No Place for Hate

Hate crimes and incidents in further and higher education: sexual orientation and gender identity
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Colleges and universities are traditionally viewed as bastions of free thought and expression, providing students with an environment in which to grow personally as well as academically. They are also viewed as places where students are at liberty to hold different ideas, viewpoints and opinions. For many lesbian, gay, bisexual or trans (LGBT) students, college and university is also a time where they are able to explore and define their gender and/or sexual identities, unrestrained by previous school and family life. Such an environment is destroyed when students are targeted by antisocial behaviour or crime because of their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. Unfortunately, this report shows that these negative experiences are a reality for some students. Moreover, in many cases, these incidents occur in and around the college or university campus, perpetrated by fellow students.

This NUS report contains some distressing finds. Nearly one in three lesbian, gay or bisexual (LGB) students reported that they had experienced at least one hate incident related to their sexual orientation some time during their current studies. Almost one in two trans respondents (45 per cent) reported that they had experienced at least one hate incident motivated by prejudice against their gender identity.

Perpetrators of hate crime are often perceived to be hate-fuelled individuals who plan attacks upon their victims, but the reality is that the majority of perpetrators are everyday people. Indeed they are often fellow students who commit these acts within the context of their everyday lives.

While it is vital that further and higher education institutions prevent serious forms of hate crime such as physical assault, it is equally important to address ‘low-level’ hate activity. Our research found that these incidents, particularly if they are persistent, often have major repercussions on the victim’s long-term mental health. And while these incidents may not necessarily constitute criminal offences, the acceptance of these types of behaviour such as tolerating the use of degrading and homophobic language, can create an environment in which conduct may escalate from ‘mere’ words to threats, vandalism and violence.

Hate incidents of all types also have broader implications. They not only affect the individual victim, but also their family, friends and the wider community both on- and off-campus. These experiences encourage mistrust, alienation and suspicion in student bodies and wider society, resulting in isolation and exclusion.

While our findings are deeply concerning, our report also offers clear and practical approaches for institutions, students’ unions and others to make a positive difference to students’ lives.

Every student has the right to express themselves without fear, whether that is in their lecture theatre, in and around their institution or in broader society.

Vicki Baars - NUS LGBT Officer (Women’s Place)
Alan Bailey - NUS LGBT Officer (Open Place)
Pete Mercer - NUS Vice President (Welfare)
Executive Summary

This report is one of a series of four reports by NUS, which explores the extent and nature of hate incidents among students across the UK. While this report focuses on the experience of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans (LGBT) students, the other reports focus on disabled students, Black & students and students with a religion or belief. The reports are part of a larger project funded by the Home Office to reduce student victimisation.

Across the four reports we found that 16 per cent of all respondents had experienced at least one form of hate incident at their current institution. Moreover, compared to victims of non-bias incidents, those who experienced hate incidents were more likely to be repeatedly victimised and suffer more negative effects as a result. Despite this, few of these hate incidents were reported to authorities and consequently the affected students received little support from their institution or law enforcement agencies.

These reports in full can be downloaded at: www.nus.org.uk

About the research and respondents

Our research gathered the experiences of 9,229 students from across both higher education (HE) and further education (FE) sectors and is the first nationwide student-specific research into hate crime of this scale.

Respondents were asked to report victimisation under a range of categories, and were then asked to indicate whether or not they believed the incident to be motivated, or partly motivated, by the perpetrator’s prejudice against their membership, or presumed membership, of the following protected characteristics: race/ethnicity, religion/belief, disability, sexual orientation and gender identity. This allowed us to compare bias and non-bias incidents.

The majority of those surveyed (89 per cent) were studying in England. Six per cent were in Wales, two per cent in Scotland, and three per cent in Northern Ireland.

Sixty-eight per cent of our respondents were at university while 28 per cent were at a further education or sixth form college. Smaller percentages were studying at adult and community learning providers, work-based learning providers, or specialist colleges.

Seventy per cent of respondents were female and 29 per cent were male. 0.6 per cent preferred not to select while 0.4 per cent stated that their gender identity was not the same as assigned at birth.

Eighty-seven per cent of the students surveyed were heterosexual (7,974). The remaining respondents listed their sexuality as:

- lesbian: two per cent
- bisexual: five per cent
- gay: four per cent
- preferred not to say: two per cent
- other: 0.8 per cent
Key findings

The following summarises the headline findings of our research on students who have been targeted, or are worried about being targeted, because of prejudice against their sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

Fears of victimisation

Gay and lesbian respondents were more than 10 times as likely as heterosexual respondents to have concerns about being subject to abuse because of their sexual orientation.

Almost half (46 per cent) of trans respondents reported that they were very or fairly worried about being subject to abuse because of their gender identity, as did 34 per cent of those who opted not to disclose their gender identity.

Respondents frequently described how they hid their sexual orientation and/or gender identity and were cautious about when and where they went out, for fear that they would become vulnerable to bias-motivated victimisation.

“I pretend I am straight to people I don’t know very well or people I feel will react badly. I introduce my partner as my ‘friend’ at these times to avoid possible verbal or physical abuse.”

The extent and nature of hate incidents

Thirty-one per cent of lesbian, gay or bisexual (LGB) students surveyed had experienced at least one hate incident related to their sexual orientation some time during their current studies, compared to 2 per cent of heterosexual respondents.

Nine per cent of LGB respondents had experienced one or more forms of physical abuse, while 7 per cent of LGB students had received abusive, threatening or insulting written communications.

Fifty-five per cent of trans respondents said had been a victim of threatening, abusive or insulting words, threatening behaviour or threats of violence. The majority of these respondents believed this was motivated by prejudice against their gender identity.

Twenty per cent of trans respondents had experienced at least one incident of physical abuse, while 38 per cent had experienced at least one incident of verbal abuse, threats of violence or threatening behaviour.

“I was out clubbing with university friends. They would make it difficult for me to have a good night out with my friends – when at the bar they pushed and shoved, punched or kicked when I ordered drinks – on the dance floor they would be dancing behind me and throw themselves into the back of me and push me over.”

Location of incidents and perpetrator profiles

Strikingly, a large proportion of incidents occurred at the victim’s place of study. The exception being in cases of vandalism, property damage or theft, which predominantly occurred at or near the victim’s home.

Moreover, many of these incidents occurred in the afternoon and evening, presumably during college and university campus open hours. In almost half of the cases (45 per cent), the perpetrator was believed to be a fellow student.

The bulk of hate incidents were perpetrated by white male assailants, often young people in groups, who were not known by the victim.

“What is most worrying to me is that I and the perpetrator are both Year 1 Social Work students.”

Reporting of hate incidents

Our research showed that hate-related incidents against LGBT students went widely unreported. Some 8–13 per cent of incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation were reported to the victim’s institution. Levels of reporting to the police were even lower.

Those who did report incidents often chose to do so to academic staff (42 per cent) or student officers (29 per cent), rather than non-teaching staff (12 per cent).

Reasons given for victims not reporting incidents to their institution included shame and embarrassment, fear of reprisals and retribution, and concern over having to disclose personal details.
Reasons for not reporting hate-related incidents to the police fell into three broad themes: the incident not being ‘worth’ reporting, personal fears or concerns and a lack of faith in the criminal justice system.

Institutions responded to reports of such incidents in a variety of different ways – many positively, but some negatively.

“The member of staff was one that I trusted and was concerned over my behaviour in class. When I reported the incident I was offered support and some time off for when I felt unwell.”

The impact on victims

Victims of hate incidents were much more likely than victims of non-bias incidents to report problems as a result of their experience, particularly related to their mental health, acceptance of other social groups and, to a lesser extent, their studies.

In one in four incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and one in five of incidents involving prejudice against their gender identity, the victim reported mental health problems. Victims talked about how the experience(s) had led to higher levels of depression, anxiety, difficulty with sleeping and other symptoms of post-traumatic stress.

Many respondents had feelings of distrust towards strangers and peers alike, and explained that they went out of their way to avoid certain groups of people as a result of victimisation. This finding clearly demonstrates how hate incidents affect community cohesion by encouraging mistrust and suspicion and, in turn, increasing isolation, exclusion and barriers to communication.

One in 10 incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and 9 per cent of those related to their gender identity affected the victim’s studies. Respondents commonly reported that their grades, attendance and participation in university or college social activities were adversely affected.

Of those reporting an effect on their studies, more than half stated they thought about leaving their course as a result of victimisation.

“\"I had to go into counselling. I suffered from nightmares, panic and anxiety attacks. I stopped speaking to new people. I had to see a psychiatrist and take antidepressants and panic and anxiety medications. I had to change my university course and defer a year to get away from the people abusing me.\"”

Recommendations

The following 10 recommendations are aimed at FE and HE institutions and organisations working with them. However, they may be of interest to law enforcement practitioners and agencies as well as students’ unions. We hope that these recommendations will be considered by all colleges and universities and will help in the development of a cross-sector strategy to tackle hate and prejudice experienced by students across the UK.

1. Demonstrate a firm commitment to equality and diversity

FE and HE institutions should demonstrate a strong commitment to equality and diversity and work to celebrate these values through clear and widely publicised codes of conduct, equality and diversity policies, and complaint and reporting procedures.

2. Develop preventative and educational activity on prejudice and hate

Colleges and universities should work to foster good relations among students and raise awareness of what constitutes a hate incident and the negative impact of this behaviour on the victim. This might include discussion and interactive work within the classroom, as well as through events that celebrate diversity and encourage integration.

3. Stop or mitigate against hate incidents

FE and HE institutions must make it clear that hate-related behaviour is not acceptable, through the active enforcement of student codes of conduct and the institution of zero-tolerance policies.
4. Establish multi-agency, joined-up approaches to tackling hate

Colleges and universities should work to establish partnerships with local police authorities, voluntary sector organisations and authorities to develop a cross-sector strategy to reduce hate within, as well as outside, the institution.

5. Strengthen existing support services

FE and HE institutions should ensure that those working in their counselling and advice services are aware of the mental health impact of hate incidents and recognise that even low-level incidents can have serious implications for victims’ long-term mental wellbeing and self-confidence.

6. Establish strong LGBT support networks

LGBT clubs and societies often act as a support network for students who may be, or may have been, victims of hate incidents or hate crimes. These should therefore be provided with financial backing and support, to ensure open access to their services. Colleges, universities and students’ unions should also ensure that LGBT clubs and societies are well connected to wider support services within their institution.

7. Encourage reporting of, and maintain systematic records on, hate incidents

Many respondents did not report incidents because they believed them to be too trivial, or that reporting would not make a difference. Students need to know that hate incidents are taken seriously and that reporting them influences preventative work, as well as potentially leading to disciplinary action against perpetrators.

8. Provide flexible options to report hate incidents

Colleges and universities should establish a variety of mechanisms for reporting hate incidents. This might include self-reporting online and on-campus reporting and advice centres, as well as publicising third party reporting through other agencies.

9. Promote greater confidence in reporting mechanisms

Better protocols for interviewing and debriefing victims of hate incidents are needed, together with assurances of confidentiality for victims, who often fear reprisals. Victims should be assured that their reports will be taken seriously and will be consistently and thoroughly investigated and recorded.

10. Provide clear guidance on the law

It is vital that guidance on what constitutes a hate crime, the rights of victims, and the criminal justice procedure itself, is developed and made available to students.
Introduction
This report is one of four research publications which detail the findings of a survey carried out by NUS into the extent and nature of hate incidents experienced by students in further and higher education.

Its primary focus is incidents believed to be motivated by prejudice against the victim’s real or perceived sexual orientation and/or gender identity as reported in the survey, though we recognise that hate may be motivated by multiple biases and we provide some discussion on this issue.

It is important to note that this report examines all incidents believed to have been motivated by some element of prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and/or gender identity, whatever these might be. Heterosexual and cisgender respondents, therefore, were included in our sample. However, because LGBT students surveyed were much more likely to experience a hate incident as a result of their sexual orientation or gender identity, special attention will be paid to these respondents.

For clarity, incidents experienced across our entire sample – that is, including LGBT, heterosexual, those with an ‘other’ sexual orientation and/or gender identity and those who preferred not to say – will be described as ‘motivated by a prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and/or gender identity’. Incidents experienced by specifically LGBT respondents will be described as ‘homophobic’, ‘biphobic’ or ‘transphobic’ in this report.

Background

What is a hate crime?

The concept of hate crime is broad and complex. It is not defined by a single form of conduct, as other crimes are, but encompasses various forms of conduct such as:

- physical abuse
- verbal abuse and harassment
- threats of violence
- property damage and/or vandalism
- theft, including burglary and robbery
- the production and dissemination of hostile material (e.g., leaflets and graffiti).

What unites these otherwise distinct offences is the perpetrator’s motivation by prejudice towards the social group to which the victim belongs or is perceived to belong. It follows that the majority of hate crime perpetrators belong to a dominant social group. The Crown Prosecution Service reports that 75 per cent of perpetrators in this country are white British; 86 per cent are also male.

