

The London School of Economics and Political Science

Abuse around difference: a sociological exploration
of gay men's experiences of 'hate crime' and policy
responses to it

Peter Dunn

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Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis explores gay men's experiences of 'hate crime' and its aftermath. The consequences of their victimisation and the meanings that participants in this research attached to the processes involved are described. Criminal justice policy concerning hate crime is based on the premise that it is more harmful to victims and communities than crime motivated by other factors. That, it has been argued elsewhere, is an assumption. Harmful consequences that participants associated with homophobic victimisation and the interaction of racism and homophobia in particular, are suggested by the accounts of victimisation and its consequences. While the immediate impact of hate-motivated victimisation and other offending were similar, many participants described a series of damaging consequences that flowed from their victimisation. These seemed contingent upon masculine norms that they had challenged, and the pervasive nature of homophobia that, it is argued, hampered effective responses to homophobic victimisation.

Participants' experiences are considered alongside developments in criminal justice policy and practice about 'hate crime'. These are often presented as evidence that victims are now 'at the heart of the criminal justice system' in the UK. Yet many of the participants felt marginalised by their contact with state authorities, identifying few valued outcomes from having sought help and protection. Official accounts of improvements in police responses to 'hate crime' in London and police engagement with minority communities are compared with participants' experiences. In parallel to criminal justice developments, support organisations have sought to improve their services to victims of hate crime. Their effectiveness is considered: the data suggests that aspects of their work that participants found unhelpful were similar to those of state authorities that were experienced as ineffective. A minority of participants valued the help they received, and implications of the study's findings for policing and support services are suggested.

Acknowledgements

Embarking on the production of a PhD in middle age was for me a daunting prospect. I could not obtain any funding for it, so the process involved me moving from full-time work to part-time employment, taking on new debts when it would have been more sensible instead to have been saving money towards my retirement; and relying more on my partner than I would have ideally wanted for occasional luxuries like holidays that I had previously taken rather for granted. Having, for five years, little time for anything other than working and studying could make one a somewhat dull partner and I therefore want to thank my partner, Henry, for his patience, love, support and generosity throughout this process. He never complained about my unavailability, my preoccupation with studying, and the lack of time for our life together.

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Contents

List of tables and figures	7
Outline of chapters.....	7
1. Introduction and literature review	9
1.1 The purpose and aims of this research.....	10
1.2 The research questions.....	13
1.3 A brief summary of the relevant US legislation.....	14
1.4 A brief summary of the relevant UK legislation	16
1.5 The extent of homophobic crime in the UK	20
1.6 Problematic definitions and key conceptual debates in the literature about hate crime, hate crime policy, and legislation	21
1.7 Difficulties with establishing the extent of hate crime	28
1.8 The impact of hate crime and of homophobic hate crime in particular: US research	30
1.9 The extent, impact and consequences of hate crime and of homophobic hate crime in particular: European research	34
1.10 Intersections of race and sexual orientation in hate crime	43
1.11 Theoretical perspectives on the impact of hate crime	45
Summary	50
2. Research design	52
2.1 The need for 'methodological pluralism'	53
2.2 Problematic and unproductive methods	54
2.3 The survey and the semi-structured interviews	57
2.4 Obtaining access	61
2.5 Finding participants.....	62
2.6 Victim participants	63
2.7 Professional participants.....	67
2.8 Data analysis.....	69
2.9 Reflexivity, objectivity and other epistemological concerns	70
2.10 Research ethics	74
3. The nature, impact and consequences of homophobic 'hate crime'	76
3.1 The extent of homophobic crime in London, and its consequences	76
3.2 Findings from the survey	78
3.3 The impact of crime	80
3.4 Space and place: homophobic abuse in public.....	81
3.5 Space and place: homophobic abuse around home	84
3.6 Repeat victimisation and harassment	91
3.7 The nature and consequences of abuse, harassment and violence	92
3.8 The role of bystanders	95

3.9 The meanings of homophobic abuse	97
3.10 What participants regarded as distinctive about their experiences of homophobic crime	98
3.11 The consequences and aftermath of homophobic crime.....	102
Discussion	106
Summary	108
4. Men as victims: ‘victim’ identities and masculinities	110
4.1 Participants’ conceptions of victimhood and identity	111
4.2 Victimization and masculinity	119
4.3 The diverse meanings of victimhood	127
4.4 Resolving victimisation with identity	129
Discussion	130
Summary	132
5. The intersectionality of racism and homophobia	135
5.1 Structured conversations with support service staff and others	136
5.2 Participants’ experiences of racism and homophobia	142
5.3 Racism, homophobia and mixed partnerships	147
Discussion	153
Summary	159
6. Dealing with the damage: responding to homophobic victimisation	162
6.1 The police response to homophobic crime	162
6.2 Survey participants’ views of the policing of homophobic crime	165
6.3 Participants’ experiences of reporting homophobic crime	168
6.4 A case study in institutional failures to protect	170
6.5 A resisted ethnography? Observing the policing of homophobic crime.....	175
6.6 A Data from interviews with MPS LGBT liaison officers	178
6.7 Support service staff’s perspectives on policing	182
6.8 Services to victim of homophobic (and transphobic) abuse	183
6.9 Participants’ experiences of support services	191
Discussion	197
Summary	202
7. Conclusions, implications for policy and practice, and further research	205
7.1 A summary of impact, consequences, police responses and support needs	207
7.2 The distinct and differential impact of homophobic crime	210
7.3 The interaction of homophobia and racism	213
7.4 Men, masculinities and victimisation.....	216
7.5 Implications for policing and for services to victims of homophobic abuse	218
7.6 Recommendations.....	222
7.7 Suggestions for further research.....	224

Concluding comments.....	225
Bibliography	226
Appendices	240
Appendix 1: survey questionnaire	240
Appendix 2: interview schedule	243
Appendix 3: obtaining access to the police.....	244
Appendix four: example of a theoretical memo	246
Appendix five: Summary of the Victim Support case study.....	247

List of tables and figures

Table 1: recorded hate crimes in the UK	20
Table 2: Means of recruitment of participants	67
Table 3: Numbers of racist and homophobic crimes recorded in London	77
Table 4: Frequency of homophobic incidents and reporting to the police	166
Figure 1: Picture of an MPS 'fridge magnet	197

Outline of chapters

Chapter 1 is an introduction and a review of the existing literature. I describe my research questions, summarise the UK and USA legislation about hate crime, and provide some brief information about the extent of homophobic crime in the UK. The chapter contains an overview of the major debates about hate crime policy and legislation that includes a summary of the difficulties involved in implementing legislation, in the UK and elsewhere. I review the existing literature about the effects of hate crime and of homophobic crime in particular, with reference to theoretical frameworks that help explain those effects, and I conclude with a brief summary of existing research about the intersection of racism and homophobia.

Chapter 2 describes my research design, the rationale for my choice of methods, what worked well and what methods were less effective. I consider the main ethical considerations and explore some epistemological issues that seemed pertinent to the subject and the research methods. Some of my research instruments are reproduced in the appendix.

Chapter 3 reports on findings from the survey that I conducted in LGBT venues, and from the 25 semi-structured interviews conducted with gay men and one transgender woman. I explore what happened to each of the participants, where the victimisation happened, and how they said they were affected by the events they described. The findings show that many participants were victimised repeatedly in or around their homes, which has strong implications for policing in particular.

Chapter 4 explores in more detail how the participants viewed their situation in the aftermath of their victimisation, and in particular their perceptions of victimhood and its meanings. For most of the men who participated, being a victim of crime engendered feelings that were closely linked with their views of themselves as men, and as men who had had to resolve many complex issues about their masculinity in the process of coming to terms with being gay. Victimisation re-invoked these feelings for many of them in troubling and unwelcome ways.

Chapter 5 describes the professional participants' and the victim participants' experiences of the intersection of racism and homophobia, and how Black gay men in particular are affected by such dynamics. Three interacting sets of phenomena emerged from the data as being particularly significant and these are discussed in detail, namely: Subordinated masculinities, *machismo* and homophobia; the lack of visibility of Black LGBT people in the literature on race; and the construction of gay male identities along unitary lines.

Chapter 6 is about state and voluntary sector responses to homophobic victimisation; those of the police and support services in particular. I describe participants' experiences of reporting incidents to the police (or in some instances, not reporting), how they were helped by support organisations, and what factors deterred those who did not want support from taking it up. In this chapter I also describe data from interviews with police officers and support organisation staff, and from my participant observation with police officers.

The thesis ends with a **conclusion** that draws together findings, makes some suggestions for further research, and identifies some implications of the research for hate crime policy, policing, and support services.

1. Introduction and literature review

The hallmark of a civilisation is, I believe, how it treats its minorities
- Ed Husain (Husain 2007: 240).

I stood shivering on the steps of the Capitol Building in Washington, DC at a candlelight vigil for the slain Matthew Shepard. Shepard, a twenty-one year old student at the University of Wyoming, died on 12 October 1998 after being tortured, beaten, and tied to a fence by two peers for being gay. Our similarities in age and circumstance did not escape me, and I huddled with the warm light of the candle experiencing the gamut of emotions from fear to confusion to sadness to anger (Engel 2001: 3).

In the extract above, Engel describes the emotional impact of the homophobic murder of a gay man whom he did not know. The richness of the description and its symbolism are striking: he refers to a “gamut” of emotions that includes fear, confusion, sadness and anger. The “similarities in age and circumstance” may have led Engel to fear that he too could be a target for such brutality and his reference to huddling suggests his need to be comforted. Homophobic violence has provoked similar reactions in the UK. In November 2004, I attended a candle-lit vigil in the churchyard of Soho parish church, London for David Morley, a barman at the Admiral Duncan public house who had been murdered in what at the time was thought to be a homophobic attack. The vigil was a powerful emotional experience. BBC News reported that:

People gathered at a packed St Anne’s Church, in Soho, on Friday while others held candles in the street. Some then proceeded to the crime scene... Police say they are continuing to treat Mr Morley’s murder as being motivated by homophobia until it is proven otherwise. Mr Morley worked at the Admiral Duncan pub, in Soho, in 1999 when a nail bomb killed three and injured 73... A tribute from London mayor Ken Livingstone was also read out. “David Morley was well known and well loved in London’s lesbian and gay community”, Mr Livingstone said. Mr Morley’s friend Steve Allen said the gay community had been pleased detectives had acted so quickly. “We’re not looking for vigilantism, we’re looking for justice here”, he said. As the London Gay Men’s Chorus sang at the service, a memorial book was passed among the crowd...¹

I recall experiencing emotions at the vigil for David Morley that were very similar to those described by Engel. There was a sense among those attending that not only was it important to express sympathy for those who knew him personally, but that the vigil was

¹ BBC News 5 November 2004.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/london/3984107.stm>. Visited 20 March 2009. By the time of the trial of David Morley’s killers on December 14 2005, it had emerged that the killing was a so-called instance of ‘happy slapping’.

also an opportunity to reaffirm a sense of community and express outrage that such a thing can happen in a supposedly civilised, diverse society. People talked about the significance of joining together in collectively resisting the oppression that homophobic violence symbolises.

The following year, the homophobic murder of Jody Dobrowski in London was described by BBC News as “shocking in its violence, leaving Jody’s body so badly battered he had to be identified by his fingerprints”.² His killers were sentenced on 16 June 2006 and Judge Brian Barker stated that their only intention had been “homophobic thuggery”. Jody Dobrowski’s mother said “Jody was not the first man to be killed, or terrorised, or beaten, or humiliated for being homosexual...tragically he will not be the last man to suffer the consequences of homophobia, which is endemic in this society”.³ Ben Summerskill, Chief Executive of the gay lobby group Stonewall, claimed that “indications are that gay people are becoming socially withdrawn, a social category like old people, who prefer not to go out at night out of fear of violence”.⁴ This raises the question: How is it that homophobic ‘hate crimes’ have such a powerful effect on people who had no direct personal connection with the victim?

1.1 The purpose and aims of this research

A better sociological understanding of the personal consequences of homophobic verbal abuse, harassment and violence is the intended outcome of this thesis. My aim is to describe participants’ stories of “abuse around difference”, as Jim, a participant in this research, described his experience; stories being as Plummer puts it “social actions embedded in social worlds” (Plummer 1995: 17). Matza draws on C Wright Mills in writing that sociology has “the capacity to see the relation between personal troubles and social structure” (Matza 1969: 67). As Wright Mills himself describes this concept, the ‘sociological imagination’ works “between ‘the personal troubles of the milieu’ and ‘the public issues of social structure’” (Wright Mills 1970 : 14). I suggest that understanding the dynamics of these relationships is key to applying the findings of this research to the making of improved state and voluntary sector responses to hate crime.

2

http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/mpapps/pagetools/print.news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news.50800
Visited 21 June 2006.

³ Judge Brian Barker and Sheri Dobrowski quoted in an article by Nigel Morris and Geneviève Roberts: *Homophobic killers jailed as gay-hate crimes soar*, The Independent 17 June 2006

⁴ Article by Ed Vulliamy: *I’m afraid I can see a big increase ahead in homophobic attacks*, The Guardian, 18 October 2005

Situating men's personal experiences in the context of criminal justice reform may enable an understanding of the practical implications and symbolic meanings that rapidly changing state responses to 'hate crime' have for those victimised by it. It may help us see how the social meanings of individual human experiences contribute to the construction of a social problem through the processes of identifying, naming and addressing it (Berger and Luckman 1967, Best 1990, Fuller and Myers 1941). I will explore the experiences of gay men, and one transgender woman, who were victimised on account of the offender's perception of their sexual orientation, that is who were victims of homophobic (or transphobic)⁵ 'hate crime'. Because state responses to homophobic crime have arisen from wider legislative and policy reforms concerning hate crime in general, I will explore the meanings participants attached to their experiences in the context of UK legislation about hate crime and its policing. The term 'policing' is used here in its widest sense. Policing may be carried out by a variety of institutions (Reiner and Newburn 2008). These encompass a range of state agencies and voluntary organisations that Garland refers to as "an enhanced network of more or less directed, more or less informal crime control" (Garland 2001: 124).

While men's responses to victimisation are bound up with issues of masculinity (Stanko and Hobdell 1993, Walklate 2007b), Walklate suggests that their responses may not always be completely explicable by references to masculinity; or preferably, to a broader range of identities that Connell *et al.* refer to as "different *masculinities*" (Connell *et al.* 2005: 1, my emphasis). We should ask "when is masculinity the key variable in understanding the relationship between men, crime and victimization and when might other variables be more important?" (Walklate 2007b: 161). Other variables may include sexual orientation and race, though I do not claim that these are necessarily more important than masculinities. Race, racism and racist crime are therefore strong themes in this thesis. Not only are many gay men's experiences of hate victimisation shaped by race (including white gay men's experiences, some of whom in this study were concerned about issues arising from the race of the offender); but also the legislation and policing of homophobic crime have developed largely from reforms designed to improve responses to racist victimisation, as I shall show. Some of the gay men I interviewed were of Black and minority ethnic heritage and they had therefore experienced racism and homophobia.

⁵ The term 'transphobic crime' refers to crime in which the offender's prejudice against a person who is or appears to be transgender is a motivating factor, where that prejudice is "harboured towards people on the basis of enactments of [their] gender" (Bettcher, quoted in Chakraborti and Garland 2009: 77)

There is a lack of research on the intersection of racist and homophobic victimisation (Perry 2003) and the meanings of such intersectionality for victims. It was therefore important that this research addressed such matters.

While the concept of hate crime is problematic, its application has been remarkably uncontroversial to policy makers, particularly in the UK (Iganski 1999). The somewhat uncritical acceptance of the concept has nevertheless stimulated extensive reforms in policing, legislation, and other services for victims (Jacobs and Potter 1998, Hall 2005, Iganski 1999) and has therefore been socially and politically consequential. I shall explore the nexus between what gay men think was worse or different, if anything, about hate crime in comparison with other experiences of victimisation thought not to be motivated by hate in the specific sense in which the term 'hate crime' is used: conceptualisations of it are now enshrined in policy and legislation as being qualitatively distinct (and more serious) than similar crimes motivated by other factors. Claims that there is a differential impact of hate crime on victims and communities were, when the UK legislation was introduced, largely untested (Gerstenfeld 2004, Jacobs and Potter 1998), and the nature of any differential is difficult to establish (Green *et al.* 2001). This suggested a gap in the current research literature because the rationale for specific hate crime legislation has been that hate crime has a more damaging impact on communities and individuals than offending motivated by other imperatives. However, more recent research has indicated some differential effects of hate crime, as I shall shortly show.

It may be helpful to explain why I wanted to research this issue. At the time I started, I was employed as Victim Support's Head of Research and Development. We were trying to improve our services to victims of hate crime and we were encountering resistance to this from some parts of the organisation. It was often expressed as being frustration with 'political correctness', especially where the organisational response to homophobic crime was concerned. In making the case for applying resources to service development, I realised there was a lack of research about the personal and social impact of homophobic crime. I also hoped that by undertaking doctoral research, I would become more effective in my role as Head of Research and Development. I had experienced homophobic victimisation myself, which had included being assaulted on a train in 2005 by a group of BNP supporters after I had asked them to stop making racist remarks about the train staff: it was striking how readily they moved from racism to homophobia. As a trustee of Galop (London's LGBT⁶ community safety charity) which is instrumental in improving the police

⁶ LGBT is an acronym for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender.

response to homophobic crime and in supporting victims, I have an interest in improving the strength of the research on which service development should be based.

1.2 The research questions

My research questions were designed to address a range of issues that are currently under-researched (Gerstenfeld 2004, Hall 2005, Iganski 2001, Walklate 2007b), namely:

1. How are gay men who are victims of homophobic hate crime affected by their experiences and the criminal justice system's response; and how do they recover from being victimised?
2. Do they regard hate crime as more damaging or harmful than crime motivated by factors other than the offender's prejudice, and if so, why?
3. To what extent are criminal justice and voluntary sector reforms concerning hate crime experienced as helpful and effective? Are hate crime victims empowered by what hate crime legislation is intended to demonstrate? This has, as McGhee writes, a "declaratory purpose" to show how much we "hate those who hate" (McGhee 2005: 8).
4. What are the specific experiences of people who may be targeted by hate crime perpetrators for more than one reason? Perry argues that there is little understanding of the "specificity of violence experienced by people who occupy multiple positions of culturally defined inferiority: women with disabilities, or gay men of colour" (Perry 2003: 33).

My reasons for narrowing the focus to gay men⁷ is that victims of homophobic crime have been fairly near the bottom level of the "hierarchies of victimization" (McGhee 2005: 114). Gay men have generally not been accorded the status of 'deserving victims' that might apply to victims who are not so closely associated with a stigmatized group (Goodey 2005, Richardson and May 1999). The experience of male victims of violence has been regarded as under-researched (Newburn and Stanko 1994). Hierarchies of victimisation, it is argued, are reinforced by legislation that fails to recognise all groups that are vulnerable to hate crime (Iganski 1999, McGhee 2005, Tatchell 2002). Exploring the intersectionality of homophobia and racism may help determine the extent to which there may be 'categories of connection' (Cogan, cited in Perry 2003) that cross boundaries of

⁷ One participant was a transgender woman. She had heard about my research and she was keen to participate. For this reason, and because as Black transgender woman she had experienced multiple sources of discrimination, I decided it would be important to include her in the sample.

sexuality, gender, race, disability and so on. Victims' reactions to homophobic victimisation are rooted in gender. Criminology has tended to overlook this (Stanko and Hobdell 1993) and criminological theory has been accused of being rather gender-blind (Messerschmidt 1993). The need to research male and female experiences of homophobic crime separately is therefore indicated. As a gay man, I can more readily reach men who might be reticent about talking to researchers, than women. Weeks reminds us that the histories of lesbianism and male homosexuality have different, albeit connected, social histories that are related to the social evolution of distinct gender identities, and they should therefore not be discussed "as if they were part of the same experience" (Weeks 1991: 14).

Hate crime is the product of social structures and processes, not of some inherent, ontological characteristics of offenders (Garofol and Bryant 2004, Young 1990). Comstock writes that because the perpetrators of hate crime are usually young men "whose behaviour is socially sanctioned... they lend themselves to a search for sociological rather than psychological explanations" (Comstock 1991: 2). I suggest that Comstock's assessment applies to research concerning victims as well. Their status as victims is "worse and different" (Lerner 1980: 16); that is, worse than that of people who are not members of minority groups who commonly experience discrimination and who expect to be targeted. Current legislation and criminal justice policy, in Britain and in the USA, is an outcome of social movements and identity politics (Jacobs and Potter 1998, Rock 2004), which are centred in 'difference'. How the processes involved in transforming the policing of hate crime correspond with the experiences of victims, whose lived realities should be at the centre of the debates that generated social, legislative and policy change, is an important consideration in the development of policy and services that may have been overlooked.

In the next three sections of this chapter I will describe the US and UK legislation on hate crime so that a context for later discussions about the policing of homophobic crime in the UK is established. I shall start with the USA, because UK legislation and in particular the policing of hate crime was informed in part by a process of 'policy transfer' from the USA (Savage 2007). After a short summary of UK legislation, I shall set out what is known about the extent of homophobic crime in the UK.

1.3 A brief summary of the relevant US legislation

The term 'hate crime' was first used in a legislative context in the USA in 1985 (Hall 2005). Jenness argues that legislative reform has become the "dominant response" to hate crime in the USA (Jenness 1999: 549): She explains that Congress was alarmed about a sustained increase in inter-group conflict that, it was believed, could best be stemmed by criminalising hate-motivated conduct. The principal federal legislation is the 1990 Hate Crime Statistics Act, which requires states to collect data about offences motivated by prejudice on the grounds of race, religion, sexual orientation and ethnicity. The categories of gender and disability were excluded from the Act's scope. The existence of gender as a hate crime category was recognised in the Violence Against Women Act 1994. In the same year, the Hate Crime Sentencing Act extended the provisions of the 1990 Act, allowing for increased sentences where it can be shown that the offence was motivated by prejudice against the victim's race, ethnicity, religion, colour, nationality, gender, disability or sexual orientation.

Hall saw the US Civil Rights Act 1968 as "being something of a catalyst for modern hate crime legislation" which, while not specifically drawn up to prosecute hate crime, has been the statute under which hate crimes have been dealt with (Hall 2005: 114). It prohibits interference with people's federally protected rights by way of violence on the grounds of a person's race, colour, religion, or nationality. The Hate Crime Prevention Bill of 1999 had, when Hall wrote about it six years later, still not been finally passed by the US House of Representatives (Hall 2005). It was to have included provision for a greater federal role in the prosecution of hate crimes, and a lower burden of proof in prosecuting offences under the Civil Rights Act. According to the Govtrack.US web site, the Bill now seems to have been abandoned.⁸

There are significant variations from one American state to another about which groups are protected, and in some states the legislation has been declared unconstitutional due to conflicts with First Amendment rights to free speech. US state legislation on hate crime illustrates some of the difficulties with definitions and implementation. As McVeigh *et al.* demonstrate, the legislation is applied inconsistently. For example 1,943 hate crimes were reported in California in 2000, but none at all was reported in Alabama (McVeigh *et al.* 2003): an interesting indicator of the different cultural sensibilities involved in the recognition and classification of hate crime.

⁸ See GovTrack.us. H.R. 77--106th Congress (1999): Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 1999, *GovTrack.us (database of federal legislation)*
<<http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bill.xpd?bill=h106-77>> Visited 8 December 2008.

Hate crime data can be illustrative of the problematic nature of hate crime legislation. There is a tendency for the legislation to not be enforced, or to be enforced inconsistently, or for offences to be counted differently, or not counted at all. This seems to apply to most states that have hate crime legislation, in the USA, Europe and probably elsewhere too. For example, while the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe requires that all member states are expected to combat hate crime, strengthen their legislation, and collect data about it, many fail to comply with this requirement, though the UK has performed better than most states on data collection (OSCE 2005).

1.4 A brief summary of the relevant UK legislation

Iganski considers that many of the problems in implementing US hate crime legislation, which includes the need to establish a nexus between the offence and the offender's motivation, were sidestepped by British legislation. This instead required evidence of prejudiced hostility at the time of the offence, but not necessarily that such hostility motivated it (Iganski 1999).

McGhee's view is that hate crime legislation in the UK is "part of the wider strategy... of cooling down group tensions and loyalties so that 'we' can all move to the common ground of shared values" (McGhee 2005: 32). Race relations legislation developed first (Hall 2005). However, governments have tended to send out somewhat mixed messages with race relations legislation on the one hand and allegedly racist immigration legislation on the other (Ratcliffe 2004). The Race Relations Act in 1965 legislated against the stirring up of racial hatred, and a second Act in 1976 outlawed overt discrimination on the grounds of race. In 1982 the Joint Commission Against Racism Report to the Home Secretary drew official attention to the existence of racially motivated violence (Lawrence 2002). In 2001 a statutory instrument added a further requirement to the 1976 Act that public authorities must produce and implement a race equality scheme to eliminate racism in service delivery. This came about partly as a result of the demonstrable failure of public authorities, in particular the police, to eliminate institutional racism from their work (McGhee 2005). The content of the statutory instrument was strongly influenced by the 1999 Macpherson report (Ratcliffe 2004) on the bungled police investigation of the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 (Macpherson 1999).

The Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006 created offences of incitement to hatred on the basis of a person's religion. Goodey considers that the 2006 Act represents a new and

significant move towards recognising the term 'hate crime' in English law (Goodey 2007). Other legislation, including the Disability Discrimination Act and the Equal Pay Act, sought to provide redress to people discriminated against on other grounds such as disability and gender. But at that time, there was no corresponding move to legislate against the expression of discrimination against lesbians, gay men, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people. In April 2010 the Equality Act received Royal Assent.⁹ It brings together and simplifies existing legislation to address a wide range of potential inequalities, including requirements on public bodies not only to avoid discrimination but to actively promote equality in their work.

The genesis of legislation concerning racially aggravated offences, and the social concerns behind it, are evident from some of the parliamentary debates on the then Criminal Justice Bill in 1997. The Home Office talked of wide-ranging support for new offences of racially aggravated violence and harassment. Home Office minister Mike O'Brien stated "we are very concerned about the growth in racist crime and violence, of which one of the worst manifestations was the murder of Stephen Lawrence..." (Hansard, 22 December 1997). Recorded racist incidents had been steadily increasing and it was realised that recorded crime statistics did not reflect the real, pervasive extent of racist crime (Bowling 1998, Iganski 2004). Green (2007) attributes the significant rise in racist incidents at that time to better reporting, more crime, and the police becoming more likely to record racist crime as racist. It is likely that the 1998 Criminal Justice Act's sole focus on racially aggravated offences is partly attributable to 'hard' data being available only about racist crime, the need for legal sanctions concerning other hate crime being therefore more difficult to demonstrate. Here, the key role of statistical information in drawing public attention to a problem and making the case that it must be addressed is evident (Best 1990, 2008).

In contrast, lesbians, and gay men in particular, remained actively discriminated *against* in legislation. The 1967 Sexual Offences Act de-criminalised gay relationships only within very limited parameters that were far more restrictive than those that applied to heterosexual relationships. The 1967 Act actually led to more prosecutions of homosexual relationships, and its effect was to marginalise gay men still further by creating a narrow sphere of decriminalised so-called 'privacy' (McGhee 2005). Whereas in the 1950s the policing of 'homosexuals' had been "carried out with considerable zeal" (McGhee 2001: 118), The Wolfenden Committee, whose recommendations were implemented by the Act,

⁹ http://www.equalities.gov.uk/equality_bill.aspx Visited 21 April 2010.

realised that same-sex relationships existed at all levels of society and would continue to do so. The Committee sought to create a “realm of privacy” for discreet, well-behaved gay men (McGhee 2001: 120). Subsequent legislation concerning sexual orientation did not proceed uninterrupted towards liberalisation: the 1988 Local Government Act prohibited local authorities from ‘promoting’ same sex relationships, including teaching children in schools about it. It was not until 2001 that the age of consent was equalised at 16 for heterosexual and homosexual relationships, following a European Court of Human Rights Ruling in 1997 that the unequal age of consent was a breach of human rights.

Despite Home Office awareness of homophobic crime, legislation that would treat it as an aggravating factor was not introduced until the 2003 Criminal Justice Act. Quoting from ‘*Queer Bashing*’, Stonewall’s 1996 research about the extent of homophobic crime, Jack Straw said “the violence and fear to which gay people are subject is something which diminishes us all”, and he endorsed “the need for more effective action to prevent and detect crimes in which there is a homophobic motive”.¹⁰ By introducing legislation that offered lesbians, gay men and transgender people similar legal protections to those in place for racially aggravated offences, a more inclusive ethos was encouraged, but not without controversy. A difficult development at this time was the formation of the Commission for Equalities and Human Rights in 2007, which brought the Commission for Racial Equality, Equal Opportunities Commission and Disability Rights Commission together. This was presented by the government as part of a package of measures to modernise Britain’s equality legislation that would be combined in a single equalities act (and which would include provisions to outlaw discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation). Proposals for the new Commission attracted criticism from a range of organisations who were concerned that work to combat racism would be diluted by this new focus on multiple sources of discrimination. For some people, such fears were confirmed when it became apparent in 2006 that the new Commission would have no race equality committee.¹¹

In a parallel development, the Attorney General announced in 2007 that the government would not accept a ‘hierarchy of hate’ where action is taken to combat hate crime against some groups but not others. In a speech that year to criminal justice managers she stated:

I have heard arguments that say that by broadening our attention we dilute the effort to eradicate racism - I cannot accept that argument. The same bigotry that

¹⁰ <http://www.petertatchell.net/hate%20crimes/moreequal.htm> Visited 9 October 2007.

¹¹ See <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4616888.stm>. Visited 22 March 2009.

fuels racism fuels other types of hate. Evidence of this can come no clearer than in those terrible attacks in London in 1999 where the same bigoted offender set off explosive devices in Brixton, Brick Lane and Soho, which targeted the Black, Asian and Gay communities. We must not create a 'hierarchy of hate'... We must seek to provide the same high degree of service to all hate crime victims.¹²

As well as indicating the way the David Copeland bombings were eventually instrumental in bringing about a re-conceptualisation of hate crime which was more inclusive than the earlier focus on race, that speech also signified government commitment to tackling all the five recognised 'strands' of hate crime.¹³ These strands encompass disability; ethnicity, including immigration status; gender identity; religious beliefs; and sexual orientation. Of further significance is its message to voluntary organisations that state funding would be difficult to obtain by those who do not commit to all five strands; such as, perhaps, religious organisations that do not accept the validity of same-sex relationships.

It may be that inconsistencies remain in the UK government's more inclusive approach to tackling hate crime. The 2008 Criminal Justice and Immigration Act contained provisions to make incitement to the stirring up of homophobic hatred illegal, in much the same way as mobilising racial hatred is proscribed. However, the implementation of these provisions has been delayed by the House of Lords. Government attempts to push through the legislation have brought opposition from a range of established interests, including the Church, and from people who claim to be upholding principles of free speech. Christopher Biggins wrote in the Daily Mail: "In the name of challenging 'homophobia', the Government is planning to push legislation through Parliament that will make it a serious crime to use any language which could be construed as offensive to gay men and women. The new law will even override the basic requirements of freedom of speech, one of the pillars of our democracy".¹⁴ The suggestion that the legislation could somehow completely overthrow the most cherished aspect of our democracy is redolent of some of the challenges made to US hate crime legislation, which was accused of being unconstitutional.

So, in four decades in the UK, there has been a major change in the legal situation for lesbians, gay men and transgender people. The law's treatment of same sex relationships has moved from the criminalisation of gay relationships, to a limited degree of

¹² Extract from a speech by the Attorney General, Baroness Scotland QC, to the European Hate Crime Conference, London, 12 November 2007.

¹³ David Copeland had stated at his trial "first of all it was gonna be the blacks, then the Asians, then the queers" (quoted in Amnesty International 2001: 48).

¹⁴ Christopher Biggins writing in the Daily Mail, *Will they lock me up for playing Widow Twankey?* 23 March 2009.

decriminalisation, and finally to equality in the age of consent for heterosexual and homosexual people alike; accompanied by the availability of civil partnerships for same sex couples that bestow legal rights almost equivalent to marriage. During the same period, legislation to deal with hate crime has moved from the provisions in the first Race Relations Act criminalising the stirring up of racial hatred, through new offences of racially aggravated offending and finally, to a similar proscription of homophobic abuse. However, inconsistencies remain as in the House of Lord's opposition to implementing the provisions on incitement to homophobic hatred. Decision making about UK law has often inadvertently illustrated, as McGhee describes it, "the fragility of the 'normative' position of heterosexuality, especially in males, in parliamentary and judicial discourses" (McGhee 2001: 160), and the indications are that this remains a relevant assessment of the position today.

1.5 The extent of homophobic crime in the UK

Until April 2008, while some police services collected data about recorded homophobic crime, only data on racist crime was collected and published nationally. From April 2008 all UK police forces have been required to collect data on the five diversity 'strands' and the data for the year April 2008 to 2009 are as follows:

Strand	Number, rounded by publisher to nearest 100	Number of prosecutions brought
Disability hate crime	800	183
Racist crime	39,300	13,008 for race and religion
Religiously motivated crime	1,700	
Homophobic crime	4,300	995
Transphobic crime	200	Not applicable
TOTAL	46,300	14,186

(Table 1: recorded hate crimes in the UK 2008-9. Source: ODIHR¹⁵ 2009).

Given the extent of under-reporting of hate crime, recorded crime figures are of limited value in conveying the extent of hate crime. Stonewall's recent research found that 20 *per cent* of LGBT people in the UK had experienced a homophobic crime or incident in the past three years and 75 *per cent* of respondents did not report the incidents they experienced to the police (Dick 2008). This is indicative of a gap in the current UK research on

¹⁵ Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. I was informed that these data are not, at the time of writing, available from the Home Office even though they were supplied to ODIHR by the Home Office.

homophobic crime in that most of it is quantitative research that tells us little about how people experience hate-motivated victimisation, what its personal and social meanings are, and how victims manage their responses to the experience. In the next part of this chapter I will review the existing literature about firstly, the main conceptual debates on hate crime, what it is, and the legislation that the concept has prompted; and secondly, the effects of hate crime and homophobic crime in particular. Criminal justice developments precipitated by concern about hate crime are controversial, yet application of the concept has been highly effective in promoting legislative and policy change in the UK and elsewhere. It seems worth considering the nature of the arguments that surround the concept, because these arguments are located among issues of victimisation, identity politics, the construction of social problems, and the actions of social movements. It is these factors that account for the way in which state and voluntary sector responses to homophobic victimisation have developed, as I shall show.

1.6 Problematic definitions and key conceptual debates in the literature about hate crime, hate crime policy, and legislation

Definitions of hate crime used in the UK and the USA include:

- a) "criminal conduct motivated by prejudice" (Jacobs and Potter 1998: 27)
- b) "any hate incident, which constitutes a criminal offence, perceived by the victim of any other person as being motivated by prejudice or hate" (ACPO¹⁶ 2005: 9)
- c) "A crime that is motivated by the group affiliation of the victim" (Gerstenfeld 2004: 9).

All of these definitions are in some way problematic. Jacobs and Potter (1998) argue that the concept is ambiguous because of difficulties in determining what is meant by prejudice and which crimes should be treated as hate crimes: questions about the strength of the link between the offender's prejudice and behaviour feature in these difficulties as well. Establishing the offender's motivation creates difficulty in terms of prosecution. In describing ACPO's 2005 definition that added 'prejudice' to an earlier version, Hall suggests that this change is significant because it acknowledges that hate crimes are often "not motivated by hate at all, but by prejudice, which... is often an entirely different thing (Hall 2005:18); though in practice the distinction between prejudice and hate might be very fine. Definitions such as Gerstenfeld's raise problematic notions such as victim

¹⁶ Association of Chief Police Officers

precipitation because they express victims' group affiliations, not offenders' bigotry, as the precipitator of the offence. Even allowing for the fact that interaction between victim and offender is a feature of many crimes (Lamb 1996), feminist and radical victimologists in particular are critical of that analysis (Walklate 2003), perhaps on political rather than sociological grounds. The ACPO definition incorporates a victim perspective, but it offers opportunities for racist individuals to pose as hate crime victims to inflate numbers of recorded black on white hate crimes, perhaps by claiming that any crime committed by a Black offender is racially motivated (Hall *et al.* 2009). The significance of this issue for criminal justice practice is referred to in the literature, but seems not to have attracted much research. A Home Office study found that "there was some confusion amongst police officers as to whether the law applied to white (majority) victims" (Burney and Rose 2002). It is apparent that many of the problems associated with the concept of 'hate crime' are reflected in what the main authorities on the subject have written about its development and the course of its application in legislation and practice.

Jacobs and Potter argue that the process by which hate crime emerged and gained influence was through a competitive politics of victimisation in which some groups won and others lost (Jacobs and Potter 1998). They cite the situation of women, who are not listed in the US Hate Crime Statistics Act as vulnerable to hate crime, as an illustration of this point. Perry's view that women are frequently subject to hate crime supports some of Jacobs' and Potter's concerns, (women being, in their analysis, the losers in this particular struggle) though she occupies a very different position in the debate, arguing that violence against women "is indeed a 'classic' form of hate crime, since it too terrorises the collective by victimising the individual" (Perry 2001: 83).

The processes through which social movements exercise successful influence over legislators is illustrated by the way in which hate crime became the subject of legislation in the USA. The term hate crime first came into use there when the 1985 Hate Crime Statistics Bill, which became an Act in 1990, was debated (Herek and Berrill 1992). Hall attributes the development of US hate crime legislation to the growth of the civil rights movement in the 1960s; while Jenness analysed the role identity politics, a "second wave of civil rights", held in establishing the concept, and its power to bring about legislation (Jenness 2002: 28). The aftermath of the American Civil War, the ending of slavery, and the struggles of the American civil rights movement in the 1960s against racism all, according to Hall, "laid the theoretical and practical foundations for modern hate crime legislation" (Hall 2005: 47).

Turning to the position in the UK, Rock sets out the way in which a process of identity politics operated in Britain that was similar to the “second wave of civil rights” in the US to which Jenness refers. Rock describes a movement of radical municipal politics, centred particularly on London and the old Greater London Council, which claimed to promote the interests of Black and minority ethnic people, lesbians, and gay men. Subsequent criminal justice reforms introduced by the new Labour government of 1997 were driven by a “common pool of stakeholders” (Rock 2004: 100), active in social movements, who were in effect knocking at a door that had already been opened by the new government’s aspiration to place victims “at the centre of the criminal justice process” (Alun Michael MP, July 1996, in Rock 2004: 7).

In contrast to the American approach, in Britain the concept of hate crime has strongly influenced legislation, but without the term being used in statute. Here, legislation recognises the enhanced seriousness of existing offences, such as assault, if they can be shown to have been hate-motivated. McGhee (2005) considers the UK legislation to be ‘declaratory’, designed to send out two strong messages: that the behaviour is unacceptable, and that the experiences of those victimised by hate crime will be taken seriously. Iganski (1999) sees three related but slightly different purposes in the legislation: deterrence, promotion of social cohesion, and an impetus for a more effective criminal justice response to hate crime. He argues that the legislation will lead to more effective policing, which in turn will encourage victims to report, adding that there is evidence to indicate that the strong messages are heard by potential perpetrators (Iganski, speaking at the conference *Tackling Hate Crime*, London, 29 June 2006). The deterrent imperative that Iganski suggests here is echoed by Burney and Rose who argue that the legislation is symbolically effective: racially aggravated charges are very frequently contested. “It is the shame of a racist label as well as a heavier penalty that defendants fear. This implies that the law is in tune with public opinion” (Burney and Rose 2002: xv). However, the utilitarian argument that locking up racists will help deter them may be problematic. Bowling and Phillips write that punishment often “fails to achieve its stated ends”: if it is perceived to be unfair it can have unintended consequences such as increasing the offender’s defiance and deviant identities being confirmed (Bowling and Phillips 2002: 126). It may also lead to further entrenchment of prejudice (Jacobs and Potter 1998). Gerstenfeld refers to the risk that the legislation may produce, in its application, an ‘over-justification effect’ when someone attributes their unfavourable situation to the perceived unfairness of the punishment not to their behaviour, and their faulty beliefs are thereby confirmed (Gerstenfeld 2004). Meanwhile, the availability of

legal sanctions that are largely inoperable because charges can rarely be proved may impede rather than aid the process of getting discriminatory conduct treated as material evidence in court (Bourne 2002).

Notions of the promotion of social cohesion may reflect what Durkheim described as the role of the law in promoting the 'collective conscience', while punishment of hate crime provides a 'visible index' of society's moral order (or perhaps an index of some groups' conceptions of it). In this way, the legislation reflects what Garland refers to as a central element in the "moral circuitry" that crime and punishment sets in motion (Garland 1990: 33). Plummer (1995) also comments on how legislation may reflect Durkheim's notion of law providing a common framework, a minimum set of ground-rules, recognising the role of law in constraining and limiting a society's discordant voices. Burney and Rose's reference to the law being in tune with public opinion seems to support this analysis; but perhaps only if appreciation of the social structures that support prejudice and victimisation, that are in turn upheld by violence, is set aside (Mason 2002). Indeed, Sibbitt's research on the perpetrators of racist violence would question the validity of such claims: she concluded that the views of perpetrators towards ethnic minorities tend to be shared by the wider communities to which they belong, and perpetrators thereby feel their actions to be legitimated (Sibbitt 1997). Similarly, when reviewing research with young skinheads in Germany who had committed racist acts, Green *et al.* (2001) noted that prevailing social attitudes towards 'foreigners' led to them feeling that their behaviour was justified. Classical notions of the law upholding moral order and cohesion, and reflecting prevailing norms (that are sometimes unclear, contradictory and shifting) may therefore be problematic in relation to hate crime.

Tatchell (2002) describes the development of hate crime legislation in the UK as 'piecemeal', reflecting the aftermath of the racist murder in 1993 of Stephen Lawrence. The 'piecemeal' nature may also be illustrative of a lack of political commitment to including other marginalised groups in legislation designed to punish hate motivated offending. This was challenged by the bombings in 1999 of Brixton, Brick Lane, and Old Compton Street where David Copeland, a 'mission offender', targeted Black, Muslim, and gay people in turn. Copeland committed his atrocities when Macpherson was most visibly in the political foreground, demonstrating the vulnerability of all minority groups to violent attack. It may have helped establish the 'category of connection' between

minority groups¹⁷ to which Cogan refers (in Perry, 2003) and what Mason refers to as the “common frame of reference” provided by the intolerance of difference (Mason 2002: 39); at least where lawmakers, if not the general population, are concerned. The eventual inclusion of religious minorities under the protective cover of hate crime legislation supports Tatchell’s view. Spalek (2006) argues that there are deficiencies in the 1998 Act, which failed to outlaw victimisation on the grounds of religion; and that a backlash against Muslims after the September 11th 2001 terrorist atrocity suggests religion has been a more significant motivator of hate crime than racism.

Gadd, Dixon and Jefferson’s research with racist crime perpetrators reveals that a high proportion of Black people are prosecuted under the provisions of the 1998 Act. They found that “some of the least racist interviewees we met had convictions for racially aggravated offences, while some of the more racist interviewees had none” (Gadd, Dixon and Jefferson 2005: 2). Dixon and Gadd refer to the “hortatory messages” of the legislation and they question whether the “further criminalisation of already disadvantaged people is too high a price to pay for creating the impression that the criminal justice system is taking ‘race equality’ seriously” (Dixon and Gadd 2006: 317). This might suggest that the legislation is at risk of undoing its own message if, as Garland (1990) argues, the punishment is so excessive that the method undercuts the message. Burney asks “how far the criminal law can really be expected to exert a corrective influence on dissonant social relations?” though she acknowledges the value in the law providing a “symbol of civilised norms” (Burney 2003: 34).

I shall move now from describing the UK legislation to considering problems in its implementation. Policing, writes Reiner, “reflects the conflicts and contradictions of the wider social structure, culture and political economy”: so policing alone can never achieve an orderly society, nor can it “operate in the harmonious way implied by some prophets of community policing” (Reiner 2000: 109). Nor is the claim that the police impartially enforce the law tenable, because in a society with class and social divisions, the operation of the law will itself reinforce those divisions (though it can be argued that the law is sometimes instrumental in restraining the power of elites). The tendency of policing to reinforce social divisions can be seen in the policing of minority groups who have often

¹⁷ A movement called ‘17-23-30 No to Hate Campaign’ was formed in 2010 in London to commemorate Copeland’s bombings. The numbers in the name refer to the dates in April 1999 when the three attacks took place. See <http://www.17-24-30.com>, visited 23 April 2010. The ‘category of connection’ that this might represent is limited because it is not clear to what extent all the minority communities that Copeland attacked were represented in that movement.

been subject to controlling or oppressive policing (Bell 2002, Bowling 1998, Stanko and Curry 1997). Bowling argues that in the 1980s there was, with growing awareness of the extent of racist attacks, a “crisis of legitimacy” in the response of the Metropolitan Police, with many people arguing that because the police could not deal effectively with racist attacks, recourse to self-defence was legitimate (Bowling 1998: 71). This, combined with the general failure to recognise the limitations of policing in a changing post-industrial society caused policing in the 1990s to enter a phase of ‘post-legitimacy’ (Reiner 2000).

Jacobs’ and Potter’s argument that hate crime legislation is undesirable because of the difficulty of implementing it may to some extent be supported by experience. Goodey draws attention to the difficulties in applying the legislation, and in collecting data about it. Failure to implement hate crime legislation in many EU states means that “the ‘law on the books’ does not reflect ‘the law in action’” (Goodey 2007: 424). The problem of obtaining and comparing reliable data about extent and prevalence does not only exist across jurisdictions, but within them too: for example, what offences the police will, and will not, record as hate crimes changes over time (Green *et al.* 2001).

Iganski explores the issues raised by claims that there is a deterrent value in enhanced penalties for hate crime offences. If the penalty for the underlying offence is sufficient deterrent, there is no need for an enhanced penalty. If it is not, then victims of the underlying offence are not being served by legislation (Iganski 1999). Similarly, if two people who have been assaulted for different reasons hear that one incident is more serious than the other, the person whose experience is deemed less serious may well be offended (Iganski 2001). Returning to the US situation briefly to illustrate this argument, Bell’s research found that US police officers did not give priority to low level assault that was not hate-motivated (Bell 2002) so in this analysis, the designation of hate crime might be an expedient means of determining priorities in the police response to crime. This supports Iganski’s view that the stimulation of improvements in criminal justice practice is a legitimate purpose of law.

Critics of hate crime legislation suggest that it inappropriately punishes thought and speech (Jacobs and Potter 1998, Jacoby 2002), but Bell’s research led her to conclude that the concern “that individuals are charged with hate crime violations just for using slurs or epithets is not borne out by the evidence” (Bell 2002: 171). She argues that hate crime laws do not give special protection to particular categories of people; they give protection to everyone, as we all potentially fit into one of those categories. In this way,

heterosexuals attacked because they are assumed by the offender to be gay would be protected. She concludes that “my finding that the police were able to walk the fine line between policing hate speech and policing hate crime is unexpected, given most of the existing literature on the police” (Bell 2002: 185). However, Berk Boyd and Hamner found three major sets of problems that beset criminal justice implementation of hate crime laws. These are problems in identifying hate crimes and in assessing motive; and lack of clarity around vague terminology such as ‘race’ and ‘intimidation’. They also noted difficulties with the subjective nature of judgements as to motive, with officers’ opinions being coloured by their own stereotyping and their beliefs about who is and who is not deserving (Berk, Boyd and Hamner 2006). However, British legislation presents less of a problem in assessing motive, though proving it in court may be quite a different matter.

It is argued that hate-motivated offending is a legitimate subject of sentence enhancement because of its potential to provoke retaliation by groups that are victimised, and this has a destabilising effect on communities (Craig 2004, Iganski 2001). Garofol and Bryant argue that “any group that is disfavoured, that is the target of animosity from a substantial segment of the population, should be considered as especially if not uniquely vulnerable to criminal victimisation” (Garofol and Bryant 2004: 343). However, there is a range of difficulties with the implementation of hate crime legislation, including in the UK, the tendency of the racially aggravated element of charges to be dropped (Burney and Rose 2002, Hall 2005). Ineffective legislation can make matters worse because in its powerlessness, it suggests to offenders that they are invulnerable (Minow 2002). Hamm (1994) argues that in Canada hate crime legislation has been largely unworkable because of difficulties in establishing the ‘wilful’ promotion of hatred, and because prosecutors are reluctant to initiate proceedings that they do not believe will result in convictions. Jenness (2002) asks whether hate crime legislation reverses the important principle that the law should treat everyone equally. However, in an earlier paper she wrote that “it is only through the adoption of legislation that hate crimes became a meaningful term and the victimisation associated with the problem of hate crime was rendered apparent and clearly defined” (Jenness 1995: 224). Perhaps what these analyses all illustrate are the ‘gaps and silences’ around the demand for law as a solution to hate crime (Moran 2001). He concurs with Garland’s view that while law has become the dominant response to crime control, it has increasingly apparent limitations.

In summary, there are problems with the concept and implementation of hate crime laws in Britain, the USA, and other jurisdictions. It is claimed that they are unconstitutional,

inappropriate and ineffective, yet they are also said to be powerfully symbolic in marking the disapproval of civilised societies of the expression of discriminatory behaviour, and in stimulating improvements in the policing of hate crime. Lawrence concludes that while legislation is not a completely effective response, “our inability to solve the whole problem should not dissuade us from dealing with parts of the problem” (Lawrence 2002: 148).

An important question is therefore: What do victims themselves think of the law and what difference does it make to their experience? What emerges from the literature about hate crime is a number of unanswered questions concerning victims’ experiences of it. These include: Are the ‘strong messages’ about its unacceptability heard by victims; are they helpful messages that encourage victims to report hate crime and seek help; do victims feel empowered by legislation and criminal justice policy; and to what extent is any differential impact, that could justify hate crime legislation and policy, real? Also of interest is why, when the ability of the police to detect all but the most serious crime is very limited (Reiner 2000) there is still an almost exclusive focus in police performance management on sanction detections?¹⁸ These are measures that, as this thesis will show, in many instances signify less benefit to victims than other outcomes.

1.7 Difficulties with establishing the extent of hate crime

The potential extent of racist and homophobic crime; of under-reporting, and under-recording, in the USA and the UK is well documented (McGhee 2005, Hall 2005, Herek, Cogan and Gillis 2002, Perry 2003). Bowling (1998) estimated that only five *per cent* of racist crime in east London was recorded as such by the police. Studies have found similarly low levels of reporting of homophobic crime (Galop 1998, Jarman and Tennant 2003, Kelley 2009, Mason and Palmer 1996, Stormbreak 2004¹⁹). Most find broadly similar reasons for the non-reporting of both racist and homophobic violence. These include fear of reprisal, expectation of a discriminatory response from the police, concern about being investigated oneself, and the belief that nothing can be done about it (Chahal and Julienne 1999, Jarman and Tennant 2003, Victim Support 2006). For lesbians and gay men who are not open about their sexuality, there is the added fear that reporting homophobic victimisation will result in being ‘outed’. For young lesbians and gay men in particular,

¹⁸ ‘Sanction detection’ is the term used in police performance indicators when the person who committed a crime has been caught and dealt with by caution, a fixed penalty notice, or prosecution.

¹⁹ This research was commissioned by Victim Support Havering and the local NHS Primary Care Trust in 2004. Stormbreak did not publish a report.

this could result in their ejection from the home or place them at risk of violence from family members (Mason and Palmer 1996, Moran and Skeggs 2004). Sampson and Phillips (1995) found that people report in an attempt to gain protection from further victimisation, but Victim Support (2006) noted that few people who reported incidents received such protection.

Kelley (2009) gathered data on the extent of homophobic crime in London by asking three voluntary organisations that provide services to lesbians and gay men to collect data about the numbers of service users disclosing homophobic abuse. The data were then compared with Metropolitan Police Service data on reported homophobic crime. Data analysis was complicated because much of what was disclosed (for example, homophobic bullying at work) did not necessarily fit neatly into crime categories. This illustrates the complexity of studying the extent of hate crime. Over a third of victims of violent homophobic abuse who contacted an LGBT organisation had not (yet) reported it to the police. This might indicate relatively high levels of under-reporting even of violent incidents, though it should be noted that British Crime Survey data shows that the police are told about only one third of assaults not resulting in injury (Walker *et al.* 2009). Half of victims of all types of incidents contacted an LGBT organisation after they had reported to the police: most wanted either housing advice, help with dealing with the police, or support (Kelley 2009). Over half of all incidents took place in or near victims' homes. There were more repeat incidents than one-off incidents disclosed, which perhaps reflects the tendency of people to seek help when the abuse becomes sustained. Women were more likely than men to be victimised at or near their home, as were young people. Ninety *per cent* of incidents disclosed to the housing association that participated in the study were repeat incidents, compared with fifty *per cent* disclosed to Galop (Kelley 2009). That suggests neighbour harassment may be seen by those affected as a housing problem rather than a criminal justice issue, and it supports Moran and Skeggs' view that recourse to the law is only one means of coping with victimisation. They argue that "much more research is needed to understand how and when law and criminal justice paradigms come into play in lesbian and gay attempts to make sense of violence and safety management" (Moran and Skeggs 2004: 54). Kelley concludes that under-reporting of homophobic crime in London remains a serious issue; that many people "'tell' rather than 'report'" (they may tell an LGBT organisation not the police), and data about such incidents are not collated, published, or disseminated among agencies (Kelley 2009: 10). While there is some good police practice, there is an array of ill-coordinated reporting facilities "that has led to an uneven and inconsistent approach to encouraging the reporting of hate crime across London"; and the

policing of homophobic crime is concerned with increasing the number of reports “rather than focusing on outcomes sought by victims” (Kelley 2009: 35-36).

In the next section I will review the literature on effects and impact, while the very limited literature on what is effective in meeting support needs will be described in chapter 6. Reviewing the literature about impact and effects is complicated by the fact that different jurisdictions have different legislation, diverse styles of policing, and variations in culture that may influence how their citizens are affected by homophobic crime. For this reason, I have reviewed research from the USA, UK and elsewhere separately; though discussing the international body of research evidence together was necessary when summarising the literature at the end of this section. Savage describes the manner in which many aspects of policing reform in the UK emanate from the USA and this process of ‘policy convergence’ (Savage 2007) can be seen in the development of UK hate crime legislation and services. I shall therefore start by exploring the US literature where much of the research about impact and effects has been conducted.

1.8 The impact of hate crime and of homophobic hate crime in particular: US research

Some US authors make parallels with terrorism in reflecting on the harm that hate crime causes to wider communities who have no personal connection with individual victims (Hamm 1994, Herek *et al.* 2002, Perry 2001); and Moran and Skeggs (2004) reach similar conclusions from a British perspective.²⁰ Arguing that women should be accorded the status of a group vulnerable to hate crime, Perry (2001) encapsulates much of the popular thinking about what is distinctive about hate crime: “...it terrorises the collective by victimising the individual” (p83). She refers to the role hate crime plays in “policing the relative boundaries of identity” (p2). Hate crime controls not just victims but entire communities as it punishes anyone who, by ‘doing difference’, steps out of line from the established norm.

There is a small body of empirical evidence about the extent and nature of any differential effects of hate crime on both individuals and communities. Hall cites the 2002 Herek, Cogan and Gillis study of homophobic crime victims in the USA as one of the few empirical studies that address the issue. They were “struck by the physical and

²⁰ Moran and Skeggs point out that while such claims may help legitimise demands for enhanced punishment, they should be seen in the context of contemporary law and order politics, which will make them subject to reinterpretation and rearrangement.

psychological brutality of the hate crimes described... it results in heightened and prolonged psychological distress after the crime" (Herek *et al.* 2002: 336). However, much the same could be said about other crime, such as sexual attacks on children. Herek *et al.* concluded that the brutality of the victimisation they heard about has consequences for the entire LGBT community because it conveys the message that LGBT people who are visible as such will not be safe. Bell's research involved five months of daily participant observation with US police officers. Drawing on a small number of comparative studies of racist victimisation and other crime, as well as her own research, she asserts that hate crime victims "suffer longer and more intensely than victims in other groups" (Bell 2002: 5).

Several US studies suggest that hate crime has a greater impact than other forms of victimisation. Factors contributing to this are listed as being stress, depression, withdrawal, and social isolation. Several writers cite the brutality of homophobic violence; but it is not clear why this may result in a greater impact than other serious violent crime. Herek and Berrill (1992) quote an emergency room doctor who talked of how homophobic attacks "were the most heinous and brutal I have encountered... (they) showed the absolute intention to rub out the human being" (Herek and Berrill 1992: 25). They note that young gay men seem to be most at risk of homophobic violence. Comstock (1991) also quotes medical staff in noting the extreme nature of the violence used in some homophobic attacks. However, the statement quoted above was made at a San Francisco public inquiry about homophobic crime. There may have been pressure to overstate the impact and it is possible that the same might be said of other violent crime. Perry (2001) argues that homophobic violence is often excessive, more than is necessary to subdue someone (Perry 2001), though in this instance she too appears to be referring to the comment that is cited above.

The research of McDevitt *et al.* is perhaps more instructive in that they studied the differential affects of hate crime and crimes motivated by other factors. Noting methodological limitations and potential bias in empirical work about differential impact, they set out to compare the experiences of victims of hate crimes with those of people who had experienced non-hate motivated crimes. They describe the 'unique dimensions' of hate crimes that make them "more harmful to the social fabric of society than comparable crimes without a bias motive" (p46). These include victim interchangeability, the capacity for secondary victimisation (for example, burning a cross in public is likely to make the entire local Black and minority ethnic community feel victimised), and the

potential for these dynamics to interact and damage community cohesion (McDevitt *et al.* 2004). They used the Horowitz Impact of Events Scale,²¹ and with access to police records they reminded participants of the incident(s) they had reported. Hate crime victims were more likely to be victimised in a place that is familiar to them. This may have implications for their feelings of safety and security; and for their recovery, in that victims were less likely to be able to attribute partial responsibility for their victimisation to their own actions.²² They “did not believe they could do anything to prevent future victimisation... (feeling) largely powerless to protect themselves” (p53). In addition, they “experienced the adverse psychological sequelae more often than the non-bias (hate) group on every item we measured” (p53). Hate crime victims were more nervous, more depressed, less likely to feel safe, and more likely to be concerned about re-victimisation. The authors concluded that hate crime victims have different needs, and agencies “should be cognizant of these differences in assisting bias crime victims” (McDevitt *et al.* 2004: 56). This research marks some progression in knowledge about these matters, as does the work of Herek *et al.* who obtained data about the effects of hate crime compared with other crimes. Half of their sample had experienced homophobic crime. Scores for psychological distress in victims were highest for those who had experienced hate crime, followed closely by those who had experienced both hate crime and non-hate motivated crime. The authors concluded that the findings “are consistent with Garnets *et al.*’s (1990) hypothesis that hate crimes - by attacking the victim’s identity as well as her or his person or property - can inflict psychological damage beyond that associated with non-bias crimes” (Herek *et al.* 2004: 246).

