for disability hate crime (Corcoran *et al.*, 2015, p. 11; see also FRA, 2013; Guasp *et al.*, 2013). These high rates of physical violence may be even more severe for trans* people, with Walters and Paterson reporting that 29% of trans* people had experienced at least one hate-motivated physical assault over a three-year period, compared with 12% of LGB people.

It is not always clear why victims of anti-LGB and transphobic hate crime experience such high levels of physical violence. Some academics propose that the brutality of this type of hate violence is likely to be linked to the concept of masculinity and its role within male-to-male peer dynamics. Studies on both anti-LGB and transphobic hate crime have revealed that there are higher levels of physical violence directed towards gay men and towards trans women (Turner *et al.*, 2009; FRA 2013; Guasp *et al.*, 2013), though this is by no means to suggest that female LGB victims and trans men are not numerous or violently targeted. However, gay men who do not act like ‘men’ and trans women who are viewed as being ‘biologically male’ can be perceived as a particular threat to male (masculine) ways of being. Some academics argue that it is this visible threat which results in some individuals actively policing the boundaries of male heterosexuality through brutal forms of violence (Perry 2001, ch. 4). Simultaneously, the demonstration of violence by men can serve to reinforce the perpetrator’s own masculinity, thereby reinforcing their heterosexual male dominance over others (see further Chakraborti and Garland, 2015, chs. 4 and 5).

Different types of offences across strands of hate crime

Official statistics reveal that certain types of offence are more likely to be prevalent amongst different types of hate-motivated crime. Table 1.5 below shows the official breakdown of offences for each of the five strands of hate crime.

³² This is not to downplay in any way the seriousness of all strands of hate crime. The levels of harm caused by hate crime can relate, not just to physical violence, but also to repeat experiences of harassment and verbal abuse, to emotional torment and to wider community impacts (Walters 2014b, ch. 3).

Table 1.5: Principal offence category for different forms of hate crime

Principal offence category	Disability	Homophobic and Transphobic	Racially and Religiously aggravated
Homicide	0.6%	0.0%	0.1%
Offences Against Person	48.0%	59.2%	76.4%
Sexual Offences	3.6%	1.3%	0.3%
Burglary	8.7%	0.3%	0.3%
Robbery	6.7%	1.1%	0.6%
Theft and Handling	12.1%	1.7%	1.7%
Fraud and Forgery	6.4%	0.1%	0.1%
Criminal Damage	2.9%	3.9%	3.3%
Drugs Offences	0.4%	1.2%	0.6%
Public Order Offences	9.3%	29.8%	15.1%

Note: Table reproduced from CPS (2016, p. 15).

Most stark amongst these figures are the differences between disability hate crimes compared with the other four strands. In particular, there appear to be higher rates of property-related offences (theft, burglary, robbery) and sexual offences against disabled victims. There is further evidence to suggest that sexual violence may be particularly under-recorded as a form of hate crime against disabled people. During the Commission's 2011 Disability Harassment Inquiry, evidence was provided of the high prevalence of women with mental ill health reporting rape and sexual assault to the Metropolitan Police Service, yet not one of these was officially recorded (between 2007 to 2011) as having been considered for a sentence uplift based on disability hostility (EHRC, 2011). The inquiry also found a higher prevalence of sexual assault of disabled men than non-disabled men.

The higher rates of both of these types of offence may reflect two factors. The first relates to the *perceived* vulnerability of many disabled victims, a factor that some criminologists argue is central to understanding all hate crime (Chakraborti and Garland, 2012; Walters, 2013), but which is particularly relevant in cases involving disability hate (Quarmby, 2011). This is because disabled victims can often be viewed by perpetrators as easy targets who are less worthy of social respect than

other community members (Sin *et al.*, 2009). Second, the higher rates of property and sexual offences may also reflect the fact that a higher proportion of perpetrators will be personally known to their victim as carers or even family members, that is, individuals who are more likely to have access to the victim's finances and their home. Disabled people may also be more likely to have limited rehousing options, and/or access to alternative carers, making it more difficult for them to report or escape their experiences of abuse. These personal and situational factors provide greater opportunities for perpetrators of disability hate crime to commit offences of a sexual nature, as well as acquiring the victim's property and money.

The importance of 'trigger events'

As we have seen above, a number of perpetrators are likely to be motivated by a desire to retaliate against a perceived attack against their 'ingroup'. Though retaliation can apply to all types of hate crime, its significance can be observed most vividly in cases involving anti-immigrant and anti-religious hate incidents (Awan and Zempi, 2015). Research has shown that large spikes in these types of hate crime (involving both offline and online incidents) occur in the aftermath of 'trigger events', such as terrorist attacks (Awan and Zempi, 2015; Hanes and Machin, 2014; Williams and Burnap, 2016). The murder of Lee Rigby, a British Soldier, by an Islamic extremist, and the Paris Attacks in 2015 were both followed by significant increases in Islamophobic (cyber) attacks throughout the UK (Awan and Zempi, 2015; Feldman and Littler, 2014; Williams and Burnap, 2016). It is likely, therefore, that retaliatory hate crimes are closely associated with those minority groups that are perceived to pose a salient threat to cultural norms and the safety of society.

Commonalities

This final section draws together the research on causation and perpetrator motivations above to highlight a common theme, one which seemingly ties most types of hate crime together. We emphasise that these are merely themes, details of which require further empirical exploration.