Hate crime is particularly harmful because it is committed on the basis of some essential and unchangeable part of the victim’s identity, such as gender identity or sexual orientation. The impact suffered by the individual may include physical and behavioural as well as emotional responses, and may have long-term repercussions. At the same time, hate crimes perpetrated against an individual in effect acts as condemnation or rejection of the victim’s social group as a whole. The broader harm, therefore, is social subordination, exclusion, alienation and fear.

Furthermore, the insecurity suffered by the targeted groups can mean some individuals try to avoid being identified as ‘gay’ or ‘trans’ in order to reduce the likelihood of victimisation. This restricts individuals’ freedom to live and express themselves according to their identities.

Although some incidents of hate crime amount to criminal acts and are fuelled by hate, as this report shows, the most common incidents appear neither strictly criminal nor hateful. Rather, perpetrators often use degrading language out of ignorance, e.g., on the basis of belief in stereotypes or to win respect from their peers.

In fact, a significant proportion of these incidents tend to be ‘everyday’ occurrences which are not, in isolation, perceived by the perpetrators to cause any real detriment. Indeed, many incidents are perpetrated by everyday people and students while their actions enjoy social acceptance. It can therefore be difficult,
especially for those who are not victims of hate crime, to see the insidious, cumulative harm that results from their continual occurrence.

**Existing legislation**

Much of the legislation protecting LGBT people has emerged relatively recently. For example, the Equality Act 2010 seeks to protect the characteristics of sexual orientation and gender reassignment from direct and indirect discrimination; section 16 of the Act provides that absence from work due to the process of gender reassignment must not be treated less favourably than absence from work due to sickness, injury or any other ‘reasonable’ cause. More generally, the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 makes it an offence to knowingly pursue a course of conduct amounting to harassment. Considering the protracted nature of much hate crime, the 1997 Act helps to target behaviour which is “continuous and where the whole is infinitely worse than the sum of the parts or any individual part”.

However, LGBT hate crime only recently received official statutory recognition in section 146 of the Criminal Justice Act 2003, enacted in 2005. In an important modification to the criminal law, the 2003 Act (section 146) requires courts to treat as aggravating factors “hostility … based on sexual orientation” and motivation “by hostility towards persons who are of a particular sexual orientation”. This increases the gravity of the offence, which may be reflected in the sentencing.

Despite this move forward in criminal law, section 146 does not extend to transphobia – hostility based on gender identity. Moreover, section 146 provides no discrete primary offence for homophobic and biphobic motivated incidents, as the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 sections 29–32 do for certain racially and religiously aggravated acts. Under the 1998 Act, the question of whether the defendant displayed hostility towards the victim’s race or religion is relevant to the finding of wrongdoing itself. Under the 2003 Act, however, hostility towards the victim’s sexual orientation is not relevant to the finding of the wrongdoing, but only to the calculation of the sentence after the wrongdoing has been proved. This means that the law recognises hostility as part of the wrongdoing in certain cases of racial and religious hate crime, but not in cases of LGBT hate crime.

Legal redress for victims of LGBT hate crime, therefore, is only possible if other features of the incident fall under the definitions of ‘non-hostile’ criminal offences. Since hostility or prejudice is what distinguishes hate crime, this lack of a hostility criterion in prosecuting LGB hate crime arguably fails to capture the particular injustice of prejudiced behaviour. Furthermore, this leaves gaps in the law where behaviour does not meet the criteria of other offences, but is nevertheless prejudiced and harmful.

**Reporting and prosecution**

Although the rate of unsuccessful prosecutions is declining, the police and the criminal justice system overall have struggled to respond to hate crime adequately. First, prosecutions are often thwarted by the lack of an ‘essential legal element’, where the prosecution lacks an appropriate legal basis to carry the charge, and by victims withdrawing from the prosecution. Second, due to severe underreporting, the law is often not engaged at all. There are several reasons for underreporting, including an expectation among victims of discrimination by the police, victims’ fear of being ‘outed’, and failure of the police to record incidents of hate crime consistently. Further, victims often believe that what they have suffered does not warrant the attention of the police. Even when incidents are reported, they may not be recorded as having hate motivations. While police forces around the UK are increasingly becoming involved in multi-agency efforts to monitor and respond to hate crime in a co-ordinated way, gaps within hate crime legislation, reporting methods and data collection continue to hinder our knowledge of hate crime and how prevention and support strategies may best be developed.

**Key definitions**

- **Hate incident** – “any incident, which may or may not constitute a criminal offence, which is perceived by the victim or any other person as being motivated by prejudice or hate” (Association of Chief Police Officers). This may also be referred
to as a ‘bias-motivated incident’. Correspondingly, incidents not believed to be motivated by prejudice or hate may be referred to as a ‘non-bias motivated incident’.

- **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” (Association of Chief Police Officers).

- **Homophobia** – fear, anger, discomfort, intolerance or lack of acceptance towards people who are attracted to people of the same gender, or experiencing these feelings about one’s own non-heterosexual preference.

- **Biphobia** – fear, anger, discomfort, intolerance or lack of acceptance towards bisexual people.

- **Transphobia** – discrimination that can be experienced by trans people, which arises as a result of their expression of their gender identity.

- **Gender identity** – a person’s self-identification as male, female, neither or both, which may not be the gender they were assigned at birth.

- **Trans** – an umbrella term for: people whose gender identity and/or gender expression differs from their birth sex, including transsexual people (those who intend to undergo, are undergoing or have undergone a process of gender reassignment to live permanently in their acquired gender); transvestite/cross-dressing people (those who wear clothing traditionally associated with the other gender either occasionally or more regularly); androgyne, polygender or genderqueer people (those who have non-binary gender identities and do not identify as a man or a woman); and other people who self-define as gender variant.

- **Cisgender** – individuals who have a match between the sex they were assigned at birth and the roles and behaviours considered by society to be appropriate to their particular gender.

- **‘Other’ sexual orientation** – people who self-identified as having a sexual orientation other than heterosexual, lesbian, gay or bisexual in the survey.

- **Prefer not to say** – people who opted not to disclose their sexual orientation and/or gender identity when completing the survey.

- **LGB and LGBT** – in this report, we use ‘LGB’ when referring to students’ sexual orientation and ‘LGBT’ when referring to both students’ sexual orientation and gender identity.

**Methodology**

Between October 2010 and February 2011, NUS conducted an online survey of 9,229 students across the UK. The survey examined students’ knowledge and understanding of hate incidents or crimes, their awareness of current initiatives on campus and their experiences of a variety of antisocial behaviours and crimes, including: verbal abuse or threats of violence; physical mistreatment; vandalism or property damage; burglary, robbery or theft; distribution or display of abusive, threatening or insulting material; and abusive, threatening or insulting written communication intended to distress or harass.

The survey was developed after extensive research into existing data on hate crime in the UK and best practice in conducting surveys of this nature. The study was open to all students currently studying in further and higher education and collected 9,229 valid responses across the UK.

Although information was collected on all incidents reported, respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they believed the incident to be motivated, or partly motivated, by the perpetrator’s prejudice towards them based on their presumed or actual:

- race, ethnicity or national origin
- religion or belief
- disability
- sexual orientation
- gender identity
- association with a certain race or ethnicity, religion or belief, disability, sexual orientation, and/or gender identity
Some 999 respondents self-identified as LGB, 168 preferred not to say their sexual orientation and 78 specified their sexual orientation as ‘other’. Forty students surveyed stated that their gender identity was not the same as assigned at birth and another 42 preferred not to say. While our trans sample was therefore small, the trans population is itself believed to be very small; low numbers are hence a common feature of research into gender identity. For a detailed breakdown of our respondent demographics, please see Appendix 1.

Data analysis

Quantitative data from the survey was analysed using Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software and Excel. Percentages reported are based on base responses – these figures were calculated from only the number of participants who answered the question and exclude any missing responses. Themes were identified in the qualitative data; a selection of quotations from students who participated in the survey are reproduced in this report to illustrate key issues.
Understanding hate incidents and fears of victimisation

“I pretend I am straight to people I don’t know very well or people I feel will react badly. I introduce my partner as my ‘friend’ at these times to avoid possible verbal or physical abuse.”
Prejudice against sexual orientation or gender identity was a real concern for many students surveyed.

- Gay and lesbian respondents were more than 10 times as likely as heterosexual respondents to have concerns about being subject to abuse because of their sexual orientation, with 45 per cent of gay respondents and 43 per cent of lesbian respondents saying they were very or fairly worried.
- More than one in five (21 per cent) of bisexual respondents also felt very or fairly worried about being victimised because of their sexual orientation.
- Forty-six per cent of trans respondents reported that they were very or fairly worried about being subject to abuse because of their gender identity, as did 34 per cent of those who opted not to disclose their gender identity. In contrast, only 6 per cent of cisgender respondents expressed the same level of worry about experiencing hate incidents because of their gender identity.

These fears often inhibited respondents from fully expressing themselves. Sixty-two per cent of lesbian, 59 per cent of gay, 46 per cent of bisexual and 65 per cent of trans respondents stated that worries about prejudiced abuse caused them to alter their behaviour, personal appearance or daily patterns.

The qualitative data gathered in the survey suggested that many LGB respondents were selective in choosing when and to whom they disclosed or displayed their sexual orientation, often out of concern that they would experience hate incidents as a result of prejudice. Similarly, trans respondents often described how fear of transphobic abuse caused them to subscribe more closely to norms of stereotypically gender-appropriate behaviour and avoid disclosing their trans identity.

### Worries of victimisation

The prospect of experiencing incidents motivated by homophobic prejudice is a real concern for many LGB people in the UK. According to The Gay British Crime Survey conducted by Stonewall, seven in 10 lesbian and gay people think they are at greater risk of being insulted or harassed than heterosexuals, and almost half believe they are at more risk of being physically assaulted than heterosexuals. One in 10 of Stonewall’s survey respondents also stated that being a victim of crime is their biggest worry, above becoming ill or having financial debts.

We asked respondents how worried they were about being subject to a variety of incidents because of their actual or perceived sexual orientation. As Chart 1 illustrates, the level of worry varied depending on the sexual orientation of the student. Gay and lesbian respondents were most worried about being subject to abuse because of homophobic prejudice, with 45 per cent of gay and 43 per cent of lesbian respondents expressing they were very or fairly worried. More than one in five (21 per cent) of bisexual respondents also felt very or fairly worried about becoming victimised because of their sexual orientation. This compares to 38 per cent with an ‘other’ sexual orientation, 12 per cent of those who preferred not to say, and 4 per cent of heterosexual respondents reporting this same level of worry.
Respondents were also asked how worried they are about being subject to a variety of incidents because of their actual or perceived gender identity. Forty-six per cent of trans respondents and 34 per cent of those who preferred not to say felt very or fairly worried about becoming victimised because of their gender identity. In contrast, only 6 per cent of respondents who stated their gender identity to be the same as assigned at birth reported the same level of worry.

These worries clearly affected LGBT respondents’ everyday lives. Sixty-two per cent of lesbian, 59 per cent of gay, 46 per cent of bisexual and 65 per cent of trans respondents stated that their worries about prejudiced abuse caused them to alter their behaviour, personal appearance or daily patterns. An additional 39 per cent of those who preferred not to disclose their sexual orientation, 53 per cent of those who selected an ‘other’ sexual orientation and 45 per cent of those who preferred not to say whether their gender identity was the same as assigned at birth also stated this.

LGBT, heterosexual and cisgender students alike described how they refrained from certain behaviours and avoided certain gestures or clothing styles, because they feared being labelled as gay or trans and consequently victimised. Respondents altered their behaviour to avoid being a victim of bias-motivated crime in a variety of ways. Broadly speaking, these can be categorised into three groups:

- Not expressing (or hiding) sexual and preferred gender identity in public, such as consciously
subscribing more closely to conventional gender norms, avoiding stereotypical gay behaviour and appearance and refraining from displaying affection for partners.

- Avoiding certain areas at particular times, such as pubs and bars, areas in which large groups of certain people (often male and heterosexual) congregate, gendered bathroom facilities, or places where they could be identified as LGBT.

- Taking a range of safety precautions, from avoiding travel alone, modifying routes to/from home and using taxis instead of public transport, to not going out in the evenings or, in some more extreme cases, refraining from going out at all.

### Behaviour change due to worries about prejudice against sexual orientation

The following quotes are from survey respondents offering examples of behavioural change.

“I don’t hold hands with my girlfriend if I believe I might be subject to verbal abuse. I don’t go out to clubs with my girlfriend much anymore, due to verbal and sexual harassment that I have experienced on nights out. I am always careful about who knows that I am LGBT and what company I’m in. It’s sort of a constant, ingrained worry, since a few friends of mine have been subject to abuse because of their sexuality.”

“I pretend I am straight to people I don’t know very well or people I feel will react badly. I introduce my partner as my ‘friend’ at these times to avoid possible verbal or physical abuse.”

“[I] don’t dress a certain way because it is ‘stereotypical’ of being a lesbian, even if I just like that style of appearance. [I] don’t hold hands or kiss my girlfriend in certain places or in public. [I] don’t go to certain places like gay bars in case I am attacked if seen going or leaving there.”