A study of lesbian and gay young people found “verbal and physical abuse as stressors have been associated with school problems, substance abuse, running away, prostitution and suicide” (DiPlacido 1998: 142); but the sample was drawn from organisations working with troubled young people, so the inference that might be drawn about other populations is limited. DiPlacido observes that the combined effects of sexism, racism and homophobia may create intense stressors for racial and sexual minorities. She notes the significance of internalised homophobia, which can lead people to believe the bad things that are said about them, thus damaging their mental health (Herek and Berrill 1992). Shame is

²¹ An established instrument in psychological testing that helps to quantify the emotional consequences of potentially damaging events.

²² Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983) found that victims who attribute partial responsibility for their victimisation to their own actions – such as forgetting to lock the front door, are more likely to recover than those who make such attributions to an inherent personal characteristic. This may be because those who attribute the event to their own behaviour are able to restore a sense of control by resolving to behave differently in future.

experienced by some victims. Lerner quotes a Jewish man who spoke of his own shame at having been the subject of anti-Semitism (Lerner 1980). The source of his shame was the event itself - the fact that human beings can do such things to others. Some writers note the guilt and self-blame that homophobic victimisation can engender (Herek and Berrill 1992, Mason 2002). Delgado and Stefancic cite US research that seems to show a link between the experience of racial discrimination and health problems. They write that racial insults are different to other insults because they “conjure up the entire history of racial discrimination” (Delgado and Stefancic 2004: 13). Fleshman describes the destructive power of homophobic speech, particularly when articulated by an authority such as the Church, though she draws on her own experience as a lesbian preacher rather than citing empirical evidence of any harm caused (Fleshman 2003).

While most studies claim the effects of hate crime to be more serious than those of other crimes, Jacobs and Potter cite American research in arguing there is little differential impact. However, it seems that none of the studies they refer to compared the experiences of hate crime, and non-hate crime, victims. Jacobs and Potter alleged that one study that showed a differential impact was based on focus groups “in which victims shared [and perhaps influenced? amplified?] feelings, reactions and thoughts” (Jacobs and Potter 1998: 83, their parentheses). They do not specify why they believe victims might have exaggerated their reactions: it could be equally possible that victims might understate the impact. Indeed, Herek, Cogan and Gillis claim that “most victims who categorize their crime as (a hate crime) have good reasons for doing so” (Herek, Cogan and Gillis 2002: 332). This supports the ethical imperative to respect victims’ attribution of motive and assessment of impact unless there are good reasons to do otherwise: if people feel that an experience is serious they will experience its consequences as serious. In contrast to Jacobs’ and Potter’s position, Garnets *et al.* refer to their own experience - perhaps significantly, as counsellors - in arguing that “victims often minimise the impact of hate motivated verbal attack and subsequently do not understand their feelings of fear and self-hatred” (Garnets *et al.* 1992: 215). Jacobs and Potter (1998) suggest that their concerns about inbuilt bias could be addressed by studies that use probability samples as a way of guarding against the tendency of those most likely to have been victimised to participate in research.

Studying the US literature about hate crime suggests that many studies employed methods that may have yielded findings of dubious reliability; particularly as many data were derived from limited surveys conducted and reported by small community organisations,

and not subject to peer review (Herek *et al.* 2004). Gerstenfeld (2004) criticised two studies by the US National Institute Against Violence and Prejudice that claimed to demonstrate a differential effect for being not methodologically strong. Herek *et al.* acknowledge that at least one respondent in their research misattributed a homophobic motive to their victimisation simply because both they and the perpetrator were gay (Herek *et al.* 2004); while Iganski points out that in one such study some victims of 'parallel crimes' may have actually suffered greater emotional harm than those experienced by hate crime victims (Iganski 2008). Referring to US literature about hate crime, Green *et al.* (2001) find that accounts "describe and denounce incidents of hate crime, occasionally with language that betrays a greater concern with normative than with methodological issues" (p491). In view of these limitations, and mindful of the unsatisfactory nature of assumptions that what pertains in one jurisdiction will apply to another, it may be helpful next to review the literature about studies conducted in the UK and elsewhere.

1.9 The extent, impact and consequences of hate crime and of homophobic hate crime in particular: European research

European and Australian research may help indicate the extent to which findings from the USA may apply to other countries. The historical context is important: we should note the increased awareness of racist crime after the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993; and the interest taken by the new Labour government of 1997 in its extent and effects. Bowling argues that government interest in racist crime became evident in 1981 when the Home Secretary was presented with the first evidence by the Joint Committee Against Racism that included a research report about racism in East London. This referred to "an appalling catalogue of violent crime" (Bowling 1998: 51). Likewise, Hall (2005) claims that the British government ignored racist violence until the 1970s, though the passing of legislation against racial discrimination in the 1965 and 1968 Race Relations Acts signals the existence of political concern about racism, if not racist violence, at that time (Ratcliffe 2004). Concerning the effects of racist crime, Bowling (1998) notes that as early as 1986 in a House of Commons debate, these were described as turning a home into a prison.

There appears to have been little further research on racist crime until the 1990s when Sampson and Phillips found high levels of racist abuse in an east London council estate. This was largely unreported because victims did not think the police would respond, they

feared reprisals, and they experienced shame about being a victim. When attacks were reported, little action was taken by the authorities, even though “the nature of the incidents was not merely minor, as suggested by some agency workers” (Sampson and Phillips 1995: 11). They noted the deleterious effects of racist attacks on health and community cohesion, and their data were ignored or contested by state authorities. Bowling’s 1999 research, again in London, found far higher rates of racist victimisation among Black than among white respondents: 21 *per cent* of Black women and 17 *per cent* of Black men had recently experienced racist victimisation. Comparing their data with British Crime Survey data, Bowling and Phillips estimated that as little as five *per cent* of racist attacks in the area were recorded as such by the police. Racist violence was described as being part of a continuum of daily experience that contributed to BME people having a greater fear of crime than white people (Bowling and Phillips 2003: 158-9). They argued that in a racist attack, harm is greater because victims are targeted for their characteristics, and this is very different from the harm caused by being picked on at random as it engenders feelings of hostility, tension, and vulnerability.²³ They noted the failure of criminal justice agencies to record racist incidents. Agencies feared provoking a white backlash and they resented ethnic minorities’ alleged failure to integrate. Racist crime victims “were not defined as victims, were blamed for their own victimisation, or informed that inaction against offenders was the most appropriate statutory response *all at the same time*” (Bowling and Phillips 2003: 167, their emphasis). In their east London study, Sampson and Phillips noted that the Housing Department seemed to “want to suppress the issue”. A senior housing officer said racist incidents were a “political tinderbox and well left alone” (Sampson and Phillips 1995: 28). Similarly, Chahal and Julienne’s findings describe the impact of racist victimisation, which “turns normal, daily activities into assessments of personal safety and security” (p5). Quoting Hesse *et al.* (1992), they argue that it creates ‘spacial insecurity’ because life becomes fragmented into a series of ‘anxiety situations’ (Chahal and Julienne 1999: 12). This may apply in particular where hate crime is committed by neighbours. The MPS *Understanding and Responding to Hate Crime Project* challenged assumptions that hate crimes tend to be committed by strangers, noting that MPS case records showed that most of those reported to the police were committed by people known to the victims, often their neighbours (Kielinger and Stanko 2002, Stanko *et al.* 2003). These findings suggest that police strategies to combat hate crime should include work with schools and dispute mediation projects (Stanko 2004).

²³ This may support the utilitarian view that higher sentences are justifiable to prevent further harm. Targeted attacks indicate a higher level of premeditation and hence culpability, which should be reflected in sentencing (Bowling and Phillips 2002).

Turning to the nature of the damaging effects of hate crime, and dealing firstly with the nature of harms caused by verbal abuse and hate speech, the literature points to the source of such harm being in the denotative and connotative meanings commonly associated with abusive terms: white is associated with pure, black with dirty. Such epithets carry the power to harm because of their negative connotations, particularly when these interact with three further factors - the general pervasiveness of discrimination; the threat of violence, actual violence, or damage to property; and the often repeated nature of such victimisation (Bowling 1998, Bowling and Phillips 2003). Epithets that characterise gay sexuality as dirty operate in a similar way: if it can be presented as unclean it can be excluded from legitimate social and political life (Mason 2002). Verbal abuse causes victims to be reluctant to leave their homes (Victim Support 2006); for LGBT people it represents the 'price you pay' for being open about one's sexuality and it diminishes the sense of sexual identity (Jarman and Tennant 2003, Mason 2002); it causes a 'climate of fear' that reminds people of public intolerance towards them (Stanko and Curry 1997); and it exacerbates the cumulative effect of previous experiences of discrimination and abuse (Craig-Henderson 2009, Hall 2005).

Shaw's research supports Bowling and Phillips' view of repeat victimisation as a damaging feature of hate crime. She illustrates the way that revictimisation aggravates the seriousness of each incident, arguing that chronic victims experience a sense of loss of their normal life so powerful that it is similar to bereavement. Using the Kübler-Ross model of the four stages of bereavement, Shaw suggests that when victimisation is constant, victims never get the chance to work their way successfully through to recovery. The loss they experience is the loss of their life as it was and the loss of the potential of their life as it should be (Shaw 2001). Green refers to the direct harm that is caused by "a pervasive undercurrent of harassment and intimidation" and he quotes Virdee's (1995) research where a third of participants said the way they lived their lives was constrained by the fear of being racially harassed (Green 2007: 101). Findings about harm are fairly consistent across a range of research concerning racist and homophobic crime (Chahal and Julienne 1999, Dick 2008, Mason and Palmer 1996, Sampson and Phillips 1995, Victim Support 2006). The 2006 Victim Support study included a small number of victims of transphobic crime and their experiences were similar. This consistency is perhaps surprising because studies of the effects of violent crime in general have noted quite wide differences in the nature of the harm that victims experience (Laurigio and Resick 1990, Spalek 2006).

Before focusing on the extent and impact of homophobic crime in particular, it may be helpful at this point to consider the literature about the extent to which hate-motivated verbal abuse, harassment and violence may have a differential impact, the nature of and reasons for that impact, and the effects of hate crime on members of the target community who are not directly victimised. Lawrence (2002) claims that hate crimes “attack victims not only physically but at the core of their identity, causing a heightened sense of vulnerability beyond that normally found in crime victims... (carrying) the clear message that the target and his group are of marginal value” (p38). But Lawrence does not cite any empirical evidence on which he might have based this conclusion. Comprehending the personal impact of being accorded such marginal value may be helped by studies that report on victims’ loss or lowering of self-esteem, because incidents may be experienced as manifestations of discriminatory, unjust and oppressive social norms that are debilitating (Barnes and Ephross 1994). However, it may be that the support of an energised minority community that is sensitised to the impact of victimisation helps victims recover, provided they have a close connection with that community: Craig-Henderson (2009) is one of the few writers to have raised this possibility. Iganski refers to “waves of harm that spread well beyond the individual victim”, who cannot change their identity to protect themselves from further harm (Iganski 2001: 628). Victim Support’s (2006) research with 111 victims of racist, homophobic and transphobic crime found that the damaging effects of hate crime are dependent upon either the severity of the crime or its continuousness. Even minor instances of victimisation have seriously damaging effects if they happen frequently, though such consequences could arise as well from non-hate motivated repeat victimisation. Frequency may be a more damaging factor than the victim’s reading of motivation and its effects include fear, anger, illness, trauma in children, and financial loss (Chahal and Julienne 1999, Victim Support 2006). Evidence of a differential effect is offered by Iganski’s recent work. He analysed British Crime Survey data that showed Black and minority ethnic (BME) respondents are significantly more likely than white respondents to fear racist attacks and to change their behaviour to reduce their risk of victimisation. Significantly more victims who had experienced racially motivated victimisation stated that they avoided going to, or walking in, certain places. Higher proportions of victims of racist attacks than other crimes reported having moved home in response to victimisation (Iganski 2008).

Focusing now on homophobic victimisation, studies undertaken in the UK have mainly addressed extent and incidence, rather than impact and consequences, which perhaps

reflects the preponderance of surveys in hate crime research (Noelle 2009). I shall review firstly the literature on the extent and nature of homophobic crime, and then its impact. An early published study of homophobic crime in the UK was conducted by the Campaign for Homosexual Equality (CHE) (Meldrum 1980). It mainly comprises extracts from newspaper articles. Although there is little analysis, the extracts offer some fascinating social history, for example:

Earls Court: two policemen appeared in court charged with offences arising from an off-duty 'queer-baiting' spree near a gay pub... they drove around hurling abuse at blacks and anti-gay abuse at men they took to be gay. One of the latter were offended at this and (thinking they were just ordinary hooligans) took a kick at their car. The policemen stopped the car at once, pinned the man down on the bonnet and charged him with being drunk and disorderly (for which he was duly convicted). PC David Trewin was fined £50... Gay News 15/6/78 (Meldrum 1980: pages not numbered).

Stonewall's UK research in 1996 involved a postal survey distributed to 50,000 lesbians and gay men. 4,200 replies were received. 34 *per cent* of gay men and 24 *per cent* of lesbians who responded reported experiencing homophobic violence. Violence included being shot, raped, being set on fire, sexual assault, being held at knife-point, being urinated on from a block of flats, and getting dragged out of a taxi. Of those who were attacked, 79 *per cent* suffered stress or fear. Effects included having to get medical attention and take time off work; depression, fear of going out or being alone, feelings of abuse and violation, sleeping problems, self-loathing, post-traumatic stress disorder, needing to move house, and so on. Young lesbians and gay men aged under 18 were particularly vulnerable, fearing things would get worse if they told someone: 19 *per cent* said they had been called names by their parents or other family members. Unfortunately the authors offer little information about their methods. A copy of the survey questionnaire is not provided, nor are the limitations of postal surveys discussed. The authors suggest that because the majority of respondents had not experienced violence, it was not solely those that had been victimised who were motivated to take part, and they did not therefore consider that potential bias was a concern (Mason and Palmer 1996). Research in Edinburgh involving interviews with 246 gay men found that 57 *per cent* had experienced some form of harassment in the last year, with 26 *per cent* describing having experienced a violent incident. Most of the violence was committed by strangers, in the street (Morrison and Mackay 2000); a finding that is not consistent with data from the MPS *Understanding and Responding to Hate Crime Project* (cited above) that showed neighbours and acquaintances were most often the perpetrators. However, the MPS research studied data about reported crime, whereas only about a third of the victims of

violence in the Edinburgh study had reported the incident to the police. Higher rates of victimisation were noted by a survey undertaken in Belfast, where of 186 respondents, 82 *per cent* had experienced homophobic abuse or harassment, and 55 *per cent* had experienced violence (Jarman and Tennant 2003). The high incidence of abuse was equivalent only to that found by Galop's research (Galop 1998 and 2001) with young LGBT people in London. Galop's studies noted young gay people's greater vulnerability to hate victimisation, and that of Black lesbians and gay men as well; but there are no conclusions as to any differential impact. The interaction of multiple vulnerabilities is significant. I will return to this issue in section 1.10 and in chapter 5. A more recent Stonewall survey found 20 *per cent* of respondents had experienced a homophobic crime or incident in the past three years. Three quarters of these had not reported it to the police (Dick 2008). Unfortunately, comparing findings between Stonewall's 1996 and 2008 surveys would not be productive because the questions were different. There are also concerns about the extent to which Stonewall's findings can be generalised. The 2008 survey was of 1,721 people who were members of a YouGov panel - people who might be particularly sensitised to the issues, who are likely to be middle class, articulate, and possibly at less risk of homophobic victimisation but more likely to complain about it.

Stonewall's findings on the low take-up of third party reporting and the small number of people who reported incidents and were offered support (Dick 2008) echo those of Victim Support's 2006 research. Kelley found that victims of homophobic crime tend to 'tell' rather than report, that is, they might tell a service delivery organisation, particularly one with whom they are already in touch, in preference to reporting incidents to the police (Kelley 2009). Galop's 2004 survey of homophobic crime in the London Boroughs of Greenwich and Bexley was commissioned by local statutory and voluntary agencies specifically for the purpose of informing service development. The report also sets its data in the context of other British surveys of homophobic crime, with which the authors state they found strong similarities in terms of the numbers of people experiencing violence (despite the disparities between studies noted above); where incidents took place, the extent of repeat victimisation and so on. An insight is provided into reasons why more men than women tend to state that they did not report the incidents they experienced and this was because they were not injured. This, the authors suggest, says much about men's tendency to follow established gender norms in assessing the impact that victimisation has on them. Yet despite much statistical information about numbers of homophobic incidents in the two boroughs, there are only a few sentences in the conclusion that refer to respondents' support needs (Moran, Paterson and Docherty 2004). This may perhaps be

indicative of the difficulties inherent in obtaining data about the impact and consequences of victimisation, and therefore the support needs evoked, through the medium of surveys. However, Tiby's research, despite being survey-based, enabled respondents to write narratives on the reverse side of the questionnaire, allowing qualitative data to be collected about people's victimisation and its consequences. These included people's fearfulness of being recognised as gay, their feeling that they must remain on a constant state of alert in expectation of being victimised, and the strains that are placed on intimate relationships when these are the focus of the offender's spite (Tiby 2009). Tyrer argues that very often people feel that homophobic incidents are not significant enough to be reported "even when they are aware of their own immense personal suffering as a result of the experience" (Tyrer 2000: 46). This might say something about people's lack of belief in their right to receive support and protection, it may be a function of the shame that people experience as a result of being hate-victimised, or it may be attributable to lack of faith in the police (Chahal and Julienne 1999, Tiby 2009, Victim Support 2006). Unsatisfactory responses from the police exacerbate people's feelings of vulnerability and helplessness (Hall 2005, Noelle 2009).

Despite the predominance of survey research about these issues that in some instances yields data sets that contradict each other, the UK literature does describe findings about the impact of hate-motivated victimisation. Anger, depression, fear, shame, PTSD and loss of self esteem are noted (Craig-Henderson 2009, Jarman and Tennant 2003, Mason and Palmer 1996, Victim Support 2006). Shame and lowering of self-esteem may be a result of the way in which hate victimisation reminds victims of previous experiences of discrimination and is part of the ongoing process of stigmatisation to which as members of a marginalised group they are subject (Craig-Henderson 2009). A respondent in Jarman and Tennant's research talked of how "repeat bullying can get to your very core... (destroying) all confidence in yourself" (Jarman and Tennant 2003: 47). This echoes the references in the US and more recent European literature to the way in which the distinctive impact of hate crime is that it is often experienced as an attack on the most central (and immutable) aspect of one's identity (Craig-Henderson 2009, Iganski 2001, Lawrence 2002). It can result in victims feeling helpless (Noelle 2009); and losing all trust in other people, public agencies, and society in general (Tiby 2009). It may also cause people to change their behaviour in undesirable ways to avoid re-victimisation, such as ceasing to go out (Iganski 2008, Jarman and Tennant 2003, Tiby 2009). Such instrumental fear of crime can be transferred to other members of the minority community (Tiby 2009),

which indicates the capacity for hate crime to have consequences for people who are not directly targeted.

However, a range of questions emerge from the literature, and a number of important issues are raised, but not fully explored. These, I suggest, centre on the nature of any differential impact and the implications of it for responding to homophobic victimisation; the role of masculinity in shaping men's responses to homophobic victimisation; and a number of questions about why people do, or do not report homophobic crime - and what response they need from authorities. Some of these questions also underline the difficulty in gathering reliable data about victimisation, and these issues are important considerations in designing research about homophobic victimisation. For example, while Jacobs and Potter suggested that a study they cited might have used group process to manipulate participants into exaggerating the effects of hate crime, Holloway and Jefferson argue that people tend to use defence mechanisms against experiencing anxiety and these impede accurate recollection of feelings. In this way, victims become 'defended subjects', and "defences against anxiety affect the discourses through which people perceive crime" (Holloway and Jefferson 2000: 24). This is supported by Bowling's finding that hate victimisation is experienced so frequently by many people that they forget to mention it in interviews (Bowling 1998). Chahal and Julienne (1999) also found that some harassment victims denied being racially harassed, perhaps because it means facing up to one's continuing vulnerability. Drawing on the work of Bowling (1994), Green *et al.* (2001) suggest that a more fruitful approach might be to ask people if they have been victims of crime, then ask whether it was hate crime. They note however, that comparing hate crime and conventional crime is complicated by the fact that different types of victims will report different types of crime to the police. Whether a heterosexual white man who is verbally abused once by a group of teenagers outside his house would be as likely to report it to the police as a Black lesbian mother who is so harassed on a daily basis is, they might argue, an open research question.

It is widely accepted that hate crime has a more serious impact on victims than similar crimes motivated by other factors. But this view has largely been based on a somewhat limited body of empirical data (Hall 2005) derived mainly from US studies, most of which, with the exception of McDevitt *et al.*, do not tell us much about why this may be. It can be argued that these findings are to some extent contradicted by an earlier study that suggested victims' reactions were similar to those described by victims of non-hate motivated crime (Barnes and Ephross 1994). However, recent research (for example Tiby

2009) (in particular her narrative data) may help to identify the nature of the differential consequences that are suggested by a number of the studies cited here. These lie in the capacity of hate crime to cause people to restrict their behaviour to avoid victimisation, even when they have not been directly targeted. It may be that Iganski's analysis of the spatial dimensions of hate crime (Iganski 2008) can help answer his earlier question "to what extent are hate crimes more harmful than the same underlying offense without the bias motivation?" (Iganski 2001: 636). Tiby is unusual in that she addresses, albeit briefly, the effects of bystanders' failure to intervene (Tiby 2009), and while this may not be a distinctive feature of homophobic crime, it may be experienced as such by those who are affected by passivity among people who witness their victimisation.

Some of the research cited in this chapter provides data about why many victims of hate crime do not report it, but less is known about why some victims *do* report, and the response they need and expect. Peel noted that in her research that "the qualitative and quantitative components of the study result in very different understandings of the issues" where decision making about reporting is concerned. The quantitative component (a survey developed from interviews with just four white gay people) showed that people make decisions on whether or not to report on the basis of their perceptions of the police, its culture, and their anticipation of the response, whereas the qualitative part "throws up the broader social and political context that informs such decision making" (Peel 1999: 165). She concluded that further qualitative research is needed about the barriers to reporting homophobic crime. Nevertheless, despite claims that qualitative data about people's experiences of hate crime derived from interviews are lacking, there are also arguments for extending the scope of other methodologies, such as police records (Stanko *et al.* 2003). Similarly, Bell (2002) found US police case records to be a rich source of data.

In starting to conclude this section, it seems important to note that the literature makes a range of observations about the history of invisibility that has applied to both racist (see Sampson and Phillips 1995) and homophobic crime. Such invisibility may provide some explanation of why research evidence about the differential impact of hate crime is so limited. Moran and Skeggs write about the normality and ordinariness of homophobic violence, which is legitimated as violence that sustains the dominant social order: "the ordinariness of homophobic violence is perhaps best captured in its particular invisibility" (Moran and Skeggs 2004: 24); although ironically, as lesbians and gay men have become more visible, they have become more vulnerable to attack as a result (Comstock 1991).

The invisibility of hate crime may also be a function of a long-established disinclination to acknowledge the harmful effects of crime. Walklate quotes the first report of the British Crime Survey that illustrates this tendency: “those incidents which go unreported do so for a very good reason; victims judge them too trivial to justify calling the police” (in Walklate 1989: 121). Another component of this invisibility may be the tendency of victimisation surveys to objectify victims and their experiences, counting numbers of incidents rather than recording the human suffering that personal victimisation often causes (Spalek 2006). In summary, we can note that early US research does indeed indicate that there is a differential impact of hate crime, but that some of the comparative studies obtained data that suggested the opposite might sometimes apply. Iganski’s analysis of BCS data indicates that racist crime has a differential impact in its capacity to cause people to restrict their lives to avoid further victimisation, but it may be unwise to assume this would necessarily apply to victims of homophobic crime who might live in more geographically dispersed communities. Tiby’s narratives offer perhaps the most recent and productive data about differential effects, but they were collected through the administration of surveys and there was therefore no opportunity to explore the issues that the respondents raised. Surveys have produced varying data about the extent of homophobic victimisation. The issue of whether or not reported or unreported victimisation is being described and recorded further complicates the data collection process and restricts opportunities for data from different surveys to be fruitfully compared.

1.10 Intersections of race and sexual orientation in hate crime

With the particular perspective of a Black lesbian, who of course occupies several positions of what Perry terms ‘culturally defined inferiority’ (Perry 2003), Audre Lorde writes about how she was always required to justify her existence. This was

because some piece of me was not acceptable. Not because of my work, but because of my identity. I had to learn to hold on to all the parts of me that served me in spite of the pressure to express only one to the exclusion of all others (Lorde 1984: 143).

Lorde’s identification of the suppression of identity in the context of an oppressive social structure seems very significant in the discourse about hate crime, particularly homophobic crime.

The literature seems to contain few references to the combined effects of hate victimisation on the grounds of race and sexual orientation. Spalek argues that

victimological research has usually been undertaken from a white perspective, where what appears to be normal or common sense is actually “a particular lens through which the world has been viewed” (Spalek 2006: 43), so this may account for the absence of Black perspectives. However, Spalek’s assertion seems bleak in its denial that basic human empathy might enable any person of whatever origin to see things from another person’s perspective. Galop’s research (Galop 1998, 2001; and Kelly 2009) noted the greater vulnerability of young gay people, and Black lesbians and gay men, to hate victimisation but there is no discussion of any distinct impact of racism and homophobia in interaction. Comstock noted the higher rates of victimisation reported by Black lesbians and gay men in the USA (Comstock 1991). The interaction of multiple vulnerabilities is significant. Some victims find it difficult to separate the homophobic aspects of an attack from the misogynist or racist elements (Herek and Berrill 1992, Jenness and Broad 1997); and Manalansan (1996) writes about the significance of ‘double minority’ status. Mason shows how intersectionality can help us conceptualise the “interaction between regimes of difference in the enactment and experience of violence” (Mason 2002: 9). So, it is race *and* sexual orientation, not race or sexual orientation, (and other condition categories, such as class) that will shape the experience of violence and its meaning. Phellas asks whether western conceptions of sexual orientation (heterosexual, gay and so on) are applicable to people of colour at all, many of whom would not identify themselves in those terms. He claims that many Black LGBT people struggle with reconciling heterosexual values from their culture with their own feelings (Phellas 2002). However, Phellas’ research was conducted with Greek-Cypriot gay men in London who may have had more in common with white than with Black communities, and many white LGBT people too might experience struggles very much like those he describes. Similarly, Morales points out that for Black gay men, coming out “presents a challenge to ethnic minority families who... presume a heterosexual orientation” (Morales 1990: 218). This may apply to many white families as well, as it did to mine. Morales goes on to explore the difficulties that Black LGBT people experience through having to inhabit three communities. These are the ethnic minority community that does not acknowledge their gayness, the LGBT community where their race is sometimes a source of exclusion, and society at large, which is both racist and homophobic. This may have serious consequences - he cites a New York study of twelve Black men who had committed suicide, four of whom had apparently done so in reaction to the double stigma of being gay and Black. He concludes that Black men who have sex with men will state they are gay only if they identify mainly with the gay community; otherwise they will describe themselves as bisexual (Morales 1990).

Manalansan notes that “social science literature on Black male homosexuality lacks descriptive accounts” (Manalansan 1996: 401), which would help explain why there are so few data on Black men’s experiences of homophobic violence. Mercer argues that Black gay men are “implicated in the same landscape of stereotypes which is dominated and organized around the needs, demands and desires of white males”, so Black gay men have to fit into one or two narrow repertoires of types, the fragile and exotic oriental or the sexual superstud and savage (Mercer 1994: 133). The lack of descriptive accounts remains despite the fact that, in Manalansan’s view, there is a long history of at least some acceptance of Black gay men in the USA, evidenced for example by speakeasies in Harlem in the 1920s that tolerated men ‘cruising’ each other. Manalansan’s work is a reminder to us that social acceptance of diversity does not necessarily grow over time. He points out that in the USA now, tolerance of Black gay men in ethnic minority communities may depend on everyone ‘overlooking’ their gayness. Being gay is often seen as part of white mainstream culture; hence, like Morales, he considers it “poses an ominous threat to the integrity of the Black family” (Manalansan 1996: 405).

The tendency of the LGBT movement to ignore the relevance of race and gender (Jenness and Broad 1994), and the invisibility of gay relationships in Black communities is evident in the literature (Lorde 1984). The similarities between LGBT and Black and minority ethnic communities are their shared vulnerability to hatred and their history of being the subject of oppressive policing (McGhee 2005). But the literature shows that research has really only scratched the surface of these issues, with “little understanding of the specificity of violence experienced by people who occupy multiple positions of culturally defined inferiority” (Perry 2003: 33).

1.11 Theoretical perspectives on the impact of hate crime

Hate crime, it is argued, serves a number of purposes in the oppression of disadvantaged people, bound up in issues of power, hegemony, discrimination, stigmatisation, and identity politics. Drawing on Foucault, Young argues that oppression designates “the disadvantage and injustice some people suffer not because a tyrannical power coerces them, but because of the everyday practices of a well intentioned liberal society... the normal procedures of everyday life” (Young 1990: 41). Oppression is therefore structural. She identified five faces of oppression: exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. Any social group that occupies one or more of these positions can, according to Young, be said to be oppressed. This construct, applied to the

experience of homophobic crime, can help us to see how oppression operates and enable us to understand its effects. Not all gay men could be said to be powerless; but we are, I would argue, often subject to violence, marginalisation and cultural imperialism. Challenging notions of social justice that presume “the individual is ontologically prior to the social”, Young argues that “the self is a product of social processes, not their origin” (p45) and this would certainly be demonstrated in the process of socialisation. She quotes Epstein (1987) who shows that “identity is constituted relationally, through involvement with - and incorporation of - significant others and integration into communities” (Young 1990: 45). The harm caused by homophobic crime may be better understood by placing the experiences of victims in the context of the disruption that it causes to those social processes and the implications of this for group and individual identity.

Giddens shows that self-identity is not a given, but has to be sustained by the reflexive activities of the individual. Drawing on the work of Laing, Giddens argues that people whose self identity is ‘fractured’ lack a consistent feeling of biographical continuity. They become preoccupied with external risks to their existence, and there are parallels here with Stanko and Curry’s (1997) notion of excessive self-regulation leading to loneliness, isolation and exclusion. Giddens asserts that they cannot sustain trust in their self-identity so they lack self-regard. Modern society compels us to choose a lifestyle, which is “a set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because such practices fulfil utilitarian needs, but because they give material forms to a particular narrative of self-identity” (Giddens 1991: 80). It may be that an effect of hate crime is to fracture both individual and group identity, to which identity politics has responded in an attempt to reverse the process. Indeed the deconstruction and reconstruction of concepts around prescribed sexual identities can be seen in queer theory, which emerged through LGBT identity politics. Sullivan writes that “queer theory is by definition whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant” (p42) and it deconstructs what are called ‘heteronormative’ identities, relations and institutions. So ‘camp’ is a survival strategy and a source of escape from the strictures of heterosexual norms, and macho gay skinheads “create a queer space in a heterosexual world” (Sullivan 2003: 87). But all these queer,²⁴ fluid and contradictory identities are visible and therefore the antithesis of the

²⁴ The term ‘queer’ and its reclamation from a term of homophobic abuse is itself of major symbolic importance. Engel wrote that “assuming the label of ‘queer’ is a...second form of cognitive liberation that many activists experienced”, which helped to counter the psychological damage engendered by the AIDS epidemic and the far right (Engel 2001).

established advice about homophobic victimisation that emphasises caution, concealment and responsibility.

Developing an analysis that shares some features of Giddens' work, Williams suggests that in pre-modern societies, choice about personal identity was less available to most individuals. Instead, it was determined mainly externally, via affiliations with kinship and social role. Now, people's experiences are more fundamental in forming and sustaining identity. Race, gender, and sexuality are "identity furniture in our society" and identity is a construction formed through hearing and issuing narrative, a thread that runs through our lives, connected with the threads of other people (Williams 2000: 49). However, it may be that the demise of the external generation of self-identity started much earlier than Williams suggests: quoting E.P. Thompson, Macfarlane wrote that "by the start of the eighteenth century (in Britain) we witness the law 'tearing down the remnants of the threadbare communal grid'" and the establishment of 'possessive individualism' (Macfarlane 1978: 55). The literature on identity and identity formation is extensive, but I have found few direct links, in the literature, between hate crime and its effects, if any, on identity. I shall explore gay men's thoughts about the connections between homophobic crime and identity in chapter 4. While discussing identity, it may be helpful to explain why I use the term 'gay' instead of 'homosexual'. Clatterbaugh (1997) argues that there is an important distinction between the terms 'gay' and 'homosexual'. 'Gay' signifies a social identity that is chosen, whereas 'homosexual' refers to a specific sexual orientation. Someone can be homosexual without being gay.

The opening quote in this thesis from Engel in which he writes of experiencing "emotions from fear to confusion to sadness to anger" (Engel 2001: 3) expresses the impact of that murder on a wider community. Why is this wider impact so palpable? Alexander *et al.* write about cultural trauma, which occurs "when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to an horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" - this trauma is socially constructed (Alexander *et al.* 2004: 1). Iganski writes of how secondary victims are generated among people who hear about the crime and who worry about being targeted themselves (Iganski 2001). But these effects can be caused by other types of crime as well (Jacobs and Potter 1998) and the tendency of those who, statistically at least, are unlikely to be at risk from crime to be most afraid of it is long established (Newburn 2007). Hate crimes may convey the message that the victim is of marginal value and members of the victim's wider community may

also receive that message in the same way (Lawrence 2002). McGhee (2005) notes the significance of the rationale for the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act, in that the Home Office noted that racist violence undermines community cohesion. Mason and Palmer write about how hate crimes have “a disproportionate effect on their victims and communities... (sending) a message of violence to all members of the victim’s community” (Mason and Palmer 1996: 3). The potential of hate crime to destabilise communities by stirring up conflict or prompting retaliation is mentioned in the literature. Some authorities note that this is seen as supporting the case for specific criminal justice legislative and policy responses to hate crime (ACPO 2005, Craig 2004, Hall 2005, McDevitt *et al.* 2004); while others note the potential of hate crime legislation itself to be socially divisive (Jacobs and Potter 1998); and capable of being used against those that it was originally intended to protect (Dixon and Gadd 2006).

Several writers draw attention to the gendered dimension of the impact of hate crime. While men are more likely to be victimised away from home and in public, the victimisation of women more often takes place behind closed doors, through for example domestic violence and rape (Walklate 1995). For male victims of homophobic crime, some aspects of its damaging impact may be more a function of masculinity than gayness: Davies argues that there are few studies that seek to understand “how victimisation may be understood as a product of masculinity” (Davies 2007: 191). Stanko and Hobdell argue that criminology should understand more about how people’s gender affects their reaction to victimisation: we know little of the impact of violence on men’s lives. The men in their study were adversely affected by victimisation that went beyond what could be considered to be ‘ordinary’ violence such as a ‘fair fight’. Men were upset and angry about having to in future consider their personal safety: crucially, this was seen as unmanly (Stanko and Hobdell 1993). Yet, because of their knowledge of homophobic violence, gay men (like women) are required to consider their personal safety all the time (Stanko and Curry 1997, Mason 2002); though it could be argued that this has become a preoccupation for everyone. Gay men will experience victimisation as men, and this may bring about the undermining of their sense of maleness that victimisation connotes (Allen 2002); especially if the event has the qualities that Stanko and Hobdell describe as ‘transformative’. This arises from violence that “confronts them with the kind of vulnerability many men do not consciously consider” (Stanko and Hobdell 1993: 405). As men their experience as victims may be as Walklate puts it “left out of the picture” due to the legacy of the gendered nature of expectations around victimhood - men are perpetrators, women are victims (Walklate 2007: 52, see also Goodey 2005). Walklate

argues that this expectation persists, yet British Crime Survey findings indicate that young men are those most likely to experience violent crime (Walker *et al.* 2006).

Stanko and Curry suggest that the right to walk safely in public has special meaning in western democracies, but that asking for help to be able to enjoy this right creates tensions for people who have traditionally been the subject of the controlling behaviour of the police. They argue that a “climate of unsafety” (p516) exists for anyone who is seen to be transgressing the accepted boundaries of heterosexuality. They demonstrate that a range of undesirable outcomes can arise from claiming to be harmed by homophobic violence, and in reporting it. It involves accepting that one is a legitimate target for such violence. Reporting it means losing control over who knows about a defining feature of one’s life - a feature that might expose one to ongoing danger. They write that “homophobic violence... leads to a continuum of self-regulation, whereby the physically threatening behaviour of the homophobe is intertwined with the self-imposed regulation of self in heterosexual space” (Stanko and Curry 1997: 525). Their analysis of this perhaps secondary impact of homophobic violence is similar to that of Mason, and Moran and Skeggs. Stanko and Curry point out that reporting to the police usually elicits advice on the avoidance of revictimisation, which ignores the self-regulation most LGBT people have already put in place to avoid being victimised. Drawing on Garland’s notion of ‘the criminology of the self’ (the private means of preventing crime that is often presented *via* notions of ‘responsible citizenship’ - Moran 2001), Moran and Skeggs argue that LGBT citizens are made responsible for crime *via* their lifestyle. Moreover, the crime risks that are identified are very similar to those activities that were previously used to label gay men in particular as deviant, dysfunctional and pathological. These include ‘cruising’ for sex in public places, which of course is irrelevant to most lesbian victims of homophobic crime; leaving a gay bar late at night, and so on. Such framing suggests that individuals can choose not to be a victim of homophobic violence, whereas of course it is the offender’s reading of the victim’s sexual orientation that determines whether or not an offence will take place and that reading can occur anywhere. Their view is that the very impersonality of hate crime (the perpetrator could attack any member of the target community) might be what makes its impact more personal and damaging (Moran and Skeggs 2004). In terms of the damaging impact of homophobic crime on the individual, this seems consistent with Mason’s notion of “managing the unmanageable” (Mason 2002: 95). She refers to knowledge of homophobic violence determining how lesbians and gay men negotiate safety and how we construct our sexual identity. Arguing that “violence does not have to be experienced to have repercussions”, she considers that the threat of

homophobic violence leads LGBT people to “monitor one’s own body for signs of homosexuality” (Mason 2002: 79, 86-87). Homophobic violence, whether or not the individual has experienced it personally, is therefore able to incite gay people to “manage the equivocal and contested nexus between homosexuality and visibility, when the very troubled nature of that nexus is itself the source of much uncertainty and tension”. She concludes that: “Managing one’s homosexuality is, in this instance, an imperative to manage the unmanageable” (Mason 2002: 95). The tendency of homophobic attacks to precipitate personal crises brought about *via* the excessive internalisation of dominant heterosexual norms is illustrated in Curry’s 1993 research in which a participant said “you think you’ve very solid... but...[an attack] makes you question your own sexuality: is what I do and who I am really bad or sick?” (Stanko and Curry 1997: 526).

Summary

The damaging effects of hate crime on victims and on communities are widely asserted and used not just by social movements but by governments as well as a primary reason for passing legislation on hate crime (Hall 2005, McDevitt *et al.* 2004). However, the somewhat limited body of empirical evidence that supports this view also raises other questions about the nature of that differential about which it has been difficult to gather data (Stanko and Curry 1997, Walklate 1989). It may be that because the connection between hate crime and community conflict is already accepted by many authorities, motivation to research the issue is lacking (Craig 2004, Hall 2005). Some writers argue that crimes that are not motivated by hatred or prejudice can have destabilising effects on the wider community too (Jacobs and Potter 1998, Jacoby 2002).

The existing literature about hate crime documents a range of damaging effects that may or may not be common to any type of victimisation. While the differential and more damaging impact of hate crime is asserted, the evidence for this has a number of significant gaps. It may be that the repeat nature of hate motivated victimisation, when combined with the personal and yet impersonal nature of the targeting, is what is so distinctly damaging. For men, impact may be compounded by internalised social expectations of masculine invulnerability. Research findings have been drawn from a diverse range of projects carried out in various countries over a lengthy period of time. Quantitative surveys about extent are drawn from somewhat limited samples (see Dick 2008) that yield varying estimates of extent, but which are nevertheless relied upon when

policy about hate crime is developed or defended. Some qualitative studies involved participants who were troubled for other reasons and who might not be representative of the general population (see DiPlacido 1998). Some potentially valuable research did not include Black perspectives (see Peel 1999); while findings from studies with one ethnic group have been assumed to be transferable to another (for example, Phellas 2002).

Given the extent of under-reporting of hate crime, recorded crime figures are of limited value in conveying the extent of hate crime. In this introduction, I have suggested where there are gaps in the current UK research on homophobic crime. These include the lack of qualitative research about how people experience hate-motivated victimisation, what its personal and social meanings are, why some people might consider themselves to be more damaged by hate-motivated victimisation than by crime motivated by other factors, how people are affected by the interaction of different categories of vulnerability to hate crime, and how victims manage their responses to their experiences. In this research I try to fill some of those gaps by exploring victims' stories of hate-motivated victimisation and the meanings they attached to it; and in the next chapter I will describe the methods I used in order to do that.

2. Research design

“(T)here is a social reality out there, separate from our knowledge of it, which is nevertheless accessible to investigation and understanding... We can know this social reality because we are, or can become through our actions, a part of it” - Charlotte Aull Davies (Davies 1999: 212).

“Fieldwork is personal, emotional and identity work” - Amanda Coffey (Coffey 1999: 1).

This study draws on data from a range of methods, including a survey, semi-structured interviews with people who had experienced homophobic victimisation and with police officers and support service staff; and participant observation of police responses to homophobic crime.

So that the participants’ experiences of hate crime and its aftermath can be heard and their experiences understood in their full context, it was important to record in detail what they said about their victimisation and the phenomena that followed from it. To maximise the possibility of this research being drawn on to improve services to people affected by homophobic crime, it was necessary to gather data that would facilitate an understanding of the nature of the harm caused and the support needs that may be generated (Iganski 2001). For this reason, I decided to study as well the police response to homophobic crime and the nature of the services offered by support organisations, to achieve an overview of gay men’s experiences of ‘hate’ crime, its aftermath, and how well police or voluntary organisations respond. It is very easy to criticise police failures. Policing is an aspect of social control; it is activity that cannot avoid being controversial (Reiner and Newburn 2008). I consider that in undertaking research that might be critical of police practice, it is ethically and methodologically necessary to understand police work and the constraints within which police officers operate. My purpose in gathering data from gay men and transgender people affected by hate crime, from police officers, and from support service staff was to explore the extent to which services that respond to homophobic victimisation meet victims’ needs,²⁵ and to ask if they attain the service standards to which they aspire.

²⁵ The concept of needs in this context is far from straightforward and I shall summarise some of the complexities in chapter 3.

This chapter describes my research methods, the rationale for selecting those methods, and the epistemological and ethical considerations they evoked. I shall firstly describe the arguments for adopting a mixed-methods approach to this type of research. This will be followed by a brief summary of the methods that I started to use but moved away from; including why some became methodological 'dead ends'. I shall then describe each of the research instruments, how the people who participated in the research were recruited, and who they were. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the main epistemological and ethical considerations and how these were reflected in the research design.

2.1 The need for 'methodological pluralism'

Because the research questions are concerned more with how people experience hate crime (and its policing) than with frequency, I at first intended to use entirely qualitative methods, with data drawn from semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and case studies. Victimological research has been dominated by quantitative methods such as victim surveys. These measure extent and incidence, but tell us little about how victimisation is experienced or about the nature of the processes involved (Fattah 1992, Wachs 1988, Walklate 2008). In selecting qualitative methods I drew on the work of Creswell (1998), Hamm (1994), Hammersley (2000), Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), Jorgensen (1989), Perry (2003), Stake (1995), and Yin (1994). Perry wrote that research on hate crime "should be completed by ethnography, life history research, case studies and other methods" to try to get at some of the "contextual clues" surrounding hate crime, which include the role of family, community and neighbourhood (Perry 2003: 14-15). Hamm writes that research into hate crime needs to describe the events, their immediate aftermath, and the long term consequences for those involved, to include "qualitative accounts of the subjective reality of each actor in particular instances" (Hamm 1994: 26). Stake notes the importance of using people's narratives to "optimise the opportunity of the reader to gain an experiential understanding of the case" (Stake 1995: 40). Referring to the work of Park, Downes and Rock recommend: "The most effective research strategy is one that requires sociologists to participate personally in the world which they would analyse" (Downes and Rock 2003: 61) and in this way their position is similar to that of Davies, quoted above.

Much of the work of police officers takes place where it is not open to scrutiny (Holdaway 1983); by officers who have wide discretion (Savage 2007) who might resist involvement in

research that moves them from a state of low to high visibility (Lea 2003). Observing police work was an important component in this research because “(d)irect involvement in the here and now of people’s daily lives provides both a point of reference... and a strategy for gaining access to phenomena that are obscured” (Jorgensen 1989: 9). Furthermore, by combining interviews with participant observation, each can provide data about temporal contexts, which might have implications for data analysis that can be assessed (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). I believe that interviewing victims, police officers, and support service staff while observing police practice helped me broaden the meanings of the data.

However, Walklate argues that in victimological research, a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods - ‘methodological pluralism’ - is also important. This approach can “uncover different layers of social reality” because it encourages researchers to look for contradictions and confirmations between the different layers of data (Walklate 2008: 325). It therefore seemed essential to employ mixed methods to elicit a wide range of data. I compared and contrasted data from survey questionnaires, interviews, and observation. In accordance with the fluid and changing nature of human experience and our interpretations of it, a number of participants’ descriptions of what they felt or did changed significantly during the course of their interviews. It was important to be able to avoid the confusion these disjunctions might have generated, because as I shall show, the interpretation and analysis of such conflicting data can generate new understandings about the impact of victimisation. Analysis and interpretation of the data was facilitated by my own ‘embodied knowledge’ (Davies 1999) as a gay man, and by discussing emerging findings with some of the research participants themselves to record their insights about the data. This use of mixed methods approximates to the methodological pluralism that Walklate recommends.

2.2 Problematic and unproductive methods

Some methods that I originally envisaged as being of central importance to the research, listed below, became less productive as the context in which I was conducting fieldwork, and its main focus, shifted. Fieldwork did not proceed as originally planned, thus illustrating the importance of a flexible approach that can respond to the changing circumstances that may pertain between conceiving of the research and starting fieldwork.

Case studies of 'victims'

Walklate reminds us that victimisation is often a process rather than a single event and that research with victims of crime should therefore be concerned with "filming the whole picture" rather than trying to "take snapshots along the way" (Walklate 2008: 335). No series of interviews can be expected to capture social processes in their entirety, but nevertheless I originally planned to interview some participants several times over a few months, to explore with them the impact of the process of repeat victimisation. However, it became apparent that the participants who were being repeatedly victimised were the most vulnerable, stressed by the process of extricating themselves from it. I concluded that inviting people to assist with further interviews would be too intrusive, and I abandoned the idea of repeat interviews.

Case studies of organisations

I intended to undertake case studies of three organisations' responses to the general hate crime 'agenda', exploring from a social constructionist perspective how they responded to recent political and social imperatives concerning hate crime (Berger and Luckman 1967, Best 1990, 2008). These were to be of Victim Support, the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), and Galop.²⁶ Although I completed the case study of Victim Support, I decided not to proceed with the others. This was because an edited volume about the development of the police response to hate crime since the publication of the Stephen Lawrence report in 1999 was published: this accomplished the task *vis a vis* the Metropolitan Police much more comprehensively than I could hope to do in this thesis (see Hall *et al.* 2009), while the absorbing nature of interview data shifted my main focus of interest away from organisational responses to hate crime towards participants' experiences of it. I shall however refer to the Victim Support case study in the chapter on support services because the manner in which Victim Support's interest in homophobic crime emerged, and how this shaped service development, is relevant to the discussion about the extent to which support organisations meet the expectations of victims of homophobic crime.

Observing police LGBT liaison officers

²⁶ Galop is London's LGBT community safety charity, which provides support to victims of homophobic and transphobic crime, and works with criminal justice agencies in London to help them improve their services. See www.galop.org.uk.

Originally, a major part of this research was to have been an ethnographic study of the work of MPS LGBT²⁷ liaison police officers, many of whom are gay or lesbian, who have particular responsibility for responding to homophobic crime. Much police work takes place out in the street where it is of low visibility to those who want to scrutinise it (Lea 2003). Officers are in control of their work and they are able to shield questionable practices from scrutiny (Holdaway 1979). It seemed important to spend time with liaison officers, getting to know them, and observing the more obscured aspects of their work. I chose London because, having half of the UK's recorded hate crime, London has been called "the UK's capital of 'hate crime'" (Iganski 2008: 45). It is also where I live, and I knew senior personnel in the MPS. Despite spending two years obtaining access, I did not succeed in securing the extent of access to the MPS that I desired. On reflection, it was unrealistic of me to expect to be able to attempt ethnography with police officers. I am not a police officer: as Reiner and Newburn (2008) would describe it, I was very much an 'outsider-outsider' in relation to the police. Between May and November 2008 I spent one or two days a week with police officers, observing them interviewing victims (including going out with them to victims' homes), attending conferences and meetings with them, and accompanying them on outreach work in gay bars, LGBT Pride festivals,²⁸ and in public sex environments. This aspect of fieldwork, though originally conceived of as an ethnographic study, became instead participant observation that yielded a limited amount of useful supplementary data that I will describe in chapter 6.

Analysis of police case records

I had also hoped to complete a documentary analysis of police case records. In 2006 in my role with Victim Support I had been interviewed on BBC TV London news with Commander Steve Allen about homophobic crime. He claimed that the majority of victims of homophobic crime in London were satisfied with the police. I also wanted to understand how it was that the Metropolitan Police claimed that in 2008, 43 *per cent* of homophobic crimes reported in London were cleared-up.²⁹ I hoped that data drawn from case records might help explain such claims. But, for data protection reasons, I was not granted full

²⁷ LGBT liaison officers are police officers, usually but not necessarily lesbian or gay, who have particular responsibility, usually alongside other policing duties, for liaising with their local LGBT community to encourage the reporting of homophobic crime.

²⁸ Pride is a lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender cultural festival and political rally celebrating LGBT life, taking place in numerous towns and cities around the world, usually in the summer. Black Pride is organised by BME LGBT organisations and there were two Black Pride festivals in London in 2008.

²⁹ Source: <http://www.met.police.uk/crimestatistics/2008/annualreport.pdf> Retrieved 24 January 2009.

access to records. Despite senior officers consenting to me seeing files on the proviso that I would record no personal information about victims, offenders and witnesses, it was only in two boroughs that records were made available and the number of records, 19 in one borough and 26 in another, was too few to yield much meaningful data.

2.3 The survey and the semi-structured interviews

Having conducted two initial interviews in 2006, with Commander Steve Allen and Peter Tatchell, I began fieldwork in May 2008 with the administration of a survey questionnaire in LGBT venues to fulfil several purposes that I describe below.

The survey

Combining elements of quantitative and qualitative methods provides an element of triangulation of interview findings by obtaining data from a different sub-group in a different setting, as Bryman (2004), drawing on the work of Denzin, recommends. I administered survey questionnaires on approximately ten occasions during Summer 2008. On most evenings it was possible to complete four to ten questionnaires; more when police officers assisted. During this period I began conducting semi-structured interviews with people who had experienced homophobic crime. By this time I had established a web site about the research, www.homophobiaresearch.org.uk where the survey was available for completion on-line. Over fifty survey questionnaires were completed on-line at this time. Ubaid-ul Rehman of the MPS Research Strategy Unit helped me design the survey questionnaire and I tested it with LGBT liaison officers and members of the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea LGBT Advisory Group.³⁰

The survey asked similar questions to those in the semi-structured interview schedules and 80 questionnaires were completed in LGBT venues, mainly by gay men. It is possible that people with an 'agenda' about the policing of homophobic crime, who campaign about it or who have had a bad experience of policing and want to talk about it, might be disproportionately represented in a self-selecting sample. For these reasons, I wanted to gather data from a more randomly drawn convenience sample of people who might or might not have experienced and reported homophobic crime. I hoped that survey data might help establish the extent to which the experiences of the participants that I would

³⁰ Some London boroughs have an LGBT Advisory Group that is comprised of independent members, representatives of local community groups, local authority staff or councillors, and voluntary organisations. Their role is to help the police work effectively with the local LGBT community.

later record in semi-structured interviews might be exceptional, or not. As I shall show, the survey data suggest that their experiences were not unusual.³¹ I also planned to invite survey respondents who seemed interested in the research to volunteer for a semi-structured interview, and two participants were thus recruited.

Ethical concerns were raised when police officers wanted to help me run the survey. To what extent could it be justified for police officers to ask people questions about their experiences of police officers? Police involvement may have affected people's perceptions of me, leading them to doubt my claim to be independent. It also raised concerns for me about respondents' vulnerability as victims and perhaps as offenders too, and their capacity to exercise informed consent (Noaks and Wincup 2004): would police officers know how to uphold these principles and might they instead be likely to question respondents as they might question suspects, possibly bringing social research into disrepute? I had to make an instant decision about these matters one evening when two officers picked up a pile of survey forms and started to walk off with them. They were specialist LGBT liaison officers, all lesbians and gay men. They worked closely with members of the LGBT Advisory Group who were with us that evening. I had come to believe during the weeks I had observed the officers that they were sensitive to the issues under discussion and they would be unlikely to take advantage of respondents' potential vulnerability. I decided I could quickly brief them about principles such as consent. The survey did not ask people for detailed information about their experiences, and I decided I should let police officers administer it. They had helped me with testing the questionnaire and I had already discussed these considerations with them. They wanted the opportunity to administer the survey because, they said, they were struggling to engage with customers in gay venues. Going up to people and asking "do you mind participating in a survey about homophobia?" provided them with a subject with which to initiate contact. Because their involvement was unanticipated,³² I had not planned a briefing for them on administering the survey, so I had to instantly deliver a short briefing, in a crowded and noisy bar, when the officers were more interested in starting the process than in listening to me. With hindsight, I should have anticipated the officers' expectations of further involvement in the survey; but I suggest my decision to allow them to administer it was the right action in the circumstances.

³¹ A further 66 people completed the questionnaire on-line from my web site though all except sixteen on-line surveys were lost when the server on which they were stored failed, and in retrieving the back-up database, it was inadvertently deleted. While at the time this seemed a disaster, data from 96 surveys in total was still available for analysis.

³² Until that evening I had accompanied police officers in a different bar and they had simply observed me administering the survey.

The survey achieved its purpose. Because of its anticipated limitations, it was not intended to be the primary data source. Limitations included the relatively small number of responses, and, as it transpired, the problematic involvement of police officers in administering it. Being conducted in gay venues, it excluded people who did not go to such places and who might, perhaps by being more socially isolated, be more susceptible to the damaging effects of homophobic crime. However, by obtaining data that was consistent with the semi-structured interviews, it helped confirm that the experiences of the participants I interviewed were probably not exceptional. It included responses from people who might not have been sufficiently concerned about homophobic crime to be motivated to approach a researcher about it and it provided an opportunity to talk informally with LGBT people in gay venues. Two survey respondents volunteered to participate in the semi-structured interviews. Talking with people while undertaking the survey helped to refresh my knowledge about homophobic victimisation and this was productive in devising interview schedules, empathising with victims, and in discussing support needs with police officers and support service staff. On one occasion, it provided me with an unwelcome but timely experience of homophobic verbal abuse that I shall refer to briefly later in the thesis.

Semi-structured interviews

Qualitative methods included semi-structured interviews with gay men who had experienced homophobic crime; and interviews with police and support organisation personnel. I interviewed 26 victims of homophobic crime, and 23 police officers, policy makers, and support service staff. In interviews with victims, I used the free association narrative interview technique developed by Holloway and Jefferson. This draws on psychotherapeutic techniques that do not lead participants, are likely to be experienced as safe, and are said to be effective in engaging 'defended' subjects who may be reticent about recounting previous painful experiences. The purpose is to enable "the associations (to) follow pathways defined by emotional motivations, rather than rational intentions" (Holloway and Jefferson 2000: 37). This approach seemed to be an important component in working with the tendency of many men to want to focus on factual description of events instead of emotionality (Stanko 1990, Stanko and Hobdell 1993). I wanted to hear about and understand the emotional content and social consequences of men's victimisation as these are not satisfactorily addressed in victim surveys (Davies 2007). As Goodey points out, there is much complexity in men's expression of vulnerability. With this in mind, respondent-based research must be interpreted with regard to what people

say they do or they feel; what people actually do; and what they say about what they do (Goodey 2005: 84).

For interviews with victims and professionals, I devised interview schedules (see appendix 2) generated from themes that arose in the literature review. Some interviews departed quite substantially from the schedule and this was consistent with Holloway and Jefferson's technique. Interviews took place at the participants' homes (eight interviews); in cafés (six interviews); in a bar (one interview); at LSE (six); at Galop's office (one); at Positive East's office (one); and one took place at Wimbledon Police Station. Two interviews were by telephone. Most were recorded on a digital voice recorder and transcribed, except those in public places where noise prevented recording, or when interviews were conducted by telephone. One participant whom I interviewed at home wanted the television left on, so I did not record him. In these instances, I took extensive notes and wrote them up immediately I returned home while the interviews were still fresh in my mind. The briefest interview, with Lee, took 55 minutes, the longest, with David, was four hours, and on average they lasted 90 minutes. I offered participants a £15 gift card from a choice of leading stores as a gesture of my appreciation, but several men declined to accept it. I believe it was necessary to demonstrate my appreciation that they had given up their time to speak to me, and I hoped gift cards (particularly those from HMV record shops) might help incentivise young people in particular to speak to me. One said of the Body Shop gift card I offered: "no you have it - buy yourself something nice". Perhaps by this time the stress of fieldwork was causing me to look exhausted, and he may well have thought my appearance suggested I needed Body Shop products more than he did!