Perceptions of threat

Though there are a number of important differences between types of hate-motivation, a common explanatory factor can be found across strands of hate crime.

Whether social psychological, structural or socio-economic, explanations of hate crime can be connected by the fact that external factors, such as group dynamics, socio-economic experiences and cultural and institutional practices, give rise to a perception that 'difference' threatens many people's place in society (see also findings from Abrams, Swift and Mahmood, 2016).

Viewed through the lens of threat we can begin to see how most hate crimes can be understood as a distinct type of offending, which though different in many ways, embodies a common causal factor. Different types of hate crime can be connected by different types of threat. The following examples illustrate how different types of hate crime can be connected by threat. Note that the examples are likely to be interchangeable, that is, the different types of threat outlined below will be applicable to each of the five strands of hate crime:

- A perpetrator of racist or anti-immigrant abuse fears that minority ethnic groups are encroaching upon his/her dominant group identity as well as his/her socio-economic security. This gives rise to a perception that 'outsiders' are threatening his or her cultural ways of being and must therefore be actively resisted.
- A perpetrator of homophobic violence seeks to vanquish those who threaten heterosexual 'normality', as well as the threat that homosexuality will lead to civic degradation and to the perversion of children.
- A perpetrator of transphobic violence feels threatened by individuals who s/he sees as transgressing gender and sexual norms. The threat is so strong that s/he feels a sense of disgust towards trans people.
- A perpetrator of abuse against a disabled person feels threatened by the way in which a disabled person in his/her local community behaves and physically appears. This can give rise to a perception that disabled people pose a danger to society, for example, unfounded rhetoric about people with mental health problems having a higher propensity to become violent.

It is only when perceptions of threat are properly scrutinised that we will be able to fully appreciate how people's fears about others, and their prejudiced attitudes, can be effectively addressed.

Gaps in knowledge

The Commission's report on Prejudice and Unlawful (Abrams, Swift and Mahmood, 2016) concludes that 'little research has attempted to explore the empirical link between prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviours' (p. 133). Our review of the literature concurs with this finding in relation to hate crime. If we are to move towards a more effective strategy for preventing hate crime, a number of gaps in research must be filled. For each recommendation, it is important to emphasise that the build-up of knowledge is only possible where criminal justice agencies provide a robust evidence base for hate crime, ideally working in partnership with academics and other practitioners in this field. Involving key civil society organisations and developing ongoing relationships between agencies and research institutions will therefore be key to realising our recommendations.

1. Why and how do people commit hate crime? The summary above shows that we have a growing knowledge base on this, but much more could be learnt from further studies comparing and contrasting different perpetrator groups. For instance, while we predict that all hate crimes can be linked to 'perceptions of threat', more robust empirical evidence is required to evidence this link. There will also be a multitude of other causal and situational factors that are likely to be connected to different types of hate crime. A more comprehensive analysis of the commonalities and differences across hate crime strands will provide a more robust evidence base from which policymakers and practitioners can then develop strategies that can be applied to all hate crimes, while also providing certain variations to interventions that are focused on specific strands where appropriate.

Specific areas that are important gaps in the evidence base:

- The different levels of prejudice (and intersecting prejudices) held amongst perpetrators and the strength of the causal relationship these have with offending;
- The situational contexts and spatial patterns within which different strands of hate crimes occur, including capturing processes of victimisation;
- The socio-economic factors and socio-cultural variables linked with offending.

In answering some of these questions researchers may also need to ask not just *why* people commit such offences, but why do many of those who feel animosity towards certain groups choose *not* to offend? This reverse perspective may help to elucidate the key factors that help to deter people from hate-based criminality.

2. Existing evidence suggests that a significant proportion of hate crimes is carried out by groups of perpetrators. Understanding more about the relationships between people in these groups, and when and how these lead to the group being more likely to commit a hate incident or crime, will add to the evidence base on perpetrator motivation.
3. Though most of the statistics show that dominant group members are most likely to commit crimes against minority group members, the data nonetheless shows that hate crimes are also frequently committed across minority identity groups (such as where, for example, an Asian perpetrator attacks a Black victim) and, sometimes, by minority groups against the majority as a form of retaliation or 'territorial defence'. We know very little about what causes such minority group hate crimes.
4. Most hate crimes are committed across identity groups. However, we know very little about whether hate crimes occur within protected characteristics. For example, an anti-LGBT hate crime may be committed by one gay person against another gay person, or by a gay person against a trans person. How prolific are such incidents and how does 'hate' work within the context of intragroup hostilities? Do power differentials exist within groups which are concealed by the homogenisation of 'ingroup' identity'? Can these types of hate crimes be framed in the same way as other more typical forms?
5. The role of the internet (including social media/blogs/traditional media) in spreading hate has become patently clear over the past 10 years. Several particularly pertinent questions to explore are: 1. What is the role of hate groups in the dissemination of hate-based material online? 2. Can online hate be correlated with offline incidents? and 3. Does direct exposure to hate material online impact upon attitudes and behaviours, and specifically can it incite offline hate incidents?
6. This report has focused on the five monitored strands of hate crime. A broader project may wish to seek to evaluate whether there are other characteristics

that should (1) Be conceptualised as 'hate crime', and (2) be included under hate crime legislation.

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