“There are certain places I cannot go to (ie clubs and bars) because I have been attacked in the past in those establishments because I am gay. When I am travelling to and from work, I sometimes suffer verbal abuse and threats on public transport so I have to try to choose a train carriage that has middle-aged people rather than groups of young men.”

“Taking the tube instead of the bus, trying not to go back home at night alone, avoiding sometimes ‘eccentric’ clothes, and avoiding speaking freely (gay subjects) on the phone when in public.”

“I tend not to walk home from uni or work when it’s dark as I have been physically attacked in the past and am concerned that it might happen again. I don’t have a lot of money but I prefer to spend it on public transport or taxis rather than putting myself at risk.”

“At certain times in the evening when walking alone I will make sure to dress in a way that would not cause anyone to be able to tell my sexuality, for fear of being attacked.”

“[I] avoid busy places, especially with non-students there. [I] go out to very few places, where I know it’s safe and I have friends with me.”

“[I] change my routine daily – [I] take a different route to school, get off the bus at a different stop each day.”

“I am careful in my choices of hotels if I am staying with my civil partner and booking a double room. We tend to avoid small B&Bs and go for larger chains instead. We also do not go to certain countries on holiday together where they have a poor record on protecting gay rights.”

“I don’t go out after dark or go to any LGBTQ things.”

“I just won’t go out in the evenings or stay out late. I’m definitely hyper-vigilant and know that Friday nights are stay-in nights.”
Behaviour change due to worries about prejudice against gender identity

The following quotes are from survey respondents offering examples of behavioural change.

“I am careful to ensure that my outward appearance matches my birth-assigned gender when in public places, despite this being incredibly uncomfortable. I avoid discussions about gender, sex, sexuality and religious situations. I take care to ensure that any identifying details about me cannot be traced online. It very much feels like I have to live a double life.”

“For the last few weeks, I haven’t wanted to leave the safety of my flat because of these worries and when I have, I have only bound my chest and continue to use the female toilets [as I am] scared of what the male students will think otherwise.”

“I choose different routes to walk through town, avoiding enclosed spaces or anywhere where I am not in public view or the view of CCTV cameras. I change the way I dress at school to look more like my assigned gender to avoid being noticed and I also avoid places like the common room and yard.”

“I alter how close I get to people in friendships as I cannot tell them about my personal relationship and sexuality. Similarly, I also select what I tell people and have to be secretive about most of my life!”

“We often tend to present as androgynous rather than explicitly female. I would very much rather present as female, but I worry that I am opening myself up to abuse if I do.”

“I try harder than I would otherwise wish to present as unambiguously recognisable as male. I think about whether or not it is safe to correct people when they mistake me for a woman. I modify stories about my past to cover up my trans identity even when I do not wish to. I leave bathrooms if challenged rather than arguing for my rights. I consider whether or not it’s safe to be affectionate with my partners in public settings. I assess whether or not it is safe to correct people who misread my relationships. I attempt to be seen as neurotypical and physically able whenever possible – sometimes to the extent of enduring physical pain to do so.”

The qualitative data gathered in the survey suggests many LGB respondents were selective in choosing when and to whom they disclosed or displayed their sexual orientation, often out of concern that they would experience prejudice – and victimisation as a result of that prejudice. Similarly, trans respondents often described how fear of transphobic abuse caused them to subscribe more closely to norms of stereotypically gender-appropriate behaviour and avoid disclosing their trans identity.

“I alter how close I get to people in friendships as I cannot tell them about my personal relationship and sexuality. Similarly, I also select what I tell people and have to be secretive about most of my life!”

“I am a lesbian but I am still in the closet due to what people will think of me.”

“It doesn’t disclose trans status to people unless I can be reasonably certain I won’t be at risk.”

Many of these respondents voiced frustration about having to self-censor their behaviour and spoke about the effect this had upon their self-esteem, self-confidence, self-image and sense of self-worth.

“I tend to dress ambiguously, or at least not too male. I tried to wear female clothing for a while, but it never felt right. I don’t modify my behaviour as much now as I used to, but I still cannot fully be me.”

“I changed the way I dress and act around specific people, because they make comments, which
knocks my self-esteem. There’s only a few people I feel I can be myself completely around.”

“It’s almost like I have to continuously censor myself so I don’t say the wrong thing in front of the wrong type of people.”

“I don’t feel I can be myself on campus because of the attitude of other people. I also feel foolish for feeling this way.”

“I act in a certain way, I don’t dress too outlandish – I basically pretend to be someone else.”

“I act less of how I want to truly be.”

Despite these worries, students across our sample had a limited understanding of when they should report a hate incident, and to whom. Thirty-six per cent did not believe they could report these incidents to organisations other than the police and one in five thought only hate incidents that constituted a criminal offence should be reported at all.

Likewise, most students surveyed were not aware of any hate crime services provided at their institution. Sixty-four per cent of respondents did not know if their university or college provides information about where victims of hate incidents could go for help and support; 70 per cent were similarly not aware if their students’ union provides information, help or support.
The extent and nature of hate incidents

“I was out clubbing with university friends. They would make it difficult for me to have a good night out with my friends – when at the bar they pushed and shoved, punched or kicked when I ordered drinks – on the dance floor they would be dancing behind me and throw themselves into the back of me and push me over.”
This chapter describes the extent and nature of incidents reported in the survey that were believed by the victims to be motivated by prejudice against their sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

From these findings, it is notable that hate incidents perpetrated on the basis of prejudice against LGBT people are not exceptional occurrences. Almost one third of LGB people reported at least one incident motivated by prejudice against their sexual orientation, and 45 per cent of trans people reported at least one hate incident motivated by prejudice against their gender identity.

**Key findings**

**Incidents motivated by prejudice against sexual orientation**

- Thirty-one per cent of LGB students surveyed had experienced at least one hate incident related to their sexual orientation sometime during their current studies, compared to 2 per cent of heterosexual respondents.
- One in five (20 per cent) of LGB respondents had experienced homophobic verbal abuse, threats of violence or threatening behaviour – compared to less than 1 per cent of heterosexual respondents.
- Nine per cent of LGB respondents had experienced one or more forms of physical abuse believed to be motivated by a prejudice against their sexual orientation. Nine per cent of gay and 8 per cent of bisexual respondents reported an incident of serious physical abuse – twice as many as lesbian and heterosexual respondents.
- Eleven per cent of LGB respondents reported having witnessed the distribution or display of abusive, threatening or insulting material believed to be homophobic. In contrast, less than 1 per cent of heterosexual respondents reported this.
- Seven per cent of LGB students surveyed had received abusive, threatening or insulting written communication thought to be prejudiced against their sexual orientation while studying at their current institution, compared to a negligible amount of heterosexual respondents.

**Incidents motivated by prejudice against gender identity**

- Twenty per cent of trans respondents reported being a victim of threatening, abusive or insulting words, threatening behaviour or threats of violence. The large majority of these respondents (88 per cent) believed the most serious incident(s) to be motivated by a prejudice against their gender identity.
- Thirty-eight per cent of trans respondents reported at least one incident of verbal abuse, threats of violence or threatening behaviour as a result of prejudice against their gender identity occurring during their current studies – compared to 7 per cent of those who preferred not to disclose and 1 per cent of those with the same gender identity as assigned at birth.
- Eight per cent of trans respondents reported that they had experienced distribution or display of material they found to be prejudiced against their gender identity. This compares to 2 per cent of respondents with the same gender identity as assigned at birth.
- Twenty per cent of students self-identifying as trans or with a trans background reported at least one incident of physical abuse, at least partly motivated by a prejudice against their gender identity, while studying at their current institution. This compares to only 5 per cent of respondents who preferred not to disclose their gender identity, and 6 per cent of students with the same gender identity as assigned at birth.
We asked respondents whether they had been victims of any of the following incident types: verbal abuse or threats of violence; physical mistreatment; vandalism or property damage; burglary, robbery or theft; distribution or display of abusive, threatening or insulting material; and abusive, threatening or insulting written communication intended to distress or harass. Respondents were asked to answer a sequence of follow-up questions regarding the one incident, or series of incidents they had experienced, which they considered to be the most serious in each category.

While any respondent could potentially be targeted because of their sexual orientation or gender identity, regardless of whether they in fact identify as LGBT, it was evident from the data that LGBT students experienced the vast majority of these incidents. As such, this chapter will focus on the experiences of respondents who identify as LGBT, though some discussion will also include those who do not, such as respondents who preferred not to disclose their sexual orientation, chose an ‘other’ sexual orientation or who self-identified as heterosexual.

**Sexual orientation**

Overall, 311 of 999 (31 per cent) of LGB students surveyed experienced at least one hate incident related to their sexual orientation, compared to 2 per cent of heterosexual respondents.

Gay respondents were most likely to experience antisocial behaviour or crime related to their sexual orientation, with 43 per cent reporting at least one incident. This was closely followed by lesbian respondents, with 40 per cent stating they had experienced an LGB-related hate incident.

Just under one in five (19 per cent of) bisexual respondents were victimised because of their sexual orientation; a further 8 per cent who opted not to disclose their sexual orientation and 24 per cent with an ‘other’ sexual orientation also reported an LGB-related hate incident.

**Gender identity**

The survey defined gender identity as a person’s self-identification as male, female, neither or both, which may not be the gender they were assigned at birth. The open nature of this definition allowed respondents who did not identify as trans to nevertheless indicate incidents of prejudice against their gender identity. It is evident from the data that many respondents interpreted this definition to include sexist prejudice or behaviour, particularly towards women. For clarity, this report differentiates data on self-identified trans respondents from the wider group reporting prejudice against their gender identity.

Forty students indicated that their gender identity was not the same as the gender they were assigned at birth – 18 (45 per cent) of whom reported at least one incident they believed to be prejudiced against their trans background. Seven of the 42 students (17 per cent) who preferred not to say whether their gender identity was the same as the gender they were assigned at birth also reported being a victim. This compares to only 3 per cent of cisgender respondents reporting an incident involving prejudice against their gender identity.

Moreover, we found statistically significant differences among LGBT and heterosexual or cisgender respondents in terms of victimisation rates, whether they believed their experience to be prejudiced or not. This was true in every type of incident, with the exception of vandalism, property damage or theft and, in the case of trans and cisgender students, acts of written communication intended to harass or distress.

LGBT respondents experienced markedly higher rates of verbal abuse compared to heterosexual and cisgender students surveyed. Thirty-five per cent of gay, 29 per cent of lesbian and 25 per cent of bisexual respondents had experienced at least one incident of verbal abuse, threatening behaviour or threats of violence while studying at their current institution, compared to only 16 per cent of heterosexual respondents. Similarly, 42 per cent of trans students experienced verbal abuse, compared to only 18 per cent of cisgender respondents.
There were also statistically significant differences in victimisation rates of physical abuse between trans and cisgender students: trans students were twice as likely to experience at least one incident of physical abuse while studying at their current institution (30 per cent), compared to cisgender students (15 per cent).

**Verbal abuse and threats of violence**

Survey respondents were asked whether they had experienced either of the following while at their place of study:

- threatening, abusive or insulting words – eg verbal abuse such as name-calling, being shouted or sworn at, taunted, offensive slurs or insults
- threatening behaviour or threats of violence.

Some 1,639 respondents (18 per cent of the total surveyed) reported at least one experience of the above categories. Of these, 18 per cent were believed to have some element of prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation; 8 per cent were believed to have some element of prejudice against the victim’s gender identity (including trans and cisgender).

**Prejudice against sexual orientation**

“I am a gay Muslim [and] I have been called ‘faggot’, ‘gay boy’, ‘bender’ on many occasions.”

“Just walking down a street, high street or public place, with a boyfriend in hand draws attention that spikes people’s reactions, disgusted looks, sharp gazes, abusive words and intimidating and embarrassing statements.”

Twenty-eight per cent of LGB respondents reported an incident of threatening, abusive or insulting words and 7 per cent had been a victim of threatening behaviour or threats of violence – the majority (69 per cent) of which were believed to be motivated by a prejudice against their sexual orientation. This translates into one in five (20 per cent) of LGB respondents experiencing homophobic verbal abuse, threats of violence or threatening behaviour sometime during their current studies – compared to less than 1 per cent of heterosexual respondents. Gay students surveyed experienced the highest rate of victimisation, at almost one in three reporting an incident. Chart 3 provides a breakdown of victimisation by sexual orientation.

**Prejudiced against gender identity**

Forty per cent (16) of the trans respondents reported being a victim of threatening, abusive or insulting words and 15 per cent (6) had experienced threatening behaviour or threats of violence. The majority (88 per cent) of these respondents believed the most serious incident(s) to be motivated by a prejudice against their gender identity.