At the end of the interview I asked participants if they would like to be sent a transcript of the interview. Several police officers wanted to approve a transcript, whereas only one of the victims wanted to. It seemed significant that with some exceptions, police officers were concerned about what I might write about them, but not very interested in seeing the findings. Victims and support service staff were mainly unconcerned about what I would write about them, but they were keen to see the findings and to know that the research would be put to constructive use. I asked all participants if they would like a copy of anything that I would write about the research, ranging from an extract to the full thesis. All except two victims wanted to be sent the relevant chapters of the thesis or a journal article, and one (Jim) wanted to see the entire thesis.

Bourdieu raises concerns about the manner in which researchers' questions, (which are inevitably value-loaded), may produce normative value-orientated statements that can be more about what the subject thinks the researcher could be looking for than about what is really going on (in Jenkins 2002). In designing interview schedules and conducting the interviews I made the questions as open and free of leading assumptions as possible to minimise bias arising from this type of process: Holloway and Jefferson too stress the need to always ask open questions. However, at times there was also a need to ask a question that might appear to be closed or to make a comment that is assumptive. This was to demonstrate through active listening and reflecting back that I had heard and understood the significance of what the participant had said, and to enable further probing of an issue (Egan 1998, Hoyle 1998).

It was important to hear Black gay men's stories, and I am white. Spalek points out that researchers tend not to acknowledge the differences between themselves and their participants, and therefore "white people's lives and the norms that govern those lives have tended to occupy a central position" (Spalek 2006: 43). Similarly, bell hooks argues that when we write about members of a group to which we do not belong, we should consider "whether our work will be used to re-inforce and perpetuate domination" because the tendency has been to place more value on what white people write about Black people than on what Black people write about themselves (hooks 1989: 43). Aware that I inevitably approach issues of race from a white perspective no matter how hard I try to adopt a different view, I sought to build in an element of challenge to my perspectives by discussing my interpretations of the data with Black gay men experienced in working with hate crime, who were Hanaan Baig, Subodh, and Dennis Carney.

The interviews with victims took place between 2 July and 20 November 2008. Interviews with policy makers, police personnel, and others took place between 21 February 2006 (Commander Steve Allen) and 19 December 2008 (Professor John Grieve) though most were conducted between Spring and Autumn 2008. The interview with Commander Allen took place early because I had already arranged to meet him then to start obtaining access to the Metropolitan Police, and I interviewed Peter Tatchell at that time to get an initial overview of the issues from an expert's perspective.

2.4 Obtaining access

I started trying to obtain permission to observe the work of police officers in the MPS in December 2005. I had met Deputy Assistant Commissioner Brian Paddick³³ twice in that year through my work for Victim Support and I contacted him again to explain my proposed research and to ask for his helping in obtaining access. He arranged for me to meet Commander Steve Allen, who at the time was head of the MPS division responsible for hate crime policy and practice. Obtaining access was a very long process that took from February 2006 to May 2008 before I started observing LGBT liaison officers. Appendix 3 is a description of the process.

Access to Victim Support and Galop personnel was comparatively straightforward. I had been Head of Research and Development with Victim Support from April 2002 to June 2007, when I was made redundant. Victim Support was aware of my research and by that time, most of those whom I wanted to interview had already left the organisation. I did not want to ask much of Victim Support, because they were busy with restructuring and because I had complained to them about the manner in which they had made my, and my colleagues', posts redundant, which made continuing contact with the organisation very difficult. Nevertheless, in 2008 I requested minutes of meetings that had taken place a few years before, some of which I had attended, but although Victim Support's Chief Executive voiced no objection to me seeing documents, I was not sent them, despite numerous requests. I was already a trustee of Galop, and Galop's Chief Executive was happy for me to contact her staff to arrange interviews. During 2008 I contacted several other LGBT organisations and most of these agreed to support the research by allowing me to interview staff; and to place information about it in their newsletters and waiting rooms.

2.5 Finding participants

In recruiting participants, I took into account Becker's view that sampling "ought to be conducted so as to maximize the possibility of finding what you hadn't even thought to look for" (Becker 1998: 164). I wanted to interview participants who had reported a homophobic incident, and those who had not. Goodey (2005) refers to the lack of research data about the experiences of victims who do not report crime, so I wanted record what they thought about criminal justice services that they do not use. To reach a range of participants - some of whom might, and some who might not be seeking support in

³³ At this time Brian Paddick was known as Britain's most senior openly gay police officer. He has since retired from the MPS.

response to victimisation - I recruited through organisations that are in touch with gay men for reasons that may be unconnected with homophobic crime, as well as *via* the police and Galop. To help minimise any bias arising from all the participants being people who were articulate enough to seek help from agencies, or who were disproportionately unsatisfied with the police, I also recruited in LGBT venues while completing survey questionnaires. I did not attempt to find participants through Victim Support, for reasons set out above. To reach people who might not be active on the commercial gay 'scene', I placed an advertisement in *Boyz*, a free weekly gay men's magazine in London. I contacted a range of LGBT organisations to obtain links to the site from their own web sites. This involved weeks of repeated telephone calls, e-mails and visits to gain their involvement. One organisation wrote a feature article about my research in their newsletter and one participant said he had read it. I issued a press release about the launch of my web site, which was picked up by *Gaydar Radio*. As I argued in the literature review, the particular experiences of Black gay men are under-researched. Qualitative research with Black gay men is somewhat limited to UK studies such as the research conducted by Phellas with Greek-Cypriot gay men (Phellas 2002); Galop's 2001 study, and American studies (see for example Manalansan 1996). I therefore wanted to ensure that I interviewed sufficient numbers of Black gay men to be able to draw some helpful inferences about the intersections of racism and homophobia from their experiences, particularly when considered alongside the insights of Black 'professionals'. To find Black participants, I attended London's two *Black Pride* festivals in August 2008, and I contacted Black LGBT organisations, most of which circulated their members about the research and placed links to my web site from theirs.

In information about the research, I avoided the word 'crime', referring to 'homophobia' instead, a word that is widely used by LGBT people. I also avoided the term 'victim'. This was because many people do not necessarily define their experiences as 'crime' or see themselves as 'victims' (Bowling and Phillips 2003, Victim Support 2006, Walklate 2008). Indeed, Becker reminds us of the centrality of people's definitions and the highly subjective nature of meanings in research about crime and deviance. Such definitions not only determine the nature of researchers' and participants' understandings, they also affect the actions they take as a result (Becker 1973); and these considerations apply as well to research about victims (Goodey 2005).

2.6 Victim participants

I interviewed 25 gay men and one transgender woman (who had lived most of her life as a man) and I will refer to them as 'victim' participants: the term is problematic by being somewhat reductive, but it is necessary to differentiate between them and the participants who I interviewed in their professional capacity, who I will call 'professional' participants. I asked victim participants to classify their ethnicity using the Office for National Statistics '16+1' codes. This system is unsatisfactory, for many people of minority ethnic origin in particular, as the ethnic groups are somewhat artificial and they do not necessarily coincide with people's own preferred descriptions of their ethnicity (Eisner and Parmar 2008). Eevan, for example, was Egyptian. He wanted to be identified as Arabic, but the closest ethnic group available in this classification was 'any other Black background'. Nevertheless I selected the ONS classification because it is used by the Metropolitan Police in their research, and I wanted demographic data that is consistent with police data, should comparison become necessary. I was surprised at how many participants wanted to be referred to by their real names. Some commented that they had taken pride in being open about what had happened to them, and wanted this reflected by them being to some extent identifiable in this way. However, some participants did not want their real names disclosed and below, an asterisk indicates where a false name is used. It is hoped that the information below will help readers become familiar with the participants so that it need not be repeated each time I refer to them. Each of the data chapters in this thesis starts with a quote from a participant.

The victim participants were as follows, in the order in which I met them:

Peter, a white British man, aged 35-54. He was a television producer. He received homophobically abusive e-mails from a colleague, which he reported to the police *via* Galop.

Andrew, A white British man, aged 35-54, who was a nurse. Andrew had experienced aggressive verbal abuse from young people in his neighbourhood, which he reported to the police.

Adrian, a white British man, aged 35-54. He was an actor. Adrian experienced verbal abuse in the street from a group of young people, which he did not report to the police.

George, a white Irish man, aged 25-34, who worked as a hotel supervisor. George received prolonged homophobic abuse from members of his family while living with them in the family home in Ireland. He reported it to the police.

Ryan, a white British man, aged 18-24, who asked me not to specify his occupation. Ryan received verbal abuse at a bus stop on his way home from work and he reported it to the police.

Eevan, an 'any other Black background' (Arabic) man, aged 25-34. Eevan was a refugee, not permitted to take up employment; though he did undertake voluntary work in a centre that helped newly-arrived asylum seekers. Eevan experienced verbal abuse from another volunteer at the centre. He reported it to Victim Support.

*Lamar, a Black British man, aged 18-24. Lamar worked as a shelf-stacker in a supermarket. He experienced daily verbal abuse, threats and intimidation from other residents of the hostel in which he lived, which he reported to Galop.

Adam, a white British man, aged 35-54, who was a train guard. Adam and his partner were harassed and threatened by their neighbours, and they reported it to the police.

*Mike, a white British man, aged 25-34, who was undertaking voluntary work with a charity. Mike was assaulted on a train. He reported it to the police.

*Carl, a white British man, aged 25-34, who worked as a security guard. Carl received prolonged neighbour harassment including violence, threats and criminal damage to his flat, which he reported.

Paul, a white British man, aged 35-54, who was a financial advisor. Paul and his partner were subject to homophobic harassment and criminal damage by local young people and they reported it.

Franco, an 'any other white background' man, aged 35-54. Regrettably, I failed to note his occupation. Franco experienced verbal homophobic abuse while queuing in a supermarket, which he reported on-line to Galop.

Stewart, a white British man, aged 35-54, who worked for a charity as an administrator. Stewart and his partner experienced homophobic verbal abuse and Stewart was stabbed. Although he was seriously injured, he did not report it to the police.

Colin, a Black British man, aged 35-54, who was a sports coach. Colin suffered homophobic criminal damage to his home, harassment, and verbal abuse. He reported it.

Jim, an 'any other white background' man, aged 55-64, who was a psychotherapist. Jim experienced verbal abuse on an underground train. He did not report it.

Lee, A white British man, aged 25-34, who worked in the music industry. Lee experienced verbal abuse in a public house and he reported it.

Michael, a white British man, aged 35-54. He was an ex- police officer who, at the time of our interview, managed his own cleaning business. Michael experienced verbal abuse and threats to stab. He attempted to report it but he did not complete the process.

Chris, a white British man, aged 35-54. At the time of our interview Chris was unemployed but highly active in local LGBT organisations. Chris was assaulted in a public sex environment. He reported it to the police.

Jorge, an 'any other white background' man, aged 35-54, who worked as a carer and interpreter. Jorge experienced verbal abuse in the street, which he did not report.

RJ, a white British man, aged 35-54, who worked as a local authority policy officer. RJ and his partner were subject to verbal abuse in an HIV clinic. He reported it to the clinic's staff and to the police.

Miss Kimberley, an 'any other Black background' transgender woman, aged 35-54, who was a night club compère. Miss Kimberley experienced frequent verbal abuse from neighbours and from strangers in the street; and she had recently experienced racist and transphobic abuse at work. She reported the abuse that occurred at work to the police.

David, an 'any other white background' man, aged 35-54 who was an actor. David was subject to verbal abuse, violence and harassment from his neighbours lasting nine years. He reported incidents to the police on numerous occasions.

*John, a 'white and Black African' man, aged 35-54. John was an opera singer. He and his partner Nicolas experienced sustained verbal abuse and harassment from their next-door neighbour, which they reported.

*Nicolas, a white British man, aged 25-34, who worked as a film director, and who was John's partner. I interviewed John and Nicolas together.

Allan, a white British man, aged 55-64, who worked for a housing association as a handyman. Allan experienced verbal abuse and harassment from the staff of the night club next door to his flat, which he reported.

Matt, a white British man, aged 35-54, who was a lawyer. Matt was assaulted while boarding a night bus. He reported it.

They were recruited by the following means:

Method of contact	Number of participants
Contacted during participant observation with the Metropolitan Police	5
Referred by GMFA (formerly Gay Men Fighting Aids) or BigUp (GMFA Black gay men's subgroup)	2
Referred by Galop	6
Referred by Stonewall Housing	1
Referred by Positive East	2
Contacted me after seeing my advertisement in <i>Boyz</i> magazine	5
Contacted during ethnographic work in gay venues or public sex environments	2
Contacted through personal contacts or 'snowballing'	2
Contacted me through my web site	1

(Table 2: means of recruitment of participants)

2.7 Professional participants

I interviewed 23 people who worked for police services or support organisations, or who had significant expertise in the subject of this research. They were as follows, in the order in which I interviewed them:

Police officers:

Commander Steve Allen, Metropolitan Police Service

Superintendent Paul Giannasi, seconded to the Home Office Race Justice and Confidence Unit

Three LGBT liaison police officers, one of whom asked me not to name them

Professor John Grieve, former Deputy Assistant Commissioner, Metropolitan Police

Support service personnel:

Anne Viney, former Head of Research and Development (until 2002), Victim Support

Dame Helen Reeves, former Chief Executive (until 2005) of Victim Support

Robert Latham, former Chair of Victim Support (until 2003)

Phil Greasley, manager of a local Victim Support service

Derron Leid, manager of a local Victim Support service and former Chair of Victim Support's Race Forum

Paul Fawcett, Head of Communications, Victim Support

Deborah Gold, Chief Executive, Galop

Peter Kelley, Caseworker, Galop

Jamie Fisher, Caseworker, Galop

Hanaan Baig, Black Services Development Officer, Galop. I accompanied Hanaan to the two London *Black Pride* festivals in 2008 and I interviewed him once

Subodh,³⁴ Wise Thoughts (an organisation of South Asian LGBT people that works to reduce hate crime). I interviewed Subodh twice

Deleon Brown, Outreach and Referral Worker, Young People's Services, THT (formerly Terrence Higgins Trust)

Dennis L Carney, independent trainer and consultant, facilitator of the Black Connections Group (a Black gay men's support group). I interviewed Dennis twice

Dr Patrick Williams, J-Flag (a voluntary organisation that helps Jamaican people who are affected by homophobic abuse)

Jackie Foley, Homophobic Hate Crime Liaison Worker, London boroughs of Greenwich and Bexley

Other people:

Peter Tatchell, human rights campaigner and founder of the LGBT campaign group OutRage.

Rob Berkeley, Director, The Runnymede Trust (a research organisation that specialises in race issues).

2.8 Data analysis

I entered results from completed survey questionnaires into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Frequencies were calculated by the software, which automatically produced the bar charts shown later in this thesis.

Because my research questions had an inductive focus, designed to generate new theoretical insights rather than to test hypotheses, I used Strauss and Corbin's (1998) method for coding data and Thomas's (2003) general inductive approach to analysis. After transcribing interviews, I went through each transcript attaching a code label to each datum. I had generated code labels using concepts described in the literature, and I wrote a further series of code labels based on concepts suggested by data from interviews. A

³⁴ Subodh preferred to be known by his first name only

concept is a labelled phenomenon that the researcher uses to group similar phenomena under a common heading (Strauss and Corbin 1998). This process helps us ask questions about their relationships that may indicate a range of potential meanings contained in the data: meanings might be embedded, rather than being readily apparent. I entered codes onto an Excel spreadsheet, which enabled me to display the coded data in an accessible format. I also summarised each interview by writing a 'theoretical memo' for each transcript (Layder 1998) (see appendix 4). These contained a summary of the situation the participant described, a description of the themes that emerged from the interview, and three sets of typologies that I devised when themes began to emerge during data analysis. For example, the structural typologies described structural factors, for example where the data indicated that the influence of homophobic norms may have given tacit approval to violence. Impact typologies described the way in which people were affected by their victimisation; and victim typologies noted how people managed their responses to victimisation and the meanings it had for them. Social reality is comprised not solely of the meanings people attach to events: these understandings are greatly influenced by structural or systemic factors (Layder 1998) and I found this system helped identify the associations that may exist between people's experiences and systemic factors. The final section of the theoretical memo contains what Layder refers to as 'concept-indicator links'. These links between concepts can provide a starting point for theory generation. During the analysis, the spreadsheet displaying the coded data was helpful as a means of organising the data and making them accessible, whereas the theoretical memos were useful in moving towards an interpretive understanding of the data. In particular, I found that the theoretical memos enabled common themes, that I might have otherwise overlooked, to be readily identified and noted. An example of this was the way in which for some participants, homophobic victimisation triggered a series of further events, such as loss of their homes and estrangement from their families.

2.9 Reflexivity, objectivity and other epistemological concerns

It is important to be open to data that might be contrary to the assumptions that a researcher might make (Hammersley 2000, Becker 1998). Once a researcher has identified a theory or explanation, he or she might look for data that will confirm it, and may even shape the data collection process accordingly (Hammersley 2000). To avoid this pitfall, I noted Popper's wisdom that scientific knowledge is advanced not by trying to endlessly prove a theory to be correct, but by systematically setting out to establish in what circumstances the theory might be refuted (Keuth 2005). The critique of hate crime policy

provided by Jacobs and Potter (1998) that I described in the literature review helped me maintain some scepticism about the assumptions commonly made about hate crime and its effects.

During fieldwork, I often needed to reflect on my role in this research. As a gay man who sometimes socialises in LGBT venues, is active in a community group concerned with hate crime, and as someone who has experienced homophobic abuse, I could have been too close to the subject to maintain the degree of openness required to find data that might challenge my preconceived beliefs. However, given the nature of the injustices described by participants, it would have been inappropriate to have attempted a stance of complete neutrality, which would have impeded data collection by distancing me from them. When someone is in tears describing the abuse he experienced and talks of having wanted to kill himself, one must be very careful about how questions that do need to be asked, such as “how do you know it was homophobic?”, are expressed. Ethnographic literature was helpful in resolving these dilemmas, as in the quote from Coffey with which this chapter opens about the emotionality of fieldwork. But before discussing that literature below, it may be helpful to first note the argument put forward by Bottoms that it is possible to integrate the explanatory and the interpretive understanding approaches to criminological research; and to relate this to feminist scholarship. Writing about the importance of taking a scientific approach in criminology, Bottoms distinguishes between positivist and ethnographic approaches to social research in drawing a distinction between the causal explanations that might arise from positivism and the interpretive understanding that can be gained from ethnographic methods. He quotes Hollis who argued that the social world should be “understood from within, rather than explained from without” (Hollis, in Bottoms 2008: 89). It was this that I sought to achieve so that my closeness to the field could be an asset instead of a problem.

The literature about domestic violence and about researching LGBT communities provides some helpful examples of how such ‘understanding from within’ can be achieved. Studies of domestic violence highlight the role of feminism in raising a wide range of new questions and issues that seem pertinent to all victimological research. These, I suggest, include the significance of fear of crime and the gendering of social control (Carrabine *et al.* 2004); the way in which verbal abuse and threats can be experienced to be as damaging as violence (Burman in Heidensohn and Gelsthorpe 2007); the capacity for women’s knowledge to make hitherto obscured and unnamed processes visible (Walklate 2008); the challenge feminism provided to the notions of victim precipitation and lifestyle

theories of victimisation that were core to conventional victimological thinking (Walklate 2003), and so on. In this way, by highlighting the harm caused to women by men's enactment of 'masculine' behaviours, "feminist scholarship gave voice to a range of previously subjugated knowledges" (Collier 1998:157). For these reasons, feminist methodologies can inform research with LGBT people. From a feminist perspective, Hoyle writes about how she found informal interview methods productive in her research about women's experiences of domestic violence. For Hoyle, the issue is less about gender, and more about recognising the need to avoid the abuse of power that researchers have over interviewees from whom they want to obtain intimate information that may be painful to impart. She wrote that "the quest for objectivity... was purposely abandoned" to enable women to tell their stories (Hoyle 1998: 39). She describes how after talking with women in a refuge (an environment in which opinions could be prejudiced) she avoided generalising from the data, using it instead to provide support for other areas of the study. This is how I used data from conversations with participants I talked with in gay venues while administering the survey. The noisy environment of a busy bar, the problematic involvement of police officers, the tendency of participants' friends to interject with statements like "go on, tell him about..." all combined to make data collection a somewhat unsystematic process. Nevertheless, this part of the fieldwork was productive in supporting other aspects of the research. It further sensitised me to aspects of homophobic abuse of which I have no personal experience, for example neighbourhood harassment; and to the implications of some gay men stating they had never experienced homophobic abuse and were not very concerned about it.

Fieldwork in gay venues in particular raised questions for me about the role of 'auto-ethnography', where researchers "conduct and write ethnographies of their 'own people'" (Hayano 1979: 99). While there are dilemmas in auto-ethnography about issues such as objectivity and research bias, this approach can achieve "the voices from within - the internal political affirmation of cultural diversity and autonomy for sometimes neglected populations" (Hayano 1979: 103). Haywood and Mac an Ghail (2006) cite evidence from research with LGBT people that indicates the need to make visible the perspectives of groups that are marginalised, enabling exploration of these perspectives. Helping to make people's experiences more visible may involve the researcher being willing to demonstrate some affinity with participants. Participants may be more open if they "believe their interviewer has some appreciation of their world and their needs" (Crewe and Maruna 2006: 115). Previous research with gay men helped me reflect on the significance or otherwise of my closeness to the field. For example, Carrier (2006) researched same-sex

activity in Mexico. He wanted to explore questions about what is homosexuality and who is homosexual, because few men who have sex with men in Mexico defined themselves as gay. His partner was a source of friends who were willing to participate, and Carrier found that he could not separate his sexual life from his research. Bolton researched gay male sexual practices in Belgium, using his participation in the sexual culture, including “blow-jobs from bar tenders”, as a research tool (in Haywood and Mac an Ghail 2006: 191). Sadly, my experience as a researcher was very much less exotic than Bolton’s, but these examples illustrate how data drawn from the researcher’s personal connectedness and empathy with participants can, as Coffey argues, produce findings that extend knowledge through being “emotional and meaningful” (Coffey 1999: 33). However, the use of autoethnographic data is problematic (Coffey 1999). The amount of time I spent ‘hanging around in bars’ during fieldwork was less than that expended on most of the other methods and it was often in the presence of police officers, so I have therefore drawn more from the semi-structured interviews as the main sources of data.

This research offered an opportunity for participants to, as Ken Plummer expresses it, ‘tell their story’. Plummer sees this process as political, because the stories of LGBT people have, he claims, until lately in this country been suppressed. He refers to the significance of power, which

“weaves its way through embodied, passionate social life and every thing in its wake. Sexual stories live in this flow of power. The power to tell a story... or not... under the conditions of one’s own choosing, is part of the political process” (Plummer 1995: 26).³⁵

Drawing on feminist scholarship, Plummer argues that stories of negative experiences can build positive identities and become part of a political language (Plummer 1995). His analysis seems highly significant to this research, particularly to claims that homophobic crime can harm those who hear of it but do not experience it; and to the process of recovery from homophobic victimisation, where, as will become apparent in later chapters, group affiliations may be instrumental.

These considerations do however raise the issue of bias. Hammersley acknowledges that bias represents a type of error and he reviews a number of approaches that have historically attempted to minimise it, but which have fallen out of favour. He concludes that relying on presuppositions that are open to potential doubt might not necessarily lead

³⁵ It could be argued that no matter how careful a researcher might be to offer participants choice in how, when and where an interview is conducted, participants’ choices in how they tell their stories are still somewhat limited.

to outcome error, but could “lead towards the truth rather than away from it” provided the accountability system of social research is effective is ensuring that the validity of presuppositions is always open to question (Hammersley 2000: 163). He argues for openness among researchers about what was and was not effective, so that future researchers will learn from the experience of others. Claims about generalisability, robustness and so on arising from ethnographic work (and, I would argue, participant observation) must be written about “in a manner that is sufficiently explicit for the reader to be able to evaluate those claims” (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 256). It is these strategies that I tried to implement in writing this thesis.

2.10 Research ethics

I designed the format of the interviews to be compliant with the Statement of Ethical Practice of the British Sociological Association.³⁶ Its requirements about safeguarding the wellbeing of participants during research, informed consent, the recognition of disparities in power and status, data protection law, confidentiality and anonymity, and inviting participants to see what is to be written about them were all particularly relevant to this research. I produced a short briefing about the research for agencies that I hoped would make referrals, which addressed confidentiality and the uses to which the research would be put. I explained this to people who contacted me via my web site or my advertisement, before asking them if they wished to arrange an interview.

Before each interview started, I explained to the participant who I am, what the research is about, how the findings will be written up, and why I wanted to interview him or her. I said that I would need to ask about some very personal issues and that if they did not want to answer any question, they could decline. I started each interview by explaining the purpose of the research and how I hoped the findings would be disseminated, informing participants of their right to withdraw at any stage. I explained that the interview was confidential but that I would want to write about their experiences and they could decide at the end of the interview how they would like to be described; whether or not they would want their real name used, and so on. I tried to ensure they would not be inadvertently identified by my writing about their association with any well-known event or place. I assured them that their contact details would be kept solely in a password protected file on my computer. I said that their personal information would not be passed

³⁶ <http://www.britisoc.co.uk/equality/Statement+Ethical+Practice.htm>. Retrieved 23 March 2009

on to any other person or authority unless they told me something that suggested someone's safety might be in danger.

Some participants were tearful during the interview. I did not try to suppress their expression of emotion, but instead expressed empathy and reassurance. I hold the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work, I worked as probation officer for fifteen years, and I am experienced in interviewing people about distressing events. After each interview I offered every victim participant information about sources of ongoing support, including an information card from Galop and I offered each Black victim participant a card produced by BigUp, an organisation of Black gay men, in accordance with BigUp's request that I do so. Several victims said they felt better after the interview. One said that he had never talked to anyone about these events before and it felt good to have "got it all off my chest". Another participant wrote on his internet blog about his "interview with a researcher from the LSE" and how "cathartic" it had been. On several occasions after an interview I felt depressed about participants' experiences; but often I experienced a sense of admiration for the way in which many of them coped with what had happened to them. For example, Carl was clearly not used to talking about difficult issues, yet despite his palpable discomfort about discussing his emotions, he was willing to talk with me. I hope that other people reading in this thesis about his experiences will be impressed by his integrity and the way that he had managed to negotiate his way around what was for him an almost impossibly homophobic society with consideration for others and a determination not to give up. This point applies to most of the other participants in this research, to all of whom I am grateful. It is to their stories that, in the next chapter, we can now turn.

3. The nature, impact and consequences of homophobic 'hate crime'

I was able to make things happen when I was mugged, and the situation was resolved as a result, and the police were with me in that. I was able to turn a negative into a positive. It was very different from the homophobic incidents, where I was helpless really (Adrian).

To situate survey and interview data in the overall context of the extent of homophobic crime in London and what is known about its consequences, this chapter will begin with information about that context, to be followed by data from my survey. These data provide an introduction to some of the themes from the semi-structured interviews that will be described next. Interview data identify where participants experienced homophobic abuse and the nature of it. I will explore the impact of the abuse that participants experienced in and around their homes, in the street or at work; the consequences of repeat victimisation, the nature of abuse and violence, the role of bystanders, the meanings of homophobic abuse and what constitutes a 'victim', what participants believed was distinctive about their experience of homophobic crime, and how participants felt they were affected by homophobic abuse directed towards other people. These themes will be discussed with reference to some relevant theoretical perspectives.

In her authoritative work on the impact of sexual violence on women, Liz Kelly argues that we should refer to 'consequences' of victimisation, not 'effects'. She argues that 'effects' tend to be limited to referring to changes in individual psychology whereas "the aftermath of victimization also includes subsequent events and circumstances which are precipitated by, or attributable to, assaults. Whilst these are not direct 'effects' they can be conceptualized as consequences" (Kelly 1988: 187) She argues that these consequences need to be located in the active process of coping, which women who have been victimised engage in. There are parallels with gay men's experiences of homophobic crime and therefore I refer here mainly to 'consequences' rather than 'effects'.

3.1 The extent of homophobic crime in London, and its consequences

The following table shows the number of recorded racist crimes, homophobic crimes, and all crimes reported to the MPS in the two years to February 2010. It shows a substantial

increase in the number of homophobic crimes recorded, at a time when there had been a slight decrease in overall crime. Transphobic crime figures were not available.

	12 months to February 2009	12 months to February 2010	Percentage change
Racist crime	9, 547	9,929	+4%
Homophobic crime	1,052	1,344	+27.8%
Transphobic crime	Not available	Not available	
All crimes	842,574	828,349	-1.7%

(Table 3: numbers of racist and homophobic crimes recorded by the MPS (source: <http://www.met.police.uk/crimefigures/index.php>, retrieved 2 April 2010).)

The increase in the number of homophobic crimes recorded may of course reflect either a real increase in their number, or a higher proportion of crimes reported, or a combination of both. An article in *The London Paper* on 18 July 2009 alleged: "Overall crime drops - homophobic attacks soar". It contained a quote from the LGBT campaigning group OutRage! that questioned how real the apparent rise might be:

These figures show that hate crimes are not something that you can just ignore. It suggests there is something wrong with society that people can't tolerate each other. However, one has to bear in mind that a proportion of the increase is down to a greater willingness of gay people to report these crimes. Previously, because they did not trust the police to investigate them, they thought there was no point.³⁷

Galop's 2009 research about homophobic and transphobic crime collected data from LGBT organisations about their service users' experiences of homophobic and transphobic crime in London, concluding that such crimes are greatly under-reported. About half of the people who had contacted an LGBT organisation had experienced hate-motivated victimisation but had not reported it, and many of those that had reported to the police were dissatisfied with the police response. Transgender people tended to experience the most repeat victimisation. Young and older LGBT people were the least likely to report homophobic and transphobic crime, and Black LGBT people were the most likely group to be victimised in and around their homes (Kelley 2009). Much homophobic crime takes place in and around people's homes, committed by family members and neighbours (Moran and Skeggs 2004). Galop's findings are consistent with most other studies cited in the literature. For example, Stonewall's *Gay British Crime Survey 2008*³⁸ reported that although one in six respondents had experienced a physical assault in the past three years,

³⁷ *Gay-hate crimes in steep rise* by Rob Singh, *The London Paper*, 16 July 2009.

³⁸ This was a national survey conducted with YouGov.

75 *per cent* of those surveyed did not report it to the police. Black LGBT people seemed to be twice as likely as white LGBT people to be victimised. Two thirds of those who did report to the police said they were not offered support, nor were they referred to a support organisation (Dick 2008). It might seem productive to compare these findings with the British Crime Survey, but reliable comparison is difficult because the two studies did not ask respondents about equivalent matters, and there are significant differences between the research methods employed.³⁹ Nevertheless, the 2009 BCS report specifies that there were 998,000 incidents of violence without injury estimated by the 2008-9 survey and there were 482,000 incidents of violence without injury reported to the police in that year (Walker *et al.* 2009). It could be suggested therefore that a smaller proportion of homophobic violence is reported to the police than the proportion of all violent crime that is reported.

The impact of homophobic and transphobic crime is cited in the literature as including stress, depression, illness, anger, having to take time off work, fear of going out alone or being alone, self-loathing, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and maybe having to move home (Mason and Palmer 1996, Victim Support 2006). Young, and Black LGBT people, appear to experience more hate-motivated victimisation than their older or white equivalents (Galop 1998, 2001). Some studies have claimed homophobic abuse can cause young people, in particular, to kill themselves (cited in Chakraborti and Garland 2009, McGhee 2005). The psychological consequences of hate crime have in some studies been shown to be worse than those of other crimes (Noelle 2009). Verbal abuse may cause people to fear going out (Victim Support 2006), undermine identity (Mason 2002), and re-invoke previous hurtful experiences of abuse (Hall 2005). It may cause a 'climate of fear' (Stanko and Curry 1997) that affects other members of the minority community who are not directly victimised, and this has been termed its '*in terrorem*' effect (Iganski 2001). Perhaps because transgender people represent an even greater challenge to conventional gender norms than lesbians and gay men do, they are reported to be the most vulnerable to repeat victimisation and physical violence (Chakraborti and Garland 2009).

3.2 Findings from the survey

Of the 96 people I surveyed, 40 (41 *per cent*) said they had experienced homophobic abuse, and fifteen of these had experienced violence or their property being damaged. As

³⁹ For this reason it may be somewhat misleading of Stonewall to name their research *The Gay British Crime Survey*.

with the interview data, most homophobic abuse was verbal but physical violence was not unusual. Seven respondents who experienced violence or criminal damage said they had needed medical attention afterwards, though for some this included receiving medication for depression. The need for medical intervention may be an indicator of the serious nature of these attacks. Most of the 40 people who experienced abuse said they thought it was homophobic because the offender made homophobic comments at the time. Ten said the abuse had taken place near an LGBT venue, which is a slightly higher proportion than among interview participants. This may be because most of the surveys were conducted with people who socialised in gay venues, which did not apply to all those who participated in semi-structured interviews. Nevertheless, 30 of the 40 respondents who experienced abuse were victimised in a location other than a gay venue (such as near their homes, on public transport and so on). This is consistent with the picture, derived from the literature and from the victim interviews, of homophobic abuse taking place as people go about their daily business. A slightly higher proportion of the sixteen people who completed the survey on-line had experienced abuse (44 *per cent*) than those whose survey was administered in person.

The most common effects of victimisation were anger (reported by 22 people) and depression (15 people). Nine said they were used to it as homophobia was 'part of life' and five said they wanted to 'get even' with the abuser. Eleven said they felt helpless and six people said they felt guilty or ashamed at having been victimised. Three had to move house as a result and three had to leave their employment. Additional comments from survey respondents included "my life was never the same again" and "I don't go to that pub anymore". A respondent who completed the survey on-line wrote: "I hated myself, I really was angry I could not protect myself". Another on-line respondent wrote of how he had been homophobicly abused for years by members of his family and he suffered a heart attack brought about, he believed, by the resulting stress. When that happened he delayed seeking medical attention because he wanted to die. These data suggest the potential for homophobic incidents to be 'transformative events' for men in the way that Stanko and Hobdell (1993) describe. The survey also asked questions about people's interaction with the police and I will discuss these particular findings in chapter 6. For now, it may be helpful to start considering the data from semi-structured interviews, much of which does indeed suggest that homophobic abuse was for many of the men interviewed 'transformative'.

3.3 The impact of crime

Before we explore what 'victim' participants said about how they were affected, we need to briefly consider to what extent the consequences of hate crime described above and in the literature review are common to many different types of crime. Maguire noted that 28 *per cent* of crime victims in general named shock as the worst effect of their victimisation. An analysis of Bristol Victim Support cases, mainly of theft and burglary, found 7 *per cent* of victims reported a "severe and long lasting impact, affecting their lifestyle" and a third were upset to the extent that they needed some help "in restoring normal coping ability". Maguire quotes Haward's 1981 research, which found that as many as 70 *per cent* of victims of a variety of offences had been "very distressed by the experience" (Maguire 1982: 123). People who had been burgled said they initially did not want to accept they had been burgled, often trying to find some other explanation of why their property had gone missing. He noted that women tended to be more shocked and depressed by burglary than men, who most commonly reported feelings of anger⁴⁰, and "the emotional impact of burglary is more important to victims than financial loss" (Maguire 1982: 129). Mawby and Kirchoff (1996) report similar findings about the emotional impact of burglary using British Crime Survey data and findings from surveys of burglary victims in Germany.

The Victim Support Handbook⁴¹ notes that one reason why crime can be difficult to cope with is because another person has "wilfully intruded into the victim's life" (Spackman 2000: 4). It sets out how some people get 'stuck' in a state of victimisation, noting that there is a range of factors that make people especially vulnerable following a crime, where "one of the most significant is the victim's past experience of loss" (Spackman 2000: 8). These, it is suggested, can apply to any kind of crime. However, Maguire and Corbett draw attention to the difficulty in establishing the extent to which people are harmed by it. They discuss research purporting to show that victimisation was often too trivial to be remembered - "part of life's vicissitudes" - whereas other researchers wrote of being "stunned at the general impact of a crime on the victim's psychological state" (Mayhew 1984 and Friedman *et al.* 1982, in Maguire and Corbett 1987: 36-37). Maguire and

⁴⁰ Ferraro notes that men are most at risk of crime, with the exception of sexual assault, yet women tend to be considerably more fearful of crime. He argues that for women, the spectre of sexual assault may arise in connection with any form of victimisation, including burglary (Ferraro 1995).

⁴¹ The *Victim Support Handbook* contains guidance for Victim Support personnel on the provision of support.

Corbett consider that such variance can in part be explained by the tendency of victim surveys to aggregate findings from very different populations: those who have been frequently victimised, people who have experienced petty theft, victims of serious offences, and so on. A study of victims of violent racist crime noted victims' feelings of sadness, anger, and powerlessness, but observed that such responses were also experienced by victims of other personal crime (Barnes and Ephross 1994). These considerations are important because the assertion that the impact of hate crime is little different to that of other crimes is central to Jacobs' and Potter's (1998) thesis.

3.4 Space and place: homophobic abuse in public

Nine of the 26 'victim' participants in semi-structured interviews had been victimised in or near their home by a family member (two instances) or by neighbours (seven instances). Only three participants described being victimised near an LGBT venue and one had been assaulted in a public sex environment by young people who he thought were out 'looking for trouble'. Two were victimised at work. Many participants experienced sudden and unprovoked verbal abuse in public. Franco was verbally abused in a supermarket queue by another customer:

The check-out woman seems to be rather amused by all this - and that's what hurt the most, that approving look. I don't know why but this time this episode really got to me. As I was walking to the tube station I was shaking and by the time I was on the tube, I was in tears.

In saying that he did not know why the abuse affected him so profoundly, Franco seemed to be expressing an expectation that one should not be seriously affected by sudden and unprovoked verbal abuse in public, adding that he would expect verbal abuse if he was dressed flamboyantly to attend a Gay Pride festival. The internalisation of masculine norms of invulnerability and perhaps a belief that in certain circumstances one might deserve homophobic abuse may be apparent in Franco's reactions. Mike described similar beliefs: when he was 'cruising' for sex in a known public sex environment, someone had smashed all the windows of his car that was parked nearby. He said he did not report it because he thought he might have deserved it.

Jim was verbally abused on a London Underground train. The abuser kept up a litany of "are you a faggot?" questioning for almost twenty minutes until Jim got off the train. Matt too was victimised on public transport, assaulted by a stranger while waiting for a night bus. He was left wondering how he could have avoided the attack, other than not use

night buses. Matt explained that he had chatted with the assailant at the bus stop, who was at first friendly and had initiated the conversation, but as Matt was getting on the bus the man punched him. Matt said "it happened so quickly that I couldn't do anything to avoid the blow". He believed he had done nothing to provoke it. Some years after the incident that involved the breaking of his car windows, Mike was physically attacked by a group of rowdy young men on a main-line train. The attack started with them joking with him but their demeanour quickly became threatening and he did not know what had precipitated such a radical change. He asked the train guard for help but it seems the guard did nothing. Ryan was verbally abused on his way home from work by a group of young men at a bus stop. Eevan was verbally abused at the centre where he undertook voluntary work: a colleague questioned him about whether he was a man or a woman, and referred to Black people as 'monkeys'. Other than Mike, only one participant, Chris, was attacked while out 'cruising' for sex. For Chris, one of the most emotionally painful aspects of being attacked was the thought that he was a source of 'sport' for the young assailants.

Jorge was followed along a busy shopping street for several minutes by a man shouting abuse at him:

I felt really shocked and really bad, it really hurts what happened. I could feel his hatred. He was really vicious and threatening and he was calling me names in front of a crowd and nobody was doing anything.

Jorge felt the intensity of the offender's hatred for him. The hurtfulness of the incident, which "came out of the blue" was, like Jim's and Franco's experiences, compounded by the failure of anyone to intervene or support him afterwards. While the attack was of verbal abuse and not physical violence, Jorge's perception of the hate that was expressed, which he conveyed in his use of terms such as "vicious" and "threatening", takes the impact of the incident beyond the realm of insults. For many of the participants, shock came from the sudden realisation of visibility as much as from the intensity of the abuse.

RJ and his partner were verbally abused in the NHS sexual health clinic that, because they were HIV positive, they had to attend regularly for check-ups. RJ said:

I could hear (a) Jamaican guy saying things like 'batty boys' and 'Sodom and Gomorrah'. I asked him to stop saying those things as this was a place where there should be no discrimination, however he continued... (a) young skinny white boy was giggling and laughing, obviously being egged on by this Jamaican guy. It was also at this point that another young Black kid started to also laugh at this. There were now three people taking part...

...we had to wait for two hours to be seen, and all the time there were stares, giggles, and whispered comments coming from the Jamaican guy and the by now two other guys sitting with him... as we left they called out 'batty boy'. It was threatening and intimidating, and it felt very embarrassing to be verbally abused in that way in front of a group of people.

RJ was disturbed by the failure of the staff to intervene: "I thought that because nobody was doing anything to help or support me, if he attacked me, then nobody would intervene then either..." Soon afterwards RJ registered with a different clinic, which was inconveniently much further from his home and his workplace.

A former police officer from Northern Ireland, Michael was one of three participants who had been victimised in or around gay venues. We discussed the location of the homophobic abuse he had experienced and its consequences for him:

(PD) Can you tell me what sort of things are often said to you?

Yes, batty boys, that sort of thing... I lived in Peckham for a while and you'd get that on the buses. You get this from the younger ones...

(PD) I wonder what triggers that sort of abuse? If you don't mind me saying, you look very straight, people would not jump to the conclusion you are gay. How do you think they know?

Well it's because it's normally when I'm going to, or coming out of a gay bar. It's not the clothes that do it, so it must be the area, it happens outside (name of bar) and other places like that.... I don't feel vulnerable either. I refuse to bow down to this, particularly with a couple of drinks inside me.

Having at first said he did not feel vulnerable, later in the interview Michael did describe a sense of vulnerability that arose from being subject to fairly frequent homophobic harassment combined with feeling that, having reached his fifties, he might soon become physically unable to 'look after himself' if he was attacked. He said he was now considering moving out of London where he had lived for many years. Adrian too was verbally abused outside a gay bar after kissing his partner. A car stopped and a group of young people got out, shouting abuse. He said he wondered "if you can't do it (kiss) outside a gay bar, where can you do it?" Lee experienced abuse in a 'straight' (predominantly heterosexual) public house. Unlike most participants, Lee described feeling empowered by the prompt and helpful response from the police, who had been called by one of his friends. The abusers were given fixed penalty notices for disorder and the police then drove Lee and his friends home: Lee's experience shows how the response of state authorities can transform the nature of victims' experiences.

Most of the homophobic victimisation experienced by participants happened either at home or in ordinary public places, when going about their daily lives. This finding supports the argument that homophobic violence “is normal, everyday, commonplace, routine behaviour, a legitimate, and legitimated violence”⁴² (Moran and Skeggs 2004: 26-7). Such legitimisation was felt by Franco in the smirk of the supermarket check-out assistant, and by the passivity of the train guard when Mike was attacked. Stanko and Curry argue that the right to walk safely in imagined public space has “special meaning within law and order politics in western democracies” (Stanko and Curry 1997: 514). They argue that unless the state sanctions those who take it upon themselves to police sexuality then the state condones such homophobic behaviour. Stanko and Curry write about how LGBT communities are, like women, exhorted to police themselves by being careful and avoiding certain areas. Solutions to homophobic violence that place responsibility on the individual to self-police and avoid homophobic attacks normalise homophobic and gendered violence, they argue. It also ignores and devalues the self-regulatory strategies that people have already adopted for their self-protection: “advice about private prudentialism often ignores the active strategies already used by those negotiating the ‘space’ of being an other” (Stanko and Curry 1997: 525). However, we might ask to what extent do these considerations of danger really affect the behaviour of individuals or communities, especially in London with its apparent tolerance (and even celebration) of diversity? Data from semi-structured interviews suggest that the ‘climate of unsafety’ is felt by individuals, but often only after experiencing an attack one-self; a finding that is supported by the survey data.

3.5 Space and place: homophobic abuse around home

As well as illustrating the dangers that exist in public space for some gay men, the experiences of many participants lead us to question the notion of home being a safe place. Moran and Skeggs describe research where some LGBT people talked of home as a place of surveillance where “you are criticised, and abused, and condemned, and judged, and offended” (Moran and Skeggs 2004: 89-90). This conceptualisation shares a number of feminist constructs of home as, for some women, a place of danger (Goodey 2005, Mawby and Walklate 1994, Spalek 2006). The interaction of homophobic abuse with home, family and emotions are central to the ‘lived realities’ that Perry (2003) reminds us have not yet been fully understood through research about hate crime. Mason finds that through

⁴² I interpret this to mean that homophobic violence is tacitly legitimated by dominant homophobic norms.

qualitative research, it is possible to convey the “breadth of information” needed to understand the effects of violence (Mason 2002: 5).

For many of the nine men harassed or abused in, at or near their homes, home had become a place of fear and a battleground; generating feelings of entrapment, hopelessness, and loss. George described growing up in a violently homophobic family in Ireland. Home was the site of regular violent attacks by his father and brothers that ceased only when he moved to London. George had reported some of the abuse to the police, but they took little action and he felt let down by the Irish criminal justice system. For two years Lamar had been regularly verbally abused and threatened by other residents of the hostel in which he lived, to which he had moved after being ejected from the family home by his mother. The religious organisation that managed the hostel seemed unwilling to take any action to help him. He told me:

I don't use the facilities there, it's not safe. I just sit in my room, I lock the door...

I asked Lamar about his family:

No, I don't see my mum and my family. I haven't spoken to her for four years. She's Christian. She doesn't like gays.

(PD) What did she say when you told her you were gay?

She say she wishes I was dead.

(PD) Wishes you are dead, or her?

No, she wishes I was dead. She thinks I should be dead. She says she won't accept it. She said I bring shame on the family, shame and embarrassment...

(PD) How does it make you feel, when your mum says she wishes you were dead?

It's like a stab in the heart man, I just feel like I want to die inside, it's like being stabbed.

Lamar talked about having panic attacks on his way home to the hostel, for which his GP had prescribed medication. He had few friends and social contacts. I offered to take him to Black Pride⁴³ a few days later, where I could introduce him to some Black gay men I knew. He refused, because he feared he might be seen near the festival by some of the young men that were victimising him. The emotional and practical consequences of victimisation permeated every aspect of Lamar's life, including his mental health. His, and Colin's and Carl's experiences too, all illustrate a feature of homophobic crime that may

⁴³ Black Pride is a specialist Pride event organised by London's Black LGBT communities. See <http://www.ukblackpride.org.uk/> Visited 11 February 2010.

be distinct from other forms of hate crime - the way in which it can detach people from familial support.

Carl lived in a local authority flat where he had been abused by his neighbours for two years. They tore open his rubbish bags, smeared dog faeces on his front door, assaulted him; and they threatened him and others who visited him. He was taking anti-depressants.

I asked Carl how the homophobia he experienced affected him:

It makes me feel really shit. Coming out is hard enough to go through without all of this, making you feel really crap about being gay. If I could change it and be with a woman I would, but I tried that and I can't.

The homophobic abuse started as soon as Carl moved into his flat. Carl did not know how his neighbours realised he was gay. He spoke with a working class London accent and he presented as 'straight' looking. A few months previously, Carl's partner moved in with him but he moved out again the next day, due to the homophobic abuse they received that night. Carl had tried to get a transfer but he was not helped by the local authority, whose staff he believed were racist against white people, and homophobic. The homophobia affected his relationship with his family and he feared they would find out about his sexuality:

I worry about my aunties finding out. They have talked about my uncle, who was bi (bisexual) and who was a male stripper, in very derogatory ways. They say things like 'don't let anyone know we're related to that side of the family, going with other blokes is disgusting'. My cousin is a boxing champion and he won't want a gay cousin.

While Carl's mother and sister knew about the abuse he received, he had asked them to promise not to tell other family members. The pervasiveness of homophobia produced a complex web of deceit that enveloped the family. Carl felt protective towards his family, not wishing the victimisation his neighbours were inflicting on him to spill over into their lives as well. Rather than support Carl, family members that knew about his sexual orientation became preoccupied instead with keeping the secret from those that did not know. Dealing with the local authority was something that Carl felt ill-equipped to manage. He said:

The council person seems racist.

(PD) against you, you mean?

Yeah, racist against white people. Or maybe just against poofs. She doesn't like poofs. She was friendly but quickly became less helpful when she found out what was happening. I feel uncomfortable with her. She doesn't seem to want to help me. I'm dyslexic and she knows that but she keeps giving me all these forms to complete, which I can't do...

(PD) How do you know she is against you?

You can just tell, she is uncomfortable with me and she never tries to help me, and doesn't return my calls when I leave her messages.

There could of course be other reasons why the council employee did not help Carl. He had tried to obtain the help of the police LGBT liaison officer but the officer did not intervene on Carl's behalf. Carl said the liaison officer did not answer his mobile telephone nor respond to messages. For Carl, all potential sources of protection against the harassment he was experiencing; the police, the local authority and his family, were inaccessible. Emotional and practical consequences of the kind experienced by Lamar and Carl are cited in the literature about racist and homophobic crime (Chahal and Julienne 1999, Galop 1998, Mason and Palmer 1996, Victim Support 2006) though few studies explore the availability or otherwise of family support for lesbians and gay men. Lamar's and Carl's experience supports Mason and Palmer's view that: "Young lesbians and gay men grow up in a world which is hostile, unsupportive and uninformed... The bullying and abuse... enforces their isolation and the stigmatised model of homosexuality with which they feel they have to live" (Mason and Palmer 1996: 48).

Colin lost his home and moved from the midlands to London following a homophobic attack. While burgling his house, the burglars found some gay DVDs and they vandalised his home. Colin raised a range of issues that are pertinent here:

They wouldn't have known otherwise that I am gay. They had taken the paint and written all over the walls. Things like 'queer, take it up the shitter' and 'paedophile'. Then after that things got really bad. I thought how are they seeing me? Because I had things thrown through the windows and they put things through my letter box with abusive homophobic comments written on (about) being gay and being a paedophile. Well I am not a paedophile. I don't like young men in particular and I only go for men around my own age. But they seemed to see gay and paedophile as the same and over the next few weeks I was hounded out of the house. I got new windows, and they got smashed too. I was like a prisoner in my own house. Everybody knew everyone else's business in that area, the neighbours were all very close. One night I went to the chip shop which I had been in very often, and the guy that owns the chip shop asked me not to come in any more.

(PD) How were you affected by all of this?

It hurt me, it hurt me, it changed the course of my life and it changed my persona (pause: Colin in tears)... I became a very defensive individual. I don't smile so much. I feel I'm always on edge. I had worked hard for that house, and I was proud of it. But I had to get out of the area so I moved to London... I couldn't tell my sisters and brothers why I left. When the house was trashed, they found out about it and they all wanted to come over to help clear it up, but I couldn't let them do that as they would have seen what had been written on the walls. Homophobia takes away your family support.

The burglary of Colin's house set off a chain of events in which local knowledge was a key issue and where a malevolent surveillance of Colin's life ensued. For Colin, and other participants too, the consequences of homophobic abuse were thereby compounded by its aftermath.

John and Nicolas were abused regularly by their unruly neighbours while the local authority resisted even the efforts of the police to mobilise help. They told me:

...it was the police, not the council, that was instrumental in getting (the abuser's Anti-Social Behaviour Contract)... We understand the council's difficulty, but in other councils, we heard they will do things like putting up CCTV cameras; we were told that by a LGBT LO (liaison officer) we know from another borough. In a nutshell, the other police LO said he knows that (X London borough) council is just not interested in this type of thing...

It was apparent that John and Nicolas were actively resisting the victimisation that was visited upon them and their home by trying to obtain CCTV and asking the police to secure an Anti-Social Behaviour Contract. Yet even the police seemed powerless to achieve an outcome in the face of the council's indifference or ineptitude.

Allan, who worked as a handyman for a housing association, was regularly abused by the staff of a 'straight' nightclub situated next door to his flat. He had complained about them leaving rubbish lying around and the club's staff responded by shouting homophobic abuse at him when they saw him on his balcony or at his windows. He set up his own video camera to film the abuse in the hope that the police would use it as evidence. The police had initially told Allan he should keep a record of the abuse, but then they told him he was making the situation worse and he should stop filming. He was angry that the nightclub had CCTV cameras pointing at his home but he was deterred from taking similar measures. That was not the only instance where victims' attempts to exercise agency in resisting their victimisation were resisted by state authorities. Adam's earlier victimisation by neighbours resulted in his eviction. The neighbours shouted through his letterbox "you're an abomination, I believe in God and you're against God".⁴⁴ They threatened to stab him. He had experienced similar abuse in his previous home. He told me:

They would throw stones at our windows. Several times we had graffiti sprayed on our front door. Words like "Fucking faggots live here", that sort of thing. It happened seven or eight times in all... We complained to the landlord but he evicted us. Said he couldn't put up with that sort of thing.

⁴⁴ It is not uncommon for violent hate-motivated offenders to justify their actions by references to religion (Comstock 1991, Gerstenfeld 2004).

(PD) Had you done anything... that could have made things worse?

No, nothing at all! We were the victims, yet it was us that got evicted. He got a court order to evict us. Later when we complained to the council he told the council he was evicting everyone because he was selling the building. But the homophobic neighbours didn't get evicted.

Adam was one of several participants who found that homophobic abuse precipitated the loss of their accommodation, either by making it impossible for them to tolerate living there; or because the abuse had drawn attention to an aspect of their life about which, it seemed, their landlord strongly disapproved. Stewart was also threatened with eviction following the homophobic stabbing he experienced. Stewart is white and he was attacked with his partner, who was Black, in the street near their home. Their attackers began by verbally abusing them with shouts of 'batty boys' and when Stewart's partner responded, he was told he should be ashamed of being a 'Black batty boy'. The attack then escalated and Stewart was stabbed. Andrew was beaten up outside his flat and his response to the intensity of the homophobia that was expressed through violence and verbal abuse was typical of several participants:

I have never in my life heard such hatred. I was an A&E nurse once and am not easily shocked. It was so strong, and so directed at me. I wonder if this was the worst, the most base insult they can say?

Miss Kimberley described transphobic abuse as an almost daily feature of her life, having experienced it at work, outside her home, and in the street almost anywhere. While in many ways she seemed resigned to verbal abuse, she was not inured to it. She was sometimes shocked by the obscenity of the epithets hurled, and by what she perceived as the increasing tendency of young children to engage in abuse. She told me that it had made her want to move to a quieter area:

...we have so many kids here... they hang out downstairs and they are very threatening and often I just think 'oh I really don't want to go through this right now' ...they're fierce nowadays.

(PD) What sort of things do they say to you?

Things like 'is it a man or a woman?' and 'where's the hole?'... A little kid, a white kid, of seven or eight, or nine.. I was so shocked! I thought what are your parents teaching you?

... After talking to other trans people as well, they were saying they have problems too but not the level I have, and I think it's because I'm Black as well and many look at Black people as being at the bottom...

(PD) You've described a lot of transphobic incidents, being spat at, shouted at on leaving a club, being hit etc. Can you say something about how frequent these incidents are...?

I think now it's less because I'm very careful when I go out. I wear a big hat and sunglasses, and I walk with my head down, and I don't go out so much now because when I used to go out more in the West End it would happen almost every time I went out...

Safety management strategies were a constant feature in Miss Kimberley's life because transphobic victimisation so dominated it, as illustrated by the care she described taking when going out. The anger and intolerance that she had experienced as a Black transgender woman seemed almost overwhelming, with racism from the LGBT community, homophobia from Black communities, and transphobia from almost everyone. Added to that toxic mix was her sense that being Black and transgender is a type of double-offence to BME communities. Her descriptions of responses to her from some people suggested a further layer of complexity in what she believed was the erotic fascination that some had with her difference and the dangers that were signalled, as in her comment that in her neighbourhood:

There are a lot of Arabs and Muslims here, and they look at you like they wanna kill you or fuck you.

Paul's home and car were attacked by, he believed, local young people who sprayed homophobic graffiti and shouted verbal abuse at him and his partner. Their situation was very different from that of Carl in that they were owner-occupiers living in a quiet, prosperous village just outside London. Paul talked about how, because of their affluent neighbourhood, they found the abuse shocking:

We both felt angry that kids would do this in this day and age. You might expect it when I grew up, but people are supposed to be more tolerant now. (My partner) was very angry about it. We are fairly discreet people, and we got on well with our neighbours, so this was an outrage really.

The police responded by producing a leaflet about the illegality of hate crime that they delivered to every home in the area, and they spoke with the young people they suspected of being responsible for the abuse, which then stopped. Paul was satisfied with the police response, despite an awkward consequence of the leafleting: "we got outed to our neighbours though, with the leaflet. They asked 'you had some trouble?!'"

Most participants in this research were victimised when going about ordinary everyday tasks, or in and around their homes. We should therefore question the assumption that LGBT people are most vulnerable to abuse when 'out and about' on the gay 'scene' that, as I shall show in chapter 6, underpins police advice to gay men 'not to be a victim'.

3.6 Repeat victimisation and harassment

Seven participants described repeat victimisation and harassment. Victimization is often a process not an event (Walklate 2008) and repeat victimisation dominated many if not all aspects of those six men's, and Miss Kimberley's, lives. Stanko and Curry note such all-pervasive danger and its consequences for people's sense of personal security: "The 'responsible' queer must learn to live with the 'condition category' of 'ontological insecurity', positioning the 'self' 'at risk at *all* times' (Stanko and Curry 1997: 520, their emphasis). The consequences of regular violence that occurs around one's home and for which there seems little helpful state response or protection is illustrated by the experiences of Adam, Carl, David, John, Nicolas, and Miss Kimberley in particular. Like participants in the American research studies quoted by McDevitt, Balboni, Garcia and Gu (McDevitt *et al.* 2004), most of the participants in my research worked hard to protect themselves from further victimisation. Describing the combined effects of harassment and repeat victimisation; and the failure of the police to help him, David, who was repeatedly abused by his neighbours for nine years, felt that:

They are all entwined, the effects of the violation of the homophobic abuse and violence, compounded by the institutional failures... permeated every aspect of my daily life. It affected my confidence as a gay man... It affected my friendships. My friends have found my depression hard to deal with. As a result you end up feeling isolated. You bring it, the isolation, on yourself by feeling that you don't want to burden people.

All of the men I interviewed who were experiencing ongoing processes of homophobic victimisation were also exercising considerable agency in trying to prevent it: they could not by any means be regarded as 'passive victims'. Allan, David, John and Nicolas; and others, were fully engaged in an exhaustive (and exhausting) programme of mobilisation of police, local authorities, and social housing providers to help them end the abuse they were experiencing. Most were supported inadequately, or not at all, in their efforts to resist further victimisation. Most of the participants felt there was little they could do to avoid victimisation by changing their behaviour. Despite their efforts, they all struggled to achieve any control over what was happening to them. The depression and frustration that this evoked was articulated by Nicolas:

When you get emotional, you have a rant and you have a cry and the next day you carry on, but when it is something like this, that affects your reason, you can't; there's no passage through that. At the end of it, for me, I would get very depressed about it because I couldn't find a way out of that feeling.

The first occurrence of homophobic harassment was usually unexpected, rather than being a new component in a pre-existing dispute. For example, John and Nicolas had had little contact with their neighbour, other than helping her to light her boiler (at which time

Nicolas mentioned that John was his partner) before she started verbally abusing them. While it may be that in some disputes, association with a stigmatised group might provide another resource with which to attack, this did not appear to be the case for participants who experienced homophobic neighbourhood harassment.

Discussing the impact on victims of crimes like burglary, Janoff-Bulman and Frieze argue that victimisation undermines people's assumptions about the world being an ordered and safe place, engendering feelings of vulnerability. They propose that victims can regain a sense of control by engaging in preventive behaviours, such as fitting home security devices, or by not going out alone late at night (Janoff-Bulman and Frieze 1983). Some aspects of their hypothesis are supported by my data. Peter commented on how homophobic victimisation had "made me question my assumptions of security about the world around me". While many of Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's findings have been supported by later research, particularly concerning victims' immediate responses to victimisation, there are problems with their conceptualisation of the shattering of basic assumptions and the measures that victims can take to regain a sense of autonomy. It does somewhat ignore the fact that many people may never have experienced the world as a safe and ordered place, and that those who are most disadvantaged may never have had a sense of autonomy to lose (Spalek 2006). For people who are repeatedly victimised in particular, the realisation that one may be able to do very little to protect oneself from further victimisation may be a feature of homophobic crime that distinguishes it from victimisation motivated by other factors.

3.7 The nature and consequences of abuse, harassment and violence

Participants' experiences of physical violence included being hit over the head with a branch of a tree (Chris), being stabbed (Stewart), sustaining a black eye (Matt), the jaw being broken (David); and other assaults (Carl, Mike and George). Michael was threatened with a knife and Lamar received death threats. Homophobic abuse confronted some of the participants, in some instances for the first time, with a sense of their own vulnerability as gay men. Peter experienced homophobic e-mails from an ex-colleague. He talked of being shocked because he felt being 'out' as a gay man in the television industry in which he worked was normally fairly safe. Peter told me:

I was shocked that (the abuser) had worked with me and must have had these prejudices but hadn't voiced them previously... and the physical threats. I was concerned for my safety. I feared, and still do, that he would come and find me - if

he is irrational enough to have these views, he is irrational enough to do that... I felt vulnerable...

Many participants who experienced verbal abuse and threats described being surprised at how much they were affected by it. In seeking to understand why verbal abuse can be experienced as so harmful, several factors seem significant: the extent of the hatred expressed, its profanity, the way in which the epithets were so often about the debasement of non-masculine identities, and the context in which the abuse was committed. Context seemed to have been what made Franco tearful after being verbally abused in the supermarket: the impact for him may have been the humiliation of the public naming of homosexuality as, in Goffman's terms, a discredited stigmatised identity arising from "membership of a shamed group" (Goffman 1963: 35). The humiliation of stigmatised identities becoming public so aggressively resulted in fear, shame, depression and helplessness. We can look to Lamar for further insight about context. He was so seriously affected by his mother's homophobia because she had told him that having a gay son made her wish she was dead.

In interviews, the most commonly cited cause of distress was that homophobic crime is an attack on one's identity, on the most central, cherished, and perhaps hard-won aspects of emotional make-up and self-image, coupled with the threat of potential violence conveyed. Andrew was assaulted by a group of teenagers outside his flat. He found the verbal abuse and threats more frightening than the injuries he sustained:

They shouted "batty boy" and "queer cunt". The level of homophobic abuse frightened me. I don't know how they knew I am gay, or whether they did really know. I had cuts and bruises. After a couple of minutes they ran off. The extent of homophobic hatred was very disturbing...

What was so bad was what they called me, that it was outside my home and that it was so personal. Also, was the homophobia because they knew I was gay? Not knowing whether they really knew I was gay caused me a lot of fear.

(PD) Were you at any time during the attack, or afterwards, in fear of your life?

No, I don't think I feared for my life. But I did fear being attacked again. I can't really identify why I felt so afraid. And I felt stupid, for being so afraid of kids...

It was what the offenders called him that Andrew found most disturbing, combined with the fear of the unknown that was generated by not being sure whether or not they really knew he was gay, and being publicly humiliated by children outside his home. Most male participants described experiencing homophobic abuse as a highly personal attack on a central aspect of their identity. There are two aspects of identity that were affected: the subject's identity as a man, and his identity as a *gay* man. Other factors included the

extent of the hatred expressed, which often included threats to kill or stab, the impact of hearing abusive and debasing epithets such as 'queer cunt', and the feeling that abusers seem to project homophobic abuse as being, as Andrew expressed it "the worst, the most base insult they can say". Particularly for gay men who are not comfortable with their sexual orientation, such abuse can cause them to experience their sexuality as a source of shame and hurt, not as a positive constituent of their identity (Garnets *et al.* 1992).

The consequences most commonly described by 'victim' participants were consistent with the survey data: participants described emotional effects, such as shock, anger, depression, and fear of further attacks. 21 participants described being concerned about further victimisation and 13 said they had experienced depression as a result of being victimised. Two men talked of having wanted to kill themselves. Practical consequences included wanting to move house, having to take time off work, disruption of friendships and family relationships, and wanting to move to another area. Ten described losing friends or family as a result of the abuse and four men were 'outed' in a manner they could not control. 15 men said they had changed their behaviour or appearance in some way, such as ceasing to go out. Several men questioned how it was that their abusers knew they were gay: some believed that when an accusation is spoken, the absence of denial, or the slightest expression of fear, is taken by the offender as confirmation of their suspicions. Nicolas had significant insights about this:

One time we were on a bus coming from Ikea and there was an obnoxious woman who was pushing me around and this is what she was looking for... She started shouting at me, I hadn't done anything, and then she said 'you're probably a fucking faggot as well' and I didn't react but she would immediately know that I was. I think people throw out the net and look for how you react and they will focus on that... If someone is straight and is called a faggot they don't react in fear, but if you are gay you will display some fear, and they sense that.

That may help explain how people are targeted for homophobic abuse: in some instances the abuser will utter an accusation that is the worst thing they can think of to say about someone, and the absence of a denial may precipitate further abuse, *as well as* distancing the victim from any bystanders who are not comfortable with gay relationships. John and Nicolas also illustrated some of the difficulties with gaining an accurate picture of the extent of homophobic crime. Near the beginning of the interview, I asked "have you ever experienced homophobic abuse before this started?" and they said they had not. Later, they recalled the incident on the bus. This is redolent of Bowling's observation about racist abuse that it is for many people so regular that they do not remember to mention prior incidents in interviews (Bowling 1998). Interview data suggests that some abusers may have been preoccupied with a disapproval of gay relationships, perhaps being in

search of an opportunity to exercise their prejudice, as in Adam's and RJ's experiences. Jim, Jorge and Franco wondered why they were randomly targeted, with no prior interaction that could have precipitated a conflict. Some participants' experiences suggest that it may be presumed vulnerability, perhaps that the subject will be too fearful or embarrassed to retaliate, that enables the attacker to feel confident in using them for 'sport', as Chris described it.

In this chapter I have so far described where the homophobic attacks participants experienced took place, something of what happened to each of them, how they were affected, and what some of the consequences were. A range of other themes become apparent in this chapter, many of which were echoed by the support staff I interviewed. These include that the impact of verbal abuse was greater than might have been expected: some men were shocked and disturbed by the intensity of the hatred expressed both through verbal abuse and physical violence. We have also seen how for many of the participants, the homophobic abuse they experienced set off a chain of secondary victimisations that included being ostracised by their family or losing their home. That was particularly problematic for Black gay men who described the destructive impact of the interaction of racism and homophobia. Some suggested there was a more pronounced level of homophobia in Black and minority ethnic communities, though as I shall show in chapter 5, other Black participants thought that to be an assumption that is more apparent than real. Race arose as an issue for many white participants too, where the offenders were Black or where they were in a relationship with a Black partner. It is one of three major themes that I shall explore in subsequent chapters; namely men as victims, race and intersectionality, and state responses to homophobic victimisation. It may be helpful to continue this chapter by exploring, with reference to the theoretical literature, the remaining themes about impact that emerge from the data. These are bystander non-involvement, repeat victimisation, the meanings of homophobic violence, and any distinctive aspects of it.

3.8 The role of bystanders

Fear, shame and helplessness were exacerbated by the failure of bystanders to intervene. For some participants, the sense of shame evoked by their stigmatised status being signalled by the abuse was amplified in bystander non-intervention. When interviewed several weeks after he was verbally abused on an underground train, Jim remained depressed by the failure of bystanders to intervene or offer some words of support. Bystander non-intervention deterred some participants from reporting the abuse and

seeking help. Stewart said shame had deterred him from reporting to the police the attack in which he was stabbed:

I don't remember hearing anyone say stop it, you've gone too far, and it's weird isn't it because you don't know whether what you remember is what you saw but I remember seeing this sort of circus ring of people around me, watching, and afterwards in the hospital I felt terribly ashamed. I felt too ashamed to tell the doctor what had happened.

Cohen writes that "the strongest claims about bystanding are ethically resonant, but empirically unproved" and these include that the passivity of those who watch but do nothing is a form of approval that allows further atrocities (Cohen 2001: 69). That is certainly how Franco and Jim interpreted it, while Stewart articulated a connection between bystander non-intervention, his sense of shame, and his unwillingness to report being stabbed. Adrian and RJ too found lack of bystander intervention disturbing, describing the heightened sense of vulnerability or fear that it engendered. One respondent in Tiby's study commented on bystander passivity while he and his partner were abused on a bus: the effect was to leave them feeling "completely exposed" and henceforth they avoided making similar journeys (Tiby 2009: 44).

The implications of bystander non-intervention seem central to understanding why people can be so affected by abuse that takes place in public. We can take what Stanko and Curry argue about the right to walk safely in public space, and Moran and Skeggs' notion of 'legitimated violence', a step further by considering participants' experiences in the light of Richardson and May's work on sexual status and the social construction of violence. They argue that these meanings are mediated by sexual status as a victim characteristic: "as a marginalised and stigmatised group within society, lesbians and gay men are unlikely to be construed as 'innocent' victims" (Richardson and May 1999: 310). Indeed we can draw some parallels between that and attribution theory: there has been a tendency to blame women for being raped if they do not conform to traditional sex roles and the ideal of 'innocence' that is an expected feature of victimhood (Lamb 1996). The dominant perception of same-sex relationships has been that they belong in the private sphere. Until very recently at least, that perception together with the sole legitimacy of heterosexual relationships has been institutionalised in British law. The public sphere is thereby 'heterosexualised', and lesbians and gay men are denied a right to existence in it. Gay life is tolerated only within a 'realm of privacy' (McGhee 2001) and homophobic violence in the public sphere is normalised. This results in the possibility that "the 'right to life', as well as one's 'personhood', as a lesbian or gay man can be questioned" (Richardson and May 1999: 320). That perspective can help explain a number of findings

described in this chapter. These include the shame that some men described about being victimised (their private life has been projected into the public sphere and their stigmatised identity confirmed in front of others); bystander non-intervention (gay men might not be seen as 'innocent' victims); the intensity of the hatred expressed (the victim's right to life is in question); and the collaboration in all these oppressive forces that is expressed by state institutions that fail to intervene. These may not necessarily be distinguishing features of homophobic crime: victims of sexual assault and domestic violence in particular might well experience similar reactions (Mawby and Walklate 1994). However, it is a consequence of homophobic (and probably transphobic) crime that might not be understood by public policy responses to hate victimisation that are developed within the institutionalised heterosexual sphere. It may be that as the equality 'agenda' enables LGBT communities to become more visible, the gap between gay men whose lifestyles challenge conventional gender norms and people that subscribe to traditional hegemonic conceptions of masculinity and 'appropriate' lifestyles is widened. There may be strong implications of this for safety and community cohesion.

3.9 The meanings of homophobic abuse

Drawing on Foucault's 'repressive hypothesis' and his work on surveillance, Mason argues that there are "underlying, unseen concepts" expressed through homophobic violence (Mason 2002: 27). One of these unseen concepts is the way in which the visibility of subjects enables them to be controlled by those around them. Through the burglary of his home, Colin became visible in his locality as a gay man whereas before that event, he would have only been visible as a Black man. Foucault (1978) argues that both formal and informal systems of surveillance and regulation come into effect and these enable subjects to be classified around a hierarchical norm. We can see how that happened to Colin, where informal controls around the hierarchical norm were punitive in the extreme, and Colin could do nothing but leave. Like Lamar and Carl, the homophobia that Colin anticipated from his family was a source of further danger to him that deprived him of an important source of support. Returning to Mason's analysis of Foucault's position, Colin's situation (where the wider community perpetuated the aggressive homophobia) illustrates the way in which, as Mason expresses it, "violence marks lesbians and gay men with undesirable statements about their own vulnerability to violence" and that "these messages infiltrate... the processes of subjectification through which we understand what it means to be one of those people" (Mason 2002: 124). That, alongside Richardson and May's thesis, may explain some of the more troubling consequences of homophobic

violence; such as the guilt and shame that some participants in this research experienced. Mike's sense of shame seems to have led to him thinking that he may have deserved his car windows being smashed. For Colin, shame was cemented by false associations between gayness and paedophilia, and by him despising the homophobia that he believed he encountered in Black communities. Moreover, homophobic abuse may carry the message that there might be worse to come: there is always the possibility that the offender might continue until death is inflicted; or may resume the abuse at a later date. That possibility can engender immense fear, as described by Andrew, who for a long time after being attacked, experienced "a terrible feeling of fear... fear of everything".

For Stewart and other participants too, the experience of homophobic crime re-invoked feelings that they thought they had put behind them when, following the coming-out process, they had at last been able to establish a masculine gay identity that they could live with. Thus, feelings of shame, stigma, isolation, non-legitimacy and the ever-present danger of exposure, injury and death can all be conjured up by the spiteful utterances of the homophobic, whether or not these are accompanied by physical violence. That, according to Craig-Henderson, "resonates deeply with their identity as a member of an out-group; their ideas about self and community; and their feelings of security" (Craig-Henderson 2009: 21).

3.10 What participants regarded as distinctive about their experiences of homophobic crime

One of the research questions is to what extent is the impact of homophobic crime distinct from that of other crimes? I asked participants about this issue and data were obtained: nine participants had experienced previous violent incidents such as robberies and fights in pubs, and eight of them felt that the impact of the homophobic crime was the more serious. However, to draw general conclusions about ways in which the impact of homophobic crime might be distinct to that of other crime from a small sample may be flawed, especially as it was beyond the scope of this project to interview, for comparison, people who had only experienced crime motivated by other factors. It may therefore be more helpful to illustrate some of the issues by considering in detail Adrian's experiences of homophobic and non-homophobic crime, to explore what he thought was different about the homophobic abuse, and why. Beliefs that the impact of hate crime on victims and wider communities is worse than the impact of other crimes provide a rationale for the enhanced sentencing of hate crime offenders (Hall 2005, Iganski 2001, Jacobs and Potter 1998) and these beliefs support the application of additional resources to the

policing of hate crime (ACPO 2005). The research evidence for that claim is questioned by some authorities and it is limited mainly to studies conducted in the USA (Gerstenfeld 2004). It is difficult to make conclusive comparisons between hate crimes and corresponding conventional crimes for a variety of reasons; such as, that people who have had a profound experience of hate crime may be those most likely to want to participate in research (Green *et al.* 2001). In their analysis of British Crime Survey data, Iganski and Lagou noted that “higher proportions of victims of racially motivated crime, compared with victims of non-racially motivated crime, reported being ‘worried’ or ‘very worried’ about future victimisation” (Iganski and Lagou 2009: 9). It may be that a similar differential effect applies to members of other minority groups.

Adrian, a quote from whom opens this chapter, suggested several distinct consequences of homophobic crime. He talked of how when he was mugged in Lisbon he called the police, and the ensuing events ensured a positive outcome to a disturbing incident. The meanings of the subsequent events for him are worth describing in detail:

Four lads surrounded me in a dark street - I heard footsteps running behind me and then they were all around me. They asked for my wallet - I speak Portuguese. I was pushed to the ground and punched in the face. They sprayed something in my face from an aerosol, then hit me with the can, which cut me. They stole my money, my credit cards and my Portuguese work permit. A passer-by helped and called the police. The police drove me around the area looking for them, drove me to the hospital where I had a tetanus jab, and drove me back to the police station. After they had taken a statement they drove me back to my hotel, and the hotel staff were very supportive too. I spent the next few hours cancelling my cards etc with the help of my aunt in England. Fortunately they didn't get my tickets or passport. In many ways it worked out all right, and a positive came from a negative.

(PD) In what way?

Because there was a clear course of action for me to take - reporting it to the police, cancelling my cards etc - and a clear course of action for the police to take.

(PD) Why was that so positive?

It was clear the police would investigate it, that something would happen, something that you would expect to happen would be carried out. Even driving around looking for them felt positive, because we were doing something about it.

(PD) What was different about the homophobic incidents?

There was no follow-up. I didn't know what we could do about it so nothing happened as a result of it. I think it is that which accounts for my feelings of helplessness; there is nothing to be done about it. I felt very annoyed about the mugging - the intrusion of it in particular... But I didn't feel helpless as a result of it.

There are a number of features of the robbery that were of great salience to Adrian and which were distinct from his experience of homophobic victimisation. We can compare this with his account of the homophobic attack:

It was early 2008 late in the evening and I was kissing my partner outside (name of bar). Two cars drew up alongside the pavement in Charing Cross Road. A large group of male and female Black young people starting shouting "oh that's disgusting - two men" etc. Some got out of the car. It was very intimidating... Immediately I needed to get away from the area and I wanted to hide away. I felt the need to appear straight. I was frightened when they got out of the cars, which was very intimidating especially as there were about eight of them.

(PD) How were you affected by what happened?

... What we were doing couldn't be considered offensive, we were only kissing... I feel intimidated by it. At the time I felt nervous and helpless and in some ways I still do feel helpless. I felt at the time that I can't run, that there was nobody we could turn to. There were witnesses, but nobody intervened - perhaps they thought what was happening was relatively harmless or they may not even have noticed it...

(PD) Have your feelings about it changed over time?

I don't feel afraid now but I still feel helpless about it. I wonder what the police can do about it. We need to change people's views, which isn't really down to the police.

Analysis of this extract reveals a number of distinctions between the consequences of the mugging and the homophobic abuse.⁴⁵ In the mugging, a bystander helped, and Adrian felt able to report the offence. The police arrived and were helpful, as were the hotel staff and Adrian's aunt. His initial feelings of anger were resolved by following a clear course of purposeful action. In contrast, the homophobic incident was witnessed, but nobody helped, and Adrian did not feel able to report it. Feeling there was nobody to turn to engendered a sense of helplessness. Because he did not feel able to report it there was no follow-up, no support provided, and no outcome. He allowed for the possibility that bystanders did not notice the abuse taking place, which seems a gracious appraisal of the situation. Adrian could not channel his anger into action to resolve ensuing difficulties. He felt he needed to "hide away" and appear 'straight', to retrieve a sense of safety. His feelings of helplessness endured, despite no tangible losses being incurred.

⁴⁵ It is difficult to state whether or not the police would consider a crime had been committed. The offenders' behaviour may have constituted a Section 5 Public Order Act offence: the police should have been interested in Adrian's experience and may well have investigated it. I am aware of similar instances where abusers have been apprehended and verbally warned about their behaviour even when for legal reasons prosecution cannot be initiated.

Similar responses were described by the other men who had also experienced non-homophobic crime. Chris was 'glassed' in his neck when he became caught up in a fight in a bar. His assessment that the 'glassing' was "of no importance" in comparison to the homophobic attack is striking: a cut to the neck by a broken glass could be life-threatening yet it was unimportant because for Chris, it was not 'personal', as the homophobic attack was. Andrew drew similar comparisons between his experience of a homophobic attack and other crime:

I'm a nurse and I was threatened at work once by a patient's relative. He felt I wasn't arranging his relative's discharge quick enough and he pulled out a flick knife. I called security and he threatened them too, but they got rid of him. I felt nervous afterwards, but it happened at work so it didn't feel so threatening somehow. The man was threatening my role, not me. Somehow it was not myself that was being attacked so it wasn't so bad.

These data lead to the question: Why was it that homophobic abuse, even comparatively 'minor' verbal abuse, was experienced as more harmful than other ostensibly serious crimes such as mugging and assault? Stewart provided insights into many of the issues under discussion here:

(PD) The next question might be impossible to answer, but I wonder whether you might have felt differently if you had been mugged; for example, in other words a traumatic crime that isn't a hate crime?

Well I have been stopped in the street and had my wallet taken off me with threats, not physically attacked, but yes that's a mugging. It didn't involve any feelings of shame, just pissed off and angry. With this attack, it was because it was because of me, about what I was. That's what made it so bad, that it was about who and what I am...

(PD) Earlier you said the physical attack on you affected your identity. I wondered how, since then, you have processed all that - what kind of conclusions did you come to... about how that experience affected your identity as a gay man?

I think it was because it was so reminiscent of my school times... the minute I went into high school⁴⁶ everything went wrong and I started to hate it. What was once done without question seemed to carry with it a weight that I didn't recognise. Like, all of my friends were girls but suddenly in high school it was poofy to play with girls. I think in the end I was in a place of self-loathing at school because it was verbal abuse pretty much all the time. I went from being a high achiever to not being, and I don't think it was because I wasn't capable it was because I was trying to not be a swat as well as a poof, as that would have been a double whammy. I started drinking alcohol at an early age, at about 12... my best friend was a girl and she went out with one of the bad lads and so I tried to get in with him and his friends too to get a bit of protection from the bullies... But the attack took me back to that place, not feeling I could be me and having to create this other character. Terribly fearful, of exposure at every turn... the attack tuned into that whole shame thing, being at school, being poofy and girly and how that reflected on my family.

⁴⁶ Although Stewart used the term 'high school' he was brought up in England.

Stewart had described the capacity of homophobic abuse to re-invoke past hurtful experiences that are rooted in the 'stigmatised model' of homosexuality that he grew up with and thought he had overcome in adulthood. Carl described similar dynamics that included trying to 'get in with' the bullies at school for protection and to align himself with masculine role models. Before considering these dynamics in the light of the theoretical literature, it may be productive to discuss one further aspect of the impact of homophobic crime, namely its aftermath, as there are theoretical perspectives common to consequences, aftermath and differential impact.

3.11 The consequences and aftermath of homophobic crime

We now need to consider a final set of data about the consequences of homophobic victimisation that participants described as being instrumental in prolonging the harmful impact of the abuse they experienced. These include the 'rolling aftermath' of homophobic crime, that is, a series of distressing events that victimisation seems to precipitate. The other factors are that some participants said they experienced pervasive homophobia in a way that seemed akin to indirect victimisation. Failures by state institutions to combat homophobia seemed connected with that. Such failures were noted in, for example, Stanko's research (conducted in the USA). She describes an interview with a young gay man who was homophobicly abused in college, who "knew he was a target for the hatred and intolerance of those around him. He also knew those in authority would not protect his freedom of speech or admire his scholarly ability. Nor did his teachers intervene to stop the abuse (he) received for being homosexual" (Stanko 1990: 113). This rather depressing illustration of the multi-faceted nature of an instance of institutional failure to protect is echoed by the findings from my interviews with gay men, and also with support service staff. A further consequence of homophobic victimisation arising from the data is that, when known about by other people not directly targeted, it had harmful consequences for other members of the minority community. Participants did not encounter much overt homophobia from state authorities, but there were indications of covert homophobia manifested in lack of interest, lack of willingness to do anything to help, and the type of bureaucratic ineffectiveness that participants interpreted to be lack of interest in providing protection. Significantly, participants mostly associated that not with overt hostility, or incompetence, but with discomfort about the subject matter of gay relationships. However, support service staff did describe an overtly discriminatory policy operating in a local authority that prioritised responses to racist abuse over homophobic abuse.

Carl described the way in which the previously friendly attitude of the housing officer changed to unhelpfulness when he told her he was being homophobicly abused by his neighbours. He interpreted her obstructiveness and her failure to offer him any practical help as being motivated by homophobia. Ryan described two homophobic attacks within a few years of each other, both of which he reported to the police. He told me that on the first occasion, "the response was terrible" and that when he had left the police station he was in tears because of the response he received. In contrast:

With the recent incident, the officer at front desk was great... He made me feel - he was on the ball with LGBT issues - welcome to report a crime.

By contrasting Ryan's experience of reporting on these two occasions, we can see how unhelpful a bureaucratic or uninterested response would be. For Ryan, an unhelpful response was distressing and disabling, whereas a good response from a police officer left him feeling confident. It is, however, possible that an unhelpful police response to the reporting of any kind of crime could cause such distress, so to develop this discussion productively we need to be able to understand the implications of unsatisfactory official responses to homophobic abuse in particular.

Adam and his partner were evicted from their previous privately rented home because they were the targets of homophobic abuse from their neighbours. They then went on to experience homophobic abuse in their next home, which they also rented privately. Adam told me that:

We went to see (name of) Council and went all through the process. We are on the housing list. I went on it five years ago but there was a mistake when I registered and they think I've only been on it since last May. They don't care about our situation, it's like we're two blokes and we can fuck off.

(PD) Did they say that to you?

No, but they did say we are two men, we are healthy and working, and we can look after ourselves. Well we are working but we don't earn much and we can't afford to buy a place. The council don't help gay people.

This is illustrative of a double-bind situation that affects some gay men: as men they are considered able to look after themselves yet as gay men they are vulnerable to homophobic abuse. They felt the danger they faced gave rise to specific needs that were not recognised. Adam said:

If you're gay you expect people not to want to help.

(PD) What has happened to make you think that?

Because of my previous experience, not just last time we got abuse, but generally. If you are gay you're not important...

Adam had talked about several experiences of violence, and about how he is very wary of whom he tells he is gay "in case it's something they can use against you". After the interview with Adam, who works as a train guard, I wrote in my fieldwork notes that:

Adam comes across as someone who can look after himself. He looks tough and has a fairly forceful persona and a working class accent. I felt he was quite depressed (not surprisingly). At the end of the interview he seemed in a hurry to go, despite saying he enjoyed the interview and that he found it quite helpful. I wondered if he was emotionally rather affected by it and didn't want to show it. He gave me a very warm two-handed handshake. I said I would e-mail him details of his local LGBT liaison officer and Stonewall Housing, which I did that evening...

The interview with Adam reminded me of Ken Plummer's observations about the difficulties gay men may face in giving an account of their lives: "They will use the language of oppressive books they grew up with" (Plummer 1995: 164). The data suggest this may perhaps apply in particular to working class gay men such as Carl, Adam, Lamar and others.

Adam's situation suggests another dimension to the areas of masculinity, homosexuality and the perceptions of authorities as to who is entitled to help. The degree of people's 'otherness' is a factor in their distancing from mainstream heterosexual society (such as Miss Kimberley who steadfastly challenged gender, racial and sexual norms). For men who embody the antithesis of crude gay stereotypes, such as Adam (and Colin, a six feet four sports coach) a similar effect also seems to have operated to their disadvantage. Their appearance as 'men who can look after themselves', despite clear evidence of their vulnerability to violence, caused public authorities to dismiss their requests for help. That may be a distinctive feature of homophobic crime: there is little that some victims can do to protect themselves from it and many are unable to obtain the protection of state authorities. Adam was unable to secure his own safety by appearing 'macho' and by being cautious about being 'out'. Nor were John and Nicolas, nor Colin, nor many of the other men in this study. Abused in their homes, they could not avoid homophobic abuse by, as Stanko describes it in the language of crime prevention advice leaflets, "avoiding dimly lit passageways" (Stanko 1990: 109).

Several participants spoke of feeling affected or even harmed by homophobic abuse towards other people. They felt that homophobic abuse, particularly when it results in serious injury or death, acts on a much wider range of indirect 'victims'. Peter said:

Yes, I was affected by the killing of David Morley.⁴⁷ Attacks like that remind you that there are people out there who are out to get you. It doesn't stop me leading the life I want to live, except in some places and some circumstances when I make a conscious effort not to appear to be gay, for my own safety, whereas normally I am concerned not to back down on the principle of being visible.

For Peter, awareness of the potential threat of homophobic violence caused conflict between his resolve to be visible as a gay man, and his sense of the need for caution about visibility. Similarly, Andrew spoke of the murder of Jody Dobrowski:⁴⁸

... It felt like a personal attack on all of us.

(PD) ...What went through your mind after you heard of his murder?

I felt that... there has been so much of a positive move forwards. We now have employment legislation to protect us from discrimination, we can adopt children, there is other equality legislation for us, and life was getting better for gay people. Then suddenly that happened, and it was like being back in the dark days of the 1980s and early 1990s when there was so much badness around... It made me question whether with all these social and legal advances we made, have we actually achieved anything? And then there was a political backlash, you had people like Ann Atkins⁴⁹ saying on Radio 4 that all gays would go to hell and it did feel like it unleashed so much homophobia.

Iganski argues that hate crimes carry the message that the victim is of "marginal value" and there is a "more widespread impact on the target community...(who) may experience reactions as if they had experienced an actual threat or attack from this very event" (Iganski 2008: 38). Many of the participants described precisely that effect. Notorious homophobic incidents were mentioned by several participants even though the murder of Jody Dobrowski was not the only homophobic murder in London in recent years.⁵⁰ What could explain the way in which participants and their friends were as Andrew described it "badly affected" by the homophobic abuse of others? George talked about how hearing of homophobic abuse reminded him of the regular homophobic violence he experienced as a teenager and young man. As an asylum seeker, Eevan felt under pressure to integrate into British society but the pervasive nature of homophobia and racism expressed through hate crime was something that he felt prevented him from being integrated. For Lamar, it was

⁴⁷ David Morley was a barman at the Admiral Duncan public house, whose murder in 2004 I referred to in the introduction to this thesis.

⁴⁸ Jody Dobrowski was a 24 year old gay man murdered on Clapham Common in October 2005 (see introduction).

⁴⁹ Ann Atkins is a religious commentator and novelist who sometimes presented the *Thought for the day* item on the BBC Radio 4 morning news programme, *Today*.

⁵⁰ See for example

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Violence_against_LGBT_people#2007:_Metropolitan_Police_review for information about approximately ten possibly homophobic homicides in London from 1990 to 2009 (retrieved 26 June 2009). It is of course not always possible to establish the offender's motivation so the exact number of homophobic homicides cannot be known.

only heterosexuality that constituted normalcy and for him, that was unachievable. Several participants felt that homophobic violence combined with the failure of local authorities and the police to combat it results in the sense that gay people are of lesser importance than anyone else. Carl and Stewart both spoke of the constant presence of homophobia at school when they were growing up, and for Stewart that was a constant reminder of his failure as a gay man to be a 'real' man. Allan believed that:

Things still haven't changed. We've moved forward but some people haven't moved forward, and it makes you despair that sexuality is the most potent subject for abuse, threats and violence still.

Discussion

Returning to the data about the differential impact of homophobic crime, and the previous section about its consequences, it is worth noting here that Becker advises researchers not to ask participants *why* a phenomenon took place but instead to ask *how* something happened and to record the way the story unfolds (Becker 1998). The stories of the men and the transgender woman that are told here suggest some features of homophobic victimisation that may be distinct. Many participants experienced further victimisation as the consequences of the abuse unfolded, involving the absence of family support and the lack of effective protection. I propose that understanding such processes and the harms thereby caused is key to understanding firstly, the harmful impact of verbal abuse, and secondly, the way in which homophobic crime can engender emotions like fear, depression and anger in other LGBT people who are not directly victimised, but who nevertheless feel affected by homophobic crime: the '*in terrorem*' effect (Iganski 2001). The ontological insecurity (Laing 1965, Giddens 1991) that may be generated by homophobic crime, particularly when it is a process of repeat victimisation, may be transferred to members of the wider minority community who have knowledge of that violence and of the often inadequate state response to it. The men in this study spoke of their experiences as victims, but some also spoke about having also felt indirectly victimised through the experiences of others. Although I did not interview people who had not experienced homophobic crime, I had many unstructured conversations in gay venues where gay men talked of avoiding certain places and being instinctively reluctant to express affection in public. That is consistent with my own experience as a gay man who often wants to be affectionate with my partner in public but rarely does because of the risk of disapproval or violence even a kiss is likely to attract, and it is also consistent with research findings described in the literature (Dick 2008, Mason and Palmer 1996, Moran 2001, Stanko and Curry 1997).

Data that I gathered in LGBT venues indicated that many gay men are not preoccupied with concerns about safety and homophobic crime until they experience direct victimisation, or unless they have recently heard about a homophobic incident that reminds them of the risks they face in predominately heterosexual environs. Andrew's detailed description of his feelings about homophobic murders showed that, for him, it was the symbolic attack on him as a gay man, on his personal identity, that he experienced as harmful to himself and to his friends. The harm is felt in the sense of shock and outrage at the viciousness of the offence, and the depression that ensued when, as Andrew described, a notorious homophobic crime seems to unleash a wave of media-reported homophobia that reminds the subject of previous hurtful experiences of homophobic discrimination. While, for example, the abduction and murder of a child might well have a terrorising effect on the local community, it is difficult to see how it could be experienced by its members as an attack on personal identity. There would not be any question that social sanctions against such attacks are strong; rather than being somewhat equivocal as they are in the case of homophobic violence (Richardson and May 1999; Stanko and Curry 1997). Franco and others talked about how we now have civil partnerships and equality legislation, which has lulled us into a false sense of security: homophobic abuse reminds us that many people do not share such progressive values.

There may have been a process of normalisation that is associated with being a victim of crime (Furedi 2006, Walklate 2007) but my findings suggest that gay men, when subject to homophobic crime, may not be accorded such normalisation to the extent that heterosexuals can be. Although homophobic abuse is part of normal everyday life (Moran 2001) for those that experience it, same-sex relationships are not part of everyone's normal everyday life in that they are still part of a culture and lifestyle that is marginal, from which most heterosexual people may be distanced. The National Centre for Social Research concluded that while many same-sex couples thought that recent legislation such as the provisions for civil partnerships had increased their sense of belonging in society, legislative change is not enough to foster full social inclusion, for which further changes in cultural attitudes would be required.⁵¹ The need for such changes in cultural attitudes may be apparent in social institutions, particularly those that are dominated by a masculinist culture such as the police, as I shall show in chapter 6. As Stonewall's 2007 research concluded, its "data also uncovers a widespread perception that public bodies, employers and the media do not always reflect these (more positive) attitudes, and

⁵¹ <http://www.natcen.ac.uk/study/same-sex-couples/findings>. Retrieved 26 April 2010.

people see significant pockets of discrimination remaining" (Cowan 2007: 6). It is perhaps the overriding contextual dynamic of the 'othering' of LGBT people that marks out the distinguishing features of hate crime and homophobic crime in particular. It is not simply the fact that there are sometimes consequences for LGBT communities, but it is instead the nature of those consequences, which includes the symbolic attack on often hard-won personal identities that are created in a wider and alien heterosexual *milieu* of disapproval and hostility.

Summary

I have summarised each participant's experience of homophobic abuse and some of its consequences. Participants experienced homophobic crime not so much in and around gay venues but in the vicinity of homes, shops and workplaces. For many participants, home and neighbourhood was a place of danger and anxiety. This finding calls into question some of the assumptions underlying contemporary policing responses to homophobic crime that are based on the 'responsibilisation strategy' described by Garland (2001). Such approaches are, Garland argues, based on the assumption that people can be 'responsibilised' to avoid being a victim, and I shall explore them in chapter 6. Meanwhile, state authorities in general failed to protect participants from homophobic abuse. Their failure to recognise the vulnerability of LGBT people to victimisation, while also expecting gay men to, as men, 'look after themselves', was a double-bind that led participants to feel under-protected. Meanwhile their efforts to protect themselves, as Allan found, were for some undermined by state authorities. Several men felt that norms and attitudes that give rise to homophobic abuse are covertly shared by authorities that have responsibility for combating it. They were able to identify specific examples of where they felt pervasive homophobia had the effect of legitimising homophobic abuse or had re-invoked their own painful memories of it. As David commented, perceiving the malign influence of pervasive homophobia on state authorities engenders feelings of fear. For some participants, it was that belief that was more of a source of despair, anxiety and fear than knowledge of homophobic abuse itself, because it caused them to have no confidence that they would be protected. In addition, many had experienced not only the failure of authorities to protect, but they had also perceived a disinclination to try.

Fear of crime is a common effect of crime that is experienced by people who are directly victimised, and by other people who hear about it (Victim Support 1995). It has, as Tim Newburn writes, "been a political and policy concern in its own right for over 25 years"

(Newburn 2007: 93). However, less may be known about the interface between fear of crime, pervasive homophobia, and homophobic abuse. Allan's view that sexuality is still "the most potent subject for abuse" was shared by many of the men interviewed. That has broader implications for people's fear of crime and their own safety strategies.

I have also proposed that there are some distinctive consequences of homophobic crime. These include its capacity to produce in victims a disabling sense of shame, the way that it confronts victims with knowledge of societal disapproval, and its longer-term impact that includes being 'outed', loss of family support and so on. For Lamar and Carl as well, the homophobic harassment they experienced set off a sequence of family abuse and estrangement that, for Lamar in particular, was a source of catastrophic emotional pain; whereas for Stewart, Colin and Adam, homophobic victimisation prompted their loss of home. Elements of that aftermath are found in most hate crime (Bowling 1998, Chahal and Julienne 1999, Victim Support 2006) but the distinctive feature of homophobic victimisation may be that in very many instances it cuts people off from their main potential source of support in times of crisis, which is usually their family. This had a particularly serious effect for Black participants, as I shall illustrate in chapter 5. Finally, a number of issues concerning masculinity and participants' perceptions of what victimhood means; how they viewed themselves as men and as gay men who have experienced victimisation; and what the implications of this were for their recovery from victimisation have been raised. It is these that will be explored in the next chapter.

4. Men as victims: 'victim' identities and masculinities

I don't want to feel like a victim. I put a straight image on at school so that I wouldn't get bullied. I got in with the rough crowd so I would be protected. But I've cut them off now. All this would never have happened if I was straight. I've cut everyone out of my life and I'm sitting here like a victim taking all this stuff. I don't want to be outed by it, but it's what's happening. Everyone knows I'm gay because I'm being victimised in this way. It's hard enough coming out without all this to deal with too (Carl).

In this chapter I shall address the research question: What are the meanings for the men in this study of hate-motivated victimisation? In doing so I explore the relationship between the condition or status of 'victim' and participants' perceptions of their masculinity. These dynamics are significant because several participants described a struggle to reconcile being a 'victim' with being a man, as if they were essentially incompatible. This chapter will focus on the participants' views of victimhood and the consequences of victimisation for identity, in the context of masculinity. I will also refer to the interview with Miss Kimberley, who provided a perspective as someone who grew up as a male but who has since identified herself as a transgender woman. I shall discuss the question of how the other participants perceived themselves in the aftermath of homophobic victimisation and what the consequences were for their personal identities as men. Firstly, the complexity of defining 'masculinity' must be acknowledged. Connell, who writes of 'masculinities', shows that rather than being a condition that is essential, masculinity changes over time, is constituted relationally, and can be "defined as not-femininity" (p.70), whatever that might be. He argues that: "There is no masculine entity whose occurrences in all societies we can generalize about" (Connell 2005: 43). With reference to homosexuality, this leads to the conclusion that achieving a gay identity is a project: "the making of a homosexual masculinity as a historically realized configuration of practice" (p.160). In a similar vein, Kimmel writes that being a man means not being a woman, and that gay men become masculine by identifying with the oppressor. For Kimmel, "(h)omoerotic desire is cast as feminine desire, desire for other men. Homophobia is the effort to suppress that desire, to purify all relationships with other men, with women, with children of its taint, and to ensure no one could possibly ever mistake one for a homosexual" (Kimmel 1994: 130). In such analyses therefore, masculine identities are changeable, tenuous and fragile.

The damaging effects of homophobic abuse on identity are described in the literature (Galop 1998, Mason 2002, Noelle 2009, Stanko and Curry 1997). Stanko and Curry argue that an issue for gay men is that to claim to be harmed by homophobic violence involves recognising that one is a legitimate target for such violence, so we should consider what the implications of this might be for people's conceptions of victimhood. Does this mean that some gay men might not perceive themselves to be 'victims', that is, having been offended against, because they feel they might have deserved the abuse they experienced? Would many feel that way, and in what circumstances might they reach that conclusion? Allen argues that it is victims' interpretation of a violent event that is the most significant determinant of impact (Allen 2002). If that is correct, it strongly indicates the need to understand more fully the meanings of homophobic crime for participants' senses of identity as men, as gay men, and as victims of crime.

This chapter also considers the utility for the men interviewed of victim status. Is it seen as helpful, or undesirable; an energising term that mobilises resources and helps recovery, or is it a threat to masculine integrity? Paul Rock reminds us that victimhood is socially constructed and that the experience and construction of a victim identity needs to be examined with heavily victimised groups. He writes that there is an

ensuing conceptual void that has yet to be filled by an adequate description of the victim as a situated, reflective self in interaction with others, and it could be a useful description because much that is important in personal and collective conduct and belief in this area turns on what it is to *be* a victim (Rock 2002: 13).

The value of this better understanding for our collective conduct, he argues, is that it might help us unpick some of the unhelpful links between 'responsibilisation' as a crime reduction strategy and victim-blaming. The unhelpful links might be found in the assumption that if people are encouraged to take some responsibility for avoiding victimisation, but are then victimised, their victimisation could be construed as being their responsibility as much as it was the offender's. As von Hentig suggested, "the success of countless swindlers can only be explained by the folly of their victims" (von Hentig 1948/2009: 11). Another way of conceptualising this relationship is that victims might have a 'functional responsibility' for crime that is derived not from them having in some way provoked it, but from the necessity of another person being present for the crime to happen (Elias 1986).

4.1 Participants' conceptions of victimhood and identity

There were a number of difficulties involved in enabling the men in this study to talk about how their identity was affected by being victimised. Questions concerning identity came towards the end of the interviews, because it was necessary to hear firstly what had happened and then what the consequences were. This meant that in some interviews the issue was explored only briefly, because in a number of instances the participant had experienced so much victimisation that simply describing it and its immediate consequences took up most of the time available. It seemed callous to ask participants to stop describing what had happened so that we could explore the possibly more sensitive issue of identity. Secondly, getting men to talk about the emotional impact of victimisation is difficult because it involves them acknowledging their vulnerability to victimisation, which some might see as unmanly (Stanko and Hobdell 1993, Walklate 2007b). Thirdly, and most strikingly, several of the men I interviewed told me that they had never discussed these issues with anyone before, so they were not used to articulating their feelings about these matters. This, combined with the fact that some of the interviews took place in public spaces such as coffee shops where we could be overheard led me to be cautious about questioning too exhaustively: I wanted to avoid evoking strong emotional reactions that might have been very difficult for participants in such settings. Nevertheless despite these limitations some useful data were elicited about how the participants felt their identities as men and as gay men had been shaped by victimisation, and how they had dealt with it.

I asked most participants three questions about identity and their reactions to terms such as 'victim' and 'hate crime', including: *In what ways does having experienced hate crime affect your personal identity as a gay man?* I asked Miss Kimberley a slightly different question about her identity. Reactions to the term 'victim' varied considerably, with some people thinking it a useful term and others seeing it as having wholly negative connotations. Peter said:

Using terms like 'victim' gives the offender more power than I want him to have. I refuse to be victimised. The term makes me feel weaker than I really am.

Peter was expressing a refusal to take on a victim status that for him would be imbued with a sense of weakness, particularly in relation to the offender. Describing himself as a 'victim' would represent acceptance that the offender had prevailed. In contrast, George, who had experienced years of homophobic abuse from his family in Ireland, was willing to embrace a victim identity. This was because acceptance of the label signified for him that he had started to come to terms with what had happened to him:

Yes, I was a victim, I was a victim of my family, a victim of police failure to act appropriately. I was a victim of the way the court system treated me. I feel as if I

am a victim of the way government agencies fail to help. And I had to do everything - nobody helped me. I sometimes wished I was dead, I would go to bed and wish I wouldn't wake up. I had it from my dad and my two brothers at the same time. I feel a victim of my mother, and of my sisters who let me down as well. I was a good son. I never brought trouble to the door, I always handed over the money. That was what got to me.

(PD) You seem to be saying something here about respect. Tell me if I am wrong, but it seems nobody at home had any respect for you.

That's right, there was no respect at all, for me, as a gay man....

My experiences have made me stronger though. I was able to get away from it. I am proud of myself as a gay man. I have achieved so much in a year, since I have got away. I didn't end up on the streets, or on drugs, but I could have done, or been dead.

With hindsight, I believe that my intervention in this part of the interview with George missed the point somewhat. The abuse he had described amounted to much more than the family's expression of a lack of respect for him. I should have asked him about what it meant to be victimised by his family and how he had been affected by the interaction of the abuse and the institutional failures he encountered. Nevertheless my comment about respect did prompt him to talk about how he was able to restore his self-respect by deciding to leave Ireland and come to London in search of a new life. It was this, his exercise of agency at a time when his autonomy had been systematically undermined that enabled him to feel pride in himself. George seemed to be referring to a broader set of properties in his use of the term 'victim' than I had implied in my more legalistic use of the term. He had been subject to victimisation by his family in commission but in omission too, such as his mother's inability to help him; but he felt victimised as well by the state's lack of interest in protecting him from violent abuse. All this victimisation was, he believed, caused by homophobic norms and attitudes.

In response to questions about the meanings of terminology, another participant said⁵²

Hate is a harsh word. It feels awkward, like I am making too much of the situation.

(PD) Do you think that terms like 'victim' and 'hate crime' describe your experience?

It's too uncomfortable to think in those terms. My first sex experience was not consensual and I don't like to feel like a victim. I'm not in denial, but I am concerned not to be labelled as a victim. It gives too much weight to what happened and I don't want to get into a victim mentality.

⁵² He asked me not to name him when referring to his experiences of sexual abuse.

That participant had recently been assaulted by neighbours and he had become very fearful of them as a result, to the extent that he and his partner decided to move to another area. So the abuse had had serious effects for him. Yet, he was reluctant to accept 'victim' status, as the term for him would signal that he was claiming to be more seriously victimised than he had been, particularly in relation to his earlier experience of sexual abuse. Feelings such as this were described by several men, indicating that victim status was not desired nor easily resorted to. This runs counter to Furedi's claims that we live in a 'therapy culture' in which members of minority groups seek victim status (Furedi 2004). The participant offered a helpful insight into the effect of homophobic abuse on young people:

I have a strong identity, with supportive friends and a supportive partner. But it could have taken away from my positive gay identity if I had been younger, or not so secure. Homophobic bullying at school did undermine my identity as a young gay man and my attempts to build a positive gay identity. I think it made me more vulnerable, vulnerable to sex abuse in the end.

The quote with which this chapter opens is from the interview with Carl who also talked of the effect of homophobic victimisation on his masculine identity. During his teenage years, working class culture was a strong dynamic in his struggle to establish his identity. Brought up in a working class family with a relative who was a professional boxer, the pervasive homophobia that he encountered at school and at home seemed to have led to Carl trying to become heterosexual, a project that he had abandoned. He said:

Yeah when I was younger I hung around with straights and they were pretty rough and they would have a go at gay people. I would say nothing and feel really bad about it. Once when they were harassing a gay man I knew and liked I said to them "leave him alone" and they said to me "what are you a faggot as well?" so I had to shut up. I went to apologise to the other guy the next day. He tries to avoid me now and I want to tell him how sorry I am about that but I don't know how.

The homophobic *milieu* in which Carl grew up resulted in his conception of his identity being shot-through with sadness, shame and confusion. From his albeit brief description of his childhood, it was apparent that homophobia was a strong and ever-present influence in his upbringing; to the extent that he had tried to turn himself heterosexual in his late teens. He told me "if I could change it and be with a woman I would, but I tried that and I can't". The strategies he had to employ to survive as a gay teenager in such a homophobic environment had adverse consequences for other people, some of whom he liked and respected, and he felt ashamed about the effect on them. By making gays pose as straight, homophobia has been highly successful in dividing gay people (Babuscio 1988). Carl "does not want to feel like a victim" but he was "sitting here like a victim taking all this stuff" (being homophobically abused by his neighbours). Being a victim was an affront

to his identity as a man, because in his world men are strong, like boxers, and cannot be seen to be vulnerable to victimisation. Earlier he had talked about feeling stupid about needing help with completing forms for his re-housing application, and he made a number of connections between victimisation and weakness, stupidity, and inadequacy. "Sitting here..." suggests he felt that he was being passive among all the abuse, though in fact he was highly active in trying to stop it, passivity being a condition that did not sit comfortably with his conception of masculinity.

Like George, Carl had reluctantly accepted the label 'victim' as one that applied to himself, but unlike George he had not moved beyond immersion in victimhood. He did not choose this state for himself, he did not want it, and he did not seem to have been gaining any satisfaction from being a victim. For Carl, there was certainly no advantage in victim status: it had brought him neither effective help nor financial compensation. Carl was stuck in that state, partly because nobody had helped him move away from it. It is possible that George seemed to have come to terms with his situation more than Carl had because he had acknowledged that he had been a victim, which may have enabled him to move on from victimhood at a time when he had also physically distanced himself from the source of the victimisation, which Carl had not yet succeeded in doing. A physical move to a new area or more effective protection from state authorities might well have enabled Carl's victimhood to cease. Instead, he felt inadequate for needing help. He seemed to be struggling to reconcile his conception of being gay with family norms around masculinity; and victimhood confronted him with, in his conception, his non-masculine vulnerability. Acceptance of victim status, combined with his orientation toward working class expectations of heterosexual aggression, was humiliating to him. He therefore did not want to talk to support organisations about his emotional reactions to victimisation and how this affected his identity as a working class gay man. For Carl, no amount of emotional support would be effective until the source of his humiliation, either his neighbours or their homophobia, had been removed. We might ask in what way could Carl have, in Randall Collins' terms, "learn(ed) how not to be a victim" (Collins 2008: 465)?

Different dynamics were evident from the interview with Miss Kimberley. I asked her if she felt that victimisation had affected her personal identity:

It's made me want to be who I am even more. It's made me stronger as a person.

(PD) I wonder how you would have coped if you weren't already someone who seems pretty strong?

You have to be really strong. After years of being called names you get to that breaking point and you can't take any more. When I was young I was pathetic, I was the pathetic older brother and people would call me something and I would run crying... but eventually I thought I've had it. Now I will argue back.

(PD) Do you find that by arguing back you are able to turn the situation around sometimes?

I don't think so, not all the time. I think during the day maybe, but at night time people are ready to fight. Not all people, but some, you know. The one thing I really hate is that if you are out with your friends... what hurts is when people say things when you are with nice people... they shouldn't have to go through all that because of me... I would rather people say things to me when I am on my own.

... Having a brother who looked up to me, but I didn't want him to look up to me because I always thought I wasn't a good example, he was into football and all that crap and I thought oh my god, you shouldn't look up to me...

What has something to do with it is when you get to the breaking point and you've had enough. I've had it all my life, you know.

A number of clear themes emerge from this extract. While gender may be even more of a factor in the abuse of transgender people than it may be in the abuse of gay men, there are some striking similarities in the experience of Miss Kimberley and the gay men in this study. Like Carl who worried about his family being affected by the abuse he experienced from his neighbours, Miss Kimberley was concerned about the effects of the transphobic abuse she experienced on the "nice people" she was with at the time. It was as if she felt that, as a "Black tranny", she was not as "nice" as heterosexual or non-transgender people are. She talked of feeling proud of her family but this seemed to constitute a part of her identity that being transgender prevented her from living up to: in this way, stigma was part of her self-conception (Goffman 1959) that she had internalised at an early age, hoping that her brother would not look up to her as a role model because, although she was then 'male', she could not offer the type of masculine reinforcement that he would need. Secondly, people need to exercise agency in resisting victimisation: like other participants, she needed to feel she was fighting back even though there was little she could in reality do to avoid being victimised. She did not drift into this, but had made a conscious decision to 'fight back'. Directing her anger at her abusers enabled her to find the positive force for change that can be mobilised through anger (Ahmed 2006, Lorde 1984). As with Chris, to be discussed shortly, Miss Kimberley felt that her experiences had strengthened her identity. Her handling of the abuse and its aftermath had been a source of pride in herself. Nevertheless, she also talked about being depressed and lethargic as a

result of the perpetual nature of the abuse she experienced, of not going out much anymore, and wanting to move to another area:

I do get lethargic, not lazy just lethargic. When you're going through what I'm going through it does get depressing, and that makes me lethargic. This morning I was thinking about life and everything and you think of all the things that occur in your life and that does bring up the depression. I would love to just walk out of the door and just be me, but that will bring hostility...

As is apparent from this extract, Miss Kimberley was prevented by transphobic abuse from enjoying some of the central constituents of her identity, the 'me' that she would love to be but cannot be, because it brings hostility. According to Mead, formation of the 'me' will have been the subject of reflexive interchange with others in the process of identity formation (Mead 1934/1962); yet so much of that reflexivity has for Miss Kimberley been dominated by hostility and disapproval directed by others towards the identity she had worked hard to establish.

For some of the male Black participants, there were further complexities in their conceptualisations of themselves as Black gay men and as victims of hate crime. The distancing from family that homophobia brings about and the implications of this for identification with culture transmitted through family ties was a dimension in many of the white participants' experiences, but it seemed to be even more problematic and painful for Black gay men, such as Lamar and Colin. Data from interviews with Black support service staff suggest that this is perhaps because families provide the vehicle for upholding links with the heritage and ancestry that assumes a larger significance in white, racist society (Mercer 1994, Phellas 2002). Therefore Black gay men may have to grapple with the added complexity of establishing an identity that could successfully encompass their orientations as Black men, as gay men, and as Black gay men. The intersection of racist and homophobic abuse is the subject of the next chapter in this thesis, where I will explore the effects of these dynamics in more detail. However, Lamar's experience of such dynamics is helpful in the current discussion. He talked of his feelings about both his Black and his gay identities in exclusively negative terms:

I wish I wasn't Black. Black people see gay being a white thing. They think it's like a virus that spreads from white people. It's like HIV. They think HIV is spread by gay people. They don't want to come near you in case they get affected (or perhaps "infected": it was hard to hear the recording).

(PD) How do you feel about this?

I feel bad. They make me feel bad. They make me feel scared of going places. It feels unsafe everywhere.

(PD) Do you have friends you can talk to?

If I talk to another Black man, they think he's gay too. I was friendly with the man in the room next door. Then they wrote on the shower that he was queer, and wrote up his room number. So he moved out.

(PD) Are you still friends?

No, I don't see him anymore. At work (Lamar worked two or three nights a week stacking shelves in a supermarket) the guys sometimes talk about gay men in offensive terms. Saying things like I wonder if so-and-so is, and does he fuck someone else up the arse, things like that. I just smile and don't say anything. They don't know I'm gay so I just keep quiet. But I don't like hearing that kind of thing. It makes me worry.

(PD) What does it make you worry about?

About what they would say or do if they knew I was gay.

(PD) How about Black gay friends?

Some of them are worse! No I just have one Black friend who is gay. I don't like a lot of the others

(PD) Why not?

They just want to go out, have a good time, have sex.

Later in the interview I asked Lamar if he ever felt affected by hearing about homophobic attacks on other people. I think he was rather confused by the question and we reverted to continuing the discussion reported above:

It fucks up your mind. Makes you scared. It makes you low. You lose your self-esteem.

(PD) Are you talking now about how you feel about the homophobic abuse you've had, or how you feel when you hear about other people getting that kind of abuse?

Both man! It makes you feel like it's the worse thing you ever done, like your heart is broken. I feel like giving up...

Lamar had few social contacts that could provide positive models of gay sexuality that might counter the wholly negative assessment he had made of his identity as a Black gay man, and this self-appraisal had spilled over into his assessment of Black culture as well. For Lamar, this was something that was either like Black gay men he had met, preoccupied with sex; or it was associated with the extreme religious doctrine that may have led to his mother's withdrawal of her affection from him. Not only did he not want to be gay, he did not want to be Black either. It is perhaps not surprising, and it is very troubling, that Lamar felt like giving up.

4.2 Victimisation and masculinity

For the remaining discussion in this chapter, it may be helpful to consider the insights of a further three (white male) participants. These are Stewart, Michael and Lee, who were very clear about the specific meanings of hate-motivated victimisation for them as men. I described Stewart's experience of a homophobic stabbing in chapter three. The violence and abuse Stewart experienced engendered tremendous shame that was rooted in the public humiliation of the attack. There seemed to be four elements to his humiliation: 1) the abuse of him and his partner in public; 2) not being able to protect his partner from the double humiliation of being called a 'Black batty boy' who also brings shame on Black people; 3) the failure of the bystanders to intervene and the entertainment they appeared to derive from watching the event; and 4) his inability to fight back.⁵³ For Stewart, his feelings of shame prevented him from telling the doctors who treated his stab wounds what had happened:

I didn't know how to find the words to say I've been beaten up because I'm gay. I was out, proud, and all the rest of it but I just really felt ashamed. I think I felt I was turning into all the negative stereotypes of the gay man, poofy, weak, couldn't defend himself and I wasn't therefore a real man.