Overall, 38 per cent of trans respondents reported at least one incident of verbal abuse, threats of violence or threatening behaviour as a result of prejudice against their gender identity occurring during their current studies – compared to 7 per cent of those who preferred not to disclose and 1 per cent of those with the same gender identity as assigned at birth.
Chart 4 Proportion of students victimised by verbal abuse or threatening behaviour motivated by prejudice against their gender identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender Identity</th>
<th>Proportion (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trans</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer not to say</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cisgendered</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Physical abuse and violence

We asked respondents whether they had experienced any of the following while they had been a student at their place of study:

Physical abuse of a sexual nature

- being subjected to unwanted sexual contact (this could include touching, grabbing, pinching, kissing, fondling, or molesting through clothes)

Low-level physical abuse

- Being followed or chased
- being spat upon
- being held down or physically blocked
- being pushed, slapped, shoved or having hair pulled

Serious physical abuse

- something being thrown at you that could cause injury
- being kicked, bitten or hit with a fist or something else that could cause injury
- being choked, dragged, strangled or burned
- having a weapon (such as a knife or gun) used to cause intimidation or harm
- another form of physical mistreatment or violence not described above.

In total, 1,377 respondents from across our entire sample experienced one or more forms of physical abuse, 132 (10 per cent) of whom believed the incident to have at least some element of prejudice against their sexual orientation.

Some 192 (14 per cent) of the 1,377 respondents reporting one or more forms of physical abuse indicated the incident was at least partly motivated by some element of prejudice against their gender identity. As mentioned above, it is evident from the data that many respondents interpreted the provided definition of gender identity as including sexist behaviour and, particularly in the case of physical abuse of a sexual nature, violence against women.

Prejudice against sexual orientation

The following quotes are from respondents describing hate incidents which were motivated by prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation:

“I was followed by a group of young males from near a gay club through the town centre, until I decided to get into a taxi.”

“[I was] pushed on to the floor and then the attacker pretended to have anal sex with me.”

“I went to the gay village where I usually feel relatively safe: my drink was spiked and I managed to get into a taxi. The driver took me halfway home, stole all of my money, passport and mobile phone, dragged me from the car, beat me up and left me in a passageway. Throughout the incident, he shouted homophobic abuse at me. I spent a day in hospital and sustained broken fingers, kicks and deep cuts to my head, throat and body.”

“People think that because I am a lesbian, I’m a ‘challenge’. Therefore they justify really unacceptable unwanted sexual behaviour as trying to ‘turn’ me. It is disgusting and wouldn’t be acceptable socially if I was a straight girl – because then it would be harassment.”
“I was out clubbing with university friends … They would make it difficult for me to have a good night out with my friends – when at the bar they pushed and shoved, punched or kicked when I ordered drinks – on the dance floor they would be dancing behind me and throw themselves into the back of me and push me over.”

Overall, 9 per cent of all LGB respondents reported at least one experience of homophobic physical abuse. Gay respondents were most likely to report this type of victimisation (14 per cent), followed by 12 per cent of lesbians and 10 per cent of respondents with an ‘other’ sexual orientation. Four per cent of bisexual respondents had also experienced homophobic physical abuse. This is compared to less than 0.5 per cent of heterosexual respondents.

Severity of incident

The majority of incidents motivated by prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation (51 per cent) involved low-level physical abuse such as being followed or chased, spat upon, held down or physically blocked. However, a considerable number (30 per cent) were more serious experiences, most commonly involving being kicked, bitten, hit with a fist or something else, pushed, slapped, shoved or having their hair pulled. Just under one in six (16 per cent) of these incidents involved unwanted sexual contact.

Injuries

“I had quite a lot of cuts and bruises to my head and a lot of swelling so I had to take some time off work. And I had my hand and lower arm in plaster for a while and then it was splinted for most of the year, which caused some difficulties with studying and exams.”

Thirty per cent of respondents stated that at least one incident of physical abuse motivated against their sexual orientation resulted in injury, with most reporting minor bruising (67 per cent), scratches (54 per cent) and cuts (36 per cent). However, several incidents resulted in more serious injuries, such as severe bruising (26 per cent), concussion (8 per cent) or broken bones, noses or teeth (5 per cent). Eighteen per cent of these respondents required medical treatment as result of their injuries. More than half (52 per cent) of these incidents involved more than one perpetrator.

Victimisation rates

Analysis of the data suggested that LGB respondents were more likely to experience at least one form of physical abuse (homophobic or otherwise) compared to respondents who identified as heterosexual or had preferred not to disclose their sexual orientation.18

Twenty per cent of lesbian and gay respondents experienced physical abuse, while bisexuals reported slightly higher rates of victimisation (23 per cent). Nineteen per cent of respondents who identified as an ‘other’ sexual orientation also reported at least one
incident of physical abuse. In comparison, only 14 per cent of heterosexuals and 12 per cent of those who preferred not to say indicated they had experienced one or more forms of physical abuse while studying at their institution.

Nine per cent of gay respondents experienced at least one form of serious physical abuse – at least double that of respondents identifying as heterosexual, lesbian or who preferred not to say. Eight per cent of bisexual respondents and the same percentage of students identifying as an ‘other’ sexual orientation also reported at least one incident of serious physical abuse.

Prejudice against gender identity

Eight (20 per cent) students self-identifying as trans or with a trans background reported at least one instance of physical abuse at least partly motivated by a prejudice against their gender identity while studying at their current institution. This compares with only 5 per cent of respondents who preferred not to disclose their gender identity and 6 per cent of students with the same gender identity as assigned at birth.

Severity and injuries

Fifty per cent of incidents involving physical abuse motivated by prejudice against the victim’s gender identity (whether they were trans or cisgender) entailed being subjected to unwanted sexual contact. One in five also involved the victim being followed or chased. Less common experiences included being held down or physically blocked, being pushed, slapped, shoved or having their hair pulled and having something thrown at them that could cause injury.

Analysis of the qualitative data gathered from many of the cisgender respondents reporting an incident of physical abuse because of a bias against their gender identity implies that many of these students experienced sexist behaviour. Tellingly, the vast majority of these respondents were women, indicating that violence against women is a real and serious concern among students. However, because not all respondents provided further information about their experiences we were not able to fully discern which incidents were related to sexist prejudice and violence against women.

Of the eight trans respondents reporting incidents of physical abuse they believed to be transphobic, six reported experiences involving being followed, chased, held down or physically blocked. The other two respondents reported incidents of transphobic physical abuse involving more serious experiences, both of which resulted in injuries. One of these students reported being kicked, bitten or hit and choked, dragged, strangled or burned. This incident resulted in severe bruising, a broken nose, a concussion/loss of consciousness, and caused them to seek medical treatment for their injuries. Another trans student reported several instances in which they were pushed, slapped, shoved or had their hair pulled, causing minor bruising. Three trans respondents additionally reported having been subjected to unwanted sexual contact on several occasions.

Vandalism, property damage and theft

Fifteen per cent (1,337) of all respondents had experienced at least one of the following while studying at their institution:

- **vandalism** – someone deliberately defacing or doing damage to their house, flat or halls of residence, or anything outside it
- **property damage** – someone deliberately damaging, tampering with or vandalising their property (eg personal belongings, vehicle, bicycle or other property)
- **personal theft** – personal belongings stolen from their hands, bag, pockets or locker
- **personal theft outside their home** – eg from their doorstep, garden or garage
- **robbery** – someone taking or attempting to take something by force or threat of force
- **burglary** – someone illegally entering their residence to steal or attempting to steal their belongings, inflict bodily harm or cause criminal damage.
Prejudice against sexual orientation

A very small percentage of these incidents (3 per cent; 35 of the 1,337) were thought to be motivated by prejudice against the victim’s real or perceived sexual orientation. The vast majority of these involved property damage (60 per cent), though instances of personal theft (43 per cent) and vandalism (37 per cent) were also common. Five per cent of lesbian, 4 per cent of gay and 2 per cent of bisexual respondents reported this type of victimisation, compared to 0.1 per cent of heterosexual students surveyed.

Prejudice against gender identity

“Someone who I thought I could trust decided to vandalise the property when I moved here, but they then tried to suggest I had assaulted them. [when] I am only 5ft2in and of size eight clothing, I have barely the strength to defend myself against a fight – let alone instigate one.”

There were only six reported incidents of vandalism, property damage or theft (including robbery and burglary) that were believed to be motivated by prejudice against gender identity. All six were reported by students whose gender identity was the same as assigned at birth.

Establishing bias-motivation

Most of the incidents reported as prejudiced against the victim’s sexual orientation or gender identity involved the perpetrators making direct reference to the victims’ presumed membership within these groups.

“Someone marked the word ‘gay’ above my front door. I didn’t want to be seen to be cleaning it off in case passers-by then knew it was me the people were referring to.”

“My gay Pride sticker on my car was scratched off and my wing mirror was broken off.”

“My phone went ‘missing’ and [when I found it] they had changed the home screen to ‘gay’.”

“Someone drew a penis on my bag and some money had been stolen. I don’t [know if] the money being stolen was motivated [against] … my sexuality, but the penis on my bag probably was.”

“I had an offensive message spray-painted on the wall outside my bedroom.”

Distribution and display of abusive, threatening or insulting material

Prejudice against sexual orientation

Respondents were asked whether during their current studies anyone had distributed or displayed writing, signs or visible representation they found to be threatening, abusive or insulting. Some 635 respondents replied in the affirmative, with 195 (31 per cent) stating that these messages had an element of prejudice against certain sexual orientations. The majority of these incidents were experienced by LGB students, though a significant proportion (45 per cent) were reported by respondents identifying as heterosexual, an ‘other’ sexual orientation or those who preferred not to say.

“A leaflet [had] insulting words about me … written on it.”

“Posters for an event run by the LGBT Society were covered in graffiti, ripped up and thrown at us when we were selling tickets to the event.”

“Some students took Stonewall resources (Gay Hate booklets) from the Students’ Union and filled them with offensive and homophobic graffiti.”

“Sticky notes with ‘fag’ written on … being stuck on my back. Taking my note book and writing offensive terms.”
The majority of these cases involved graffiti in and around the respondent’s college or university campus, typically on toilet walls and lecture hall furniture.

“In lecture halls and rooms and on the tables there are many vile and abusive words and pictures, naming and threatening certain gay people on them.”

“The male toilets in all areas of my college regularly display racist and homophobic graffiti, as well as that which is targeted at people with disabilities. Said graffiti is removed eventually, but I have reported it many times and it takes weeks for it to be removed. I feel that this would not happen in a private institution or workplace.”

“There’s something scrawled on the wall about [how] gay people should be executed publicly and that being gay is unnatural.”

“Mainly graffiti about X being gay, though sometimes the [comments] are more offensive like, “Batty boys must die.”

“There’s a big issue with the toilets. Abuse gets left there and never cleaned up.”

A large number of these incidents also involved the distribution of leaflets believed by respondents to have homophobic overtones, many of which were religiously affiliated. It was apparent from the qualitative data that tensions often existed between LGBT students and faith groups on campus and in the wider community. While many respondents recognised the importance of people of all backgrounds having freedom of expression, some felt that distribution and display of certain material encouraged intolerance.

“Oh campus and in town, [there is distribution] of leaflets [which] on numerous occasions make reference to my sexuality being wrong, curable and evil.”

“Something about gay people burning in hell. The reason I found it threatening is quite obvious.”

“People believe that having a religion to back up bigoted hateful statements makes the statements okay to make. This is not the case. If I do not hold to their religious world view, then they cannot dictate to me things I should and shouldn’t do. The leaflets they distribute are anti-homosexual, anti-gender queer, are hateful and give groups of people with more aggressive tactics a foundation upon which to base their bigotry. Institutions such as X preach the curing of gays or conversion therapy. Both are harmful to the public’s perception on LGBT individuals and the individuals targeted.”

Prejudice against gender identity

The following quotes are from respondents describing how offensive materials (which were motivated by prejudice toward gender identity) had been distributed.

“Posters about transgender events vandalised with transphobic slurs.”

“I have found graffiti insulting sexually active women, homosexuals, transgender individuals and foreign students. I found it offensive as a sexually active, liberal woman who believes in the freedom to express one’s sexuality, religion, ethnicity with pride without fear of insult or injury.”
“Article in the student newspaper containing offensive remarks about transgender students and homophobic content … The article was widely distributed and led to lots of prejudice being openly displayed against transgender people. A protest was held against the student newspaper but ultimately no action was taken by them to resolve the matter and no apology was made.”

Three trans respondents (8 per cent) and four (10 per cent) who preferred not to disclose their gender identity reported that they had experienced distribution or display of material they found to be prejudiced against their gender identity. This compares to 2 per cent of respondents with the same gender identity as assigned at birth.

Chart 7 Proportion of students reporting incidents of distribution or display of material prejudiced against a gender identity

Abusive, threatening or insulting written communication

Respondents were asked whether they had received any of the following while studying at their institution:

- an abusive, threatening or insulting telephone call or text message intended to harass, alarm or distress
- abusive, threatening or insulting post or mail intended to harass, alarm or distress
- abusive, threatening or insulting email or messages transmitted through the Internet (for example, via Facebook, twitter or a blog) intended to harass, alarm or distress.