These feelings resonated for Stewart with his experience of homophobic abuse at school, which made him feel "poofy and girly". He talked about how at one time a few weeks after the attack he became subject to aggressive impulses:

I started having really violent fantasies about hurting people. It started off by me being haunted by this image of the first guy who shouted at David (his partner at the time) and I kept seeing his face and I was entering into that space of racism where if I saw a Black person I... I sense danger and I constantly saw Black people of course in Brixton, oh God, it was so... constant, it sort of escalated (at this point Stewart was almost whispering and the recorder couldn't pick up his voice so this next part is from handwritten notes...) This escalated into me feeling I wanted to take powers that were superhuman and I felt I was being dehumanised. I wanted to crush them...

What became clear during the interview was that despite the powerful and disturbing emotions at play, Stewart had eventually resolved these issues, and he had found an identity as a gay man with which he felt secure, even though this did not fit with the stereotype image of a gay man that he had internalised. He found he had to constantly re-visit his conceptualisation of what being a gay man is about. But homophobic violence brought about a temporary loss of identity as an 'out' gay man. This may have become

⁵³ A person who completed the survey on-line wrote that he was angry with himself for not being able to defend himself during the attack he experienced.

complicated further by the confusion that would surely arise in being proud of being gay but ashamed of being homophobically victimised, though I did not ask Stewart about this specifically and the point is therefore speculative. Part of our discussion of these issues was as follows:

(PD) Bearing in mind what was going on at school, and you talked about self-loathing at school, how were you able to develop such a positive identity as a gay man despite all that self-loathing?

I don't remember ever having a positive view of myself as a gay man at the time. My brothers and sisters were all very political and that led me into political issues. My sister introduced me to some of her lesbian friends and I started to talk to other people about my sexuality. I had always known I was gay though I didn't know the word to describe it. But I was terrified of it and ashamed of it, and I think terror and shame became self-loathing inside of me. And even when I... hanging around with a lot of lesbians enabled me to have a positive view about my sexuality and it helped me look at things in a different way than it would have if I had only been with gay men. When I did come to London and met more gay men, I never, even when going to Outrage,⁵⁴ I never felt I was a proper gay man,⁵⁵ and I think it was the last vestiges of that self-loathing. And I thought there's loads of things that they did that I didn't identify with. I hadn't had loads of boyfriends or casual sex, and I didn't go cottaging.⁵⁶ So I asked who am I and what am I? Questioning all the time and not always able to accept things.

For Stewart, there was a complex mix of hard-won identity, formed in the face of powerful pervasive homophobia, where his conception of a 'typical' gay man did not accord with how he wanted to be, and which was described as being seriously damaged by the violent abuse he and David experienced. Resolving the damage involved working through violent impulses that seem related to his masculine impulse to fight back, which he had been unable to do when he was attacked; and resolving the unwelcome racist impulses. It also involved managing re-invoked fears around being 'poofy and girly' that he thought he had dealt with years before. This represents what Weeks refers to as a constant making and re-making of identity as time and events unfold (Weeks 2003). It supports Connell's view that there is no general gay identity, much as there is no general heterosexual identity. Rather, achieving a gay identity is a project: "homosexual masculinity as a historically realized configuration of practice" (Connell 2005: 160). The consequence of homophobic abuse for this project is that some men find they have to

⁵⁴ A radical LGBT campaigning group, established by Peter Tatchell.

⁵⁵ I understood Stewart to have meant that he had not felt he was a 'proper' gay man because he did not do the things that he thought characterised gay men, such as having an active sex life.

⁵⁶ Cottaging is a euphemism for sexual activity in public toilets. Incidentally, Babuscio cites US research that suggests over half the men who 'cottage' are married to women (Babuscio 1988).

start the process of achieving a gay male identity over and over again. Edwards emphasises the way in which debates around sexuality and masculinity should not separate these concepts but should be based on a realisation that sexuality and gender are inextricably linked in the way that oppressive norms operate. He argues that “on the face of it, gay masculinities are a contradiction in terms: Gay negates masculine” (Edwards 2005: 51). But the experiences of men like Stewart suggest that in fact ‘gay’ will only negate ‘masculine’ if men do not work through for themselves the meanings that the interaction of these dynamics have for them. The experiences of the men in this study suggest that the difficulty in achieving resolution lies in the pervasive nature of homophobia, the lack of support available with which to work through these issues, and the way in which (predominantly white) hyper-masculine traits⁵⁷ are ‘sexy’ in gay male sub-culture. Such traits may have evolved as a reaction against more traditional stereotyped images of gay men as feminine, weak, cultured and so on, which are of course the stereotypes that homophobia both promotes and reacts against (Whitehead 2005). As Adam’s experience with the local authority that I described in the previous chapter showed, gay men are assumed to be able to ‘look after themselves’ in confronting homophobic abuse from their neighbours. This institutional expectation of masculine invulnerability precipitates a strong sense of injustice in some of those affected by it. This becomes combined with a further level of humiliation that derives from not being able to live up to that expectation, which compounds the aftermath of the institutional failures to protect. Like Carl, Paul thought the term ‘victim’ denoted passivity and the inability to exercise agency. Unlike Carl, when he and his partner found their home damaged by homophobic neighbours, they were able to engage the police in an effective campaign to end the abuse:

I think that victim means a highly emotional state, where there are emotional things going on that you are not really able to resist - where you can’t fight back.

(PD) Did you feel that with this abuse, what you were doing was ‘fighting back’?

Yes I did actually, because we decided to follow a course of action, and follow it through, and with the help of the police it paid off...

In Paul’s conception of victimhood, we can see an association between masculinity and the logical following of a planned process of specified actions, expressed in the masculine language of ‘fighting back’; whereas perhaps an emotional rather than practical reaction to the victimisation would for Paul have been unacceptably ‘feminine’ and less effective in ending the abuse. The contrast between Paul’s and Adam’s experiences is striking:

⁵⁷ Connell refers to these as “the tattoo-and-motorcycle style of aggressive working class masculinity” (Connell 2003: 55).

where the local authority caused Adam's masculine identity to be further undermined, with Paul, the action of the police served to uphold it. Here, social class seemed to be a factor. Paul was an owner-occupier in a middle class area; more able to mobilise the attentions of statutory authorities and be listened to than Carl or Adam were.

What emerges from the data is that the preservation or perhaps successful forming and re-forming of masculine gay identity depends on not being prevented from successfully exercising agency in resisting victimisation, in particular not being prevented from doing so by state authorities. The ability of the state to block victims' proactive efforts to resist further victimisation (as with Adam, Carl, Allan, John and Nicolas); or to facilitate their 'fight back' as with Paul, is I suggest significant, and I will return to this issue in chapter 6. Accepting that one has been a victim is important in establishing that the abuse was not deserved, in other words knowing that being a gay man is not inherently wrong or maladaptive. Carl and Lamar in particular had struggled with that acceptance. Carl struggled because of the added dimension of working class hypermasculine norms associated with his family. Lamar was troubled by the further complexities of race. For him, these dynamics were played out in the difficulty he had in accepting that he could be subject to the 'virus spread by white people'. This, he told me, was how his mother thought of homosexuality and he had therefore been socialised into thinking this was what constituted it. Franco's thoughts on these issues are helpful here: he could accept homophobic abuse if he was expecting it. Thinking a little more deeply about the possible meanings of Franco's insight might lead to the suggestion that if homophobic abuse occurs when it is expected, that is, when dressed up for a Pride parade and therefore going purposefully further in projecting a 'camp' persona than would be usual, it may be less hurtful because the abuse would not represent an attack on one's central identity in the way that abuse when going about everyday activities might. Goffman refers to how people will be less inhibited about making someone wearing a costume the butt of jokes, because of their expectation that the individual can easily disassociate him- or herself from being the object of the comments by removing the costume (Goffman 1963b). Surviving homophobic abuse, for Franco and for other participants, depended on not 'having your defences down'. For several men in this study, victimisation 'goes with the territory' of being gay: homophobic hatred is a reality that can be (and has to be) lived with, but remaining a victim has connotations of passivity. These are affronts to the established and sought-after gay male identity that is unavoidably bound-up in the action-orientated framework of masculinity. Each instance of victimisation may bring the need to re-establish that masculine identity.

Struggles to define and re-establish gay masculinity were described by several of the men in this study. Michael had a 'gritty' persona and he did not look as if he would be vulnerable to homophobic abuse, yet he had experienced it several times. He claimed to have used violence himself in these circumstances and he expressed few inhibitions about it:

I've punched back when I've been abused. Someone threatened me with a knife once and I kicked him hard in the balls. He was singing Soprano for a very long time. Huh! That's what I mean, I'm not violent but come at me and I will respond. With a couple of drinks I think I'm far better than I really am. But I won't be passive, I will fight back if I can.

For Michael, the term 'victim' had connotations of being, as he put it, "PC⁵⁸ and wishy-washy". Age was beginning to bring a new type of vulnerability that was alien to the masculine means of dealing with conflict with which he was accustomed. Meanwhile, Lee seemed only transiently affected by the homophobic abuse he experienced, yet in speaking about homophobic offenders he said he wanted to "get even" with them. The interview with Lee was difficult as it was hard to elicit information from him about these issues. It was typical of several where the participants, unlike Stewart, seemed uncomfortable about discussing such personal matters. Lee's interview continued as follows:

(PD) What about your identity as a gay man? How does being called 'queer' affect your view of yourself and your identity?

Yes, like I said when I was younger it probably did affect me. But I came out very young anyway. I ran away from home when I was 15, came to London and met a man in The Bell in Pentonville Road... That was my first experience of coming out and it was great... My parents went mad but it was worth it!

Lee had turned the interview away from discussion about his identity to lighter issues with which he probably felt more comfortable. After the interview with Lee I wrote in the fieldwork notes:

Some of Lee's responses were a bit inconsistent - the reference to toning it down etc. At one moment he seemed to be saying he camps it up sometimes and then feels he must modify his behaviour, then he said he doesn't do that. He talked about the police response having given him confidence, then said he never has a problem with confidence. I wondered whether despite his very streetwise persona he is really very insecure. It was quite a short interview: just under an hour, quite hard work to get responses from Lee without risking the interview feeling like an interrogation. The atmosphere was difficult too - a busy Caffè Nero in Old Brompton Road, with people pushing past the table and Lee being a bit preoccupied with his mobile 'phone... (fieldwork notes, 10 September 2008).

⁵⁸ 'Politically correct'.

Lee illustrates the type of struggle that some men, particularly 'street-wise' young men perhaps, have in discussing the effect that victimisation has on them. Stanko described similar difficulties in her research about men and violence. She found it was hard to get men to open up in interview: "Having men abandon the illusion of invulnerability, one mask of masculinity, was a tall order indeed" (Stanko 1990: 11). It was significant that men in my study such as Stewart, Chris and David who had been supported or received counselling, who had therefore been enabled to discuss the aftermath of the abuse with a 'skilled helper' (Egan 1998), were much more willing to talk about their feelings with me. This was not simply explicable by class: Chris was unemployed and lived in a council flat. Their accounts were not only fuller, there were also fewer inconsistencies and contradictions in what they said. All three men talked of their involvement in supportive LGBT networks. This involvement in activities such as mutual support, sharing experiences, and receiving skilled help had enabled them to work through their feelings to some kind of resolution or accommodation. Wachs writes about how groups of victims tell their stories to each other, and doing this is a means of diffusing fears about city life. Such shared narratives are "a testimonial to urban resilience" that enables people to move towards 'survivor' status (Wachs 1988: 12). The outlook of most of the men in this study who had received support of some kind was as Stewart described it: victimhood is a stage you go through on the way to becoming a survivor. Similarly, for Jim, who was verbally abused on an underground train, the importance of making such a transition in victim identity was profound. Of the term 'victim', he thought that:

It's an initial label that you have use but after that initial use it should be about how you get people away from being a victim... If you are a victim it may imply that you need others... you need to move people out of victimhood as soon as possible.

There may be parallels here with men's experience of sexual abuse: it has features in common with much hate crime that other crimes might not have, including the very personal nature of the assault. Indeed sexual assault can be a vehicle for homophobic abuse, as the experience of a survey respondent who was raped illustrates. As well as intruding on someone's most personal life, it is enacted in conjunction with violence or the threat of violence and death. Mezey and King found that many men, gay and heterosexual, who were sexually assaulted were unable to mount any effective resistance, and that this left them confused and depressed. It also created "enormous problems... for victims' later resolution of the attack and their role in it" (Mezey and King 1992: 9). They reported psychological sequelae that were similar to those described by women who had

been raped. However, "the stigma for men may be even greater... in a society which expects its male members to be self-sufficient physically and psychologically" (Mezey and King 1992: 10). Reviewing a number of US studies (not all of which yielded consistent data about this issue), Coxell and King nevertheless observed that "a sense of emasculation is not uncommon in men after experiencing sexual assault" and that this sense is associated with the men being unable to defend themselves (Coxell and King 2002:54).

Chris believed that he had grown emotionally, and that his identity had been strengthened, as a result of his experience of violent homophobia and the events that followed it. I asked him: *In what ways does having experienced hate crime affect your personal identity as a gay man?*

I think I came out as stronger. I think if you had asked me twenty years ago I would have (inaudible)... not stood up for anything. And again, this sounds a bit arrogant, but I did something for me, but I also did a little bit for the gay community in terms of being able to go to the press and being able to admit where I was and what I was doing... you find through dreadful circumstances, if you can try to pull that forward it's made me stronger and I hope it's helped me to achieve something.

(PD) You seem to be saying you have tried to make something positive out of a negative situation.

Yes, I have tried to... (help) other people who might not be so upfront... If I can help even one person to overcome their fear of reporting then yes out of something very negative something positive has happened.

It is possible that Chris is not very representative of the wider gay male population, so it is important to be cautious about generalising from his experience. For instance, he had a very positive experience of the police, which seems to have helped him 'move on' from victimhood; and he proactively contacted me about my research having read about it in a local gay social group's newsletter, so he was generally motivated to take action that might help achieve better responses to homophobic crime.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the key factors for Chris that led to him feeling his sense of identity had become stronger since the attack were that he was helped effectively; that he was open with others about what had happened to him and what he was doing (rather than being stuck with the shame of having been out 'cruising' at the time); and that he tried to ensure other people might benefit

⁵⁹ Daniel in her PhD thesis about rape noted that some victims, male and female, disclosed the abuse they experienced because they thought it might help protect future potential victims (Daniel 2006). It would be interesting to know whether such a pro-social orientation is a feature of people who experience rape and hate crime, or simply a defining characteristic of those who are willing to help PhD students!

from his experience by appearing in a news feature about reporting homophobic crime (and perhaps to a lesser extent by participating in this research).

It seems relevant to mention at this point an instance of homophobic verbal abuse that I experienced while I was doing fieldwork. Coffey draws our attention to the importance of the researcher making connections between the self and fieldwork, enabling “a focus on the production and representation of lives which we engage in through fieldwork practices” (Coffey 1999: 126). The following is an example of one of many such connections that arose for me during this research. I was leaving a gay bar in Kings Cross at about 11.30pm. I had parked my motorbike directly outside the bar and I was putting on my helmet to ride home when a white van drove past. The driver leaned out of the window and shouted at me “you fucking queer cunt. You’re all a load of dirty fucking cunts”. I felt infuriated. My impulse was to ride off after him. The ‘red mist’ descended and I wanted to kick-in the side of his van. I have a powerful 1100cc sports bike and I knew I could have easily caught him up in the night-time London traffic. Within a second or so the red mist had cleared and my usual placid, anti-violent persona had re-asserted itself. I then realised that it would be stupid to pursue him and I rode off home instead. On the way home I thought of reporting the incident to the police but I had failed to note the van’s registration number. My belief in the ability of the Metropolitan Police Service to act appropriately on what would inevitably be a vague report of a homophobic incident had declined somewhat during my recent research with police officers. Besides that, I did not want to have to admit that I had been too preoccupied with my own aggressive impulses to note the registration number. A few days later I mentioned this to a member of Galop’s staff and he asked me why I had not reported it. I found myself talking about how it is all part of life, it was not serious, and I had not noted the registration number. The significance of that incident for this discussion is that it had been ostensibly trivial but nevertheless a powerful and symbolic attack on me and my identity, a gay male identity that I enjoy yet one whose integrity and positivity often feels attacked *via* regular expressions of pervasive homophobia. The symbolic effect of this particular incident of verbal abuse was heightened by its extreme profanity, which for me suggested the potential dangerousness of the abuser. I imagined he might be someone who was not only prejudiced, but who probably did really ‘hate’ and was willing to enact his hatred. When this incident happened, I had been spending weeks hearing accounts of homophobic abuse and the driver of the van might have been one of the homophobes that had caused so much harm and distress to some of the people I had interviewed and empathised with. In what was probably an unusually sensitised state, I, like Lee, “wanted to get even” with

him. But for me, the ordinariness of the incident, something that I had experienced before as had so many LGBT people I had been talking with at the time, meant that it was something 'that goes with the territory' of being a gay man in London, something that you 'get over', and for that reason not worth reporting.

4.3 The diverse meanings of victimhood

Analysis of data from the interviews with victims shows that nine participants disliked the term 'victim', mainly because like Peter, they thought it signalled their powerlessness in relation to the offender, or because like Eevan, it implied weakness. Eevan thought that "a victim is someone who can't defend themselves: someone weak. I don't like to be weak but my situation makes me weak", thereby acknowledging that he had to live with a certain amount of weakness as a refugee with no income and an insecure status, which he did not want added to by accepting victim status as well. Franco felt the term signalled passivity:

I don't so much identify with the term victim. I don't see myself as a victim. It has negative, passive connotations. If you are a victim, there isn't anything you can do. I did something: I told him (the abuser) to fuck off and I reported it.

The fact that he had not been passive might have been particularly important for Franco's conceptions of himself in that he said he had been far more disturbed by the verbal abuse in the supermarket queue than he would have expected, and he had then had to cope with being tearful in public on an underground train. Stewart had strong feelings about the concept, informed by his awareness of some of the political debates that have taken place about the term. I asked him: *What about the term victim? Do you feel you were a victim of crime?*

...In (X, where he used to live), a lot of lesbians were concerned about rape and domestic violence and there was a debate about victim and survivor, where they preferred the term survivor. Although obviously I didn't then have experience of those events... but I think the term survivor is better, which doesn't mean you haven't been a victim, but you survived it.

(PD) Do you mean you go from being a victim to being a survivor?

Yes, it's like a stage that you go through. Even if someone remains in a terrible horrible place they are still a survivor as they have come through it... I think the term victim can be disempowering.

Jim thought 'victim' was an acceptable description only of a temporary state that organisations should help people move on from as soon as possible, so that victimhood

should only ever be transitory. He was critical of the organisation Victim Support for continuing to use that name. For Jim, the term signalled disempowerment. He said:

If you continue to use the term (victim) with the client you are inviting them to stay as a victim. As a carer you have the power, and they stay the victim. It's about power isn't it? Someone who has been abused has had their power taken away and it is taken away again by an organisation that calls itself Victim Support.

These findings might have implications for support services that use the term, either in their name or in the publicity they produce to market their services. Several of the participants in this study did not want to use services that are marketed under the term 'victim'. On 27 January 2010 the UK government launched its National Victims Service,⁶⁰ and the information about the service makes numerous references to the term 'victim' both in the name of the service and a description of its potential users.

Eleven participants felt that the concept of victimhood was helpful because it underlined the fact that it was the offender, not they themselves, who had been responsible for the abuse. This property has been noted in the literature (Janoff-Bulman and Frieze 1983). Adrian said:

Yes I would say I'm a victim of hate crime because I did nothing to warrant that kind of abusive treatment. Their actions were wrong and were against me, so yes, I was a victim... I don't want to be a victim, but it does say what happened to me.

Similarly, Ryan thought:

What happened to me is a hate crime. I don't think there is anything wrong with the term victim. I didn't ask for it to happen so that term does relate to what happened to me.

Some thought that the term was helpful because people need to be classified as victims to obtain services. Adam felt it could be helpful if acknowledging one has been victimised encourages people to talk about the effects of victimisation. On a similar theme, John and Nicolas considered that strong words were needed to describe "strong events":

(Nicolas) I do feel I have been victimised. It doesn't make me less of a human being. I don't want to stay in that state but I don't want to obscure it and what happened.

(John) It's not a tragedy, it's an atrocity.

(Nicolas) I imagine that after a fact someone might want to put their own progression on it, to try to remove the label victim from their own self-image. But when you are trying to advocate your own case you do need to use labels like that...

⁶⁰ See <http://www.justice.gov.uk/news/newsrelease290909a.htm> Retrieved 6 February 2010.

What I suggest we might conclude from these data is that the concept of victimhood has a wide range of meanings, most of which are highly 'loaded' and which problematise its usage. Some of the participants imbued the word 'victim' with so-called feminine traits such as passivity and emotionality. Paul talked of wanting to deal with the harassment "in a logical way, so we didn't really need support". For Paul, being a 'victim' suggested occupying a "highly emotional state, where there are emotional things going on that you are not really able to resist - where you can't fight back". Several participants, including Miss Kimberley, used the phrase 'fight back' and this was consistent with their concern to exercise agency in resisting further victimisation. They seemed to see the ability to do so as the antithesis of victimhood. Most of the participants who were willing to accept that the term could apply to them were willing to do so only as a temporary condition, one which signalled their lack of culpability and their entitlement to some protection from further victimisation. None of the participants said anything that suggested they wanted to be seen as victims: even those that wanted their victimhood recognised so that they could obtain help seemed uncomfortable with the need to do that, and they wanted to move away from that position as soon as possible. Furedi writes of a growing culture of victimhood as if victimhood is something for which everyone is clamouring (Furedi 2006). The views of the participants in this study do not support the idea that victimhood is somehow desirable or sought-after for anything other than the specific and limited purposes that I have set out above.

4.4 Resolving victimisation with identity

George's comment that his experience of victimisation had made him stronger because he had been able to get away from his abusive family is highly significant in the context of this discussion because it underlines the significance of individual agency in resolving a victimising experience. Chris made a very similar point. George and Chris both felt that their identity had been strengthened by their experience: for Chris, this seemed to be to the extent that he was able to overcome residual feelings of shame at having been assaulted while out cruising for sex. Thirteen participants felt their experiences of victimisation had strengthened their sense of identity, while six felt their identity had been undermined by what had happened to them. However, identity is not unitary. People may have several identities (Williams 2000), but the question I asked was about how their identity as a *gay man* had been affected. Analysis of the data finds that the men who felt

their identities had been strengthened were those that had received effective help, such as Chris; or who had unusually strong personal resources to help them deal with the aftermath and the willingness to receive counselling, such as Stewart. Those who were still being harassed, who had really had no opportunity to come to terms with it or recover, were less likely to talk about their identity; or they said it had been damaged by their experiences.

A further consideration that emerges from these data is that the men who were most secure in their identities as gay men, despite the victimisation they experienced, seem to be those that were most closely linked with other LGBT people. Chris was involved in an LGBT social group in his area and he felt bolstered both by giving up his time for the local LGBT community and in receiving support from them. Lamar, in contrast, had very few social contacts. These factors seemed to affect not only how quickly the participants recovered from victimisation, but how they saw the process of victimisation, and victimhood, as well.

Discussion

Mason illustrates the ways in which we tend to draw on our own subject position in coming to terms with our experiences. The meaning of a violent event is "never fixed or essential but, rather, is actively constituted through the distinctions and differences of language and discourse" (Mason 2002: 24). She goes on to illustrate the significance of this for identity, which is that identity is a manifestation of the intersections between meaning and experience, experience being both a cultural construct and the process by which the individual is constructed. For most of the men in this research, their conception of identity was constituted by a combination of internalised norms which held that homosexuality was deviant; the meaning that they attributed to the experience of having been victimised; and the interaction of these with their conceptions of masculinity. Homophobic abuse built on their experiences of homophobia and heterosexism especially in their formative years, as suggested by Stewart and the participant who was sexually abused in childhood. These had led many of them to question the legitimacy of their identities as men and as gay men. Allen observed that "the consequences of victimisation may undermine the victim's view of himself as a man" (Allen 2002: 26). He noted that gay men define what happened to them markedly differently from heterosexual men, and this indicates that any worthwhile exploration of the implications of victimisation for gay men

should encompass a focus on both the masculine and the gay dimensions of the issue. It is perhaps for this reason that terms such as 'victim' were so problematic for some of the participants, even to the extent that some avoided contact with services that used the term.

The experiences described here show how identities are formed and constantly reformed reflexively in interaction with other people (Giddens 1991, Plummer 1975, 1995; Weeks 1991, Williams 2000). This might seem a rather obvious conclusion to draw, but the particular significance of this for the gay men I talked with is that this is problematic when gay identity is something that comes under regular attack. Connell, Kimmel and others (Plummer 2007, Weeks 1991 and 2003), refer to the changing and tenuous nature of masculinity and these analyses might help explain the painful impact of verbal abuse in epithets such as 'queer cunt' that define gay masculinity as a type of debased femininity. When thinking of gay men who are isolated, such as Lamar, it becomes clear, when this analysis is applied to his situation, why it was difficult for him to be secure in his identity: he had so few positive contacts with LGBT people and he had endured so much homophobic abuse. Many of the men in this study talked about feeling hurt by homophobic violence being an attack on a central aspect of their identity, and masculinity was often a component that was harmed in that way. As Connell argues, "masculinity is necessarily in question in the lives of men whose sexual interest is in other men" (Connell 2005: 90). In other words, there is already a difficult issue to deal with even before any homophobic abuse occurs, which the abuse then can build upon in terms of its effects on identity. This may be a distinctive feature of homophobic crime. For some, such as Andrew, the hurt that the homophobic abuse invoked was recalled by hearing of other people's experiences of homophobia or hearing homophobic views expressed in the media.

Returning briefly to the findings discussed in the previous chapters, most participants who had experienced violence motivated by other factors thought the homophobic abuse they experienced was more serious, despite it being in many instances superficially *less* serious. This was almost always because the homophobic abuse was an attack on their identity, or because there was a clear process to be followed in the aftermath of a crime that was not so well mapped-out for dealing with the aftermath of homophobic abuse, or both. These feelings were often compounded by a degree of self-blame. This was evident in Mike feeling that because he was 'cruising' for sex he might have deserved to have had all his car windows smashed, and for Matt who thought he could have expected to be robbed because he had picked up for sex a man he knew nothing about, who robbed him.

In view of Rock's recommendation that construction of a victim identity needs to be examined with heavily victimised groups, we can see from this study that gay men who experience homophobic abuse are helped by the process of accepting a victim identity, but only if they can quickly move on from it by re-constructing a masculine gay (non-victim) identity. The men in this study did not so much construct a victim identity, but instead found it constructed for them, and most of them wanted to resolve their discomfort with the state of victimhood by constructing for themselves a non-victim or 'survivor' identity. This characteristic is shared with some members of other groups, including women, where feminist perspectives on recovery from sexual abuse and domestic violence react against the term 'victim' with its connotations of passivity (Walklate 2003), so they refer instead to abused women being 'survivors'. Data from my research suggest that where help in accomplishing this transition is withheld or obstructed, victim identity becomes stuck; and it may be that this happens as well when victimisation is a ceaseless process. This can lead to depression and a sense of helplessness that is manifested in isolation, abuse of alcohol and drugs, dependence on anti-depressants, low self-esteem, and so on; as experienced by Carl and Lamar. What will become evident later in this thesis where I discuss the policing of homophobic crime is that being helped in this sense does not necessarily mean being professionally counselled, but being supported. It is encouraging to note that this can be accomplished by friends, family, police officers, volunteers in support organisations, passers-by and so on.

Weeks argues that gay identities are both constructed and essential. They are constructed in that they are historically moulded and therefore subject to change, and they are essential in that they are necessary and inescapable (Weeks 1991). But for the people most regularly victimised, like Lamar, David and Miss Kimberley, the identities that are chosen (Giddens 1991) become not just inescapable but almost inoperable in the face of the weight of homophobic or transphobic abuse.

Summary

For most of the men in this study, a victim identity was not wanted, because it signified weakness, a failure of masculinity, and the inability to exercise agency; because it was seen as a term that should be reserved for the most serious types of abuse, such as rape; or because it implied the ceding of power to the abuser. If victimhood was accepted, as George accepted it, it was as a means of acknowledging to one's self the seriousness of

what had happened in the process of coming to terms with the added harm caused by institutional failures and the elision of any boundary between home, neighbourhood, and country of residence in the locations where he was abused. Acceptance, for George, also marked the start of the process of recovering from the abuse. To Jim, the construct of victimhood was only acceptable if it was of the briefest possible duration - a state to move on from as soon as possible. This concept, of moving 'through' victimhood to a better state at the other side of it, has strong implications for managing the aftermath of homophobic abuse. If Richardson and May's (1999) analysis that gay men are unlikely to be construed as innocent victims is valid, gay men and transgender people are unlikely to meet the type of criteria inherent in the conception of 'ideal victim' that Christie (1986) describes. People may tend to blame victims who appear to be remote and different (Elias 1986). There are parallels here with the tendency of police officers to not recognise Black people being victimised (Ratcliffe 2004), a notorious example of which was the police failure in 1993 to treat Stephen Lawrence and Duwayne Brookes as victims. It could be argued that by filming his abusive neighbours Allan had moved beyond the boundaries of the 'ideal victim' and that might be why the police were reluctant to help him. As Rock shows, this typification was (at least at the time Rock was writing) instrumental in determining whether or not victims were offered support (Rock 1990). While there have been significant improvements in criminal justice attitudes to victims generally since that time (Reeves and Dunn 2010), if people do not wish to, or are unable to, accept a 'victim' identity, they are unlikely to avail themselves of improvements in criminal justice practice, particularly if the term 'victim' is used in the marketing of victim services. The claims of those who, like Furedi (2004 and 2006), contend that victimhood is somehow a status that is promoted and desired in late modernity, are not supported by the participants in this study. Nor do their experiences and attitudes towards victimhood uphold the arguments of Jacobs and Potter, whose critique of the concept of hate crime is in part constructed on the premise that hate victimisation and its consequences tend to be exaggerated (Jacobs and Potter 1988). Instead, most of the men in this study tended either to play-down their experience, or they eschewed the notion that they were victims - because most did not want such an identity. This was for some men because they felt that somehow, to some extent, they deserved what had happened to them. But for others, victimhood was incompatible with a masculine gay identity, associated with times when they had, through pervasive homophobia and other abusive experiences, felt powerless - or as Stewart described it "poofy and girly". As Rock argues, victimisation has in any case long been a devalued status. Not only is the status of victimhood contested in a trial (where it is conferred only if the defendant is found guilty) but in addition, "victims have

long been framed... by that imagery of complicity, mendacity and revenge" (Rock 2008: 114). For almost all the men in this study, despite their strong efforts to resist being victimised and the pride they took in 'fighting back', they were not in a position to learn how 'not to be a victim'.

Walklate argues that masculinity is not the only variable that operates in mediating men's experience of victimisation (Walklate 2007b). The next chapter will consider two other major variables, race and ethnicity, which as has already become apparent shaped some of the participant's experiences of hate-motivated victimisation and which were both positive and difficult dynamics in their conceptions of their racial, sexual, and gendered identities.

5. The intersectionality of racism and homophobia

The crucial issue is that at least on the gay scene you don't get beaten up, whereas in the Black community I have got beaten up, often. The racism of the gay community is not as powerful as the homophobia of the Black community (Colin).

Barbara Perry argues that "Gay men of colour are the 'outsiders' on both the axes of gender and racial identity" (Perry 2001: 129). She suggests that the lack of research on the interaction of different prejudices means there is little understanding of how hate-motivated abuse is experienced by Black LGBT people (Perry 2003). Despite the large volume of literature about hate crime, there are few references to intersectionality in racism and homophobia, with very little research having been conducted about the phenomenon in the UK. The concept of intersectionality arose through the attempts of those involved in critical race studies to achieve a better understanding of the complex interrelations between various forms of power: as Erel *et al.* explain, intersectionality recognises that "discourses and oppressive practices around important social divisions such as 'race', gender, class and sexuality do not only play together, but are mutually constitutive of each other" (Erel *et al.* 2008). It is therefore an empirically important area to address here, given the subject of this thesis, because it concerns how other aspects of marginality interact with the marginalisation that being lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender brings. Other than Galop's study of the experiences of BME LGBT people, which was concerned more with describing experiences than with analysis (Galop 2001), one of the few social scientists in the UK who have carried out research with minority ethnic gay men is Phellas.⁶¹ He writes that Black LGBT people "have received scant attention in the sociological and psychological literature on homosexuality and the development of sexual identities" (Phellas 2002: 2). People's experience of victimisation will of course be mediated by a range of factors (Walklate 2007b), but the rationale for focusing on the intersectionality of racism and homophobia in this chapter springs from the lack of existing research on this issue and the invisibility of Black gay people in LGBT subculture, as I shall show.

It may be that intersectionality alone is wide enough to generate sufficient material for a PhD thesis. In the process of relating my data to the theoretical literature (that in contrast

⁶¹ Phellas describes his research participants as BME gay men, though they were Greek-Cypriot.

to the empirical literature is extensive), this chapter more than any other presented considerable challenges in deciding what to leave out. My purpose here is to explore briefly some of the main issues that were of concern to BME participants. It seemed important to attempt this, given the very limited research about BME gay men. However, it is difficult to do more than raise in outline a few of the principal issues about intersectionality that were most closely relevant to participants' experiences.

I shall begin this chapter by exploring the data from structured conversations with Black and minority ethnic support service staff and policy makers, because this may help to situate participants' experiences and insights in the wider context of the prevailing racist and homophobic norms to which, as it will become evident, they were subject.

5.1 Structured conversations with support service staff and others

To help achieve an understanding of the implications of the experiences of the small number of BME participants in this study, I held structured conversations⁶² with Black gay men who worked in specialist BME-related roles with (mainly) service-delivery organisations, whom I refer to as 'professionals' below. These were Patrick, Hanaan, Deleon, Dennis, and Subodh; and also with Rob who was a director of an influential Trust that undertakes research about race issues. Three of these men said that, in their view, homophobia was more difficult for Black men to deal with than it is for white men, because of cultural factors and the tendency of Black families not to be supportive to gay family members. Four of them felt that BME communities tended to be more overtly homophobic than white communities. Like Lamar, Deleon and Subodh believed that Black heterosexual people tend to see homosexuality as an undesirable feature of white culture that is alien to Black behavioural norms.⁶³ Three of them spoke of the more complex cultural considerations that such beliefs produce, with which Black gay men have to grapple when 'coming out'. They raised other issues as well, such as the invisibility of Black gay men in the commercial gay 'scene' (bars and clubs), the absence of positive Black gay role models in the media, the way in which homophobia and racism in the police deters Black LGBT people from reporting hate crime, and the lack of any Black LGBT

⁶² These were discussions that did not follow a standard interview schedule. Although I planned what I wanted to ask the participant about, with regard to similar conversations with other participants, the literature, and issues that were raised by victims, I did not ask pre-set questions.

⁶³ These particular views do seem to imply a monolithic view of culture and norms that might not have been intended by the participants.

infrastructure that could provide support to people struggling with these issues. It should be noted that although these men are not identified as 'victims' in this research in the way that Lamar, Eevan, Colin, Stewart and others have been, they too, as would be expected and will become apparent, had been subject to homophobia and racism.

With regard to Colin's and Lamar's experiences with their families, I asked professionals about the issue of family. This also brought in references to the role of religion and conceptions of Black masculinity. I asked Rob: Do you think there are significant distinctions between Black and white allegiances to family, which might make the alienation of gay family members a more difficult experience for Black gay men? Prefacing his response with a view that there is a dearth of research on this issue and a lack of any place or structure in which to explore it, he replied:

What might be different is the deepening hypocrisy about family which involves suspended belief, an idealised view of the family and the use of ideal types. There is a crisis of Black masculinity that is very much bound up with this. Black culture is more about extended families where Black fathers play a different role to that which pertains in white families. A strong religious belief develops in the absence of other leadership...

There is generational dissonance, clinging to notions of purity. This means that scapegoating of gay men can take place very easily. People know about gay family members but it points to what is seen as a weakness in the family so it is not spoken about. There is an element of Black gay men being seen as 'letting the side down again'. Coming out as gay is a big statement in Black families. Community safety is provided by extended families, but the price of receiving that safety is that you are expected to conform. In many Black communities, everyone knows each other. By coming out as gay, and therefore going out on a limb, you are in effect asking for extra protection, saying you are special...

The role of continuing transnational migration is that for Black men, there are constant fresh injections of traditional notions of what it is to be a Black man.

Some professional participants spoke about the role of some religions in perpetuating homophobia. They believed that religion is likely to play a more central role in minority ethnic communities than in white communities, and this, they thought, partly explains homophobia. Patrick, who helped refugees fleeing homophobic violence in Jamaica, described harsh religious doctrine about homosexuality that he had observed, and had experienced himself:

African-Caribbean communities... use the religious aspect on them... they use scriptural doctrine out of context to get at people and make them feel very harassed within that sphere. My own mother's family, when they found out I was gay, I have an uncle here who is an evangelical preacher, he has nothing to do with

me, his attitude was no son of his could be gay because he would beat it out of him (Patrick's emphasis).

Deleon, who worked for an HIV charity where his role included supporting and educating young Black men about HIV, held similar views about family and masculinity. We had been talking about racism in LGBT communities and homophobia in Black communities. I asked him about how he felt Black gay men deal with these dynamics:

People get isolated within those communities. Despite being close to their parents, gay people's distance from them will persist where their sexuality is concerned. Families will experience divided loyalties, e.g. mum being OK with gay son only as long as dad isn't around: if he is, she will have to condemn her gay son.

Being gay is part of white culture, not part of Black culture. You will be more accepted in your partner's family but it will feel as if you are a token. You have to make your partner's family your family...

You can't go into a Black community and feel OK about being gay. You don't see positive Black gay images. I venomously denied being gay in Jamaica as I knew if I didn't, my parents' home could be burned down because they have a gay son.

(PD) That must have been very painful for you.

Yes, it was (Deleon looking visibly upset). You experience judgement all the time in Black communities. You don't feel free. That I am to be in fear of being Black and gay is instilled into me. It's the fear of God... I won't go to Jamaica any more.

I asked Deleon how he thought young Black gay men growing up gay negotiate these issues, and what might be the consequences for them of family and cultural tensions around homosexuality:

Young people lose their identity through the lack of family acceptance. The response is to take up a gay identity, find your own family. But you end up being part of the cultural family for a day at a time, then you go back to being gay. People build up another life but in doing so they play on the edge, such as being camp or outrageous, or having a number of identities where it is almost like 'who am I going to be today?'

(PD) What are the implications of this for gay men who might not naturally want to be camp or outrageous?

It causes confusion. It's not natural. They resent themselves and internalise the problems it causes like 'if I do it wrong I'm to blame'. It's like deconstructing your own personality but not doing it right. It causes problems with straight siblings who get unconditional family support. Caribbean culture reinforces homophobia such as the recent statement from the Jamaican Prime Minister about them not having any gay people. There is a lot of family pride in the mother country, whose culture dominates the culture here. There is the thing that gay people are not worthy of that culture. You are not included in that. With parents, people will take the view that you have grown your child up to be gay so parents can't take the risk of it being known. The community will ostracise that child and the parents.

In Caribbean culture it's OK to be camp as you like but only if it is clear you are not gay.

These extracts might remind us of Lamar's experience with his family, and they are similar to Colin's views about Jamaican culture that I will describe later in this chapter. Deleon had also commented on the idealisation of Jamaican culture by African-Caribbean British people: the insights expressed here suggest that idealised but homophobic traditional cultures may have a strong influence in the UK where, it can be argued, the corrosive nature of racism is persistent. They also point to some of the ambiguities of living with marginal identities, where people constantly have to make and remake decisions of where and how they 'belong' within narrow and shifting constraints of tolerance and acceptability.

Dennis, who ran a monthly support group for Black gay men, held different views to those of Deleon. He felt the situation was improving, with young Black men becoming more visible and confident about their sexuality. He had some interesting insights about being Black and gay, and living in Brixton:

I don't suffer much homophobic crime in Brixton... If you believed the hype about homophobia in the Black community, I shouldn't be able to live in Brixton. Brixton has the largest Black LGBT community in London...

When I asked about the effect of prejudice and abuse on Black gay male identity, Dennis said:

The key is the lack of social spaces outside commercial clubs, and lack of representation of Black LGBT people in the media. Discrimination in both camps makes it difficult to establish identity. You may think the Black community is too hostile (to gay people), then you immerse yourself in the gay community and you find that's hostile (to Black people) too. So people may choose to be less visible to survive in their home community.

Dennis echoed some, but not all, of Rob and Deleon's views about Black masculinity. I asked him: Do you think that Black cultural conceptions of masculinity differ significantly from white conceptions and if so, what are the implications of this for Black gay men? He highlighted some significant commonalities in Black and white affiliations with hegemonic masculinity centred in the structural influences on such conceptions. This helpfully reminds us of the importance of, in Gilroy's terms, not inadvertently using any race-related issue as a means of finding new ways of defining the 'Black problem' (Gilroy 1992). Dennis believed that such structural dynamics are subject to change and hence he felt some optimism about the future:

I think there is a role here, but I am uncomfortable about suggesting there is a massive difference. The same power dynamics exist for white men. But there are some differences, it would be naïve to think that they don't exist. For example, expression of homophobic attitudes is tied in with masculine identity for Black men, but it is for white men too. This means that victims may be seen as weak, as not being able to stand up for themselves. But the main difference here in terms of race is that if you are of a community where you feel emasculated and powerless you may feel you want to have power over someone who is seen as less than you. Gay men in that situation would be an easy target; many perhaps would be questioning their sexuality.

(PD) One policy maker who is Black said that he felt that continuing transnational migration constantly re-introduces other ideal types of Black masculinity into the community. Would you agree with that?

There is the migration dynamic, yes, in that recent migrants transfer African and Caribbean attitudes to sexuality here into the culture. But the longer people stay, they learn more about a more inclusive approach.

Dennis' views seemed considerably more optimistic than those of other participants. This may in part reflect his sense of security derived perhaps from living in a strong Black LGBT community. It also indicates his view of society as being dynamic and open to changing influences, as in the way in which traditional norms about sexuality that are imported during through migration are influenced over time by different, more liberal outlooks.

Hanaan, like Dennis, questioned the assumption that there are essential differences in the degree to which minority and majority ethnic communities are able to accept homosexuality. I asked him what he thought were the major challenges faced by Asian gay men in dealing with homophobia:

There are issues of second generation migrants in this country trying to establish an identity that isn't about fish and chips. British gayness is the issue - what is British gayness? ... Asians are not the only people who have to deal with this set of issues. Catholics have been excommunicated for being gay. Some people say one of the challenges is about the question am I gay or am I a Muslim? Well, I say you can be both! That's no different to anybody else, we are in no better or no worse a situation than anyone else from any religion or culture.

(PD) You seem to have some quite strong feelings about this question.

Yes, I get frustrated and I get angry about the assumption that there is a difference...

(PD) Someone else I was speaking to, who is of South Asian heritage, said that there is a throwback to colonial attitudes that comes out as pressure on Asian people not to do anything that could make them look inferior to white people in this country, where homosexuality is often seen as inferior. What do you think about that?

Well, in some ways yes. It is true that homosexuality is at the lower end of the social scale... They (Asian people who were newly arrived in Britain) had to prove

themselves respectable in view of the comments being made by people like Enoch Powell. Homosexuality can be a drop in status and it can come down to the issue of who is the active partner. The passive partner's masculinity is called into question. The wider straight community in any culture will tend to see gay people as all bottoms.⁶⁴ That's no different in the Asian community.

For Hanaan, attempts by Asian gay men to forge a distinctive group identity were hampered by the way in which the LGBT commercial scene was preoccupied exclusively with whiteness. He felt the LGBT media promoted white images exclusively at the expense of Black or Asian images, often to the extent of outright racism. For Hanaan, these were more significant influences on gay identity formation than homophobic crime:

...posters of white blonde Muscle-Marys,⁶⁵ *Latinos*, and light-skinned Black men being promoted as trendy, whereas images of Black African men or other dark-skinned men are not seen at all. Even Black LGBT magazines do this type of thing. This gives room to LGBT consumers to say things like 'no Orientals'... People may say well it's our choice to wear blue contact lenses, but I would ask how informed is that choice when it is so promoted? Asians are presented as terrorists, Chinese people as members of triad gangs, so I would ask how informed is that choice to create a Eurocentric look? All this is much more significant in the process of identity formation than homophobic crime is.

Subodh described the struggle that the South Asian (heterosexual) community groups with whom he liaises have in coming to terms with same-sex relationships. He felt that their difficulty with this issue came from the religious and ethnic diversity within South Asian communities, the pressure that living in a racist society places upon people to conform to established white norms that still do not recognise homosexuality as legitimate, and the continued racism and homophobia of the police, which ensured the continuing invisibility of Black and Asian victims of homophobic abuse. Subodh's view supports the finding described in the previous chapter that the police are sometimes resistant to according victim status to members of minority communities who report being victimised. In Subodh's experience, these factors, combined with people's expectations of a racist response from the police, mean that most BME gay men will not report homophobic crime. This in turn ensures that homophobic victimisation of BME people is hidden and not addressed by BME communities. Subodh felt that policing initiatives designed to tackle racist crime were always, for this reason, "at the expense of the gay community", whose experiences tended to be ignored.

Several strong themes emerge from these interviews with support staff and policy makers. Conceptions of Black hyper-masculinity and its role in perpetuating homophobia were

⁶⁴ Sexually passive

⁶⁵ Gay male body-builders who are excessively concerned with developing their physique.

cited, but then as Dennis stated, this role can apply to white men too. The interaction of traditional religion with family life, where families provide a bulwark against the effects of racism, emerges as a dynamic that can distance young Black LGBT people from their families. Perhaps the strongest theme is the way in which Black LGBT people have to negotiate a range of different identities, none of which is positively reinforced by another. This includes the lack of positive images of Black people in LGBT culture and the invisibility of LGBT life in BME communities; which might lead to people feeling there is no shared space in which they can feel comfortable. We now need to consider what the 'victim' participants said about these matters.

5.2 Participants' experiences of racism and homophobia

Colin grew up in Jamaica, and when he encountered homophobia from Black people in Jamaica and in Britain, it made him despise his Jamaican heritage. He told me:

I have experienced it in Jamaica and here too... But this time it hit me more hard, because I thought "how many more times does one have to deal with this?" Why are people like this? It makes me despise where I come from. I was born in England but my parents took me back to Jamaica when I was a small child so I grew up in Jamaica. I don't understand how such a small country has such a big influence here - 2.8 million people there exert an influence over 59 million people here. Why is that? It makes me wish I was not from that background when I come across the homophobia in the Black community here. I had a gay friend who went back to Jamaica to live and soon after, I heard he had been shot nine times...

When I was a child I had to learn to fight. You had to learn to fight to the death. When you are faced with barbaric people you choose whether to live or to die, and every homophobic incident I face feels like that, it takes me back to that time in Jamaica.

I felt that the strength of Colin's negative feelings towards Jamaican culture and people was disturbing and in comparison to other participants' views, exceptional. I wondered where, given the extent of his antipathy toward the culture in which he grew up, he felt he might fit. I asked him:

Who do you talk with about these things, if you feel you need a bit of friendly support? Is that available from the gay community?

Yes, the reception you get on the scene can be quite racist. There is a perception of how we behave... It's more difficult for Black gay guys to form relationships, with white men anyway, because of the stereotypes that go with the territory of being a Black man - I went to a sauna and a white guy there wanted to have sex with every Black guy there. That makes you feel used, like an object, like a kind of sex toy for white guys to play with...

I've heard things said to me in clubs, quietly racist stuff. I try to judge people on what they give to me. I don't want to be used like a toy on the scene. It's always about cock size and how far you can shoot a load, and that's what Black men are expected to offer on the gay scene. I want an intelligent conversation.

(PD) Do you despise the gay community?

The gay scene is all what I have got left now and so I can't throw it away. I've thrown away my background but I can't throw away the gay scene or I've got nothing left. I see the gay scene as primarily an anchor for me, something I can always go back to if I need it. It's my primary anchor I suppose.

Colin had made the decision to use the LGBT community in London as his "primary anchor" but, like several participants, there were aspects of LGBT subculture that he did not identify himself with, including its perceived superficiality and the racism evident in the stereotyping of Black gay men. He did not see other Black gay men as potentially more satisfactory partners and friends, perhaps because, as a somewhat invisible minority within a minority, Black LGBT people are hard to find. Colin's contact with his family was minimal. For Colin, his family was part of the heritage that he felt he had been compelled, through homophobia, to discard. Colin had prevented them coming to help him clean up after the burglary so that they would not see the homophobic graffiti; leading him to conclude that "homophobia takes away your family support".

Colin viewed the intolerance of many families to their gay members as very much a part of Black cultural norms, as did Lamar. However Carl, who was white, had similar fears about his family's likely reaction were they to discover he was gay. In contrast, Miss Kimberley's family seemed to have accepted her transgender status, albeit reluctantly. Similarly, it would be hard to envisage a more homophobic group of people than George's white Irish family, all of whom were active or complicit in his victimisation. This illustrates the unhelpfulness of simplistic typifications that, without considering other dynamics such as the role of class and religion, assume Black cultures to be more homophobic. What these data may illustrate is the strength and reach of religious proscriptions in certain groups, particularly when these are aligned with the dominance of certain idealised typifications of masculinity. The power of the resulting affiliations can be sufficient to override allegiances to family members. This seems to apply to Lamar's mother, whom he had not seen in four years because, he said, she "(did) not like gays".

Several participants described the withdrawal of family support when their families discovered their sexual orientation, and this may be a distinctive feature of homophobic crime. For Lamar, his parent's rejection and their condemnation of him had catastrophic consequences and he seemed to have almost nobody with whom he could identify. He was

reluctant to initiate friendships with Black men in case other hostel residents assumed them to be gay and victimised them too, as had happened before. He felt he would have little in common with other Black men, whom he did not like because he perceived them as being shallow, wanting only to “go out, have a good time, have sex”, which reveals his own acquiescence in such typifications. Lamar’s reaction to my suggestion that he could visit Black Pride was emphatically negative, because he feared he might be recognised and ‘outed’. He felt no identification with the LGBT ‘community’ in London. Weeks writes that the priority given by LGBT movements to coming out might conflict with the need of Black gay people in a racist culture to “affirm their political identity with their communities of origin, whatever the family and sexual orthodoxies prevailing there” (Weeks 2003a: 126). This did not apply to Colin, or to Lamar. Lamar could not find any part of his community of origin that could affirm his identity. The homophobic norms he had internalised prevented him from identifying with Black communities in general, whether or not their members were gay or heterosexual. Profound discomfort with himself and his sexual and ethnic identity was, for Lamar, the effect of homophobia and what he perceived as the specific type of homophobia that is a feature of Black people’s beliefs, which I described above where Lamar talked of wishing he was not Black because “Black people see gay being a white thing...a virus”. This had caused Lamar to “feel bad... and scared of going places. It feels unsafe everywhere”. Lamar’s sense of insecurity is unsurprising given his family’s treatment of him and the harassment he received almost daily at the hostel that included other residents reciting homophobic rap lyrics about ‘killing batty boys’ at him. Popular culture such as rap lyrics - in this instance homophobic rap lyrics - being used as a vehicle for abuse may, given their significance and attraction to people of Lamar’s age through their “journaling (of) the fever and pitch of the streets” (Hopkinson and Moore 2006: 39) help explain his non-identification with Black culture. It seems significant that Lamar said he wished he was not Black, not that he wished he was not gay. His identification with ‘gay’ seemed stronger than with ‘Black’, despite him having few gay friends. This may be attributable to the very negative reaction he had received from his family, and the regular onslaught of homophobic harassment in the hostel.

For Colin, there was no Black LGBT community accessible to him that he could feel part of. Estranged from his family, he had rejected his ‘roots’ and aligned himself with a predominantly white LGBT subculture, in which he sometimes felt disrespected and stereotyped, but that was all he felt he could do. On the other hand, Lamar was wary of other Black gay men and he could not form friendships with Black straight men because that would expose *them* to the risk of homophobic abuse. This, fear of exposing other

people to homophobic crime, is something that does not seem to be identified as a significant issue in the existing literature; but it has emerged in several contexts in these data. Miss Kimberley feared that her family would, when going out and about with her, be upset by the transphobia that was so regularly directed at her. Similarly, Carl feared that his homophobic neighbours would attack his mother and siblings, who lived nearby. This indirect victimisation of family members through the homophobic abuse of the direct subject therefore occurs in a range of situations, and it seemed particularly problematic to the Black and working class gay men and transgender woman in this study. This may be as a result of their strong sense of connection to their families, and because of the way in which racism and homophobia interact with other social distinctions such as class, gender, religion and so on (Moran and Sharpe 2004).

A dual impact in the interaction of racism and homophobia was described by several participants. This operated in two different dimensions. One is in the way that Black LGBT people have to deal with homophobia from BME communities as well as racism from LGBT communities, as described by Colin. It is also experienced in the hatred that is conveyed in abuse that contains both racist and homophobic elements, which can emanate from white and from ethnic minority communities. Eevan described the interaction of these dynamics. He talked about how in his experience fellow Arabs had been the main source of the homophobic abuse he had experienced here. Eevan was a refugee, so he could not take up paid employment. An Iraqi man had threatened him at the community project where he volunteered:

He said to me that unlike me, he is a man, and a real man. He had made comments before about a gay visitor saying "is he a man or a woman?" And he calls black people 'monkeys'. He made a threatening gesture to me. His fist connected with my face, like in a punch, though he didn't actually punch me. It seemed threatening though. I complained to the manager of the project about him, but she didn't do anything so I complained to the trustee too. But still nothing has been done about it.

(PD) Was this the first time you have experienced hate crime here?

Oh no not at all, I have sometimes had homophobic comments at the hostel I live in. Staff do not seem to take it very seriously.

(PD) What are the comments? Are they all homophobic?

They seem homophobic because they are laughing at me behind my back, but I can't tell for sure because I can't hear them.⁶⁶ The Arab community has been a

⁶⁶ It is of course possible that Eevan may have assumed the comments that he could not clearly hear to have been homophobic, when they might not have been. It would not be surprising if someone who has been the regular object of homophobic abuse were to

source of homophobic comments since I have been here in Earls Court for two years now. They disrespect gay people, don't see them as human beings. They get away with it due to solidarity. They are brothers and brothers must stick up for another brother even if they know he is wrong. They want to dominate women or dominate gay men and when a gay man isn't interested in them they will dominate another way, which is why they make homophobic comments.

Like other Black and minority ethnic gay men in this study, Eevan struggled to find a community with which he could identify. He had no links with the Arab community, because he found it so homophobic. He also felt excluded from the local gay community:

I felt I had lost his trust in people and in society. I feel gay community is bitchy but in straight society, which I want to be part of, I encounter homophobia. That's why I feel depressed and can't integrate.

Eevan had earlier explained that when he first came to Britain as an asylum seeker he had felt a sense of acceptance by the LGBT community in London. However, he had become dependent on the state system of basic support for refugees and had then experienced a sense of hostility from gay people, who he had until then considered his friends:

When I was first in London I lived in gay flats in Clapham and Soho, living on the sale of my flat in Cairo, but the money ran out and I had to move to a hostel in Earls Court. Then I began encountering homophobia. I felt OK when immersed in the gay community, living with other gay people... Nobody judged me and I was safe in gay community. But then when the money ran out I got hostile comments from gay people on basis of being an asylum seeker.

This could lead to the question: Does xenophobia 'trump' both racism and homophobia in terms of its power to exclude people even from minority communities that one might expect to be more supportive? Eevan felt he was rejected by the LGBT community in London not for being Black, but for being a refugee. His lack of identification with any community, combined with his feeling unsafe at the hostel and at his volunteer placement, had led him to feel unsupported and alone, with consequent implications for his mental health. He described, graphically, the origin of his depression in the homophobia he encountered in Egypt:

We are surrounded by too much hate, bullying at school, homophobia around us, it can make us strong, but we have a hard life, but being strong doesn't last long and our mental health could be affected and we will collapse one day. I got ill as a result of homophobia. In Egypt, the police found out I was gay. I was tortured by the police, with burning cigarette ends and hot metal spikes. When police burned me I could smell and hear my skin burning. I am taking medication to help the feelings of smell and hearing go away, because I still hear it, and it is helping. This is how homophobia makes you ill. I have depression and paranoia about it.

make the assumption that cruel treatment is probably homophobic. W.I. Thomas wrote that if people define situations as real, "then they are real in their consequences" (quoted in Giddens 1984: 331).

He had believed that by coming to England he would escape from homophobia. While the abuse he had been subject to here was much less extreme than that he experienced at the hands of the Egyptian police, he felt that it had nevertheless been harmful:

I have been taking some anti-depressants, and after this incident I felt depressed so the hospital increased my medication. I was stressed. I think the (volunteering centre) trustees made fun of me and this makes me angry and depressed. I thought I was escaping from homophobia in my country but now I get it here.

Like Lamar, Eevan had not been helped by the managers of the hostel in which he lived. He had appreciated the response of the local police who, unusually, had been contacted on his behalf by Victim Support, to whom Eevan had reported the abuse. Eevan had not initially wanted to involve the police, for two reasons:

It affected me badly because I came here to get away from that, but I understand that man (who abused him) is unhappy here as he has family in Iraq... I didn't want him to be arrested, he is aged 55 and has had a stroke and I think he has a heart problem so he would have been made more ill if he had been arrested. I would feel bad if something happened to the man... I have refugee status... I have to be of good character, so I cannot risk being subject of counter-allegations. This is partly why I would not report a homophobic crime against me.

It seems Eevan was trapped by the interaction of racism, homophobia and xenophobia; combined with his insecure refugee status. As a refugee, he was dependent on state support but it seemed that the agencies with which he was in contact were ineffective in addressing the homophobia by which he felt harmed. The result of this was that Eevan did not feel as if he fitted-in anywhere. He felt distanced from the 'bitchy' gay community in which he had encountered xenophobic attitudes, and he wanted to be part of 'straight' society, but as a gay man he felt rejected by it. In his analysis, white people were less overtly homophobic than minority ethnic people but this was of no help to him, because his refugee status had placed him within a *milieu* that was itself isolated from 'mainstream' society. With no financial independence, Eevan's life was lived almost entirely in the hostel and the volunteering centre. Reluctant to involve the police, Eevan had sought help from Victim Support, which he had found via internet searching. In view of his situation this was surely a significant achievement, and it seems appropriate to conclude this section with Eevan's assessment of the complexities discussed here: "things like this, it... makes you realise that being straight is much easier".

5.3 Racism, homophobia and mixed partnerships

Having described at some length data that refer directly to the experiences of Black gay men, it may now be helpful to consider other intersectional dynamics, including the way in which the interaction of racism and homophobia affected men living in mixed Black and white partnerships. John, of mixed race, talked about the struggles that he and his partner Nicolas, who was white, experienced in disentangling the race issues that arose for them through the campaign of homophobic abuse committed against them by their neighbour, who was a Black woman. John described how the homophobic abuse began:

It started off about two years ago, first it's the neighbours next door, a woman and her two pre-teen children. At first we were fine with them, no problems for a couple of months. Then the children were starting to make a lot of noise and (Nicolas) went outside and asked them to keep quiet. It wasn't occasional; it would be as soon as they wake up and all day long. Screaming, not just them but their friends and family members too... Since then it has escalated from verbal abuse to used tampons and condoms being thrown in the garden, crowding with their friends outside our door, spitting as we walk by... and it reached a climax a year ago last September when we first called the police and she was taken in for questioning. She admitted it and was cautioned...

Later in the interview John and Nicolas described the nature of the homophobic verbal abuse:

(John) Two gay friends visited one night and were verbally abused as they left.

(Nicolas) one day I was out shopping and she shouted "batty boy" at me from across the street.

(PD) What other types of abuse have been shouted at you?

(John) Batty boy, blood clot, have you heard blood clot? Apparently it's the most powerful Jamaican swearword, it comes from 'blood cloth' which means sanitary towel and it is the very worst thing you can call someone.

I asked them if they had experienced this type of abuse before:

(John) Yes, in this country though I experienced racism in South Africa, where I grew up, and bullying too.

(Nicolas) I hadn't really thought of it before, let alone experienced it.

John made a number of observations about the racism and homophobia he had experienced from white people while growing up in South Africa. He felt this had helped him deal with the homophobia he experienced from Black people and the racism he faced from white people here. I asked:

Have you ever experienced violence, abuse or harassment that probably wasn't motivated by homophobia?

(John) Here in London, or?

(PD) *Anywhere... have you experienced violent crime before, been harassed for other reasons, mugged?*

(John) I was mugged twice in South Africa, but not this type of violent harassment. During apartheid, when I grew up, I had been teased at school a lot... (inaudible). In South Africa, during apartheid I had to deal with a lot of racism and that might be why I found it easier to deal with the harassment we had here, in South Africa you had to grow up and get hard really quickly...

It's probably because if you are randomly attacked on the street and there is no reason for it, but if you are targeted, and I'm thinking about racism, you know that if you are mixed race like I am, people treat you badly and that's a sensitive issue, it's your heritage and if the attack is not motivated by that it's just bad luck, but if it is because of who you are well you can't do anything about it and it becomes a sensitive issue... The impact on my personal life is limited unless it impacts on my life at home, which with this it has...

The way in which John dealt with the harassment he experienced here was to harden himself to it, trying to ignore it, a tactic he had learned in the process of growing up with the pervasive racism of South African society before the overthrow of apartheid. But for John, this approach did not work when his home-life became affected. Earlier Nicolas had said he had not experienced or thought about hate crime before. My field notes from that day include the question: *Does this mean people don't notice homophobic abuse unless it intrudes on their home life?*

The abuse John and Nicolas experienced also affected their relationship. Neighbourhood harassment might inevitably cause relationship difficulties for couples whose home life is profoundly affected by it, but for John and Nicolas it was matters concerning race that appeared to be most problematic in terms of their management of the situation:

(Nicolas) When we moved in, I introduced myself and she (the abusive neighbour), had a problem with her boiler so I helped her with her boiler and I told her that (John) my partner is a singer and I hope she doesn't mind that he has to practice sometimes, etc. I didn't announce I was gay... When I first met her I wasn't approaching her with any prejudice, I didn't have any preconceived ideas about what she would be like. And I hope I wouldn't think like that in future because it wouldn't make sense. But whatever, it wouldn't have mattered...

(John interrupted, sounding exasperated) The thing is that with this woman it is not a matter of Black or white she is just a bigot and it doesn't matter whether she is Black or white. I thought when I first saw her 'this could be trouble' and I warned (Nicolas) of that...

John and Nicolas continued to discuss this issue for some considerable time and I have reproduced a large section of the transcript of this part of the interview below because they had strong insights about a number of other issues that are discussed in this thesis. The significance of their insights is more apparent when considered in the overall context of the interview, so I have not separated these out:

(John) The only thing I can hope for is... until something like this happens to you, you're not really aware of it, well with the two guys being gay-bashed and the (Admiral Duncan pub) bomb you think Jesus someone wants to kill you just because you are gay. But literally, I wouldn't wish anything like this on anybody. You know it got to the point where (Nicolas) started to get racist about Black people and I said to him "would you say that to our Black friends?" I wouldn't want anybody else to go through that for the sake of their faith or their religion. That's bullshit. This isn't normal, (inaudible) my friends might call me 'fat' or 'big girl' and they don't mean it. But what she (the neighbour) has done should be unacceptable in any circumstances and I feel strongly about it now, I have always felt strongly about these things, but... in South Africa you see people being quantified by their race and it's taken me a long time to get out of that habit of judging people by their race... Things could have got a lot worse. I think the Council should take this much more seriously. If you demean someone, you take away their humanity and you can then do anything to them because they are not human,⁶⁷ and that is what those people were doing, verbally abusing us with the intent of demeaning us. This is more important than people think. I was saying to (Nicolas), that boy Stephen Lawrence who was murdered, if it wasn't for his murder and the reaction to it, we wouldn't have had a leg to stand on because that is where this has come from. He was targeted because he was Black therefore he is nothing, therefore we can kill him. What sort of mentality is that? That is where it comes from, all part of demeaning someone to the point where they are nothing. And the Council⁶⁸ needs to be aware of that. When you demean, you dehumanise, and you can do anything because they are not human. And the Council is inadvertently saying to these people "you are right to do that". They need to see blood or someone murdered before they do anything. And people have been murdered, because it was not taken seriously earlier.

(Nicolas) ...if you have been a drunk driver you have to go on a course and meet people whose kids were killed by drunk drivers. We should have something like that. You know that ABC⁶⁹ talked about causing undue stress and that, but it was so limp-wristed. There should be some element of saying *why* this was wrong (his emphasis), making her understand why it was a crime. Right now she has been (inaudible)... by the police turning up but she has not been made to understand why what she has done is wrong. If I had gone to her and been racist it would have been a very different situation with this Council. I would have been strung up and crucified.

(John) That is why I insisted we don't say a word to her at any point.

(Nicolas) Do you know at one point I made a decision to myself that I would not ever speak to her, or even look at her, ever again. No person or power on earth would be able to make me say a single word to that woman for the rest of my life. Not the police, not anyone. If they told me to, I would not do it, even if I had to go to jail because of it. That was really the only thing that gave me a feeling of being in control...

⁶⁷ Stan Cohen wrote of how we excuse ourselves from taking action on injustice by not accepting that the victim of injustice is a truly a victim, and by convincing ourselves they must have somehow deserved what happened to them (Cohen 2001).

⁶⁸ John was speaking of their local authority.

⁶⁹ ABC is an acronym for Anti-social Behaviour Contract, which in some areas is available, without the need to involve the courts, as an alternative to an Anti-social Behaviour Order. The police had apparently asked the neighbour to sign an ABC.

It is of course not possible to know the full picture from a relatively brief interview with just two of the parties involved. However, it seems that this couple negotiated the implications for their relationship of the power that is mobilised by hate-motivated harassment to divide and to reawaken what they suggested were the repressed racist impulses that Nicolas may have absorbed through socialisation and, contrary to his own values, partly retained. This extract also illustrates the sensitivities of the issues for those involved. John and Nicolas applied their awareness of the realities of racism in their strategies for managing a situation that would have been so highly-charged by the potential for damaging stereotyping and racist assumptions being made by the various individuals and authorities grappling with it.

Moving away from the issue of race briefly, the strategies that gay men employ to survive the experience of homophobic abuse, and to recover from it, are illustrated by the decision Nicolas made to never again have contact with the neighbour. This was the one way in which he could attain some semblance of control of the situation. This is significant in terms of the lack of support John and Nicolas had in dealing with the abuse: they had to find ways of coping with it from within their own personal resources. Earlier in the interview they had talked in detail about the inertia of the local authority and its lack of concern about their plight. They attributed that inertia to bureaucratic ineffectiveness and the institutionalised homophobia that they believed was signalled by the Council's prioritisation of race issues over those of sexual orientation. The neighbour was a local authority tenant so they felt the local authority should have taken action against her. They told me they had read the local authority's equal opportunities statement. They felt it was discriminatory because while it declared the authority would take action to combat racism, it had not acted against homophobia. It is of course possible that the local authority might fail to act effectively against any type of discrimination.

Returning to the experiences of men in mixed-race relationships, the data from the interview with John and Nicolas contain striking similarities to the thoughts that Stewart described, which I discussed in the previous chapter, but which can be helpful if explored further here. He had talked about, as a white man, "entering that space of racism" where he began to both fear Black people and experience aggressive impulses toward them. Stewart's partner David was Black, and Stewart too had described the tensions that the abuse had invoked around the racial dimensions of their relationship, where David had wanted to be proactive in responding to the abuse but Stewart had felt too undermined by the abuse and its consequences to participate fully. In this extract below, Stewart had

been talking about the immediate aftermath of the homophobic attack, in which David had been called a "Black batty boy" and Stewart had been stabbed:

And I had these horrible stitches so I was in pain. I was mentally in pain too and I felt fucked basically, fucked. And David, bless him... (pause, Stewart crying)...

(PD) These things can be very painful to talk about even years later...

David was really brilliant... (inaudible) he went on a campaign of letter writing to the local council, *The Voice* (a BME newspaper), he wrote to everyone he could think of, wrote to Galop, (it is very hard to hear the recording at this point). He was adamant it should not go unremarked on. Out of this we got a meeting with a councillor about getting re-housed even though we were private tenants, and got referred to all kinds of different agencies, and eventually to the (name of) Housing Association who accepted us for emergency housing, which took two years.

(PD) I wonder how long it would take if it wasn't an emergency?! (Both of us laughing, Stewart through tears). So did you have to stay in the house two more years?

Yes but luckily the landlord went back to Guyana, and his daughter took over and she was much better and fought our corner with us really...

The other weird thing that came out of it was the whole aspect of the race element in it. Nearly all of our white friends and everyone we spoke to as soon as we told them what happened they said "oh, were they Black?" And I was like, "that's your first question? Why is it interesting that they are Black?" And it threw up a whole lot of questions that were already there for David and I because we were a mixed race relationship, it put a different slant on things. I really lost faith in my friends as it got really got locked on the race thing and I had to endure these conversations about how Black people are more homophobic than white people and the need to challenge all this was exhausting. What I wanted to do was just (inaudible, helicopter flying over) exhausting... challenging this in the state I was in and I just wanted to... (long pause)...

(PD) Isn't it awful that people say such unhelpful things when you need someone to take the burdens off, not impose new ones?

Yes, totally! Yeah...

Stewart believed his white friends had revealed their racism through their attempts to be supportive, and he found it profoundly unhelpful. Far from giving support, they instead imposed on Stewart a new problem - their racist views - that he felt he had to endure. Perhaps they were trying to create a type of supportive alliance based not primarily around meeting Stewart's emotional needs but around their mutual whiteness instead. Stewart found that this had the effect of distancing him from them, and he did not have the emotional energy to challenge their assumptions. He also seemed to saying that it distanced him from David as well; who he felt was already leaving him behind in the proactive engagement David took in his attempts to come to terms with their

victimisation. It is significant that in these ways the interaction of racism and homophobia can be troubling to white as well as to Black gay men.

In starting now to draw together the findings described in this chapter, I am mindful of the importance of not automatically obtaining, analysing and writing-up these data from my own, white perspective (Becker 1998, Spalek 2006) and of the difficulties inherent in avoiding that pitfall (Erel *et al.* 2008). I cannot claim to operate freely of assumptions, but to minimise the influence of this tendency I held structured conversations with Subodh and Dennis before and after I interviewed victims, so that their insights would inform my handling of the victim interviews and my interpretation of the data. The discussion and summary that follows will review the data from these different sources with references to the relevant literature.

Discussion

Data from the victim interviews indicate that the Black participants in this study had pressures to contend with that were not, generally, experienced by the white gay men I interviewed. This was broadly what Manalansan refers to as 'double marginalisation' in the combined impact of racism and homophobia (Manalansan 1996). This exposes BME LGBT people to higher levels of risk of homophobic violence than their white counterparts (Noelle 2009). However, the concept of intersectionality helps us understand that to be discriminated against on more than one set of grounds does not simply double the impact of the discrimination experienced, but instead it introduces a new set of dynamics in the way in which oppressive practices are constitutive of each other. Erel *et al.* illustrate the potential effects of this for transgender people of colour, arguing that BME organisations "rarely reach out to racialised trans people and sometimes even pass on their own diagnoses of 'white disease'" while the LGBT movement "has long revealed itself as LGB-fake T'" (Erel *et al.* 2008: 271); (in other words, it is alleged, LGBT organisations fail to be genuinely inclusive of transgender people). The effects of such intersectionality of oppressive practices can be seen in the experiences of Lamar, Colin and Eevan who felt excluded from LGBT *and* BME communities. Lamar and Eevan in particular also found BME LGBT communities inaccessible or unattractive in a way that participants such as Dennis, who felt comfortable in the Brixton Black LGBT community, did not.

It could be misleading to attribute the higher levels of homophobic violence that Noelle (2009) and others (Galop 2001) assert are experienced by Black LGBT people to factors

solely concerned with race. Lamar was deeply distressed by his family's rejection of him but George, who was white, had sustained considerable harm from his actively abusive family. Colin said that homophobia takes away your family support, but that applied to some of the white men too, such as Carl. Factors that may be as instrumental as race and ethnicity in this matter are class and religion. Patrick described Christian fundamentalist doctrine as the most powerful generator of homophobia in Caribbean cultures and Deleon talked of the fear of God being instilled into him. Religion was described by many participants as a vehicle for the promotion of homophobic crime; and class was a factor as well, particularly where working class masculine norms such as those into which Carl had been socialised were a strong influence on family dynamics. Class is, of course, a classification that intersects with race (Weeks 2003a). Lamar and Colin had both described the struggle they had, after the rejection by their family, in identifying with *any* other community. Black gay men have to balance the conflicting demands of living simultaneously in three different communities: the Black community, the gay community, and the wider 'mainstream' community, leading to anxiety about becoming separated from sources of support, particularly the family (Morales 1990, Phellas 2002). Colin felt the gay community is superficial and obsessed with sex, as did Lamar, who also feared that contact with other gay men would intensify the level of homophobic harassment he was experiencing. Perhaps the distinction here between the experiences of white gay men whose families are not supportive and Black gay men in a similar situation is that it is usually easier for white gay men to find supportive attachments to other *milieux*, such as the LGBT community, than it is for Black men (though this might not apply to white men such as Stewart who are highly sensitised to racism and who struggle to find other white friends who are sufficiently non-racist to enable them to be close). This is because of racism in LGBT communities and the importance, for the sense of identity, of a connection with one's ancestry and cultural heritage that is rooted in history and which therefore feels traditional and substantive (Gilroy 1992, Morales 1990). For Black gay men, loss of family connection may also signify an alarming risk to ethnic continuities. As Gilroy explains, family is of symbolic importance as it is "the approved, natural site where ethnicity and racial culture are reproduced" (Gilroy 1993: 197). The connectedness with heritage that family represents is a source of ontological security (Laing 1965); the 'authenticated practice' that Giddens (1991) describes as being generated by tradition and extending into the future. It is a source of security and identity that for many of the BME gay men in this study was undermined by the tendency of homophobic victimisation to separate them from their families, traditions and heritage.

Chauncey *et al.* (1991) argue that the history and tradition of homosexual life has been denied and ignored through the enforcement of heterosexist norms. If their argument is accepted, it follows that those who need the affirmation of identity that a strong association with traditional culture brings will not find it through identification with LGBT communities. Another issue that may be particular to Black gay men and their partners is that of shame, of not 'letting the side down'. Dennis illustrated some of the considerations here when he referred to the emasculation of many Black men that living in a racist society brings about. The need to find others to look down upon, and the difficulty of being a Black man who is so condemned, was suggested by Stewart who talked of the effects on his partner David being told he should be particularly ashamed of being a 'Black batty boy'.

There seem to be several perspectives centred around hegemonic masculinity that can help explain the particular impact of the intersection of racism and homophobia for Black gay men, and its persistence. I shall discuss these below, grouped within three conceptual areas. These are subordinated masculinities and *machismo*, the invisibility of Black LGBT people in the literature on race, and the construction of gay male identities on unitary lines.

A. Subordinated masculinities, *machismo* and homophobia

While much that is written about Black masculinities refers to it as a subordinated masculinity (Mercer 1994, Ratcliffe 2004, hooks 1982, 1992, 2004), bell hooks claims that there has been an undue emphasis on Black masculinity in academics' efforts to explain the damaging effects of racism on Black people (hooks 1982). It is important to ensure that such an over-emphasis is not transferred into attempts to explain homophobia among BME communities. Drawing on Robert Staples' work on *machismo*, Mercer writes that *machismo* can be seen as "an inherently conflicted psychosexual formation in which subordinate men internalize normative ideals of patriarchal power and privilege to win a degree of self-empowerment over the powerlessness that white supremacy entails" (Mercer 1994: 168). There is according to Mercer a strong relationship between subordinated masculinity and "...the incessant 'dissing' of 'bitches', 'ho's' and 'fags' in rap (that) betrays a vulnerable ego whose existence can only be confirmed by the degradation of others..." (Mercer 1994: 167). Working class Black masculinity is, Mercer argues, constructed as much by sport, music, the media and culture as it is by internal, psychological processes. In this analysis, Black hyper-masculinity or *machismo* is, like

white masculinity, a condition where the imperative is to define itself by its relation to something that it is not. Referring to the role of the type of violently homophobic rap lyrics in delineating Black masculinity with which Lamar's attackers terrorised him, Gilroy writes of "an arrogant racial absolutism that encompassed callous homophobia" in establishing a "militarized *machismo*" that everyone could feel certain about and experience allegiance to (Gilroy 1993: 2). hooks suggests that it is not in the interests of Black men to reject *machismo*, phallocentrism and sexism, because much Black male 'style' is rooted in it: "they may fear that eradicating patriarchy would leave them without the positive expressive styles that have been life-sustaining" (hooks 1992: 111). For hooks, phallocentric manhood demands 'compulsory heterosexuality' and therefore promotes the persecution and hatred of homosexuals, but this stance undermines Black solidarity. "Gender bending and blending on the part of black males has always been a critique of phallocentric masculinity in traditional black experience" (hooks 1992: 147). hooks argues that the history of slavery and pervasive racism in American culture has ensured that the emasculation of Black men is embedded. Many Black parents therefore feel that they have to bring their boys up to be tough. In her view, most families, Black or white, are to some extent dysfunctional. For hooks, the added impact of racism makes such dysfunctionality more extreme in Black families. This results in allegiances to patriarchal thinking about sex roles, coupled with rigid religious beliefs. She writes: "Dominant culture creates family dysfunction" (hooks 2004: 117) and if this analysis is accepted, it would help explain the intolerance of Lamar and Colin's families.

What is apparent from this discussion concerning the range of issues around *machismo*, hegemonic masculinity and homophobia, and the ways in which these may have a particularly harmful impact on Black gay men and mixed gay partnerships, is that the problem is not so much an effect of race, but a function of masculinity. This may be because it is in the interests of white men to promote Black hypermasculinity as a means of upholding white male dominance (hooks 2004). Mac an Ghaill draws on hooks' work, and that of Connell, Mercer and Julien,⁷⁰ in making observations about the situation of Black schoolboys in an English school that he studied. He found that Black students and white teachers colluded in constructing dominant forms of heterosexual masculinity that excluded non-macho, gay or academic young Black men who were dismissed as 'botty men'. The purpose of this behaviour seemed to be the pursuit of masculine bonding in which pervasive homophobia and misogyny were resources. Quoting Mercer and Julien,

⁷⁰ Isaac Julien is a Black gay film director who has published written work in conjunction with Kobena Mercer and others.

Mac an Ghaill concludes that subordinated Black masculinities “internalise and incorporate aspects of the dominant definitions of masculinity in order to context the conditions of dependency and powerlessness which racism and racial oppression enforce” (Mercer and Julien 1988 quoted in Mac an Ghaill 1994: 194).

What this analysis may help us to see is that homophobia in Black family life and in Black popular culture is more a property of the interaction of hypermasculinity and racism than it is of some inherent or ontological characteristic of Black communities. To return to Rob’s comment about continuing transnational migration regularly refreshing traditional notions of Black masculinity, it may be that traditional notions of masculinity are refreshed in numerous ways, including through religious doctrine, and that migration is not the only method of transmission.

B. The lack of visibility of Black LGBT people in the literature on race

Productive parallels can be drawn in the lack of visibility of Black LGBT people in the literature on race and the way in which Black women’s struggles have tended to be marginalised in writing about racism (hooks 1982, 2000; Lorde 1984). hooks argues that feminists ignored the fact that patriarchal power resides in lower class and Black males too, and the effect of this was to tacitly allow Black men to ignore the way they oppressed women. Feminist writing focused on the experiences of white women, whereas the oppression of Black women has always been greater due to racism (hooks 1982). Williams writes about how race, gender and so on are the ‘identity furniture’ that shapes our constructions of ourselves (Williams 2000). He quotes Greenwood (1994) who argues that that these reference points depend on people feeling a sense of identification with a collective: these are only identity categories when social collectives are formed on that basis. The relative invisibility of Black LGBT people would mean such a collective is much less accessible and supportive than it would be for heterosexual Black people or for white LGBT people. This may help explain the difficulty Lamar had in making a connection with any community; and Colin’s uneasy attachment to the LGBT community and his estrangement from Black communities. There are further implications of this invisibility. Lorde argues that the invisibility of Black LGBT people “is a move which contributes to fragmentation and weakness in the Black community” (Lorde 1984: 143).

hooks argues that much Black homophobia is to do with eschewing anything deemed feminine, which would include Black gay men (hooks 1992). Meanwhile, the need to show solidarity with Black men makes it difficult for Black women to confront Black male

sexism. Some of them consider that when some Black men abuse women it can be a response to frustrated masculinity and they think abuse is understandable or even justifiable on those grounds (hooks 2000). Could it be that a similar imperative for solidarity around challenging racism makes it difficult for Black gay men to challenge Black expressions of homophobia? It is impossible to fully develop this argument in the space available in this chapter, but it may be reasonable to suggest that low visibility reduces the extent of the resources Black gay men have available to them for building positive identities. This might make them highly vulnerable to significant harm from homophobic crime, particularly when committed by other Black men with whom they may feel they should have an allegiance for resisting racism; while a sense of commitment to the struggle against racism may make it more difficult for Black gay men to challenge the homophobia they may encounter in Black communities.

C. The construction of gay male identities along unitary lines

The construction of gay male identities that replicate established heterosexual gender roles is described by Manalansan who, from his research with Latin American gay men, wrote of the division of men into '*activo*' (active), '*passivo*' (passive), or '*modernisto*' (both active and passive) roles. Bisexual *activos* are generally seen as heterosexual. *Latino* people tend to see a gay identity as being part of a white, not *Latino*, identity. These gendered-style divisions are replicated among, he claims, Black US gay men who are typified as 'sissies' or 'men'. Men who tend to take on an active role sexually with other men are likely to describe themselves as heterosexual or bisexual. Indeed Manalansan cites North American research about HIV that revealed large numbers of Black men who described themselves as heterosexual, but who acknowledged they have sex with men. Such men tend to be married, but they nevertheless have illicit affairs with other men on what is termed 'the down-low' (Hopkinson and Moore 2006). The difficulty with these dichotomous and essentialising categorisations, based on traditional norms about gender, is that there may be significant numbers of people who do not fit within them. For example, the rather fixed sexual roles of active and passive may not be so predominant among UK gay men: gay dating sites such as Recon and Gaydar⁷¹ contain profiles of many men who describe themselves as '50/50' or 'versatile' sexually. Similarly, the experience of many transgender people, and those whose preferred identity is 'intersex', demonstrates that many people, including Miss Kimberley, construct successful identities for themselves that transcend gender (Ekins and King 2005). This perhaps reflects Deleon's

⁷¹ www.recon.com and www.gaydar.co.uk

comment that Black gay men have to constantly make choices about “who am I going to be today?”

Manalansan considers that in the various minority ethnic communities he describes, cultural attitudes are based on the private and personal nature of sex, the established hierarchy of gender, and the belief at the centre of *machismo* that men rightfully exercise authority over women. Therefore (expressed perhaps somewhat dramatically), “self-identification as gay is nothing short of social suicide” (Manalansan 1996: 399). Findings from my interviews with Black men support the suggestion that some of these attitudes apply in the UK as well, though with such a small sample it would be unwise to over-generalise. Nevertheless, the Black men who participated in this research seemed to have available to them fewer social supports to help compensate for the loss of family and cultural affiliations in the aftermath of homophobic abuse than the white men had. The exception perhaps was David, whose victimisation had lasted so long and had been such a dominant feature of his life that he felt he had exhausted his friends by it.

Summary

Most of the Black and minority ethnic participants in this study thought that BME communities tend to be more homophobic than white communities. Lamar, Deleon and Subodh all said that in British BME communities, homosexuality is seen by many as a feature of white, not Black, culture. They felt that the consequences of this for BME gay men are that they face more hostility than white gay men experience if they identify or become identified as gay. Most also described racist attitudes and behaviour from LGBT people, and this therefore makes it more difficult for BME gay people to find a community that they can feel comfortable in identifying with, and accepted by. The LGBT community was held to be promoting ‘whiteness’ as the only desirable norm, exoticising and trivialising BME gay men: Colin wanted an intelligent conversation, but found little other than interest in his physical attributes. Two participants however disagreed with the assessment that minority ethnic communities are more homophobic: Dennis lived happily as a Black gay man in Brixton and Hanaan expressed anger about assumptions that homophobia is a feature of BME communities. What is apparent here is that while the Black gay men in this research did generally face more hostility than the white men experienced, analysis based on an assumption that BME people are essentially more homophobic than white people is simplistic and misleading. Such assumptions ignore the dynamics of class, religious beliefs, and hegemonic masculinity. It is these factors that, in

interaction with racism and culture, determine the type of structural predispositions that communities may have to the enactment of homophobic violence. For some participants such as Carl and George, it was these latter factors, such as hegemonic masculinity, which had contributed to the homophobic abuse they experienced. Chris talked about the distress he felt at being used for 'sport' that for the young men involved may have had the primary purpose of demonstrating masculinity and punishing departures from masculine norms (Whitehead 2005). What is perhaps more significant are the consequences of the interaction of racism and homophobia. There were many painful meanings of this for the participants in this study. These included having to reject their racial heritage by severing their connections with family, yet feeling excluded too by a predominantly white LGBT subculture. For them, there was no group left with which to identify. Many Black gay men will tend to affirm their identities with their communities of origin (Weeks 2003a). This would account for the low visibility of BME LGBT people that several participants described; but at least two of the Black gay men in this study, Colin and Lamar, were not able to affirm their identities in that way due to the extent of the homophobic abuse they perceived to be emanating from their community of origin. Deleon's position was similar, in that he had decided never to visit Jamaica again, a reluctant decision that had greatly distanced him from his family and cultural heritage.

What the experiences of the men and the transgender women in this study illustrate is that each additional aspect of difference brings with it a further set of vulnerabilities to abuse. Eevan's experience was of an additional 'othering' that his refugee status brought about, distancing him further from majority, BME and LGBT communities. The effect of this for him was that he felt he could not integrate into any community. Mixed race couples such as Stewart and David, and John and Nicolas, had to deal with the divisive forces of racism that had entered into their relationships. John and Nicolas found that the white partner's response to the abusive Black neighbour had raised the uncomfortable spectre of pervasive racism affecting their partnership. Similarly, Stewart's burden was added to by the undertones of racism in his white friends' comments about the people who victimised him. These distanced him from his friends, who could otherwise have been valuable sources of support.

Weeks argues that modern gay identities have emerged in a hostile world and many people bear the scars of internalised self hatred. But there is also a 'reverse affirmation' that occurs through self-definition as resistance to hostile norms. A sense of common identity, though not a single identity, thereby develops (Weeks 1991: 103-4). Deleon referred to

this self-definition, but he suggested that for Black gay men the successful accomplishment of this may be more difficult than it is for their white counterparts, who may experience less 'pull' from the racial and religious affiliations (which may be found to be conflicting) to which their families subscribe.

Finally, the relative invisibility of Black LGBT men was a theme in the interviews with victims and the structured conversations with professionals. This seems to be both a cause, and effect of, the continuing dominance of heterosexist norms. BME gay men may fear that they will encounter racism and homophobia from the police if they report homophobic crime. If it is accepted BME communities are more predisposed to homophobia than white communities, they may also have more to lose in terms of family disapproval and rejection if they are 'outed' as a result of reporting. This means that the particular needs of BME LGBT people may be overlooked in initiatives designed to address hate crime, as Subodh argued. It is this issue, the policing of homophobic crime, which is the subject of the next chapter.

6. Dealing with the damage: responding to homophobic victimisation

There are times when we as gay people don't help themselves (*sic*)... Take a couple of camp young guys holding hands and cuddling on the street, it could offend someone... those two guys holding hands in public are putting themselves in a vulnerable position, so I would advise them to be a bit more careful about that, not to be a target. It might be OK in Old Compton Street, but not in an average street (Police LGBT Liaison Officer).

Stanko and Curry suggest that reporting homophobic abuse to the police means accepting loss of control over who knows about a defining part of one's life. Given the oppressive policing of gay men, the history of the criminalisation of gay relationships (McGhee 2001, Messerschmidt 1993) and what has been shown in this thesis to be the pervasive nature of homophobia, it becomes apparent that telling state authorities about personal experiences of homophobic abuse might not be a comfortable prospect, particularly for people who are not at ease with their sexual orientation.

In this chapter I shall explore data from the survey that I conducted in LGBT locations; findings from interviews with victims, police officers and support service staff; and a case study of participant David's experiences of reporting homophobic crime that draws on written correspondence concerning two complaints he made about the police. I shall describe the participant observation with the Metropolitan Police, and what the participants thought of the support provided by voluntary organisations. The chapter concludes with a discussion of what is effective in helping people come to terms with victimisation. I use the term 'policing' in its widest sense (Reiner and Newburn 2008) to include the 'enhanced network' of crime control (Garland 2001) that encompasses the work of support organisations. Firstly, I shall briefly describe the nature of the response that the police aim to provide when a homophobic crime is reported.

6.1 The police response to homophobic crime

The Metropolitan Police *Policing Pledge* specifies that when responding to crime reports police officers will introduce themselves to the victim, find out what the victim needs, keep them up to date with progress about the investigation, and so on. It specifies that: "We investigate all allegations of hate crime and have specially trained officers in each

London borough who will investigate hate crime".⁷² The standards the police aim to meet in dealing with reported hate crime are set out in the 2005 ACPO *Hate Crime Manual*. As an internal document written primarily for police personnel, the manual specifies that the term 'hate crime' refers to crime or incidents targeting people's race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, physical ability, and transgender status. It contains the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry definition of hate crime: "Any hate incident, which constitutes a criminal offence, perceived by the victim or any other person, as being motivated by prejudice or hate" (ACPO 2005: 9). Quoting from the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, it reminds police services that inadequate police responses to the victimisation of minority communities may damage community confidence in the police, as was evident from the investigation of Stephen Lawrence's racist murder. The manual states that police staff must always act professionally when dealing with victims of hate crime, that they must recognise the "unique needs and vulnerability" of hate crime victims, and that there is no place for prejudice in their response (ACPO 2005: 19). The potential for all hate crimes to become critical incidents is emphasised. These arise when the effectiveness of the police response is likely to have a significant impact on the confidence of the victim or members of the victim's family or community.

More detailed procedural guidance to police officers is contained in the MPS *Standard Operating Procedures (SOPS)* about hate crime. At the time of writing this chapter, this was a 'restricted' document that as such I cannot refer to directly nor quote from, which was being revised. *SOPS* give direction to police personnel (and, apparently, the staff of partner agencies with whom they work), about procedures to be followed. I understand that the *SOPS* document recognises that some victims tend to minimise what has happened to them. Accordingly, the finalised document is likely to, among other requirements, specify that when a criminal prosecution is not possible or desirable, officers will be expected to work with partner agencies to support victims and to seek a suitable alternative outcome whenever possible.

I will briefly describe here the work of Community Safety Units (CSUs), how the MPS promote these, and how CSUs interact with LGBT liaison officers. The MPS web site contains details of the work of CSUs, which exist in every borough to investigate hate crimes and domestic violence. Most hate crime reports are allocated to a CSU officer for investigation. The MPS assure that: "We will treat every call or report about a hate crime as a priority" and that: "An officer will contact you within 24 hours of getting your call or

⁷² <http://www.met.police.uk/pledge/> Retrieved 1 March 2010.

report, to tell you how the investigation is going and to see if we can do anything else to help you".⁷³ All London boroughs have LGBT liaison officers. In most boroughs, they are police officers who carry out liaison work alongside their usual duties. When I was doing fieldwork, a small number of London boroughs had between one and three full-time LGBT liaison officers. The role was primarily to liaise with LGBT community representatives, including LGBT community groups, commercial organisations and the local authority to increase reporting; and where a local LGBT Advisory Group exists, to facilitate its work. LGBT liaison officers receive notification of all local homophobic crimes and incidents reported, and will often contact the victim to offer reassurance and monitor the investigation, but it is not normally the role of the LGBT liaison officer to investigate. Where homophobic incidents are reported by a third party or assisted reporting scheme, such as that provided by Galop,⁷⁴ all the third party reports received each day where the victim consents to their details being passed to the police are allocated for investigation to an officer in the CSU in the borough where the victim lives. Liaison officers told me that hate crimes would normally be investigated by the CSU but it is expected that CSU officers may contact LGBT liaison officers for advice when necessary.

At this point it is useful to refer briefly to interviews I held with senior police officers. They talked of the realisation after 1999 that hate crimes could become critical incidents; that while many hate crimes appear 'minor' they could involve a profound impact on victims; and that better police engagement with communities can generate intelligence. Commander Steve Allen⁷⁵ told me that he had pressed for hate crimes to be considered critical incidents:

The way the cop responds "yes I believe you and yes this is serious" makes it a critical incident and when this permeates through the organisation you begin to deliver a better service. The concept of hate crime forces the officer to think about the issue of motive and why this is important to the victim. They have to respond differently to a hate crime...

Superintendent Giannasi⁷⁶ echoed this view:

⁷³ <http://www.met.police.uk/csu/whatcsu.htm> Visited 1 March 2010.

⁷⁴ <http://www.galop.org.uk/category/for-individuals/hate-crime-report-form/> Retrieved 1 March 2010. The purpose of third party or assisted reporting is to encourage people to report hate crimes or incidents by offering a means of doing so that does not require them to contact the police directly. If the victim does not want to be contacted by a police officer, the scheme provides the police with anonymous intelligence about local hate crime.

⁷⁵ I interviewed Commander Allen in February 2006 when he was responsible for the Violent Crime Directorate at the MPS.

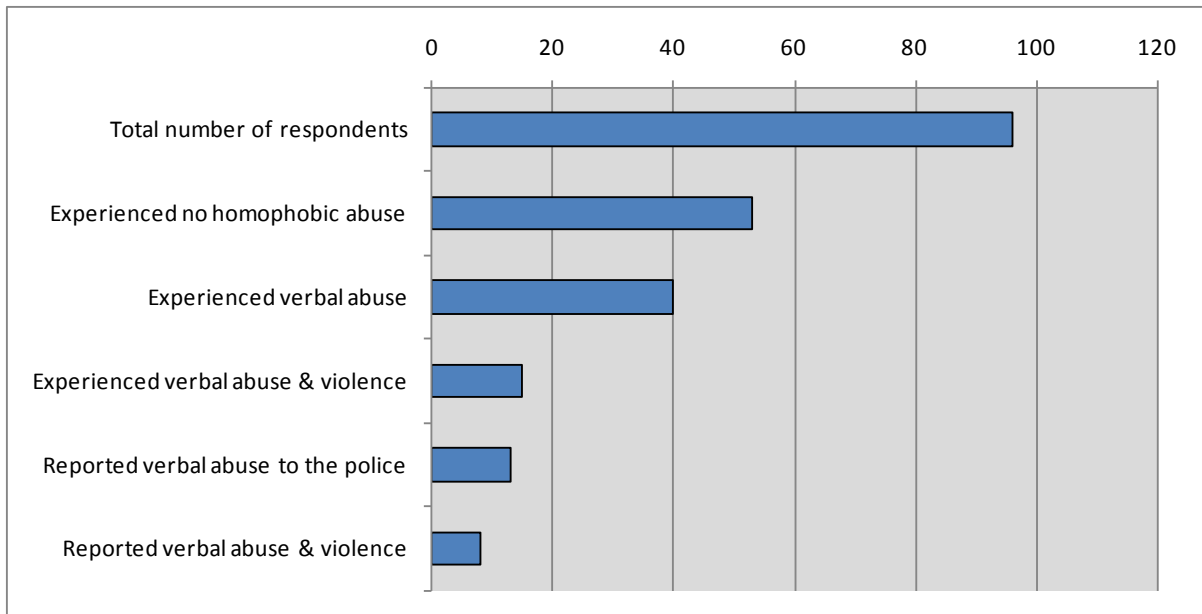
⁷⁶ Superintendent Paul Giannasi was seconded to the Race and Confidence Unit at the Home Office.

(Before Stephen Lawrence) I felt there was never a clear understanding in the police about hate incidents, what Macpherson showed was the significance of offenders demonstrating homophobia *etc.* leading up to a serious offence like a murder.

ACPO's *Hate Crime Manual* articulated the police response to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, recording shifts in police thinking about ways in which investigations are conducted and how the needs of diverse communities are met (Hall *et al.* 2009). But where hate crime is concerned there is a mismatch between victims' experiences and the police approach, often evident in the police focus on individual incidents (whereas victims often experience processes of victimisation); and police sympathies, it is argued, are often with the offender community (Bowling and Grieve in Hall *et al.* 2009). To explore ways in which data from my research address these matters, we can now move on to considering the survey, interviews with victims, police and support service staff; and participant observation. My observations, from a researcher's perspective, of police practice in this area may assist in drawing together the data from the various sources.

6.2 Survey participants' views of the policing of homophobic crime

I have already described the results of the survey in chapter 3 so I will address only those aspects of it that relate to respondents' experiences of the police here. The chart below shows that out of the 96 people surveyed, 35 (33 *per cent*) said they had experienced homophobic abuse. Thirteen people (33 *per cent* of those who had experienced any incident) said they had reported it to the police and eight of them had reported a violent incident. Unsurprisingly, a higher proportion of those who had experienced violence reported it than those who had experienced verbal abuse.



(Table 4: frequency of homophobic incidents and reporting to the police).

Similar numbers of people who had reported any incident were satisfied and not satisfied with the police response. Respondents' views about the police included:

The police didn't reply to emails, when I rang they told me it wasn't "life threatening" so could not get involved.

The police were very sensitive and successfully prosecuted the individual.

The police officer was very rude, unprofessional, unsupportive and discriminative towards me - the victim.

Recent British Crime Survey data about overall victim satisfaction with the police (though any direct comparison could be misleading because like is not being compared with like) show that overall 67 *per cent* of adults were satisfied with the police when they had initiated contact with the police themselves and that this figure has remained broadly stable since 2000 (Walker *et al.* 2009).

Most survey respondents who had experienced homophobic abuse said that what they wanted most of all was for someone to stop the abuse from happening again. Six respondents, less than half of those who reported, wanted the offender to be arrested. Five people most wanted their experience to be taken seriously. Some sought other outcomes, such as wanting the offenders warned, or they needed advice about what to do next:

I had to move house due to harassment. I felt the police could have done more to caution the offender who was 14 and the family did not speak English.

Such views echo many of the data from the interviews with victims, described below. One respondent explained that he was raped as part of a homophobic attack. He reported it, but the offender was not caught. He told me (English was not his first language) that:

The police don't capture the person and don't know who is this person, but they were nice with me.

Despite the lack of a 'sanction detection'⁷⁷ in this instance, the person was pleased that the police had been helpful and sensitive towards him. While a few respondents had a punitive attitude to the offender, many said that they wanted the offender to be educated about their behaviour. Some, like several of the men who participated in the semi-structured interviews, wanted the opportunity to tell the offender how they had been affected by the abuse. None said they had been offered that opportunity.

I asked respondents: *What would encourage you to report homophobic attacks in future?* Most said they would be encouraged to report future incidents if they knew the police would treat it seriously. Six said they would report if the police had a more positive image in the LGBT community. One respondent wrote on the survey questionnaire:

Assault not serious enough, need to stand up for myself. I would go to police if it's more serious.

As with data from victim interviews, this suggests people tend not to report abuse unless they have been significantly affected by it. Some reported to help prevent others being victimised, which was a strong theme in the victim interviews as well. Indeed the altruism of respondents is striking, with many wanting the offenders warned but not arrested, or wanting restorative interventions.

The extent to which the survey findings can be generalised to other populations is limited. However, the consistency of the findings with data from the semi-structured interviews suggest that the experiences of the participants described below may not be untypical of gay men in London who experience and report homophobic crime. It is their experiences that we can now consider.

⁷⁷ An offender being identified by the police and a sanction such as a warning or prosecution being applied.

6.3 Participants' experiences of reporting homophobic crime

Lee was one of a minority of participants in the victim interviews who described a good experience of the police. I first met him in the early hours of a Sunday morning in the Hyde Park Rose Garden. During our interview a week later I asked him: *Do you think the way the police do outreach work in gay venues helps people feel safer and more able to report hate crime?*

Yeah, at the park that night I thought the police are here, haven't they got anything better to do than to shake up the gay guys? Then I realised they were doing a survey... To begin with I thought you were a copper in plain clothes...

...I thought it's good they're doing this... It opens up the police to the community and it protects people.

Nevertheless, despite Lee's positive experience of reporting, and him having experienced police outreach work in public sex environments before, his first thought was that the police were there to harass gay men. Lee spoke of his surprise that the people who verbally abused him were given fixed penalty notices for disorder:⁷⁸

We told the police they had called me a "queer fucker" and they asked me if I wanted to press charges, and I was amazed like that you could press charges... I felt empowered by the police... it made me feel confident...

The police were on our side, which is new to me really as I remember how in Pride marches 20 years ago you used to get all sorts of shit from the police, well now it's changed... it feels as if they are out there to protect us.

Later Lee said he would normally not bother to report verbal abuse, adding that he would only call the police if he felt the situation was something that he "couldn't handle". It seemed that this incident had for Lee caused no particularly damaging effects: indeed the helpful police response had left him feeling confident and protected.⁷⁹

Chris had a positive experience of the police when he was assaulted. Nevertheless he felt unhappy about the eventual outcome of his case. He told me:

From the outset (the police) were incredibly supportive. They asked if I was fit enough to walk back to where it happened. And I said "no not really but I can give you a rough indication"... The paramedic... took me off to (name of) Hospital. I was seen very quickly, then I got a phone call from (name of) police station... to say was I up for making a statement? If so he would pick me up and take me to the police station, which he did. They got the photographer in. Then, I forget her

⁷⁸ These are sometimes referred to, as Lee described it, an 'on the spot fine'.

⁷⁹ I understand that it is the policy of the Metropolitan Police to not issue fixed penalty notices for disorder (PNDs) for hate incidents. If a PND had been issued in London, it would not have counted as a sanction detection.

name, wonderful woman police officer, would I mind waiting as she was on her way from somewhere else and she was an LGBT liaison officer. And she was just stunning. I was interviewed, made statements, she brought me home, came upstairs with me 'cos she wanted me shirt that was covered with blood - though they never brought that back and it was one of my favourite shirts - came upstairs with me, made sure I was OK, took my shirt. Then she wanted me to go back to visit the scene of the crime as the area is so big... And I said "yes" because I feel very strongly that a lot of people who suffer this type of thing go home without saying anything and I had to do something about it.

What mattered to Chris was that the police officers had shown concern for him. They contacted him regularly to keep him informed of progress, and they did not judge him, which Chris said "gave me a comfort zone". The offenders were convicted and ordered to pay compensation. Because they were juveniles, Chris could not attend court. One wrote him a letter of apology, but Chris tore it up because he felt it was insincere. It was from this point that Chris experienced dissatisfaction with the criminal justice system. He said:

...they had to go to the Youth Court so I wasn't able to go and look at them and I think that would have been slightly cleansing. And I wasn't called as a witness as they pleaded guilty.

(PD) So are you saying it would have helped if you had gone to court to see them being dealt with?

Yes, and then I think the letter of apology would have meant more...

...the wonderful woman PC rang and told me what the (prosecution) results were. The court process was that they paid the court and the court sent me a cheque within seven days for £400. And that was sort of good but a hollow victory.

(PD) Why did it feel like a hollow victory?

I think because I wasn't there, to actually see it happen, where I could have walked away and known that I hadn't been wrong and that the perpetrators had got their just desserts. That would have helped put more closure on it for me than just getting a cheque from the court that could have been from some government fund.

The two factors that Chris described as being central to him being able to make sense of what had happened, and come to terms with it, were the sincerity and helpfulness of the police; and his need to retrieve a positive outcome from the event. Chris wanted reassurance that the abuse he suffered was unlawful, punishable, and that he had been right to report it. People's desire to report homophobic abuse to try to stop offenders attacking other people has already been noted (Victim Support 2006). It is possible that people who tend to take an altruistic approach to the community are more likely to take part in research, for similar reasons. However, it was notable that survey participants also gave the importance of helping prevent homophobic crime happening to others as a reason

to report it. What most participants in this study, including survey respondents, wanted was to be believed and taken seriously; and for effective action to be taken to protect them, and other people, from further victimisation. Here, the role of the police in controlling a range of processes that can enable victims to feel as if something positive has been retrieved from their experience seems crucial.

6.4 A case study in institutional failures to protect

Most of the men who participated in my research did not, unfortunately, have such good experiences as Lee and Chris had in reporting homophobic victimisation. The following case study is of David's experience. At the time of writing this chapter, institutional failures in the response to hate crimes had recently been in the public eye as the result of the suicide of Fiona Pilkington, who it seems killed her disabled daughter and herself by setting light to her car while they were inside it. They had been the subjects of a campaign of harassment lasting many years. Such system failures are now the main focus of media attention towards the police (Savage 2007). The inquest into the deaths of Ms Pilkington and her daughter attracted criticism of Leicestershire Police by the Home Secretary Alan Johnson for "having a 'mindset' that that ignores besieged families and leaves local councils to deal with anti-social behaviour problems".⁸⁰ If this thesis is to have any role in improving police and local authority responses to homophobic crime, it needs to explore the possible reasons for victim dissatisfaction with state authorities, about which David's experiences may generate insight.

David endured nine years of homophobic abuse from his neighbours. He made two complaints about police conduct, one of which was investigated by the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC). He allowed me to read a large file of documentation about it. Despite on one occasion the offender breaking his jaw and being convicted of assault, the police seemed to view the abuse as a neighbour dispute in which both parties were equally culpable. One of the offenders was a woman and David believed that this deterred both the police and their housing association landlord from acting against her. This was a complex situation where David's neighbour abused him, but then moved out, illegally subletting the flat to an acquaintance who continued to attack David. When they moved away, the abuse was then continued by their friend who lived next door. The interview

⁸⁰ *'Home secretary criticises police 'mindset' on antisocial behaviour'* The Guardian, 14 October 2009

with David is quoted from at length below because his experiences illustrate a number of themes that are explored in this chapter. David explained:

The homophobic abuse from (T and L) downstairs continued. I continued to write to the housing association, eventually threatening them with legal action on the basis that their failure to act to help me was a breach of their policy. I had kept log sheets of incidents, as they had requested. There were comments sometimes every day, then they might stop for a day or two, then would start again. Terms used included things like 'fucking poof, cunt, asshole'...

By that time David had been experiencing the neighbours' abuse for months. Yet, the first time he reported it to the police, the officers that attended suggested he may have misinterpreted it. David told me:

I told the police officer about the homophobic abuse from (T) and he said "how do you know he wasn't doing DIY? Or he could have been shouting at the TV", which I thought was a ridiculous thing to suggest. That was my first experience of reporting a homophobic incident to the police...

David explained that the abuse escalated, while with the help of his solicitor he tried to persuade the housing association to take action:

Having been intimidated before I was now terrified... I rang the police several times... The police called each time but were generally unsympathetic to me when they were confronted by (L), a young mother. It was always their word against mine. This went on another two or three years.

David explained eventually the neighbours (T and L) moved away, but by that time their friend who lived next door (Z) had started homophobically abusing him too. David reported some of the incidents, which included verbal abuse and criminal damage, but he felt that when the police attended they were sympathetic to the offender and sceptical of him. He said "the police really seemed to respond well to her matey laddishness". Eventually (Z) assaulted David while he was in his front garden with a friend. David explained:

There was a new neighbour downstairs and we got on fine. I had no contact with (Z). I had agreed with the new neighbour that as she was doing up the back garden, I would do the front. I was a bit wary of (Z) so I asked my friend (S) to come over to help and to support me in case (Z) turned up. I was painting our side of the party wall. (Z) came out of her flat and started shouting at (S) about how I had driven the neighbours out... Suddenly (Z) swung a punch at me. I heard my jaw crack. There was a lot of blood. I went in the flat and called 999. (S) stayed in the garden. The police came an hour later. The younger of the two police officers said "this is a neighbour dispute and it's out of our jurisdiction". I was bleeding and couldn't speak properly. They didn't seem to believe I had a broken jaw. I hadn't said it was a homophobic crime when I rang the police and at this point (S) said to them "this is a fucking gay hate crime". The other officer nudged his colleague as if saying 'we need to take this more seriously'. They went to speak to (Z) and her parents came out. (Z) initially denied it, then she alleged she had hit me in self-defence because I had banged her head on the wall. They asked me what I wanted to happen. I asked them to arrest her, and they then arrested her. They took me

and (S) to (the) police station to make a statement. I wasn't offered any medical help at the police station and the police didn't seem to believe I had a broken jaw. (Z) was charged with ABH, though I later found out that because my jaw was broken she should have been charged with GBH...

Two weeks later the police rang me to tell me she had made a counter-allegation, that I needed to be arrested, and that they now had evidence against me. They asked me to come to the police station, which I did with my solicitor, and I was arrested and put in a cell... I was charged with common assault and bailed. The evidence was that (Z) had alleged she had a clump of hair missing. She said I had repeatedly banged her head on the top of the wall, yet she had no abrasions on her face and head...

By now I was beyond stress, that close to a breakdown, and I was considering killing myself... I was on medication for depression and on strong painkillers. In court, the judge threw the case against me out before I had given any evidence, on the grounds of insufficient evidence. Later, in July 2004, (Z) was convicted of ABH and was unbelievably just given a three year conditional discharge and ordered to pay £500 compensation...

The general consensus from the CPS was that the sentence was unbelievably lenient given her previous history. (Z) continued living next door. I got a letter from the CPS stating that they take homophobic crime very seriously.

...by now it was August 2004. I had complained about the two officers, including that they had tried to get me to drop the case and go to mediation instead. This was despite the fact that (Z) had broken my jaw and had said things like "all queers should be kicked to death"...

Then in 2005 (Z) attacked me again...

At this point I decided I had to do something about the housing association and I found a lawyer who was an expert on human rights and housing law. He found that I had a case under the Human Rights Act, because the housing association is a type of public authority under the Act, and they had failed to help protect my Human Rights. They went to the Royal Courts of Justice to claim on a technicality that they weren't a public body. But their case was rejected... The case went to legal mediation. As part of the settlement I insisted that they review their policy on hate crime and harassment, incorporating the Sexual Orientation and Equality Act into their policy. As a result, every one of their tenants was issued with a new lease quoting the new policy, which I was very satisfied about. For me, that was my victory. But the housing association still refused to evict (Z), stating that a judge wouldn't make an eviction order because she had a disability.

Then in February 2007 I was cycling home and (Z) jumped out in front of me, shouting homophobic abuse. I swerved, nearly hitting an oncoming car. I reported it to the police the next day. I heard nothing further from the police for a while but then a month later the police contacted me to tell me (Z) had accused me of trying to run her over. They asked me to come in to see them about it "for an informal chat"... I went to the police station and as it happens it was not an informal chat, but an interview under caution...

David and I photocopied a file of documents he had kept concerning the two complaints he made to the Metropolitan Police Service in 2004 and 2007. His first complaint concerned the failure of the police to provide him with medical attention at the police station when his jaw was broken, their failure to investigate written death threats, and an attempt by a police officer to set up a mediation meeting. About the proposed mediation, a letter to the police from David's solicitor records:

Despite knowing of the severity of the injury and presumably Miss (Z's) previous convictions, PC (X) attempted to persuade our client to drop the case. On the last call PC (X) said to our client "I can drop this case now if you agree to go to mediation". When our client declined, PC (X) expressed his displeasure. This was yet a further example of PC (X's) reluctance to prosecute what was clearly a serious assault.⁸¹

Both complaints were investigated by the MPS Department of Professional Standards (DPS) who decided there was no case to answer. David appealed to the IPCC. They concluded there was no evidence to justify taking disciplinary action against any officer. David complained for a second time, about subsequent incidents, in 2007. These included what he felt was an undercurrent of police homophobia and the general failure of police officers to accept he was being victimised. For example, a detective sergeant told David "I have read the history between you and (Z) and this has got to stop".⁸² At this time David also complained about being invited to the police station by the same detective sergeant "for an informal chat", then on arrival being interviewed under caution as a suspect himself; and further attempts by the police to persuade him to accept mediation that seemed to David to trivialise the issues. The DPS investigation took ten months to complete. They found there was no case to answer by any officer. The length of time taken to investigate was indirectly cited as a reason to limit the scope of the investigation. The investigating officer wrote to David:

I have considered asking DS (X) to give his account of what was said to him. However, seventeen months later I do not believe he will be able to say exactly what he was told.⁸³

Victimisation is often a process not a collection of isolated incidents (Sampson and Phillips 1995, Walklate 2008). There is no acknowledgement in the DPS or IPCC's judgements that for David, the processual nature of the harassment and the concomitant repeated

⁸¹ Letter from David's solicitor to the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, August 2004

⁸² Letter from David's solicitor to the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, December 2007

⁸³ Letter from the MPS Department of Professional Standards to David, September 2008

inadequacies of the police response greatly exacerbated the harm he experienced. The DPS seemed to view each aspect of the complaint as entirely separate entities. They acknowledged failures such as the loss of interview tapes and the use of insensitive language, on which it is stated the officers concerned would be encouraged to 'reflect'. Yet any recognition that a series of perhaps minor mistakes, when they persist over time, become disastrous for the person who is the subject of them is starkly absent from the written judgements. This is evident too in the IPCC's decision about the first complaint. Even when alleged police misconduct was witnessed by David's friend S, the IPCC concluded that:

Your witness supports your account, but it comes down to you and (S's) account against the officers. There is no other independent evidence that would clarify whose account is the more truthful.⁸⁴

Clearly the long history of David's dissatisfaction with the service he received from the police was not reflected in the deliberations of the DPS and the IPCC. It may be that the significance of the processual nature of much hate crime is still not fully understood. For example it seems that a near final draft of the *SOPS* document makes few references to repeat victimisation, stressing the significance of repeat victimisation for the gathering of intelligence because repeat offenders are often involved in other types of offending as well.

It would be entirely wrong to generalise from this one case and suggest from this alone that the police complaints system is weighted against victims of hate crime. However, many of David's experiences with the police were echoed by other participants in this study. Allan was told by the police to collect evidence of his neighbour's abusive behaviour, yet when he did so other officers told him he was making the situation worse. He was passed back and forth between the Community Safety Unit and the Safer Neighbourhood Team with, it appears, neither wishing to take responsibility for it. Carl's application for re-housing was dependent on the (inaccessible) LGBT liaison officer giving him a crime reference number, Matt was frustrated by having to resort to 'pulling strings' by asking his local authority colleague to obtain information from the police about progress, and Michael struggled to find out how to contact his local LGBT liaison officer, who eventually told him she could not deal with the abuse he wished to report until she returned from a course three weeks later. Mike was referred from the British Transport Police to the Metropolitan Police, and back. When he was at last able to speak to an officer, he was asked how he could prove the attack was homophobic. All the men in this study who were dependent on a local authority or housing provider taking action on the

⁸⁴ Letter from the IPCC to David, October 2005

harassment they experienced described a complete failure to take any effective action against the abuser. John and Nicolas were positive about the police investigation of their neighbour's harassment of them, but the police LGBT liaison officer advised them that there was little he could do to compel the local authority to take action against their abusive neighbour, a local authority tenant. People who are already dissatisfied with the treatment they have had from state authorities might be more motivated to talk to a researcher than those who are satisfied. Nevertheless it is disturbing that of the 26 people I interviewed and the dozens I talked with in gay venues, only a very small minority had, like Lee, Paul and Chris, had a positive experience of reporting homophobic crime. What stands out from the data is the very great gulf that exists between what the police assure they will offer to victims of homophobic crime - a message that the MPS promotes heavily in its publicity materials - and the service that most participants in this study received. It is also possible that fewer victims of homophobic abuse are satisfied with the police response than victims of other crimes, as BCS data may indicate (see Walker *et al.* 2009). Findings from my participant observation of police LGBT liaison officer work may help explain these findings, as I shall discuss next.