“One of the people sent me a Facebook message suggesting I commit suicide and advising me of ways in which to do it because my family obviously couldn’t love me as I’m gay and I would never find anyone else to love me either. This hurt me deeply at first and I spent most of the day crying when I saw this message … It has affected my trust of others … I could not understand that two people who had supposedly been friends could start up abusive blogs about me.”

“I now never answer the phone unless I recognise the number calling, for fear it may be another horrible call.”

Prejudice against sexual orientation

Some 877 incidents were reported in the survey, of which 88 (10 per cent) were thought to be motivated by prejudice against the victim’s perceived sexual orientation. Overall, 7 per cent of LGB respondents stated they had experienced at least one incident of abusive, threatening or insulting written communication they believed to be homophobic.
Chart 8: Proportion of students victimised by abusive, threatening or insulting written communication prejudiced against their sexual orientation

Prejudice against gender identity

“This incident involved publicly outing me as trans in order to attack my point of view. This has put me in potential danger as the more people are aware that I am transgender, the more likely I am a victim of (further) violence and physical assault.”

One trans student and three who preferred not to disclose their gender identity (7 per cent) had experienced one or more forms of transphobic communication while studying at their institution. This compared to 2 per cent of students whose gender identity was the same as assigned at birth.

Chart 9: Proportion of students victimised by abusive, threatening or insulting written communication prejudiced against their gender identity

Repeat and increased likelihood of victimisation

The survey asked respondents whether they had experienced several incident types. If they had, respondents were then asked whether they had been victims of that particular type of incident once or twice, several times or many times.

In every type of incident, repeat victimisation was higher among students who were targeted because of their sexual orientation and/or gender identity than for victims who reported no bias was involved. For example, 27 per cent of victims of physical abuse which was motivated by prejudice against their sexual orientation stated they had experienced this type of mistreatment several or many times – whereas the vast majority (77 per cent) of students reporting non-bias physical abuse had only experienced this once or twice.
Profiles of incidents and perpetrators

“What is most worrying to me is that I and the perpetrator are both Year 1 Social Work students.”
This chapter provides findings on how victims identify hate incidents and the environments in which they take place. It also provides demographic findings on perpetrators and victims, and on the relationships between them.

For each incident type, we asked respondents who had been victimised to describe when and where the most serious incident had happened, why they believed it might be motivated by prejudice, and a number of questions regarding what they knew about the perpetrator(s).

Apart from in cases of vandalism, property damage or theft (which predominantly occurred at or near victims’ homes), a large proportion of incidents occurred in and around further and higher education institutions. Although the respondents were all students, considering that they were asked to report experiences outside as well as inside institutions, it poses the question of whether campuses are ‘hotbeds’ of hate incidents and crime.

While most perpetrators were reported to be strangers, in many incidents victims were nevertheless able to infer from the context or environment that perpetrators were students. Also corroborating other research was the finding that the large majority of perpetrators were males.

Key findings

- The majority of incidents – particularly those involving direct contact between the victim and perpetrator(s) – involved overt displays of homophobia, through statements, gestures or symbols.
- While students reported a range of locations in which they were targeted, a large proportion of incidents occurred at the victim’s place of study – the exception being in cases of vandalism, property damage or theft, which predominantly occurred at or near the victim’s home. Moreover, many of these incidents occurred in the afternoon and evening, presumably during college and university campus open hours.
- In 45 per cent of incidents prejudiced against the victim’s sexual orientation or gender identity, the perpetrator(s) were believed to be students – often fellow students at the victim’s institution.
- The bulk of reported incidents were perpetrated by white male assailants, often young people in groups, who were not known by the victim. In 44 per cent of incidents involving a single perpetrator, the assailant was thought to be a student. At least one student was believed to be involved in 55 per cent of cases involving multiple perpetrators.
Identifying experiences as hate incidents

In the majority of instances involving direct contact with the perpetrator(s) (for example, verbal abuse, threatening behaviour or threats of violence, physical abuse or written communication), the victim cited the perpetrator’s overt prejudice in identifying the incident as a hate incident. This was typically in the form of homophobic or transphobic statements or gestures made before, during or after the incident, though they also often involved hate words or symbols.

In 61 per cent of incidents motivated against the victim’s sexual orientation and 49 per cent of those against their gender identity, statements or gestures were made before, during or after the incident, demonstrating the perpetrator’s prejudice. In 48 per cent of incidents motivated against the victim’s sexual orientation and 23 per cent of those related to gender identity, hate words or symbols were present.

A number of respondents also identified contextual clues that perpetrators were assumed to have used in selecting their victims. For example: the fact that the location in which the incident took place was commonly associated with LGBT people (eg a club with predominantly LGBT clientele); that at the time of the attack, the victim was engaged in activities promoting an LGBT social group or event; or that the incident coincided with a holiday or event associated with LGBT people (for example, an LGBT Pride march). While most victims cited conceptual clues in combination with physical and verbal cues, the very use of these conceptual clues indicates how the spectre of hate affects students’ freedom to socialise and to express themselves, both personally and politically, in the company of others.

Respondents also used perceptual information to deduce that the incident in question was motivated by a prejudice against their sexual orientation or gender identity. This tended to be because they believed the perpetrator to be a member of a group known to commit such acts, because someone else suggested

When and where

Respondents reported the most victimisation in the evening or at night, with 55 per cent of incidents motivated against the victim’s sexual orientation and 73 per cent of incidents related to their gender identity between the hours of 6pm and 6am.

A considerable proportion, however, occurred during daylight hours: 45 per cent of incidents involving bias against the victim’s sexual orientation and 27 per cent of incidents related to their gender identity occurred in the morning or afternoon (6am to noon).

While students reported a range of locations in which they were targeted, victims of hate most commonly cited the incident(s) took place in and around areas of their institution other than their learning environment or students’ union, though these locations were also regularly reported. The exception to this was in cases of vandalism, property damage or theft, which predominantly occurred at or near the victim’s home.
Table 1 Location of incidents prejudiced against sexual orientation, by incident type

Location trends differed slightly for incidents involving prejudice against gender identity. As with homophobic incidents, those involving gender identity prejudices often occurred in and around areas of the victim’s institution. In particular, victims experienced verbal abuse, threatening behaviour or threats of violence and distribution or display of material. Similarly, vandalism, property, damage and theft were most commonly reported to have taken place at or near the victim’s home. However, experiences of physical abuse most often occurred in a nightclub setting.
## Profiles of incidents and perpetrators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lore of incidents and perpetrators</th>
<th>Verbal abuse, threatening behaviour or threats of violence</th>
<th>Physical abuse or mistreatment</th>
<th>Vandalism, property damage and theft</th>
<th>Distribution or display of material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At a learning environment</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a students' union or students' union event</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At and around other areas of the institution</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or near home</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or near a friend's home</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside a bar or pub</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside a nightclub</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside a taxi rank or queue</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside prayer room facilities on campus</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside their workplace</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside a takeaway, off-licence, newsagent or corner store</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside a place of leisure or entertainment</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside public transport</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On a street, road or alley</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shaded boxes denote significant numbers.
Common locations where these types of hate incidents took place included public places such as nightclubs, bars and pubs, outside public transport, or on the street or in an alley. A small minority of respondents also reported being targeted at or near a friend’s home, a taxi rank or queue, their workplace, a takeaway, off-licence, newsagent or corner store, or a leisure/entertainment centre.

The prevalence of incidents taking place in a learning environment, the students’ union or students’ union event, or in and around other areas of the victim’s institution – many occurring in the afternoon and evening during college and university campus open hours – highlights the commonplace nature of these types of incidents and underscores the imperative of tackling prejudiced behaviour in colleges and universities.
### Profiles of incidents and perpetrators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Verbal abuse, threatening behaviour or threats of violence</th>
<th>Physical abuse or mistreatment</th>
<th>Vandalism, property damage and theft</th>
<th>Distribution or display of material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In a learning environment</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In your students’ union or students’ union event</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In and around other areas of the institution</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or near home</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or near a friend’s home</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside a bar or pub</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside a nightclub</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside a taxi rank or queue</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.50%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside their workplace</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside a takeaway, off-licence, newsagent or corner store</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside a place of leisure or entertainment</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At or outside public transport</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On a street, road or alley</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shaded boxes denote significant numbers.
Victims

When applicable, respondents were asked information about the number of victims involved. More than two in three incidents took place when the victim was in the company of other people, and in many cases their companions also became victims. This finding suggests that incidence rates could very well be higher than our estimates.

In 29 per cent of incidents involving bias against the student’s sexual orientation, the victim was alone and the only recipient of harassment. In 71 per cent of cases, the victim was in the company of others. In half of these cases, respondents indicated their companions were also victims.

Thirty-one per cent of incidents believed to be prejudiced against the victim’s gender identity occurred while they were alone. Of those who were with companions, 38 per cent reported the perpetrator(s) also targeted their friends.

Perpetrators

Number of perpetrators

The evidence suggests that perpetrators often acted as a group, particularly in incidents involving face-to-face contact with the victim(s), such as in verbal and physical abuse.

Fifty-one per cent of incidents involving bias against the victim’s sexual orientation were reported to have involved more than one perpetrator, with another 23 per cent indicating they were unsure of the number of perpetrators. This is particularly disturbing in cases of physical assault, where 52 per cent (69 of 132) involved multiple perpetrators: 28 per cent of incidents involving two or three perpetrators, 16 per cent involving four to six, and 8 per cent involving six or more perpetrators.

Incidents involving a prejudice against the victim’s gender identity were less likely to involve multiple perpetrators, though a substantial number (35 per cent) were apparently committed by more than one individual.

Relationship to victim

Strangers were found to have committed the majority of incidents reported in our survey (58 per cent of those prejudiced against the victim’s sexual orientation and 70 per cent against their gender identity). The exception to this was in cases of prejudiced written communication, which, due to the nature of this type of incident, primarily involved people known to the victim, such as acquaintances or friends.

That is not to say, however, that the perpetrators were completely unknown to the victims. The majority of victims were in fact able to state whether the person(s) in question were students, even when they had indicated that the perpetrators were strangers. Perpetrators were more often than not someone who was simultaneously a stranger and someone familiar to the victim, by way of a shared context or place.

“The people [perpetrators of homophobic communication] were from my old school, where I was ‘famous’ for my sexual identity.”

“The perpetrators knew people who know that I am gay.”

In 45 per cent of incidents motivated by a prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation, the perpetrator was known to be a student. Of these, 85 per cent were reported to be students at the victim’s college or university (or in cases of multiple perpetrators, involved at least one student at the victim’s institution).

The same percentage of incidents motivated by a bias against the victim’s gender identity (45 per cent) were committed by students, the large majority of whom also studied at their college or university (84 per cent).

This finding is significant, not only because some students are committing such acts, but also because the nature of close, inter-group relations within many institutions means that victims often find it difficult to avoid interacting with their abusers in the aftermath of incidents. This has clear implications on the victims’ inclination to report the incident, as well as the overall impact of the experience on their studies and mental well-being, as discussed in Chapter 6.
Table 3 relationship of perpetrator to victim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sexual orientation</th>
<th></th>
<th>Gender identity</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single perpetrator</td>
<td>Multiple perpetrators</td>
<td>Single perpetrator</td>
<td>Multiple perpetrators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquaintance</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleague</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carer etc</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placement</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic staff</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-teaching staff</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsure</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please note: Respondents were able to select multiple categories in incidents involving more than one perpetrator; figures therefore may add up to more than 100 per cent.
“What is most worrying to me is that I and the perpetrator are both Year 1 Social Work students.”

Perpetrator demographics

Perpetrators were found to typically be white males, aged 16–24. In at least six in 10 incidents involving multiple perpetrators, the victim reported that the group was exclusively male.

Table 4 Gender of perpetrator(s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sexual orientation</th>
<th>Gender identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single perpetrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsure</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 Age of perpetrator(s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sexual orientation</th>
<th>Gender identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single perpetrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 10</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 10–15</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 16–24</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 25–39</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 40+</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsure</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Profiles of incidents and perpetrators

Table 6 Ethnicity of perpetrator(s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sexual orientation</th>
<th>Gender identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single perpetrator</td>
<td>Multiple perpetrators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is in line with existing research in both the UK and the US, where “the bulk of reported attacks are perpetrated by male assailants, usually juveniles or young people in groups, who are not known by the victim.” The London Metropolitan Police conducted a study of allegations of racial and homophobic harassment, which found that there was almost double the number of incidents involving male suspects than incidents involving female suspects. Moreover, the Crown Prosecution Service records that in 2008–09 the proportion of male defendants was 87 per cent, though this figure is slightly lower than for 2007–08, which was 90 per cent.

As discussed in Chapter 3, victimisation rates varied in relation to the victim’s sexual orientation. Male gay students surveyed experienced higher rates of victimisation than students of any other sexual orientation in every incident category except vandalism, property damage and theft, where lesbians were the most victimised. Even then, the difference in victimisation between lesbians and gays was negligible. The majority of perpetrators were also male, a finding consistent with crime profiles in general and homophobic incidents in particular. A study of gender gaps in heterosexuals’ attitudes towards lesbians and gays in the United States found that “aggregate attitudes tend to be more hostile towards gay men than lesbians … women generally hold more favourable and less condemning attitudes towards gay people … [and] where heterosexuals tend to express more negative attitudes towards gay people of their same sex, this pattern occurs mainly among men.”
Reporting of hate crimes and incidents

“If it was something that wouldn’t happen … on an everyday basis, it might have been worth reporting.”
The difference between the number of hate crimes reported and the number not reported is difficult to measure. However, while the police recorded 46,300 reported hate crimes in 2008 according to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the British Crime Survey, which seeks to pick up unreported hate crimes through interviews with a wide sample of people, estimates that 260,000 hate crime offences occurred in 2008. Underreporting is thus one of the main obstacles to understanding and confronting hate crime. Research for policy purposes is also likely to be undermined by the fact that such data do not reflect the full extent of hate crime.

What becomes evident throughout this chapter is that many of the reasons for underreporting relate to the nature of the criminal justice system and victims’ perception of it. Notably, victims commonly felt that what they suffered was not sufficiently serious to report to the police, or that the police couldn’t or wouldn’t help. This highlights the need to strengthen the responsiveness of the police to hate crime, and to promote victims’ trust in the police’s ability to deal with hate crime sensitively and effectively.

Existing research suggests that homophobic hate crimes are generally less reported than other, non-prejudiced incidents. Herek et al, for example, found that LGB people fear further victimisation when reporting hate-motivated crime, as they suspect police may be biased or that reporting might result in public disclosure of their sexual orientation. Other literature in this area suggests that in certain hate offences, particularly those motivated by homophobia, while perpetrators are excused for their behaviour, victims are blamed and devalued, especially if they display ‘counternormative’ behaviour, such as public displays of affection with partners. According to Lyons, “the stigma perspective suggests that victims with minority status incur higher rates of fault than those of majority status whereas minority offenders are blamed more strongly than majority offenders.”

Our survey found that incidents – whether hate-related or not – went widely unreported by their victims. However, reporting levels differed with the severity of the incident and whether or not it constituted a criminal offence. Respondents were most likely to report

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**Key findings**

- Our survey found that incidents whether hate-related or not went widely unreported by their victims.
- With the exception of vandalism, property damage and theft, which held considerably higher reporting rates, relatively low numbers (8–13 per cent) of incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation were reported to the victim’s institution. Levels of reporting to the police were even lower (3–9 per cent).
- Reporting levels for incidents motivated against the victim’s gender identity were somewhat higher: 7–18 per cent of incidents were reported to an official at the victim’s institution and 2–11 per cent to the police, with the exception of vandalism, property damage and theft, which again had high rates of reporting.
- Reasons for not reporting fell into three broad themes: lack of faith in the criminal justice system, personal fears or concerns, and the incident not being ‘worth’ reporting.
- Respondents who experienced hate incidents were more likely to have personal concerns and fears about reporting compared to those who experienced similar, unprejudiced incidents. Victims of hate incidents were in particular more likely to cite feelings of shame and embarrassment, fear of reprisals and retribution and concern over having to disclose personal details as reasons for not reporting.
instances of theft, robbery, burglary and vandalism, where there was clear criminal conduct.

Reporting to someone in an official role

The students surveyed were asked whether they reported the incident(s) they had experienced to any official staff or representatives at their college, university or students’ union. As Chart 10 illustrates, with the exception of vandalism, property damage and theft, relatively low numbers (8–12 per cent) of incidents prejudiced against the victim’s real or assumed sexual orientation were reported to the institution. Reporting levels for incidents biased against the victim’s gender identity were similarly low, ranging from 7 per cent to 18 per cent.

Reporting levels were slightly lower for several incident types believed to be motivated by prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and/or gender identity than for non-hate-related incidents of the same type, though these differences were marginal.

When asked to whom specifically they reported these incidents, most respondents indicated they had spoken to members of academic staff or student officers and representatives. Less common answers included advice workers at the students’ union or institution and members of non-academic staff.

Table 7 Role of person to whom the incident was reported

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role of person to whom the incident was reported</th>
<th>Incidents prejudiced against sexual orientation</th>
<th>Incidents prejudiced against gender identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advice worker in the students’ union</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advice worker in the institution</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of academic staff</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of non-teaching staff</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student officer or representative</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reporting to the police

With the exception of instances involving vandalism, property damage or theft, reporting levels to the police were low across all categories, whether they were motivated by prejudice or not. Most often this was because victims felt the incident was not serious enough to constitute a report or that the police couldn’t or wouldn’t do anything. However, a significant minority expressed a lack of faith in the criminal justice system as a reason for not reporting.

Reasons for not reporting fell into three broad themes: the incident not being ‘worth’ reporting, personal fears or concerns and a lack of faith in the criminal justice system.

Reasons for not reporting

The most common reason for not reporting was that the incident was simply not serious enough to report – a not particularly surprising finding, given that many incidents did not on their own constitute a criminal offence, and therefore did not meet the criteria to define as a ‘hate crime’.

“If it was something that wouldn’t happen … on an everyday basis, it might have been worth reporting.”

However, this finding underscores the fact that students may not be aware that most, if not all, local authorities and police services hold a commitment to record and monitor hate incidents to identify areas of concern, patterns of behaviour or future prosecution of offenders – even if the incidents in question are not criminal offences. Of those stating they had experienced at least one incident motivated against their sexual orientation and/or gender identity, 19 per cent believed that only hate incidents which constituted a criminal offence should be reported to the police, and one in three believed direct contact with the police to be the only mode of reporting incidents.

Other common reasons for not reporting incidents included feeling the incident to be too common an occurrence to report, not believing the incident to be a crime, and thinking it would cause too much trouble to report.

Personal concerns or fears

While many reasons for not reporting incidents are typical of any crime, respondents who experienced bias-motivated incidents were more likely to have personal concerns and fears with reporting compared to those who experienced similar, non-biased, incidents. Victims who experienced prejudice against their sexual orientation or gender identity were in particular more
likely to cite feelings of shame and embarrassment, fear of reprisals and retribution, and concern over having to disclose personal details as reasons for not reporting. Victims of prejudice were also more likely to worry they would be blamed or not believed when reporting. Chart 12 provides a breakdown of these reasons.

Feelings of shame and embarrassment played a role in the victim not reporting their experience in 17 per cent of homophobic and 11 per cent of gender identity hate incidents, compared to just 5 per cent of non-bias instances.

![Chart 12 Reasons for not reporting: personal concerns or fears](image)

Thirteen per cent of incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and 6 per cent of those related to gender identity were not reported, at least partly because of the victim’s fear of disclosing their personal details. The qualitative data gathered in the survey suggested that this concern primarily related to one’s sexual orientation, with a significant minority of respondents expressing their worries about being ‘outed’ as a result of reporting a homophobic incident.

“I remained very quiet for a week or so. I tried to pass off bruising and scratches by saying that I had tripped on the pavement.”

Fear of reprisals and retribution also figured into the non-reporting of 13 per cent of incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and 6 per cent of those related to gender identity. Some respondents described the great lengths they felt they needed to go to in order to avoid the perpetrators.

“I was placed in accommodation with someone who harasses me about my apparent sexual orientation, so when I leave my room I climb off my balcony from one storey up and down the side of the building in order to avoid seeing him in my flat. I also refrain from talking a lot because I’m worried people will think I sound gay and I try really hard to talk as straight-sounding as I can.”

The criminal justice system

“I have experienced transphobia at the hands of the police on multiple occasions. I don’t trust them to do the right thing.”

“I would have reported an incident] had I thought the police would actually be bothered.”
“[I would have reported the incident] if I knew that [reporting] was seen as the right thing to do, rather than a minor incident [which I should] ignore and get on.”

“I would have reported it if the police would make sure he couldn’t come anywhere near me.”

The data suggests that victims of hate incidents were often more reluctant to report incidents to the police due to concerns of how the report would be received and addressed. When asked their reasons for not reporting, respondents who had been victimised were more likely to express that they believed the police would not take the report seriously or wouldn’t or couldn’t do anything. They were also more likely to state they felt uncomfortable speaking to the police about the incident or that they didn’t know how or where to report it.

Thirty-one per cent of incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s real or presumed sexual orientation and the same percentage of those related to gender identity were not reported at least partly due to the victim’s belief that the police would not take it seriously. In comparison, this reason was cited in only 16 per cent of non-bias motivated incidents.

The belief that the police couldn’t or wouldn’t do anything played a part in the non-reporting of 40 per cent of incidents with an element of prejudice against the victim’s sexuality, and 36 per cent of incidents involving prejudice against their gender identity. This compared to only one in four non-prejudiced incidents.

In 17 per cent of incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and 11 per cent involving prejudice against their gender identity, the victim cited feeling uncomfortable speaking to the police about the incident as a reason for not reporting. This is compared to only 4 per cent of non-biased incidents.

Respondents who had experienced a hate incident linked to their sexual orientation or gender identity were also more likely to state they didn’t know how or where to report the incident(s) – 13 per cent and 9 per cent, respectively, compared to 5 per cent of non-biased incidents.

Encouraging reporting

Respondents who had experienced a hate incident but had not reported it were provided with a series of options and asked whether any of these would encourage them to report. Significantly, many respondents indicated they would have reported the incident had they been a) able to remain anonymous, b) given the ability to report through indirect or non-face-to-face contact with the police or c) able to speak to a police officer who identifies as LGBT.

In 42 per cent of incidents related to their sexual orientation and 30 per cent that involved prejudice against their gender identity, the victim indicated they would have reported their experience had they been given a self-reporting form that could be sent directly to the police. This would allow the victim to avoid speaking to the police in person. The option of third party reporting would have also encouraged 30 per cent of incidents with a bias against sexual orientation and 23 per cent of incidents related to gender identity to have been reported. This would enable the victim to speak to someone other than the police, who would pass on the details to the police on victim’s behalf.

Thirty-four per cent of incidents prejudiced against the victim’s sexual orientation and 11 per cent of those prejudiced against their gender identity would have been reported had there been the option to speak to a police officer who identified as a member of the targeted group.

Remaining totally anonymous would have prompted 37 per cent of incidents involving bias against the victim’s sexual orientation and 22 per cent of those related to gender identity to be reported. While anonymity would reduce the chances of ‘solving’ the crime, it would nevertheless make the police more aware of, and responsive to, problems in the community.
Experiences of reporting

Respondents who reported incident(s) to either an official at their college, university or students’ union and/or the police were asked to comment on their experience of reporting. It was evident that positive experiences held several common characteristics – the reporting authority:

- responded quickly
- took the incident seriously
- displayed understanding and sympathy for the victim
- fostered trust with the victim
- where possible, provided regular communication with the victim.

Positive experience

“[I got a] fantastic response – an outside agency was invited in to do a workshop about homophobia to the student in the class that did the verbal abuse.”

“The member of staff was one that I trusted and was concerned over my behaviour in class. When I reported the incident I was offered support and some time off for when I felt unwell.”

Mixed experience

“I got a lot of support from the sabs [sabbatical officers] in my union, but very little from my place of work from my line managers and mixed support from the advice centre. There are major structural problems with the way complaints are handled and with the handling of the employee welfare during the process.”

Negative experience

“I got no help from them. I was told that at student council there is no rule that students cannot swear at other members and that he said the other things would be subjective.”
The impact on victims

“I had to go into counselling. I suffered from nightmares, panic and anxiety attacks. I stopped speaking to new people. I had to see a psychiatrist and take antidepressants and panic and anxiety medications. I had to change my university course and defer a year to get away from the people abusing me.”
This section highlights the ways in which hate incidents affect victims and their lives. Besides physical injury resulting from violent incidents, victims suffer a range of psychological and emotional responses, from lowered self-confidence and insecurity to depression and anxiety. In turn, victims’ lives can deteriorate in the form of poorer academic engagement, not feeling able to talk to strangers, becoming selective about where to go in public and when, and developing a fear of going out at all.

Even though a hate incident can be indistinguishable from a non-hate incident on the surface, the element of prejudice that characterises a hate incident can cause much deeper, long-term harm to the victim. Whereas feelings of anger, annoyance and shock (common to both hate and non-hate incidents) are immediate and short-lived, the depression, fear and isolation triggered by hate incidents can remain with the victim for a long time.27

Furthermore, as this report shows, hate incidents affected victims’ acceptance of other social groups. Prejudices among one group against another can produce prejudices among the other group in return. It is not difficult to see, then, how hate incidents can multiply. This destroys social cohesion and can perpetuate systemic social inequality.

Key findings

Victims of hate incidents were much more likely than victims of non-bias related incidents to report problems as a result of their experience, particularly related to their mental health, acceptance of other social groups and, to a lesser extent, studies.

- In 25 per cent of incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and 20 per cent of incidents involving prejudice against their gender identity, the victim reported mental health problems – substantially higher than in non-bias incidents (12 per cent). Victims of homophobic, biphobic and transphobic incidents manifested higher levels of depression, anxiety, difficulty with sleeping and other symptoms of post-traumatic stress than victims of non-prejudiced incidents of similar severity.