6.5 A resisted ethnography? Observing the policing of homophobic crime

I wanted to get to know police LGBT liaison officers and understand the more obscured aspects of their work; and I eventually spent six months observing, from time to time, liaison officers in Lambeth, Islington, and Kensington and Chelsea. In May 2008 I attended three local events with a Lambeth liaison officer: a tree planting ceremony in the Vauxhall gay village to commemorate IDAHO Day,⁸⁵ Clapham Pride, and a multi-agency conference planning meeting; but the officer seemed reluctant to let me spend much time with him. He explained that he did not really deal with victims, and on several occasions he told me that for a while he would be doing only administrative work so he did not think me observing him doing that would be useful. I could not ascertain completely how he spent his time, though the constraints on him included not having his own desk. Another Lambeth officer was much more engaged with my research. She allowed me to be present at interviews with victims and I accompanied her on outreach work in LGBT venues. The LGBT liaison officer in Islington was initially helpful, but he rarely agreed to me observing him. He too seemed to spend a lot of time doing 'admin'. Over four months he let me go with him to two outreach sessions in the local gay pub and to an LGBT staff meeting. He

⁸⁵ International Day Against Homophobia

offered to arrange for me to read MPS case files to look for data on the impact of homophobic crime. I telephoned him regularly, leaving messages for him, but in October 2008 he moved to another post and I was unable to get anyone else to obtain the files for me. It was this officer who Carl had been struggling to contact. Prior to the officer's transfer, I tried to speak with him about Carl's predicament, but he did not respond to messages I left for him. With hindsight I feel I should have advocated more actively on Carl's behalf. An LGBT liaison officer from Kensington and Chelsea became interested in the research. I attended a number of outreach sessions with her in local bars and with some of her colleagues in a local public sex environment (PSE).⁸⁶ She involved me in her local LGBT Advisory Group, members of which helped me with administering the survey, and she referred two victims to me who I interviewed.

There are some observations to be made about the participant observation. Victims are encouraged to contact LGBT liaison officers: their names and mobile phone numbers are advertised in LGBT media, including *Gaydar*.⁸⁷ Yet many victims I spoke with said that when they leave messages for them, they often do not respond: this was often my experience, as a researcher, too. E-mails that I sent to Westminster LGBT officers after a meeting with them when they asked me to contact them the following week to make arrangements to observe them were returned unread one month later. Many of the participants in this research found that when they reported homophobic abuse, there was very little follow-up. Similar communication problems were reported by support service staff, as I shall show. My observations include that LGBT police officers wasted a good deal of probably well-intentioned effort. For example, at Clapham Pride, liaison officers had encouraged their friends and colleagues to help with the police stall. But they all crowded around in front of it, laughing and chatting, which may have meant that Pride-goers could not see the stall. A Special Constable I talked with commented that officers appeared to be prioritising their own entertainment over their policing duties. He asked me whether I thought we should ask them to move away from the stall. I said I did not feel it was my

⁸⁶ A public sex environment is a public place, usually a park, where gay men cruise or meet to have sex. This particular one is the Rose Garden in Hyde Park, which is very lively and popular around midnight on a warm Saturday night. In fact not much sex seems to go on (perhaps I put people off, wandering around with a torch and a clipboard). There is more of a social atmosphere, with people meeting friends, chatting, and just hanging around. Unfortunately PSEs are often scenes of homophobic attacks, which is why the police patrol them. Until about ten years ago, the police used to patrol them in order to arrest as many gay men as possible for importuning or having sex in public. How things have changed!

⁸⁷ Gaydar is a well established LGBT dating and social networking web site. Many MPS liaison officers have profiles, as police officers, on Gaydar. See www.gaydar.co.uk The name Gaydar comes from 'gay radar' – the ability to spot another gay person in public.

place to make such a request. Outreach sessions at LGBT venues have to take place before the venue gets busy because of logistical considerations. In one instance, the liaison officer only had the use of a police vehicle until other officers needed it at midnight, so the effectiveness of the outreach session was limited because there were few customers so early in the night. The officer expressed frustration about this type of constraint in no uncertain terms, stating that it was indicative of the low priority accorded to LGBT liaison work by the Borough Command Unit.

Lea (2003) writes about how, with reference to Macpherson's findings, it can be difficult to distinguish between discriminatory attitudes and general incompetence. The strictures affecting liaison officers' work that are described here seem indicative of a type of 'institutional' incompetence that may be rooted less in individual officers' capabilities, and more in the constraints they work under. Police officers are often unclear about desirable outcomes. One LGBT liaison officer wanted to reduce the number of homophobic incidents reported, while his colleague was, in accordance with MPS policy, trying to increase the number of reports. The officer sent an e-mail to a group of colleagues including the local authority hate crime coordinator and me stating that "I will be meeting with (X) from the Council and (PC X) to see how we can lower these figures".⁸⁸ When such lack of clarity spills over into inter-agency partnerships or community liaison work, outputs are unlikely to be effective.

With so much liaison officer time spent, apparently, on 'administration', it is to be questioned why the administration of victim contact in homophobic crime cases often seemed to be ineffective. It may be that officers were taken away from liaison work to other policing duties, which they did not want me to know about: a possibility suggested by Moran.⁸⁹ Some LGBT liaison officers described their frustration about lack of management support, training and supervision; their role being, some said, perceived by police senior management as too 'pink and fluffy' to be regarded as 'real' police work. This is redolent of the unwelcome, overly welfare-orientated 'shit' police work described in Punch's ethnography (Punch 1979). With police officers I did not succeed in "gain(ing) access to the insiders' world of meaning and action" (Jorgensen 1989: 36) to the extent that I hoped. Nevertheless, the participant observation amplifies and triangulates data from interviews with victims and with police officers and support service personnel, which are described below.

⁸⁸ E-mail from an LGBT liaison officer, 15 September 2008.

⁸⁹ In discussion with Professor Les Moran, Sussex University Hate Crime Symposium, May 2009

Before moving on to those interviews, we need to briefly consider an analysis of case records. Despite senior officers consenting to me reading files, it was only in two boroughs that these were made available. I read 35 case files about homophobic incidents, from which some interesting supplementary data arose. These included that police officers sometimes flag or 'de-flag' cases as homophobic for questionable reasons. I queried why a case of same-sex domestic violence had been flagged as a homophobic crime, and a detective inspector told me "well it's two men so it's homophobic isn't it". With the small number of cases that I read, and the questionable objectivity of information recorded in official records (Scott 1990) I doubt that data from case records is sufficient to be worth reporting on in detail. However, the files gave a picture of homophobic crime investigations often being discontinued rather than cleared up, sometimes for reasons beyond the control of the police such as victims not being contactable. This small amount of data, set alongside data from participant observation and semi-structured interviews, might lead to the suggestion that senior MPS personnel believe they are giving a better service to London's LGBT communities than they in reality are.

6.6 A Data from interviews with MPS LGBT liaison officers

Police attitudes towards homosexuality have changed greatly in twenty years. In 1990, the editor of *Police Journal* wrote:

The reported formation of a Lesbian and Gay Police Association... is a development... which will cause ex-police officers to shake their heads in utter disbelief. There is surely, nothing gay about buggers, and society should be reluctant to accept it (*sic*) as 'normal'" (quoted in Burke 1993: 202).

Only twenty years later, LGBT people can be 'out' as police officers, with many accorded special responsibility for liaison with LGBT communities. However, the prevailing masculinist culture of policing requires LGBT officers to negotiate difficult constructions of their identities in an often hostile occupational environment (Miller *et al.* 2003).

This chapter opens with a quote from the interview with an experienced LGBT liaison officer (referred to below as PC3) who, although describing himself as gay, freely engaged in negative typifications other gay people during our interview:

Because I wasn't a camp queen, victims who were straight acting or who were married would feel comfortable about talking to me.

I asked him: *What's different about the role of Liaison Officer compared to other police officer roles?*

There should be no distinction. All PCs should treat everyone equally. There is a need to understand the diverse cultures and needs of the community, including the LGBT community. Being gay means you have more understanding of the LGBT community's needs. Some non-LGBT LOs do just as good a job if not better than some gay LOs. The only real difference between gay and straight is what you do in bed. Maybe nobody who isn't gay can understand 100 per cent what it means to experience homophobic victimisation...

Earlier PC3 had talked about the importance of gay people behaving correctly in public, and I asked him: *But if it is OK for straight people to hold hands in the street, why can't gay people do that?* He responded: "it might be OK in Old Compton Street, but not in an average street", the quote with which this chapter opens.⁹⁰

It seemed to me that during the interview PC3 was not really listening to my questions, as indicated by his response about the role of LGBT liaison officers. I experienced this as a common trait among some police officers, who tend to approach their work from a very specific policing 'agenda'. It often seemed that officers would hear fragments of what was said to them, but would then disregard the remainder of the sentence. It may be that meanwhile, they concentrated on preparing a response that they thought the person should be told, from, of course, a policing perspective. This apparent reluctance to carefully *listen*, if it is replicated by other officers in their contact with victims, might explain much victim dissatisfaction with policing. PC3 talked about the value he thought the MPS promotional materials such as pens and 'fridge magnets held as a means of encouraging people to report. However, in view of his many years' experience as an LGBT liaison officer, it was notable that he seemed to align himself with conventional approaches to the policing of LGBT communities, in contrast with other LGBT liaison officers who seemed to take a more nuanced stance in acknowledging that the policing of minority communities still needs considerable improvement.

Another liaison officer, PC1,⁹¹ enjoyed going out to patrol LGBT venues and she described a strong commitment to working with victims and with other agencies to address victims' service needs. She thought that:

⁹⁰ Referring to his ethnography with Dutch police officers, Punch wrote that "largely unconsciously, the policeman develops a detailed but rarely articulated cosmic map of what is 'right' and 'normal' in specific areas of the inner city" (Punch 1979: 125).

⁹¹ One police officer wanted to avoid being indentified so I refer to all of them by numbers.

Most (victims) need to have confidence in the police to be able to report.

(PD) What about after they have reported though, what do you think you need to offer once someone has reported an incident to you?

To help them feel that what they are telling you will be taken seriously... and then it's important to have follow-through.

(PD) Can you say a bit more about what you mean by follow-through?

...continuity from the police: you need to follow through with information about the investigation, about other agencies and sources of support. You need to show you're interested. But this is very hard, as you become more than your job is about.

(PD) How do you become more than what your job is about?

You become more than your job really and that's because it is hard to follow through. They want help with housing but it's not my job to do that. They look to you for so much more.

(PD) Do you refer people on to other agencies for help with things you can't do?

Yes, if it's housing then I might refer them on to Stonewall Housing or the Housing Advice people in (the) Council. I would try to hand over to Galop if they needed more support...

(PD) What about continuity in regard to the police investigation. Is that difficult to achieve?

No, it's quite easy to give continuity and to sustain it about the investigation of the crime. It's a question of remembering to ring someone and to let them know, and it's not that hard as you don't have that much work...

Key to the effectiveness of the LGBT liaison role was, for PC1, the ability to follow through with keeping victims informed, demonstrating empathy, and involving support organisations. Significantly, she did not see giving regular information about progress to be problematic: in her borough, there were on average fewer than ten homophobic incidents reported each month at the time. As a Black woman, she was concerned about homophobia in Black and minority ethnic communities and she wanted to spend more time in local schools where, she felt, life was very difficult for young Black LGBT people. She had been discouraged by senior officers from developing this work on the grounds, she said, of there being insufficient resources for it.

Like PC1, PC2 (a white woman) also spoke about the unique nature of the LGBT role in providing reassurance to victims:

(PD) What's different about the role of Liaison Officer compared to other police officer roles?

It's a lot different, it's more victim-based. I hate to say it but it's more social worker-ish.

(PD) Why do you hate to say that?

Well I don't mind that, but other police officers see it as too touchy-feely. On a response team you don't get much chance to get to know the victims, you respond to the crime, then you move on, but in the liaison officer role you have time to talk to victims and to reassure them...

We talked about the distinctive nature of hate crime. As a part-time LGBT liaison officer, PC2 also dealt with racist crime. She had insights about the difficulties police services face in measuring the outcomes of LGBT liaison work:

It's the same for all hate crimes, whether homophobic or racist, and that's because it's a sensitive crime, being abused for who you are... The sensitive nature of hate crime requires a different response...

(PD) What are the other things that hate crime victims need?

Yes, they need things like information about other organisations, such as Galop, or Broken Rainbow if it's domestic violence. We're in touch with two ladies at present... one of them, her ex-husband, is harassing them from prison. I've been working with the lead crime prevention officer to get security in their home, which has all been put in, and I have involved Women's Aid. They have a daughter too...

...the problem is that you can't measure that work, it's ongoing and it's a lot of work, but it doesn't get accounted for.

PC2 talked of how the policing of homophobic crime could be improved:

I think we have learned a lot from previous mistakes, we've made the LGBT role specialist to gain the trust of the community and we've been quite successful in that.

(PD) Has the MPS done enough with developing other officers' abilities to engage well with minority communities?

No, I don't think so. And I think we all need to engage better with trans people.

PCs 1 and 2 emphasised the importance of listening to victims, believing them, demonstrating empathy, and remembering to follow-through with keeping victims informed about the investigation. In this way, they seemed much more 'victim-centred' than PC3. PC2 even referred at one point to being guided by the requirements of the Victim's Charter.⁹²

⁹² The *Victim's Charter*, now replaced by a legally binding *Code of Practice*, introduced expectations of criminal justice agencies about service standards including frequency of contact with victims during an investigation.

Having referred briefly to LGBT liaison officers' work with support organisations, it might now be helpful to explore the views of support organisations' staff.

6.7 Support service staff's perspectives on policing

It may always be easy to uncover a few shocking anecdotes about the failures of public authorities. Nevertheless, the extent and consistency of participants' experiences of institutional failures to respond effectively to homophobic abuse are notable. Galop staff described the difficulty they had in getting a response from police officers and local authorities. Galop's Chief Executive, Debbie Gold, acknowledged that the people who contact Galop may have had a bad experience of the police. Nevertheless, based on her experience (she was also Co-chair of London's LGBT Advisory Group), it was her view that LGBT people:

...do experience indifference and ineptitude when they contact the police. And in my experience, they more often get that than a good response. And the point is that it is massively re-victimising. Especially because the police put a lot of effort into getting people to report, they publicise it, say "tell us about it" and then you do and they are not interested.

She talked about frustrations she and her team experienced in trying to contact police officers and local authorities, when they expend:

Huge amounts of time trying to get hold of a particular department, and the phone isn't answered, or you ring reception and they haven't heard of that department, or they put you through to an answerphone and the message is full, or the answerphone doesn't take messages... and this is massively damaging... (it) happens all of the time...

There is a feeling that you come up against sometimes that (referring to victims) 'they should be able to cope with it'. One police officer said to me "it's not a very nice area, but he is just going to just have to deal with it" like 'stop being a wuss', and this was somebody that had a fractured skull from a homophobic attack and he wanted the police to write a letter saying it was dangerous for him to live there.

Phil Greasley, a manager of a Victim Support service, echoed those views, adding that victims see adverts in the LGBT press urging people to report any homophobic abuse, yet when they do report police staff would often query why they had reported 'minor' incidents. Subodh⁹³ managed a voluntary organisation that worked with Asian LGBT people. I asked him:

To what extent do you think that when people experience hate crime, they generally get a satisfactory response from criminal justice services?

⁹³ Subodh preferred to be referred to his forename only.

I would say that 95% of people (this organisation) have worked with have not had a satisfactory experience with the police. A small percentage of those who experience homophobic incidents report to the police and they have an unsatisfactory experience, and most people don't report.

Subodh mentioned the need to 'pull strings' to obtain information, and this emerged as a theme in interviews with support organisation staff, and some victims, including Matt. Some serious incidents such as fractured skulls and threats to kill seem to be treated by the police as somewhat trivial, despite police awareness at the highest level that acting on intelligence about threats, for example, can help to prevent serious crime, as Commander Allen and Superintendent Giannasi stated. Yet, the quality of LGBT liaison officer work, which is primarily but not solely concerned with providing a better response to hate crime, seems mainly dependent on the skills, values and commitment of individual officers; whereas other factors, such as training and supervision, could be more open to being shaped by policy. Subodh believed that the effectiveness of police communications with LGBT communities in his local area was:

...dependent on one good LGBT police liaison officer... Subsequent police LGBT liaison officers have left after a short while as they haven't been given the necessary support from their managers.

This statement echoes the frustration, described above, expressed by the police officer who could not have a car late at night to enable her to do outreach at a suitable time.

6.8 Services to victim of homophobic (and transphobic) abuse

It is apparent that empathetic, effective police responses to homophobic crime can in themselves be a source of support to victims. Later in this chapter I shall summarise what the participants said about receiving support, or not, in the aftermath of homophobic victimisation, but firstly I will briefly review the limited existing research about support needs, with reference to difficulties in defining need. I will then describe what Victim Support, the UK's largest and principal provider of services to victims, aims to offer its users. In doing so I will refer to a case study of Victim Support's service development activity about hate crime that used a social constructionist framework to illustrate how Victim Support's service to victims of homophobic crime came about. I will compare this with the work of Galop, a specialist LGBT organisation. I will then describe data from interviews with support service staff, and conclude with an exploration of participants' experiences of being offered support. It is evident that for most of the men in this study,

their conceptions of themselves as men greatly coloured their experience of homophobic victimisation and affected their responses to the offer or provision of support.

We have seen that some police officers often find themselves trying to meet some of the support needs of the victims who report crime to them. The police role includes facilitating access to support services (Mawby 2007, Waddington 1999); in particular, access to Victim Support, who receive at least 90 *per cent* of their referrals from the police (Victim Support 2008).⁹⁴ For most people, obtaining support is contingent on reporting a crime or incident. Many people who experience homophobic victimisation do not consider it important enough to be reported (Tyrer 2000) even, sometimes, when the offence is serious. Fear of re-victimisation can be a powerful disincentive to report (Herek, Cogan and Gillis 1992). Some victims may be, like Stewart was, too ashamed of being victimised to report it. These same factors might deter people who do not report homophobic crime from seeking support from other service providers. It soon becomes apparent that obtaining support in the aftermath of homophobic victimisation is not always straightforward even if such services are available and known about.

The concept of 'need' is problematic and I explored this in a chapter for the *Handbook of Victims and Victimology* (Dunn 2007). Problems with the concept include the difficulty in establishing whether need is attributable to victimisation or to some other distressing condition; the subjective nature of the concept itself (Newburn 1993, Spalek 2006), and the confusion that can result when terms such as 'impact', 'effects' and 'needs' are used interchangeably (Maguire and Corbett 1987). Using the term 'service needs' might be helpful as it indicates need precipitated by victimisation, which a support service might be expected to address. The literature suggests that most victims of a range of crimes will want or need to be listened to; treated with respect and sensitivity; helped with immediate service needs such as medical treatment or securing damaged property; protected from further victimisation; given information about the criminal justice system and perhaps be supported in reporting the crime; helped to explore their emotional reactions to the crime and regain a sense of control; and assisted in identifying continuing support networks (Davies, Lurigio and Skogan 1999, Dunn 2007 and 2009, Maguire 1982, Maguire and Corbett 1987, Mawby and Kirchhoff 1996, Mawby and Walklate 1994, Spackman 2000). Many of these needs are described in 'rights' to services specified in international standards and framework agreements designed to make criminal justice

⁹⁴ <http://www.victimsupport.org.uk/~media/Files/Publications/AboutOurCharity/report-accounts-2008.ashx> Retrieved 13 November 2009

systems more 'victim-centred' (Goodey 2005). Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983) found that victims who were engaged in behaviour that should have been most 'safe' when victimised found it hardest to recover. This may have profound implications for victims of hate crime who are abused in or around their homes, where they may have expected to be safe. This point raises the question: To what extent might the service needs of victims of homophobic crimes differ from those of people who have been victimised for other reasons?

Literature about victims' service needs is limited, and only a few studies of homophobic crime seem to have obtained detailed data about them. One British study found that young LGBT people wanted to be listened to and empathised with, but they felt that homophobic abuse was an 'expected' part of their everyday lives with which schools, the police and other institutions were ill-equipped to help (Galop 1998). Most research about these issues has been conducted in the USA (Robinson and Keithley 2000), focusing on post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and other aspects of psychological morbidity that may follow from victimisation (see Burlew and Kocet 2001, Freedy *et al.* 1994, Rose and Mechanic 2002). Unfortunately this focus has left other research questions, including those that are more sociological, under-explored (Meyer 2008). What pertains in the USA might not apply in Britain, and the nature of victim services varies greatly from one country to another (Mawby 2003). It may be that the lack of data on this issue is partly explained by Mezey's claim that there is a reluctance to expose support services to rigorous evaluation, perhaps because the support offered is often thought to be based on 'common sense'. Arguing that more research is needed about the reality of victims' experiences, Mezey identifies a number of factors that impede evaluation of victim services, including the possibility that victims might *like* services that are actually ineffective (Mezey 2007). I found from my experience of leading Victim Support's research for five years that many support service personnel were reluctant to invite victims to take part in research because they assumed that victims would be re-victimised by talking to a researcher (see Dunn 2007). Such reluctance may also be attributable to understandable fears about scrutinising hard-pressed charitable services that are delivered largely by volunteers. Mawby draws attention to the lack of government evaluation of its new 'victim-centred' policies, such as the provisions in the *Victim's Code of Practice* (Mawby 2007); while there have been claims in the press that some of the counselling services set up in Northern Ireland to help victims of sectarian conflict have been accused of making many victims feel worse (Williams and Goodman 2007).

Victim Support

Victim Support is a registered charity founded in 1974 and its web site explained its services as follows:

Every day the police send us information about people who've been victims of crime. When we get your details we'll try and contact you by phone. If we can't get hold of you on the phone we'll follow up with a letter.

When we first speak to you we'll ask you some questions about what has happened and how you think you've been affected by the crime. This will help us to suggest how we think we can help. If you want our support, we'll put together a 'helping plan' just for you.⁹⁵

Until 2007 a federation of 84 semi-independent based mainly on police force areas and London borough boundaries, Victim Support is now one single national charity. According to its 2009 *Annual Review*, over 1,481,000 victims were referred to the service that year, though it is not stated how many of these accepted support. Staff and volunteers visited almost 74,000 victims, made 1,167,700 phone calls, and sent 768,600 letters. Unlike in previous years, the *Annual Review* contains no detailed information about the numbers of hate crime victims supported and the only reference to hate crime is a statement that: "We want to build on our current range of services by increasing our expertise in the following areas: homicide, hate crime, domestic violence knife and gun crime, supporting vulnerable and intimidated victims, supporting young victims" (p18).⁹⁶ Victim Support produces leaflets about its services to victims of violence, domestic violence and racist crime, but not it seems for victims of homophobic crime.⁹⁷

During fieldwork I produced a case study of the development of Victim Support's hate crime service to establish the processes by which the organisation came to recognise that victims of homophobic crime might have distinct service needs. Based on analysis of a range of Victim Support documents, interviews with people who were key personnel at Victim Support during the 1990s, and my own experience as Victim Support's Head of Research and Development from 2002 to 2007, a summary of it is available in appendix 5.

⁹⁵ <http://www.victimsupport.org.uk/About%20us/How%20we%20help> Visited 7 March 2010

⁹⁶ http://www.victimsupport.org.uk/About%20us/Publications%20section/~/_media/Files/Publications/AboutOurCharity/report-accounts-2009 Retrieved 7 March 2010

⁹⁷ <http://www.victimsupport.org.uk/About%20us/Publications%20section> Visited 7 March 2010

The case study shows that the development of Victim Support's hate crime service mirrors the 'natural history' approach to social problems and their associated policy as set out by Fuller and Myers (1941). It reflects Berger and Luckmann's (1967), and later Best's, constructionist analysis that 'claims makers' operate in a social problems marketplace and bring about domain expansion. This, where new problems become recognised through action taken to address existing concerns, occurs if there are "supportive institutional structures" and a "conducive contemporary mood" (Best 1990: 177). In this instance, supportive institutional structures would have been provided, in the environment external to Victim Support, by the impetus of Macpherson and by the work of a "common pool of stakeholders" active in social movements that drove forward a range of reforms for victims at the end of twentieth century (Rock 2004: 100). It is perhaps this activity that created the type of conducive contemporary mood to which Best refers. The development of Victim Support's services to people affected by homophobic abuse is, however, also an illustration of McGhee's notion of 'hierarchies of victimisation' in action, where some disadvantaged groups' experiences are prioritised over others. Indeed Azah (2009) presents strong arguments in favour of employing hierarchies of discrimination in policing where, it is argued, action should not be taken on homophobia and so on until racism has been completely eliminated from policing. McGhee shows how the roots of this hierarchical approach in recent UK legislation are seen in the conclusions of the 1957 Wolfenden Report which sought to find ways of decriminalising same sex relationships while also 'protecting' society from "offensive homosexuality" (McGhee 2005: 144). Victim Support's position from the 1990s until 2002, and arguably until the present day, was analogous to this in its reluctance to embrace the concept of hate crime; and its discomfort with LGBT issues that is conveyed in its hush-toned concern about enabling victims of homophobic abuse to "seek help in confidence"⁹⁸ (surely victims of any type of crime should be helped in confidence?) and, according to some of the 'professional' participants such as Derron and Subodh below, its lack of proactive engagement with LGBT communities. This analysis is significant to the experiences of the men described here because, as I shall argue in the conclusion of this thesis, some of the inadequacies in the response to homophobic victimisation are rooted in LGBT issues being 'tacked on' to reforms that were originally and rightly devised to combat racism, without the rather different nature of homophobic abuse and its aftermath being fully understood.

Galop

⁹⁸ Victim Support *Annual Review* 2001

Galop was established in the 1980s as the Gay London Police Monitoring Group. It collected information about police harassment of gay men, such as police raids on gay bars, 'cottages' (public toilets) and public sex environments, and it provided support and advice to people arrested. A sister organisation, Lespop, provided a similar service to lesbians. Gradually Galop began to provide support to victims of homophobic crime and as the policing of gay men's lives become less repressive during the 1990s, improvements for which Galop claims some credit (Galop 1998), more of its work became focused on supporting victims of hate crime. By this time Lespop had ceased to exist and Galop provided a service firstly to lesbians, then from 2002 onwards, to transgender people. Galop's work has since become primarily focused on services to victims of homophobic and transphobic crime; and on campaigning for improved criminal justice services to LGBT communities in London.

The development of Galop's support services reflects a significant difference between Galop and Victim Support: as an initiative of London's gay communities, its primary focus has always been on their needs. Unlike Victim Support, its web site conveys a stance that recognises homophobic and transphobic crime is brought about not by the characteristics of victims, but by abusers enacting normative homophobia and transphobia:

Many of us are so used to living with a 'background' of homophobia or transphobia that we often do not report it for fear of not being taken seriously or further victimisation...⁹⁹

People who contact Galop are offered support and if the person wishes to report a homophobic incident, Galop staff will offer to liaise with the police on the person's behalf. Galop provides the *Shoutline*, a telephone help line that offers basic emotional support and information about criminal justice processes, and it will 'signpost' people to other services if these are required. Galop is governed by a board of trustees, which I chaired from 2008 to 2010.

Before describing participants' experiences of being supported by the Metropolitan Police, Victim Support and Galop, I will briefly summarise the perceptions of staff from support organisations about the service needs of victims of homophobic crime. Six of the nine support staff I interviewed (four of whom were of Black heritage) said that they thought 'mainstream' (that is, non-LGBT organisations) generally failed to deliver an effective service to victims of homophobic crime, and five felt there was evidence of homophobia

⁹⁹ <http://www.galop.org.uk/quick-help/should-i-report/> Visited 8 March 2010

operating in the service delivery of those organisations.¹⁰⁰ I asked participants: *What would you say are the main support needs of hate crime victims?* Peter Kelley, who managed Galop's *Shoutline*, replied:

People want outcomes other than just reporting. Someone to fight their corner in practical ways. Outcomes don't have to be the offender being caught... they might want other outcomes like support. People may want advice on what they can do, but they tend to get offered counselling. Housing (department) is slow to respond and ineffective. People are told by housing that there is no evidence so nothing can be done...

Peter felt that the role of the police in providing support was of central importance to victims' recovery, not solely in terms of their work as 'gatekeepers' to support organisations. Describing the interface of Galop's work with that of the police, he said:

We are able to offer empathy and practical advice. We can give clarity about the law and what will happen next. Validation. Help with police complaints and criminal injuries compensation. We are successful at getting people to report. People say "thank you that was really useful"... People are likely to be dissatisfied with the whole package if the police have not helped them. Galop lacks the resources to help fully and some people have unrealistic expectations.

Other support service staff echoed Peter's views. Jamey Fisher, who also worked for Galop, said in my response to a question about victims' needs that the most important response for victims is that:

The police... take it seriously... People need to be listened to and believed... Hate crime victims need an easy way to report and information about what to do next. Reporting can be confusing...

Support staff described the centrality of the police role in providing a supportive response that facilitates recovery; and they considered that the police can either enable, or tacitly obstruct, access to further support services. Peter echoed participants' comments about their desire for outcomes from reporting that are not necessarily criminal justice-related.

Derron, a Black gay man who when I interviewed him managed a local Victim Support service and who had formerly chaired Victim Support's Race Forum, felt that LGBT people did not generally trust Victim Support to offer a service that was appropriate to the LGBT community; and this greatly reduced the choices of support available to them. I asked him how the reforms that Victim Support had enacted following the Stephen Lawrence inquiry

¹⁰⁰ This view is not necessarily explicable by the organisations being in competition with each other. Galop and Victim Support have different sources of funding.

had affected services to BME and LGBT communities. He told me that in comparison to their outreach with BME communities, the Victim Support service was generally:

...much worse for gay men. Worse for them without a shadow of a doubt. In the Black community, there's a feeling of 'oh well, they may be racist but let's try them out as there's no-one else to go to' and that's in the culture, try it out until proven otherwise. But with gay men, with the sheer lack of involvement, with no gay service users... it has been so difficult for schemes to build trust with the gay community; and for all those reasons it has been far more difficult for the gay community to access Victim Support's services... The double whammy for gay men is that the police were getting up to speed with issues for the Black community and cultural sensitivity, and appropriate language, but when it came to gay men it was a whole different ball game. There was, and it's still there, a huge amount of homophobia in the Met Police, and that is reflected in the lack of victims that would be referred to (Victim Support), and the low take up of the service, and the lack of trust in our service because gay men saw us as part of the police.

Subodh from Wise Thoughts expressed strong disappointment about his contact with Victim Support. I asked him which organisations he worked with. He told me:

Yes we do refer on to Galop but not to Victim Support. We don't find Victim Support here very gay-friendly. I would say there is a culture of suppressed homophobia in Victim Support. I have spoken with the regional manager for London... He said he would address it but I don't know if anything was ever done about it.

Victim Support, as a 'mainstream' organisation, was seen as suffering from many of the same deficits that the police service generally have in responding to homophobic crime. Derron raised the issue of the specific needs of Black LGBT people, and I asked Dennis Carney about this issue. He believed their needs were overlooked by 'mainstream' organisations, so they were among the most disadvantaged in terms of being able to obtain effective services. Dennis said:

We are still living with the legacy of Fashanu¹⁰¹... No publicly funded organisations reach out to support Black LGBT people.

For Dennis, the issue of visibility was important, noting the need for social spaces where, unlike in the commercial gay scene, Black gay people are visible. His reference to Justin Fashanu was to make the point that famous Black people who 'come out' as gay are vilified, and others are thereby put off from doing the same. Earlier Dennis had talked

¹⁰¹ Justin Fashanu was a successful Black professional footballer who came out as gay in 1991. He subsequently experienced much homophobic abuse and he killed himself in 1998. See <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/sussex/7930310.stm> Visited 11 March 2010.

about being stopped by the door staff of gay clubs who asked him “do you know this is a gay club?” as if it was inconceivable that a Black man should wish to enter. Like Derron, he felt mainstream organisations had failed to address the need to engage with minority communities, especially with Black gay men, mainly because of their invisibility. For Derron and Subodh, the reason for such failure was attributable to institutional homophobia in the police and in Victim Support.

6.9 Participants’ experiences of support services

We now need to consider what the ‘victim’ participants said about their support needs and their experiences of support. Seven of the 26 participants had wanted more support than they received, while eight said they neither wanted nor needed it. Some said that they thought the agencies they came into contact with in the aftermath of victimisation were covertly homophobic, though most of the agencies regarded as homophobic were social housing providers and local authorities. Three participants – Mike, Chris, and Matt – had received a service from a support organisation that they found unhelpful. Mike said:

Yes, I wanted referral to Victim Support. We used to have a gay man from Newham Victim Support who came here to Positive East,¹⁰² and I wanted to see him, but because I live in (X) I had to be referred to Victim Support there. The lady I saw from Victim Support was pleasant but a bit... er... well dippy really.... I would have liked a lesbian or a gay man, ideally. The person I saw clearly wasn’t.

Chris felt that the police had been so supportive to him that he did not need additional help, and he had reservations about Victim Support:

I actually chose not to use Victim Support.

(PD) Why did you not want Victim Support?

...well I’m a little sceptical about Victim Support and the qualities they have in dealing with homophobic hate crime. I don’t necessarily think that they are properly trained in that. Certainly the chap (from Victim Support) I spoke to was more focused on the fact... that I had been physically assaulted rather than on the reasons why. He talked about me having been knocked on the head with a big stick and I didn’t feel he was addressing the fact that I had been knocked over the head because I was gay...

Matt asked the police not to refer him Victim Support, but he found they *had* referred him when Victim Support contacted him:

¹⁰² Positive East is a support group for HIV positive people in East London. See <http://www.positiveeast.org.uk/#whoweare> Visited 11 March 2010.

The officer I talked to early on Sunday morning asked if I wanted Victim Support and I said no. She then said she had to ask me why not... I told her I didn't feel I needed support. But then someone from VS rang me, yesterday as it happens. I told him I didn't really need their help... They rang on a withheld number, which I didn't like very much.

(PD) What didn't you like about that?

Just the fact that they withhold their number, it doesn't seem very appropriate somehow, when they are inviting people to ring them.

These extracts raise significant points about what is valued, and not valued, about support. For Mike and Chris, support was only relevant to them if offered by people who were familiar with gay life, and who would not try to avoid acknowledging the homophobic aspect of the crime. Mike did not mind whether he was supported by a man or a woman, but he wanted the supporter to be someone knowledgeable about and at ease with the LGBT community. Chris wanted to be supported by the police officer with whom he had already established a rapport; not by someone with whom he would have to "re-live the experience". Matt seemed to be expressing reluctance to have the control over his life that the homophobic violence had undermined further weakened by someone ringing on a withheld number, whom he could not easily re-contact. These findings indicate the importance of support organisations being able to demonstrate competence to potential service users. This would be signalled by clear familiarity and understanding of LGBT communities, a lack of avoidance of the homophobic dimensions of the victimisation, and attention to detail about the manner in which contact is first made.

Four of the 26 participants had received support and had found it helpful. Eevan had contacted Victim Support instead of the police. He appreciated them taking the trouble to contact the local police LGBT liaison officer on his behalf. Eevan's experience illustrates the value of support organisations and criminal justice agencies working together to provide services that respond to the needs that victims express. Eevan only wanted someone in authority to speak with the hostel manager, which the police did. This was not exactly a criminal justice outcome, but Eevan valued it. Carl had been referred to Victim Support, but while he appreciated them writing a letter to the local authority in support of his application for re-housing, he did not feel able to talk to them about his emotional responses to the harassment he was receiving:

I didn't talk much to Victim Support. They wrote me a letter for the council, supporting my transfer.

(PD) Did they listen to you and help you talk about how you were feeling?

Yeah they did really but I feel awkward talking about it. Being dyslexic is hard enough, but now I've got to talk about all this stuff too and tell everyone about it. I feel stupid about it.

Carl had felt more appreciative of the support he had received from Galop because they had advocated actively on his behalf in contacting the police about the investigation, and in pressing the local authority to re-house him. They had focused on practical advocacy, which Carl had found easier to accept than emotional support. Carl needed to express his feelings about the harassment, but he felt unable to do so with Victim Support. Once again, sharing emotional difficulties of this nature did not seem to come easily to Carl who had become used to being guarded about his sexual orientation and whose strong class, family and cultural affiliations with masculine norms might have made it difficult for him to talk about emotions. When he confided in the local authority housing worker about the homophobic nature of the harassment, she became hostile. It would not be surprising if this had deterred Carl from talking to other organisations.

Unlike Carl, Franco was able to express his feelings in his blog, and he received supportive comments that affirmed the reality of his distress, enabling him to recover. It seemed to me that Carl had yet to receive such validation. Franco had reported the abuse he experienced in a supermarket queue on-line through Galop's web site. He said:

Well, Galop e-mailed me, quite quickly, and the e-mail said it was worth reporting. I responded and they wrote back to say the LGBT Liaison Officer would be in touch, but he hasn't been. It was helpful that Galop responded, and took it seriously.

Stewart talked of how the stabbing that he did not report to the police took him back to his childhood, reawakening feelings of being 'poofy and girly' that he thought he had left behind him. Adam, after seeking the help of his housing officer, concluded that LGBT people were of less importance than other minority groups. He said:

We wanted to talk to someone, someone who would really know how serious it was and who would listen, and say you shouldn't have to put up with this, who would really think it was wrong. We wanted someone to take it seriously. Victim Support is more for people who really can't cope. We can cope, just wanted someone to agree that we shouldn't have to put up with this.

In these extracts, Stewart and Adam were saying something important about the difficulties they had, as men, in accepting support, as the need to acknowledge vulnerability would be either inconsistent with their own perceptions of masculine invulnerability, or because of the expectations they had picked up that as men they should be invulnerable. Yet they wanted to have the harm that victimisation had caused

affirmed; something that is difficult to give when the person finds the offer of emotional support unattractive. Nevertheless, such affirmation could have been offered by the police, and it might have avoided Adam being left feeling that gay men's needs were seen as unimportant.

One of the most extensive discussions with participants about service needs took place with David, who felt Victim Support and Galop had both been helpful:

They wrote letters to the police and phoned me regularly to keep in touch. It was a good, non-intrusive type of support.

(PD) Could you say a bit more about what in particular it was about Victim Support and Galop that was different to the support you had from your solicitor or friends, and what was good about that?

There's an element that both organisations have that solicitors can never have, which is their very personal, highly tuned sensitive approach. This is important as it is never available from solicitors... or from anyone else. This is the invaluable element of emotional support. You cannot overburden them because they are not your friends. It is so important to have someone to talk to with whom you don't have to worry about being judged, or being a burden...

All this has hugely changed the way I interact with friends - I'm hugely mindful of censoring myself. There's a potential for feeling very alone, which is why VS and Galop are so important...

Following the interview with David, I wrote in my fieldwork notes: *despite Victim Support... being on good terms with the local police, the extent to which they were able to influence the police in this case seems to have been very marginal* (fieldwork notes, 1 October 2008). But despite their inability to secure a helpful response from the police, David valued Victim Support's help, and Galop's.

From David and the other participants who discussed their support needs and their experiences of being offered support, we can determine a number of characteristics of effective support, where effectiveness is defined as "producing the desired or intended result" (The Oxford Dictionary and Thesaurus 2007). These include a personal rather than bureaucratic approach that demonstrates an empathetic and supportive stance. This, provided supporters affirm that victims have the right to feel distressed about the abuse they experienced, enables people to trust the service and 'offload' to its personnel about the emotional impact of victimisation. This is something that few participants experienced in their contact with the police, yet Chris's experience suggests this should not be difficult to provide. Effective support also seems to include the willingness to act on the victim's behalf to mobilise protection from further victimisation; being accessible and contacting

the victim regularly; presenting as professional and competent; and being able to demonstrate being at ease with LGBT people and their concerns. The questions as to why support of this nature might not always be forthcoming from informal social networks, and why this lack may be felt in particular by victims of homophobic crime, will be explored next.

David said he felt “tormented” by the loss of his friendship with S, who had supported him in the aftermath of the neighbour breaking David’s jaw. He felt he had leant too heavily on S, and had driven him away. He had been unable to obtain the help of his family, who lived abroad. Victim Support and Galop were helpful to him because, unlike friends, they would not be overburdened by his needs. Similarly Colin could not accept his family’s offer of help because he was not ‘out’ to them and he could not let them see the homophobic graffiti that was daubed around his home. While Miss Kimberley had a more open relationship with her family, she was reluctant to expose them to the unpleasant reality of transphobia, so she kept herself somewhat distant from them. Lamar had no family support: indeed his family were a source of homophobic abuse, as were George’s family. Carl too was worried about the abuse to which he was subject spilling over into the lives of his family who lived nearby; and he was fearful of being rejected if they found out he was gay. Victim Support noted similar failings in the ability of families to support their LGBT members who were victimised (Victim Support 2006). The lack of family support for Black LGBT people may adversely affect them more than it affects their white counterparts, because families help them cope with racism (Mercer 1994). As Rob stated, “community safety is provided by (Black) extended families, but the price of receiving that safety is that you are expected to conform”. The data from this study suggest that the support needs of gay men may not be greatly dissimilar to those of people who are victimised for other reasons. Nevertheless there are, it seems, *some* differences that might amount to an added dimension of service needs, which have strong implications for police and support services. These are the role of shame and stigma combined with, for male victims, norms about masculine invulnerability, the limitations of informal support networks, and the distinct impact of homophobic crime. That impact seems to operate across all these dimensions to exacerbate the damaging effects of homophobic victimisation. It is worth recalling that verbal abuse has the power to terrify even those like Adam who presented as tough and far from vulnerable. Freedy *et al.* (1994) argue that the perceived threat to life that extremely abusive epithets convey is strongly associated with serious emotional problems such as PTSD. Yet, many victims of homophobic crime play down the seriousness of the abuse or their subsequent support needs (Herek and Berrill 1992, Tyrer 2000); perhaps because they have internalised homophobic norms and

may feel they have to some extent deserved what happened to them (Stanko and Curry 1997), as Mike believed. But before support services can explore these deeper issues, they may need to start with overcoming the legacy of, perhaps, their own and certainly their statutory partners' previous failures to gain the confidence of LGBT communities.

What emerges from the interview data is that 'mainstream' support services were unattractive to many of the participants because they did not offer a service that appeared competent to help, and because they were not trusted due to their distance from LGBT people. Data from interviews with support staff broadens this finding somewhat, suggesting that this may apply widely among LGBT people who are victimised. In addition, those that do not report homophobic crime are not referred to Victim Support. However, David's satisfaction with Victim Support might suggest that, as with the police, it is possible to offer a service that is valued: but, for most of the men in this study, sadly that was not forthcoming. Acknowledging their vulnerability seemed to be a difficult step for gay men to take because it is contrary to masculine norms, and this deterred them from accepting support when it was offered.

Discussion

The MPS distributes a range of promotional literature that proclaims the police will treat homophobic crime seriously. The message is that victims of homophobic and transphobic crime should report it to the police, and thereby 'stop it'; as the 'fridge magnet pictured below illustrates:



(Figure 1: photograph of MPS promotional 'fridge magnet').

Most of this literature is representative of, as Garland describes it, the 'responsibilisation strategy' where the state shifts responsibility for crime control from itself to its citizens (Garland 2001). Unfortunately this can mean that LGBT people are given crime prevention advice to do what they already do (Moran 2001). It seems that, in the vision of the MPS, this responsibilisation is extended from responsibility for protecting one's self from homophobic attacks to bringing about the cessation of all homophobic crime! My data suggest that police efforts to 'responsibilise' gay men are irrelevant to victims attacked in their homes or going about their daily business; and to those who have already taken sensible precautions to avoid being victimised around gay venues.

Meanwhile, most of the participants who reported homophobic abuse found that the police response was unsatisfactory. They described a gulf between what the MPS promise, and what is delivered. The literature on responses to racism may help explain why this might

be the case. Writing about the contemporary discourse on racism, Alexander and Knowles argue that a “focus on difference and a celebration of marginality” has made structures of inequality less visible and discussion of racism has disappeared from the political agenda. This has led to a loss of “the politics of engagement”, which has been replaced by “a politics of representation, creating the impression that what mattered was what we thought about things and not what we did about them” (Alexander and Knowles 2005: 3).

Constructions of hegemonic masculinity emerge from the data as factors in the failure of the police and local authorities to protect gay men from abuse. Adam and his partner were told by the local authority that as men they should be able to look after themselves.¹⁰³ Stewart was reluctant to report and ask, in his words, “one group of horrible straight men to sort out another group of horrible straight men”. David found that neither the police nor the local authority seemed able to accept that he was being victimised by a woman. He questioned why it was that female officers seemed more helpful:

Only a tiny number of all the police officers I have dealt with have been helpful, both of whom were women as it happens. I don't know what it is about male police officers... their need to demonstrate their testosterone perhaps?

In struggling to interest police officers in my research, talking with them in police canteens, and going out on patrol with them, I found that female officers were much more willing to engage in dialogue than most of their male colleagues were (with one notable exception, a male sergeant at Wimbledon). One male officer who I went out on patrol with took every opportunity to tell me all about his wife, as if he was trying to assure me of his heterosexuality. Later a man jokingly told him he looked ‘nice’ in uniform and his gruff response was “I’ll have to tell my wife that”. This came across to me as an ungracious attempt to distance himself from this flirtatious and friendly remark. My impressions from my admittedly very limited experience of observing police officers was that most male officers, including one gay officer, seemed somewhat uncomfortable with gay issues, whereas female officers tended to be more relaxed.

Holdaway observed that police officers “mould force policy into workable strategies in order both to deal with the problems of their work as they define them and to sustain their own culture” (Holdaway 1983: 89). My findings suggest that Holdaway’s analysis may still apply, 26 years later. Indeed, referring to Michael Banton’s 1964 study of policing,

¹⁰³ The tendency of social housing providers to assume that men subject to violent victimisation ought not to need protection has also been noted in Australian research (Moran and Sharpe 2004).

Foster comments that discussions of police cultures have a “timeless quality” (Foster 2003: 222). To develop this discussion, we need to consider the ways in which masculinities are enacted in policing and the implications of this. There are few British studies of this issue, though Foster, Newburn and Souhami found that while overtly racist language had largely been excised from the MPS, homophobic language was still apparent and sexist behaviour was widespread (Foster *et al.* 2005). It is therefore necessary to consider US research. Prokos and Padavic found that police training had an informal curriculum about masculinity that “instructs students about the particular form of masculinity that is lauded in police culture... and the nature of the groups that fall ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of the culture of policing” (Prokos and Padavic 2002: 440). Similarly, Herbert noted with a sense of irony that while the aggressive behaviour of the ‘masculinist’ cop was celebrated, most police work was ‘peacekeeping’ involving mediation and calming down conflicts. Citing Banton and van Wormer, Herbert concludes that because of the preponderance of such work, which demands more ‘feminine’ skills, women tend to be superior patrol officers. He argues that masculinist culture works against initiatives such as community policing, which is “incompatible with the prevalent masculinist ethos” (Herbert 2001: 63). But there are contrary views: following her study of Australian policing, Chan (1996) problematised the concept of ‘police culture’, criticising it for being too loosely defined and containing a whole range of largely negative attributes, whereas there are functional aspects of police culture, such as it providing a source of support for officers (Foster 2003, Reiner 1992). Reviewing existing police research, Waddington argues that police officers do not necessarily act in accordance with the prejudiced attitudes that they may express in the canteen, which acts as a ‘repair shop’ for them. He concludes that “police sub-culture operates mainly as a palliative, rather than as a guide to future action” (Waddington 1999: 295).

There is only limited acknowledgement by the police of the processual nature of much hate crime, while its potential to generate a ‘critical incident’ is more overtly identified in police policy documents. This raises the question of why one of the complexities of hate crime is acknowledged (critical incidents), while another of similar significance is not. Are, therefore, policing needs prioritised over those of victimised people? In March 2010, an HM Inspectorate of Constabulary report criticised police services for failing to identify ‘repeat victims’ effectively. They found that:

More than half the 43 forces in England and Wales could not automatically identify people who were repeat victims of antisocial behaviour, leaving police officers ignorant of vulnerable people in need of help.¹⁰⁴

Insensitive treatment of hate crime victims by police officers is recognised as re-victimising, and to be avoided; while the value of fostering positive relationships with communities as a means of obtaining intelligence are all recognised (ACPO 2005). However, ACPO also notes that “strategy and policy are not always translated into action at operational level” (ACPO 2005: 34). Individual officers such as PC2 noted the need to provide ‘social worker-ish’ support to victims, but she considered that police officers do not receive sufficient training to deliver such support. She and most other liaison officers I spoke with did not believe that police culture, and the way in which the MPS managed its officers, encouraged the police to provide help to vulnerable people. Indeed the ACPO guidance contains quite detailed information about the provision of support, though it is framed in terms of providing support in order to “help them feel confident to act as prosecution witnesses” (ACPO 2005: 24). It could be argued that victims are entitled to such support whether or not they are able and willing to give evidence (Reeves and Dunn 2010).

Moving on to the work of support services, the police are ‘gatekeepers’ to support organisations and most of those who do not report homophobic crime are unlikely to obtain support. In this study, the exception to this was Eevan, who had sought Victim Support’s help because he wanted help, not a criminal justice outcome. Fear of revictimisation may deter gay men from reporting and make it difficult for them to request help, especially if they associate support services with the long history of oppressive policing of LGBT communities (McGhee 2005, Miller *et al.* 2003). Meanwhile, people generally tend to underestimate the effects of their victimisation and their support needs. Maguire and Corbett found in their survey of burglary victims that the majority said they did not want or need support. However, they also observed that Victim Support volunteers when visiting victims in their homes would often be told that there was no need for support, but would then find that some victims “reveal quite serious effects... when the volunteer is on the point of leaving” (Maguire and Corbett 1987: 38). It was because victims were known to be unlikely to seek out services that Victim Support

¹⁰⁴ *Police forces not doing enough to tackle antisocial behaviour, survey finds.* The Guardian, 11 March 2010 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/mar/11/antisocial-behaviour-police-forces-report> Retrieved 12 March 2010

involved 'volunteer visitors' who would proactively go to people's homes to offer the service.¹⁰⁵

Mawby and Kirchhoff's research about burglary noted the lack of diverse sources of support for victims, concluding that in the main, "victims are reliant upon the police and Victim Support services, where available, for any help they receive after the offence" (Mawby and Kirchhoff 1996: 67). While Galop is available to people affected by homophobic or transphobic hate crime in London, most victims do not have very much choice about where to go for support, particularly since Victim Support has expanded into the 'territory' of specialist organisations such as SAMM, RoadPeace, Rape Crisis and so on (Williams and Goodman 2007). Victim Support found factors in the non-take up of support among hate crime victims included concerns that the service would be ignorant of cultural differences and the LGBT community; dislike of Victim Support's association with the police; and assumptions that the service offered would not meet their needs (Victim Support 2006). Victim Support volunteers have stated that many victims turn down the offer of support for altruistic reasons, because they feel that resources should be reserved for those in most need.¹⁰⁶ It could be that what people are also expressing is the desire to avoid accepting vulnerability: "for people who really can't cope", as Adam described Victim Support. This conception is similar to Paul's position, where support may be for people that do not follow a 'logical' (and perhaps masculine?) process of progressing toward a solution.

Reaching an understanding of the role that masculinity plays in men's propensity to accept or reject emotional support might be facilitated by comparison with the experiences of lesbian victims of homophobic abuse. A recent study by the Metropolitan Police, *Women's Experience of Homophobia and Transphobia*, mentioned support needs only briefly, concluding that "many women are seeking sympathy, advice and support, commonly from another lesbian/gay, transsexual or transgender person and are turning to personal contact to obtain this" (Paterson, S *et al.* 2008: 36). Balsam suggests that lesbians may find it more acceptable to seek therapy following victimisation than might heterosexual women, but she makes no similar comparisons with men (Balsam 2003). Galop noted from their survey of Black LGBT people that Black women were more likely than Black men to be 'out' to their families and thereby more able to obtain support from informal networks (Galop 2001). Being 'out' is claimed to be associated with faster recovery from

¹⁰⁵ In conversation with Dame Helen Reeves, former Chief Executive of Victim Support.

¹⁰⁶ Personal impression gained while employed by Victim Support.

homophobic attacks (Rivers and Cowie 2006). Unitary identity categorisations may be particularly misleading in relation to lesbians who may be subject to the interaction of misogyny and homophobia (Mason 2002),¹⁰⁷ and this could itself make comparison of men's and women's support needs unproductive.

Data from interviews with victims and supporters suggest that LGBT organisations may be more effective in supporting LGBT people affected by homophobic crime than 'mainstream' service providers such as Victim Support. This may be because LGBT organisations have always been distanced from the 'mainstream' and arguably heterosexist sphere of service provision. Already 'othered', their personnel have had to resolve for themselves the challenges to established gender and sexual norms that same-sex and transgender relationships present. They would have no need to avoid speaking of the source, nature and impact of homophobic abuse. Chris's Victim Support volunteer avoided acknowledging the homophobic element of the crime, and the significance of this for Chris was that by inadvertently signalling his discomfort about gay life he had thereby failed to assure Chris of his competence to help. Victim Support itself found that victims of hate crime tended to be more satisfied with services provided by specialist community groups (Victim Support 2006) for broadly similar reasons.

Summary

Data from the survey, the semi-structured interviews, participant observation and case records all suggest that victims of homophobic crime in London do not receive the service that the MPS aspires to provide. The response of the police is likely, for victims, to be the most significant of all the agencies they encounter following a crime (Mawby 2007). The help that Lee, Paul, Eevan and Chris received, and the aspirations of the police officers I interviewed, all suggest that providing a policing service of the quality described in the ACPO *Hate Crime Manual* should not be too difficult or resource-intensive to be achievable. Indeed Chris was dissatisfied with the outcome of the prosecution, even though it achieved compensation for him, whereas he was satisfied with the helpful nature of the support the police officer provided. Most of the men I interviewed valued outcomes that are not necessarily concerned with criminal justice imperatives but which are instead the 'touchy-feely' activities, to quote PC2, that she felt most police officers dislike. These include being treated sensitively and with respect, hearing the legitimacy of their distress

¹⁰⁷ Meyer's research found that Black gay men were more likely than white gay men to express uncertainty about whether or not the violent victimisation they experienced was based on their sexual orientation (Meyer 2008).

affirmed, and receiving help in dealing with the aftermath of the victimisation. My findings suggest that policing has failed to comprehend the processual nature of hate crime. While masculinist police culture might not be the wholly negative phenomenon that some of the literature alleges, it may nevertheless distance police officers from anyone who challenges masculine norms, deterring officers from providing the empathetic response that many victims would find helpful. This masculinism in state authorities might have implications far beyond the policing of minority communities: Herbert claims that “these gendered practices can work not just to uphold patriarchy but to minimize efforts toward greater democratic oversight of state actions” (Herbert 2001: 67-68).

The data indicate that many gay men who experience homophobic crime are reluctant to seek support; yet many expressed a need to receive affirmation that the distress they experienced was warranted. That might be explained by three dynamics that seem to be associated with the impact of homophobic attitudes and behaviour. These are men’s need to appear to uphold masculine norms of invulnerability and to downplay its emotional impact; the internalisation of homophobic norms that cause men like Mike to feel ‘dirty’ in response to their victimisation (therefore unworthy of support); and the unattractive nature of support organisations that may be associated with the police or which present themselves as centred primarily around heterosexual lifestyles. If indeed these factors are particular to the aftermath of homophobic crime, they point to a distinct effect of it that I suggest is under-explored in victimological research, which is the tendency of homophobic crime by its very nature to distance its victims from formal and informal sources of support. The effects of this may be most acutely felt by Black LGBT people who might look to their family for help in dealing with the consequences of racism. Homophobic crime reactivates past feelings of shame that some of the participants in this research thought they had dealt with: support services could find a way of dealing with this issue in order to provide effective help. They also need to find ways around some men’s tendency to associate emotional support with ‘femininity’ and the inability to cope. All the men in this study were in various ways struggling to reassert control of their lives, control that had been undermined by the victimisation and sometimes, by state responses to it. Therefore, support that might appear at first sight to impede the reassertion of control was unattractive. Meanwhile, services that cannot present themselves as ‘gay-friendly’ were experienced by most victims as unhelpful, which may explain why specialist LGBT support organisations seem to be preferred by many LGBT victims. The development of mainstream services to homophobic crime through work on racist crime may signal an incomplete and unsatisfactory process that allows institutional homophobia to persist and

structural factors in the maintenance of pervasive homophobia to be overlooked, as the case study of Victim Support suggests.

What may be most valued about skilled emotional support, which could be supplied by police officers or by support services, is that professional supporters cannot, unlike friends, be overburdened by providing it. Finally, when considered in the light of the data about policing, it seems that support organisations should acknowledge that as well as helping victims take a proactive stance in dealing with the consequences of victimisation, they may also need to address the re-victimising impact of the responses of police and local authorities to homophobic victimisation.

7. Conclusions, implications for policy and practice, and further research

Oppressed people resist by identifying themselves as subjects, by defining their reality, shaping their new identity, naming their history, telling their story - bell hooks (hooks 1989:43).

Later I decided that the stories were more important than the theories - Howard Becker (Becker 2007: 106).

hooks stresses the importance of hearing what people who are subject to discrimination have to say about their lives from their perspective, with subjects defining the meanings of their experiences rather than being the objects of a process of definition that is undertaken by others. Howard Becker was reflecting on the frustration that he experienced in his early years of teaching, when students seemed to recall more about the stories that he told in illustrating theory than they did about the theories themselves. In writing about my research, it often seemed to me that the insights generated by the research participants could potentially take us further in identifying why and in what way people are harmed by homophobic and transphobic victimisation than many criminological and sociological theoretical frameworks might. For example, when struggling to apply 'queer theory', which is refreshing in the challenges it makes to earlier, more conventional sociological conceptions of LGBT life as 'deviance', I found Plummer's view very helpful:

When I read some of the wilder textual analyses of the queer theorists, I do sometimes wonder just whose worlds I am entering? They rightly raise very challenging ideas, and I am often excited when I read them, but I also have a gnawing feeling that they are very much removed from the ordinary everyday lived experiences of sexuality that most people encounter across the world in their everyday lives" (Plummer 2007: 20).