- Thirteen per cent of incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and 12 per cent of hate incidents against gender identity impacted on the victim’s acceptance of other social groups – more than three times the rate observed in non-bias incidents. Many respondents reported feelings of distrust towards strangers and peers alike, and explained that they went out of their way to avoid certain groups of people as a result of victimisation.

- One in 10 incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and 9 per cent of those related to gender identity affected the victim’s studies. The data suggests that incidents involving an element of prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation or gender identity were significantly more likely to impact on their grades and their participation in university or college social activities such as clubs, sports and societies. Victims reported a higher frequency of being ignored or picked on by their fellow students as a result of speaking about their experience. Victims also reported having thoughts of leaving their course as a result of victimisation.

For every incident, we asked respondents whether they had any difficulties, now or in the past, which they believe were attributable to their experience of hate incidents. Significantly, victims of hate incidents were much more likely than victims of non-hate incidents to report resultant problems, particularly when related to their mental health, acceptance of other social groups and, to a lesser extent, their studies.
The impact on victims

This is in line with a growing body of research on hate crime and its psychological consequences, which suggests that prejudiced victimisation leads to psychological distress and that hate crimes cause more negative outcomes than non-hate crimes.\textsuperscript{28} It is clear from our data that the prejudice and hostility that motivates a hate incident substantially increases its severity, and even the most seemingly banal experiences can have a long-term effect on a victim. It is therefore vital that such prejudice is addressed and taken into account, both in supporting victims and in educating and disciplining offenders.

Effect on mental health

In 25 per cent of incidents involving bias against the victim’s sexual orientation and 20 per cent of incidents prejudiced against their gender identity, the victim reported mental health problems – substantially higher than in non-bias incidents (12 per cent). When completing the survey, some respondents took the opportunity to write about their experiences and how they affected their mental health.

“My depression, anxiety and isolation have been exacerbated [by this incident] and are proving to become an obstacle in all areas of my life, most worryingly my studies.”

“I had to go into counselling. I suffered from nightmares, panic and anxiety attacks. I stopped speaking to new people. I had to see a psychiatrist and take antidepressants and panic and anxiety medications. I had to change my university course and defer a year to get away from the people abusing me.”

“Sometimes I think about running away, or other serious thoughts.”

“I feel that I can’t speak in public now. I feel that a lot of my confidence has been lost.”

“I [find it] very hard to trust people and make new friends at the university campus.”

“Sometimes I am violent to myself in private because how I have been treated by others makes me hate myself for being who I am, even though I know rationally it is stupid.”

Emotional reactions such as anger, annoyance and shock were common among all victims. However, our data shows that victims of hate incidents manifested
higher levels of depression, anxiety, difficulty sleeping and other symptoms of post-traumatic stress than victims of non-prejudiced incidents of similar severity.

Furthermore, those who experienced hate incidents were far more likely to feel emotions related to their self-esteem and sense of inclusion. In 47 per cent of incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and 48 per cent involving prejudice against their gender identity, the victim reported feeling vulnerable. Forty-six per cent and 31 per cent of incidents of biased incidents, respectively, resulted in a loss of confidence, whereas only 29 per cent of non-biased incidents were reported to have caused the victim to feel vulnerable and only 22 per cent triggered a loss of confidence.

Thirty-two per cent of incidents involving bias against sexual orientation and 22 per cent of those related to gender identity resulted in the victim feeling isolated or alone, nearly three times as much as in non-bias incidents. The qualitative data suggested that while emotions common to both hate and non-prejudiced incidents (such as anger or annoyance) were likely to dissipate soon after the incident, feelings related to vulnerability, isolation and self-esteem were more likely to be internalised and have long-term effects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Incidents motivated by prejudice against sexual orientation</th>
<th>Incidents motivated by prejudice against gender identity</th>
<th>Non bias incidents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crying or tears</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulty sleeping</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling isolated</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling vulnerable</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of confidence</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annoyance</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This was observed in low-level incidents as well as those that did not specifically target the individual per se – for example, the distribution or display of prejudiced material. Such a finding holds great significance, suggesting that it is less the incident itself than the motivating prejudice behind the incident that is most injurious. This is what makes the incident an attack specifically on the individual’s sense of self and identity. Moreover, what makes an ‘everyday’ case of verbal abuse so erosive and repressive is not only the utterance, but also its implicit reference to uncritically held opinions among ordinary people that are difficult to challenge.

“I feel a sense of helplessness that this kind of incident will never stop and will be something I will always have to put up with in my day-to-day life.”

“When seeing people laughing at such graffiti it reminds me that many people think anti-gay remarks are just a joke and somehow acceptable.”

“It wasn’t a specifically hateful attack, but I think it is important to take into account that jokes that revolve around a person’s sexuality do culminate to making people feel depressed. Yes, it may be a joke but if it recurs for a long amount of time, never-changing and constantly in the background, then it can cause repercussions. It matters not how seemingly oblivious other people are to the situation, but how the person(s) targeted feel [about] such abuse.”

Effect on acceptance of other social groups

Thirteen per cent of incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and 12 per cent against their gender identity affected the victim’s acceptance of other social groups – more than three times the rate observed in non-bias incidents. Some respondents reported feelings of distrust towards strangers and peers alike, and explained that they went out of their way to avoid certain groups of people as a result of victimisation.

“I and my family now mistrust Asian people but I am trying to get over this as I do not want to be prejudiced against the majority because [of] the behaviour of a minority.”

“'I am finding it increasingly difficult to work with cisgender people on LGBT issues and even more difficult to trust feminists – and that’s just because of this particular series of incidents.”

This finding clearly demonstrates how such occurrences affect community cohesion by encouraging mistrust and suspicion. In turn, this results in isolation, exclusion and barriers to communication.

Effect on studies

One in 10 incidents involving prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation and 9 per cent of those related to their gender identity affected victim’s studies. Those who indicated their studies had been affected were asked a series of follow-up questions. The data suggests that incidents involving an element of prejudice against the victim’s sexual orientation or gender identity were considerably more likely to negatively affect their grades and participation in university or college social activities such as clubs, sports and societies. Victims reported a higher frequency of being ignored or picked on by their fellow students as a result of speaking out about their experience. Victims also reported having thoughts of leaving their course as a result of victimisation.
“[I’m] scared to go to lectures in case something else is said or done.”

“This is happening more and more … it’s making me not want to go into college at all because I’m wondering who else is going to verbally attack me.”

“I have become detached from my institution, hence my [level of] attendance. I do not feel comfortable around teachers for fear that they share the same view on an unprofessional level, as homophobic insults and targeting happen daily to others around me, and specific teachers tend to choose when to exhibit professional behaviour. The chance of retaliation after discussing this or similar issues that occur daily has helped to result in these feelings.”

“I missed two exams as I couldn’t leave the house.”

“My partner needed to spend a great deal of their own time and emotional energy trying to keep me calm, centred and confident enough to attend my classes.”

“I choose to study with the Open University because I would not have to go to a traditional campus site, having had bad experiences before.”

“It’s a case of either avoiding the lesson or just keeping to the corner, far from others, and getting in and out as quick as possible.”

Effect on day-to-day actions

Respondents who had been victimised due to their sexual orientation and/or gender identity frequently reported resultant behaviour change, for example in relation to where and when they went, and with whom. This was particularly difficult for respondents whose harassers were fellow students at their institution.

“I am less likely to go to certain places like pubs because I have been attacked before because people have found out that I’m gay … I’ve even had people run their bikes into me because of my sexual orientation so I guess I try to act very manly and I dress ‘normal’. Large groups of people make me nervous now.”

“I often don’t want to leave the house and I hate to do anything by myself. This results in my family and teachers thinking I am too lazy to do something, when the case is a much deeper-rooted issue. In fact I am too scared to do it. I don’t get what I need to get done. I am a young adult who hasn’t developed independence because of my self-consciousness.”
Multiple biases and prejudice by association

It is important to recognise that multiple systems of oppression and prejudice structure social relations. Accordingly, hate incidents are often motivated by multiple biases. Sexual orientation and gender identity were found to be closely interlinked: prejudice against gender identity was found to be an additional motivating factor in 15 per cent of incidents with a bias against the victim’s sexual orientation. This is not surprising, considering that while gender identity and sexual orientation are distinct categories, the forms of prejudice and discrimination directed against trans people can be very similar to those directed against LGB people. Indeed, the two communities have historically coexisted and supported each other.

However, we found that many of the incidents reported in the survey were motivated by prejudices beyond those against the victim’s sexual orientation or gender identity. For example, in 14 per cent of incidents biased against the victim’s sexual orientation, racial prejudice was also believed to be a motivating factor – a finding supported by existing studies suggesting that individuals who define as both LGBT and black minority ethnic (BME) may be subject to more hate-related incidents.29

This reinforces social theory into the ‘intersectional’ nature of hate crime, which suggests that “one system of oppression cannot be understood as more fundamental than another because systems are inextricably linked and … [therefore] relations of domination should be understood as an interlocking web of mutually reinforcing power structures, each of which depends on the others... Each system operates in different yet overlapping ways.”30 That various prejudices interact on multiple levels demonstrates that hate crime is a social problem that pervades many groups and contributes to systematic inequality. This has important implications for prevention and intervention strategies.
Recommendations
The following recommendations are designed to address hate incidents and hate crime experienced by students in the UK, as well as the prejudice that motivates this behaviour. It is evident from the qualitative and quantitative research findings from which these recommendations were drawn that improvements are needed in:

- the prevention of perpetrator behaviour
- support and services available to victims
- awareness, reporting and recording of hate crime and incidents.

These recommendations are chiefly aimed at further and higher education institutions and sector organisations, although some will be pertinent to law enforcement practitioners and other agencies. We hope that all institutions will consider these recommendations and that they will help in the development of a cross-sector strategy to tackle hate and prejudice experienced by students across the UK.

**Prevention**

1. **Demonstrate a firm commitment to equality and diversity**

   The student population is composed of a diverse range of people, from all backgrounds, holding different ideas, viewpoints and opinions. It is important that these differences are respected, but equally that each and every individual feels they are able to study in an environment in which their rights, dignity and worth are upheld.

   It is therefore vital that institutions demonstrate a strong commitment towards equality and diversity and work to celebrate these values through clear and widely publicised codes of conduct, equality and diversity policies, and complaint and reporting procedures. All students should be made aware of their institution’s commitment to challenging and tackling prejudice on campus. Through student inductions, institution-wide and/or departmental handbooks, advice centres and students’ unions, students should be informed of the conduct required of them and the support services available to those who have been victimised.

2. **Develop preventative and educational activity on prejudice and hate**

   Hate crime is an unfortunate expression of negative stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination and inter-group tensions. Our research suggests that this type of behaviour causes a cycle of suspicion and exclusion: the perpetrator is motivated by prejudice to target an individual and that action in turn negatively affects that victim’s acceptance and perception of other social groups.

   While it is important to tackle the more immediate and tangible goals of assisting and supporting victims as well as taking effective action against perpetrators, it is also important that long-term efforts are made to foster an inclusive ethos, in which each and every student has the right to express themselves without fear. Ensuring there is constructive dialogue, mutual respect and trust are paramount in this endeavour. By working to foster good relations among students and increase awareness of what constitutes a hate incident and the negative impact of this behaviour on the victim, institutions can reduce the prevalence of this behaviour on campus.

   To promote social cohesion within and outside the classroom, universities and colleges need to consider how to better integrate their student bodies. This could be achieved by increasing discussion and interactive work within the classroom, as well as by organising events for students of all backgrounds that celebrate diversity and encourage integration. In addition, institutions should ensure that, when appropriate, course curricula reflect diversity in sexual orientation and gender identity.

3. **Stop or mitigate against perpetrator behaviour**

   It is evident from our research that victims and perpetrators alike often perceived behaviour constituting a hate incident to be socially acceptable. The consequences of this perception are two-fold: the perpetrator is encouraged to engage in these activities
and the victim is discouraged from reporting the incident or seeking support services.

Institutions must therefore make clear that this behaviour is not tolerated, through the active enforcement of student codes of conduct and the institution of zero-tolerance policies. Student perpetrators should be disciplined quickly and decisively.

4. Establish multi-agency, joined-up approaches to tackling hate

Hate incidents require a multi-agency, joined-up approach to ensure the victim is adequately supported and the perpetrator appropriately disciplined. As such, colleges and universities should work to establish partnerships with local police enforcement, community-based advocacy groups, schools and local authorities to develop a cross-sector strategy to reduce hate within FE and HE but also more widely.

Support

5. Strengthen existing LGBT support services

Our research found that hate incident victims were more likely to report mental health problems as a result of their experience than victims of unprejudiced incidents of the same severity. Practitioners working in counselling and advice services should therefore be appropriately trained and vigilant to these concerns, recognising that even low-level incidents can have serious implications upon the victim’s self-esteem and self-confidence.

6. Establish strong support networks

Existing studies suggest that the level of identification a victim has with their sexual orientation or gender identity affects their response to experiencing hate incidents: those who lack strong identification are at greater risk of psychological damage. In contrast, those who had a relatively strong sexual orientation or gender identity show a more assertive and positive response, seeking help and redress, which in turn helps to fortify their sense of identity.31

LGBT clubs and societies within institutions often act as that support network and should therefore be provided with financial backing and support to avoid compulsory membership fees. Institutions and students’ unions should also ensure that LGBT students who have, or wish to, set up an LGBT club or society are well connected to wider support services within their institution and have the constitutional backing of the union.

LGBT groups should be seen as a key player in the union, with access to good advertisement and communication channels to students. In addition, institutions and students’ unions should actively support activities, which promote an understanding of LGBT issues and celebrate the history and achievements of the LGBT community.

Reporting

7. Encourage reporting and maintain systematic documentation and data collection of hate incidents

Our research found that many respondents did not report incidents because they believed it to be either too trivial to report or that nothing could or would be done by reporting authorities. However, data collection is vital to understanding and addressing these problems and most, if not all, law enforcement agencies are committed to recording and monitoring hate incidents.

Educational activity is therefore required so that students are aware of when, where and how to report incidents, and understand that their experience is important in informing and shaping preventative work as well as potentially prompting disciplinary action. Their evidence may be needed in court, but can also help build intelligence about behaviour in a particular area and identify key areas for preventative intervention. Co-ordination and information sharing between law enforcement agencies and colleges and universities is needed to ensure this data is accurately captured, while maintaining victim confidentiality.
8. Provide flexible options to reporting

The students surveyed in our research indicated they would have been more likely to report their experiences had they been able to do so without directly contacting the police. Institutions should therefore establish a variety of reporting mechanisms. This might include creating an online self-reporting form or on-campus reporting and advice centres as well as publicising other options, such as third party reporting agencies and telephone hotlines.

Victims should also be made aware that they are able to define the terms in which they report. For example, victims should have the option to remain anonymous, on the understanding that while it would not be possible to take further action, this information would be recorded and used to inform hate crime prevention measures. Not all reporting mechanisms may be feasible, so work must be done to ensure the most appropriate methods are employed for each institution and incident.

9. Promote greater confidence in reporting mechanisms

Whether real or perceived, it is evident that many respondents fear further victimisation, either at the hands of insensitive or hostile authorities, or by their peers upon public disclosure of their experience. It is clear that practitioners need better training in order to understand the diversity of sexual orientation and gender identities. Our findings also suggest that to ensure accurate reporting of hate incidents, better protocols for interviewing and debriefing crime victims and privacy assurances for victims are required. Victims should be assured that their report will be taken seriously, and will be consistently and thoroughly investigated and recorded.

10. Clear guidance on existing legislative framework

Existing legislation related to hate crime is fragmentary and piecemeal, which causes difficulties for victims who wish to bring their case through the criminal justice system. It is therefore vital that guidance on what constitutes a hate crime, the rights of victims, and the criminal justice procedure more generally, is developed and made available to students and appropriate support agencies.

In addition, some statuses, notably gender identity, are not currently covered in existing hate crime statutes. It is important that these legislative frameworks undergo periodic review to determine if hate crime statutes continue to reflect the public’s interest, and to assess whether these legal ‘gaps’ result in public safety concerns.
Appendix 1 Student respondent profile

The survey clearly stated that it was open to all students currently studying on a course in a further education college, university or other adult learning environment. Only those who affirmed that they fell into this category were included in the final sample of the survey. In total, we received 9,229 complete and valid responses.

Health condition, impairment or disability

Eleven per cent (1,001) of our sample considered themselves to have a health condition, impairment or disability.

Of these:
- thirteen per cent stated they had a physical impairment (126)
- nine per cent said they had a sensory impairment (82)
- twenty-nine per cent reported having a mental health condition (279)
- twenty-six per cent stated they had a learning difference or cognitive impairment (254)
- twenty-seven per cent said they had a long-term illness or health condition (263)
- five per cent preferred not to say
- eighteen per cent described their health condition, impairment or disability as ‘other’.

Eighty-seven per cent (7,991) indicated that they did not have a health condition, impairment or disability and 3 per cent (233) preferred not to say.

Type of institution, mode and level of study

Most students surveyed (89 per cent; 8,221) attend their post-16 educational institution in England. Six per cent attend an institution in Wales (548), 2 per cent (202) in Scotland and 3 per cent (237) in Northern Ireland.

The majority (68 per cent; 6,101) of our respondents attend university. Another 28 per cent (2,520) go to further education or sixth form college. Three per cent (224) attend an ‘other higher education institution’ and 2 per cent go to adult and community learning providers, work-based learning providers or specialist colleges (186).

The bulk of respondents (87 per cent; 7,967) were UK-domiciled students, though 8 per cent were EU students (720) and 5 per cent were international or overseas students (475).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of study</th>
<th>Year of study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.8% Level 1, eg Basic Skills or ESOL (72)</td>
<td>54% Year 1 (4,965)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2% Level 2, eg GCSEs, NVQ2 (173)</td>
<td>30% Year 2 (2,746)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28% Level 3, eg A-Levels, Advanced apprenticeships (2,595)</td>
<td>13% Year 3 (1,160)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58% Level 4, eg Bachelors degree, HND (5,308)</td>
<td>3% Year 4 (235)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11% Level 5, eg Masters, PhD (1,046)</td>
<td>1% Year 5+ (105)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eighty-eight per cent of the people surveyed (8,100) were full-time students; 12 per cent (1,108) studied part-time.
Gender and gender identity

Seventy per cent of respondents were female, 29 per cent were male (2,697) and 0.6 per cent preferred not to select (51).

The vast majority (99 per cent) stated that their gender identity was the same as assigned at birth (9,146). Only 0.4 per cent (40) stated that their gender identity was not the same as assigned at birth and 0.5 per cent (42) preferred not to say.

Sexual orientation

Eighty-seven per cent of the students surveyed were heterosexual (7,974). The self-identification of the remaining 13 per cent can be broken down as follows:

- lesbian 2 per cent (157)
- bisexual 5 per cent (479)
- gay 4 per cent (363)
- preferred not to say 2 per cent (168)
- other 0.8 per cent (78).

Ethnic origin

Eighty-three per cent respondents identified themselves as being from a white background:

- white British 73 per cent (6,715)
- white Irish 2 per cent (190)
- other white background 8 per cent (706).

Seven per cent identified themselves as being from an Asian or Asian British background:

- Indian 3 per cent (257)
- Bangladeshi 0.5 per cent (43)
- Pakistani 2 per cent (147)
- other Asian background 1 per cent (119).

Two per cent of our respondents self-identified as being from a black or black British background:

- black Caribbean 1 per cent (90)
- black African 1 per cent (127)
- other black background 0.1 per cent other (9).

Three per cent of students surveyed said they were from a mixed race background:

- white and black Caribbean 1 per cent (82)
- white and black African 0.3 per cent (31)
- white and Asian 1 per cent (110)
- other mixed background 1 per cent (110).

Two per cent of our sample was Chinese (189) and another 2 per cent indicated they were from an ‘other’ ethnicity not listed (199). One per cent preferred not to say their ethnic origin (102).

Religion, faith or belief

Thirty-eight per cent of respondents stated they had no religion (3,530) and another 34 per cent indicated they were Christian (3,167). Twelve per cent of students surveyed were atheist (1,089). We received low response rates from students of other religions:

- Bahai 0.1 per cent (4)
- Buddhist 1 per cent (89)
- Hindu 1 per cent (125)
- Jain 0.1 per cent (5)
- Jewish 0.8 per cent (70)
- Muslim 4 per cent (326)
- Sikh 0.7 per cent (63)
- preferred not to say 3 per cent (288)
- other 5 per cent (466).
Appendix 2 Survey questions

The following is a list of headline questions we asked in our survey.

Worries of victimisation

1. How worried are you about being subject to verbal abuse, physical attack, vandalism, property damage or theft because of your actual or perceived race/ethnicity, religion/belief, disability, sexual orientation and/or gender identity?

2. Because of worries about prejudiced incidents, some people change their everyday life – for example, where they go or what they do. Other people do not change their lives at all. Do worries about prejudiced abuse ever cause you to alter your behaviour, personal appearance or daily patterns?

Experiences of incident types

1. While you have been a student at your current place of study, have you ever experienced any of the following (please tick all that apply):
   - threatening, abusive or insulting words (eg verbal abuse such as name-calling, being shouted/sworn at, taunted, told offensive slurs, insults, etc)
   - threatening behaviour or threats of violence.

2. While you have been a student at your current place of study, have you ever experienced any of the following (please tick all that apply):
   - you were followed or chased
   - you were spat upon
   - you were held down or physically blocked
   - you were pushed, slapped, shoved or had your hair pulled
   - you had something thrown at you that could hurt you
   - you were kicked, bitten, hit with a fist or something else that could hurt you
   - you experienced unwanted sexual contact (this could include touching, grabbing, pinching, kissing, fondling, or molesting you through your clothes)
   - you were choked, dragged, strangled or burned
   - a weapon (such as a knife or gun) was used against you
   - you have experienced another form of physical mistreatment or violence not described above.*

3. Have you experienced any of the following while you have been a student at your current place of study? (tick all that apply):
   - vandalism – someone deliberately defacing or doing damage to your house, flat or halls of residence – or to anything outside it
   - property damage – someone deliberately damaging, tampering with or vandalising your property. For example, your personal belongings (purse, computer, etc), motor vehicle, bicycle, wheelchair or other property.
   - personal theft – personal belongings stolen out of your hands, bag, pockets or locker
   - property theft from outside your home – for example, from the doorstep, the garden or the garage
   - robbery – someone taking or attempting to take something from you by force or threat of force
   - burglary – someone illegally entering your residence to steal or attempt to steal your belongings, inflict bodily harm or cause criminal damage.

4. While you have been a student at your current place of study, has anyone distributed or displayed
any writing, signs or visible representation, which you found threatening, abusive or insulting? For example, offensive graffiti or leaflets:

● yes
● no.

5. While you have been a student at your current place of study, have you ever experienced any of the following (please tick all that apply):

● received an abusive, threatening or insulting telephone call or text message intended to harass, alarm or distress you
● received abusive, threatening or insulting post or mail intended to harass, alarm or distress you
● received abusive, threatening or insulting email or messages transmitted through the Internet (eg via Facebook, twitter, a blog etc) intended to harass, alarm or distress you.

Establishing bias motivation

6. Do you believe the incident may have been motivated or partly motivated, by the perpetrator’s prejudice towards you based on your membership (or presumed membership) of any of the following? Please tick all that apply:

● yes – a prejudice against my race or ethnicity (or presumed race or ethnicity)
● yes – a prejudice against my religion or belief (or presumed religion or belief)
● yes – a prejudice against my disability (or presumed disability)
● yes – a prejudice against my sexual orientation (or presumed sexual orientation)
● yes – a prejudice against my gender identity (or presumed gender identity). For the purposes of this survey, gender identity is defined as a person’s self-identification as male, female, neither or both, which may not be the gender assigned at birth.
● yes – because of my association with persons of a certain race/ethnicity, religion/belief, disability, sexual orientation, and/or gender identity
● yes – for another reason (please specify)
● no – I do not believe the perpetrator was motivated by prejudice against any of the above groups.

7. For what reasons do you believe the incident was motivated by prejudice, in whole or in part? Please tick all that apply:

● the perpetrator(s) made statements and/or gestures before, during or after the incident which displayed prejudice against a race/ethnicity, religion/belief, disability, sexual orientation and/or gender identity
● hate words or symbols were present (eg offensive names, a swastika or other graffiti)
● the incident occurred at or near a location, place or building commonly associated with a specific group (eg a centre for people with disabilities, club or bar with a predominately gay clientele, synagogue)
● I was engaged in activities promoting a social group or event (eg handing out leaflets, picketing
● the incident coincided with a holiday or event of significant date (eg the Pride parade, Ramadan)
● I believe the perpetrator was a member of a group known to have committed similar acts
● investigation by the police confirmed that the incident was motivated by dislike of a particular group
● someone else suggested that the incident was prejudiced
● my feeling, instinct or perception, without specific evidence
● I don’t know.
Endnotes

1. NUS uses the term Black to describe students of African, Arab, Asian and Caribbean descent.


15. *Ibid*.

16. The vast majority of respondents who self-identified as gay were male (97 per cent); 2 per cent were female and 1 per cent preferred not to disclose their sex. Similarly, 98 per cent of respondents who self-identified as lesbian were female. One per cent of lesbian respondents stated they were male and less than 1 per cent opted not to disclose this information. While findings show that gay respondents were more likely in almost every category of incident to be victimised compared to other sexual orientations and that there is a strong correlation between victimisation and being a gay male, our sample of gay respondents was not exclusively male.

17. Please note that respondents were able to report multiple biases for each incident type they experienced; thus there may be some overlap between homophobic or transphobic experiences.

18. *P value = .000*.


20. This information was collected for incidents involving: verbal abuse, threatening behaviour or threats of violence; physical abuse; and vandalism, property damage or theft.

21. As above.