Plummer goes on to argue that alongside queer studies, a "more conventional interactionist grounded ethnographic" approach is needed (p.20), indicating the importance of considering human stories and experiences within theoretical frameworks that can extend the insights obtained from them. In view of the subject of this thesis - people's experiences of victimisation - it is helpful to note Wachs' view that "it is in their stories that victims' voices can be heard" (Wachs 1988: xiii). What the participants have said about the nature and impact of homophobic victimisation has been amplified by the stories of police officers, support service staff and others about their interaction with people who are abused on account of others' intolerance of their difference. Many of the

'professional' participants had been instrumental in shaping state and voluntary sector responses to hate crime. Understanding how they made their decisions about such matters can tell us much about shifting social attitudes to difference, discrimination and victimisation. It can also help us understand the processes by which policy about hate crime has widened, propelled by the work of social movements. These processes have led to the inclusion of LGBT people in initiatives to address hate crime, but in a way that has not necessarily understood the subtle but significant differences between the five diversity 'strands'¹⁰⁸ to which current UK policy about hate crime is directed. The process by which this inclusion has occurred might explain why the experience of criminal justice responses to hate crime that are described in this thesis were largely so unsatisfactory.

Therefore the purpose of this conclusion is to draw together what we might learn from a sociological exploration of abuse around difference and policy responses to it. The first section below contains a summary of the main findings from this research, many of which echo the results of other studies cited in the literature review. The next three sections will summarise findings about issues that I identified as being of particular significance because they have hitherto not been the subject of extensive research. These refer to the research questions listed in section 1.2 and they include the nature of the differential impact of homophobic crime; the intersection of racist and homophobic crime; and men, masculinities and homophobic victimisation. It is the analysis of data about these issues that provides the most original contribution to sociological knowledge about the impact of hate crime and homophobic crime in particular. These will be followed by a summary of the implications of my research for policing and for support services. Next, a number of observations will be made about the way in which the hate crime 'agenda' came to incorporate homophobic (and transphobic) victimisation, and what the results of this process have been. Finally I shall propose some areas where there may be benefits gained from conducting more research. It is acknowledged that the findings reported in this thesis were drawn from a small sample of 25 gay men and one transgender woman; 23 support staff, police officers and policy makers; and 96 people who responded to the survey. The extent to which the findings can be generalised to other populations, or can be claimed to be representative of gay men in general, is therefore limited. Nevertheless, there were strong similarities in the data from victims, professionals and survey respondents, and analysis of these data was supported by the participant observation. This may suggest that the experiences of the victim participants may be quite typical, at least in London.

¹⁰⁸ The five 'strands' are race, religion, sexual orientation, disability, and transgender (ACPO 2005).

7.1 A summary of impact, consequences, police responses and support needs

Because of the largely qualitative nature of my research, I did not set out to contribute to the debate about how much homophobic crime occurs. There are wide variations in the extent of homophobic abuse reported in surveys. Stonewall's research suggested that 20 *per cent* of LGBT people in the UK had experienced a homophobic crime or incident in the past three years, 75 *per cent* of which were not reported to the police (Dick 2008). In contrast, a survey of homophobic crime in Belfast found 82 *per cent* of respondents had experienced homophobic abuse or harassment, and 55 *per cent* had experienced violence (Jarman and Tennant 2003). Obtaining and analysing data is complicated because much of what is disclosed in surveys (for example, homophobic bullying at work) does not necessarily fit neatly into crime categories (Kelley 2009). Variations in extent may be affected by factors such as geographical location and research methods. In my survey, 40 out of 96 respondents (41 *per cent*) said they had experienced homophobic abuse. What we might conclude from all these findings is that substantial numbers of gay men are affected by homophobic crime. Furthermore, much of it is not trivial. Seven of the men who responded to my survey said that they needed medical attention after being victimised and many were deeply affected by verbal abuse. The variability in survey findings underlines the value of obtaining qualitative data about the experience of victimisation and its aftermath.

The 'everyday' nature of homophobic abuse is apparent in the literature, and in my research as well (Mason and Palmer 1996, Moran and Skeggs 2004, Victim Support 2006). People are homophobically abused in or near their homes or when they were going about ordinary day to day activities. There may often be little they can do to avoid homophobic victimisation. Participants who experienced repeat victimisation had tried to mobilise protection from state authorities, often with no success. Adam, evicted after experiencing homophobic harassment by his neighbours, experienced it again in his next home. Homophobic abuse by neighbours seemed to be motivated principally by homophobia, rather than sexuality being exploited as an additional resource in a dispute. People who find themselves the focus of their neighbours' or family's homophobia may be more seriously affected by the abuse than are those who are abused elsewhere. This is because home is not the safe place that it is expected to be (Victim Support 2006). People may be unable to regain a sense of security by attributing responsibility for their victimisation to their own actions as, for example, a burglary victim might by remembering in future to close the windows on leaving the house (Janoff-Bulman and Frieze 1983). Many participants in my research found that they became caught up in a 'rolling aftermath' that

included further victimisation; loss of friends, family, and home; illness or dependence on prescribed or illicit drugs; involuntary 'outing'; and secondary victimisation from state authorities that they attributed to institutional homophobia and bureaucratic inertia.

Homophobic abuse was described as having a powerful symbolic attack on gay men's identities, and for Miss Kimberley transphobic crime had a similar effect. By attacking victims' personal identities in addition to their bodies and property, hate crimes inflict psychological damage that is serious and that may exceed the harm caused by crimes not motivated by hatred (Herek *et al.* 2004). Pervasive homophobia compounds the psychological damage that homophobic crime inflicts, especially because notorious homophobic crimes seem to unleash a wave of public homophobia, as Andrew described in the media reporting of the murder of Jody Dobrowski. Peter's observation that "attacks like that remind you that there are people out there who are out to get you" is redolent of claims that homophobic abuse generates ontological insecurity, with LGBT people having to accept being "at risk at *all* times" (Stanko and Curry 1997: 520). Such ontological insecurity can be transferred to members of the minority community who hear about hate crimes, are not directly targeted, but nevertheless feel affected by what has happened to their peers. This may be how the '*in terrorem*' effect of hate crime that Iganski describes functions (Iganski 2001). The power of abusive terms to convey low regard for the victim while simultaneously expressing the offender's sense of superiority (Delgado and Stefancic 2004) means that the impact of verbal abuse is often harmful. Furthermore, the profanity and implied threat conveyed in verbal abuse, combined with the debasement of the female that is expressed in terms such as 'queer cunt', may account for victims' feelings of hurt, damage and fear especially when these are expressed in public. The power of homophobic abuse to reawaken shame and stigma that men thought they had resolved is evident in, for example, Mike's belief that he might have deserved to have his car windows smashed. Members of stigmatised groups may feel some ambivalence about themselves because part of personal identity is drawn from social norms that are not completely attainable (Goffman 1963). Such ambivalence is reflected in feelings of shame and in reluctance to report even very serious incidents to the police. The capacity of homophobic abuse to draw public attention to victims' "membership of a shamed group" (Goffman 1963: 35) may be part of what is so depressing about bystander passivity and it may also be a distinct consequence of homophobic crime. However, there is a range of problems with established sociological theory about hate-motivated victimisation in particular, some of which I will turn to next.

Giddens argues that identity development in late modernity is affected by ontological insecurity associated with 'disembedding mechanisms' that separate people from traditional reference points in identity formation, leading to 'fractured' self-identity (Giddens 1991). While his approach is centred in the role of social structure and social change, the focus is still on individual inadequacies. Analyses that centre on a 'deficit' model of homosexuality such as the work of Goffman and others should be questioned because, while they may be products of their time, they are rooted in notions of normality and deviance. Queer theory challenges such conventional constructs by questioning established classifications of sexuality and gender, drawing attention to their socially constructed nature and therefore, their contestability. Butler sets out a major difficulty with the application of identity categories, which is that they have always been "instruments of regulatory regimes, ...as the normalising categories of oppressive structures..." (Salih 2004: 121). Taking the symbolic interactionist perspective that identities are formed and re-formed reflexively in interaction with one's self and with other people (Blumer 1963) a step further, some queer theorists would argue that is more helpful to think in terms of identifications than identities. Identifications are not fixed but are fluid and changeable (Sullivan 2003). Goffman's work on stigma is somewhat deterministic; stigma, shame, ontological insecurity being in these conceptions to a large extent immutable and attributable to personal pathology rather than to social structure. Whereas, a focus the relevance of people's preferred identifications and the role of the community and social networks they might identify with in coming to terms with victimisation may be a more positive and productive approach when considering the role of social theory in policy development, because it moves the focus of attention from individual reactions to the functioning of social structures and processes.

Perry argues that when criminology studies minority groups, the interest is in their criminality and rarely on the victimisation, arising from prejudice, to which they are subject. It has "failed to seriously address the sociocultural underpinnings of the violent oppression of subordinate communities" (Perry 2001: 33). In relation to LGBT people, it is what has been written about 'deviance' that makes this tendency apparent. Cohen defines deviance in relatively neutral terms: "behaviour that departs from what a group expects to be done or what it considers the desirable way of doing things" (Cohen 1971: 9); and he points out that the concept carries with it evaluative, moral and practical implications that criminologists had (at that time) tended to ignore. Later criminological teaching suggests that those implications remain, and they include the way in which criminology has persisted in viewing LGBT people as 'deviant' in some potentially undesirable manner,

rather than acknowledging their vulnerability to victimisation as a result of the intolerance of difference. For example, Downes and Rock write of “mental illness, prostitution, homosexuality and drug taking - all forms of deviance without immediate and visible victims” (Downes and Rock 2003: 286). While the authors were writing of conceptions of deviance that have since been challenged (and to which they themselves might not subscribe), the implication remains that there may still perhaps be invisible ‘victims’ of homosexuality who will emerge at some later stage. The question here is to what extent might such constructs uncritically inform the approach taken by people responsible for generating policy and developing practice about hate crime?

Returning to the summary of my research, two final points about policing and support services need to be made. The role of the police in making the initial response to a report of a homophobic crime was pivotal. A positive response led men like Chris, Lee and Paul to value being believed, receiving prompt attention, and seeing effective action being taken to protect either themselves or other people from further victimisation. In sharp contrast, most of the other participants in my research described being disbelieved, being passed around from one police unit to another, not being able to contact officers, and not receiving any protection from further victimisation. Helpful responses from the police almost obviated the need for support, whereas for most participants unhelpful responses greatly *increased* their distress. Meanwhile, features of effective support included being believed, having the seriousness of the abuse affirmed, seeing action taken to protect themselves or other people from further abuse, and being helped to exercise agency in dealing with the aftermath of the abuse. These are the action-orientated features of support that gay men value because these constitute the ‘fighting back’ that helps them move away from victimhood.

7.2 The distinct and differential impact of homophobic crime

The existing evidence of a distinctly more harmful impact of hate-motivated victimisation has been sufficient to provide a rationale for stronger sentences (Iganski 2008), but the nature of the differential impact of homophobic crime in particular is less well understood. Why is it that several men in this research who had experienced homophobic victimisation as well as other ‘personal’ crime not motivated by prejudice said that the homophobic abuse was significantly more serious in its harmful consequences? Bystander non-intervention seems a highly significant component of differential impact. So too is the

rolling aftermath of homophobic crime, and its tendency to separate victims from sources of informal support. Before considering these dynamics, it may be helpful to summarise the interaction of several processes that are significant here, one of which is the experience of being targeted because of a centrally important aspect of one's identity. This is already noted in the literature (Garnets *et al.* 1990, Herek *et al.* 2004, Iganski 2001, Mason 2002); but other processes were also apparent in what the participants in my research said about their victimisation. These were the impact of the abuse itself, the connections they made between it and previous experiences of abuse, the fear that the attack evoked about further victimisation, and the anxiety that was engendered by unsatisfactory official responses that suggested no effective protection from further attacks would be forthcoming. Not all of these four processes have to come into play for the impact of the homophobic crime to be more serious. For example, Chris had a very positive experience of reporting homophobic crime to the police. When he was caught up in a pub fight and 'glassed' this incident was of "no importance" to him compared with the homophobic attack. That was because the 'glassing' was not a highly personal attack on him that connected with his previous experiences of homophobia and evoked his fear of further violence. For Adrian, the response of the Portuguese police to his experience of mugging felt purposeful because they involved him in action to deal with the crime. In contrast, he described being verbally abused in public as very threatening, especially because bystander non-intervention may have signalled that everyone present supported the offenders' actions. It reminded him of previous homophobic abuse, and because he did not want to report it, there was no logical course of action to take. As a result he felt helpless, stating that "I think I would feel (about possible future victimisation) that I just have to accept what is thrown at me".

Because bystander non-intervention can be interpreted as an expression of tacit public approval of offenders' actions, it can reinforce the sense of shame people experience about being subject to hate crime. A sense of shame may apply to any minority group that is targeted, partly because of tacit assumptions that people who are victimised must have somehow deserved it (see Lerner 1980); but it is likely to be felt most acutely by those who feel most distanced from established, predominantly heterosexual social norms. Stewart's sense of shame about being stabbed was so strong that he did not feel able to tell hospital staff about the homophobic element, nor could he report it to the police. Franco found bystander passivity to be the most hurtful aspect of his victimisation, while Jim said, weeks after he was abused, that bystander passivity was an ongoing source of depression for him. Bystander passivity is of course not restricted to hate crime, as the

inaction of neighbours during the rape and murder of Kitty Genovese in New York in 1964 powerfully illustrates. Bystanders may be more likely to intervene when they feel some sense of similarity to the victim and can empathise with her or him. They are less likely to intervene when personal responsibility is diffused by a large number of bystanders (Hogg and Vaughan 2005), as there were when Adrian and Stewart were attacked. The verbal abuse that accompanies much homophobic victimisation may be heard by heterosexual bystanders who might not feel empathy with the victim because of the process of 'othering' that for many people calls into question LGBT people's right to existence in public space (Richardson and May 1999). People who experience bystander passivity during homophobic abuse may not be aware that it can be a feature of other crimes. When bystanders passively observe a homophobic attack, this may well compound the damaging impact of the abuse (Craig-Henderson 2009). Especially if they have been recently aware of other public expressions of homophobic attitudes reported in the media, victims may interpret passivity to mean that bystanders are homophobic as well.

The aftermath of homophobic abuse that includes being 'outed', loss of family support and unsatisfactory responses from state authorities that reflect homophobic norms may be distinct features. Few participants had found police officers to be overtly homophobic, but some perceived the enactment of homophobia among police officers to be characterised by officers' general discomfort with gay lifestyles. The tendency for some police officers to look for other explanations for the abuse will be distressing to victims of homophobic crime because the implication is that the homophobic element did not really happen or was too trivial to require investigation. Several participants in my research found that the rolling aftermath of the victimisation included being distanced from sources of informal support such as friends and family members. This was particularly difficult for those who experienced neighbourhood harassment and for Black gay men. They did not want their problems to be a burden to friends or to have their families confronted by the unpleasant reality of the abuse they were experiencing; meaning that they could not call on their family's support. Some not only wanted to shield family members who lived nearby from neighbours' abusiveness, but were also fearful of some family members finding out they were gay. This may be a particular problem for working class LGBT people living in social housing. Distinct consequences of homophobic abuse were perhaps most damaging for Black participants who were subject to the interaction of homophobia and racism.

7.3 The interaction of homophobia and racism

The existing research describes Black gay men's particular vulnerability to hate motivated victimisation (Galop 2001, Manalansan 1996, Noelle 2009). The intersections of racism and homophobia may introduce a new range of factors in the way in which racist and homophobic practices are constitutive of each other (Erel *et al.* 2008), making their effects "multiple and simultaneous rather than additive or aggregate" (Meyer 2008). However, while some Black participants such as Lamar were harmed by the homophobia of their families, George had sustained years of abuse by his family in Ireland, who were white. This might illustrate how misleading the simplistic attribution of extreme homophobia to BME communities may be. Such attributions were unacceptable to Hanaan and Dennis in particular who felt that assumptions that BME communities were 'more homophobic' did not accord with their own lives as Black gay men. Deleon and Patrick cited the role of some religions in sustaining violent homophobia, and religions may be more of a significant influence in driving homophobic abuse than race.

The invisibility of Black gay men in LGBT communities that the professional participants talked of has arisen partly because they are a minority within a minority, but also because conceptions of whiteness are valorised in the marketing of LGBT culture and lifestyles. These factors may have led to a number of interconnected conditions that amplify the power of homophobic abuse, in its interaction with racism in particular, as an oppressive force. This illustrates the dynamics of intersectionality, including the way in which invisibility allows the conception of homosexuality as a feature of white culture to be sustained among BME communities; and as Subodh pointed out, the fact that the specific needs of BME LGBT people are overlooked in the planning of local crime reduction initiatives. This makes it difficult for BME men to report homophobic abuse: not only are gay men 'othered', but the existence of Black gay men is often not really even considered in the planning of services.

Black gay men have to negotiate a complex set of factors in the make-up of their Black and gay identities, asking themselves, as Deleon expressed it: "who am I going to be today?" This once again indicates the significance of people's identifications with other people, communities and *milieux*. Weeks writes that: "Identity is about belonging, what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others" and we all live with a range of complex identities "which battle within us for allegiance" (Weeks 1991: 194). Mercer (1994) points out that the need to affirm gay identities may conflict with Black gay men's need to show allegiance to family and tradition. For Mercer, the

marginalization of Black gay men in Britain is signalled by exhortations to come out, which ignore the particular difficulties Black gay men may have because their families provide essential support in dealing with racism. If Black gay men come out, they risk losing family support. The experiences of the Black gay men in my research illustrate the nature and effects of some of these struggles, as well as the complexities that arise when homophobic abuse causes racism to become an issue in mixed-race partnerships. David felt unsupported by what he felt was the racism of his white friends who sought to imbue all Black people with the homophobia that had been expressed by the Black men who stabbed him; whereas John and Nicolas found their relationship was disrupted by the struggle Nicolas had as a white man with a mixed-race partner to resolve the difficult issues that arose in his attempts to cope with the abusiveness of their Black neighbour. The way in which race was in this way a difficult issue for some of the white as well as the Black participants is perhaps an indication of the capacity of racism to disrupt communities that might have hitherto felt themselves unlikely to be affected by it.

hooks' (2004) analysis seems helpful in this discussion. She argues that because the emasculation of Black men is so embedded, many Black parents feel they have to bring their boys up to be tough. The added impact of racism, which Mercer refers to as creating "a subordinated masculinity" (Mercer 1994: 143), makes this process more extreme in Black families, causing allegiance to patriarchal thinking about sex roles and coupling this with rigid religious beliefs. Because white men can deflect attention from their own violence onto Black males, Black men's *machismo* is therefore "deified" as well as condemned (hooks 2004: 66). Furthermore, "Black men may be reluctant to criticize phallocentrism and sexism, precisely because so much black male 'style' has its roots in these positions; they may fear that eradicating patriarchy would leave them without the positive expressive styles that have been life-sustaining" (hooks 1992: 111).

If we accept that Black men's gender identities have been constructed through complex processes of power and subordination, we can see how homophobia becomes part of a repertoire of behaviours that help Black men retrieve some degree of power (Mercer 1994). Denied access to other means of affirming sexuality and masculinity, Black men have "invested in the 'macho' role which trades off and perpetuates the stereotype and gives rise to exploitative and instrumentalized uses of sexuality" (Mercer 1004: 150). The harmful impact of homophobic abuse enacted by Black people (against, perhaps, Black gay men in particular) is therefore more of a function of hegemonic masculinity than it is of race. A further complication for Black gay men is the difficulty they may face in

challenging homophobia in Black communities. As hooks points out, the need for solidarity with Black men makes it difficult for Black women to confront Black male sexism. Some women see Black male abuse of women as a response to frustrated masculinity and they think abuse is understandable and even justifiable on those grounds (hooks 2000). The same dynamics will apply to Black gay men who, referring again to Mercer's notion of allegiance, may feel that challenging Black men's homophobia conflicts with the solidarity that they should share with other Black (heterosexual) men in resisting racism. Stewart's partner had reacted strongly against being told by his attackers that he should be ashamed of being a 'Black batty boy'. It is apparent that the fear of such an indictment could inhibit Black gay men from allowing themselves to be visible as Black gay men.

Class and gender also, of course, intersect with sexual orientation (Weeks 2003). Class was a factor in some of the participants' experiences, particularly in their chances of obtaining access to the protection of state authorities. Most of the participants who were subject to harassment were active in mobilising state agencies to help protect them and it was evident that the more middle-class participants such as Paul, John and Nicolas received more help from authorities than the working class participants such as Carl, Lamar, Adam and Allan obtained. Middle class participants seemed able to obtain the attention of the police in particular (though this was not entirely productive for John and Nicolas) whereas Carl and Allan either could not get police officers to speak with them, or were passed around from one police department to another. The exception was Chris, who was unemployed and who lived in a council flat; and he had had an unusually good experience of the police. He was active in local LGBT networks, which might have given him more confidence in dealing with the police than Carl seemed to have. Mike too found that the police responded helpfully to him only when he invoked the 'threat' of involving the local LGBT Advisory Group. Such experiences could, if explored in further research, tell us much about how class and sexual orientation interact, and how it is that working class gay men (and in particular, Black working class gay men) might be excluded from sources of protection to which middle class gay men enjoy comparatively easy access. Indeed Meyer argued on the basis of his research that "social class affects the degree to which queer people are willing to determine whether violence is based on their sexuality..." (Meyer 2008). Meyer conducted his research in the USA but if working class LGBT people in the UK are also less likely to acknowledge the role of homophobia when they are subject to violence, they will be much less likely to report homophobic incidents and seek support.

7.4 Men, masculinities and victimisation

Connell advises us to conceptualise of 'masculinities' instead of 'masculinity', to acknowledge its complex and fluid nature (Connell 2005). Many participants in my research referred to norms and expectations that they associated with masculinity, such as invulnerability, being able to defend the self and loved-ones, and being logical rather than emotional. The effects of victimisation were mediated by their conceptions of manhood and their expectations of what men should be like. Part of the damaging impact of homophobic abuse is that in engendering powerlessness, it causes men to question their ability to live up to those expectations. Victimisation precipitates a crisis in which difficult to resolve conflicts around masculinities, which men may have thought they had resolved long ago, are once again raised. Losing the capacity to protect one's self or partner during a homophobic attack was experienced as highly disturbing. A survey respondent talked of hating himself for not having been able to protect himself, and Stewart said the same about not being able to protect his partner from homophobic abuse. This was one of a number of norms about masculinity that were troubling to participants in this research. The status of victimhood is both a precipitating and a complicating factor in the crisis that victimisation provokes.

Rock (2008) writes of how victimhood is a status that often attracts opprobrium and most participants saw it in these terms, though for some being a victim was bearable if one moves through that condition quickly in the process of becoming a 'survivor'. George was unusual in stating that the term victim was a useful acknowledgement for him that the offender, not himself, was to blame for the victimisation. Victimhood is imbued with feminine characteristics with which gay men may not wish to be associate themselves. Paul for example wanted help that would consist of following a logical process of practical actions; while Adam stressed that he "could cope", but he just wanted someone to affirm that he should not have been treated in the way he was by his neighbours. None of the men, nor Miss Kimberley, seemed to have gained anything from victim status, whereas the granting of it by authorities has been the key to obtaining services and protection (Rock 1990). Victimhood may also signal an unfavourable position, particularly in relation to the offender; Peter said that if he described himself as a victim, it would mean the offender had prevailed. Gay men may tend to downplay the impact of victimisation and this finding is consistent with older victimological research (Maguire and Corbett 1987); but it challenges the work of Furedi who argues that victimhood is a status to which we are all

encouraged to aspire in late modernity (Furedi 2004, 2006). Rather than victimisation being seen as advantageous, men may regard it as an undesirable status to be avoided; and if unavoidably experienced, to be unacknowledged. If Richardson and May's arguments are accepted, it would follow that it is difficult for gay men to resemble the typification of the 'ideal victim' that Christie (1986) described because gay men challenge masculine norms. In doing so they may be seen as undeserving of support and protection; or perceived as not in need of it, as suggested by the local authority staff who told Adam that as a man he should be able to look after himself. Notions of who is and who is not deserving of protection may explain some of the inadequacies of the police responses to homophobic crime, as police officers compose a "detailed but rarely articulated cosmic map of what is 'right' and 'normal' in specific areas of the inner city" (Punch 1979: 125). Significantly, David, John and Nicolas were victimised by women, a scenario that seemed to the police officers who attended David's home as being incomprehensible.

Newburn and Stanko ask: what is the position of men in the nature of victimisation? They argue that victimology has tended rather simplistically to see all men as being oppressors unless they can be located in a category that is oppressed, such as victims of homophobic crime. Sexual assault for men problematises the invulnerable and 'in control' view of masculinities. Gay victims may feel guilty, while 'straight' victims may be unwilling to report sexual assault for fear of being thought to be gay (Newburn and Stanko 1994). Some participants described feelings of guilt and shame about being subject to homophobic victimisation that did not involve sexual assault, such as Mike who said he felt 'dirty' about the vandalism of his car. It may be that a similar range of dynamics applies to the experience of homophobic verbal abuse and violence. According to Newburn and Stanko:

Their views of themselves will be directly mediated by their views of themselves as men, their socially located understanding of what men *are*, and the consequences of the experience may well be visible in a changed understanding of self (Newburn and Stanko 1994: 164).

Men may be less likely than women to report homophobic crime that does not result in injury (Moran *et al.* 2004) and these considerations suggest a difficulty that men have in recognising their need for help and support unless there is a physical injury to establish that harm has been caused; and even then the shame associated with not being either 'innocent' or invulnerable may inhibit help-seeking. Weeks writes of how modern gay identities have emerged in a hostile world and many people bear the scars of internalised self-hatred (Weeks 1991). It was this that was apparent in Stewart's description of his reaction to the homophobic stabbing he experienced, and its aftermath. Homophobic abuse reactivates questions around masculinity and identity. Men may then need to re-

construct that identity, but this often has to be achieved with, it seems, few reference points to anything other than established masculine norms that are predominantly heterosexual. While we might expect that LGBT networks would provide some positive models, even gay men like Stewart, who seemed well-connected with those networks, may struggle with the process. As Kimmel describes it:

Homophobia is the fear that other men will unmask us, emasculate us, reveal to us and the world that we do not measure up, that we are not real men. We are afraid to let other men see that fear. Fear makes us ashamed, because the recognition of fear in ourselves is proof to ourselves that we are not as manly as we pretend... (Kimmel 1994: 131).

The process of establishing a masculine gay identity for some men involves resolving challenges to masculine identity that the pervasive homophobia encountered during adolescence brings about. Stewart referred to this process: because being victimised reminded him of feeling, as a gay teenager, inadequate or “poofy and girly” as he described it; he had felt too ashamed to report being stabbed to the police. Very few participants had received help or support in that process of resolving questions about effects on identity and those that had, such as Stewart, seemed to find it easier to talk about the issues than those who had not. Some said they had never discussed the effects of the victimisation with anyone before our interview, while Carl wanted support but had rejected it because he felt ‘stupid’ about discussing his emotions. This indicates support needs that are insufficiently understood and therefore for many men, unmet.

7.5 Implications for policing and for services to victims of homophobic abuse

This thesis has suggested that much of what is unsatisfactory about police responses to homophobic abuse are bound-up in issues of masculine police culture, which has the effect of distancing officers from victims and LGBT communities in general. The durability of masculinist police cultures is explored in the literature (Foster 2003, Foster *et al.* 2005). Some writers dispute the negative qualities often accorded to police cultures (Chan 1996) and the extent to which it determines officers’ behaviour (Waddington 1999). The capacity of masculinist culture to undermine community policing is also asserted (Herbert 2001), as its tendency to override rational decision-making. When corporate decision-making processes take place in an excessively masculine managerial culture, the potential human costs of bad decision-making can be overlooked, sometimes with catastrophic results (see Messerschmidt 1997). Providing an effective, empathetic response to homophobic crime that victims value is, as PC2 stated, seen by other officers as “social

worker-ish" and "too touchy-feely" so gay men who report are in the main, disappointed. This is because a response that is marketed as representing an aspiration by the police to stop homophobic crime is in practice relegated to the margins of police work. It seems that many gay men are at best disappointed and at worst defeated by the reality of reporting that this disjunction causes.

It may be that bureaucratic inertia in large organisations is also a factor that impedes the ability of the MPS to keep up with progress in social attitudes towards LGBT people: Stonewall's research about social attitudes noted among their respondents the perception that public bodies do not always reflect progressive values (Cowan 2007). However, the 'othering' of LGBT people, if we apply Richardson and May's analysis, may be a more useful means of accounting for some of the failures of agencies to respond to homophobic crime. People tend to blame victims who appear different to themselves (Elias 1986). 'Innocence' is an expected feature of victimhood (Lamb 1996) and gay men are not accorded the status of 'innocent victims' (Richardson and May 1999). As Miller *et al.* (2003) point out: "Masculinity is further traditionally conferred on male (police) officers through the policing of gay men" (p.360). Much police attention to homophobic crime has been framed in the mistaken belief that it takes place mainly in public sex environments and gay entertainment venues, where people might behave in ways that are not 'innocent'. The dominant perception of same-sex relationships has been that they belong in the private sphere and this view was until recently institutionalised in British law. Lesbians and gay men were denied a right to existence in the 'heterosexualised' public sphere where homophobic violence has, at least until very recently, been normalised (McGhee 2001) and legitimated (Moran and Skeggs 2004). The legitimation and normalisation of homophobic violence is achieved through its utility as a means of policing gender (Perry 2001), and in the way in which it helps state authorities deflect responsibility for crime control away from the state, as Garland (2001) describes. Such approaches assume people can be 'responsibilised' into avoiding victimisation (Stanko and Curry 1997). These strategies are inappropriate to those victims of homophobic and transphobic crime who can do little more than they already do to avoid being re-victimised. What this meant for the participants who sought the help of the police is that they entered a process in which their 'case' was ostensibly prioritised due to the high profile the MPS have accorded to hate crimes, yet simultaneously marginalised by the distancing of LGBT lifestyles from the prevailing masculine, heterosexual norms that dominate police practice. I suggest that this awkward disjunction is currently neither acknowledged nor resolved.

The failure of state authorities to protect victims from further victimisation seems attributable in some instances to a belief that 'men can look after themselves'; to policies that give low priority to responding to homophobic harassment in social housing; and to what participants believed was a mixture of covert homophobia and bureaucratic ineptitude especially among local authorities and the police, manifested in the failure to take action to deal with the abuse. In Sampson and Phillips' research (1995) a senior housing officer said racist incidents were a "political tinderbox and well left alone" (p.28). Participants in my research described a similar approach, over a decade later, by local authorities about homophobic crime. This illustrates the importance of understanding the way in which state responses to homophobic crime have grown from those that were first applied to racist crime - without, perhaps, recognition of the subtle but significantly distinct characteristics and needs of the communities involved and in particular, the way in which homophobic crime distances victims from informal and familial support. As David commented, perceiving what seemed to be the malign influence of pervasive homophobia on the conduct of state authorities engenders feelings of fear. For some participants, that was more of a source of despair, anxiety and fear than knowledge of homophobic abuse itself, because it caused them to have no confidence that state authorities would help them if the seriousness of the abuse escalated. This is highly significant because in many instances, homophobic verbal abuse was accompanied by threats to kill, actual violence; and in David's case, counter-allegations by the offender who broke his jaw. In addition, many had experienced not only the failure of authorities to protect, but they had also perceived a disinclination to try. It was these features that characterised most of the participants' experiences of the criminal justice system, though there were exceptions such as Chris, Lee and Paul who all had very positive experiences of police officers. Victims' concerns about state failures to protect were echoed by support staff who spoke of such failures being quite usual and highly re-victimising, though they acknowledged that they were most likely to see people who were unsatisfied. Some gay men are therefore in a type of 'triple-bind': they are expected as men to look after themselves, yet they are vulnerable to homophobic abuse and to oppressive or ineffectual policing.

The case study of Victim Support showed how an organisation's response had developed from its work to implement the findings of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, without perhaps a full understanding of how some of the dynamics of racism and homophobia are different, such as, the effects of the endorsement of homophobic attitudes by some religions: some hate crime offenders cite religious doctrine as a rationale for their behaviour (Comstock

1991, Gerstenfeld 2004). Here support organisations, local authorities and the police may all have much in common in their responses to homophobic crime. The 'othering' of LGBT life and the predominance of heterosexual norms that may prevent gay men being perceived as 'innocent' victims may be qualitatively different from other aspects of difference, such as those centred on race. The impact of such distinctions might not be understood by public policy responses to hate victimisation that were developed within the institutionalised heterosexual sphere. It may be that as the equality 'agenda' enables LGBT communities to become more visible, the gap between lesbians, gay men and transgender people whose lifestyles challenge conventional gender norms and people that subscribe to traditional hegemonic conceptions of masculinity and 'appropriate' lifestyles is widened. There may be strong implications of this for the safety of LGBT people and for community cohesion. This may also help explain why mainstream support organisations may be viewed by gay men as less competent than LGBT organisations at providing support. Chris illustrated this with his reference to the man from Victim Support distancing himself from the central point of the incident by not fully acknowledging that the attack was homophobic, and for Chris this signalled his (and perhaps the organisation's) discomfort with homosexuality. That organisational discomfort was also suggested by a Victim Support manager who is a gay man. Participants who had access to informal support structures seemed able to recover more easily than those who did not. This possibility is noted in the literature (Craig-Henderson 2009) and being 'out' has been associated with recovery (Rivers and Cowie 2006). In considering the provision of support, the role of subcultures is important. Albert Cohen argues that all human action, including the action of subcultures, is "an ongoing series of efforts to solve problems" (Cohen 1995/2005: 50). LGBT subcultures can fulfil a number of functions, such as the affirmation of identities (Weeks 1997). Because self-identity is formed through interaction with others, gay men who are involved in a gay subculture may have more stable conceptions of themselves than those that are not involved in the subculture (Plummer 1975). Findings from my research support this view. Men who were linked with LGBT social networks, such as Stewart, Chris, Peter, Matt and Mike seemed to have found their experiences easier to recover from than those who, like Lamar and Carl, were more isolated. For support to be effective, it needs to work with those subcultures and the voluntary organisations that are part of them. In some ways, the MPS had, by establishing the role of LGBT liaison officers, recognised this more effectively than had Victim Support or local authorities and housing associations. However, liaison officers could have been more effective in meeting victims' service needs if they had also been trained and encouraged to develop the 'skilled helper' component of their work, which PC2 thought was "more social worker-ish" than the

conventional police officer role. My participant observation indicated that skilled liaison officers seemed more outward-looking than were many other police officers, and more capable of working comfortably with community groups that were founded by and part of the LGBT sub-culture. Most liaison officers were therefore more able than other personnel to deliver outcomes that victims of homophobic crime valued, even though many of these were not criminal justice-related. Finally, the value of support being made available by people who are not members of the victim's social network is that victims are unlikely to fear that, unlike their friends and family, supporters will be overburdened by providing it.

7.6 Recommendations

Police services

Police services seem to fail to accept and work with the processual nature of hate crime, much of which is repeat victimisation and harassment, not just individual incidents. This characteristic should be recognised and strategies put in place to address it. Similarly, police complaints procedures should recognise the cumulative nature of repeated police failures to investigate incidents that in isolation appear minor, but which have serious consequences when they happen frequently. Police officers have a social work role that is not currently recognised and the masculinist culture of policing works against the provision of basic support to victims by police officers. This could perhaps be corrected through training, staff supervision, and leadership if there was the will to do so.

Survey findings support the view that people's decisions on whether or not to report homophobic crime will be heavily influenced by their previous experience of reporting, or by other people's experiences that they have heard about. An unsatisfactory response from the police tends to make people wish they had not reported because the disappointment, frustrations and sense of helplessness engendered are experienced as re-victimising. The MPS should apply the resources it currently invests in promoting the reporting of homophobic crime to ensuring instead that police officers respond to messages, keep in regular contact with victims, and do not pass victims around from one unit to another. If the marketing of the police to LGBT communities is to be continued, the use of the 'report it - stop it' marketing materials should be reviewed. These messages are irrelevant to the majority of LGBT people who already take steps to avoid homophobic victimisation. Until the MPS can be reasonably confident that its officers will

respond to messages when they have not been available to take calls, they should not use such materials to persuade people to report.

Support services

When services to victims of homophobic crime are improved following a programme of service development about racist crime services, the distinct and rather different needs of LGBT victims should be recognised, as should the influence of pervasive homophobia in perpetuating homophobic crime and in distancing victims from sources of informal support. A harmful and distinct aspect of homophobic crime functions through the 'othering' of LGBT people, a process that may be replicated in 'mainstream' support organisations whose staff may feel uncomfortable about and ignorant of LGBT culture. This was an impression that was conveyed to several participants by Victim Support personnel. Simply adding homophobic crime to a list of other types of victimisation to which the service says it will respond is unlikely to produce a satisfactory service without a corresponding programme of culture change and training. Failure to do that seems to have resulted in service provision that was seen by most of the participants in this research who had experience of it as at best somewhat irrelevant, and at worse institutionally homophobic. The role of LGBT subculture in being a source of support should be worked with, not ignored. The fact that an organisation such as Victim Support produces publicity materials about services to victims of racist crime but not for victims of homophobic (and transphobic crime) is indicative of its adherence to 'hierarchies of victimisation' (McGhee 2005, Mason-Bish 2010) that are inequitable. The experience of Victim Support might be illustrative of how progress in these matters is not always sustained. It seems the organisation may have reverted lately to a failure to recognise the needs of victims of homophobic crime that was previously evident during the 1990s. If it wants to be taken seriously by LGBT communities and pursue its charitable objectives fully this failure should be addressed.

Several participants described anger at their victimisation. Michael and Stewart described being so angry that they felt violent towards the offenders and others. Most participants wanted to be supported in channelling the energising properties of their anger into dealing appropriately with the consequences of their victimisation. Exercising agency was for many a means of firstly, protecting themselves from further victimisation and secondly, not continuing to feel like a victim. For some, simple affirmation was wanted, such as Adam who very much wanted someone to say to him that what had happened to him was very wrongful. Yet, few participants seemed to have received such affirmation of their

feelings. There are strong implications here for support services: they need to help people express anger, affirm the validity of such feelings, and support people in exercising agency that will help them move beyond the state of victimhood.

7.7 Suggestions for further research

During interviews with victims in particular, it often seemed that we were getting towards the most interesting part of the participants' stories just as the interview needed to be brought to a close due to time running out. Interesting but curtailed discussions were often about the issues that are currently the least thoroughly researched, and it is these that are specified here. The first would be the issue of masculinities. Many men talked of the process they went through in resolving their sexual orientation with their masculinity. I would have liked to ask more about this, in particular to find out about what people consider constitutes gay masculinities, how experiences of bullying and abuse in teenage years in particular influenced men's management of the 'coming out' experience, and how subsequent experiences of homophobic abuse seemed to have required several of the men to revisit that process; and the interaction of these with identity. While the difficulties that men may face in discussing such personal issues are noted in previous research (Newburn and Stanko 1994, Stanko and Hobdell 1993) several of the men I interviewed were glad of what seemed to be a rare opportunity to talk about such matters. This might also provide an opportunity to explore further the interaction of race, class, masculinity and sexuality. Carl was not accustomed to talking about his feelings, but nevertheless he did discuss emotional matters with me, though the depression and stress that his victimisation had engendered, and his preoccupation with its immediate consequences, made it difficult for him to concentrate on the interview. I felt that in easier circumstances, he would have been willing to spend more time discussing his feelings about his identity as a gay man and how his experiences of homophobia had influenced it, perhaps with a second interview.

Research about Black gay men's experiences of homophobia and racism has perhaps been made difficult by the relative invisibility of Black gay men; but there is a vibrant BME LGBT community in London so that invisibility is not absolute. The fact that I was able to interview a small group of Black gay men demonstrates that difficulties in recruiting participants are surmountable. I wish I had had time to work more closely with Dennis over

a longer period, to invite members of the Black Connections Group that he facilitated to take part in research on that issue. The literature on intersectionality suggests that more has been written about this subject than has been researched about it. An added component of intersectionality is class: my research has shown that social class is a factor in men's access to the support and protection of state authorities when they are victimised, among other factors, and these dynamics would be an interesting and productive subject of further research.

Concluding comments

There are many examples from this research that suggest the legislation described in chapter 1 has achieved some success in bringing about improvements in policy and practice towards homophobic victimisation. For example, it would be hard to envisage Chris and Lee having had such positive outcomes to their reporting of homophobic crime ten years ago; and the publication of derogatory references to 'buggers' such as that contained in a 1990 edition of *Police Journal* (above, and in Burke 1993) would be inconceivable today. Stan Cohen (2001) wrote that we cope with seeing but ignoring injustice because we convince ourselves that somehow, the victim must have deserved it. Perhaps the value of hate crime legislation is that it has made it much more difficult for state authorities to believe that LGBT people must have deserved the homophobic violence to which we continue to be subject. Yet the implementation of legislation and policy, as the participants in this research have shown us, remains inconsistent and unsatisfactory; and considerable gaps in the legislation, such as which groups are afforded some protection from hate victimisation and which groups are not, remain unresolved (Mason-Bish 2010). Meanwhile, academic criminology continues to allow the teaching of theories of deviance to future criminal justice policy makers that identify gay men not as people vulnerable to oppressive forces and abuse, but instead as 'deviants'. In concluding this thesis, it seems suitable to end with the words of one of the participants, Jim, who in reflecting of his own experience, its meanings, and its implications for other minority groups as well as LGBT people told me:

I have a hunch there is going to be more homophobic crime and more crime against Muslims. I think when people are scared the normal response is at best to protect oneself, at worst to become aggressive. I think we are at a time when we can expect more and more abusive behaviour around difference. Because if people get scared, the things that make them feel safe is preserving the things that are the same. So gay people, lesbians, *etcetera* all become a much larger part of being different, and this is increasingly not a good time to be different.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: survey questionnaire

1	<p>In the past two years, have you experienced homophobic verbal abuse or harassment?</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know</p>
2	<p>In the past two years, have you experienced a homophobic assault or had your property damaged in a homophobic attack?</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know</p>
<p>If your answer to both these questions is no, please go to the last question, which is question 11</p>	
3	<p>If you have been abused, harassed, assaulted or had property damaged, why do you believe it was due to homophobia? Please tick all the boxes that apply -</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> The person made homophobic comments <input type="checkbox"/> I had received homophobic threats <input type="checkbox"/> The person was someone who I know is homophobic <input type="checkbox"/> The person was a member of my family who is homophobic <input type="checkbox"/> The incident included homophobic graffiti <input type="checkbox"/> It took place near a LGBT venue (bar, club etc) <input type="checkbox"/> Other reason</p>
4	<p>Did you report what happened to the police?</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> I reported it through a non-police/third party reporting scheme</p>
5	<p>Thinking about the last incident, if you reported it how satisfied were you with the police response?</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> I was satisfied with the police response <input type="checkbox"/> I was neither satisfied nor dissatisfied <input type="checkbox"/> I was not satisfied with the police response</p> <p>Comments:</p>
6	<p>If you did NOT report the incident, what do you think might have encouraged you to report it? Please tick one statement that most closely applies to you –</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> If I could report it to a non-police/third party reporting scheme <input type="checkbox"/> If I knew the police would treat it seriously <input type="checkbox"/> If I believed the police could prevent it happening again <input type="checkbox"/> If there was better information about how to report it <input type="checkbox"/> If I thought the police could give me advice and support <input type="checkbox"/> If I knew how the police might use information I would give them <input type="checkbox"/> If the police had a more positive image in the LGBT community <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please write here):</p>

7	<p>What did you want most of all after the incident happened? Please tick one statement that most closely applies to you –</p> <p>√</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I wanted someone to stop it from happening again</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I wanted the person(s) who did it to be arrested</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I wanted what happened to me to be taken seriously</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I wanted advice on what to do next</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I wanted to talk it through with someone who is helpful</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> None of these, I wanted something else – (please write here):</p>
8	<p>Thinking about the last incident, how did it affect you? Please tick all the statements that apply to you –</p> <p>√</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> It did not affect me very much</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I am used to it as homophobia is part of life</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> It made me angry</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> It made me depressed</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I wanted to get even with the person who did it</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> It made me want to drink more or take drugs</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> It made me feel helpless</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I had to move</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I had to take time off work</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I had to leave my job</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I needed medical attention</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I was afraid of it happening again</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I felt ashamed or guilty about it</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I changed my appearance or routine to stop it happening again</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Dealing with the criminal justice system made me anxious</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I felt all right about it because the police were helpful</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> It affected me in other ways (please write here):</p>
9	<p>Did you have any contact with a support organisation?</p> <p>√</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>- if yes, what organisation did you talk to?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Galop</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Victim Support</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Gay Switchboard</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> London Friend</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Naz Project</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> GMFA</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Pace</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> A local LGBT social group</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> another organisation – (please write their name here):</p>
10	<p>What did you think of the support organisation you talked with?</p> <p>√</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> They were helpful</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> They tried to help but weren't able to do much</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> They were not helpful</p>
11	<p>Regardless of whether or not you have experienced a homophobic incident, if you experience a homophobic incident in future, do you think you will report it?</p>

	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know - do you think your decision about whether to report it will depend on (please tick just one box): <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> How seriously I am affected by the incident <input type="checkbox"/> If I can report it using a non-police/third party reporting scheme <input type="checkbox"/> Whether I believe the police will treat it seriously <input type="checkbox"/> How likely it is that the police can help or advise me <input type="checkbox"/> If I know how the police will use information that I give them <input type="checkbox"/> Whether the police have a positive image about LGBT matters
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You don't have to answer the questions below about yourself, but if you do choose to answer them it will help us to see if the responses to this survey are representative of the diverse range of communities in the UK.

Please indicate your ethnic origin below:

White

- British
- Irish
- Any other White background

Mixed

- White and Black Caribbean
- White and Black African
- White and Asian
- Any other mixed background

Asian or Asian British

- Indian
- Pakistan
- Bangladeshi
- Any other Asian background

Black or Black British

- Caribbean
- African
- Any other Black background

Chinese or other ethnic group

- Chinese
- Any other ethnic group

Prefer not to say

Your age:

- Under 18 18-24 25-34 35-54 55-64 65+
- Prefer not to say

Your gender:

- male female transgender prefer not to say

And would you describe yourself as:

- gay lesbian bisexual heterosexual questioning
- prefer not to say

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.

Appendix 2: interview schedule

Hate crime research: topic guide for interviews with people who have experienced hate crime and reported it

#	Question
1	Please would you tell me about the most recent occasion you have experienced hate crime - Was this a one off or a repeat incident?
2	Was this the first time you have experienced hate crime? - If no, details of types of incidents, frequency etc
3	What were the effects of what happened to you Short term? - Longer term?
4	Could you describe your feelings about what happened to you - Have your feelings changed over time? If so, in what way?
5	What made you decide to report it to the police?
6	What was helpful about the response of the police?
7	What was less helpful about the response of the police?
8	Did you feel that wanted some additional help and support in coming to terms with the hate crime?
9	Did you get that help and support, and if so what was helpful about it?
10	Was there anything you didn't like about the support offered?
11	Were your expectations in reporting the crime met?
12	Have you ever experienced violence, abuse or harassment that probably wasn't motivated by homophobia?
13	If so, what was different, better or worse about the effects of that experience compared with your experience of hate crime?
14	The last three questions are about identity. Would you describe yourself as having been a victim of hate crime? - do you think that terms like 'victim' and 'hate crime' describe your experience well?
15	In what ways does having experienced hate crime affect your personal identity as a gay man? - did you think about those issues before you experienced hate crime?
16	Do you think hate crime has an impact on the wider LGBT community? Do you recall ever feeling affected by hate crimes against other LGBT people?

How would the participant like to be described in the thesis?

Would the participant like to be sent a copy of the relevant chapter?

Yes: No:

If so record contact details separately

Complete demographic monitoring questions

Thank you very much for taking the time to participate in this research.

Appendix 3: obtaining access to the police

To gain the trust of the police, I decided to use an 'appreciative inquiry' approach in all my contact with the police. This approach is a style of people management that I have found works well in motivating staff teams. Appreciative inquiry approaches involve looking for the best or most positive aspects of a situation to help stimulate people's motivation to achieve more.¹⁰⁹ It is founded on the belief that people generally try to do the best they can at work and that if people do not always achieve their potential it is often because of organisational failures that can be corrected, not personal deficits. I set out to 'model' appreciative inquiry behaviour in all my contacts with the police. I first contacted Deputy Assistant Commissioner Brian Paddick in December 2005, whom I had met twice that year when we were both speaking at conferences. He referred me to Commander Steve Allen, who was then head of the MPS Violent Crime Directorate. I interviewed him and he passed me on to Superintendent Gerry Campbell of the Violent Crime Directorate. I arranged to meet Superintendent Campbell in July 2006 but on the day I attended his office he was called away to an urgent incident. Numerous telephone calls and e-mails later, we eventually met in March 2007. Superintendent Campbell was interested in my research and willing to support it by introducing me to a number of LGBT liaison officers and allowing me to observe their work. He arranged for me to be security-vetted so that I could move around police stations unescorted. Although the vetting process was satisfactorily completed, the ID card never materialised.

During summer 2007 I was contacted by the MPS Research Strategy Unit who told me that I should liaise with them about my ethnography, not with senior officers. I thanked Superintendent Campbell and informed him I had been told to liaise with the RSU now. He responded warmly, in a 'that's fine, goodbye and good luck' vein. However the RSU later told me that I had to get a senior operational officer to sponsor my research and arrange security clearance, and they advised me to go back to Superintendent Campbell. I then had to restore the positive relationship that we had built the previous summer. He is a busy senior officer who understandably has limited time to devote to the needs of PhD students so re-contacting him in this way was an uncomfortable prospect. Fortunately he was willing to be re-engaged in the research. By this time almost two years had passed and within a few months I would run out of time in which to complete fieldwork. The timescale was dictated by how long I could eke out my savings so that I could complete fieldwork before resuming employment.

By May 2008 Superintendent Campbell had contacted three London boroughs who had LGBT liaison officers willing to allow me to observe them. I set up initial meetings with the officers. The first was with Westminster. They had clearly not read the information I had sent out about the research, nor at the start of the meeting did they listen to me explaining my purpose in meeting them. One of the officers left the meeting the moment it started, as she had remembered she had an

¹⁰⁹ See <http://www.appreciative-inquiry.org>. Visited 12 December 2008.

important report to write. One officer asked “have you thought of contacting Victim Support?” and another said I should “go and talk to a senior officer who knows about police policy”. Eventually they agreed I could attach myself to their team and they offered to contact me next week with dates. I never heard from them again. Next week, I telephoned and left messages on their answering machines. I received no response so I e-mailed them, which also elicited no response. I had clicked on ‘request read receipt’ and the last e-mail I sent them was returned unopened a month later.

In the meantime I had also met with LGBT liaison officers in Lambeth and Islington...

From this point, information about the participant observation appears in chapter 6.

Appendix four: example of a theoretical memo

Theoretical memo		
Participant: 17, Michael (Y = Yes, N = No, G = Good, M = Mixed, P = Poor)		
Summary of situation: Verbal abuse and physical violence, separate incidents in London. Abuse included threats to stab.		
Verbal? Y	Violence? Y	Harassment?
Reported? Y	Police response: P	Race issues? Y
Themes:		
1. Abuser first assumed Michael was straight		
2. Young black men increasingly aggressive, and homophobic		
3. Gets regular verbal abuse in Vauxhall, usually 'batty boy' and it's because of the bars he is visiting		
4. Couldn't find out how to report, then talked to an LGBT officer who couldn't deal with it for three weeks. Police inconsistent, only interested in serious violence but verbal abuse can escalate to murder		
5. Worried about young people being bred to hate		
6. His impulse is to respond with violence – effective policing will defuse this as it would prevent rage. But age brings new vulnerability. Would respond to other people's victimisation with violence		
7. People don't report as it means their lives are made public. Older people fear this		
8. He wants offending properly addressed, RJ* for example		
Structural typologies Young people being bred to hate	Impact typologies Anger at authorities, rage at the system	Victim typologies Refuse to be a victim: PC and wishy washy
Concept-indicator links:		
1. Anger escalates to rage if no help is forthcoming		
2. People need to see something being done about the problem in general in order to feel hope		
Summary / further action: Read Mark Burke's 'Out of the Blue'		

*Restorative justice

Appendix five: Summary of the Victim Support case study

During fieldwork I produced a case study of the development of Victim Support's hate crime service to establish the processes by which the organisation came to recognise that victims of homophobic crime might have distinct service needs, of which the following is a summary. It is based on analysis of a range of Victim Support documents, interviews with people who were key personnel at Victim Support during the 1990s, and my own experience as Victim Support's Head of Research and Development from 2002 to 2007.

The documentary analysis established that the term 'hate crime' is mentioned only once between 1991 to 2001, in a reference to the ACPO *Hate Crime Manual* (2000). Throughout this period Victim Support referred solely to in its written output to racist crime, not to hate crime in the wider sense of the term. By 1990, Victim Support was receiving 597,000 referrals a year, which represented a little over 10% of 5.1 million offences recorded by the police in that year.¹¹⁰ In 1998, it was invited to submit written evidence to Part 2 of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. A focus on developing its service to victims of racist crime followed, and this seemed to pave the way for work on the service to victims of homophobic crime. While the publication of the Macpherson report set in motion a series of reforms that were radical and transformative for the police and the wider criminal justice system (Hall 2005, McGhee 2005, Ratcliffe 2004), the report and the response to it also enabled victims and the claims that various victims' groups made to be heard: an authoritative platform to which no criminal justice organisation could justify not responding positively (Rock 2004). Correspondence between Victim Support senior managers and members of its Race Forum at around the time of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry illustrate Victim Support's exclusive focus on race and racism, which given the imperatives set by the Macpherson report is perhaps not surprising when that report itself inevitably focused on race. Derron Leid, a Black gay man who was Chair of the Race Forum at the time, told me that homophobic crime was at that time simply not seen by Victim Support to be a significant problem, despite published research evidence about the extent of homophobic crime (see Mason and Palmer 1996, National Advisory Group on Policing in Tatchell 2002).

In March 2001 Victim Support published new guidance on supporting victims of racist crime, containing a foreword by the then Home Secretary, Jack Straw.¹¹¹ After 2001, concern about other forms of hate crime was expressed in documents. The 2001 *Annual Review* describes a London third party reporting scheme which involved a local gay group as a partner, and a scheme for lesbians and gay men in Manchester's gay village that enabled them "to seek help in confidence".¹¹² The tone of this item does seem to convey something of a sense of shame, as if no lesbian or gay man would normally want to admit to their sexual orientation: it was after all Victim Support policy that

¹¹⁰ Victim Support *Annual Report 1990-91*

¹¹¹ Victim Support *Supporting victims of racist crimes: good practice 2001*

¹¹² Victim Support *Annual Review 2001*

all victims would be helped 'in confidence'. Normally, Victim Support would take the lead in drawing attention to an aspect of victimisation hitherto neglected in criminal justice policy (Williams 1999). However, documents from the period record that some organisations with whom Victim Support worked perceived it as a more predominantly white, heterosexual, middle class organisation than were other comparable charities. Some local Victim Support charities had been the subject of allegations of homophobic attitudes: one scheme had allegedly told victims of homophobic crime that they did not provide a service for that type of crime. There was a lack of guidance or service standards on supporting victims of homophobic crime and this could in part account for deficits in the service. Local service managers who were in contact with LGBT communities claimed that Victim Support had not been successful in gaining a good reputation with LGBT people.

To address these deficits my department established a Research Strategy and a Service Development Plan that prioritised improving services to hate crime and outreach work with minority communities who found Victim Support to be 'hard to reach'. In 2004 we produced guidance on outreach work with LGBT communities and in 2005 a £100,000 grant from Cooperative Financial Services funded a hate crime research and service development project. This resulted in the report *Crime and prejudice* (Victim Support 2006) and a major review of Victim Support's hate crime services, including the production of new training materials, guidance and service standards.¹¹³ These initiatives were supported by the Strategic Management Team, but the profile of the work elsewhere in the organisation was somewhat low.

From my research data and my own experience I argue that the impetus for Victim Support giving public recognition of homophobic crime came from four main sources. Local Victim Support managers who had been involved in hate crime initiatives wanted their work publicised nationally. Some wanted the National Office to issue guidance for other areas about developing hate crime services. The second impetus was the appointment of openly gay senior staff who, as Paul Fawcett describes it when he joined Victim Support in 2001, were "struck that it all seemed to be about race here. I remember raising the issue several times at meetings..."¹¹⁴ Managers were in place who were not uncomfortable with the issue of sexual orientation and they wanted to make use of the information about homophobic crime that local services were sending them. The third source of impetus was provided by political imperatives: Robert Latham, who was Chair of Victim Support from 1997 to 2002, told me that he thought official recognition of the harm of hate crime was facilitated when the 1997 Labour government moved the criminal justice debate away from law and order to the reduction of crime and disorder. This enabled so-called 'low level' hate incidents to be recognised and acted upon. Fourthly, there was the availability of funding from commercial organisations that were aware of the need to broaden their appeal to all communities. A range of

¹¹³ This project was not complete when my post was made redundant and the Research and Development Department closed in June 2007. I have not been able to ascertain whether the project's planned outcomes were achieved.

¹¹⁴ E-mail from Paul Fawcett to Peter Dunn. Paul Fawcett was Head of Communications.

companies were aware of the potential that LGBT people offered commercial enterprises for their exploitation, and were marketing their products at them accordingly (Badgett 2001). By this time, then, a sole focus on race by the national organisation would be out of step with local Victim Support services and their partners, intolerable to senior managers whose awareness had been raised by their lesbian and gay colleagues, and counter-productive in terms of fundraising. The organisation was by this time in a position where failure to provide services relevant to all communities might result in it losing ground to other providers.

This case study illustrates the way in which a large national charity was propelled into developing services to victims of homophobic crime. This was a result of the work it had done on racist crime, spurred by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report, in a way that was largely reactive to the external environment. In the conclusion to this thesis I argue that the data shows how the development of services to victims of homophobic crime as a type of by-product of work on racist crime helps explain why such services were experienced by most of the participants in this research as unsatisfactory. The case study supports that argument, and it also indicates why so many participants expected the Victim Support service to be deficient, and therefore did not take it up.